

**THE RHETORICAL IMPRINT OF NELSON MANDELA
AS REFLECTED IN PUBLIC SPEECHES
1950 – 2004**

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ABSTRACT

The study set out to construct a rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela as reflected in a combination of all, as well as selected publicly available speeches from 1950 to 2004. The rhetorical imprint refers to constant, underlying patterns of distinctive, verbal characteristics that support the content of numerous speeches in different contexts (Burghardt, 1985: 441). The rhetorical imprint is conceptualised in pragmatic constructivist terms to be the product of the conceptual categories of the mind, which are intrinsically metaphorically structured (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 7). Since conceptual categories cannot be directly observed, evidence of the particular conceptual categories which governed Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint was sought in the rhetoric itself. The rhetorical imprint functions at both the manifest and latent levels of meaning. In this study, the researcher accessed the surface-level patterns through quantitative, computer-aided content analysis, while the very fact that the individual conceptual system was considered metaphorical suggested the use of metaphorical concepts as qualitative tool in order to access the deeply embedded content of the conceptual categories which were most influential on the rhetorical imprint.

The rhetorical imprint was finally synthesised from the qualitative and quantitative data in terms of the general characteristics of the rhetoric, the cognitive complexity and the conceptual structure of the rhetorical imprint, which consists of transcending conceptual motifs and sub-ordinate themes. Mandela's rhetoric was also contextualised against his biographical background and ethos, as well as against the overall rhetorical situation, which include the socio-political context as controlling need or exigency, a consideration of the rhetorical audiences and constraints on the rhetor.

Mandela's rhetoric was found to be complex, with sophisticated vocabulary use and conceptual structuring. The rhetorical complexity indicates a rhetor who is cognitively complex and able to adapt his rhetoric to the nuances of different audiences and contexts. Mandela's rhetoric further indicates a definite evolution from sub-corpus to sub-corpus. It was found that the controlling concern of the struggle period revolved around aspects of struggle, while the liberation sub-corpus signified a focus on aspects of the political transition. The presidential period focused on reconciliation and reconstruction and the post-presidential sub-corpus indicates a preoccupation with the issue of HIV/AIDS.

The most dominant conceptual motif at the core of Mandela's rhetorical imprint was found to be his use of the archetypal **JOURNEY** source domain in metaphorical concepts to conceptualise the controlling concerns throughout the entire corpus. The **JOURNEY** motif is accompanied by a forward-looking orientation where future paths and destinations are optimistically envisioned. The source domains **war** and **building/structure** are also prominent, although subordinate to **JOURNEY**. The metaphorical concepts related to **JOURNEY** are based on the mega-metaphorical concept LIFE IS A JOURNEY, while **war** is derived from LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL and **building/structure** is based on ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS. These mega-metaphorical concepts interact and indicate that Mandela's individual construal system and rhetoric are fundamentally structured by the notion of a **PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY**, which is the rhetorical imprint, and that all metaphorical concepts discovered in his rhetoric are subsumed in this configuration.

Key-words: *Nelson Mandela, speeches, rhetoric, rhetorical imprint, pragmatic constructivism, constructivism, pragmatism, embodied realism, mixed methods research, metaphorical concepts.*

OPSOMMING

Die studie konstrueer Nelson Mandela se retoriese stempel soos gereflekteer deur 'n kombinasie van alle, sowel as geselekteerde, publieke toesprake van 1950 tot 2004. Die retoriese stempel verwys na die bestendige, onderliggende patrone van kenmerkende, verbale eienskappe wat die inhoud van meervoudige toesprake in verskeie kontekste onderlê (Burghardt, 1985: 441). Die retoriese stempel is gekonseptualiseer in terme van pragmatiese konstruktivisme as 'n uitvloeisel van die konseptuele verstandskategorieë wat wesenlik metafories saamgestel is (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 7). Aangesien konseptuele kategorieë nie direk waargeneem kan word nie, moet bewyse van die konseptuele kategorieë wat Nelson Mandela se retoriese stempel gerig het, verkry word in die retoriek. Die retoriese stempel funksioneer op sowel die klaarblyklike as verborge vlakke van betekenis. Die navorser het in die betrokke studie die oppervlakpatrone ondersoek deur middel van kwantitatiewe rekenaargedrewe inhoudsanalise, terwyl die metaforiese struktuur van die konseptuele sisteem die gebruik van metaforiese konsepte as kwalitatiewe instrument genoodsaak het ten einde die diepgaande inhoud van die konseptuele kategorieë wat die retoriese stempel die meeste beïnvloed het, te bestudeer.

Die retoriese stempel is uiteindelik saamgevoeg vanuit die kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe data in terme van die algemene eienskappe van die retoriek, die kognitiewe kompleksiteit en die konseptuele struktuur van die retoriese stempel wat bestaan uit konseptuele motiewe en onderliggende temas. Mandela se retoriek is ook gekontekstualiseer teen sy biografiese agtergrond en etos, asook die algehele retoriese situasie wat die sosiaal-politieke konteks insluit as die beherende kontekstuele invloed, 'n bestudering van die retoriese gehore en beperkings op die retor.

Mandela se retoriek is kompleks bevind, met gesofistikeerde woordgebruik en konseptuele strukture. Die retoriese kompleksiteit dui op 'n retor wat kognitief kompleks is en in staat is om sy retoriek genuanseer aan te pas by verskillende gehore en kontekste. Mandela se retoriek dui verder op 'n uitdruklike evolusie van sup-korpus tot sub-korpus. Die studie het getoon dat aspekte van die apartheidstryd die strydkorpus domineer het, terwyl die bevrydingskorpus gekenmerk is deur 'n fokus op aspekte van die politieke oorgang. Die fokus tydens die presidensiële periode was op versoening en herkonstruksie, terwyl die post-presidensiële periode dui op 'n besorgheid met die kwessie van MIV/VIGS.

Die dominante konseptuele motief wat Mandela se retoriese stempel onderlê, is die gebruik van die argetipiese brondomein, **LEWENSREIS**, in metaforiese konsepte om die beherende kwessies van die algehele korpus te konseptualiseer. Die motief, **LEWENSREIS**, word saamgegaan deur 'n voorwaartse oriëntering waar toekomstige paaie en bestemmings optimisties beskou word. Die brondomeine, **oorlog** en **gebou/struktuur**, is ook prominent, alhoewel onderliggend tot **LEWENSREIS**. Die metaforiese konsepte wat met **LEWENSREIS** verband hou, is gebaseer op die mega-metaforiese konsep, **DIE LEWE IS 'N REIS**, terwyl **oorlog** afkomstig is van **DIE LEWE IS 'N STRYD OM OORLEWING**. **Gebou/struktuur** is gebaseer op **ABSTRAKTE KOMPLEKSE SISTEME IS GEBOUE**. Hierdie mega-metaforiese konsepte is in wisselwerking met mekaar en dui daarop dat Mandela se individuele konstruksisteam en retoriek fundamenteel gestruktureer is deur die begrip van 'n **GEWAAGDE SIMBOLIESE LEWENSREIS**, wat die retoriese stempel versinnebeeld. Alle metaforiese konsepte wat in Mandela se retoriek gevind is, is dus ook onderliggend by die retoriese stempel ingesluit.

Sleutelwoorde: *Nelson Mandela, toesprake, retoriek, retoriese stempel, pragmatiese konstruktivisme, konstruktivisme, pragmatiek, beliggaamde realisme, gemengde metodologiese navorsing, metaforiese konsepte.*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
ANSI	American National Standards Institute
APO	African Political [later: People's] Organisation
ASCII	American Standard Code for Information Interchange
BCE	Before Common Era
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BNC	British National Corpus
BOSS	Bureau of State Security
CE	Common Era
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU	Congress of the South African Trade Unions
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution [Programme]
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INCH	Institute for Contemporary Affairs
LOB	Lancaster Oslo Bergen [corpus]
MI	Mutual Information [statistical value]
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MRF	Mandela Rhodes Foundation
NAC	National Action Council
NC	National Convention
NMCF	Nelson Mandela Children's Fund
NMF	Nelson Mandela Foundation
NP	National Party
NRC	Native Representative Council
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan-African(ist) Congress
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
QUAL (qual)	Qualitative

QUAN (quan)	Quantitative
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SRC	Student Representative Council
STTR	Standardised Type-Token Ratio
TTR	Type-Token Ratio
UDF	United Democratic Front
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand

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CHAPTER

1

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCING NELSON MANDELA

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and to see realised, but may not. If it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die (Mandela, 1964: 20).

These are the iconic closing words of Nelson Mandela during his opening statement from the dock at the Rivonia Trial on 20 April 1964. In spite of the forfeiture of 27 years to imprisonment, Nelson Mandela saw his dedication expressed in the above-quoted passage bear fruit when he became the first democratically elected President of the Republic of South Africa. His life, his actions and his words have inspired millions globally and, even today, an audience with Mandela is still a sought-after commodity for many and an often-proclaimed profound experience. Mandela has, over his lifetime, fulfilled and still fulfils many different roles for various groups around the globe and at different levels, i.e. at intimate level as husband, father, grandfather; at interpersonal level as colleague; and at public level as political figure (resistance fighter, negotiator, president and activist) to name a few.

Mandela's iconicity as public and political figure is integrally associated with his role as rhetor. The question that consequently arise is: How did his public and political profile manifest in his rhetoric? Within the parameters of the current study, this matter is addressed by exploring the rhetorical imprint at the core of Nelson Mandela's public political speeches. A rhetorical imprint is defined by Burgchardt (1985: 441) as a constant, underlying pattern of distinctive characteristics that supports the content of numerous speeches and falls within the realm of conceptual rhetorical analysis. As such, the rhetorical imprint is viewed as an

archetypal template on which the entire rhetoric of a person is modelled and is a deep-seated impression present in all the rhetoric of that individual.

Rhetoric denotes a vast field of inquiry as explained by Booth (2004: 495), ‘...rhetoric has no single discipline: it covers every bit of human communication, good and bad, every academic field, every corner of our lives.’ The boundaries between the study of rhetoric and human communication are diffuse and, for the sake of this research, communication studies provide the general exposition for the study of Nelson Mandela’s public rhetoric. This is done as a matter of convenience, as the central thesis in this research is not rooted in the dialectic between communication studies and rhetoric, but in the rhetorical oeuvre of one person.

Mandela’s biographical background is a valuable source of content for his rhetoric and the conceptual system that produced it. The rhetorical imprint is conceptualised as a product of individual cognition, as discussed in Chapter 2, but is also considered to be the product of biological, cultural and perceptual experience. His upbringing, education, cultural influences and career are therefore all expected to shed light on his rhetorical imprint.

1.1.1 Upbringing and education

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in Mveso in rural Transkei on 18 June 1918 (Mandela, 2006: 13; Mandela, 1994: 3) to his mother, Nosekeni Fanny, third wife to his father, Gadla Hendry Mandela, a local chief in Mveso. He was born as a member of the Thembu royal house of the Xhosa nation, a dignified people with a social order based on courtesy, education and laws, which revolve around clans and a proud tribal tradition (Mandela, 1994: 4). The area of his birth was designated a native reserve by the British during the conflicts on the Eastern frontier between indigenes and British settlers. He is a member of the Madiba clan and, like his father before him, was born and groomed to counsel the rulers of the tribe as part of the Left Hand House, *Ixhiba*. This office held a strong oral imperative, which required the skill of oratory. After a dispute between Mandela’s father and a white magistrate, he was found guilty of insubordination and stripped of this chieftainship and wealth. Mandela’s mother moved to Qunu to be close to her familial support structure, where Mandela would spend the remainder of his childhood (Mandela, 2006: 13; Mandela, 1994: 7).

Mandela's early upbringing was traditional, rural and contented. Qunu consisted of a few hundred traditional Xhosa huts set against the backdrop of rolling, grassy hills. The residents cultivated maize and practised communal animal husbandry. The land was state-owned, as Africans by that time were already denied property rights under the 1913 Native Land Act (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 232 – 233). The emerging migrant labour system rendered Qunu a village of women and children, as men were away working on the Johannesburg gold fields or distant farms. While the men were away earning a wage, the women and children looked after the fields (Mandela, 1994: 10). At Qunu, Mandela was surrounded by his mother's relations and grew up in a vibrant family set-up, although day-to-day life was sometimes hard. During the days, the young Mandela spent his time playing with the other village boys and later became a herd-boy and looked after the sheep and cattle. In spite of the obvious hardships, Mandela describes his childhood as idyllic (Mandela, 1994: 11).

Mandela recounts how he realised early in his childhood the importance of avoiding the infliction of humiliation on an opponent. Honour and dignity in victory were therefore principles instilled in the mind of the young Mandela (Mandela, 1994: 12). His upbringing was traditional and followed the customs, rituals and taboos of Xhosa society. Like any other child, Mandela quickly assimilated the rules of his culture. Mandela's mother converted to Christianity, although Mandela's father remained true to the traditional belief system of his people. Mandela was baptised in the local Wesleyan Methodist church and sent to school at the instigation of the Wesleyan brothers (Mandela, 2006: 13; Mandela, 1994: 15). At age seven, the young Mandela began to attend the local Wesleyan mission school to receive a British education. As part of the British 'civilising' education, Mandela was also given a Western name, Nelson (Mandela, 1994: 16).

After the death of his father, the Thembu regent, Chief Jongintaba, assumed guardianship of Mandela. It was at the hand of Chief Jongintaba that Mandela further learnt of the history and tradition of the Xhosa, the African notion of *ubuntu* or a shared humanity, and the subjugation of indigenous people at the hand of white people (Mandela, 2006: 14). Chief Jongintaba was reputed to be fair-minded and disciplined and, at Mqhekezweni, Chief Jongintaba's seat, Mandela witnessed the importance of consensus in leadership, which he later came to apply as president. Both his childhood experiences and background as attorney would instil in Mandela an understanding of the value of dialogue for cooperative relations

(Lieberfeld, 2003: 235). Mandela describes the influence imparted by his upbringing as follows:

As a leader, I have always followed the principles I first saw demonstrated by the regent at the Great Place. I have always endeavoured to listen to what each and every person in a discussion had to say before venturing my own opinion. Oftentimes, my own opinion will simply represent a consensus of what I heard in the discussion. I always remember the regent's axiom: a leader, he said, is like a shepherd (Mandela, 1994: 25).

As a child, Mandela was not directly exposed to the unequal relations that governed the interaction between white and African people at the time and, at Mqhekezweni, Mandela witnessed the equal interaction between the paramount chief and white officials and tradesmen. His early upbringing therefore already instilled a notion of racial equality (Mandela, 1994: 38). At age 16, Mandela entered adulthood after his Xhosa initiation and was sent to Clarkebury Institute, a Wesleyan mission school and teacher training college where Mandela's British education continued. After academic success at Clarkebury, Mandela attended the Wesleyan college of Healdtown near Fort Beaufort. The character of the education unashamedly followed the disciplined Methodist and British pattern. His character was further shaped by the enforced self-reliance of boarding school and his interaction with the cosmopolitan student body (Mandela, 2006: 20). Mandela's further education continued when he was accepted to the University College of Fort Hare, also the product of the British mission education system and the sole institution available to black students who wished to pursue a tertiary education (Mandela, 2006: 21 – 22; Mandela, 1994: 51).

It was at Fort Hare that his political awareness was awakened and where he would form personal ties with other black students, who were members of the African National Congress (ANC), which would last a lifetime. Mandela met Oliver Tambo at Fort Hare, his future law and struggle partner, and was exposed to African intellectuals such as Professor DDT Jabavu and Professor ZK Matthews who were both instrumental in shaping the ideas of the early black resistance movement (Mandela, 2006: 22; Mandela, 1994: 52 – 53). One year shy of attaining his BA degree, Mandela was up for election on the Student Representative Council (SRC). In an act of protest, the majority of the student body decided to boycott the SRC

elections in protest of the diet and the lack of real power of the SRC. A few students, however, did vote and Mandela was elected to the SRC *in absentia*. Because the majority of the student body did not vote, the six elected to the SRC resigned. In a repeat vote, the same six students were once again elected to the SRC. While Mandela remained firm and resigned once again, the other five students accepted the outcome (Mandela, 2006: 22 – 23; Mandela, 1994: 60 – 61). Mandela's resolute stance in the SRC elections led to his expulsion from Fort Hare, which greatly displeased Chief Jongintaba. When Chief Jongintaba subsequently informed Mandela that he would soon be married to a girl of the chief's choosing, Mandela left for Johannesburg (Mandela, 2006: 24).

Mandela arrived in Johannesburg in April 1941 and found work as night watchman at a labour compound of Crown Mines where he firsthand witnessed the system of labour repression. Soon thereafter, Mandela found himself in need of another position and through a new acquaintance, Walter Sisulu, gained employment as articled clerk at the law firm of Witkin, Sidelsky and Eidelman. Mandela went on to complete his undergraduate degree in 1942 through a correspondence course at the University of South Africa (Mandela, 2006: 31).

At his law firm, Mandela came into contact with Gaur Radebe, clerk, interpreter and messenger, who initiated Mandela into the liberation struggle and the role of the ANC. With Radebe, Mandela began attending ANC meetings and became impressed with the success of the 1943 Alexandra bus boycott. Mandela credits this event and the influence of Radebe as the defining moment that motivated him to leave the role of observer behind to become a participant on the political scene (Mandela, 2006: 34; Mandela, 1994: 100). After his successful completion of his BA degree, Mandela decided to enrol for an LLB degree at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits). At Wits, Mandela came into contact with white liberalism, but also racial bigotry. Mandela's years at Wits exposed him to future fellow struggle heroes, such as Ismail Meer from the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), Joe Slovo, Ruth First and Bram Fischer from the SACP (Mandela, 2006: 34). While Mandela ultimately did not obtain his degree, the years he spent at Wits were invaluable in shaping his political thought.

Political prisoners productively used their prison years on Robben Island to study and acquire multiple degrees, but also to learn from one another about the different organisations and paths of the liberation struggle. Robben Island became colloquially known as 'the University'

where Mandela ‘taught’ a course on political economy to his fellow inmates and propounded socialism as the highest form of human economic evolution (Mandela, 1994: 557). Instead of allowing Robben Island to become a prison of body and mind, for Mandela (and other political inmates), it became a place of life-long education and intellectual enrichment (Mandela, 1994: 490, 585).

1.1.2 The role of culture

The Xhosa tribe has a strong oral history where oral poetry, folktales and wisdom-lore have traditionally been and still are integral to daily life. The oral tradition is dynamic and many elements have been amended or dropped in order to adapt to new social circumstances, while still retaining ‘an identifiable character which is based on the tradition in the past’ (Kaschula, 2002: 24). Oral poetry played a crucial role in the struggle for independence in South Africa and oral practitioners were severely marginalised when they dared to criticise any aspect of the regime. In recent history, the tradition has also moved into the contemporary political arena, where important political figures, trade unions, and political organisations are praised in the very same way in which tribal chiefs are (Kaschula, 2002: 3). The oral tradition shows remarkable coherence with the Western rhetorical tradition. In all cases, the speech or rhetorical act is considered inseparable from its social context and orators from these traditions must all contend with the concept of the audience.

The oral poetry of the Xhosa nation traditionally functioned to praise, criticise or mediate, while education has also become part of the contemporary tradition (Kaschula, 2002: 24 – 25). As a member of the royal household and counsellor to the ruler of the tribe by birthright, Nelson Mandela was brought up in this oral tradition and the political persona he became was formed in and by the orality inherited from his ancestors. Mandela’s upbringing was proudly traditional, but his education was quintessentially British. During his life, Mandela professed himself to be an ardent supporter of the British with a great appreciation for the British culture and institutions, particularly the British parliamentary system (Mandela, 1994: 57, 60). Mandela denounced the insidious nature of British imperialism, but remained appreciative of the notion of the English gentleman:

While I abhorred the notion of British imperialism, I never rejected the trappings of British style and manners (Mandela, 1994: 360).

In his iconic statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case at the Rivonia Trail, Mandela once again reiterated his regard for the British political system:

I have great respect for British political institutions, and for the country's system of justice. I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world, and the independence and impartiality of its judiciary never fail to arouse my admiration.

The American Congress, that country's doctrine of separation of powers, as well as the independence of its judiciary, arouses in me similar sentiments.

I have been influenced in my thinking by both West and East. All this has led me to feel that in my search for a political formula, I should be absolutely impartial and objective. I should tie myself to no particular system of society other than of socialism. I must leave myself free to borrow the best from the West and from the East (Mandela, 1964: 15).

1.1.3 Career

Mandela followed two distinct career paths, i.e. the law and politics. His political career began in earnest in 1943 after the successful Alexandra bus boycott when he joined with Anton Lembede, AP Mda, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, among others, in the belief that the ANC had become the domain of a privileged and docile African elite and called for the establishment of a youth league to revitalise the organisation and encourage mass action (Mandela, 1994: 112). The then president of the ANC, Dr AB Xuma, was not overly enthusiastic about the Youth League or the idea of mass mobilisation (Mandela, 2006: 39). Mandela and colleagues forged ahead and with ANC approval established the ANCYL in 1944 in Johannesburg with Lembede as the first president, while Mandela served on the executive committee. The Youth League supported a much more radicalised form of African nationalism than the ANC and, at the time, Mandela was staunchly nationalist and anti-communist. The 1946 mineworker strike and the campaign of passive resistance organised by the Natal Indian Congress in the same year, however, crystallised in Mandela a vision of a multi-racial struggle (Mandela, 2006: 40).

Although Mandela had made friends with communists such as JB Marks, who were also ANC members, he remained distrustful of communists and viewed them as a threat to the activities of the Youth League. After the death of Lembede, Mandela became secretary of the Youth League and was elected to the Transvaal national executive of the ANC in 1947. The 1948 election victory of the NP galvanised the Youth League to develop a programme for mass mobilisation. At the 1949 ANC conference, Dr AB Xuma, opposing the Youth League's Programme of Action, was deposed and replaced by Dr JS Moroka, while youth leaders became part of the national executive (Mandela, 2006: 40 – 41). Mandela was nominated to the National Executive of the ANC in 1950 (Mandela, 1994: 135). The Youth League, especially Mandela, was initially wary of cooperation with other organisations, but the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act underscored the necessity of united action. Mandela was instrumental in the coordination of the stay-at-home campaign in 1950. The increasing repression by the NP government made continued cooperation among struggle organisations a practical necessity. In fact, by the time Mandela became president of the Youth League in 1951 (Mandela, 1994: 141), he had relaxed his staunch opposition to communism:

I found myself strongly drawn to the idea of a classless society which, to my mind, was similar to traditional African culture where life was shared and communal...In my reading of Marxist works, I found a great deal of information that bore on the types of problems that face a practical politician (Mandela, 1994: 138).

After his philosophical sea-change, Mandela became the primary driver behind black resistance during the 1950s (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 332). In 1952, the ANC and their struggle partners launched another considerable passive resistance campaign, which became known as the Defiance Campaign with Mandela as 'chief volunteer' (Mandela, 2006: 48). Mandela missed the ANC conference that year due to banning orders and at the conference, Chief Albert Luthuli replaced Dr JS Moroka as president of the ANC, a move supported by Mandela (Mandela, 2006: 49).

Mandela had begun to recognise the need for a broad-based alliance to drive black resistance and changed his mind about cooperation with Indians and communists (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 332). His political involvement intensified during the 1950s. He was charged with

developing an operational strategy for the ANC in the event of proscription; he was involved in mobilising resistance against the ‘black spot’ removals, for example, the razing of Sophiatown; and he remained connected with the tribal leadership in rural Transkei. Mandela was also the driving force behind the abandonment of the resistance policy of non-violence in favour of armed resistance and was instrumental in the establishment of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), the military wing of the ANC. Although he advocated armed resistance, he favoured sabotage and was convinced that the black population was not yet equipped for a more direct approach such as guerrilla warfare or terrorism. It is during the emergence of MK in the early 1960s that Mandela’s authority and renown eclipsed that of the president-general of the ANC, Chief Luthuli, who was subject to successive banning orders in Natal during the period. Chief Luthuli was wary of armed resistance and feared the long-term damage that might be wrought to the multi-racialism of the ANC (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 332, 337).

In 1947, Mandela completed his three year articles at the firm of Witkin, Sidelsky and Eidelman (Mandela, 1994: 122). By the end of 1952, Mandela had qualified as an attorney, gained valuable court experience at the firm of HM Basner and started a law practice in partnership with Oliver Tambo (Mandela, 2006: 53; Mandela, 1994: 171). As partners in the sole African law firm in South Africa, Mandela and Tambo were immediately immersed in work. Many of their cases were derived from the increasing entrenchment of statutory apartheid. It was during this time that Mandela built a reputation as trial attorney. In spite of his successes as an attorney, Mandela was cognisant of his status as ‘a black man in a white man’s court’ and experienced instances of professional incivility (Mandela, 2006: 54). With their growing workload, Mandela and Tambo also prospered financially, but struggled to juggle their legal careers, political ambitions and home life (Mandela, 2006: 54).

The Rivonia Trial in 1964 cemented Mandela’s reputation as leader of the liberation struggle when he acknowledged in his statement from the dock at the start of the defence trial:

I am the First Accused (Mandela, 1964: 1).

His statement from the dock received worldwide attention and became the *de facto* policy document expressing the ideals of liberal African nationalism and the ANC (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 339). Arguably, Mandela’s greatest contribution as leader was yet to come when he initiated ‘talks about talks’ with the NP government in 1985. In spite of 27 years in

prison, Mandela acted with valiant moral authority to pave the way for formal negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and continued to wrest concessions from the beleaguered NP government of De Klerk until a final agreement was reached. Upon his release from prison, Mandela had to contend with rumours that he in fact capitulated to the NP government (Mandela, 1994: 684 – 687). During the negotiating years, 1990 – 1994, Mandela had to draw on his moral authority multiple times to calm tensions, especially after the assassination on 10 April 1993 of Chris Hani, leader of the SACP, by right-wing extremists (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 405). The country was poised on the edge of a knife and in the furore following Hani's murder, Mandela urged for calm and managed to temper the response of the black population, diverting possible open revolution and a racial civil war. His momentous public rhetoric in this regard is considered to be his first presidential act, even though it preceded the 1994 elections and his actual inauguration.

He began to publicly assume the role of reconciler and mediator, roles that he successfully perpetuated into his presidency after 1994 in his Government of National Unity (GNU) (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 400, 411). Mandela became the master of the symbolic grand gesture and in this vein made his erstwhile enemy, De Klerk, a vice-president in the GNU, visited the widow of Dr Verwoerd (considered to be the architect of apartheid) in the Afrikaner enclave, Orania, and famously donned a Springbok rugby jersey to celebrate South Africa's 1995 World Cup victory (Daniel, 2006: 27).

Mandela's single presidential term further solidified his iconic status, but it is his post-presidential philanthropic activities through his involvement in the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund (NMCF), the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF) and the Mandela Rhodes Foundation (MRF) that has entrenched his iconicity (Daniel, 2006: 31 – 50). Daniel (2006: 36 – 51) has identified a core set of post-presidential roles that Mandela has fulfilled: the activist for children's rights and the struggle against HIV/AIDS; the continental peacemaker illustrated by his involvement in the Burundi peace process; the global conscience that reminds the world of the remaining unequal North-South relationship; the philanthropist through his 46664 campaign and the Rural Schools Development Programme; and finally as promoter of scholarship, leadership and excellence through the Rhodes Scholarships of the MRF.

1.1.4 Ethos

In classical rhetoric, a rhetor's background informs his or her ethos or credibility, as pointed out in Rybacki and Rybacki (1991: 28). For Aristotle (1991: 37 – 38), a rhetor's character or ethos is a powerful means of persuasion. In contemporary South Africa, Nelson Mandela has an immense store of ethos born from his struggle credentials, his imprisonment and his willingness to reconcile with his former enemies subsequent to his release from prison (Sheckels, 2001: 85 – 86). His single presidential term of five years on a continent associated with neo-patrimonialism and the assumption that, in postcolonial Africa, heads of state do not willingly leave office (Melber & Southall, 2006: xv – xvi) has further added to his ethos. While his ethos is currently immense, the situation during the liberation struggle was far more complex given the diversity of rhetorical audiences involved such as those sympathetic to the ideals of the liberation struggle and those who were hostile to his message such as the apartheid state and its supporters.

Mandela's ethos is associated with his style of leadership, which he himself has described to be that of a shepherd leading from behind (Harris, 2007). Lieberfeld (2003: 230) mentions Mandela's visionary leadership and immaculate timing of his pre-negotiation initiatives. Before any of his colleagues, Mandela had a firm belief in the necessity and possibility of negotiation. Mandela's ethos was further shaped by his charismatic presence, gentlemanly sense of humour (Kathrada, 2007), highly evolved interpersonal capabilities and comfort in the public sphere (Lieberfeld, 2003: 230). After his release from prison, he emerged as both partisan and peacemaker. As partisan, he reiterated his loyalty to the ANC, but as peacemaker managed to engage with former enemies without enmity (Lieberfeld, 2003: 237). After 1990, Mandela became national mediator and reconciler-in-chief, and the symbol of racial reconciliation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 400).

Kathrada (2007) describes Mandela as a courageous, prescient, patient, thoughtful and tolerant leader, but above all a compassionate, caring person. Mandela's sense of his own responsibility as leader also contributed to his ethos, as illustrated by his commitment to meticulous preparation. According to Kathrada (2007), 'Everything he says and does is considered. Every move is considered.'

Mandela corroborates Kathrada's view of his thoughtfulness as follows:

From the moment the results were in and it was apparent that the ANC was to form the government, I saw my mission as one of preaching reconciliation, of binding the wounds of the country, of engendering trust and confidence
(Mandela, 1994: 744 – 745).

At this point in time, Mandela's ethos is considered beyond measure and contestation.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

To date, Nelson Mandela's speeches have been the subject of several academic studies from various perspectives, for instance, from evaluative standpoints, including neo-Aristotelian rhetorical criticism (Müller, 1995) and stylistic critique (Sheckels, 2001); from the perspective of public diplomacy (Wolf Jr. & Rosen, 2005), as well as negotiation and peacemaking (Lieberfeld, 2003), although none have applied the rhetorical imprint.

This study aims to analyse all publicly available speeches quantitatively and to analyse qualitatively selected publicly available speeches of Nelson Mandela from 1950 to 2004 in order to construct his rhetorical imprint, which is constituted by the distinctive conceptual rhetorical features present in his rhetoric at manifest and latent levels.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

The primary research question is formulated as follows: What is the rhetorical imprint as reflected by the quantitative analysis of all publicly available speeches and the qualitative analysis of selected publicly available speeches of Nelson Mandela from 1950 to 2004 as constituted by the distinctive conceptual rhetorical features present in the rhetoric at manifest and latent levels?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The primary objective of this study, as stated above, is to construct the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela as reflected in his speeches from the applicable time frame. In order to meet the primary objective, the following secondary objectives must be met:

- To explain the conceptual framework informing the research (Chapter 2);
- To clarify the overarching rhetorical situation (Chapter 3);
- To discuss and apply the mixed methods research methodology comprising quantitative data analysis of sub-corpora, as well as qualitative data analysis of seminal speeches to reveal the fundamental rhetorical characteristics and conceptual rhetorical motifs and subordinate themes (Chapter 4 & 5);
- To interpret the findings and construct the rhetorical imprint (Chapter 6).

1.5 RATIONALE AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This study is the most comprehensive one on the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela, as it includes in the quantitative analysis all the publicly available speeches in the corpus during the time frame, i.e. 805 speeches. The study is important because of the status of Nelson Mandela at this point in history and the tremendous ethos (Sheckels, 2001: 85, 86) that he built as struggle hero, reconciliatory president, inspirational philanthropist and AIDS activist in local and world politics. Due to the span of a half-century, this thesis views his rhetoric through the lens of the public/political persona in the contexts of changing roles and times.

The study is built on the following assumptions:

- That Nelson Mandela has tremendous ethos or credibility (Mandela's ethos is discussed in detail in Section 1.1.4 of the current chapter);
- That, because of his immense level of ethos, his rhetoric is assumed to be persuasive and meaningful;
- That he is a successful rhetor due to his ethos;

- That Mandela is the rhetor of the corpus of speeches, indicating that he is source of both the speech and content, and orator of the speech irrespective of external influences;
- That the speeches represent Nelson Mandela's intention and voice as public/political persona;
- That his conceptual rhetorical characteristics are products of his personal construal system and are accessible via analysis of his speeches at manifest and latent levels;
- That the analytical techniques chosen allow access to the unique conceptual rhetorical characteristics manifested in the corpus of speeches;
- That the unique conceptual rhetorical characteristics uncovered through analysis can be synthesised into a unified rhetorical imprint.

The rationale for the study is exemplified in the conceptual framework for the research provided in Chapter 2, while the assumptions of the research are embodied in the philosophical principles underlying its conceptualisation. The research does not follow the conventional path of rhetorical criticism; therefore, the persuasiveness of Mandela's rhetoric will not be evaluated, nor will any judgement be passed on politics or Nelson Mandela in his intimate roles. The study is positioned in a pragmatic constructivist frame based on the mutual enrichment and points of convergence between constructivism as ontology informed by embodied realism and pragmatism as epistemology.

The conceptual framework provides a useful approach to study the phenomenon of the rhetorical imprint and accepts that it is indeed possible to access the conceptual rhetorical features indicative of the rhetorical imprint by analysing the corpus of speeches within a mixed methods design. The assumption is that a pluralistic treatment of the data will provide a more comprehensive description of the phenomenon. The fundamental philosophical belief associated with a constructivist and pragmatic understanding of reality, influenced by embodied realism, is a nuanced perception of reality where the existence of an external and independent reality is provisional and pluralism is accepted. The objective discovery of a supposed external reality is impossible and experience of reality is embodied. Knowledge regarding any reality is consequently mediated through individual human beings and socio-culturally negotiated. The current approach to investigate the phenomenon is constructively acknowledged as one of many possible approaches that may prove equally useful.

In the study at hand, Mandela's rhetorical imprint is derived from an in-depth and extensive engagement at the manifest and latent levels of his rhetoric. The rhetorical imprint is therefore born of the conceptual categories of his mind and accessed through the metaphorical concepts in his rhetoric. (The metaphorical concepts are discussed in Section 4.3.8 in Chapter 4.) Since the rhetoric of a person is linked to the conceptual categories of the mind that produces it, the notion of ghostwriting requires consideration, i.e. the possible roles played by invisible speechwriters in the production of Nelson Mandela's speeches.

In public communication, especially that of the modern 'rhetorical presidency', the practice of speechwriting is accepted, even desirable (Gelderman, 1995: 69). Ghostwriting, or anonymous speechwriting, initially seemed problematic, as a researcher has little control over the possible influences of anonymous speechwriters that may have contributed to the speeches. The phenomenon of ghostwriting evoked a lively debate regarding ethics in the twentieth century, with Bormann (1961: 262; 1960: 284) denouncing it as misleading and unethical, while Haiman (1984: 301) found ghostwriting to demean speech communication. Gelderman (1995: 72), however, explains that speechmaking is part of the inherent demands of a modern speech event, specifically a presidency. Indeed, modern presidential speechmaking serves a distinctly public function to influence public opinion and promote a public agenda. A modern presidency is institutional rather than individual and the president is the voice and figurehead of that office (Gelderman, 1995: 69).

The criticism lodged against the practice of ghostwriting or invisible speechwriters is considered to be a parochial form of neo-Aristotelian rhetorical criticism. Aristotle deemed *ethos* to arise during the speech act. The critics of ghostwriting used Aristotle's classic conception of *ethos* to render all speechwriting unethical as 'the speaker deceives the audience when words spoken to fortify *ethos* are the words of another' (Riley & Brown, 1996: 712). In the current research, the impact and meaning of the rhetoric is viewed as intimately interwoven with the rhetor from the first moment of delivery. The delivery of the rhetorical act is essentially part and parcel of the invention process, which may include a rhetor and speechwriters. The corpus at hand is deemed to be the authentic rhetorical invention of Nelson Mandela as public/political persona. In this regard, the public/political persona 'Nelson Mandela' is understood to represent a symbolic entity and not the private man, although considerable overlap is to be expected.

As a child of the Xhosa oral tradition and product of the legal profession, Mandela is known to have prepared his own speeches during the struggle period as well as for speaking off-the-cuff (Harris, 2007; Kathrada, 2007). In fact, his response to the speech of the then President De Klerk at the end of the first day at CODESA I is an exemplar of such an event:

When he finished, the meeting was meant to be over. But the room had grown very quiet; instead of allowing the session to end, I walked to the podium. I could not let his remarks go unchallenged (Mandela, 1994: 715).

In Mandela's case, ghostwriting seems to have become a function of the modern political campaign and rhetorical presidency. But even when Mandela is known to have used input from speechwriters, he would remain involved in the process and retain veto power (Harris, 2007). Kathrada (2007) stressed Mandela's sense of responsibility for his role and the thoughtfulness with which he exercised his office as struggle hero, negotiator and president. From interviews with speechwriters (Harris, 2007), friends (Kathrada, 2007) and colleagues (Dangor, 2007), speechwriters apparently became more involved with Mandela's rhetoric as his life progressed. At the current advanced stage in Mandela's life, with his immense ethos, there is no reason why available resources such as speechwriters should not be utilised. The speechwriters interviewed during the course of the study are individuals who became involved with speechwriting for Mandela on a contextual and ad hoc basis during the last 20 years and they emphasised their commitment to crystallising Mandela's tone, in other words, to always be mindful to write in the 'voice' of Mandela (Harris, 2007).

1.6 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The research is based on a constructivist perception of the human mind and particularly how messages are produced in the human communication process as clarified in Chapter 2. The entire study is shaped within a constructivist conceptual framework with input from embodied realism and pragmatism as epistemology and approach to inquiry, which influenced all subsequent aspects of the research process such as the meta-theoretical position of the research approach, the conversant research methodology, techniques of data collection and analysis, interpretation of the analysed data and the final synthesis of Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint.

Within a constructivist mindset, the belief is that any concept such as the rhetorical imprint is entrenched in a worldview, which provides a foundation of assumptions and concepts (Delia, 1977). The pragmatic constructivism conceptualised in this research calls for a pluralistic engagement with the rhetoric, in other words, the application of an appropriate mixed methods research design as is explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.2. The manifest level of the rhetoric is accessed by means of a computerised quantitative content analysis with the aid of *Oxford WordSmith Tools 5.0*. This will complement the engagement with the latent level of the rhetoric where qualitative data analysis is performed based on the metaphorical concepts of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) (explained in Section 4.3.8 in Chapter 4) in order to provide a thick description of and insight into the rhetoric of Mandela, relying on inductive interpretation and reasoning. The results from the data analysis provide the detail for constructing the rhetorical imprint.

1.7 DELIMITING THE STUDY

Nelson Mandela as rhetor, while assuming a public/political persona, is the major delimiting factor in this study. Because of the genre of public rhetoric, the research does not include interpersonal dialogue, debates with other public/political figures, his written articles or his interpersonal communication skills.

The research is both descriptive and explorative and does not attempt any evaluative or causal explanations regarding the rhetoric and is, consequently, not explanatory. The descriptive and explorative nature of the conceptual framework that is applied calls for a more reiterative and flexible research procedure where no *a priori* categories are posited prior to research and where research objectives are therefore posited instead of hypotheses. The treatment of rhetoric in this particular manner is unusual as no completely similar attempts could be found in existing literature.

1.8 CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Rhetoric is often defined as the art of speaking persuasively (De Wet, 2010: 27; De Wet & Rensburg, 1989: 17 – 18). Aristotle (1991: 36) defined rhetoric as the ability to discover the available means of persuasion in any given case, whereas Olmsted (2006: 1) defines it as a ‘practical art of deliberation and judgement.’ Vickers (1988: 1), on the other hand, views

rhetoric as the ‘systematisation of natural eloquence.’ The definitions of rhetoric are varied, but within the current study, rhetoric is considered a practical art of systematic deliberation and judgement within the public forum. Rhetoric and rhetorical communication are used synonymously.

In the Athenian democracy of the classical period, **rhetor** denoted a person pursuing a leadership role by utilising rhetoric as tool to garner honour and influence (Cohen, 2006: 25). ‘Rhetor’ therefore designates both the production and the delivery of the rhetorical message. A distinction is drawn between rhetor and orator, where orator solely denotes the person who verbalises the rhetorical message, but did not necessarily have a hand in the creation of the message. In the current research, Nelson Mandela is considered the rhetor of the speeches, because of his symbolic ownership of the messages. **Rhetorician** is considered a broader concept than rhetor and understood to denote a practitioner, philosopher and teacher of rhetoric. In Chapter 2, the term ‘rhetorician’ is used to refer to eminent proponents and philosophers of rhetoric, among others, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian.

The **rhetorical act** refers to a single rhetorical message (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 2 – 8), which could be one comment, a dialogue, an advertisement or a song. In the current study, a rhetorical act denotes a single speech by Nelson Mandela. Rhetorical acts are understood to be deliberate and pragmatic towards addressing a particular identified problem by means of persuasive communication. Rhetorical acts are directed towards a particular rhetorical audience within a particular social context and therefore subject to cultural influences. Rhetorical activity, furthermore, utilises symbolic language to constitute the rhetorical message following a particular logic and structure of argumentation and, because of the use of symbolic language, rhetorical acts are also inventive. The persuasive imperative of rhetorical communication introduces ethical considerations regarding the purpose of the rhetoric, whether good or bad.

Speech refers to a single instance of public rhetorical communication. It implies one rhetorical act and one unified rhetorical situation.

The **rhetorical situation** is a construct including aspects such as the rhetorical audience, constraints on the rhetor and the exigency (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 23). Rybacki and Rybacki (1991: 26) define the rhetorical audience as ‘those who can be influenced by the

persuasive message and bring about change.’ In the particular rhetorical situation governing the rhetorical communication of Nelson Mandela, the above-mentioned concept of the rhetorical audience is considered to be limited, requiring elaboration in terms of the exigency for the current research. The exigency for Nelson Mandela’s rhetoric during the struggle era was the social injustice in the socio-political context and the need to resist the strictures of the apartheid system. His rhetorical communication was therefore meant to persuade those who could be persuaded, but also to symbolically resist those of the apartheid regime who held fast to the apartheid ideology. The symbolic resistance of his rhetoric materialised as activities of the struggle, for instance, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 (Mandela, 1994: 142) and the strategy of sabotage of MK during the early 1960s (Mandela, 1994: 326, 336). The constraints on the rhetor refer to those aspects that exerted influence in some way on the rhetorical act (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 27) and, for the purpose of the current research, comprise the contextual constraints such as the restrictions of statutory apartheid including the censorship associated with banning orders. The exigency represents the controlling need that prevailed and necessitated the use of persuasive communication and is derived from the twentieth-century South African socio-political context.

Rhetorical analysis indicates the analytical examination of rhetoric as exemplar of human communication transactions (Bryant, 1973: 25). In this case, the rhetorical analysis aims to construct the **rhetorical imprint** of Nelson Mandela. Rhetorical analysis is aimed at understanding and lacks an impetus towards judgment and as such differs from rhetorical criticism, which denotes evaluation according to standards of comparison (De Wet & Rensburg, 1989: 18). Rhetorical criticism, traditionally associated with the classical rhetoric of Aristotle and Quintilian, stagnated in the twentieth century, as the practice failed to move beyond evaluative methodology (Jasinski, 2001: 249 – 271). The second half of the twentieth century saw a decline in the evaluative dimension, with an increasing focus on the epistemological or analytical function. This new direction in rhetorical studies revived the meta-critical dimension of rhetorical criticism, meaning that analysis should lead to new theories regarding human rhetorical behaviour. During the last decades of the twentieth century and beyond, rhetorical analysis has become conceptually oriented rather than method-driven (Jasinski, 2001).

Persona is Latin meaning ‘mask’ and was used by Carl Gustav Jung (Louw & Edwards, 1998: 556; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 112; Jung, 1953: 147, 155 – 156) to describe the

public self of a person. In general parlance, persona is understood to be a specific facet of personality as revealed by a person or perceived by others (Branford, 1994: 711). In terms of the present study, persona is coupled with public and political, which refines the specific facet of personality. Nelson Mandela as public/political persona is considered to be the source of the rhetoric. The interest is therefore not in the private man, but the public/political persona he reflected and was perceived to be by others (the various rhetorical audiences) when creating and uttering the rhetorical communication.

Conceptual rhetorical features (or characteristics) are a general term referring to recurring verbal manifestations in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric at the manifest and latent levels of the rhetoric. The conceptual rhetorical features that are discovered in Mandela's rhetoric are called **themes**, while the rhetorical features that extend through multiple speeches are called **motifs**.

1.9 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 1 provides the orientation to the study and begins by introducing Nelson Mandela with reference to his upbringing and education, the role of culture, his career and ethos. The various aspects informing the research topic follow, such as the problem statement, research question, objectives of the research, rationale and assumptions, a brief exposition of the theoretical and methodological approach, delimitations of the study and the clarification of key concepts.

Chapter 2 sheds light on the conceptual framework of the study delineating the field of human communication, while highlighting the rhetorical approach to human communication, and the philosophical principles on which the research is founded. The ontology for human communication is derived from constructivism and the personal constructs of George Kelly, a constructivist notion of human reason, and an embodied reality. The notion of the rhetorical imprint is also conceptualised from a constructivist perspective. The way in which the constructivist ontology relates to the pragmatist epistemology informing the choice of research methodology is also explored. The research is finally positioned within the conceptual framework of pragmatic constructivism.

Chapter 3 is an exposition of the rhetorical situation, which includes the broad exigency of Nelson Mandela's rhetoric, namely the twentieth-century socio-political context of South Africa, specific contextual constraints on the rhetor and the rhetorical audience.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology chosen to conduct the research, based on a mixed methods research design. The mixed methods research design is explained, the dimensions of research are explored, and the purpose and type of research, a typology of data, a consideration of the legitimacy of the data, the population, units of analysis and sampling, as well as a clarification of the conceptual dimension of meaning, are set out. Chapter 4 further includes a detailed discussion of the data collection and data-processing procedures and the techniques of data analysis, which include the mixed analytic methods of computerised quantitative content analysis through *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*, as well as qualitative data analysis in the form of thick description by means of metaphorical concepts. The chapter concludes with a discussion regarding the notion of research quality.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the data, as well as the convergence of data, as discussed in Chapter 4. Here, the results of the analysis and data convergence, as well as the matter of research quality, are reported and discussed.

In **Chapter 6**, the rhetorical imprint is synthesised as inferred from the converged data and results explicated in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 concludes with critical self-reflection, which subsumes the limitations and significance of the research as well as recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER

2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the conceptual framework which directed the focus of the research. The study of Mandela's rhetorical imprint falls within the oldest domain of human communication, namely rhetoric. The conceptual framework of the study is initially clarified by examining human communication as a broad field of inquiry, followed by an exposition of the rhetorical tradition. The study is further conceptualised in terms of the meta-theory of pragmatic constructivism and its foundational philosophical principles. Meta-theory is a meta-discipline, which represents philosophies of science or worldviews guiding the application of science (Creswell, 2007: 15) and encompasses philosophical assumptions regarding ontology and epistemology, which determine axiology and methodology (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006: 4 – 7; Babbie, 2001: 18; Frey, Botan & Kreps, 2000: 18 – 20; Neuman, 2000: 63 – 88; Littlejohn, 1999: 31 – 35).

Ontology refers to the philosophy concerned with the nature of being or the nature of 'what' humans seek to know, while epistemology is the philosophy concerned with understanding how knowledge is produced, in other words the 'how' of knowing (Littlejohn, 1999: 31 – 32; Watzlawick, 1984a: 10). Axiology refers to the type of philosophy that is concerned with examining values, especially the values a researcher brings to a study and which are implied in the consideration of ontology and epistemology (Creswell, 2007: 18; Littlejohn, 1999: 34).

The research at hand is based on a constructivist understanding of human communication and the rhetorical imprint. Constructivist ontology is fundamentally derived from the personal construct theory of George Kelly and a constructivist understanding of human reason and reality, while the nature in which reality is experienced is further elaborated by the embodied realism of Lakoff and Johnson. The epistemology underlying the approach to this research, i.e. pragmatism, will be explained as a natural consequence of constructivist ontology and

follows John Dewey's theory of inquiry. As a result, the interface between constructivism and pragmatism will be explicated in order to place the study in its proper meta-theoretical position, namely that of pragmatic constructivism.

2.2 HUMAN COMMUNICATION AS A FIELD OF STUDY

Theories regarding the human communication process are collected in a diverse and technical body of work, which is open to various and often overlapping organisational schemes. The current research project adheres to the intellectual arrangement of Powers's model (1995: 191) because of its comprehensive and integrated character, in spite of the current tendency in the field to internally organise the human communication field according to Craig's meta-model (2007: 125; 1999: 126), which is based on the seven primary traditions in communication theory, i.e. rhetoric, semiotics, phenomenology, cybernetics, socio-psychology, socio-cultural theory and critical theory (Craig, 2007: 136 – 137; Craig, 1999: 133 – 149).

The meta-model of Craig (1999: 129) emphasises the practical and perspectivist nature of the communication discipline. Here, communication is a constitutive process where communication theory represents the different practical implications of constructing communication along different lines (Craig, 2007: 128). Russill (Bergman, 2008: 136; Craig, 2007: 126) criticised Craig's constitutive meta-model of communication theory because of its omission of what is perceived to be another tradition in communication studies, namely pragmatism. From the start, Craig (2007: 125 – 127) accepted communication as incommensurable and came to accept the universe as pluralistic and, consequently, incorporated pragmatism as a possible communication studies tradition into his constitutive meta-model. Craig (2007: 133) understood pragmatism to represent a theoretical and methodological standpoint, as well as offering a means to theorise about communication. The constitutive meta-model for communication is meta-theoretically relevant to the current research in spite of the preference for Powers's model, because it programmatically illustrates the suitability of pragmatism as a methodological approach to investigating the phenomena of human communication, including the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela.

Powers (1995: 191) constructed a sophisticated model for the study of human communication, which is organised as a four-tiered structure representing different research

and academic concerns. The tiers are hierarchically structured, indicating that the upper tiers are based on the lower tiers and illustrating that the interaction between the various tiers is reciprocal. The theories of the lower tiers inform those of the higher tiers, while the theories of the upper tiers add to the understanding of those of the lower tiers. The use of the terms ‘higher’ or ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ by no means suggests that theories of the higher tiers are more important than those of the lower tiers. Rather, it suggests that the theories of the higher tiers expand on the content and scope of the lower tiers (Powers, 1995: 191 – 193).

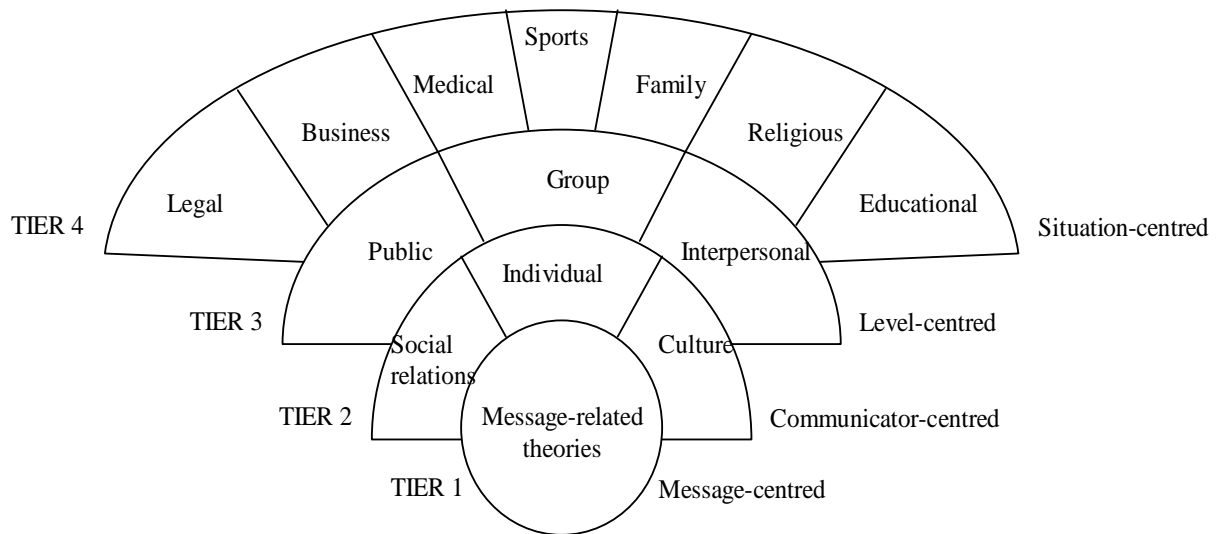


Figure 1: The four-tiered structure of human communication (Powers, 1995: 193)

The primary organising principle in Powers’s model is the complex and abstract concept of message. Powers (1995: 192) describes ‘message’ as the theoretical centre of the communication discipline. The model has at its core, in its first tier, the intrinsic character of message with regard to form and content. Tier 1 encompasses theories concerning the general nature of message structure and the varying kinds of content that can be transmitted (Powers, 1995: 193). The message-related theories of Tier 1 include theories regarding signs and symbols, such as semiotics; theories regarding language as linguistic code, such as phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax; and the nature of different interrelated discourse structures including, *inter alia*, rhetoric as persuasive humanistic art (Backman, 1987: viii). Aristotle’s (1991: 48; 1932: 17 – 18; Vickers, 1988: 53) differentiation between three types or genres of persuasive messages, i.e. deliberative, judicial and epideictic, is an exemplar of the treatment of rhetorical communication as interrelated discourse.

The focus of the current research can be described at the most fundamental level, Tier 1, with regard to message type as the complex, multi-unit rhetorical genre of the public speech. The public speech is identified by De Wet (2010: 3, 6) as one of the genres where persuasion is known to occur in service of democracy. King (1989: 2 – 3) identified the reaching of consensus as one of the four basic beliefs intrinsic to communication and considered all communication to be aimed at persuasion, although to differing degrees (Mezo, 1997: 164). De Wet (2010: 3 – 4), however, differs in his perception of persuasion and understands it as a specific process of communication. While communication is aimed at creating mutual understanding, persuasion is aimed at achieving the formation, maintenance or transformation of the conduct or mind-set of an individual or group(s) towards the intended outcome of the message. The study of persuasive communication is otherwise known as ‘rhetoric’ and dates from antiquity (De Wet, 2010: 27).

The second tier of Powers’s model (1995: 201) is directly based on Tier 1 and pertains to theories and research of human communication related to the communicator or sender. The communicator is, however, not viewed in isolation, but in relation to Tier 1, the message. Tier 2, being communicator-centred, focuses on the communicator as individual sender or receiver – the communicator in terms of the social relationships created and sustained through the reciprocal transmission of messages – and the cultural community constituted through communication to which a communicator belongs. The various foci in Tier 2 already suggest that a decision regarding the particular approach to the concept of message in Tier 1 has been made. The choice of a particular kind of message as represented in Tier 1 is therefore a prerequisite for conducting communication research of any kind.

Tier 2 is also concerned with the individual encoding and sending of messages (Powers, 1995: 201). Littlejohn (1999: 107 – 108) refers to theories regarding encoding and sending as process theories of communication, which are concerned with the manner in which individuals produce messages in the communication process. In rhetorical terms, encoding and sending corresponds to *inventio* (Vickers, 1988: 62), one of the five traditional canons of classical rhetoric (De Wet, 2010: 33; Kennedy, 1992: 12; Kennedy, 1980: 185). *Inventio* or invention refers to the art of discovering subject material and arguments (Olmsted, 2006: 2; Vickers, 1988: 63) and corresponds to the notion of conceptualising argument.

An individual inhabits multiple roles in the human communication process and is at once both creator/sender and receiver of messages (Powers, 1995: 201). This implies that, while communication is recognised as a complicated and reciprocal process, the individual is an active participant in the process and not simply a passive entity reacting to stimuli. The individual participates in the communication process by interpreting incoming messages and stimuli with regard to the individual's conceptual structures (Powers, 1995: 203), incorporating them into the psyche, and then constructing reciprocal messages derived from the 'conceptual categories of the mind' (Littlejohn, 1999: 109). In the body of process theories, the communication process is both social and individual; therefore, simultaneously based on interaction and the individual production and transmission of messages.

Tier 2 further considers messages in relation to social interaction and culture. The social interaction focus of Tier 2 deals with relational messages that are produced in the transactional communication process and therefore cannot be accounted for through individual characteristics. This includes theories regarding the structure of interaction, mutual effects of interactional participants, the nature of social relationships, the social goals in relation to other interactional participants and the social institutions which contextualise interaction. While these foci have bearing on the individual in the communication process, they do not form part of the specific research focus of the current study, but rather inform the contextual discussion (Powers, 1995: 203 – 207).

Tier 3 is level-centred (Powers, 1995: 208) where various levels are used to discriminate between communication phenomena. The various levels offered by Powers (1995: 209) are public, small group and interpersonal levels of communication. De Wet (2010: 2 – 3), however, conceives of different forms of communication that function at corresponding levels, i.e. intrapersonal, dyadic, small-group, public, mass and vertical communication.

Tier 4 is concerned with the constant social situations governing the study of the theories at Tiers 1, 2 and 3. These may include message-related activity in health care, education, familial settings, religious settings, organisations, sport, politics, etc. (Powers, 1995: 210).

The aim of this research can be defined by describing the particular messages chosen for study, a Tier 1 concern. Nelson Mandela's public speeches from 1950 to 2004 were chosen because of the persona of the communicator and the forum for which they were produced,

namely the public forum, a Tier 3 concern. The type of message chosen, the public speech, is therefore constrained by the Tier 2 considerations regarding the communicator, Nelson Mandela, the Tier 3 level of communication, i.e. public communication, and the social situation of Tier 4, the socio-political sphere informing the rhetorical situation. Consequently, the specific focus of the research is the messages specific to the individual communicator, Nelson Mandela, as public persona, comprising both the subconscious conceptual processes and the rhetorical behaviour produced by the cognitive processes (Powers, 1995: 199). Nelson Mandela's rhetorical behaviour is his speeches, as informed by the rhetorical situation, while the rhetorical imprint as manifested in his speeches represents his conceptual processes – *inventio*. The message, in this case, is viewed from the vantage point of the individual mind and its mental processes and deals with the conceptual rhetorical features of Nelson Mandela's messages specifically relating to the conceptual categories that produced them.

Message production, involving the interpretation of incoming messages and stimuli and constructing messages through the cognitive system, is understood to occur at different hierarchical levels in the mind: manifest and latent. In line with the notion of communication as process, communication is deemed social and interactive, as well as individual. While message production is subject to the individual's cognitive system, it is not an isolated and disjunctive occurrence, but forms part of the encompassing process of human communication. The message is therefore conceptually produced and publicly shared with regard to the phenomenon of speechmaking, but it is elicited by messages and stimuli received by the rhetor, interpreted and incorporated into the individual cognitive structure which, in turn, is the foundation of individual message production. The focus on the individual conceptual processes in the construction of rhetorical messages is indicative of a constructivist worldview or ontology, which is explored in Section 2.4 of the current chapter.

While the phenomenon under study is the message production of one particular rhetor, it is approached from a very particular tradition of human communication. Rhetoric, one of the primary theoretical traditions in Craig's meta-model (Craig, 2007: 136 – 137; Craig, 1999: 133 – 149) and the oldest tradition in the study of human communication, provides the conceptual foundation for the research.

2.3 THE RHETORICAL APPROACH TO COMMUNICATION

The rhetorical approach to communication is closely associated with the classical tradition of rhetoric of which Aristotle is the most eminent proponent (Larson, 1998: 9; Benoit, 1990: 251; King, 1989: 6). Classical rhetoric revolved around the five canons of invention (*inventio*), disposition (*dispositio*), delivery (*pronuntiatio*), style (*elocutio*) and memory (*memoria*) (De Wet, 2010: 33). The meta-discursive practice of particular relevance to the current study is the rhetorical tradition or the practical art of deliberation and judgement (Olmsted, 2006: 1; Craig, 1999: 135), specifically the classical canon of invention (*inventio*). The rhetorical philosophy of Aristotle is especially relevant, firstly, due to the commanding influence of Aristotle on twentieth-century and contemporary rhetoric and, secondly, due to the centrality of the invention process in his work.

In the classical world (approximately 800 BCE – 500 CE), rhetoric played a vital role in civil society (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 105) both as an art form and as a social instrument to foster consensus and cooperation (Ehninger, 1992: 16). Classical rhetoric or speechmaking was conceptualised for an aural and oral environment and developed from the oral tradition of the Greek society of the ancient world (approximately 4000 BCE – 600 BCE) (Cohen, 2006: 24; Schaeffer, 2006: 279; Thomas & Webb, 1994: 4; Ehninger, 1992: 17). It was based both on the art of persuasion and practical application and was thus conceptualised as having aesthetic and pragmatic dimensions (Ehninger, 1992: 17).

The classical period of rhetoric evolved from the pre-Socratic philosophers, including the oral poets, Homer, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Corax and Tisias – the latter two being credited with the first handbooks on the art of effective public speaking (Gagarin, 1994: 46; Thomas & Webb, 1994: 4; Kennedy, 1991a: 8) – to the Sophists, including Protagoras, Isocrates, Gorgias and Aspasia, and the philosophical rhetoricians, most notably Plato and Aristotle (Halliwell, 1994: 222 – 223; Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 105 – 113). According to Ehninger (1992: 16), classical rhetoric developed from a dualist exigency. The rise of democracy in the Greek and Sicilian city-states precipitated a dependence on rhetoric in the contexts of the popular assembly, courts of law, legislative assemblies, religious and spiritual institutions and ceremonies paying tribute to heroes.

Public communication has been integral to the effective functioning of democratic governments since antiquity, where citizens often had to present their own cases in court proceedings (Cohen, 2006: 22 – 24; Larson, 1998: 9; Becker, 1989: 29 – 30). The subsequent significance of public speechmaking in classical democratic societies introduced a pedagogic imperative to the skill of speechmaking to enable citizens to participate in the democratic processes of their society and it formed part of the classical university curriculum. As a result, rhetoric was (and still is) considered to be a highly important skill closely entwined with the ideas of democracy and citizenship (Stark, 1986: 135). In fact, De Wet (2010: 6) considers persuasive communication to be vital to the efficient and sustainable functioning of modern democracy.

The pre-Socratic philosophers were concerned with cosmological notions and the nature of human existence. Parmenides advocated a unified and holistic reality with reason being the only means of knowing the truth. Heraclitus differed from Parmenides by positing reality as dialectic, with the polar opposites in constant flux, and a belief in the sensory experience of human beings. Reality is therefore subject to constant change and therein finds its stability (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 106). The rhetoric developed by Corax and Tisias (McCroskey, 1972: 4 – 5) in Syracuse after the establishment of a democratic government was more pragmatic than philosophical and was meant to help ordinary citizens apply to the courts in order to recover property appropriated under the tyranny of Thrasybulus. Although no extant treatise remains, Corax and Tisias purportedly devised a means of structuring the rhetorical message.

In classical Greece, the Sophists referred to the phenomenon of roving teachers of rhetoric (which flourished around 500 BCE) who taught rhetoric at a fee. One of the most prominent Sophists was Protagoras of Abdara, who is also considered to be the father of debate since he emphasised the ability to argue both sides of the same proposition. Protagoras also founded the system of grammar to categorise the syntax of the speech act, one of the major contributions of classical rhetoric (Ehninger, 1992: 17; McCroskey, 1972: 5). Gorgias of Leontini imported the notion of engaging the emotions in rhetoric, while Isocrates, arguably the most significant Sophist (Kennedy, 1991a: 11), developed rhetorical style for written and spoken rhetoric. Isocrates is considered to be one of the most pre-eminent instructors of rhetoric and had pertinent ideas about the suitable education required to become a superlative orator. He was a noted logographer (*logographoi*) or speechwriter, though he never

distinguished himself as an orator. He emphasised a holistic education, where the orator should be educated in the liberal arts but who should, moreover, be an ethical person, noble of spirit and intellect (Worthington, 1994: 245 – 246; Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 107; Benoit, 1990: 251 – 252, 257 – 258).

The millennia-old tradition of rhetoric has been the locus of many polemical quarrels, but none more sustained and heated than Plato's quarrel with the rhetoric of the Sophists (De Wet, 2010: 27; Schaeffer, 2006: 280; Kennedy, 1991b: viii; Gagarin, 1994: 46 – 48; De Wet, 1991: 21; Fauconnier, 1981: 20). Plato, a student of Socrates, presumably followed in the philosophical tradition of Parmenides (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 106) and became concerned with the moral degeneration of Athenian society and, especially, with the role of oratory in the state of affairs (Vickers, 1988: 84). Vickers (1988: 84 – 86) attributes much of the vitriol of Plato's attack to professional jealousy of Sophistic success and resentment towards the Athenian democracy which put Socrates to death for sacrilege in 399 BCE. His resentment of the Athenian democracy was based on the failure of the state to produce good citizens, i.e. to compel the base desires of the masses towards worthwhile courses and he clearly also extended the resentment to its sustaining medium, rhetoric and oratory. Furthermore, Plato mistrusted Sophistic rhetoric because he viewed it as mere aesthetic exhibitionism rather than as a search for truth (Gagarin, 1994: 48; Thomas & Webb, 1994: 18).

Plato's critique of rhetoric is evident from the dialogues, *Gorgias*, *Protagoras* and *Phaedrus* (Gaonkar, 2004: 5). Plato based much of his criticism of Sophistic rhetoric on the nomadic nature of the Sophists themselves. He posited that the nomadic nature of Sophistic rhetoric and its focus on aesthetics render it rootless and therefore amoral, ontologically false and devoid of substance. Rhetoric is, furthermore, according to Plato (Gaonkar, 2004: *ibid*), epistemologically impoverished because it is concerned with dictating ordinary opinion rather than true knowledge and is obsessed with the acquisition of power.

As mentioned previously, Aristotle is considered to be the most important philosophical rhetorician of classical Greece (Schaeffer, 2006: 280 – 281; Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 113; McCroskey, 1972: 6) and his tremendous influence extended to the study of rhetoric during the twentieth century and beyond. Aristotle, who ostensibly followed in the philosophical tradition of Heraclitus (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 106), rehabilitated

rhetoric after Plato's attacks on the practice (Vickers, 1988: 162). Aristotle (Halliwell, 1994: 234 – 236; Kennedy, 1991a: 4 – 5) studied at Plato's Academy in Athens in 367 BCE and, although they shared a similar preference for logical argument, Aristotle's philosophy ultimately diverged from Platonic philosophy. Aristotle adopted a more pragmatic stance towards philosophy and rejected the notion of a universal, absolute reality. Aristotle was interested in a wide variety of subjects such as philosophy, logic, political theory, ethics, and even biology. As part of his proclivity towards pragmatism, and being exposed to political rhetoric in Athens, Aristotle became interested in rhetoric as a practical facet of society. Aristotle did not agree with the principles of Sophistic rhetoric, especially the lack of logical argument, and sources suggest that he composed parts of his major work, *Rhetoric*, in response to the teachings of Isocrates (Kennedy, 1991a: 4 – 5, 11).

Aristotle viewed rhetoric as both practical art and method founded on theory and practice (Kennedy, 1991a: 12 – 13). The rhetorical tradition as a form of human communication has been studied from the vantage points of humanistic and social scientific scholarship. Both these types of scholarship have vied for scholarly superiority over the other since the inception of the rhetorical tradition. The study of human communication and its interface between the critical-analytical scholarship of the humanities and the social scientific scholarship of the social sciences created confusion in the study of rhetoric, especially with the plethora of terms describing the field: rhetoric, rhetorical tradition, rhetorical study, rhetorical practice, rhetorical analysis, rhetorical criticism, rhetorical scholarship, rhetorical communication, rhetorical theory, elocution, oratory, speech communication or simply speech, public communication, oral communication, political communication, communication theory, public speaking, public utterance and public address (Littlejohn, 1999: 17, 208, 225; Becker, 1989: 27 – 41; Nebergall & Wenzel, 1976: viii – xiv; McCroskey, 1972: xiii, 3 – 17, 19 – 23).

Littlejohn (1999: 12) provided a means of making sense of the confusion by stating that 'rhetorical' denotes human communication as studied from a humanistic point of view, while 'communication' indicates a social scientific approach to human communication inquiry. This view echoes that of Becker (1989: 27 – 41) who clearly distinguishes between communication research as a form of social scientific research and rhetorical scholarship as a humanistic mode of thinking. Although not all terms can be understood by means of this explanation, it serves as a point of departure for understanding the evolution and divergence

of the rhetorical and communication science traditions. Becker (1989: 27 – 41) already noted during the late 1980s that the social sciences and humanities were moving towards an amalgam and that a blend of approaches from both traditions provides the most innovative exploration of rhetoric. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘rhetoric’ is used to denote the type of human communication that is characterised as the public speech communication of Nelson Mandela, but without designating a particular humanistic or social scientific perspective. The choice of one term to denote the phenomenon under study is included primarily for the sake of clarity and convenience.

According to Becker (1989: 27 – 30), Aristotle exemplified this wavering between the humanistic and social scientific approaches in his seminal work, *Rhetoric*, comprising the three books on the philosophy of rhetoric and invention (*Book I*), the means to persuade the audience (*Book II*) and delivery, style and arrangement (*Book III*) (Aristotle, 1991: 25, 119, 126; Kennedy, 1991a: 12 – 22; McCroskey, 1972: 6 – 9; Corbett, 1954: xiv – xv).

In *Book I*, Aristotle discusses rhetoric as counterpart to dialectic (Aristotle, 1991: 28; Kennedy, 1991a: 14; McCroskey, 1972: 6 – 7). He bemoans the lack of logical argument in extant treatises of rhetoric and positions rhetoric as a useful means of defending oneself in debate (Aristotle, 1991: 27; Kennedy, 1991a: 14). Aristotle introduced the notion of rhetoric as the ability to find and employ ‘the available means of persuasion’ in any given case (Aristotle, 1991: 36; Aristotle, 1954: 24; Aristotle, 1932: 7). As available means of persuasion, Aristotle introduces artistic and non-artistic proofs. The artistic proofs include the concepts of *ethos*, proofs which reside in the character of the rhetor; *pathos*, proofs that elicit emotion in the audience; and *logoi*, proofs inherent to arguments (Aristotle, 1991: 37 – 39; Kennedy, 1991c: 317; Aristotle, 1932: 8 – 9).

In rhetoric, a logical argument can either be an induction or deduction, where the former is called a rhetorical paradigm and the latter an enthymeme, which is a rhetorical syllogism or ‘probable argument in a form suited to a popular audience’ and which is aimed at generating agreement of the intellect, will and emotion of a person (Aristotle, 1991: 40; Kennedy, 1991a: 14; Nichols, 1987: 677). The enthymeme refers to a premise followed by a supplementary justification, which transcends the logic of reason to rouse the passions of the audience as well. Enthymemes are therefore constructed from fact and probable truths (common opinions) shared by the audience, as well as from the feelings that would motivate

action and the character of the rhetor (Kennedy, 1991c: 315; Nichols, 1987: 677; Aristotle, 1932: 156).

In *Book I*, Aristotle further differentiated between three different types of rhetoric, namely deliberative, judicial and epideictic, and discussed the topics or *topoi* (Aristotle, 1991: 47) useful for each type, as well as propositions useful in all types of rhetoric. *Topoi* are metaphorical mental common-places from which the available means of persuasion (*topoi*) may be sought. *Topoi* may be universal and therefore applicable to general arguments regarding any subject matter or relating specifically to particular subjects, which are called *idia*. The majority of enthymemes originate from the specific *topoi* or *idia* (Aristotle, 1991: 45 – 47; Kennedy, 1991c: 320; Aristotle, 1932: 15 – 16).

Book II is a further explication of the artistic proofs of rhetoric, namely *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. Aristotle began *Book II* by discussing the character of the rhetor and audience emotion (Aristotle, 1991: 119 – 120; Aristotle, 1932: 91 – 92). According to Aristotle, persuasion is influenced by the way in which the rhetor is portrayed through his rhetoric and therefore must come across as a person of character, intelligence and goodwill disposed towards the audience to be rhetorically successful. In *Book II*, Aristotle discussed the emotions a rhetor could attempt to stir in the audience in order to achieve the desired judgment. Aristotle arranged the emotions in loose dialectical pairs where one emotion represents the positive and the other the negative, for instance, anger vis-à-vis calmness. Other pairs include friendliness/enmity, fear/confidence, shame/shamelessness, kindness/unkindness, pity/indignation (or envy) and envy/emulation (Aristotle, 1991: 122 – 162).

Book II continues with an exposition of the topics of *ethos* with particular reference to the specific rhetoric of the audience and suggestions for the rhetor in adapting to the character of the audience (Aristotle, 1991: 163 – 172). The remainder of *Book II* clarifies propositions useful in all three types of rhetoric (Aristotle, 1991: 172), as well as the common modes of persuasion, such as paradigm or example and the enthymeme (Aristotle, 1991: 178 – 179). Aristotle found the enthymeme more suitable as rhetorical proof than the paradigm, but advised the rhetor to use paradigms as demonstration when enthymemes are unavailable. In cases where enthymemes are accessible, paradigms may be employed as ‘witnesses’ or supplementary proofs to the enthymemes. *Book II* offers a comprehensive treatment of

different aspects of the enthymeme as preferred syllogism in rhetoric (Aristotle, 1991: 172 – 215).

Books I and II of Rhetoric focus on the invention process of rhetoric and give credence to the notion that invention is the focal point of Aristotle's rhetorical philosophy (McCroskey, 1972: 7). For Becker (1989: 30), *Book I* is thus an exposition of rhetoric as 'the humanistic art of persuasion,' while in *Book II*, he posits that the study of the audience reception of rhetoric is a scientific endeavour (Becker, 1989: 30). Whereas the classical definition of rhetoric is 'the art of speaking and writing well and convincingly', Fauconnier (1981: 19) reiterates that the 'art' of classical rhetoric encompassed more than the skills required for functional proficiency. Classical rhetoric also relied on the science of argumentation. In this context, rhetoric is therefore both art and science and informed by both human and social sciences.

Book III is concerned with style and arrangement (Kennedy, 1991a: 19), which is close to the Sophistic treatment of rhetoric. Although Aristotle criticised Sophistic rhetoric for being absorbed with stylistic aspects, it became the subject of *Book III* (McCroskey, 1972: 7), an apparent contradiction. His treatment of style, however, was different from that of the Sophists and he posited four qualities of effective style, i.e. clarity, appropriateness, the distinctive use of suitable metaphors and correct grammar (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 112). Although Aristotle considered delivery to be a vulgar subject, he briefly discussed the concept of delivery for pragmatic reasons (Aristotle, 1991: 218).

Despite being the most influential text on rhetoric in history, *Rhetoric* has certain polemical issues. The inherent contradictions between different parts of the text suggest that it was written over a lengthy time span and only at a later stage was it incorporated into a single text (Kennedy, 1991d: 299).

Greek classical rhetoric and the study thereof spread after Macedon defeated the Greeks in 338 BCE, which led to the ascendancy of Roman rhetoric, the next milestone in the evolution of rhetoric (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 113). Aristotle's influence on this period is unknown due to the fact that many of his works were lost over the centuries (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 113). One of the earliest known Latin works on rhetoric, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Caius Herennium* (Vickers, 1988: 26), is a practical text on rhetoric and,

although the five classical canons of rhetoric are discussed, relatively little attention is paid to invention and disposition (McCroskey, 1972: 9).

The Roman rhetorician most relevant to the current study is Cicero because of his focus on the process of invention (De Wet, 2010: 34; De Wet, 1991: 29 – 30). In his work, *De Inventione*, Cicero emphasised invention as the most important and challenging task of the rhetor, especially regarding judicial rhetoric (Vickers, 1988: 26). Cicero was inspired by the Sophist, Isocrates, and extolled the virtues of eloquence and language and lamented the division of rhetoric and philosophy, wisdom and eloquence (McKeon, 1971: 5). Cicero conceived of invention to represent a process of discovery of valid arguments and proof in support of a cause. Invention therefore requires the rhetor to analyse the matter under argumentation with regard to available places of argument (Vickers, 1988: 62). Rhetorical treatises during this period were invariably practical and informative manuals regarding the techniques of rhetoric and were narrow in comparison to the philosophical works of classical Greece (Vickers, 1988: 28 – 29).

After the Roman Period, rhetoric reached a hiatus during the Middle Ages (McCroskey, 1972: 11), an era known as the age of transition (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 116). Rhetoric developed in conjunction with the rise of democracy in the Classical Period, because it was needed to sustain the democratic system (Vickers, 1988: 214). The Middle Ages, with the advent and entrenchment of feudalism, was a difficult time for rhetoric because, in the absence of democracy and the curtailing of individual rights, rhetoric lost its primary exigency. Rhetoric became fragmented and evolved according to the new demands of medieval society. During the Middle Ages, significant rhetorical texts from the Classical Period disappeared or survived only in fragmentary form. The study of rhetoric suffered due to the increasing emphasis on grammar, logic and theology that assumed the role played by rhetoric in classical Greece and was incorporated into these curricula as a subsidiary aspect. The major rhetoricians of the Middle Ages were more language practitioners than philosophers and mostly translated or paraphrased previous works (Vickers, 1988: 220; McCrosky, 1972: 11).

The rhetorical revival emerged with the Renaissance, although rhetoric initially remained restricted to matters of style and delivery, while logic included invention and disposition (McCroskey, 1972: 12). The main impetus of the Renaissance was to recapture the essence

and philosophy of classical society, which led to the discovery of classical manuscripts, as well as rhetoric. It is during the effulgence of the Italian Renaissance that the fragmented elements of rhetoric were finally reintegrated into the classical form (Vickers, 1988: 254). The Age of Enlightenment followed the European Renaissance from the seventeenth century onwards. This period represents the advent of the scientific age and logical theory as the primary influence on rhetoric (Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 116).

The ancient rhetoricians employed analytic criticism as a research method to evaluate and theorise about the usefulness of a text in explaining ‘the ways symbols come into being and shape the meanings and behaviours of people’ (Becker, 1989: 27, 35) and called it rhetorical criticism. Criticism as analytical technique was used both to discover and explore the circumstances that cause certain discourses to develop, as well as to ascertain which discourses are more effective or persuasive than others in particular contexts (Becker, 1989: 35). Rhetorical criticism has a strong evaluative imperative because the critic is meant to identify and indicate the failings and strong points of texts in order to make a final value judgement regarding the relative efficacy (persuasiveness) of that text in a particular context (Frey, Botan & Kreps, 2000: 227). However, Marie Hochmuth Nichols came to reconceptualise rhetorical criticism as analytic rather than evaluative (Jasinski, 2001: 250). In the present study, the term ‘rhetorical analysis’ refers to the exposition of rhetoric, while ‘rhetorical criticism’ denotes the examination and evaluation of rhetoric (Black, 1978: 5).

Rhetorical criticism in the twentieth century was profoundly influenced by Aristotle’s classical notion of rhetoric (Becker, 1989: 35). The neo-Aristotelian approach, while reinvigorating the study of rhetoric, was also responsible for its stagnation and decline. Black (1978: xvii) lamented the perfunctory application of Aristotle’s work on rhetoric that dominated the field for two millennia. As a result, rhetorical criticism became formulaic, producing ‘sterile’ and ‘mechanistic’ criticism (Black, 1978: xii). In his groundbreaking book, *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method*, first published in 1965, Edwin Black (1978: xvii) announced that rhetorical criticism lacks theoretical and methodological range and insight. His programmatic criticism is attributed to a general feeling of disgruntlement in the field at that time. Black’s criticism paved the way for more varied approaches to rhetorical criticism, although neo-Aristotelian criticism remains popular and provides continuing grounds for discontent in the field of rhetoric.

Method and critical practice are closely intertwined and, when Black's censure of the neo-Aristotelian approach to rhetorical criticism caused rhetorical critics to reject it as a method along with general Aristotelian theory, it left a void in the study of rhetoric in the twentieth century (Jasinski, 2001: 251; Hariman, 1994: 329). The apparent gap created by the neo-Aristotelian approach provided space for a number of novel approaches to rhetorical criticism to develop, for instance, the symbolic convergence theory of Ernest Bornmann, and Walter R Fisher's use of the narrative as approach to rhetorical criticism (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 86, 106). Kenneth Burke conceived of the dramatisic approach to rhetorical criticism where rhetoric is viewed as symbolic and society is understood to be a social drama filled with conflict. Burke (Simons, 2006: 163; Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 68 – 70, 76) developed the dramatisic pentad consisting of act, scene, agent, agency and purpose for the analysis of rhetorical acts. Jasinski (2001: 252) noted the tendency in rhetorical criticism during the latter half of the twentieth century to move away from method-driven criticism towards conceptually based criticism. Conceptually based criticism is organised around a central concept or cluster of concepts and follows a process of abduction as opposed to the deductive process of method-driven analysis, where abduction implies a reiterative process between governing concepts and text and careful reading and rigorous conceptual reflection.

Hariman (1994: 329) was adamant that Aristotelian rhetorical theory should be reclaimed for rhetorical studies. Aristotle's rhetorical theory consequently warrants revisiting, not as method, but as theoretical point of departure for programmatically engaging with rhetoric. Aristotle systematised the search for understanding the nature of being and the acquisition of knowledge through systematic observation, although he did not differentiate metaphysically between ontology and epistemology since he saw no division between the mind and world. Aristotle understood the mind to grasp things directly in the world, where ideas are formed by the world, a notion expressed as direct realism (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 95, 373 – 374). According to Aristotle, the world follows an intrinsic logical structure (*logos*) and he understood ontological principles (that which holds true for the world) to hold true for the human mind as well. The acquisition of knowledge is thus possible because the human mind can directly comprehend the physical structures of things in the world through sense impressions. Perception means that the shape of something is integrated into the mind of the perceiver (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 375 – 376).

Contemporary Western science and philosophy are essentially conceptualised in Aristotelian terms to characterise the essence of being. Instead of using Aristotle's work as formulaic technique to evaluate rhetoric, the study of Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint, in accordance with Aristotelian metaphysics, is conceptualised in terms of the quest for being and an appropriate means to probe it, thereby necessitating the contemplation of ontology and epistemology (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 388), since these two concepts provide a means of reflecting about the world, its phenomena and the nature of existence.

The analysis of rhetoric in the current study is conceptually structured around the concept of the rhetorical imprint viewed from a pragmatic constructivist standpoint, which encompasses constructivism as ontology as discussed in Sections 2.4 and 2.5, and pragmatism as epistemology as explained in Section 2.6.

2.4 CONSTRUCTIVIST ONTOLOGY

While human communication, more specifically rhetoric, is programmatically utilised as a broad field of study in the current research, it also describes the general class of phenomenon under study. The nature of the communicative phenomenon, in general, as well as the rhetorical imprint, in particular, is conceived of in constructivist terms, which, in turn, implies a pragmatic approach to research.

Cushman (1995) and Kovačić (1995) describe constructivism as a watershed research tradition in human communication theory and conceptualise the influence of constructivism on the study of human communication on three abstract levels, i.e. the philosophical perspective, analogous to ontology; the theoretical perspective, related to epistemology; and the practical perspective, allied with methodology. At the philosophical level, human communication processes are investigated from a vantage point based on assumptions regarding the nature of the communication process, which corresponds to the philosophical principle of ontology. Epting and Paris (2006: 22) define philosophic constructivism as a process of understanding based on inference, rather than on direct expression.

The ontology of human communication in this study echoes a philosophical constructivism robustly fortified by classical or American pragmatism and embodied realism. Delia and colleagues based their idea of perceptual categories of the mind (Littlejohn, 1999: 112 – 115;

Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 82 – 85) on the personal constructs of George Kelly and applied them to human communication. The personal construal system of Kelly, as adopted by Delia, is elaborated upon in the current study by drawing on the pragmatism of Dewey that describes the intrinsic nature of the personal construal system and the embodied realism of Lakoff and Johnson (1999; 1980) to explain the nature of experience. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 16 – 44) conceived of an embodied mind and contended that the conceptual system which drives thought processes and action in the individual has a fundamental metaphorical character.

The embodied realism of Lakoff and Johnson and their notion of metaphorical concepts within personal construal systems are considered to be remarkably constructivist and pragmatic. Their theory emphasises the importance of physical experience in understanding. Reason is not autonomous, but embodied (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 16). The objectivist notion of ‘truth’ is subjugated to understanding as dictated by personal construal systems where meaning is a function of ‘constructive coherence’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 226 – 227). The mutual enrichment of constructivism and pragmatism (in this study pragmatism denotes classical or American pragmatism and its heir, neo-pragmatism) is a natural outcome of the myriad points of convergence between the theories of constructivism and pragmatism (Neubert, 2001: 1), especially as regards the pragmatism of John Dewey (Baert, 2005: 126; Neubert, 2001: 3 – 4). Dewey also conceived of an embodied mind and his work is considered by Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 97) to be a philosophical antecedent of embodied realism.

Ontology foregrounds the role of the individual in message production, but not to the point of psychologism, where the individual is the sole source of meaning (Russill, 2003: 4). The individual human mind of Nelson Mandela as a source of meaning may be the focal point; however, in full recognition of the dialogical process of meaning construction between the individual and society. On the one hand, human behaviour and interaction are understood in terms of universal features transcending specific cases while, on the other hand, human behaviour and interaction are considered to be meaningful only in context, rendering any attempt at generalising immaterial. These opposing positions are reconciled in the notion that human thought and action are influenced by both commonalities transcending individual cases and contextual aspects.

The literature offers multiple terms used to describe the interpretive structures of the mind as envisioned in a constructivist frame; for instance, the personal construal system, scheme of constructs, conceptual representations or categories of the mind as derived from the personal construct theory of Kelly (Kelly, 1955); the conceptual system of Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3); the perceptual frame (Delia, 1974: 119) and the interpretive scheme (Littlejohn, 1999: 113), to list the more salient terms. All these terms, however, refer to the same notion, namely that the human mind is structured according to individual conceptual categories which both govern knowledge and facilitate understanding through embodied experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 4).

In order to contemplate ontology as the nature of being, it is necessary to consider two interrelated aspects, i.e. the nature of human reason and the nature of reality, which also includes the nature of experience. The nature of human reason requires concerted thought regarding the concept of person and the nature of mind and thought. As the current study follows a constructivist understanding of the mind and human communication derived at its most basic level from the personal construct theory of George Kelly, reason is viewed as a function of the personal construal system, which is found to be intrinsically pragmatic, embodied and derived from the cognitive unconscious.

2.4.1 The nature of human reason

2.4.1.1 The personal constructs of George Kelly

The notion of the personal construal system is derived from the personal construct theory of George Kelly (1969a: 11), a psychologist who posited the cognitive theory of the person based on a constructivist understanding of the mind (Epting & Paris, 2006: 22). Kelly's theory is based on a fundamental postulate, namely that a person's processes are psychologically channelled based on the anticipation and control of events and the drive to understand his or her 'phenomenological world' and function therein (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 525; Katz, 1984: 315). Here, the person is viewed in totality. In other words, the mind is not separated from an independent body as is the case with the Cartesian dualistic notion of the person (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 5). The person is furthermore recognised as an entity capable of taking action, which is why constructivism is also considered by Infante, Rancer and Womack (1993: 78) to be part of the human action perspective group of theories.

Kelly's personal construct theory is conceptualised in three philosophical premises, namely constructive alternativism, pragmatism and phenomenology (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 527; Kelly, 1955: 3, 17). Constructive alternativism (Epting & Paris, 2006: 30; Kelly, 1969b: 96; Kelly, 1955: 14 – 17) accepts fluid, alternative or plural constructions of reality. Kelly (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 528; Kelly, 1955: 17) drew on the logic of pragmatism to explain the basis on which certain constructs are chosen or discarded. Constructs are not judged based on the correspondence theory to reality, but rather on John Dewey's pragmatism where they are evaluated based on their value or worth. Worth is determined by how useful they are, in other words, whether constructs anticipate future events profitably (Kelly, 1955: 44, 129). Should an individual's construal system and scheme of constructs be unproductive, the individual would adapt or replace it. Kelly therefore conceived of a constructivism that is inherently pragmatic.

Phenomenology further informed Kelly's third philosophical premise. Although Kelly (1955, 6) acknowledged the existence of an objective reality, he thought it impossible for humans to know the objective reality directly. Humans can gain access to reality only through their subjective knowledge and experience, in other words, their constructions of reality (Kelly, 1955: 8, 40). It is through the scheme of constructs that a person comes to grasp experience, since interpretation is expressed as the interplay of constructs and experience (Brockriede, 1985: 155, 157). A person's scheme of constructs will allow the knowing of certain aspects of reality, instead of others (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 528 – 529; Kelly, 1955: 11, 43).

The personal construal system as conceptualised by Kelly consists of a large number of interacting personal constructs of diverse formal and functional characteristics. The constructs and their characteristics account for individual behaviour, differences and common ground between people, as well as interpersonal interaction (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 538; Kelly, 1955: 55 – 56, 90 – 91). Constructs are dichotomous conceptual representations of facets of reality. A construct is therefore signified as a set of bipolar conceptions, such as good-bad (Kelly, 1955: 59 – 61, 106). Events are anticipated or predicted by placing experience in a 'perceptual frame' (Delia, 1974: 119) representing either one of the two opposing positions. Due to the dual nature of constructs, a construct can only be understood if both poles are known. Individual constructs can be unique as different individuals can understand the same word differently. It is critical to note that the polar opposites constituting one of the constructs of a single person, in this case Nelson Mandela, may not denote the

same construct in another person. For example, one person may use the term ‘bad’ in the construct good-bad, while another person might use ‘bad’ in the construct bad-boring, where ‘bad’ is the slang for interesting or exciting.

The personal construal system is a practical and dynamic system constructed by the individual with emphasis on the construction process (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 529 – 530). The phenomena that become the objects of focus for constructs are called elements (Katz, 1984: 315; Kelly, 1955: 57). The personal construal system drives the process of construction where an unknown element, whether a person, object or event, becomes associated with constructs that build towards an understanding of the particular element. When a construct is brought to bear on an element, the element is associated with one of the poles of the construct. The associative pole is the semblance pole, while the opposing pole is contrastive. Elements therefore become understood through a dualistic process of association, by aligning the element with a construct where one pole and element resemble one another with the opposing pole providing distinction (Katz, 1984: 315). Hypothetically speaking, Mandela may therefore have construed the apartheid regime (element) as oppressive (associative pole) and a denial of liberty (contrastive pole) for the South African black population in a possible construct of oppression-liberty (his actual construct may have been conceptualised differently). Here, the political system of apartheid as element is placed in the perceptual frame of oppression, while democracy is anticipated as the ideal political system that would ensure liberty.

According to Kelly (1955: 11 – 12, 108 – 109), constructs can also differ with regard to scope and context. The scope or context of a construct refers to the totality of applicable elements. Certain constructs are more comprehensive than others and can be applied to a wide variety of elements, while others are incidental and have a limited range of applications. A construct, such as good-bad, is comprehensive because of its broad scope of application as it could be applied to almost any number of elements, while a construct, such as endangered-thriving, would have a narrow application to elements, such as fauna or flora. A person only has a limited number of constructs, irrespective of the nature of the constructs, while each construct is also limited in its application to different areas of phenomena. As such, a person will never be able to successfully anticipate all events in life and will be caught off-guard by events that are not covered by the scope of applicability of the personal construal system. To fully comprehend an individual’s construal system requires in-depth engagement in identifying

poles, ascertaining how the construct is interrelated with other constructs, as well as contextualising the constructs in terms of that individual's behaviour (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 538 – 539).

A personal construal system can also be fragmentary, meaning that it may contain a number of subschemes of constructs that lead to logically irreconcilable predictions, although an individual would attempt to circumvent incompatible subschemes (Epting & Paris, 2006: 26; Kelly, 1955: 56, 83). A hypothetical white South African with conservative tendencies may protest against the policy of affirmative action because he or she has conceived of the black population as vindictive after the oppression of apartheid in terms of a construct vindictive-magnanimous. Given the historically peaceful transition, this individual may have come to conceive of Nelson Mandela as conciliatory in a construct conciliatory-bitter. Logically, these two constructs are irreconcilable because if all black South Africans are classified as vindictive, then the same should be true of Nelson Mandela who, in fact, is conceptualised as conciliatory. This individual may attempt to overcome the logical disagreement by elaborating and qualifying the personal construal system to further conceive of Mandela as an individual who is singular in terms of a construct singular-regular. Epting and Paris (2006: 31), however, point out that irreconcilable constructs can be maintained in a person's construal system for a particular purpose and that inconsistencies can even, in certain circumstances, be necessary to feed a person's creative talents.

Constructs have ordinal relationships with other constructs, rendering the personal construal system hierarchical (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 538; Infante, Rancer & Womack, 1993: 83; Katz, 1984: 315; Kelly, 1955: 9, 57). The scheme of constructs of a personal construal system consists of main and subordinate constructs, where a main or a higher-order construct is comprehensive and encompasses other constructs as fundamentals, which are called subordinate constructs. Should a main construct be drawn on in a particular situation, the subordinate constructs, which form part of the main construct, would also be immediately involved. An individual may, for example, use the male-female polar oppositions as a main construct in such a way that other constructs, such as intelligent-stupid, strong-weak, reticent-communicative, honest-deceptive and rational-emotional, are incorporated as subordinate constructs where male automatically denotes intelligent, strong, reticent, honest and rational, while female automatically implies stupid, weak, communicative, deceptive and emotional.

This type of process of inclusion forms part of what is called the constellatory construct (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 539; Kelly, 1955: 155 – 157).

Constructs can be idiosyncratic or shared by a homogenous group. Different individuals or groups can understand the same word differently and the polar opposites constituting one of the constructs of a single person may not denote the same construct in another person or group (Epting & Paris, 2006: 26). Constructs such as freedom fighter-terrorist and white-black were manifested quite differently in different population groups during apartheid South Africa. Whereas conservative white South Africans may have conceived of Mandela as a terrorist in the construct freedom fighter-terrorist, the opposite was most probably true for the black South African population. Today, Mandela may even be conceived of in terms of more unique constructs indicative of the contemporary celluloid-obsessed world, for instance, celebrity-nobody.

Kelly (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 532, 541 – 542; Kelly, 1955: 56 – 57) understood the individual to be a motivated being, constantly striving towards the goal of envisaging and organising reality and sustaining that pursuit towards the betterment of the personal construal system. As a person's construal system continually evolves and becomes more sophisticated, the person would acquire more articulate verbal constructs. An individual with a more sophisticated personal construal system, such as an adult, would therefore have more pliable and comprehensive constructs than those with less sophisticated personal construal systems, such as children (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 547). Individuals are considered to function optimally if they are able to anticipate effectively within the scope of their own reality. Their personal construal systems are developed to such an extent that they can anticipate most events they come across. When these individuals are, however, confronted by an unforeseen event, they would attempt to expand their personal construal systems and schemes of constructs (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 547 – 548; Kelly, 1955: 72). Nelson Mandela's personal construal system is therefore expected to have evolved during his political career to allow for the effective anticipation of the unexpected in the South African socio-political landscape.

The recognition that people are motivated beings is an important connection to a constructivist understanding of rhetorical communication. Rhetoric, especially instances of public speechmaking, is the product of the rhetor's intent and motivation to persuade an

audience or audiences to internalise certain information or adopt a particular position. Epting and Paris (2006: 22) view Kelly's (1955: 12) constructive understanding of the person to be future-oriented and intent on anticipating future events by continuously developing a dynamic scheme of constructs (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 526 – 527; Nicotera, 1995: 48 – 49). Von Glasersfeld (1984: 32) is in agreement with Kelly's notion of a person as a motivated being when he posits that human consciousness is goal-oriented and that all cognition functions within the experiential domain of consciousness.

2.4.1.2 *The origin of constructs*

In Kelly's construct theory, the individual is the source of his or her unique personal construal system and scheme of constructs. Katz (1984: 315 – 317) identified what he called the 'Origin Problem' in Kelly's personal construct theory and based it on a perceived inconsistency of internal logic regarding the origin of the constructs. While the process of elaboration explains the evolution of the construct system, Kelly, according to Katz (1984: 317 – 318), did not adequately account for the initial source of constructs after birth. Although Kelly did not specifically discuss the origin of constructs, his notion of pre-verbal constructs as precursors for more sophisticated constructs suggests an answer.

Katz (1984: 318) elaborated on the principle of pre-verbal constructs and postulated that, while individuals are not born with a functioning personal construal system with fully-fledged constructs, they are born with primitive constructs derived from humankind's biological legacy. The genesis of the personal construal system is consequently in the primitive constructs. The notion of the primitive construct represents an unconscious impetus towards the development of constructs (Hirschman, 2002: 319). Nelson Mandela, as is the case with all human beings, was therefore born with experiential potential catalysed in biology that became realised as primitive constructs akin to pre-existing mental categories as he explored and experienced the extant world (Hirschman, 2002: 316). Gradually, his physical experiences in the world became more coordinated and sophisticated as he developed from childhood to adulthood, giving rise to the development of constructs of mounting complexity. The nature of experience therefore further drives the evolution of primitive constructs into more sophisticated constructs. The nature of experience is discussed in more detail in conjunction with the nature of reality in Section 2.4.2.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 317), human physical embodiment on earth with its governing natural laws is a universal human condition: all human beings are born into the same natural world with similar bodies and similar basic human experiences, which are the result of evolution and natural selection. Shared human biology therefore endows human beings with a preliminary set of impersonal constructs at birth, which Katz (1984: 318) termed ‘primitive constructs’, signifying a ‘common psychic substrate’ in all human beings (Hirschman, 2002: 315). The primitive construct is therefore a ‘form without content’ – a template – on which individual human experiences are patterned and which conversely also shapes human experiences (Katz, 1984: 320). Therefore, while Nelson Mandela’s evolving constructs became a template onto which to pattern his life experiences, the constructs also structured his experiences.

One class of primitive constructs refer to what Jung called the archetypes. Jung (1928a: 118; 1928b: 279, 281) defined archetypes as ‘fundamental elements’ deeply rooted in the mind and also used the words ‘primordial’ and ‘prototypical’ to describe them. Hirschmann (2002: 316) define archetypes as templates or ‘symbolic vessels’ devoid of content, which find articulation in individual human experience and expression, but specifically pertain to idealised role constructs, for instance, feminine archetypes, such as the Great Goddess/Mother archetype (Rushing, 1989: 2), the Devil and the Wise Man (Katz, 1984: 320). Archetypes are primitive conceptual categories in the personal construal system that manifest when the individual is exposed to corresponding experiences. Similar to Kelly’s constructs, the archetypes are also conceptualised in terms of bipolar categories, where each archetypal category has a corresponding opposite or ‘shadow’ (Hirschman, 2002: 343).

Primitive constructs, such as archetypes, provide a ‘pattern of perception’ for the individual based on perceptual similitude and differentiation and, while it is a means of making sense of the world, it also essentially configures experience. In the broader cultural landscape, archetypes are culturally expressed as myths and can therefore have cultural-specific connotations (Hirschman, 2002: 316). Archetypes are innate to personal construal systems and will therefore never expire, but they are simultaneously mutable and will adapt to cultural and individual experience and grow into more complex and individualised personal constructs. Nelson Mandela’s personal construal system is similarly understood to contain archetypal content, but through his personal life experiences and exposure to specific cultures

(see Section 1.3 for information on Nelson Mandela's biographical background), the archetypal content has been altered and shaped in an idiosyncratic way.

Katz (1984: 318 – 319) refined his notion of primitive constructs by positing them as innate catalysts for the development of personal construal systems required by individuals to productively function in the world. The primitive constructs furthermore represent the products of the interaction between biology/ecology and the psychological/personal worlds. Although primitive constructs represent general human biological heritage and embodied experience, they are not rigid, universal mental categories, but allow individual and temporal variations and are essentially experientially mutable. The development or elaboration (Kelly preferred the latter term) of human cognition as collective representation of personal construal systems is a function of human evolution (Hirschman, 2002: 316). Once human cognition achieved metaphorical thought along the evolutionary continuum, primitive constructs, including the archetypes, became accessible to individuals and the foundations for the development of articulate personal constructs and discerning personal construal systems were laid (Hirschman, 2002: 317).

2.4.1.3 *The cognitive unconscious and its structure*

The personal construal system and its antecedent primitive constructs are derived from the cognitive unconscious. The majority of cognitive processes belong to the domain of the unconscious, which means that people are largely unaware of their cognitive processes and structures that cannot be directly accessed and explored (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 32). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) found the personal construal system with concepts that govern every aspect of a person's daily life to have a deep-seated and complex metaphorical character. The concepts and constructs in the personal construal system are metaphorical in nature as well, meaning that metaphorical concepts structure everyday thought and action. The elaboration of the personal constructs into a coherent personal construal system is therefore also considered to be metaphorical. The embodied experiences that feed the personal construal system thus become metaphorically structured in the mind. In this way, Nelson Mandela's personal construal system is understood to be metaphorically configured. Lakoff and Johnson's metaphorical concepts (1980: 3 – 6) are used to elaborate the notion of the personal constructs where the composite conceptions are still dualistic, but the nature of the association is considered to be metaphorical.

The conventional definition of the personal construct as dichotomous conceptual representations of facets of reality already implies an intrinsic metaphorical structuring when considered in terms of the definition of ‘metaphorical’ in the work of Lakoff and Johnson. Here, ‘metaphorical’ means ‘one kind of thing is understood and experienced in terms of another’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 5). ‘Metaphorical’ therefore subsumes the traditional understanding of construct as a composite of diametric opposites, but provides space for understanding more sophisticated associations between the composite conceptions of the personal constructs. In the current study, the notion of metaphor referred to is not metaphor as figure of speech, but metaphor as a constituent aspect and mechanism of thought and elaboration process of the personal construal system (Radman, 1995: 1 – 2).

2.4.1.4 *The personal construal system and human communication*

Delia and colleagues applied a constructivist vision of human reason inspired by Kelly’s personal construct theory to human communication. The personal construal system is a tool through which individual communication behaviour is channelled (Nicotera, 1995: 55). Interpersonal impressions therefore depend on the personal construal systems introduced to the interpersonal context (Delia, 1974: 119). The personal construal system plays an important role in the perception of other people, as well as in message production because it is the foundation informing choices regarding communication.

Impressions of others are based on experience, which encompass observation, as well as self-admissions from the other person. The two sets of impressions can be compared to either validate or invalidate one another altering the construction the perceiver constituted of the other (Delia, 1974: 120). Impressions are constructions, which means that observations do not directly represent the intrinsic characteristics of the other’s motivation, intentions and mind-set, but that the observations and experiences of another is constructed within the perceiver’s cognitive structures in the personal construal system on which the perceiver draws in an interpersonal experiential context (Delia, 1977: 71). The process of construction does not involve the discovery of a so-called ‘true self’ (Epting & Paris, 2006: 24), but rather involves the construction of the self within the context of continuous interrelations with others. A person’s self is therefore invented through physical experience and the process of interaction with others, the latter being a process of mutual construction. Thus, while

Mandela's personal construal system is derived from his physical experiences, it is also a function of his social interactions with others throughout his life.

Personal construal systems change and evolve with more life experiences and social interactions, providing the individual with an increasingly complex personal construal system consisting of a large number of hierarchically integrated constructs (Delia, 1974: 120). It is not only the range of social experiences that develops the personal construal system, but also the quality of the social interactions (Delia, 1974: 120). The evolution of the personal construal system therefore forms the foundation for communicative development, since cognitive development is essential to communicative development.

According to the constructivist notion of development, actions impact and are impacted upon by continuous and contextual constructions. Interpretation and understanding is therefore a composite function of the personal construal system, and communication is a form of action that requires assuming command over communication at various levels, including non-verbal, linguistic, socio-cultural and strategic. The greater the control achieved over communication, the more evolved the personal construal system becomes. Sophisticated personal construal systems are discriminating, structurally coherent, conceptual and produce interpersonal impressions that are wide-ranging, stimulating and integrated (Delia, 1974: 119).

The constructivist stance towards communicative development also includes such aspects as culture and interaction. The cultural view of communicative development provides for the development of socially based constructs in individuals, while the interactive view involves interaction between human beings at various levels and is based on the development of understanding as situated in a specific context. Being initiated into a particular culture implies that members of that community share cultural knowledge. The body of cultural knowledge is comprised of cultural constructs according to which people, situations and events are judged (Delia, 1974: 119 – 120).

The construction of social reality occurs according to a negotiated organisation of interaction, and constructivist scholars have developed a constructivist theoretical framework to investigate the ordering of interaction. The constructivist theoretical framework was developed around five core assumptions, namely that the ordering of interaction is systematic; that the organisation of interaction is local, in other words, specific to a particular

event or phenomenon; that the organisation of interaction is hierarchical; that it is in constant development; and that it is aimed towards achieving order and therefore an effective coordination of actions (Nicotera, 1995: 54 – 55).

A person's construal system will develop in concert with the person throughout his or her life according to the orthogenetic principle (Littlejohn, 1999: 113; Delia, 1974: 120). The orthogenetic principle posits that a person's construal system will evolve from a simple and global scheme lacking differentiation towards a more hierarchically intricate and detailed make-up. The more sophisticated the interpretive scheme, the more discriminating the individual. Interpretive schemes can also vary internally with regard to complexity where certain constructs are more sophisticated, while others are more simplistic. The sophistication of the interpretive scheme is a measure of cognitive complexity. Cognitive complexity is the function of the number of constructs present in an individual's construal system on which that person can draw in order to differentiate. The number of constructs available to a person is indicative of cognitive differentiation (Littlejohn, 1999: 113). Should a person be able to draw fine distinctions between similar events or phenomena, that person is said to be cognitively complex. Cognitive simplicity leads to stereotyping and egocentric communication (Delia, 1974: 120), while cognitive differentiation allows a person to make fine distinctions and therefore circumvent stereotyping.

Cognitively complex individuals are able to comprehend another's point of view and produce messages sensitive to that differing point of view. This ability is called perspective taking and produces more sophisticated argumentation attuned to the needs of others involved in the communicative process. Littlejohn (1999: 114) calls this person-centred communication. Individuals who function at higher levels of cognitive complexity are able to incorporate empathy and insight into communication in order to elicit sympathy. Although Kelly never offered a clear theory of personality development (Epting & Paris, 2006: 25; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997: 547), he did understand development to occur based on the individual's ability to observe and conceptualise differences among events. As part of the rhetorical imprint, the cognitive complexity and cognitive differentiation of Nelson Mandela are also considered.

Constructivism as frame for understanding rhetorical communication accentuates the creation of meaning as a process equally subject to embodied experience, socially constructed codes

and individual conceptual and behavioural structures (Delia, 1977: 70). Delia (1970: 140) was interested in the psychological processes underlying persuasive discourse. He felt that conventional communication studies fell victim to the logical fallacy, namely that discourse is derived from pre-existing categories, while he believed that logic, along with reality, truth and meaning, do not exist autonomously from the individual (Delia, 1970: 141). Persuasive elements, such as the enthymeme, where the main premise in an argument is implied and not explicitly stated (Larson, 1998: 9), is persuasive according to Delia (1970: 147) because it draws on transcendental psychological and physical processes.

The act of considering the nature of human reason allows one to explore how human beings make sense of the world, and in this case, based on a constructivist understanding of the mind. Human reason, however, cannot be fully understood until the nature of reality and experience is explored as it is the human experience of reality that feeds the personal construal system located in the mind.

2.4.2 Reality and the nature of experience

Constructivist scholars vary in their belief of an external empirical world (Nicotera, 1995: 60 – 61). According to Eddy (2007: 12), the constructivist worldview acknowledges the existence of an autonomous and external reality, but the form of this reality is unknown and requires individuals to construct conceptual representations thereof based on experience. Delia and colleagues also acknowledge the existence of an external reality and accept that human beings can only come to know this reality mediated by their conceptual mental categories, for it is the mental categories that drive individual interpretation and behaviour (Littlejohn, 1999: 113). Nicotera (1995: 47), however, posits that reality emerges when the individual interpretive processes of a human being continuously and actively engage with the interpretive processes that co-produce socially shared realities. Consequently, reality is constructed in individual modes of experience, but is also subject to spatial and temporal contexts (Von Glasersfeld, 1984: 29 – 30). Because reality is mediated through individual experience from a constructivist standpoint, understanding the nature of experience is therefore crucial for understanding how human beings make sense of the world.

As discussed in Section 2.4.1.1, Kelly accepted constructive alternativism in relation to the nature of reality. Kelly was unconcerned with finding the true nature of reality because he did

not consider meaning to be intrinsic to events or phenomena, but rather to be created by individuals (Epting & Paris, 2006: 23). His main interest revolved around the way in which individuals experience and confer meaning on the world. Kelly's (Epting & Paris, 2006: 31) notion of plural constructed realities does not concern itself with the factual correspondence of constructs to a supposed external world, but with the consequences of the constructs, in particular the kind of world and life that are constituted or invented and the nature of experiencing that world (Von Foerster, 1984: 42; Watzlawick, 1984a: 10). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 185, 192 – 194) conceived of an experientialist view of reality that fundamentally echoes Kelly's viewpoint in that truth is considered to be a function of personal construal systems and that absolute and impartial truth is impossible.

Constructivism suggests a universe that is pluralistic, where knowledge of the world is constructed through the personal construal system (Delia, 1977: 69; 1974: 119), which has, as previously discussed, its genesis in human biology and the resultant primitive constructs. The constantly evolving world leads to continuously changing human experiences where the meanings derived from experiences are productive and the most useful conception of the world available at that point in time is constituted. Meaning is therefore a function of personal construal systems based in individual experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 226 – 227).

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 74, 90) also accept a worldview of multiple-constructed conceptions of a mind-independent reality and the belief that human beings are able to possess stable knowledge thereof. According to the philosophy of embodied realism (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 74 – 93), individual experience is mediated through 'organs of experience', for instance, the body, the central nervous system, hands, eyes, muscles and senses (Dewey, 1940: 247) and can be expressed as embodied experience. Individual embodied experiences are purposeful products of cognition and are measured according to how well they serve the intended purpose and are, in other words, pragmatic. Therefore, not only is the birth of the personal construal system derived from the very nature of human embodiment, but also from human experience. Kelly emphasised that, in order to know a person, it is imperative that the idiosyncratic construction of the world as derived from human embodiment be understood (Epting & Paris, 2006: 24 – 25). Thus, in order to know Nelson Mandela as rhetor, the unique construction of the world as reflected in his public speeches will be explored.

While reality is subject to individual embodied experience of the life-world, it is also subject to social construction and context. Reality is neither objective nor external, but situated in the process of socialisation where the individual assimilates the communal reality, as well as individual experience and interpretation. As a result, all knowledge of the world is constructed and mediated through comprehension and elucidation. The process of interpreting experience is situated in a particular context, which directs the interpretive process (Nicotera, 1995: 46, 60 – 61).

In constructivism, knowledge is based on symbolic interaction with the self, others and the environment (Waddell, 1988: 104). In the constructivist interaction with reality, individuals have different personal construal systems and schemes of constructs and therefore construct different representations of reality. This affects notions of factuality because something that may be true in one conceptual world may not be true in another (Waddell, 1988: 107).

Waddell (1988: 107) warns that constructivism is different from solipsism, which posits that all experience and perception resides in the mind (Watzlawick, 1984b: 15). Where constructivists construct interpretations of phenomena and events gleaned from reality, solipsists argue that it is actually reality that is being constructed. In constructivism, meaning is not an intrinsic value of an event or phenomenon, but resident in the human psyche (Waddell, 1988: 108). Because reality is subject to constructed experience, it will never be known completely and absolutely, but will continuously shift and evolve to incorporate new experiences and understandings thereof. Human knowledge of reality will progress incrementally and will never be final (Delia, 1977: 79).

Pluralism is indicative of a constructivist understanding of reality and the nature of experience, but it is also fundamental to the worldviews of pragmatism (see Sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2) and embodied realism, suggesting metaphysical convergence and overlap among these theories regarding ontology. The constructivist ontology of the current research is therefore further refined in terms of pragmatism and embodied realism, which also has implications for the organising concept of the current research, i.e. the rhetorical imprint.

2.4.3 The rhetorical imprint from a constructivist perspective

The concept of the rhetorical imprint is a fairly recent development in rhetorical studies and developed from a subsidiary field of rhetoric, namely rhetorical criticism. Carl Burghardt (1985) coined the phrase based on Osborn and Ehninger's (1962) collaboration on metaphor in public address and Osborn's (1967) work on the archetypal metaphor in rhetoric. Burghardt (1985: 441) considered the rhetorical imprint to be an ideal device for investigating the reasoned discourse produced by a single rhetor. Due to the constructivist ontology informing the current research, the rhetorical imprint is clarified in constructivist terms with input from pragmatism and embodied realism.

Osborn and Ehninger (1962: 223) were concerned with the use of metaphor in rhetoric, especially the reasons as to why certain metaphors appeared to be more powerful than others. They posited metaphor as a stimulus-response process of the mind (Osborn & Ehninger, 1962: 226), a viewpoint different from the conventional semantic definition of metaphor. The process of metaphor begins with the communicative stimulus, i.e. to denote an object or idea by using a sign not ordinarily associated with that object or idea. The stimulus then serves as the catalyst for a complex response cycle which, in everyday parlance, is known as interpretation.

Osborn (1967: 115) continued to work on metaphor in public address and elaborated on the archetypal metaphor. He posited that, by concentrating on the speeches of one individual or speeches of one type, for instance, it would be possible to follow the development of particular metaphors across time or culture, as archetypal metaphors have transcendent qualities that cut across age and culture.

Osborn (1967: 116) found archetypal metaphors to be prevalent in rhetoric, resistant to change from one generation or culture to the next, strongly associated with universal human conditions or actions, while its appeal is dependent on its association with fundamental human motivations. Since they draw on basic human experience, archetypal metaphors are based on essential human motivation. Drawing on Kelly's personal construct theory, it is worth noting that archetypal metaphors correspond to the notion of comprehensive constructs, where constructs with more scope are those constructs that transcend multiple phenomena or events. Archetypal metaphors could be the products of personal constructs

with extensive scope which, due to their extraordinary range in the interpretation and understanding of events and phenomena, prove useful across individual cognition. The work of Osborn and Ehniger (1962) situates metaphors within the conceptual categories of the mind as mechanisms of interpretation.

Jamieson (1980: 51) was also interested in the significance of metaphors persisting in the rhetoric of individual rhetors, while confirming the ability of archetypal metaphors to transcend cultural boundaries. By investigating the ‘metaphoric lexicon’ of an individual rhetor as reflected in the manifest language, deeper rhetorical consistencies characteristic of the rhetor can be accessed, similar to the idea of a rhetorical imprint. According to Jamieson (1980: 52), the use of metaphor in rhetoric is especially revealing with regard to the rhetor-audience interaction when intrinsically coherent metaphoric clusters are found, instead of singular recurring metaphors. Metaphoric clusters are described as self-sustaining metaphoric systems where a single cluster may be more likely than another to articulate an aspect of a concept or phenomenon (Jamieson, 1980: 63). Multiple metaphoric clusters therefore describe different distinct aspects of one concept or phenomenon. Jamieson’s view of metaphor is considered to be broadly conceptual since she utilised metaphoric clusters to characterise the rhetoric of individual rhetors, although the full extent of the complex relationship between metaphor and cognition remained unexplored.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) elaborated and defined the conceptual approach to metaphor. They conceived of a more complex interplay between metaphor and the mind where the conceptual categories of the mind are not merely sources of metaphor, but rather have an intrinsic metaphorical nature as discussed in Section 2.4.1.3. In this view, metaphorical concepts in the personal construal system are mechanisms of thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 7) and therefore facilitate, make sense of and structure experience. Metaphorical concepts in personal construal systems are thus not merely mechanisms with which to know a so-called universal reality external to the individual, but mechanisms to construct multiple individual realities. In the current research, metaphorical concepts are viewed as personal constructs that are conceptually and metaphorically extended beyond the conventional structure of polar opposites.

The use of the term ‘metaphorical concept’ is significant in the current study. Other equivalent terms are ‘conceptual metaphor’ and, simply, ‘metaphor’ depending on the source.

In their seminal work, *Metaphors we live by*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 6) used ‘metaphor’ and ‘metaphorical concept’ to refer to the same notion, while other authors such as Kövecses prefer ‘conceptual metaphor’ in referring to the concept defined as the process of comprehending ‘one conceptual domain in reference to another’ (Kövecses, 2002: 4). In this scenario, one conceptual domain would be abstract and unfamiliar (the target domain) and therefore connected to another, more concrete and familiar conceptual domain (the source domain). The ‘metaphorical concept’ is the preferred term in emphasising the conceptual understanding of metaphor as opposed to the traditional view of metaphor as a figure of speech. Metaphor is significant to the current study from a constructivist point of view in that it is understood to structure the personal construal system.

Burghardt (1985: 440) found Osborn’s archetypal approach to be supremely appropriate in studying the rhetorical corpus of one rhetor. The transcendent quality of the rhetorical imprint is deeply rooted in the reasoned discourse or rhetoric of one rhetor, which makes the metaphorical concepts of Lakoff and Johnson valuable tools for accessing the personal construal system. Metaphorical concepts therefore serve a pragmatic purpose in the current study as tools for accessing the content of the personal construal system of Nelson Mandela. The specific types of metaphorical concepts used as analytic tools in the qualitative analysis are explicated in Section 4.3.8 of Chapter 4.

For Burghardt (1985: 441), the rhetorical imprint is more than the isolated, recurring use of a particular device of adornment, linguistic or stylistic idiosyncrasy, superficially habitual feature or a compilation of often-used anecdotes. Rather, the rhetorical imprint is a unified set of rhetorical characteristics that function below the surface of rhetoric, but becomes evident at the surface level of the rhetoric as ‘a range of consonant verbal manifestations’ (Burghardt, 1985: 441). In the current research, the structure of the rhetorical imprint follows the structure of the personal construal system and scheme of constructs where constructs in ordinal relationships form an integrated interpretive scheme, which is fundamentally metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3). Burghardt (1985: 442) probed the rhetorical imprint by distinguishing distinctive motifs in the rhetorical lifework of his subject. He defined ‘motif’ as those distinct rhetorical features that transcend a number of speeches. In a constructivist understanding of the rhetorical imprint, individual themes that are related, constitute motifs. In constructivist terms, the themes and motifs play a particular role in conceptual sense making.

...Kelly's psychology focuses particular attention on how people give meaning and definition to what is there, such that their own meanings and definitions become the very foundations of who and what they are. That is, each person's special significance, his or her individuality, is seen in terms of the particular meanings by which each gives both shape and expression to her or his world.

(Epting & Paris, 2006: 23)

Kelly's (Epting & Paris, 2006: 33) notion of core role constructs is based on individual role relationships and indicates that the fundamental understanding of the human condition is connected with how individuals perceive themselves in the context of their relationships, interpersonally, as well as within the broader socio-cultural constructions of reality, which provide the interpretive scheme according to which meaning is attributed to the role relationship. This emphasises that a particular role inhabited by Mandela is part of the focus of the current study, namely his role as public and political persona and, specifically, the rhetorical imprint present in his rhetoric, which he employed in that role. In line with constructivism, Mandela has a conception of himself as public and political persona, which comprises a certain set of role relationships and core role constructs. The core role constructs present in Mandela's speeches shape his rhetorical imprint and represent the core role constructs of his public/political persona.

The conceptual structure imposed on the rhetorical imprint by the personal construal system will be gleaned from the analysis of rhetoric at the manifest level, while the conceptual content will be gathered from the analysis at the latent level of rhetoric. In the context of rhetorical communication, the rhetor is believed to have a unique scheme of constructs governing his interpretation, understanding and behaviour in his role as public/political persona. This specialised scheme of constructs is inherently metaphorical and is naturally integrated into his larger personal construal system and scheme of constructs and will therefore become accessible through his rhetorical imprint. A rhetorical imprint is not believed to be static, but elements of the rhetorical imprint, along with the personal construal system of the rhetor evolve to remain dynamic and effective in making sense of the constructed world, while still remaining internally coherent.

As previously discussed in Section 2.4.1.1, constructivism based on Kelly's personal construct theory follows the pragmatic principle of utility. Thus, where the nature of human reason, communication and the concept of the rhetorical imprint are contemplated from a constructivist perspective, the approach to studying the rhetorical imprint follows the pragmatic maxim, in line with the internal organising principle of the specific ontology.

2.5 PRAGMATISM AS EPISTEMOLOGICAL APPROACH

Epistemology shapes the approach to research in a study, which means that the research paradigm and procedures of the current research were influenced by pragmatism, which is in line with constructivist ontology. Both constructivism and pragmatism acknowledge pluralism, in other words, multiple realities, as well as monism, i.e. the belief in a single empirical reality – a seeming contradiction. Pragmatists are, however, not concerned about this apparent ontological inconsistency because they deem debates surrounding reality and universal laws to be immaterial. Therefore, while an objective, external reality may indeed exist, knowledge thereof is, however, solely possible by constructing approximations of that reality in the individual mind through a process of embodied experience. Consequently, there are multiple, worthwhile means of producing knowledge about the world.

Pragmatism has gone from prominence to obscurity twice in its past. Its first ascendancy, known as classical pragmatism, occurred with the pioneering work of Charles Sanders Peirce and encompasses the time from the mid-1800s until its decline in the 1930s. The second ascendancy, the rise of neo-pragmatism, is the product of the liberal 1960s (Maxcy, 2003: 53). The classical school of pragmatism also includes proponents such as William James and, most notably, John Dewey. The neo-pragmatic school is represented by scholars, such as Richard J Bernstein (Baert, 2005: 146), Hilary Putnam, Richard Rorty, Richard Shusterman, Abraham Kaplan, (Maxcy, 2003: 54), Patrick Baert (2005: 146 – 169) and Stephen Neubert (2001: 1 – 18; Neubert & Reich, 2006: 165 – 191).

2.5.1 Classical pragmatism

Classical pragmatism evolved during the nineteenth century in opposition to conventional research and formalist epistemological thinking that accepted an external reality, a scientific method through which 'reality' could be probed and which demonstrates a predilection for

description and classification. Proponents of classical pragmatism questioned whether reality could be known solely through one scientific method (Maxcy, 2003: 52 – 54). With their critical stance on conventional science, their concern for social conditions and the transformation of culture (Maxcy, 2003: 54 – 55; Hardt, 1992: 34), classical pragmatists share common ground with their colleagues from the Critical Tradition.

The classical pragmatists, particularly Dewey (Maxcy, 2003: 55 – 56), reacted to the contrasting positions of objectivism and relativism produced by Cartesian philosophy and the idealism of Hegel (Bernstein, 1977: 31) and drew inspiration from European philosophy, including that of Kant, British empiricists such as Hume and Hobbes, the utilitarian thoughts of Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill, the evolutionary theory of Lamarck and Darwin, and new realism. The reaction of the classical pragmatists to Hegel's phenomenology was complex. Dewey, although initially influenced by Kant, turned to the determinism of Hegel to develop his pragmatist philosophy. Although, Dewey found Hegel to be a source of inspiration in his early career (Bernstein, 1989: 6), Darwin's evolutionary theory soon went on to replace the absolutism of Hegel (Maxcy, 2003: 55; Bernstein, 1977: 29 – 30). Dewey accepted the notion of a dynamic universe and adapted it to explain social and cultural development. For him, successful social and cultural evolution rested on collaboration.

The classical pragmatists were all concerned about social conditions and therefore accepted various forms of realism in order to address social problems (Maxcy, 2003: 55 – 56). They were also very conscious of the dialectic between the individual and the community; similarity in identity and diversity; and the general and particular (Bernstein, 1987: 520; Bernstein, 1977: 33). On the one hand, communitarian ideals emphasise commonalities, though certain theories emphasise commonality to such an extent that diversity and individual uniqueness are threatened. On the other hand, fundamental individualism threatens that which is truly universal in humankind (Bernstein, 1987: 520). One of the major objectives of the classical pragmatists was to articulate a practicable pluralism without denying the integrity of individuality. Classical pragmatists wanted to do justice to both similitude and diversity (Bernstein, 1987: 520).

John Dewey is considered to be the major contributor to the early twentieth-century contestation regarding empirical social science research, building on the work of other

pragmatists, but especially on the work of James and his theory about the nature of ideas, truth and reality (Maxcy, 2003: 53; Dewey, 1908: 85 – 99). Dewey (1948: 207) considered pragmatism to be a theory of knowing, pertaining, in particular, to cognitive subject matter, where knowing is a vital activity for living human beings. Dewey rejected any kind of formalism and criticised absolutist forms of empiricism (Dewey, 1905a: 393). He felt equally uncomfortable with the notion of objectivity and subjectivity. In Dewey's view, the distinction made between objectivity and subjectivity is a product of 'intellectualistic bias' (Dewey, 1910: 479) where objectivity is considered to be legitimate and subjectivity is regarded as unsound. Dewey's philosophy became known under a number of names, i.e. radical or immediate empiricism, pragmatism, humanism, functionalism (Dewey, 1905a: 393), functional logic (Dewey, 1907a: 197), instrumentalism (Dewey, 1905b: 325) or anti-intellectualism (Dewey, 1910: 478).

Dewey, concomitant with the constructivism of Kelly and Delia, accepted the possibility that human beings share an external world that is 'trans-momentary', 'pre-existing', general and individual that could be accessed solely through the process of knowing (Maxcy, 2003: 58 – 59; Dewey, 1989: 38; Dewey, 1916: 250 – 251, 254). As a result, Dewey's pragmatism is a theory of naturalistic and pluralistic realism where 'meaning is embodied in existence' (Dewey, 1922a: 356, 359) and 'different reals of experience' are acknowledged (Dewey, 1905a: 394). The Deweyian notion of existence is derived from Darwin's evolutionary theory, as the cognitive is considered to be 'realistically conditioned from the genetic side' (Dewey, 1905b: 326). Consciousness can therefore not be separated from the body, but is embodied therein.

Dewey's notion of a realism based in evolution is further refined and expanded in the embodied realism of Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 95). Reality, for Dewey, as for the constructivists, is a function of embodied experience. Human experience of reality is evidently not a uniform structure and through societal interaction human beings become aware of multiple individual realities (Dewey, 1907b: 341). Human beings, nevertheless, find harmony in their subjective experiences by establishing a common ground among the various individual realities through agreement or a drive towards harmonisation or consistency (Dewey, 1907b: 327 – 328), although consistency does not presuppose equivalence (Maxcy, 2003: 59).

Dewey was unconcerned as to whether or not absolute reality is self-consistent and was rather more interested in the individual thinking process required to achieve the desired consistency in concrete situations (Dewey, 1907c: 332). His notion of consistency is similar to the scientific principle of validity. Dewey (1907a: 198) conceived of ‘valid knowledge’ as an agreement or consistency between fact or existence and idea. Dewey (1907a: 197 – 198) was deeply concerned about the relationship between fact and idea and bemoaned the lack of a unified theory to explain the ‘truth of the idea’ or ‘valid knowledge’. In his version of the notion of validity, aspects or elements in discord (creating friction and inconsistency) trigger the thought process which, based on practical experience and assumptions, seeks to settle the discord by reaching agreement between the discordant aspects towards consistency. The attainment of consistency and harmony is the proof of validity (Dewey, 1907b: 332).

Dewey (1922b: 310; 1908: 85 – 86) conceived pragmatism to be a theory about truth where truth refers to the consistency between idea and fact, and where facts are made up of ‘inferential reconstructions’. Truth is therefore the measure of the extent that the activities launched to concretise an idea practically fulfil the intention of the idea (Dewey, 1907b: 338). The aim of the process of knowing is to reach a complete and unified conception of reality based on verification (Dewey, 1916: 253). Until an object is present, thus verifying the truth of an idea, knowledge does not exist, but remains inference, based on hypothetical content (Dewey, 1922a: 353). The research endeavour is therefore the purposeful pursuit of truth where approximations of reality are inferred and reconstructed.

An object is an ‘existing thing’ and the meaning of the object is its conceptual substance (Dewey, 1908: 88). The use of the term ‘idea’ indicates that an object or ‘a prior given existence’ (Dewey, 1908: 93) is not given, but rather an idea thereof. The prior existences therefore provide the material for reflection through which the objects of knowledge are constituted (Dewey, 1930: 273). In Dewey’s pragmatism, the object of knowledge is a repositioning of the antecedent existences (1930: 272). If the object reflects the idea, then the idea is proven true and objects that prove ideas true are considered to be valuable in the pursuit of truth (Dewey, 1908: 93). However, should the object and idea disagree, the object or idea can be altered to reach consistency or agreement towards the creation of truth, which means that truths are made (Dewey, 1908: 94), an assertion anathema to logical empiricists.

Dewey (1907c: 254; 1905c: 710) further differentiated between immediate and mediate content. For him, the notion of immediacy, also known as quality, is one of the basic characteristics of reality (Bernstein, 1961: 5). While Aristotle adhered to direct realism as mentioned in Section 2.3, Dewey (Bernstein, 1961: 6) claimed that qualities cannot be immediately known free from inference. As previously discussed, experience is embodied, which means that individuals experience the world directly through their bodies in order to produce immediate content, while knowledge or knowing is mediated through the embodied experience and based on inference with regard to the immediate content. In pragmatism, mediated knowledge means that the known object is charged with performing a representative function on behalf of another thing (Dewey, 1922a: 353). Dewey (Bernstein, 1961: 9) viewed experience as broader than knowing, where knowing is actually entrenched in experience. For immediate content derived from embodied experience to become knowledge, classification and differentiation are required (Bernstein, 1961: 6). When qualities are classified, they become signs for functional use. Dewey (Bernstein, 1961: 6 – 7) did not consider qualities to be the sole domain of the mind or the extant reality, but also subject to the context or circumstances.

According to Dewey (1907b: 334 – 335), truth is made true through a process of modification and transformation until the idea is consistent with aspects of a certain situation and all discordant aspects or elements are harmonised. Inference becomes knowledge once an action relates the thing that is signified to the signifying object through the process of modification or transformation towards an agreement between the mediate and immediate content of knowledge (Dewey, 1922a: 354). An idea will thus be made true through the achievement of its consistency in a given situation based on practical experience and application (Dewey, 1907b: 339). An idea becomes true when it is validated through practical application.

Dewey viewed research method and experience as inextricably linked (Maxcy, 2003: 70) as ‘...things...are what they are experienced as’, where experience is embodied, cognitive, social, immediate, concrete and emotional (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 97; Dewey, 1905a: 395, 397 – 399). Because knowing is preceded by embodied experience, deduction is impossible and empirical science is based on induction in a natural setting (Maxcy, 2003: 70). The resolution to a problem is sought through any available means whether by imagination, reason, mathematical reckoning or a combination thereof. Accordingly, scientific inquiry applied from a pragmatic standpoint is naturalistic, fluid and accepting of methodological

pluralism (Maxcy, 2003: 71). The philosophical pluralism of pragmatism (and constructivism) requires methodological pluralism also. A researcher in the pragmatist mould would rely on triangulation, the use of multiple sources of data or multiple data collection methods from both the qualitative and quantitative paradigms to best answer the research question and fulfil the purpose of the research (Creswell, 2007: 23). In pragmatism, truth is fluid and research contextually based, drawing inspiration from the social, historical and political spheres.

Dewey (1907b: 341) further viewed the value or usefulness of an idea or research approach in science to be determined by the ‘criterion of truth’ and referred to the capacity of an idea (or approach) to prove its worth by fulfilling what it was intended to fulfil. Through its practical application, the idea (or approach) therefore proved its projected usefulness to best address a particular problem. The reality or truth that is made or constructed in response to one problem is conditional and may or may not be useful for other problems or circumstances. Multiple mediated realities therefore imply a plurality of truths. Where certain truths are tested in multiple situations and for multiple problems and prove consistently useful, they become more permanent than others, until such time that they no longer prove useful.

Dewey (1907b: 340) postulated that science is pragmatic in the sense that a solution can only be found once a problem is identified, while the intention of finding a solution is a prerequisite for engaging with the elements of the identified problem. When it comes to reality, only those elements which could prove useful in identifying the problem and the nature of its constituent parts are included. In pragmatic research, a problem is approached from a particular perspective or combination of perspectives and coordinated modes of inquiry deemed to be the most useful in its application prior to the scientific engagement. The choice of what is appropriate in addressing an identified problem is ‘theoretical, hypothetic, intellectual’ (Dewey, 1907b: 341) and is, in other words, provisional until its usefulness is proven with regard to the stated purpose of the research. The tentative nature allows a research method and approach to be modified and transformed as required by the situation and problem.

In research, pragmatic truth represents the extent to which the purpose of research dictates methodology. The findings of the research will render an idea true pragmatically when the idea is consistent with pragmatic ‘fact’ and therefore found or made to accurately reflect the

phenomenon under study. As long as a particular methodology is found to be useful, in other words, providing the best possible account of a phenomenon given the purpose of the research, the application thereof will be justified until such time that better alternatives become available.

2.5.2 Neo-pragmatism

Maxcy (2003: 76) attributes the decline of classical pragmatism as analytical philosophy in the human and social sciences to the rise of logical positivism inspired by the work of August Comte and the influx into the United States of America of expatriate European intellectuals fleeing from Nazism (Baert, 2005: 127 – 128; Bernstein, 1987: 514). As a result, according to Baert (2005: 128; Bernstein, 1977: 34), pragmatism fell out of favour as analytical approach in American philosophical circles and was replaced by logical positivism.

When pragmatism fell out of favour in American academia after the 1930s, Dewey became narrow-mindedly viewed as a social and educational scholar instead of a philosopher (Bernstein, 1959: 340). Bernstein (1987: 514 – 516) grappled with Dewey's obscurity in American philosophy and attributed his proverbial downfall to the intolerance and superciliousness of analytical philosophy derived from logical positivism, although both he (Bernstein, 1987: 516) and Putnam (1997: 177) were careful not to discount the feats of analytical philosophy. Bernstein (1987: 517) characterises the latter part of the twentieth century and beyond as a post-era where the post-modern and post-structuralist (to name only the two most recognisable 'posts') exemplify a fractured and deconstructed contemporary time. Bernstein (1987: 517 – 518) heralded the return to pragmatic ideals as an antidote to the schizophrenic and distant philosophical discourses of the day. The neo-pragmatic movement returned to engage with everyday human experience. Rorty, in accordance with Bernstein (1987: 517), reiterated the need to move away from formalist philosophies mimicking the so-called hard science in order to, once again, deal with human existence naturalistically.

Neo-pragmatism echoes the classical stance of pragmatism, namely that it is a theory of knowing and knowledge construction that denies the existence of a transcending method of scientific inquiry and therefore cannot be based on pre-existing categories (Maxcy, 2003: 76). According to neo-pragmatist meta-theory, pragmatism's primary influence is its criticism of and opposition to formalism and foundationalism. In communication science, Hardt (1992:

xiii – xv), for instance, lamented the positivist status quo in communication research and discussed pragmatism, culture and critical studies (specifically the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School) as a means of challenging the dominance of logical positivism, which superseded classical pragmatism during the early half of the twentieth century.

Abraham Kaplan (1954: 151) built on the work of Dewey in his consideration of the notion of truth, while Richard J Bernstein (1959: 340) defended Dewey's theory of nature and experience against the distorted treatment of his work during the so-called years of decline. Kaplan differentiated between the semantic and pragmatic dimensions of truth where the pragmatic dimensions represent usefulness, while the semantic dimension is referential. The pragmatic dimension of truth is analogous to Dewey's truth criterion (Dewey, 1907b: 341). Kaplan agreed with Dewey's notion that the pragmatic dimension of truth is not an absolute, but rather the product of a conditional process. The semantic dimension of truth, however, conceives of a more fixed version of truth relative to certain contexts of inquiry (Kaplan, 1954: 168). Kaplan (Maxcy, 2003: 78) wrestled with the meaning of methodology and the assumption that one uniform method will best serve the research endeavour. According to neo-pragmatists, such as Kaplan (Maxcy, 2003: 77 – 78), researchers should be exposed to a large range of research techniques because pragmatist logic is not only the domain of proof, but also of the domain of discovery.

Putnam (1982: 143) denied the possibility of correspondence between the mind and 'mind-independent things' because of the lack of a 'ready-made world' with an inherent structure (Putnam, 1982: 147, 162). The mind cannot directly access a supposed mind-independent world (Putnam, 1982: 143, 145), but relies on the construction of mental images, which are intrinsically interpretive and conceptually interdependent (Putnam, 1995: 305 – 306). Putnam (1982: 146) indicated that the notion that 'all experience involves mental construction' is a mainstay of many diverse forms of philosophy and is a point of convergence between constructivism and pragmatism. He (1982: 162) viewed pragmatism as a viable attempt to overcome the deficiencies of the correspondence theory of truth and encouraged giving up the notion of a ready-made world to consider the possibility of pluralism, i.e. that human beings construct multiple versions of the world.

Rorty's work (1980: 721) is staunchly anti-foundationalist and also refutes the correspondence theory of truth to reality. Both Dewey and Rorty adhere to pluralistic realism,

but differ with regard to the nature of reality. While Dewey accepted the possibility of a mind-independent world of which multiple representations are available, Rorty (Baert, 2005: 126) does not believe in a fixed, extant reality, but considers it a 'world well lost' (Rorty, 1972: 649). Rorty (Baert, 2005: 131) questions the view of logical empiricists that all aspects of an object of investigation are measurable and denies the possibility of finding one unflinching scientific method that will hold true universally. For Rorty, new insights are always interpreted in terms of what is already known. New information is therefore incorporated into existing conceptual structures in the mind.

Rorty's viewpoint is aligned with Shusterman's (1994: 256) notion of pragmatic inquiry, dubbed the 'interpretive turn', foregrounding human interpretation based on experience or, what Shusterman (1994: 258) calls 'embodied practices', and recognising the mediated quality of reality. Shusterman shares with Dewey and Lakoff and Johnson the recognition of the embodiment of experience. In Shusterman's pragmatic theory (1994: 257), interpretation is always based on existing understanding which, in itself, needs to be interpreted in order to be explained and validated. Rorty (Letson, 2001: 47) called his criterion for justification coherence, although coherence should not be mistaken for correspondence to a so-called objective truth. Rather, it refers to the inner consistency of different composite parts in a conceptual system.

Rorty (Baert, 2005: 127; Letson, 2001: 43) is a controversial voice in philosophy. Baert (2005: 126) and Maxcy (2003: 79) credit Rorty, more than any other neo-pragmatist, for reintroducing pragmatic ideals into the social scientific debate. Rorty (Letson, 2001: 44) has derided the idea that the natural sciences can offer the social sciences guidance in the application of scientific methodology. Rorty concurs with Quine in that science is no more than systematised common sense and based his conception of methodological pluralism on the notion that one method will never be sufficient for engaging with human beings in the totality of their existence (Letson, 2001: 44, 49). A researcher is no longer required to succumb to an epistemological pecking order because Rorty's neo-pragmatism denies the existence of a mind-independent world, a common human nature and the notion that there is a single superior method of scientific investigation.

Baert (2005: 146; 2003: 89) found that, in spite of the reinvigoration of pragmatism by the neo-pragmatists, its influence on the philosophy of the social sciences is inconsequential. He

(Baert, 2005: 147) offers a pragmatic framework for the social sciences inspired by neo-pragmatism to fill the void. Baert's (2005: 147 – 157) pragmatist philosophy is founded upon six core principles, namely anti-foundationalism, methodological pluralism, rejection of the spectator theory of knowledge, academia as a dialogical encounter, knowledge as action and self-knowledge as cognitive interest.

Baert (2005: 149) is adamant that there is no transcending methodological set of conventions and that the success of a particular methodological logic is conditional, depending on the context, time and location. Baert (2005: 150 – 151) views methodological pluralism as one of the strengths of the social sciences. He further finds the spectator theory of knowledge, which considers knowledge to represent the innate character of an external reality, unsuitable for the social sciences and appeals for an end to the confrontational style of argumentation in academia (Baert, 2005: 151 – 154). The adversarial attitude was a symptom of foundationalism where the nature of debate is to debunk the views of opponents. Baert calls for a more peaceable academic exchange, a dialogical encounter, where opponents focus on understanding one another's arguments so that they may be strengthened towards the mutual enrichment of those involved in the academic exchange.

Knowledge, according to Baert (2005: 154), is a cognitive interest geared towards action. Important here is that the choice of method depends on the objectives of the research. Contrary to Rorty, Baert is also in favour of considering the ontological constraints that influence the choice of methodology. Baert's (2005: 156) pragmatic philosophy acknowledges that a person's worldview is reflective of his or her values and attitudes and that research is therefore contextualised in the researcher's life-world. In addition, Baert (2005: 156) foregrounds a self-referential mode of attaining knowledge where the individual researcher can learn to view the research endeavour, the notion of self, culture and context from different vantage points. The intention is that the self-referential mode of acquiring knowledge challenges notions of cultural absolutes and opens up alternatives to perceived universal principles.

Both classical and neo-pragmatists adhere to pluralistic realism, but warn against solipsism and the kind of wild pluralism so indicative of the post-era. Pluralism should never preclude the search for a common understanding, vision or purpose as it leads to uncertainty and turmoil (Bernstein, 1987: 523). Both classical and neo-pragmatism offers a middle ground

between the individually distinct and the search for a common ground. Baert (2005: 128) reiterates that pragmatism is a broad umbrella subsuming a multitude of competing and contradictory underlying voices. In spite of the internal plurality of the pragmatic tradition, both classical and neo-pragmatism share central tenets, which inform the meta-theoretical foundation of the current research.

2.6 TOWARDS A PRAGMATIC CONSTRUCTIVIST META-THEORY

All communication by speech assumes the interplay of inventive construction and inventive construal (Davidson, 1978: 31).

Davidson's quote clearly conceives of the phenomenon of speech communication, including public rhetoric as inherently constructivist, a notion that is the premise on which the current research is based. The theory of constructivism represents a particular perspective of the way in which human beings interpret and make sense of their world and interact with other people (Nicotera, 1995: 44). Nicotera (1995: *ibid*) and Brockriede (1985: 153, 156) emphasised the holistic nature of understanding as a process situated in individual and socio-cultural experience. Constructivism, or perspectivism, as preferred by Brockriede (1985: 152), is a theory firmly built on a framework of philosophical assumptions and explicated in constructivist claims with definitive consequences for the practical level of application. In terms of rhetoric, the constructivist position acknowledges the rhetorical event as an internally coherent composite and holistic process. A constructivist researcher may, however, focus on a single or limited number of composite elements of the rhetorical event without surrendering to reductionism (Brockriede, 1985: 153). Constructivism is therefore a tactic to accentuate a certain composite element, but without relegating the significance of other composite parts.

The constructivism founded on Kelly's personal construct theory is anti-foundationalist, allowing for alternative possibilities of making sense (Epting & Paris, 2006: 35). Ideas, theories and laws are derived from the experiential world of individuals. Should the ideas, theories or laws prove useful in the life-world of an individual, they will be kept. However, should they lose their usefulness, they will be replaced (Von Glasersfeld, 1984: 24).

Constructivism and its emphasis on the usefulness of constructs to explain phenomena are indicative of a fundamental pragmatic logic, attesting to areas of overlap between constructivism and pragmatism. The inherent alternativism or pluralism in Kelly's work is another point of convergence between constructivism and pragmatism (Epting & Paris, 2006: 36). It is certainly not unheard of for constructivists to draw on pragmatism or vice versa, as illustrated by Kivinen and Ristelä (2003: 365) who drew on pragmatism to inform constructivist learning theory and the Programme of Cologne Constructivism (Neubert & Reich, 2006: 165) and its interactive constructivism, which is inspired by pragmatism to inform socially oriented constructivism.

On the surface, the merging of a constructivist ontology and pragmatic epistemology may seem irreconcilable because of seeming contradictions among various authors regarding the nature of reality. Neither constructivist nor pragmatist scholars assume a coherent view regarding the nature of reality within their own domains; therefore, contradictions across theories are to be expected. Dewey did not question the existence of an external reality. He was concerned with the knowing of that reality and surmised that knowledge regarding reality is mediated through individual, embodied experience and constructed based on existing 'subject matter' in a process which he called 'discovering the object' (Dewey, 1922b: 313). The object referred to is the realisation of intent. Dewey (1908: 97) recognised the role played by personal factors in the production of knowledge and reality. Dewey's acceptance of the role of individual cognition aligned his work with the constructivist nature of knowledge production in spite of his continuing belief in an extant reality.

Dewey is considered to be both a pragmatist and a constructivist (Maxcy, 2003: 58 – 59). In constructivism, knowledge is not a direct or 'objective' reflection of reality, but rather an approximation thereof, which indicates a number of subjective realities. In Dewey's pragmatism, knowledge is acquired through 'states of consciousness' (Dewey, 1905b: 325) which operate at the cognitive level. Dewey's 'states of consciousness' (1905b: 325) are reinterpretations and realistic representations or symbols of embodied experience and refer to the process by which an object or thing is endowed with a 'representative function' not intrinsic to the object or thing itself (Dewey, 1922a: 352). It is also at the cognitive level that ideas, sensations and mental states become media of presentation for reality or personal constructs in a personal construal system that is metaphorically structured (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3). The metaphorical concepts of Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3 – 6) expand

the idea of the personal constructs where the nature of association between composite conceptions are considered to be metaphorical.

Knowledge is the accrual of facts, while facts are the ‘cognitively assured things’, and things as they are known are not immediate, but rather representations or approximations (Dewey, 1905a: 394). While reality may exist, human individual experience of reality is divergent and constructive given the occurrence of reinterpretation and representation. Dewey (1907a: 202) understood truth to be the extent of agreement between the idea and ‘environment,’ where environment is taken to be the reality made up of an ‘inclusive environment’ one can see, as well as the unseen parts, ‘that part to which it is referred as another part so as to give a view of a whole’ (Dewey, 1907a: *ibid*). Upon reflection, the existence of an external reality is immaterial to the current study because the human individual can never know the absolute reality all at once in an unmediated fashion, but constructs ideas of aspects of reality which can prove true when consistency is achieved between the idea of the aspect of reality and reality itself. This is a position between pragmatism and constructivism and is expressed as pragmatic constructivism.

Pragmatic constructivism as derived from constructivist ontology and pragmatist epistemology as influenced by embodied realism is visually represented in Figure 2.

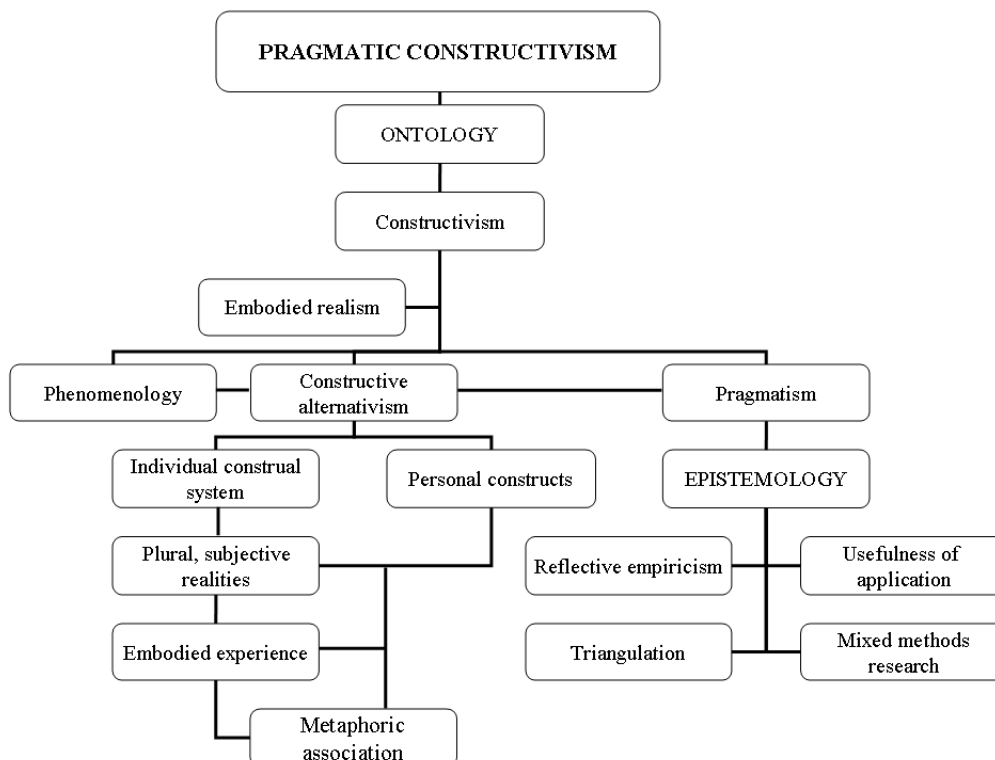


Figure 2: Pragmatic constructivism

Maxcy (2003: 59) notes that for pragmatic constructivism to be tenable, it should also be reconstructionist and reject the 'dualisms invoked by traditional research between the knower and the known, subjectivity and objectivity, and knowledge and reality.' Research is essentially systematic observation and reflection and corresponds to Dewey's notion of a 'reflective situation' (1907a: 203) where the aim is to discover the most useful means of attending to a given problem and by gauging its usefulness in retrospection based on the outcome of the application of the particular idea measured against the intended outcome.

A constructivism that is intrinsically pragmatic has implications for the conducting of research and choice of methodology, particularly regarding the research process and the purpose and approach of researchers. Such constructivism recognises the importance of context and the subjectivity of the research endeavour. A pragmatist epistemology renders the choice of methodology dependent on the objectives of the intended research and the ways in which they may be best achieved (Baert, 2005: 141). The purpose of research is therefore to understand and interpret a phenomenon or event according to the most useful means available. This type of research is called 'reflective empiricism' (Nicotera, 1995: 57) and requires reflection. In other words, the researcher must be aware of the theoretical or conceptual framework informing the research question and choice of methodology.

The application of a single methodology reveals certain aspects of a phenomenon, while simultaneously constraining access to others. Both pragmatist and constructivist research encourage triangulated research, which means that a single phenomenon should be illuminated from a variety of perspectives and in different situations (Nicotera, 1995: 59). By conducting research through the application of multiple methodologies, a more holistic description of the phenomenon emerges. Should the triangulation be situated within an appropriate theoretical context, the scope of understanding a phenomenon is expanded. The pragmatic constructivist meta-theory also presupposes particular choices with regard to measurement techniques, data collection and data analysis. Measurement must first and foremost be appropriate in terms of the research question and phenomenon under study and should not be based on the unwavering application of standardised measurement techniques. Any number of measurement techniques is available for use provided that it is appropriate to the particular research. Research based in constructivism, including the pragmatic constructivism conceptualised in the current study, requires free-response data collection

techniques (Nicotera, 1995: 58). Free-response data are collected in such a way that they remain unstructured by collection techniques (Delia, 1977: 78).

The current study reconstructs, in part, Mandela's reality and his response to it, i.e. his interpretation of the exigent contexts and not an independent, neutral external reality. The focus should therefore be on knowing the subjective reality of the individual through the most appropriate and practical means. The study attempts to probe Mandela's rhetorical imprint, which is indicative of the individually constructed reality of his public/political persona, by viewing his selected public speeches as conceptual containers of knowledge regarding his rhetoric, representing the specialised, metaphorical sub-scheme of constructs informing his public address. His constructions and beliefs will be studied at both manifest and latent levels of his rhetoric, representing both conscious decision-making and unconscious cognitive processes.

2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The current chapter dealt with the conceptual framework influencing the investigation of Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint. The conceptual framework includes human communication as the encompassing field of study, rhetoric as specific communicative tradition, a constructivist ontology explaining the nature of human reason, reality and experience, a pragmatist epistemological approach defining knowledge production and, consequently, the research endeavour and, finally, the synthesis of pragmatic constructivism as meta-theory.

The study is fundamentally concerned with human communication. The study of human communication incorporates a myriad of diverse theories and models. The current research is conceptualised according to Powers's model as the study of rhetoric (Tier 1) of the process of *inventio* of a single rhetor (Tier 2) at the public level of communication (Tier 3) with the socio-political context encapsulated in the rhetorical situation (Tier 4).

The rhetorical tradition is the specific tradition in the field of human communication that directs the research. Aristotle's philosophy regarding rhetoric is integral to this research due to the dominant authority of his work in twentieth-century rhetorical study, as well as the focus on the process of *inventio* in his philosophy. As practical art, rhetoric is expected to

fulfil a particular function and, as such, is conventionally subject to the evaluation of its performance. The current study, however, lacks the evaluative drive and is conceptualised as rhetorical analysis rather than rhetorical criticism. There is a contemporary move to reclaim Aristotelian philosophy for rhetoric, not as method, but as a means of engaging with rhetoric from a metaphysical perspective to consider notions, such as the nature of being and knowledge production. The use of the concepts of ‘ontology’ and ‘epistemology’ provide a means of reflecting on the world, the phenomena in it (including rhetoric) and the nature of experience. The study at hand took its cue from Aristotelian metaphysics and considered the research in terms of the nature of human existence (ontology) and the ways in which the condition can be probed (epistemology).

The ontology of the study is conceptualised as the nature of human reason and the nature of reality and experience. At the most basic level, the ontology is derived from the construct theory of George Kelly, who conceived of an personal construal system governing human cognition. Kelly’s construct theory is fundamentally premised on constructive alternativism, in other words, a pluralist understanding of reality, pragmatism as intrinsic organising principle of personal construal systems and phenomenology, which emphasises the subjective nature of experience. Kelly did not account for the origin of constructs. According to Katz, an individual is not born with a fully-functional personal construal system, but with primitive constructs derived from human biology that are viewed as archetypal templates. The development of constructs is bound to embodied experience where the body mediates individual experience and provides content to the primitive constructs. The personal construal system and primitive constructs reside in the cognitive unconscious which, according to Lakoff and Johnson, has a deep-seated and complex metaphorical structure. Constructs are thus also metaphorically structured and elaborated through Lakoff and Johnson’s notion of the metaphorical concept. Delia applied constructivism to human communication and understood sophisticated personal construal systems to produce sophisticated communication.

The rhetorical imprint is the central organising concept of the current research and denotes a unified set of rhetorical characteristics that function below surface level, but which manifest at the surface level of rhetoric. The rhetorical imprint is used as a device for probing the rhetoric of a single rhetor in the conceptual dimension. The conceptual categories of a rhetor’s mind are understood to be fundamentally metaphorical and metaphorical concepts are therefore pragmatically utilised to explore the content of Nelson Mandela’s rhetorical

imprint. The rhetorical imprint, founded in constructivist ontology, is indicative of the conceptual processes and structures of the personal construal system that reside in the unconscious mind of the rhetor and can therefore not be known directly. A semblance of the rhetorical imprint can, however, be constructed based on the analysis of the metaphorical concepts as indicators of personal constructs, as well as markers of cognitive complexity and differentiation.

Pragmatism is offered as epistemological approach to the study because of the inherent pragmatic logic that organises the constructivism derived from Kelly's personal construct theory. Pragmatism shares with constructivism a fundamental contradictory belief in pluralism and monism, in other words, that reality is wholly subjective and that a universal, mind-independent reality does indeed exist. It is in the work of John Dewey that this seeming contradiction is reconciled. While Dewey acknowledged the existence of a mind-independent reality, he denied that it could be directly experienced and known. Reality can therefore be known solely through embodied experience and the multiple, individual representations of that reality. Dewey is one of the most eminent proponents of the pragmatist tradition, although he is also claimed by constructivists. The study adheres to the main tenets of the pragmatist tradition, comprising both classical and neo-pragmatism

Both constructivism and pragmatism provide philosophical justification for methodological pluralism in research, where the best possible methodology and combination of techniques befitting the purpose of the research study are selected. In the current research, pragmatic constructivism as meta-theoretical position offers a common-sense approach to investigating the conceptual categories in the personal construal system and is essentially a programmatic criticism of formalist and foundationalist research as well as an absolutist view of the world. The contextual nature of research is considered to be a crucial element of study in order to fully comprehend the phenomenon being studied. The appropriateness of a method depends on whether the method achieved its purpose. Instead of justifying the use of a particular research method by measuring the level of correspondence between the results and a perceived extant true condition in reality, the choice of research method(s) is determined by the notion of utility.

CHAPTER

3

THE RHETORICAL SITUATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Rhetoric is a pragmatic enterprise aimed at persuasion and is commonly described as a practical art in service of civil society (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3). The rhetorical act is therefore not an arbitrary act, but purpose-driven, context-based and target-oriented. The rhetorical situation is the concept where all elements characterising the rhetorical act converge and incorporate the exigency or succession of exigencies that precipitated the rhetoric act or acts, the contextual constraints on the rhetor, as well as the rhetorical audiences. The rhetorical situation therefore controls the rhetorical act and, in order to fully understand the rhetorical act, the encompassing rhetorical situation should be described (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 23 – 24).

The rhetorical life's work of Nelson Mandela is explored in this study and the focus is not on individual rhetorical acts and their specific rhetorical situations, but on the global rhetorical situation informing the corpus as a whole. The exigency refers to the driving force or combination of forces in the rhetorical situation that necessitated the rhetorical act, including social, political, economic and cultural forces (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 25). Collectively, these forces make up the twentieth-century South African socio-political sphere. The societal phenomena of colonialism, apartheid and democracy form part of the immediate controlling exigency of Nelson Mandela's rhetoric, which is understood to be a collective response to the socio-political sphere.

The notion of the rhetorical audience is complex, consisting of multiple layers of meaning. In the public domain, the easiest identifiable rhetorical audience is the audience attending the event. However, the mass media with their wide reach has extended the understanding of the rhetorical audience. Through technology, it has become possible to reach multiple audiences simultaneously, whether it be intentional or not. Contextual constraints include the political

and legal systems in which Nelson Mandela was required to function, while he also had to contend with strictures such as censorship.

3.2 THE EXIGENCY: THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

The South African socio-political context is the controlling influence on Nelson Mandela as public/political persona. Overlapping societal forces such as the Act of Westminster of 1910, which formalised the racial stratification of South African society based on racial and workplace segregation, the expansion of Afrikaner nationalism and the entrenchment of apartheid, the liberation struggle and the rise of African nationalism have shaped the South African socio-political path towards democracy, as well as Nelson Mandela's rhetoric as response to these forces. The global exigency of the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela is therefore clarified by exploring the societal forces that shaped twentieth-century South Africa and the identities of its people by drawing on the socio-political history of the country.

The twentieth century was a volatile period for South Africa and saw the culmination of successive waves of colonialism and imperialism. According to Terreblanche (2002: 3), South Africa was subjected to 'extended colonialism' from 1652 and the first European settlement until 1994 when democracy was formally ushered in. The work of Terreblanche (2002: 3, 297) further suggests that the period of apartheid from 1948 onwards is an extension and entrenchment of the segregation fostered during the British colonial and imperial rule as well as the consequent rise of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism since the 1930s. South Africa's colonial past is a function of the complex connections among power, land and labour, which culminated in systemic structures fostering restrictive labour patterns during the twentieth century.

3.2.1 The Act of Westminster of 1910

White rule was entrenched by the Act of Westminster which enacted the Union of South Africa on 31 May 1910 (Terreblanche, 2002: 239, 248). The Union of South Africa incorporated the British, Afrikaners and Africans and their territories into one political entity governed by white supremacy and founded on racialist capitalism (Terreblanche, 2002: 239). Within this new federal political entity, numerous power blocks held sway, i.e. the English industrial and mining establishment, Afrikaner agricultural establishment and powerful state

departments, especially the Native Affairs Department (Terreblanche, 2002: 240). The hybridisation of colonial societies coincided with increased fears of racial contamination as entrenched in pseudo-scientific discourse of racial distinction and reproduction (Loomba, 1998: 115 – 116, 119). British imperial racialism led to policies of cultural and structural segregation in the British overseas colonies, based on apparent racial differentiation (Christopher, 1992: 95, 97).

The system of segregation imposed by the British was socio-economic in nature and consisted of structural segregation between black and white, institutional segregation in terms of politics and education and segregation in the workplace (Terreblanche, 2002: 253). Workplace segregation was aimed to meet the demand, especially from the gold mines, for compliant, cheap black labour, while the policy was equally aimed at ensuring the protection of white labour against competition from the black proletariat. The latter comprised 'job discrimination' and 'wage discrimination' (Terreblanche, 2002: 253). The former restricted black people from those occupations reserved for white workers, while the latter ensured that white workers earned higher incomes compared to black workers doing the same work.

The labour system of racial domination that became synonymous with apartheid South Africa in the twentieth century was the product of a century of British colonial rule based on racial capitalism and imperialism. Although repressive labour structures were a function of many industrialising countries, the repressive labour practices in South Africa were based on race, rather than class. Towards the twentieth century, British imperialism became infused with social Darwinism and liberal Victorian ideals, which emphasised the superiority of the British 'race' and culture. The notion of racial superiority evolved into racial domination (Slater, 2006: 1370) and, while economic necessity certainly drove the imperial expansion of the British Empire, the conquest of colonies was justified by the attendant spreading of the British civilisation and Christianity to so-called primitive societies (Slater, 2006: 1371). Race ultimately became a central organising principle of the economy and society, entrenching white economic and political hegemony, and a clear preference for liberal capitalism and the free market system was indicated (Terreblanche, 2002: 180 – 182, 197, 240, 245; Loomba, 1998: 114 – 115).

South Africa became an electoral union in 1910, but remained subject to British imperial dominion until 1948, which signalled the growing hegemony of Afrikaner Christian

Nationalism. This period was politically and economically volatile. Afrikaner disgruntlement with British imperialism was endemic and fed by the British excesses during the South African War (1899 – 1902), while the issue of poor proletarianised whites became a vehicle for the rise and the amplification of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism. This period also saw the birth of black consciousness and resistance to unionisation and the segregationist regulations entrenched between 1910 and 1948 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 231; Terreblanche, 2002: 281). British imperial segregation would ultimately provide the framework for the entrenchment of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism in the apartheid state.

3.2.2 Afrikaner Christian Nationalism and apartheid

Specific watershed events crystallised Afrikaner Christian Nationalism in the 1800s, i.e. the Great Trek, the establishment of two Boer Republics in the interior of South Africa, British high imperialism from the 1880s until unionisation in 1910, the South African War (1899 – 1902) and the emergence of a class of poor, proletarianised white Afrikaners. The dawn and progression of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism have been an issue of debate among scholars of Afrikaner history throughout the twentieth century, especially regarding the motivation for the Great Trek (De Klerk, 2008: 342 – 345). While it is a matter of dispute, Giliomee and Mbenga (2007: 96) and De Klerk (2008: 353) concur with the notion that Afrikaner Christian Nationalism (and African nationalism) was in part a response to British nationalism and imperialism. It was under the leadership of Paul Kruger, who became president of the ZAR (*Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek*) in 1883 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 196), that an Afrikaner identity based on republican self-determination and a shared religious and political identity began to crystallise in response to British hegemony. Terreblanche (2002: 220) also acknowledges the role of the Great Trek in the ascendancy of Afrikaner nationalism, although he places more weight on the role of economic and labour issues than on an ideological quest for self-determination.

In the aftermath of the destructive South African War, South African society was marked by deep divisions among different groupings based on class, religion, race and language, and the gulf between the Afrikaans- and English-speaking widened enormously (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 224). As victors, the British had the daunting task to offset the destruction of the war and develop a robust and stable capitalist society and economy in spite of the animosity among the various groups in the population. Moreover, the British required that the

colonies in South Africa become financially self-sufficient in order to rather contribute to the imperial treasury than drain it (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 224). Lord Milner, the British High Commissioner, envisioned a federation of Southern African colonies governed by the white populace with an economy built on a compliant and controlled black labour force (Terreblanche, 2002: 245).

The Afrikaner population was embittered after the devastation wracked by the ‘scorched earth’ policy (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 224; Terreblanche, 2002: 246). In order to attain Milner’s imperial vision of a unified South African society under white rule, the British needed the acquiescence of their erstwhile enemy, the Afrikaner. The British also had to find a way of accommodating the majority black inhabitants in its Southern African colonies without further alienating the Afrikaners or compromising the availability of a cheap and compliant black labour force. The South African Native Affairs Commission (1903 – 1905) recommended a system of spatial and political segregation between races (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 227). At the peace negotiations at Vereeniging in May 1902, the British negotiators appeased their Afrikaner counterparts by agreeing that the issue of the franchise for indigenous African inhabitants would be deferred pending the restoration of self-determination in the republics (Terreblanche, 2002: 245). Subsequently, when the Union of South Africa was established by the Act of Westminster in 1910, voting rights were denied all indigenous African and coloured inhabitants outside the Cape.

The period between 1910 and 1924 was a volatile period for the new state. In the years leading up to the First World War in 1914, the reconciliation between English and Afrikaner remained tentative and wary. The newly established South African union was based on a pact between the pro-British, English-speaking business establishment and the Afrikaner landed gentry. Both these power blocks favoured segregationist policies and ideologies (Terreblanche, 2002: 248). This period also saw the continued revitalisation of Afrikaner political and cultural ambition. The programme to revitalise Afrikaner nationalism also included the development of a national education system fundamentally based on Christian values, Afrikaner ideals, the development of Afrikaans as official language and the establishment of Afrikaner political parties (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 228 – 229), such as the National Party (NP) in 1913, which would exclusively represent the interests of the Afrikaners (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 233 – 234, 251; Terreblanche, 2002: 249).

In the 1924 elections, the National Party and Labour Party formed a coalition government after defeating the South African Party of General Jan Smuts. Their campaign revolved around the need for government to safeguard the interests of white labour in order to address the issue of poor, proletarianised white Afrikaners (Terreblanche, 2002: 272). By this time, the idea of group areas for different races was already widespread and Afrikaners increasingly saw South Africa as ‘white man’s land’ (*witmansland*) where blacks could remain as long as they remained useful, but could not claim any rights (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 251). The 1930s would also see the sustained ascendancy of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism and the concomitant concerted efforts to promote Afrikaner cultural and economic interests (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 291). Afrikaner Christian Nationalism was also deliberately courted by celebrating the Great Trek as an idealised epic myth and by commemorating the extreme suffering and valiant deeds during the South African War as tribute to a romanticised Afrikaner heroic past (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 289 – 290).

When in 1934 the South African Party of Smuts and the National Party of Hertzog merged to form the United Party, events were set in motion that would foreshadow the progression of South Africa into the apartheid state. Smuts represented the mining industry and was tasked with protecting the industry from taxation, while Hertzog represented the Afrikaner agriculture establishment and wanted the backing of the Smuts power block to have Africans expunged from the common voter’s roll in the Cape (Terreblanche, 2002: 275 – 276). The alliance between these power blocks represented not only a political union, but also a joining of state and industry interests. The National Party fragmented and a faction led by Dr DF Malan established a new, pure National Party (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 278).

During the 1940s, Afrikaners began to fear black overpopulation in urban areas, while simultaneously emphasising the need to maintain Afrikaner racial ‘purity’ from threats of miscegenation (Terreblanche, 2002: 298). The NP had evolved a racial ideology which posited Africans as barbarians who had to be converted and civilised by the Afrikaner, while English-speaking, white South Africans became stereotyped as being arrogant and materialistic, with questionable morals (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 279 – 282). The NP strove to deliberately drive a wedge between the Afrikaner and the English-speaking white populations and refashioned the South African social hierarchy, with the Afrikaners placed at the pinnacle of South African society and considered to be superior to all other whites and the so-called indigenes. The subjugation of the indigenes was based on the notion that inferior

racism were meant to serve the upper echelons of society where white people and especially white Afrikaners were situated. The growing Afrikaner notion of racial superiority was inspired by British imperial ideas, infused with the Nazi conceptualisation of a *herrenvolk* and the Christian nationalist belief in a divine mission (Terreblanche, 2002: 301).

The years leading up to 1948 and its watershed election saw the increasingly bitter competition between white English and white Afrikaner interests. Many Afrikaners were sympathetic to Nazi Germany and opposed South Africa's participation in the Second World War (WWII), which further divided South African society. Although half of the South African voluntary conscripts were Afrikaners who joined for pragmatic or idealistic reasons, the war years in South Africa were difficult and characterised by many restrictions (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 293). Afrikaners attributed the privations experienced during WWII as deliberate attempts by the pro-British government of Smuts to discriminate against them (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 310). The last years of WWII served to entrench Afrikaner commitment to apartheid, and Malan's National Party was engaged in the development of apartheid into a fully fledged racial policy (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 309). The plan was to apply a policy of total apartheid based on the rejection of equality among different races. Separate areas were to be set aside consistent with the existing native reserves for the separate development of black inhabitants in their own supposedly self-sufficient homelands (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 323). The NP was aware of the dependence of the South African economy on cheap black labour and, from the outset, developed the apartheid policy so that it would not interfere with the accessibility of mining, industry and agriculture to black labour (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 309 – 310). In the 1948 elections, the power pendulum swung towards the Afrikaner establishment (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 288 – 293, 299 – 303) when the NP narrowly won the elections based on the exclusive promotion of white supremacy and apartheid (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 310).

Arnold (2005: 332) differentiates among three distinct phases of apartheid, i.e. classical or grand apartheid (1948 – 1961), growing South African international isolation (1961 – 1976) and the volatile years and states of emergency as the apartheid rule fell apart (1976 – 1994). During the latter phases of apartheid, South Africa evolved into a police state and, consequently, into a militaristic 'securocratic' state as the NP government desperately fought to maintain control (Terreblanche, 2002: 314). Interesting to note, the NP government did not invent racial stratification and separation. When they assumed power in 1948, a fully

functional racial segregation system based on migrant labour and the compound system, which developed during the mining revolution, was already in place. The NP government, however, turned this segregationist system into statutory apartheid (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 314 – 316; Terreblanche, 2002: 313 – 314). In 1958, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, credited with cultivating grand apartheid, became Prime Minister. Grand apartheid was defined as separate development and was purportedly non-racist (Terreblanche, 2002: 321). The fundamental principle underlying grand apartheid was the notion of ethnic association and disassociation. Verwoerd advanced a theory whereby human beings could only optimally function and attain happiness among people of their own ethnic and cultural groupings and he considered the state responsible for defining and separating the different ethnic groups (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 314). Verwoerd conceived of different independent homelands or Bantustans for different African ethnicities based on the existing native reserves (Terreblanche, 2002: 321 – 322).

A multitude of biased and segregationist laws constituted statutory apartheid. In retrospect, apartheid can be viewed as a comprehensive system aimed at social engineering. According to Terreblanche (2002: 314), the apartheid statutes were meant to entrench white hegemony and to control black labour in order to support the economic and industrial modernisation of South Africa. By law, all citizens were classified according to statutory races and restricted to their 'own' areas. Inter-marriage and sexual intercourse between different races were further strictly prohibited (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 316 – 317). The NP government used a system of influx control to regulate the migrant labour system (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 321) and introduced numerous measures to halt black South African urbanisation, but without creating a labour shortage. The movement of black South African labour was subject to the pass book system: black South Africans were required to carry a pass book as proof that they were legally permitted to be in white designated areas. The poor conditions in the native reserves forced black South Africans to seek wage employment in urban areas in spite of the restrictive measures of influx control (Terreblanche, 2002: 303 – 304, 315).

The Law on Labour Relations of 1956 entrenched the infamous colour bar in labour matters and reserved certain work for certain racial groups (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 320). Under apartheid, the separation of group areas was extended to separate suburbs, separate public areas, the forceful dissolution of existing mixed suburbs and the eradication of land owned or occupied by black people in white designated areas, the so-called black spots (Giliomee &

Mbenga, 2007: 318; Arnold, 2005: 335; Terreblanche, 2002: 322; Christopher, 1992: 104 – 105). During the 1950s, the apartheid government commenced with a sweeping programme of forceful resettlement of black people in vast townships developed on the extremities of urban areas (Christopher, 1992: 104). In the subsequent innocuously sounding ‘Surplus People Project’, the NP government orchestrated the forced removals of more than three million black South Africans between 1960 and 1983. Contemporary urban areas in South Africa still bear the marks of structural apartheid and detailed governmental town planning during the apartheid years (Christopher, 1992: 105).

The character of the apartheid state changed in the 1960s due to a number of reasons. This period coincided with the process of decolonisation in Africa and the creation of independent African states (Arnold, 2005: 337). Whereas apartheid initially garnered tacit approval from overseas investors from the global West (Arnold, 2005: 338), the policy became progressively more indefensible internationally due to its racist ideology (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 313). In 1961, South Africa withdrew from the British Commonwealth to form the Republic of South Africa under white minority rule and started on its path of international isolation (Arnold, 2005: 332; Christopher, 1992: 104). Under pressure from newly independent African states, the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) passed a resolution in 1963 that none of its members would entertain diplomatic or any other kind of relation with the South African state (Arnold, 2005: 329).

In international fora such as the United Nations (UN), the newly independent African states were also vociferous in their calls to impose sanctions on South Africa. In 1962, the UN passed a resolution to have member states discontinue diplomatic relations with South Africa, to prohibit the access of South African aeroplanes and ships to the territories of member states, to ban South African goods and to place embargoes on exports to South Africa. Western countries, especially Britain and the United States of America, applied few of these measures and only partially because of their economic and sectional interests in South Africa (Arnold, 2005: 343 – 344). While the UN resolutions that were passed during the 1960s proved only moderately successful, the UN persistently brought the political situation in South Africa to the world’s attention and contributed to the country’s international isolation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 340; Arnold, 2005: 343).

While external pressures on South Africa mounted during the 1960s and 1970s, the apartheid government increased its control over civil rights and extended limitless powers to the police to arrest, interrogate or restrict individuals and organisations (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 340). The increasing political turmoil in South Africa was not yet reflected in the economy. During the 1960s, the South African economy achieved unprecedented growth of approximately 6% (5.5% year on year) according to Terreblanche (2002: 324), only 2% inflation with the gross national product growing by 30%. Black labour was cheap and compliant due to the highly regulated pass system and the prohibition of black political and labour organisations and, with the poor conditions in the homelands, it was also plentiful (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 343; Terreblanche, 2002: 322 – 323). According to Arnold (2005: 735), the lofty ideals of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism were seduced into a materialistic and consumerist culture of middle class complacency. While the South African economy was booming for the white section of the population, the conditions in the homelands were deteriorating due to chronic underfunding and structural underdevelopment by the apartheid state, which led to political instability and armed riots (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 342).

With the assassination of Verwoerd in 1966 on the eve of suspected far-reaching policy changes (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 344), John Vorster, a former Minister of Police, became Prime Minister (Terreblanche, 2002: 326). It was under the tenure of Vorster that South Africa in effect became a police state ruled by harsh security measures, ruthlessly efficient influx control and the increased curtailment of civic freedom (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 349). The 1970s was a decade of escalating violent political resistance and equally violent repression of political resistance by Vorster's security apparatuses such as the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) established in 1969. BOSS was the instrument of the Prime Minister and functioned clandestinely beyond the purview of parliament and dealt with any and all intelligence matters pertaining to state, policy, security and the military (Arnold, 2005: 566, 570). The Vorster government introduced labour quotas and made influx control more rigorous. These measures, however, were not successful in restricting the urbanisation of black people and, with growing black urbanisation and government restrictions on the building of houses for black South Africans, large slums (shanty towns) developed on the periphery of urban areas (Terreblanche, 2002: 327).

The Vorster government went on to effectively deprive black South Africans of their citizenship when the Bantu Homelands Citizen Act of 1970 was promulgated. The Act made all black South Africans subject to citizenship of one or other of the homelands and served to make these Bantustans a dumping ground of proletarianised surplus black labour (Terreblanche, 2002: 326 – 328). Ironically, while black surplus labour was repatriated to the Bantustans, the apartheid government of Vorster allowed a simultaneous process of weakening of job reservation to allow semi-skilled black workers to perform skilled work in order to overcome a shortage in skilled labour (Terreblanche, 2002: 328).

The 1970s was also a time of labour unrest, leading to the establishment of independent labour unions, which would significantly change the political landscape in South Africa (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 356). It was also a time of heightened political resistance and growing political instability in the townships (see Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 for further clarification). The labour unrest, coupled with stagnation in economic growth, rising inflation and global economic trends (higher fuel prices, lower commodities prices) led to a sharp decline in per capita income (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 308). The independent labour unions led to more effective labour organisation and unions were able to demand higher wages, increasing labour costs that further pressurised the economy. In the mid-1970s, South Africa became embroiled in a costly war in Angola to ostensibly ward off the threat of communism. South Africa was becoming beleaguered on all fronts, including the global arena, with mounting diplomatic sanctions (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 359). By the end of the decade, the NP was experiencing a crisis of leadership when Vorster was forced out of office as a result of the Information Scandal (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 366 – 367).

By 1980, 11 million Africans were resident in homeland territory and the homeland system became progressively more expensive to maintain (Terreblanche, 2002: 328). South Africa's international esteem was diminishing and harsher international bans of especially sporting events were acutely felt in South Africa (Arnold, 2005: 569). With the acceleration of decolonisation in Africa, South Africa was turning into the last bastion of white supremacy on the continent (Arnold, 2005: 564). PW Botha replaced Vorster as Prime Minister in 1978 and became preoccupied with resisting what he called a 'total onslaught' by Marxist forces. He was convinced that certain limited reforms were necessary in South Africa if the country was to successfully resist this onslaught and, subsequently, reformed state administration to make government more efficient (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 368). By the mid-1980s,

apartheid was falling apart, with black urbanisation increasingly dramatically in spite of repressive influx control measures. In 1986, with rising domestic unrest and international isolation, Botha repealed the legislation that was known as the pass system and called for 'orderly urbanisation'. He further repealed the segregationist laws that were known as 'petty apartheid', including the laws prohibiting inter-racial marriage and intercourse, as well as the laws ensuring job reservation for whites. Public areas were, as a result, also desegregated (Arnold, 2005: 725).

In spite of limited reforms, South Africa found itself in a more hostile world, with the UN imposing harsher sanctions, although Britain and the US remained bulwarks for South Africa against international hostility (Arnold, 2005: 726). The townships were subjected to constant political violence as internal and external opposition to apartheid mounted, with televised reports of police brutality broadcast worldwide. Even the public opinion in traditionally allied countries such as Britain and the US was changing. While his limited reforms did little to appease internal and external opposition to apartheid, the reforms created division in the NP and the faction opposed to reform seceded to form the minority Conservative Party. Economically, South Africa also teetered on the brink of disaster, with an increase in foreign debt and a decline in foreign direct investment. The period, 1985 to 1989, saw a flight of capital from South Africa as more and more foreign companies disinvested and the international banking community refused the loans to cover the shortfall (Arnold, 2005: *ibid*).

The creation of the Tricameral Parliament, with limited representation for coloured and Indian citizens, led to further political destabilisation. By the end of 1986, the townships were destabilised and the rand devalued by 35%. Botha, against expectations, refused further concessions by the apartheid state towards transformation. Towards the end of the 1980s, pressure from Commonwealth countries, Britain and the US accumulated towards wholesale reform and, even in South Africa, public opinion began favouring a negotiated settlement and cessation of violence (Arnold, 2005: 731, 738). The South African state was further embattled with additional trade embargoes, sanctions and disinvestment of foreign capital. In 1989, Botha was forced out of office and replaced by FW de Klerk who, subsequently, announced the imminent release of political prisoners from jail and the unbanning of political organisations in a watershed speech on 2 February 1990. On 11 February 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from prison and on 2 May 1990 the first round of negotiations began (Arnold, 2005: 735 – 737).

3.2.3 African nationalism and the liberation struggle

The liberation movement or struggle is a collective term describing the various forms of resistance against the racially based measures of segregation and apartheid. During the twentieth century, the segregationist policies and then statutory and structural apartheid elicited opposition and resistance from black struggle organisations, signalling the rise of African nationalism. While apartheid was the result of imperial domination and segregation, white economic ambition and the rise of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism, it was also, to a large extent, influenced by the liberation struggle and its response to apartheid strictures (Terreblanche, 2002: 314). The rise of African nationalism coincided with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 96, 179).

In the aftermath of the South African War, rising African nationalism led to the establishment of numerous black political organisations, among others, the African Political (later People's) Organisation (APO) in 1902 with the aim of promoting the interests of coloured inhabitants. One of the objectives of the APO was to expand the coloured franchise in the Cape to the interior. The growing white demands for unification was a concern for black leaders and when the National Convention (NC) (1908 – 1909) accepted a draft constitution for a proposed Union of South Africa based on a discriminatory colour bar, black leaders met to discuss the state of affairs and possible implications (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 230 – 231).

In 1909 after the publication of the draft constitution, black leadership and leaders from the APO convened the South African Native Convention in Bloemfontein in order to coordinate their opposition to unification. The convention adopted resolutions that opposed the colour bar in the constitution and decided to dispatch a delegation to London. Unfortunately, their efforts were ineffective in amending the draft constitution and, on 8 January 1912, black political and traditional leaders again convened in Bloemfontein to establish the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) as an organisation to advance black interests. The SANNC continued their protests against the racialist union constitution under early leaders such as Pixley Ka-Isaka Seme, Sol Plaatje, and John Dube, the first president of the SANNC. The establishment of the SANNC was in direct response to unification and the deliberate exclusion of the rights and freedoms of black South Africans by the union constitution (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 246).

In the 1920s when the SANNC formally became the ANC (1923), the organisation had little success in their attempts to wrought change and was plagued by a lack of funds and poor organisation. In part, it was also overshadowed by the more dynamic Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), the first nation-wide black union in South Africa, under the vociferous and charismatic leadership of Clements Kadalie. The ICU had links with the South African Communist Party (SACP), established in 1921, and the union government sought to counteract what they saw as a threat by imposing laws, which allowed the union government to banish dissident political leaders (Terreblanche, 2002: 281). The ICU imploded in the 1930s but, in spite of its short-lived existence, was instrumental in the amplification of African nationalism as it effectively raised black consciousness on the insidious nature of black subjugation and labour repression (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 248 – 249; Terreblanche, 2002: 281). During the 1920s to 1930s, black resistance seemed to diminish when the ICU disintegrated and both the SACP and ANC struggled to gain political ground. It was a telling period, because the white population increasingly came to accept statutory segregation.

The living conditions of urban blacks were appalling and one third lived in informal dwellings. Wages were low and black labour was subject to restrictive pass laws and the colour bar, which reserved specific work and higher wages for white labour (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 251, 261). The situation on farms and in the native reserves was equally dismal. Already in the 1920s, the reserves could not physically accommodate all black South Africans repatriated to the area. By the 1930s, overpopulated reserves led to the large-scale migration of black people from the reserves to urban areas in search of a living (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 263). The union government promulgated increasingly suppressive legislation, which further constrained the rights of the so-called indigenes in the union (Terreblanche, 2002: 282).

According to Terreblanche (2002: 281), black protest against the segregation imposed by the union government was unproductive and weak until the 1940s. He ascribes the inefficiency of black protest to the early restraint of black political organisations such as the ANC. Curiously, the SANNC was pro-British and explicitly stated in its constitution of 1919 that it would foster loyalty to the British Crown and its legal statutes (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 236). Black protest became more radical and organised in the 1940s when Dr AB Xuma assumed the leadership of the ANC. Under his leadership, the ANC explicitly rejected the

indirect representation of black people and demanded individual rights irrespective of race. Under Xuma, they also called for the abolition on black property right restrictions, the elimination of migrant labour and the colour bar in the workplace, and propagated the phasing in of a minimum wage for black workers, the recognition of black labour unions and the training of black workers for reserved positions in the civil service. The ANC thoroughly rejected the notion that South Africa was the sole domain of the white population (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 297).

During the 1930s and 1940s, the black protest movement was plagued by ad hoc activities and internal strife among different organisations and groups (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 299). The ANC and the All African Convention (AAC) disagreed about fundamental issues such as participation in racially based government structures. At that time, the ANC favoured participation in the structures created by the government for the representation of the black population such as the Native Representative Council (NRC), while the AAC opposed any participation in racially based government structures and propounded non-racialism. The AAC was established in 1935 by Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu in an attempt to unify the resistance of black liberation movements and white populations against governmental meddling with the black vote in the Cape (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 287, 299). In December of 1942, the ANC approved the establishment of a youth league, which was initiated by a group of young radicals, for example, Jordan Ngubane, Nelson Mandela, Anton Lembede, Ashby Peter Mda and Walter Sisulu, and was formally created in 1944 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 299).

The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) had a much more radical outlook than the moderate ANC and crystallised a more potent African nationalism. Initially, the ANCYL was exclusively Africanist and, while they were willing to tolerate racial minorities, they were opposed to cooperation with minorities and the communists, who were not deemed to be sufficiently Africanist in their approach to resistance (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 299). The African nationalism of the ANC youth was inspired by the establishment of black labour organisations and mass black protests such as the 1944 protest demonstrations against pass laws and the 1946 mining strikes in which the communists were instrumental (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 298, 326). Many of the youth leaders had union backgrounds and, consequently, the ANCYL revised its approach to cooperation, which led to increased

collaboration between the ANC and SACP (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 326; Terreblanche, 2002: 283).

The ANCYL advocated a more aggressive form of political resistance and transformed the ANC into a more activist organisation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 326; Terreblanche, 2002: 283). Coinciding with the watershed elections of 1948 (see Section 3.4.2 for further clarification), the ANC demanded universal franchise for the first time in its history as well as the elimination of all racial discriminatory statutes (Terreblanche, 2002: 283). At the 1949 ANC annual conference in Bloemfontein, the ANCYL presented their strategic Programme of Action, which included a plan of mass action resisting white supremacy (Mandela, 1994: 130). This programme was approved by the ANC, which signalled a radical change in the character of black protest and the course of the protest movement. Several ANCYL leaders such as Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo were also elected to the party leadership structures (Mandela, 1994: 132). Where the ANC was in the past committed to keeping its activities legal, it had now accepted a more activist path and commitment to activities that deliberately defied apartheid legislation through strikes, boycotts, stay-at-homes, forms of passive resistance and protest marches (Mandela, 1994: 130).

The idea of passive resistance is derived from *satyagraha*, a means of non-violent resistance, civil disobedience or defiance of a discriminating law as employed by Mohandas Gandhi. In 1895, Gandhi established the Natal Indian Congress to protest racial discrimination and unfair taxation. In 1906, he led a passive resistance campaign against the pass system enshrined in the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 193, 327). During the latter campaign, pass books were burnt in protest, which led to Gandhi's arrest. He was instrumental in emphasising discrimination against the Indian population in Natal. Gandhi's early resistance to segregationist laws in South Africa was the vanguard of the black protest movement. Through his civil disobedience, Gandhi was able to win small victories (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 234 – 235).

The 1950s was a decade of activism with the ANC assuming a leadership role in the struggle movement in close cooperation with the SACP (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 326). In March of 1950, the ANC in the then Transvaal, the APO and the Transvaal Indian Congress participated in the Defend the Free Speech Convention (Mandela, 1994: 132) and called for a general strike on 1 May 1950 to protest pass laws and statutory discrimination. The May Day

strike was considered successful in spite of the 18 fatalities that ensued that day. When the South African parliament ratified the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 after the May Day strike, the SACP was effectively proscribed (see Sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 for more detail regarding the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950). According to Mandela (1994: 134), the enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act was instrumental in solidifying a united front in the liberation struggle and ensuring closer cooperation between the ANC, the South African Indian Congress and the SACP (Mandela, 1994: 134 – 135). At this time, leading ANC figures such as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu changed their stance regarding black exclusivity and Mandela (1994: 132, 134) declared that ‘clearly, the repression of any one liberation group was repression of all liberation groups’. In order to protest the banning of the SACP, the ANC, backed by other groups, called for a National Day of Protest on 26 June 1950. Mandela acted as national coordinator of the Day of Protest, which was the first nation-wide protest undertaken by the ANC, which proved to be reasonably effective.

The ANC would truly become a mass organisation during the 1952 Defiance Campaign (Mandela, 1994: 159). This campaign, which was fully known as the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, lasted for six months, and was aimed at peacefully defying six laws that were considered the most restrictive to black South Africans, i.e. the Suppression of Communism Act, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, laws pertaining to stock limitation and the pass laws (Mandela, 1994: 142). The ANC wrote a letter to Prime Minister DF Malan and demanded the suspension of the ‘six unjust laws’ by 29 February 1952 and threatened mass action in the case of non-compliance. Malan dismissed the ANC demands outright and the Defiance Campaign commenced on 26 June 1952 on the commemoration of the National Day of Protest of 1950 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 326; Mandela, 1994: 146). The exact nature of the planned civil disobedience would take the form of a nation-wide flouting of ‘petty apartheid’ strictures such as the breaking of curfew, use of public spaces designated for whites and travelling into designated areas without passes. During the Defiance Campaign, more than 8 000 people are estimated to have been arrested, while countless lost their jobs in the process (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 326 – 327; Mandela, 1994: 147).

The Defiance Campaign was considered successful because it mobilised people en masse in urban areas, gained a great deal of press coverage, significantly boosted ANC membership,

led to monetary donations to the ANC from abroad and launched the messianic reputations of resistance leaders such as Chief Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 327 – 328; Mandela, 1994: 153 – 161). The Defiance Campaign also experienced a number of telling set-backs such as its failure to mobilise the rural masses, as well as the ignominious volte-face by the then president-general of the ANC, Dr Moroka, who publicly rejected the fundamental principles of the ANC in order to avoid legal culpability. However, the violent physical punishment meted out by the NP government towards defiers, the imminent proscription of the ANC (and other resistance groups) and the ruthless and forceful efficiency of the apartheid government in the ‘black spot’ removals of places such as Sophiatown emphasised the long-term unfeasibility of passive resistance (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 328; Mandela, 1994: 192 – 194).

The Freedom Charter was a significant milestone in the liberation struggle and defined a future for South Africa that was founded on multi-racialism, political freedom, land reform and the dismantling of monopoly industries (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 328). The notion of a national convention authoring the Freedom Charter, in other words, a new constitution for the envisioned democratic South Africa, was the invention of Professor ZK Matthews after his sojourn in the US (Mandela, 1994: 199). The national convention became known as the Congress of the People and would represent all South Africans of all races and creeds. The council overseeing the organisation of the national convention was chaired by Chief Albert Luthuli, the then president of the ANC. The idea was to seek written ideas from people at grass roots level to inform the principles of the Freedom Charter. The people answered the call and the organising council was soon inundated with suggestions from all spheres of life. When the Congress of the People convened from 26 – 27 June 1955 in Kliptown near Soweto, the more than 3,000 delegates were presented with a draft Freedom Charter for approval crystallised from the ideas and desires of ordinary South Africans. On the second day of the Congress of the People, the convention was forcibly disrupted and broken up by the police on the grounds of suspected treason (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 329; Mandela, 1994: 202). The Freedom Charter emphasised the reality that a free and democratic South Africa would remain unattainable without deep-seated and large-scale structural and economic reform (Mandela, 1994: 206).

The ANC formally adopted the Freedom Charter in 1956 amid protests from radical Africanists in the ANCYL opposed to the notion of multi-racialism (Giliomee & Mbenga,

2007: 329). The move towards cooperation with Indian and white communists in the 1950s had already created discontent among those members supporting a more radical form of African nationalism. In 1959, the Africanists splintered from the ANC and created a new organisation, the Pan-Africanists Congress (PAC) under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. The PAC disagreed with the multi-racialism of the ANC and instead preferred non-racialism, although many of its members were resolutely anti-white. The Africanists were committed to the destruction of apartheid, were staunchly anti-communist and envisioned a United States of Africa (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 331; Mandela, 1994: 266 – 267). These Africanists, as they were called, would later inspire the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1960s (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 331).

The latter half of the 1950s saw decolonisation beginning to sweep the African continent signalled by Ghana's independence in 1957. By 1960, with the transformation of another 17 former African colonies into independent countries, it was clear that the African continent would be irrevocably changed. On 3 February 1960 during a state visit to South Africa, the British conservative Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, announced to the South African parliament in a watershed speech (Lewis, 2003: 467; Mandela, 1994: 279) that change was indeed imminent on the African continent:

The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it may take different forms, but it is happening everywhere. The wind of change is blowing through the continent (Macmillan, 2003: 467).

Macmillan reiterated Britain's commitment to decolonisation and the granting of self-government to former British colonies in Africa. He further expressed the British government's condemnation of apartheid (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 333, 336; Arnold, 2005: 333; Lewis, 2003: 467). The period of African decolonisation, excluding South Africa's democratisation in 1994, lasted until 1977 when Djibouti gained self-determination (Arnold, 2005: xxvii). During the period of African decolonisation, the apartheid government grew increasingly nervous and intensified its efforts to subdue any form of opposition and resistance. The crackdown and detention of struggle leaders by the apartheid government made it difficult to sustain the mobilisation of the resistance movement (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 330 – 331).

In spite of constant persecution, the liberation struggle continued with acts of resistance and protest demonstrations throughout the 1950s, notably the August 1956 march of 20,000 women of the Federation of South African Women to the Union Buildings protesting the expansion of pass laws to women. Similar instances of women's protest spontaneously continued and in 1959 led to a women's revolt against pass laws and land conservation regulations in rural Natal (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 330 – 333). By the end of 1959, the ANC was once again planning a nation-wide protest against pass laws by publicly burning passes and refraining from going to work. The ANC campaign was scheduled to commence on 31 March and last until 26 June 1960 (considered Freedom Day in ANC history). The PAC, whose leadership was fully aware of the ANC campaign, opportunistically precipitated the nation-wide protest of the ANC by launching its own demonstration against pass laws on 21 March 1960. In the Langa Township near Cape Town, a protest march ended in the killing of two demonstrators by police. The bloodshed in Langa was eclipsed by the violent suppression of a protest march in Sharpeville close to Vereeniging. Thousands of demonstrators converged on the police station to be arrested for not carrying passes. The small police force panicked and indiscriminately opened fire on the crowd killing 69 demonstrators and wounding more than 400, including women and children (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 334 – 335; Mandela, 1994: 280 – 281).

Initially, the PAC campaign did not receive much support in Johannesburg, Durban or the Eastern Cape cities, but after the Sharpeville massacre and Langa killings, the ANC called for a national stay-at-home campaign on 28 March 1960 and announced a nation-wide Day of Mourning in sympathy of the dead. In the aftermath of Sharpeville, the ANC leadership publicly burnt their passes, hundreds of thousands of black South Africans stayed away from work, more than 50,000 black people once again gathered in Langa to protest the killings, while unrest spread across the country (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 334; Mandela, 1994: 282). The panic-stricken apartheid government, already nervous due to the decolonisation of the rest of Africa, announced a State of Emergency and went on to detain more than 18,000 people during its course. The apartheid government's violent suppression of peaceful demonstrations shocked the world and was followed by the disinvestment of foreign capital and the plummeting of share prices on the stock exchange. On 8 April 1960, the apartheid government banned both the ANC and PAC (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 335; Mandela, 1994: 282).

The banning of the ANC drove the operations of the organisation underground and led to the creation of a militant wing of the ANC, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), with Nelson Mandela as chairman of the High Command. Non-violent resistance had ended and the ANC decided to continue the struggle through the armed resistance of MK, while the broader ANC would continue with its policy of non-violence (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 336 – 337; Mandela, 1994: 323). MK decided on sabotage as the preferred form of armed resistance, because it would target the installations of the apartheid state and not ordinary civilians (Mandela, 1994: 336). The struggle leaders had reluctantly come to accept that armed resistance remained one of the few recourses open to the liberation struggle, but wished to avoid inciting a race-based civil war (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 338; Mandela, 1994: 336). Between 1961 and 1963, MK committed 200 acts of sabotage, which largely comprised the detonation of home-made incendiary devices, against structures such as power plants, telecommunication and transport channels and military installations. The aim of sabotage was to create an atmosphere of fear that would result in the disinvestment of foreign direct investment and frighten the NP government into negotiating for a new political and social dispensation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 336 – 338; Mandela, 1994: 336).

With the ANC and PAC banned and many of the struggle leaders imprisoned or going into exile during the mid-1960s, the struggle movement looked towards a new guard to take up the baton of resistance and found it in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The BCM mushroomed at universities in the late 1960s with the establishment of black student organisations with the aim of providing a platform and voice for the oppression and aspirations of black students. The ideology behind the BCM was born of the intellect of Steve Biko who believed that the liberation of black people and the end to racial discrimination could solely be achieved through the mobilisation of the black populace. He argued that even the liberal whites who opposed apartheid could not grasp the nature and pain of black repression. Biko believed that through years of white oppression, black people were forced into an inferiority complex based on the mere fact that they were black and that white notions of beauty played an insidious role in their mental and spiritual subjugation (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 353 – 354). Biko, consequently, believed that mass action could only occur once black South Africans were mentally emancipated. The BCM adopted the ideology of ‘black power’ from the American Civil Rights Movement. The BCM was a revolutionary

movement and embraced violence as a necessary tool in the liberation struggle (Terreblanche 2002: 351).

During the volatile 1970s, the Soweto uprising of 1976 was the most renowned consequence of black consciousness. Prior to the entrenchment of the apartheid state in 1948, black education was hampered by inadequate funding and facilities. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, however, made the education of black South African children the domain of the Native Affairs Department and usurped the mission schools that taught the same English-based curriculum to black and white (Mandela, 1994: 194 – 195). The aim of the Bantu Education Act was to offer a form of education that would restrict black people to a certain level of labour, i.e. unskilled labour (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 320). In 1976, the government enforced the teaching of particular subjects in Afrikaans to black South African children. In the era that saw the swelling of radical black consciousness and the reawakening of black dignity and defiance, the apartheid government's decision to impose Afrikaans, the language of the oppressor, as education medium caused thousands of black school children to take to the streets of Soweto to riot on 16 June 1976. The demonstrators vented their anger by burning down buildings, shebeens, schools, clinics and libraries (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 355, 362 – 366; Arnold, 2005: 564, 595).

The riots lasted three weeks and transformed into a violent battle between angry black youths and the police. The rioting spread to other townships across South Africa and involved black, Indian and coloured youths. While the decision to enforce Afrikaans as education medium incited the uprising, it was essentially an eruption of the discontent of the black population after decades of callous discrimination (Arnold, 2005: 565). In September 1977, Steve Biko was killed while being subjected to torture in police custody, which further fuelled the fires of black disgruntlement. In the aftermath of the Soweto uprising and the ghastly death of Biko, approximately 700 demonstrators were killed in the violence by October 1977, many shot dead by the police. Scores of black youths left the country to join MK and Poqo (later APLA for the Azanian People Liberation Army), the military wing of the PAC, in exile. The Soweto uprising shook the foundations of apartheid South Africa and irrevocably altered the political landscape (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 364 – 366; Arnold, 2005: 565; Terreblanche, 2002: 351).

The 1980s was a decade that saw the emergence of vigorous political resistance, legal battles between the state and activists, the imprisonment of black activists and accusations of human rights violations perpetrated by the apartheid government against political opponents. This period saw increased black mobilisation (Arnold, 2005: 730) and the establishment of the United Democratic Front (UDF), which consolidated community action groups and other interest groups into a broad, coordinated non-racialist, anti-apartheid movement (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 379 – 382). Amid growing internal and external pressure, the South African government introduced limited representation for coloured and Indian South Africans through an amendment to the constitution and the introduction of the Tricameral Parliament in 1983 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 380). Black South Africans remained excluded from any form of representation in parliament, which once again led to wide-spread revolt in townships across the country between 1984 and 1987 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 383; Arnold, 2005: 730).

As the black revolt intensified with calls from Oliver Tambo, the ANC leader in exile, to render South Africa ungovernable, the attempts by the South African government to suppress the uprising became harsher. The South African government declared consecutive States of Emergency during this period and detained thousands of UDF leaders, while numerous leaders were murdered or subjected to torture by the security forces (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 384; Arnold, 2005: 730 – 732). The internal turmoil was turning the tide resolutely towards an impasse when the traditional allies of apartheid South Africa, i.e. the US and Britain, introduced sanctions against South Africa, which effectively crippled the South African economy (Arnold, 2005: 732). By 1985, overtures were being made between traditional enemies when the South African State President of the time, PW Botha, announced in parliament the possibility of freeing Mandela on the condition that he categorically reject violence as political tool. By that time, Mandela had already been offered multiple conditional offers of release, which he rejected time and again, demanding the unconditional release of political prisoners and the cessation of violence perpetrated by the apartheid government towards the black population of South Africa. Mandela reiterated his support to the liberation struggle and the ANC by refusing the offer, but in private also wrote to the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, and suggested a meeting. This rapprochement would initiate the informal talks that ultimately evolved into formal negotiations (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 386; Mandela, 1994: 624).

3.2.4 Negotiations and democracy

After a routine medical procedure and a short stay in hospital in 1985, Mandela was separated from his fellow political prisoners on his return to Pollsmoor Prison (Mandela, 1994: 625). Instead of protesting this draconian measure, he felt the time was ripe for tentatively initiating dialogue with the NP government in a private capacity without consulting fellow political prisoners or the ANC cadres in exile. Between 1985 and 1987, Mandela and Coetsee maintained tentative contact through secret visits and an exchange of letters regarding the possibility of meeting PW Botha, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha (Mandela, 1994: 626 – 632). During the same time frame, National Intelligence and exiled ANC leaders entered into tentative talks and liberal Afrikaner intellectuals openly met with exiled ANC cadres at a cultural festival in Dakar, Senegal (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 393).

The contact between Mandela and Coetsee resulted in a series of private discussions between Mandela and an informal committee of government officials with the full cognisance of President Botha. By this time, Mandela had informed his fellow political prisoners of the possibility of talks with the government and even managed to correspond with Oliver Tambo and address some of his concerns regarding the matter (Mandela, 1994: 638). The talks commenced in 1988 and focused on the armed struggle, the alliance between the ANC and the SACP, majoritarian rule, racial reconciliation and the idea of nationalisation of the South African economy as expressed in the Freedom Charter of 1955. These preliminary discussions led to a meeting between Mandela and President Botha in 1989, which may not have advanced the possibility of negotiations between the ANC and the NP government, but signalled the weakening of the hard-line position of the NP and that an atmosphere conducive to political change was developing (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 386; Mandela, 1994: 659).

When in August 1989 PW Botha resigned as State President and was replaced by FW de Klerk, the secret talks continued and, subsequently, Mandela requested the unconditional release of political prisoners as a show of good faith. De Klerk agreed and political prisoners were thereafter gradually released from prison (Mandela, 1994: 661). By September 1989, the informal talks had stalled, but world events unexpectedly broke the deadlock when the Berlin Wall fell on 9 November 1989 and signalled the demise of the communist Soviet Empire. The communist threat that had so long preoccupied successive apartheid

governments was no longer real and the justification that apartheid was a bastion against the spread of communism was immediately void (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 395).

On 2 February 1990, De Klerk addressed the South African parliament and announced the unbanning of proscribed political organisations, including the ANC, PAC and SACP. Furthermore, political prisoners imprisoned for non-violent protests were to be released, while the death penalty was immediately suspended. De Klerk also called for the establishment of formal negotiations. On 11 February 1990, amid intense media interest and speculation, Mandela walked from prison a free man. At the Grand Parade in Cape Town, Mandela was able to, for the first time in 27 years, publicly address a gathering of South African people without reprisal from government or fear of proscription (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 396; Mandela, 1994: 671 – 677).

The period between Mandela's release in 1990 and 1994 when the first democratic elections took place was a tense period of formal negotiations, behind-the-scenes wrangling, the continuation of political killings and black-on-black violence that left thousands dead with evidence of a clandestine force (Third Force) fomenting the strife (Arnold, 2005: 780). Official talks between the ANC and NP government were suspended after the Sebokeng massacre when the police shot and killed ANC demonstrators, although informal channels between Mandela and De Klerk were left open, which allowed them to reschedule official negotiations for May 1990 (Mandela, 1994: 691). The NP government continued to dismantle apartheid structures, while political exiles were returning to home shores. Talks about formal negotiations resumed in May 1990 and resulted in the Groote Schuur Minute, which committed both groups of stakeholders to a formal process of negotiations, effectively lifting the nearly decade long State of Emergency in South Africa. The Minute also called for the establishment of a combined committee that would work towards the resolution of remaining problems between the stakeholder groups (Mandela, 1994: 693 – 694). With the signing of the Pretoria Minute on 6 August 1990, the ANC officially suspended the armed struggle in an attempt to facilitate the negotiation process (Mandela, 1994: 702). At the subsequent ANC conference in July 1991, Mandela was elected president, thereby receiving a formal mandate from his organisation to continue with the negotiation process and to transform the ANC from a prohibited struggle organisation into a political party (Mandela, 1994: 709).

Formal negotiations between the NP government, ANC and other stakeholders officially commenced on 20 December 1991 and became known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). CODESA comprised nearly 20 different stakeholder groups (Arnold, 2005: 781; Mandela, 1994: 712) as well as observers from the United Nations (UN), Commonwealth, Europe and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The ANC delegation was led by Cyril Ramaphosa, the recently elected secretary-general of the ANC, a man with a strong union background and considered by Mandela to be a gifted negotiator (Mandela, 1994: 709). The most important outcome of the first session of CODESA was undoubtedly the Declaration of Intent, which committed all stakeholders to the development of a new constitution protected by an autonomous legal system, which would guarantee equality for all as enshrined in a bill of rights. South Africa would be governed through a multi-party democracy where all adults would share the voting franchise and one common voter's role (Mandela, 1994: 714).

In spite of the progress made at the first round of CODESA, the burgeoning relationship between Mandela and De Klerk received a setback when the President launched a very public attack on the ANC at the end of business on the first day. Mandela immediately responded to the allegations lodged by De Klerk in strong terms and, although both appeared conciliatory afterward, the trust between the two was damaged (Arnold, 2005: 781; Mandela, 1994: 716). The second round of CODESA commenced four months after the first round of negotiations. Negotiations at CODESA II grounded to a halt over the NP government's perceived attempts to install veto rights pertaining to the proposed constitution and black majority rule (Arnold, 2005: 781; Terreblanche, 2002: 100). Although CODESA II ended in deadlock, bilateral talks between Mandela and De Klerk would continue to drive the negotiations process (Mandela, 1994: 722 – 723). Throughout this entire process, violence in townships remained rife and threatened to thwart the success of the peace process.

After months of bilateral talks and broad-based negotiations, Mandela and De Klerk finally signed a Record of Understanding on 26 September 1992. South Africa would become a constitutional democracy governed by a lone, democratically elected constitutional assembly guided by a new constitution. The date for the first democratic elections was determined and within a year, consensus was reached regarding a draft interim constitution (Arnold, 2005: 783; Terreblanche, 2002: 99). The ANC and NP also agreed on cooperative governance prior to majority rule and conceptualised a government of national unity (GNU), which would

include all major parties for a five-year term. Such an arrangement would ease the transition into majority rule without incapacitating the civil service (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 406; Mandela, 1994: 727).

Apart from the formal multi-party negotiations of CODESA and the private bilateral talks between Mandela and De Klerk, an informal process of negotiations was also proceeding between the ANC and the corporate sector (Terreblanche, 2002: 95). The aim of these informal meetings between the ANC leadership and heads of industry was to determine the future economic system of a democratic South Africa and the future economic policy of a representative government. According to Terreblanche, (2002: 96 – 98), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) brokered a compromise on economic policy between the NP government and corporate sector, on the one hand, and the ANC leadership, on the other hand, which committed South Africa to an economic model founded on neo-liberal free market economic policy and an agreed strategy of wealth redistribution via economic growth. The corporate sector successfully persuaded the ANC that economic growth would automatically lead to higher employment and gradually ‘trickle down’ to benefit the impoverished black majority (Terreblanche, 2002: 62).

The corporate sector successfully perpetuated a number of myths during the course of the informal economic negotiations. Firstly, they proposed the notion that the racial and monopoly capitalism, on which the South African economy was based, was liberal capitalism when, in real terms, the black population was, through years of statutory labour repression, prevented from participating in the economy on an equal basis (Terreblanche, 2002: 57, 62). Secondly, the corporate sector managed to deny their culpability for colonialism, segregation and apartheid and established economic growth as the sole option for economic redistribution (Terreblanche, 2002: 101). According to Terreblanche (2002: 98, 106 – 107), the ANC underwent an ideological sea-change and replaced socialism with liberal capitalism as its economic model of choice. The ANC therefore capitulated on economic issues in order to facilitate the formal negotiations and, inadvertently, ceded structural control to corporate South Africa.

From 26 to 29 April 1994, adult South Africans of all creeds and races went to the polls to elect the first democratic constitutional assembly. The elections encountered major logistical challenges, with almost 23 million qualified voters who needed to be accommodated.

Millions of voters lacked the prerequisite identity document to vote, which necessitated the issue of interim documents, a system that proved vulnerable to irregularities. The ANC emerged from the elections as the dominant political party in South Africa with almost 63% of the popular vote, with the NP as the major opposition with approximately 20% of the vote (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 408). The GNU was constituted when Mandela was inaugurated as the first democratically elected president of South Africa on 10 May 1994 (Arnold, 2005: 785; Mandela, 1994: 746).

South Africa was at last ruled by representative government and had a brand new constitution ratified by President Mandela in 1996, although the GNU was beset by major structural and economic challenges (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 411). South African society remained deeply divided and structurally unequal and the GNU rolled out the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to redress the structural and economic inequalities fostered by apartheid. However, as the ANC had already committed themselves to a free market economy and redistribution through economic growth prior to the elections, the programme failed and was formally replaced by a new Programme for Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996 (Arnold, 2005: 786; Terreblanche, 2002: 109). The decline of the NP became imminent when De Klerk and the NP withdrew from the GNU in 1996, emphasising the divide that still yawned between black South Africans and the Afrikaners (Arnold, 2005: 786).

By 1996, Mandela had already delegated much of the day-to-day governance to Vice President, Thabo Mbeki, while he concentrated on reconciliation and nation-building (Daniel, 2006: 27). Mandela became nation-builder in chief and cultivated the role of dignified statesmen, peacemaker, consummate politician and diplomat. His reconciliatory and sensitive engagement with the white minority charmed the entire world and contributed significantly to the mythmaking of Mandela as charismatic and messianic icon (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 412). Mandela's presidency was a time of immense hope and optimism, but failed to translate political transformation into socio-economic transformation. Mandela also came to regret the lack of propitious action by his government in the face of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, although his post-presidential activist role in this regard has been momentous. His major contribution as president was his unswerving recognition of the constitution, his capacity to empathise with former enemies, and the fortitude to disagree with political allies. His single presidential

term further served to entrench the sovereignty of the South African constitution (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 416 – 417).

It is premature to judge the full extent of Mandela's legacy, because it is still unfolding (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 417). Part of his legacy is the necessary emergence of a dynamic black elite class, which redefined and reinvigorated post-apartheid South African society (Terreblanche, 2002: 133). The rise of the black elite, however, is starkly contrasted with the increasing impoverishment of a large black proletariat. According to Terreblanche (2002: 135), the new black elites were co-opted into adopting neo-liberalist capitalism to the neglect of the poor masses. The new dispensation therefore restricted socio-economic redress to the black elite and perpetuated a new black elitism modelled on white elitism. Where white elitism was based on ethnic intolerance, black elitism is based on indifference and ambivalence towards the lower black classes (Terreblanche, 2002: 135 – 138). South Africa's political transition will ultimately be decided by the consequences of democratic capitalism, which has already created a vast chasm between the rich and the poor. Thus, South Africa's transformation remains unfinished because of the persistence of socio-economic structural inequality and Terreblanche (2002: 138) warns of the possibility of a second struggle: a class struggle.

3.3 CONTEXTUAL CONSTRAINTS ON THE RHETOR

The South African socio-political context is the overriding exigency of the rhetorical situation. In the case of Nelson Mandela and South Africa, the contextual constraints were all informed by the singular contexts of segregation and apartheid. The principle constraints on Nelson Mandela as political and public persona associated with the liberation struggle was therefore contextual in nature and was responsible for shaping his rhetorical response to these socio-political contexts. During his political career, Nelson Mandela was subjected to the statutory segregation instilled by the colonial powers and the restrictive apartheid system. The segregationist legislation of the Union of South Africa after 1910 and statutory apartheid after 1948 contextually constrained black South Africans and the activists involved in the liberation struggle.

3.3.1 Political and statutory systems

Colonial segregation and apartheid systematically deprived black people of their rights (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 321). The Native Affairs Department of the Union of South Africa (established 1910) was responsible for the Native Land Act of 1913, which refashioned the rights of indigenous people regarding the purchase, rent, ownership and occupation of land in the new South African Union. The stipulations of the Act designated certain areas as exclusive native areas where black South Africans were required to settle. These designated areas corresponded to the existing native reserves, locations and black-owned farms and comprised less than 8% of the territory in the Union (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 232 – 233, 251).

The Native Land Act of 1913 was followed by the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which restricted and controlled the movement of African people to urban areas of the ‘white man’s creation’ (Terreblanche, 2002: 255). These two pieces of segregationist legislation successfully subverted African peasantry, aided in the proletarianisation of Africans to become part of a cheap and compliant labour force for exploitation by the mining, industrial and agricultural establishments, while confining the predominantly black South African populace to native areas far removed from white controlled urban areas (Terreblanche, 2002: 255). White supremacy in South Africa became firmly entrenched with the adoption of legislation such as the Wage Act of 1925, which ensured higher wages for ‘civilised’ workers i.e. whites; the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926, which reserved jobs for white workers; and the Native Administration Act of 1927, which guaranteed more control over the native areas (Terreblanche, 2002: 273 – 274). The Riotous Assemblies Act of 1930 allowed the union government to banish dissident political leaders (Terreblanche, 2002: 281).

The surprising election victory of the NP in 1948 led to widespread fear in the English economic sector that the Afrikaner government would restructure the economy and nationalise the mines (Terreblanche, 2002: 302). These fears proved unfounded as successive Afrikaner governments recognised the advantages of racial capitalism and maintained the economic status quo. By the 1966 elections, the apartheid system enjoyed widespread support among English-speaking South Africans also (Arnold, 2005: 331). After assuming power in 1948, the first task of the NP government was to remove the symbols of British hegemony, secure its power in all spheres, including security and native affairs, and to implement its

apartheid scheme (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 310 – 311; Arnold, 2005: 331; Terreblanche, 2002: 303).

The NP government prohibited all forms of black political activity through legislation, for instance, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 and the Terrorism Act of 1967 (Arnold, 2005: 334 – 335). The Suppression of Communism Act banned the SACP and prohibited suspected communists of occupying public posts or practising as legal representatives (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 322). The law was formulated in such broad terms so as to allow the prohibition of any acts of resistance, which were deemed too fierce, aimed at opposing government policy. The Suppression of Communism Act was augmented in 1976 with the Home Security Act, which defined communism broadly to mean the attempts to bring about political, economic, industrial and/or social change by means of promoting rioting or disorder, or by means of any illegal action or defiance or the threat of illegal action or defiance (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 323). The definition of communism was so broad and indeterminate that any political opposition could be construed as an act of communism. The Act also allowed the government to enforce banning orders and conduct raids against suspected communists. A banning order was a legal directive from the government, forcing a person to resign from designated organisations and restricting a person from attending any kind of assembly or get-together (Mandela, 1994: 155).

Mandela was arrested for his involvement in the organising of the Defiance Campaign under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (Mandela, 1994: 156 – 157). After being found guilty of statutory communism, Mandela was subjected to a six-month banning order. He was not allowed to leave Johannesburg or attend gatherings of any kind and, as a result, could not attend the ANC annual conference that year. The Suppression of Communism Act became a major constraint of Mandela's struggle activities. Subsequent banning orders in 1953 meant that Mandela could no longer openly participate in the liberation struggle. The banning order lasted until 1955, during which time he could not even visit his family home in the Transkei (Mandela, 1994: 187, 207). The banning order also effectively prohibited Mandela from openly participating in the historic Congress of the People in 1955 where the Freedom Charter was crystallised (Mandela, 1994: 202).

In 1956, Mandela was arrested and put on trial for high treason, together with 155 other accused, all facing the possibility of the death penalty (Mandela, 1994: 232, 236). The Treason Trial would drag on intermittently until 1961, when the accused were found not guilty (Mandela, 1994: 307 – 308). After the Sharpeville massacre on 21 March 1960 and the ensuing State of Emergency, the ANC and PAC were declared unlawful. Any and all forms of resistance would constitute a criminal offense with severe punitive consequences. Immediately after the verdict, Mandela went into hiding to help organise the banned ANC from the underground (Mandela, 1994: 316, 319).

The apartheid state intensified its repressive measures and focused on detaining MK cadres, especially its leadership, and on 11 July 1963 arrested most of the MK high command in Rivonia. In the subsequent court trial, Mandela and ten others (Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mhlangeni, Bob Hepple, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, Rusty Bernstein and Jimmy Kantor) were charged with sabotage under the provisions of the Sabotage Act of 1962, which carried the death penalty as the maximum sentence, in what would become known as the Rivonia Trial (Mandela, 1994: 402 – 403, 414).

At the time of the arrests at Rivonia, Mandela was already incarcerated after his arrest on 5 August 1962 in the vicinity of Howick, Natal, after a visit to Chief Luthuli to brief him on the activities of MK. In the subsequent trial from 15 October to 7 November 1962, Mandela was found guilty on the charges of the incitement of people to strike illegally during the 1961 stay-at-home, as well as for leaving the country without proper documentation to attend the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in January 1962. He was sentenced to a total of five years in prison (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 337; Mandela, 1994: 371 – 372). Mandela's arrest and imprisonment signalled the end of his underground operations and travels on behalf of MK, which had earned him the moniker 'The Black Pimpernel' (Mandela, 1994: 372 – 373). The Rivonia Trial enjoyed worldwide attention and, on 11 June 1964, Mandela and seven of the accused (Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mhlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Dennis Goldberg) were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment (Du Preez Bezdrob, 2006: 185 – 195; Mandela, 2006: 131).

3.3.2 Censorship

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 remains one of the most insidious pieces of blanket legislation of the apartheid state and was also used to effect censorship. It allowed the government the right to ban any publication that was deemed to perpetuate the aims of communism, to name individuals or organisations suspected of communism and to proscribe their activities and curtail their civil liberties. Attorneys suspected of communism could further be prohibited from practising law (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 322). The Suppression of Communism Act rendered all forms of dissident mass communication, such as public assemblies and press statements of struggle organisations, illegal. The Act effectively restricted the South African media industry that, for fear of prosecution, refused to publish statements of subversive organisations or even print their pamphlets (Mandela, 1994: 189). In 1953, the government introduced a new publications control board to censor the content of film and books deemed to be threats to public morality. The media were further proscribed and strictures were imposed on the type of reporting allowed regarding the ANC and other struggle organisations or issues.

3.4 THE RHETORICAL AUDIENCES

Political rhetoric or speechmaking is a public endeavour (Kennedy, 1991b: vii – viii; Cooper, 1932: xxi) and implies the involvement of a particular audience. A rhetor will often identify the audience in the rhetoric. The notion of audience is multi-faceted and a rhetor can have multiple audiences at the same time. The actual rhetorical audience could even differ from the one envisioned by the rhetor. A rhetor conceptualises the audience(s) in a variety of ways, which include the notion of the ideal audience, the empirical audience, the agents-of-change audience and the created audience (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 22 – 23).

The ideal audience is the audience that the rhetor ideally wants to address. This audience is sympathetic towards the rhetor's point of view and values and shares an experiential frame of reference with the rhetor. An ideal audience is therefore adaptable and persuadable. The empirical audience refers to the audience that will most likely be the actual audience of a given rhetorical act. It is possible for the empirical and ideal audience to overlap. The agents-of-change audience refers to an audience comprised of individuals not only willing to adapt their own points of view and behaviour, but who are also able to change the opinions and

behaviour of others. These audience members are powerful in the social, economic or political spheres and are considered opinion leaders who influence the public. Agents-of-change can also form part of an ideal audience, except when the rhetor and audience have views that are too divergent. The created audience is an audience that feels empowered by a rhetorical act. This type of audience initially feels powerless and unable to bring about change and is therefore passive (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 23). Apart from the different conceptual audiences, rhetorical audiences further vary in terms of size and the level of influence exerted by the medium and perception of the message.

Prior to the proliferation of the electronic media, the rhetorical audiences were restricted to the immediate context and perhaps to the print medium in the form of newspapers or magazines. With the proliferation of mass media such as radio and television, and new media such as the World Wide Web and Internet, the notion of audience became significantly extended. In order to gauge the rhetorical audiences of a rhetorical act, it is necessary to consult the message as well as the historical context (Rybacki & Rybacki, 1991: 25 – 27). The audiences addressed by Nelson Mandela are broadly discussed in terms of the temporal eras as demarcated in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3.6). The entire corpus of speeches rendered the corpus too large to discuss the audience of the immediate context for each of the 805 rhetorical acts. Thus, the focus is rather on the generic and symbolic audiences addressed by Nelson Mandela during his political career.

The conventional understanding of audience is that a rhetor would address a particular audience with the intent to persuade and elicit a particular response, for instance, becoming agents-of-change (Gaonkar, 2004: 13; Hauser, 1986: 37). The rhetorical audience is therefore neither ‘universal’ nor ‘imaginary’, but historically extant and explicit (Gaonkar, 2004: 14). The notion of audience is contingent and can alter with the passage of time and change of context. Aristotle (1991: 38, 120; Carey, 1994: 26) emphasised pathos in his rhetorical theory where pathos is aimed at eliciting a particular disposition in the audience members. Carey (1994: 27) remarks that emotional appeals are conventionally considered to be especially effective for cultivating goodwill. The classical concept of rhetorical audience assumes the possibility that persuasion can take place; that it is already a distinct possibility prior to the rhetorical act. In the current case of Nelson Mandela as rhetor, the concept of the rhetorical audience should be elaborated to include extraordinary contexts where rhetoric can be utilised as acts of symbolic resistance and not purely as persuasion.

Throughout his life as rhetor, Nelson Mandela addressed a complex body of audiences. During the struggle era, iconic speeches such as his presidential address to the ANCYL annual conference in 1951, his presidential address to the ANC Transvaal Congress in 1953, and his speech on behalf of the ANC delegation to the PAFMECA conference in Addis Ababa in 1962 were addressed to sympathetic audiences, in other words, people with whom he shared ideals, goals and a frame of reference. His ideal audience and empirical audience therefore overlapped in instances such as these, because the immediate context comprised an audience sympathetic to his message. The ideal and empirical audiences further overlap with agents-of-change and created audiences, although the association is less direct. The international community meets the requirements of an agents-of-change audience. Especially the UN, OAU and foreign governments came to play important roles in maintaining international political pressure on the apartheid government by advocating the introduction of sanctions (Arnold, 2005: 329, 343). Indeed, when the traditional allies of South Africa, namely Britain and the US, finally distanced themselves from apartheid South Africa in the 1980s, the consequent economic sanctions brought the South African economy to its knees (Arnold, 2005: 732). Mandela also had a created audience. This is evident from the 1952 Defiance Campaign (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 327 – 328), which resulted in an exponential increase in ANC membership numbers. A created audience feels helpless and is spurred on to action by a rhetorical act, and the massive response by the black population to take part in the Defiance Campaign and thereafter to formally become members of the ANC is indicative of their empowerment.

During the struggle era, Mandela also explicitly addressed hostile audiences, for instance, the apartheid government and the white minority, through his testimony and court statements in the Treason Trial (1956 – 1960); his first court statement in the 1962 trial for inciting a riot and leaving the country illegally; and his statement from the dock at the start of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial (1964). Mandela utilised the South African law courts as a platform to express the ideals and views of the ANC and liberation struggle as regards the attainment of democracy and the extension of universal franchise to black South Africans (Mandela, 1994: 297), as is evident from his 1962 court statement when he declared the following:

Some time during the progress of these proceedings, I hope to be able to indicate that this case is a trial of the aspirations of the African people, and because of that I thought it proper to conduct my own defence (Mandela, 1962a).

At the start of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial on 20 April 1964, Mandela elected to make a statement from the dock instead of testifying and submitting to cross-examination, although the latter is legally more valuable. He explained his reasoning in this regard:

We believed it was important to open the defence with a statement of our politics and ideals...it was more important that I use the platform to highlight our grievances (Mandela, 1994: 430).

Mandela consequently deliberately utilised his court appearances to engage a hostile audience and emphasise the structural inequality between South Africans of different races. Mandela's statement became widely publicised and therefore also addressed other audiences (ideal, agents-of-change and created audiences), even though his writings and rhetoric were under censorship (Mandela, 1994: 439). The court rhetoric of Mandela is viewed as symbolic resistance, rather than an attempt at persuasion. Mandela and the other Rivonia accused were aware that the death penalty was the maximum sentence for the charge of sabotage. Mandela acknowledged their intent to use the Rivonia Trial to morally discredit apartheid (Mandela, 1994: 429):

Right from the start we had made it clear that we intended to use the trial not as a test of the law but as a platform for our beliefs...We saw the trial as a continuation of the struggle by other means.

After his release from prison, Mandela continued to address an amalgam of audiences. He continued to speak to his ideal audience, his fellow compatriots and international supporters who opposed apartheid and participated in the liberation struggle. During the liberation era, Mandela's empirical audiences comprised particular interest groups such as the apartheid government, business executives, local and international media, the discontented black youth, Afrikaners, foreign governments and organisations including the UN and the OAU. The empirical audience therefore overlapped with the ideal, agents-of-change, created and hostile audiences and depended on the specific context of delivery. This trend continued into Mandela's presidency, but at a much larger scale. In democracy, public rhetoric is 'one of the grandest prerogatives of the presidency' to such an extent that the modern presidency has become known as the 'rhetorical presidency' (Gelderman, 1995: 68 – 69).

Prior to the twentieth century, a president in a democracy would address himself primarily to the various government sectors. With the development of mass media and new media, the idea of the president as the national voice with the unique responsibility to shape public opinion became entrenched (Gelderman, 1995: 70). Nowadays, democratically elected presidents are presented with a plethora of possible rhetorical occasions (Gelderman, 1995: *ibid*), which for Mandela comprised such events as his presidential inauguration, state banquets, openings and closings of parliament, presidential budget debates, party conferences, international media interviews and news conferences, national holidays, sporting events, award and graduation ceremonies, and special interest activism (HIV/AIDS), to name a few. In his post-presidential era, the amount of Mandela's rhetorical occasions decreased, even though he continued to address various types of audiences (ideal, empirical, agents-of-change, created and hostile), but specifically pertaining to special interest activism, for instance, the struggle against HIV/AIDS, the Burundi Peace Process, the plight of children, or special occasions such as birthdays or commemorations, for example, Walter Sisulu's 90th birthday in 2002, and the commemoration of ten years of democracy in South Africa.

Mandela always considered his audience, as is evident from his account of a public-speaking event on 22 June 1952 in preparation of the Defiance Campaign. Mandela addressed 10,000 people, the largest audience he had ever addressed, and extolled the significance of the upcoming Defiance Campaign and the essential need for cooperation among Africans, Indians and coloureds. According to long-time friend and fellow Rivonia accused, Ahmed Kathrada (2007), Mandela has the ability to put his audience at ease. Mandela explains his style of audience engagement as follows:

One cannot speak to a mass of people as one addresses an audience of two dozen. Yet I have always tried to take the same care to explain matters to great audiences as to small ones (Mandela, 1994: 148).

From personal interviews with former speechwriters and close friends of Mandela (Harris, 2007; Kathrada, 2007), he is described as a rhetor known for reading an audience and the immediate context, and adapting a speech accordingly. Harris (2007) recalls instances where Mandela delivered a speech completely different from the one drafted for the occasion. Harris (2007) further elaborates as follows on Mandela's commitment to his audience(s):

He is so disciplined and so mindful of his role. It's very difficult to find him off guard or speaking off-the-cuff without a sense of an audience and its possible implications.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter deals with the rhetorical situation that informed Nelson Mandela's rhetoric within the given time frame. Rhetorical analysis conventionally requires that a rhetorical act be judged in terms of its rhetorical situation, which comprises the exigency, specific contextual constraints and the rhetorical audiences. With a large corpus of speeches, considering each rhetorical situation would be protracted and repetitive; thus, the overarching rhetorical situation that governs Mandela's rhetorical corpus is described instead.

The exigency is the compelling motivation in a rhetorical situation that elicited the specific rhetorical act and can include social, political, economic and cultural factors. In the case of the current research, the exigency describes the South African socio-political context of the twentieth century. Collectively, these forces make up the highly complex South African socio-political context of the time. The major forces of influence on the twentieth-century South African socio-political context include the entrenchment of segregation in South African society after unification in 1910 with the Act of Westminster; the rise of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism and its evolution into statutory apartheid; the concomitant rise of African nationalism and the liberation struggle with its drive towards a democratic dispensation; and the process of negotiations and the establishment of democratic rule. Nelson Mandela's rhetoric is conceived as a reaction to these forces; therefore, an understanding of these forces is essential to contextualise the current research.

A rhetorical act is a targeted endeavour and, in order to fully understand the rhetorical situation, the notion of the rhetorical audience is also considered. In the case of Nelson Mandela, the notion of 'audience' rarely describes a monolithic entity, but rather consists of multiple, overlapping and fluid audiences. Mandela's use of rhetorical acts as symbolic forms of resistance towards essentially hostile audiences is considered to be unique. The constraints that shaped the rhetorical act were also explored. As rhetor, Nelson Mandela was constrained by a unique environment and immediate situation, which is conceptualised as the contextual

constraints of statutory segregation and apartheid, including the strictures exerted through the repressive political and statutory systems, specifically censorship.

CHAPTER**4****METHODOLOGY**

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The term ‘methodology’ is by no means a static term with a standardised meaning. ‘Methodology’ and ‘method’ are sometimes used interchangeably (Sandelowski, 2003: 324) to indicate the procedure of inquiry and techniques used to garner data, while the resurgence of pragmatism in the 1960s offered ‘methodology’ as a term to describe the study or utilisation of methods of research inquiry (Maxcy, 2003: 77). When the term ‘methodology’ is used within the current study, it signifies the encompassing research approach, including the logic of justification (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003: 352), while ‘method’ designates the actual research procedure and techniques utilised to collect and analyse data.

The study finds itself in the grey area of overlap between the humanities and the social sciences, as evidenced by the discussion in Chapter 2 where the meta-theoretical position of the study is clarified. Since methodological pluralism is essential for this research because of the philosophical pluralism of both constructivism and pragmatism, the study follows a mixed methods research design. Analysis is twofold, i.e. by quantitative computer content analysis and by qualitative description. No aspect of the analysis follows *a priori* categories, although the quantitative aspect is procedural and systematic, as it is performed by means of specialised software, i.e. *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*, a quantitative content analysis programme. The qualitative analysis follows thick description by using the metaphorical concepts of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as tools of inquiry. Thick description is common to the interpretive tradition, where a researcher is the primary instrument. The interpretation of the results gathered from data analysis is similar to the hermeneutic circle, since all results, whether quantitative and qualitative, are qualitatively interpreted. The end of the research process is the merging of the results in order to construct Nelson Mandela’s rhetorical imprint. This is a creative process and is similar to the critical process in rhetorical criticism, although the purpose of engagement is not evaluative, but rather constructive and pragmatic

in terms of the pragmatic constructivist meta-theory. The research process follows the following sequence: analyse – interpret – construct.

This chapter first deals with the details of the mixed methods research design before clarifying the dimensions of research with regard to the phenomenon under study, the unobtrusive nature of the research, the typology and legitimacy of data, the definition of the study population, units of analysis, sampling, as well as the dimensions of meaning. The methodology is further elaborated by explaining the specific quantitative and qualitative procedures of data collection and data processing, followed by a discussion on the techniques of data analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of research quality, which is especially important to ensure that the application and interpretation of research conform to appropriate standards of quality.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN: MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

4.2.1 From triangulation to mixed methods research

The study of complex social phenomena is inadequately served by purely qualitative or quantitative methods, according to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 16). A complex social phenomenon is better understood through research where multiple data sources and various analytic techniques are used in order to gain a more in-depth and holistic understanding of the phenomenon. This is known as mixed methods research. Mixed methods research involves the gathering of both quantitative and qualitative data or the quantitative and qualitative analysis of data in parallel or sequential stages (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 11). However, a mixing of methods does not necessarily suppose an equal reliance on quantitative and qualitative data collection and analytic techniques.

Mixed methods research has its roots in triangulation, which refers to convergent methodology or validation (Jick, 1979: 602). According to Mathison (1988: 13), the term ‘triangulation’ was first used by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest and Grove (1981: 34) in their treatise on non-reactive or unobtrusive measures. Webb *et al.* (1981: *ibid*) argued for ‘multiple operationism’ or the ‘triangulation of measurement processes’ in order to enhance accuracy and validity of interpretations. This means that multiple methods are used in such a way as to minimise the weaknesses of one method by counterbalancing it with the strengths

of another (Greene, Caracelli & Graham, 1989: 256) in order to increase accuracy (Jick, 1979: 602). Accordingly, qualitative and quantitative methods are viewed as complementary approaches rather than mutually exclusive paradigms. The theoretical fields which informed the meta-theoretical position of the current study (as discussed in Chapter 2), constructivism and pragmatism, accept mixed methods research as a valid research approach, as both theoretical perspectives prefer triangulation in their engagement with data, although the exact conditions of combining methods and reasons may differ (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 17 – 25).

Triangulation comes in various forms, i.e. data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. Methodological triangulation is the form of triangulation that corresponds to mixed methods research because of its reliance on a plurality of methods to study a particular phenomenon or problem. Although triangulation may lead to convergent findings, it can also produce irreconcilable and incoherent data (Mathison, 1988: 13 – 14). Mathison (1988: 15) posited an alternative conception of triangulation to overcome the dilemma of inconsistent or contradictory data, namely triangulation as a technique for extrapolation. Here, triangulation is used in an attempt to enhance understanding of the phenomenon (Mathison, 1988: 15). According to Jick (1979: 609), divergent data are the required catalyst for revisiting extant theories, exploring new theoretical avenues or assimilating theories in order to address a shared problem. Therefore, even in cases where research findings and inferences diverge, mixed methods are still worthwhile because questions are raised about seemingly inviolate issues and assumptions pertaining to the philosophical foundations. Divergent research findings may also be indicative of the profound complexity of a phenomenon (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 14 – 17).

In order to construct credible propositions of a complex phenomenon, various levels of data should be sourced, including contextual data. The methodology in the current study is closely aligned with triangulation for extrapolation purposes which, in turn, could be construed to correspond to several categories in the typology of research purposes of Newman, Ridenour, Newman and De Marco (2003: 179), most notably the understanding of complex phenomena, in this instance, the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela, as discussed in Section 4.2.2.

4.2.2 The purpose of mixed methods research

According to Newman *et al.* (2003: 169), mixed method designs are purpose-driven. The choice of a mixed methods research design indicates that the purpose of the research is used as a guiding principle. The choice of a mixed methods research design in this study was influenced by the research objectives (Chapter 1) and the purpose that led to the choice of a mixed methods research design for the current research will be discussed subsequently.

A mixed methods research design was chosen to explore and describe Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint comprehensively. Investigating Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint is a complex endeavour because it is a phenomenon that is teased from exemplars of his rhetoric, which is a function of both conscious and sub-conscious cognitive processes, as understood within the pragmatic constructivist meta-theory clarified in Chapter 2. The primary purpose of using a mixed methods research design in this study is to facilitate understanding of a complex phenomenon in terms of the Newman *et al.* (2003: 175) typology, which also corresponds to the complementarity purpose of mixed methods research as per Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989: 255 – 262). While pursuing the primary purpose of the research, the study also strengthens the knowledge base regarding scholarship on the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela and generates new ideas regarding rhetorical inquiry. By virtue of the historical value of the artefacts of the individual under study and the rhetorical situation, which includes the socio-political context of South Africa, an engagement with the past is also inevitable.

4.2.3 Type of mixed methods design

The explorative nature of research indicates a strong qualitative focus, while description incorporates both qualitative and quantitative analytic procedures. The lack of *a priori* categories for analysis indicates induction as the theoretical drive. The specific type of mixed methods research design is further dependent on three central considerations, i.e. the implementation of research, the priority of the different data forms and the stage of integration (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann & Hanson, 2003: 215, 219).

The field of mixed method research is internally structured by a notational system devised by Morse (Morse, 2003: 198; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 27) where the abbreviations QUAN

and QUAL are used, and the plus symbol (+) indicates simultaneity and an arrow (→) points to a sequential implementation. The use of uppercase represents the prioritised paradigm that carries more weight in the research design, while lower case is indicative of an auxiliary role. The stage of integration refers to the stage in the research process where qualitative and quantitative approaches are merged and, while it is not indicated by the notational system, the stage of integration is an important consideration (Creswell *et al.*, 2003: 221).

The choice of a suitable typology for a mixed methods research design depends on finding the best design to conduct the particular study and may evolve as the research progresses. When required, a new mixed methods design may have to be constituted to best fit the purpose of the research (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 32 – 33). The **concurrent nested mixed methods** research design (Creswell *et al.*, 2003: 229), also known as the concurrent embedded research design (Creswell, 2009: 214), was identified as the best possible means to discover and explain Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint, and the design was adapted to fit the purpose.

In a typical concurrent nested design, implementation is concurrent, which means that all forms of data are collected simultaneously. In the current study, the corpus of speeches represents the collected textual data, which indicates that only qualitative data was collected. In the concurrent nested design, a single method predominates, but with another method embedded therein to enrich the primary research method in order to address aspects beyond the scope of the dominant method or to access information regarding a phenomenon at different levels (Creswell, 2009: 214 – 215; Creswell *et al.*, 2003: 229 – 230). The main thrust of the current study is qualitative exploration and description, which are enriched and supplemented by the embedded quantitative analysis of the qualitative data. All forms of analysis, whether quantitative and qualitative, are in support of the qualitative description and exploration.

The mixing of methods in this study occurs at the analytic stage of the research process, where the qualitative data is concurrently analysed by means of computerised quantitative content analysis as well as qualitative data analysis. The nested aspect in the study is represented by the use of quantitative data analysis, in support of the primary qualitative analysis technique and description.

The quantitative computer content analysis provides both quantitative data in the form of descriptive statistics as well as equivalent qualitative information. Since qualitative data is prioritised, all quantitative data are ‘qualitised’ for synthesis with the qualitative data, which provides the point of departure for the construction of the rhetorical imprint. The quantitative computer content analysis is used to explore the rhetorical patterns at the manifest level of the rhetoric, while the qualitative data analysis is used to gain access to conceptual rhetorical patterns at the latent level of the rhetoric. The dual analysis also allows the exploration of the interaction between the rhetorical features at the different levels. The same collected qualitative data are therefore analysed at different levels by the two different analytic procedures.

The concurrent nested mixed methods design followed is represented below:

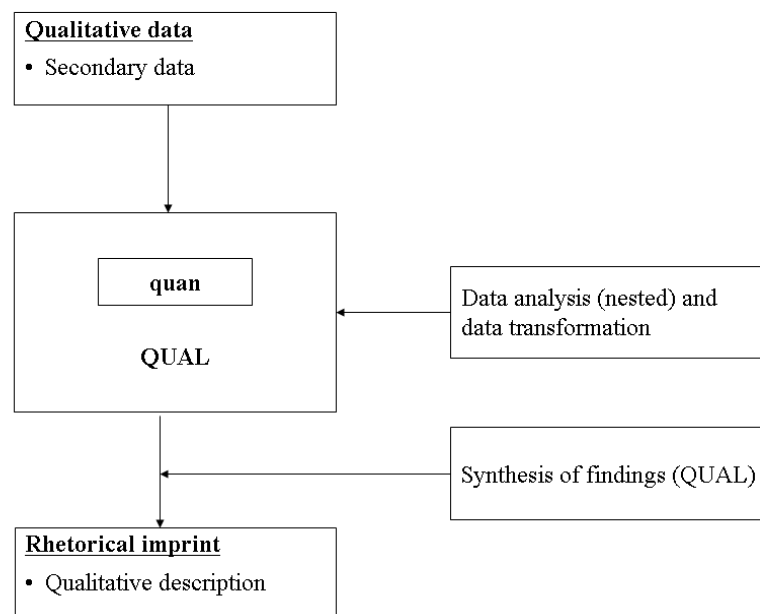


Figure 3: The concurrent nested mixed methods design (adapted from Creswell *et al.*, 2003: 226)

From Figure 3 it is clear that, while critical aspects of the associative research process were concurrent, i.e. the data analysis, transformation and interpretation, certain aspects were also addressed sequentially in an iterative process. The collection of data logically preceded the analysis thereof, while the construction or synthesis of the rhetorical imprint from qualitative findings, based on both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the qualitative data, was a function of the nested data analysis and transformation phase.

4.3 DIMENSIONS OF RESEARCH

4.3.1 The phenomenon under study

The rhetorical acts are analysed as written transcripts of speeches delivered by Nelson Mandela in public settings, while various forms of rhetorical analysis at the conceptual dimension (quantitative and qualitative) comprise the designated methods of data analysis.

4.3.2 The nature of the research

The nature of the current research is unobtrusive or non-reactive (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 374; Lee, 2000: 1 – 2; Webb *et al.*, 1981: vii – viii) due to the use of retrieved or existing running and episodic records in textual format. The nature of the research, in particular data collection, is considered unobtrusive, because at no given point was there interaction with the research subject in order to gather data. Textual copies or transcripts of Nelson Mandela's speeches were used. Attempts were made to ensure that free response data were collected, which means that the collection techniques were not allowed to interfere with the inherent structure of the data (Delia, 1977: 78). Delia (1977: *ibid*) recognised transcripts of communication as free response data, because the intrinsic structure of the communication is preserved as imposed by the producer of the data during the communicative episode. Transcripts therefore allow a researcher to engage with entrenched patterns intrinsic to the natural structure of a communicative phenomenon.

4.3.3 Towards a typology of data

Given the non-reactive nature of the study, the type of data employed for analysis is extant data. The further classification of extant data is not exact and various authors (De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, & Delport, 2005: 314 – 326; Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 374 – 405; Mouton, 2001: 303 – 330; Frey, Botan & Kreps, 2000: 225 – 256; Lee, 2000: 17 – 114; Neuman, 2000: 290 – 312; Webb *et al.*, 1981: 4 – 274) propose classification systems that are mutually overlapping, contradictory and confusing based on characteristics of the data, ranging from where the data were found, to whom or what produced the data, to the purpose and methods of gathering the data.

The data were typified according to a typology framework constructed for the current study. The framework is meant to provide clarity about the type and legitimacy of the data as well as from where the data were sourced. The typology is solely offered as a guideline to adequately describe the data utilised in the study. At certain levels of the typology, classifying the data into discrete categories proved difficult.

The study relies on extant data, as the focus is on speeches already delivered by Nelson Mandela over 54 years – a significant proportion of his public life – in his capacity as public/political persona. The data are considered to be official rather than personal, due to the position of Nelson Mandela as public and political figure. Selected speeches, including those made during the struggle era, might not have been made as part of any formalised institutional body such as the government, but all speeches were delivered in some form of official capacity or as representative of a cause or organisation, whether prominent representative and mouthpiece of the struggle movement, negotiator, president or AIDS activist.

Designating the type of data proved more problematic than anticipated, as Nelson Mandela's speeches initially seemed to fit a number of categories discussed in the literature regarding unobtrusive research pertaining to the use of archival data. The differentiation between running archival records and episodic/private archival records is arbitrary (Lee, 2000: 63). Webb *et al.* (1981: 78) describe running records as part of a society's ongoing, continuous records. These records serve an institutional function and are deemed necessary for the continued smooth running of that society. Episodic records are of a more discontinuous nature and not necessarily part of the public record; therefore, not easily accessible. The speeches given by the president of a country in parliament are recorded in the Hansard (2008), which is a verbatim approximation of parliamentary proceedings, subject to minor editing and, as such, can be seen as part of a society's running records. Herein lies the complexity: Nelson Mandela's speeches in parliament could indeed be described as part of the running record of the South African government during his presidency, but the speeches he delivered during the struggle era, liberation era or the post-presidential era (see Section 4.3.6 in the current chapter for the specific temporal demarcation of the different eras) cannot be placed in the same category. Due to contextual factors and the inherent error involved, the speeches from different eras did not denote a uniform category.

The speeches from the struggle era were subject to rigorous censorship under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 322) and deliberately kept out of the public record. These speeches were published in book form in Britain in 1965 under the title, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, and were not accessible within South African borders during the time. The unbanning of the ANC and 33 other illegal organisations on 2 February 1990 and Nelson Mandela's release from prison on 11 February 1990 (Arnold, 2005: 779; Mandela, 1994: 666) paved the way for these documents to become part of the public record. The recording and preserving of Mandela's speeches from the liberation, presidential (outside of parliament) and post-presidential eras did occur, but in an ad hoc fashion, with no single comprehensive repository that could be found for this study at the time (2005 – 2007). Certain repositories such as the ANC website contain a significant number of speeches from all designated eras, although the post-presidential period is under-represented. For speeches from the post-presidential era, the Nelson Mandela Foundation (NMF) based in Houghton proved most productive. Speeches excluded from other repositories were also found at the NMF.

Despite meticulous referral to numerous repositories (ANC website, NMF archive and website, GCIS, INCH, Hansard, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*), there is no guarantee that the collected corpus is exhaustive. The NMF established the Centre of Memory and Dialogue to catalogue all aspects of Nelson Mandela's life and was already in 2007 consolidating all his speeches in one archive, minimising the errors of selective deposit and selective survival, as well as improving accessibility. A visit to the NMF in June 2007 provided valuable personal insight into these endeavours. The NMF archive is expected to become the definitive source on Nelson Mandela within the near future. The apparent ad hoc nature of the documenting of Nelson Mandela's speeches and the gaps found in existing repositories indicate that the data from the struggle, liberation and post-presidential eras are episodic rather than running, in contrast to the corpus of speeches from the presidential years that were more reliably documented, although also found to be partial, but to a lesser extent.

Nelson Mandela's speeches are available in three data forms, i.e. audio archival, video archival and documentary archival records. In choosing the exact type of data, consideration was given to all types of data. Both the audio and video archival records shared the same negative characteristics that led to the selection of the documentary archival records for this study. Firstly, there are audio and visual recordings of significant speeches of Nelson

Mandela, but these records are not exhaustive for all eras under study. Secondly, using recordings in digital format, whether audio or visual, would have required specialised technology due to the size of digital sound and video files, which exceeded the budget of the study. Thirdly, audio and video recordings would require transcription if they cannot be directly analysed by specialised software. Neither the time nor the budgetary constraints allowed for these options. It was therefore decided to use documentary archival data because they proved accessible, simple and cost effective to acquire and were available in a convenient format compatible with the aims, data collection and analysis strategies of the envisioned research methodology. The type of existing data was further refined as retrieved archival data, by nature both running and episodic, with specific reference to official political and personal documents.

The format of the speeches was documentary or textual, although it was not entirely known whether the speeches were original forms or physical records. An original form would be a copy of the text, prepared prior to the speech act, which was subsequently uploaded to the repositories from where the data was collected. A physical record would refer to a situation where the speech was delivered and a transcript of the speech, as delivered, was prepared after the speech act. The entire corpus of speeches probably contains both original forms as well as physical records. The common denominator among the speeches in the corpus was that they were all published at some point after the speech act and could therefore be included in the corpus for the present study.

4.3.4 Legitimacy of data

The retrieved data used in this study contain two fundamental sources of error that had to be addressed in order to maintain the legitimacy of the study. Error is created by selective deposit and selective survival (Webb *et al.*, 1981: 79, 141). Selective survival indicates the high possibility of attrition in any collection of documents through human error, selective editing, censorship, decay, disasters, computer crashes or the ephemeral nature of data on the World Wide Web (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 378). Webb *et al.* (1981: 186) warn that the use of archival data is subject to ‘someone else’s selective filter’ and that the nature of the archival process could introduce several sources of invalidity from the producer or repository of the material. They (Webb *et al.*, 1981: 196) temper their warning by reminding the reader that certain types of data, especially the spoken word, are fleeting and without archival

records would have been impossible to study. Archival material has its limitations, but all classes of information are subject to their own kinds of restriction.

Webb *et al.* (1981: 163 – 164) recommend a set of critical questions about the source and value of archival materials. They propose questioning the background of a document; its journey to a researcher's hands; its authenticity and veracity; the possibility of alterations after the fact; what the possible exigencies are that required its production; who the author is, for what purpose and for whom the document was produced as well as the source of information; whether the author is or was biased or truthful; and whether there are other, available documents with bearing on the same event. The process of production is the subject of other questions with bearing on the source and value of archival material as well as the moment of production, whether before or after an event. In other words, were the texts produced before the speech event as supporting material or are they transcriptions of the actual speeches created after the speech event?

In the case of Nelson Mandela's speeches, the same sources of error apply, but the nature of the study minimises risk to the legitimacy of the data. The corpus of speeches is sufficiently comprehensive to meet the objectives of the research, i.e. to identify Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint. Given Nelson Mandela's prominence, the most significant of his speeches are most likely part of the repositories consulted during the course of the current study. The format in which the speeches of Nelson Mandela are archived in all repositories consulted provided additional information sufficient to address the critical questions as posed by Webb *et al.* (1981). In all instances, the reasons for the speech, the specific speech event, rhetorical audience and source of information were clearly named in either the title or sub-title of the recorded document, postscript or were inferable from the text. The repositories consulted, especially the ANC website and the NMF archive, are reputable and definitive sources on the activities of Nelson Mandela, adequately countering any question regarding authenticity. The data are therefore sufficiently authentic from which to legitimately derive his rhetorical imprint. The collected speeches also represent free response data since they are considered to authentically represent the voice of Nelson Mandela as public/political figure and as they were acquired from the relevant repositories in the original archival format. At no point did the collection methods interfere with the inherent organisation of the transcripts.

4.3.5 Population

The population of the study is the entire body of public speeches delivered by Nelson Mandela during his political and public lifetime. The population of speeches is included in the corpus, but for reasons of accuracy and precision, the population is delimited by explicit parameters. The parameters used to delimit and clarify the population are time-frame and availability. The population can therefore be defined as all publicly available speeches of Nelson Mandela within the time-frame 1950 to 2004. The population, given the parameters, comprises 805 speeches. The entire corpus of speeches is summarised in Addendum A (electronically available on the accompanying Addenda CD).

4.3.6 Unit(s) of analysis

The corpus is further delineated into four different eras or distinct sub-corpora, namely:

- Struggle era (1 January 1950 – 31 December 1989);
- Liberation era (1 January 1990 – 27 April 1994);
- Presidential era (28 April 1994 – 2 June 1999);
- Post-presidential era (3 June 1999 – 31 December 2004).

Analysis occurred at different levels, i.e. the entire corpus, sub-corpora and individual speeches, and the different units of analysis concomitantly are the:

- Entire corpus;
- Sub-corpora;
- Individual speeches.

4.3.7 Samples and sampling

4.3.7.1 *Sampling for quantitative analysis*

In service of the nested mixed methods research design, a sampling approach was applied that not only minimised but circumvented sampling error. Non-probability sampling

procedures improve inference quality. The sampling was also guided by the various levels of analysis discussed in Section 4.3.6 in the current chapter. At population level, the use of the computerised quantitative content analysis made it possible to analyse the entire corpus quantitatively, rendering sampling superfluous. At each of the sub-levels, the sub-corpora as delineated in Section 4.3.6 are also quantitatively measured against the reference corpus (see Section 4.4 for further information). Since each sub-corpus was measured in its entirety, sampling was equally unnecessary. As sampling was circumvented by quantitatively analysing the entire corpus (population) and sub-corpora, sampling error was not a concern in this regard.

4.3.7.2 *Sampling for qualitative analysis*

At the level of the individual speech, the most seminal speeches of Nelson Mandela were purposively selected for qualitative analysis. In qualitative research, inference quality is essential (Kemper, Stringfield & Teddlie, 2003: 284) and is enhanced through purposive sampling (see Section 4.6.1 in the current chapter for clarification regarding inference quality). The most seminal speeches were expected to clearly reflect the metaphorical concepts present in the personal construal system of Nelson Mandela.

The relative importance of the speeches was judged on the basis of the context and the exigency addressed by the speech, as well as the significance attributed to particular speeches by various sources. These sources include literature, and the views of persons interviewed during a research visit to the NMF in July 2007. The persons interviewed were either persons who at various occasions acted as speechwriters for Nelson Mandela, such as Verne Harris (2007), or who knows Nelson Mandela in a professional and/or private capacity, for instance, fellow Rivonia accused, Ahmed Kathrada (2007), and NMF CEO, Achmat Dangor (2007). The 23 selected seminal speeches for individual analysis are listed below in Table 1. Although the presidential sub-corpus seems to be eschewed, this is by no means a trivialising of Mandela's presidential rhetoric. During the course of the period under study, the selected speeches are considered to be the most seminal of the entire corpus and likely to reveal the authentic voice of Mandela.

Table 1: The individual speeches for qualitative analysis

Corpus No.	Speech	Date	Description of event
1	Address to ANCYL (1)	1951/12	Annual Conference of the ANCYL
2	Address: 'No Easy Walk to Freedom' (2)	1953/09/21	ANC Transvaal Congress
3	Treason Trial Testimony (3)	1956 – 1960	1956 – 1960 Treason Trial
5	Address to PAFMECA (4)	1962/01/12	Addis Ababa conference during Mandela's tenure as 'The Black Pimpernel'
7	I am Prepared to Die (5)	1964/04/20	Opening statement at Rivonia Trial facing sabotage charges and the possibility of the death penalty if found guilty
11	Address to rally in Cape Town (6)	1990/02/11	First speech upon release from prison
63	Address to Codesa I (7)	1991/12/20	First round of negotiations
64	Response to De Klerk (8)	1991/12/20	Response to Pres. De Klerk's severely critical speech
89	Statement by Mandela on the Record of Understanding between ANC and NP (9)	1992/09/26	Opening of the ANC and NP Government Summit
93	Speech by Mandela at AIDS conference (10)	1992/10/23	National Conference on AIDS
107	Statement upon the assassination of Chris Hani (11)	1993/04/10	Addressing the nation after the assassination of Chris Hani in an attempt to stabilise the potentially volatile situation. Even though this is chronologically before the elections and his official Presidency, this is considered within the parameters of the current study to be Mandela's first Presidential Act.
108	Address to the nation upon the assassination of Chris Hani (12)	1993/04/10	
109	Televised address upon the assassination of Chris Hani (13)	1993/04/13	
110	Address at Chris Hani funeral (14)	1993/04/19	
129	Statement by Mandela on announcement of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize (15)	1993/10/15	The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Mandela and De Klerk
131	Address by ANC President at the Plenary Session of multi-party negotiation process (16) (Excerpts in Afrikaans and Zulu)	1993/11/17	Multi-Party Negotiations Process (CODESA)
135	Acceptance speech upon receiving Nobel Peace Prize (17)	1993/12/10	Award ceremonies
147	Speech by Mandela announcing the ANC election victory (18)	1994/05/02	The first democratic elections in South Africa
148	Inauguration Speech by President Nelson Mandela (Cape Town) (19)	1994/05/09	Inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa
149	Inauguration Speech by President Nelson Mandela (Pretoria) (20)	1994/05/10	
785	Closing address at 13 th International World Aids Conference (21)	2000/07/14	Addressing national concerns at local conferences
797	Statement on the 10 th anniversary of democracy in South Africa (22)	2004/04	Commentary upon South Africa's first decade of democracy
799	Address during joint sitting of parliament to mark 10 years of democracy in South Africa (23)	2004/05/10	Address in special sitting of parliament celebrating 10 years of democracy

4.3.8 Dimensions of meaning

As indicated, analysis occurred at both the manifest and latent levels of the rhetoric. The manifest level is indicative of the rhetorical content accessed at the perceptible surface level (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 388) by means of quantitative procedures, i.e. computerised content analysis. The latent level refers to the ‘underlying meaning’ (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: *ibid*) of the rhetorical content and is understood to point towards the deep structure or hidden conceptual essence of the content. Both levels of the public rhetoric of Mandela, the latent and the manifest, are believed to be products of the personal construal system of the rhetor as discussed in Chapter 2, which functions below human awareness.

The current research pertains to the unique rhetorical characteristics that form part of Nelson Mandela’s rhetorical imprint and the transcendental motifs that comprise the rhetorical imprint. Motifs are constituted by recurrent themes – the constructs – that function at the conceptual dimension of meaning. Constructs are described in Chapter 2 as bipolar concepts, which govern a person’s interpretive scheme, in other words, how that person experiences and makes sense of the world. The constructs in the construal system are therefore compound concepts that stand in relation to one another and structure both thought and behaviour, including perception and interaction with the world and other people. The daily reality of individual people is shaped by the personal construal system. The personal construal system also governs communication and it is in the medium of communication, i.e. language, where proof of the construal system can be sought (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3). Because constructs and concepts form part of the subconscious processes and the conceptual structure of an individual, they are implicit and cannot be directly observed.

Based on the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the personal construal system is understood to be fundamentally metaphoric. Metaphorical concepts are elaborated personal constructs and, as such, structure argument and, consequently, the rhetoric of the individual rhetor, Nelson Mandela. Metaphorical concepts belong to a system comprising sub-categories of allied metaphorical concepts – the construal system – that are also influenced by culture. The systematicity of the metaphorical concepts pervades language, which consequently also bears the characteristics of systematicity.

Metaphorical concepts can be realised textually as metaphorical expressions or other textual indicators, but are also expressed in movies and acting, visual constructions (cartoons, drawings, sculpture and buildings), advertisements, symbols, myths, dream interpretations, the interpretation of history, the practice of politics and foreign policy, ethical values, social institutions and practices, as well as literature (Kövecses, 2002: 57 – 65) and culture. For the purposes of the current study, the focus is on the rhetorical manifestation of metaphorical concepts. Metaphorical expressions are connected to underlying metaphorical concepts and can be used along with other textual indicators in order to examine the nature of the metaphorical concepts that drive daily existence. Other textual indicators of metaphorical concepts include the presence of myths and archetypes, as well as expressions pertaining to history, politics, ethical and cultural values, social institutions and practices. In the current study, metaphorical concepts discovered through the analysis are designated in upper case, with constituent expressions in lower case.

The metaphorical concepts in an individual system are interconnected and systematic, although their correspondence is partial (Kövecses, 2002: 6). This means that one concept, the target domain, is understood in terms of a particular aspect of another concept, the source domain, and not that concept in totality, since that would imply equivalence (Kövecses, 2002: 4). The unconscious conceptual associations that occur between concepts are known as mappings, where singular elements from the source and the target domains are mapped onto each other from the concrete to the abstract (Kövecses, 2002: 6 – 9). Some aspects are therefore emphasised in the association, called ‘highlighting’ by Kövecses (2002: 79), and some are hidden depending on applicability, known as ‘hiding’ (Kövecses, 2002: 79; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 10 – 13). The process of meaning conferral from source to target domain is irreversible and always follows from a tangible source domain to an intangible target domain (Kövecses, 2002: 6).

Metaphorical concepts are grounded or motivated in experience, whether biological, perceptual or cultural (Kövecses, 2002: 69). Metaphorical concepts often correlate with experience, although correlation should not be mistaken for similarity. Experiential correlation simply means that the incidence of one event is associated with another. Common source domains include the human body as expression of the embodied human experience, as well as associative aspects relating to health and illness. Other popular source domains are animals, plants, buildings and constructions, machines and tools, games and sport, money and

economic transactions, cooking and food, heat and cold, light and darkness, forces, movement and direction, etc. (Kövecses, 2002: 16 – 20). Although illuminating, the list is by no means complete. Common target domains encapsulate intangible concepts such as emotion, desire, morality, thought, society/nation, politics, economy, human relationships, communication, time, life and death, religion and events and actions (Kövecses, 2002: 20 – 25).

In the current study, while the quantitative content analysis is expected to allude to the content of the fundamental personal constructs of Nelson Mandela as pertaining to the target domains in his rhetoric, metaphorical concepts are used as qualitative analytical tools in order to uncover and describe the relevant, unique personal constructs that governed the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela. By accessing the metaphorical concepts present in Mandela's rhetoric, the personal construal system is accessed, but especially those conceptual categories that constitute his rhetorical imprint. Metaphorical concepts are classified according to **conventionality, function, nature and level of generality** (Kövecses, 2002: 29).

The degree of **conventionality** refers to how deeply a metaphorical concept is rooted in everyday life. If a metaphorical concept is so ingrained in the manner in which people refer to everyday life, then the metaphorical concept is conventionalised. These metaphorical concepts pepper everyday language and are used naturally without conscious thought. They are indicative of the most well-established mappings for understanding intangible domains, for instance, referring to life as a journey (**LIFE IS A JOURNEY**) (Kövecses, 2002: 30 – 31).

Metaphorical concepts are categorised according to their conceptual **functionality**, which comprises three general classes of metaphorical concepts, i.e. structural, ontological and orientational metaphorical concepts (Kövecses, 2002: 33). The concepts that metaphorically structure one another are called structural metaphorical concepts and differ from orientational metaphorical concepts that arrange an entire system of interrelated metaphorical concepts, as well as ontological metaphorical concepts that explain experience and abstract notions in terms of objects and substances (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 14; 25).

Structural metaphorical concepts enable a person to understand the elements of the target domain in terms of the elements of a source domain structure. Abstract notions such as theories (target domain) are often referred to in terms of complex, physical structures such as

buildings (source domain). Consider the following statement: *A new theory must be constructed to account for the phenomenon* (THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 61), structural metaphorical concepts provide the richest source for understanding target domain concepts. The character of the organisation of orientational metaphorical concepts is spatial and based on embodied experience. The nature of the human body, that it is a bounded system in a very particular setting, is responsible for the spatial nature of orientational metaphorical concepts, i.e. up-down, in-out, front-back, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 14). Consider the following statements: *Things are looking up/Things are at an all-time low* (GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 16). ‘UP’ is often associated with positive states or things such as happiness, more as opposed to less, being in control, health and life, high status and virtue, while ‘DOWN’ is associated with the negative. Orientational metaphorical concepts are therefore both a product of physical and cultural experience. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 17) surmise that most concepts in a person’s construal system are arranged according to spatial metaphorical organisation.

Oriental metaphorical concepts are systematic, coherent, pervasive and experiential, meaning that they form part of an interrelated system or matrix, governed by physical and cultural experiences that are so deeply embedded in the experiential base of an individual’s construal system that they go unquestioned (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 17 – 21). Structural and orientational metaphorical concepts, in spite of the rich foundation for facilitating understanding, cannot provide a base for understanding all of human experience. Ontological metaphorical concepts further enrich understanding, because they frame experience in terms of general categories, objects and substances that allow a person to isolate aspects of human experience and deal with them independently as distinct entities or homogeneous substances. Ontological metaphorical concepts are experiential and used to understand abstract aspects of human experience in terms of physical objects. Here, the intangible and the vague are understood in terms of more concrete and familiar domains. Consider the following statement: *His ego is very fragile*. Here, an abstract aspect of mind is referred to as a substance with a particular quality, i.e. being brittle (THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT). Personification, where inanimate objects are endowed with human traits, is another type of ontological metaphorical concept (Kövecses, 2002: 35). In the statement, *HIV/AIDS is destroying our youth*, the pandemic, *HIV/AIDS*, is personified as a person, in particular, an adversary.

Ontological metaphorical concepts sometimes suggest structural similarity between a source and target concept, especially when the two are perceived to share the same characteristics (Kövecses, 2002: 72 – 73). The experiential source of ontological metaphorical concepts renders container metaphorical concepts a very crucial form of ontological metaphorical concepts. In the West, the physical experience as embodied beings separated from the world as distinct entities give rise to the notion of physical bodies as containers with the rest of the world outside the container (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 26 – 29). Thinking of objects and even abstract concepts in terms of the container, the ontological metaphorical concept is an important aspect of Western thought. Even when dealing with abstract concepts with no distinct, natural boundary, the westernised human mind will introduce boundaries to form a bounded area, which can act as a container. For example, the statement, *There are many animals in Africa*, suggests that *Africa* is a container, with *animals* the substance filling the container. Orientation is closely aligned with the container metaphorical concept, since a bounded territory implies an inside-outside orientation. The visual horizon is a further refinement of the container ontological metaphorical concept based on the physical experience, since vision is strongly orientational. The eyes of an individual are physically situated in a forward-looking orientation, creating a bounded field of vision, which is often used as container metaphorical concept. Other sources of container ontological metaphorical concepts include personification, states of being, activities, actions and metonymy where an entity is indicated in terms of an associated object (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 30 – 32).

Aristotle's (1991: 47) notion of *topoi* or topic, discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3), is a kind of ontological metaphorical concept where loci or 'common places' are used as mnemonic mechanisms to store information for subsequent recall. As such, *topoi* is an important device in *inventio* or the invention of argument. Nothstine (1988: 155) elaborates on Aristotle's *topoi* and posits that the 'place' metaphorical concept suggests that the individual is located at a place, which affords a particular perspective on the world and the things in it. Individuals understand themselves as beings in specific circumstances, who are placed in a particular horizon with a restricted view. Nothstine's (1988: *ibid*) understanding of *topoi* as ontological metaphorical concept therefore accepts perceptual plurality and is inherently constructivist (see Chapter 2). Topic is therefore an expression of the character of the individual rhetor. By analysing *topoi*, the resources utilised in invention or *inventio* (Nothstine, 1988: 159) can be discerned. The *topoi* employed habitually by an individual could be construed to be a

‘rhetorical signature’ or ‘thumbprint’ which leaves an indelible impression of the rhetor’s individuality and is quite similar to the notion of the rhetorical imprint.

The **nature** of metaphorical concepts can be either founded in knowledge or image (Kövecses, 2002: 36). Thus far, the focus has been on metaphorical concepts based on conceptual knowledge. The image-schema metaphor is another type of metaphorical concept where mapping occurs according to image-schemas instead of the knowledge of a concept. Image-schema metaphors have limited mapping between source and target domain, as the structure of the source domain is sketchy with a limited knowledge structure. Image-schemas are also derived from human bodily experience and many have orientational structure (in-out). Consider the statement, *I am out of luck*. In this example, the image-schema offers fairly little structuring beyond the orientational information. Often, image-schemas form the basis for other metaphorical concepts (Kövecses, 2002: 36 – 37).

The levels of **generality** of metaphor indicate how general or specific metaphorical concepts are in terms of detail. Where mappings are structurally more detailed, metaphorical concepts are more specific, for instance, LIFE IS A JOURNEY or THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. General metaphorical concepts offer mappings based on sketchy structures and facilitate generic interpretation of specific metaphorical concepts such as EVENTS ARE ACTIONS that underlie the statement, *She passed away*. Here, a person’s death is conceptualised as departure. ‘Passing’ is a deliberate action representing the event of dying (Kövecses, 2002: 38 – 39, 229). Kövecses (2002: 176) found certain metaphorical concepts to transcend cultural and linguistic boundaries, while certain metaphorical concepts exhibit both inter- and intra-cultural variation (Kövecses, 2002: 183). The difference seems to lie at the level of generality.

Certain metaphorical concepts have been found to be more or less universal due to comparable structures at the generic level, universal experiences based on familiarity with the features of the human body, as well as experiences based on perceptual, cultural and categorical correlations (Kövecses 2002: 165, 176 – 177), including archetypal categories in the personal construal system (Hirschman, 2002: 316). Archetypal categories are primitive constructs (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2), and in terms of metaphorical concepts conceptualised as primordial image-schemas derived from the most fundamental human experiences related to physical embodiment and sensory-motor experience (Hirschman, 2002: 344), human

needs, emotions and interaction related to the embodied experience, anthropomorphism (personification) and totemism, the latter referring to the cultural practice of applying animal characteristics to humans (Hirschman, 2002: 317). Metaphorical concepts based on morality are especially stable across time and culture because of their foundation in basic experience (Hirschman, 2002: 320). According to Kövecses (2002: 85, 176), metaphorical concepts derived from bodily processes such as HAPPINESS IS UP are universal and expressed in statements such as, *He cheered me up* or *They are in high spirits today*. Cultural variation, however, is a function of the specific level where individual experience and cultural context play a significant role in the development of conceptual categories of the mind (Kövecses, 2002: 195). Cultures may therefore share the same metaphorical concepts, but they are expressed differently. For instance, the heart as metaphorical concept shows variance in application in isiZulu compared to English. In English, the heart is often the locus of love (passion, affection, etc.), whereas in isiZulu, the heart is also the locus of anger (Kövecses, 2002: 184).

Archetypal image-schemas include the concepts of Good, Evil, Male, Female, Old, Young, Light, Dark, Health and Disease. Archetypal categories further provide conduits for the transfer of meaning in narratives, which can be realised as myths, folktales, fables, allegories, and everyday discourse, even rhetoric. Metaphor is the root for archetypal narrative in that fundamental human experiences are conceptualised and transmuted into intricate and abstract creations (Hirschman, 2002: 345). Myth, for instance, is understood to be a narrative image-schema with fundamental archetypal categories and structure called the *mythoi* (Solomon, 1979: 262). Near-universal narratives, such as myths, share a common narrative structure across cultures, although the narrative may employ more specific cultural archetypes. Archetypal personification and the Martyr archetype are common to such narratives (Hirschman, 2002: 320 – 322).

Mega-metaphorical concepts can further be differentiated into micro-metaphorical concepts (Kövecses, 2002: 51). Micro-metaphorical concepts refer to those metaphorical concepts revealed at the manifest level of a text, while mega-metaphorical concepts are metaphorical concepts that underlie micro-metaphorical concepts at the latent level of a text and create cohesion among them. In the current study, mega-metaphorical concepts are understood to represent dominant motifs in and across the corpora of Mandela's speeches, with micro-metaphorical concepts the constituent metaphorical concepts. Essentially, the mega-

metaphorical concept represents a metaphorical system consisting of clusters of coherent metaphorical expressions (Kövecses, 2002: 121).

Metaphorical systems also function across apparently isolated metaphorical concepts that are conceptually coherent. These metaphorical systems represent a higher-order class of metaphorical concept. The Great Chain of Being is one such metaphorical system and is responsible for the remapping of human-based animal personification onto human behaviour. In this system, all aspects and entities of this world are structured as a Great Chain. The links in the chain represent the different levels of things and show how these things interrelate. The Great Chain of Being includes at a basic level humans, animals, plants, complex objects and natural physical things. All of these classes of things are associated with certain traits, for instance, humans are seen as higher-order beings, animals as instinctive, plants as biological, complex objects as structural and functional, and natural physical things as natural physical attributes and behaviour. In the Great Chain, human beings are considered to be higher-order entities compared to animals, animals are considered higher than plants, plants higher than complex objects and complex objects being above natural physical things. The Great Chain of Being metaphorical system is activated when a certain link or level in the chain is understood in terms of another level, whether it be higher or lower (Kövecses, 2002: 126).

The metaphorical concepts included in this system are PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (*She is a bitch*) and HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (*He wolfed the food down*). Animals are therefore personified in terms of human traits after which these personified animal traits are applied to human behaviour, for example, *Corrupt politicians are vermin*. A Complex System is another metaphorical system where intangible complex systems are primarily represented through the source domains of a machine as a system (*The machinery of democracy moves at its own pace*); a building as a system (*He demolished the opposition in his speech*); a plant as a system (*The recession led to a pruning of the work force*) and the human body as a system (*She is the newly elected head of state*) (Kövecses, 2002: 98, 127 – 138).

The Event Structure represents another metaphorical system where all the metaphorical concepts are conceived of in terms of the structure of events. The target domain is therefore generally represented by elements of an event, for example, change, cause-and-effect or action, with the source domains generally represented by tangible concepts such as states,

locations, force, motion, progress, path, journey, destination, impediments, means, difficulties, purpose, travel schedule, means, cause, action, external events, moving objects and activities. Consider the statement, *With the completion of the task, he reached his goal.* The underlying metaphorical concepts are PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS, which imply that the event is the meeting of the purpose (the completion of the task) and the fulfilment of the purpose is the destination at the end of a long journey (reaching the goal). Another example of a metaphorical concept part of the Event Structure metaphorical system is STATES ARE LOCATIONS expressed in statements such as *I am in love with you*, where the state of being in love is conceptualised as a physical location where the person finds him- or herself (Kövecses, 2002: 121 – 139).

Metaphorical concepts are not mere functions of thought, but are mechanisms structuring thought and behaviour as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.4 (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 7). Ontological metaphorical concepts are mechanisms for comprehending intangible things and concepts by relating them to the concrete and familiar. In structural metaphorical concepts, one concept is understood in terms of an aspect of another, while the bipartite association between orientational metaphorical concepts are diametric in nature. Metaphorical concepts as discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) seem to logically expand the notion of the personal construct.

The personal constructs are considered to be fundamentally metaphorical and signify structural, orientational and ontological metaphorical concepts that form part of a hierarchical personal construal system based on the archetypal content of the primitive constructs as well as physical and cultural experience. The personal constructs informing the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela can therefore be gauged by means of exploring the rhetorical manifestations of metaphorical concepts which form part of the deep structure of his rhetoric and function at the conceptual dimension of meaning. Although the metaphorical concepts are deeply embedded in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric, it is possible to engage with them at both the manifest and latent levels of the rhetoric. The trends identified at the manifest level of the rhetoric by means of quantitative computer-based content analysis allude to the key target domains of the metaphorical concepts that structure the personal construct system of Nelson Mandela and, consequently, his rhetorical imprint, while the in-depth qualitative analysis at

the latent level of the rhetoric provide the rich detail regarding the source domains of the rhetorical imprint necessary for enhanced inference quality.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION AND PROCESSING PROCEDURES

Data collection comprises the collection of qualitative, free response data in the form of 805 speeches (see Addendum A) taken from several sources in order to develop an electronic database of all the publicly available speeches in standardised format. This was done with a view to facilitate both the quantitative and qualitative analytical procedures. The sources of the data include archives, the Internet and the NMF. Due to the differing character of the various sources, the initial format in which the speeches were collected also differs, based on the medium of access.

Two Internet sources were used to gather speeches, i.e. the ANC website and the NMF website. The speeches gathered from the Internet were copied and pasted into a word-processing programme and saved as separate documents in folders for each year in the corpus, with the folders of relevant years organised into folders for the separate eras in the corpus, which formed the sub-corpora. A site visit to the NMF archive proved the archive to be more comprehensive than its website. The Institute for Contemporary History (INCH) at the University of the Free State was also consulted to retrieve available speeches in order to compile the corpus database. At INCH, the available speeches were found in hard copy, while the NMF database is electronic. Relevant material was photocopied at INCH, while the NMF database provided speeches as separate electronic documents in word-processed format.

Since the quantitative analysis was done by means of computer software, the entire corpus database was required to be electronically available. The electronic corpus database was initially roughly compiled by sorting all the collected electronic material into folders representing each year in the corpus, as well as organising the year folders into the separate era folders. The database was further refined by cross-checking the speeches from the various sources to eliminate repetition and omission. Where hard copies of speeches were found to be lacking in the electronic database, the speech was typed in a relevant word-processing programme and the document included in the relevant folder. The specific software required a reference corpus for analysis, in other words, the various sub-corpora were analysed against

a reference corpus. For the purposes of the current study, the entire corpus database of 805 speeches was the reference corpus for the analysis of each sub-corpus representing a distinct temporal era. Since the corpus database was already structured into the sub-corpora representing the different temporal eras, all the documented speeches were copied to a separate reference corpus folder without further hierarchical organisation.

The spell-checking function of the relevant word processor was applied to each documented speech in order to rectify glaring typing and/or spelling errors. This did not constitute interfering with free response data, since the correction of spelling errors would not affect the conceptual ordering of the content, but solely rectify mistakes that very likely might have been the result of typing errors or the downloading process.

After the whole body of collected material was processed, the separate documented speeches were chronologically ordered, based on the date of delivery, and the entire corpus numbered from one to 805 in chronological order. Each relevant documented speech was then saved with the corresponding number in the corpus database as the file name. After all the speeches in the corpus were numbered and the chronological order verified, a complete, tabulated list of the corpus was compiled, which included the following domains: corpus number, the corpus/era, the file name, the title of the speech, the date of the speech occasion, a description of the occasion where the speech was delivered and the venue where the speech occasion took place.

The specific software chosen for the quantitative content analysis, i.e. *Oxford WordSmith Tools 5.0*, required the further processing of the corpus to ensure that the format in which the files were saved proved compatible with the parameters of the software. *Oxford WordSmith Tools* operates more efficiently with a minimum of formatting, in other words, plain text documents without hidden codes. Although *Oxford WordSmith Tools* can accommodate multiple formats, including the formats of the most popular word processors, the software operates more efficiently with plain text files in Unicode, ANSI or ASCII. Plain ASCII text files can be generated in DOS, while the Windows Notepad can generate ANSI plain text files (Scott, 2005: 166). The entire corpus was converted into ANSI plain text files with the corpus number as file name. Formatting was further reduced by omitting superfluous information included in the documents, such as headings, sub-headings, speech generic salutations, dates, indications of venue and occasion until only the body of the speech

remained. Line spacing and paragraph formatting were also restricted to single line spacing so that each documented speech literally formed one continuous body without the delineation of paragraphs.

The individual speeches purposively chosen for qualitative analysis were chosen from the word-processed files in the corpus database and not the plain text files. Although plain text was more practical in the computer-based quantitative content analysis, it certainly did not apply to the qualitative analysis. Since the qualitative analysis required engagement with the documents in person, formatting was no longer a hindrance but, in fact, contributed to the readability and usability of the document. The additional information which was considered extraneous in terms of the quantitative computer-based analysis provided extremely useful contextual information for the qualitative analysis, which enhanced the richness of the analysis as well as the subsequent inference quality.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

The current design varies slightly from conventional applications of the nested mixed methods design in that only qualitative data were collected. The nested mixing of methods therefore transpires in the data analysis phase where the qualitative data are simultaneously quantitatively and qualitatively analysed prior to data convergence, the interpretation of results and the constitution of the rhetorical imprint. The quantitative data analysis is a form of computer-based content analysis where *Oxford WordSmith Tools 5.0* is used as analytic software. The use of computers for content analysis is valued for the accuracy, standardised coding, speed of use and ability to manage large bodies of text. Computerised content analysis, however, cannot account for unique occurrences in texts nor can it access the latent meaning of texts (Bazeley, 2003: 404 – 405). Manual qualitative data analysis is therefore used to engage with the latent content of texts or corpora by accessing the metaphorical concepts at the conceptual dimension of meaning as constituents of the personal constructs of Nelson Mandela. The manual qualitative data analysis does not make use of *a priori* categories for coding, but relies on an inductive process and reiterative engagement with the texts in order to generate rich data from the corpus of speeches.

4.5.1 Quantitative data analysis

4.5.1.1 *Computer-based content analysis*

Computer-based content analysis is a derivative of conventional content analysis, which refers to the quantitative analysis of qualitative data and entails the manual study of the content of documented information or communication according to quantitative, standardised, accurate and objective procedures (Bazeley, 2003: 404; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000: 135). Content analysis provides a means to engage with the ‘symbolic meaning of messages’ where meaning is constructively understood to be available from multiple perspectives (Krippendorff, 1980: 22). Content analysis is a tool to describe the general manifest characteristics of texts or sets of texts (Reason & Garcia, 2007: 307; Wimmer & Dominick, 2000: 133, 134) and can be utilised to examine concepts as well as the relationships between certain concepts.

Analysis must be systematic and all data consistently coded, without the influence of coder bias, in order to enhance transparency (Reason & Garcia, 2007: 307). Krippendorff (1980: 21) emphasises replication as an essential requirement for content analysis and transparency in the construction; therefore, the application of *a priori* categories for coding is indispensable. Wimmer and Dominick (2000: 136) describes content analysis as a useful means of ascertaining the characteristics of specified content, especially to discover trends over a lengthy period of time. At the most basic level, content analysis represents data reduction into quantifiable conceptual categories based on *a priori*, specified coding categories (Krippendorff, 1980: 23).

The traditional characteristics of conventional content analysis include the fact that it is a non-reactive measure, has the ability to accommodate free response data, is context sensitive and possesses the capacity to manage voluminous data (Krippendorff, 1980: 119 – 120). In computer-based content analysis, the ability to accommodate large bodies is amplified and researchers have increasingly turned to specialised software to quantitatively describe large bodies of texts (Reason & Garcia, 2007: 307). The size of the corpus, which comprises 805 speeches from 1950 to 2004, renders manual coding of the entire corpus unfeasible. The manual content analysis of a large body of texts is extremely time-consuming, while

computer-based content analysis is a very expedient way of performing content analysis of large volumes of text (Kabay, 2003: 2) and, in this case, the entire corpus of speeches.

Computerised content analysis was therefore specifically chosen to manage the large body of collected speeches in order to identify trends and patterns across the corpus and sub-corpora at the manifest level of the rhetoric. ‘Corpus’ refers to a body of systematically collected texts available in a database for computerised analysis in order to discover reiterative patterns (Cook, Robbins & Pieri, 2006: 7; Evans, s.a.: 1). The current study is also partially corpus-based research, since both criteria are met by the quantitative analysis component of the research design. Evans (s.a.: 2) emphasises the advantage of using computerised analysis in corpus-based research in that vast bodies of texts can be accommodated with precision not possible in manual analysis. Corpus-based analysis is a sophisticated form of computer-based content analysis given that the cumbersome task of constructing a dictionary of defined categories (Züll & Landmann, s.a.: 1) is substituted by more expedient analytical tools such as the statistical calculation of keywords and co-occurrence.

4.5.1.2 *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*

The choice of software as analytical tool for the computer-based content analysis of the corpus is crucial as the inference quality of the results is dependent on the capabilities of the software. Software selection occurred based on several prerequisites, i.e. the software had to be able to perform corpus-driven analysis, quantitatively analyse large quantities of textual data, identify patterns, trends and accommodate free response data, and be affordable and user-friendly.

After careful consideration of the above-mentioned factors, *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0* by Mike Scott was selected as the most appropriate quantitative software for the content analysis of the corpus at hand. *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0* satisfactorily meets all the requirements since it is an ‘integrated suite of programmes’ (Scott, 2005: 12) for analysing corpora to identify manifest trends and patterns in texts. The chosen software is recognised as being able to analyse large corpora sometimes consisting of millions of words, although smaller corpora are also easily accommodated (Deignan, s.a.: 1). Moreover, the primary utility of *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0* is to identify lexical patterns in corpora through the use of its ‘tools’ (Scott, 2005: 12, 72, 75, 184 – 185). Scott (2005: 184) accentuates that the transformation of

the raw textual data through reduction enables a researcher to discover patterns in the data, which provides insight into the character of the texts.

Preserving the integrity of the free response data, in other words, the structure in which the data was captured, was a priority. Beyond transforming the initial downloaded speeches into machine-readable format (.txt), no further processing was required that could in any way interfere with the original structure of the data. The selected software, like other corpus software, can at the very least execute two major tasks. The first task is reducing and reorganising the lexical items of a corpus by compiling wordlists, and calculating various levels of keywords as well as concordances. The second task is calculating the statistical data of the corpus (Evans, s.a.: 2 – 5). *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0* is therefore clearly capable of quantitatively describing the corpus under investigation. Acquiring a license for the software proved to be quite affordable and easy by visiting the required website. Familiarity with *Oxford Wordsmith Tool 4.0* provided valuable experience prior to the acquisition of *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*. The software was found to be fairly straightforward to use with excellent help facilities and an uncomplicated, comprehensive user manual.

The software has several tools that are utilised as sources for inference, i.e. **Wordlist**, **KeyWords** and **Concord**. These tools require neither a pre-constructed dictionary nor *a priori* coding categories.

The **Wordlist** (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 109) tool automatically generates wordlists alphabetically or by frequency order. This tool is used to study the vocabulary of the texts and to compare the frequency of words. The **Wordlist** tool further provides basic statistical information, used to infer general characteristics such as lexical density or, in this case, rhetorical complexity, which refers to the level of sophistication of the vocabulary and provided a source of inference regarding cognitive complexity and cognitive differentiation as defined in Section 2.4.1.4 in Chapter 2. After calculation, the **Wordlist** display provides information regarding frequency, the alphabetical order and statistics. The frequency display provides information regarding the words; their frequency; their frequency as ratio of the running words in the text or corpus used; the number of texts in which the individual words are found; and the number of texts expressed as a ratio of the entire corpus. The statistical display summarises the statistical information of the corpus used to generate the wordlist

(Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 125 – 127). The statistical information is straightforward and is used to infer the general characteristics of the corpora:

- Amount of running words in a text called tokens;
- Amount of different words in a text called types;
- Standardised type/token ratio;
- Frequencies of words of differing lengths.

Standardised type/token ratio, as well as the frequencies of words of differing lengths, is especially useful to ascertain the lexical density or rhetorical complexity of the corpus. The ordering of a wordlist is typical and based on Zipf's Law, which posits a stable association between frequency and word rank (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 26 – 27). According to the typical order of a wordlist, the items appearing in the corpus at a higher frequency are found at the top of the wordlist and are grammatical or functional items that bind the text together, such as prepositions, conjunctions, determiners and pronouns (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 15, 23). The content of the text is a function of lexical items, which refer to words that indicate what the text is about. Certain lexical items may be interspersed with the higher frequency grammatical items and are usually verbs or auxiliary verbs.

The medium frequency items in a wordlist are mostly lexical items (verbs, nouns and adjectives) and provide the most pertinent information about the essence of the text or corpus (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 25). The research therefore concentrated on the mid-frequency items in order to identify rhetorical patterns and trends in the corpus and sub-corpora of speeches. The tail of a wordlist, the items with the lowest frequency, is traditionally found to contain words that occur only once in the corpus and are called *hapax legomena*. According to Scott and Tribble (2006: 26), wordlists are made up of a substantial proportion of *hapax legomena*, even up to 40%, as is the case in the British National Corpus. *Hapax legomena* are known to comprise proper nouns, foreign language words, alternates of accented words but lacking the accents, as well as typing errors and other mistakes. During the course of research, the *hapax legomena* were also consulted for interesting and idiosyncratic detail regarding the corpus.

The consistency of word use can also be calculated in *Oxford WordSmith Tools 5.0*. This function provides valuable information regarding word variation across genres, texts and

corpora (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 29) and was used to further characterise the general nature of Nelson Mandela's rhetoric as constrained by the genre of public speaking. The consistency function was used to calculate the consistency in word use across the different temporal sub-corpora in order to gauge which corpora are closely related. The closer the relation, the more overlap occurs across corpora and the more consistent the corpora are with one another. The relation statistic is calculated by the dice coefficient, which ranges between 0 and 1. The closer a dice coefficient is to 1, the stronger the relation and, conversely, the closer a dice coefficient is to 0, the weaker the relation (Scott, 2010). The dice coefficient is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{J \times 2}{F1 + F2}$$

J = joint frequency

F1 = frequency of word 1 or corpus 1 word count

F2 = frequency of word 2 or corpus 2 word count (Scott, 2010)

The *KeyWords* (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 95; Izwaini, 2003: 2) tool identifies and calculates keywords in the texts based on relative frequency compared to a reference list. Keywords are defined by an unusually high frequency, while negative keywords are identified by their unusual infrequency in comparison with the reference corpus. The calculation of keywords is therefore a normative procedure, i.e. keywords are calculated by statistically comparing a wordlist generated from the corpus under investigation with a wordlist generated from a larger reference corpus. The *KeyWords* tool calculates keywords by cross-tabulating the frequency of individual words in the target wordlist and the number of running words in that wordlist with the frequency of the same words in the reference wordlist and the number of running words in the reference wordlist (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 100).

The default statistical tests for the significance of results for keywords are the Chi-square test for bivariate cross-tabulation with the 'Yates' correction for a 2 x 2 table' or the Log Likelihood test of Ted Dunning (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 100). The Chi-square is a nominal data analytic test used to discover tendencies across frequency tabulations (Tredoux & Smith, 2006: 232). The Chi-square test is founded on the theory of probability and assumes a normal distribution, which requires the *p* value, ranging between 0 and 1, to be used. The lower the *p* value, the smaller the probability of error, thereby improving selectivity and accuracy. However, a small *p* value may also lead to a paucity of data, which could constrain inference.

Scott (2010; 2005: 101 – 102) explains that a *p* value of 0.1 is equivalent to a 1% probability of error that there is an association between the variables (Tredoux & Smith, 2006: 211).

In *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*, if the *p* value is too small or too high, keywords cannot be detected. In the social sciences, a *p* value of 0.5, in other words, a 5% probability of error is considered acceptable (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 101 – 102). Dunning (1993: 62), however, questioned the applicability of the assumption of a normal distribution in text analysis, which implies Chi-square and z-score tests, due to problems of overestimation of probability with small frequencies. The incidence of rare words in a corpus, which includes meaningful lexical items, provides valuable information regarding the character of texts and should be adequately represented by using appropriate statistical measures, such as the Log Likelihood test of Dunning (1993: 63 – 65), which utilises likelihood ratios. According to Scott (2010; 2005: 101), Dunning's Log Likelihood test improves the measurement of 'keyness', as well as facilitates the efficient calculation of keywords in smaller corpora, which is not possible if normal distributions are presumed, leading to overestimation of probability.

The Log Likelihood test was chosen as the default statistical procedure in the *KeyWords* tool, with 200 as the upper threshold for items in the keywords list, a minimum keyword frequency of 5 and a maximum *p* value of 0.000001, increasing selectivity and accuracy. Both positive and negative keywords were estimated. Keywords were calculated in this study by generating a wordlist of each sub-corpus and comparing the sub-corpora wordlists with the reference wordlist generated from the entire corpus, 1950 to 2004. Keywords indicate the primary core concepts of a corpus and indicate the 'aboutness' and style (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 54). Izwaini (2003: 1) found that metaphorical conceptual content are indicated by keywords. The calculation of keywords is useful for inferring the target domains of metaphorical concepts in the speeches under study, as well as the source domains that informed them.

The *Concord* (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 70) tool allows the investigation of concordance, in other words, to view a particular word, phrase or keyword in context. The tool can also calculate co-occurring keywords, word clusters and dispersion throughout the text. The *Concord* tool was primarily used to further illuminate the occurrence of keywords in the corpora, as keywords provided access to the dominant target domains of metaphorical concepts and therefore indirectly to the source domains as determined by the personal constructs. The focus was on the concordance of dominant positive keywords, their

collocates, patterns and clusters. The collocate horizon indicates the scope of the concordance, in other words, how many words are included in the concordance display. The collocate horizon for the current study followed the default horizon of 5.5, i.e. five words prior to the search word and five words following the search word (called the node). *Concord* can also indicate collocates and words that co-occur often.

It is further possible to calculate the strength of relationship between a node (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 33) and its collocates by using the mutual information display. Mutual information (MI) is conventionally calculated by making a *Wordlist* index (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 115) but, in this case, the main interest was in the mutual information of keywords and their collocates and was therefore accessed through the keywords display. Clusters point towards a more fixed relationship among words that occur together in sequence (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 183). Since the study was aimed at discovering transcending patterns and trends in the conceptual rhetorical features of the corpora, the focus primarily fell on collocates and clusters of keywords, although patterns are useful to ascertain the word patterns associated with keywords. The collocates of keywords were expected to indicate important themes and events during a particular era and to point towards the salient target domains present in the metaphorical concepts in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela.

Certain metaphorical concepts as informed by the conceptual content of Nelson Mandela's personal constructs were expected to be more prevalent and dominant than others, transcending individual sub-corpora, while others were expected to be quite marginal and appear only sporadically. While the statistical data were used to provide a general characterisation of the rhetoric researched, the study encompassed the conceptual motifs, themes and sub-themes in a hierarchical conceptual map for extrapolating the rhetorical imprint. The framework of the rhetorical imprint was thus conceptually built and further enriched and populated by data gleaned from the individual quantitative and in-depth qualitative data analysis.

4.5.2 Qualitative data analysis

Computer-based content analysis is an effective tool for identifying manifest patterns in a corpus. Reason and Garcia (2007: 307) emphasise that, despite the efficiency of computational content analysis in quantitative description of manifest content, it cannot

access the latent content in a text or corpus to the same extent as qualitative data analysis. Qualitative data analysis is inherently interpretive analysis, which requires a researcher to be close to the data. The goal of interpretive analysis is to construct a thick description of the phenomenon under study, in other words, to describe all elements that constitute a particular phenomenon in as much detail as possible (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006: 321). By continually engaging with the data in depth, a researcher gradually accesses more and more of the latent meaning of the qualitative data.

The interpretive data analysis followed in the current study was partially based on the immersion/crystallisation style, which means that the researcher is highly involved with the data for qualitative analysis, where analysis and interpretation are driven by intuition and induction, and where description is free-form (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006: 322). However, since the objective was to attain access to the latent content of the personal constructs of Nelson Mandela through the metaphorical concepts underlying the rhetoric, the particular qualitative analytic procedure was further based on the premise that personal construal systems are metaphorical in nature (Kövecses, 2002: viii; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3).

For clarity, the interpretive data analysis is represented by different stages, although the actual process is much more iterative and far less structured than suggested. The suggested process is adapted from the steps in interpretive data analysis (Kelly, 2006: 356; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006: 322;).

Stage 1: Immersion and familiarisation

The engagement with the data commences through immersion and familiarisation with the data. In the current study, Stage 1 entailed the reading and re-reading of the purposively selected seminal speeches. This stage also includes the making of clarifying notes and experimenting with the drawing of conceptual maps and diagrams. The point of the entire exercise is to become intimately acquainted with the data.

Stage 2: Inducing themes and unpacking meaning

This stage requires more than merely summarising the content. Data reduction commences by inducing categories and unpacking the meaning of the underlying conceptual structure. Data reduction can entail, among others, the identification of recurring binary oppositions, terms,

phrases, linguistic metaphors and appropriate aspects gleaned from the data. The prevailing metaphorical concepts as representations of the content of the personal constructs were used as guiding principle in the qualitative analysis. Specific conceptual metaphors were further unpacked in terms of the content of the metaphorical concepts, irrespective of the kind of conceptual metaphor, whether structural, orientational or ontological. The aim was to achieve an acceptable level of complexity by identifying the transcendental metaphorical concepts (motifs) along with their subordinate metaphorical concepts (themes) and configuring a hierarchical structure. The hierarchical structure can be visually represented by means of tables, conceptual maps, dendrograms or tree diagrams (Creswell, 2007: 155). The crux of the qualitative data analysis in the current study was therefore thick description via a system of metaphorical concepts. This stage also reiteratively includes the representation of the results of the analysis in electronic format.

Stage 3: Coding

Coding occurs simultaneously with the inducing of themes and the unpacking of meaning. This involved the coding or physical demarcation of words, phrases, lines, sentences, paragraphs, etc., that were relevant for the extrapolation of metaphorical concepts. Coding was manual and pencil-and-paper based. All initial coding was performed on hard copies of the texts, which also included the writing of clarifying memos in the margins.

Stage 4: Elaboration and associating

Here, the coded data is transferred to separate documents where associated themes or, in this case, metaphorical concepts were brought together to shed light on the nature of the relations. This stage builds on the previous stages, although the levels of organisation (hierarchical relations) as depicted in the conceptual maps were further elaborated upon and include ‘temporal linking’ (Kelly, 2006: 363), where appropriate. Temporal linking entailed the linking of two or more themes (metaphorical concepts or clusters of metaphorical concepts) based on an inferred connection between moments separated by time and place. ‘Associating’ (Kelly, 2006: 359) refers to the process where the symbolic meaning of imagery present in rhetoric is explored. Association requires an engagement with context in order to explore the full meaning of themes and/or images. During this stage, the coding system is further refined, where the previous coding stage may have only highlighted shortcomings. Coding, elaboration and association continue until saturation is reached, in other words, no new

noteworthy insights materialise. This is also conventionally called ‘sampling to redundancy’ (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006: 324).

Stage 5: Interpretation and checking

In this stage, the information gleaned from coding is used to build the interpretation. Conventionally, interpretations are written descriptions of the phenomenon under analysis, based on the conceptual categories identified through coding. The categories employed in coding often become the sub-titles in the written account. In the current study, the interpretation of the qualitatively analysed data was not the final stage. The written description was therefore not final, but tentative, awaiting the transformation of data (where required) and convergence with the results of the quantitative analysis (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006: 326).

4.5.3 Analytic strategies for mixed methods data convergence

It is difficult to compare different forms of data, quantitative versus qualitative, and data transformation can be required in order to make sense of divergent forms of results. Therefore, quantitative data may be qualited or qualitative data may be quantified. The ultimate product of the current study, namely the description of the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela, was qualitative in nature and required all forms of results to be in qualitative form. This required the general statistical data to be qualited, in other words, transformed into qualitative data prior to data consolidation. The statistical results from the quantitative computerised content analysis were rendered qualitative through description and interpretation. Although the functionalities of the *Oxford WordSmith Tools 5.0* software are based on statistical calculation for all forms of analysis, the *Wordlist* tool is the only functionality of this software that provides basic statistical information, which produces information about the general character of a text or corpus. Since data are summarised in a table of statistical information, the generated statistical data were utilised to qualitatively describe the general character of a particular sub-corpus or the entire corpus. The statistical data were therefore qualited by means of thick description.

The other tools from *Oxford WordSmith Tools 5.0* utilised in the study, *KeyWords* and *Concord*, summarise results in a format conducive to qualitative interpretation. The calculated keywords and concord of keywords supplied information for the inference of

transcending themes in a sub-corpus and provided a broad manifest framework for a partial rhetorical imprint as represented in a hierarchical conceptual map. In order to fully populate and deepen the description of the rhetorical imprint – the latent content – the data were derived from the qualitative analysis. The results from the qualitative analysis were also represented in the format of a conceptual map. Data display was essential for interpretation because it provided a holistic overview of the results and allowed for the identification of trends, patterns, points of convergence and divergence in the results.

After the analysis was completed and conceptual maps developed, the conceptual maps configured from the qualitative analysis were merged with the conceptual maps developed by means of the quantitative computerised content analysis. The integrated conceptual maps were therefore the direct source for inferring the rhetorical imprint. The convergence of data were necessary in order to integrate inferences and synthesise the rhetorical imprint. The configuration of the rhetorical imprint ultimately occurred by also taking the context or, in this case, the rhetorical situation, into account during the process of inference, which is the subject of Chapter 3.

4.6 RESEARCH QUALITY

Babbie and Mouton (2001: 124) point towards tension between validity and reliability. An approach to research might be valid, but not necessarily reliable, and vice versa. The tension between validity and reliability can partly be explained through the tension that exists between the qualitative and quantitative paradigms. For an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon, a qualitative method would prove more valid, because it allows an in-depth engagement with the phenomenon from multiple vantage points, although reliability might be suspect. Using quantitative measurement to understand the same phenomenon would prove more reliable, but the depth of understanding might be inadequate.

In the current research, both quantitative and qualitative research procedures were utilised in a nested mixed methods research design in order to build a detailed and methodical description, which further amplified the tension between validity and reliability. The work of Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 35) offered a way out of this methodological quagmire, by inventing a new standard to evaluate the research quality in mixed methods research, i.e. inference quality. Inference quality is incorporated into an encompassing evaluative standard,

‘research quality,’ which also comprises – although to a lesser extent – inference transferability, possible sources of error/bias and critical self-reflection. Should all the intrinsic standards of research quality be met, the research would satisfy all requirements pertaining to quality.

4.6.1 Inference quality

In mixed methods research, clear distinctions are drawn between the results of research and the inferences drawn from the research. Results refer to the products of data collection and analysis, while inferences are interpretations and expansions based on the results (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 35). Ensuring inference quality is paramount in order to establish an acceptable level of research quality. Data quality is another important aspect of the general quality of research in any study and is a prerequisite for inference quality. The notion of data quality refers to whether the product of data collection can reasonably be said to have bearing on the phenomenon under study (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 39). Without appropriate data, inference quality cannot be ensured. Within the confines of the current study, the question is therefore whether it is possible to derive the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela by analysing the corpus of speeches. This matter was addressed in Section 4.3.4 in the current chapter as the legitimacy of the data.

Inference quality corresponds to the standards implied by internal validity and credibility. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 35 – 36) suggest the use of the term ‘quality’ as nomenclature for the measure of research merit in mixed methods research. They (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: *ibid*) deem it necessary to consider an alternative measure of excellence that can be universally applied, because the extant terms for assessing excellence for both the qualitative and quantitative paradigms have been over-used or misrepresented. Inference quality accounts for the merit of both the deductive conclusions of the quantitative paradigm and the inductive conclusions of the qualitative paradigm. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: *ibid*) claim that the term ‘validity’ has lost connotative power due to excessive and vague application. Inference quality comprises both design quality, which refers to the evaluative standards for the rigorous application of methodology, and interpretative rigour, which includes the standards of evaluation for the truthfulness and authenticity of conclusions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 37).

In the research at hand, inference quality was gauged by considering the following criteria adapted from Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 40 – 42), namely within-design consistency (criterion for design quality), conceptual consistency and interpretive inimitability.

Within-design consistency refers to the measure of consistency in which the procedures of the research design are applied. Within-design consistency is clarified by addressing a number of pertinent questions:

- Does the research design cohere with the stated research purpose and objectives?
- Do the research procedures demonstrate an acceptable level of worth and sophistication?
- Are the conclusions reasonably derived and coherent, given the results of the quantitative and qualitative analytic procedures?
- Do the inferences cohere with the stated research purposes and objectives?

Conceptual consistency represents the degree to which inferences are mutually coherent and consistent with extant knowledge and theory. This criterion also implies the notion of credibility, in other words, whether the inferences drawn are reasonable in terms of the results. Conceptual consistency consists of **cross-reference consistency** and **theoretical consistency**, where the former refers to the measure of coherence among the inferences in a particular study and the latter refers to the measure of coherence between the inferences in a study and extant theory and knowledge.

Cross-reference consistency is explored by addressing the following questions:

- Do the inferences of different facets of a research study cohere with one another?
- Do inferences coherently reflect the inferences drawn from the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analytic procedures?

Theoretical consistency is explored by addressing the following questions:

- Does current literature play a role during the process of inference?
- Do inferences cohere with extant theory and knowledge?

Interpretive inimitability refers to the degree of inferential singularity and is gauged by addressing the following question:

- Are the inferences justifiably singular as opposed to other possible interpretations of the findings?

4.6.2 Inference transferability

Inference transferability addresses the extent to which results garnered in a particular research study can be generalised to other situations and subsume the notion of external validity of the quantitative paradigm, as well as the notion of transferability of results of the qualitative paradigm (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 37 – 38). There are various forms of transferability, i.e. ecological transferability where the possibility of extrapolating to other contexts are considered; population transferability where generalisation to other individuals, groups of people, objects or phenomena is judged; temporal transferability where other eras are considered in terms of extrapolation; and operational transferability where other approaches or procedures for observation and measurement of the aspect(s) of the phenomenon under investigation are considered.

Inference transferability is considered qualified and, accordingly, no inference in the social or human sciences can be completely extrapolated to a majority of contexts, populations, or eras (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003: 42). However, irrespective of the details of differing research endeavours, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003: 42) firmly believe all inferences to be, in some measure, transferable to other contexts, populations or eras. Consequently, the task is to carefully consider the forms of inference transferability at play and the true extent of possible extrapolation. While it is important to consider the inference transferability of research findings in order to gauge the full value of the research for science, inference quality is the primary indicator for research quality.

4.6.3 Possible sources of error/bias

The possible sources of error or bias are also a concern influencing research quality. Error or bias is a threat to inference quality, as the quality of an inference is directly dependent on the quality of the data and the findings based on the data. Should the data in a research study be

tainted by error or bias, the quality of the findings and the subsequent inferences may also prove to be suspect. In order to restrict the influence of error or bias, all possible sources of error and bias should be considered and contained throughout the duration of the study in order to achieve an acceptable level of inference quality. However, in working with archival records, such as speeches, a certain amount of bias or error is expected due to selective deposit, selective survival and selective editing (Webb *et al.*, 1981: 79 – 81).

According to Webb *et al.* (1981: 79), the running record is sometimes partial, containing gaps in its corpus. These gaps may or may not be filled by means of studying the available records. The comprehensiveness of a collection, however, may not guarantee a lack of error or bias, since the archived material may simply not be sufficient to ensure acceptable inference quality. Possible sources of error in the documentation of archival records could be derived from any number of avenues (Webb *et al.*, 1981: 163). If the documents are derived from the personal collection of a certain individual, the individual with whom the documents are concerned may be a deliberate or unintentional source of error or bias, for instance, to save face in the public arena, to protect his or her reputation, to hide any misdeeds or actions that might reflect negatively on him or her, or perhaps simply due to haphazard record-keeping. Error or bias could also be the result of data collectors for any number of reasons, whether due to a slipshod work ethic, a lack of sufficient resources or personal prejudice.

Webb *et al.* (1981: *ibid*) deem the process of recording or documentation to be another source of error or bias. Mistakes in the recording and/or filing of certain records or documents are easily made, especially in older, paper-based archival systems. Even in the age of the computer and the Internet, mistakes in the documenting and filing of material are common due to human involvement in the process. As a result of improved technology, record-keeping systems have changed dramatically over the last half century and these changes could also be a source of error or bias. Different record-keeping systems may require different formats, different taxonomies or even different notational systems, which might prove incompatible with one another. This may prevent a researcher from accessing all the material pertinent to the research.

Historicity, which pertains to historical truth or authenticity, and temporal transformation, indicating changes due to the passing of time, may also prove to be a source of error or bias (Webb *et al.*, 1981: *ibid*). Documents that are preserved from previous eras may not

necessarily be historically the most authentic or may even be predisposed towards a particular ideology or group. The exigencies of different eras and the motivation for documenting certain documents rather than others form part of this possible source of error or bias. Finally, official statistics are recorded as part of the running record of a society, but note should be taken that the generating of the statistical information, such as a census, has influencing factors that should be taken into account. Research should therefore be aimed at ascertaining as much as possible about the process of generating the specific form of official statistics to be used (Webb *et al.*, 1981: *ibid*). The issues regarding possible sources of error and bias are addressed in the discussion on the legitimacy of the data in Section 4.3.4 of the current chapter.

4.6.4 Critical self-reflection

Research based on constructivist ontology calls for critical self-reflection by a researcher about the research procedure and its underlying assumptions and principles (Nicotera, 1995: 57). This process of critical self-reflection is also called reflective empiricism and is meant to show critical awareness of the inferential process that motivates the research and the inferences, as well as the difficulties and challenges experienced during the research process (Miller, 2003: 436). The critical self-reflection further includes the consideration of limitations and significance of the research, as well as the recommendations for future research, and is addressed in Section 6.3 in Chapter 6.

4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The current chapter expounded the methodology designed and utilised in the research with a view to discover the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela from his publicly available speeches from 1950 to 2004. Methodology is understood and defined as an umbrella term including both the approach to research and the research procedures of data collection and data analysis. The pragmatic constructivist meta-theoretical position defined in Chapter 2 strongly influenced the choice of research design, namely mixed methods research design, which is conceptually built on the notion of triangulation. Both pragmatism and constructivism highlight triangulation in methodological application.

The research utilised mixed methods as research design. Mixed methods research is a more sophisticated extension of the traditional notion of triangulation and requires the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data where the different forms of data are collected and analysed in either parallel or sequential stages. As a research design, mixed methods research is purpose driven, which required a careful consideration of the objectives the current research, which were to explore and describe the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela. Furthermore, the mixed methods research design was selected because it facilitated in-depth engagement with the complex phenomenon of rhetoric. The principal purpose behind the choice of a mixed methods research design was to gain understanding of a complex phenomenon.

The specific mixed methods research design that was chosen is the concurrent nested mixed methods research design. Here, research is guided by a principal method complemented by another method nested or embedded within the principal method. In this way, aspects that are beyond the scope of the principal method can be investigated. This particular research design is also known for providing access to data at different levels pertaining to the particular phenomenon. The main impetus of the current research was to qualitatively explore and describe the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela, but also incorporating a quantitative analytic component in order to structure the principal qualitative drive.

The speeches analysed were used in textual form, in other words, as typed transcripts. The engagement with Nelson Mandela's rhetoric was unobtrusive or non-reactive. The use of speech transcripts also indicated the use of free response data, where data collection was done in such a manner as to preserve the original structuring of the data regarding a phenomenon as found during the actual occurrence. In order to fully understand the nature of the data under investigation, the data were characterised in terms of a constructed typology, gleaned from the literature on unobtrusive or non-reactive research. The typology of data was also utilised to argue the legitimacy of the data as the authentic archival accounts of Nelson Mandela's speeches from which his rhetorical imprint could be justifiably inferred.

The corpus of publicly available speeches comprised 805 speeches from 1950 and 2004, while the smallest unit of analysis was the individual speech, as opposed to the more comprehensive units of analysis, i.e. the temporal sub-corpora and the entire corpus. At the individual speech level, both quantitative and qualitative analysis occurred, while at the sub-

corpora and corpus level, quantitative analysis was more appropriate. The quantitative analysis of the sub-corpora and corpus did not require sampling since computational content analysis was utilised to analyse the entire corpus and sub-corpora. The qualitative analysis of individual seminal speeches, however, required purposive sampling in order to identify the most seminal speeches in the corpus.

The analytic procedures of the mixed methods research design were specifically aimed at discovering the unique rhetorical characteristics of Nelson Mandela at various level of meaning in his corpus of rhetoric, i.e. the manifest and latent levels of meaning. The quantitative computer-based content analysis was used to discover the surface-level patterns and the qualitative analysis was used to access the deep-seated conceptual patterns indicative of the personal constructs of the rhetor, Nelson Mandela. The personal construal system of a rhetor is understood to govern the unique rhetorical imprint of that rhetor. Since personal constructs cannot be directly observed, evidence of the particular personal constructs shaping the conceptual categories of the mind of the rhetor, Nelson Mandela, and therefore his rhetoric was sought in the rhetoric itself.

The study relied on the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which suggests that the personal construal system of an individual is metaphoric in nature and that the personal constructs are therefore metaphorically structured. The very fact that the individual construal system is considered metaphorical is significant, because it suggested a means of qualitatively accessing the deep structure of the rhetoric by using the metaphorical concepts of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), namely the orientational, ontological and structural metaphorical concepts as qualitative analytic tools to tease out the content of the personal constructs that have been most influential on the rhetorical imprint.

The software, *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*, was utilised in order to conduct the quantitative computer-based content analysis to access the unique rhetorical characteristics, motifs and themes at the manifest level of meaning of the rhetoric. *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0* is software designed to discover lexical patterns and trends in small and large corpora. The research utilised three of its tools, namely *Wordlist*, *KeyWords* and *Concord*, to identify the unique rhetorical characteristics at the manifest level. The data gleaned from the quantitative analysis provided the framework for the rhetorical imprint, while the research relied on the in-depth qualitative analysis to provide the rich detail for elaborating the rhetorical imprint.

The qualitative data analysis followed an interpretive data analysis procedure for thick description by using the metaphorical concepts of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as analytical tools.

After completion of the various forms of data analysis, data convergence occurred in order to align the quantitative and qualitative data to synthesise the rhetorical imprint. The conceptual maps derived from the quantitative and the qualitative analysis were merged into a final conceptual map from which the rhetorical imprint was inferred. The inference of Nelson Mandela's rhetorical imprint was also contextualised against the rhetorical situation of Chapter 3. The rhetorical imprint is therefore a qualitative thick description of the unique, recurring rhetorical patterns of Nelson Mandela as informed by his personal construct system and the rhetorical situation.

The notion of research quality was considered to be the most appropriate means of addressing the quality of mixed methods research and required the careful and deliberate consideration of the inference quality and transferability of the data and analysis, the possible sources of error and bias, as well as critical self-reflection on the research procedures that were followed.

CHAPTER**5****ANALYSIS AND RESULTS**

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The research methodology required a dual analytic procedure and the discussion of the analysis and results of the quantitative and qualitative procedures are therefore separately discussed.

The section on the quantitative analysis commences with a discussion of the general characteristics based on the wordlist analysis of the entire corpus before moving on to the analysis and results of the sub-corpora. The data of the sub-corpora are discussed in terms of the wordlist and keyword analysis, followed by the investigation of the concord of the positive keywords in the various sub-corpora. Concord collectively refers to the exploration of the in-text concordance and the calculation of keyword collocates, patterns and clusters. These procedures are used to identify linked keywords for the purpose of temporal linking so that the themes and motifs prevalent during each of the eras represented by the sub-corpora can be inferred.

The section on the qualitative analysis follows and details the results from the qualitative engagement with the individual, purposively selected speeches. The discussion begins with a consideration of the stable source domains as used in the structural metaphorical concepts underlying the rhetoric, followed by the intermediate and non-recurrent source domains as applied in their associative structural metaphorical concepts. The orientational and ontological metaphorical concepts and their source domains as identified in the rhetoric are also considered. The use of the various source domains and metaphorical concepts is in each case demonstrated by appropriate examples from the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela. After the structural, orientational and ontological metaphorical concepts were unpacked, the interaction of metaphorical concepts is explored at varying levels of complexity, prior to data convergence and the consideration of research quality.

5.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

5.2.1 The entire corpus: speeches from 1950 – 2004

A wordlist was generated for the entire corpus. The summarised statistics provide a general description of the corpus at hand. The point of interest is the overall statistics of the corpus and the frequency list.

Table 2: Overall statistics list for corpus

Overall corpus statistics	Corpus N
tokens (running words) in text	950,823
types (distinct words)	22,857
Conventional TTR	2.4
standardised TTR	42.15
standardised TTR basis	1,000
mean word length (in characters)	4.84
1-letter words	22,912
2-letter words	182,807
3-letter words	195,380
4-letter words	137,235
5-letter words	91,050
6-letter words	75,758
7-letter words	71,985
8-letter words	53,327
9-letter words	45,986
10-letter words	34,929
11-letter words	18,627
12-letter words	9,966
13-letter words	5,723
14-letter words	3,758
15-letter words	909
16-letter words	262
17-letter words	69
18-letter words	79
19-letter words	29
20-letter words	17

The corpus of 805 speeches contains 950,823 running words or tokens, where a token or running word represents each word contained in the corpus irrespective of repetition or word variation (Scott, 2010). Nowadays, with the advances in technology, large corpora containing multi-million tokens are possible, for example, the *British National Corpus* (BNC) contains more than 100 million words (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 16; Kenny, 2001: 114) and the *COBUILD Bank of English* 200 million words (Naudé, 2003: 91). These corpora are large monolingual corpora that are generally used as reference corpora in corpus-related studies

(Kenny, 2001: 58). The BNC consists of naturally occurring written and spoken English (Kruger, 2002: 72), while the corpus under study is genre- and source-specific.

The size of the corpus in this study is approximately a million running words, which means that it is a small corpus comparative in size to the Lancaster Oslo Bergen (LOB) corpus (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 92). Small corpora are often the function of specific genres, as is the case of the current corpus, which is specific to the genre of public and political rhetoric of a single individual. While the corpus contains 950,823 tokens or running words, only 22,857 of the tokens were types or distinct words. Kruger (2002: 74) and Naudé (2003: 93) assert that the lexical diversity or density of a corpus can be inferred from the type-token ratio (TTR). The higher the ratio, the more varied the vocabulary, while a lower ratio indicates prevalence in word repetition throughout the corpus (Kruger, 2002: 74). The TTR is a conventional percentage calculation to compute the ratio of word types vis-à-vis tokens or running words in the corpus by dividing the number of types by the number of tokens and converting the number into percentage by multiplying the result with 100 (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 92). This type of calculation is sensitive to text length or the length of texts in corpora.

The *Wordlist* tool in *Oxford WordSmith Tools 5.0* utilises a different strategy to circumvent sensitivity to text length and computes a standardised type-token ratio (STTR) by calculating the STTR for every n number of words and then computing the mean STTR for all the different segments of n number of words. In this study, the default value for n , namely 1,000 words, was used. This means that the corpus is sectioned off into consecutive segments of 1,000 words and that the STTR for each segment is calculated, after which the mean STTR is computed from all the segments. By calculating the STTR instead of the conventional TTR, a researcher is able to compare texts or corpora of differing lengths (Scott, 2010; Scott, 2005: 92 – 93).

The conventional TTR is calculated at 2.4 % ($22,857 \div 950,823 \times 100$), while the STTR for the corpus at hand was 42.15 %. From the conventional TTR, it is possible to infer that the entire corpus of tokens or running words fundamentally consisted of 2.4 % of repeated word types, which is quite small. On the surface, this indicates a high incidence of repetition. The STTR, which is a more reliable measure for type-token variation (and will be used in comparison with the wordlists of the temporal sub-corpora), indicates the vocabulary to be moderately diverse with many instances of repetition. Repetition therefore clearly appears to

be prevalent in the corpus of Nelson Mandela's speeches from 1950 to 2004. It is, however, imperative to keep in mind that the norm is for functional and grammatical words such as prepositions, conjunctions, determiners and pronouns, which provide text cohesion, to predominate in corpora (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 15, 23).

Functional words, by their very nature as items that bind texts together, are bound to be repetitive, while the genre of public political speechmaking is formulaic, which could further account for the low conventional TTR. Repetition, although viewed, on the one hand, as anathema to lexical diversity or density, is also a very important means for emphasis and cohesion in the art of rhetoric, on the other hand. Scott (2010) cautions that both TTR and STTR are rudimentary indicators of lexical density and variation and should therefore be used as one aspect informing lexical density. Lexical density can further be explored by investigating the frequency of various *N* letter words in the corpus, as well as the wordlist sorted by frequency.

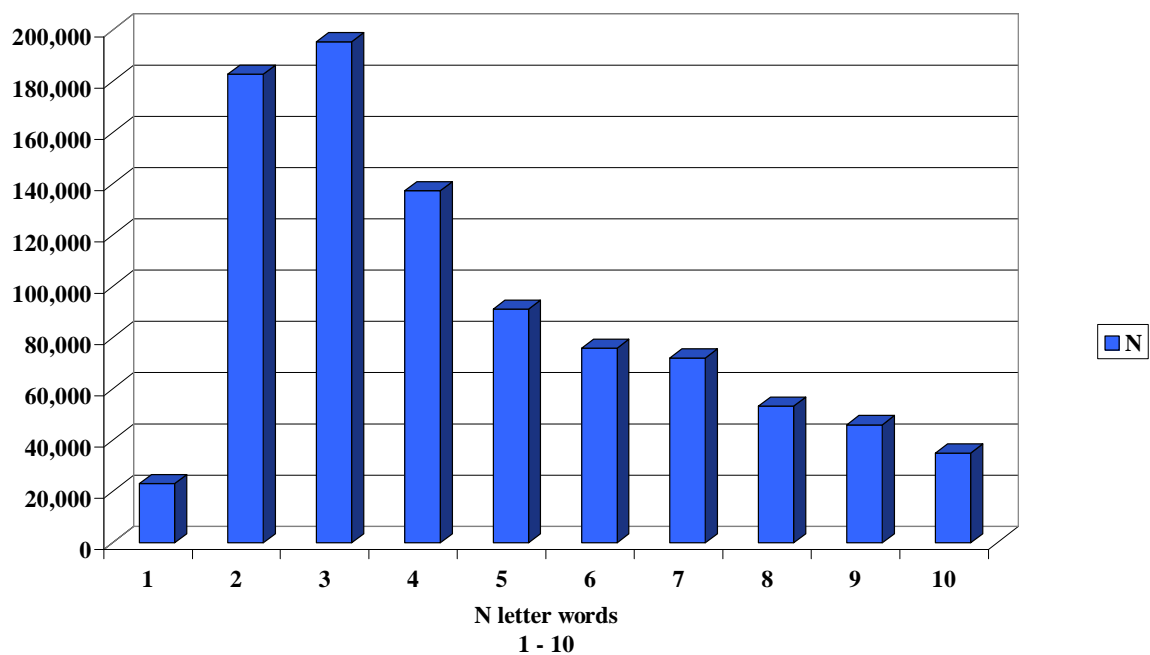


Figure 4: Frequencies of 1 – 10 letter words in corpus

The mean word length in the corpus is 4.84, while three-letter words predominate and comprise 20.55 % of the entire corpus, followed by two-letter words at 19.23 % and four-letter words at 14.43 %. This means that more than half (538,334 words and 56.61 %) of the corpus consists of one- to four-letter words. This finding corroborates the findings of the TTR and STTR in that functional items dominate the category of one- to four-letter words and that

the high incidence of one- to four-letter words can also be attributed to the repetition of words that fulfil a cohesive function in speeches. It is of further significance that more than one third of the corpus comprise five- to nine-letter words (35.56 %) and that ten- to 15-letter words comprise almost 10 % of the entire corpus (7.77 %). In spite of the likely prevalence of repetition, the corpus also includes sophisticated vocabulary, as illustrated by the unexpected large portion of longer words (five- to nine- and ten- to 15-letter words). The level of complexity in the vocabulary was unexpected given the particular genre. A speech genre such as public political speechmaking would suggest that shorter and moderate word lengths would be preferred by a rhetor, as a speech is easier to present if long words with many syllables are kept to a minimum, while a sophisticated vocabulary can also prove challenging for an audience to follow.

Table 3: The most frequent 100 words in the Mandela corpus 1950 to 2004

1) The	19) On	37) Country	55) Must	73) My	91) Because
2) Of	20) Will	38) They	56) World	74) Society	92) Years
3) To	21) All	39) Who	57) Those	75) Democracy	93) Between
4) And	22) South	40) At	58) Die	76) Democratic	94) Time
5) In	23) People	41) Was	59) More	77) Today	95) Part
6) A	24) I	42) These	60) Other	78) Nation	96) Together
7) That	25) Which	43) Its	61) Would	79) Into	97) Make
8) We	26) By	44) Your	62) There	80) Only	98) Had
9) Our	27) You	45) Can	63) National	81) Freedom	99) Africans
10) Is	28) Not	46) Been	64) Such	82) Peace	100) Struggle
11) For	29) Has	47) But	65) Many	83) Economic	
12) This	30) Africa	48) One	66) Were	84) Life	
13) As	31) Us	49) Also	67) Apartheid	85) When	
14) It	32) Their	50) African	68) Do	86) ANC	
15) Are	33) From	51) Should	69) Political	87) Own	
16) Have	34) Government	52) So	70) What	88) Work	
17) Be	35) An	53) New	71) No	89) Them	
18) With	(36) #	54) Development	72) Or	90) Community	

As expected, functional items were the most frequent in the corpus with *the* as the most frequent followed by *of*, *to*, *and* plus *in* at number five, followed by *a* (see the electronically available Addendum B for the full frequency wordlist). This is comparable to the BNC where *the* is also most prominent, followed by *of*, *and*, *to* and *a* followed by *in* (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 24). Significant here is the prominence of *we* and *our* at respectively positions eight and nine compared to the BNC where *we* is found at position 38 and *our* lies beyond the 100 most frequent words (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 24). The use of *we* and *our* suggests that Mandela tried to solicit solidarity and ownership from his audiences throughout his political

career. By emphasising shared aims or political goals with his audiences, he created a sense of shared responsibility and effort in order to reach those goals. The prominence of *you* (27) and *your* (44) is suggestive of the genre of public political speechmaking where a rhetor directly addresses an audience or multiple audiences. By using *you* and *your*, Nelson Mandela identified the audience or audiences to whom he was speaking and made clear that he was addressing them.

The adversarial nature of politics, especially during the struggle, is indicated by the prevalence of the following pronouns, namely *we* (8), *our* (9), *us* (31) and *their* (32), *they* (38), *them* (89) (the position of the word in the wordlist is indicated by the bracketed number). The fact that the speeches in the corpus were delivered in the political sphere and belongs to a single genre is also clearly designated by the prevalence of words with political connotation along the conceptual lines denoting politics and political power, society/nation, and the economy. While the political words denote general political concepts such as *government* (34), *political* (69), *democracy* (75), *democratic* (76), *freedom* (81) and *peace* (82), the prominence of *apartheid* (67), *ANC* (86) and *struggle* (100) indicated the South African political context. The ANC or African National Congress was one of the most prominent political organisations in the struggle movement opposing the ideology of white domination and the racial segregation of the apartheid government in South Africa. In the South African context, the struggle denotes the political efforts of the liberation movement in South Africa that worked towards the abolishment of the apartheid laws and the attainment of universal franchise. In a broader continental context, struggle refers to the political activities of liberation movements in other African countries agitating for independence from colonialism.

The inclusion of *die* (58) was an interesting occurrence, because the researcher was not sure whether it was the Afrikaans definite article or the English verb related to death. Upon closer inspection of the concord of the word, only 11 occurrences of *die* (related to death) out of the count of 1,737 were the English verb, while the rest all proved to be the Afrikaans definite article, which is the equivalent of the English 'the'. The high incidence of the Afrikaans article *die* indicated that Nelson Mandela had a tendency to deliver speeches or parts of his speeches in Afrikaans. This further indicates that on these occasions, he was directly addressing the Afrikaner establishment or Afrikaans-speaking communities in South Africa.

The fact that he chose to speak to them in their mother tongue is significant, because it indicates that he was searching for common ground with this audience.

The corpus of Nelson Mandela's public speeches from 1950 to 2004 is clearly not a monolingual corpus of general English, but a multi-lingual corpus that is predominantly English, but contains snippets of other South African languages. While the majority of his speeches in the corpus are predominantly English, Nelson Mandela exhibited the tendency to incorporate sections of other South African languages depending on the mother tongue of the audience or the region. Evidence of this tendency is found in the *hapax legomena* (the *hapax legomena* is explained in Chapter 4 in Section 4.5.1.2), in other words, the tail of the wordlist containing the singular and the idiosyncratic, where Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu and Sesotho words are found. Nelson Mandela therefore tried to create common ground with the different cultural groupings in South Africa by addressing them in their mother tongue as a show of respect and inclusivity.

Table 4: Reference to 'peace' in six different languages

N	Word	Freq.	Freq. as % of the running words in the corpus	Texts	No. of texts as % of the whole corpus of texts
82	Peace	1283	0.134935737	423	52.54658508
4,904	Uxolo	12	0.001262064	5	0.621118009
5,487	Vrede	10	0.001051720	7	0.869565189
18,173	Kagiso	1	0.000105172	1	0.124223605
18,230	Kgotso	1	0.000105172	1	0.124223605
21,996	Ukuthula	1	0.000105172	1	0.124223605

The tendency of Nelson Mandela to use the appropriate mother tongue of an audience is illustrated by references to the concept of peace found in six different languages in the corpus, i.e. English, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Setswana, Sesotho and isiZulu. The English *peace* (82) is the most prevalent and falls under the 100 most frequent words in the entire corpus. In a surprising turn, the isiXhosa *uxolo* (4,904) and Afrikaans *vrede* (5,487) are found outside the *hapax legomena*, indicating multiple counts in the corpus. It seems that Nelson Mandela considered the message of peace to be an especially important message to deliver to his isiXhosa- and Afrikaans-speaking audiences. The Setswana *kagiso* (18,173), Sesotho *kgotso* (18,230) and isiZulu *ukuthula* (21,996), however, are found in the *hapax legomena* as expected. The *hapax legomena* (see Addendum C available on the Addenda CD), apart from containing words in other languages and names of persons or places, also indicate

sophisticated word use as indicated by words such as *circumlocution* (15,563), *clangour* (15,576) and *propensity* (20,266).

5.2.2 The sub-corpora

The sizes of the sub-corpora significantly differ from one another as illustrated in Figure 2. The struggle era sub-corpus is the smallest with 10 speeches, followed by the post-presidential sub-corpus with 26 speeches. The largest sub-corpus is the presidential sub-corpus with 633 speeches, while the liberation sub-corpus consists of 136 speeches.

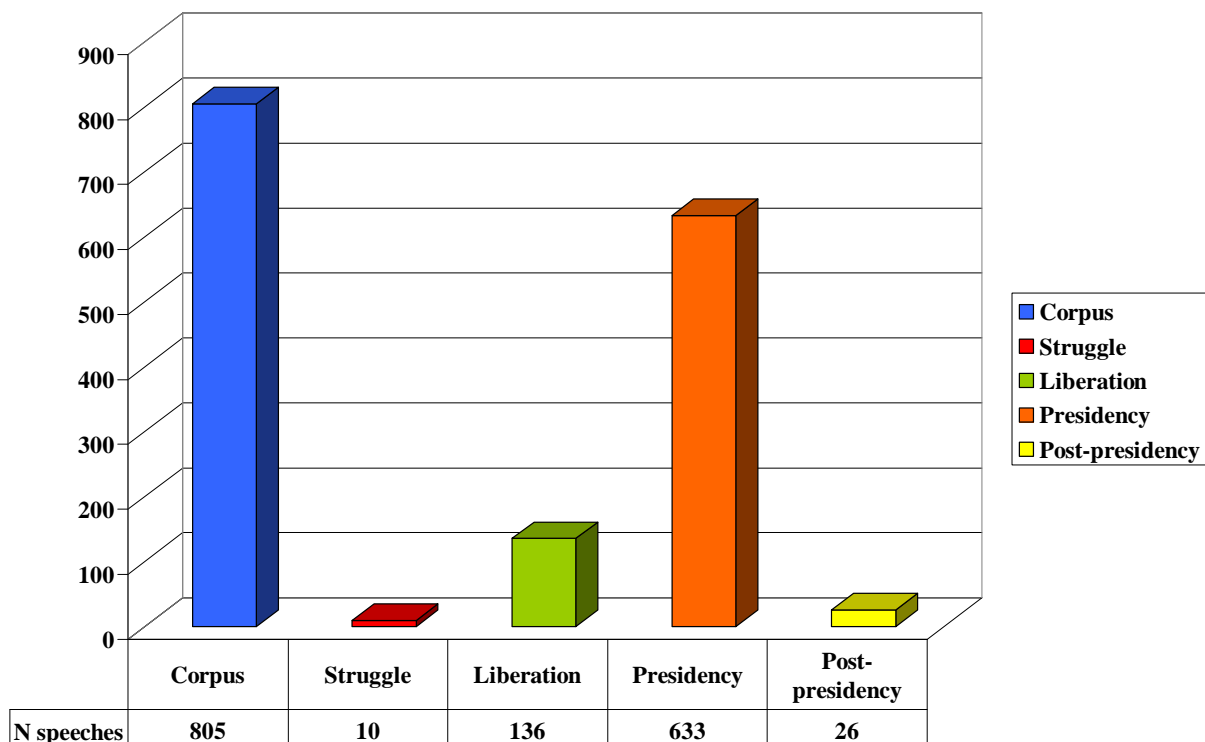


Figure 5: The sizes of the sub-corpora compared with the entire corpus

The sub-corpora are not comparable in terms of size. The presidential sub-corpus is clearly the largest of the sub-corpora. This is unsurprising given the implicit requirement of a modern presidency to have a myriad of public speaking opportunities. Similarly, the dearth of speeches in the struggle and post-presidential sub-corpora are also not unexpected. During the struggle years from 1950 to 1989 (as delineated within the parameters of the current study), Nelson Mandela spent 27 years in jail, which left 12 years for public speaking during the struggle. The suppressive measures of the apartheid government, especially the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, made free and reasonable political opposition and

resistance difficult and restricted public speaking opportunities by banning activists from taking part in any kind of group assembly (see Section 3.2.3 in Chapter 3). The repressive nature of the apartheid rule in South Africa is illustrated by the few public political speeches found within this time-frame. The easing of repressive apartheid measures, such as the unbanning of political organisations, and the release of political prisoners from prison, such as Nelson Mandela, is evident in the increased number of speeches in the liberation sub-corpus. The decrease in speeches delivered during the post-presidential era is indicative of a period of retirement from an active political career.

5.2.2.1 *Wordlists*

The overall statistics and frequency wordlists of the four sub-corpora are useful for comparative purposes (see Addenda D – G on the Addenda CD for the complete wordlists of the four sub-corpora). The relative sizes of the four sub-corpora are evident from the overall corpus statistics of each. From the overall corpus statistics summarised in Table 5, it is evident that the conventional TTR is influenced by corpus size. While the STTR falls within the range 40 to 43, the conventional TTR fluctuates considerably between the smaller sub-corpora (struggle and post-presidential sub-corpora) and the larger sub-corpora (liberation and presidential sub-corpora). The STTR of the four sub-corpora indicates that Nelson Mandela's lexical density falls within a range consistent with the STTR of the entire corpus (42.15). The same is true for the mean word length, which fell within the range 4.70 to 4.90. All the corpora therefore reveal vocabulary use of moderate diversity with substantial instances of repetition, which is standard considering the endemic requirements of the speechmaking genre.

The frequencies of one- to ten-letter words, as illustrated by Figure 6, are consistent with the reference corpus, with three-letter words dominating all the sub-corpora, followed closely by two- and four-letter words, with a tapering off thereafter from five- to ten-letter words and one-letter words being the least in comparison. Given the genre of speechmaking, the predominance of shorter words is expected.

Table 5: Overall corpus statistics of the sub-corpora

Overall corpus statistics	Struggle N	Liberation N	Presidential N	Post N
tokens (running words) in text	44,785	220,852	665,348	19,838
types (distinct words)	5,061	10,608	19,721	3,180
conventional TTR	11.30	4.8	2.96	16.03
standardised TTR	40.72	41.19	42.78	41.66
standardised TTR basis	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
mean word length	4.77	4.78	4.86	4.74
1-letter words	1,283	5,072	16,026	531
2-letter words	8,365	43,733	126,808	3,901
3-letter words	9,306	44,996	137,017	4,061
4-letter words	6,509	32,222	95,489	3,015
5-letter words	4,435	21,652	63,038	1,925
6-letter words	3,501	18,082	52,621	1,554
7-letter words	3,567	16,410	50,469	1,539
8-letter words	2,751	12,055	37,504	1,017
9-letter words	2,047	10,722	32,387	830
10-letter words	1,618	7,791	24,845	675
11-letter words	637	3,579	14,053	358
12-letter words	427	2,365	6,968	206
13-letter words	176	1,207	4,188	152
14-letter words	110	694	2,902	52
15-letter words	30	211	655	13
16-letter words	21	50	182	9
17-letter words	0	6	63	0
18-letter words	2	5	72	0
19-letter words	0	0	29	0
20-letter words	0	0	17	0

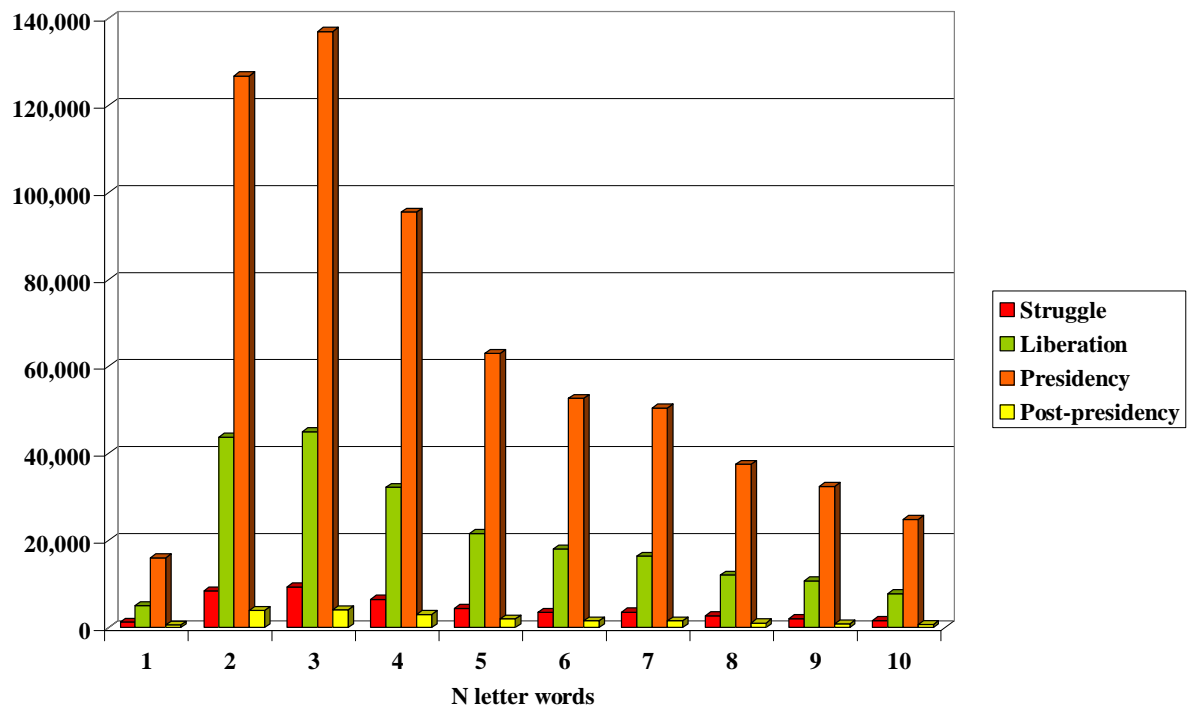


Figure 6: Frequencies of 1 – 10 letter words in sub-corpora

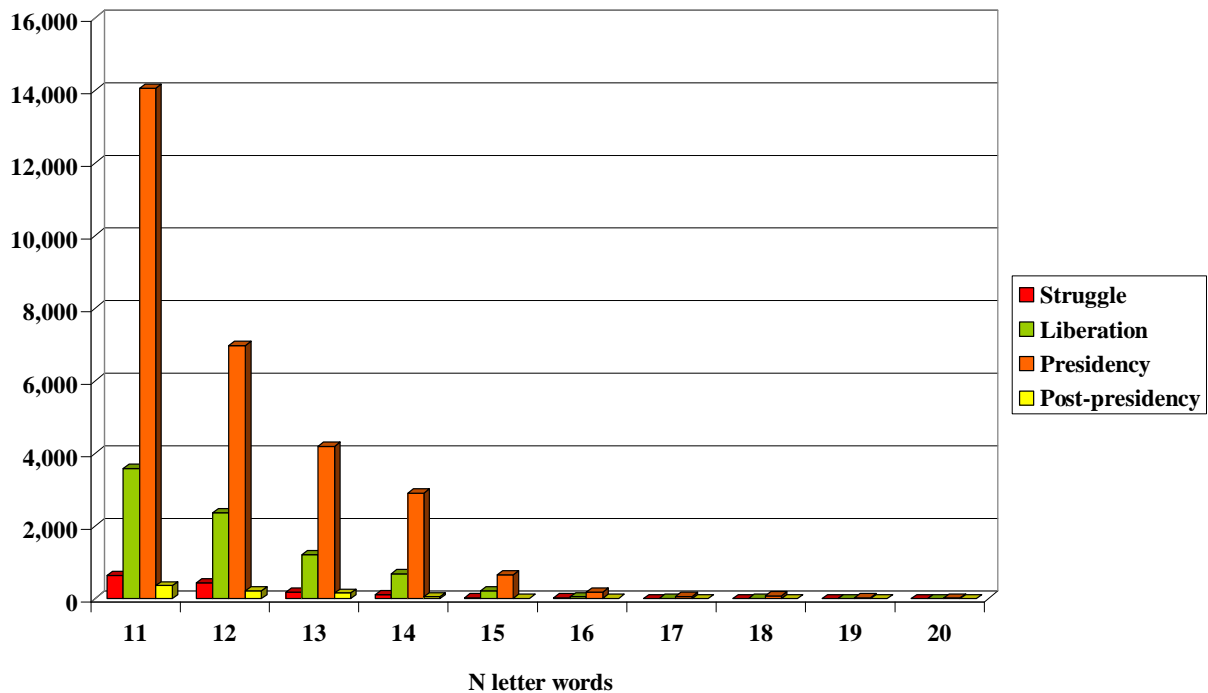


Figure 7: Frequencies of 11 – 20 letter words in sub-corpora

The incidence of five- to nine-letter words and 11- to 20-letter words, visually represented in Figure 7, confirms the surprising level of sophistication found in the wordlist of the entire corpus. The frequency ratios of one- to four-letter words, five- to nine-letter words and ten- to 15-letter words of all the sub-corpora were compared, while using the frequency ratios as calculated for the entire corpus, as guideline for further comparison. The frequency ratios of the entire corpus represent the mean incidence of these categories of words. These statistics are simple to calculate and provide interesting information about the consistency or changes that occurred over time as represented by the temporal sub-corpora in the vocabulary use of Nelson Mandela.

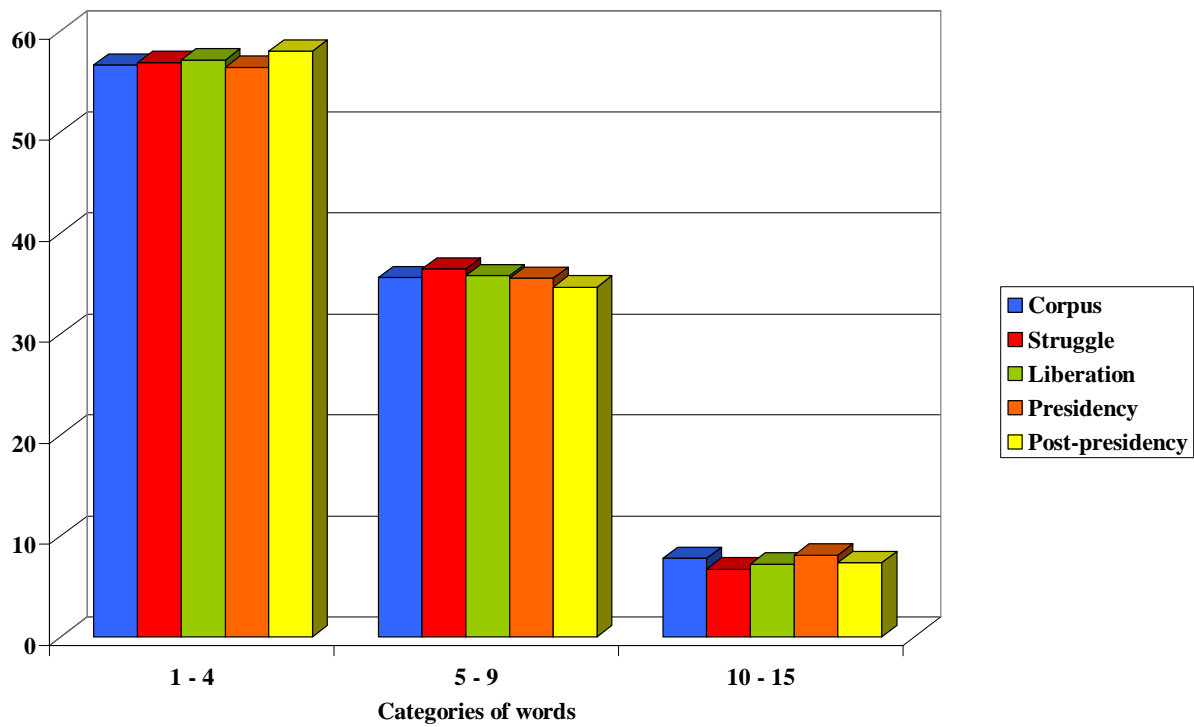


Figure 8: Frequency ratios of 1 – 4, 5 – 9 and 10 – 15 word categories across all corpora

Overall, each word category proved consistent across all the corpora, with small variations. The predominance of one- to four-letter words in all the corpora is evident, followed by five- to nine-letter words and, lastly, ten- to 15-letter words. While variation across word categories is evident from Figure 8, variation across corpora in a particular category is small and difficult to interpret from a global view and warrants a more detailed look.

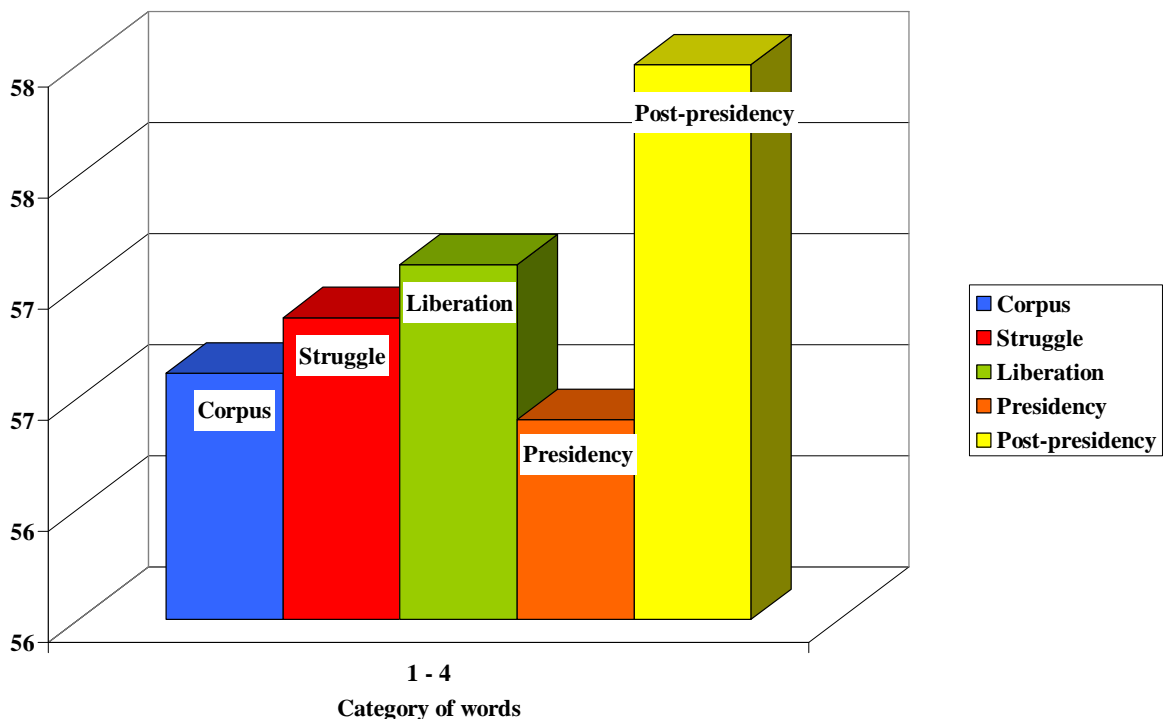


Figure 9: Variations in frequency ratio of 1 – 4 letter words across all corpora

The view afforded by Figure 9 demonstrates that both the struggle and liberation sub-corpora contain one- to four-letter words at a ratio above corpus mean. The presidential sub-corpus contains less than the corpus mean of one- to four-letter words, while the post-presidential corpus significantly exceeds the corpus mean.

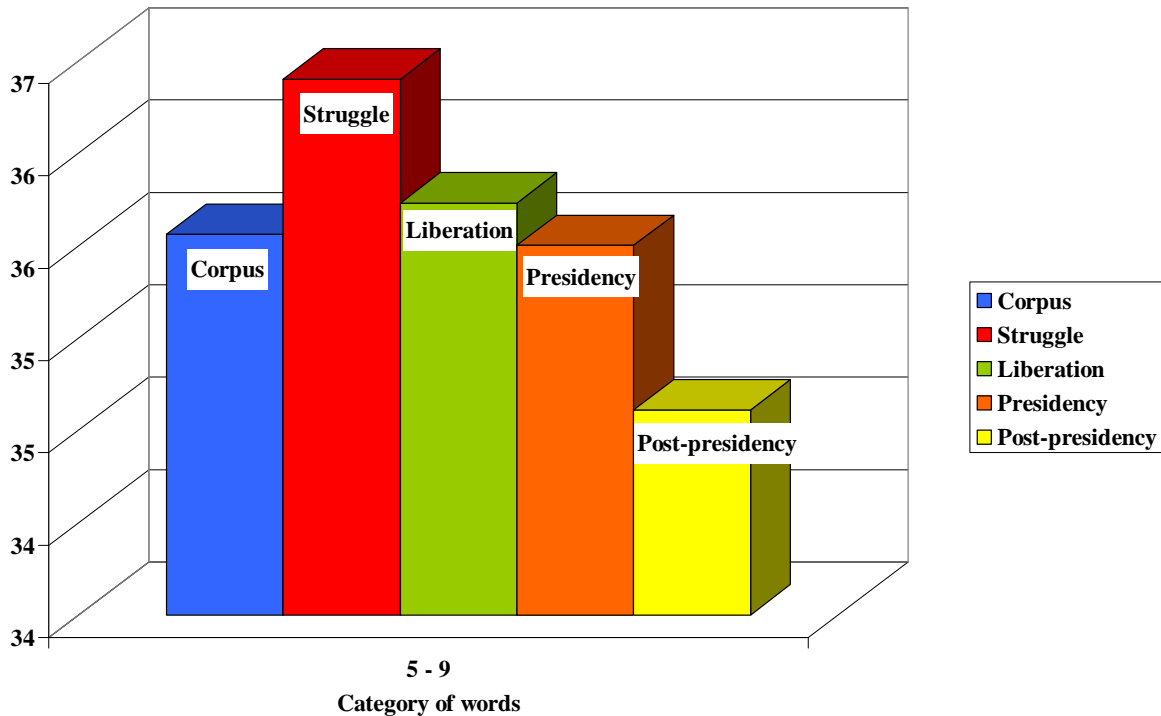


Figure 10: Variations in frequency ratio of 5 – 9 letter words across all corpora

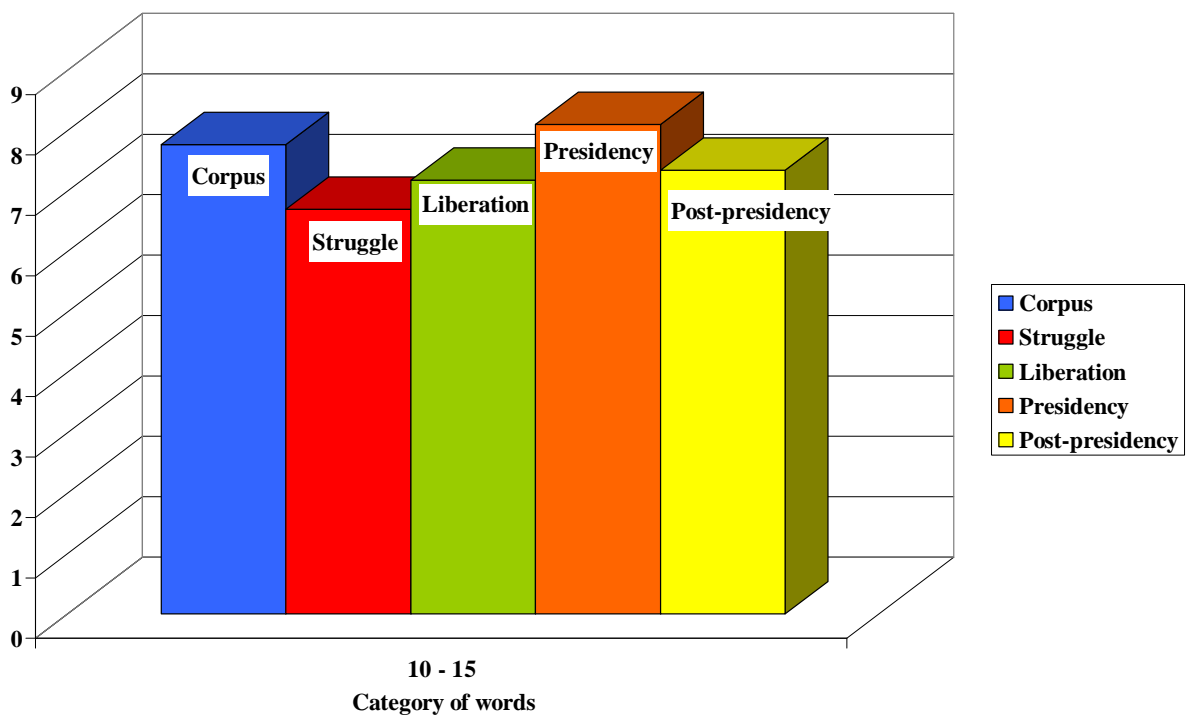


Figure 11: Variations in frequency ratio of 10 - 15 letter words across all corpora

The depiction in Figure 10 indicates that the mean of the struggle and liberation sub-corpora contained five- to nine-letter words above the mean of the entire corpus. The mean of the presidential sub-corpus and the corpus mean for the use of five- to nine-letter words are approximately on par with each other, while the post-presidential sub-corpus indicated a mean of five- to nine-letter words, far below the corpus mean. Figure 11 illustrates that, for the struggle and liberation sub-corpora word use of ten- to 15-letter words is below the corpus mean, while the mean for the presidential corpus exceeds the corpus mean. The mean of ten- to 15-letter words in the post-presidential sub-corpus falls below the corpus mean, although the difference is slight.

All the corpora predominantly consist of one- to four-letter words with means across all corpora exceeding 56 %. The struggle sub-corpus has above-average frequencies of both one- to four- and five- to nine-letter words, while its mean for ten- to 15-letter words compared with the other corpora is the lowest. The mean for five- to nine-letter words in the struggle sub-corpus was the highest across all the corpora, indicating fairly sophisticated vocabulary use during the struggle period. The small size of the struggle sub-corpus is significant in this regard, because Nelson Mandela had less opportunity for public speaking during this period due to apartheid restrictions on political activities opposed to government policies and his prison sentence of 27 years. The scarcity of public speaking opportunities probably made the few occasions quite important, with considerable preparation and thought expended to make the most of them. The liberation sub-corpus shows the highest mean for one- to four-letter words, although the mean for five- to nine-letter words also exceeds the corpus mean. The vocabulary of the liberation sub-corpus is evidently simpler and more succinct than the struggle sub-corpus, although not simplistic as evidenced by the incidence of the lengthier words. Furthermore, the public speaking opportunities significantly exceeded the opportunities during the struggle years. The liberation era also includes the high-pressure and time-consuming election campaign for the very first democratic election in 1994. Where time and memory recall becomes an issue, a simpler vocabulary is inevitable.

As far as the substantial presidential corpus is concerned, both the categories of one- to four-letter words and the five- to nine-letter words were used significantly less than the corpus mean. The mean for one- to four-letter words for the presidential corpus is the lowest across all the corpora. The mean for ten- to 15 letter-words, however, exceeds the corpus mean as well as the means of the other sub-corpora. Compared with the entire corpus and the

irrespective sub-corpora, the vocabulary of the presidential sub-corpus has a higher ratio of complex words (10 – 15 letters) and a lower ratio of simple words (1 – 4 letters), which is indicative of a more sophisticated use of vocabulary and less repetition than in other sub-corpora. This finding is supported by the STTR for the presidential sub-corpus, which at 42.78 is also the highest of all the sub-corpora.

The presidential period represents an immense sub-corpus in comparison with the other sub-corpora and the reference corpus. The high incidence of speeches during this period clearly demonstrates the central role played by public speaking in a modern presidency (Gelderman, 1995: 72). The high incidence of public speaking required by a president of a country necessitates the use of speechwriters or ghostwriters and these individuals are often included in the Office of the Presidency in an official role (Gelderman, 1995: 69). The use of professional speechwriters who spend time researching and preparing a president's speech could account for the more sophisticated use of vocabulary during this period. Another factor to take into account is the sometimes technical nature of presidential speeches, for instance, speeches regarding the economy and the presidential response to the annual national budget speech by the Minister of Finance. The use of technical terminology in speeches such as these is another aspect that may have contributed to the more sophisticated vocabulary in the presidential sub-corpus.

The expectation for the post-presidential sub-corpus was that speeches would become simpler due to the fact that Nelson Mandela was scaling down his political career and heading towards retirement. This is borne out by the fact that the ratio of one- to four-letter words significantly dominates this sub-corpus, more so than any other. The proportion of five- to nine-letter words is much lower than the corpus mean, although the relative share of ten- to 15-letter words is surprisingly large. Although the corpus mean and the ratio in the presidential sub-corpus exceed the proportion of ten- to 15-letter words in the post-presidential sub-corpus, the ratios of the struggle and liberation sub-corpora are smaller.

The relative sizes of the *hapax legomena* of the four sub-corpora, illustrated in Figure 12, indicate interesting data regarding the repetition among the different sub-corpora.

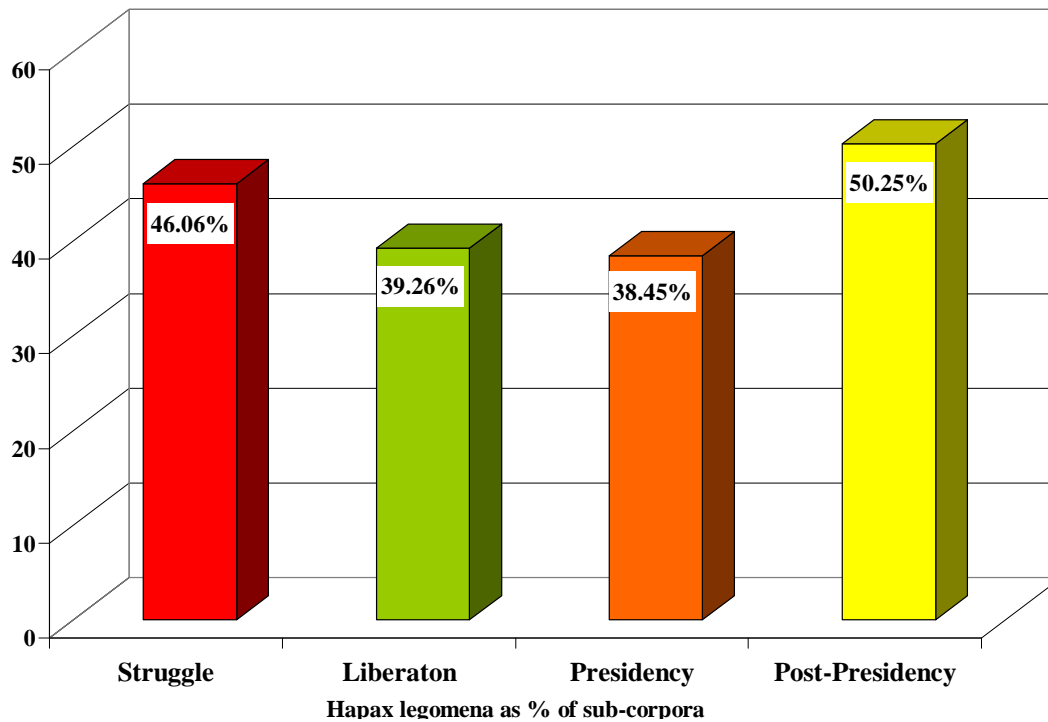


Figure 12: Hapax legomena as proportion of sub-corpora

The *hapax legomena* of the struggle and post-presidential sub-corpora are relatively more substantial than those of the liberation and presidential sub-corpora. This signifies that the struggle and post-presidential corpora contain more word types in the corpus that occur only once, while the liberation and presidential corpora contain more items that are repeated at least twice. The implication of this finding is that the more substantial the *hapax legomena*, the fewer instances of repetition and, conversely, the smaller the *hapax legomena*, the higher the incidence of repetition in a corpus.

The size of the *hapax legomena* and the incidence of repetition in a corpus can also be influenced by the size of the corpus. According to Zipf's Law (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 26 – 29), a wordlist is structured according to a standard distribution of a straight, diagonal line based on the stable relationship between word position in the wordlist and word frequency. Zipf's Law therefore represents the tension between the human tendency to use words sparingly (force of unification); therefore, relying on a core of frequent word types and the need for diversity and distinction in word use (force of diversification) as dictated by the creative impulse. As already illustrated when discussing the *hapax legomena* of the reference corpus in Section 5.2.1, the *hapax legomena* of corpora reflect unique and peculiar words,

foreign language words, names of people and places as well as instances of sophisticated word use.

A detailed consistency analysis was also performed in order to ascertain the statistical relations between the sub-corpora.

Table 6: The relations among the sub-corpora based on the dice coefficient

N	File 1	File 2	Relation
1	Liberation sub-corpus	Presidential sub-corpus	0.547133088
2	Struggle sub-corpus	Liberation sub-corpus	0.485799998
3	Struggle sub-corpus	Post-presidential sub-corpus	0.447761208
4	Liberation sub-corpus	Post-presidential sub-corpus	0.384972453
5	Struggle sub-corpus	Presidential sub-corpus	0.34048906
6	Post-presidential sub-corpus	Presidential sub-corpus	0.25684467

Based on the data in Table 6, the liberation and presidential sub-corpora are most consistent with each other with an approximate 55 % overlap, closely followed by the struggle and liberation sub-corpora with an approximate 49 % overlap. Both these relations can be attributed to the fact that the sub-corpora that proved most consistent with one another are temporally connected in that they represent consecutive periods. The liberation sub-corpus directly precedes the presidential sub-corpus, while the liberation corpus follows on the struggle sub-corpus, although there was a time lag of 27 years during which Nelson Mandela was imprisoned. Consequently, the liberation and presidential sub-corpora are temporally closer. The purported influence of temporal linking on the relation between sub-corpora is also supported by the lower consistency between the sub-corpora that are not temporally connected, i.e. the struggle and post-presidential sub-corpora (45 %), the liberation and post-presidential sub-corpora (38 %) and the struggle and the presidential sub-corpora (34 %). The low level of consistency at 26 % between the post-presidential and presidential sub-corpora appears anomalous, since these corpora are successive and therefore temporally linked.

Consistency, however, is subject to other influencing factors, for instance, shared exigency and the comparative sizes of the *hapax legomena* of the various sub-corpora. Shared exigency would logically improve consistency, because it would require a rhetor to address the same issues using his or her existing conceptual and vocabulary range. Words that appear in the list of the 100 most frequent words of both the liberation and presidential sub-corpora, i.e.

apartheid, democracy, freedom, economic, peace and *today*, point towards common characteristics between the exigencies of the liberation period and the exigencies of the presidential years. The temporal links between these two sub-corpora supports the notion of overlap in exigency.

The size of the *hapax legomena* of the sub-corpora further appears to be indicative of consistency between sub-corpora. Based on the size of the *hapax legomena* of the sub-corpora and the consistency findings, the sub-corpora with *hapax legomena* of comparative sizes appear to be more consistent with one another. This is attributed to the force of unification (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 29) according to which a rhetor has a stable core vocabulary of recurring words. Where the incidence of repetition is higher, as is the case with corpora with smaller *hapax legomena*, the rhetor would primarily rely on his or her core vocabulary. Therefore, corpora where a rhetor predominantly relies on his or her core vocabulary is expected to be more consistent than corpora where the *hapax legomena* is more extensive and where word use is influenced by the force of diversification (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 29), which suggests variation on the core vocabulary and fewer instances of repetition. While Mandela's rhetoric is prone to repetition, his core vocabulary is considered to be refined and formal in line with his British educational background. (Section 1.1.1 in Chapter 1 deals with Nelson Mandela's upbringing and education.)

5.2.2.2 *Keywords*

Keywords provide information regarding a corpus or text through revealing the 'aboutness' of the corpus or text (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 60) which point towards its fundamental conceptual structure. Therefore, while a wordlist is suggestive of the vocabulary in terms of lexical density and can therefore be used to describe the general characteristics of a sub-corpus, keywords are indicative of the dominant themes and therefore the conceptual character of a period. The key target domains of the metaphorical conceptual content thus become accessible through the identification of keywords (Izwaini, 2003: 1). The calculation of keywords is sensitive to the relative corpus size in comparison with the size of the reference corpus (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 65), which is evidenced by the disparate lengths in keyword lists among the different sub-corpora. The size of the reference corpus is directly related to the number of keywords identified and a reference corpus that is much larger (at

least five times) than the corpus under investigation identifies more keywords than a smaller relative reference corpus.

The reference corpus used in the current study is of suitable comparative size to three of the sub-corpora, namely the struggle, liberation and post-presidential sub-corpora, and is therefore expected to provide more substantial keyword lists for these sub-corpora. The presidential sub-corpus with 633 speeches out of the 805 in the entire corpus provided 78.63 % of the reference corpus, rendering the relative size of the reference corpus quite small. A short list of keywords was therefore expected for the presidential sub-corpus. Scott and Tribble (2006: 64) remark that, while the choice of a sizable reference corpus is certainly important, the calculation of keywords identifies a ‘robust core of keywords’ irrespective of the reference corpus used. Although the keyword list for the presidential sub-corpus was short, with only 12 keywords, these findings are not considered anomalous with the purpose of the procedure, but merely a more selective adaptation of the norm.

The calculation of keywords in the four sub-corpora provides a more global conceptual structure of the sub-corpora, which is elaborated and refined through the quantitative analysis and qualitative exploration of the individual speeches. Addendum H (electronically available on the Addenda CD) provides the combined keyword lists of the four sub-corpora, indicating the positive keywords in black ink and the negative keywords in red ink. The keyword list for each sub-corpus suggests the themes (target domains) present in the sub-corpus, while the negative keywords are significant because they appear comparatively less in the sub-corpus than is expected given the reference corpus.

The *KeyWords* tool identified 99 keywords for the **struggle sub-corpus**, the most for all the sub-corpora. By simply reading the keyword list for the struggle sub-corpus, themes and exigencies become evident. The dominant keyword in the struggle corpus proved to be *was*, which points towards a focus on historical context in the speeches included in this sub-corpus. The keyness of *I* and *my* is consistent with the fact that three of the texts included in the struggle sub-corpus were testimonies from trials in which Mandela was involved, i.e. testimony from the Treason Trial (1956 – 1960), Nelson Mandela’s first court statement titled *Black Man in a White Court* in his second trial facing charges of inciting persons to strike illegally and leaving the country without a passport (1962), and his opening statement from the dock in the Rivonia Trial facing sabotage charges (20 April 1964) titled *I am Prepared to*

Die. In the context of the court trials, Mandela responded as individual accused, but also identified himself as the voice or spokesperson of the struggle movement in South Africa.

At first glance, the struggle keywords provide access to the themes (target domains) that preoccupied Nelson Mandela during this period. Keywords such as *African(s)* (2;18), *white(s)* (5;16), *communist(s)* (21;23), *supremacy* (26), *Europeans* (37) and *nationalism* (38) are highly connotative and bring forth activities and events associated with struggle history. This period saw the rise of African nationalism and the concomitant struggle towards self-rule for African countries. The presence of *white(s)* (5;16) and *Europeans* (37) emphasises the adversarial relationship between *Africans* (18), on the one hand, and the *whites* (16) and *Europeans* (37), on the other hand. By alternating between *whites* (16) and *Europeans* (37) as adversaries of the *African* people in the struggle, Mandela created an insider-outsider dichotomy of the perpetrators and victims of imperialism respectively.

In South Africa, the struggle movement had to contend with the statutory nature of apartheid that structured the political landscape and proscribed activists through banning orders made possible by laws such as the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. The nature of the liberation struggle is alluded to by keywords such as *strike* (10), *demonstrations* (13), *campaign* (15), *sabotage* (24), *defiance* (29) and *protest* (43). The often violent nature of the interaction between the forces of the apartheid government and the struggle movement is signified by the keywords *fight* (52), *clash* (61), *guerrilla* (81) and *violence* (85).

The legal character of the suppression of the struggle movement and its supporters by the apartheid government is found in keywords such as *court* (17), *laws* (25), *trial* (33), *law* (34), *banned* (40), *attorney* (71), *case* (73), *police* (87), *convicted* (90) and *courts* (97). Sometimes the meaning of a keyword is only fully revealed once the *Concord* tool has been employed to provide context for the word. For instance, *worship* (9) and *lord* (63) seemed to point towards a religious tone, but through concordance it became clear that these keywords were used within a legal context and formed part of phrases such as ‘Your Worship’ and ‘My Lord’ that are used in litigation procedure. (The discussion of the findings based on the *Concord* tool follows in Section 5.2.2.3.)

The **liberation sub-corpus** has 83 keywords that characterise this period. The period is defined by keywords such as *negotiations* (3), *democratic* (7), *political* (16), *minority* (18),

process (19), *CODESA* (23), *assembly* (38), *vote* (39), *victory* (41), *settlement* (42), *agreed* (44), *majority* (53), *peace* (70), *meeting* (78) and *solution* (83). This period is signified by the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations and the *negotiations* (3) between the old guard and the vanguard of the struggle movement to reach a negotiated settlement for a new *democratic* (7) dispensation based on universal adult suffrage. The single most important keyword in this corpus is *ANC* (1), which is significant because in the context of the time, the ANC was positioned as the leader of the national liberation movement and became the umbrella under which all organisations took part in the negotiation process. The process of formal political negotiations became known under the moniker *CODESA* (23). The keyness of *we* (6) in this temporal context is additional proof of the focus on negotiations where the creation of common ground through the use of the inclusive proverbial ‘we’ is an essential device to gain the trust and cooperation of an opponent. The prominence of *must* (5) is significant, because it indicates the obligations that the parties involved in the negotiations process were required to meet.

The prominence of *apartheid* (2) and *struggle* (14) as keywords during this period is noteworthy, especially considering the fact that neither *apartheid* (2) nor *struggle* (14) was key in the struggle or the presidential sub-corpus where it is a negative keyword. In the post-presidential sub-corpus, it is not present as positive or negative keyword at all. The keyness of *democratic* (7) vis-à-vis *apartheid* (2) creates a construct where the polar opposites typifies the period. The liberation sub-corpus keyword list provides a number of similar constructs that represent the binary nature of the politics of the time, for instance, *black* (4) vs. *white* (10); *minority* (18) vs. *majority* (53); and *peace* (70) vs. *violence* (8). The keyness of *sexist* (56) is also interesting, as it alludes to overt gender inclusivity in the political landscape during the negotiations phase. In other words, not only did Mandela on behalf of the struggle movement call for redress in terms of political inequality, but also to remedy gender inequality, which was similarly endemic to the patriarchal apartheid rule. The keyness of *MK* (40) further shows that concern over what should happen to the armed wing of the ANC was an important aspect during the period of negotiations. Similarly, the keyness of *sanctions* (29) indicates that during the negotiations attention was paid to the restrictions placed on South Africa by the international community.

The presidential keyword list, as previously explained, is short due to the size of the presidential sub-corpus relative to the reference corpus. The keyword list, nevertheless,

provides sufficient material characterising the themes that dominated during Nelson Mandela's presidency. The most revealing keywords of the presidential sub-corpus are *development* (3), *nation* (6), *better* (11) and *communities* (12). The focus during Mandela's presidential years was on development in order to address structural inequality in communities and foster nation-building. *Better* (11) signifies the aspirational tenor of this period.

Furthermore, the presidential keyword list contains the presence of Afrikaans keywords, i.e. *die* (1), *van* (2), *en* (4), *ons* (5), *te* (7), *'n* (8) and *om* (10). In fact, seven out of a list of 12 keywords proved to be functional Afrikaans words indicating a predilection of Nelson Mandela to use Afrikaans in his speeches during his presidency. This tendency is viewed as a measure to nurture trust between erstwhile enemies, to curtail white minority fears and to create a political atmosphere of inclusivity, unity and reconciliation.

The keyword list of the **post-presidential era** is similarly revealing of the themes that dominated the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela after his presidency. The keyness of *HIV* (1), *AIDS* (2), *treatment* (4), *vaccine* (8) and *retroviral* (25) signifies a singular focus on the HIV/AIDS pandemic that was taking on alarming proportions by that time. During this period, Nelson Mandela was defining his new role beyond state and party politics as global humanitarian focusing on the plight of vulnerable groups such as children, as designated by the keyness of *children* (9) and *child* (15). His post-presidential involvement in the Burundi Peace Process is pointed to by the keyness of *Burundi* (3) and *Arusha* (22), the Tanzanian city which was the seat of the negotiations. Other notable themes of this post-presidential era include the critical issue of water as scarce and depletable resource and the fundamental human right of access to clean, running water. These water resource issues are alluded to by the keywords *dams* (5) and *water* (6). Mandela was also concerned with the role of leaders and the nature of leadership as evidenced by the keywords *leaders* (12) and *leadership* (16). Other notable events of the post-presidential era pointed to by the keywords *Walter* (7) and *Sisulu* (29) was the 90th birthday of another struggle icon, Walter Sisulu in 2002 and his death in 2003. This period further saw the inception of the 46664 campaign, based on a series of concerts to raise funds for and awareness of HIV/AIDS issues. The inaugural concert in this campaign took place in 2003, as is inferable from the keyword *concert* (27).

Whereas positive keywords are used to gauge the themes dominating a particular period, negative keywords (shown in red below) can be used to characterise the same period by indicating which themes are comparatively underrepresented. Negative keywords that prove interesting from the struggle era include a number of keywords that point towards the fact that the struggle period was a time of division – ideologically, politically, economically and structurally – among the peoples of South Africa, as is indicated by the underrepresentation of keywords dealing with unity, inclusivity and nationhood, for example, *relations* (103), *us* (111), *together* (112), *community* (120), *society* (121), *nation* (126), *we* (128) and *our* (129). Surprisingly, the following keywords are underrepresented: *future* (100), *economic* (114), *peace* (117), *international* (122), *apartheid* (124) (apartheid as negative keyword in the struggle sub-corpus has been dealt with earlier in this section), *democracy* (125) and *development* (127). The uncertainty of the future during the struggle period could explain the underrepresentation of a number of these negative keywords. The underrepresentation of *development* (127) is attributed to its immense comparative keyness during the presidential era where the focus was on government development in South Africa. Development is consequently considered an issue of governance and not of struggle.

In the liberation sub-corpus, there are numerous negative keywords that are underrepresented because they seem related to government responsibility, issues of governance or issues more likely to be addressed by someone in government, for example, *business* (90), *corruption* (92), *school* (93), *governance* (95), *services* (97), *developing* (99), *infrastructure* (107), *province* (108), *health* (109), *provincial* (110), *investment* (113), *water* (115), *sectors* (118), *crime* (120), *growth* (123), *programme* (126), *reconstruction* (131), *trade* (136), *programmes* (143), *projects* (144), *building* (145) and *development* (158). At the time, the ANC was transforming from struggle organisation to political organisation only and were not yet involved in governance. The divisions among the peoples of South Africa were still present during this era as is suggested by the underrepresentation of keywords dealing with unity, inclusivity and nationhood, for example, *society* (121), *partners* (124), *relations* (139), *communities* (149), *partnership* (152) and *nation* (156). The underrepresentation of *reconciliation* (150) as keyword during the liberation era is also indicative that negotiations preceded reconciliation. Reconciliation became an important theme only during Mandela's presidency with the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1995 after a negotiated settlement was reached in 1993 and a date scheduled for the first democratic election based on universal adult suffrage (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 406 – 407, 413). The

complete lack of positive keywords in Afrikaans and the presence of negative keywords in Afrikaans, for example, *van* (158) and *die* (159) further emphasises that reconciliation became a hallmark of the presidential era and was not yet a focus during the liberation era.

The negative keywords calculated in the presidential sub-corpus indicate the tone of reconciliation that became part of Mandela's presidency. This is borne out by the fact that contentious issues were circumvented as is signified by the underrepresentation of *MK* (13), *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (14;35), *armed* (17), *apartheid* (24), *sanctions* (26), *struggle* (28), *whites* (29), *minority* (33), *racial* (34), *violence* (37), *black* (39), [African National] *Congress* (40), *De Klerk* (38;42), *negotiations* (41), *white* (43) and *ANC* (44). Post-presidential negative keywords are sparse, although *economic* (29) and *South* [Africa(n)(s)] (31) indicate the fact that Mandela was no longer a head of state required to deal with the economy of South Africa. His focus had shifted.

5.2.2.3 *Concord*

Words that share 'keyness' in a text or corpus have co-keyness and are linked (Scott & Tribble, 2006: 73). The nature of the linkages between the keywords of a corpus was further explored through the *Concord* tool. Exploring the concord of keywords entails the separate calculation of all the keywords in a keyword list. The *Concord* tool was therefore used to indicate the concord of each keyword on the keyword lists of the four sub-corpora and to apply the data to map the encompassing conceptual structure of the rhetorical imprint based on linked keywords. Keywords point towards the prevalent themes of the different eras, where themes are understood to point towards the target domains in metaphorical concepts that are metaphorically entailed through the use of source domains.

The functions of the *Concord* tool are concordance, collocates, patterns and clusters. Keyword linkages are explored through various modes of association, namely collocates, patterns or clusters, while concordance provides access to the original context. The procedure for investigating the concord of keywords entails going through all the keyword lists, keyword by keyword, beginning with the concordance of the keyword in the original text. Concordance is followed by the collocate display, which provides an indication of the words that often appear in the neighbourhood of the particular keyword and is further refined by the calculation of mutual information. The mutual information value indicates the strength of the

relationship between a keyword and neighbouring words or other keywords. The keywords with the strongest relationship with a particular keyword are believed to provide access to the dominant themes of a particular era. The collocate display is followed by the patterns display, which indicates the word order patterns in which the keyword is involved in the corpus, while the cluster display reveals patterns of repeated phraseology containing the particular keyword. With the more significant keywords, the mentioned modes of association provide data on links with numerous other words or keywords. Where keywords are less significant and found among the lower ranks on the keywords list, the tendency is to find limited data from only one or two modes of association.

The concord of keywords, especially the linked keywords from the **struggle sub-corpus**, revealed a range of themes related to struggle. The significant linked keywords in the struggle sub-corpus as determined by exploring the concordance, collocates, patterns and clusters of each keyword (the concord of all struggle keywords is available in Addendum I on the Addenda CD) is summarised in table format in the electronically available Addendum J (see the Addenda CD). The range of themes are conceptualised as aspects of struggle and can be further categorised as **adversaries in struggle, struggle events, agency in struggle, political purposes of struggle, political contexts, sources of oppression** and the **statutory nature of apartheid**. The range of struggle aspects is visually illustrated in Figure 13. These themes are not discrete and absolute, but are closely intertwined with one another.

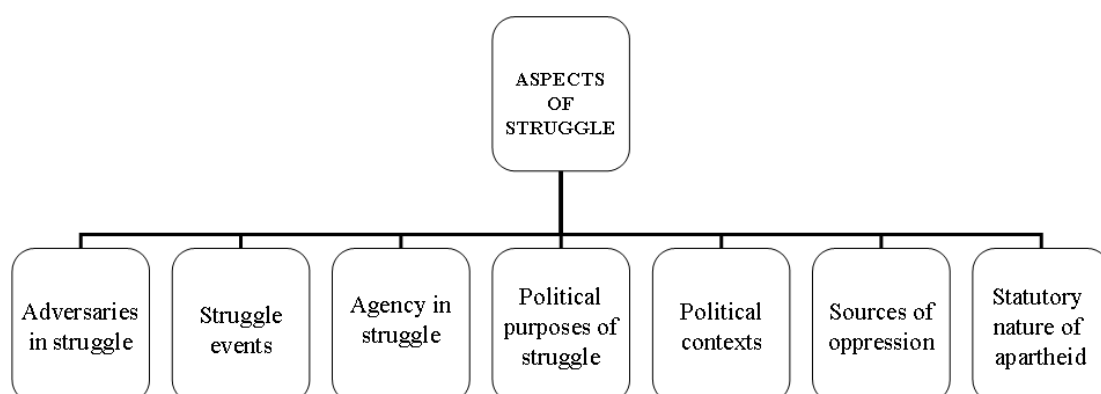


Figure 13: Aspects of struggle

Each aspect of struggle represents a set of coherent themes as inferred from the concord of keywords. **Adversaries in struggle** represents the opposing ideologies, organisations and groups as illustrated in Figure 14.

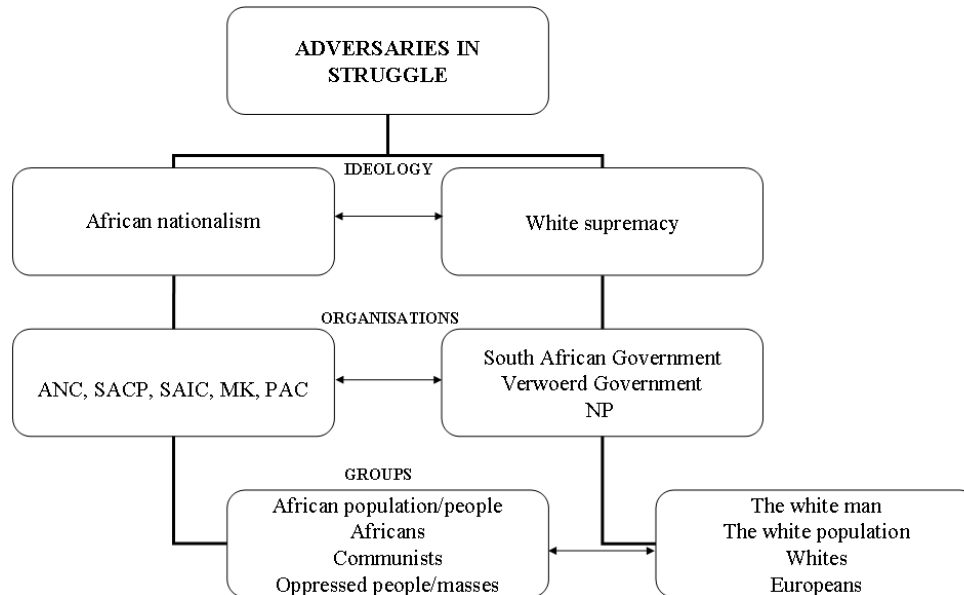


Figure 14: Adversaries in struggle

The struggle is conceptualised in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric in terms of two opposing standpoints, i.e. African nationalism vis-à-vis white supremacy. These ideological standpoints also provide the conceptual foundation for each side of the struggle. The political activities of each side therefore fundamentally cohere with their ideological standpoint. Struggle organisations with their roots in African nationalism include struggle organisations, i.e. the ANC, the SACP, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), MK and the PAC. Their ideological counterparts include the ruling NP and the government of apartheid South Africa, which is conceptualised in Mandela's struggle rhetoric as the South African government, simply Government or the Verwoerd Government. Groups associated with African nationalism are the African population, the African people, Africans, communists and the oppressed people or masses. Groups associated with white supremacy include the white man, the white population, whites and Europeans. While struggle politics was certainly more nuanced and intricate than the diametric opposition suggested, the crystallisation of the struggle as an antagonistic relationship between the apartheid government and the interest group they served, and the struggle movement and the interest groups they served, makes pragmatic sense.

The **struggle events** represent key activities of political resistance during the struggle period and are illustrated in Figure 15.

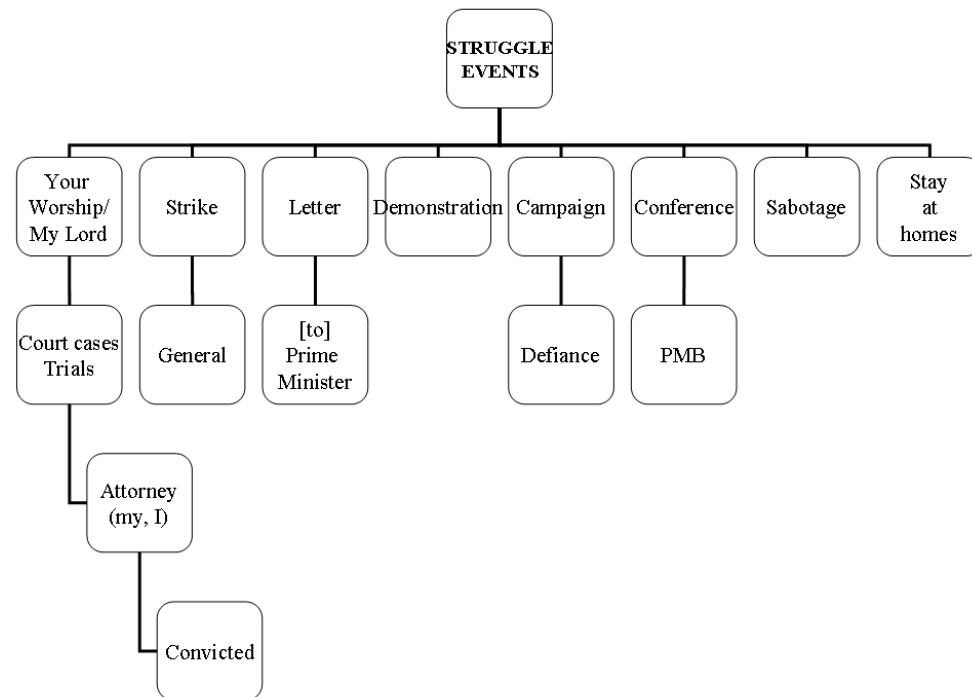


Figure 15: Struggle events

As mentioned previously, the keywords *worship* (9) and *lord* (63) are found in word patterns unique to legal discourse, i.e. *Your Worship* and *My Lord*. This manner of address is distinctive of the legal domain and points to the fact that three of the speeches included in the struggle sub-corpus were testimonies in three trials in which Mandela was involved as accused. The presence of *attorney* (71) as keyword linked to the keywords *I* (3) [I ... attorney] and *my* (4) [my attorney] and *convicted* (90) furthermore emphasise the significance of these court cases during the struggle period and the possible consequences of capital punishment. *Convicted* (90) further indicates the outcome of the second trial (1962) and the Rivonia Trial (1964). *Strike* (10) refers to the general strike of 1 May 1950, also known as the May Day Strike, as well as the general strike called on the eve of the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961. It was for the latter strike that Mandela was charged with incitement and sentenced to three years imprisonment (the full sentence was five years and included the second charge for leaving South African without proper documentation).

Prior to the establishment of the Republic of South Africa, Mandela wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd, in protest of this proclamation, which called for a true National Convention of South Africans of all races to determine the matter. The letter protested the fact that the watershed decision to proclaim a republic was based on a referendum in which only the white population could participate, thereby effectively sidelining the majority black population in a decision-making process that would also have a profound effect on their lives.

Demonstrations (13) refers to public shows of protest and, in this case, also specifically refers to the campaign protesting the proclamation of the republic in 1961. The campaign was planned, among other activities, around a number of peaceful public protests in objection to the proclamation of the republic. The keyword *campaign* (15) is by means of concord linked to the keyword *defiance* (29) and signifies the Defiance Campaign of 1952, which is short for the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws (the Defiance Campaign is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3). The Defiance Campaign was a crucial milestone in struggle history because it cemented the ANC as one of the leading organisations of the struggle movement and successfully motivated large numbers of people in urban areas to commit acts of civil disobedience.

The decision to proclaim the Republic of South Africa on 31 May 1961 created discontent among the black population of South Africa because they were deliberately excluded from the decision-making process, in spite of being the most populous segment of the South African population. Their discontent led to the All-in African National *Conference* (22) in *Pietermaritzburg* (46) from 25 to 26 March 1961 to discuss the imminent proclamation of the republic. The Conference established the All-in African National Action Council (*NAC*) (77) to implement the resolutions taken at the Conference. At the Conference, the delegates reached the decision to call for a fully representative national convention and to stage demonstrations should the government fail to comply. Mandela was designated secretary of the NAC and was charged with the responsibility of disseminating the findings of the Conference and coordinating the subsequent protest campaign. It is in this capacity that he penned the previously discussed letter to the Prime Minister.

Sabotage (24) refers to the form of armed resistance as chosen by *Umkhonto* (14) we Sizwe (MK) when non-violent means of struggle no longer appeared viable after the banning of the ANC, SACP and PAC in 1960 (the armed struggle is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3).

The keyword *stay* (28) is part of the cluster stay-at-home or stay-at-homes and refers to a particular form of peaceful struggle. During a stay-at-home, workers would simply stay away from work as a form of protest, but without provoking forceful suppression by authorities as was often the case with strikes and public demonstrations. The most notable stay-at-home occurred during the protest campaign against the proclamation of the republic in 1961.

The prominence of the preposition *by* (12) as keyword in the struggle sub-corpus accentuates the role of agency during this period and is expressed as **agency in struggle**. In real life, oppression and struggle involve actions, in other words, the deeds collectively termed ‘oppression’ and the exploits collectively termed ‘struggle’. Neither acts of oppression nor acts of struggle are pointless endeavours – they are directed at certain entities for a particular political purpose. The themes of **agency in struggle**, **adversaries in struggle** and **political purposes of struggle** are therefore coherent. The thematic entailments of agency are visually represented in Figure 16.

In the rhetoric of Mandela, agency was also conceptualised at different levels ranging from the agency of organisations and groups to the more abstract agency of concepts. The adversarial nature of the struggle fundamentally structures agency because the opposing standpoints of the theme, **adversaries in struggle**, is apparent in the conceptualisation of agency. Oppression entails particular actions by the *government* (69), *republic* (20), state, *police* (87) or *Prime Minister* (70) (as representative of government) carried out against organisations of struggle and black South Africans. Similarly, struggle encompasses the actions performed by struggle organisations such as the African National *Congress* (7) (ANC), South African Indian *Congress* (7) (SAIC), *Umkhonto* (14) we Sizwe (MK) and the National *Action* (54) Council of the *Pietermaritzburg* (47) All-in *African* (2) *Conference* (22), the latter opposing the proclamation of the republic in 1961. At group level, the agency of particular groupings becomes evident. As beneficiaries of the prevailing political system, Mandela conceived of *white* (5) people, the *white* (5) man and *whites* (5) to be agencies of oppression in South Africa against Africans and his people. In their political struggle, Africans and the people were agencies of resistance and struggle against oppression. At a more abstract level, Mandela further conceptualised *laws* (25), *violence* (85) and force to be concepts of agency; in other words, concepts as symbolic entities that committed actions of oppression against the organisations of struggle and the African people, as the black South African population were often referred to.

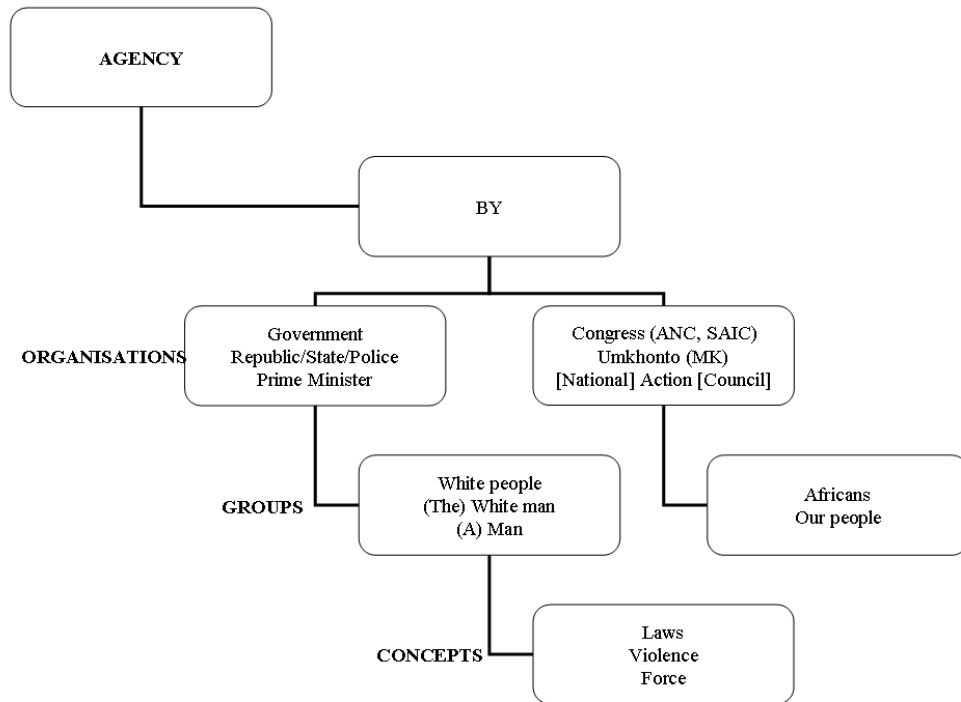


Figure 16: Agency in struggle

The **political purposes** pursued by the struggle or liberation movement during the struggle era pervade Mandela’s struggle rhetoric as is illustrated in Figure 17.

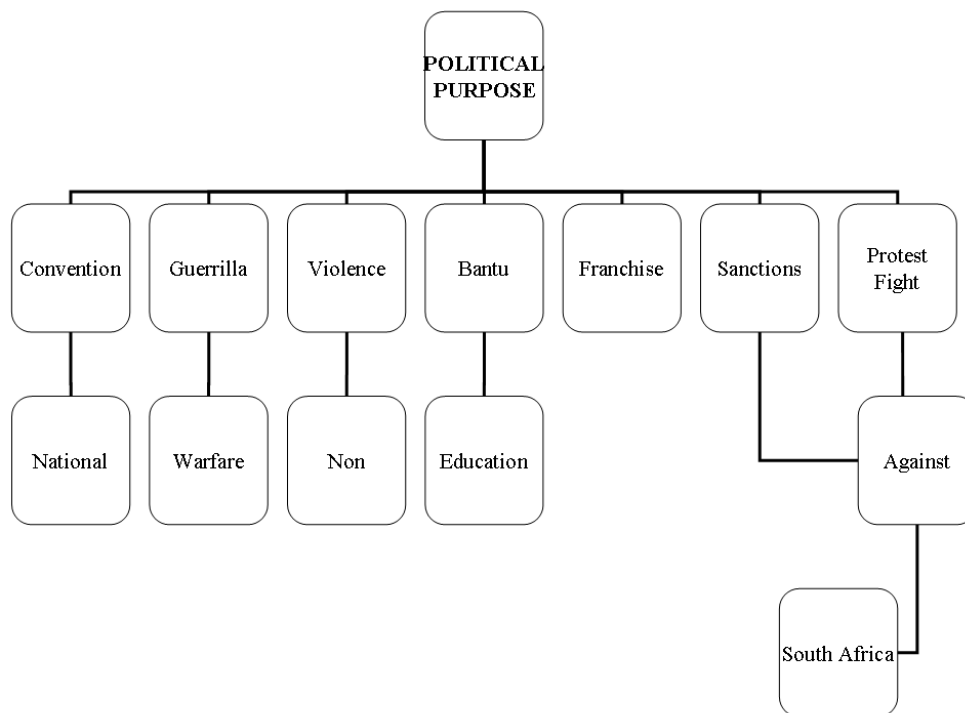


Figure 17: Political purposes of struggle

Political purposes entail the aims or functions of struggle. This means that in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric, specific purposes could be identified by means of calculated keywords and exploring their concord. The keyword *convention* (35) is used in connection with the national convention demanded by the *NAC* (National Action Council) (77) after the *All-in African (2) Conference* (22) in *Pietermaritzburg* (46) in 1961. *Guerrilla* (81) was used in conjunction with warfare as one of the four possible forms of violence considered at the beginning of the armed struggle with the establishment of MK in November 1961.

Sabotage (24) is the form of violence that was chosen and is included in the theme, **struggle events** rather than **political purpose**, because it was actually operationalised and points to specific events of sabotage that occurred during the struggle period. The decision to commence armed struggle was a move away from the traditional ANC policy of non-violence. The concord of the keyword *violence* (85) indicates that non-violence is one of its strongest patterns of use. The concord of the keyword *Bantu* (91) reveals that it was used in conjunction with education and authorities in the struggle rhetoric of Nelson Mandela to criticise the working of the Bantu Authorities and Bantu Education as enshrined in the Bantu Education Bill. Mandela was critical of the inadequate standards of Bantu Education and the unequal treatment of school children of different races.

Franchise (92) points towards one of the key purposes of the struggle, namely to achieve universal franchise or suffrage in South Africa. The concord of *against* (19) as political purpose is indicative of the calls to the international community to impose diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa, as well as the internal conceptualisation of struggle as a protest and fight against the government. The adversarial nature of struggle is particularly emphasised by the inclusion of *against* (19) as keyword and is also strongly related to the theme **adversaries in struggle**.

Political contexts of struggle signify the environments of struggle as conceived in the struggle rhetoric of Nelson Mandela. In Figure 18, the different contexts of varying levels of abstraction are visually summarised. The general domain of struggle was the political situation of the era as indicated by the keywords *political* (42) and *situation* (67), which were found to be collocates of each another in the struggle sub-corpus of Nelson Mandela.

South Africa was the immediate environment of struggle as indicated by the concord of the keyword *throughout* (51) and its default pattern and cluster ‘throughout the country’. *Johannesburg* (36) and *Pietermaritzburg* (46) were two specific venues of importance for the struggle, i.e. Johannesburg because of its status as symbolic heartland of the struggle, and Pietermaritzburg because it was the venue of the All-in African Conference in 1961.

The keyword *civilised* (64) was often used in the phrase ‘civilised world’ to serve as ideological measuring stick for oppressive societies, in particular apartheid South Africa. *PAFMECA* (94) is the acronym for the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa and indicates a continental platform of struggle. In the struggle rhetoric of Nelson Mandela, including his address to the PAFMECA conference on 12 January 1962 in Addis Ababa, the struggle was envisioned as a continental movement of which the various national struggles for independence (including South Africa) formed part.

Tanganyika (79) was one of the African states at the time that had imposed diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa, for which they were specifically thanked in his address to the PAFMECA conference. During his African tour in 1962, Mandela also visited Tanganyika (united with Zanzibar to form Tanzania in April 1964) (Arnold, 2005: xiv, 258) and was received by the then President of Tanganyika, Julius Nyerere, who allowed ANC recruits to undergo military training in Tanganyika as part of the armed struggle.

Time also plays an important part in constituting the political context for events. The month of *June* (83) is key as temporal context and its concord indicated that June of 1952, 1953 and 1961 was significant in the struggle rhetoric of Mandela. June 1952 is the temporal context for the Defiance Campaign, while June 1953 signalled the end of a banning order confining Mandela to the district of Johannesburg for six months from December 1952 to June 1953. June 1961 is significant because it provided the temporal context for re-examining the policy of non-violence of the ANC and signalled a move towards armed struggle and the formation of MK.

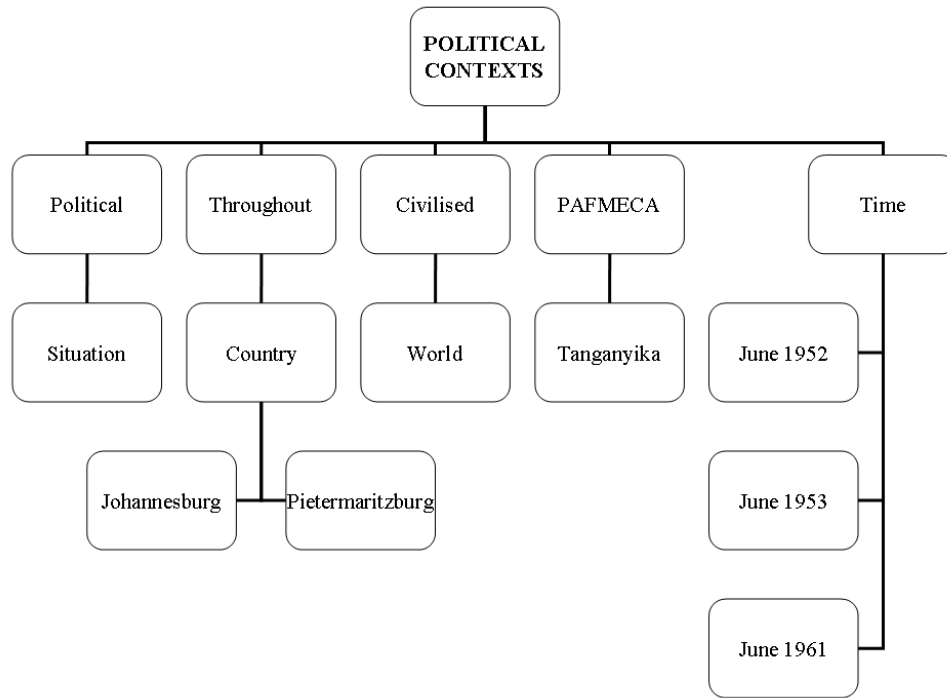


Figure 18: Political contexts of struggle

Mandela’s struggle rhetoric implies particular sources of oppression as demonstrated in Figure 19. The sources of oppression are the judiciary, law enforcement, policy and the nationalist government. This theme is also closely interrelated with the other themes of the struggle sub-corpus, especially **adversaries in struggle**, **agency in struggle** and **statutory nature of apartheid**.

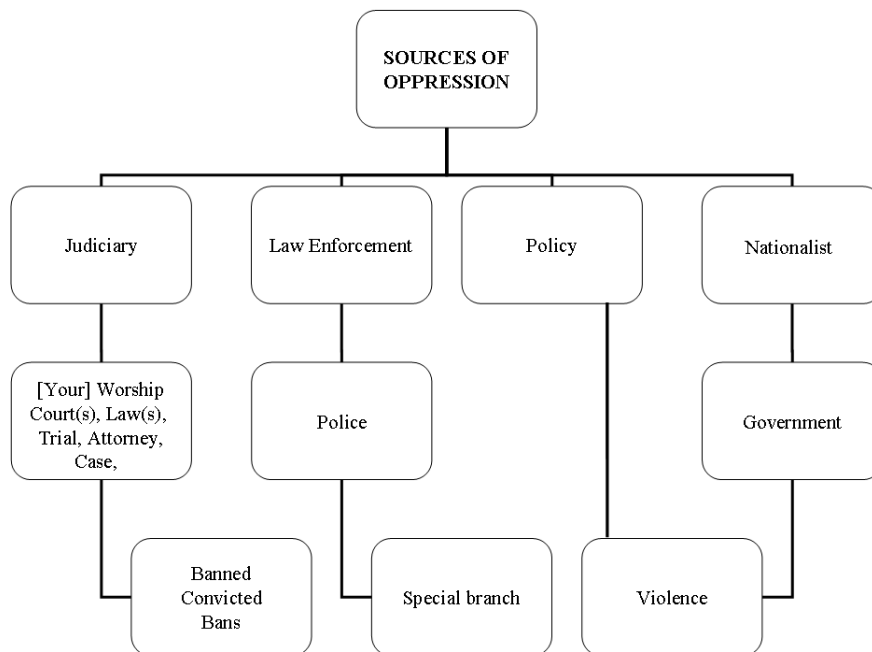


Figure 19: Sources of oppression

The judiciary was a critical and effective tool of the apartheid government in the proscription of struggle organisations, activists and activities, as is illustrated by the fact that Nelson Mandela was involved in three trials related to struggle activities in nearly a decade between 1956 and 1964. In fact, Mandela's active role in the struggle was effectively ended when he was jailed, although he still fulfilled a crucial symbolic function in rallying international support for the struggle.

The police force was a major source of harassment for struggle activists. *Police* (87) is considered both **agency in struggle** and a **source of oppression**. The keyword *branch* (60) is indicative of Special Branch, an especially feared section of the police force, whose officers were known for their violent and ruthless methods. The mode of operation of Special Branch was reviled by Mandela as shown in his struggle rhetoric, especially his testimony in 1962 in his trial on incitement charges, terming their activities 'illegal, unlawful attacks'. The keyword *policy* (30) is linked to the keyword *violence* (85) as well as *government* (69). Whereas the policy of the ANC prior to the commencement of the armed struggle in 1961 is described as a policy of non-violence, Mandela described government policy as an 'inhuman policy of violence'. *Government* (69) is further defined by the keyword *nationalist* (66), which is its closest keyword collocate.

The **statutory nature of apartheid** is portrayed in Figure 20. The statutory nature of apartheid is a very specific source of oppression related to the judiciary and is considered an extension of the **sources of oppression** theme.

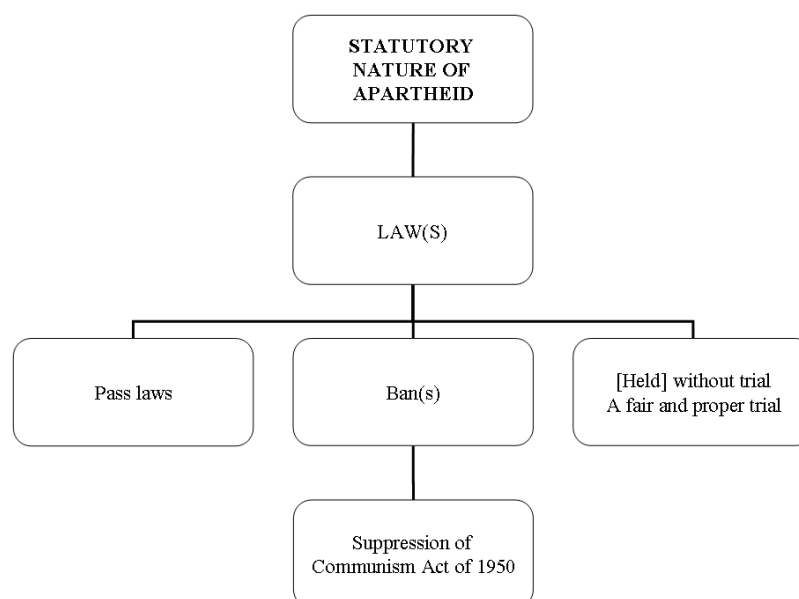


Figure 20: Statutory nature of apartheid.

There is a significant number of keywords in the struggle sub-corpus relating to legal matters as discussed in Section 5.2.2.2 of this chapter. These legalistic keywords are indicative of the legal nature of the oppression applied during the tenure of apartheid. Upon closer inspection of the concord of these legalistic words, the specific legal aspects with which Nelson Mandela was most concerned is detectable, that is the so-called pass *laws* (25) and the *bans* (93) imposed on activists as enabled by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 (which also proscribed the ANC and other struggle organisations) as revealed in the concord of the keyword *communism* (53). As indicated in his rhetoric, Mandela was also most alarmed at the South African apartheid state's propensity to detain struggle activists without *trial* (33) while, during the course of his three trials from 1956 to 1964, he questioned the possibility for a black person to receive a fair and proper trial in the South African courts.

The concord of the keywords of the **liberation sub-corpus** revealed themes that primarily touch on **aspects of political transition**. These themes are **political purposes of transition** and **role-players in political transition** as visualised in Figure 21. Compared to the diversity of interrelated struggle themes, the liberation themes are more focused on very particular aspects of political transition.

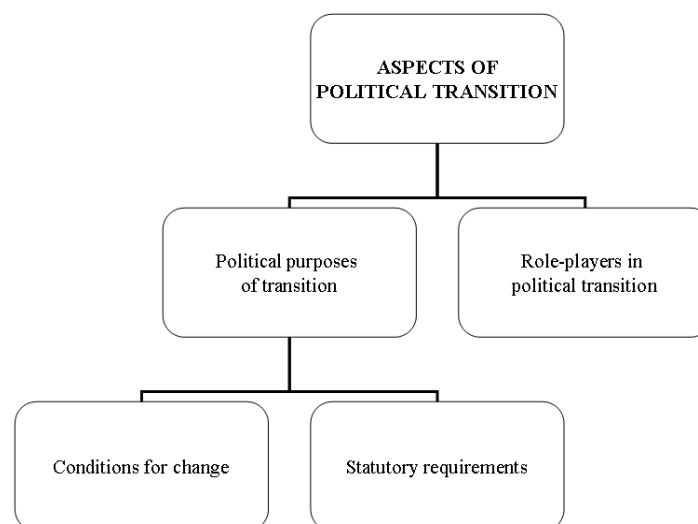


Figure 21: Aspects of political transition

The theme **political purposes of transition** can be further demarcated into the sub-themes of **conditions for change** and **statutory requirements**. **Conditions for change** refer to those aspects that were considered essential conditions to be met in order for change to occur. These are portrayed in Figure 22.

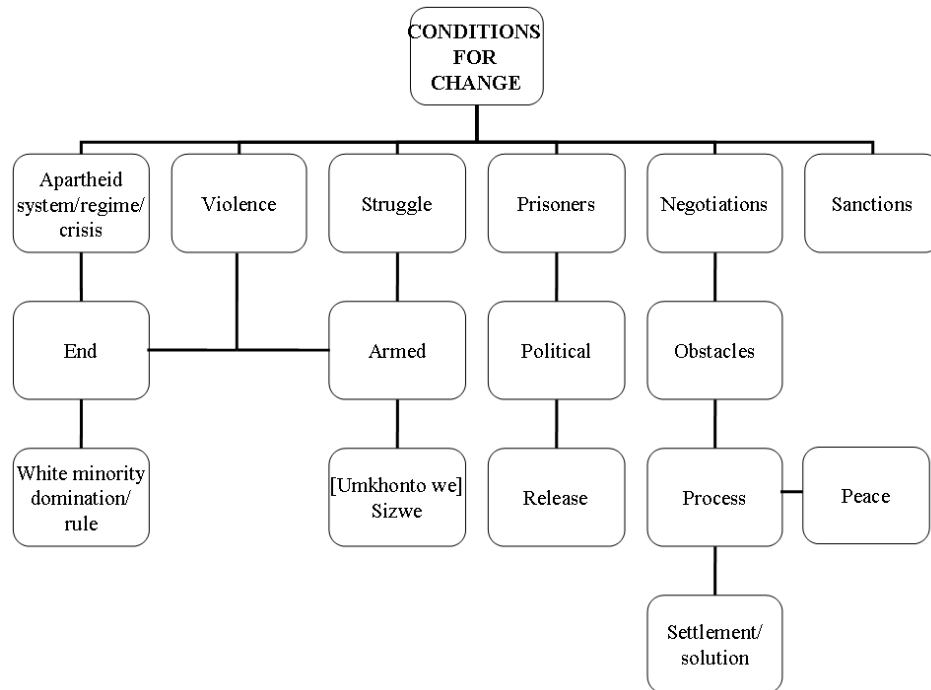


Figure 22: Conditions for change

The concord of *apartheid* (2) reveals that Nelson Mandela focused on the inequities perpetuated during the apartheid period in order to define the changes required to ensure peace and democracy. During the liberation period, Mandela consistently called for the end of the apartheid regime or system and white minority domination and rule, as gleaned from the concord of *apartheid* (2), the second most significant keyword in the liberation sub-corpus. The top four keyword collocates of the keyword *apartheid* (2) are *system* (15), *regime* (17), *end* (21) and *rule* (71). His speeches during the period also focused on the dismantling of apartheid structures, laws and policies. The negative keyness of apartheid during the struggle years and the positive keyness of apartheid during the liberation years are indicative of the fact that, during the struggle, Mandela was focused on the struggle and how to conduct the struggle, while the liberation years changed the focus to the end of apartheid rule. The system of apartheid was also a system of white minority rule as indicated by the concord of *white* (10), *minority* (18) and *rule* (71).

Mandela was further concerned with bringing an end to the violence of the time, especially what he described as black-on-black violence. This is signified by the fact that the closest keyword collocate of *violence* (8) is *end* (21), followed by *black* (4). From his rhetoric during this period, it is evident that Mandela considered the violence to be instigated by the state.

The significance of *struggle* (14) as keyword in the liberation sub-corpus indicates that Mandela often referred to the struggle and that *armed* (36) *struggle* (14) was a major point of discussion in this period. At that time, the armed struggle had already been suspended to show commitment to the *peace* (70) *process* (19), but the Nationalist Party Government also wanted Umkhonto we *Sizwe* (51) to be disbanded. This point caused acrimony between *De Klerk* (13;11) and Mandela during the first session of CODESA on 20 December 1991 when the then President De Klerk openly castigated the ANC for refusing to disband MK. For Mandela, this was an unwarranted and surprise attack by the government on a matter still under discussion and considered to be closely tied to the development of the political process.

One of the consistent conditions for change in Mandela's rhetoric was the unconditional release of political prisoners as specified in the concord of *political* (16), *release* (43) and *prisoners* (61). *Negotiations* (3) is the third most significant keyword in the liberation sub-corpus and was a major political purpose of transition. The two dominant keyword collocates are *obstacles* (65) and *process* (19) and point towards the word order patterns and clusters of 'obstacles to negotiations' and 'process of negotiations'. Mandela viewed certain conditions as prerequisites that had to be met by the nationalist government before negotiations could commence. These included the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Process (19) is also a collocate of *peace* (70) and found in the cluster 'peace process'. *Settlement* (42) and *solution* (83) represent the purpose of the negotiations process, namely to negotiate a political settlement or solution to South Africa's political woes. The international *sanctions* (29) imposed on South Africa in order to bring about peaceful democratic change was also a significant talking point for Mandela during the liberation era. In the early years of the liberation era (1990 – 1992), he urged the international community to maintain sanctions until apartheid was fully dismantled. However, in 1993 when negotiations had advanced to a stage where elections were being discussed, Mandela began calling for sanctions against South Africa to be lifted.

The political purposes of the liberation era details the statutory changes required by the struggle movement as shown in Figure 23.

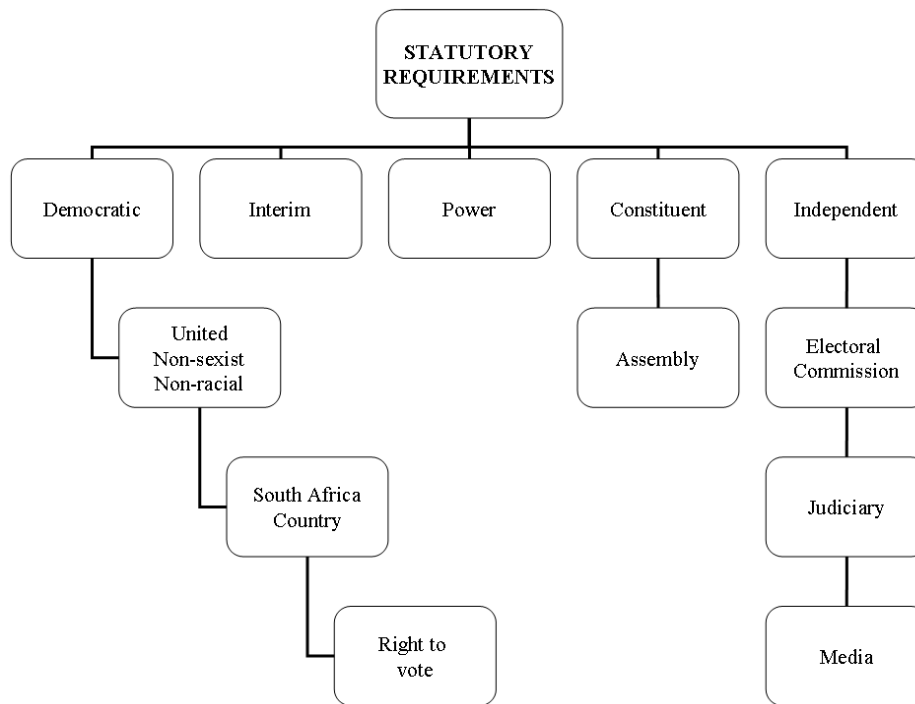


Figure 23: Statutory requirements

These requirements include a *democratic* (7), united, *non-racial* (26;12) and *non-sexist* (26;56) country where all its people have the *right* (48) to *vote* (39). The stakeholders in the negotiation process also agreed on an *interim* (31) Government of National Unity to be constituted after the first elections and an *interim* (31) constitution to facilitate the change to democracy. Statutory requirements further necessitated the transfer of *power* (31) from a minority regime to the people in order to have power sharing between the various groups in the country. The democratic elections of 27 April 1994 would determine a *constituent* (35) *assembly* (38), which would be a constitution-making body charged with the writing of a new constitution to replace the interim one. The concord of the keyword *independent* (45) revealed that as part of the statutory requirement of transition the negotiations process also agreed on the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission to run the elections and an Independent Media Commission to deal with matters pertaining to broadcasting. The closest collocate to *independent* (45) is judiciary, which is not a keyword, but nevertheless signifies that, for Mandela, the issue of an independent judiciary was an important one.

The rhetoric of the liberation sub-corpus is further defined by the various role-players that contributed, participated or fulfilled a particular purpose during the political transition. Figure 24 provides a visual representation of the role-players as identified from the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela. That Mandela is not included in the display is a function of the fact that

he is the source of the rhetoric and unlikely to refer to himself in the third person. As subject of the current study, Mandela's significant role in these events is understood and the focus is on identifying the other entities involved as revealed by the analysis of his speeches from the liberation sub-corpus.

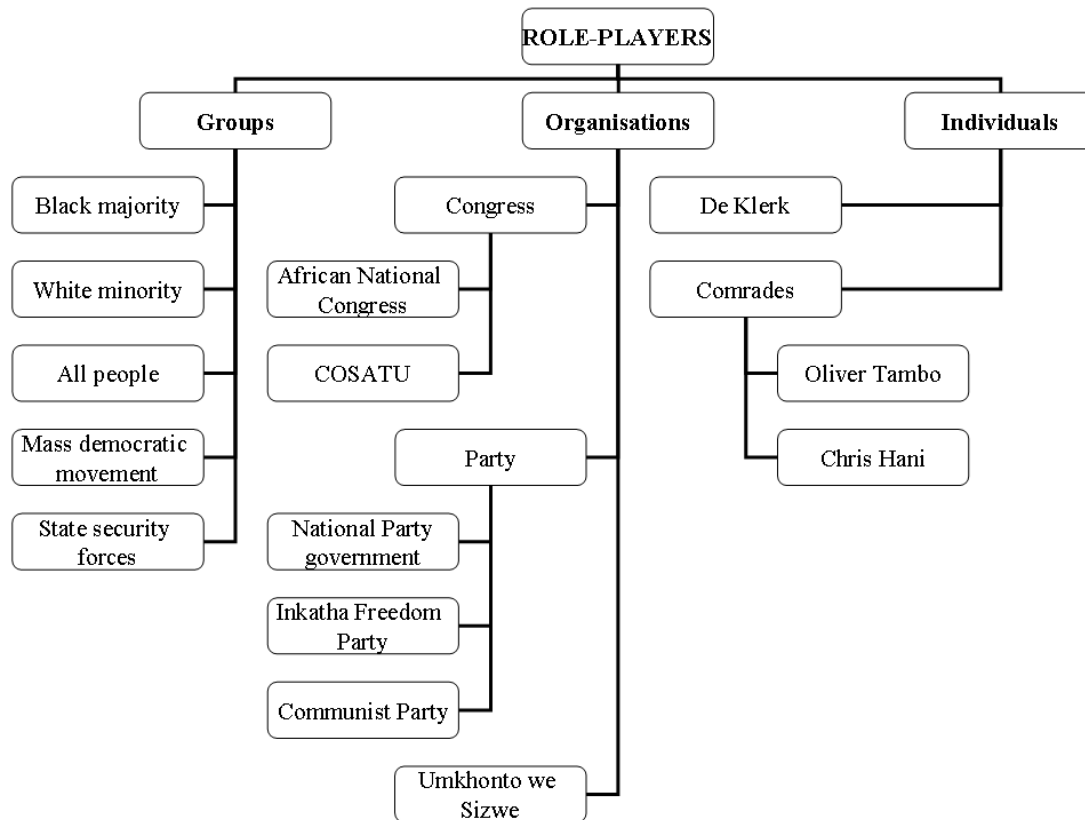


Figure 24: Role-players in political transition

The role-players in the political transition can be delineated into groups, organisations and individuals. The two most significant groups that were identified in the rhetoric of Mandela by means of the concord of keywords are the black majority from the keywords *black* (4) and *majority* (53), and the white minority as indicated by the concord of *white* (10) and *minority* (18). The 'black majority' and 'white minority' represent the adversarial relationship between these two interest groups that have existed since the struggle era. Further consultation of the concord of the keywords *black* (4) and *white* (10) reveals Mandela's push towards inclusivity by repeatedly using the cluster 'black and white'. The 'black and white' cluster is, in fact, the most prevalent cluster involving both the keywords *black* (4) and *white* (10). The tendency towards inclusivity is further illustrated through the concord of *people* (27). The cluster variations 'of our people', 'all the people' and 'all our people' were prevalent in the liberation

sub-corpus. The concord of *democratic* (7) and *mass* (49) revealed the ‘Mass Democratic Movement’ as one of the role-players as identified in the rhetoric of Mandela. In Mandela’s speeches, the cluster collectively describes the group of organisations and individuals active in the struggle for liberation. In his speeches included in the liberation sub-corpus, Mandela also expressed concern over the role of the state security forces during the period of transition. In fact, the keyword *forces* (81) was used frequently in connection with this group in clusters such as ‘the security forces’ and ‘state security forces’, although Mandela also used this keyword in clusters such as ‘the democratic forces’ and ‘anti-apartheid forces’, which are constructions of a more abstract nature.

The organisational role-players that were identified through the concord of keywords are the ANC from the word patterns and clusters of the keyword *congress* (55) as well as COSATU. The keyword *congress* (55) has also been used by Mandela as hypocorism to refer to the ANC. The concord of the keyword *party* (25) produced, among others, the word patterns and clusters ‘National Party’, ‘National Party Government’ and ‘ruling National Party’, as well as ‘the Communist Party’, ‘the South African Communist Party’ and ‘the Inkatha Freedom Party’. These clusters and word patterns identify three significant political parties taking part in the process of negotiations and the political transition.

The presence of these parties in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela is indicative of the relative significance of each party in the political process during this period, i.e. the National Party as former oppressor and main opponent, the SACP as struggle ally of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party as instigator of black-on-black violence with the tacit support of the Nationalist Party Government. In his statement to the United Nations Security Council on 15 July 1992 in New York, Nelson Mandela draws the attention of the UN Security Council to the Memorandum of 9 July 1992 directed to the then President De Klerk. Mandela described how the document discussed the evidence of government involvement in the violence in South Africa persisting at the time, as well as the role played by members of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the initiation of the violence in townships.

The concord of the keyword *sizwe* (51) revealed that this keyword was solely used as part of the word pattern and cluster ‘Umkhonto we Sizwe’ with both ‘umkhonto’ and ‘we’ closely linked collocates. Umkhonto we Sizwe proved a major point of discussion during the time frame covered by the liberation sub-corpus, especially regarding the role of the organisation

in the struggle and the calls by the Nationalist Government to disband the armed wing of the ANC. It is further interesting that the UDF, which played a crucial coordinating role in liberation politics inside South Africa from its establishment in 1983 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 379), was not identified as distinct role-player separate from the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement.

Notable individual role-players include the President of South Africa at the time of negotiations, FW de Klerk, as designated by the keywords *Klerk* (11) and *De* (13) as well as struggle colleagues of Mandela as identified by the concord of *comrade* (47), *Hani* (50), *Tambo* (60), *Chris* (64) and *Oliver* (79). At the time of Mandela's release from prison, Oliver Tambo was the President of the ANC until Nelson Mandela assumed leadership in July 1991 (Mandela, 1994: 709). After his release, Mandela often paid tribute to Oliver Tambo as President of the ANC for his role in directing the struggle in exile as is evident from his speech upon the day of his release from prison on 11 February 1990. Oliver Tambo, Mandela's long-time friend and colleague, died in 1993 and was given a state funeral by the ANC to commemorate his central role in the struggle and the ANC (Mandela, 1994: 730 – 731).

Another key figure during this period is Chris Hani, although not through his own actions, but by virtue of his assassination by right-wing extremists. (The assassination of Chris Hani is discussed in Chapter 1 in Section 1.3.3.) Chris Hani was the secretary-general of the SACP and a popular and admired figure in the ANC, described by Mandela as 'a great hero among the youth of South Africa' (Arnold, 2005: 781; Mandela, 1994: 728). By all accounts, Hani was also a possible successor to Mandela as leader of the ANC and President of the country (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 405). This event was a watershed moment in South Africa and even Mandela, fearing the possibility of a racial war in its aftermath, cautioned for calm in four separate rhetorical acts.

The presidential sub-corpus revealed themes related to **reconciliation** and themes related to **reconstruction**. Even with the dearth of data from the presidential sub-corpus as explained in Section 5.2.2.2 of the current chapter, it is possible to infer that Mandela focused on aspects of reconciliation and reconstruction during his presidency as is visually represented in Figure 25. Whereas reconciliation points towards the fostering of understanding among different

groups, cultures and races and the creation of unity, reconstruction points towards the more pragmatic tasks of economic reform and transformation

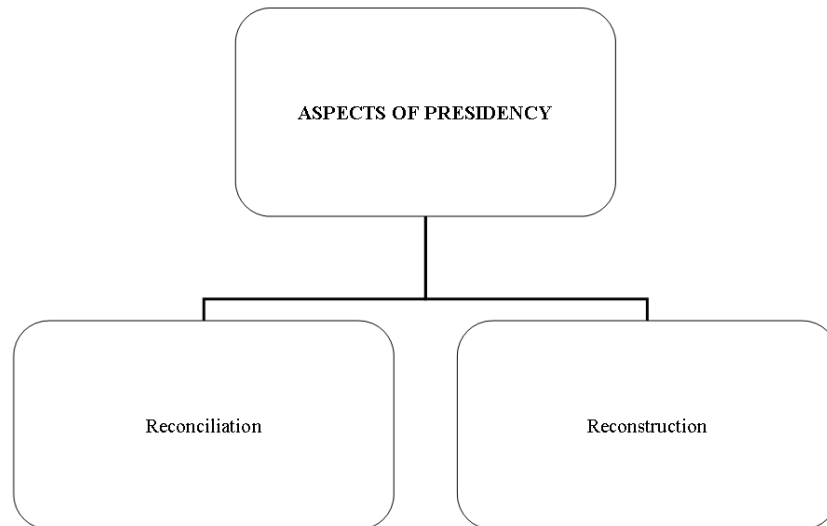


Figure 25: Aspects of presidency

In an unforeseen turn of events, the majority of the keywords in the presidential keywords list are functional Afrikaans words such as prepositions, pronouns and conjunctions. In spite of not being meaningful words, the concord of these Afrikaans function words was nevertheless explored for the sake of consistency and revealed some interesting data. In the theme of **reconciliation**, illustrated in Figure 26, for instance, the conjunction *en* (4), the equivalent of ‘and’, was found to have been commonly used in the fixed cluster, *Waarheids- en Versoeningskommissie*, the Afrikaans translation of the English term, ‘Truth and Reconciliation Commission’.

By nature, *ons* (5), equivalent to the pronouns ‘us’ and ‘our’, is inclusive and implies unity between opposing entities or viewpoints. The ‘you’ and ‘me’ orientation so evident from the struggle and liberation sub-corpora in the juxtaposition of ‘black’ vs. ‘white’ and ‘majority’ vs. ‘minority’ was replaced in the presidential era with an orientation towards creating a sense of unity between former opponents.

Te (7), an Afrikaans infinitive form equivalent to the English ‘to’, was found in clusters and word patterns such as *om saam te werk* (to work together), *om hande te vat* (to take hands) and *om deel te neem* (to participate), which all connote inclusivity, unity and compromise.

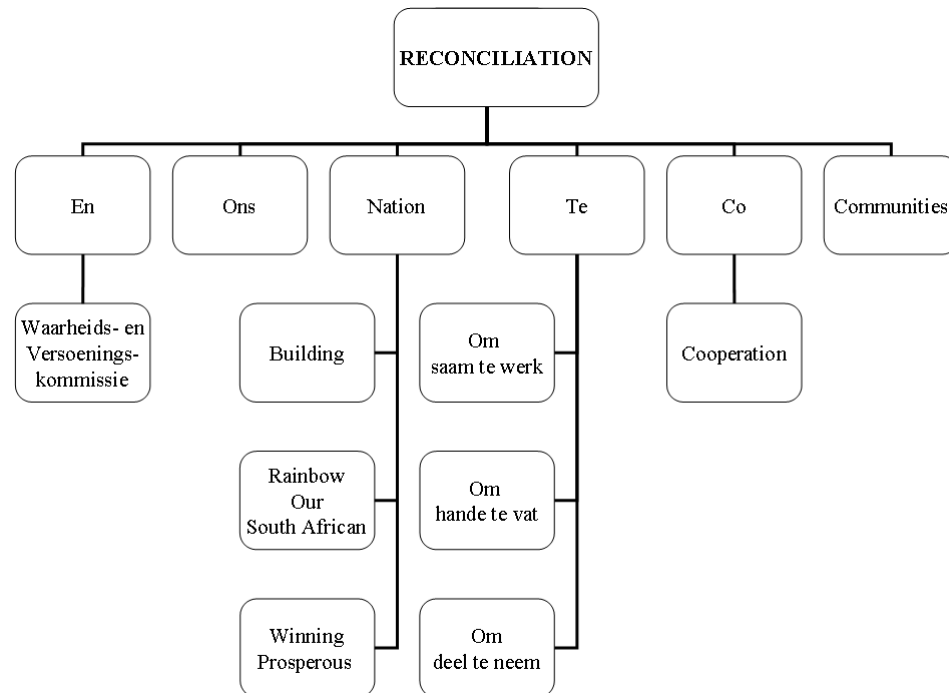


Figure 26: Reconciliation

Reconciliation is further indicated by the concord of keywords *nation* (6), *co* (9) and *communities* (12). All the English keywords in the presidential sub-corpus were found to be linked collocates of one another, although all MI values indicating the strength of the link between two keywords fall below the value of 4.00, indicating only moderate to weak links. Nonetheless, the keywords *nation* (6) and *development* (3) are the closest collocates in the presidential sub-corpus. *Nation* (6) was found in word patterns and clusters such as ‘nation building’, ‘rainbow nation’, ‘our nation’, ‘the South African nation’ as well as ‘a winning nation’ and ‘a prosperous nation’ among many other forms. The construction ‘nation building’ was often found in the company of ‘reconciliation’ in fixed clusters such as ‘nation building and reconciliation’. All these clusters indicate a tendency to use terms to promote unity among all cultures and races in order to, in effect, ‘build’ one South African nation.

In certain instances, the collocates of keywords that are not keywords themselves also provided interesting data. Where the mass of data is immense, exploring all the collocates of a large number of keywords is prohibitive. The presidential list of keywords is small, making a broader exploration of collocates feasible, as is illustrated by the case of the cluster ‘rainbow nation’. During Mandela’s presidency, South Africa became popularly known as the rainbow nation to celebrate its multi-cultural character, but striving towards unity in

diversity. In Mandela's presidential rhetoric, the cluster 'rainbow nation' was frequently used, as is illustrated by the fact that the closest collocate of *nation* (6), whether keyword or not, is 'rainbow' with a MI value of 9.23, indicating a close link between these two words. It is interesting to note that, although the words 'reconcile', 'reconciling' and 'reconciliation' are not keywords and therefore not indicative of linked keywords, they are all close collocates of *nation* (6). The MI value for all three words in relation to *nation* (6) exceeds the value of 6.9 and all three words fall under the top 12 collocates in the collocate display of the keyword *nation* (6). 'Reconciliation' is therefore a particularly apt characterisation of this theme.

The theme of reconciliation is further emphasised by the concord of the prefix *co* (9), which revealed its prevalence in word patterns and clusters pertaining to cooperation, for instance, 'co-operation between communities', 'development through co-operation', 'co-operative governance' and 'peace and co-operation'. The calculation of *co* (9) as separate keyword is a function of the tendency to prefer the hyphenated spelling, i.e. 'co-operate' instead of 'cooperate' and 'co-operation' rather than 'cooperation'. In *Wordsmith Tools 5.0*, certain characters such as the apostrophe and hyphen are user-defined. The default setting, i.e. the hyphen as separator of words, was used with the result that the prefix 'co' was calculated separately from its various suffix forms. The alternate setting (hyphen not as separator of words), however, makes no discernible difference to the findings, as the concept of cooperation is indicated irrespective of the setting used. Whereas the default setting indicates the keyword *co* (9) with 'co-operation' as the most prevalent word pattern and cluster, the alternative setting indicates the 'co-operation' in full as keyword. The alternate setting would not allow the calculation of the MI value of hyphenated words and the decision was made to retain the default settings to facilitate use.

The concord of *communities* (12) revealed that communities designated different interest groups in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela during his presidential years. Common word patterns include 'rural communities', 'disadvantaged communities', 'religious communities', 'linguistic communities' and 'farming communities'. The cluster display further revealed that the cooperation between government, communities and the private sector was emphasised in various formulations.

Reconstruction is the other theme identified in the presidential sub-corpus and is displayed as Figure 27.

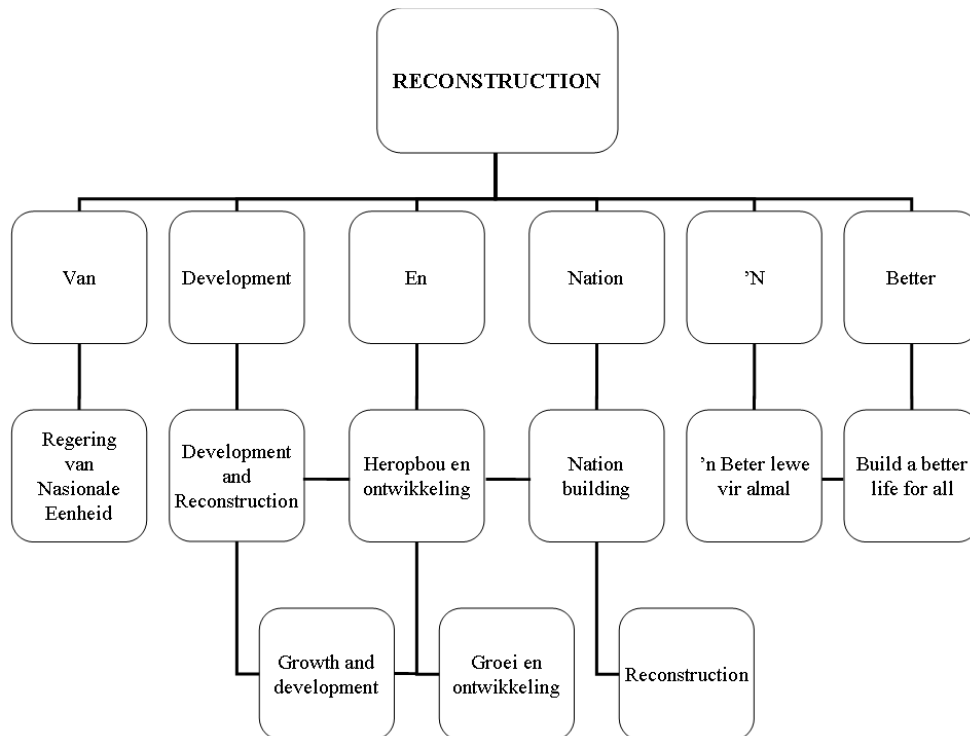


Figure 27: Reconstruction

The reconstruction theme included functional Afrikaans words, i.e. *van* (2), which can be used as either preposition or conjunction and is equivalent to ‘of’ and ‘from’ as well as the indefinite article *’n* (8), the equivalent of ‘a’. The theme of reconstruction shared overlap with the reconciliation theme in terms of the keywords *nation* (6) and the conjunction *en* (4). The most significant cluster indicated by *van* (2) is the fixed cluster of *Regering van Nasionale Eenheid*, which is the Afrikaans version of the Government of National Unity (GNU), the first democratically elected constituent assembly in South African history. The GNU was clearly a popular matter of discussion for Mandela when addressing the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population, especially after the NP and De Klerk withdrew from the GNU in 1996 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 413). The most meaningful cluster in which *’n* (8) appears, is *’n beter lewe vir almal* (a better life for all). By consulting the original speeches, it became clear that Mandela often utilised this cluster in his speeches for political purposes. This notion was further strengthened after consulting the concord of the keyword *better* (11) and finding that *better* (11) significantly featured in the fixed cluster ‘build or building a better life for all’. The idea of aspiring to a better quality of life was therefore a crucial theme

during Mandela's presidency and warranted continued mention to English and Afrikaans constituencies.

The concord of *nation* (6) indicated word patterns and clusters indicative of the reconstruction theme. *Nation* (6) was found in word patterns with 'reconstruction' and 'development' in fixed clusters such as 'nation building and development' and 'nation building and reconstruction.

En (4) appeared in three significant fixed clusters indicative of the theme of reconstruction, i.e. *heropbou en ontwikkeling* (reconstruction and development), the related *Heropbou en Ontwikkelingsprogram* (Reconstruction and Development Programme or RDP) and *groei en ontwikkeling* (growth and development). In order to 'build a better life for all', the RDP was launched as an economic programme of redistribution through the better utilisation of extant resources but without endangering macro-economic stability (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007: 424). The purpose was to achieve a more equitable distribution of wealth and to draw more black South Africans into the economy. The concord of *development* (3) revealed that the keyword featured in the fixed clusters 'reconstruction and development' as well as 'Reconstruction and Development Programme', which is coherent with the findings of *en* (4). From the concord, *development* (3) was further found to have been commonly used in the fixed cluster 'growth and development', another point of convergence with the clusters of the keyword *en* (4).

The **post-presidential era** has been signified by one major theme and a number of themes of lesser importance and endurance. Figure 28 illustrates the themes present in the post-presidential era. The dominant theme of this period is the theme of HIV/AIDS and matters relating to HIV/AIDS, as indicated by the concord of the keywords *HIV* (1), *AIDS* (2), *treatment* (4), *vaccine* (8) and *retroviral* (25). The keywords of *HIV* (1) and *AIDS* (2) are closely linked keyword collocates of each another with a shared MI of 11.01. The word pattern and cluster display confirm the conventional format of these acronyms, i.e. 'HIV/AIDS'. The word pattern and cluster display also revealed a fixed cluster involving HIV/AIDS, namely 'the fight against HIV/AIDS'. The keyword *AIDS* (2) is further linked to the keyword *vaccine* (8) found in the fixed cluster, 'the South African AIDS vaccine initiative'. Other keywords pertaining to the HIV/AIDS issue, while not directly linked to either *HIV* (1) or *AIDS* (2), include *treatment* (4) and *retroviral* (25), which are close mutual

collocates with an MI value of 14.34 and found in the fixed word pattern and cluster ‘anti-retroviral treatment’. HIV/AIDS can rightly be described as the dominant theme of the post-presidential era.

Another significant theme of the post-presidential era, although not to the same extent and with the scope of the HIV/AIDS theme, was the Burundi Peace Process and Arusha, the Tanzanian city where the negotiations took place, as indicated by the concord of the keyword *Burundi* (3). The link between the Burundi Peace Process and the keyword *Arusha* (22) is unfortunately not apparent from the concord of the keyword. The conceptual link between the Burundi Peace Process and Arusha was clarified by consulting the speech Mandela gave to the UN Security Council on the Arusha Peace Process on 29 September 2000 ranked number 786 in the corpus. The Burundi Peace Process was also alternately known as the Arusha Peace Process after the seat of the negotiations and, according to the speech in 2000, was meant to facilitate a peaceful resolution to a bloody civil war between 1993 and 2000. Mandela assumed the role of chief negotiator in 2000 following the death of the Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere, who initiated the negotiations process in June 1998. The peace talks concluded with the signing of a power-sharing agreement in August 2000 (Arnold, 2005: 857 – 859).

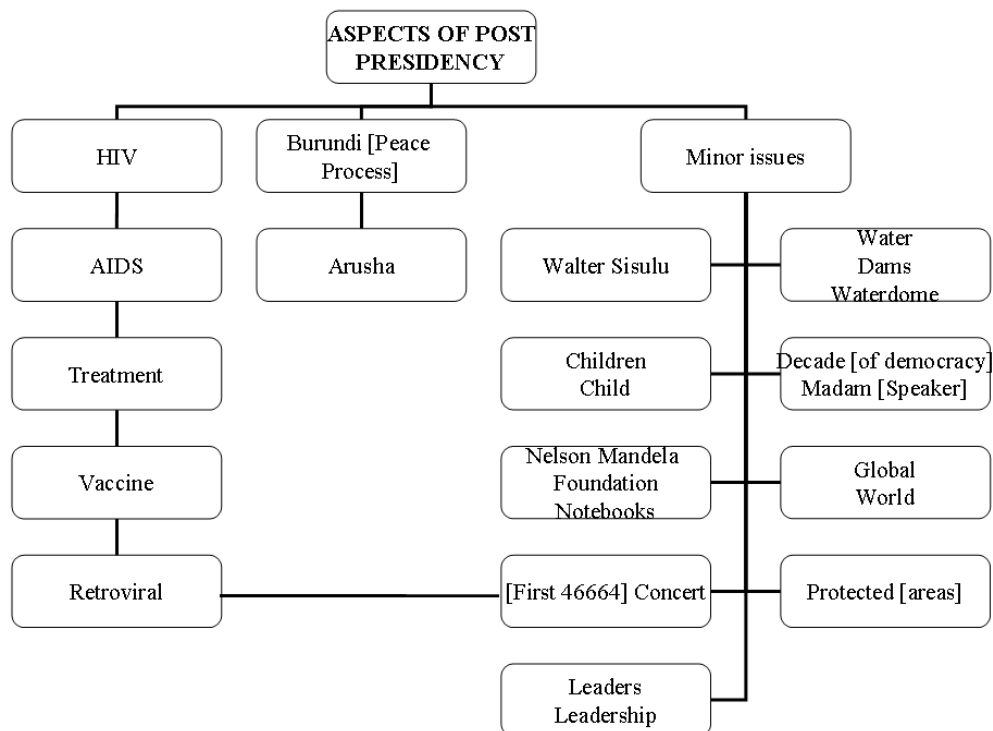


Figure 28: Aspects of post-presidency

The post-presidential era further included minor themes such as the death of struggle icon, Walter Sisulu, as indicated by the concord of the keywords *Walter* (7) and *Sisulu* (28). Mandela also touched on themes such as water in his address at the launch of the report of the World Commission on *Dams* (5) on 16 November 2000, as well as his address opening the *Waterdome* (19) at the World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, August 2002. Mandela remained deeply concerned about the plight of the *child* (15) or *children* (9) and entered into a partnership with the United Nations Children Fund in May 2000 to build a global partnership for the protection of children's rights. In 2004, South Africa celebrated its first *decade* (17) of democracy and on 10 May 2004 Mandela addressed parliament to mark the occasion, explaining the significance of *Madam* (20). The concord of this keyword revealed the fixed pattern of 'Madam Speaker', which is an indication of the mentioned occasion.

The concord of *Mandela* (21) indicates the word pattern and cluster of 'the Nelson Mandela Foundation' (NMF). The NMF plays a significant role in Mandela's affairs in the post-presidential period with events such as the launch of the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Commemoration Project at the Foundation in 2004, as well as its coordination of the 46664 campaigns and concerts to raise funds for and awareness regarding AIDS. The launch of the commemoration project was marked by the return of two *notebooks* (26) he used as a prisoner that was confiscated during his prison term. These notebooks were the first acquisition of the project.

The 46664 campaign was first launched in London on 21 October 2003 with the first fund-raising *concert* (27) held on 29 November 2003 in Cape Town. The 46664 campaign also links to the main theme of the period, namely HIV/AIDS and the fight against the disease. The keywords *global* (11) and *world* (13) indicates the context of his endeavours relating to HIV/AIDS and children, while the keyword *protected* (18) points towards Protected Areas and conservation issues as discussed by Mandela in his address to the World Parks Congress on 1 September 2003. In the post-presidential era, Mandela's concerns are of a global scope with *leaders* (12) and *leadership* (16) a key factor in issues such as the Burundi Peace Process, the Global Partnership for Children and the continuing global fight against HIV/AIDS.

5.3 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Where the keywords and their concord provide access to the key themes of the sub-corpora at the manifest level of the rhetoric, in other words, the content of the target domains, the qualitative exploration of the metaphorical concepts in individual speeches provide detail regarding the metaphoric entailments of the target domain structure as identified by the quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis revealed the source domains that were cognitively available to Mandela in his personal construal system for the entailment of the entire spectrum of target domains. The source domains and their range of mappings will be discussed in general before explaining in more detail the metaphorical concepts found in the rhetoric and how they interact, as well as explaining the findings in terms of micro- and mega-metaphorical concepts and metaphorical systems.

5.3.1 Stable source domains in structural metaphorical concepts

The rhetoric of Nelson Mandela revealed a range of source domains of considerable conceptual scope applied to target domains in structural, orientational and ontological metaphorical concepts. (See Chapter 4 for detail on the dimensions of meaning in Section 4.3.8.) In this instance, conceptual scope refers to the diverse assortment of source domains rather than the quantity. The source domains will be discussed in terms of the types of metaphorical concepts, i.e. structural, orientational and ontological.

The **structural metaphorical concepts** proved especially productive. The various identified source domains used in the structural metaphorical concepts in Mandela's rhetoric were found to structure target domains in terms of **events, systems, objects, activities, effects and assigned properties**. While certain source domains proved stable, in other words, consistently used to structure target domains, others were subject to more short-lived application. The more short-lived source domains can further be delineated into source domains of intermediate application and source domains with non-recurrent application.

The stable source domains are presented in Figure 29, delineated based on the structured domains. The source domains of JOURNEY and WAR were applied to structure target domains as events, while BUILDING/STRUCTURE, HUMAN BODY, PLANTS, FORCES AND TOOLS/MACHINES structured target domains in terms of systems. The source

domain of BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY was used to structure target domains in relation to business, economic or money-related transactions and activities. The JOURNEY and HUMAN BODY constellations comprise multiple source domains relating to the concept of journey and the human body and the inherent structures and conditions associated with them. The JOURNEY constellation also includes the source domains of CONDUIT, MOTION/TIME and LANDSCAPE. CONDUIT is associated with the JOURNEY constellation because it is a means to an end and is structured in terms of a path towards a destination, where the means resembles a path and the purpose is the final destination. MOTION/TIME suggests that the passing of time is movement over a LANDSCAPE in a particular direction, thereby also resembling the path structure. The HUMAN BODY source domain is concerned with the structure and conditions of the human body as system and therefore also takes account of the source domains of HEALTH/ILLNESS, MEDICINE, FAMILY and LIFE/DEATH.

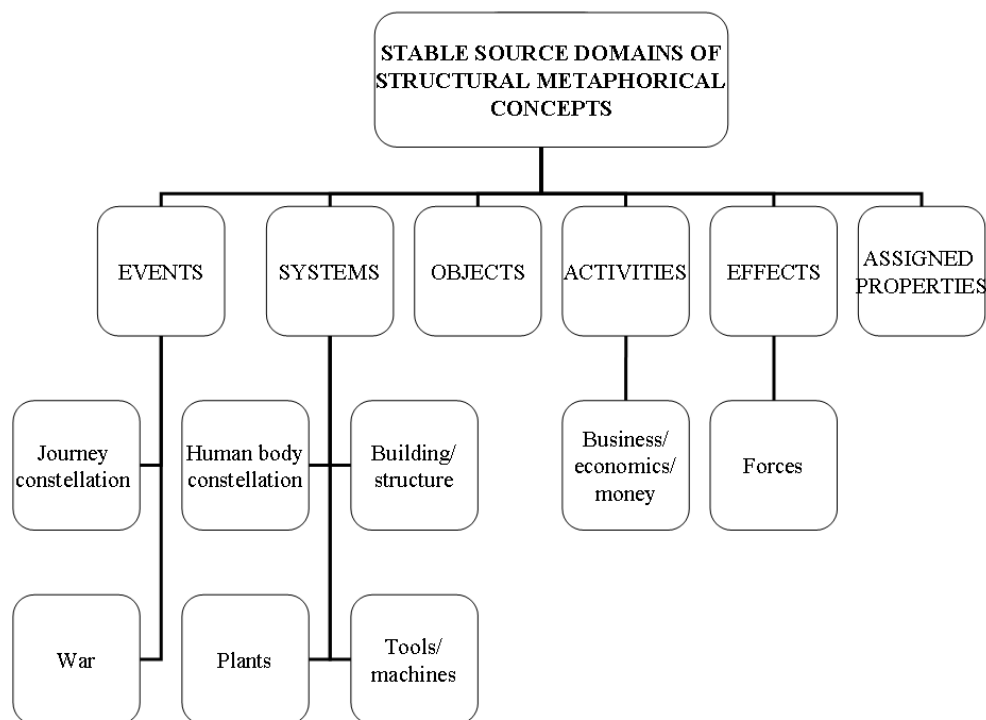


Figure 29: Stable source domains of structural metaphorical concepts

The source domains of JOURNEY and WAR were used to structure events. This means that certain conceptual components of JOURNEY and WAR were mapped onto constituent elements of target domains. Source domains dealing with systems are often used to understand a wide array of complex objects, concepts, groups, organisations and/or

relationships. In this case, the target domains are typically more abstract and multi-faceted. The properties of a system that may lend themselves to be mapped onto a target domain are structure, function, stability, development and conditions of the system (Kövecses, 2002: 127). The source domains dealing with systems in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric are the HUMAN BODY constellation, BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES, PLANTS and TOOLS/MACHINES.

5.3.1.1 *Journey*

Conceptually, JOURNEY is understood to involve travel along a landscape, path or road; to have locations to stop at along the road; to have a destination; to have travellers and vehicles on the road and to make progress, in other words, to cover distance. However, journeys can also be interrupted by the breakdown of vehicles, obstacles in the road, or the journey can be undertaken in stages. A traveller on a journey will also have to make decisions on which routes or paths to take, especially when coming to a crossroads. The JOURNEY source domain includes all manner of journeys, vehicles, travellers, obstacles, landscapes, choices, locations and destinations along the way and is a very broad and inclusive source domain.

The source domain of JOURNEY was very productively used in a number of structural metaphorical concepts. The metaphorical concepts are indicated in upper case, followed by appropriate examples from Mandela's rhetoric. The rank of the source text in the corpus (Addendum A) and date of delivery is identified in brackets and, where appropriate, additional entailments in square brackets for further clarification. In texts, metaphorical concepts may occur in clusters, meaning that one passage can draw on a number of different metaphorical concepts that interact. For the sake of clarity, only those aspects pointing towards the specific metaphorical concept being discussed, are identified.

THE STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY

...No easy walk to freedom... (2, 21 Sept.1953)

...I will have to explain what Umkhonto set out to achieve... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

...What role can PAFMECA play to strengthen the liberation movement in South Africa and speed up the liberation of our country? (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

...I salute the African National Congress. It has fulfilled our every expectation in its role as leader of the great march to freedom... (11, 11 Feb. 1990)

...Ours has been a quest for a constitution... (148, 9 May 1994)

In these examples, Mandela used different entailments of JOURNEY to conceptualise the struggle for liberation in South Africa as a journey, for instance, the struggle as a journey on foot to reach freedom as the destination; Umkhonto as a departing vehicle or traveller at the beginning of a journey; liberation as vehicle that accelerates; and the struggle as a quest for finding a treasure (constitution). The structural metaphorical concept ARMED STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY is considered a more specific entailment of THE STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY.

ARMED STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY

...They [Regional Commands of Umkhonto we Sizwe] had no authority to go beyond the prescribed framework and thus had no authority to embark upon acts which endangered life... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

...We suspended the armed struggle... (64, 20 Dec. 1991)

In the first extract, the armed struggle is conceptualised as a very specific type of journey, namely a sea voyage where sabotage acts were entailed as a ship setting off on an ocean voyage. The second example maps a particular property of the source domain JOURNEY onto armed struggle as target domain. Journeys are conceptualised as forward progression over a landscape, but the applicable feature of journeys in this case is that they can be stop-start and subject to delays.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY

...I must return to June 1962... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

...Most children born with the AIDS virus, die before they reach their second birthday... (93, 23 Oct. 1992)

...An erudite scholar who could have chosen a less arduous path... (108, 10 Apr. 1993)

...That is the only road open to us. It is a road to a glorious future in this beautiful country of ours. Let us join hands and march into the future... (131, 17 Nov. 1993)

...This is, as I understand it, a gathering of human beings concerned about turning around one of the greatest threats humankind has faced, and certainly the greatest after the end of the great wars of the previous century... (785, 14 Jul. 2000)

...We have indeed put our racially divided past firmly behind us and face the future with the confidence of a united, non-racial, democratic country. That future lies in the hands of people and it has been a particular source of satisfaction to observe, especially over these last five years, a younger generation of leaders guiding the country towards a secure and prosperous future... (797, Apr. 2004)

Here, life has been conceptualised as a JOURNEY indicated through the passing of time. In the first example, time is entailed as a physical location on a path to where the traveller can return. In the second example, a specific event associated with the passing of time, namely birthdays, are mapped onto the path structure as physical location or destination. The next example entails the choice of career in life, not only as a path, but as an arduous path one chooses to take while on a journey. Then, a particular purpose, i.e. to create a new South African society based on friendship, a common humanity and tolerance, is mapped as a road to the future as the destination. In the next extract, the property of journey that is entailed is the fact that travellers or vehicles on a journey can change direction either by turning off on a side road or turning around on a path/road. The suggestion is that HIV/AIDS (alluded to by the passage ‘one of the greatest threats humankind has face’) is a vehicle on a road. In the last example, South Africa is conceptualised as traveller or vehicle on a journey towards a destination. The conceptualisation of life in this passage is also based on the entailment that THE PASSING OF TIME IS A JOURNEY OVER A LANDSCAPE, which is part of the JOURNEY constellation. In this case, the FORWARD/BACKWARD orientation derived from embodied experience is used to structure the passage of time, with the past designated by that which lies to the back of the traveller or vehicle and the future lying ahead.

PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

...The deliberations of our conference will thus proceed in a setting most conducive to a scrupulous examination of the issues that are before us... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION]

In this metaphorical concept, the proceedings of an event, in this case the PAFMECA conference held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (12 January 1962) is conceptualised as a journey based on the entailment that a purposeful activity is travelling towards a destination along a path. The metaphorical concept of PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS can also be modified to account for a specific class of event or activity such as Mandela’s testimony in court. TESTIFYING IS A JOURNEY is therefore a more specific elaboration of PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS.

TESTIFYING IS A JOURNEY

...Well, this is how I approach the question. I must explain at the outset that the Congress, as far as I know, has never sat down to discuss this question... (3, 1956 – 1960)

...At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the State in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners is wholly incorrect... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

During the struggle era, Mandela was involved in three court cases between 1956 and 1964 related to his activities as struggle activist. (See Section 3.3.1 in Chapter 3 for more detail.) The qualitative exploration of his testimony from the Treason Trial (1956 – 1960), as well as his statement from the dock at the opening of the Rivonia Trial on 20 April 1964, revealed that the act of testifying was also entailed as a journey. In the first extract, a question asked is entailed as a physical location on a landscape with the implication that testifying is a journey on which Mandela is setting off and that the progression of the activity is forward progress over a landscape or along a path.

CODESA IS A JOURNEY is another specific entailment of PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS.

CODESA IS A JOURNEY

...Above all else, the investment already made must spur us on to total commitment for the successful outcome of this convention... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

In this specifically entailed structural metaphorical concept, the event, CODESA, is a journey where the course of the event presents the path of the journey and the successful outcome represents the destination.

POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IS A JOURNEY

...As far as the Communist Party is concerned and if I understand its policy correctly, it stands for the establishment of a state based on the principles of Marxism. Although it is prepared to work for the Freedom Charter, as a short term solution to the problems created by white supremacy, it regards the Freedom Charter as the beginning, and not the end, of its programme... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

In this extract, the possible political transformation of South Africa into a state based on Marxist principles is conceptualised as a journey, where the Freedom Charter is only the beginning of the journey towards the destination of a socialist state. The journey entailment at play here is the knowledge that journeys begin at a particular point and ends at the destination.

NEGOTIATIONS IS A JOURNEY

...However, there are further steps as outlined in the Harare Declaration that have to be met before negotiations on the basic demands of our people can begin... (11, 11 Feb. 1990)

POLITICAL TRANSITION IS A JOURNEY

...If we, who are gathered here respond to the challenge before us, today will mark the commencement of the transition from apartheid to democracy... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

...We continue to call on such parties to join CODESA now, even at this late stage... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

...We said when the process has reached a certain stage, which can ensure that we would have an effective control or say in Government then it would be easy because that would be our Government... (64, 20 Dec. 1991)

In Mandela's rhetoric, negotiations and political transition are structured as journeys through the entailment of process, which is related to progression. In the first extract, the process of negotiations is structured as a journey that will commence once specific preparations have been completed, while the second passage is based on the idea that journeys represent forward progression in stages over a landscape, where each stage in the journey is a physical location/destination on the landscape. 'Process' is entailed as the traveller/vehicle on this journey.

5.3.1.2 War

The WAR source domain structures events in terms of the constituent components of what is known about war. War is about victory or defeat and conquest, but even more so, it is about the victory of one side over the other. In its most basic guise, the participants in war are adversaries, each trying to conquer the other by means of weaponry, armour and soldiers. War involves violent actions, for instance, the killing, maiming or capturing of adversaries and is further described by conflict, fighting, battle, attacking and defending. A major constituent aspect of war is the military domain and war draws on all the following aspects related to this domain, namely that both sides of a war have armies for battle, the armies have military units which are hierarchically structured with different ranks, for example, officers and soldiers that also involve respectful, military protocol. Military forces further use planning and strategy in conducting war, while the various sides involved in battle can gain ground or lose ground. War is also conducted on a landscape, i.e. a battlefield or battleground.

Apart from the source domain of JOURNEY, the WAR source domain proved to be very useful for structuring the domain of politics. In terms of the POLITICS IS WAR structural metaphorical concept, differentiation can further be made between the metaphorical concepts of war pertaining to the struggle, in particular, and activities related to general politics.

POLITICS IS WAR (STRUGGLE)

...The government launched its reactionary offensive and struck at us. Between July last year and August this year forty-seven leading members from both Congresses in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberly were arrested, tried and convicted for launching the Defiance Campaign... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

...We owe it as a duty to ourselves and to the freedom-loving peoples of the world to build and maintain in South Africa itself a powerful, solid movement capable of surviving any attack by the government and sufficiently militant to fight back with a determination that comes from the knowledge and conviction that it is first and foremost by our own struggle and sacrifice inside South Africa itself that victory over White domination and apartheid can be won... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

...In the arduous battle between the people and oppression, positions hardened and polarisation developed between the people and the state... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

The relationship between the apartheid government and the liberation movement was conceptualised as a relationship between two adversaries locked in war where their respective political activities were structured in terms of the entailments of war as illustrated in the above-mentioned excerpts. The liberation struggle was entailed as a battle between the black people of South Africa and oppression, white domination and apartheid. Government actions to exert control over the population were structured as military attacks. Aspects of general politics were also found to be entailed in terms of WAR as reflected by the passages below:

POLITICS IS WAR (GENERAL POLITICS)

...As a matter of fact, the Youth League moved a resolution at conferences of the ANC calling on the ANC to expel Communists, but these resolutions were defeated by an overwhelming majority... (3, 1956 – 1960)

...But a leadership commits a crime against its own people if it hesitates to sharpen its political weapons... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

...I am gravely concerned about the behaviour of Mr de Klerk today. He has launched an attack on the African National Congress... (64, 20 Dec. 1991)

...What we can say, though, is that we now have the weapon and the protection of democracy to face and tackle those problems and challenges... (797, Apr. 2004)

Here, general political acts, such as political decision-making and the public rhetoric of politicians, become acts of war. In the political sphere, the passing of resolutions in institutions or political organisations is a typical aspect of political decision-making. In the first excerpt, resolutions are conceptualised as a conquered foe. The suggestion from the second extract is that engaging in politics is a perilous affair, which requires sharp weaponry to defend oneself. Political rhetoric, especially strong-worded criticism, is seen as an attack, as is reflected in the passage commenting on the behaviour of De Klerk. This excerpt was taken from Nelson Mandela's response on the first day of CODESA I on 20 December 1991. De Klerk criticised the ANC for, among others, not disbanding MK. From the passage, it is evident that Mandela experienced this criticism as an attack, in other words, an act of war. (See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4 for more information on CODESA and this incident.) In the last extract, democracy is entailed as both weapon and protective shield.

Other structural metaphorical concepts based on WAR as the source domain, include the structuring of the economic sphere as war and the conceptualisation of the fight against AIDS as war. In ECONOMICS IS WAR, the various economic interests as identified by Mandela are conceptualised as adversaries involved in a conflict.

ECONOMICS IS WAR

...The financial lords are destroying the farmer group, and instead we have huge semi-industrial estates and plantations through which the big money power seeks to extend its monopoly of economic South Africa to the agricultural sphere. At one time it was thought that the development of a powerful industrialist class would produce a clash involving the primitive feudal-capitalist farming and mining interest on the one hand and the industrialist on the other... (1, Dec. 1951)

Mandela further employed the structural metaphorical concept, THE FIGHT AGAINST AIDS IS WAR to describe dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Here, the virus is the foe and measures to address the rate of infection, such as education, are conceptualised as weapons of war.

THE FIGHT AGAINST AIDS IS WAR

...The fact that the virus attacks the most economically active group, is also an issue worthy of discussion... (93, 23 Oct. 1992)

...Our most potent weapon against this virus is education... (93, 23 Oct. 1992)

...I have instructed my Foundation to explore in consultation with others the best way in which we can be involved in the battle against this terrible scourge ravaging our continent and world...

(785, 14 Jul. 2000)

5.3.1.3 *The human body*

In Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1.2, the human body is explained as the most basic experiential domain for people and as the catalyst for developing the foundation for the personal construal system. People tend to structure experience in terms of the properties of the human body, because human embodiment is a universal and archetypical human condition. As source domain, the HUMAN BODY is a particularly rich source of mappings because of the structure of the body, i.e. having appendages, members and other body parts, and having a particular orientation, i.e. looking forwards over a landscape towards a horizon. The human concepts of future and past are linked to bodily orientation and what is considered to be future lies concurrent with a person's visual field, in other words, to the front, while what is considered to be past is situated behind a person, i.e. to the back. The complexity of the internal physiological functioning is an ideal reference point for any process. The condition of the system is also a crucial mapping. In its most natural condition, a human body should be healthy; therefore, illness is conceptualised as an inappropriate condition of the human body, while good health is considered an appropriate condition for a human body (Kövecses, 2002: 130).

The HUMAN BODY and its constellation of related source domains were productively used in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela as is illustrated by exploring appropriate exemplars from the rhetoric.

ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE HUMAN BODIES

...Those who hold this view point to the formidable apparatus of force and coercion in the hands of the government, to the size of its armies, the fierce suppression of civil liberties, and the persecution of political opponents of the regime... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [GOVERNMENT IS A HUMAN BODY]

...Nothing else symbolised the birth of our non-racial democracy so vividly as those wonderful election days in April 1994... (797, Apr. 2004) [DEMOCRACY IS AN INFANT]

In the above-mentioned excerpts, government is conceptualised as a human body through the entailment of hands as specific composite part, while democracy is structured by means of a biological process associated with the life cycle of a human body, namely birth. In this case, democracy is a human body in infancy. The implication is that, like a human body, democracy will mature.

CONCEPTS ARE HUMAN BODIES

...African nationalism was born in the ANC and grew in confidence through years of struggle... (1, Dec. 1951) [AFRICAN NATIONALISM IS A HUMAN BODY]

Concepts were structured in terms of the human body, as is illustrated in the conceptualisation of the notion of African nationalism as a human body with its associative conditions, in this case, the human life cycle starting at birth.

GROUPS/ORGANISATIONS ARE HUMAN BODIES

...This white South African people who have lost all their moral backbone... (1, Dec. 1951) [THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE IS A HUMAN BODY]
...With the exception of myself, none of the officials or members of these bodies lived there [Liliesleaf farm, Rivonia]... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [THE ANC, MK ARE HUMAN BODIES]

Groups and organisations were also structured in terms of bodily composition. Here, the white population in South Africa is conceptualised as a single human body without a spine. As spine is equated with strength of character, the white population is depicted as lacking strength of character. Being affiliated with a certain organisation has been conceptualised as being a member of a body, as is the case with the ANC and MK in the examples provided. The organisation is represented by the trunk of the body, while the affiliated persons are the members or appendages attached to the body.

The other source domains in the HUMAN BODY constellation were also employed in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric as is illustrated by the following examples:

HEALTH/ILLNESS

...in a country such as ours a political organisation that does not receive the support of the workers is in fact paralyzed... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

[A POLITICAL ORGANISATION IS A PARALYSED HUMAN BODY]

MEDICINE

...I have already said that education is our most potent medicine... (93, 23 Oct. 1992)

[EDUCATION IS MEDICINE FOR HIV/AIDS]

FAMILY

...struggle for the creation of a new, united and prosperous human family... (1, Dec. 1951)

[MANKIND IS A HUMAN FAMILY]

LIFE/DEATH

...the aim of this wicked measure is to bleed African trade unions to death... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

[AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS ARE A BODY DYING FROM EXSANGUINATION]

5.3.1.4 *Building/structure*

The source domain of BUILDING/STRUCTURE is a popular means of conceptualising abstract complex systems, in other words, that a building is made of composite parts such as a foundation, walls, windows, doors, a roof, an interior and exterior, and that buildings are constructed using building material such as bricks and mortar. The condition of the building, for example, being dilapidated, in ruins or solid, is also a source of metaphorical entailments. The conceptual idea is that the creation of a well-structured and durable abstract complex system can be understood in terms of constructing a well-structured and durable building. Furthermore, the structure of a building is understood to denote the structure of an abstract complex system, quite often in terms of having a foundation. A well-built building is also used to explain an abstract complex system that is durable (Kövecses, 2002: 130).

The metaphorical concepts found in the rhetoric of Mandela are discussed in terms of the general categories of abstract complex systems, concepts and organisations/groups. The specific structural metaphorical concept is once again identified in square brackets.

ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES

...Let our common commitment to the future of our country inspire us to build a South Africa of which we can be truly proud... (63, 20 Dec. 1991) [SOUTH AFRICA IS A BUILDING]

...The cornerstone of building a better life of opportunity, freedom and prosperity is the Reconstruction and Development Programme... (148, 9 May 1994) [A BETTER LIFE IS A BUILDING]

...Our economy lies in ruins... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING]

In the first excerpt, South African society is conceptualised as a building, or rather a building that still has to be built, while in the next passage, the RDP is seen as the cornerstone of a building where ‘a better life’ is identified as the building. In the last extract, the economy is also a building, but more than that, a building that has been destroyed and now requires reconstruction before it can become functional again.

CONCEPTS ARE BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES

...We had in mind that in the foreseeable future it will be possible for us to achieve these demands, and we worked on the basis that Europeans themselves in spite of the wall of prejudice and hostility which we encountered, that they can never remain indifferent indefinitely... (3, 1956 – 1960) [PREJUDICE AND HOSTILITY ARE A STRUCTURE]

...Today the majority of South Africans, black and white, recognise that apartheid has no future. It has to be ended by our own decisive mass action in order to build peace and security... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [POLITICAL STABILITY IS A BUILDING]

In Mandela’s rhetoric, concepts are also entailed in terms of the properties of buildings or structures. In the examples provided, prejudice and hostility are conceptualised as a wall with associative properties such as being an immovable barrier that prevents people from simply passing by. In this case, the immovability of the wall is used to signify the obstinacy of the white population. Peace and security are further examples of concepts entailed as buildings/structures. Here, peace and security are separate structures that point towards the structural metaphorical concept POLITICAL STABILITY IS A BUILDING.

ORGANISATIONS/GROUPS ARE BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES

...We believed it was our duty to preserve this organization which had been built with almost fifty years of unremitting toil... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [THE ANC IS A BUILDING]

...Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [THE ANC IS A BUILDING, MK IS AN ANNEXE TO MAIN BUILDING]

Organisations/groups were also found to be structured according the BUILDING source domain. Here, the ANC is conceptualised as a building, while the building material is also

identified, i.e. ‘fifty years of unremitting toil’. The entailment of the ANC as a building is further elaborated by the idea that Umkhonto we Sizwe is an annexe to the main building.

5.3.1.5 *Plants*

Abstract complex systems are also conceptualised in terms of the source domain of PLANTS and their composite parts such as branches, leaves and roots as well as their associative conditions, for instance, growing, bearing fruit, being cut down or pruned. The growth of a plant is used to denote the development or progress of an abstract complex system (Kövecses, 2002: 133). The source domain of PLANTS is another means of structuring abstract complex systems that proved constant in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela.

ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS

...*new leaders will arise like mushrooms...* (1, Dec. 1951) [NEW LEADERS WILL POP UP OVERNIGHT LIKE MUSHROOMS]

...*if the policy bore fruit...* (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [POLICIES ARE FRUIT-BEARING PLANTS]

...*A man [Chris Hani] of passion, of unsurpassed courage has been cut down in the prime of his life...* (108, 10 Apr. 1993) [MAN IS A TREE]

In the above-mentioned excerpts, different aspects of plants are used to entail the different target domains. Mushrooms are known to appear overnight and it is this property of the mushroom that is entailed in the first passage. When the intention is to show cause and effect in terms of the PLANT source domain, the property of being able to bear fruit is entailed. Therefore, the understanding is that, should the policy bear fruit, it would have had positive consequences and proved successful. The assassination of Chris Hani was conceptualised in terms of the act of tree felling where Hani was entailed as a flourishing tree, recklessly felled by an implicit woodcutter.

CONCEPTS ARE PLANTS

...*But instead of more freedom, repression began to grow...* (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [FREEDOM, REPRESSION ARE PLANTS]

...*such a culture of violence to take root...* (64, 20 Dec. 1991) [THE CULTURE OF VIOLENCE IS A PLANT]

...*colour, class and ethnicity were manipulated to sow hatred and division...* (131, 17 Nov. 1993) [HATRED AND DIVISION ARE SEEDS]

In addition, PLANTS also served as entailment for concepts such as freedom and repression based on the growth property of plants, while the structural property of plants to have roots was used to structure the concept of ‘culture of violence’. Another example of an entailment includes the property of plants to produce seeds for propagating the plant. In this case, the concepts of hatred and division were conceptualised as seeds, while the act of sowing the seeds indicate the wide-spread nature of hatred and division.

ORGANISATIONS/GROUPS ARE PLANTS

...Leaders of the trade union organisations are at the same time important officials of the provincial and local branches of the ANC... (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [THE ANC IS A TREE]

The fact that plants have composite parts has further proven fertile ground for the entailment of organisations and groups. In the above-mentioned example, the ANC as organisation is conceptualised as a tree. Trees are known to have certain composite parts such as roots, trunks, branches, leaves, flowers and fruit but, in this case, the branches were highlighted to indicate that the ANC is not a monolithic structure, but has divisions at different levels that all form part of the same organisational system.

5.3.1.6 *Machines/tools*

The source domain of MACHINES/TOOLS is another means of conceptualising abstract complex systems. Here, the knowledge available about machines and tools and how they work provide the sources for the mapping of target domains, especially when it comes to the functionality or structure of target domains and the utilisation of tools. Machines are associated with regularity in their works, efficiency in operation, continuous running, maintenance and the fact that they are internally made up of many smaller components that are all necessary in order for the machines to operate (Kövecses, 2002: 132 – 133). Tools are associated with utility, in other words, they are useful for repairing things or maintaining machines. The workings of a machine and the use of tools as entailments were also identified in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela.

ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE TOOLS/MACHINES

...Those who hold this view point to the formidable apparatus of force and coercion in the hands of the government, to the size of its armies, the fierce suppression of civil liberties, and the

persecution of political opponents of the regime... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [GOVERNANCE IS MACHINERY]

In this example, the abstract complex system of governance by the apartheid government is conceptualised as the tool through which oppression is applied. Concepts were also structured in terms of the TOOLS/MACHINES source domains. In cases where a cause-and-effect rationale was used, a concept, such as successes in the example below, is entailed as a machine that manufactures a product, which is the effect.

CONCEPTS ARE TOOLS/MACHINES

...A great deal of enthusiasm was generated by the initial successes... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)
[SUCCESSES ARE MACHINE MANUFACTURING ENTHUSIASM]

Machines are known for their internal complexity and are ideal for structuring groups or organisations. In the example below, the ANC, or Congress, is depicted as a machine with all the complex internal gears and mechanisms that we associate with machines. Machines are understood to be self-sustaining once they are switched on, while a tool requires an entity to use it. Groups and organisations were found to be entailed as tools wielded by an agent and, in this case, the Broederbond was conceptualised by Mandela to be the tool of the white ruling circles in South Africa.

GROUPS/ORGANISATIONS ARE TOOLS/MACHINES

...consolidate the Congress machinery... (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [THE ANC IS A MACHINE]
...The Broederbond is the centre of the fascist ideology in this country, but like other things it is itself merely an instrument of the ruling circles which are to be found in all white parties...
(1, Dec. 1951) [THE BROEDERBOND IS A TOOL OF THE RULING CIRCLES]

5.3.1.7 *Business/economics/money*

The analysis did not reveal any specific object constantly used as the source domain in structural metaphorical concepts. The source domain of BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY, however, was used to conceptualise target domains in terms of the aspects associated with business, economic and money-related activities and transactions. Activities and transactions related to BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY involve the exchange of

money, currency, commodities and resources and are structured based on the handing over of one thing for another (Kövecses, 2002: 18).

The activities associated with business, economics and money transactions have been identified as source domains structuring a range of human activities and, in the case of Nelson Mandela, most notably politics as expressed in the structural metaphorical concept POLITICS IS A BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY TRANSACTION. One of the more pervasive entailments of the source domain of BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY is the conceptualisation of abstract concepts as resources and commodities to acquire, for example, time and freedom, while currency denotes payment in a business transaction, for instance, time, human life or praise. By entailing abstract concepts in terms of resources, commodities or currency, the underlying meaning is that the resources, commodities or currency are valuable and in short supply and should therefore be carefully and efficiently used.

THINGS/CONCEPTS ARE RESOURCES

...How much longer would it take to eradicate the scars of inter-racial civil war...
(7, 20 Apr. 1964) [TIME IS A RESOURCE]

THINGS/CONCEPTS ARE COMMODITIES

...and people began to speculate on how soon freedom can be obtained... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)
[FREEDOM IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY]

THINGS/CONCEPTS ARE CURRENCY

...The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [TIME IS CURRENCY]

...I salute combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, like Solomon Mahlangu and Ashley Kriel who have paid the ultimate price for the freedom of all South Africans... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [HUMAN LIFE IS CURRENCY; FREEDOM IS A COMMODITY]

...I pay tribute to the many religious communities... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [PRAISE IS CURRENCY]

The BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY source domain was further employed to structure the relationship between the ANC and the Communist Party as a business relationship.

POLITICAL ALLIES ARE BUSINESS COLLEAGUES

...It is true that there has often been close co-operation between the ANC and Communist Party. But co-operation is merely proof of a common goal – in this case the removal of white supremacy – and is not proof of a complete community of interests... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

5.3.1.8 Forces

The source domain of FORCES structures target domains in terms of effects associated with certain forces. FORCES comprise a diversity of forces, i.e. gravitational, electric, magnetic, mechanical as well as natural. Forces operate in and impact on the world and are known to change the thing that is subject to the force (Kövecses, 2002: 19). Effects are wide-ranging depending on the nature of the force. Properties of forces are also available to structure target domains and can point towards volatility or stability, power, being controlled or uncontrolled, whether the force pulls or propels, the destructiveness of the force, or the direction in which the force is deployed. The source domain FORCES was found to have been used to entail target domains as being subject to a force. The force has an effect on the target domain and change subsequently follows.

THINGS/CONCEPTS ARE FORCES

...*The labour power of the African people is a force which when fully tapped is going to sweep the people to power in the land of their birth...* (1, Dec. 1951) [LABOUR POWER IS A FORCE; SWEEPING THE PEOPLE TO POWER IS THE EFFECT OF FORCE]

...*The insane policies of the Government have brought about an explosive situation...* (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [POLICIES ARE A FORCE; EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IS THE EFFECT OF FORCE]

Mandela's rhetoric revealed the entailment of natural forces in the application of the FORCES source domain, for example, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes to denote revolution and the ocean tide to signify the accrument of discontent among people. Force can also be applied in a particular direction, for instance, upward or downward. Both upward and downward forces denote an increased intensity. The idea of upward forces is rooted in natural forces such as the movement of tectonic plates and the consequent volcanic eruptions, earthquakes and tsunamis. In these cases the force is applied upwards because of the volatile activity below. Downward forces are derived from the idea of gravity, which is responsible for the concepts of weight and pressure. Examples of structural metaphorical concepts based on NATURAL FORCES and the application of force in a direction, as found in Mandela's rhetoric, are listed below:

THINGS/CONCEPTS ARE NATURAL FORCES

...*there are powerful revolutionary eruptions in...* (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [REVOLUTION IS A VOLCANIC ERUPTION]

...*In Malay, and Indo-China, British and French Imperialisms are being shaken to their foundations by powerful and revolutionary national liberation movements...* (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL MOVEMENTS ARE EARTHQUAKES]

...*to stem the rising tide of popular discontent...* (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [POPULAR DISCONTENT IS THE FORCE OF AN OCEAN TIDE]

...*The government remained unshaken...the whole of South Africa vibrated...* (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [POLITICAL UNREST IS AN EARTHQUAKE; GOVERNMENT IS A BUILDING]

DIRECTIONAL FORCES

...*But already political organisations are arising in this country...* (3, 1956 – 1960) [POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS ARE AN UPWARD FORCE]

...*to crush the people's struggles...* (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [OPPRESSION IS A CRUSHING DOWNWARD FORCE; PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES ARE A BRITTLE OBJECT]

While the stable source domains are the most significant for the construction of the rhetorical imprint, intermediate and non-recurrent source domains do provide interesting data regarding the idiosyncratic use of source domains in metaphorical concepts.

5.3.2 Intermediate source domains in structural metaphorical concepts

In Mandela's rhetoric, the intermediate and non-recurrent source domains reveal unique applications and mappings. Intermediate source domains refer to those source domains that were used in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela, although not as consistently as the stable source domains, but are considered to be more enduring than the non-recurrent source domains. The intermediate source domains are summarised in Figure 30 and will also be discussed in relation to the class of phenomena that they were found to structure, i.e. **events, systems, objects, activities, effects** and **assigned properties**.

The intermediate source domains found to structure target domains in terms of systems are RELIGION, the COMMUNICATION constellation, SLAVERY, CRIMINALITY and ANIMALS. Human activities provide a range of source domains for the mapping of target domains. A number of activity-related intermediate source domains were identified in the

rhetoric of Nelson Mandela, i.e. THEATRE/PERFORMANCE, FOOD/COOKING, GAMES, the ART constellation and SCHOOL.

The intermediate source domains found in Mandela's rhetoric that structure target domains in relation to assigned properties comprise HEAT/COLD and LIGHT/DARK. Assigned properties indicate that physical properties are metaphorically assigned to concepts and things. As the sensory experience of heat and cold (touch), and light and dark (vision) is part of basic human experience the source domains of HEAT/COLD and LIGHT/DARK are considered to be archetypal image schemas and therefore proof of the primitive constructs on which the personal construal system of Nelson Mandela was developed. The metaphorical use of these basic human sensory experiences is testament to the level of conceptual sophistication of the personal construal system that produced them. (The primitive constructs and archetypes are discussed in Section 2.1.4.2 of Chapter 2 and archetypal image schemas are discussed in Section 4.3.8 in Chapter 4.)

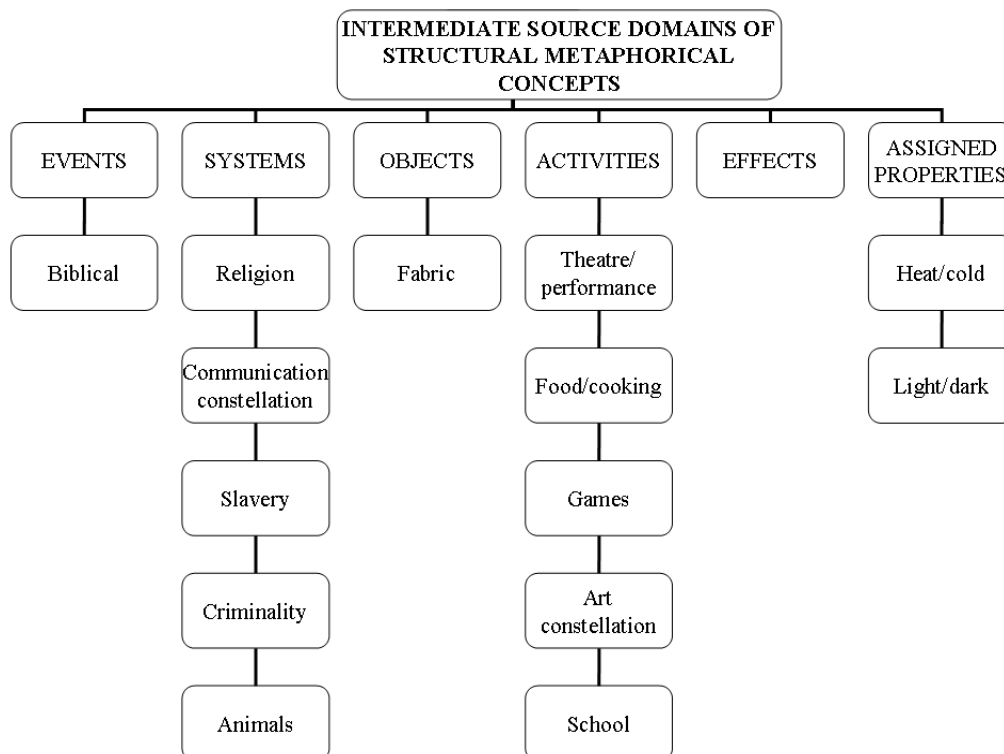


Figure 30: Intermediate source domains of structural metaphorical concepts

5.3.2.1 *Biblical allusion*

The intermediate source domain BIBLICAL was used to structure target domains in terms of biblical events such as that which can be described as a journey over a biblical landscape, where the events are taking place on a landscape with features reminiscent of the Holy Land. Target domains were also structured in terms of more specific biblical events such as the Genesis 25 narrative of Esau selling his birthright to his brother Jacob for a bowl of lentil soup.

HOLDING ON TO THE PAST IS TRADING ONE'S BIRTHRIGHT

...To exchange this opportunity for a bowl of lentil soup of the past, and negative bravado, is to deny the future... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

5.3.2.2 *Religion*

Abstract complex systems are conceptualised in terms of known aspects of religion such as belief in deities; the notion of faith; religious activities such as praying, studying religious texts or going to a temple, church, mosque or any other holy structure for communion with other believers of that faith; martyrdom and sacrifice; religious pilgrimage; preachers and the giving of sermons; the making of religious or votive offerings; and the veneration of sacred objects and the dichotomy of holy as opposed to being unholy. The extract below illustrates the metaphorical concept POLITICS IS RELIGION, where the ANC is entailed as clergyman, political rhetoric is the sermon and racialism is a sin.

POLITICS IS RELIGION

...It is quite clear that the Congress has consistently preached a policy of race harmony and we have condemned racialism no matter by whom it is professed... (3, 1956 – 1960) [CONGRESS IS A CLERGYMAN; POLITICAL RHETORIC IS A SERMON; RACIALISM IS A SIN]

5.3.2.3 *Communication*

Abstract complex systems are sometimes structured by the COMMUNICATIONS constellation, which includes LANGUAGE, DIALOGUE/CONVERSATION. The COMMUNICATIONS constellation is partly structured on the source domain of CONDUIT, as language is often described as the medium for communication. DIALOGUE/

CONVERSATION implies a definite structure to the communicative event and its entailments are further sources for mapping onto target domains. Having a dialogue or discussion implies multiple participants sharing meaning through the medium of language.

COMMUNICATION IS SENDING OBJECTS FROM A MIND CONTAINER TO ANOTHER MIND CONTAINER ALONG A CONDUIT

...to deliver a presidential address... (1, Dec. 1951)

AFRICAN NATIONALISM IS A LANGUAGE

...that the language of African nationalism... (1, Dec. 1951)

ACTIONS ARE RESPONSES

...Let us respond with dignity and in a disciplined fashion... (108, 10 Apr. 1993)

CONCEPTS ARE LANGUAGES

...CODESA represents the historical opportunity to translate that yearning into reality... (63, 20 Dec. 1991) [CODESA IS A TRANSLATOR]

5.3.2.4 *Slavery*

The source domain of SLAVERY has a range of mappings for abstract complex systems, including the source domain MASTER/SLAVE. SLAVERY entails a specific kind of power relationship which is based on servitude and feudal duty from slave to master. SLAVERY is suggestive of a hierarchical relationship between entities and the bondage or physical curtailment of entities. In Mandela's rhetoric, oppression was directly associated with slavery, while public service was expressed as being in a master/servant relationship.

OPPRESSION IS SLAVERY

...to destroy for ever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

...Through three decades of exile Chris Hani remained steadfast in his commitment to free our people from bondage... (110, 19 Apr. 1993)

PUBLIC SERVICE IS A MASTER/SERVANT RELATIONSHIP

...I stand here before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people... (11, 11 Feb. 1990)

5.3.2.5 *Criminality*

CRIMINALITY is another intermediate source domain found in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela. CRIMINALITY also structures target domains according to its systemic properties, which include entailments such as criminals or the perpetrators of crime, for instance, con artists, gangsters, murders or killers; the victims who are being subjected to crime; types of crime including murder, killing, swindling and the punishment of criminals, for instance, confinement in prison. Here, British imperialists were designated as con artists trying to defraud African people, while Mandela conceptualised the inaction of political leadership as a crime. In the example mentioned below, poverty is entailed as prison, from where people have to escape. Apartheid has also been designated a crime, while AIDS is entailed as a killer of people.

BRITISH IMPERIALISTS ARE CON ARTISTS

...They saw through the tricks of British imperialists who sought to foist a bogus federation scheme on... (1, Dec. 1951)

HESITATION IS A CRIME

...But a leadership commits a crime against its own people if it hesitates... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

POVERTY IS A PRISON

...There are two ways to break out of poverty... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

APARTHEID IS A CRIME

...Inasmuch as apartheid has been declared a crime against humanity... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

AIDS IS A KILLER

...the alternative is playing into the hands of a killer disease... (93, 23 Oct. 1992)

5.3.2.6 *Animals*

Animals are living organisms and similar in nature to the source domain of HUMAN BODY, because it is also based on physiology, anatomy and behaviour. The body of an animal has composite parts to its anatomy, while also being subject to conditions associated with particular activities, movements, traits, functions, environments and distinctive behaviours. For instance, certain predator animals are known to be vicious and attacking, while prey

animals are known to be wary herd animals. The source domain ANIMALS further incorporates the device of totemism (totemism is explained in Section 4.3.8 in Chapter 4). According to Kövecses (2002: 17), ANIMALS is conventionally a very fruitful source domain, although in the current study only intermediate application was found.

EXPEDITIONS ARE WILD ANIMALS

...geological and archaeological expeditions are roaming the continent... (1, Dec. 1951)

PEOPLE ARE SLAUGHTER ANIMALS

...Experience convinced us that rebellion would offer the Government limitless opportunities for the indiscriminate slaughter of our people... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

YOUTH LEADERS ARE LIONS

... pay tribute to the endless heroism of youth – you the young lions. You, the young lions have energised our entire struggle... (11, 11 Feb. 1990)

ALLEGATION IS AN ANIMAL

...This is an old allegation which was disproved at the Treason Trial and which has again reared its head... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

In the first extract listed above, the property entailed is the behaviour of wild animals to roam freely across a landscape, while the second excerpt is indicative of people being mapped onto the activity of the slaughtering of animals. In the following passage, the device of totemism is at play where the youth is associated with a particular animal due to certain characteristics of this animal. Lions are associated with the human traits of pride and by calling the youth ‘young lions’, Mandela commends them for their courage.

5.3.2.7 *Fabric*

The reification of intangible concepts is the domain of the ontological metaphorical concept, which is discussed in Section 5.3.5 of this chapter. However, a similar process is at work when target domains are structured through source domains of specific objects with distinctive characteristics. The source domain FABRIC has distinctive characteristics that can be used to structure a target domain. In the rhetoric of Mandela, the specific mappings were based on certain traits of fabrics, for instance, that fabric can tear, that it is woven from a

multitude of individual strands and that it can be folded or unfolded. Different kinds of fabric can also be used as mapping, for example, knitted fabric.

SOUTH AFRICA IS TORN FABRIC

...It is a country trn from top to bottom by fierce racial strife and conflict... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

POLITICAL PROCESS IS FABRIC

...We trust that they will avail to the process now unfolding... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

...One cannot turn such a body into the small, closely knit organization required for sabotage...
(7, 20 Apr. 1964)

5.3.2.8 *Theatre/performance*

In THEATRE/PERFORMANCE, the human activities of acting in a play and performing are used as mappings for target domains. Performance can include any form of performance art, including musical performance, describing an entity as a musician or equating concepts with musical instruments as has been found in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela.

LIFE IS THEATRE

...Yet this small, virtually unknown village produced a Chris Hani, whose life shook the whole country and impacted on the world's stage... (110, 19 Apr. 1993)

POLITICAL ACTION IS THEATRE/PERFORMANCE

...I myself have been named under that pernicious Act because of the role I played in the Defiance Campaign... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

5.3.2.9 *Food/cooking*

The source domain of FOOD/COOKING draws on implied activities and properties related to cooking and/or food to explain a target domain. Cooking involves, for instance, a cook or *chef de cuisine*, a cookbook or recipe, a kitchen and facilities, kitchen utensils and ingredients, a myriad of actions contributing to the preparing and cooking of food, such as cutting, mashing, grating, filleting, beating, heating, freezing, braising, pressure cooking and frying. The properties of food also come into play, for example, whether the foodstuff is tough or tender, hard or soft, how it tastes (bitter, sweet, salty, savoury, hot, cold, sour, etc.), how concentrated it is, as well as the form of the food, i.e. liquid or solid. As source domain,

FOOD/COOKING is an extremely productive source for mapping. The entailments in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric were structured around taste, the trait of foodstuff to become spoilt and the cooking activity of preserving food.

WHITE SUPREMACY IS A FOODSTUFF THAT CAN BE PRESERVED

...if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

AFRICAN NATIONALISM IS LIQUID CONCENTRATE

...would lead to a watering down of the concept of African Nationalism... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

DECEPTION IS SWEET

...Outside appearances are highly deceptive and we cannot classify these men by looking at their faces or by listening to their sweet tongues... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

EMOTIONS ARE FOOD

...The feelings of the oppressed people have never been more bitter... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

[FEELINGS IS A BITTER-TASTING FOOD]

5.3.2.10 Games

GAMES as source domain points towards the activities of human beings at play. GAMES incorporates both games of sports and games of chance and all their associative entailments. In GAMES of sports, sporting activities provide the mapping for target domains, including aspects of sport such as the players, participants or teams, the actions performed during play, the physical practise required, the physical exertion of the game, the equipment utilised, the rules of the game as well as the notion of cheating. GAMES of chance include activities such as gambling and all other games based on chance, including competitions such as raffles where chance determines who wins the prize. In general, GAMES is structured about the winning of the game by one team or player in order to collect the prize. The specific mappings employed by Mandela include gambling against heavy odds, taking part in a sporting contest, being part of a sporting team, taking part in an individual sporting code, winning the prize in a competition as well as sporting-specific entailments.

The particular sports used by Mandela to structure target domains include the game of chess and the sport of boxing, while soccer/rugby and cricket were also alluded to through specific activities associated with the particular sport, for instance, 'tackling' in soccer and rugby, and

‘being caught out’ in cricket. It is noteworthy that boxing was the specific sporting code used more overtly than any other to structure target domains and included mappings on the nature of the game, namely that it is a contest between two boxers using boxing techniques. In his younger days, Mandela is known to have trained as a boxer in the heavyweight division (Mandela, 1994: 225 – 226). Mandela’s background and training as a boxer therefore finds expression in the use of boxing as source domain to structure target domains and provides a glimpse of how personal experience can influence the personal construal system.

POLITICS IS A GAME OF CHESS

...to check the national liberation movement... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

THE STRUGGLE IS A BOXING MATCH

...thanks to the powerful blows delivered by the freedom movements... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

LIFE IS A GAMBLE

...The odds against us were tremendous... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

LIFE IS A SPORTS GAME

...We will tackle the widespread poverty so pervasive among the majority of our people...

(148, 9 May 1994) [WIDESPREAD POVERTY IS AN OPPONENT IN A RUGBY/SOCCER GAME]

...Unless we guide the youth towards safer sex the alternative is playing into the hands of a killer disease... (93, 23 Oct. 1992) [INACTION IS A CRICKET MATCH; A KILLER DISEASE IS A PLAYER ON THE OPPOSING TEAM]

5.3.2.11 Art

The ART constellation is another of the intermediate source domains in Nelson Mandela’s rhetoric and incorporates the source domains of SCULPTURE, SKETCH/ ILLUSTRATION and PICTURE. The source domain of ART is sometimes used to emphasise the skill required to perform a particular activity well. The activity would be entailed as an art form, while the agent performing the activity would be entailed as an artist.

SITUATION IS A PICTURE

...This was the picture in South Africa on the eve of the general strike... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE SCULPTURES

...I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we Sizwe... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [MK IS A SCULPTURE; MANDELA IS A SCULPTOR]

...We call on our white compatriots to join us in the shaping of a new South Africa... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [SOUTH AFRICA IS A SCULPTURE; SOUTH AFRICANS ARE SCULPTORS]

WAR AND REVOLUTION ARE ART

...I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

In the above-mentioned passages, giving an account of a situation is entailed as drawing a picture, while the creation of organisations or concepts are likened to the sculpting process where a sculptor shapes and forms the material towards completion. Art was also used to entail war and revolution as activities involving refined skill.

5.3.2.12 *School*

SCHOOL is another activity-based source domain and provides mappings related to learning and teaching and the intrinsic relationships involved, for instance, teacher-learner, as is illustrated in the first example where communists were entailed as teachers and the ANC cadres as learners. In the second excerpt, the school activity used for entailment is assessment.

POLITICS IS SCHOOL

...These features are poverty and lack of human dignity, and we do not need communists or so-called agitators to teach us about these things.... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [COMMUNISTS ARE TEACHERS; THE ANC IS THE LEARNER]

...In short, these were in a way a test of our concept of actual struggle... (1, Dec. 1951) [CHALLENGES ARE TESTS]

5.3.2.13 *Heat/cold*

HEAT has been used to map emotion, while fire and its properties as specific entailment were used to map intensity. HEAT/COLD as source domain has also been found to structure target domains in terms of danger and safety. Human beings often express emotions in terms of HEAT/COLD, where heat signifies intense affection and cold dislike or ambivalence. Mandela entailed sincerity as being warm, indicating that his emotions in this regard were

affectionate. In the following excerpts, the heat and properties of fire were used to entail properties and activities of the struggle. The 1952 Defiance Campaign is associated with a wild fire spreading fast from place to place, while the struggle for liberation outside of the country on the rest of the African continent is entailed as a fire raging out of control.

SINCERITY IS WARM

...I extend my sincere and warmest gratitude to the millions of my compatriots...

(11, 11 Feb. 1990)

STRUGGLE ACTIVITIES ARE FIRES

...it [the Defiance Campaign] spread throughout the country like wild fire...

(2, 21 Sept. 1953) [THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN IS A FAST-SPREADING WILD FIRE]

...No less a danger to White minority rule and a guarantee of ultimate victory for us is the freedom struggle that is raging furiously beyond the borders of the South African territory...

(5, 12 Jan. 1964) [THE STRUGGLE IS A RAGING FIRE]

5.3.2.14 *Light/dark*

In Mandela's rhetoric, LIGHT is used to imply goodness, purity and knowledge, while DARK is used to map target domains associated with danger, threat, evil, bad and ignorance. LIGHT was also utilised as a means of placing emphasis on something.

LIGHT IS GOOD/DARK IS EVIL

...dark and sinister forces are organising... (1, Dec. 1951) [DARK FORCES ARE EVIL]

...shady characters... (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [SHADY CHARACTERS ARE BAD CHARACTERS]

...Let the strivings of us all prove Martin Luther King, Jr. to have been correct, when he said that humanity can no longer be tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war...

(135, 10 Dec. 1993) [RACISM AND WAR ARE DARKNESS]

...and the storm clouds forming around the excesses of Portuguese repression in Mozambique...

(5, 12 Jan. 1962) [STORMS ARE DARKNESS]

...Let a new age dawn... (135, 10 Dec. 1993) [A NEW BEGINNING IS LIGHT]

...Even during the darkest days in the history of our struggle... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [ADVERSITY IS DARKNESS]

LIGHT IS EMPHASIS

...has served to highlight most effectively... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [TO SHINE LIGHT ON SOMETHING IS EMPHASIS]

5.3.3 Non-recurrent source domains in structural metaphorical concepts

Non-recurrent source domains refer to comparatively rarely used source domains in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric. This does not mean that the entailments of the source domains are not particularly fruitful, but that the application thereof was sporadic. The non-recurrent source domains are illustrated in Figure 31. Non-recurrent source domains structuring target domains in terms of events comprise the WILD WEST. The source domains COURT OF LAW, NAZISM/FASCISM, PARLIAMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE and SCIENCE are non-recurrent source domains that were used to structure target domains in terms of the structure of systems. The non-recurrent source domains structuring target domains in terms of specific objects include FLAG, BOOK, PATTERN FOR TAILORING and CHAIN. A number of activity-related, non-recurrent source domains were identified in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela, for example, POISON, HUNTING, VOORTREKKER LAAGER and LOVE AFFAIR. The source domains of WASTELAND, REVOLUTION and WEATHER were used to structure target domains as effects of events, things, concepts or conditions. The non-recurrent source domain found in Mandela's rhetoric that structures target domains in relation to assigned properties is SEWAGE.

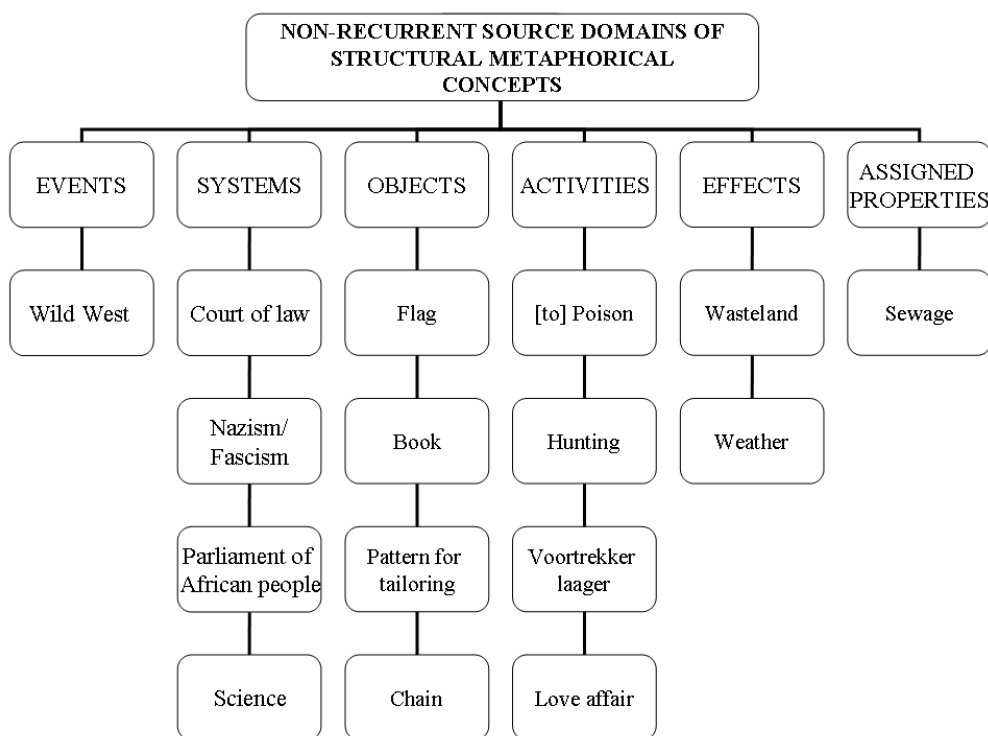


Figure 31: Non-recurrent source domains of structural metaphorical concepts

5.3.3.1 *The Wild West*

Certain contexts were found to be structured according to what is generally known about the Wild West, namely an almost mythical place with its own set of rules, where fugitives from the law and sheriffs were made into popular heroes in the print media of the time. In this context, outlaws were sometimes the heroes and sheriffs the villains. While the verb ‘outlaw’ generally denotes the action to proscribe or make something (or someone) illegal, the popular usage thereof in reference to the bandits of the American Old West in twentieth century popular media has made the association indelible. Nelson Mandela’s rhetoric revealed that the most productive entailment of the WILD WEST source domain was the notion of being an outlaw on the run from the law.

APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA IS THE WILD WEST

...for the man who lived the life of an outlaw... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [MANDELA IS AN OUTLAW]

5.3.3.2 *Court of law*

COURT OF LAW structures an abstract complex system in terms of the systemic characteristics of law courts, with the role of advocates as the specific entailment.

CIVIL SOCIETY IS A COURT OF LAW

...because we believe that every political organisation has a right to exist and to advocate its own point of view... (3, 1956 – 1960) [POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS ARE ADVOCATES]

5.3.3.3 *Nazism/fascism*

The source domain of NAZISM/FASCISM drew on distinctive entailments associated with Nazi Germany, i.e. Hitler and the Gestapo (Nazi Secret Police), while also using fascism to structure other concepts such as capitalism.

SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITALISM IS FASCISM

...South African capitalism has developed [into] monopolism and is now reaching the final stage of monopoly capitalism gone mad, namely, fascism... (1, Dec. 1951)

FACISM IS AN ADVERSARY OF THE STRUGGLE

...We learned in those struggles that the face of a liberatory movement must always be turned against the main enemy – fight fascism... (1, Dec. 1951)

WHITE SUPREMACY IS NAZISM

...It is true that in the rank-and-file of the white parties are a number who whilst they support the maintenance of colour as an instrument of white political and economic supremacy are scared of a naked Hitlerite regime which might later turn out to be a danger to themselves; hence movements like the now thoroughly discredited Torch Commando... (1, Dec. 1951)

...But there is nothing inherently superior about the herrenvolk idea of the supremacy of the whites... (2, 21 Sept. 1953)

APARTHEID IS NAZISM

...The commandos are the nucleus of a future Gestapo... (1, Dec. 1951)

5.3.3.4 *Parliament of the African people*

PARLIAMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE structures an abstract complex system in terms of the fact that a parliament is understood to be a representative constituent assembly of the people it governs. During his statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial in 1964, Mandela described the ANC as more than a political organisation, but as a parliament of the African people.

THE ANC IS A PARLIAMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

...They defended the policy on the ground that from its inception the ANC was formed and built up, not as a political party with one school of political thought, but as a Parliament of the African people, accommodating people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

5.3.3.5 *Science*

The source domain of SCIENCE, specifically the entailment of scientific formula, was used in the mapping of the target domain of an abstract complex system.

POLITICS IS SCIENCE

...All this has led me to feel that in my search for a political formula, I should be absolutely impartial and objective... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

5.3.3.6 *Flag*

FLAG as object structures a target domain based on its function to flutter in the wind.

FLAG IS FREEDOM

...This is but a brief and sketchy outline of the momentous struggle of the freedom fighters in our country, of the sacrifice they have made and of the price that is being paid at the present moment by those who keep the freedom flag flying... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

5.3.3.7 *Book*

BOOK provides entailments in terms of one of its main properties, namely that it is divided into chapters and that reading progress through the book from chapter to chapter designates the progression of the struggle. The struggle is therefore a book of different, consecutive chapters where the early chapters are the beginning of the struggle and the final chapter represents the end of the struggle.

STRUGGLE IS A BOOK

...the opening of the final chapter of our struggle... (11, 11 Feb. 1990)

5.3.3.8 *Pattern for tailoring*

The application of the source domain PATTERN FOR TAILORING is based on its function in tailoring to provide a pattern for cutting the composite pieces from the cloth before the tailor fashions them together into a garment. The particular target domain was entailed based on the function of patterns to produce similar garments. In the example provided, South Africa is the garment being sown and the imperial world is the specific pattern used in the sowing process.

THE IMPERIAL WORLD IS A PATTERN FOR SOUTH AFRICA

...True to the pattern depicted for the rest of the imperialist world... (1, Dec. 1951)

5.3.3.9 *Chain*

The property of the source domain CHAIN used for structuring the target domain is its configuration as a chain of consecutive links and the fact that the links are vulnerable to breakage. The strength of a chain is therefore directly proportionate to the strength of its links. This mapping was used to signify weakness in the relevant target domain of white supremacy.

WHITE SUPREMACY IS A CHAIN

...the weakest link in the chain of white supremacy... (1, Dec. 1951)

5.3.3.10 *Poison*

The source domain POISON was used to structure the relevant target domain in terms of the activity of poisoning, in other words, the idea that entities can administer toxins to other entities that would kill them or make them severely sick. Here, the act of making a threat of civil war is likened to the act of poisoning, while ‘the search for peace in our country’ is entailed as the victim.

THREATS ARE POISON

...If they execute these [threats of civil war], the world will see that they are prolonging the suffering of all South Africans, and poison the search for peace in our country... (63, 20 Dec. 1991)

5.3.3.11 *Hunting*

HUNTING was used to structure a particular target domain in terms of the mapping of a hunter stalking prey, i.e. the hunters being the members of the Security Branch of the police with struggle activists as the prey.

THE SECURITY BRANCH IS A HUNTER

...All meetings were banned throughout the country and our field workers were trailed and hounded by members of the Security Branch... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [ANC MEMBERS ARE PREY]

5.3.3.12 *Voortrekker laager*

One of the most distinctive source domains found in the entire corpus is VOORTREKKER LAAGER, which actually denotes the activity of forming a laager. To form a laager describes the Voortrekker (Afrikaner pioneers in the 1800s trekking inland in South Africa) tradition of manoeuvring all the ox wagons in a party into a circle for security purposes. The party could defend themselves more efficiently from inside the laager. Mandela used this activity as a source domain to map the response of a group, in this case the ‘whites’ as target domain in a particular situation where change was called for by the struggle movement. The idea is that the formation of a Voortrekker laager is a political strategy.

FORMING A VOORTREKKER LAAGER IS A POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE WHITES

...The Whites failed to respond by suggesting change; they responded to our call by suggesting the laager... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

5.3.3.13 *Love affair*

The source domain of LOVE AFFAIR, in particular that love affairs are characterised by expressions of passion and the act of committing to a beloved, was used to map a target domain related to the expression of enthusiasm for a particular concept, liberty, within the larger domain of politics. After his assassination in 1993, Chris Hani was described by Mandela as a person in a passionate love affair with ‘liberty’, while also being committed to the ANC and SACP. Having passion or being committed to an entity are common ways of referring to being in love or being in a committed relationship with someone. Here, the committed relationship is politics as expressed in the metaphorical concept POLITICS IS A LOVE AFFAIR.

POLITICS IS A LOVE AFFAIR

...It was this passion for liberty that persuaded him, at an early age, to commit himself fully to the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party... (108, 10 Apr. 1993)

[LIBERTY IS A BELOVED]

5.3.3.14 *Wasteland*

The WASTELAND source domain structured the relevant target domain in terms of the effects on a particular landscape of irresponsible and appalling practices associated with apartheid. WASTELAND is related to the LANDSCAPE source domain that forms part of the JOURNEY constellation, although it is sufficiently distinctive to warrant its separate inclusion. The South African economy is described as a wasteland, while apartheid is suggested as the cause of this environmental disaster.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY IS A WASTELAND

...It is tragic that our country, so well endowed with natural resources...has been reduced to an economic wasteland by the system of apartheid, based on greed and mismanagement...

(63, 20 Dec. 1991)

5.3.3.15 *Weather*

The WEATHER source domain was used to conceptualise the relevant target domain, namely martial law, in terms of prevailing conditions caused by antecedent conditions.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS

...Even as we meet here today, martial law prevails throughout the territory of the Transkei...

(5, 12 Jan. 1962) [MARTIAL LAW IS A WEATHER CONDITION]

The WEATHER source domain also includes specific weather-related phenomena such as rainbows which is the source domain for one of the most well-known metaphoric entailments associated with South Africa as a nation.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATION IS A RAINBOW

...a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world... (149, 10 May 1994)

5.3.3.16 *Sewage*

As previously stated, assigned properties signify that physical properties are metaphorically assigned to concepts and things. In this case, the properties of sewage, namely that it is polluted and that malodorous waste matter is running in sewers, were applied to the target

domain, education, based on the association of the relevant target domain with the place where sewage is found, namely the sewer or gutter.

BLACK EDUCATION IS SEWAGE

...The risks of further pain and affliction arising from violence, homelessness, unemployment of gutter education, are immense... (63, 20 Dec. 1991) [BLACK EDUCATION IS IN THE GUTTER]

5.3.4 Source domains in orientational metaphorical concepts

In Chapter 4, Section 4.3.8, **orientational metaphorical concepts** are explained as a means of organising a person's construal system according to spatial metaphorical organisation based in embodied human experience. The fact that the human body is conceptualised as a bounded system in a very distinctive setting arranges the spatial nature of orientational metaphorical concepts, for instance, up-down, in-out or front-back. Therefore, due to bodily limitations, the possibilities for orientation are limited. Orientational metaphorical concepts govern the arrangement of structural and ontological metaphorical concepts. Nelson Mandela's rhetoric revealed the use of the UP/DOWN, FORWARD/BACKWARD, IN/OUT and CENTRE/PERIPHERY orientations.

5.3.4.1 *Up/down*

In the qualitative engagement with the speeches, three kinds of entailments for the UP/DOWN orientation have been identified, i.e. UP IS MORE/DOWN IS LESS, the converse UP IS LESS/DOWN IS MORE and UP IS GOOD/DOWN IS BAD. Both the UP IS MORE/LESS IS DOWN and the UP IS LESS/DOWN IS MORE configurations were applied to structure target domains in terms of intensity, whether it be intensity that is applied upwards or downwards. The UP IS GOOD/DOWN IS BAD orientation was applied to denote virtue where VIRTUE IS UP and VICE IS DOWN. The UP IS LESS/DOWN IS MORE orientation signifying the application of intensity downwards is somewhat unusual, as an upward orientation is conventionally associated with positive evaluation, while a downward orientation is evaluated negatively (Kövecses, 2002: 36).

MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN

...By the middle of June 1960, these figures had risen to well over three hundred killed and five hundred wounded... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

...One of my instructions, as I went abroad in January 1962, was to raise funds from the African states... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

...those forced to live in poor socio-economic conditions are the highest at risk... (93, 23 Oct. 1992)

MORE IS DOWN/LESS IS UP

...when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [GOVERNMENT REACTION IS INTENSE DOWNWARD FORCE]

GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN

...To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man. If elements in our organisation seek to impede the realisation of this lofty purpose then these people have placed themselves outside the organisation and must be put out of action before they do more harm... (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [VIRTUE IS UP]

...And this reality is that we are still suffering under the policy of the Nationalist Government... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [SUFFERING IS DOWN]

...To raise our country and its people from the morass of racism and apartheid will require determination and effort... (148, 9 May 1994) [VIRTUE IS UP, VICE IS DOWN]

5.3.4.2 *Forward/backward*

The JOURNEY constellation, one of the stable event structure source domains, is based on the orientation FORWARD/BACKWARD. Undertaking a journey implies that a person is on a road travelling in a forward direction towards a destination, while leaving all the scenery and events that has been passed on the journey behind. FORWARD always denotes the orientation of the body and more specifically the orientation of the eyes. The field of vision is always FORWARD, while BACKWARD always denotes everything to the back of the body. The FORWARD/BACKWARD orientation is also subject to evaluation where FORWARD is positive and BACKWARD negative. The last excerpt offered below provides an interesting twist on the evaluation of the FORWARD/BACKWARD orientation. Where FORWARD is conventionally unreservedly positive and BACKWARD negative, the ‘turning around’ and going back of ‘one of the greatest threats humankind has faced’ in reference to AIDS is, in fact, positive.

FORWARD/BACKWARD

...I pay tribute to the many religious communities who carried the campaign for justice forward...

(11, 11 Feb. 1990)

...The process of moving towards democracy is unstoppable... (63, 20 Dec. 1991) [A JOURNEY IS MOVEMENT FORWARD]

...This is, as I understand it, a gathering of human beings concerned about turning around one of the greatest threats humankind has faced, and certainly the greatest after the end of the great wars of the previous century... (785, 14 Jul. 2000)

5.3.4.3 *In/out and centre/periphery*

The IN/OUT and CENTRE/PERIPHERY orientations are associated with the ontological metaphorical concept CONTAINER (discussed in Section 5.3.5) as well as structural metaphorical concepts where the source domains are bounded entities such as HUMAN BODY and BUILDING. The IN/OUT orientation applies to source domains with entailments related to having an interior and an exterior. The CENTRE/PERIPHERY configuration is also applied to bounded entities because the centre and the periphery of the entity are easily identifiable. Source domains related to landscape and context can also have an IN/OUT configuration, because they are conceptual containers with imagined boundaries. These configurations are not ambivalent and positive evaluations are conventionally attributed to IN and CENTRE, while PERIPHERY (not being in the middle) and OUT (not being in the container but outside) are associated with negative evaluation (Kövecses, 2002: 34 – 36).

IN/OUT [ASSOCIATED WITH CONTAINER]

...In Africa, there are approximately 190 000 000 Africans as against 4 000 000 Europeans...

(2, 21 Sept. 1953)

...Evidence dealing with volunteers and their pledges has been introduced into this case, but completely out of context... (7, 20 Apr. 1964)

...I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands... (11, 11 Feb. 1990)

CENTRE/PERIPHERY

...The extension of the PAFMECA area to South Africa, the heart and core of imperialist reaction... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

...The centre and cornerstone of the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa lies inside South Africa itself... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

...stable self-reliant communities that can be the core of a dynamic society... (93, 23 Oct. 1992)

5.3.5 Source domains in ontological metaphorical concepts

Ontological metaphorical concepts were explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.8 as a means of framing experience with regard to general categories of objects and substances so that human beings are able to understand abstract aspects of human experience in terms of physical objects. This means that vague and intangible things are understood in terms of more concrete and familiar source domains. Charteris-Black (2005: 15) refers to the process by which an abstraction is concretised reification. By concretising intangible concepts, it becomes possible to understand them, refer to them and quantify them (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 27). Ontological metaphorical concepts can also be more specifically entailed where the intangible concept is associated with an object with specific properties.

5.3.5.1 *Container/substance*

Embodied experience gave rise to the ontological metaphorical concept of CONTAINER, according to which human beings conceptualise things and concepts as bounded entities with an INSIDE/OUTSIDE orientation. The current study preferred the source domain SUBSTANCE to designate instances of reification, comprising physical objects, all manner of substances and entities, while CONTAINER was used for all classes of bounded entities in this regard. In many instances, the reification of a concept or thing would provide the SUBSTANCE inside the CONTAINER. In Mandela's rhetoric, the use of the ontological metaphorical concepts of SUBSTANCE and CONTAINER were stable.

With regard to the source domain SUBSTANCE, Mandela's rhetoric revealed a tendency towards the reification of ideas, concepts and issues as physical objects, and the reification of abstract concepts in terms of a substance, often inside a container. Physical objects can be experienced in terms of human senses and can therefore be seen, touched and handled. They can also have particular properties such as being brittle. Substance relates to form, for instance, solid or liquid as well as quantity.

IDEAS/CONCEPTS/ISSUES ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS

...I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [A BA IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT]

...We first broke the law... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [THE LAW IS A BRITTLE OBJECT]

...I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [THE REMAINING YEARS OF LIFE ARE A PHYSICAL OBJECT; HANDS ARE A CONTAINER]

...I will spare no effort to bring peace, freedom and justice for all to South Africa... (129, 15 Oct. 1993) [PEACE, FREEDOM, JUSTICE ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS THAT CAN BE CARRIED]

...We thank all our distinguished international guests for having come to take possession...of...a common victory... (149, 10 May 1994) [VICTORY IS A PHYSICAL OBJECT]

In cases of reification as physical objects, as illustrated by the above-mentioned examples, an abstract idea, concept or issue is referred to as having physical properties. In the first excerpt, a degree is entailed as an object that can be held, while the second passage refers to law as an object that can be broken. Therefore, not only is the law an object, but also a brittle object. Mandela further used reification to structure the remaining years of his life, and peace, freedom, justice and victory as objects that can be held physically and even transported to a different location.

ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE SUBSTANCES

...We declare our firm belief in the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that everyone has the right to education... (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [BELIEF IS A FIRM SUBSTANCE]

...and drained our resources to the limit... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [RESOURCES ARE A FLUID SUBSTANCE]

...but we made solid and substantial achievements... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [ACHIEVEMENTS ARE A SOLID SUBSTANCE]

...In addition, they would provide an outlet for those people who were urging the adoption of violent methods and would enable us to give concrete proof to our followers that we had adopted a stronger line and were fighting back against Government violence... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [PROOF IS A HARD SUBSTANCE]

...Now is the time for our white compatriots, from whom messages of condolence continue to pour in to reach out... (109, 13 Apr. 1993) [MESSAGES OF CONDOLENCE ARE A FLUID SUBSTANCE]

Where reification was used to refer to abstract concepts as a substance, a specific property of being a substance was the entailment. In this way, belief was entailed as a firm substance, sources and messages of condolence as fluid substances, achievements as a solid substance and proof as a hard substance.

ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE SUBSTANCES IN SPECIFIC CONTAINERS

...*A white man, full of prejudice and hate...* (109, 13 Apr. 1993) [MAN IS A CONTAINER; PREJUDICE AND HATE ARE THE SUBSTANCE INSIDE THE CONTAINER]

...*the depth of the pain we all carried in our hearts...* (149, 10 May 1994) [HEARTS ARE CONTAINERS; PAIN IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER]

...*I stand here before you filled with deep pride and joy...* (147, 2 May 1994) [MANDELA IS A CONTAINER; PRIDE AND JOY ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE CONTAINER]

...*His Imperial Majesty [Emperor Haile Selass], himself a rich and unfailing fountain of wisdom...* (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [EMPEROR SELASSI IS A CONTAINER; WISDOM IS A SUBSTANCE IN CONTAINER]

The CONTAINER and SUBSTANCE ontological metaphorical metaphors are very closely related as is illustrated through examples where they interact in the same passage. In the excerpts shown above, both the container and the substance in the container are provided.

COUNTRIES/AREAS/PLACES/LOCATIONS/TERRITORIES ARE CONTAINERS

...*The entire continent is seething with discontent...* (2, 21 Sept. 1953) [THE CONTINENT IS A CONTAINER; DISCONTENT IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER]

...*We believe that South Africa belongs to all the people who live in it, and not to one group, be it black or white...* (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [SOUTH AFRICA IS A CONTAINER; PEOPLE ARE A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER]

...*Even General Chiang Kai-Shek, today one of the bitterest enemies of communism, fought together with the communists against the ruling class in the struggle which led to his assumption of power in China in the 1930s...* (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [CHINA IS A CONTAINER; EVENTS ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE CONTAINER]

...*1316 cases of AIDS were recorded, and the majority of these were recorded in Natal...* (93, 23 Oct. 1992) [NATAL IS A CONTAINER; AIDS CASES ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE CONTAINER]

Land area is also very prone to entailment as containers, as is illustrated above. As location is a context for events, land area as a container can be found in combination with the EVENTS ARE SUBSTANCES ontological metaphorical concept.

ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE CONTAINERS

... *But, if your lordship bears in mind the fact that when we initiated this policy, there were no political parties – none in the Union – which thought along these lines...* (3, 1956 – 1960) [THE MIND IS A CONTAINER]

...*In March 1960, after the murderous killing of about seventy Africans in Sharpeville, a state of emergency was declared...* (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [TIME IS A CONTAINER; EVENTS ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE CONTAINER]

...*The celebrations...but were held in an atmosphere of tension and crisis...* (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [ATMOSPHERE IS A CONTAINER; EVENTS ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE CONTAINER]

...*The history of the world is full of similar examples...* (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [HISTORY IS A CONTAINER; EXAMPLES ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE CONTAINER]

...*the overwhelming majority of South Africans have mandated the African National Congress to lead our country into the future...* (148, 9 May 1994) [THE FUTURE IS A CONTAINER]

Abstract concepts can further be depicted as containers. In this way, the examples above illustrate that the mind, time, atmosphere, history and future are all entailed as containers. This class of containers can also be found in conjunction with the EVENTS ARE SUBSTANCES ontological metaphorical concept.

5.3.5.2 *Personification*

In the current research, the devices of personification and metonymy are included as forms of ontological metaphorical concepts. In personification, inanimate concepts or objects are referred to in terms usually reserved for people (Charteris-Black, 2005: 15). Here, the source domain is therefore a person or people and can be expressed as AN OBJECT/CONCEPT/GROUP/ORGANISATION IS A PERSON. Personification and the structural metaphorical source domain HUMAN BODY are closely related and was often found to interact. In Mandela's rhetoric, the personification often elaborated on the ontological metaphorical concept in very particular ways, for instance, by entailing a concept or object as a villain, victim or hero. This form of personification is related to the WAR source domain where relations are adversarial and the opposing side in a conflict is depicted as the villain. Mandela often personified concepts, groups and objects as villains, while the African people were sometimes depicted as victims of the villain. The struggle movement, as well as concepts and organisations related to the struggle movement, were found to have been entailed as heroes in certain cases. Specific personification also extended beyond the villain-victim-hero triptych to include more neutral entailments such as a concept, group or object as a person with a specific career, for example, a builder or actor. In such cases, the personification was often associated with an appropriate structural metaphorical concept.

AN OBJECT/CONCEPT/GROUP/ORGANISATION IS A PERSON

... Congress...has never sat down to discuss the question... (3, 1956 – 1960) [CONGRESS IS A PERSON]

...This is what our country yearns for... (89, 26 Sept. 1992) [THE COUNTRY IS A PERSON]

...but for the ordinary black person of this country apartheid is alive and well... (110, 19 Apr. 1993) [APARTHEID IS A PERSON]

...The government stubbornly refuses to publish the names and number of persons detained... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON]

...I will also deal with the relationship between the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [THE ANC AND MK ARE PEOPLE]

...We felt that planned destruction of power plants and interference with rail and telephone communications would tend to scare away capital from the country... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [CAPITAL IS A PERSON]

...Wherever I went I met sympathy... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [SYMPATHY IS A PERSON]

AN OBJECT/CONCEPT/GROUP/ORGANISATION IS A PERSON (SPECIFIC ENTAILMENT)

...because we believe that every political organisation has a right to exist and to advocate its own point of view... (3, 1956 – 1960) [POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS ARE ADVOCATES]

...It is quite clear that the Congress has consistently preached a policy of race harmony... (3, 1956 – 1960) [CONGRESS IS A CLERGYMAN]

...Although the United Nations itself has neither expelled nor adopted sanctions against South Africa, many independent African states are in varying degrees enforcing economic and other sanctions against her... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [SOUTH AFRICA IS A WOMAN]

...I shall deal also with the part played by the Communist Party... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [ACTOR]

...I will have to explain what Umkhonto set out to achieve... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [TRAVELLER]

AN OBJECT/CONCEPT/GROUP/ORGANISATION IS A VILLAIN

...the most important thing about imperialism today is that it has gone all over the world subjugating people and exploiting them, bringing death and destruction to millions of people... (3, 1956 – 1960) [IMPERIALISM IS A RUTHLESS CONQUEROR]

...has made it possible for some of our people to escape persecution by the South African government... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS A BULLY]

...the South African government openly defied the British government when its police crossed into the neighbouring British protectorate of Basutoland and kidnapped Anderson Ganyile... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS A KIDNAPPER]

...Apartheid has inflicted more pain on you than on anyone else... (11, 11 Feb. 1990) [APARTHEID IS A SADIST]

...where they are unable to protect themselves or an unborn infant against the virus... (93, 23 Oct. 1992) [THE VIRUS IS AN ATTACKER]

AN OBJECT/CONCEPT/GROUP/ORGANISATION IS A VICTIM

...Naked force and violence is the weapon openly used by the South African government to beat down the struggles of the African people and to suppress their aspirations... (5, 12 Jan. 1962)

[STRUGGLES ARE VICTIMS OF BEATING]

...And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [THE COUNTRY IS A VICTIM]

...It is perhaps difficult for white South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against communism... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [COMMUNISM IS A VICTIM OF PREJUDICE]

AN OBJECT/CONCEPT/GROUP/ORGANISATION IS A HERO

...Although the national movements must remain alert and vigilant against all forms of imperialist intrigue and deception... (5, 12 Jan. 1962) [NATIONAL MOVEMENTS ARE SENTINELS]

...As the guardian of African nationalism, the Congress Youth League and, to a lesser extent, the senior Congress are...the greatest hope that the African people, and indeed all oppressed people, have that they will ever live in a free, independent, united, democratic, and a prosperous South Africa... (1, Dec. 1951) [THE ANC AND ANCYL ARE GUARDIANS OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM]

...The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [THE ANC IS A WARRIOR; RACIALISM IS THE VILLAIN]

5.3.5.3 *Metonymy*

Metonymy refers to a mode of reference where the object or concept being the target domain is alluded to by the use of a source domain that is actually related to the target domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 35). Different classes of metonymy were discovered in Mandela's rhetoric, i.e. PART FOR WHOLE, WHOLE FOR PARTS, CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED, OBJECT USER FOR USED, INSTITUTION FOR ITS PEOPLE, PLACE FOR INHABITANTS, ACTION FOR AGENT, PLACE FOR EVENT and DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. Personification and metonymy both proved to be stable in this rhetoric, although the use of personification was found to be considerably more pervasive than metonymy.

PART FOR WHOLE

...African education would be taken out of the hands of people who taught equality between black and white... (1, Dec. 1951) [HANDS FOR THE REST OF THE BODIES OF THE PEOPLE]

In the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, composite parts are used to designate the whole entity and, in this case, Mandela use ‘hands’ to denote the whole bodies of people.

WHOLE FOR PARTS

...*All Africa was united...* (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [AFRICA FOR AFRICAN COUNTRIES]

In WHOLE FOR PARTS, the entire entity is used to designate its composite parts. In this example, Africa is used to denote the individual countries of Africa.

CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED

...*Perhaps the most striking illustration is to be found in the co-operation between Great Britain, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union in the fight against Hitler...* (7, 20 Apr. 1964)
[HITLER FOR GERMAN FORCES]

In the above-mentioned excerpt, the controller, Hitler, is used to refer to the German forces under his command, the controlled.

OBJECT USER FOR USED

...*where law and order is still ruled by the jackboot...* (63, 20 Dec. 1991) [JACKBOOT FOR SECURITY/POLICE FORCES]

OBJECT USER FOR USED follows the same principle as CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED. Here, the jackboot used by the security and police forces is used to designate the security and police forces.

INSTITUTION FOR ITS PEOPLE

...*It may not be easy for this Court to understand...* (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [COURT FOR THE LEGAL OFFICERS]

In INSTITUTION FOR ITS PEOPLE, the people associated with a certain institution are implied when that institution is mentioned. In this case, ‘Court’ actually means the officials of the court.

PLACE FOR INHABITANTS

...*In my own view I would say, ‘Yes, let us talk’ and the Government would say, ‘We think that the Europeans at present are not ready for a type of government where there might be domination by non-Europeans’. We think we should give you 60 seats. The African population to elect 60*

Africans to represent them in Parliament... (3, 1956 – 1960) [SEATS FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES INHABITING THE SEATS]

In PLACE FOR INHABITANTS, the association is between a place and a person occupying that place. Here, the seats of parliament denote the representatives who sit in these seats.

ACTION FOR AGENT

...The white newspapers carried reports that sabotage would be punished by death...
(7, 20 Apr. 1964) [SABOTAGE FOR PEOPLE PERFORMING ACTS OF SABOTAGE]

The association in ACTION FOR AGENT is between the action, sabotage, and the agent who performs the action, i.e. activists, as illustrated in the example above.

PLACE FOR EVENT

...And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [SHARPEVILLE FOR MASSACRE]

In PLACE FOR EVENT, the place where an event occurred is used to imply the event that occurred at that place. Here, Sharpeville refers to the infamous massacre that occurred there in 1960. (For more on the incident, see Chapter 3, Section, 3.2.3.)

DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY

...The whites enjoy what may well be the highest standard of living in the world, whilst Africans live in poverty and misery. Forty percent of the Africans live in hopelessly overcrowded and, in some cases, drought-stricken Reserves... (7, 20 Apr. 1964) [WHITES FOR WHITE PEOPLE; AFRICANS FOR BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS; WHITE STANDARDS FOR LIVING STANDARDS OF WHITE PEOPLE]

5.3.6 Interaction of metaphorical concepts

All metaphorical concepts are the products of human embodied experience and share a relation to aspects of human life. They do not operate in individual vacuity, but draw on other metaphorical experience (Charteris-Black, 2005: 82). In Nelson Mandela's rhetoric, the interaction of metaphorical concepts is most evident in the source domain constellations such as JOURNEY and HUMAN BODY where a constellation subsumes a number of metaphorical concepts closely associated with the primary source domain.

The HUMAN BODY constellation is archetypal and provides the most fundamental mappings for human beings in their attempt to make sense of their world. In some way or other, most source domains in metaphorical concepts can be linked to the source domain of HUMAN BODY, however tenuous the link might be. The source domains that form part of the HUMAN BODY constellation, i.e. HEALTH/ILLNESS, MEDICINE, FAMILY and LIFE/DEATH, are closely linked, because they entail basic conditions associated with the HUMAN BODY.

Among the structural metaphorical source domains, excluding the source domains of the HUMAN BODY constellation, some of the more overt linkages include FOOD/COOKING and HEAT/COLD and LIGHT/DARK. One of the vital needs of a human body is sustenance. The physiology of a human body allows human beings to have sensory experiences related to food (taste), heat and cold (touch) and light and dark (vision). The other source domains are still linked to HUMAN BODY, although the links are not directly related to the body, but to activities of human beings such as going on a journey, engaging in conflict and war, making business transactions, constructing and living in buildings, operating machinery and tools, believing in a god, communicating, producing and using artefacts (art, objects), and falling in love. Even forces can be linked to embodied experience, because it is through the human body that the effects of forces are experienced. Plants and animals are also linked to HUMAN BODY source domain, because they form part of daily human life as human beings interact with these entities at varying levels.

The HUMAN BODY source domain is further closely linked to orientational and ontological metaphorical concepts, because it is the nature of embodiment that is responsible for orientation and the setting of conceptual boundaries. The understanding of orientation is based on the orientation of the human body and its experience in this world, such as being subject to gravity. In fact, the upright human body is the universal point of reference for all orientation, whether UP/RIGHT, FORWARD/BACKWARD, IN/OUT, CENTRE/PERIPHERY, etc. Human beings experience themselves as bounded entities and as a result impose this property on abstract concepts for sense-making, as is illustrated by the ontological metaphorical concept of CONTAINER. Because the HUMAN BODY is such a fundamental site of experience, human beings attribute human qualities to inanimate objects, as is the case in personification.

The JOURNEY constellation, apart from its links to the associate source domains found in Mandela's rhetoric, i.e. CONDUIT, MOTION/TIME and LANDSCAPE, is also tied to HUMAN BODY. Journeys are functions of travelling entities. Without the entity undertaking the journey, it cannot exist. Due to its fundamental link to HUMAN BODY, the JOURNEY is an elemental frame of experience for humans and is therefore used to structure most human experience. JOURNEY is also closely associated with the FORWARD/BACKWARD orientational source domain.

The interaction of metaphorical concepts can also be implicit based on the fact that metaphorical concepts are understood to function at both the manifest and latent levels of meaning. The different levels of interaction are explored by differentiating between micro- and mega-metaphorical concepts in rhetoric. (See Section 4.3.8 in Chapter 4 for further detail.) Micro-metaphorical concepts are those metaphorical concepts found at the manifest level of the rhetoric and in Mandela's rhetoric represent the stable, intermediate and non-recurrent source domains and structural metaphorical concepts unpacked in Sections 5.3.1 – 5.3.3. The mega-metaphorical concepts are found at the latent level of the rhetoric and refer to deep-seated metaphorical concepts structuring the personal construal system of the rhetor.

The mega-metaphorical concepts represent the dominant motifs in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela. Certain mega-metaphorical concepts are found to be part of a larger metaphorical system, which creates cohesion in the personal construal system.

The structural metaphorical concepts based on stable source domains represent the most significant micro-metaphorical concepts in Mandela's rhetoric. The structural metaphorical concepts related to JOURNEY, i.e. STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS, TESTIFYING IS A JOURNEY, CODESA IS A JOURNEY, POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IS A JOURNEY, NEGOTIATION IS A JOURNEY and POLITICAL TRANSITION IS A JOURNEY all point towards a single mega-metaphorical concept, LIFE IS A JOURNEY. JOURNEY was such a productive source domain in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela that the mega-metaphorical concept was accessible at both manifest and latent levels of the rhetoric.

The micro-metaphorical concepts, POLITICS IS WAR, ECONOMICS IS WAR and THE FIGHT AGAINST AIDS IS WAR, are derived from the underlying mega-metaphorical

concept LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL (Charteris-Black, 2005: 70). The structural metaphorical concepts based on the stable source domains HUMAN BODIES, BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES, PLANTS and MACHINES/TOOLS can all be expressed as the micro-metaphorical concepts of ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE HUMAN BODIES, ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES, ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS and ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE MACHINES/TOOLS. The term ‘abstract complex systems’ is understood to subsume the domains of concepts, groups and organisations. The micro-metaphorical concept of the source domain BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY was identified as POLITICS IS A BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY TRANSACTION. The fundamental mega-metaphorical concept underlying this micro-metaphorical concept is LIFE IS A BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY TRANSACTION.

Three metaphorical systems are activated based on the identified mega-metaphorical concepts, i.e. the Event Structure metaphorical system, the Complex Systems Metaphor and the Great Chain of Being. The mega-metaphorical concepts of LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL are signs of the Event Structure metaphorical system, which means that metaphorical concepts are conceived of in terms of the structure of events (the Event Structure metaphorical system is discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.8). The mega-metaphorical concepts related to abstract complex systems signify the Complex Systems Metaphor, which is a sub-system of the Great Chain of Being metaphorical system according to which all existence is structured based on a hierarchical chain explaining how all things interrelate in the world (Kövecses, 2002: 126, 134). (The Great Chain of Being is discussed in Section 4.3.8, Chapter 4.)

5.4 DATA CONVERGENCE

At this point, it is not necessary to quantitise or qualitisise data, as all data have already been qualitatively unpacked courtesy of the analysis and subsequent discussions. Data convergence will therefore focus on the merging of the data gleaned from the quantitative analysis, i.e. those key themes or target domains addressed by Nelson Mandela throughout the sub-corpora, as well as the in-depth data regarding source domains gleaned from the qualitative analysis of the purposively selected seminal speeches.

The first step in data convergence was to separately summarise the motifs and themes identified through the computerised quantitative analysis of the sub-corpora in order to provide a global framework of key target domains. Then the salient source domains and conversant metaphorical concepts were visually summarised to provide a holistic picture based on the qualitative analysis. The visual fields of both forms of data analysis were then merged and modified to provide one coherent and holistic account of the salient target and respective source domains in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela.

Figure 32 represents the salient target domains from the computerised quantitative analysis. The dominant motif of the struggle period was political struggle and more specifically the struggle for liberation in South Africa. The motif of struggle can further be unpacked into themes related to aspects of struggle, namely adversaries in struggle, agency in struggle, political purposes of struggle, sources of oppression and the statutory nature. In the liberation era, the dominant motif was political transition. Political transition is further unpacked into themes related to political transition, i.e. political purposes and role-players. As mentioned previously, the motif of the presidential era was reconciliation and reconstruction, while the post-presidential era primarily focused on issues pertaining to HIV/AIDS.

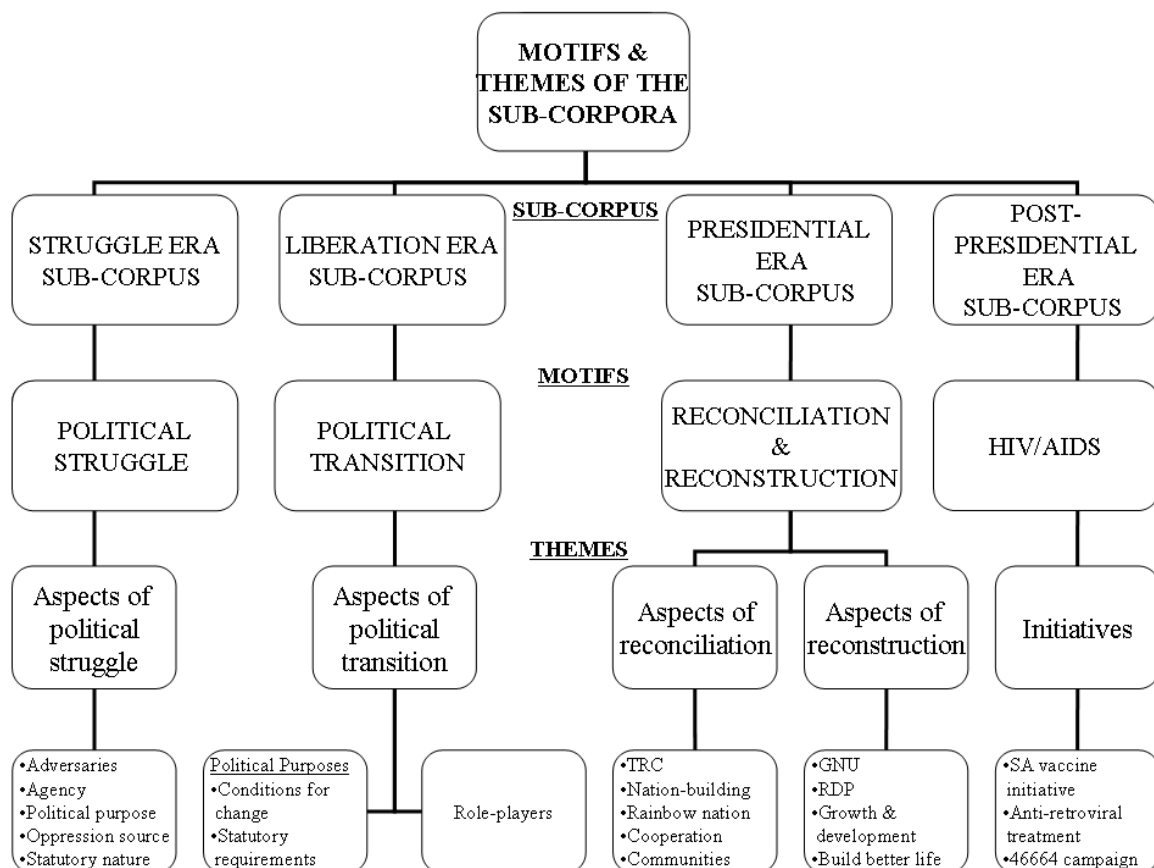


Figure 32: Key target domains

Figure 33 is a visual representation of the source domains of stable structural, orientational and ontological metaphorical concepts as identified in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela. The stable structural source domains include JOURNEY, WAR, the abstract complex systems source domains, i.e. HUMAN BODY, BUILDING/STRUCTURE, PLANTS and MACHINES/TOOLS, as well as the source domains of BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/MONEY and FORCES.

Stable orientational source domains include UP/DOWN, FORWARD/BACKWARD, IN/OUT and CENTRE/PERIPHERY. The orientational source domains underlie the structural and ontological metaphorical concepts and are implied. Certain structural metaphorical concepts by their very nature include orientation, as is the case with JOURNEY where the orientation FORWARD/BACKWARD applies. The stable ontological source domains are reification in terms of CONTAINER and substance, as well as the personification of inanimate objects, concepts, groups or organisations.

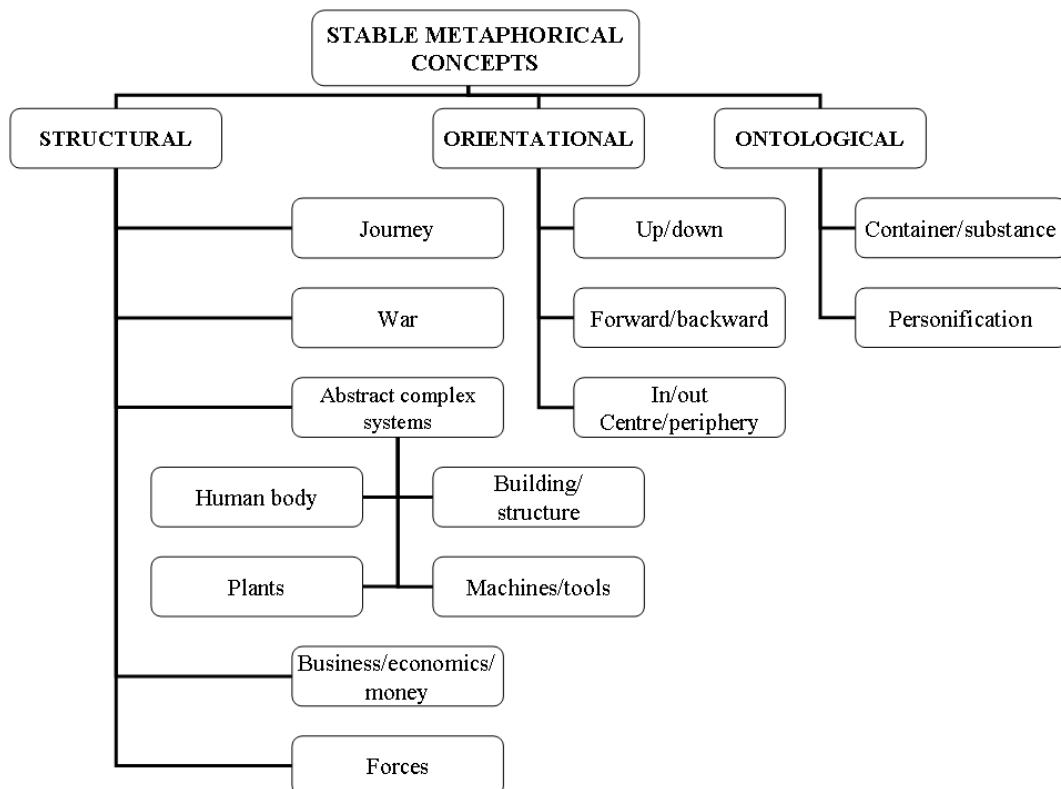


Figure 33: Stable metaphorical concepts

In order to provide more visual detail, the stable structural source domains are further elaborated in Figure 34 in terms of the metaphorical concepts in which they were applied.

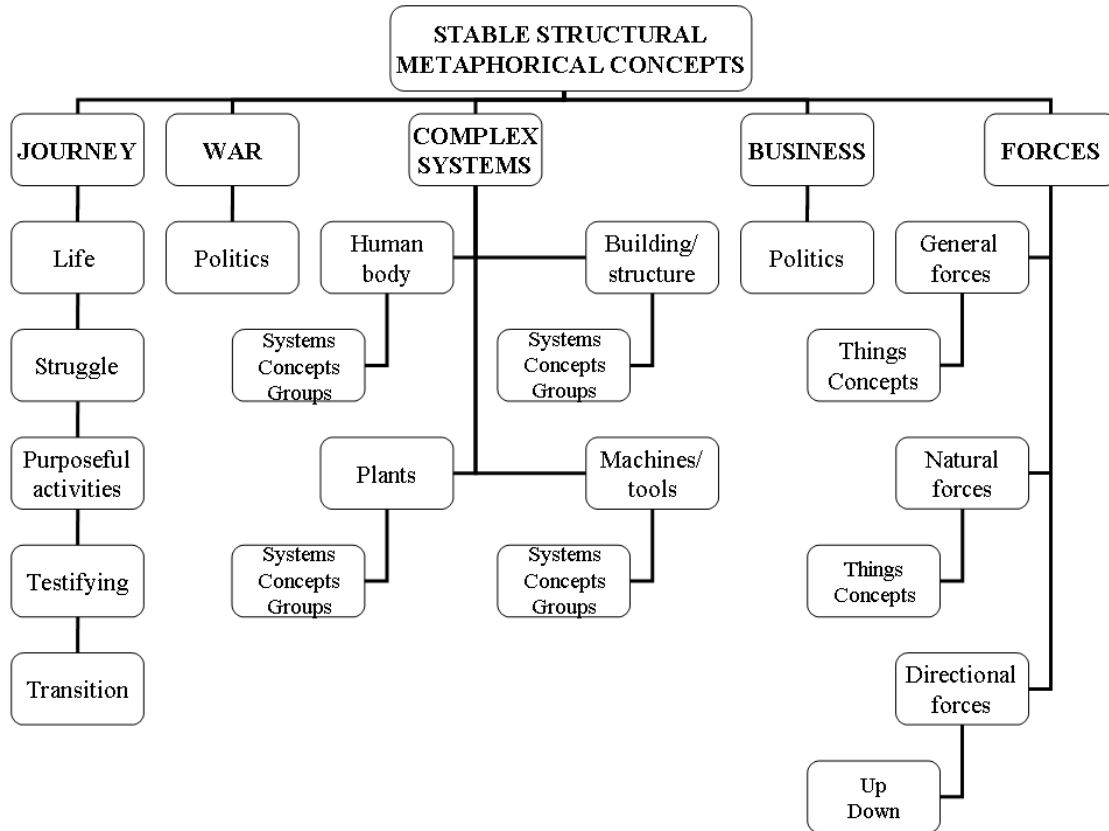


Figure 34: Stable structural metaphorical concepts

Figures 32, 33 and 34 will now be considered in relation to one another in order to coherently link the identified target domain motifs and themes with the appropriate source domains and metaphorical concepts. The superimposition of the domains of the different conceptual maps onto one another further crystallises the salient aspects of the rhetoric. Only the mutually coherent target and source domains remain after data convergence and provide the broad framework for the construction of the rhetorical imprint.

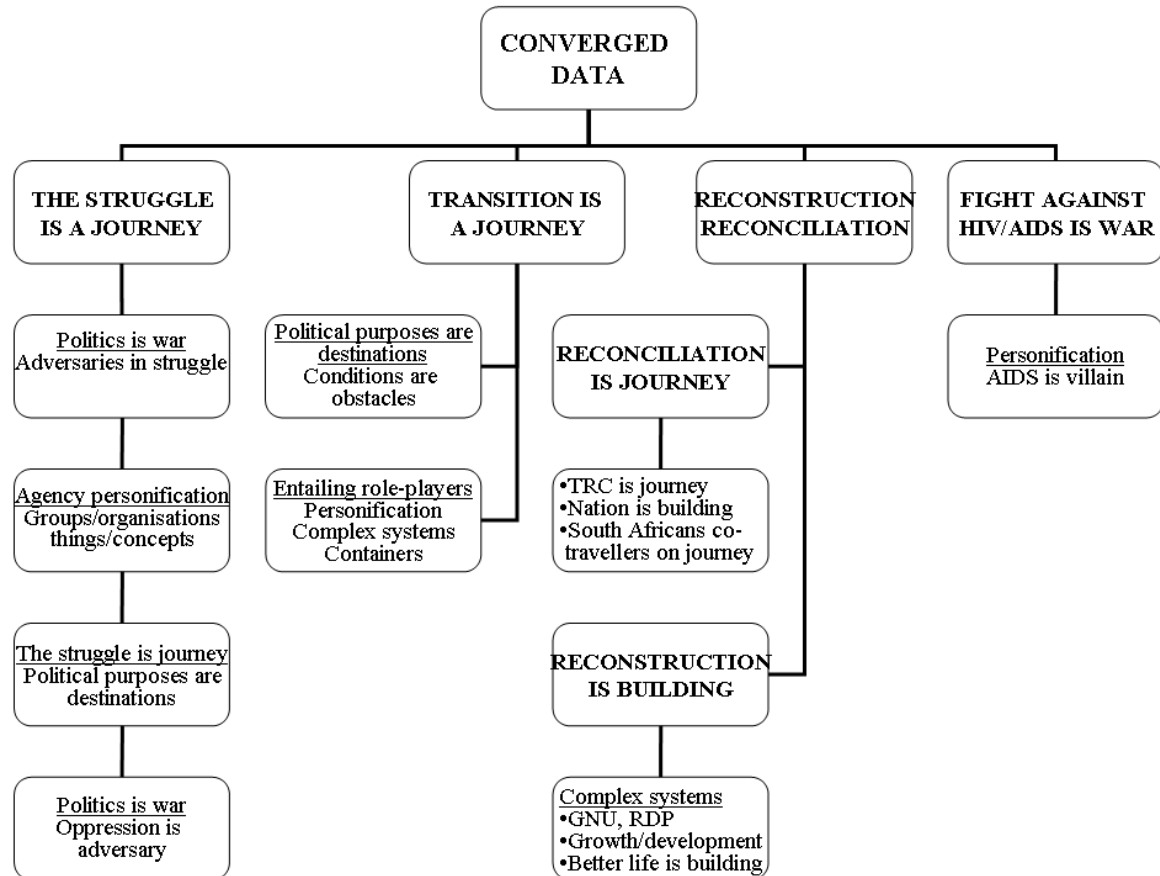


Figure 35: Converged data

In Figure 35, the most prominent metaphorical concepts are indicated in upper case. The subordinate metaphorical concepts are, however, indicated in lower case, in order to differentiate them from the prominent metaphorical concepts and to emphasise the hierarchical relation. The same practice applies in this section, although the subordinate metaphorical concepts are also italicised for the sake of typographical prominence. The source domains associated with the prominent metaphorical concepts will also be indicated in upper case.

The converged data revealed that the motifs identified in Nelson Mandela's rhetoric were primarily mapped onto the source domains of JOURNEY, BUILDING and WAR. The salient metaphorical concepts were identified as THE STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY, TRANSITION IS A JOURNEY, RECONCILIATION IS A JOURNEY, RECONSTRUCTION IS A BUILDING and THE FIGHT AGAINST HIV/AIDS IS WAR.

The subordinate metaphorical concepts further elaborate on and interact with the prominent metaphorical concepts. In *THE STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY* metaphorical concept, subordinate metaphorical concepts include *Politics is War*, as was designated by the conceptual juxtaposition of certain role-players in the struggle as adversaries. Things, concepts, groups and organisations were also found to be subject to personification and were sometimes depicted in more detail, for instance, as villains, victims or heroes. Political purposes of struggle, one of the themes related to struggle, were often entailed as destinations at the end of a journey and also point towards *The Struggle is a Journey* being a separate subordinate metaphorical concept. In Mandela's rhetoric, the sources of oppression were entailed as adversaries of the struggle movement, thereby indicating *Politics is War* as another subordinate metaphorical concept.

The metaphorical concept *TRANSITION IS A JOURNEY* refers to political transition. Here, the subordinate metaphorical concept *Political Purposes are Destinations* were derived from the theme 'conditions for change'. The aspects included in this theme were entailed as obstacles on a path and can be expressed as *Conditions for Change are Obstacles on a Journey*. Both destinations and obstacles on a path are important entailments of *JOURNEY*, which further entrench *JOURNEY* as source domain for political transition. The inanimate role-players in the transition, including organisations such as the ANC and government were entailed through personification, while the source domains related to abstract complex systems, i.e. *HUMAN BODY, BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES, PLANTS and MACHINES/TOOLS* provided fruitful entailments for people as target domains. The *CONTAINER* ontological metaphorical concept is also a useful means of mapping people, especially when used in conjunction with *SUBSTANCE* to indicate emotion.

The metaphorical concept *RECONCILIATION IS A JOURNEY* is derived from the mapping of South Africans, both black and white, as co-travellers on a journey as implied by themes such as rainbow nation, cooperation, to work together, to take hands and to participate. The theme of reconstruction is entailed as *BUILDING/STRUCTURE* in the metaphorical concept *RECONSTRUCTION IS A BUILDING/STRUCTURE*, as indicated by the subordinate metaphorical concepts *A Better Life is a Building*, as well as *The Government is a Building* where government refers to the Government of National Unity (GNU). The final prominent metaphorical concept is *THE FIGHT AGAINST HIV/AIDS IS WAR*. In this case,

personification was also used to portray HIV/AIDS not only as a person, but as a villain attacking people.

The converged data formed the foundation for the synthesis of the rhetorical imprint in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.

5.5 RESEARCH QUALITY

As explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.6, research quality is a standard conceptualised for assessing the quality of mixed methods research. Research quality requires pragmatic constructivist researchers to consider the criteria of inference quality, inference transferability and possible sources of error or bias as well as to engage in critical self-reflection about the research procedures and the inferential process that unfolded. The pertinent questions intrinsic to each of the criteria will now be addressed to satisfy the requirements regarding research quality.

5.5.1 Inference quality

Inference quality begins with data quality and the question as to whether the product of data collection can be considered to point towards the phenomenon under study. The legitimacy of the data as the products of Mandela, the rhetor, is addressed in Section 4.3.4 in Chapter 4. The data were argued to indeed be appropriate sources for exploring the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela.

5.5.1.1 Within-design consistency

The criterion of within-design consistency requires that the procedures of research design be consistently applied. The research design is coherent with the stated research purpose and objectives and was specifically designed to access different levels of the rhetoric in order to discover the rhetorical imprint. As required by pragmatic constructivist research, the conceptual framework informing the study was explicated in order to contextualise the choices made regarding the methodology. One of the stated purposes of the study was to position the research in the appropriate rhetorical situation. In this regard, the rhetorical situation applicable to the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela was explored and included the political

and historical contexts of twentieth century South Africa, thereby grounding the study in its proper temporal position. The study employed a mixed methods design and associative procedures. The choice of mixed methods research is coherent with the conceptual framework of pragmatic constructivism which, due to its inherent philosophical pluralism, also requires methodological pluralism based on the principle of triangulation.

Mixed methods research, in particular the concurrent nested mixed methods design, proved to be the best means possible of accessing the rhetoric at the different requisite levels in order to synthesise the rhetorical imprint. The primary objective of the research, the rhetorical imprint, is conceptually qualitative due to the nature of the material. The size of the corpus and the intent to identify themes and motifs at the manifest level of rhetoric rendered a purely qualitative approach unrealistic, as qualitative analysis can account for depth but not for scope. The inclusion of a quantitative component to provide scope was therefore a natural requirement of the stated purpose of the research. The qualitative thick description accounted for the in-depth unpacking of the metaphorical concepts functioning at the latent level of the rhetoric.

Induction was the main theoretical drive as is called for by the pragmatic constructivist framework, which meant that *a priori* categories were not constructed for the research. This required the selection of an appropriate quantitative approach in line with the principles of the conceptual framework. The choice of computer-based content analysis by means of *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0* was appropriate, as the programme does not require the preconstruction of a dictionary or *a priori* categories, but allows the reduction of large masses of data into salient patterns. The application of the nested mixed methods research design was consistent with the internal logic of the design, which means that the implementation of the quantitative and qualitative analysis was concurrent and not sequential – the quantitative analysis was used to enrich the qualitative drive by provide scoping in addition to depth. All forms of analysis were therefore used to complement the exploration and qualitative description of the phenomenon.

The results from the data analysis provided the detail for constructing the rhetorical imprint. The results and findings were also found to be complementary and provided data on the different levels of the rhetoric. The quantitative computer-based analysis revealed the themes and motifs addressed by Mandela in his rhetoric, while the qualitative analysis allowed the

researcher to explore how the themes and motifs were conceptualised in terms of metaphorical concepts in the individual construal system, representing the latent level of the rhetoric. Thus, the convergence of the data from both forms of analysis represents the fundamental rhetorical features and was the basis for synthesising the rhetorical imprint.

The application of mixed methods research and its reliance on complementary research procedures are a more complex and sophisticated research engagement than approaches relying on a single method. By generating complementary data, the scale of exploration is enlarged, thereby demonstrating an acceptable level of worth and sophistication compared to conventional approaches to research. The considerable weight of the generated data available for the interpretation of findings and the ultimate task of synthesising the rhetorical imprint allowed for a very productive inferential process. The data gleaned from the quantitative and qualitative analysis also proved coherent and allowed for a logical reduction and convergence of data. As the research design reasonably echoed the purpose of the research and the conceptual framework, while the internal logic of the mixed methods research design was maintained, the level of within-design consistency was found to be satisfactory.

5.5.1.2 *Conceptual consistency*

The very nature of the purpose, i.e. to discover the rhetorical imprint of Nelson Mandela by generating complementary research, is based on the concept of coherence, specifically consistency in terms of the conceptual framework and methodology. This is called cross-reference consistency, which means that the findings are considered consistent with the parameters of the study, the conceptual framework, the methodology as well as the contextual detail from the rhetorical situation. Cross-reference consistency was deliberately pursued through a reiterative research engagement which entailed the constant revisiting of different aspects of the study in order to maintain conceptual consistency. Different aspects of the research were therefore continually compared to ensure consistency among them.

The research and findings are further considered to be theoretically consistent with extant theory and literature. The conceptual consistency explored between constructivism, pragmatism and embodied reality in Chapter 2 emphasises theoretical consistency. This is illustrated by the attention paid to the conceptual framework and the interaction of these meta-theories that provided a very sophisticated cognitive perspective on human existence

and the individual experience of reality, including communication. The metaphoric configuration of the individual construal system proved to be a compelling elaboration of the notion of the personal construct and useful for the discovery of the rhetorical imprint by means of the application of metaphorical concepts. Since an adequate level of coherence is believed to have been established in the meta-theoretical exposition, theoretical consistency is considered satisfactory.

5.5.1.3 *Interpretive inimitability*

The inferences based on the data are believed to be justifiably singular because of the closeness achieved to the data by the dual means of analysis. In terms of the stated purpose of the research, the conceptual framework and the conversant choice in methodology, the inferences achieved interpretive inimitability, because the material was allowed to ‘speak for itself’, in other words, the analysis was guided by the material and not vice versa. The phenomenon is believed to have been unpacked by the most useful means given the parameters of the study and the meta-theoretical position as is argued in Chapter 1 and 2. Interpretive inimitability was further confirmed by the consistency between the findings based on the quantitative and qualitative data, which made data convergence possible. Had the data been incompatible, data convergence would not have been possible.

5.5.2 **Inference transferability**

As the quantitative analysis covered the entire corpus, providing scope, and the qualitative analysis provided depth, the inferences drawn are considered to be fair representations of the deep structure governing Nelson Mandela’s rhetoric. Since the point of the study was to study the oeuvre of one rhetor, the findings cannot be extrapolated to any other rhetor, because the rhetoric, as this study has argued, is based on the individual construal system of Nelson Mandela. The findings, however, is ecologically transferable to other texts produced by Mandela, irrespective of genre, because all forms of expression is produced by the same individual construal system that produced his rhetoric. Due to the scope of the study, temporal transferability applies and the findings are considered relevant throughout all the eras represented by the sub-corpora. Operational transferability is also applicable to the conceptual framework and methodology and can be equally useful to study the life’s work of another rhetor, perhaps even to explore the rhetorical imprints of various rhetors.

The possible sources of error and bias have already been addressed in Chapter 4, Sections 4.3.4 and 4.6.3. The critical self-reflection is addressed in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The current chapter presented the data from the quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis began with the generation of a wordlist for the entire corpus in order to gauge general characteristics such as lexical density and the sophistication of vocabulary use. The corpus was found to contain 950,823 tokens or running words and 22,857 types. The standardised type-token ratio (STTR) was calculated at 42.15 %, indicating moderately diverse vocabulary use with many instances of repetition in line with the prevalence of functional words and the constraints of the genre. The mean word length in the corpus is 4.84. While more than half of the corpus consists of one- to four-letter words, more than one third of the corpus consisted of five- to nine-letter words, followed by approximately 10 % of ten- to 15-letter words. Functional items were most prevalent, as is the norm. The analysis further revealed that the corpus was multi-lingual containing snippets of other South African languages. The tendency of Nelson Mandela to use the appropriate mother tongue of an audience is revealed in the *hapax legomena*, which also indicated sophisticated word use. Mandela's vocabulary use is considered to be fairly sophisticated for the public speechmaking genre based on the STTR and the relatively high incidence of longer words (one to four letters, ten- to 15-letter words).

The wordlist of the sub-corpora revealed that the STTR of the four sub-corpora, indicating lexical density, is consistent with the STTR of the entire corpus, as is the mean word length. The incidence of longer words (five- to nine-letter words, 11- to 20-letter words) confirmed a surprising level of sophistication in the vocabulary given the genre. The consistency between sub-corpora was calculated and revealed that the liberation and presidential sub-corpora are most consistent, followed by the struggle and liberation sub-corpora.

The keywords and their concord for each sub-corpus provided access to the themes and motifs or target domains of a particular era. The motif of the struggle sub-corpus was identified as 'the political struggle', while 'political transition' was inferred to be the motif of the liberation sub-corpus. The motif of the presidential sub-corpus is 'reconciliation and

reconstruction', while the post-presidential sub-corpus revealed a preoccupation with HIV/AIDS.

The qualitative analysis of the individual speeches revealed source domains and metaphorical concepts representing different levels of prevalence. The stable source domains and their metaphorical concepts represent the most constant metaphorical concepts at the latent level of the rhetoric. The dominant source domains used to map target domains in Mandela's rhetoric were found to be JOURNEY, WAR, HUMAN BODY, BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES, PLANTS, MACHINES/TOOLS, BUSINESS/ECONOMICS/ MONEY and FORCES. Stable orientational and ontological source domains and metaphorical concepts were also identified. After all levels of source domains and metaphorical concepts were unpacked, the interaction of the metaphorical concepts was explored. Data convergence entailed the merging of the dominant themes and motifs, which were identified through the quantitative analysis, with the dominant source domains and metaphorical concepts revealed through the qualitative exploration. The merged data were visually represented in the format of a conceptual map for the final synthesis of the rhetorical imprint.

The crucial aspect of research quality was considered by unpacking inference quality and inference transferability, as possible sources of error/bias were already discussed in Chapter 4 (Sections 4.3.4 and 4.6.3), while a critical self-reflection of the research endeavour concludes the dissertation in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.

CHAPTER

6

THE RHETORICAL IMPRINT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this final chapter, the rhetorical imprint is derived from the converged data in Chapter 5 and elaborated by the distinctive elements revealed through the quantitative and qualitative analysis. The rhetorical imprint is synthesised based on the general characteristics of the rhetoric consisting of the lexical density, cultural influence, the role of the rhetor's ethos and intertextuality; the inferred cognitive complexity and differentiation; and the most prominent metaphorical concepts crystallised during the process of data convergence. Finally, the rhetorical imprint is synthesised and illustrated diagrammatically.

The chapter concludes with a presentation of an overall critical self-reflection of the study, which subsumes the limitations and significance of the research as well as the recommendations for future research.

6.2 THE RHETORICAL IMPRINT**6.2.1 General characteristics***6.2.1.1 Lexical density*

The STTR of the corpus was calculated at 42.15 %, indicating a reasonably diverse vocabulary with many instances of repetition. Repetition is, however, also a function of the typical predominance in corpora of functional and grammatical words such as prepositions, conjunctions, determiners and pronouns, which provide text cohesion. While repetition is viewed as a limiter of lexical density because it constrains diversity, it is also an important vehicle for cohesion and emphasis in rhetoric. The substantial sizes of the *hapax legomena* in both the struggle and post-presidential sub-corpora signify a higher preponderance of word

types in the entire corpus that occur only once, compared to the liberation and presidential sub-corpora that contain more items that are used at least twice in the entire corpus. Larger *hapax legomena* are therefore indicative of less repetition in a corpus, while smaller *hapax legomena* point towards more instances of repetition in a corpus. The struggle and post-presidential corpora have fewer instances of repetition and higher levels of diversity than the liberation and presidential corpora.

In spite of the incidence of repetition in the corpus, the value of 42.15 % is in the normal range for English users. The STTR for *The Merchant of Venice* by William Shakespeare, for instance, has been calculated at 40.93 % (Kruger, 2002: 74 – 75). While the shorter functional words predominate in the entire corpus, almost half consists of longer words, i.e. from five- to 15-letter words, indicating a fairly sophisticated vocabulary use in the rhetoric. The mean word length is approximately five characters. The *hapax legomena* of the entire corpus also contained numerous instances of sophisticated word use. Nelson Mandela's lexical density is therefore found to be comparable to the lexical density of home language users, indicating verbal proficiency which, in this case, can be attributed to his British education in the Methodist missionary tradition.

6.2.1.2 *Cultural influence*

The qualitative treatment of the data revealed the impact of Mandela's Xhosa cultural upbringing on his rhetoric in spite of his British education. The Xhosa tribe has a strong oral tradition of heroic myth, oral poetry, folktales and wisdom-lore in which Mandela was steeped since childhood and which deeply embedded itself in his individual construal system. The oral traditions of his youth were crystallised in his rhetoric every time he evoked the heroes of his ancestors, the mighty worriers of the folktales learnt at mother's knee, as illustrated in his speech at the Rivonia Trial.

In my youth in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambata, Hintsa and Makana, Squngthi and Dalasile, Moshoeshoe and Sekhukhuni, were praised as the glory of the entire African nation. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to

their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me in this case (Mandela, 1964).

By evoking his heroic ancestors, he not only draws on his own cultural heritage, but also invokes the spiritual guidance of the ancestors.

6.2.1.3 *Ethos*

Mandela is not widely regarded as a great orator, but he is a compelling rhetor, due to his ethos (Sheckels, 2001: 85 – 86). During the struggle era, he displayed a substantial level of ethos with regard to struggle supporters due to his activities in the struggle and his almost mythical status as the Black Pimpernel. Today, his ethos is beyond contestation because of his role in history, his personal sacrifice for the struggle, his reconciliatory approach to erstwhile enemies after his release from prison as well as his readiness to leave office after one presidential term.

6.2.1.4 *Intertextuality*

The qualitative analysis also revealed instances of intertextuality in Mandela's rhetoric. The rhetoric exhibited instances of intertextuality with Jawaharlal Nehru, biblical landscape and narrative, Martin Luther King, Jr., Ernest Hemingway, John Donne, Winston Churchill as well as self-referential intertextuality. One of the most famous instances of intertextuality, although the speech was not in the corpus of individual speeches for qualitative analysis, is Mandela's first State of the Nation Address on 24 May 1994 where he referenced the Afrikaans poet, Ingrid Jonker, and her poem *Die Kind wat doodgeskiet is deur Soldate by Nyanga* (The child who was shot dead by soldiers at Nyanga).

In his speech titled *No Easy Walk to Freedom* delivered on 21 September 1953 in his capacity as Transvaal President of the ANC at its regional conference, Mandela echoed the words of his hero, Jawaharlal Nehru, first Prime Minister of independent India, taken from an article titled *From Lucknow to Tripuri* (Mandela, 2010: 53; Mandela, 2006: 62; Mandela, 1965: 31; Nehru, 1942: 86 – 146). (In Mandela's collection of speeches published in 1965 in book form, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, 'Tripuri' is misquoted as 'Tripoli').

You can see that there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow (of death) again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires. Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past, they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men in business who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action. The way of preparation (for action) lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to (Africa's) freedom (Mandela, 1953).

There is no easy walk-over to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow again and again before we reach the mountain-tops of our desire. Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past; they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men who mean business and who do not waste their energy in vain talk and idle action. The way of preparation lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organization and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to India's freedom (Nehru, 1942: 131).

Martin Luther King, Jr. also alluded to the biblical landscape depicted in the words of Nehru (and Mandela). Here, the landscape that has to be traversed on the arduous journey to freedom is a biblical landscape where the valley is despair and the fulfilment of desires is represented by the mountain tops. In the iconic speech titled *I have a Dream* delivered on 28 August 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr. juxtaposed a valley as indicative of despair, while entailing the fulfilment of desires, the attainment of freedom, as a mountain. King also utilised the entailment of the mountaintop as the attainment of desires in his speech titled *I have seen the Promised Land* delivered on 3 April 1968.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair...From every mountainside, let freedom ring (King, 2005a: 152 – 153).

Because I've been to the mountaintop...I just want to do God's will. And he's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land (King, 2005b: 155).

The qualitative analysis brought to light other instances of biblical intertextuality, for example, Mandela's allusion in his opening address to the first session of CODESA on 20 December 1991 to the Genesis 25 narrative of Esau selling his birthright to Jacob:

Om hierdie geleentheid vir die lensiesop van leë, negatiewe bravado te verkwansel, is om die toekoms te ontken (To squander this opportunity for a bowl of lentil soup filled with empty, negative bravado, is to deny the future) (Mandela, 1991).

Mandela's intertextuality with Ernest Hemingway and John Donne occurred in his speech to the National Conference on AIDS on 23 October 1992. Mandela referred to Hemingway's epilogue from his novel, *For whom the Bell tolls*. While the original reads 'ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee', Mandela slightly adapts it to read as follows:

Man is not an island, he is not an entity unto himself, therefore ask not for whom the bells toll, they toll for thee (Mandela, 1992).

This passage itself is a result of intertextuality with the John Donne poem, *No Man is an Island*. Mandela's use of intertextuality in this case is therefore implicit and mediated through the work of Hemingway.

The intertextuality of Mandela's speeches with those of Winston Churchill lies in the use of the archetypal source domains, LIGHT/DARK and JOURNEY, as well as their tendency to personify political and ideological opponents as villains, while entailing organisations, concepts and ideas related to their position as heroes or victims in what is known as the Warrior Iconography (Charteris-Black, 2005: 42). In this iconography, Churchill posed Britain as a hero, with Germany as the villain, while Mandela referred to the apartheid government and white supremacy (racialism) as villains, the African people and country as victims and the ANC and ANCYL as heroes and warriors (see Section 5.3.5.2 in Chapter 5 for more detail on Mandela's use of personification).

Mandela further used self-referential intertextuality, as is illustrated in his speech at the Cape Town rally on the day of his release on 11 February 1990. He referenced his own iconic words from his speech uttered at the Rivonia Trial:

I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die (Mandela, 1964).

6.2.2 Cognitive complexity and differentiation

Based on the lexical density in the corpus and the sophistication of the metaphorical concepts as revealed through the analysis, Mandela is considered to be cognitively complex. He is therefore also considered to have a high level of cognitive differentiation and able to draw sophisticated distinctions sensitive to the context and audience. Furthermore, his rhetoric is deemed to be perspective-taking, as is best illustrated by his use of language as a means of creating common ground with an audience. The corpus revealed the use of other South African languages such as isiXhosa, isiZulu and Sesotho, depending on the area where the speech was given and who the audience was. His presidential sub-corpus includes a significant proportion of Afrikaans, indicating his commitment to reach different cultures in their own frame of reference. This shows a refined sensitivity to context.

6.2.3 The dominant metaphorical concepts

The data convergence crystallised five dominant metaphorical concepts in the corpus where each is associated with the different era corresponding to the sub-corpora, as illustrated by Figure 35 below. (Figure 35 was conceptualised in Chapter 5, Section 5.4 after the convergence of data.)

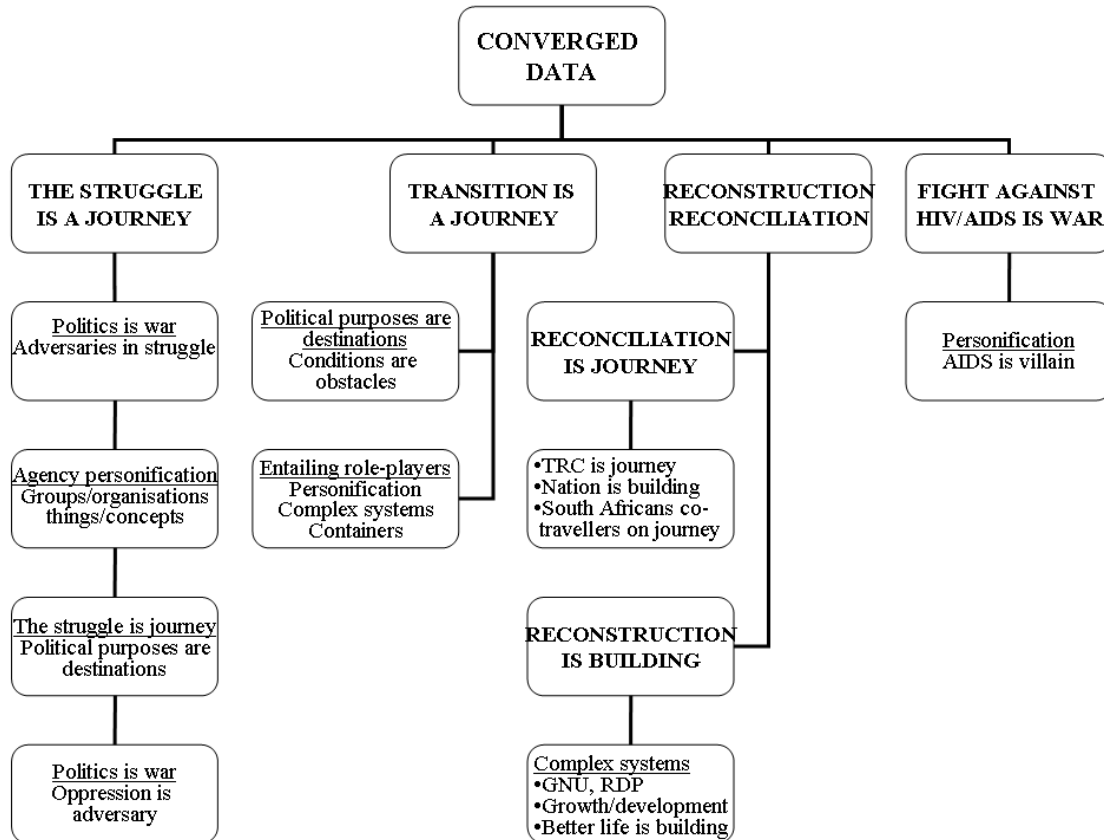


Figure 35: Converged data

The five metaphorical concepts were entailed by three source domains, namely JOURNEY, BUILDING and WAR. JOURNEY, as the source domain for three of the dominant metaphorical concepts, is considered to be the most prominent source domain used to configure the individual construal system and rhetoric. LIFE IS A JOURNEY is the associative mega-metaphorical concept that comprises an almost unlimited number of entailments associated with the source domain, including the landscape (path, roads, different kinds of landscape, conduit, detours, physical locations) and heading towards a destination (political purposes, abstract concepts, ideas, ideals, activities). The journey can be subject to delays, stops and starts and has travellers of various kinds, including vehicles, while entities can be conceptualised as co-travellers on the journey. The journey can be on foot, by vehicle, fast, slow, never-ending, difficult or short, to touch on a few entailments. Each entailment of journey-related metaphorical concepts has a myriad of subordinate entailments of its own.

WAR, derived from THE FIGHT AGAINST HIV/AIDS IS WAR, is another dominant source domain that comprises conflict, violence, battles, skirmishes and any other concept

related to violent engagement between entities. The source domain WAR is a key subordinate source domain during the struggle period, signifying an underlying interaction between the metaphorical concepts of JOURNEY and WAR. This is illustrated by the metaphorical concepts THE STRUGGLE IS A JOURNEY and POLITICS IS WAR, with particular reference to struggle politics. Mandela used both JOURNEY and WAR to entail the struggle. The mega-metaphorical concept underlying war-related metaphorical concepts is LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. In Mandela's rhetoric, opposing entities were expressed as adversaries engaged in warfare. Sometimes, the entailment was even more specific, for example, victim vs. villain; or hero vs. villain. Both heroes and villains were active participants in the war, while victims were often passive and conceptualised as having to be saved by the heroes. During the struggle era, the heroic entailments related to struggle organisations such as the ANC or *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, or ideology such as African nationalism, while the apartheid government, the apartheid ideology and white supremacy were entailed as villains. The African people in South Africa were often designated as the victims in this equation.

The source domain BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES taken from the metaphorical concept RECONSTRUCTION IS A BUILDING is derived from the mega-metaphorical concept ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES. This source domain was often used to conceptualise South Africa and the South African economy as a building in ruins that required rebuilding, while the reconciliation between the people of South Africa was expressed as the metaphorical concept THE NATION IS A BUILDING.

6.2.4 Synthesis

The prominence of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY mega-metaphorical concept followed by the mega-metaphorical concepts of LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL and ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES indicate a specific kind of journey, namely a PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY, visually represented in Figure 36.

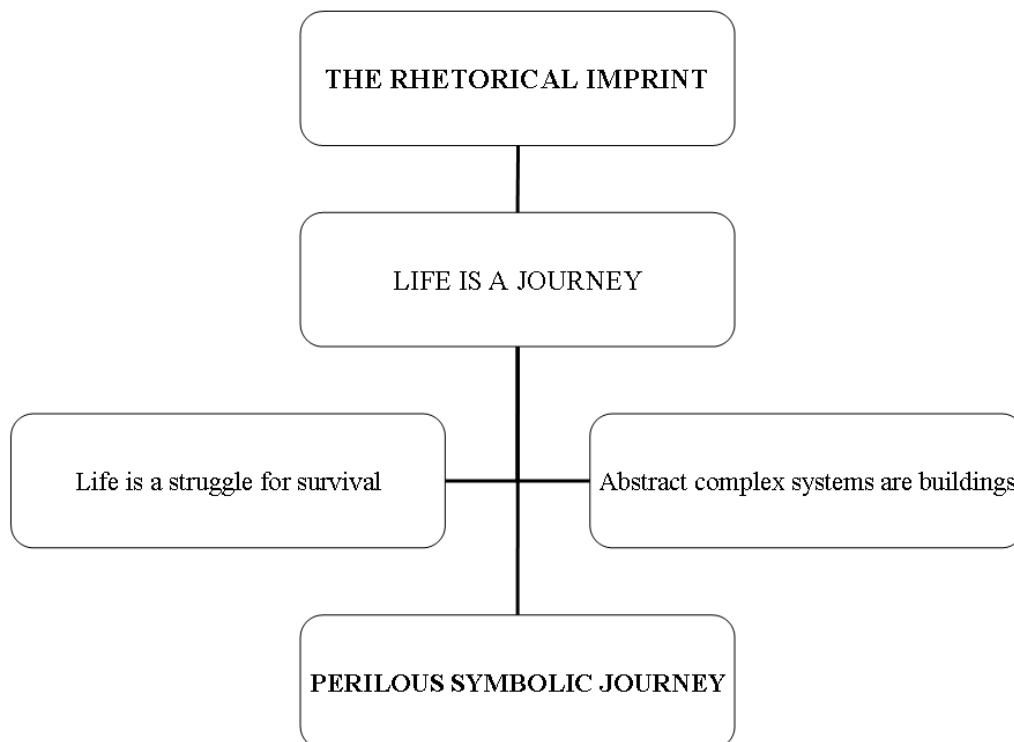


Figure 36: The rhetorical imprint

The PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY is epic and heroic and often conceptualised as a quest in mythical narrative. This journey is undertaken by a symbolic hero for a specific purpose and can be precipitated by the plight of victims. The destination is never arbitrary, but is deeply meaningful and altruistic, whether it is to save the victims from dark forces or to battle a fierce foe. The PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY is represented as the hero's path towards a destination fraught with danger, temptation, adversaries and detours. The journey can be subject to delays and stops as the hero is confronted with challenges along the way.

The mega-metaphorical concepts show a remarkable level of coherence. Both LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL are Event Structure metaphorical concepts. The ABSTRACT COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS/STRUCTURES is a Complex Metaphor, which is a sub-system of the Great Chain of Being metaphorical system, and points toward the PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY as the expression of human higher-order attributes and behaviour. Undertaking a grand quest is considered a distinctly human endeavour. The PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY is the product of meta-metaphorical interaction in the individual construal system of Nelson Mandela and,

consequently, also structures his rhetoric. Thus, his use of metaphorical concepts is not isolated but part of this PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY, which is understood to configure all aspects of existence.

Mandela's rhetoric already provided clues to his rhetorical imprint early in his political career, as is illustrated by the title of his speech as President to the Transvaal Conference of the ANC on 21 September 1953, *No Easy Walk to Freedom* and the chosen title of his 1994 autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*. The fundamental structure of the PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY is evident in the struggle for liberation, which is conceptualised as an arduous and epic journey towards the destination of freedom. In a press statement on 26 June 1961, Mandela acknowledged, 'the struggle is my life' (Mandela, 1961), which also conceptualised the struggle as part of the PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY. In his December 1951 presidential address to the ANCYL, the conceptualisation of the struggle as a PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY is evident:

Mankind as whole is today standing on the threshold of great events...for the ordinary men and women in the world – the oppressed all over the world are becoming conscious creators of their own history...the labour power of the African people is a force which when fully tapped is going to sweep the people to power in the land of their birth. True the struggle will be a bitter one. Leaders will be deported, imprisoned, and even shot. The government will terrorise the people and their leaders in an effort to halt the forward march (Mandela, 1951).

Here, the journey is expressed in archetypal terms as a quest of mankind (hero) including all oppressed people, South Africans, Africans, men and women the world over, with the challenges expected along the way clearly defined. The struggle is a 'march forward', indicating forward progression, with the destination being the liberation and empowerment of the African people. The destination is victory and reaching it is inevitable, although the path towards it may be arduous. For Mandela, there was no doubt that the struggle for liberation would succeed and, accordingly, his rhetoric is deterministic. On 12 January 1962, he addressed PAFMECA in Addis Ababa:

I should assure you that the African people of South Africa, notwithstanding fierce persecution and untold suffering, in their ever increasing courage will not

for one single moment be diverted from the historic mission of liberating their country and winning freedom, lasting peace and happiness (Mandela, 1962a).

Furthermore, the PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY is not undertaken in isolation, but adversaries are expected to be met along the way:

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices – submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice, but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future, and our freedom (Mandela, 1962a).

On 26 June 1961, while he was operating as the Black Pimpernel from the underground, Mandela issued a press statement in which he clearly conceptualised his own life as a PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY:

For my own part I have made my choice. I will not leave South Africa, nor will I surrender. Only through hardship, sacrifice, and militant action can freedom be won. The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days (Mandela, 1961).

The rhetorical imprint of the PERILOUS SYMBOLIC JOURNEY allowed Mandela to touch his audiences at a deeply emotional and spiritual level because he tapped into archetypal material. In the deterministic flavour of his rhetoric and the use of archetypal symbolism, imagery and metaphor as response to challenging times, he shows remarkable similarity to another great statesman: Winston Churchill.

6.3 CRITICAL SELF-REFLECTION

The research was explorative and followed an inductive inferential process with both the quantitative and qualitative procedures. The conceptual framework guiding the research explored the philosophical interaction of the meta-theories of constructivism, embodied reality and pragmatism, and adopted pragmatic constructivism as the specific meta-theoretical position. The conceptualisation of the particular brand of pragmatic constructivism is complex. Its intrinsic philosophical pluralism called for a pluralist

methodology, i.e. mixed methods research, which entailed the use of multiple research procedures, in this case, qualitative analysis and complementary quantitative analysis based on the same data population.

The complexity of the study and the utilisation of the particular analytic procedures of the mixed methods research design generated rich data, but also created operational problems in the implementation of the design. The use of software can become a major problem in a study if not well managed and carefully considered. Because the quantitative analysis was computer-based, functional proficiency in the software, *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*, was essential. The software, although not particularly difficult to master, still required time and effort to learn, as well as intensive simulations to decide on the settings, whether to use user-defined or default settings and to test the effects of different settings on the data.

When the study commenced, the most advanced version of the software was *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 4.0*, which was acquired and initially utilised in the research. When the new version, *Oxford Wordsmith Tools 5.0*, became available the decision had to be made whether or not to upgrade or continue with the previous version. Version 5.0 was decided upon due to compatibility problems between version 4.0 and *Microsoft Office 2007* and because version 5.0 was found to function more efficiently. The operation of version 5.0 is similar to version 4.0, although with added functionalities and a new user interface.

The computer-based analysis experienced a number of glitches where functions did not behave as expected, which required changes to the research procedure. However, the ability to manage large masses of data at high speed was impressive and proved accurate over numerous test runs throughout the study for both versions. One particular difficulty related to the relative sizes of the sub-corpora. The size of the sub-corpora vis-à-vis the reference corpus determined the scope of the data. Therefore, the larger a corpus in relation to a reference corpus, the more exclusionary the software becomes.

The presidential sub-corpus, being the largest of the sub-corpora, generated far less data than the smaller sub-corpora, although the data nevertheless proved useful, as is illustrated by the concord of keywords from the presidential era. The use of *Wordsmith Tools* was pragmatically confirmed by its usefulness for spotting patterns at the manifest level of the rhetoric and because of its cost-effectiveness. The full potential of this cost-effective

linguistic software suite for the study of communication corpora has not yet been fully explored and might open up exciting new avenues in communications and rhetorical research.

Even though the quantitative analysis was done by computer, the generated data still had to be interpreted and significant patterns identified. Managing the masses of data generated, including wordlists, keyword lists and the concordance, collocates, patterns and clusters for each keyword in all four sub-corpora, was challenging and required a prolonged immersion in the data. In the end, wading through the masses of computer-generated data proved to be more time-consuming than anticipated. In spite of this, the endeavour was valuable because the entire corpus could be analysed, which would have been manually impossible. Furthermore, the computer-based results proved consistently accurate.

The qualitative exploration of the data produced its own set of challenges. The use of the metaphorical concepts as analytic technique for unpacking the rhetoric required additional capacity building which, in addition to the capacity building required for the quantitative analysis, led to a drawn-out research process. It proved quite a challenge to ascertain the most efficient level of engagement with the data. This matter is conceptualised as the Goldilocks Principle, in other words, finding a level of analysis that is ‘just right’ and that combines sufficient depth with expediency. The initial analysis was conducted in too much depth and rendered the qualitative engagement protracted and cumbersome, although generating interesting if inconsequential data given the primary objective of the research. As the qualitative engagement progressed, the qualitative analysis became less elaborate, more efficient and attained more feasible levels of engagement in line with the primary objective of the research. Ultimately, sufficient depth was achieved in order to identify the requisite structural, ontological and orientational metaphorical concepts as well as to explore their interaction. The qualitative analysis, nonetheless, produced reams of rich data for data reduction.

The qualitative analysis revealed a remarkable level of internal consistency in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela, as data saturation was reached relatively quickly after the analysis of the speeches from the struggle period. This can be attributed to the fact that the struggle speeches were all quite long, with his iconic *I am prepared to die* speech from the Rivonia Trial exceeding 10,000 words.

Mandela's iconicity and his epic role in South African contemporary history can easily have a self-censoring effect on a researcher, where data that may be perceived as damaging to his reputation are not adequately explored. In this study, the researcher attempted to maintain a satisfactory level of neutrality towards political issues and ideology, although it proved challenging to remain aloof when confronted with historical atrocity and injustice.

The practical consequences of combining two data-rich analytic techniques, however useful, did not receive sufficient attention in the conceptualisation phase of the research process and lengthened the research process beyond the initial planning and expectations. In spite of the operational challenges experienced, the research provides an innovative approach to the study of rhetoric where both scope and depth are combined for comprehensive and holistic exploration.

The major contribution of the research is at meta-theoretical level, as the study attempted to bridge the paradigmatic divide between the human and social sciences. The research also marks a return to Aristotelian philosophy by innovatively unpacking ontology, epistemology and methodology. The study's conceptualisation of pragmatic constructivism, based on the congruence of constructivism and pragmatism, is innovative and coherent. The study further contributed to pragmatic and constructivist philosophy by exploring their consistency with embodied realism. The use of embodied realism and metaphorical concepts to elaborate on the personal constructs of the individual construal system proved an insightful mode of deconstruction and reconstruction. While the complexity of the conceptual framework and subsequent methodology may have proved challenging in application, the level of sophistication reached is, nonetheless, a major highpoint of the study.

The meta-theoretical conceptualisation formulated in this study is novel and thought-provoking and is in need of further conceptual refinement through its future application to multiple genres of human expression, not only to rhetoric. In this way, for instance, the intertextuality in the rhetoric of Nelson Mandela with other rhetors such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi may be further explored.

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LIST OF ADDENDA

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ADDENDUM A	Corpus
ADDENDUM B	Frequency word list of corpus
ADDENDUM C	<i>Hapax legomena</i> of corpus word list
ADDENDUM D	Wordlist of struggle sub-corpus
ADDENDUM E	Wordlist of liberation sub-corpus
ADDENDUM F	Wordlist of presidential sub-corpus
ADDENDUM G	Wordlist of post-presidential sub-corpus
ADDENDUM H	Combined keyword lists of four sub-corpora
ADDENDUM I	Concord of keywords in struggle sub-corpus
ADDENDUM J	Table of linked keywords in struggle sub-corpus
ADDENDUM K	Concord of keywords in liberation sub-corpus
ADDENDUM L	Table of linked keywords in liberation sub-corpus
ADDENDUM M	Concord of keywords in presidential sub-corpus
ADDENDUM N	Table of linked keywords in presidential sub-corpus
ADDENDUM O	Concord of keywords in post-presidential sub-corpus
ADDENDUM P	Table of linked keywords in post-presidential sub-corpus
ADDENDUM Q	Qualitative analysis of individual speeches

ADDENDA CD

DECLARATION

1. I hereby declare that the thesis submitted by me for the qualification of PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not been submitted for degree purposes to any other university or faculty;

2. I hereby cede copyright of the thesis to the University of the Free State.

SIGNATURE

DATE