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REMARKS ON J. H. NKETIA’S
FUNERAL DIRGES OF THE AKAN PEOPLE
Lawrence A. Boadi1

Abstract

J. H. Kwabena Nketiah’s Funeral Dirges of the Akan People (1955) is undoubtedly one of the classics among studies devoted to African oral poetry. However, it has received little comment and continues to be inaccessible to students and teachers of oral literature. The purpose of this essay is to introduce the monograph and its subject to college students and lecturers. For purposes of classification, we put the poems in the class of elegies and justify this in the first part of the essay. The second part explores some of the features of the verse form. The final part discusses the theme of life, growth and procreation in the family and the choice of imagery in expressing it.

The decision by the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences to reissue Nketia’s Funeral Dirges of the Akan People (1955) and similar rare and out-of-print publications on the arts and cultures of Ghana is one of the boldest it has taken towards fulfilling two of its objectives, namely, (i) to promote the study, extension and dissemination of knowledge of the arts and sciences; and (ii) to recognize outstanding contributions to the advancement of the arts and sciences. Nketia’s Funeral Dirges is, by any standard, the most detailed and comprehensive study of the dirge as a literary genre in oral expression in Africa to date; but although it was the first of its kind to be published in Africa it received little publicity and comment in the scholarly world of African studies for decades. For example, it is not mentioned at all by Bascom (1964) in his bibliographical survey of African literature (Finnegan, 1970, 45, fn2). This gap is all the more difficult to explain considering that Bascom’s work appeared almost a whole decade after the Funeral Dirges was published.

Even now, the book continues to remain difficult, if not impossible, to lay hands on in Africa. This is a fact that anyone who has attempted to introduce or teach a course on oral literature in our universities would attest to. One probable reason for this is that until relatively recently there

1Lawrence A. Boadi - is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Education, Winneba.
has been too little interest shown in the Ghanaian oral arts and indigenous literatures in the colleges and universities to demand subsequent reprints of the book and others in its class, although, admittedly, a number of signs of African Studies as a scholarly engagement were beginning to appear by the FIFTIES when the Dirges was published.

One of the main causes of the absence of scholarly interest in the oral arts in Africa, in the main, is incipient in nineteenth-century views and perceptions of Africa as a cultural and imaginative artistic area. Many of these persisted into the FIFTIES when the Funeral Dirges was being written. For several years after the turn of the century the idea of “oral” literature sounded bizarre and grotesque in the ears of some European and African educationists who exercised influence on the form and content of academic curricula. To such influential men and women creative literature consisted of objects which either appeared in print or whose authorship could be attributed to identifiable individuals. All other literary compositions expressed orally were artistically crude and, at best, simple, and were interesting only in so far as they were some of man’s mental creations designed to serve practical or specified social functions. Such pieces, it was held, were products of a communal psyche and had no authors. Their worth was to be judged in relation to the highly imaginative pieces of writing in European languages taught in our universities.

In spite of advances in African Studies as a scholarly sub-field in the humanities during the first quarter of the last century, oral literature continued to suffer some of the worst prejudices of Darwinist and other evolutionist theories of development. According to these perceptions, imaginative compositions which were realized orally were at primitive stages of development. These and similar ideas of the nineteenth century were, of course, speculative. Nevertheless, they were given scientific validation by the theory of evolution. Some of them persist today and continue to dog the arts and humanities in Africa in general. In a climate as neutral in support of the African arts as ours it must have taken some purposefulness on Nketia’s part to produce research work of the kind as deep and comprehensive in scope as found in the Funeral Dirges.

Since the publication of the Funeral Dirges (and, possibly, before then), Nketia has collected and published a large number of Akan texts of literary value. Some of these, notably Apaeε, Abzfodwom and Anwensem, bear Akan titles. Why the book under discussion bears an English title
may well be due to the fact that, at least in content and mood, the poems in it have a lot in common with one of the world’s earliest and better-known literary genres, elegiac poetry. From a typological point of view, the dirge belongs to a tradition of songs and poems referred to as the elegy or lament. Admittedly, this is a crass and over-generalized classification. It is, nonetheless, a useful one. Nketia himself makes a subtle but valid distinction between the dirge and the lament in Akan. We shall, for purposes of this discussion, ignore this distinction.

The word *dirge* derives from the Latin imperative form, *dirige*, of the verb *dirigere*, meaning to “lead” or “direct”. The imperative *dirige* was the first word of an antiphon in the Office of the Dead adapted form Psalm 5:8: “Lead me, O Lord, in your righteousness because of my enemies – make straight your way before me”. It changed in form in the Middle English period to *dirge*.

The word “*dirge*” in present-day English refers to a class of poems which have come to be known as the elegy or lament. The elegy is a poem or song expressing sorrow, especially for a person who is dead. It was also sometimes used to refer to any reflective or pensive poetic composition expressing the poet’s nostalgia or melancholy mood. Its denotation included certain types of love poem, especially those which expressed a mood of sentimental longing, anguish or forlornness of hope. In classical literature the elegy was simply any poem which was written in the elegiac metrical form, not necessarily restricted to subject matter. Since classical times the elegy has developed varying strands in Europe with different degrees of emphasis on metrical form and content. In English literary tradition, for example, two main strands may be isolated, represented by the pastoral elegy and the Grave Yard School. The best example of the former is Milton’s *Lycidas* and of the latter, Thomas Gray’s *An Elegy Written n a Country Church Yard*.

If one could extend the application of the word *elegy*, its most important instantiations in Africa are those songs and poems performed at funeral celebrations by professional and non-professional singers. They include Islamist songs sung by Hausa Mallams. In some traditions in Africa the singing may be accompanied by drumming, which recalls Greek times when the elegy was chanted to the accompaniment of the flute. The poems in the *Funeral Dirges* are elegiac in tone and, for classificatory purposes, are elegies, as all dirges are. The obvious link between the Akan Dirge
as represented in Nketia’s volume and other traditions of elegiac poetry is the subject matter of Death. Each of the poems was composed and sung in mourning and expresses deep sorrow, melancholy and pain for the loss of a dear one. None of them, however, expresses nostalgia, or erotic love as some elegies do in the sentimental sense, or a mood of utter hopelessness associated with some categories of amorous love typical of elegies of some European traditions.

A distinctive feature of the Akan dirge which must be stressed is the way death is viewed and, perhaps more important, the manner of expression of grief resulting from the event. Restraint and control in the selection of images are features which cannot escape notice when reading these poems. Death causes pain but it is not presented as a frightful, gloomy and ghoulish event. Indeed, the word death is rarely mentioned in the poems. They contain none of the chilling imagery and horrifying pictures of death painted, for example, by Claudio in Shakespeare’s Measure for Measure when he hears that his sister Isabella has to yield to Angelo’s sexual pleasure in order for him to be freed:

Aye to die……and go we know not where
To be in cold obstruction and rot
This sensible motion to become
A kneaded clod and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.

(3, 1, 117-125)

(All italics are mine)

These are frightening images of death expressed in physical language, clear examples of which are in italics. By contrast, consider the following lines from the Funeral Dirges of Akan (p.56)

a)  Nana Akuamo
b)  Ntene wo nsa
c)  Na yɛmfa mma wo akyirikyiri a
d)  Na yede rema wo bɛnkyee?
e) Twum Akyaaboa Sentre
f) Akuamo koobi nan firi
g) Dwaben Asamannya

a) Grand Sire Akuamoa
b) Do not stretch forth your hand
c) If they would not give it to you when far away
d) Would they give it to you when close at hand?

e) Twum Akyaaboa Sentre
f) Grandchild of Akuamo koobi hails from
g) Asamannya in Dwaben

These lines are typical in mood of the poems in this volume. They neither mention death directly nor proclaim philosophical claims or beliefs about death. Yet the situation presented by them, including the names of departed ancestors, their ancestral homes of origin and the events associated with their lives evoke in the listener the desired emotional response. They are an objective way of expressing emotions. This attitude to death reflects a view of the Akan people of the universe and their belief in an abiding bond between the two worlds of the living and of the departed ancestors. Death causes pain and grief, it is true; but it also marks a hopeful transition from one abode to another of the same family and clan members. The dirge singer may be grief-stricken, but her temporal and spiritual life does not come to grief. On the contrary, she is confident in the hope of a similar transitional journey which will soon unite her, the deceased and the ancestral spirits beyond.

As explained by Nketia in the Introduction, there is a spiritual world built on the same pattern as the world inhabited by the mourners of the deceased, and to which the deceased proceeds to join his or her spiritual ancestors. The ancestors of the invisible world continue to maintain familial ties with the upper world of the living, and the living, for their part, are anxious to maintain good kinship relations with the dead, to identify themselves with them and to be seen to rely on them for favours (page 6). This belief in the existence of a world of ancestral spirits finds expression in a variety of day-to-day activities and rituals. But it also inspires the mood, content and style of the poetry, especially the selection of vocabulary and imagery. Every line alludes to this world view. The
chants are as much in celebration of lives of ancestral kin and invisible ties as of the world of the living and deceased in transition.

II

The generally accepted criterion for defining poetic form in both literature and preliterate cultures is the presence of meter in one form or another. In poetry one looks and listens for meter and rhythmic variation. It is mainly these that give poetry its form. Meter may be described as the recurrence in verse of regular or nearly regular units of pattern which establish the rhythm of poetry. Four main types of meter have been distinguished in discussions of the subject. (1) Quantitative, in which the resulting rhythm is realized through metrical units of successive bits of alternating short and long syllables, as in Greek and Latin poetry. (2) Accentual meter, which yields rhythmic patterns in which stressed syllables count as the basic units, as in Old English verse and the “sprung” rhythm of the poetry of Hopkins. (3) Syllabic, in which the resulting rhythm is characterized by a fixed number of syllables in a line, as in French poetry and the Japanese haiku. (4) Accentual syllabic, in which the rhythm of the verse is characterized by a fixed number of stressed syllables. It is worthy of note that all these metrical systems belong to traditions in which poetry is read aloud or silently from the printed page. Secondly, the typographical line is the maximum unit containing other smaller units like the foot, the syllable and the phonological segment.

It is natural for students of literature trained in these traditions to look for indications of metrical patterns found in written literature when they approach African oral compositions like the dirge. The absence of these indications sometimes leads to frustration. Many have, as a result, concluded that oral poetry has no meter. Lestrade (1937), for example, claims that “the borderline between [prose and poetry] is extremely difficult to ascertain and define while the verse technique, in so far as verse can be separated from prose, is extremely free and “unmechanical” (see Finnegan, Ibid 75). By “unmechanical” Lestrade implies that there is absence from verses of units like the foot and regular successions of quantitative and/or accentual syllables. It is clear, however, that no-one who looks for these features in the versification of the dirges in this book will find them. It must also be stressed that the dirge has its own metrical systems if one looks for them. Without mentioning the word meter,
Nketia describes it in clear terms as follows:

Linear units may be felt to contain one or more strong beats corresponding to the beat in the musical phrase. But the distribution of beats is not always even. As far as the dirge piece goes, the order of the syllables in linear units follows no restricted patterns for the piece as a whole in the particulars mentioned below. Syllabic stress is unimportant and is not utilized in the arrangement of syllables (p.77).

The basic metrical units of the dirge are what Nketia calls linear units. These are derived largely from syntactic structures bounded by a variety of junctural and non-junctural phenomena. At the speech level they are utterance chunks and are structurally related to one another in fairly definable ways. With the exception of the guidelines given by Nketia on “linear units” employed in the composition of the verses in this book, there has been no systematic study, to date, of Akan verse structures. This is difficult to explain, considering that a large enough body of Akan linguistic analysis has been produced within the last five decades to provide a basis for studies of speech rhythm. In view of my own disagreement with some of the strictures by various scholars on the structure of oral poetry and the claim of absence of any metrical system to be found in it, I shall attempt a preliminary analysis of the Akan dirge based on my knowledge of the structure of the language. The comments below are to be taken as tentative. I assume that ordinary conversation has its own rhythmic patterns but these are not completely divorced from those of verse. Verse differs from non-verse in having an underlying metre. I assume further that the units of metre correspond to chunks larger than the foot or syllable and are categorisable into a relatively small number of abstract units. The major syntactic units which occur in the dirge are the various kinds of subordinate clause of which the commonest are the result of relativization, topicalisation and focus-marking, clefting and pseudo-clefting, and verb serialization. In addition, some phrase-types receive prominence in the dirge, especially possessive constructions headed by semantic kinship nouns and address terms. The possessive constructions appear as recursive structures with cumulative rhythmic effect.

Examination of syntactic units shows that each has a characteristic speech rhythm, and when carried over into verse these syntax-tied rhythms have a heightened effect on the ear. The abstract level of syntactic units
and the concrete phonetic level of segments and rhythm are mediated by a level of metrical structures consisting of units of measure, a term I have borrowed from Leech (1969). Every measure is marked by one strong beat and is separated from the preceding and following one by a juncture or by one of the non-inflected, semantically-empty grammatical particles including ee, oo, ε and כ. The intervening segmental material between beats is interpreted by the ear as being in some sense of equal duration. It is this perception of “equal-timeness” between beats (Leech, *Ibid*) that gives the listener a sense of rhythmic movement. The notion of isochronism is not peculiar to Akan verse. All rhythms are the products of recurrence of periodic beats; but in Akan the utterance stretches which are split into segments of equal or near-equal duration are not always the syllable. They are much larger chunks and are mapped from syntactic units. We illustrate some of these points about the verse structure with poem Number 26 in the volume.

1. *Deε odi kan se:* Manhya Aduonimpem.
2. *Deε odi mfinimfii se:* Manhya Aduonimpem, awira.
3. *Deε כ do akyire se:* Aduonimpem na כ rekorכ no.
4. *Aduonimpem כ hyεε atuo ne nsamanфο כ koεε,
5. *Kכככten Pepra ne no.*

These lines may be rendered in English as follows:

1. The one who comes first says: I did not meet Aduonimpem;
2. The one who comes in the middle says: I did not meet Aduonimpem,
3. The one who comes last says: Aduonimpem it is who is going.
4. Aduonimpem who piled up arms and fought against ghosts.
5. ככככten Pepra is he.

(Translation is mine)

The verse structure is built roughly upon syntactic structures which need not be discussed here. They include various types of subordinate clause.

The following comments on the poem will discount performance factors and assume an ideal situation in which rhythm is regulated by the underlying metrical system, which mediates it and syntactic structures.
(i) A clause whose subject is a complex noun phrase and its verb \( se \) (= say)

(ii) An embedded clausal complement governed by the verb \( se \) (= say).

(The measures in a line are marked off by a slash (“/”). The beat in each measure is bold-faced).

1. \( Deε \, zdi \, / \, kan/ \, se \)

the-one-who he-lead first say

2. \( Deε \, zdi \, mfini/mfini \, se’/ \)

the-one-who he-lead middle say

3. \( Deε \, zdi \, akyire \, se/ \)

the-one-who he lead back say

Each of these three clauses is an utterance chunk, which can be said in one breath group. Within each utterance chunk are three metrical units or measures corresponding to three beats. The end of each utterance chunk (corresponding to a half-line) is marked by a pause.

The negative declarative clauses forming the second half of each of the second two lines are repetitions with a minor variation in the second.

1. …….. \( Manhyia/ \, Adunimpei/ \)

I-did-not-meet/ Aduonimpem

2. …….. \( Manhyia/Aduonim \, pem/ \, awira/ \)

I-did-not-meet Aduonimpem, Sir

Line 1 has two beats corresponding to two measures. The second line has three beats, the final beat being separated from the preceding one by a pause and lengthened syllable contained in awira, which, in this context, is pronounced as [aː[w]i]ra. The third clause of line 3 (\( Aduonimpei/na/ \, zrekor2 \)) recalls the previous half lines with a repetition of the segment \( Aduonimpei \) and its metric patterns; but, here, the name \( Aduonimpei \) serves a different syntactic function: it is the focus head of a focus-marked
phrase. Focus-marked sentences have a special rhythmic pattern, special pitch features and segmental markers as well:

3. .......... / Aduonimpem na/rekorɔ no/

Aduonimpem it is that is going

This half line contains two measures; but here, the beat of the second measure falls unexpectedly on the personal pronoun Subject ɔ because it is in the environment of the focus-marker na in the preceding measure. Observe also that an extra syllable ɔɔ is added to the verb ko (pronounced in this context as [ku] instead of [kɔ]). This is a phonological realization of a semantically empty formative. It marks certain subordinate clauses as such, and introduces a secondary rhythmic pattern in the line.

The first four lines of the verse contain variable and constant syntactic units of different utterance-chunk sizes. Each of these contributes to the cumulative auditory impression of parallel rhythms. The next line after the triplet has the syntactic structure of a relative clause. Like the focus-marked clause with which it has a structural affinity, its final serialized verb (ko = fought) has an extra syllable e marking the clause as structurally and rhythmically different from other regular ones (see line 3).

4. Aduonimpem/a ɔ/tyɛ/atuo/ne nsamanfo)/koɛ/

Syntactically, this line is a relativized noun phrase with Aduonimpem as head and should be read with a break after the third measure. In metrical structure and rhythm, the line contrasts with lines 1-3, each of which has an internal break with the rhythmic pattern of a subordinate clause followed by a direct quote.

Line 5 differs rhythmically and in syntactic structure from all the previous lines of the poem in its firmness of tone and metrical economy. It has two measures:

5. Kɔɔten / Pepra / ne no
The final line

/Adùonimpeₜ a/ Adɔtenfoɔ ba/ne no(ɔ)/

shares a number of linguistic ingredients – syntactic, metrical and rhythmic— with previous lines. Its first measure, Adùonimpeₜ a/, recalls Adùonimpeₜ a/ of line 4 in exactly the same segmental sequence, rhythm and in syntactic and metrical structure. It also echoes the focus phrase Adùonimpeₜ na, in rhythm.

Finally, line 6 has the syntactic structure of line 5. Both are equative sentences.

It will be seen that this is a poem with a closely-knit structure in which the various parts are related to others in syntax, metre and rhythm. The poem was chosen for analysis without any preconceptions in mind, but I believe all the poems in the volume will be found to be as coherently structured as this one if units of grammar and segmental chunks larger than the foot of written verse or the syllable are postulated as bases of metrical analysis. What these brief comments on poem number 26 of Funeral Dirges leads one to conclude is that it fulfils a fundamental criterion of poetry; namely, the possession of verse structures. The claim by Lestrade that the division between prose and oral poetry is thin needs reconsidering. This caution goes for similar claims, not excepting a comment on African poetry taken from Burton by Finnegans (Ibid p.27). Burton himself is reported to have criticized it:

“Poetry, there is none….There is no metre, no rhyme,,
nothing that interests or soothes the feelings,or arrests the passions…”

It must be stressed that applications of traditional European techniques of scansion with their heavy reliance on segmentation of lines into feet of regularly alternating long and short or stressed and unstressed syllables will not lead to a discovery of order and creativity in the dirges and other forms of oral poetry in general.

The tentative approach outlined in the foregoing to rhythm, metrical structure and verse form based on the unit of measure and Nketia’s linear
unit is remotely reminiscent of the work of Millman Parry and Albert Lord. Parry, in particular, came to the conclusion after studies of Homer’s epics (originally oral) that certain phrasal expressions in his poetry (originally described as cliché and poetic stock-in-trade) belonged to a vast array of abstract formulas. He argued that several poetic formulas could be categorized under a single abstract schema. The formulas belonging to the same schema shared the same metrical patterns and bore resemblance to each other in content and linguistic expression. The formula, it must be emphasized, is not a simple repetition, but an abstract linguistic representation. If applied to the Funeral Dirges, it is an abstract conceptual schema of a segmental chunk much larger than the foot, syllable and sometimes even a line in written European poetry. In the words of one critic, it is a “rhythmical-syntactical” mould which is “filled in” with lexical items.

It is not being suggested that the metrical patterns of Akan dirges are Homeric. That would be pushing the comparison too far. I have not seen any comparative study of Homeric and Akan metrical patterns. But some of the comments by Millman Parry and Albert Lord on Homer’s verse would suggest that the different oral poetic traditions of the world share common features. Some of the verse structures of the Akan dirge can be characterized in terms of “rhythmic-syntactic moulds” marked by junctures at different levels of linguistic structure. This description is reminiscent of some of Lord’s conclusions about Homeric verse structures.

A study by Jakobson (1961) of the verse forms of traditional oral poetry of Russian has a lot to teach students of Akan oral verse structure. Some aspects of Jakobson’s detailed analysis of parallelism in traditional Russian poetry may be applicable to similar metrical and rhythmic patterns in the dirges.

III

In the rest of the paper, I shall comment on, and discuss, one of the recurrent themes of the Akan Dirges and how they are treated. The verses are sung and intoned by women soloists. Through them, the women express their feelings of pain and grief for the loss of a dear one at a public gathering. Deep personal pain on such occasions is expressed not through wailing and shrill cries but in formal language in which emotions are expressed in highly concrete vocabulary. The lexical items denote
objects of symbolic value to the clan and family to which the deceased belongs. They include names of ancestral homes, their associated springs and rivers, trees and nutritional plants as well as geographical landmarks of symbolic significance. Included in this list of concrete referents are names of historical icons known to have influenced the course of history of the clan.

The poetic function of the concrete objects denoted in the poems is to externalize the deep sorrow of the mourner. The mourner, as it were, suppresses her personal feelings of pain and loss by projecting them onto concrete objects of symbolic meaning.

The main theme of the poems is Death; but it has other related subthemes. One of these is the antithesis of Death – forces that make for life, growth, procreation and continuity of the clan. Below, I illustrate this subtheme with two poems. Attention is drawn to the use of concrete images, which are the external projections of pain and sorrow.

a) *Eno Nkramakese a ne yam abaduasa*

b) *Na zmmoa.*

Mother, the Great Okro Fruit in whose womb are secured thirty babies

The womb that never shrinks.

These two lines contain, in a compressed form, images which emphasize the theme of life and growth. The term *Eno* is used in Akan solely to address the oldest and most highly respected woman in the clan still alive. She has seen generations of clan members in her time and shared their experiences of pain and joy. She may continue to live to see more babies born into the clan. She, thus, symbolizes the link between the ancestors of old, the present generation and the generations to come. She is also the symbol of the clan’s life and permanence.

The address term, *Eno*, also underscores her capacity to procreate. The idea of fertility is here symbolized by the image of *Nkramakesee*. The word may be glossed in English as “The Great Okro Plant”. This plant is known in Akan culture for its deep-green colour and fleshy leafiness. These properties suggest strength, consistent growth and resistance to disease. The singer depicts the plant as being endowed with a womb (*yam*), the cradle of human life. Enclosed in this womb are thirty growing babies (*abaduasa*).
The Akan expression, *abaduasa*, is a fixed idiom which may be paraphrased in English as “an infinite number of children”. In traditional prayers the lead spokesperson of the group prays that the women be blessed with *abaduasa*, and the children of the *abaduasa* in turn be blessed with *abaduasa*. The intent of such a prayer is that the clan may be blessed with a multiplicity of lives.

*Eno*, who is the link between the present and the past, does not shrink (*mboa*). Neither does her womb. The verb *moa* (shrink) literally denotes physical contraction. But it also suggests a withering process and atrophy. In addition, it connotes processes of diminution, degeneracy and a diseased-state leading to death. None of these is a possibility with *Eno*. She does not shrink or die. Neither does the clan nor the family which she embodies.

The next poem emphasizes the same theme: the forces of life and regeneration. It employs different but related images.

\[a\] Me na nufo kεse a mbofra num ano, Aba.

\[b\] Me na Koroposie a

\[c\] Mbofra hyia ho, Aba.

\[d\] Me na, wo ara nyim dε

\[e\] Adankyir adwen

\[f\] Wɔdwen no yafun ba.

\[a\] My mother, the Great Breast that suckles babies, Aba.

\[b\] My mother, the Wooden Bowl that

\[c\] Children gather around, Aba.

\[d\] My mother, you yourself know that

\[e\] Thoughts resulting form being-left-behind

\[f\] It is children of a common womb that think them.

The images of the Great Breast (*Nufo kɛse*), the Great Round Wooden Food Bowl (*Koroposie*) and the Womb (*yafun*) are all facets of an overarching symbolic representation of life. Mother is the Great Breast, the basic source of life’s nutrients from which babies (*mba*) suckle (*num*). She is also the Great Round Wooden Food Bowl, the provider of food for members of the family. The symbolic function of the Bowl is to pull members of the family to itself. The mourner expresses her pain and sorrow by projecting them onto concrete objects which symbolize her
mother, who, in turn, symbolizes growth and continuity in the family.

It is not fortuitous that many of the symbols claiming attention in the poems just examined (and many others which occur elsewhere in the dirges) relate to objects that are round and oval in shape: the okro seeds, the okro husk, the Great Breast, the Great Round Wooden Bowl, the Womb, all these are round and oval objects; and they subtly suggest the shape of a growing foetus and a growing womb, or the shape of the body of a pregnant woman about to bring a new life into being.

Summary

The primary aim of this paper has been to introduce J.H.K. Nketiah’s *Funeral Dirges of the Akan People* to students of oral literature. For purposes of typological classification we have put the poems in the category of elegiac poetry to which Milton’s *Lycidas* and Gray’s *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* also belong.

The second part of the paper is an attempt at discovering the abstract metrical patterns which give the poems their organic form. We posit the measure as the minimal unit of prosody made up of chunks of linguistic material larger than the foot and syllable, and within which periodic rhythmic beats occur. We think that these metrical units relate to units at all linguistic levels including syntactic structure. The nature of the mapping relationship between metrical and linguistic units is a subject which calls for research.

We also believe that the insights of the work of scholars like Jakobson, Parry and Lord into other traditions should be useful to our study of the verse structure of the Akan Dirge.

The final section discusses one of the recurrent death-related themes; namely, forces making for life, procreation and sustenance of the clan and family. We emphasize the poetic function of concrete images which give meaning to the theme. The function of concreteness, as has been stressed, is to externalize the personal emotions of the poet-singer.
References


THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF THE BLACK “OTHER” IN PRIMITIVIST MODERNISM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MODERN DANCE AND MODERNIST LANGUAGE
Maryam Beyad and Farshad Roshnavand

Abstract

Blaming the logic-stricken culture of Western civilization for the bloodshed of World War I, the avant-garde artists of the early twentieth century set out on a quest for alternative cultures. The desire to find the redeeming life force eventually resulted in modernists’ fascination with the long subalternized African culture. However, the black Other, represented as primitive and exotic, was no more than an instrument in the hands of primitivist modernists. This paper tries to analyze modern dance and modernist language as the two major spheres in which the instrumentality of the black Other is evident in the discourse of primitivist modernism.

Keywords: Primitivism, Modernism, Instrumentality, the “Other”, World War I, Disillusionment

1. Introduction

The qualities that mark a subaltern group as deviant and in need of white control are labile (Brown, 1993: 664). In pre-twentieth century discourse of colonization and enslavement, blacks were mostly portrayed as minstrel buffoons, wicked brutes or angel-like creatures (Ellison, 1972: 26), all images that justified the sociopolitical misdeeds practiced against blacks and provided whites with “the comforting shock of unfavorable contrast to the social ‘realities’” (Redding, 1964: 66). All the same, these stereotypes were replaced, or better still, reinvented, in the modernist discourse of the early twentieth century through the image of the primitive, exotic and hedonistic black. In other words, the instrumentality of black stereotypes was not reduced to the negative representations; the positive myths about blacks also served Western self-definition (Keim, 2009: 11). According to James Snead, the mythification of the Other simply replaces history “with a surrogate ideology of [white] elevation or [Black] demotion along

1Maryam Soltan Beyad is an Assistant Professor of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the University of Tehran, Iran
Farshid Nowrouzi Roshnavand  is a PhD Student of English Literature at the University of Tehran, Iran
a scale of human value" (cited. in Yancy, 2005: 216). In effect, the exotic black became an object of fascination for white modernists who sought to unchain their consciousness from the constraints of the Victorian values of Western civilization; that is to say, black life and culture were estimated and appreciated just in terms of their utility in undermining the restrictive puritan conventions of early twentieth century (Moses, 1987: 64-66).

This paper first addresses the great impact of World War I, a watershed that gave many “the feeling of having lived in two eras, almost on two different planets” (Cowley, 1973: vii), on engendering a pervasive sense of disillusionment with Western civilization among the avant-garde intellectuals of the day, and thus their quest for alternative cultures, as a result of which the vogue of primitivist modernism gained momentum. This paper tries to demonstrate the instrumentality of the “Other” in the discourse of primitivist modernism through analyzing modern dance and modernist language in the early twentieth century.

2. World War I, Disillusionment and the Rise of Primitivist Modernism

The storm has died away, and still we are restless, uneasy, as if the storm were about to break. Almost all the affairs of men remain in a terrible uncertainty. We think of what has disappeared, and we are almost destroyed by what has been destroyed; we do not know what will be born, and we fear the future … Doubt and disorder are in us and with us. There is no thinking man, however shrewd or learned he may be, who can hope to dominate this anxiety, to escape from this impression of darkness. (Paul Valéry, cited in Spielvogel, 2009: 831)

Perceptions of war throughout history and in different civilizations have for the most part been centered on two opposite sets of images: the first speculated war as an uplifting and heroic experience; the second posited war as a site of destruction and grief. Thus, the dichotomy in the depiction of war either as an opportunity for mankind to show its nobility and/or as an occasion for human savagery to come to the fore is profoundly implanted in different cultures and civilizations (Bartov, 2000: 10). In a similar manner, the same extreme reactions were repeated before, during and after World War I. In its early stages, many Western intellectuals considered World War I to be invigorating, ennobling and purifying, and believed that it was the natural pursuit of all men and nations (Pinker,
2003: 148). The eagerness with which its outbreak was welcomed in the major competitive nations was compounded with a wave of youthful volunteerism, all-encompassing industrial mobilization, intellectual and academic propagandistic activities, and political consensus to convert war into a noble and edifying experience (Bartov, 2000: 10).

However, to use the German Expressionist George Grosz’s words, “after a few years when everything bogged down… when everything went to pieces, all that remained … were disgust and horror” (cited in Spielvogel, 2009: 832). The war cost approximately ten million lives; twenty million were crippled or severely injured, nine million children orphaned, five million women widowed, and ten million individuals dislocated from their homelands to become refugees (Heyman, 1997: 114). There were also numerous traumatically scarred soldiers of the war who were forced to live in the complex network of trenches and dugouts with its discomforting constant din of gunfire, the stench of decomposing bodies, and the ever present menace of a gas attack (Allen et al., 2003: 8).

World War I was Europe’s first industrial war and drew together the power of industry and science as never before. Between 1914 and 1918, governments appealed to their scientists and inventors for new discoveries and to their manufactures for new acts of production (Heyman, 1997: 124). World War I witnessed the application to warfare of the telephone, barbed wire, air travel, safety apparatus like the guidance and control gyroscope, and even mustard gas (Dawes, 2002: 73). Among many people, the unwholesome experiences of the war created a kind of technoskepticism which finally resulted in the belief that human beings were bloodthirsty and impetuous animals incapable of originating a sane and rational world (Spielvogel, 2009: 829). Consequently, foundational epistemological borders (like the distinction between the morally sanctioned and the morally forbidden), the dominant Spencerian-Hegelian notion of teleological evolution and the concepts of national purpose, history, identity and human will were all deemed in the post-war atmosphere as tenuous sociopolitical constructs, a widespread attitude that finally gave birth to a radical uncertainty and a crisis of confidence in Western civilization (Dawes, 2002: 131; Baker, 1987: 86).

The Great War was marked by a kind of prevalent, collective and irremediable shell-shock which affected not only soldiers but also the artists of the day, and on that account, the world of art and intellect
underwent a drastic metamorphosis. Prewar artistic trends, such as abstract painting or the interest in the absurd and the unconscious substance of the mind, which had then been the preserve of a small group of avant-garde artists and often frustrated the expectations and conventions of plebeians, became more widely diffused in the 1920s and 1930s as they seemed more fitting after the bloodcurdling experiences of war battlefields (Spielvogel, 2009: 831). As an aftermath of war, the assumed supremacy of the racist, sexist, wealthy Anglo-Saxon males collapsed and a sense of inevitable doom, of being wounded, of living in an unsafe irrational world wormed its way into the circles of avant-garde artists and intellectuals (Baker, 1987: 86). With the recognition that “the Europe of earlier centuries was broken, possibly beyond repair” (Raymond Sontag, qtd. in Heyman, 1997: 123), there appeared a tendency among artistic movements to discuss the inanity of human existence, as in Dadaism, or initiate a quest for reality beyond the material and tangible world, as in Surrealism and Symbolism (Spielvogel, 2009: 832); in other words, post-World War I writers, disaffected and disgruntled, headed for human subconsciousness and also for the primitive origins of mankind in an attempt to arrive at a cure-all for the malaise of the modern man (Baker, 1987: 86). Primitivist Modernism began to gain momentum in such an atmosphere.

2.2. Primitivist Modernism

Other regions give us back what our culture has excluded from its discourse (Michel de Certeau, cited in Sweeney, 2004: 1).

After World War I, the promises of Enlightenment human rationality and the idea of history as moving towards progress were committed to the earth with the young soldiers who had died in the trenches. One significant result of the increasing disenchantment with Western civilization was a primitivist vogue which appeared primarily among writers and artists in Europe. Maintaining that emotional and sexual freedom, believed to constitute the essence of human happiness, existed only among primitive peoples; a number of European avant-garde writers and artists of the day went for those groups who had presumably avoided the corrosive effects of civilization. South Sea Islanders, American Indians, bullfighters, culprits,
and even the insane were considered to be leading a natural life and so were attributed with a primitive identity. However, it was black Africa, the formerly notorious and frightening Dark Continent, which appeared as the typical symbol of primitive life. The primitivist modernist vogue began in Europe with the alleged discovery of “primitive” African paintings and sculptures by French artists, as a result of which many painters (such as Picasso, Derian, Matisse and Vlanick), composers (including Satie, Honneger, Milhaud and Poulenc) and writers (like Apollinaire, Cocteau, Jacob and Cendars) were inspired by primitive Negro art (Washington, 2001: 32).

The depiction of Western culture as spiritually lacking and dominated by an unproductive consumerist capitalism and the representation of modern urban life as dilapidated, unoriginal, and devoid of exuberance was a common theme in European cultural settings in the early twentieth century and especially in the years immediately following World War I (Sweeney, 2004: 1). Rejecting the repressive ambiance of their homelands and trying to break from their parochial culture, many modernist intellectuals and artists such as Guillaume Apollinaire, Filippo Marinetti, James Joyce, Gertrude Stein and Pablo Picasso underwent a self-imposed expatriation, a phenomenon that gained momentum after World War I with the morally and spiritually confounded Lost Generation moving to Paris in their search for a richer literary and artistic milieu and a more liberated way of life (Burt, 1998: 17; Cuddon, 1999: 479). To all these artists, the metropolis was the embodiment of modernity; nevertheless, living in it was an alienating experience with the sense of living in exile and of being an immigrant in an unknown foreign environment, a feeling of discomfiture which was indispensable to the development of the new formal and artistic idioms of modernism (Burt, 1998: 18). And out of such a climate grew primitivism which came along with a condition of exile, as the exile desperately casts about man’s primeval past for another spiritual abode (North, 1998: 32).

Up to that time, black culture was shown by colonialist discourse to be demonic, backwards and without any kind of cultural presence. At the turn of the century and under the influence of Freudian psychology, the concept of the violently repressed id which symbolized the natural state of humanity unaffected by civilizing forces was combined with the recurrent trope of the nineteenth century Africanist writing which
depicted primitive blacks as debased and irredeemable (Sweeney, 2004: 15). To the turn of the century writers, the Freudian id contained all the Dionysic energies repressed in order to build up a civilized facade; this signified that the primitive existed in us, and if not allowed expression, it could change into the negative impulses of annihilation (Sweeney, 2004: 28).

The trope of the malevolent primitive was best depicted in Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1902) whose barbaric wild-eyed Africans inhabited the “black and incomprehensible frenzy” of the Congo (Conrad, 2009: 42). Relating the supernatural vice with the African wilderness, the novel portrayed Africa as “a place of negations ... in comparison with which Europe's own state of spiritual grace will be manifest” (Chinua Achebe, cited in Watts, 1996: 53). Throughout the novel, Africans were dehumanized and demeaned, represented either as grotesque figures or a howling mob; they were robbed of voice, or were granted voice only to denounce themselves out of their own mouths. In fact, the novel presented Africa as a “setting and backdrop which eliminates the African as human factor” (Chinua Achebe, cited in Watts, 1996: 53). Partaking of dark romanticism and the Nietzschean philosophy (Lemke, 1998: 25), Africa was portrayed to be dark, menacing and unfathomable, a space in which one could pursue everything that was tabooed and censored by Western civilization (Fortunati and Franceschi, 2007: 662).

Though in Conradian primitivism, Africanness was placed in a completely negative oppositional relationship to Western identity and symbolized the irrational, the spontaneous and even death, the desire to leave civilization and its discontents goaded the exhausted Westerner to set out on journeys into the African jungle, the Other inhabitants of which helped him or her (Kurtz in the case of *Heart of Darkness*) to escape from the tedious, mechanical rationalism of the Western civilization (Lemke, 1998: 28). In fact, the quest for identity necessarily passed through the definition of the Other; the primitive was a kind of mirror to come to a better understanding of the Westerner’s identity, a site upon which he could project his needs and fears (Fortunati and Franceschi, 2007: 662).

However, although the ‘negative’ portrait of blacks was transformed into an apparently ‘positive’ representation in the modernist primitivism of the post-World War I era, the instrumentality of the black Other was still the cornerstone of 1920s primitivism. Here, we will address the
influence of primitivist modernism on the formation of modern dance and the mongrelization of modernist language, and will later discuss the critiques of the primitivist modernist vogue in the concluding section.

2.3. Modern Dance

To have one's dark body invaded by the white gaze and then to have that body returned as distorted is a powerful experience of violation. The experience presupposes an anti-Black lived context, a context within which whiteness gets reproduced and the white body as norm is reinscribed (Yancy, 2005: 217).

In line with the spirit of the age, modern dance was employed by the younger generation of the West as a tool in getting away from the Victorian customs of the nineteenth century societies and their stale cultural conservatism. Representing the deconstructive inclination of modern consciousness, modern dance intentionally eschewed the employment of traditional aesthetic conventions. With its visceral characteristics, modern dance deliberately emphasized the affective power of the body in order to pose a challenge to the Judaeo-Christian value system which generally marginalized and neglected the body (Burt, 1998: 5). In order to materialize the program to frustrate bourgeois expectations, modern dance moved toward the primitive dances which, according to Freudian principles, were deemed to manifest the childlike, simple, and innocent nature of the savage (Burt, 1998: 138; Kraut, 2003: 435); and so there emerged a vogue for the Negro “danse sauvage” and the black body which represented not only a reservoir of ancient history but also a layout for a prospective future (Lemke, 1998: 8; Sweeney, 2004: 5). This new consciousness reasoned that while Europeans could only dance with their minds, Negroes danced with their passionate senses and that was why European civilization was in dire need of Negroes whose blood could recultivate the “long-since dried-up land that can scarcely breathe” (Ivan Goll, cited in Lemke, 1998: 95). Overnight, the West was infatuated with Negro jazz music and dance, and out of this craze emerged the animal dances (e.g., turkey trot, fox trot, bear hug, bunny hop, etc.), Charleston and Black Bottom, which were mostly performed in down-and-out cabarets (Barros, 1999: 308).
The most notable example of the Europeans’ immense infatuation with the black female body and dance was *La Revue Nègre* at the Theatre des Champs-Elysees in 1925 which staged the primitive dance of the African-American Josephine Baker (1906-75). Up to that time, the chief presentation of the black female body as a sexual objectified commodity was that of the “Hottentot Venus” which primarily referred to an African woman known as Saartje Baartman. For ten years, this woman was put to exhibition at street fairs and dances all over France. Her physiognomy itself was regarded as a curio and intrigued many visitors who were attracted to her hair, buttocks, and breasts. When she died in 1815 at the age of twenty five in Paris, she became an object of immense scientific interest. After the performance of an autopsy, several treatises studied her physiognomy and pathologized her extended buttocks, large labia, and bulky pelvis as anatomical anomalies. Consequently, at the end of the nineteenth century most Europeans viewed black female sexuality as repulsive and degenerate (Lemke, 1998: 100-101; Burt, 1998: 63). However, with the advent of modernism and its unconventional stance, the Victorian ethos of the late nineteenth century drastically changed and this time, the black body was to serve a different function.

In the first act of *La Revue Nègre*, Josephine Baker crawled onto the stage on all fours. Then, she bent over and recited the following nonsense syllables: "Boodle am, Boodle am Boodle am now. Skoodle am, Skoodle am Skoodle am now" (cited in Lemke, 1998: 96). In the final act, called “Charleston Cabaret”, Baker was brought to the stage on the shoulders of a sturdy black man, Joe Alex. Both of them were sparsely dressed, their bodies embellished with pearls and feathers. After a while, she bent toward the back, with her head down and her feet up, and exposed her naked breasts to the audience. As Baker started her dance, a pink feather between her thighs began to move, and immediately, her steps grew wilder. These seemingly unrestrained, spontaneous, and violent movements fascinated her audience who acclaimed her “danse sauvage” with a hysterical standing ovation. Very quickly, nineteen-year-old Josephine Baker became a celebrity. The Parisian audience were enamored with this provocative young girl from St. Louis and many of them returned to see her dance five or six times. Because of the show’s remarkable success, *La Revue Nègre* went on for ten weeks at the Theatre des Champs-Elysees, and for the most part it was sold out (Lemke, 1998: 96).
During those years, when the Europeans’ aspiration to eradicate the moral concepts of the previous generation had reached its culmination, the exhibition of black female sexuality on stage was an outlet through which many spectators attempted to counteract the inherited social and religious conventions toward sexuality. Indeed, Baker’s black body was viewed as a catalyst that could stir up the exhausted European spectators from the morbid lassitude and teach them, in the words of a review published in Volonte in 1929, “the secret that would impede them from dying from the weight of civilization” (cited in Lemke, 1998: 101). In other words, Baker’s primitive dance was considered to be the messiah and the saving grace of Western civilization, and was employed as a spiritual weapon to contend any sense of lethargy and to soothe mundane worries (Lemke, 1998: 100; Burt, 1998: 51).

In sum, the popularity of Baker and her dance illustrated the instrumentality of the primitivist vogue which pandered to the Western colonialist fantasies of the exotic: with a jungle décor in the background, Josephine Baker, dressed in a skirt of bananas, crept on the floor, walked on all fours, and shook her ebony body in tempting ways before coming back to one of her favorite postures, i.e., knees bent and back extended, after which she would crisscross her eyes and smile coquettishly at the audience. Bringing herself to cater to the repressed fantasies of the Westerners and become exactly what they wanted, she placed the eruption of sexual energy at the core of her appeal and made Parisian spectators voyeurs who desired Baker's black body (Lemke, 1998: 96-97). As Crispin Sartwell put it, “the [white] oppressor seeks to constrain the oppressed [Blacks] to certain approved modes of visibility (those set out in the template of stereotype) and then gaze obsessively on the spectacle he has created” (cited in Yancy, 2005: 217).

2.4. Modernist Language

Words have been used too often; touched and turned, and left exposed to the dust of the street. The words we seek hang close to the tree (Virginia Woolf, cited in Dawes, 2002: 76).

Linguistic imitation and racial masquerade are so important to transatlantic modernism because they allow the writer to play at self-fashioning (North, 1998: 11).
In the early twentieth century, it had been tacitly established that a white man had to act black in order to become modern (Locke, cited in Gates, 1997: 4; North, 1998: 66). This concept was literally materialized by many modernist writers, especially in America, when they passed for black in different situations. This racial masquerade gradually worked its way into the sphere of language and created a vogue of racial ventriloquism. There are many accounts of white modernists’ fascination with the so-called “mesmeric” quality of black dialect. In 1923, Sherwood Anderson wrote to Jean Toomer about listening to some black longshoremen sing, and described how he craved for their voice while at the same time he was held back from talking to them by an inscrutable reluctance. Likewise, the heroine of HERmoine, Hilda Doolittle’s autobiographical novel written in 1927, sensed a similar kind of vocal magnetism in the speech of her family’s black cook. Moreover, Wallace Stevens signed himself “Sambo” while corresponding with his fiancée; T. S. Eliot signed himself “Tar Baby” when he was in London; Gertrude Stein randomly utilized “dey” and “dem”, and Ezra Pound called Eliot “de Possum” and employed what he considered to be black dialect in his letters (North, 1998: 8-9).

However, this linguistic imitation should be analyzed and interpreted in the light of the demands for linguistic standardization which had been put forward from the earliest days of printing. The call for “language loyalty” was intensified with the publication of the OED in the 1880s which stirred a fad for the criticism of linguistic faults. The belief that language was a precious thing to which one must remain faithful was a generalized application of Romantic philology, under the influence of which language became the foundation of national identity and an indication of cultural health. With the increasing urbanization and mass emigration of the industrialization era, all kinds of languages, dialects and idiolects, formerly segregated by space and social distinction, were brought together. The influx of linguistic criticism was in fact an effort to sort these competitive languages and rank them in the order of prestige, an agenda that stigmatized dialect and thus excluded dialect words from the entries of the OED. This exclusionary attitude was more forceful regarding Black English which was deemed not only aberrant and corrupt but also the source of corruption (North, 1998: 12-21).

All the same, this strict view of the inviolability of the standard language underwent a drastic change in the early twentieth century and many
researchers and intellectuals of the day, such as Franz Boas and Bronislaw Mallinowski, rejected the alleged superiority of one specific language. As already discussed, the advent of modernism was concomitant with a fascination with the black Other. Richard Huelsenbeck’s dada manifesto, The New Man (1917), described the disgruntled modernist writers as “saturated, stuffed full to the point of disgust with the experience of all outcasts, the dehumanized beings of Europe, the Africans, the Polynesians, all kinds” (cited in North, 1998: 29); in other words, Africans and Polynesians came to represent all outcasts, and so did their languages, which, in the eyes of the avant-garde writers of the day, enjoyed an extralinguistic power of expression in which syntax and semantics were avoided in favor of a direct, unmediated representation of the senses; and that was exactly what “the New Man” desired (Sweeney, 2004: 24).

To cite an example, Huelsenbeck himself was reported to have cited some of his own Negro poems at the Cabaret Voltaire. These poems were among the numerous “chants nègres” read at the Cabaret Voltaire where the pastime also included Huelsenbeck’s drumming and the exhibition of “African” masks by Marcel Janco. Dadaist poetry at that time largely hinged on what can be called “pseudo-African” languages which were composed of nonsense syllables like “umba umba”, “mee low folla”, “fango fango” and “mee too buggi”, all without any kind of signification (North, 1998: 30-31). At its extreme, Dadaist poetry even overstepped nonsense syllables and used the very letter itself, as in Huelsenbeck’s Chorus Sanctus (1916):

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aao a ei iii oii
ou ou o ou ou e ie a ai
ha dzk drr br obu br bouss bourn
ha haha hi hi hi 1 i 11 i li leiome. (cited in Sweeney, 2004: 23)
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This pattern of rebellion and defiance through racial ventriloquism was more evident in the cultural and literary scene of early twentieth century United States in which the clash between linguistic authoritarianism and American dialects was in fact a conflict between oppression and liberty (North, 1998: 26). For long, the American Academy had related immigration with linguistic decline and denounced modernists’ linguistic experimentation as another form of mongrelization which was “against virtue and decorum and… against the grammar and idiom of English
speech” (Stuart Sherman, Cited in North, 1998: 27). However, to the younger generation of writers who aimed to mix English with several other tongues and dialects in order to depict the complicated states of mind and the multi-layeredness of emotional responses (Adams, 1978: 28), the black dialect was in effect an instrument of rebellion not only against smothering linguistic authoritarianism but also against all kinds of tyranny and standardization. Put simply, the generational conflict between the older critics of the American Academy and the younger iconoclastic writers was fought over the body of the black Other (North, 1998: 27; Lemke, 1998: 11-12).

In short, dialect played an equivocal role in the 1920s. As “broken English”, dialect was the inverse without which “pure English” could not be alive; that is to say, dialect, slang and other kinds of linguistic deviations had to be kept in circulation to keep “pure English” viable. This can be observed in the case of black dialect which served as a kind of refuge for the whites and provided them with an opportunity to escape from the social tensions imposed by the standard language movement. However, at the end of the day, such an escape only confirmed and reinforced whites’ long-held categories and resulted in no great metamorphosis in the dominant view of Black English (North, 1998: 24-28).

3. Conclusion: Critiques of Primitivist Modernism

The traces of imperialism can … be detected in Western modernism, and are indeed constitutive of it (Fredric Jameson, cited in Ramazani, 2009: 96).

Primitivism repeated certain paradigms of imperial and colonial relations in specific cultural and institutional ways (Sweeney, 2004: 5).

No one can deny that many avant-garde branches of modernism such as Dadaism, Vorticism, Imagism, Cubism, Expressionism, Futurism and Surrealism attempted to perpetuate the binarisms of self/Other and civilized/primitive, and were even engaged in finding the cracks in these hierarchical binaries and in changing the mechanisms which kept the dynamics of center and periphery at work. The dialogism created by modernism’s openness to and fascination with the Other was a space in which different voices could be heard, a multivocal space that turned
out to be anti-establishmentarian, internationalist and nonhierarchical. Primitivist modernism was often a countercultural effort that denounced the silencing of colonial subjects; in fact, it worked to restore the agency and voice of the primitive Other and to create new spaces of articulation in which anti-colonialism could develop (Sweeney, 2004: 7).

Nevertheless, no major concrete improvement took place in the status of colonized blacks during and after the vogue of primitivist modernism. A close look at the sociopolitical occurrences of post-World War I France, considered the cradle of primitivist modernism, can elucidate the futility of the vogue in ameliorating blacks’ living conditions. The epidemic popularity of “l’art nègre” and “le jazz hot” in the clubs of Paris did not make trendy Parisians aware of the Pan-African Congress of 1919 in Versailles or of the establishment of the Union Inter-Coloniale in 1921. While black jazz musicians and dancers were glorified in 1920s Europe, an anti-imperial uprising in North Africa was cruelly cracked down by French and Spanish forces, Senegalese soldiers who had participated in the war for France were denied citizenship or even war pensions, and North African workers imported to France from colonies during the war were being evicted in favor of a more tractable European migrant labor force from Poland and Czechoslovakia (Sweeney, 2004: 3).

To put it concisely, the modernist fascination with the Other was not translated into the sociopolitical scene because primitivism, in the words of Lemuel A. Johnson, was “a one dimensional taste for the exotic and the picturesque” which lionized only certain aspects of black culture and identity (cited in Sweeney, 2004: 3). A similar belief was shared by bell hooks who maintained that “colonial imperialist paradigms of black identity … represent blackness one-dimensionally in ways that reinforce and sustain white supremacy” (cited in Burt, 1998: 53). Scrutinizing the colonial rhetoric of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, David Spurr, in The Rhetoric of Empire (1993), designated four major categories for the appreciation of Otherness in literature and journalism: debasement, negation, idealization and aestheticization. Broadly speaking, the first two categories are purely negative and pejorative, while the latter are based on a nostalgic longing for a return to origins and original plenitude and integrity (cited in Sweeney, 2004: 15-16). Following Spurr’s outline, one can conclude that the negrophilie vogue was in fact a shift from the blatant racism of the nineteenth century to a more paternalistic program which
represented blacks as primitive, infantile and picturesque. The erratic
tastes of urban whites in the early twentieth century ephemerally lauded
particular aspects of blackness which were previously deprecated and
scorned (James Clifford, cited in Burt, 61). Consequently, what happened
was in fact an inversion and a continuation, and not an elimination of
earlier derogatory racial stereotypes of blackness (Moses, 1987: 63-64);
and this new stereotype was so powerful that the real black presence was
battered down by its objectifying weight (Fanon, cited in Sweeney, 7).

Another factor that should be taken into consideration is that it was
not the real black subject with a visible existence in the world which was
being invoked in primitivist modernism, but a metaphorical creation
and construction. (North, 1998: Preface). This racial “Other”, then more
materially accessible through the systematic plundering of the colonization
juggernaut, was deemed to provide the potential of revitalization for a
bedraggled Western modernity. We should note that since the early
European encounter with the Americas, the West has been representing
its “Others”. However, the ideological and epistemological discourses
forming the representations of Otherness have changed over geographies,
histories and political regimes, but the West’s relationship with its Others
has always been an unbalanced act of the self reaching out, going for
the unknown, and for the most part, the unknowable Other; that is, the
figure of the racial Other was required so that against and through it the
modern subject could be retranslated and reinterpreted (Sweeney, 2004:
11-12). In other words, the modern man regarded the primitive Other as an
“alterity” that was essential in constructing and molding his own image
and consciousness (Fortunati and Franceschi, 2007: 661).

As a matter of fact, the primitivist vogue functioned as a critique of the
barrenness of Western civilization and a way of avoiding a homogenous
Western monoculture. The figure of the black Other provided a means
of reconnection with the past, while also offering a path conducive to
the future. Primitivist modernism was a response to the yearning for
historical amnesia, i.e., the desire to forget the past through an escape from
the incubus of recent human history, and simultaneously spoke to a kind
of nostalgic longing for the past and a redeeming mythological space in
which time, not disjointed by the trauma of destruction and slaughter, was
still whole. In other words, this past was always represented in a reflexive
relationship to a European present which was considered to develop and
move forward while the time of the Other stood still, and this meant that the time and the space to which the primitive Other belonged existed in an alternate constructed continuum (Sweeney, 2004: 13-22; Fortunati and Franceschi, 2007: 668). The black Other was not more than an instrument in the hands of the faddist Westerner.
References


THE PRAGMATICS OF NPP PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN PROMISES IN GHANA'S 2008 ELECTIONS
Kofi Agyekum

Abstract

The paper discusses election campaign promises under Commissives, an aspect of Speech Act Theory, and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA). It considers the importance of context and looks at the social settings that are connected with promises. It examines the semantics, pragmatics and the structure of campaign promises. The paper focuses on the top two of the seventeen aspirants of the then ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) who ran the race for the presidential slot to contest in the 2008 general elections in Ghana. The paper finds that persuasion, rhetoric and commissives are used to influence voters (party delegates).

Key Words: campaign promises, commissives, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA), Media Discourse, persuasion, rhetoric.

1.0 Introduction and Background Information: Commissives and Promises

The NPP, which ruled Ghana from 2001-2008, is an offshoot of the United Party (UP) of the Busia-Dankwa tradition that fought for independence with Kwame Nkrumah’s CPP. The NPP was formed in 1992, when Ghana returned to civilian rule after 11 years of military rule, and campaigned for the December 1992 elections. However, the NPP boycotted the parliamentary elections in protest against perceived vote rigging. The NDC thus became almost the only party in parliament, with a few independent and opposition parliamentarians from other parties.

The NPP stayed outside parliament till the 1996 elections, when it lost to the NDC. In the 2000 and 2004 elections, the NPP won both the presidential and the parliamentary elections, with J.A Kufour as the president of Ghana. The NPP had 17 aspirants vying for the presidential slot in the 2008 elections. The party lost power to the NDC in the December 2008 elections.

The two candidates whose campaign promises are the subject of this study belong to the same ideological wing of the NPP that believes in the rule of law and capitalism. The language of their speech indicates that they share a common goal of a better future where there will be jobs,
where poverty will be eradicated and where there will be development for individuals and the nation.

My interest in campaign promises was heightened by the fact that 17 aspirants of the then ruling NPP of Ghana contested for the position of flag-bearer to lead the party in the 2008 national elections. The rush for the presidency was because President J.A. Kufour was leaving office, and because of his achievements, the aspirants thought that whoever became the NPP flag-bearer could win the 2008 general elections. They embarked on many promises and used rhetoric and persuasive language in their bid to influence the party delegates.

1.1 Commissives and Promises

Commissives are speech acts in which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition of his utterance and has the intention to perform some posterior action or event (see Leech 1983: 206). Commissive verbs include promise, vow, swear, offer, volunteer, pledge, contract, bid, bet, accept and assure (see Duranti 1997: 224). A promise (one of the commissives) is a declaration or assurance made to another person. It is a linguistic display of commitment and obligation with respect to a posterior action or event, and must be separated from the fulfilment of the act since not all promises are acted upon (see Duranti 1997: 230). Salgueiro (2010: 221) asserts that “Promises constitutively generate for the speaker an obligation to keep his or her promise, without which obligation no promise is made.” A promise is an illocutionary act of a pledge that affords strong and reasonable grounds for one to confidently expect better results from the promiser (see Wardhaugh 1992:285).

A promise is a communicative event that depicts the reality, sincerity and morality of the speaker. The effect and authenticity of the promise depend upon the credibility, sincerity, trustworthiness and the track record of the promiser’s utterances or behaviour. In the view of Jamieson (1985:142), “A credible communicator can influence acceptance (persuasion), whereas a non-credible communicator can have the reverse effect, he can cause resistance to the contents of his message.” The promiser should be a credible person with a good profile, so that people can trust what he is capable of doing. It is not ideal if one is labelled as always giving
glib promises that cannot be fulfilled. Chilton (2004:32) suggests that in such promises, the intentions are decoupled from capabilities. Every promissory event has a promiser and a promisee, and what connects them is the message or mand.4 I have proposed the frame below to cater for promises.

Promiser ———> Mand (Message) ———> Promisee

In this frame, the promiser sends a mand in the form of persuasive language to the promisee who accepts or rejects it depending on the pragmatic context, contents and language and the credibility of the promiser. Salgueiro (2010: 217) also posits that “promised future action is beneficial for the receiver and/or is at least believed to be so by the promiser, the receiver, or both.” The perlocutionary effect is meant to be positive and generally beneficial to the promisee. Searle (1969) identified four major rules that govern promise-making, namely (1) the propositional content rule, (2) the preparatory rules, (3) the sincerity rule and (4) the essential rule. They are explained as follows:

- **The propositional content rule**: The promise is uttered only in the context of an utterance, which predicates some Action from the Speaker.

- **The preparatory rules**: The promise is uttered only if the Hearer would prefer the Speaker to perform an Action and the Speaker believes the Hearer would prefer this; and if it is not obvious that the Speaker will perform the Action.

- **The sincerity rule**: The promise is uttered only if the Speaker intends to perform the Action.

- **The essential rule**: The promise counts as an undertaking and an obligation to perform the Action.

A perfect combination of these rules will make promisers achieve their goals. Searle indicates that if these conditions are not met, the speech act is misfired and the felicity conditions are not met. Chilton (2004:31) summarises the conditions for the enactment of promises as follows:

(a) the utterer makes an assertion about a future event of which s/he is the agent;

(b) the utterer sincerely intends to execute the event;

(c) the utterer believes s/he is capable of executing the event;
(d) the event is not believed to be likely to happen as a matter of course;
(e) the receiver of the promise desires the event;
(f) the utterer intends to put her-/himself under an obligation to execute the event.

We see from the above that promises are not easy tasks to be performed, especially political promises whose failure can affect the politician’s future votes.

Searle emphasised the illocutionary force and proposed the term ‘fit’ that expresses the relationship between our words and the real world. Physical things, concrete behaviour, violence and abstract notions are all expressed using language. Our world is fitted to words that are also fitted to the world and there is a strong relationship between the world (reality) and the word (language). Language and the external world are thus interwoven because any description of the real world employs language and language can only function very well within the real world. The words in any language do not have independent meanings unless they are linked to certain contexts that guide their meanings and interpretations.

Mey (1993:132) states that “through the use of words I make the world fit my language and change the world in accordance with my directions as given through the use of language.” A person’s commissives operate a change in the world by creating an obligation in the speaker. Coulthard (1985:24) posits that “commissives are concerned with altering the world to match the words, but the point is to commit the speaker to acting and it necessarily involves INTENTION.” In commissives, the speakers connect the linguistic elements with the social world, and must sincerely abide by the contents in the proposition. Political persuasive language and promises are meant to influence voters in all types of elections.

We have seen that the various quotations from the scholars above tally with the notion of promise that we will see in the data from the two aspirants focused on in this paper. Their speeches and promises echo Ghanaian sociocultural mores. The literature on promises can therefore be appropriately applied to the Ghanaian political situation.
1.2. Methodology

The data for the paper were collected from (1) personal interaction with the two selected presidential aspirants (November 2007), (2) campaign messages of the aspirants that I recorded from their rally grounds, and (3) reports published in selected Ghanaian newspapers between June and November 2007, especially the promises given on the day of the party’s congress to elect a flag-bearer. I contacted the two presidential aspirants to cross-check the truthfulness of the reports published in the newspapers and they confirmed the veracity of the information. I also took photographs of the various slogans from the aspirants’ billboards; these slogans attracted the attention of the delegates and gave possible views of the candidate (Beard 2000:58). Nana Akufo Addo’s promises were captured from his 27-page brochure.

The various texts are analysed under commissives and Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) to see how promises are integrated into PDA. I wanted to find out whether the contestants’ promises were just manipulative speeches meant to influence delegates, or whether the aspirants actually meant whatever they said. The speeches reported in the newspapers are examined to ascertain those attributed to the candidates and those that were the newspapers’ opinion.

In discussing political campaigns, we will consider the microstructures (the lexical items and the grammatical structures), and the macrostructures (the themes expressed). The macrostructures focus on extra-linguistic social issues referring to what the presidential aspirants want to achieve. In terms of period, utterances made very close to an electioneering period are normally exaggerated to lambast opponents to win the favour of the audience.

2. Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) considers how discourses on politics are analysed. Political activities cannot exist without the use and manipulation of language (cf. Chilton 2004:6). Language is used to convince people to vote for politicians by incorporating some aspects of speech acts, rhetoric and persuasion. Chilton (2004:8) considers the indispensable role of language in politics and emphasises that political
parties and government agencies employ publicists ("spin doctors") of various kinds. The publicists’ roles are to control the flow of, and access to information, as well as design and monitor words and phraseologies meant to help their parties and agencies. Politicians use indirection in interacting with the masses.

PDA is based on the language and political ideology of a particular group. Ideology is made up of political or social systems of ideas, values or prescriptions of a group that can organise or legitimize their actions (see Van Djik 1998:3). In our discussion, language use is influenced by one’s philosophical, cultural, religious, social and political ideology. Political discourse aims at persuading the audience to accept the politician’s ideology, manifesto and programmes, and to identify with him/her (Jucker 1997: 121).

PDA focuses on political discourse such as presidential addresses, parliamentary proceedings, electioneering campaigns, propaganda, political advertisements, political slogans, political speeches, and political talk shows on TV and radio. It centres on texts and talks of professional politicians, such as presidents, prime ministers, members of parliament and various political figures and participants in political communicative practices and events (see Van Djik 1997:12, 14; Obeng 2002b: 83; Davies 1994).

These participants include voters, pressure groups, demonstrators, political research institutions and NGOs. Obeng (2000:341) posits that “the complete communicative context and text are important in determining whether a text or discourse qualifies as political discourse.” Any communicative event that has a direct political function within the overall political process is a political discourse. In every political discourse there is a political goal, an action to achieve that goal and a process for achieving it. The politician usually employs some speech acts in the actions and processes involved in achieving these goals.

PDA examines the identity politics of inclusion and exclusion. In the view of Reisigl (2010:251), “Political speeches are most generally speaking, interactional contributions to identity politics and accomplish the two political purposes of inclusion and exclusion.” In campaign promises the speaker uses speech to get people into his camp by using the strategy of inclusion. A speaker could however use violent verbal attacks on and mudslinging against his opponents. However, in this paper, since the contestants were from the
same party and also knew that whoever won the race must be supported by all to win the national elections, they refrained from exclusive strategies. In political campaigns, the goals of the speaker are to mobilise all potential voters, supporters and floating voters, and also snatch voters from the opponents’ camp. These goals can be achieved through the use of persuasive language (see Reisigl 2010:253).

A successful politician is an orator with political language full of varied and elaborate persuasive and rhetorical skills that can convince, manipulate and lure potential voters. These strategies are the core of political campaigns (see Duranti 2006:469). These include the use of oratory, politeness, indirection, speech acts and persuasive strategies in public speech meant to create common ground between them and their addressees so as to influence them. Politicians adopt strategies of indirection such as evasion, innuendoes, metaphors, proverbs and circumlocution in political discourse to avert Face threatening acts and avoid conflicts (Obeng 1997:64).

3. The Language and Rhetoric of Election Campaign Promises

This section concentrates on the major linguistic and rhetorical aspects of political discourse. A politician needs to organise and structure the elements of the political discourse logically in terms of the exordium (introduction), narratio and argumentatio (the body, the narration of statements of facts and argumentation); and the peroration (the conclusion). These are meant to enhance his delivery and memory, ensure appropriate style, and achieve rhetoric and the eloquent use of language (see also Reisigl 2010: 253). The style is made up of an elaborate and lengthy repertory of verbal embellishments, ornaments and literary devices. These include metaphors, allegory, irony, personification, ideophones and humour. (see Chilton 1998:689, Prentice and Payne 1994: 33).

A campaign message works effectively when there is a good delivery. In delivery, a politician can add nonverbal cues such as voice control, gestures, facial expressions, physical appearance and costume such as party paraphernalia. The politician needs good memory and psychological techniques for storage of ideas, arrangement, delivery and effective style for free flow of the message (cf. West and Turner 2000:264-268).

Political discourse differs in terms topics, syntax, lexicon and language from other kinds of discourses (see Van Djik 1997:24). Most political discourses use very formal language in government decisions
and policies, e.g., parliamentary debates, bills, legislation and laws. The most popular structures and features in political discourse are those full of speech acts and rhetoric that help the politician’s language to be more functional. They employ commissives and persuasive language that portrays positive pictures to improve the living standards of the people and convince the electorate to vote for them and not their competitors. In doing these, political speakers must support their utterances with evidence, credibility and truth to legitimise their positions and the trust people have in them (cf. Chilton 2004:23).

The main challenges facing politicians is that they must strive to create and maintain a positive value face for themselves and thereby attack the face value of their opponents. They can achieve this through proper manipulation of linguistic and political discourse strategies and the use of propaganda (see Gruber 1993, Obeng 1997: 59).

Political discourse is reflexive, hence most political discourse topics and style of rendition are very predictable; listening to politicians during electioneering campaigns, one can predict, with a high level of precision, what they will say about themselves and their opponents. Campaigners speak positively about themselves, their party’s ideologies or their government and their better policies, but they say negative things about their opponents and their policies, and how they worsened or can worsen their people’s living conditions. Political aspirants make references to the “negative present” and promise a “positive future” for the electorate if they vote for them. If they are in power, they persuade the masses to resist a change, stick to their existing allegiances, and continue with an established voting pattern. Politicians use such persuasive language to identify the problems that will accrue from voting for their opponents (see Agyekum 2004:63). For instance, in Ghana’s 2008 general elections, the then ruling party’s (NPP) slogan was yɛrekɔ yɛn anim, ‘we are moving forward’, and the NDC’s was yɛresesa mu, ‘we are changing for the better’.

Political discourse always hangs on ideological prominence. The term “argumentation fallacies” describes a situation where good policies of opponents are discredited and bad policies of the persuaders are concealed. According to Van Djik (1997:30), “each argumentative move will follow the overall principle of the Ideological Square of positive self-representation and negative other-representation.” This is a polarization phenomenon where good deeds of the speaker are described in detail and
exaggerated, while his/her bad deeds are understated and made brief. On the contrary, the bad deeds of the opponent are generalised to cover all the members of the party while his/her good deeds are personalised. (see also Obeng 2002a:7).7

Chilton and Schaffeur (1997) refer to these techniques as legitimisation and delegitimisation respectively. Chilton (2004:46) reemphasises that “The techniques used in legitimisation include arguments about voters’ wants, general ideological principles, charismatic leadership, projection, boasting about performance, and positive self-representation.” These are realised through self praise, self apology, self-explanation, self-justification and self-identification as sources of authority, reason, vision and sanity. Deligitimisation, the negative representation of the other, is usually achieved through acts of blaming, marginalising, scape-goating, excluding, attacking the moral character of some individuals or group, attacking the communicative cooperation of the other, and attacking the rationality and the sanity of the other (cf. Chilton 2004:47).

4. Media Discourse and NPP Aspirants’ Campaign Promises

The NPP aspirants engaged in media discourse on TV and on the radio. Peace FM, an Accra radio station, had a programme *Mɛyɛ ɔmampanin*, ‘I will be president’, where the 17 NPP aspirants were interviewed on their aspirations, vision, mission and achievements. This platform was meant to exhibit the aspirants’ intelligence, knowledge, credibility and objectivity to the masses.

In newspaper reports on campaign promises, there were elements of recontextualisation where certain forms and meanings were shifted for some effect to satisfy the aspirant and also the interest of the newspaper’s reporter. Van Leeuwen & Wodak (1999:96) identify (i) deletion, (ii) rearrangement, (iii) substitution and (iv) addition as the major linguistic transformational processes in recontextualising political discourse (cf. Blackledge 2005:121). For instance, in reporting the campaign message of Alan Kyeremateng in section 7.2, the newspaper reporter alternated between direct and reported speeches. This is a clear indication of deletion, substitution and rearrangement. In this transformational and recontextualisation process, the 1SG, I, is substituted with 3SG, he and hence expressions like "he stated, he added and he explained". The first paragraph of Mr. Kyeremateng’s message is in reported speech, so that we have “Mr. Kyeremateng said…….
his…” Rhetorical devices like persuasion, apologies, disclaimers, irony, hyperboles, emphatic expressions, humour and “charismatic” voicing were also employed. Recontextualised political texts are made more powerful and authoritative for positive or negative effects. Implicit items are made explicit; ambiguous expressions are made clearer and the arguments are strengthened.

5. Linguistic Analysis of the Excerpts.

The linguistic analysis will first look at the discourse strategies and then consider the pragmatics of the excerpts.

5.1 The Discourse Strategies of Campaign Promises

In campaign promises, the politicians speak as if "they are responding" and/or reacting to some challenges from other contestants (see Blackledge 2005:15). This is done through rhetorical questions, analogical expressions, emphatic and qualitative adjectives. In some instances, there are reactions to what they have heard or read from other competitors. We will see these in section 6. For example, in excerpt 1, Nana Addo posited that he was going to pursue a broad based, inclusive and sustainable developmental agenda and effective humane healthcare.

Campaign discourse employs some discourse strategies as recorded by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). These are (a) referential, (2) predicational, (3) argumentation, (4) perspectivation and (5) intensifying and mitigation strategies. Our discussion will focus on referential and intensifying and mitigation strategies since they reflect directly in the data. Let us briefly look at these and how they are employed in the campaign speeches..

Referential strategies deal with how persons, names, parties, programmes and policies are linguistically captured in political discourse. The references could be linked to linguistic, cultural, ethnic, occupational, status, religious or gender issues. Kyeremateng used these referential forms in sections 7.2. He remarked

“I believe I am the best candidate, considering my professional and educational background; I have run the most efficient, effective campaign among all the aspirants in this contest.”

The referential strategies depicted the aspirants’ qualities and the display of their worth. Van Djik (1998) refers to these as evidentiality and says they refer to information or knowledge, personal experience and observation of
political parties or politicians and these portray the speaker’s credibility. We will notice that both aspirants used these in various ways.

There are discriminatory and derogatory references where selected expressions are foregrounded on egoistic and group levels. There are positive evaluations of the pronouns I, ME, WE, US and OUR that show “in-group allegiance” against negative evaluations of YOU, HE, THEY, YOUR, THEM and THEIR that show “out-group prejudice”. These pronouns draw a clear distinction between a politician’s group and his opponent’s. The choice falls on the political discourse strategy of lexicalisation (see Obeng 2002b:84). Van Djik (1997:28) refers to this as “semantic and ideological polarization.” We often hear “OUR policies were perfect and THEIRS were bad”. Politicians normally select only the information helpful to their course and delete information hurtful to them for partisan reasons (see Obeng 2002a:9). The NPP aspirants were very careful and tried to avoid using malicious terms against their own party members and hence minimised the polarisation.

In predicational strategies, persons, animals, objects, events, actions and social phenomena are described. These entities are specified in terms of quality, quantity, space, time, etc. for evaluation by using analogical and comparative literary devices. They include metonymy, synecdoche, metaphor; personification and simile (see Beard 2000). We have examples like; (a) I come from a background where public service is considered a duty, and (b) After 30 years in frontline politics...”. These two examples fall under predicated strategy; they describe the background and give information about time.

In argumentation and perspectivation strategies, parts of an argumentation are used to represent the common sense reasoning of specific issues. Nana Akufo Addo stressed the argument and the logic for leaving office as follows: “I left office to contest and win the NPP presidential nomination.” And why should he win? The logical explanation given by him “is to serve the people of Ghana” because, as he claims, leaders are to serve. Another argument put up by Nana Akufo Addo is as follows: “If a free society cannot help the many poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.” This was to support the claim that the nation has to pursue a development agenda that is broad-based, inclusive and sustainable.
Finally, political discourse can employ intensifying and mitigation strategies. Mitigation strategies include *I think, I suppose, it seems to me that, it appears that* and *I believe that*. In section 5.1, the aspirant Nana Akufo used the expression “I believe” 17 times. Other structures include the use of questions instead of assertions and the use of mitigating adverbs such as *fairly, quite, possibly, probably* as well as hesitations and false starts. These are non-factive and non-committal strategies where speakers are not so blunt to be wholly accused of malicious utterances (see Blackledge 2005:26). We will examine these in section 6.

6. Analysis of Excerpts from the Newspaper and Campaign Brochure

In this section, we will focus on the two most popular aspirants whose campaign promises were very strong. We will look at the latest promises recorded from the *Daily Graphic* of 22nd December 2007 because they were made a day to the congress for the voting. We will underline the items that are meant for analysis and also examine the major themes of the aspirants’ campaign promises. We will also look at the emphasising and qualitative adjectives and adverbs, the pronouns, the repetitions of certain lexical items and the metaphorical language used. We will further consider the use of direct and indirect speeches as reported by the newspaper and the slogans and catchy phrases of each contestant. All the underlined expressions have been chosen to link our discussions and to illustrate the incorporation of political discourse, speech acts, structure and strategies of promise outlined in section 5 above.

In analysing the language of each contestant, we will be looking at the use of discourse markers. Discourse markers are linguistic expressions used to signal the relation of an utterance to its immediate context. Their primary function is to bring to the listener’s attention a particular kind of linkage between an upcoming utterance and the immediate discourse context (Redeker, 1990). Blakemore (2006:221) posits that, “the term Discourse markers (DM) is generally used to refer to a syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions, which are distinguished by their function in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode.” The most common ones are deixical expressions, including *personal, spatial, temporal, social, and discourse deixes*. Other discourse markers are demonstrative pronouns such as *I, you, here, now, this and that*. The rest
are connectives such as moreover, however, in addition to, nevertheless and others like so, but, and, etc. These discourse markers also mark the management of the information as well as the speaker’s attitude to the message s/he is presenting.

The discourse markers operate as indicators at the level of the discourse and mark the relationships between the units and the basic message of the ongoing discourse. They signal the participants, time, space and portions of the discourse, and even the social status of the participants. To analyse a discourse very well, we should rely on the discourse markers that show the connections between the units and also provide the textual unity of the discourse (see Blakemore 2006:222). In the campaign promises, these markers are prevalent. The connection between the discourse markers and the text brings about cohesion and facilitates understanding of the discourse. Let us start with the winner of the contest.

6. 1. Nana Akufo-Addo (1096 votes)

Let us start with a brief political profile of Nana Akufo-Addo. Nana Akufo-Addo was the New Patriotic Party (NPP) Member of Parliament for Abuakwa constituency from 1997-2008. When the NPP came to power in 2001, he was appointed the first Attorney General and Minister for Justice (2001-2003), and later the Minister for Foreign Affairs from April 2003 to July 2007. He was elected the NPP presidential candidate for both the 2008 and 2012 elections but lost to the National Democratic Congress candidates John Evans Atta Mills and John Dramani Mahama respectively. When the Supreme Court ruled against the petition by Nana Akufo-Addo on the 2012 elections, he peacefully accepted the outcome. Slogan: Yenim wo firi tete: ‘We know you from time immemorial.’

Nana Akufo-Addo pledged to do everything in his power to work to grow good governance and accelerated economic growth, stressing that “I will not let you down”. He asked for the forgiveness of anybody he might have wronged during the heat of the campaign.

Source: A brochure on Nana Akufo-Addo

I am analysing some excerpts from Nana Akufo Addo’s 27-page brochure about himself, the NPP and his aspirations as a politician. My emphasis will be on areas bordering on his campaign promises. He says:
“I left office in order to contest to win the NPP presidential nomination for the singular opportunity to serve the people of Ghana as their next leader. I come from a background where public service is considered a duty, and where privilege and good fortune demand even greater commitment to the common good. Generations of my forbearers and relations established this rich tradition of public service, of which I am proud; it gives me constant inspiration (pg.16).

I am fully aware of the responsibility the job of leadership brings. Crucial to the future is how to unleash energies to broaden the horizon, and to realise the hopes of every man, woman and child in Ghana.

After 30 years in frontline politics, the more I travel around the country canvassing for votes, the more I see the urgency for waging and winning the war against poverty. To achieve social justice for every Ghanaian, whether rural or urban dweller, the only logical step to the next level is to intensify our efforts in pursuing a development agenda that is broad-based, inclusive and sustainable. If a free society cannot help the many poor, it cannot save the few who are rich. All Ghanaians have a right and duty to engage in, and profit from the country’s economic growth.

Thankfully, the NPP has shown through our policies in education, health, youth employment, small loan schemes, etc. that we fully subscribe to the notion that government has a responsibility to provide all its citizens with skills and opportunities to create their own wealth.

There are no short-cuts for Ghana. Only hard work, creativity and a sense of enterprise can produce the accelerated economic development that will bring to all Ghanaians the basic deliverables, including an effective, humane healthcare system, access to a secure and reliable justice system and access to a quality education in Ghana that rivals any in the world.”

Nana Akufo-Addo continued with some of the things he strongly believes in as follows:

“I believe in leading by example. I believe in the cohesive richness and the manifest destiny of this great nation’s diversity. I believe in the can-do spirit of our people. I believe in Ghana. I believe in hard work and in service to the nation. I believe we can defeat mediocrity. We are peace-loving people, who are among the best people of this planet. I believe in Ghana.
I believe in the constitution and the indigenous democratic heritage of Ghana. I believe in the rule of law and justice for all, regardless of status. I believe in rewarding those who play by the rules, and giving credit to high achievers. I believe in freedom, and sense of national responsibility. I believe in competition. But, I also believe in the economic empowerment of the Ghanaian and Ghana’s economic operators as a deliberate policy of government. I believe in equal opportunity and a fair deal for everyone. I believe in caring for the vulnerable, in a society that respects everyone. I believe in the Ghanaian, as a leading citizen of an integrated, united Africa; and most of all, I believe in God” (pg.20).

Nana Akufo-Addo continued: “In my mind there are five qualities which delegates should focus on when they choose a presidential candidate and these are:

(i) Record of Active work for the party
(ii) Ability to Unite the party
(iii) Capacity to win the Presidential election
(iv) Leadership Qualities
(v) Vision.”

Nana Akufo-Addo elaborated on each of these and claimed as follows:

“I believe that if Government focuses on what it is elected to do, the Ghanaian will be free to go about his or her lawful business. We do not believe in taking power away from the people. We trust that people are capable of managing their own affairs; if only politicians will trust them to do so. The Task ahead is more than just creating jobs. It is about building a competitive economy with a competitive work force. As I see it, the task is also to get Ghana thinking...thinking out of the box...thinking big...and thinking deeply about the little things we do or don’t do that hold us back.”

He concluded that:

“I believe I have the confidence in the integrity and wisdom of the delegates to my Party’s Congress. Come 22nd December, 2007, the delegates will vote ‘one touch’ for the candidate who can win the presidential election in December 2008....I hope that the delegates in December will see the leader in me, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo. Let me end by wishing all my colleagues who are in the race with me the best of luck. Let the best man win.” (pg 25)
6.1.1 Pragmatic Analysis

The analysis under this section is of pragmatics and rhetoric based on topics like deixes, metaphor, referencing, commissives and apology. Nana Akufo Addo’s slogan *Yenim wo firi Tete*, ‘We know you from time immemorial’, is based on his loyalty to the NPP party for a long period. He uses the personal deixis *yen*, ‘we’ to refer to the members of the party. In both 1996 and 1998 he contested with President Kufour and lost; he is thus not a new fish in the sea. He buttresses this with the expressions “After 30 years in frontline politics….” The expressions, “longer period, after 30 years, the NPP, my Party’s Congress, our policies, and we”, are parts of referential discourse markers of time and social deixes that show his strong commitment and the length of affiliation with the party. The verb ‘grow’ in the expression *grow governance* is used metaphorically, derived from the growing of crops which involves care, nurturing and commitment.

He makes a contextual reference to his kinsmen (social deixis) and also uses the personal deixis (I 1SG) to refer to himself as the speaker. He says “I come from a background where public service is considered a duty and where privilege and good fortune demand even greater commitment to the common good”. This draws attention to his grandparent, J.B Danquah, the founder of the NPP tradition, and to his father who was the president of Ghana from 1969-1972. Nana Akufo-Addo used this narrative strategy and discourse markers to link the past to the present so as to win votes (see Duranti 2006:490).

Nana Akufo-Addo commits himself to the task ahead by saying that “privilege and good fortune demand even greater commitment to the common good.” The expressions, “urgency for waging and winning the war against poverty, sense of national responsibility, government has a responsibility”, are all allusions to commissives. Poverty is metaphorically conceptualised as an opponent in war; and to wage war and win, requires commitment, proper planning, preparation and strategies. One needs to weigh one’s strengths and weaknesses against one’s opponent’s. Nana Akufo sees the winning of the poverty “war” as an urgent task. War is one of the source domains for political metaphors.

He also employed an indirect expressive speech act of apology by asking for forgiveness from anybody he might have offended in the heat
of the campaign. This borders on the sincerity conditions in speech acts. As a human being, he might have offended someone through utterances or behaviour that might be unacceptable and hence the need to stabilise the social and party relations through an indirect apology (see Agyekum 2006).

Nana Akufo-Addo concentrated his promises on the use of evidentials and factive verbs. In this short piece he uses “I believe” seventeen times. Factive verbs commit the speaker to the truth of the proposition expressed in the clause (see Crystal 1991: 133). This type of repetition, called anaphora, was meant to emphasise the expression “I believe” and thus plant it firmly in the minds of the people. The repetitive use of I believe in several scenarios commits Nana Akufo-Addo to the presidency. The use of the ISG in I believe is in conformity with the felicity conditions on performative verbs in speech act theory that demands a first person singular subject, I, especially of commissives, and it directs us straight to the speaker who must account for the propositions in his utterances.

Nana Akufo-Addo’s expression I believe is used as a mitigating strategy and is a little milder than other commissives. The verb ‘believe’, used consistently, belongs to Rosaldo’s (1982) group of speech acts called “declaratives” which are acts of assertion and comment through which speakers express their beliefs, opinions and feelings.

Nana Akufo-Addo used the word “thinking” in the form of a pun to appeal to Ghanaians to bring their ideas together to develop the country in expressions like:

“the task is also to get Ghana thinking… thinking out of the box… thinking big … and thinking deeply about the little things we do or don’t do that hold us back.”

In playing with the word “thinking”, Ghana has been personified, and the scope of thinking has been exaggerated with the expressions think big and think deeply. The expression is also considered a metonym in which Ghana stands for the people.

Givon (2002:154) states that the verb “thinks” belongs to perception, cognition or utterance (PCU) verbs that indicate a mental state, event or an idea. The mental verb think is put in the form of an appeal to the Ghanaian populace. There is an ellipsis to indicate that certain expressions have been deleted and substituted with others and these are discourse
strategies mentioned in section 5. He also persuaded the delegates by acknowledging the works of the NPP on whose ticket he wanted to run by saying:

“Thankfully, the NPP has shown through our policies in education, health, youth employment, small loan schemes, etc.”

These are part of the macrostructures of PDA. Some ideological expressions and values mentioned in Nana Akufo’s message include: freedom, sense of national responsibility, competition, economic empowerment, equal opportunity and fair deal for everyone.

He describes the work of the NPP by using a referential strategy and multiple classifying and qualitative adjectives to identify the class that the concepts belong to. Examples are broad-based, inclusive and sustainable developmental agenda.

He assures them of continuing the policies of the NPP. He respectfully leaves the decision to the delegates by saying “I believe I have the confidence in the integrity and wisdom of the delegates and they will not and cannot make a mistake by not voting for me”. The use of triple negatives in a sequential manner emphasises the appositive notion of trust that he had in them that they will never fail him; and they did vote for him. There was a pronoun shift from “I” (1SG), referring to himself, to “we” (IPL), referring to the party and the tradition. He states as follows:

I believe that if government focuses on what it is elected to do, the Ghanaian will be free to go about his or her lawful business. We do not believe in taking power away from the people. We trust that people are capable of managing their own affairs.

Nana had the slogan “vote one touch” that was dubbed from the name of the telecommunication company, Ghana Telecom (now Vodafone) that claimed that its network services were very effective; and to call somebody, you need just to touch your phone set once. An analogy of this in voting was that Nana Akufo-Addo was going to win massively after the first run and there was no need for a second run, hence “one touch”.

7. 2. Alan Kyeremateng (738 votes)

Source: Daily Graphic, Dec 22, 2007, page 10 (27/12/07)
I am NPP’s Best- Alan

Mr. Alan Kyeremateng is a staunch member of the NPP. He was the first runner-up to Nana Akufo-Addo in the NPP presidential race in 2007 and also in 2010. During Kufour’s regime Kyeremateng served as the Ghanaian Ambassador to the USA and later as the Minister of Trade and Industry in 2005. Mr. Alan Kyeremateng said if elected, his presidency would focus on industrialization, particularly towards agro-industry, as well as infrastructural development with a focus on energy, water, rail, air and water transport. Mr. Kyeremateng said his agenda would work for the ordinary Ghanaian, create more jobs and put more cash into people’s pockets. The value and attraction of that development paradigm was to shift the focus of the NPP’s third term in government from the macro-economic stabilization and social development to the production sector of the economy. He said:

“The only way a new President can add value to what the Kufour government has done is to expand the economy through increased production and productivity”.

Mr Kyeremateng said he would enhance the key pillars of government and work to effectively implement the major reforms in the educational sector and the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). “This will help Ghana to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) relating to health and education,” he stated.

“I believe I am the best candidate, considering my professional and educational background, career exposure and track record, to lead this new development agenda. The combination of skill and expertise that I have acquired gives me a unique solid foundation to lead Ghana’s march to become a middle income country and usher in a period of prosperity;” he added.

“I have run the most efficient, effective campaign among all the aspirants in this contest. The success of my campaign has been based on effective strategy, robust and efficient field machinery, a good quality message that appeals to the rank and file of the party and the nation at large, as well as effective resource mobilisation and development,” he explained.
“To have developed a brand, “Jobs and income for the people”, and effectively communicated such a brand to become a household name, is in itself a remarkable achievement and a testimony to my ability to lead NPP to victory in 2008,” he added.

7.2.1 Pragmatic Analysis

We are analysing Kyeremateng’s speech as reported by the newspaper. I consulted him later and he confirmed that it was a true reflection of what he said. The reporter used both reported (indirect) and direct speech, with an interplay between 1SG, I, and 3SG, He. Examples are:

1. 1SG:

   (a) “the major thrust of my presidency would focus on industrialization with emphasis on agro-industry,”

   (b) “I believe I am the best candidate, considering my professional and educational background.”

These are referential and predicational strategies discussed in section 5. Kyeremateng seems to be answering the question “who is the best candidate among the aspirants from an unseen questioner?”

His major themes hinge on social and economic issues. These include industrialization, agro-industry and infrastructural development; energy, water, rail, air and water transport; creation of more jobs and putting more cash into people’s pockets; increased production and productivity; reforms in education and the national Health Insurance Scheme. These themes were captured by using qualitative, classifying and emphasising adjectives and adverbs to depict his credibility. His slogan on jobs and cash was:

**Slogan:**  
Jobs for the People  
Cash for the people.

On his billboards was the inscription,

- The nation builder with a Mission to Deliver Jobs & Cash to the people.

He was therefore nicknamed Alan Cash.
The noun phrases have been put together in parallel structures and they can be well interpreted using implicature. Kyeremateng meant that there were no jobs for the people and he would create jobs and thus put cash in the pockets of the people. He was making a direct analogy between jobs and cash; between the people’s emotions of desperation for lack of jobs and cash and a future state of more income with joy.

The emphasising and superlative qualitative adjectives and their collocated nouns are: (1) more jobs, (2) more cash, (3) the best candidate, (4) unique solid foundation, (5) most efficient, effective campaign, (6) increased production and productivity, (7) effective strategy, (8) robust and efficient field machinery, (9) good quality message, (10) effective resource mobilisation and (11) remarkable achievement. The emphasising and classifying adjectives were pragmatically used to convince the people to focus on him and not on the others.

He also used the following manner adverbial constructions. (1) effectively implement and (2) effectively communicated, to indicate his approach to events. The most frequent emphasising adjective and adverb is “effective/effectively” and it was used five times. The repetition of effective and effectively is meant to foreground his major theme on development. He also employed the comparative and superlative forms of qualitative adjectives like more and most, and described himself as the best candidate with the most effective campaign. These expressions are discourse markers that indicate the attitude of the speaker towards the content of his message.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed how two top NPP aspirants incorporated rhetorical devices of indirection and commissives into political discourse to articulate their campaign promises. We have looked at the interface between language and politics. We have noted that political intentions can best be realized through the proper use of persuasive language and strategies in Political Discourse Analysis that are meant to influence the audience. We treated campaign promises under commissives and PDA. In the aspirants’ texts, they promise and commit themselves to a posterior event, namely voting by the party’s delegates. We paid attention to the lexicon, syntax, semantics, and literary devices used in the campaign messages.
We have analysed their campaign promises by looking at the major themes of each aspirant. We realised that each aspirant expressed some sense of high confidence and commitment and claimed to be a better candidate than the others. We noted that promises are aspects of commissives that bind speakers to better posterior actions, events and results. Each aspirant said he was highly committed to the party, to the nation and to the masses, and this was expressed by the use of commissives and discourse strategies. These strategies are reflected in the constant use of qualitative, emphasising and classifying adjectives, intensified adverbs, nouns and mitigating persuasive expressions.

We have seen that both aspirants used positive self-impression and representation of themselves in an effort to positively appeal to the emotions of the electorate (see Chilton 2004 chapter 4). The major difference between the polarisation of these aspirants and what we meet in other political discourse is that the contest was among members of the same party. The aspirants therefore chose the right political discourse strategies to avoid being offensive to one another. They knew that all of them were going to rally behind the winner to contest against the other parties and any mudslinging would affect them negatively. That is why negative strategies like innuendo, invectives and name-calling were avoided. Both resorted to persuasion and performative verbs and hammered on what they could do best to convince delegates for their votes. Each aspirant had catchy slogans that were easy to memorise and were used frequently. These slogans became household names and thus contributed to the political popularity of the aspirants.

This paper has revealed that research in pragmatics and discourse can be carried out using both primary and secondary sources. We have seen that the context and social settings are very crucial and connected with campaign promises. To understand politicians, their behaviour and speech very well, we should be well informed about the context of their discourse.
References


Endnotes

1Nkumah’s government was toppled by the 1966 military coup and that ended the first republic. The United Party (UP) was later named the Progress Party. It won the 1979 election and Dr K. A. Busia became the Prime Minister of Ghana from 1969-1972. His government was toppled by the military government of General Kutu Acheampong. In 1979, when the ban on political parties was lifted for the return to a civilian regime, the Dankwa-Busia tradition formed the Popular Front Party (PFP) but lost narrowly to the People’s National Party (PNP), an offshoot of the CPP. The Dankwa–Busia tradition sat on the fence from 1981 till 1992 when the country returned to civilian rule and they formed the New Patriotic Party (NPP) that campaigned for the December 1992 elections. They however won the 2000 and 2004 elections, and ruled the country from 2001-2008.

2 The National Democratic Congress (NDC) was formed in 1992 as an offshoot of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) military regime. The PNDC overthrew the People’s National Party (PNP, an Nkrumaist party) that ruled Ghana from 1979 to 1981. The PNDC regime under Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings ruled Ghana from 1981-1992. When the ban on political parties was lifted, the PNDC metamorphosed into the National Democratic Congress (NDC). The NDC won both the 1992 and 1996 elections with J.J Rawlings as the president of Ghana. It lost the 2000 and 2004 elections to the NPP and regained power in the 2008 elections.

3 The NPP is a capitalist party that believes in privatisation, the rule of law and democracy. The NPP has its stronghold in the Akan areas, namely the Ashanti, Eastern, Brong Ahafo, Western and Central Regions. It is less popular in the Volta, Northern, Upper-East and Upper West Regions of Ghana, which are the stronghold of the NDC.

4 The promiser is the one that promises and the promisee is the recipient of the promise.

5 Blommaert (1997:3) posits that “Language ideologies or ideologies of language are shared perceptions of what a language is, what it is made
up of, what purpose it serves, and how it should be used.” The ideology, policies and the direction of a particular presidential aspirant are realised through the frequent use of particular ideological terms like “freedom’, “peace”, “democracy”, “corruption” “indiscipline” and” economy”.

6 Political language refers to the terminology, slogans, rhetorics and discourse of political activities of politicians and their supporters (see Davies 1994:3212).

7 In the 2008 elections, the opposition NDC described the NPP as a cocaine and narcotics party just because an NPP parliamentary candidate called Eric Amoateng had been arrested in the US for cocaine trafficking.

8 These are portrayed in generic terms in which, for example, the positive value of an individual is attributed to all the members of the group whilst the vices of an individual from the other side are used to denigrate all the members of that group.
EXPLORING THE MINDSETS OF ESP STUDENTS IN THE LIGHT OF LOCUS OF CONTROL

Behzad Ghonsooly and Seyyed Ehsan Golparvar¹

Abstract

People act according to their beliefs and conceptions. Being aware of these conceptualizations can help us make sound educational decisions. Metaphor analysis is one of the ways in which we can uncover individuals' hidden beliefs. This study aims at investigating the metaphors for language teachers and learners used by students of humanities and students of engineering and the sciences. It attempts to account for the variation in choice of metaphors in terms of variation in locus of control (LOC). One hundred and forty four university students who were taking their ESP courses participated in this study. The metaphors were classified based on the taxonomy developed by the scholars in the field. The results showed that there is a marked difference between the choice of metaphors by the two groups of students and that LOC can explain this difference. The pedagogical implications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords: beliefs, humanities, non-humanities, metaphor analysis, locus of control, internalizers, externalizers

Introduction

People's thoughts and actions are based on the way they conceptualize the world. These beliefs and conceptualizations have been formed throughout their lives and are under the influence of numerous factors (Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). Those who embark on the burdensome task of learning a foreign language develop their own beliefs and ideas about the language they learn, the process of language learning and teaching, and the learning environment. Unfortunately, language learners are not fully aware of all of their beliefs and ideas about language learning. Finding out these hidden conceptualizations is by no means easy. If language teachers and learners become cognizant of their beliefs about the process of language learning and teaching and their role in

¹Behzad Ghonsooly is a professor at Ferdowsi University of Mashhad
Seyyed Ehsan Golparvar is a PhD student at the University of Tehran
this process, a good deal of the problems they face in learning a foreign language will be overcome.

Identifying these hidden conceptualizations is far from easy. One of the ways to isolate language learners' and teachers' latent beliefs is to analyze the metaphors they use with regard to language learning and teaching. Abrams (2005) defined metaphor as using a word or expression which denotes one kind of thing in the literal usage to refer to a totally different kind of thing. We can analyze the metaphors used by learners and teachers to understand their hidden beliefs and ideas about learning and teaching, recognize unhelpful metaphors and suggest more constructive ones.

The study of individual differences has been a featured research area in second/foreign language learning studies. Individual characteristics of language learners affect both the way they learn a second language and the outcome of this process (Williams, & Burden, 1997). There is a considerable variation among language learners in terms of their ultimate achievement in learning a second language (Dornyei, 2005). One of these individual differences, which is cognitive by nature, is locus of control (LOC). During the past two decades the construct of locus of control has received great attention. According to Jarvis (2005), LOC refers to a person's beliefs about control over what happens to him or her. This concept has been widely researched in the area of psychology (Basgall & Snyder, 1988, Phares, 1979, Anderman & Mindgly, 1997, and Carden, Bryant, & Moss, 2004). There is also a large body of literature regarding the relationship between LOC and academic achievement (Galjes & D'Silva, 1981, Gifford, Mianzo, & Briceno-Perriott, 2006, Wood, Saylor & Cohen, 2009, and Hadsell, 2009). Nonetheless, LOC has not been widely explored in the EFL context of Iran, although Ghonsooly and Elahi (2010) have investigated its association with General English achievement and Hosseini and Elahi (2010) have examined the relationship between LOC and L2 reading achievement and the use of language learning strategies.

At Iranian universities, English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses are held for students majoring in different fields. These university students may have negative or unhelpful metaphors for language learning and teaching that reflect their negative attitudes toward these issues. Their negative ideas about language learning can have a negative impact on their performance in their ESP courses. By means of metaphor analysis
we can find out these students' hidden beliefs regarding language learning, teach them to put aside their negative metaphors, and encourage positive metaphors. This study aims at investigating what metaphors students of humanities (history and sociology) and students of non-humanities (civil engineering and chemistry) use for language learner and language teacher. In addition, this research attempts to find out whether these two groups of university students are different in terms of LOC, and if so, to explain the variation in the choice of metaphors by the two groups of students in the light of variation in their LOC.

Another justification for this research is that it investigates ID variables in the world of ESP. Most of the research projects in this area have focused on discourse analysis, rhetorical structures and generally, linguistic analysis. Affective factors and individual differences have hardly been investigated in this domain. This research aims at examining ESP learners’ mindsets and their control orientations.

**Literature Review**

Hutchinson and Waters (1987) have asserted that in the area of ESP, factors involved in learning have been ignored. The emphasis in ESP research and materials has been on the analysis of language. Learning factors, if studied at all, are investigated only after a thorough analysis of language. It should be noted that the key to a proper understanding of language is delving into human thought processes. In other words, “language learning is conditioned by the way in which the mind observes, organizes, and stores information” (Hutchinson, & Waters, 1987, p. 39). Successful language learning and teaching calls for a full exploration of the mind and its processes.

Human beings have thoughts, but they also have feelings. They have fears, prejudices, foils, likes and dislikes. Human beings are not machines. Even ESP learners are human beings and learn like them, though some of them may study systems and machines. The association between cognitive and affective factors is of crucial importance in order to achieve optimum success in language learning in general and in ESP practices in particular. For example, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) hold that the concept of motivation as an affective factor should not be underestimated in the ESP world. It is not enough to assume that ESP learners are sufficiently motivated just because the language material
is related to their experience. Sometimes a degree of creativity, fun and a sense of accomplishment must be added to ESP courses in order to increase ESP learners’ motivation (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987).

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), many people consider metaphor as a poetic device which is solely a feature of language. However, metaphor is prevalent in everyday life, not only in our language, but also in our thoughts and actions. Our ordinary thoughts and actions are based on a system of concepts which is basically metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Nevertheless, we are not aware of our conceptual system. For most of the things we do every day, "we simply think and act more or less automatically" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). Martinez, Sauleda and Huber (2001) have emphasized that metaphors should not be regarded just as figures of speech. They are an important mechanism of human mind. Huang and Ariogul (2006) contend that metaphors are more than a linguistic feature, they are "a thinking process and a phenomenon" (p. 226).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have defined metaphor as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (p. 5). Comparing ARGUMENT to WAR is a conceptual metaphor. This metaphor has influenced the way we perceive and perform argument. Cognitive linguistics indicates that people understand and talk about abstract concepts, such as morality, feelings, politics, and the self, under the influence of conceptual metaphor (Gibbs, & Cameron, 1994, cited in Pishghadam, 2010). Huang and Ariogul (2006) have mentioned that "human beings (and so teachers) understand their lives, store information, and report their lives in terms of stories, images, and metaphors" (p. 226).

Kovesces (2002) places metaphors into two groups: conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors. A conceptual metaphor has two conceptual domains "in which one domain is understood in terms of another" (p. 4). For example, we think about theories in terms of buildings. The metaphorical linguistic expressions express conceptual metaphor in terms of words or other linguistic devices. ARGUMENT IS WAR is an abstract concept belonging to the first group, whereas I won the argument is the linguistic manifestation of this concept which belongs to the second group (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Gaining insight into how metaphor is used by human beings may help us find out "how people think, how they make sense of the world and each
other, and how they communicate" (Cameron, 2003, p. 2). Despite Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) observation that our thoughts and actions are based on a metaphorical system of concepts, we are not aware of our conceptual system. We can use language to identify our conceptual system because linguistic communication is on the same system of concepts. Martinez, Sauleda, and Huber (2001) observe that metaphors have a great effect on analysis and planning in education. We can uncover hidden beliefs and attitudes of teachers and learners, encourage them to think about these beliefs and attitudes, and bring about changes in them by means of metaphor analysis (Cameron, 2003). Sumson has also asserted that metaphors can offer revealing insights into the changes in teachers' and learners' thoughts over time (cited in McGrath, 2006). An important function of metaphor that differentiates it from other forms of research is that it can inform us about the beliefs and attitudes of participants without using direct questioning. Since beliefs and ideas are usually latent, metaphor is a useful device to make them explicit and to offer opportunities for reflection, analysis and modification of these beliefs (Pishghadam, Askarzadeh, & Navari, 2009). Moser (2000) has mentioned that metaphors are dependable and useful ways to operationalize implicit knowledge because they are its linguistic manifestation (cited in Pishghadam, Askarzadeh, & Navari, 2009). Cameron and Low (1999) note that metaphor analysis involves gathering instances of linguistic metaphors, identifying the conceptual metaphors they represent, and then isolating thought patterns underlying our beliefs and actions (cited in Pishghadam, Askarzadeh, & Navari, 2009). Ellis (2008) has explained that a common approach to learner beliefs is to use questionnaires or interviews; however, there are two problems with this self-report approach. The first problem is that students may not provide an accurate report of their beliefs; they may mention what they think the researcher likes to hear. The second problem with this approach is that learners are not fully aware of their beliefs. To solve these problems we can analyze the metaphors learners associate with learning (Ellis, 2008).

The beliefs and attitudes about language learning and teaching that teachers and learners have in their minds have a great influence on the way they teach and learn (Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). Ellis (2002) has pointed out that learners' attitudes regarding language learning can include the language they wish to learn, the most appropriate and efficient way for acquiring it, the importance attached to that language in their
particular culture, and how much they expect to succeed in learning it. So, the attitudes of language learners towards the language and the experience of learning it have a great effect on the strategies they employ, the ability they show in learning the language, their interaction with their teacher and peers, the way they participate in classroom activities, and their level of achievement (cited in Pishghadam, & Navari, 2010).

Horwitz (1987) posits five types of learner beliefs: (1) beliefs regarding the difficulty of language learning; (2) "aptitude for language learning"; (3) learning and communication strategies"; (4) "the nature of language learning"; and (5) "motivation and expectation" (cited in Ellis, 2008, p. 9). Benson and Lor (1999) drew a distinction between conceptions and beliefs. Conceptions reflect what learners think are the aims and processes of learning while beliefs are what the learners assume to be true about the aims and processes of learning (cited in Ellis, 2008). Little, Singleton and Silvius (1984) are of the view that past experiences of general education and particularly of language learning have a salient role in forming beliefs about language learning (cited in Ellis, 2008). It is possible that learner beliefs are under the influence of cognitive style and personality traits. Learner beliefs are "situation specific and dynamic" (Ellis, 2008, p. 11).

Dornyei (2001) asserts that we develop a value-system which is made up of beliefs, attitudes and feelings concerning the world and our place in it. Our upbringing and previous experiences shape our value-system, which in turn has a great influence on our tendencies and approaches. Mercer and Steghen (2009) have defined mindsets as "some of the basic assumptions individuals make about various human attributes such as intelligence or personality" (p. 437). Some people consider these mindsets as static, that is, as fundamental traits that cannot be changed. Others believe that individuals can change their basic traits. Mercer and Steghen (2009) have concluded that learners' mindsets exert a great influence on 'learners' approach to language learning, their goals, and ultimately their success and level of attainment" (pp. 443-444).

Some of the learners' beliefs concern the way they perceive themselves as language learners. These beliefs are deeply rooted in their past experiences in learning, particularly in language learning (Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). Williams and Burden (1997) suggest that learners' self-concept exerts a great influence on their language learning. A student who has a low opinion of himself or herself has a negative self-concept.
Therefore such a student may be partially embarrassed in the classroom and may not have the risk-taking ability needed to participate in classroom activities. Conversely, a learner who has a positive self-concept is more optimistic, more active in the classroom, and runs more risks because he or she has more motivation than others.

Martinesz, Sauleda, and Huber (2001) have categorized metaphors for learning based on three perspectives of learning: the behaviorist, cognitive and situative perspectives. Behaviorism considers learning as a process of habit formation; as the result of creating new connections between stimulus and response. Based on this view, neither the individual nor the collaboration between individuals is of much importance. From the cognitive perspective, learning is the process of creating new schemata. Here the mind is considered "problem-oriented and interpretive" (p. 967). According to the situative or socio-historic point of view about learning, knowledge and artifacts such as computers and books, as well as the media are distributed among people in a community when individuals participate in the activities of their community.

Leavy, McSorely, and Bote (2007) explain that metaphors related to behaviorism "reflect learners as passive recipients, teachers as transmitters of knowledge, and learning as a process of individual growth by the acquisition of knowledge in the form of new associations". Metaphors reflecting the cognitive perspective of learning regard knowledge as interconnected schemata which are actively or individually constructed by transferring old schemata into new ones or by inductively developing new schemata from a series of different experiences. Finally, metaphors related to the situative perspective of learning reflect the view that learning is situated in the context in which it is constructed.

Pishghadam and Navari (2010) observe that while there is a large body of research on language teachers' beliefs about their teaching, the number of research projects on learners' conceptions is rare. Their review is not exhaustive, but they cite some of the studies dealing with language learners' metaphors about language teaching and learning. Oxford (2001) investigated some of the narratives written by language learners to pinpoint the metaphors they used for three approaches to teaching (cited in Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). Oxford et al. (1998) collected learners’ metaphors for the concept of teacher (cited in Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). Ellis (2002) investigated the diaries of some beginner learners of L2 to
determine their metaphors for themselves, their teacher, and the language they wish to learn. Pishghadam and Navari (2010) examined the metaphors used by language learners in Iranian high schools and language institutes. In order to do this they compared the metaphors utilized by language learners in some high schools and language institutes in Mashhad, Iran. The results showed a remarkable difference between the two groups of learners in terms of metaphors they used regarding language learners and teachers. In fact, language institute learners were superior to high school learners in terms of their conception of English education. Kezen (2010) explored Turkish FEL learner' metaphors for course books. The findings of the study indicated that "for most of the learners, language course books are perceived as a planet, foreign country, secret garden, and space, which indicates uncertainty and enigma experienced by the learners" (Kezen, 2010, p. 108).

Method

1. Participants

The participants of this study were two groups of undergraduate students. The first group comprised 72 students of the humanities who were studying history (37 students) and sociology (35 students). The second group consisted of 72 students of the sciences who were studying chemistry (42 students) and civil engineering (50 students). All 144 students are enrolled at Ferdowsi University of Mashhad. The participants are both male and female. All the students are native speakers of Persian. The sample may thus be considered representative of Iranian EFL students of the same age.

2. Instrument

The Persian version of the Internal Control Index (Ghonsooly & Elahi, 2010) was used to measure the participants' locus of control. In addition, a checklist of metaphors developed by Pishghadam and Navari (2010) was used to gather information about participants' choice of metaphors.
2. 1. Internal Control Index

The Persian version of the *Internal Control Index* (Ghonsooly & Elahi, 2010) was used in this study to measure the participants' locus of control. The English version of the *Internal Control Index* (Duttewieler, 1984) was developed to measure where a person expects to gain reinforcement. This scale has 28 five-point Likert-type items that produce a possible range of scores from 28 to 140. Higher scores represent internal LOC and lower scores represent external LOC. Ghonsooly and Elahi (2010) calculated Cronbach's alpha to check the reliability of the translated questionnaire. The result was a coefficient of 0.83. In order to ensure the construct validity of the instrument, they used a principle component analysis which yielded eight factors with eight values greater than 1. The factors include the need to be encouraged, reliance on one's attitude, interest in administrative jobs, effort to reach desirable goals, undecidedness, the need to consult in making decisions, being responsible for desirable events, and self-expression (Hosseini & Elahi, 2010).

2.2 Checklist of Metaphors

It consists of two parts. The first part asks participants to give their opinions regarding a language teacher in both current and ideal situations. This part includes 27 metaphors. These metaphors fall into 3 categories representing three important paradigms in psychology: behaviorism, cognitivism and situative learning. There are 27 metaphors for teachers: 8 behaviouristic metaphors, 7 cognitivist metaphors, and 12 others reflecting situative learning. The second part of the checklist asks participants to give their opinion about a language learner. In this part there are 18 metaphors: 9 behaviouristic metaphors, 6 cognitive metaphors, and 4 others for situative learning. This checklist was translated by the second researcher. In order to validate the translated checklist, two separate copies of the checklist were presented to two professors of translation at Ferdwois University of Mashhad.

3. Data collection and Analysis

After seeking permission from the instructors, the researchers visited the classes in order to administer the questionnaire and the checklist.
The students were assured that the results would remain confidential and that their instructors would not see the results of the questionnaires and the checklists. They were administered in one session under standard conditions. The directions were Persian; however, the second researcher explained them once more to the participants so that they would have a clear understanding of what they were supposed to do. The guidelines for scoring the *Internal Control Index* are available in Hosseini and Elahi (2010). The metaphors were randomly used in the checklist. After categorizing metaphors on the basis of the perspectives suggested by Martinez, Sauleda and Huber (2001), the frequency of metaphors in the two groups and in the two contexts were measured. Finally, a Chi-square was ran to see whether the differences are meaningful. The results of the *Internal Control Index* were further analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. A t-test was calculated to see whether the difference between LOC in the two groups of students is meaningful or not.

**Results**

The results of this study are presented in three parts. The first part is concerned with the metaphors students of the humanities and students of the non-humanities have selected. These metaphors include metaphors for the language teacher and the language learner in both current and ideal situations. In this part, a chi-square was ran to find out whether the differences are significant. The second part deals with the metaphors for ideal situations most frequently selected by students of both groups. In the third part the researchers compared locus of control (LOC) between students of the humanities and the non-humanities. In order to do this, an independent t-test was calculated. The purpose was to see whether there is a significant relationship between students' choice of metaphors and their LOC.

**5.1. Metaphor Analysis**

**5.1.1. Students of the Humanities**

**5.1.1.1 Metaphors for Teachers**
Table 1: The results of the chi-square for metaphors for teachers in a Current situation selected by students of the humanities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed N</th>
<th>Expected N</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.61</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows that there is a significant difference ($x^2 = 16.61$ $p < .05$) among the metaphors for language teachers in a current situation selected by students of the humanities. This table also shows that behaviouristic metaphors have been selected more often by these students for language teachers in current situations. It means that in their opinion language teachers mostly adhere to behaviouristic principles.

behaviouristic > situative > cognitive

Table 2: The results of the chi-square for metaphors for teachers in ideal situations selected by students of the humanities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed N</th>
<th>Expected N</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>112.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46.59</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>112.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>112.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As demonstrated in Table 2, there is a significant difference ($x^2 = 46.59$) among the metaphors for language teachers in an ideal situation selected by students of the humanities. Another point this table demonstrates is that these students have a great preference for behaviouristic metaphors for language teachers in an ideal situation. This indicates that students of the humanities prefer their language teachers to teach according to behaviouristic principles.

behaviouristic > situative > cognitive
5.1.1.2. Metaphors for Learners

Table 3: The results of the chi-square for metaphors for learners in a current situation selected by students of the humanities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35.03</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 illustrates a significant difference ($x^2 = 35.03 \ p < .05$) among the metaphors for language learners in a current situation chosen by students of the humanities. Besides, this table shows that the behaviouristic metaphors have more often been selected by these students (N=90). These metaphors are much more than the expected number (55.6). These results imply that students of the humanities perceive language learners from behaviouristic perspectives.

behaviouristic > situative > cognitive

Table 4: The results of the chi-square for metaphors for learners in an ideal situation selected by students of the humanities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.06</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 4, a significant difference ($x^2 = 14.06 \ p < .05$) exists among the metaphors for language learners in an ideal situation chosen by students of the humanities. This table also indicates that the behavioristic metaphors (N=76) outnumber what is expected (N=62). Thus, students of the humanities believe that in order to succeed in learning a second
language, it is best for language learners to stick to behaviouristic guidelines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed N</th>
<th>Expected N</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24.93</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 reveals a significant difference ($x^2 = 24.93 \ p< .05$) among the metaphors for language teachers in a current situation selected by students of the non-humanities (civil engineering and chemistry). Based on this table, situative metaphors ($N=152$) greatly outnumber what is expected ($110$). Students of the non-humanities have chosen situative metaphors more often than other metaphors. Therefore, these students hold that language teachers follow the guidelines of the situative paradigm more than any other perspectives in language teaching.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed N</th>
<th>Expected N</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>41.18</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: The results of a chi-square for metaphors for teachers in ideal situations selected by students of the non-humanities
Table 6 exhibits a significant difference ($x^2 = 41.18 \ p< .05$) among the metaphors for language teachers in ideal circumstances chosen by students of non-humanities (civil engineering and chemistry). This table also shows that situative metaphors ($N=190$) have been selected more often than expected ($N=132$). As a result, students of the non-humanities prefer the kind of language teachers who act in accordance with the guidelines of situative learning.

situative > behaviouristic > cognitive

5.1.2.2. Metaphors for learners

Table 7: The results of a chi-square for metaphors for learners in current situations selected by students of the non-humanities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed N</th>
<th>Expected N</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.62</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 demonstrates that there is a significant difference ($x^2 = 9.62 \ p< .05$) among the metaphors for language learners in current situations selected by these students. This table also indicates that cognitive metaphors ($N=97$) greatly outnumber what is expected ($N= 76.6$). These results suggest that students of the non-humanities perceive language learners from cognitive perspectives.

cognitive > situative > behaviouristic

Table 8: The results of a chi-square for metaphors for learners in ideal situations selected by students of the non-humanities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Observed N</th>
<th>Expected N</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>$x^2$</th>
<th>Sig</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Behaviouristic</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.34</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situative</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on Table 8, there exists a significant difference among the three learning perspectives in non-humanities students' metaphors for ideal language learners ($x^2 = 7.34 \ p< .05$). In addition, this table indicates the situative metaphors (N=94) are more than expected (N=76). As a result, non-humanities students hold the view that in order to learn a second language it is best to join the situative learning pool.

cognitive > situative > behaviouristic

5.2. The Most Frequent Metaphors for Ideal Situations

In this part, the most frequent metaphors selected by the two groups of students are reported. Table 9 shows the metaphors for language teachers in ideal situations selected by the two groups of students:

*Table 9:* The frequency distribution of metaphors for language teachers in ideal situation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students of History and Sociology Engineering and Chemistry</th>
<th>Students of</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Metaphors</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.35%</td>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10.60%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8.57%</td>
<td>Challenger</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preacher</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.35%</td>
<td>Innovator</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.83%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other metaphors</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>70.71%</td>
<td>Other metaphors</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>69.46%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of metaphors for teachers in ideal situations = 27

As Table 9 shows, among metaphors for teachers in ideal situations (27 metaphors) three behaviouristic metaphors are more frequently chosen by students of history and sociology. They include: TEACHER AS LEADER (N=35, 10.35%), TEACHER AS PROVIDER (N=29, 8.57%), and TEACHER AS PREACHER (N=35, 10.35%). Thus, 3 metaphors, out of 27 metaphors, constitute 28.67% (10.35%+8.57%+10.35%) of all metaphors for language teachers in ideal situations selected by students of...
history and sociology. It indicates that these students mostly expect their language teachers to be like a leader, a provider or a preacher.

Table 9 also demonstrates three situative metaphors for teachers in ideal situations that are more often selected by students of engineering and chemistry. They include: TEACHER AS FRIEND (N=42, 10.60%), TEACHER AS CHALLENGER (N=44, 11.11%) and TEACHER AS INNOVATOR (N=35, 8.83%). The rest (24 metaphors) constitute 69.46% of metaphors chosen by these students. One can conclude that these students expect their language teachers to be like a friend, a challenger or an innovator.

Table 10: The distribution of metaphors for language learners in ideal situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students of History and Sociology</th>
<th>Students of Engineering and Chemistry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphors</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raw material</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other metaphors</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of metaphors for language learners in ideal situations =18

According to this table, the language learner as RECIPIENT (N=40, 17.69%), as EMPLOYEE (N=35, 15.48%) and as RAW MATERIAL (N=29, 12.83%) are the most frequent behaviouristic metaphors chosen by students of history and sociology. The rest of the 15 metaphors (N=122) constitute 53.98% of the metaphors for language learners in ideal situations selected by these students. In their opinion, an ideal language learner should be like a recipient, an employee or raw material.

Also based on Table 10, the language learner as a FRIEND (N=45, 19.56%) is the most frequent metaphor for language learners in ideal situations selected by students of engineering and chemistry. The language learner as a CONSTRUCTOR (N=38, 16.52%) and as partner (N=29, 12.60%) are other frequent metaphors selected by these students.
The rest, 15 metaphors, constitute 51.30% of the metaphors selected by these students.

5.3. Locus of control

In order to examine the possible relationship between students' choice of metaphors and their LOC, first, LOC mean scores of both groups are compared. Table 13 demonstrates the mean scores of the two groups.

Table 13: Descriptive statistics: A comparison of LOC in students of the humanities and those of the non-humanities

| Group Statistics |
|------------------|------------------|----------|-------|----------|
| Std. Error Mean  | Std. Deviation   | Mean     | N     | Group    |
| 1.20546          | 102.8056         | 94.7222  | 72    | History and Sociology LOC |
| 1.05031          | 8.91215          | 10.22868 | 72    | Engineering and Chemistry |

As it is shown above, the mean score in LOC in students of the humanities is 94.72 and the mean score in LOC of students of the non-humanities is 102.80. Table 14 shows whether this difference in mean score is significant or not.
As Table 14 demonstrates, the difference between the two mean scores is significant at \(p < .05\) \(t_{\text{observed}} = 5.056, t_{\text{observed}} > t_{\text{critical}}\), and students of civil engineering and chemistry (non-humanities) have higher scores in LOC. In other words, students of these disciplines are more internally controlled than students of history and sociology (humanities). In summary, students of the humanities, who had external LOC, had behaviouristic metaphors for language teacher and learner. On the other hand, students of the non-humanities, who had internal LOC, had situative and cognitive metaphors for language teacher and learner.

**Discussion**

One of the findings of this study was that students of the humanities have external LOC while students of the non-humanities have internal LOC. This is in agreement with Ghonsooly and Elahi (2010). Students
of the humanities have probably experienced more educational failures. Bender (1995) held that if a student tries hard at school tasks, but frequently fails to get good grades, he or she will develop an external LOC over time. In Iran, studying the humanities is less socially valued and those students who are not quite successful at school are somehow forced to study the humanities at high school. It is certainly fair to say that most of these students are not sufficiently interested in what they study. This lack of sufficient interest also may adversely influence their academic success at the university. Ghonsooly and Elahi (2010) found that students of the humanities are less successful in their General English courses in comparison with students of engineering and students of the sciences. As a result, it is understandable to claim that students of the humanities have developed an external LOC. These students hold the view that they cannot control outcomes, so they do not accept responsibility for their learning. In contrast, students of the non-humanities (civil engineering and chemistry) have an internal LOC. Similarly, it is in line with Ghonsooly and Elahi (2010) who found that students of engineering and the sciences are internalizers. It can be inferred that because more social value is attached to what they study, they are more motivated to study as hard as they can. This will lead to more success, which in turn, generates more motivation. Consequently, these students have developed an internal LOC over time. Unlike students of the humanities who are externalizers, students of the non-humanities believe that they can control outcomes, so they accept responsibility for their learning.

As it was mentioned, students of the humanities have external LOC. These students ascribe their success and failure, in education in general and in language learning in particular, to external causes such as luck or task/test difficulty. As a result, they hold on to the belief that they have no control over their process of learning. Consequently, they do not take on the responsibility for their language learning. In the light of these notions, we can arrive at the conclusion that students of the humanities assume a passive role for themselves in the process of language learning. Since they do not accept responsibility for their language learning, they think it is not necessary to play an active role in the language classroom. In addition, they do not try to take charge of their language learning by adopting suitable language learning strategies. Similarly, Hosseini and Elahi (2010) found that externalizers (students of the humanities are externalizers) use
all types of language learning strategies (identified by Oxford (2002)) less frequently than internalizers, except memory strategies. Therefore, it is quite natural that they expect their teachers to do everything including devising the objectives of the course, preparing teaching materials, presenting the materials and being the only managers and organizers of what happens in the class. In this situation, the teacher becomes an authoritative figure who determines all that happens in the classroom. He or she specifies who to speak, when to speak, and how to speak.

The results of metaphor analysis showed that students of the humanities selected metaphors for current situations reflecting behaviouristic guidelines of learning. Their choice of metaphors revealed that in their opinion the current situation of teaching and learning English is within the framework of the behaviouristic perspective of education. Metaphors like employee, viewer and raw material represent the conceptual metaphor LEARNER AS RECIPIENT, suggesting a passive role for the language learner (Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). It is quite in agreement with what we discussed about LOC in students of the humanities. Since these students have external LOC, they play down the importance of having an active role in the process of language learning. In their opinion, success in language learning does not necessitate accepting the responsibility for their own learning. Hence, they consider a passive role for themselves in the quest of mastering a foreign language. Paying attention to the most frequent metaphors they have selected for the language learner in an ideal situation is helpful. Recipient, employee and raw material are metaphors most frequently selected by these students for language learner in ideal situation. This is another illustration for the assumption that they prefer a passive role for language learners. Similarly, metaphors such as leader, provider, preacher, moulder and nurturer that represent the conceptual metaphor TEACHER AS CONDUIT or TEACHER AS PROVIDER OF KNOWLEDGE suggest that a language teacher is holder, provider and transmitter of knowledge (Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). These metaphors indicate that students of the humanities assume that their teachers should play a leading and managerial role in the classroom. This assumption is also in line with the discussion on LOC in these students. Students of the humanities, who are externally controlled, expect their teachers to do everything for them. In other words, they perceive a teacher-dominated atmosphere as normal. Leader, provider and preacher are the most
frequent metaphors chosen by students of the humanities for the language teacher in ideal situations. This clearly indicates that in their opinion it is best for the language teacher to play a central and active role in the classroom.

Leavy, McSorely and Bote (2007) maintained that metaphors belonging to the behaviouristic paradigm of learning represent learners as passive recipients, teachers as transmitters of knowledge, and learning as a process of forming new associations between stimulus and response. It is to be expected that students of the humanities, who have external control orientations, place heavy reliance on memorization in their language learning. This supports Hosseini and Elahi's (2010) conclusion that memory strategies were found to be the most frequent ones adopted by externalizers. "May be the easiest way for them to do the process of learning is memorization" (Hosseini & Elahi, 2010, p. 39). Furthermore, in their study students with external LOC were reported to use metacognitive strategies far less frequently than students with internal LOC. They explained that "externalizers do not bother themselves to plan, organize, and evaluate what they want to learn" (p. 39).

The results of this study also demonstrated that students of chemistry and civil engineering (non-humanities) have internal LOC. They attribute their success and failure, in education in general and in language learning in particular, to internal factors like their effort and ability. Consequently, they hold the view that they can exercise control over their process of learning. Therefore, they accept the responsibility for their language learning. Considering these notions, we can conclude that students of the non-humanities believe that they can play an active role in their language learning. In fact, they attempt to play an active role in the language classroom and in their journey to acquire a second language because they shoulder the responsibility of language learning. Furthermore, they try to pursue effective language learning strategies. This point supports Hosseini and Elahi’s (2010) claim that internalizers employ language learning strategies, identified by Oxford (2002), more frequently than externalizers. These learners are by no means passive in their learning, "rather, they are actively involved in making sense of the tasks or problems with which they are faced in order to learn" (Williams & Burden, 1997, p. 144). Internalizers are probably considered as self-regulated learners who "seek to accomplish academic goals strategically
and manage to overcome obstacles using a battery of resources" (Winne, Randi, & Como, 2000, as cited in Dornyei, 2005, p. 163). It is logical to say that with internalizers the atmosphere of the classroom is far from teacher-dominated.

Metaphors representing the situative or socio-historical perspective reflect the belief that learning is situated in the context of its construction (Leavy, McSorely, & Bote, 2007). By choosing metaphors like traveler and partner for language learners in current situations, and metaphors such as challenger, researcher and travel guide for language teachers, students of the non-humanities opted for the situative paradigm of learning to obtain more knowledge from the interaction between them and their teacher and more opportunities for practice in using the second language. These metaphors represent conceptual metaphors of LEARNER AS INTERACTOR and TEACHER AS SCAFFOLDER, suggesting an active role for language learners (Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). It is in line with our discussion on LOC in students of the non-humanities. Since these students have internal LOC, they feel responsible for their learning. This prompts them to be active in the language class and also to employ efficient language learning strategies. This sense of responsibility may motivate them to take part in choosing the techniques (or at least some aspects of them) to be used in the class, and in determining how to achieve the goals of the techniques.

Paying attention to the most frequent metaphors these students have selected for language teacher and learner in ideal situations is also illuminating. Constructor and partner are metaphors most frequently selected by these students for language learners in ideal situations. The language learner as a partner is a metaphor which suggests that language learners need to engage in authentic interactions and activities of a community in order to construct knowledge. Here the language classroom is a community of participants. The language learner as a constructor is a metaphor that reflects the cognitive paradigm of learning. Based on this view, knowledge is composed of interrelated schemata which are constructed by transferring old schemata into new ones or by developing new schemata. Therefore, the mind is involved in problem-solving and interpretation (Martinez, Sauleda, & Huber, 2001). Hence, these students preferred an active role for themselves as language learners by selecting this metaphor. The language teacher as friend, challenger
and innovator are the most frequent metaphors selected by students of the non-humanities for language teachers in ideal situations. These metaphors illustrate the fact that these students, who are internally controlled, do not wish their language teachers to dominate the class. Instead, they expect their teachers to encourage them to construct their own version of knowledge. They want to "enjoy the privilege of facilitator teacher whom they can befriend" (Pishghadam, & Navari, 2010, p. 93).

Students of the non-humanities predominantly chose situative metaphors. This indicates that these students prefer to construct knowledge from the interaction between them and teachers. This calls for playing a more active role in the learning process. In addition, these students have internal LOC and believe that they can have control over their learning. As a result, they may resort more frequently to metacognitive strategies. It is compatible with Hosseini and Elahi's (2010) conclusion that metacognitive strategies were the most frequent ones used by internalizers.

Conclusion

The results of this research showed that students of the humanities (history and sociology) who have external LOC chose behaviouristic metaphors for language teacher and learner. In contrast, students of the non-humanities (civil engineering and chemistry), who are internally controlled, selected mostly situative and cognitive metaphors. ESP practitioners may pay special attention to these findings. Locus of control is a dynamic construct rather than a fixed one. Noer et al. (1987) hold that individuals with external LOC can be taught to develop internal LOC. The most effective way to apply attribution theory is reattribution training (Hastings, 1994, cited in Hosseini & Elahi, 2010). Therefore, teachers of ESP courses should help university students, especially students of the humanities, change their attributions, so that these students ascribe their failure to controllable factors such as their effort and ability rather than to uncontrollable factors like difficulty or chance. Based on Neurolinguistic programming, the behavior and strategies of successful people can be duplicated (Richards, & Rogers, 2001). Consequently, strategies and suggestions used by internalizers can be introduced to externalizers. They can be stimulated to emulate these strategies and suggestions.

The analysis of metaphors for language teacher and learner can provide us with insights into the way language learners conceptualize...
their language learning process. Exploring these conceptualizations can deepen our understanding about learners' implicit beliefs. Some of these hidden beliefs are constructive for the language learning process, whereas others are detrimental to this process. Drawing learners' attention to the metaphors they have selected, and encouraging them to reflect on these metaphors can be quite helpful. Learners can identify their problematic ideas that have a baneful influence on their learning process, refine these ideas, and decide to carry out appropriate actions to improve their education in general and L2 learning in particular (Pishghadam & Navari, 2010). Students of the humanities should not only try to develop internal LOC, but also pay attention to their ideas regarding language learning which are not rewarding for them. Having behaviouristic attitudes towards learning makes them passive in language classes and also in ESP courses. ESP practitioners should help these students to rectify their mistaken assumptions.

Conducting any kind of research project is fraught with some limitations. First of all, this study was carried out with a relatively small sample. Another limitation of this study was that its scope was rather limited. Only students of Ferdowsi University of Mashhad participated in this research. Other studies with larger samples and at different universities in Iran can be done to ensure the external validity of these findings. In addition, further research can investigate the impact of learners' metaphors on their strategy use. Moreover, future research can explore students' metaphors for course books.
References


ASPIRING VICE-CHANCELLORS’ RHETORIC AND THE CHALLENGES OF BUILDING A 21ST CENTURY NIGERIAN UNIVERSITY

Olayiwola Timothy Akinwale and Adeyemi Adegoju

Abstract

This study analyses the manifestos prepared by some candidates aspiring for the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, between 1999 and 2000. It examines the appropriation of rhetorical tactics by the aspirants to impress upon the target audience that they possess the ability to clearly decipher the problems of the university and determine the required antidote. The study focuses on two major issues that are recurrent in the discourse: the challenges facing the university at the turn of the twenty-first century and the kind of leadership that the university would desire to stem the tide. It adopts Aristotle’s model of rhetoric to analyse the discursive practices of the respective candidates relative to these key issues. It reveals that although the candidates address the same range of subjects, they still, at some point, employ varied rhetorical appeals to manipulate the target audience. Such appeals generally, however, still fall within the range of the rhetoric of political campaign, but they are strategically chosen to reflect the context of the discourse.

Key Words: Manifesto, Nigeria, Political campaign, Rhetoric, University, Vice-Chancellor

Introduction

Universities are generally acclaimed to be the spinning centre of knowledge crucial for the training of human minds and accordingly for the development of society. Ebuara et al. (2009) argue that universities exist to generate, disseminate and apply knowledge through teaching, research and extension services. For this reason, Osundare (2005: 11) observes that universities are ‘the bedrock of progress, the indispensable instruments for the emergence of the nation-state, the fertile ground for learning and knowledge without which a nation’s quest for advancement

1 Akinwale, Olayiwola Timothy is a lecturer in the Department of English, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.
Adeyemi Adegoju teaches Stylistics in the Department of English, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.
can only be a futile joke’. The history of universities in Nigeria dates back to the founding of the University College of Ibadan in 1948 as an affiliate of the University of London. Ever since this landmark in the history of tertiary education in Nigeria, universities in the country have grown in leaps and bounds. Going by the National Universities Commission (NUC) Bulletin of 12th October 2009 quoted by Adeogun et al. (2009), the number of universities in Nigeria has increased to ninety-six, twenty-seven of them owned by the Federal Government, thirty-five owned by state governments, and thirty-four owned by individuals or religious organisations. Some more are still awaiting approval from the licensing and regulatory body.

Existing studies on Nigeria’s university system have addressed issues basically on its challenges. Such attention is to be expected in view of the fact that Nigerian universities have over the years fallen short of the standards of international ideal practices. Ekundayo and Adedokun (2009) examine the contentious issue of university autonomy and academic freedom in Nigerian public universities. Considering the major areas of erosion of university autonomy and academic freedom, they argue that autonomy should be granted to the university in such areas as recruitment, training, admission and appointment of Vice-Chancellors. They posit, however, that autonomy cannot connote total independence from the government or state and even from a regulatory agency such as the National Universities Commission (NUC).

In another study, Ekundayo and Ajayi (2009) examine the myriads of problems militating against the effective management of the university system in Nigeria which include poor funding, poor conditions of service, the ‘brain drain’ syndrome and poor infrastructure. Generally, these problems have been the bane of higher education systems in developing countries. Saint et al. (2003: 1) observe:

Education in general, and higher education in particular, is fundamental to the construction of a knowledge economy and society in all nations … Yet the potential of higher education systems in developing countries to fulfil this responsibility is frequently thwarted by long-standing problems of finance, efficiency, equity, quality and governance.

So, there have been agitations by trade unions in Nigerian universities for an improved learning environment for students and improved facilities for
researchers as well as enhanced conditions of service for the generality of the staff. On this issue, Arikewuyo (2006) examines the relationships between staff unions and the authorities of Nigerian universities vis-à-vis the demands of the former on how to address the catalogue of challenges facing the university system in Nigeria.

In a bid to restore the ethics, values and high educational standards that would make Nigerian universities live up to their billing, Ebuara et al. (2009) identify the challenge of good leadership as a fundamental issue. They argue that leadership in the university system, as in other organisations, cannot be ignored. Since the buck stops at the table of the principal academic and executive officer of the university, that is, the Vice-Chancellor, the question of the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor of a university is a challenging one. The frequently asked questions have been: Who should be the Vice-Chancellor? How is the right person to be selected? What should be the process that will enable the selection of the right person? What should be the role of the university Governing Council and the government in the processes for appointing the Vice-Chancellor?

Rao and Singh (n.d) carried out a study in which they attempted to analyse different methods adopted for the appointment of Vice-Chancellors in Indian universities along with those of some foreign universities which include Nigeria and Ghana. While such a study sheds light on the fairly elaborate procedure for the selection of Vice-Chancellors across countries, it does not in any way address candidates’ preparedness for the contest vis-à-vis the rhetorical strategies that they employ to underline their perceived preferability to their opponents. Hence, this study examines which types of rhetoric aspiring Vice-Chancellors employ in crafting messages that portray them as being worthy of appointment, going by the way they assess the status quo and the kind of leadership that can rise to the occasion.

Some research has been devoted to the rhetorical strategies deployed by aspirants in their campaign discourse in presidential or parliamentary elections in democratic settings in countries such as America, Canada, Taiwan, Belgium and Nigeria (Jerit, 2004; Druckman et al. 2004; Damore, 2005; Wei, 2005; Barker 2005; Roberts, 2005; Medvedeva, 2008; Boyd, 2009; Bouckaert, 2009; and Omozuwa & Ezejideaku, 2010). Given the fact that candidates in this context seek votes in elections, there is the compelling need for some other studies to be carried out on other forms
of campaign discourse produced in political situations where aspirants are not elected by popular votes but selected on the basis of merit by a constituted panel. The present study takes us further away from the familiar political culture and processes at the national level by focusing on a typical public establishment such as the university community where there exists another strand of political culture culminating in the appointment of the chief executive of the institution.

The Data

Considering that every university has its own tradition and peculiar challenges within a national and even an international frame, we consider it useful to delimit the study to the Obafemi Awolowo University, which was founded in 1962 and, therefore, is one of the first generation universities in Nigeria. Going by tradition, upon the declaration of a vacancy for the position of the Vice-Chancellor of the university, eligible academics of professorial cadre who are interested in serving are enjoined to submit their letters of application, curriculum vitae and statements of their visions for the university. Thus, the campaign discourse produced by the aspirants in the form of proposals or mission/vision statements constitutes the data for this study, as the aspirants seek to persuade the target audience by managing the messages communicated to them.

As regards the choice of the contest that this study focuses on, one may raise some pertinent questions: Were there no contests before and have there not been any other contests after it? Simply put, what is significant about the contest which this study focuses on? Of course, since the university is not a newly established one, there had actually been contests before the one focused on in this study. Even after it, there have been two others. The table below substantiates our claim.

Table Showing Past Vice-Chancellors of the Obafemi Awolowo University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/No</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Prof. Oladele Ajose</td>
<td>1962-1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Prof. H. A. Oluwasanmi</td>
<td>1966-1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Prof. O. Aboyade</td>
<td>1975-1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Prof. C. A. Onwumechili</td>
<td>1979-1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Prof. Wande Abimbola</td>
<td>1982-1989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Prof. Roger Makanjuola 1999-2006
9. Prof. M. O. Fabofore 2006-2011
10. Prof. Tale Omole 2011 to date

However, the fact remains that in the history of the university, the contest between 1999 and 2000 attracted an unprecedented surge of political awareness in view of the historical turn at the end of one millennium and the ushering in of a new one – 1999/2000 –, a period in which there were so many clamours around the world about ‘change’ and ‘vision’. Given the challenges that had faced the university system in Nigeria towards the end of the second half of the 20th century, it would be quite engaging to probe into how the aspirants exploit the temporal frame of their contest to address the problems inherent in a typical Nigerian university.

For the purposes of this study, we keep the identities of the aspirants anonymous in order not to cause any animosity among them or cause them any embarrassment as individuals. This is because of the fact that, ordinarily, they would not have thought that their proposals could be of scholarly interest to the rhetorician. For easy referencing, therefore, we tag the proposals of the three aspirants selected, Sample A, Sample B and Sample C, as we cite them in the course of analysing the data. It is also useful to clarify that the choice of the masculine pronominal referencing in the analysis and discussion is not an attempt to sound sexist. Actually, there were no female aspirants for the contest and so there is no need to balance the pronominal referencing by using either the singular ‘they’ or alternating both the masculine and feminine pronominal elements, s/he.

Out of the nine proposals submitted by the nine candidates eventually screened for the final selection process, we purposively sampled three to reflect the aspirants’ respective perceptions of the realities on the ground and their vision of the university. We delimited the samples to three aspirants in order to have a focused analysis of the proposals with significant rhetorical tactics that address the major challenges of the university and the kind of leadership that can address them. This bias does not in any way foreclose the display of rhetorical appeals in the other six proposals not sampled. For instance, rhetorical appeals also derive from other issues such as commitment to staff and student welfare, image
laundering in terms of personal qualities, experience in office and values or principles, funding and industrial harmony, among others.

**Theoretical Perspective**

Aristotle’s treatise, *The Art of Rhetoric*, has remained the most influential systematisation of rhetoric ever written. Hence, we adopt the tenets of the Aristotelian model of rhetoric in analysing the campaign discourse of the candidates in this study. The rhetoric developed by Aristotle presents an answer to Plato’s criticisms of the sophists when he opined that ‘rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectic’, meaning that while dialectical methods are necessary to find the truth, rhetorical methods are required to communicate it. Aristotle defined rhetoric as ‘the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion’. With this definition, Aristotle placed invention or the discovery of the lines of argument at the very centre of the rhetorical enterprise. In so doing, he set his system apart from that of the sophists which focused on outcomes of public speaking. Aristotle’s treatise on rhetoric was an attempt to systematically describe rhetoric as a human art or skill.

According to Aristotle, a writer’s ability to persuade is based on how well he/she appeals to his/her audience in three different areas, hence the question of rhetorical appeals. Aristotle identified three different types of rhetorical proof: *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*. By *ethos*, he meant how the credibility of a speaker or writer influences an audience to consider him/her to be believable; by *pathos* he meant the use of emotional appeals; and by *logos*, the use of language in constructing an argument, referring to the internal consistency of the message itself, independent of its proponents. Therefore, in analysing the manifestos of the aspirants, we will examine how they exploit the appeals contained in this rhetorical triangle to influence the target audience.

Aristotle emphasised that for rhetoric to be effective, the rhetor must be sensitive to the element of *kairos*, the context in which the proof will be delivered. In *kairos*, winning an argument requires a deft combination of creating and recognising the right time and the right place for making the argument in the first place. Sensitive to *kairos*, a speaker or writer takes into account the contingencies of a given place and time and considers the opportunities within this specific context for words to be effective and appropriate to that moment. This concept is tightly linked to considerations
of audience (the most significant variable in a communicative context) and to decorum (the principle of apt speech). As a result, we will examine how the aspirants exploit the exigencies and constraints of time, place and audience to influence the opinions of the target audience.

We must not gloss over the question of the moral nature of the art of rhetoric which has remained one of great debate among scholars of rhetoric. The study of rhetoric was for several years regarded by scholars as a meaningless enterprise, for it was perceived as a study of linguistic ornamentation. If it was frequently under attack from those who saw it as producing dishonest, unoriginal or flashy language, in more recent academic writing, rhetoric has re-emerged as a key term for emphasising the way in which we can understand a given subject as if it constituted a specific language or form of discourse. Thus, we employ the poststructuralist mode of analysis which emphasises discourse rather than language because ‘the concept of discourse implies a concern with the meaning and value-producing practices in language, rather than simply the relationship between utterances and their referents’ (Mihas 2005: 125). Instead of treating language as a transparent tool (a conduit between thoughts or concepts and things), we take a discourse approach which treats language as opaque by engaging in an analysis of both the linguistic practices and the language of enquiry itself. Against this backdrop, we try to deconstruct the meaning of the rhetorical garbs of the campaign discourse of the aspirants which the ordinary reader may take at face value.

‘Here I am, Send Me’: Rhetoric of Aspiring Vice-Chancellors

Almost all the aspirants begin their write-ups with an assessment of the situation in the university system. This attention-getting strategy would give the audience an insight into aspirants’ understanding or reading of the problems of the system before they could claim to have the needed solutions. Consider the excerpt below:

Excerpt 1

Our university is one of the foremost in the country. It has the tradition for academic excellence and leadership both nationally and internationally. However, like other institutions of learning in Nigeria, it has been greatly affected by the economic, social and moral
decline that has beset us in recent years. Successive administrators have tried hard to overcome these problems … and have achieved much under the circumstances. However, a lot remains to be done. (Sample A)

The aspirant speaking in the above extract deploys a number of rhetorical strategies to give persuasive force to his argument. We find out, first of all, that the speaker puts to good use the rhetorical element of *kairos* by laying emphasis on place in assessing the condition of the university system. He refers to the immediate setting which is his university by using the expression ‘our university’ and compares the prevailing situation therein to that of sister institutions by using the expression ‘other universities in Nigeria’. In fact, in the second expression, the prepositional phrase ‘in Nigeria’ which serves as an adjunct element helps to identify the geographical space within which the universities operate. Mentioning ‘Nigeria’, therefore, goes beyond defining the geographical space of the country in which the universities are located. It summarizes the genesis of their predicaments, as the socio-political and economic forces that operate in the country would impact greatly on the functioning of the universities.

The aspirant’s use of the expression ‘our university’ instead of deploying other possible expressions such as ‘this university’ or mentioning the name of the university outright is stylistic. The use of the plural possessive pronoun ‘our’ which is characteristic of a group cause discourse is a rhetorical attempt by the speaker to merge his voice with that of the audience in a bid to underscore collective ownership/responsibility, thereby projecting himself as a stakeholder whose commitment and passion should not be doubted. The speaker goes ahead to emphasise the status of the university by using the spatial deictic elements ‘nationally’ and ‘internationally’ in an attempt to instill in the audience a sense of pride in his institution as one with positive attributes and great potentialities, not only within the shores of the country but also beyond. Regrettably, we get to know that the status has dwindled. The contrast between the status that the university has been noted for and the forces affecting it is underlined with the adversative conjunct ‘however’. This conjunct is significant in the sense that it opens up the discourse for the audience to appreciate that something is wrong with the system, as a result of which the right leadership must be put in place to address the situation.
Paying tribute to past leadership in the university, the speaker acknowledges their efforts, saying that their administrations have ‘achieved much’. The speaker’s attempt to give honour to those that had served in the capacity he aspires to assume is a rhetorical strategy of trying to save the ‘face’ of the personae. This strategy brings to bear the notion of ‘face’ by Brown and Levinson (1978). Brown and Levinson define ‘face’ as the public self-image that all members of the society want for themselves. All interactants have an interest in maintaining two types of face during interaction: ‘positive face’ and ‘negative face’. Positive face concerns the desire to be appreciated and approved of, while negative face concerns a person’s want to be unimpeded and free from imposition. When an act of verbal or non-verbal communication runs contrary to the addressee’s and/or the speaker’s face wants, this is called a face-threatening act (FTA). Using the notion of face, Brown and Levinson developed the politeness theory which is regarded as having a dual nature: positive politeness and negative politeness. Lakoff (1990), quoted in Zhao (2008: 630), states that in a pragmatic perspective, politeness ‘facilitate(s) interaction by minimising the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange’. Therefore, a speaker would strategically manage his/her face-threatening acts to account for either positive or negative politeness. In this regard, the speaker in the extract being analysed mitigates face-threatening acts to the positive face of the past Vice-Chancellors.

As the speaker aspires to occupy the exalted office of the Vice-Chancellor, he could have opted for this strategy for some reasons. First, some of the past Vice-Chancellors, even when their names are not mentioned at all, could still be influential and consequently instrumental to the choice of who becomes the next Vice-Chancellor in the university. It would be foolhardy for the speaker to expose the weaknesses of their administrations, for he would lose their support. Besides, even if the past Vice-Chancellors are no longer influential, their loyalists/apologists who are still in the system could feel slighted that the efforts of their role models were being rubbished and this would count against the speaker. Since humans would naturally want their abilities to be respected, the speaker could be saying what this select audience would want to hear, just to get their support.
Such likelihood makes one curious when one considers the sentence that immediately follows the tribute to the efforts of past administrations: ‘However, a lot still remains to be done’. When viewed in line with the previous sentence, the use of the adversative conjunct ‘however’ is somewhat incongruous and therefore sounds dubious. In the previous sentence, the quantifier ‘much’ is used to underscore the appreciable level of success recorded by past administrations, as a result of which one would expect ‘(a) little’ to be done by the subsequent administration. Unexpectedly, the speaker still uses ‘a lot’ to quantify what has not been done. Let us consider the argumentative patterns in the paradigm below for a better understanding:

**Option 1**
Successive administrations … have achieved much under the circumstances.  
**Therefore,**  
a little remains to be done.

**Option 2**
Successive administrations … have achieved much under the circumstances.  
**However,**  
a lot remains to be done. (emphasis ours)

If the rhetor had chosen Option 1 above, he would have shot himself in the foot, in that he would have no rationale for parading himself as being capable of rising to any serious challenges in the administration of the university. But by selecting Option 2 where there is an imbalance in the quantifiers, going by the structure of the paradoxical sentence, the speaker leaves the reader of the text to wonder about the sincerity of his intentions. There appears to be some illogicality in the expression, giving us the impression that the speaker is just trying to avoid conflict with past administrations. This hunch is confirmed when the speaker goes ahead to reel off a catalogue of challenges facing the university after all. One is then left wondering why, if the past administrations have achieved much, there are these myriad problems still confronting the university.

Still on the challenges of the university, another aspirant uses some other rhetorical tactics not evident in the extract we have just analysed.
Let us consider the following:

**Excerpt 2**

Many problems today besiege the university system generally in the country and [at] Obafemi Awolowo University in particular. If care is not taken to rectify the situation, it may come to a stage that the university will be living on past glory and eventually become stagnant in the academic world … It is high time we stopped shouting GREAT…IFE when, in actual fact, the greatness is gradually collapsing. The Founding Fathers left us a good image, a good heritage. It is for us to maintain the image to enhance the heritage, to revitalise, to transform, to rebuild, to recast, and to rescue in order to have a fine heritage, a fine legacy to pass on to posterity. (Sample B)

It is obvious that the present speaker, like the previous one, clearly contextualises his discourse by placing the challenges of the university he seeks to administer within a larger entity. Apart from touching on the spatial reference, the speaker also makes use of the temporal deictic element ‘today’ to identify the point in history around which his discourse revolves. While the element of *kairos* is deployed here in order to make the discourse appropriate, the speaker invokes another rhetorical tactic to underline the emergency situation the university is in. The rhetor raises an alarm in the structure: ‘If care is not taken to rectify the situation, it may come to a stage that the university will be living on past glory…’. Such a word of caution couched in a conditional sentence is rhetorically significant. It brings to the fore the use of the fear appeal in political discourse. In order to sway the audience, the rhetor may resort to injecting some fear into the discourse by alerting the audience of possible disastrous consequences if they do not support the rhetor to take the necessary steps towards averting them.

According to Pfau (2007: 216), ‘Fear is an influential emotion whose history reveals its impact not only on individuals but [also] on entire communities … Fear has been particularly important politically, and the history of Republics reveals a political discourse rife with appeals to fear’. Pfau (2007) argues that although philosophers since Plato have often condemned emotion in general and fear in particular, in that they run counter to the reason and logic that ought to guide the rational human
being, there are other political thinkers that posit a constructive political role for fear. Walton (2000 quoted in Pfau 2007: 219) gives a succinct definition of the fear appeal argument thus:

The term ‘fear appeal argument’ … refers to a specific type of argument that has three central characteristics: (i) it cites some possible outcome that is fearful to the target audience, (ii) in order to get that audience to take a recommended course of action, (iii) by arguing that in order to avoid the fearful outcome, the audience should take the recommended course of action.

Therefore, for the target audience of the rhetor not to witness the unimaginable drifting of the values and ideals of the university that they so much cherish, they would do well to reason along with him and share his views on how best to avert the ugly scenario. The rhetorical force of the fear appeal is further given impetus by some stylistic choices made by the rhetor. First of all, he uses the expression ‘living on the past glory’. The use of the temporal deictic element ‘past’ portends that the university will lose relevance in the new scheme of events. It also suggests wallowing in a world of illusion when actually there is nothing remarkable to be proud of. Second, the rhetor uses the adjective ‘stagnant’ and the place adjunct ‘in the academic world’ to intensify the force of the fear appeal. The word ‘stagnant’ is a metaphor for lethargy and consequent motionlessness which in every sense contradict the dynamism and seminal culture for which universities across the world are noted.

Cutting the figure of a realist for himself, of a dispassionate leader, of a leader with a sound sense of judgement, the speaker touches on an emotional issue that the staff, students and alumni of the university so much cherish, and that is the slogan ‘Great Ife’: ‘It is high time we stopped shouting Great…Ife when, in actual fact, the greatness is actually collapsing’. As is characteristic of most leading universities in Nigeria, every one of them has a slogan which encapsulates its perceived superiority evidenced in its tradition, ideals and uniqueness among other universities in the country. Where, for example, the University of Ibadan, the premier university in Nigeria, has as its slogan, ‘Greatest UI … the first and the best’, Obafemi Awolowo University adopts ‘Great Ife’. In fact, more often than not, when the name of the university is not mentioned in full, within the Nigerian environment, the catchphrase ‘Great Ife’ has
come to be a useful substitution. It is the brand name of the university on car stickers and all souvenirs produced by the university. It may even be of interest to note that the university has a mantra which fires the spirit of the students and its alumni whenever it is being rendered. Interestingly, in the mantra the name of the university is not mentioned in full; instead, it is the slogan ‘Great Ife’ that occurs in it. As a matter of fact, any ceremony on the university campus or any gathering of students and alumni of the university in any part of the world where the anthem has not been rendered would be regarded as deficient. Here is the mantra:

Great Ife, Great Ife
Africa’s most beautiful campus
We are conscious, vigilant, progressive
Aluta against all oppression
Forward ever, backward never
For learning and culture
Sports and struggle
Great Ife, great!
I love you
There is only one Great Ife in the universe
Another Great Ife is a counterfeit
Great, great, great…!

Going by the ecstasy that accompanies the rendering of this anthem, one who watches/listens to Obafemi Awolowo University students and alumni cannot but share in their euphoria, as they celebrate the ‘greatness’ of their university. However, the rhetor’s caution deserves a second thought. For the enthusiastic Obafemi Awolowo University student or alumnus/alumna, the rhetor’s use of the verb ‘shouting’ could sound somewhat contemptuous. While such a disposition may sound offensive to some members of the university community who may not want to support the aspirant for such a ‘careless’ utterance, if you will, the great thinkers in the university community who have followed its history since its inception may see some wisdom in the rhetor’s assessment. That the rhetor could do away with sentiment and face the realities could eventually give him an edge over other contestants who are still given to frivolities.

One is able to appreciate the speaker’s assessment of the situation better when he elaborates on his viewpoint in the proclamation below:
Extract 3

… IFE of yesterday, IFE of 1962, is not IFE of today, not to talk of IFE of tomorrow, IFE of next century, IFE of next millennium. There are problems that call for urgent solutions in order to maintain the greatness, the uniqueness and the international fame and index of the university. (emphasis in original) (Sample B)

In the extract above, the speaker deploys some rhetorical tactics to underscore his message. First of all, he uses folk appeal by substituting ‘IFE’ for the full name of the university. This is because ordinarily when members of the university community speak, they use the name ‘Ife’ to refer to the university. Second, the repetition of the name ‘IFE’ six times within the space of two lines calls the reader’s attention to the most important subject matter.

Furthermore, the plethora of temporal deictic elements in the discourse is engaging. Once again, the speaker uses the rhetorical element of kairos by situating the discourse in a temporal context. While the first two temporal deictic elements – ‘yesterday’ and ‘1962’ – show something desirable and, therefore, worth celebrating, the others give a contrary picture as used by the rhetor. The argument has a stylistic force with the use of the negator ‘not’ after the first two references, as in: ‘Ife of … is not Ife of …’. If the speaker is able to assess the present and past situations that he can confidently comment on, he will only be just if he limits himself to these temporal frames alone without extending the unpleasant picture he creates of the present moment to the future, even the distant future. Could it be that the rhetor is a pessimist, or does he try to sound rather exaggerative by attempting to play the fear card? The ominous reference to ‘tomorrow’, ‘next century’ and ‘next millennium’ could be counterproductive if the audience erroneously takes the rhetor to be an incurable pessimist. From another perspective, it could be that the rhetor paints such a gloomy picture of the future to caution that for such an unpleasant scenario to be averted, a competent Vice-Chancellor should be appointed.

The contrast between two temporal frames – past and present – in assessing the challenges of the university is further exploited by another aspirant thus:
Extract 4

Historically, the acclamation “Great Ife!” not too long ago captured an impressive realisation of the dream of the founding fathers of the Obafemi Awolowo University. Today, that vision has been short-circuited and there are legions of problems associated with the towering crisis induced by the inability to match the facilities with aspirations and expectations… (Sample C)

The rhetorical element of *kairos* used in the above extract is given impetus with the use of the adjuncts ‘historically’ and ‘today,’ which are temporal deictic elements, to gauge the two points in history when the fortunes of the university blossomed and degenerated, respectively. By painting the past as glorious and the present as challenging, the rhetor prepares the ground for the exigency surrounding his aspiration. It is not surprising then when he goes ahead to say: ‘Our present task, therefore, is to recapture the best of the past in search of the way forward by embracing the collective vision of OAU in the 21st century’. In appraising the three temporal frames as shown in the discussion thus far, a particular picture is created of each moment in the history of the university and this can be represented thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glimorous past</th>
<th>(feeling of delight)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Squalid present</td>
<td>(feeling of disenchantment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redeemable future</td>
<td>(rekindling of confidence)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that the aspirants’ argumentative pattern revolves around the three temporal frames in a bid to provide a diagnosis and prognosis of the challenges of the university. If the picture of the present is dismal and the members of the university community are getting despondent, it behoves the aspiring Vice-Chancellor to raise the hope of this set of people by painting a picture of a brighter future that his leadership would herald. In so doing, the rhetor cuts the figure of a shrewd administrator imbued with the practical intelligence to analyse and proffer solutions to the problems of the university. In that capacity, he can clearly see beyond the present moment and think beyond the level of reasoning of other people. The rhetor, therefore, becomes a rallying point, a source of inspiration and a visionary who sees light at the end of the tunnel. In such a posture, an aspirant declares:
Extract 5

It is abundantly clear that the Obafemi Awolowo University is at the crossroads. A situation such as that in which we are calls for new ways of thinking, new approaches, and a new discipline of mind and character, new commitment and resolve to confront the changed and changing circumstances. (Sample B)

In the above extract, the rhetor plays the fear card again with the use of the spatial as well as temporal idiomatic expression ‘at the crossroads’ which provokes the audience to be awake to the defining moment in the history of the university when important decisions have to be reached, among which is the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, to save the university from further degeneracy. Following from this, the rhetor proceeds to inspire the audience to imbibe the attitude that can bring the desired results, as he attempts to sell an offer to them. He employs the rhetorical device of repetition by using the word ‘new’ four times in the syntactically parallel structures: ‘new ways of thinking’, ‘new approaches’, ‘new discipline of mind and character’, and ‘new commitment and resolve’. All of these structures are nominal groups with different noun heads which relate to the cardinal issues that can revamp the situation in the university.

The repetition of the word ‘new’ in these structures is suggestive of the use of the word in advertising discourse. More often than not when the word is used in advertising, though not necessarily repetitively, it is abused, hence it is classified as one of the ‘weasel words’ in advertising. In the present discourse, the rhetor may be emphasising the demands of the new era in human history during which the contest fell – the third millennium/21st century. In fact, all the aspirants sampled for the study make reference to the 21st century or the third millennium in one way or the other in their campaign discourse, with emphasis on it as a time when the university has to be repositioned to take its pride of place in the academic world. They always emphasise ‘my vision of the Obafemi Awolowo University in the 21st century or the next millennium’. For the purposes of the political goals of the aspirants in the present discourse, it would be quite interesting to probe into the use of this temporal deictic element in the campaign discourse.

Reference to the 21st century in the present discourse and generally in popular discourses is significant for some reasons. Generally, it is believed
that at the turn of a new century, the world should brace itself up for greater challenges in every sphere of human life. As such, it is believed that there must be improved standards of running the affairs of humankind from what they used to be in the previous century or the century that is ending, since lofty targets are usually set for the new century. As a result, every nation seeks to break the record earlier set by others. For the African continent in particular, the turn of the 21st century was a time when the governments of different nations came up with action plans and policies designed to tackle the economic downturn, poverty, illiteracy, (killer) diseases such as cholera, polio, and HIV&AIDS, among others, and the drive to make unprecedented breakthroughs in science and technology.

By also invoking the temporal deictic in the present campaign discourse, the aspirants seek to draw the audience’s attention to that moment in the history of university education in Nigeria when Nigerian universities would have to tackle the setbacks that had hitherto held them back from competing favourably with world class universities. But in reality, the aspirants may just be echoing this reference to the 21st century to appeal to the people’s emotions without actually weighing the challenges therein. Normally, one would have expected the aspirants in their campaign to let the audience know the opportunities offered for Nigerian universities in the 21st century that would make them actualise their goals, to demonstrate that they are not just jumping onto a bandwagon to get the people’s support.

A number of pertinent questions may be asked in this respect: Has funding for education increased from what it was in the past? Have governments and the body regulating universities in Nigeria (the National Universities Commission) drawn up clear policy statements and implementation strategies geared towards radically changing the status of university education in the country? Are there donor agencies such as corporate organisations and multinationals that have shown interest in sponsoring research activities in the university? Simply put, what is spectacular about the 21st century for the university system in Nigeria? These questions could be some of the issues that the audience would expect the aspirant to address in concrete terms instead of just touting the miracle century.

On the question of the kind of leadership that can deal with the problems facing the university system, the aspirants also set certain standards which are quite lofty. Consider this:
Extract 6

Thus, a leader needed to revitalise the age-long glory of IFE, to transform the present status of the university, is a leader that is accommodating; it is a leader that regards himself as first among equals; it is a leader that is not pompous; it is a leader that does not parade himself as ‘Mr Know All’; it is a leader that appreciates the feelings, the problems, the failures, the successes, the hopes and aspirations of others… It is a leader that does not allow communication gap. It is a leader that can serve all the time and in any or all circumstances, as ‘a man of the people’. He has to remember that he deals not only with files but with people. (Sample B)

The leadership image portrayed by the rhetor is made effective with the use of some rhetorical appeals. The first is the heavy deployment of syntactic parallel structures evidenced in the syntactic pattern: ‘it is a leader that is (not) …’ where there is a subject complement used after the verb ‘be’ and ‘it is a leader that does (not) …’ where there is an object after a verb that expresses an action. Apart from the repetition of the word ‘leader’ which is emphatic, thereby thematising the issue of leadership in the discourse, the use of the topicalising device (it + be + Noun Phrase [NP]) which is a stylistic strategy makes the repetition more prominent. When we focus on the constant element ‘a leader’ in all the structures, we must as well focus on the varied lexical items that function as either subject complements or the direct objects of certain verbs, while also taking cognizance of the stylistic use of the negative particle ‘not’ which nullifies what the aspiring Vice-Chancellor must not be. Such expressions as ‘accommodating’, ‘first among equals’, ‘not pompous’, ‘not Mr Know All’ used as subject complements sound appealing, and so the audience could easily identify with the cause of the aspirant who appreciates such values in a leader. The collocation of the words ‘feelings’, ‘the problems’, ‘the failures’, ‘the successes’, and ‘the hopes and aspirations of others’, with the verb ‘to appreciate’, underscores the virtues that any group of people would want to see in their leader.

Furthermore, the rhetor makes use of a phrase used in the Nigerian environment when referring to a public figure that is popular with the people. The reference to a leader being ‘a man of the people’ in the extract
resonates with the title of one of Chinua Achebe’s novels, *A Man of the People*. According to Dwivedi (2008: 3), Achebe’s *A Man of the People* ‘reflects his distaste for post-independence Nigeria as a place where leaders who had fought for independence became traitors after attaining power, and sacrificed their country in exchange for middle-class comfort’. The novel delineates the conflict between morality and corruption by contrasting the protagonist, Odili Samalu, with his opposite, the Minister of Culture, Chief Nanga. These characters are worlds apart: while Odili is an idealist, Nanga, who is a politician, is a realist, who has a genuine rapport with the people whom he represents. It is in the sense of the affinity between the leader and the subjects that the novel is titled *A man of the People*, though with some literary undercurrents which could be satiric. In this sense, one could see in the novel Nanga’s dubious tendencies of exploiting his people. Summing up the picture of Nanga as Achebe’s ‘*A man of the people*’, Dwivedi (2008: 5) says:

Achebe presents … Nanga as a political opportunist. Nanga has no concept of political morality. He has become rich through bribery, corruption, and intimidation, and knows how to work these things to his advantage … Nanga and many others pursue self-interest with false promises of sharing with everyone.

This image of Achebe’s ‘*A man of the people*’ is what most Nigerian public speakers do not take into consideration when they campaign and promise to be ‘men/women of the people’. They just emphasise the rapport between the leaders and their subjects without taking note of the negative light in which the expression is used in the narrative. Or it could be that such an expression has been stripped of its literary import and then recontextualised to refer to the leader who genuinely feels for the people and who has no ulterior motives. If that is so, it could be that the aspiring Vice-Chancellor who uses the phrase in his campaign discourse is quite aware of the import of his choice, for indeed he goes ahead in the extract to explain: ‘He has to remember that he deals not only with files but also with human beings’. This leadership style that the speaker emphasises here in relation to giving his administration a human face is where the question of ‘a man of the people’ as opposed to ‘a man of files’ comes to the fore.
Besides those who conceptualise leadership in respect of the person at the helm of affairs, there is an aspirant that tries to redefine successful leadership as everyone’s business. This view resonates with contemporary thinking about leadership as not being a position but a process. According to Hughes et al. (2006: 6), ‘…leadership is a complex phenomenon involving the leader, the followers and the situation’. No wonder that the aspirant says:

Extract 7

…the collaboration of everyone, staff and students, is essential to the continued proper functioning and development of the institution. Whether this institution succeeds or fails is dependent largely on the members of the community; no Vice-Chancellor can succeed without the collaboration and efforts of the university community. (Sample A)

From the excerpt above, the speaker is trying to sell himself to the audience by suggesting that he is not an island, not a tree that makes a forest, not a single hand that can lift a heavy load to the head, but one who does appreciate group efforts in a bid to achieve the desired goals. With this rhetorical appeal, he cuts the figure of a team player whom the other members can look up to for a purposeful and result-oriented captainship. By identifying the key players with whom the aspirant will attend to the problems of the institution, he gives the impression that he is a shrewd manager not only of material resources but also of human resources. Hogan et al. (1994, quoted in Hughes et al. 2006: 7) define leadership in such a light thus: ‘The ends of leadership involve getting results through others, and the means of leadership involve the ability to build cohesive, goal-oriented teams. Good leaders are those who build teams to get results across a variety of situations’.

From the above discussion that we have had so far on how the aspirants handle the question of leadership, we can deduce that they all use a self-effacing strategy, not ascribing those qualities directly to themselves although those are the ingredients they would need to function effectively in office. If the aspirants could appreciate the qualities, it must be that they possess some of them or would strive towards acquiring such
attributes. But they neither make reference to, or state categorically that they possess these leadership qualities and would draw on them in running the administration. Could this be a rare display of modesty that one would expect from academics whose exposure has taught them not to be conceited? Or could it be that as craftsmen who manipulate the discourse in order to control the minds of their audiences, the rhetors have tactically kept their identity in the background? Of course, it could be a non-committal strategy so that should they fail to live up to expectation, no one would hold them responsible.

The same self-effacing strategy is used by some of the aspirants towards the end of their manifestos when they challenge the authorities concerned with the appointment of Vice-Chancellor not to fail in their assignment. Here are some charges:

**Extract 8**

In selecting the new Vice-Chancellor, the managers of this university have a historic opportunity to decide for the future. (Sample C)

**Extract 9**

This is a critical period for the university... The decision taken now is a pointer to the future of this GREAT CITADEL OF LEARNING AND CULTURE. May God in His infinite wisdom guide and direct the assessors in taking the important, delicate and far-reaching decision. (Sample B)

In trying to imbue their discourses once more with the desired rhetorical force, the rhetors invoke the rhetorical element of *kairos* by cautioning the assessors that whatever decision they make will determine the ‘future’ of the university. The aspirants, as shown in the extracts above, appear to employ subtle intimidation, cautioning the assessors that if after seeing the credentials each of them presents they fail to choose the right candidate – the respective speaker – it would cost the future of the university a lot.

It is as if the rhetors are advertising certain products in these excerpts and they give the impression that the products may not be available for
purchase the next time and therefore they should be procured here and now to cure the ailments of the audience. Since the audience would not want to make such a costly mistake, they may buy the product for contingency reasons. In a similar vein, the rhetor in excerpt 8 appears to be saying that the ‘historic opportunity’ that the assessors have is to choose him and not any other person, while the other in excerpt 9 seems to be saying that the ‘far-reaching decision’ to be made by the assessors is to see him as the right choice for the post.

**Conclusion**

The analysis we have carried out so far shows the extent to which a powerfully controlled discourse in the hand of the political rhetor could yield multiplicities of meaning when subjected to critical reading, as the study tries to lay bare the rhetorical style of the aspirants seeking the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Obafemi Awolowo University at a critical point, not only in the history of the institution, but also the world at large. Just like the practice outside the university community where political aspirants seek to influence the attitudes of the electorate, we see the aspiring Vice-Chancellors packaging their messages, combining emotions and image-building to position themselves and their ideas to influence the selection panel.

Generally, while the aspirants use a credibility strategy in a restrained manner and inject some good dose of appeal to fear into the discourse, it is noteworthy that they all put to judicious use the element of *kairos*, as they strategically harp on the exigencies and constraints of place, time and audience to give rhetorical force to their utterances. It appears they all capitalise on the degeneration in the system, as well as the apprehensions and aspirations of members of the university community, for their rhetorical strokes. Had the university not found itself in the doldrums and therefore in dire need of focused leadership to bail it, one wonders what the rhetorical appeals in the discourse would be. In this sense, this study opens up further areas of investigation into the rhetorical style of aspiring Vice-Chancellors, not only in other Nigerian universities but also in universities in Africa, in a bid to reveal the contextual considerations that could constrain discursive practices in their respective universities.
References


Akinwale and Adegoju


Josesephine Dzahene-Quarshie 1

Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the conditions that govern the occurrence or non-occurrence of the object marker in affective constructions (i.e., constructions involving Possessor Raising such as Alimshika mkono Ali ‘He held him (by the) hand Ali’ and Mwili ulimtetemeka ‘(her) body trembled (her)’) in Swahili. From data drawn from a corpus of affective constructions, this study demonstrates that the conditions for animate object marking in affective constructions differ from those for object marking elsewhere in Swahili syntax and may violate some rules such as ‘object selection prohibition rules’ in Mukama (1976).

1. Introduction

Marten & Ramadhani (2001) have indicated that object marking in Swahili and indeed in other Bantu languages is not as simple as it appears. Some studies have shown that besides the animate/inanimate conditions for object marking in Swahili and in other Bantu languages, other features that may determine the use or non-use of the object marker are [+definiteness]/[-definiteness] (Woodford 2001); [+focus]/[-focus] (Morimoto 2002). Seidl & Dimitriadis (1997: 373) further point out that ‘In Swahili there is no semantic or lexical class of objects for which object marking is obligatory.’ Their point is that beyond the above conditions for object marking, in Swahili discourse function may be the ultimate determiner of the use or non-use of an object marker. That is, a discourse goal may lead to the inclusion of the object marker where it is normally not expected, or to the exclusion of the object marker where it is normally expected.

However, the data for most studies on object marking have not included ‘affective constructions’, that is, constructions that ‘involve a person affected (patient) and a part of the body or other thing intimately connected with them (property), featuring as two independent arguments

1Josephine Dzahene-Quarshie is Senior lecturer and Head of the Department of Modern Languages, University of Ghana.
of the verb rather than components of a single noun phrase.” (Dzahene-Quarshie 2010: 11). (1) – (4) below are examples of affective constructions.

1. **Akili zi-me-ku-ruka**
   - 10-Mind 10SM-Perf-1OM2-jump
   - You are out of your mind. <u8.13: (A93)>

2. **Kijasho ki-ka-m-chururika**
   - 7-Sweat 7SM- Sbsc-1OM3-drip
   - Sweat was dripping from him. <u11.7: (A95)>

3. **A-ka-m-kamata mkono Musa.**
   - 1SM-Sbsc-1OM3-grip 4-hand Musa
   - She got hold of his hand. (<u9.18>: (A587))

4. **Wa-li-m-funga dada3 miguu na mikono**
   - 2SM Pst 1OM3 tie l(9)-sister 4-legs and 4-hands
   - They tied (my) sister’s legs and hands. <d21.7: (A594a)>

At the end of the English gloss of each example, the source of the construction appears in brackets. First, reference is made to the particular book, page and paragraph in a bracket <>, and if the example is from an appendix in Dzahene-Quarshie (2010), the appendix number is also cited in a second bracket () as in (1) – (4) above.

A number of studies (Keach & Rochemont 1994; Hinnebusch & Kirsner 1980; Scotton 1981a and b; Schrock 2007; Dzahene-Quarshie 2010) have discussed different aspects of the privileged treatment of inalienable possession in Swahili syntax in the light of various grammatical and syntactic theories such as Government and Binding (Keach & Rochemont 1994) and Lexical Function Grammar (Schrock 2007). Most studies focus more on the construction type (3) and (4) rather than on types (1) and (2). Therefore the paper concentrates more on the construction type in (1) and (2).

Using a descriptive approach, this study seeks to contribute to the discourse on object marking in Swahili by examining the conditions for object marking in these affective constructions. The paper points out that the general rules for object marking may be violated by the notion of affectedness and that the conditions that govern the occurrence or non-
occurrence of the object marker in affective constructions differs from the general conditions for object marking elsewhere in Swahili grammar, hence the need to include affectedness/non affectedness as one of the determiners of the occurrence or non-occurrence of the object marker.

The Swahili data for this study were drawn from a text based corpus of affective and related constructions extracted from three Swahili novels by two Coastal Swahili writers culled from Dzahene-Quarshie (2010). Written text based data were chosen because affective constructions often express emotions and state of mind and are expressed of third persons. By their nature, they are mostly used in narratives by authors to manifest the characters’ emotional and mental states to readers. Also, two different authors were chosen as a form of control.

First, the paper describes the terms possessor raising and possessor deletion as fairly cross-linguistic phenomena that are manifest in some languages such as Korean, Sotho and Haya. Secondly, it outlines the general conditions for object marking in Swahili. Then, the relationship between object marking and transitivity is examined briefly. Next, the conditions for object marking in affective construction are examined, pointing out the violation of a general object selection prohibition rule in Swahili syntax by affective constructions. The paper then concludes that possessor raising constitutes one of the conditions for object marking in Swahili and that it may also violate some object selection prohibition rules.

2. Possessor raising and possessor deletion

In the literature the constructions referred to above as affective have been referred to with several labels such as ‘external possession construction’ (Schrock 2007:1), ‘inalienable possession’ construction (Tomioka & Sim 2007:1) and ‘affected possessor construction’ (Hyman & Duranti 1982). In these constructions, the promotion of the affected possessor or personal referent of the verb by introducing it as an extra independent argument (sometimes with a concomitant marking in the verb by object prefixing) to indicate the relationship between the inalienable possession and the person affected by the action of the verb has been described as ‘possessor raising’ (Keach & Rochemont 1994), and this promoted or affected person has also been referred to as the ‘extensive case’ (Scotton 1981b). These constructions of Inalienable possession are
grammatically marked in many languages of the world such as Bantu languages. In some languages like Swahili, they tend to be used side by side with normal possessive constructions. In others like Sotho of South Africa, all relationships between an item that can be considered to be a whole and another that can be considered to be a part to that whole are grammatically marked by the introduction of an extra object NP without a preposition (Voeltz 1972). In affective constructions the affected person who is not directly affected by the action of the verb but is only a referent of the inalienable or intimate possession in the construction features as an argument which in Swahili may be represented in the verb by an object marker. Although it is the inalienable possession that is directly affected by the action of the verb, the affectedness is experienced by the possessor of the inalienable possession. Examples (5) – (7) below illustrate affective constructions from Sotho, a South African Bantu language; Haya, a Bantu language; and Korean respectively.

Sotho

(5) **P. openta tafole leoto.**

P. paints the table the leg. <Voeltz, 1972 ex 7j>

Haya

(6) **ŋ-ka-hénd’ ómwáán’ ómukôno**

I-P3-break child arm

‘I broke the child’s arm’ <Hyman 1977, ex 13>

Korean

(7) **Chelswu-ka Sunhee-lul son-ul cap-ass-ta.**

Chelswu-NOM Sunhee-ACC hand-ACC grab-PAST-decl.

‘Chelswu grabbed Sunhee by the hand.’ <Tomioka & Sim 2007, ex 1a>

In (5), the relationship between the two post verbal arguments is whole/part, ‘table’ and ‘(its) leg’. In (6) and (7) the relationship between ‘child’ and ‘arm’ and ‘Sunhee’ and ‘hand’ is inalienable.

Data from several languages indicate that the range of items that participate in these special constructions differ from language to language. In some languages like Haya, only parts of the body (i.e., strictly
inalienable possessions) participate in affective constructions (Hyman 1977). In others such as Sotho, all relationships that are considered to have a whole/part relationship (such as a person and his body part, a house and its door) participate in affective constructions (Voeltz 1972), and in others like Swahili, the range of items goes beyond strictly inalienable items such as body parts to include other items that are intimately connected to the affected person such as emotions, mental and psychological states, body fluids and gases and clothing worn on the body. Hence Dzahene-Quarshie (2010: 162) suggests the term ‘intimate possession’ as a cover term for all items that participate in the construction. The term ‘affected person’ is used to refer to the possessor of the intimate possession. Besides possessor raising, another associated phenomenon has been described as ‘possessor deletion’, in this case in constructions that involve an affected person performing an action on himself, that is, to an intimate possession which he owns; the possessive marker is not used to indicate the possessive relationship between him and the intimate possession. Consider the structure of the following constructions:

**Haya**

(8) ƞ-k-óogy’ émikôno
I- P3-wash hands
‘I washed my hands’
(lit. I washed hands) <Hyman 1977, ex 7>

**French**

(9) vous vous êtes lavé les mains
you you have washed the hands
You have washed your hands.
(lit. You have washed the hands) <Dzahene-Quarshie 2010, ex 25>

**Swahili**

(10) a-li-tikisa kichwa
1SM-Pst-nod 7-head
He nodded.
(lit. He nodded head) <d57.8: (A713)>

In (8) – (10) possessive markers are not used to indicate the possessive relationship between ‘I’ and ‘Hands’, ‘you’ and ‘hands’ and ‘he’ and...
‘head’ respectively. This phenomenon occurs where the affected person functions as both the agent and patient of the verb that is the instigator and recipient of the action of the verb. Hyman (1977:100) refers to the phenomenon as a ‘possessor deletion rule’. Dzahene-Quarshie (2010) refers to such constructions as ‘auto-referential affective constructions’, as in the construction possessor deletion indicates automatic reference of the intimate possession to the affected person. The ‘head’ in (10) automatically refers to the subject which is represented by the subject prefix so that there is no need for a possessive marker.

3. Conditions for Object Marking in Swahili

In Swahili the established conditions for object marking are animacy and definiteness, as stated above. Animate objects are obligatorily represented in the verb by the object marker (Ashton, 1944) as in (11) below.

(11) Mwalimu a-li-m-fundisha mwanafunzi
1-Teacher 1SM-Pst-1OM3-teach 1-student

The teacher taught the student.

Inanimate objects are not usually represented in the verb by the object marker; however, they are obligatorily marked in the verb by the object marker to indicate definiteness or focus as in (12).

(12) Ni-li-i-andika barua hii mwenyewe
1SM-Pst-9OM-write 9-letter this 1-myself

I wrote this letter by myself.

Where a relative item refers to the object of a clause, object marking is obligatory, as in (13).

(13) Nguo ni-li-zo-zi-nunua jana zi-me-ibi-wa
10-Clothes 1SM-Pst-10Rel-10OM-buy yesterday 10SM-Perf-steal-pass

The clothes which I bought yesterday have been stolen.

Seidl & Dimitriadis (1997) argue that besides the above conditions, some discourse considerations such as information status may lead to the use or non-use of an object marker. Thus the non-use of an object marker to represent the animate object watu ‘people’ in (14) serves a discourse purpose. ‘People’ here does not refer to any particular people, thus it has the feature [-definite].
Wakati huu Rosa a-li-hitaji watu wa ku-m-tuliza.

11-Time this Rosa 1SM-Pst-need 2-people Prep to-1OM3-comfort

‘At that time Rosa needed someone to care for her.’ (Seidl & Dimitriadis1997, ex 2b)

4. Transitivity and object marking

Object marking can also be considered from the perspective of the transitivity pattern of the verb in question. Swahili verbs can generally be classified as transitive and intransitive, although again sometimes it is not so easy to determine transitivity. Simple transitive verbs in Swahili tolerate or allow single arguments after the verb, as in (15a).

(15a) Mtoto a-na-kunywa maji
1-Child 1SM-Pres-drink 6-water
The child drinks water.

In Bantu, one test for transitivity is said to be the verb’s ability to tolerate object marking, as in (15b) (Hyman & Duranti, 1982:218). Thus the verb -kunywa is transitive because it can take an object prefix representing maji ‘water’.

(15b) Mtoto a-na-ya-kunywa maji
1-Child 1SM-Pres-6OM-drink 6-water
The child drinks (it) water.

Another proof of transitivity is the ability of a construction to undergo passive inversion. Similar to other languages, in principle intransitive verbs in Swahili prohibit object NP selection and therefore prohibit object marking in the verb (Mukama 1976). Verbs that do not tolerate object marking include intransitive verbs such as -iva ‘be ripe’ in (16), stative verbs and motion verbs such as -toka ‘come from’ in (17) and passive verbs such as -kamatwa ‘be arrested’ in (18).

(16) Maembe ya-me-iva sana
6-Mangoes 6SM-Perf- be ripe very
The mangoes are very ripe.
There are also ditransitive verbs in Swahili. They take two arguments after the verb and in this case, by default, it is the animate object that gets to be marked in the verb as object marker. A typical ditransitive verb in Swahili is the dative verb ‘to give’. In (19), the two objects of the verb -pa are zawadi ‘gift’ and wanafunzi ‘students’. The latter is represented by the object marker because it is animate.

(19) **Mwalimu a-li-wa-pa** **zawadi** **wanafunzi**
1-Teacher ISM-Pst-2OM3-give 9-gift 2-students
The teacher gave the students gifts.

Also, prepositional or applicative verbs require two object NPs after the verb because they usually express the act of doing something for or on behalf of another person. The beneficiary which is the animate object (direct object) therefore is marked in the verb as object prefix and the thing that is done as the inanimate object, as in (20).

(20) **A-li-m-lete-a** **simu** **mteja**
ISM-Pst-1OM3-bring-Appl 9-phone 1-customer
He brought the customer a phone.

The only condition under which a simple transitive verb can take on a second object is by adding the applicative extension to the verb. Without the applicative extension the verb -leta in (20) can only have one object. The applicative extension may also indicate motion towards Ports (1981), but when it does, the verb requires only one object, as in (21) below.

(21) **Maiti ya-li-ni-j-ia** **kasi**
6-Death 6SM-Pst-1OM1-come-Appl fast
Death approached me speedily.
Without the applicative extension the motion verb ja ‘come’ does not allow object marking.

In the next section we examine the conditions for object marking in intransitive affective constructions and transitive affective constructions.

5. Conditions for object marking in affective constructions

In Swahili generally, three canonical affective construction types are identified (Dzahene-Quarshie 2010). Two of these involve possessor raising, as in (1 - 2) above and (22) below and (3 - 4) above and (23) below. The third construction type, one that involves possessor deletion, as in (10) above, will not be discussed further since it does not involve affective object marking (See Dzahene-Quarshie 2007).

The first construction type (1, 2, 22) is referred to as an intransitive affective construction and the second (3, 4, 23) as a transitive affective one. In these constructions, the raised possessor represents the affected person. The presence of the object marker is by virtue of the intimate relationship between the ‘possessor’ (affected person) and ‘possessee’ (intimate possession) referred to in the construction.

Intransitive affective construction has the structure:

Subject (Intimate possession) + (SM+tense marker+OM (affected person)+verb) as in (22) below.

(22) Mwili u-li-m-tetemeka
    3-body 3SM-Pst-1OM3-tremble
    His body trembled. <u109.4, (A136)>

The transitive affective construction has the structure: Subject + (SM+tense+OM (affected person)+verb) + object 1 (intimate possession) + object 2 (affected person), as in (23).

(23) Biti Kocho a-li-m-kamata mkono Tamima.
    Biti Kocho 1SM-Pst-1OM3-take hold of 3-hand Tamima
    Biti Kocho held Tamima's hand. <u54.4, (A590)>
To a large extent, it can be argued that the affective object marker is distinct from the ordinary animate object marker in the sense that the direct animate object of a transitive verb is the direct target of the action of the verb, whereas the affective object marker is only present by virtue of the presence of an inalienable or intimate possession.

5.1 Object marking in intransitive affective constructions

As indicated in (24a) and (24b), while the omission of the animate object marker in the non-affective construction is not acceptable, the omission of the affective object marker in (25a) is acceptable, as in (25b). The argument is that while the non-affective object is the direct recipient of the action of the verb -piga ‘beat’, the affective object in (25a) is not the direct recipient of the action of the verb -tiririka ‘trickle’.

(24a) Mwalimu a-li-wa-piga wanafunzi
    1-Teacher ISM-Pst-2OM3-beat 2-students

The teacher spanked the students

(24b) *Mwalimu a-li-piga
    1-Teacher ISM-Pst-beat

The teacher spanked

(25a) Machozi ya-li-m-tiririka
    6-Tears 6SM-Pst-1OM3-trickle

Tears trickled him

He shed tears. <u133.2, (A145)>

(25b) na machozi ya-ka-tiririka ovyo.
    and 6-Tears 1SM-Sbsc-trickle anyhow

and tears trickled uncontrollably. <u133.2, (A145)>

The point here is that in affective constructions possessor raising is achieved through the introduction of an NP object through object marking in the verb. In other words possessor raising is a precondition for affective object marking. There is sufficient evidence which attests that without possessor raising there will be no need for object marking in these constructions. Consider the following sets of constructions, (26a-26c) and (27a-27c):
(26a) nywele zake zi-me-timka
10-hair her 10SM-Perf-ruffle
Her hair was ruffled. < ny54.4, (A373)>

(26b) nywele zi-me-timka ovyo
10-hair 10SM perf ruffle untidily
Her hair was ruffled untidily. <u153.4, (A373)>

(26c) nywele zi-me-m-timka
10-hair 10SM Perf 1OM3-ruffle
Her hair was ruffled. <u56.5, (A124)>

(27a) mikono ya Rehema i-li-tetemeka
4-hand of Rehema 4SM Pst tremble
Rehema’s hands trembled. <u140.1, (A396)>

(27b) mkono u-ka-tetemeka
3-hand 3SM Sbsc tremble
His hand trembled. <d92.1, (A275)>

(27c) Mikono na miguu i-li-kuwa i-ki-m-tetemeka.
4-hands and 4-legs 4SM-Pst-be 4SM-Cncm-1OM3-tremble
Her hands and legs were trembling. <u56.9, (A125)>

Example (26a) is a possessive construction in which the relationship between the object (intimate possession) nywele ‘hair’ and the affected person is expressed through the use of a possessive marker zake ‘her’. Example (27a) is a genitive construction in which the possessive relationship between mkono ‘hand’ and the affected person ‘Rehema’ is expressed by the associative marker ya ‘of’.

Examples (26b) and (27b) represent related constructions in which no explicit reference is made to the affected person; neither through possessor raising nor possessive marking. It can be argued that possessor deletion actually takes place here. The personal referents of nywele ‘hair’ in (26b) and mkono ‘hand’ in (27b) are explicit in preceding sentences, hence the omission of an explicit relationship between them and their respective
possessors (affected persons). The possessor of nywele ‘hair’ occurs in a noun phrase which is subject to the immediate preceding sentence in the book. The possessor of mkono ‘hand’ interestingly occurs as a subject in a preceding sentence seventeen sentences away.

However (26c) and (27c) are affective constructions in which the affected persons feature as raised possessors. The verbs -timka ‘ruffle’ and -tetemeka ‘tremble’ are typical intransitive verbs in Swahili. They are stative verbs and therefore would normally not tolerate object marking, yet in these cases, as a result of the intimate relationship between the intimate possession nywele ‘hair’ (26c) and mikono na miguu ‘hands and legs’ (27c) and their possessors, the affective object markers (affected persons), the referents are introduced into the construction and given a direct object status and feature as object markers in the verb.

The important point to note is that this process which has been referred to as possessor raising takes place irrespective of the transitivity status of the verb. Even where verbs which are usually used transitively are used in this construction, there is an indication that they are used intransitively because it is possible to use them without possessor raising. In example (28a) the verb -piga ‘beat’ is usually used transitively, that is, it occurs with an affective object marker -m-, but in its non-affective usage it does not occur with an object, in other words, it is used intransitively, as in (28b)

\[(28a)\] Moyo u-li-m-piga
3-Heart 3SM-Pst-1OM3-beat
(His) heart beat (him)

\[(28b)\] Moyo u-li-piga mbio
3-Heart 3SM-Pst-beat fast
(His) heart beat fast

Nevertheless, in (29a), -shika another typical transitive verb occurs with an object, but its counterpart (29b) without an object is not grammatically acceptable. This proves that the object marker in the construction is not a raised possessor but a direct object of a transitive verb and therefore requires an object in order to be grammatically correct. Examples (24a) and (24b) above are comparable with (29a) and (29b).
From the above illustrations, it can be argued that possessor raising violates the object selection prohibition rule by the introduction of the affective object in an otherwise intransitive verb.

5.2 Object marking in intransitive affective constructions within the narrative continuum

In this section we demonstrate that affective object marking has a particular discourse function within the narrative continuum. Swahili, unlike some Bantu languages, allows the use of affective constructions side by side ordinary intransitive and/or possessive constructions.

As mentioned in Section 1 above, by their very nature, they usually express emotions, state of mind and other involuntary actions like sweating, trembling etc. Within the narrative, there are also other discourse considerations that come to play in the choice of affective versus non-affective usage. Dzahene-Quarshie (2010) demonstrates that possessor raising is a mechanism that allows the movement of the affected person to sentence initial position to serve as a topic to several clauses within a narrative. This topicalisation also ensures clarity of referents in a narrative where there is more than one personal referent involved and there are frequent switches between them as subjects to different sentences. As stated in (Dzahene-Quarshie, 2010:146)

“In continuous narrative, the (topicalisation) mechanism is used first of all to draw attention to the foregrounded item which usually is the affected person. Secondly it is a mechanism that indicates or points to change of referent, especially in a continuous text where there are frequent switches between two or more referents.”

The text (30) below illustrates this point.
1. **Fumu sasa woga u-me-m-toka.**
   Fumu now 14-fear 14SM-Perf-1OM3-come from
   Now fear had gone out of Fumu.

2. **Jicho la hasira ka-li-toa.**
   5-eye of 9-anger Sbsc-5-OM-come out
   He stared with an angry eye.

3. **Sauti i-me-m-tetemeka.**
   9-voice 9SM-Perf-1OM3-tremble
   His voice trembled.

4. **Bila ya shaka, a-li-lo-li-sema**
   without of doubt, 1SM-Pst-5Rel-5OM-say
   li-li-kuwa tusi kubwa kwa Fauz ambaye
   li-li-kuwa tusi kubwa kwa Fauz ambaye
   5 SM-Pst-be 5-insult 5-big for Fauz 1-Rel-
   a-li-hisi kama ka-chom-wa kisu cha
   1SM-Pst-feel as Sbsc-stab-PASS 7-knife of
   chembe cha moyo; mtimko wa damu
   7-pit of 3-heart 3-shot of 9-blood
   u-li-timka ghafla, pumzi zlimfoka
   3-SM-Pst-shoot up suddenly 10-breath 10Pst-1OM3
   ovyo, ufidhuli u-li-mw-enda na ari
   excessively, 14-arrogance 14SM-Pst-1OM3-go and 9-pride
   ya ujana i-li-m-shawishi vibaya.
   of 14-youth 9SM-Pst-1OM3-entice badly

   Undoubtedly what he said was a great insult to Fauz who felt as if he
   had been stabbed right in the heart with a knife. Adrenaline surged
   suddenly, he panted uncontrollably, arrogance went out of him and
   youthful pride pressed him strongly.

5. **Kama mwanajeshi hodari a-li-shusha bunduki**
   Like 1-soldier clever 1SM-Pst-lowered 9-gun
   Yake a kagonga tako lake kwenye ardhi.
   9-Poss 1SM-Sbsc-hit 5-bottecks 5-Poss-3 on 9-ground

   Like a skilled soldier he lowered his gun and hit its bottom on the ground.
6 **Vumbi** li-li-timka.
Dust rose up.

7 **Fumu moyo** u-ki-m-gota, lakini a-li-simama
Fumu 3-heart 3SM-Pst-1OM3-beat but 1SM-Pst-stand

kidete, ushupavu u-ki-mw-enda.
Fumu’s heart thumped but he stood fast, and maintained a brave front.

8 **Fauz sasa** malaika ya-me-m-simama, aliuma
Fauz now 6-goose flesh 6SM-Perf-1OM3-stand 1SM-Pst-hurt

meno na ku-sikiliza uchungu wa maneno ya Fumu
6-teeth and Inf-listen 14-bitterness of 6-words of Fumu

u-ki-m-panda na ku-m-teremka upesi upesi.
14SM-Cncm-1OM3-rise and Inf-1OM3-descend fast fast
Now Fauz had goose flesh, he clenched his teeth, feeling the bitterness of Fumu’s words rise and descend in him rapidly. <d8.1 2, ex 2>

In text (30), the author uses the mechanism of topic switching and foregrounding as a narrative style to recount a highly emotional encounter between two men. All affective constructions in the text have been underlined for easy identification. Sentence 1 is an affective construction in which the affected NP Fumu features as a pre-sentential topic and is also marked in the verb as the object. This structure brings the affected person into the foreground. The affected person also serves as an antecedent referent to sentences 2 and 3. In 4-6 the second referent Fauz is brought to the foreground through a relative clause formation. In 7, Fumu is brought back to the foreground as a pre-sentential topic of an affective construction.

It can be argued that this kind of topicalisation is achieved only through possessor raising. Without possessor raising in the form of the affective object marker, the affective person cannot feature as a pre-sentential topic in sentences 1, 7 and 8 in (30). *Fumu sasa woga umetoka, *Fumu moyo ukigota, *Fauz sasa malaika yamesimama. Therefore possessor raising
or affective object marking is a pre-condition for the topicalisation of the affected person.

It must be pointed out that the affective NP may occur in object position, that is, after the verb. In this case also the affective object marking is obligatory, as in (31) and (32). They will not be grammatically acceptable without the affective object marker. In other words, where the affective NP is present, the affective object marker is obligatory. No discourse consideration can make (31) and (32) acceptable without possessor raising. They can only be acceptable if the affective NP is absent, as in (26b) and (27b)

(31) Chozi li-li-m-tiririka Farashuu
Tears trickled down Farashuu. <u59.3, (A167)>

(32) Huku mikono-i-ki-m-tetemeka Maksuudi
As Maksuudi's hands trembled. <u108.6, (A168)>

Although generally, an affective version and the possessive version are in a paradigmatic relation, occasionally both possessor raising and possessive marking may occur, as in (33) and (34).

(33) uso wake kidogo u-li-ku-wa u-me-m-parama
His face was a little dried up. <u114.4, (A454)>

(34) tamaa yake i-li-m-cheza shere
His impatience mocked him. <d49.16, (A444)>

5.3 Object marking in transitive affective constructions

Object marking in transitive affective constructions is less complicated. As mentioned earlier, the verbs involved in this construction type are simple transitive verbs that normally take one object elsewhere, but if they participate in affective constructions, possessor raising is obligatory, as in (35a) and (36a), and therefore they take two objects: the affected person and the intimate possession respectively. Possessor raising
introduces a second object NP (affective object) which is obligatorily marked in the verb by an object marker as in (35a) and (36a). Examples (35b) and (36b) are alternative non affective constructions that manifest a possessive relationship between the intimate possession and its possessor. The alternative where there is neither possessor raising nor possessive marking as in (26b) and (27b) above is not possible, as in (35c) and (36c). This is because in Swahili syntax when a verb takes two objects one of them ought to be marked in the verb as object prefix, and if one is animate it is the animate object that is automatically marked in the verb by the object marker. The choice then is between affective and possessive construction. Without possessor raising in examples (35a) and (36b), and without a possessive relationship between the possessor and the intimate possession, the construction as indicated in (35c) and (36c) cannot be grammatically acceptable.

(35a) Mama Jeni a-li-m-vuta mkono Maimuna
Mama Jeni 1SM Pst 1OM3 pull 4-hand Maimuna
Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna’s hand. <u64.3, (A591)>

(35b) Kisha a-li-li-vuta-vuta shati lake
then 1SM-Pst-5OM-pull-pull 5-shirt his
Then she pulled at his shirt and put it tidy. <d77.1, (A618)>

(35c) *Mama Jeni a-li-vuta mkono Maimuna
Mama Jeni 1SM Pst pull 3-hand Maimuna
Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna’s hand.

(36a) a-ki-m-shika bega Maimuna
1SM-Sbsc-1OM3-hold 5-shoulder Maimuna
taking hold of her shoulders. <u39.1, (A588)>

(36b) Rehema a-li-i-shika mikono migumu ya Sulubu
Rehema1SM Pst 4OM hold 4-hands 4-hard of Sulubu
Rahema held Sulubu’s rough hands. <ny95.2, (626)>

(36c) *a-ki-shika bega Maimuna
1SM-Sbsc-hold 5-shoulder Maimuna
taking hold of her shoulders

Another observation is that when the relationship between the intimate possession and the possessor is marked by possessive marking
or genitival connector there is often a concomitant representation of the intimate possession in the verb by an object marker, as in (35b) and (36b). It is obvious then that while the affective option focuses on the affected person, the possessive option focuses on the intimate possession, hence its representation by the object marker. Nevertheless, though not often, the object marker may be absent in the possessive or genitive option, as in (37).

(37) Bibi a-li-ng'ang'an'ia miguu ya Fumu
1 (9)-Woman ISM-Pst-cling 4-legs of Fumu
The woman clung on to Fumus legs. <d95.7, (A619)>

The data indicate that possessor raising and possessive NP selection are in paradigmatic relation; where one occurs, the other does not. Both possessor raising and possessive marking cannot co-occur in a construction, as in (38).

(38) *Mama Jeni a-li-m-vuta mkono ya Maimuna
Mama Jeni ISM Pst 1OM3 pull 3-hand of Maimuna
Mama Jeni pulled Maimuna’s hand.

From the above discussion it is evident that the intransitive affective construction and the transitive affective construction behave distinctively in terms of conditions for affective object marking.

6. Conclusion

In this paper we have argued that it is important to include object marking in affective constructions in the study of object marking in Swahili. It has been illustrated that one of the conditions for object marking in Swahili is possessor raising, that is, object marking in two distinct construction types, the intransitive affective construction and the transitive affective constructions. Possessor raising violates object selection prohibition rules in Swahili where intransitive affective constructions are concerned. Despite the fact that most of the verbs used in the construction are intransitive and ordinarily would prohibit object marking, affective object marking occurs regularly.

Again, in the intransitive affective construction, the affective object marking is obligatory where the affected person features as a presentential topic or as an affective object NP. The conclusion here is that
without an explicit pre-sentential or post-verbal affective object NP, affective object marking is not obligatory in an otherwise intransitive affective construction. Where affective object marking is not used, the relationship between the affected person and intimate possession may be marked by a possessive marker or possessor deletion (that is, where the affective possessor is left as understood).

In transitive affective constructions verbs that would normally tolerate only a single object allow a second object NP which features obligatorily in the verb as an affective object marker. Unlike the intransitive affective construction where it is possible to have a grammatically acceptable construction without possessor raising or possessive marking, in transitive affective constructions without possessor raising only a construction in which the relationship between the intimate possession and affected person is expressed by possessive or genitive marking is possible. A complete possessor deletion option is not available. Where there is possessor deletion, affective object marking is obligatory. These conditions for object marking are certainly distinct from the general conditions for object marking. A further study on object marking in affective constructions in naturally occurring narratives is recommended for comparison since the corpus for this study is text based.
ENDNOTES

1Most of the Swahili data used in this paper are cited from the appendix of Dzahene-Quarshie (2010). The following abbreviations and notations are used for the interlinear annotations.

Interlinear annotations

Tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Notation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>perf</td>
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<td>pres</td>
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<td>cncm</td>
<td>-ki-</td>
<td>concomitant tense</td>
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Verbal elements

SM subject marker preceded by noun class number eg. 1-SM

OM object marker preceded by noun class number and followed by grammatical person if animate. E.g., 1-OM-3

Rel relative marker

Loc locative marker

Appl applicative extension

Refl reflexive marker

Pass passive extension

Text references: <initial letter of text title. page. para (appendix number)> or <author, year: example number>. All unlabelled examples are author’s own data

Texts

d Dunia mti mkavu

ny Nyota ya Rehema
Other abbreviations

NOM  nominative case
ACC  accusative case

When animate nouns which do not belong to the animate class 1/2 are used, 1 or 2 is used to indicate that they are animates, and in brackets the number of their actual class is given. In (4) dada is a noun from class 9, but it is animate and therefore follows the rules of concord for class 1, not class 9. So 1 indicates that it takes animate concord. The following table is a guide to the Swahili concord system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun class number</th>
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<th>subject marker</th>
<th>object marker</th>
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