Outer and Inner Circle Rhetoric Specificity in Political Discourse: A Corpus-based Study

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Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades (Dr. phil.)
der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaftlichen
Fakultät der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt

vorgelegt von

Fidelis Musi Aseh, Eichstätt

B.A (University of Yaounde 1) 2008

M.A (University of Yaounde 1) 2011

Januar 2020

First Advisor: Herr Prof. Dr. Thomas Hoffmann

Second Advisor: Herr Prof. Dr. Heiner Böttger

Date of Defence: 12th February 2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research has been completed thanks to the funding of the German Academic Exchange Services (DAAD). I hereby acknowledge with thanks and gratitude the substantial funding I received from the DAAD throughout the four years of working on this project.

My most profound thanks and gratitude go to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Thomas Hoffmann, for accepting to supervise me as his Ph.D candidate and for tremendously supporting me in obtaining a full DAAD grant. I am also deeply indebted to him for his insightful ideas and guidance and especially appreciate his keen interest in my thesis, his constant feedback on my thesis chapters, his objective criticisms and his ability to enhance my desire to present new and original ideas. I would not leave out his regular assistance in providing me with written reports on the progress of my thesis so as to enable me secure my scholarship extensions. Finally, I also thank him for providing me with a fully equipped office throughout the four years of working on my thesis.

My extensive thanks and appreciations also go to the other colleagues of the department of English Language and Linguistics with whom I have shared quite a lot in terms of knowledge and research experience over the past four years. A special mention to Jakob Horsch with whom I share not only academic experience but also a great friendship, Thomas Brunner for his invaluable advice and assistance on methodological issues, María Celeste Cetra for discussing my working progress and experience, and Andrea Graf for her enormous assistance with administrative matters.

I will forever be thankful and grateful to my one very special friend and life coach Brett Millier for being there right from the very beginning to give me the tremendous moral support which I needed to accomplish this task.

My thanks and gratitude also go to all the staff of the Catholic University of Eichstaett-Ingolstadt main library for providing me with a private working station in the library. Finally, I also want to thank all those others with whom I have shared part of my research experience over the past four years.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents and siblings who, throughout these years of living far away from them, have always supported me with their love and prayers. I thank God Almighty for their lives.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the distinctive patterns of language use in political discourse across selected outer circle (Cameroon and Ghana) and inner circle (US and South Africa) varieties, using a corpus-based approach. More specifically, the research sets out to investigate the use of two types of linguistic features, namely, personal pronouns and kinship metaphors. In a first analysis, I adopt an alternative approach to investigating the use of personal pronouns in political discourse. The approach essentially draws from the cognitive linguistic concept of 'frames' as articulated by the theory of frame semantics (Fillmore, 1976, 1977a, 1982, 1985, 2008; Fillmore & Baker, 2010). I use an automatic frame semantic parsing tool, the SEMAFOR parser (Das et al, 2014), to identify the different types of (semantic) frames and frame roles with which specific personal pronouns are instantiated across the four varieties. I then compare the findings to illustrate instances of universality and variation.

In a second analysis, I examine the types of metaphorical conceptualizations which are made using kinship terms across the varieties. Working top-down from conceptual schemas to linguistic instantiation, I identify and compare the frequencies of metaphors from the kinship field and also describe the types of cross-domain mappings typically involved in each of the varieties. My analysis is mostly informed by mainstream cognitive approaches to the study of metaphors, more especially cultural variations in the use of conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2002, 2005). I demonstrate that although there is empirical evidence for the use of a kinship conceptual schema across all four varieties, there are however significant variances in the specific metaphorical mappings used to instantiate this high-level conceptual structure.

Both analyses make a case for the fact that in the field of political discourse especially, language use may be structured and constrained by conceptual schemas which themselves are culturally determined.

Keywords: Political discourse, cultural variation, World Englishes, frames, conceptual metaphors.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

1.1 Introduction

The relationship between language and politics has received scholarly attention across disciplines and empirical fields. Chilton (2004) observes that politics is as old as language itself and remarks that language and politics develop symbiotically. Scholars in the fields of linguistics, political science and political communication have made numerous attempts to explain the interaction between language and politics and these have revealed substantial insights into how linguistic resources are exploited to attain political goals. Fairclough (1989) for example examines the relationship between politics and language and points out that politics is not just conducted through language, but much politics is language, while Charteris-Black (2005) corroborates this line of reasoning when he remarks that "within all types of political systems, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on spoken words to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership" (p.1). Along the same lines of reasoning, Schaffner (1997, p.1) remarks that "any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language".

A great number of studies have argued that language can be used in politics to shape public thought, influence attitudes, opinions, and worldviews. Jones & Paccei (2004) for instance observe that language can be used to create and reinforce certain value systems by shaping the beliefs which affect people's behavior, motivations, desires and fears, and establish certain ideologies as 'common sense'. They further observe that politicians "often adopt identifiable habits of speech and observe a broader 'body of rules' which govern the linguistic structures and devices which they use to increase the impact of their ideas" (p. 45). As a matter of fact, the success of language in the domain of politics may not necessarily be based on truth or correctness; it may just be a matter of presenting valid arguments (Beard, 2000). Indeed, one of the major agendas in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to increase public awareness of the kinds of social relations that are forged, maintained and reinforced through the use of language (Chilton & Schäfner, 1997; Chilton, 2001; Charteris-Black, 2005; Wodak, 2007; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). The fact remains that ideologies only exist as a social phenomenon by virtue of being communicated through verbal actions and this directly or indirectly justifies courses of

political action (Flood, 1996). The idea that politics typically involves language has thus been attested by numerous scholarly works, most especially in the fields of linguistics and political communication.

That political communication in contemporary politics quite often involves participants from diverse cultural spheres is in no way surprising, especially given the current trends of globalization. Processes of internationalization in the domain of politics most often involves a culture-communication component and this may sometimes be the weak spot in the process, thus defying the good intentions, elaborated policies and extensive preparation by participants (Blommaert & Verschuren, 1991). Blommaert and Verschuren have observed that whenever there is communication breakdown during such cross-cultural political encounters, the failure is often either naively blamed on the "deficient language competence on the part of the minority member or... on the minority member's attitudes, abilities, personality and intelligence, as they were perceived through his interactive behavior during the encounter" (p.5). There is much linguistics can do to address such socio-political/cultural problems, especially by providing more accurate accounts and findings on culture-specific linguistic preferences and conceptualizations.

Interestingly, recent linguistic research in the fast-emerging domain of World Englishes (WE), particularly its views regarding the universality and variability of English across nations and cultures, seems to have provided an appropriate avenue for illustrating the extent to which specific features of language may be constrained by cultural preferences. English is now undeniably a global language (Crystal, 2003), with its varieties well established across nations and cultures. Apart from being institutionalized in many nations, its prominence in world politics and diplomacy is today uncontested, and it is increasingly being adopted as a language for politicking across many cultures. Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model for the evolution of postcolonial Englishes can be credited for emphasizing the contributions of local cultures in fashioning the emergence of new varieties, specifically in post-colonial contexts. This is a core aspect of the model which deserves to be given more attention, especially from a cognitive linguistics perspective. Another major recent linguistic development has been the upsurge of corpus approaches in linguistic analysis, with more and more corpus resources and tools now available to give empirical accounts of how language is used. These recent linguistic developments offer prolific bases for investigating the extent to which varieties and cultures can differ in their linguistic preferences.

Against this backdrop, the present study sets out to explore the distinctive patterns of language in political discourse across selected outer circle (Cameroon and Ghana) and inner circle (US and South Africa) cultures and varieties, using a corpus-based approach. The main emphasis in this thesis is to show that while there exist linguistic features and patterns which might be typical of political discourse in general, as accounted for in the literature, there might however be cultural constraints and preferences in the way such language features are instantiated across varieties.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Mainstream research on language use in politics has essentially focused on isolated case studies of national politics, with only little attention given to cross-cultural investigations which might provide substantial understanding of linguistic variations across national cultures. As a result, most of the findings have only reflected linguistic and rhetoric features/patterns which are peculiar to isolated varieties and cultures. In the meantime, World Englishes (WE) research has argued for the existence of linguistic differences across varieties, and this point has been demonstrated in various studies which have described the linguistic features of different varieties. A lot still needs to be done, however, to account for how the use of particular linguistic features/patterns may differ across varieties, especially from a usage-based perspective. The core argument in usage-based linguistics is that the structure and organisation of speaker's linguistic knowledge is the product of language use or performance. From a World Englishes point of view, an account of how specific linguistic patterns may differ in political discourse that cuts across varieties could give insights on how such patterns may themselves encode conceptualisations which are deeply entrenched in cultures.

1.3 Research Questions

This research is an attempt to account for the types linguistic variations which occur in language use in political discourse across varieties. The aim is to show in what ways linguistic variations could be the result of conceptual differences. A lot can be said about the distinctive patterns of language used in political discourse across varieties, particularly from a usage-based perspective. In order to investigate in what ways varieties may differ linguistically in their patterns of language, the following research questions will guide this research:

- 1) What linguistic features/patterns show that there is variation in political discourse across varieties?
- 2) What are the frequencies these features/patterns in the corpora of the selected varieties?
- 3) What cognitive schemas can be inferred from the use of these linguistic features/patterns?
- 4) In what ways are these cognitive schemas variety/culture-specific?

1.4 Research Hypotheses

The argument that cultural differences across varieties might constrain the patterns of language use in the field of politics certainly presupposes a number of hypotheses to be investigated. More importantly, the formulation of such hypotheses necessitates that we take into account some key concepts of cognitive linguistics through which what is viewed or understood as being "cultural" in this research can be accessed or at least inferred. Also, mindful of the fact that this research mainly adopts a usage-based approach, the variation of linguistic features/patterns across varieties will mainly be determined by frequency counts. Altogether, two hypotheses underpin this study, viz:

Hypothesis 1

Considering the fact that varieties are immersed in different cultures, language use in political discourse across selected varieties will be characterized by distinctive linguistic features/patterns. These patterns will show that some linguistic features are more frequent in certain varieties than in others.

Hypothesis 2

There will be conceptual schemas which can be inferred from the patterns of language use in political discourse across varieties. These schemas will show that there are conceptual variations across varieties that are the result of cultural preferences and constraints.

1.5 Study Objectives

My main objective in this thesis is to demonstrate the extent to which language use across varieties may be determined by cultural preferences. To achieve this objective, I first seek to illustrate by means of quantitative analysis that certain linguistic features/patterns tend to occur more frequently in some varieties than in the other

varieties. Specifically, I will proceed by examining the use of two kinds of linguistic features/patterns, namely, personal pronouns and kinship metaphors in a bid to determine their significance across each of the varieties. On top of that, I equally want to demonstrate that even though these linguistic features/patterns may pervade language use in political discourse across all four varieties, there are significant conceptual differences in in the way these feature/patterns are replicated across each of the varieties. In this regard, I use the cognitive linguistic concepts of frames and conceptual metaphors to demonstrate that these linguistic features/patterns could be determined by conceptual schemas which are in many cases culturally given.

1.6 Preliminary Considerations.

Before delving into what will constitute the core sections of this research, it important to examine some preliminary concepts which are necessary for the understanding of the background leading to this research. These include among others the notion of language as a system, the mainstream taxonomies on world varieties as well as the concepts politics and political discourse. Such an endeavor will certainly bring transparency to this work and ease the comprehension of the reader. It will also guide and justify the choice of appropriate theoretical frameworks.

1.6.1 The Study of Language

Linguists have used numerous paradigms to explain the basic constituents of language. Linguistic structuralism, beginning with the works of Ferdinand De Saussure (1916), makes a distinction between *language* [langue] and *speaking* [parole], and articulates the study of language [langue] on the 'linguistic sign' [Signe]. Following De Saussure teachings, it is *language* [langue] which accounts for the knowledge of language: its systemic structure, organization and rules, while speaking (parole) only accounts for output produced by speakers in applying the rules of language. Similarly, generative linguists mainly emphasize on the fact that the study of language shthe study of linguistic competence, i.e the supposed 'innate knowledge' of a language possessed by its speakers, as opposed to performance, which refers to the actual use of a language by its speakers. What is common to both structuralist and generative linguists is that they both seem to agree on the fact that the study of the language system should be separated from its use.

But unlike structuralism and generative grammar, functional linguistics maintains that any description of the linguistic system should consider the purposes for which language is used, and the context in which language occurs. More especially, Halliday (1978) defines language as 'social semiotic'. As a social semiotic system, language is interpreted "within a socio-cultural context in which the culture itself is interpreted in semiotic terms- as an information system, if that terminology is preferred" (Halliday 1978, p.2). For Halliday, language occurs within a context of situation and has a semiotic structure formed out of the three socio-semiotic variables of field, tenor and mode. The semiotic components of situation (field, tenor and mode) are further systematically redounded on functional components of semantics: ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. The semiotic variable of 'field' relates to the 'ideational' component, representing the 'content' function of language; the 'tenor' relates to the interpersonal component, representing the 'participation' function of language, while the mode relates to the textual component, representing the 'relevance' function of language, without which the other two do not become actualized. This description of the systematic relation between the semiotic structure situation and the functional components of semantic is aptly depicted by Halliday & Martin's (1993) theory of register. Figure 1.2 illustrates the systematic relationship which exists between the social and the functional components of language.

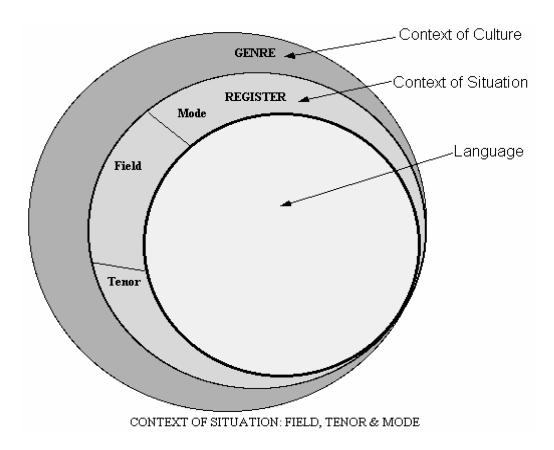


Figure 1. 1: Halliday & Martin (1993) Theory of Register.

As seen in Figure 1.2, the term 'register' is used to subsume the field, tenor and mode context variables at the level of meta-function, and this is labelled as the 'context of situation'. The 'context of culture' is projected as the superordinate outer layer and is labelled using the term 'genre'. Halliday (1978, p.123) remarks that the semiotic structure of a given situation type, its particular pattern of field, tenor and mode, can be thought of as resonating in the semantic system, thus activating particular networks of semantic options, specifically options from within the corresponding semantic components. Halliday's theory of register can provide an initial spectrum through which language used in political discourse that cuts across contexts and varieties can be viewed and understood. The idea that language always takes place in a situational context and that the specific configuration of linguistic features is determined by the configuration of the context of situation through its three variables of *field*, *tenor* and *mode*, is particularly significant for the present work.

On this basis, I will argue that even though the present study is interested in analyzing language that cuts across varieties and cultures, the specific type of communicative event which is of interest can be viewed as belonging to a common register which can be defined in terms of their contexts of situation. The *field* in this case is that of political discourse; more specifically direct communications of presidents to their citizens regarding the general annual political, economic and social situation in their country. The *mode* considered is that of mediated presidential declarations and the roles played by language in this specific kind of context could be that of coercion of their subjects, legitimization of themselves and their actions as well as the delegitimization of others (see Chilton 2004). The *tenor* mainly concerns incumbent presidents and their citizens, though in practice it is only a one-sided communication i.e centered only on the speakers as there is no corresponding feedback from their audience, except for applause in some cases.

1.7.2 Approaches to World Varieties of English: Framing the Discussion

The emergence of world varieties of English has been a major topic of scholarly debate in the field of linguistics over recent decades, often resulting in contradictory views among scholars. Bolton (2012) observes that prior to the 1980s, discussions of English worldwide typically employed normative lexicon that essentially rested on the distinction between native and non-native speakers, resulting in categories description. Among such categories were English as a Native language (ENL), English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as an International Language (EIL). It was until the late 1980s that the notion of varieties entered mainstream linguistic discussions, particularly with the works of Kachru (1985, 1991) and McArthur (1987).

Generally, traditional approaches to English considered emerging varieties as non-standard English, mostly characterized by fossilized forms resulting from the lack of 'native standards' in English language instruction, particularly in non-native contexts. This view was advocated by Quirk (1985, 1990), who criticized the emergence of new varieties of English using the notion of 'fossilization' as articulated by the interlanguage theory (see Selinker, 1972). He argues against the institutionalization of non-native varieties and observes that both native and non-native teachers of English need to be constantly in touch with the native varieties of English. Quirk equally points out a number

¹¹ Fossilization is a concept mostly used in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). It is a concept grounded on the interlanguage theory (Selinker, 1972) and is based on the idea that speakers of a Native Language (NL) are likely to keep certain phonological, morphological and syntactic features in their interlanguage when learning a Target Language (TL). Such features are generally different from the TL rules and tend to persist, regardless of the learners age or amount of instruction received.

of nuances in the existing taxonomies on varieties at the time. Firstly, he observes that most of the classifications are marred by "confusion of types of linguistic variety..." (1990, p.15). Accordingly, it is not easy to tell which of the classifications are based on ethnopolitical grounds and which ones are based on linguistic grounds. This point is well articulated in the following remark:

When Braj Kachru (1982) talks about South East Asian English, he is referring to audible similarities in the way Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans speak English; but when E.G Bokamba (1982) refers to African English, he seems not to be claiming linguistic similarities but only the common ground that the work so labelled was written in Africa by black Africans. (p.16)

Quirk also pointed out the blurry nature of the labels assigned to the emerging varieties. Labels such as 'legal English' considered as a variety may as well simply refer to a style used in both American English and British English. Table 1.1 outlines some of the English varieties identified by Quirk (1990). It is immediately evident from such labels that traditional grammar taxonomies on varieties were quite blurred and profuse. This led Quirk to argue that the proliferations of new varieties were likely going to result to unintelligibility and to advocate for native standards and norms in English language instruction, both in native and non- native contexts.

A good number of studies have however addressed the limitations of traditional approaches to emerging varieties and have articulated their using more refined models. McArthur (1987) remarks that the changing world and attitudes of English-speakers has tilted the center of attention from the traditional base of English to other geographical spaces, particularly in North America and other regions around the world. Kachru (1991) supports this point of view when he observes that the growth and spread of English to different regions also implies a power shift in the command and control of the language. In this regard, no nation can today claim ownership of the English language. He argues that this situation consequently compels linguists and other commentators to seek greater accuracy and sensitivity in their descriptions of English.

American English	South Asian English
Legal English	Liturgical English
Working Class English	Chicano English
Computer English	Scientific English
BBC English	Chicago English
Black English	

Table 1. 1: List of Identified varieties of English (Adapted from Quirk, 1990)

As pointed out in Bolton (2009), Kachru's paper entitled 'World Englishes and Applied Linguistics' addresses the limitations of traditional applied linguistics perspectives on World Englishes, arguing that these had been skewed by the "ethnocentrisms of the inner-circle practitioners, reliance on interlanguage and error analysis frameworks, and misconceptions concerning the sociolinguistic realities of multilingual outer-circle societies" (p. 262). It therefore suffices at this point to have an overview of some of the models used in World Englishes research which have registered wide recognition and approval in Linguistics in general and in socio-linguistics in particular.

1.7.2.1 Models in World Englishes Research.

This section attempts an overview of some of the mainstream models used in the classification and analysis of emerging varieties of English. Even though a critical survey of the field shows that numerous models have been attested in the literature, it is not within the scope of the current study to provide an overview of all of them. At best, this study seeks to discuss only those models which have significantly influenced research in this domain of inquiry. In this light, the present study subscribes to Mesthrie and Bhatt's (2008, p.27) observation that "at roughly the same time three scholars came up with rather similar models which aimed to characterise World Englishes within one conceptual set". These include the Wheel Model (McArthur, 1987), the Concentric Circle Model (Kachru, 1985, 1991) and the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2007). The three models are discussed

in this section in a bid to explain the basis of the classification of the varieties examined in the current study.

I) The Wheel Model (McArthur 1987)

McArthur's (1987) Wheel Model is among the earliest to attempt a classification and description of emerging varieties of English. The model conceptualises a core idealized variety called "World Standard English"; a monolithic core, text-linked world standard. Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008) observe that the World Standard English as conceived in McArthur's model is best represented by 'written international English', though there are slight differences between written British and American norms. The next layer of the model constitutes a group-band of various regional and emerging varieties, including both standard and standardizing forms. This is essentially based on geographical spread, and as a result each variety in this circle engulfs several emerging regional varieties.

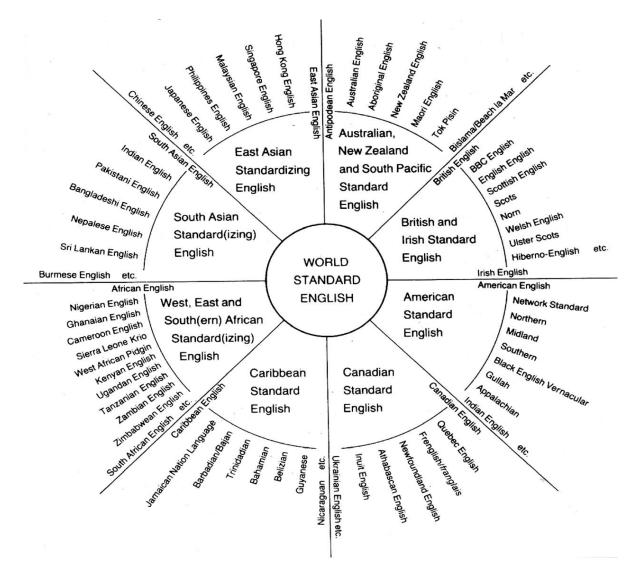


Figure 1. 2: Tom McArthur's Circle of World English (from McArthur 1987, p.97)

McArthur describes such varieties as non-standard forms, which however contribute to the overall World English. The outer layer incudes clusters of localised varieties, which may be quite similar to regional or emerging. One of the limitations of the Wheel Model is that it makes no clear-cut distinction between three different types, particularly in its second layer (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). The three types include English as a Native Language (ENS), English as Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). They observe for instance that some ENLs (USA and Britain) have crystallised norms, whereas others (Australia and South Africa) are ambivalent between a local (endogenous) versus external (exogenous) base standard. Another shortcoming of this stratum arises from the fact that it is quite difficult to say whether or not EFLs are standardising forms, and its failure to account for multitude of emerging Englishes in places like Europe. Lastly, Masthrie and Bhatt equally opine that many scholars might not be able to reconcile the many pidgins, creoles and L2 varieties that constitute the outer layer; pidgins and creoles for instance do not unambiguously belong to one family. It is however worth mentioning that McArthur (1987) acknowledges the fact that the Wheel Model is in no way a self-sufficient and fine-grained model which captures all the complexities involved when addressing World Englishes. He observes that;

There can be many quibbles (even quarrels) about the precise arrangement and content of a model like this.... The purpose of the model is to highlight the broad three-part spectrum that ranges from the 'innumerable' popular Englishes through the various national and regional standards to the remarkably homogeneous but negotiable 'common core' of World Standard English" (p.11).

II) The Concentric Circle Model (Kachru, 1985, 1991)

Braj Kachru's *Concentric Circle* model of World Englishes is certainly the most cited in the literature. Kachru's model is among the most discussed in the literature and essentially offers a taxonomy for the grouping of varieties. The model captures the global spread of English using three-circles, the Concentric Circles, with each circle describing the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional uses of English across cultures and nations. The model thus brings to the English language a unique cultural

pluralism and a variety of speech fellowships (Kachru, 1985). This model is presented in Figure 6. As can be observed, each circle captures the different statuses of English and also outlines the list of countries belonging to the circle.

Following Kachru's model, the *inner circle* constitutes the traditional bases of English, and is represented by mother-tongue varieties. English in this circle has the status of a 'native language'. Countries belonging to this circle include the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This circle is considered viewed as 'norm providing'. The *outer circle* represents the spread of English in non-native settings, particularly to countries of the former British Empire. This includes countries where English was once used for colonial purposes and has now become institutionalized. As a matter of fact, the institutionalization of English in such varieties has had "linguistic, political and sociocultural explanations" (Kachru, 1985, p.12).

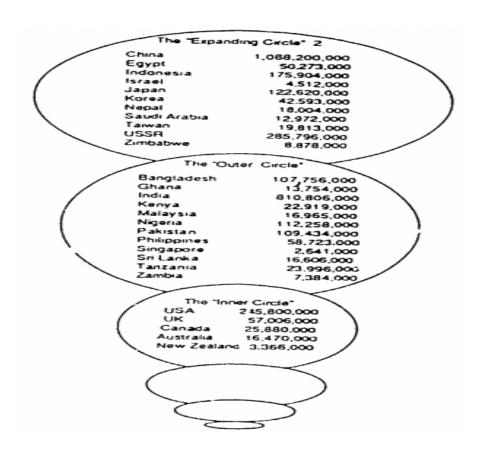


Figure 1. 3: The Concentric Circle Model (from Kachru, 1991)

Countries within this circle are typical former British colonies, but can also be extended to countries which were not part of the former British empire but where English

has come to acquire a 'second language status' (Crystal, 2003). English in this circle is 'norm developing' and has a 'second language' status. Finally, the expanding circle mainly comprises countries which do not have any colonial history with Britain and where English has not come to acquire any institutional status or function. This includes countries such as China, Japan and Turkey. English in these countries typically has the status of a 'foreign language' and serves only as medium for international communication. It is worth mentioning, however, that even though Kachru's model has been the most influential in World Englishes research, a number of limitations have been pointed out. One of them concerns the demographic projection of the various communities of speaker in each circle, which is based on country population rather than usage population. Such projection is not quite accurate as a country's population might not may not necessarily reflect its usage population, particularly in the Outer and Expanding Circles (Crystal, 2003). It is also not very clear from Kachru's model weather the list of countries in each circle is meant to be exhaustive or simply examples of countries. If the former is the case, then Kachru's model falls short of the recent trends in the spread of English. This point is supported by Crystal's observation that there are now some seventy-five territories in which English has held and continues to hold a special place as a member of either the inner or the outer circle.

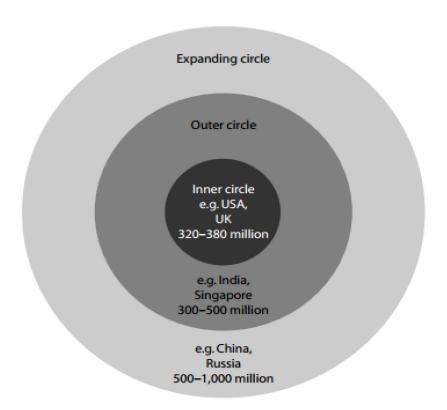


Figure 1. 4: Representation of the Concentric Circle Model (From Crystal, 2003)

Crystal may therefore be credited for refining Kachru's *Concentric Circle Model* by making a distinction between country and usage population using credible sources such as Ethnologue, the Encyclopedia Britannica yearbook as well as the UNESCO statistical yearbook, and also for presenting a more comprehensive list of territories across the world where English has gained a special status. There is however need to regularly keep updating such estimates to keep up with the changing demographics and recent evolutions in terms usage population, especially in the outer and expanding Circles. Table 1.8 presents the usage estimates of the selected outer and inner circle countries explored in this study. As can be observed from the table, Ghana and Cameroon are both classified as the outer circle countries while the USA and South Africa are classified as inner circle countries. The status of English in South Africa is a bit more complex and can be a subject of linguistic debate. This will be revisited subsequently in our discussion. This study however classifies South African English as an inner circle variety.

	Outer Circle		Inner Circle	
Countries	Ghana	Cameroon	USA	South Africa
Country Population (2001)	19,894,000	15,900,000	278,059,000	43,586,000
Usage Estimate	1,400,000	7,700,000	215,424,000	3,700,000
Language Status		L2	L1	

Table 1. 2: Overview of Selected Varieties (Adapted from Crystal, 2003)

III) The Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2003, 2007)

In recent years, the term Post-Colonial Englishes (henceforth PCE's) has been used by Schneider (2003, 2007) to refer to emerging varieties of English. The starting point of Schneider's model is that PCE's emerge out of language contact situations. His model, the Dynamic Model, is therefore grounded on language contact theories, particularly Thomason's (2001) views on language contact processes and characteristic outcome of language contact scenarios. The thrust of Schneider's argument is that postcolonial English varieties "are products of a specific evolutionary process tied directly to their colonial and post-colonial history" (2007, p.3). The model thus relies on the historical, political, sociological, psychological and linguistic factors involved in language contact situations to dissect and describe the various stages that characterise the evolution process of PCE's. The Dynamic Model postulates a five-phases evolution in the lifecycle of PCE's, with each phase being evaluated against the backdrop of historical background, identity construction, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic developments. These include the Foundation Phase, Exonormative Stabilization Phase, Nativization Phase, Endonormative Stabilization Phase and the Differentiation Phase. The main characteristics of each of these phases are summarized below.

i) Foundation Phase (Phase 1)

The foundation phase is the initial phase in Schneider's Dynamic Model of the evolution of PCE's, and is generally characterised by the introduction of English in a new territory by native-speaker settlers. The new territory can be a trade colony, an exploitation colony or a settlement colony as was typical of the British colonial rule, and the size of the migrant population generally depended on the type of colony under conception (Schneider, 2007). During this phase, English is introduced in a territory which hitherto was not English-speaking. Both the Settlement (henceforth STL) and Indigenous (henceforth IDG) strands of the population in the new territory are however fully aware of the fact that they are different, and the relationship between groups ranges from friendly to hostile. Attachment to home culture and values is still very strong on the STL strand, and they typically consider their current settlement on the new territory as being only temporary.

Three main linguistic phenomena can be observed during this phase; koineization, incipient pidginization, and toponymic borrowing. More especially, the dialectal variation

among the native-speaker settlers themselves will compel the speakers to make necessary adjustments in an effort to attain some kind of linguistic homogeneity. Accordingly, "in the course of time speakers will mutually adjust their pronunciation and lexical usage to facilitate understanding – a process generally known as 'koineization' the emergence of a relatively homogeneous 'middle of- the-road' variety (Schneider, 2007, p.35). Also, as contact between people who do not share a common language at least requires a "lingua franca' for communication purposes, this has usually not been available in PCE contexts. As a result, incipient pidginization typically emerges as an option, mostly in trade colonies. Finally, toponymic borrowing of lexical items has also been observed, with local place names and terms for local fauna and flora being adopted by the STL strand.

ii) Exonormative Stabilization (Phase 2)

Exonormative stabilization marks the second phase of the Dynamic Model, this phase is mostly characterised by a relative political stability of the new territory, with the hegemony of the mother country (typically Britain) still being recognized. The use of English becomes more extensive and it is formally established as the language of administration, education, and legal matters. The English-speaking settlers consider themselves as outposts of Britain, and still derive their identity mainly from their homeland to which they feel culturally attached. At the sociolinguistic level, increased bilingualism becomes noticeable particularly among the IDG strand of the population who now strive to speak English on top of the one or more indigenous languages they already speak. English becomes some kind of asset for the IDG strand as it opens the way for a higher social status or specific commercial opportunities. Knowledge of English even becomes a source of pride for the IDG population, may even mark the beginnings of segregational elitism that characterizes English in some PCE-speaking countries to the present day (Schneider, 2007). In exploitation colonies especially, English schools are opened to train an indigenous elite to assist the British in maintaining their hegemony over the territory and its population. However, not so much emphasis is put on language rules and norms at this stage, and IDG learners of English encounter many forms of interlanguage. A gradual modification of the linguistic system is noticeable at the phase as English begins tilting towards a local language variety.

iii) Nativization (Phase 3)

The Nativization Phase is considered the most important phase of the Dynamic model and also the most drastic in terms of cultural and linguistic changes. The STL strand begins desiring and requesting for psychological, political and economic independence from the homeland and this significantly affects the identity constructions. This will eventually have ramifications on the hitherto allegiance of the STL strand to a distant homeland, causing it to suffer some distress and resulting in some kind of "semi-autonomy" (Schneider, 2007, p.41). The gap between the STL and IDG strand thus starts becoming narrower and both groups begin to integrate the idea of permanently living together on the same territory. Considerable acculturation also becomes noticeable in this phase as contacts between both groups become more extensive and diverse, touching on a broad range of issues and contexts. On the linguistic level, the lexical borrowing process initiated in Phase 2 becomes more intensive and starts extending beyond common names of places or culture-specific notions. Many internal changes on the linguistic system of English is also observed during this phase, especially at the level of lexis and grammar.

iv) Endonormative Stabilization (Phase 4).

Schneider observes that while transition from Phase 3 to Phase 4 typically follows the political independence of the territory and can be a gradual process, political independence may not always be a sufficient condition for Phase 4 to occur. Accordingly, some exceptional or unprecedented political event is sometimes needed to trigger a complete rupture from the motherland. Schneider (2007) terms this "Event X". This event causes the STL strand to henceforth see itself as forsaken by their home country, thus compelling them to redefine their identity. When this happens, the STL population begins to see itself as members of a new nation different from their country of origin and also henceforth give prominence to their territory of residence now understood as permanent, than to their historical background. Schneider also observes that one major linguistic ramification of this phase is the gradual adoption and acceptance of local forms of English as means of expression of the new identity and a new locally rooted self-codification. The high degree of cultural and linguistic independence achieved by both population strands in this phase is culminated in the emergence of a vigorous cultural phenomenon made manifest through the blossoming of literary creativity in the new English variety, and which is typically rooted in the new culture and adopting elements of the new language.

v) Differentiation (Phase 5)

This phase is characterized by the consolidation of the independence achieved during phases 3 and 4. An attitude towards self-dependence and self-reliance overrides all forms of external pressure and expectations. The emergence of the new variety of

English becomes a well-established and indisputable reality. Internal differentiations begin gaining ground as "citizens of a young nation no longer define themselves primarily as a single social entity in relation to the former colonial power but rather as a composite of subgroups, each being marked by an identity of its own" (Schneider, 2007, p.53). Eventually, individuals begin to align and identify themselves in terms of sociolinguistic-determined groups: such as people of a certain gender, age, or ethnicity, as people living in a certain area or locality or members of a certain social group or stratum. On the linguistic level, new varieties of the former old variety begin to emerge, typically as carriers of the new group identities within the overall community: regional and social dialects, linguistic markers (accents, lexical expressions, and structural patterns) which carry a diagnostic function only within the new country emerge (ibid: 54).

Thus far, this section has discussed the Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model on the evolution of PCE's. In so doing, emphasis has been on summarizing some of the salient characteristics of each phase. As pointed out by Schneider, "at each of these stages, manifestations of four different parameters can be observed...with a monodirectional causal relationship operating between them" (p.30). It was therefore important to briefly discuss each these phases as this work is among the most cited in more recent literature on world Englishes. Figure 1.6 provides summary of the five consecutive stages of Dynamic Model.

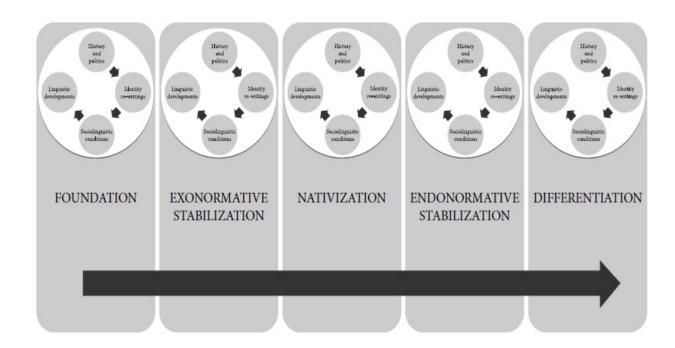


Figure 1. 5: The Five Consecutive Stages of the Dynamic Model (from Buschfeld et al. 2014).

1.7.3 The Sociolinguistic Situation of English in Selected Case Studies

From a World Englishes point of view, the status of English as a global language is indicative of at least one pertinent fact: English co-exists alongside other languages. Its 'globality' should be seen less in terms of its homogeneity across regions, and more in term of its diversity and variability. The emergence of new varieties of English has been the result of a long process of language contact between English and other indigenous languages (Schneider, 2007). This section thus attempts an overview of the linguistic situation across all four countries explored in this study, viz. South Africa, USA, Cameroon, and Ghana. The type of communicative event which this work seeks to examine is a major genre of presidential discourse across all four countries. Thus, it is based on this criterion that the four varieties were selected. The aim in this section is to provide some background facts with regard to the overall linguistic situation in these countries. Such an endeavour will provide the linguistic bases for the assessment of some of the functional specificities of English across these countries and cultures. Where appropriate, linguistic facts, figures and charts will be presented to support the discussions. Also, the discussion of each case study will be guided by the mainstream World Englishes models discussed in the previous section. All these will provide insights into the overall sociolinguistic context within which English is used across all four countries.

I) English in South Africa

The linguistic situation of South Africa is among the most complex in the world. Ethnologue situates the number of languages in South Africa at 34; of which 30 are living and 4 are extinct (Lewis, 2009). The country is also officially multilingual with 11 official languages (c.f. section 6 of the Constitution, Act No. 108 of 1996). These languages include Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sesotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu (Lewis, 2009). A survey conducted by Statistics South Africa in 2016 reveals that out of an overall population of 55.6 million people, only 8.3% of the population speak English as their first language, while the remaining population, 91.7%, speak one of the other official languages of the country as their first language. The results also indicated that great proportion of South Africans are bilinguals or multilinguals who

speak English as a second language. The estimated percentage of speakers for each of the 11 official languages is summarised in Figure 1.7. It is perhaps as a result of this complex multilingual context that substantial efforts are being made by the South African authorities to implement language policies aimed at making knowledge accessible South Africans in all official languages. In 2013 for instance, the South African government embarked on a linguistic project known as the Multilingual Statistical Terminology which seeks to make available the equivalences of all recent English terminologies and concepts in the other ten national languages. It is therefore within an officially multilingual context that English is used in South Africa.

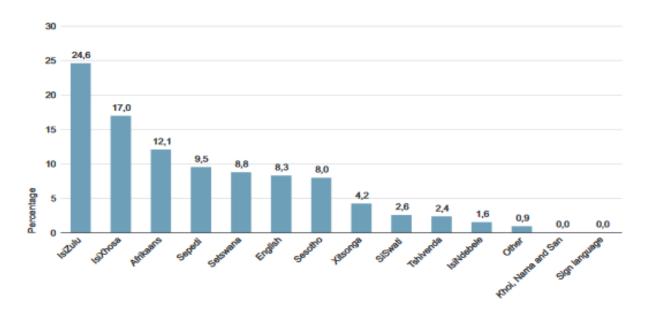


Figure 1. 6: South African Languages According to Percentage of Speakers (Statistics South Africa, 2016, p.39)

From a historical sociolinguistic perspective, the origins of South African English (SAfE) can be traced as far back as 1875 when the British started military operations in the Cape region. Bekker (2012) observes that it was not however until the first contingent of British settlers arrived at the Eastern Cape region in 1820 that a new dialect known as Cape English (CpE) was born as a result of a koineization process. But prior to the British occupation, the Dutch had already arrived in the region as far back as the year 1652 and had been actively involved in trade activities. Bekker further remarks that some forms of Dutch-based creole referred to as Proto-Afrikaans was already spoken in the region.

There has consequently been an influence of Afrikaans on the koineization process which led to the birth of CpE. Subsequent waves of British settlers arrived between 1840-1850 and 1885-1904 and mostly settled in the Natal region. Another koineisation process then took place, resulting to a new dialect known as Natal English (NE), this time with no attested influence from Afrikaans.

Schneider (2007) emphasises the need to distinguish between the settlement strands involved in the evolutionary cycle of the two varieties of SAfE (CpE and NE) and remarks that "in both cases a recognizable founder effect is worth noticing: despite their relatively small numbers (in comparison, for instance, with the hundreds of thousands of settlers who followed them after 1870) these two groups laid the foundations for the main accents of present-day SAfE" (p.76). The term SAfE is an umbrella term which covers the different varieties of English spoken in South Africa, as has been attested in the literature with varieties such as White SAfE (Lass, 2002), Indian SAfE (Mesthrie, 2004), Black SAfE (Van Rooy, 2004). Schneider points out that overarching political conditions like statehood and language policy, with their ramifications for educational settings and norm definitions, tie these varieties together under the cover term of South African English (SAfE).

Given the foregoing, it is quite difficult to situate SAfE within mainstream World Englishes models as it is among the most complex of existing varieties. Schneider corroborates this point of view when he observes that "it is no coincidence that the country typically fails to show up in ENL – ESL or Inner – Outer Circle listings: South Africa would qualify for both of these categories at the same time, and also for neither of them, depending on which aspect of its language situation is emphasized" (2007, p.174). As a matter of fact, Kachru (1985, 1991) makes no mention of South Africa in any of the concentric circles. In the same vein, Crystal (2003) classifies SAfE as constituting both an L1 and L2 variety. Schneider attributes this difficulty in assigning SAfE to any category chiefly to the differences in socio-historical circumstances experienced by the various SA speech communities as well as the repercussions of the Apartheid era. He remarks that "different ethnic groups (Africans, Afrikaners, whites, Coloureds, Indians) have proceeded along the cycle at their own pace, depending upon group-specific circumstances which have determined their respective" (p.174).

Schneider however points to a number of clues which indicate that SAfE is in the Endonormative Stabilization Phase of its evolution. Accordingly, the series of political changes in the 1990s which led to the rise of Nelson Mandela and the ANC was not without consequences on the evolution of SAfE. Schneider observes that these events aptly qualify for 'Event X' of the Dynamic Model. The draconian linguistic reforms which followed this era greatly redirected the evolutionary trend of SAfE, particularly in terms of the identify construction of South Africans; "from one's social or ethnic group to one's status as a member of a newly forging nation" (p.185). It is mainly on this basis that the present study study considers SAfE as an inner Circle variety.

From the outset, South Africa was a settlement colony, unlike in the many former British colonies which today constitute the outer circle. The fact that there is a significant number of English L1 speakers in South Africa qualifies it as a mother tongue variety for a good number of people. This point cannot be downplayed simply on grounds of the relatively smaller number of L1 speakers in South Africa. Schneider (2007) strongly cautions against the misguided approach of attributing the 'inner circle' status only to a set of limited varieties like American English. He strongly argues that the evolution process of such variety simply started at a relatively early point in time, say four centuries ago. He observes that "on second thoughts, it cannot be denied that it emerged very much like the Englishes of Australia, New Zealand, and *South Africa did much later* [emphasis added] and the difference to other PCEs is essentially one of colonization type and of a more prolonged time depth, not a matter of principle (p. 251)

II) English in Cameroon

The ethnolinguistic diversity of Cameroon, coupled with its colonial history makes its linguistic situation among the most complex in the world. Ethnologue situates the total number of individual languages listed in Cameroon at 283; 277 living languages while 6 are extinct. Of the 277 living languages identified, up to 273 are indigenous while only 4 are non-indigenous. Historically, the country used to be a German colony before being placed under French and British mandate after the First World War. Under this mandate, France occupied about 80% of the territory, and imposed French as the language of administration, while the remaining 20% was administered by the British as part of her Nigerian colony, with English as the language of administration. At independence in 1960 and 1961 respectively, both territories which constituted the former German colony

opted to reunite, and French and English thus became the country's two official languages.

But early traces of English along the coast of the present-day Cameroon date back to the late 1850s, with the activities of British missionaries and traders along the coast of west Africa. During this period, Britain practically controlled the coast of present-day Cameroon (Schneider, 2007). In 1858, a British missionary named Alfred Saker signed a written treaty with one of Cameroon's coastal kings, King William of Bimbia, which gave British missionaries sovereignty over a vast coastal territory, which was later named Victoria. In the same vein, in 1879, two of Cameroon's coastal kings, Bell and Akwa, wrote a petition to Queen Victoria, requesting British occupation and annexation of the territory. Below is an excerpt of the letter;

Dearest Madam, we your servants have join together and thoughts it's better to write you a nice loving letter which will tell you about all our wishes. We wish to have your laws in our towns [emphasis added] We want to have every fashioned altered, also we will do according to your Consul's word. Plenty wars here in our country. Plenty murder and idol worshippers Perhaps these lines of our writing will look to you as an idle tale.

We have spoken to the English Consul plenty times about an English government here [emphasis added]. We never have answer from you, so we wish to write to you ourselves... (Le Vine 1965, p. 20).

The above example is one among many which indicate the fact that prior to the German annexation, English in Cameroon had already entered Phase 1 of its evolution, particularly along the coastal areas. This view is corroborated in Schneider (2007, p.213) when he remarks that "by the late nineteenth century Pidgin English and English had been firmly established". Indeed, the period under British colonial administration only consolidated Phase 1 of Cameroon English and ushered it into Phases 2 and 3.

Within mainstream WE's models, Cameroon English (henceforth CamE) is generally classified as an Outer Circle variety (Crystal, 2003). This is mainly as a result of the fact that at least 20% of the country's population used to be under the British colonial administration. Not so much has been said about CamE within mainstream discussions in WE. Wolf (2001) for instance remarks that "Cameroon English has been

somewhat neglected in this field of New Englishes" (p.15). One possible reason for this could be the country's official bilingual status, as stipulated by its constitution, with French and English being the two official languages. In practice, the implementation and orientation of linguistic policies in Cameroon has had significant repercussions on the evolution of CamE. English has essentially remained a language of education in the Anglophone zone, with a few cases English being used as language of instruction in a few bilingual schools found in French-Speaking regions (Schneider, 2007). At the level of the country's institutions, French has always been the dominant language, thus compelling the English-speaking minority to put in more effort into learning French, often times to the detriment of their English. The situation is best described by Kouega (2002, p.112) in the following terms; "one-way expansion of bilingualism, with speakers of English operating increasingly or fully in French, but their French-speaking counterparts remaining largely monolingual". This has often times resulted to bitter grievances from the anglophone minority, with the most recent haven degenerated into socio-political tension and violence, with a strong push for political secession being voiced. This has come to be known as the Cameroon Anglophone Crisis since 2016.

That notwithstanding, a number of studies have addressed some of the linguistic features, such as lexical processes in CamE (Simo-Bobda, 1994a) CamE phonology (Simo-Bobda 1994b), attitudes towards CamE (Achimbe, 2011), among others. In another setting, Kouega's (2008) *A Dictonary on Cameroon English Usage* can be seen as a giant step towards the codification of CamE. Achimbe (ibid) observes that this work could be indicative of the fact that CamE has achieved substantial stability. Generally, as has been attested by numerous studies, CamE evolves alongside Cameroon Pidgin English (CamPE). A good number of studies on Cameroon English have focused on the linguistic features in CamPE (Ngefac, 2009, 2011; Ngefac & Sala, 2006; Ayafor, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2006; Nkemngong, 2016; Kouega, 2001; Mbangwana, 2002). One can easily say that both CamPE and CamE seem to work along a continuum, with CamE being the higher, formal, and more prestigious variant while CamPE is widely spoken and used especially in informal contexts and carries less prestige.

III) The Linguistic Situation in the USA.

The linguistic situation in the United States has not been extensively discussed in the literature, apart from the fact that English is the most spoken language and that American English (AmE) is highly competitive on the global scene. English is definitely the official language and the only institutional language in many states. However, at second observation, one sees the diversity that characterizes the US linguistic landscape. Ethnologue attempts a general description and situates the number of individual languages in the United States at 232. Of this number, 219 are living languages while 13 are extinct. Of these living languages, 124 are indigenous languages while 24 are nonindigenous. Moreover, 3 are institutional, 12 are developing, 1 is vigorous, 58 are in trouble and 145 are dying (https://www.ethnologue.com/country/US). A survey carried out by the American Community Survey (ACS) in 2011 reported that many people in the USA speak other languages than English at home and estimated the number of such speakers to be above 60 million, out of a total country population of 291 million people. The main argument here is that such linguistic diversity has not been without consequences on the linguistic and sociolinguistic realities of English in the United States, and such influence has been attested in Schneider (2007) on the evolution of AmE. It is certainly this linguistic diversity which accounts for the specificity of American English today.

From a World Englishes point of view, all the existing models are unanimous on the fact the AmE is an Inner Circle variety. Both Kachru (1985, 1991) and Crystal (2003) mention AmE as an Inner Circle variety. Similarly, Schneider (2007) while arguing for the fact that AmE went through a similar evolutionary process as other PCE's varieties, as outlined in the Dynamic Model, nonetheless observes that "it is typically regarded as an 'old', established, 'Inner Circle' variety, one of the world's two major 'reference accents'- quite unlike the newly emerging varieties" (Schneider 2007, p.251). Schneider however points out the fact that what makes the evolution of AmE specific and different from other PCE's is that AmE evolved as a model of settlement colony dialect, with very little or no influence from the IDG strand of the population. On top of that, the time depth recorded for the evolution cycle of AmE expands to up to four centuries, which is about twice as long as that of many other varieties. Schneider also claims that adstrate influences have been extremely important characteristic of AmE, in both quantitative and qualitative terms. He further remarks that "this concerns not only the multiplicity of immigrant groups from a variety of European countries but also, and perhaps most importantly, the people of African descent, even if their coming to the North American soil happened forced" (p.252). This partly explains the current linguistic landscape of the United States earlier mentioned. Thus, the STL-IDG sociolinguistic rapport which typically prevailed in the evolution cycle of most PCE's was substituted by a STL-IDG/ADS in the evolution of AmE (Schneider, 2007). This largely accounts for diversification observed in its Stage Five.

IV) The Linguistic Situation in Ghana

Formerly referred to as the British Gold Coast, Ghana is a multilingual country with a population of 27 million (2016 figure) located in west Africa, along the Gulf of Guinea. The country is host to some 81 living languages; 73 indigenous and 8 nonindigenous (Lewis et al 2018). The country also counts about 13 institutional languages, with Akan and English being the principal ones. English in Ghana co-exists with over 50 L1 languages, the dominant ones being Akan, Ewe, Ga, Hausa and Dagbani (Ngula, 2014). Historically, Gold Coast was under British colonial rule as from 1867 until its independence in 1957 as the nation of Ghana. Huber (1999) however observes that early contact with the British merchants dates as far back as 1632. British merchants settled mostly along the coastal areas where they established trade activities in local products such as ivory and feathers. Frequent clashes between the Asante and Fante tribes ended up compelling the Fante to seek protection from the British by signing the Bond in 1884. This treaty laid the ground work for subsequent British annexation. Huber (2014) has pointed out that even though English was formally introduced as the language of colonial administration, the percentage of Ghanaian users of English only rose in the 1880s, following the establishment of English-medium government and missionary schools.

From a WE point of view, Ghanaian English (GhE) is among the most cited examples of emerging varieties. Kachru (1991) and Crystal (2003) both mention GhE as an example of Outer Circle Variety. Similarly, McArthur (1987) also makes mention of GhE as example of a localized variety while Huber (2014) situates GhE as a nativized variety, with early signs of endonormative stabilization. However, one of the earliest studies to have delved into the linguistic features of GhE is Sey's (1973) seminal work on GhE which examines the lexical features GhE. His glossary of 300 Ghanaian items identified in GhE can be classified under the following three categories; English words with native meaning, English words with new meanings, and word of Ghanaian origin used in English. Similarly, Dako's (2001) work on 'Ghanianisms' also produces a glossary of local Ghanaian words typically used in both spoken and written GhE. This

includes innovative compounds, hybrid forms, and other neologisms. Both studies support the claim that GhE English is in Stage 3 of its evolution. Other studies on GhE have delved into other linguistic aspects such as phonology markers (Simo-Bobda, 2000; Huber, 2008), grammatical features (Huber & Dako, 2008; Ngula, 2010), contrastive features of GhE (Owusu-Ansah, 1992, 1994), among others.

1.7.4 The Concept of Discourse and Discourse Analysis

The concept of discourse has not always been easy to define within both mainstream linguistic and social science research. Fairclough (1993) has observed that the term 'discourse' is a difficult concept, largely because there are so many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. Similarly, Titscher et al. (2000, p.25) have observed that the term discourse "integrates a whole palette of meanings that often seem to be contradictory or mutually exclusive", and Wodak & Meyer (2009) remark that the concept of 'discourse' has been subject to hugely proliferating usages in social sciences and such a situation is bound to cause confusion and misunderstanding. This section however attempts to discuss some of the definitions most often used by scholars to describe their own understanding of the concept.

According to Vass (1992, p.7) the term "discourse may be derived etymologically from the Latin *discurere* (to run to and fro) or from the nominalization *discursus* ('running apart' in the transferred sense of 'indulging in something' or 'giving information about something')" (as cited in Titscher et al, 2000, p.25). One of the earliest uses of the concept of 'discourse' in the field of modern linguistics is attributed to Harris (1952), who used the term to explain the ways in which linguistic units (especially morphemes) tend to occur in text and how their pattern of occurrence gives structure to a text. According to Harris, the formal procedures used in descriptive linguistics can allow us to obtain new information about a particular text under study, and that such information goes beyond descriptive linguistics. He thus posits that knowing the patterns of morphemes in a text allows us to know not just "WHAT a text is saying, but we can discover HOW it is sayingwhat are the patterns of recurrence of its chief morphemes" (p.1).

There are generally two main paradigms used by scholars to define discourse; formalist and functionalist. Stubbs (1983, p.1) adopts a formalist approach when he defines discourse as "language above the sentence or above the clause". Similarly,

'discourse' is sometimes used in linguistics to refer to "extended samples of either spoken or written language" (Fairclough, 1993, p.3). On the other hand, Brown &Yule (1983, p.1) observe that "the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use" and that "it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions for which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs". This view is corroborated by Fasold (1990, p.65) who argues that the study of discourse is "the study of any aspect of language in use". Schiffrin (1994) recognizes the diverging views coming from the two linguistic traditions and opines that the definition of discourse can be framed within the assumptions of both formal and functional analysis. In this regard, she argues that "actual analysis of discourse reveals an interdependence between structure and function" (p.42). The term 'discourse' has also been widely used in social theory and analysis to refer to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice (Foucault, 1991).

Fairclough's definition and approach to discourse is among the most attested in literature, particularly in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)². Following his approach, emphasis is placed on higher level organizational features, the interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader, the production and interpretation processes involved as well as the context of language use. More especially, Fairclough's approach proposes a synergy between the different views of the concept, i.e. the socialtheoretical sense and text-interaction sense of discourse should be brought together in a much more productive linguistically oriented discourse analysis sense. He remarks that "any discursive 'event' (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice" (1993, p.4). Figure 1.8 illustrates the three-dimensional approach to discourse proposed by Fairclough (1993). Accordingly, the 'text' dimension addresses the language analysis of the text. The 'discursive practice' dimension examines text production and interpretation processes while the social dimension addresses issues of concern in social analysis, such as the institutional and organisational circumstances of the discursive event. One of the greatest strengths of Fairclough's approach to the concept of discourse rests in its

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² Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to discourse analysis that sees itself as being critical. Wodak and Meyer (2009, p.1) remark that that CDA sees 'language as social practice' and consider the 'context of language use to be crucial". Formerly known as Critical Linguistics (CL), CDA as an approach to discourse analysis takes it roots from Rhetoric Studies, Text Linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Social-Psychology, Cognitive science, Literary Studies, Sociolinguistics, Applied Linguistics, and Pragmatics.

potential to address the fundamentals of almost all existing approaches in a single, more robust and dynamic approach. Thus, at each strand of analysis, a specific orientation to discourse is adopted. It also leaves the option for the analyst to decide which strand(s) to address, depending on the specific objectives of the analysis. It is this approach which is endorsed in the present study.

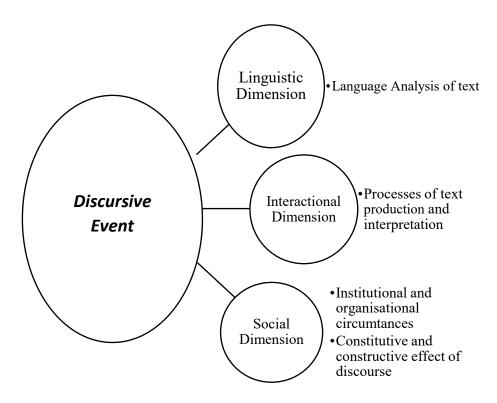


Figure 1. 7: Three-dimensional Approach to Discourse and Discourse Analysis (Adapted from Fairclough, 1993, p.4)

Apart from examining the distinctive linguistic features/patterns which are typical of political discourse across each of the selected varieties and cultures explored in this research, the study will also pay specific attention to the type of social order involved, its cultural constraints and the effects these might have on the structure of the language.

1.7.5 From Discourse to Political Discourse

The complex and hardly consensual views of the concept of discourse already points to the fact that political discourse is itself not easy to define. An accurate understanding of what is political discourse first requires an understanding of the very notion of politics itself, at least as attested in the literature. Wodak (2007, p.210) observes that the notion of 'politics' is defined in many different ways depending on the respective theoretical framework. It ranges from a wide extension of the concept according to which

every social utterance or practice of the human as a zoon politikon is 'political', to a notion of politics referring only to the use of language by politicians in various settings and in political institutions. In another setting, Chilton (2004) observes that any definition of politics should include a linguistic, discursive and communicative dimension. Traditional discourse studies of politics have generally followed two main views;

On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it.... On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money influence, liberty, and the like. (p.3).

Similarly, Van Dijk (1997, p.15) remarks that "...there is not a single and unambiguous definition of what 'politics' is". He further attempts a categorization of the main structures and properties which constitute the broad domain of politics, as mostly conceived by studies in political science. This categorization provides the background against which the different components and participants involved in political discourse can be framed and understood. The categories begin with the more general and abstract and end up with the more specific properties, passing through an intermediate set of more or less abstract categories, as illustrated by Figure 1.9. Van Dijk opines that any sound definition of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) should as much as possible draw from these categories in a way that will be valid not only to discourse studies, but also to political science and other social sciences as well. This means, among other things, that PDA should be able to answer genuine and relevant political questions similar to those typically discussed in political science.

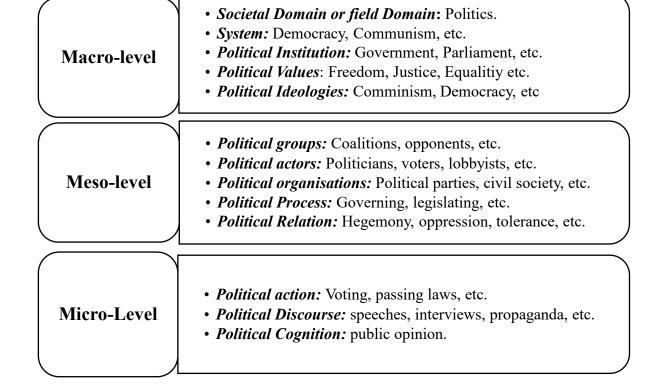


Figure 1. 8: Structures and Properties of the domain of Politics (Adapted from Van Dijk 1997, p.16-18)

The scope of political discourse should therefore take into consideration the participants involved, the types of political events as well as the kind of socio-political activities typically carried out. In the classical sense of politics, political actors might be limited only to career politicians or those professionals who are duly voted or mandated by some acting political institution or authority. But political actors in some cases may also include citizens in their roles as voters, or even members of pressure and issue groups, demonstrators and dissidents, and so on (Van Dijk, 1997). It is also worth emphasising that even those who are typically considered as career politicians may not always be involved in political discourse and not all of their public discourse is to be termed 'political'. Indeed, political actors get involved in political discourse only with specific types of activities, such as governing, ruling and legislating, or during communicative events like parliamentary sessions, state addresses, election campaigns, political rallies, interviews with the media, and so on. The context therefore plays a major role in determining whether or not an event is political. Political discourse and political event can therefore be viewed as mutually dependent in the sense that a speech is

considered political only when it is produced in a specific kind of political event, say during election campaign (Van Dijk, 1997).

Wodak (2007) attempts a summary of the political domains and genres which characterise the field of political discourse. Her taxonomy is emanates the CDA view of discourse as 'social practice' and follows the discourse historical approach which transcends the purely linguistic dimension to systematically include the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion (p.210). This is summarised in Figure 1.10.

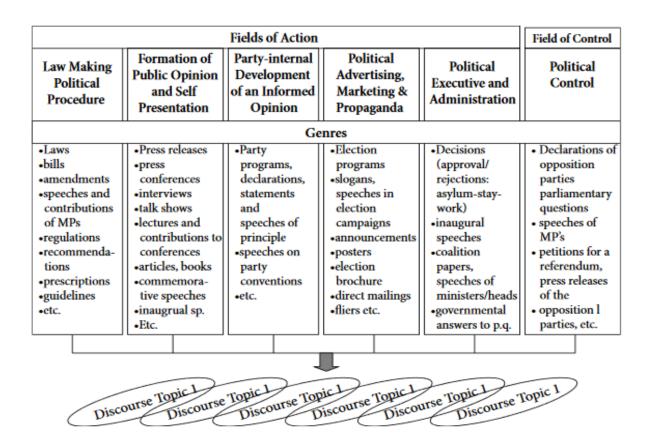


Figure 1. 9: Selected dimensions of discourse as social practice (from Wodak, 2007, p.211)

As illustrated in Figure 1.10, CDA chiefly considers political discourse to be characterised by two fields of activity; political action and political control. These fields of activity are in turn achieved via a number of socio-political processes which are materialised through a number of genres. Each genre in itself constitutes a series of communicative events during which the political actor (s) seeks to achieve very specific purposes (rationale) via the mediation of text and talk. Again, I argue here that the

rationale of each genre shapes the schematic structure of the discourse, determines the envisaged rhetorical actions as well as influences content and style of the discourse (see Swales 1990).

1.9 Structure of the work

This thesis comprises six distinct yet complementary chapters. This chapter (Chapter One) has introduced the work and has discussed some preliminary concepts which constitute the background leading to this research. Chapter Two will review the literature and discuss the theoretical framework which support the analyses in this study. Chapter Three will outline and discuss the research methodology guiding the analyses. Accordingly, all the different steps and procedures involved in the collection of data as well as the processing and measurement of linguistic variables will be discussed in this chapter. Chapter Four and Chapter Five will both analyse the data and interpret the results. Finally, Chapter Six will summarize the key findings, propose suggestions for future research and concludes the study.

1.10 Conclusion

Let me end this chapter by once again stating the main foci in this thesis. This research aims at showing that specific features/patterns of language will have different frequencies in political discourse across selected varieties and that there are conceptual schemas which can be inferred from the use of these features/patterns. This chapter has attempted to situate the background leading to this research and has delimited its scope. What emerges from the discussions is the fact that this research situates itself at the interface of three sub-disciplines of linguistics, viz, cognitive linguistics, critical discourse analysis and world Englishes. The chapter has also stated the research problem underpinning the study, the research questions which shall guide the analysis in this work as well as the research hypotheses which this study seeks to investigate. In essence, the fundamentals for a scientific inquiry into the present research have been outlined.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews mainstream scholarly contributions on language and politics in general and political discourse in particular. In this regard, major studies with a direct bearing to the present research are critically examined in order to have an overview of the current state-of-the-art research in this domain of inquiry. It is however worth stating that this review is not limited to political discourse in the 'English-speaking world', but also considers outstanding contributions across other national cultures. The goal is to assess the various approaches and findings of such studies in order to present a more holistic report on the on the linguistic features of political discourse across cultures. This will certainly render more visible and transparent the contribution the current study seeks to bring to this domain of inquiry. The chapter equally discusses the various theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding the analyses in this work. Such an approach espouses Circourel's (1964) observation that "the field worker cannot begin to describe any social event without some specification of his scientific theory, i.e. his theory of objects, his model of the actor, or the kind of social order presupposed" (as cited in Tistscher et al, 2000, p.6). More specifically, this study is informed by two main theories, namely, the theory of frame semantics (Fillmore, 1976, 1977, 1982, 1985; Fillmore & Atkins, 1992; Fillmore & Baker, 2009) and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Charteris-Black, 2004; Kovecses, 2000, 2002, 2005).

2.2. Literature Review.

This section specifically does an overview of some of the major works which have examined the use of language in political discourse across various national cultures and varieties. This is done by discussing their underpinning assumptions and findings as well as assessing their theoretical and methodological approaches. The discussions proceed thematically, beginning with studies on ideology construction in political discourse. This is followed in this chronology by studies which have examined the phraseological patterns of language in political discourse, followed by studies which focus on self-presentation in political discourse and finally by studies at the interface between language, politics and culture. The scope of this review includes studies carried out in the

fields of pragmatics, critical discourse analysis, media and communication studies, and political discourse analysis.

2.2.1 Ideology Construction in Political Discourse

A cross section of the research on language and politics has focused on the role of language in ideology construction (Lakoff, 2002; Van Dijk, 1997; Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolff, 2004). Fundamental to these approaches is the understanding that politics and language are intrinsically connected and that much of politics is conducted through language. Lakoff (1996) in his book Moral Politics; What Conservatives Know That Liberals Don't demonstrates the extent to which metaphors can be used to shape ideologies in US politics. Accordingly, he examines the discourse of both conservatives and liberals in the context of US politics, with words and phrases typical of their respective addresses as examples. Using analytical concepts and methods from cognitive linguistics, Lakoff scrutinises the political thinking system of conservatives and liberals and gets to the finding that the political thinking of both parties are based on radial categories grounded on the same central model of family and family-based morality but with opposing variations, thus leading to two distinct views about family and morality. More especially, the conservative worldview of family and morality adheres to a *Strict* Father Morality whereas the liberal worldview adheres to a Nurturant Parent Morality. These worldviews along with their central model of family and family-based morality are redounded onto the political landscape via the metaphor NATION IS FAMILY.

But the major strength of Lakoff's findings resides in its potential to account for the differences in the political thinking system of liberals and conservatives. Lakoff's study explains how this difference in conceptual models also result in opposing priorities in the political sphere, with the *Strict Father Morality* model giving priority to such issues as 'moral strength', 'obedience of authority', 'strict guidelines' and 'behavioural norms', while the *Nurturant Parent Morality* prioritises issues as 'morality as empathy', self-fulfilment as empathy' and 'morality as social ties'. Thus, what connects these two opposing models of *family-based morality* in politics is the common understanding of the *NATION AS A FAMILY*, with *THE GOVERNMENT AS PARENT*. Lakoff strongly argues that this difference explains the ideological opposition between conservatives and liberals on such national issues as gun control, abortion, the environment, the death penalty, the social welfare system, and so on. Undeniably, Lakoff's findings have been ground-breaking both in Linguistics and beyond, and has received world-wide approval across disciplines.

The study gives a convincing narrative and argument on how US liberals and conservatives communicate at cross-purposes without necessarily realising the issues dividing them. Lakoff can thus be credited for taking linguistic research close to real world situations, thus showcasing (cognitive) Linguistics as a science capable of bringing great insights on the workings of other disciplines.

It is however hard to conclude from Lakoff's study that the *family and family-based morality* model as well as the *NATION AS A FAMILY* conceptual metaphor alone explain the ideological difference between US conservative and liberals. This is especially because Lakoff's findings are informed by only a few selected examples of words and phrases from the US political text and talk, and this somehow weakens the empirical bearing of his study. As pointed out by Musollf (2004), a major limitation of Lakoff's study comes from the fact that his analysis is not supported be corpus evidence, raising the big question of the extent to which the identified *family-based morality* model is entrenched in the conceptual system of both political parties. But Lakoff's approach can be explained by the fact that his goal was to show the unobvious rather than the obvious; what typically goes unnoticed rather than what is easily noticed in the discourse of both political parties. A great number of subsequent studies on the role conceptual metaphors play in the construction of ideology in politics have however addressed some of the limitations of Lakoff's study, especially as regards the use of more empirical data to back up the findings.

Charteris-Black's (2004) Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis offers one of the earliest applications of the corpus-based approach to the study of conceptual metaphors and their role in ideology construction. The use of the word 'critical' is already indicative of Charteris-Black's affinity to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) tradition which is itself influenced by pragmatics approaches. It is therefore not surprising that Charteris-Black views conceptual metaphor studies as part of cognitive semantics and argues for the need to integrate cognitive semantics with pragmatics. It will perhaps be appropriate at this point to say a word on what can be considered to be the genesis of corpus-based approaches to metaphors as documented in the literature. Ever since Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal work on metaphors in their book Metaphors We Live By, there has been an upsurge of scholarly interest in metaphors partly as a result of the new perspective offered by their Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) on metaphors as products of thought rather than language. For a

considerable period of time following this publication, most of the mainstream research on metaphors gave primacy to thought over language, mostly using introspective arguments backed by formulated examples, to illustrate the verbal manifestations of metaphors. Lakoff (2002) study for instance argues that the sentences 'he is an upstanding citizen' and 'that was a low thing to do' are verbal instantiations of the conceptual models 'BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT' and 'BEING BAD IS BEING LOW', respectively. Such an introspective approach has consequently left a great number of questions unanswered, such as the genres from which such examples are chosen, their context of use, their rhetorical intent, and so on. It is thus against this backdrop that current contributions on metaphors based on corpus-based approaches should be assessed and understood.

In an attempt to find out whether ideological differences are reflected in the use of metaphor in British politics, Charteris-Black explores the metaphors used in British party-political manifestos in the post-war period (1945-1997) by examining the political manifestos of two of Britain's major political parties; the Labour and Conservative parties. His findings show that there is no outstanding difference in terms of the choice and frequency of the metaphor source domains used by both political parties, the most entrenched of these source domains are conflict, journeys, plants, religion and building respectively. One can therefore argue that such a trend reflects more of a national conceptual system which has become entrenched and conventional in the British political culture. Referring once again to Lakoff's (2002) notion of radial categories might help shed more light on the cognitive environment in which such metaphors operate. The radial category argument I am trying to build here is further justified by Charteris-Black's finding that both the Labour and Conservative parties use different discourse strategies in the communicative furtherance of their metaphors. Conflict metaphors for instance, are mostly used by the Labour party in a more proactive and pre-emptive manner, whereas the conservative manifesto mostly uses conflict metaphors to represent their policies as 'defense' against the 'attacks' of Labour policies (Charteris-Black 2004: 85). As a matter of fact, Lakoff (2002, p.8) observes that "radial categories, with central cases and variations on them, are normal in human mind". Thus, this could be an indication that the metaphors used in both manifestos are just variations of an underlying central model politics as conflict.

In another analysis, Charteris-Black does a diachronic analysis of the metaphors used in the Labour and Conservative parties' manifestos in the post-war period, 1945-

1970 and 1974-1997. The finding from this analysis shows a shift in metaphor source domain, with a significant increase in the use of conflict metaphors (from 32% to 43%) at the expense of building metaphors. Such a finding however does not confirm the author's hypothesis that differences in ideologies are reflected by differences in conceptual metaphors. However, the assumption that metaphor use changes over time as a result of shifts in outlook of beliefs is confirmed. This assumption is further corroborated by another study in which Charteris-Black compares the metaphors used in older versions of the Labour party's political manifestos with the more recent 1997 manifesto and some selected speeches. He shows that there is a significant increase in metaphors from the religious source domain in the 1997 manifesto and speeches, in combination with a chain of lexical terms from the field of ethics and morality, thus yielding to a more 'ethical discourse' grounded on the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION. Charteris-Black explains that the upsurge in religious metaphors could partly be an attempt to echo a sense of political correctness as the party's new guiding principle or an attempt to build a positive image of the politician as a moral being. The Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) model offers many benefits in terms of methodology, with its semi-automatic method for identifying metaphors in large-scale corpora. The approach begins with a close reading of selected samples of texts from the corpora in search of metaphoric words and expressions which are then classified as metaphor keywords. The main criterion against which a word is determined as being metaphorical is based on "incongruity" or 'semantic tension' either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive level, resulting from a shift in domain of use" (p.35). The keywords are then queried to check their frequencies in the corpus in which they occur and the search result is then qualitatively scrutinized to find out how often the word or expression is used metaphorical in the corpus.

Other contributions have investigated the use of metaphors in public discourses across national cultures with the aim of showing how differences in attitudes on mutually relevant political topics or issues can be reflected via the use of metaphors. Musolff (2004) for instance, proposes a scenario-based approach to examine the public discourse in Britain and Germany on the politics of the European Union, with the aim of determining the metaphors dominantly used in public discourses on the politics of the European union across both countries, within the specific period of 1989-2001. The aim of his study is to show how differences in attitudes towards the conception of a unified

Europe is mirrored in the public discourses of both countries, with on one hand a euro-sceptic attitude (Britain), and on the other hand a euro-enthusiastic attitude (Germany).

His analysis is mainly based on *Eurometa I*, a pilot bilingual corpus (English and German) compiled between 1989-2001 under the framework of a British-German project on the linguistic manifestations of 'Attitudes towards Europe'. The author argues that the 12-year span considered for the study was crucial for European politics and was marked by major political events leading to the European Union (EU). Building on the Lakoff's and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Lakoff (1996) finding on how the same family metaphor domain structures the political thinking of both US liberals and conservatives, the author theocratizes that metaphor conceptual domains should be viewed as radial structures whose elements can be captured in terms of intermediate analytical categories known as 'scenerios'. Accordingly, the scenario enables us to determine which aspects of metaphorical mapping dominates public discourse for a particular topic area such as EU-politics.

Musolff's study is particularly significant for its methodology, as it essentially relies on corpus evidence to support the claim that certain conceptual mappings are typical or characteristics of language use in a particular political discourse community. He strongly argues that in order to make plausible the claim that certain metaphor mappings are typical or characteristic of language-use in a political discourse community, it is necessary to show that they can be found in sufficient quantities in authentic linguistic data and that their distribution pattern can be related to specific socio-political attitudes, beliefs and value system. His procedure of metaphor identification is mainly guided by Kövecses' (2002) categorization of metaphors into three different levels of analysis, viz., "individual", "supraindividual" and "subindividual". Following this categorization, the "individual" level focuses on how individual speakers use language in actual communication. The "supraindividual" level refers to the conventionalised metaphors of a language and its analysis allows us to arrive at generalizations that may be language or culture specific. Finally, the "subindividual" level essentially concerns the experiential grounding of metaphorical concepts. Musolff posits that the "individual" level of metaphor analysis corresponds to the metaphor tokens which instantiate conceptual mappings representing their types at the "supraindividual" level. The "supraindividual" level in turn relate to the emotional and experiential aspects at the "subindividual" level.

Altogether, the author identifies 12 metaphor source domains common to both the British and German political discourse communities from *Eurometa I*. One major finding is that in both national cultures, the European Union and relationships between its member states is conceptualised as a FAMILY or LOVE RELATIONSHIP. But unlike with Lakoff's (1996) findings on the two versions of the FAMILY metaphor in the US political discourse, Musollf's finding is supported by corpus evidence. Altogether, the author identifies 132 passages (70 English and 62 German) that contain metaphors from the FAMILY or LOVE RELATIONSHIP domain, with the most of such metaphors occurring between the period 1997-1999. Musolff observes that the high metaphor frequency within this period can be explained by relevant historical events, which include the Amsterdam Treaty negotiated in 1997, and incorporated the final decisions concerning the introduction of the euro currency. Debates surrounding the new currency were therefore framed in terms of LOVE-MARRIAGE FAMILY metaphors, with depictions of the euro as a CHILD, EU member states as PARENTS or as a MARRIAGE or ENGAGEMENT PARTNER. Below is an example illustrating the conceptualisation of EU member states as a couple identified by the author:

[. . .] Germany's incoming Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, is to meet President Chirac [. . .] tomorrow in Paris. Thus, Tony Blair has lost the diplomatic tussle to be the first to press a glass of champagne into Mr Schröder's victorious hand. [. . .] Mr Schröder himself had suggested *that the cosy Franco-German marriage might become more of a ménage à trois* [. . .] (DT, 29 September 1998). (Musolff, 2004, p.23, emphasis original).

Another major finding in Musolff's study concerns metaphors from the JOURNEY domain, which is used to illustrate the analogical construal of arguments in debates on the EU in both the British and German press. Altogether, the author identifies 431 passages (214 for the British sample and 217 for the German sample) in which JOURNEY metaphor is present in the form of SPEED COMPARISONS or characterisation of states as TRAVELLERS OR VEHICLES MOVING ALONG A PATH. Thus, European national and EU policies are mostly conceived and understood in terms of punctuality, coordinated movement and delaying effects, all in connection with a journey scenario. Musolff however observes that the pilot corpus does not guarantee a reliable basis for statistical assessment, thus the need for more theoretical clarifications of analytical categories and methodological refinements, especially within the perspective of working with bigger corpora data. That notwithstanding, Musollf findings also show that the JOURNEY

metaphors used in British and German debates about EU politics illustrate scenario patterns that correspond to contrasting attitudes towards the EU in the two discourse communities, with a sceptical or hesitant attitudes towards EU integration playing a more important role among the British public than among the German media and political class. The author observes that Britain is predominantly regarded as the *slow(est) mover*, irrespective of whether newspapers or politicians approve of this or see it as a negative stigma. On the other hand, Germany is presented as one of EU's *fast mover*, and among the incidental references to other EU member states in that role, Britain is hardly ever mentioned.

Similarly, Cienki et al (2010) examine the importance of spatial metaphors in unveiling political parties' worldviews in the Netherlands. Their study explores partyspecific stances on specific national issues by three ideologically-different Dutch political parties, using Chilton's (2004) Discourse Space theory to infer higher-level spatial metaphor structure for the conceptualisation of a geopolitical space articulated on the spatial axes of Time, Space and Modality. The authors use a semi-automatic corpus-based approach to extract lexical and discourse markers in data obtained from various political parties' press releases. This allows them to map various party perspectives onto specific issue (topics) positions on a gradable scale, and to validate such mappings with the lexical and discourse markers with which such perspectives are expressed. Their findings show significant differences and variations in political parties' construal of specific issues related to education and immigration. This largely confirms the authors hypothesis that each political party is unique in its view of specific national issues, and that it is these views which underlie the party's motivation for policy and run through the party's communications. But such findings might not be conclusive especially given the limitation of the data used for the study and the fact that the study is essentially based on quantitative analysis.

2.2.2 Phraseological Patterns in Political Rhetoric

It has been argued that language is functional, and that people use language in politics to achieve political ends (Partington, 2003). Numerous studies have addressed the rhetorical functions of language in the area of politics, with some outstanding contributions from linguistics, rhetoric studies, and political communication. Jones and Peccei in the book *Language*, *Society and Power* examine the relationship that politics

has with language and observe that politics is intrinsically connected to power and that to acquire and secure power in politics, "it makes sense to persuade everyone else that what you want is also what they want" (2003, p.38). In the same vein, Schaffner (1997, p.1) observes that any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language. As a matter of fact, the understanding that success in politics is principally achieved through public persuasion and manipulation is not new, and this has been attested across many disciplines, most especially in linguistics and political communication.

A number of studies on the rhetorical functions of language in political discourse have focused on cross-linguistic and cross-cultural differences. Milizia (2006) for instance carries a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural investigation of phraseologies and recurrent word-combination in spoken political discourse across three different cultures: American, British and Italian, using a corpus-driven approach. The author's understanding of phraseology as a linguistic phenomenon draws from Sinclair's (1987) *idiom principle* and Hoey's (2004b) *lexical priming*. Sinclair's *idiom principle* looks at language as composed of preconstructed and semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices (even though they appear to be analysable segments) with which language users express meaning. On the other hand, lexical priming points out that "each lexical item is primed for collocational use" and that "collocational priming is not a permanent feature of the word" (Hoey, 2004b, p.386).

The main focus in Malizia's study is to examine the occurrence of the words "terror/terrore" and "terrorism/terrorismo" and their collocation patterns in selected speeches of George W. Bush, Tony Blair and Silvio Berlusconi with the aim of showing the extent to which phraseologies may vary across languages and cultures. Malizia's analysis using WordSmith Tools 4.0 (Scott, 2004) and ConcGram 1.0 (Greaves 2005) shows that the word 'terror' occurs four times more in the American corpus than the British corpus. Similarly, her analysis also shows that the word 'terrorism' occurs about three times more in the British than in the American corpus. This simply means that while the American corpus samples shows more preference for the word form "terror", the British corpus rather shows preference for the "terrorism". At the same time, only the word "terrorismo" occurs in the Italian corpora. A further high-level dictionary search on "terror/terrore" and "terrorism/terrorismo", including searches in the Collins Cobuild 2003 and Regazzini 2004 (an Italian bilingual dictionary) shows that most

monolingual dictionaries consider both "terror" and "terrorism" as different words, not synonyms, except for the Oxford Collocation Dictionary 2004 and Collins Cobuild 2003 where both words are near synonyms. In the Regazzini 2004, the word 'terror' in English is translated as "terrorismo" in Italian.

Another major finding of her study concerns the collocation patterns of *terror* and *terrorism* conducted using ConcGram. The findings from the American corpus indicate that the semantic of the word *terror* started to be treated as synonymous with "terrorism" in Bush's speeches as from September 2001, and that this is typically used in the collocation form *war on terror*. Interestingly, the clusters *war on terror* and *war on terrorism* seldom occur in the British corpus. This seems to be compensated with the cluster *fight against terrorism* in the British corpus; with a zero occurrence of *fight on terror* and only one instance of *fight on terrorism*. A further statistically measure using the *WordSmith Tools* indicate that *terror* and *terrorism* do not lend themselves to creating multi-word units in an equal manner across the three subcorpora. In Bush's speeches *terror* is more inclined to create a large number of three-, four-, and five-word clusters. The same is true in Blair's speeches with the word *terrorism*, with 85 three-word clusters. Conversely, the word "*terrore*" records zero cluster and "*terrorismo*" only a few in Berlusconi's speeches.

Elspaß (2002) study on the use of phraseology in post-war parliamentary debates in the former West German Bundestag is another major contribution on the use of phraseology in political discourse. He examines how the phraseological units of the mental or printed lexicon may be modified by political orators to suit a specific context and to exert a special stylistic and rhetorical influence on the text. The author's view of phraseology mostly draws from Burger (1998), which views a phraseology as a linguistic unit which consists of at least two words (but not longer than a sentence), is non-compositional (both semantically and syntactically), and is used within a language community. Such 'fixed expressions' may include proverbs , *proverbial idioms*, 'tournure' idioms (to beat about the bush), catch phrases (that's the way the cookie crumbles; look what the cat dragged in), irreversible binomials (kith and kin, wine and dine), quotations (either that wall paper goes, or i do), greetings (how do you do? how are you?), gambits (let's be realistic..., as we all know...), stereotyped comparisons (to be as blind as a bat, to work like horse, etc.) (p.82). Thus, on one hand, the author argues that the choice of phraseological units in political speeches can be a stylistic one and a

question of preference, especially when this involves intentional and occasional modification of such phraseological units in specific contexts. On the other hand, the author also argues that the non-intentional 'deviant' use of phraseological units can lead to stylistic and rhetoric blunders, so that 'deviance' can be seen in such cases as the lack of phraseological competence.

Using transcriptions of speeches from three historic parliamentary debates (1965, 1979 and 1991) as corpus data, the author scrutinizes a corpus of about 200,000 printed words in search of phraseological expressions, which are then crosschecked against the spoken component of the corpus, also available in audiotape forms. The author justifies his choice of these three debates by the unusually high number of speakers who took part (about 120 in total from all political parties), thus allowing for a more representative picture of what can be considered as the language used by German politicians and also because of the highly controversial nature of the subjects of these debates as they evoked a lot of emotion and attracted public interest. Two linguistic aspects of phraseologies are of interest in the study; the types or choices of phraseological units used as well as the extent of their use and contextual function. Regarding the 'occasional modification' of phraseological units, the findings of the study show that there are five types of modifications commonly used in political speeches, namely expansion (the expansion of the phraseological basis by another lexical item) substitution (a phraseological component replaced with a free, semantically similar lexeme), truncation (omission of one obligatory component), co-ordination (linking two expressions so that they share one component) and *blending* (joining two expressions at the cost of omitting one or more components).

As regard the effect of non-intentional 'deviant' uses of phraseological units, comparing the transcripts of parliamentary speeches with the printed reports showed striking differences between the actually spoken and the written versions of the phraseological units in the printed parliamentary reports (a total of 85 instances were found). The author concludes that such non-intentional 'deviant' cases were considered by the parliamentary stenographers as 'incorrect use' emanating from a lack of phraseological competence. Analysing the types of errors made in such non-intentional deviant uses of phraseological units showed that such errors can be parallelly described and classified to the types of modification, more especially *substitution*, *truncation*, *reverse order of elements in irreversible binominals* and *blending*. The author concludes

that such phraseological errors or blunders fatally often marred the effect of the whole speech and discredited the (good) intentions of the speaker.

Other studies working within the paradigm of postcolonial pragmatics have pointed out some of the pragmatic specificity of political discourse across national cultures, particularly in postcolonial contexts. Away from what can be referred to in this study as 'western' political discourse context and culture, Achimbe (2013) takes us to the African political discourse context and its cultural realities by exploring the communicative act of thanking in political discourse in Cameroon. His study focuses on sub-genre of written political discourse locally known as 'Motion of Support' (MoS). The author observes that the main rationale of MoS is based on some kind of courtship in which a group of people or members of local community, ethnic group, or political party write letters of thanks and well-wishes to Cameroon's incumbent president, which are then delivered via audio-visual and print media. Even more interesting is that, as the author points out, such a discourse coming from below (i.e from the people or masses) is surprisingly intended to lobby for the ruler in power rather adopting a Marxist position of calling for change and control of power by the masses, as might be expected in western cultures in particular. Upon examination of a representative sample of MoS letters coming various ethnic and community groups in Cameroon, Achimbe identifies three sequential types of speech acts that constitute the major moves in a MoS letter, namely; the preparatory act of identification and reminding of common grounding, the head act which carries the message of thanks and the reason for thanking, the supportive act which reaffirms support, promises of future unconditional support, requests the president to pursue his presidential action plan or his campaign for re-election, and finally well wishes for the president. Thus, the findings show that the social act of thanking intended by the MoS is not realised in a single speech act but rather constitutes an entire speech event in which thanking is realised through a sequence of speech acts.

Elsewhere, Gyasi Obeng (2018) does a critical discourse analysis of the language used to request for liberty in political discourse in Ghana. Gyasi Obeng's aim is to show the entwining between the concept of liberty and language in Ghanaian political discourse, and to identify the speech acts and discursive features used by a politically oppressed politician to clamour for his liberty, amidst the existing asymmetric power and discursive rapport between the complainer and the authorities in place. His study takes us deep inside of Ghanaian political history with some of its intricacies and gives an

account of the ecology of Ghanaian political discourse, especially in its comprehension and quest of the concept of liberty, in the political sense of the word. The data used constitutes three letters written by a then-jailed prominent Ghanaian political figure and political party leader; Dr. J. B. Danquah, two addressed to the then incumbent President Nkrumah and one to the Speaker of Ghana's Parliament.

From a pragmatic point of view, Gyasi Obeng's study identifies the various speech acts which constitute the major moves in this discourse genre, namely *criticism*, *complaint*, *apology* and *request*. Apart from this, the study also identifies the discursive features used in the realisation of this speech act, which are *deferential mode of address*, *candour*, *inferencing*, *glittering generalities*, *emotional valence*, *politeness* and *intertextuality*. Other lexical features include the use of *upper cases*, *pronouns* and *lexical collocation*. Gyasi Obeng's study echoes, beyond expectation, the extent to which language is central to political action. He argues for the fact that language constitutes an arsenal for political action which even physical coercion cannot stop. As stated by Bolinger (1982), language is a loaded weapon. Certainly then, Gyasi Obeng's study examines a political discourse genre which is quite specific to the Ghanaian national context and a close analysis of this genre reveals a wealth of pragmatic and discursive features which might not necessarily reflect the realities across other national context and cultures.

Comparative studies of the language used by politicians have also been carried out. This is the case with Ayeomoni (2005) investigates the language of the Nigerian political elite. His study aims at identifying the motives behind the distinct features of this language variety. Using Crystal and Davy's (1969) linguistic levels of analysis model, the study analyses speeches of prominent Nigerian politicians such as General Olusegun Obasanjo, General Badamosi Babangida, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, to name but a few. The study reveals that there is always a preponderant use of simple declarative sentence typology which facilitates the easy flow and conveyance of their intentions and messages. Another interesting finding is that in order to convey their message or intensions convincingly, these politicians often resort to using figurative or metaphoric language. This language strategy is also used to arouse the feelings and collective excitement and sentiments of their followers in a bid to sustain their support and loyalty.

Other studies have examined some of the ways in which language is used to attain persuasive and manipulative ends in politics. Coe et al (2006) study the binary discourse

of President George W. Bush after September 11, 2001 and how it was reconstructed by the media. They argue that the use of binary discourse is mostly effective when employed within a strategic discourse that contains three attributes seemingly present in Bush's discourse after September 11; central organization object, ordering of discourse, and multiple binary construction. They thus argue that Bush's consistent references to the September 11 attacks indicate that he uses this event as a central organizing object in his national addresses. They observe that weeks and months after September 11, President Bush employed two Cold War-tested binaries in rhetorically notable manner: good/evil and security and peril. Altogether, they analyse 15 speeches made by incumbent president Bush within the specific period of January 2001- March 2003. More specifically, the authors considered good/evil was present if the term good (or similar terms characterizing a moral goodness such as right, righteous, light, best, just, great, or honourable) was set in opposition to term evil (or other similarly connotative terms such as wrong, dark, worst, unjust, cruel, sadistic, wicked, ruthless, or barbaric). On the other hand, the security/peril was considered present if the term security (or similar terms such as safety, protection, and safeguard) were set in opposition to the term peril (or similar terms such as threat, risk, danger, and hazard).

Their findings showed President Bush's use of both binaries increased significantly after the September 11 terrorist attacks in the US. The same result was obtained in a second analysis conducted on newspaper editorials. Their findings also showed that the use of the good/evil binary was relatively more significant than the security/peril binary within that specific period, thus leading the authors to the conclusion that good/evil was the more important binary at the time. The authors end by observing that when used in combination, these binaries reflected and contributed to a sense of moral certitude among the Bush administration and were used to justify the limits on civil liberties, dismissal of United Nations conventions, and the need for major pre-emptive military action while also engendering consistent public support for the president and his administration's 'war on terrorism' program.

2.2.3 Self-Presentation in Political Discourse

A good number of studies on language use in political discourse have delved on how politicians align or position themselves in connection with the elements within the discourse space (see Chilton, 2004). Accordingly, such studies have examined the referents encoded in the personal pronouns used by politicians. De Fina (1995) for

instance examines the use of pronouns in political discourse in Mexico. Her study considers two prominent Mexican political figures at a political conference in Mexico, within the context of the political revolt which occurred in 1994. De Fina's aim is to illustrate the extent to which the pronominal choices of politicians reflect the way they position themselves vis a vis other individuals and groups within their discourse. She thus focuses on semi-spontaneous political discourse; i.e. discourse that is only partly prewritten and thus also partly improvised by the speakers, and she specifically examines only the speeches of antagonistic speakers on a current political topic (the Chiapas revolt). Also, she looks at personal pronouns generally; not focusing on any pronominal type, in order to unveil the various 'social' roles which the use personal pronouns typically encode.

Using Perret's (1983) classical deictic processes namely 'specification', 'temporalisation' and 'spatialization' and Goffman's (1981) 'participation framework', she examines then identifies various referents of personal pronouns. Her findings show that there are three roles which politicians typically assume when using personal pronouns, viz, the animator (the physical utterer of the words), the author (someone responsible for the message) and the principle (an individual, group or social category represented in the speech). De Fina's study is most remarkable for viewing the use of personal pronouns not as an aspect of the speaker's style, but as a more or less coherent indication of the speaker's presentation of self and for viewing pronominal choices as linguistic signals of speaker's presence and involvement in text. This makes her study close to mine in the sense that my research also seeks to examine the various cognitive roles which are often times encoded in the pronouns used by political figures and how such roles help them in achieving very specific rhetorical goals.

Bull & Fetzer (2006) examine the strategic use of forms of address in televised political interviews broadcast with the leaders of the three main British political parties during the 1997 and 2001 British general elections, and just before the war in Iraq in 2003. The main focus of their study is to analyse question-response sequences in which politicians made use of pronominal shifts as a form of equivocation. The authors observe that in the dynamic event of political interviews, the domain of reference of the noun phrase for which the pronoun stands, is not always unambiguously clear. Thus, while the pronoun 'we' can be inclusive or exclusive, the pronoun 'you' on its part can refer to the addressee either in the singular (the interviewer or interviewee for instance) or in the

plural (sub-group in the television studio or the audience as a whole). They argue that since context does not always guarantee the determinate referents of these pronouns, politicians may sometimes exploit the indeterminacy of such pronouns to their advantage during political interviews: such as accepting, denying, or distancing themselves from responsibility for political action; encouraging solidarity; designating and identifying both supporters and enemies.

Their study is mainly informed by Bavelas et al (1990) theory of equivocation and Goffman's (1981) concept of footing. Most especially, the concept of footing posits that there are varying degrees of participation in actual communication and that speakers can take up different footings in relation to their own remarks, which can be categorized into animator, author and principal. Following Goffman's categorization, the animator refers to person who actually utters the words, the author refers to 'the author of the words that are heard' while the *principal* is someone whose position or beliefs is established by the words spoken. Their analysis specifically looks at 20 televised interviews with the leaders of the three main British political parties and one interview with Prime Minister Tony Blair just before the war in Iraq. A major finding of this study is that the authors identify 17 instances of question-response sequences in which the politicians equivocated through pronominal shift. The authors remark that some of the reasons why politicians use pronominal shift to equivocate include: to avoid personal criticism, to avoid awkward choices and to avoid appearing 'immodest'. Another major finding of their study is that whenever the interviewers sought to establish the *authorship* of the politicians with regard to particular policies or beliefs, the politicians typically responded in terms of the principal which they represent. The authors conclude that this change in footing allows the politicians to avoid taking responsibility for their action because acknowledging authorship of a policy entails the acknowledgment of responsibility for agency.

Whereas a good number of studies which have sought to address the rhetoric functions of language in politics have for the most part focused on written political discourse, Duez (1997) is one which has delved into the spoken features of political discourse. He explores acoustic markers of political power in the speeches of incumbent French politicians. Building from on previous finding (see Duez 1982), his aim is to test the hypothesis that that political power has an effect on speech style. He uses Dell Hymes'(1972) ethnography of communication alongside a set of acoustic parameters such as articulation and duration, frequency, distribution of pauses as well the

fundamental frequency voice to explore three political speeches delivered by the incumbent president, François Mitterrand, at three different periods of his career; as a challenger and opponent (1974), as incumbent president (1984), and as both incumbent president and candidate for a new mandate (1988).

Even though the findings from this study do not show the extent of Mitterrand's power as hypothesised by the author, it does however reveal that temporal organisation appears to reflect the politician's distance from power. Accordingly, as an opponent and challenger in 1974, Mitterrand's articulation was more rapid, as he used time as efficiently as possible. But as both incumbent president and as incumbent and challenger, his articulation rate is noticeably slower; pauses are strikingly long and frequent, especially at sentence and phrase boundaries. Mitterrand seemingly did not have to argue to justify a programme; he had power and explained a decision calmly and gravely, with pause time allowing him to maintain a balance between what was being said and what was left unsaid. Such a finding leads Duez to the conclusion that the slower articulation rate in his two speeches as incumbent could be a feature marker of power. Duez's work can be commended for delving emphatically into spoken data; something which is quite rare in political discourse analysis.

Other studies have focused on the emotional aspect of language in political discourse. Outstanding is Hoffmann's (2018) study which sets out to investigate emotional sentiments in the campaign speeches of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump within the specific context of the 2016 US presidential elections. His work proposes an alternatively more fine-grained automatic approach to sentiment analysis that combines both binary categorisation of emotions (positive-negative) and more psychologically grounded classification of basic human emotions as proposed by Plutchik (1980, 1994). More especially, Plutchik's eight basic human emotions include joy, sadness, anger, fear, trust, disgust, anticipation and surprise. In terms of the methodology, Hoffmann's analysis is based on the NRC Word-Emotion Association Lexicon (Mohamed & Turney, 2013), a lexicon of emotion words coded for Plutchik's eight basic human emotions as well as for negative and positive binaries. The NFC is one of the sentiment analyses included in the syuzhet package version 1.0.1 (Jockers, 2016), which is a library for the program R, and this is used concomitantly in the study with the openNLP tokenizer which is also used to split the data for each of the candidates into individual sentences. The data were further subjected to two separate types of statistical analysis.

Hoffmann's findings confirmed that Trump used statistically significantly more negative lexical items than Clinton, and that the most frequent emotion evoked by both candidates is that of *trust*. Moreover, statistical findings on the basic human emotion for both candidates revealed specific preferences; while lexical items from the emotional field of anticipation, trust and joy appear to be more significant in Clinton's speeches, Trump's speeches show more preferences for lexical items from the emotional fields of disgust, anger, fear and sadness. The study is particularly remarkable for the robustness of its conceptual analyses of sentiments as typically perceived in the literature, which goes beyond basic taxonomies of sentiment analysis based on negative-positive binaries, to incorporate more sophisticated categories. The fact that most of these categories are basic human emotions means that they can be cross-culturally valid. Added to that is the fact that this study relies on statistical analysis to support its findings.

2.2.4 Politics, Political Discourse and Media Culture

Fetzer (2013) views the concepts of politics and political discourse as connected to media culture. Given the fact that politics also involves some kind of political coercion, much of politics done through mediated political discourse. This view is supported in Jones & Peccei (2003, p.38) when they observe that one of the surest ways through which power can be achieved and consolidated in politics is "to persuade everyone else that what you want is also what they want". Definitely then, a persuasive use of language is indispensable for individuals seeking to achieve political power, especially in a democratic system. Persuasion in politics mostly takes place in the media and access to media itself constitutes a source of power in politics (Van Dijk, 1992). Media access and use therefore constitute a powerful tool to those individuals involved in the field of politics.

A good number of studies have explored the role of the media in the reproduction and representation political worldviews and it can generally be concluded from such studies that an essential part of politics also takes place in the media. In an attempt to compare the metaphors used in English and French press reports on post-cold war security issues, Thornborrow (1993) examines the different types of metaphoric representations used to report issues on European security and defense across two European countries; France and Britain. Her goal is to show the extent to which international policies on European defense and security across both countries are justified and defended using culturally specific metaphors. She argues that albeit the fact that both English and

French may sometimes use the same metaphors, there are marked differences in the way the notions of security and Europe are conceptualized metaphorically across these countries, and that these differences necessarily have implications for negotiating the changing political and military relationships between both countries. Thornborrow's study uses data from leading English and French newspapers such as *The Guardian, The Financial Times, The Times, Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* on the specific occasion of two post-cold war meetings on peace and security held in London and Paris respectively. Her methodological approach for metaphor analysis begins by examining the concepts of security/ 'sécurité' in terms of their semantic structure and discursive use in English and French, with emphasis on the types of contexts in which these terms occur. The author's analysis consists in examining metaphorical representations across both languages to determine whether there are any similarities and whether there are any metaphors which occurs in only one of the two language or whether some metaphors are more prevalent in one language as compared to the other.

Thornborrow's findings showed that the conceptual base for representing security which emerged consistently from the English data is SECURITY AS A STRUCTURE, as reflected in the following expressions; 'a European military structure', 'structure for defence and security cooperation', 'pan-European security structure', 'the security structures of Europe', among others. She equally notes that the metaphor Security as a Structure is extended to refer to specific parts of a building such as with the expression, 'the cornerstone of a new security structure'. Her findings also showed that the same structure metaphor was also present in the representation of Europe by means of metaphoric references to 'shapes' and 'architecture' as in the expressions 'the future shape of Europe', 'the emerging shape of Europe' and 'a new architecture for Europe'. On the hand, the main conceptual base for representing security which emerged from the French data was SECURITY AS A SYSTEM, as reflected in the expressions 'un système de sécurité europeen' [a European security system], 'un système de sécurité pan-europeen' [a pan-European security system], 'un système de défense' [an East-West system of defence], among others.

Another finding is that both *Europe* and *Security* have patterns of representations which are based on the metaphoric conceptualisation of a building in the process of construction, resulting in such metaphors as 'The Defence Pillar' [Pilier de Défense] which is used across both countries. In the English data, this was

seen to be reflected through expressions such as, 'the European pillar was called for', 'the European pillar of the Atlantic alliance', 'a European defence pillar', among others. The French data was also shown to use this metaphor as reflected in the following examples;

Les piliers de sa défense doivent demeurer. [The pillars of its defence must remain.] (Margaret Thatcher, quoted in *Le Figaro*, 6.07.90)

[L'Otan] pourrait devenir l'un des piliers d'un nouveau *système* de sécurité européen. [NATO could become one of the pillars of a new European security system.]

(Vaclav Havel, quoted in *Le Monde*, 21.11.90), (Thornborrow, 1993, p.111).

One major way Thornborrow's study relates to the current research is in the idea that in the field of political discourse most especially, language use may be constrained by the different ways in which specific political issues are understood and interpreted across nations and cultures, and such constraint necessarily has ramifications on the linguistic choices. But whilst her study was interested in examining how the metaphors used to report a specific political event across two cultures may relate or differ, this study specifically seeks to examine the extent to which kinship metaphors may structure the political thinking of politicians across cultures and how this can vary considerably across cultures.

In their attempt to find out how news reporting may affect political matters in USA politics, Zhao & Yang (2009) carry out a critical discourse analysis of a news report on Barrack Obama in the *New York Times*, a leading newspaper in the US. Using Halliday's (1994) meta-functions (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) which they apply to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the authors aim at unveiling some of the intricacies of news reporting by unveiling some of the hidden perspectives often used in news reports and which are generally taken for granted by most readers. The findings of their study for instance show that in the USA press reports by the *New York Times*, Barack Obama is portrayed as the agent of positive actions, especially actions of getting Americans to step out of the negative situation in all aspects of national life while John McCain is always associated with making bad decisions, thus insinuating negative presentation. An outstanding example can be noticed from the fact that direct quotations are preferred when quoting Obama whereas indirect quotations are preferred when quoting McCain. As matter of fact, whereas direct quotations turn to be more objective without any

modification of the words and sentences, such is not the case with indirectly quotation. In the latter case, the quoted words or sentence are not in quotation marks, making it possible for the linguistic style, the sentence structure, and the hidden ideology to be recomposed and reprocessed thereby permeating the writer's opinion. Another finding reveals that, through the use of modals used in the reports, McCain is presented as a passive person who lacks sound and prudent judgment while Obama is presented as a wise and charismatic leader. Such findings certainly corroborate Fetzer's (2013, p.1) view that political discourse in the media is bound to be "constrained by requirements of media, such as an inherent perspective and thus an inherent manipulative component due to its transmission thought different types of media, or different types of multimodality, which allows for strategic fore- and backgrounding".

In another setting, Vertessen and De Landtsheer (2008) examine the metaphors used by Belgian public and commercial mass media in reporting political issues, using four media types; public television, commercial television, quality papers and tabloids. The authors argue that there is an 'ontological' difference between public and commercial broadcasting and that such difference has serious implications on the content of the broadcasts. Most especially, they remark that commercial broadcasting is more prone to using emotive language than public broadcasting since its survival largely depends on the number of viewers. The authors argue that there exists a strong connection between metaphor use and sensational news as both trigger emotive functions and provoke 'emotional and sensory stimulations. Thus, since the number of viewers matters a lot to commercial broadcasters, they pay special to sensationalism, which also comprises the use of metaphors. The authors thus hypothesise that metaphor power will be higher in commercial broadcasting than in public broadcasting. However, their findings also reveal that the use of metaphors is generally higher at election time than in between elections in both public and commercial broadcasts, but that this is more noticed in public than in commercial broadcasting.

Vertessen and De Landtsheer also compare the use of metaphors in print newspapers and TV news and their findings show that the Metaphor Power Index (MPI) is higher in newspapers than in television news, which is mostly as a result of higher metaphor frequency rates. Such findings are quite enlightening in showing how media effects interact with political discourse and the ramifications such interaction can have on the various audiences. Apart from highlighting the extent to which metaphors constitute

one of the most valuable rhetorical tools in public discourse in general, the authors also bring to light what can be considered the intermediate but indispensable role played by the media in achieving political persuasion. This view largely espouses Fetzer's (2013) view of politics and political discourse as a being process-oriented rather than productoriented, thus her taxonomy which articulates a multi-layered and multi-faceted nature of political discourse, with the '(political)media discourse' constituting the intermediate layer, while 'institutional (political) discourse' and 'dynamic (political) discourse' constitute the upper and lower layers respectively. Even though one can remark that Fetzer's taxonomy of political discourse seems to limit media to audio-visual broadcasting only, thus neglecting print media outlets which are also constituents of the of the intermediate layer. Newspaper captions and the strategic role they play in political discourse for instance qualifies them as (political) media discourse. Also, Fetzer's understanding of who should be considered a politician seems to require at least a minimal definition. It is not quite clear whether this is limited to career/professional politicians only; whereas in most political cultures this seems to be more or less determined by the institutional function or role of an individual. One may easily see that some people become members of parliament without necessarily being career/professional politicians.

2.3 Theoretical Framework of Analysis

This section discusses the theoretical frameworks guiding the analyses in this study. As might have been expected, the multidisciplinary character of this study also needs to be theoretically accounted for. However, only those theories which are directly relevant to its scope and objectives are discussed in this section. Two theories are examined in this study: *Frame Semantics Theory* and the *Metaphor Theory*. These theories are discussed sequentially, bringing out the various tenets of each which are relevant to this study and where appropriated, specifying how such tenets are applied in this work.

2.3.1 The Frame Semantic Theory

In the previous section, major scholarly works which have addressed the connection between politics and language were examined. It can be observed from this review that most of the contributions have essentially examined the stylistic features of language in politics and where possible, their rhetoric effects on the audience. This study seeks to demonstrate that a cognitive linguistics-based approach to the analysis language

features in political discourse can identify the conceptual schemas which structure the rhetorical features/patterns of language use in political discourse across national cultures and varieties. It is in line with this objective that the theory of *frame semantics* finds its relevance in the present research, particularly from a usage-based perspective. However, prior to discussing the theory of frame semantics as propounded by Charles Fillmore, it is important to first have an overview of Fillmore's theory of *case grammar* as this constitutes the main point of entry into his theory of frame semantics.

2.3.1.1 Conceptual Background

Fillmore (1968) uses the 'case' notion to explain the syntactic relationship between a verb and its arguments in a sentence. He makes a clear-cut distinction between the term 'case', which according to him denotes the underlying syntactic-semantic relationship between words, and 'case form' which denotes the expression of a case relationship in a particular language, be it through affixation, suppletion, the use of clitic particles, or constraints on word order. He thus proposes and elaborates a case grammar theory which aims at describing the syntactic-semantic relationship between words, particularly the syntactic relationship between verbs and their arguments. Fillmore proposes a set of 'case roles' also known as 'deep cases' to account for the syntactic functions of elements in a sentence, especially those sentence elements which could not be fully comprehended using the categories of traditional grammar. It is worth mentioning that unlike with the generative grammar approach to 'cases', Fillmore's conceptual interpretation framework differentiates between the deep and surface structure of a sentence. His 'deep cases' are in essence linguistic universals, presumably innate concepts, which identify certain types of judgement which human beings are capable of making about the events going on around them.

Following Fillmore's approach, verbs that express a given event or situation select a cluster of similar 'deep cases', and Fillmore observes that such a trend appears to be valid in all languages. Equally worth mentioning is the fact that the set of 'deep cases' proposed by Fillmore are organized in a specific hierarchy, and are conceived to be applicable to the syntactic arguments of any verb. Also, each 'deep case' is assumed to be realised only by one argument in a sentence. These 'deep cases' include the following;

I) **Agentive (A);** the case of the perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb (typically animate)

- II) Instrument (I); the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb
- III) **Dative (D)**; the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb
- IV) Factitive (F); the case of the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as part of the meaning of the verb.
- V) **Locative (L)**; the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb.
- VI) **Objective (O)**; the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably the concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb (not to be confused with the direct object), (Fillmore, 1968, pp.46-47).

The thrust of Fillmore's theory in proposing his set of 'case roles' was that the generative grammar syntax-oriented perspective should be abandoned completely and that questions of meaning in a sentence should be with reference to the superordinate textual embedding structure (Ziem, 2014). It is mostly in this light that Fillmore's case grammar theory should be understood. Of course, Fillmore's proposal was not without limitations and criticisms. Boas & Dux (2017, pp.26-27) point out at least three shortcomings inherent in the case grammar approach. The first limitation stems from what can be described as the grain size of 'case roles', which makes it difficult to distinguish between different semantic types. Another limitation is that there are no systematic tests for determining semantic roles. There was also the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between syntactic arguments and semantic roles. It is not quite clear from the case grammar theory at what point it can be assumed that the list of possible deep cases has been exhaustively completed. As pointed out by Ziem, by presupposing a limited set of assumingly universal semantic roles, case grammar still subscribes to the major assumptions of transformational grammar whereas Fillmore's was particularly critical about most of its assumptions on the syntactic-semantic relationship as not being adequate enough to account for a linguistic universal (p.11). It was certainly these shortcomings

which eventually convinced Fillmore to revisit some of his earlier positions, and to reconceptualize them in what later came to be known as the theory of frame semantics.

2.3.1.2 The Linguistic Notion of 'Frame'

The concept of 'frame' has received scholarly attention across disciplines and empirical fields. Some outstanding contributions come from cognitive linguistics (Fillmore, 1976, 1977, 1982, 1985; Lakoff, 2004; Rossini, 2008; Petruck, 1996; Ziem, 2014); Sociology (Goffman, 1974); Psychology (Andor, 1985); Artificial Intelligence (Minsky, 1975); Lexicography (Fillmore & Atkins, 1992; Grandy, 1992; Fillmore & Baker, 2010; Ruppenhofer et al, 2016); Natural Language Processing (Das et al, 2014; Roth & Lopata, 2014), among others. The interdisciplinary interest has often resulted in quite different theoretical applications of the concept. Ziem (2014, p.17) attempts a general view of the state-of-the-art research on the notion of frames by observing that "the definitions of frames in the existing literature vary considerably, and while some can be seen as complementary, others have such different theoretical premises as their base that they consequently accent issues that are of no or very little relevance to a linguistic theory of meaning". Such differences have also resulted in different terminology being used by various scholars to refer basically to the same concept, with such names as 'cognitive model' (Lakoff, 1987) and 'base' (Langacker, 1984). However, in the field of cognitive linguistics, the concept of frames is mostly attributed to the works of Charles J. Fillmore and his colleagues and has been well elaborated in what has come be known as the theory of frame semantics.

Arising from all the above-mentioned approaches to the concept of 'frame' is the general understanding of frames as the background knowledge that we normally refer to in order to understand the meaning of words or expressions. Indeed, Fillmore's own definition of the concept has not been quite stable in the literature, ranging from a view of frames as "any system of linguistic choices...that can get associated with prototypical instances of scenes" (1975, p.124); frames as "structured ways of interpreting experiences" (1976, p.21); frames as "single coherent schematization of experience or knowledge" (1985, p. 223); and finally frames as "cognitive structures ...knowledge of which is presupposed for the concepts encoded by the words" (Fillmore & Atkins, 1992, p.75). From the foregoing definitions, this study espouses Ungerer and Schmid's (2006) observation that Fillmore's original conception of frames as linguistic

constructs has now received a cognitive reinterpretation. As cognitive constructs, the internal structure of frames is made up of slots which can be filled by slot fillers. A classic example to illustrate the frame typology is given by Fillmore (1977) on the [commercial_event]³ frame. Accordingly, Fillmore observes that the verb *buy* for instance, evokes a frame which requires a number of interacting categories, namely *a buyer, a seller, goods* and *money*. The interesting aspect of this type of cognitive arrangement is that it captures the various clause patterns which are typically used with the verb *buy* and these can be applied to other verbs such as *sell*, *auction* and *pay*. Figure 2.1 below shows the configuration of these categories for the verb *buy*.

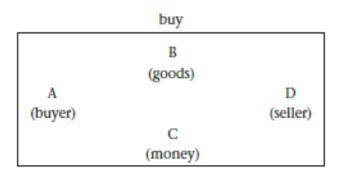


Figure 2. 1: Interacting Categories in the [buy] frame (From Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p. 208).

As can be observed from the figure 2.1 above, all cognitive categories of the [buy] frame are identified. It is worth mentioning that the [buy] frame inherits its cognitive properties from the more general [commercial_transaction] frame. Fillmore and Atkins (1992, p.78) for instance outline *buyer*, *seller*, *money* and *goods* as the categories derivable from the [commercial_transaction] frame. However, even though the [buy] frame is a descendant frame, it might have a number of further specifications. Following Minsky's (1974) approach, frames have slots which are specified by values when activated. The frame slots constitute cognitive categories which can act both as anchors and triggers to frames "because it is in the format of categories and their interrelations that frames are designed and it is by the same categories that they are activated" (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p.213). Frame slots can be seen as specific questions which require

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³ The square bracket is systematically used in this study to indicate the frame typology. Also, in case where a frame is named using more a word, a hyphen is used between the words.

specific answers. The answers to these questions provide the values for the slots. The specific values which are specified in the slots of a text-based frame are *slot fillers* of that frame. As pointed out by Ziem (2014, p.19), slot fillers refer to concrete experiential data that cannot be implied or inferred since they are perceptually 'given'. Otherwise, frames might have some of their slots not outrightly specified but rather inferred. Such slot fillers are known as default values. Default values are those slot values that under 'normal' circumstances will apply to a frame. They are in essence data structures stored in our long-term memory and which help us to make sense of each new situation we encounter by having recourse to our knowledge and experience of previous encounters. This idea is mostly articulated in Minsky (1988, p.244) when he explains;

Our idea is that each perceptual experience activates some structure that we'll call frames- structures we've acquired in the course of previous experience. We all remember millions of frames, each representing some stereotypical situation like meeting a certain kind of person, being in a certain kind of room, or attending a certain kind of party. (as cited in Ziem, 2014, p.19)

As a matter fact, the default values of frame slots can be explained using the notion of basic level categories as articulated by the *prototype theory* in psycholinguistics (Rosch 1975, 1977). Rosch defines a basic level as that level with the highest degree of cue validity, i.e the inclusiveness of predicative categories vis-à-vis the reference. A certain category like furniture for instance, may have a prototypical member but with no cognitive visual representation while basic categories of furniture which may include *bed* and *chair* are easily categorised in terms gestalt and semantic features. Default values of frames can therefore be compared to the basic level of a category. This idea is corroborated in Ziem (2014) when he observes that basic level categories are mid-way between hyponyms and hypernyms and are good candidates for default values.

A central cognitive linguistics notion associated with frames is *perspectivisation*. Generally speaking, the idea of perspectivisation refers to what attracts our attention or what attention we intend to give to our hearers. This notion had previously been used in syntax to explain how verbs select their subject and their objects. But when used with the frame concept, the notion of perspectivization is understood as the cognitive ability of directing one's attention (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006). Let us once again use the [Commercial_transaction] frame as our example. The frames evoked by the verbs buy, sell, auction and pay all inherit from this general frame. However, each of the

specific frames evoked by these verbs give different perspectives of the [Commercial_transaction] frame, and directs the hearer's attention to specific categories in the frame: the verb 'buy' directs hearer's attention to the *buyer* and *money*, the verb 'sell' to the *seller* and *goods*, the verb 'auction' to the *goods* and *money* and the verb 'pay' to the *money* and the *buyer*. The idea of perspectivisation is similar to Langacker's profiling of participant elements. With regard to their syntactic properties, both approaches lay emphasis on the clause patterns and the fact that clause patterns should not be analysed in isolation but against their cognitive background. But whereas the frame perspective gives more attention to the meaning of the verb, the profiling of participant elements gives more emphasis to the *figure* and the *ground*. Indeed, the notion of perspectivization of frames accounts for how language users might project specific facets of information while concealing the others. Similar notions used in the cognitive linguistics literature to describe this phenomenon are *windowing of attention* and *gapping* (see Talmy, 2000).

As speakers of a language, the frames that structure the way we understand and interpret words and phrases are often not just evoked in isolation, but rather as a succession of frames in which each frame is a prerequisite for the next. Such an arrangement goes beyond the simple understanding of frames thus far discussed, and includes a more complex configuration known as *scripts*. Schank and Abelson (1977) argue that a large part of understanding is script-based. A script can be seen as a "predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation" (p.41). The authors remark that understanding language entails causally relating our thoughts with sentences (see also Schank, 1975). Accordingly, they distinguish between semantic memory and episodic memory and emphasize on the nature of episodic memory in which a script is a structured object representing a stereotyped sequence of actions. Typical examples of scripts may include eating in a restaurant, riding a bus, watching and playing a football game, participation in a birthday party, etc. The most elaborate and widely discussed of these scripts in the literature is the *Restaurant Script*.

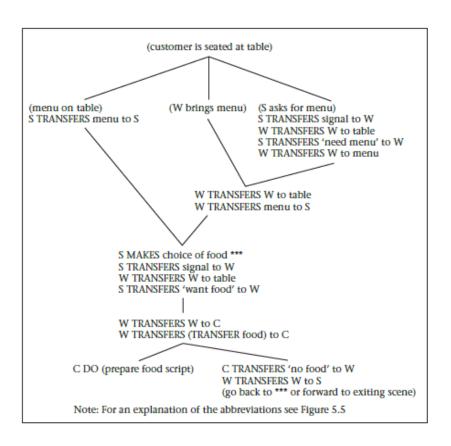


Figure 2. 2: Ordering Scene of the Restaurant Scrip (from Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p. 215)

Figure 2.2 schematically illustrates the ordering scene of the *Restaurant Script*, which opens with a customer sitting at a table in a restaurant. Three states are possible at this point: the customer finds the menu on the table, the waitress/waiter brings the menu or the customer asks for the menu. The script will run along three different paths, and regardless of which of the three situation prevails, the end result will be the customer having the menu. From having the menu, the next scene will be the customer places an order to the waitress/waiter who takes the order to the cook. Again, from the cook two alternatives are possible; either the cook gets the food ready thereby creating the conditions for the eating scene or the cook informs the waitress/waiter that the food is not available. If this latter state happens, the customer either places a different order (in which begins the script afresh) or the customer decides to leave the restaurant.

As can be observed from the illustration of the *Restaurant Script*, one easily realises that just like frames, scripts are also made up of different slots, represented by

the various scenes of a script. There are also specific expectations of what generally should happen in each scene of a script. This arrangement corresponds to the default values of the script. But unlike with frames, the slots of scripts exist as an interconnected whole and what is in one slot affects what can be in the following slot (Schank & Abelson, 1977). Tannen (1993, p.16) substantiates the existing connection between the scenes of scripts using Ross's (1975) notion of 'structures of expectation' which posits that "on the basis of one's experience of the world in a given culture, (or combination of cultures), one organises knowledge about the world and uses this knowledge to predict interpretations and relationships regarding new information, events and expectation". As will later be demonstrated in the discussions in this chapter, the various scenes of a script can be understood as a succession of interconnected frames.

2.3.1.3 Theoretical Claims

Fillmore's proposal for a theory of frame semantics came as a response to some of the limitations inherent in his theory of case grammar. A good number of these criticisms have discussed in section 2.3.1.1. His theory of frame semantics thus marked a shift in paradigm from previous attempts aimed at explaining the nature of language. Contrary to generative grammar which sees knowledge of language in terms of grammar and lexicon, frame semantics essentially seeks to show how language users' cognitive and interactional frames are linked up with linguistic materials;

A proposal that I favour is that in characterizing a language system we must add to the description of grammar and lexicon a description of the cognitive and interactional "frames" in terms of which the language-user interprets his environment, formulates his own messages, understands the messages of others, and accumulates or creates an internal model of his world" (Fillmore, 1976, p.23).

Fundamental to Fillmore's frame semantic theory is the distinction of a semantic of understanding (U-semantic), which he distinguishes from semantic of Truth (T-Semantic). He defines U-semantic theory as one that takes as its assignment that of "providing general account on the relation between linguistic texts, the contexts in which they are instanced, and the process and product of their interpretation" (Fillmore 1985,

p.222). Ziem (2014) observes that this makes frame semantics a non-reductionist⁴ theory of linguistic meaning. As a matter of fact, whereas semantic theories based on truth approach meaning based on basic facts and truth conditions, theories founded on a semantic of understanding essentially rely on cognitive frames or knowledge schemata in the description of meaning. Within such an approach, words or word senses are not related to each other directly but only by way of their links to common background frames and indications of the manner in which their meanings highlight particular elements of such frames;

A word's meaning can be understood *only with reference to a structured background of experience, beliefs, or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning* [emphasis added]. Speakers can be said to know the meaning of the word only by first understanding the background frames that motivates the concept that the word encodes (Fillmore & Atkins, 1992: pp. 76-77).

The idea that the understanding of items of a certain kind first requires an understanding of the frame within which such items are considered or operational had earlier been echoed by the *Lexical Field Theory* (Trier, 1931; Weigeber, 1962; Geckeler 1971, as cited in Fillmore 1985). The major difference between Fillmore's approach and that of the *Lexical Field Theory* is that Fillmore emphasises the importance of background information as the chief criterion for the understanding of meaning while the *Lexical Field Theory* stresses the importance of a word's position in its lexical field and the number of contenders in the field. Fillmore argues that a word's meaning has more to do with its conceptual underpinning, than its lexical peers;

...Nor would we expect to find father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister separated from each other, or buy, sell, pay, spend, and cost, or day, night, noon, midnight, morning, afternoon, and evening. These words form groups that learners would do well to learn together, because in each case they are lexical

⁴ A non-reductionist approach implies that no aspect of meaning that is relevant to understanding may be excluded from the analysis simply on the basis that the methodological premises of the chosen theory settings do not allow the application of any background knowledge to be taken into account (Ziem, 2014).

representatives of some single coherent schematization of experience or knowledge. In each case, to understand what any one member of such group is about is, in a sense, to understand what they are all about (Fillmore, 1985, p. 223).

2.3.1.4 The Berkeley School Approach to Frame Semantics

Up till this point, we have discussed the notion of frame and the theory of *frame semantics* as generally conceived and documented in the literature. Since 1997 however, a team of linguists working at the International Computer Science Institute, University of California-Berkeley has been devoted to applying the main theoretical claims and findings of frame semantics to the creation of an online lexicon of English. This initiative has given birth to the FrameNet project (Ruppenhofer & al, 2016), which seeks to provide an inventory of English words and their frames. This is done by documenting the semantic and syntactic combinatory possibilities (valences) of each word in each of its senses, supported by corpus evidence. Interestingly, the Berkeley School approach to frames and frame semantics has had a number of theoretical and terminological ramifications on the general theory of frame semantics so far discussed in this study. It is therefore crucial at this point to have an overview of FrameNet's theoretical claims as well its conceptual paradigm of frames. This is because the conception and analysis of frames that will guide the remainder of this study will essentially draw from the FrameNet's paradigm.

FrameNet's theoretical application incorporates frame semantics into a theory of lexicon in which grammatical and semantic information are packaged together. Unlike with the general theory of frame semantics where frames are typically conceived to be evoked mainly by verbs, FrameNet expands this approach and includes other word classes, such as nouns and adjectives. Lexical Units (LU's) is the term used in FrameNet to designate words which evoke frames. FrameNet's LU's are pairings of meaning with form. Slot fillers of frames are treated as Frame Elements (FE's), and are defined both in terms of their semantic specification and their syntactic realisation in the specific frames in which they occur. The specification of FE's is equally supported by frequencies from annotated corpora. The advantage of this kind of approach is that it gives clues about the level of entrenchment of the FE's (slot fillers) of particular frames. Thus, the greater the frequency, the higher the entrenchment.

Another frame notion addressed by the Berkeley FrameNet project concerns the perspectivization of frames. This notion is used in FrameNet to account for the (cognitive)

semantic perspective of those frames which inherit the cognitive and structural properties of a more general frame. As a matter of fact, one of the goals FrameNet annotators is to make sure all the FE's of a given 'mother' frame are profiled across all its descendant frames. To achieve this goal, special frames known as *Neutral frames* are conceived to host the FE's of any descendant frame with different a perspective. The peculiarity of these *Neutral frames* is that they have no LU's of their own and cannot be evoked by any of the LU's of their perspectivized frames. Let us once again consider the [commercial_transaction] frame which is evoked by the LU's 'buy' and 'sell', with 'buy' taking the *buyer's* perspective and sell taking the *seller's* perspective. In order to make sure that all the FE's of the [commercial_transaction] frame is profiled in both frames, FrameNet refers both of them to a *Neutral and non-perspectivized* background frame or scenario, in this case the [commerce_good_transfer] and the [commerce_money_transfer] frames respectively. This type of arrangement is described in FrameNet as the *Perpective_on* relation (Ruppenhoffer et al, 2016, pp. 82-83). This is illustrated in figure 2.2 below.

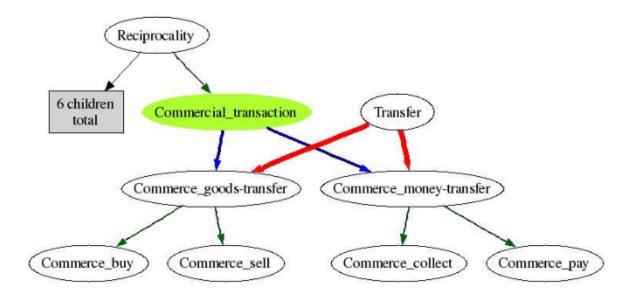


Figure 2. 3: The [Commercial_Transaction] frame (from Ruppenhofer & al, 2016, p. 14)

Figure 2.1 above illustrates the various relationships of the [commercial_transaction] frame. As can be observed, the intermediate frames are the [commerce_good-transfer] and [commerce_money-transfer]. Both are the *Neutral frames*

conceived by FrameNet annotators to make sure all the FE's of the main frame are profiled in their various perspectivized descendant frames, each evoked by a specific set of LU's. The importance of this notion in our current work is that it provides a spectrum against which we can evaluate what is made prominent in political discourse across national cultures. Indeed, perspectivisation carries the cognitive ability of directing our attention to very specific aspects of a topic under discussion. This has been demonstrated in cognitive linguistics mostly through Langacker's (1987) profiling of participant elements and Talmy's (2000) windowing of attention.

As earlier mentioned, the internal structure of frames is made up of slots which can be specified by slot fillers or are already specified by default assignments or values. FrameNet captures this structural configuration of frames using the notion of *coreness*. The notion is used in FrameNet to account for the degree centrality of particular FE's in the frames in which they occur. Accordingly, FrameNet distinguishes up to four levels of coreness; core, peripheral, extra-thematic and core-unexpressed. A core FE is one that instantiates a conceptually necessary component of the frame. Let us this time around consider the [Political action] frame to explain the coreness status of FE's. This frame has the following FE's in FrameNet; activists, demands, institution, duration, manner, means, place, results, time and type. This frame is evoked by the following LU's; demonstrations, strikes, protest, labour action, among others. Other things being equal, one cannot imagine any political manifestation without political activists making some kind of demands to an institution. These FE's thus constitute the core elements of the [political action] frame. As a generally rule, all core FE's need to be expressed in all their descendants of frame, if there are any. Core FE's can therefore be viewed as those frame slots whose values necessarily need to be specified in a frame. However, some FE's can sometimes act like core FE's in particular frames, but might not be expressed in their descendant frames. This type of arrangement is marked as core-unexpressed. The remaining FE's are classified either as peripheral or extra-thematic. Peripherals constitute a more or less fixed category of FE's. These are FE's which do not add any extra or independent events from the main report or description of the frame. Extra-thematic FE's are those which may be instantiated in a frame but are not considered to conceptually belong to the frame. They typically situate an event against the backdrop of another event (Ruppenhofer, 2016).

FrameNet equally uses the 'subFrame' relation to represent the notion of script, i.e a stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation. The approach used by the Berkeley School consists in identifying certain frames as complex frames. Such frames are typically more robust in that they refer to other states or events, and such events are thus considered as the subframes of the complex frame. Following this approach, a script is thus abstracted as a complex frame and the various scenes of the script as the subframes. In such an arrangement, the FE's of the complex frame are not necessarily instantiated as FE's of the subframes but rather connected to them. Also, the subframes are sequentially arranged based on their temporal relation. To illustrate FrameNet's 'subFrame' relation and how it relates to the idea of scripts, let us examine the [Criminal process] frame illustrated in figure 2.4 below.



Figure 2. 4: Subframes of the [Criminal_process] frame (from Ruppenhofer & al, 2016, p.84)

As can be observed in figure 2.4 above, the [Criminal_process] frame describes a much complex procedure involving different scenes, beginning with the *arrest* of a suspect by an authority based on certain charges and who is *arraigned* as a defendant. The defendant then goes through a *trial*. Depending on the findings of the trial, then the defendant is *sentenced* by a Judge if s/he admit guilt, or otherwise released if found innocent. In case of a sentence, the defendant can decide to make an *appeal*. Thus, this is how stereotypically, a criminal process works in the judicial system of most western cultures. The [Criminal_process] frame is in itself an entire script comprising various scenes. Each of the scenes in the process is assigned to distinct subframes which include, chronologically, the [Arrest] frame, [Arraignment] frame, [Trial] frame, [Sentencing] frame and the [Appeal] frames, all connected to the [Criminal process] frame via the

'subFrame' relation. It is worth mentioning that these subframes are all independent frames in the FrameNet database and can stand on their own accounts.

This chapter has thus far examined some of the tenets of the frame semantic theory which are peculiar to the Berkeley School of cognitive linguistics and which have been consequential on the theory of frame semantics in the recent literature. Such adjustments in the application of the theory of frame semantics as seen with the Berkeley FrameNet lexicon is not surprising given that FrameNet lexicon mostly draws from lexicographic approaches and practices, and as a result aims at providing a more accurate linguistic description of the frames which words typically evoke in natural language. Also, one of the main goals in FrameNet is to illustrate how different frame participants (frame roles) are expressed linguistically in different frames.

2.3.2 The Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Over the past decades, cognitive metaphor scholars (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Santa Ana, 1997; Grady, 1997; Cameron, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2004; Musloff, 2004; Kövecses, 2000, 2002, 2005; Pragglejaz Group, 2007; Semino, 2008; Semino et al., 2015) have sufficiently pointed out that the locus of metaphor is not language but thought and that the linguistic expression of metaphors is only a product of the way we think. More specifically, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors We Live By* first introduced the idea that the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. According to their theoretical arguments, the conception of our everyday reality is essentially metaphorical, the way we think, act and the way we experience things. Our way of thinking is *shaped* or *framed* by metaphor and the linguistic expression of metaphors is possible only because they exist in the human conceptual system:

In all aspects of life, not just in politics or in love, we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors. We draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans all on the basis of how we in part structure our experience, consciously and unconsciously, by means of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p.58).

Lakoff & Johnson essentially view linguistic metaphors as manifestations of 'metaphorical concepts' or metaphorical thoughts which exist in the brain's conceptual system. A core aspect of their theory of Conceptual Metaphor consists in the

incorporation of metaphors into 'structural metaphors'. Structural metaphors establish a systematic relationship between the *source* and the *target* domains and such a relationship is not independent of the metaphor. An example of a structural metaphor is 'AN ARGUMENT IS WAR' (the small capital letters indicate concepts rather than words) as reflected through such expressions as 'Your claims are *indefensible*', 'He attacked every weak point in my arguments, 'He shot down all of my arguments', 'His criticisms were right on target', "If you use that strategy, he will wipe you out", etc. All these expressions are entailments of the structural metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR and their use is not intended to make a comparison between argument and war, but simply because this is the way we think of arguments; "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.5). Thus, even though argument and war are different concepts, that of argument is partially structured and understood in terms of war. It is important to observe that there is a basic correspondence or mapping between the source and the target domains during the metaphorical process. In the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY for instance, the following correspondences or mappings are likely to occur:

Travellers \rightarrow lovers

Vehicle → love relationship

Destination → purpose of the relationship

Distance covered → progress made in the relationship

Obstacles along the way \rightarrow difficulties encountered in the relationship (Kövecses, 2005, p.6)

Lakoff & Johnson (1999) later on in the development of their conceptual metaphor theory also introduced the premise that metaphor is not only linguistic and conceptual, but also bodily in nature. In this regard, they claimed that metaphors are based on embodied experience. Their main argument was that metaphorical thought is the result of how the human body constrains the way we think about abstractions such as time, morality, emotions and politics. For instance, the fact that we generally tend to view affection as warmth is due the correlation in our childhood experience of the loving embrace of our parents and the comforting bodily warmth that accompanies it. Our comprehension and talking of affection in terms of warmth thus arise naturally from this embodied experience, thus accounting to such expressions as "We have a warm relationship", "She is a warm and loving person", etc. It is therefore not surprising to hear

that affection is universalized as warmth, rather than coldness (Kövecses, 2005). Learning such metaphors is not a question of choice for us as humans but something that rather develops unconsciously and automatically. It is certainly the idea that metaphorical thought is embodied which has persuaded most mainstream cognitive metaphor scholars to begin acknowledging the universal character of metaphors. Some examples used to illustrate the universality of metaphors include, among others, emotions metaphors (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987; Yu,1998; Kövecses, 2000, 2002); even-structure metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1990; Kövecses, 2005); time (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980); inner life or the 'self' metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Recent studies in conceptual metaphor research have questioned the universal basis of certain metaphors and have illustrated the extent to which variation in metaphors is just as frequent as universality. Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2005) for instance, has objected the grounding of embodiment solely on physical experience and has argued that cultural experience also plays an active role in the embodiment of metaphors. In his book entitled Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation published in 2005, Kövecses points out the fact that the universality of metaphors only occurs at an abstract generic level while their linguistic instantiations remain culturally embedded. Using findings drawn from cognitive linguistics and anthropological research on metaphors, Kövecses posits that certain conceptual metaphors may vary across cultures. The conceptual metaphor schema AN ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER for instance, is potentially universal and is shared across many cultures, but it however "does not specify many things that could be specified" (Kövecses, 2005, p.68). Examples highlighting the impact of cultural experience in determining conceptual metaphors abound in the literature; while anger is understood as a *fluid* in English (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), it is understood as gas in Chinese (Yu, 1998). Similarly, while English generally conceptualises anger as being found in the body, anger is understood as something found in the belly in Japanese (Matsuki, 1995) and as a thing found in the heart in Zulu (Taylor & Mbenze, 1998). All these examples sufficiently attest to the fact that whenever a generic conceptual metaphor schema is filled out, it typically receives a unique cultural content at a specific level.

The cognitive linguistic view on the embodiment and universality of certain metaphors has further been refined and developed by Grady (1997) in his *primary metaphor hypothesis*. Grady's initial observation was that some conceptual metaphors could be decomposable into simpler ones. Accordingly, he observes that metaphors such

as THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS are made up of two more basic ones, PERSISTING IS STANDING ERECT and ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. He then came to the conclusion that such decomposition could in fact be extended to an entire metaphorical system, in such a way that some metaphors emerged as "atomic" structures (primary metaphors) which could then be combined to form "molecular" structures (complex metaphors). Kövecses however expresses doubts on the universal status of primary metaphors and argues that in real cultural contexts, people actually engage in thought using *complex metaphors*; not primary metaphors. Primary metaphors such as PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS sounds more like artificial theoretical constructs when compared to the complex metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Kövecses, 2005).

In this research, however, both primary and complex metaphors are seen as complementary to each other and are significant in demonstrating the different ways in which metaphors may vary across cultures. Most especially, it can be argued that conceptual metaphors based on embodied human experience (both primary and certain complex metaphors) provide generic and universally shared schemas, but these expatiate differently across cultures based on particular cultural preferences or constraints. In this regard, universal metaphors provide the schemas or frames containing slots which are filled out differently across cultures. This ontological approach to metaphor has been recently articulated by the cascade theory of metaphor (David et al, 2016), an approach to metaphors which is influenced by advancements in corpus-based approaches which seek to identify and extract metaphors in large scale corpora. A cascade has been defined as "a hierarchically organized conceptual combination of image-schemas, frames, and metaphors that has been used often enough to become fixed as a single complex entity, though each of its parts continues to occur separately" (p. 215). The cascade approach to metaphor analysis considers each conceptual metaphor to be made up of hierarchically organised primary and "general" metaphors (corresponding to complex metaphors), with the primary metaphor serving as the higher-level structure and the general metaphors serving as intermediate-level structures. Accordingly, whenever a metaphorical expression is used, it activates both the general and primary metaphors which are prebundled in a hierarchically related manner, thus making their conceptual structures available for the inferences and mapping of the metaphorical expression. The cascade

approach to metaphor analysis has been materialised by the MetaNet project⁵ (https://metanet.icsi.berkeley.edu/metanet/) (Dodge et al, 2015), an online catalogued repository of metaphors that formalizes existing insights about the metaphors underlying linguistic expressions. This online repository is equally used in this study to inform the metaphor analysis in this study, particularly in tracing the hierarchical structure of those kinship metaphors which have been catalogued and to use such information to support the analysis carried out in this work.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted a review of major scholarly contributions on the use of language in the domain of politics. In this regard, major studies which have investigated the use of language in this field of inquiry have been discussed. On the whole, it stands out from these studies that a lot about politics can be understood and explained through language. The chapter has equally discussed the theoretical frameworks which guide the analyses in this work, viz: the theory of frame semantics as elaborated by Charles Fillmore and currently applied for English in the FrameNet online lexicon, and the conceptual metaphor theory initially propounded by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and further developed by Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2005). Three main points summarise the tenets of the theory of conceptual metaphor discussed in this research, namely; thought is largely unconscious, abstract concepts are largely metaphorical and the mind is inherently embodied. And more importantly, it has also been pointed out that embodiment based on physical experience may not always be sufficient in accounting for all kinds of metaphors. Cultural experience plays a crucial role in the embodiment of metaphors.

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⁵ The Berkerley MetaNet project (Dodge et al, 2015) is an online inventory of formalised conceptual metaphors and frames, with attested examples from large-scale corpora.

CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Research can be understood as an art which is aided by the skills of inquiry, experimental design, data collection, measurement and analysis, interpretation and presentation, and in some cases creativity and invention (Greenfield, 2016). This chapter outlines and discusses the research methodology guiding the analysis in this work. Firstly, it presents the various data sources used as corpora in the study. The chapter also describes the research methods used; the various instruments employed in the data collection as well as the corpus linguistics tools used in data extraction and processing. Also, the descriptive statistical measures used for data analysis and interpretation are equally outlined and discussed. Finally, the chapter gives a lexicographical overview of the FrameNet lexicon, which constitutes the main linguistic resource on which a cross section of the analysis in this work is based.

3.1 Research Design

As already mentioned in previous chapters, the main focus of this research is to identify linguistic features/patterns which will show conceptual variations in political discourse across the varieties explored in this study. The attainment of this objective consequently necessitates the examination of data from these different varieties. One of the difficulties in achieving this task is to find corpora which can be comparable. Scholarly contributions in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis have made significant inroads into identifying some of the genres in political discourse, as well as their fields of operation. Wodak (2007) for instance proposes a taxonomy for the classification of political texts and talks based on a distinction between fields of action and fields of control, with each of these fields regrouping various genres. Each of these genres is constituted of political texts and talks from the same type of communicative event. More on this taxonomy has already been discussed in Chapter One. Such an approach is methodologically quite productive in the sense that it classifies different types of data into manageable proportions, based on elaborate theoretical considerations. The point of entry into the analysis was therefore to identify a genre (communication practice) which is common to all the varieties examined in this research.

A preliminary exploration of corpora from the different varieties revealed at least one genre under which specific texts and talks across the four varieties could be classified, mostly based on the ritualized forms involved in their communicative events and the specific purposes for which they are intended. I will name this genre the *Presential Annual Policy Statements*, and it is essentially from it that the data for this research will be drawn. Table 3.1 gives an overview of some of the main features of this genre. It can be observed from the table that regardless of differences in political contexts and cultures, the practices and contents of this genre are quite similar across the varieties. Specifically, this genre is an annual communicative event during which incumbent presidents or leaders across the varieties make evaluations of the general situation in their countries, and also attempt persuading public opinion that their administrations have been putting in every effort to safeguard the interests of the country and its people. This genre therefore provides a basis against which the four varieties considered in this work can be compared, with a view to illustrating how differences in contexts and cultures might constrain the way language may be used to achieve specific rhetoric effects.

One major criterion which was considered in the selection of the presidential texts and talks used as data in this research was periodicity. Accordingly, the study uses a primarily synchronic approach and considers only those speeches made within the specific period of 2000-2015. Two reasons motivated the choice of this period. Firstly, it is relatively closer to the current period in which this research is being conducted and the results are therefore more likely to reflect current trends or realities. Also, pinning the study to a specific time period also provides a reliable basis for comparison. This is mostly because the same global socio-political dynamics were likely at work in all the varieties, and constituted some form of 'macro-context'. Choosing different time periods for each variety would not be a better option since the results may only be a reflection of what transpired at different epochs and the argument for the rhetoric specificity of varieties would hardly be proven in that case.

Appellation	Date	Venue	Speaker	Purpose
State of the Nation Address (SONA)	Generally in February each year. Also in June in each electoral year.	Joint Sitting of Paliament; National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces .	Incumbent President of the Republic of South Africa.	*General reports on the state of the nation. *Domestic policy assessment *Foreign policy assessment *Plan of action for the coming year *National Peace and reconciliation efforts * The Speech also marks the opening of the paliamentary year
State of the Nation Address (SONA)	Generally in February each year.	Ghanaian Paliament.	Incumbent President of the Republic of Ghana.	*In fulfillment of Article 67 the Ghanaian constitution *Annual assessment of the political, economic and social state of the country. Typical themes include; *Domestic policy assessment *Foreign policy assessment * Plan of action for the coming year
State of the Union Address (SATU)	Generally in January each year.	Joint session of United States Congress; the Senate and the House of Representatives.	Incumbent President of the United States of America.	*In fulfillment of Article II, Section 3 of the US constitution. *Presentation of the current state of the union and proposal for the legislative agenda and national priorities. * Report on the economy and the budget * Other Domestic policy * Foreign policies issues
End-of-year Message to the Nation	31st of December of each year.	Cameroon's Presidential Palace.	Incumbent president of the Republic of Cameroon.	*Annual assessment of the both domestic and foreign policy * Plan of action for the coming year

Figure 3. 1: Summary of the Main Features of the Genre Explored

3.2 Data Sources and Selection

One of the major impacts of the digital revolution in the linguistic landscape has been the materialization of data and its accelerated circulation which has greatly facilitated its collection to generate and build corpora for research purposes (Mayaffre & Poudat, 2016). The presidential texts and talks which constitute the data for this research were mostly obtained through the official online gazettes of major political parties in some cases and the official gazettes of specific state institutions on the other hand. Other speeches were also obtained from public domain websites which have archives of good numbers of political speeches in general and presidential yearly addresses in particular. Below is a detailed outline of the different sources from which the bulk of speeches used to build the corpora for this study were derived. All the data sources are outlined below, moving from one variety to next.

I) The American Presidency Project (APP), is non-profit and non-partisan leading source in terms of American presidential documents on the internet. APP is an online resource that has coded and organized a significantly large number of American Presidential documents into a single searchable database with documents dating as far back as 1789, including the speeches of US founding father George Washington. The APP is hosted at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Their current archive contains 130,906 documents (as of September 2018), with more documents being added on a regular basis. It is from this database that the American component of the corpus explored in this study was obtained. APP has a public domain website which can be accessed online via the link http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/. To check the accuracy and reliability of the speeches obtain from the APP database, the speeches selected were compared with those from another online resource of US political speeches; the American Rhetoric, which can also be accessed online through https://www.americanrhetoric.com/. The American Rhetoric is database of political speeches with a huge bank of US presidential addresses available in both print and audio-visual format.

II) The official website of the African National Congress (ANC) party, which has been South Africa's ruling political party for the past two decades, also has an archive of the party's political speeches, most of which are presidential State of the Nation Addresses (SONA). This achieve can equally be accessed online through the link

https://www.anc.org.za/ (last retrieved November 2016). The ANC archive of the party's political speeches includes all the SONA of South Africa's presidents for the past two decades. This provided the source for the South African component of the corpus used as data for this study, and more especially the SONA of presidents Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma.

III) The Anthology of Speeches and Interviews of the President of the Republic of Cameroon is collection of speeches and interviews made by the president of the Republic of Cameroon and exists in several volumes. A cross section of the speeches used as data for the Cameroon component of the corpus used in this work was obtained from volume II of this anthology, which covers the period 1990-2002. Volumes of the anthology were consulted at the library of the National Assembly of Cameroon and at the documentation department of the Cameroon national printing press. The other speeches of the Cameroon's component of the corpus were obtained from the online official gazette of the presidency of the republic of Cameroon which can be accessed at https://www.prc.cm/en/.

IV) The official online gazette of the Ghanaian Parliament also regularly publishes the speeches of incumbent Ghanaian presidents, especially their State of the Nation Addresses which take place in parliament annually. This can be accessed online via https://www.parliament.gh/publications. The whole of the Ghanaian component of the corpus that constitute the data for the study was obtained from this online source.

3.3 Data Presentation

Mindful of the fact that the current study adopts a corpus-based approach for its data analysis, Table 3.2 outlines the word count (type/token frequency distribution) for each of the corpus examined in this work. It also gives the number of selected speeches per variety as well their various authorship and time period considered. The frequency counts were generated using the AntConc software (Antony, 2014) word count tool. It can be seen from the different word count frequencies that the corpora were not of equal sizes. To address this problem, different statistical measures which take into account the size of the corpus when measuring the frequency of a specific linguistic variable were used. These are discussed later on in this chapter.

Country	Number (of Words	Authorship		
	Types	Tokens	Presidents	Period	
Cameroon	4594	41119	Paul Biya	2000-2015	
			John Kufuor	2001-2009	
Ghana	7513	82136	John Evans Atta Mills	2009-20012	
			John Dramani Mahama	2013-2015	
			Thabo Mbeki	2000-2008	
South Africa	7342	101324	Jacob Zuma	2009-2015	
	5 0.41	104026	George Walker Bush	2000-2008	
United States	nited States 7041 104928		Barack Obama	2009-2015	

Table 3. 1: Type and Token Distribution of Corpora Across Varieties

3.4 Linguistic Variables

As earlier stated, two categories of linguistic variables are of interest in this research. The first type of variable is the use of pronouns, including possessive determinants and possessive adjectives. The study was specifically interested in examining how frequent politicians across the varieties preferred the plural forms of pronouns in their speeches, as opposed to singular pronouns. Table 3.3 gives an overview of all the pronominal items examined in this study.

Singular P	ronominal Forms	Plural Pronominal Forms		
Pronominal Item	Description and Function	Pronominal Item	Description and Function	
I	Personal Pronoun; first person singular form; subject pronoun	We	Personal Pronoun; subject pronoun; first person plural form	
Му	Possessive Determiner, 1 st person singular form, predicates nouns	Our	Possessive Determiner, 1 st person plural pronoun, predicates nouns	
Mine	Possessive Adjective, 1 st person singular pronoun; can substitute the possessed noun	Ours	Possessive Adjectives, 1 st person plural, substitute the possessed noun	
Personal Pronoun; object pronoun; 1 st person singular form Reflexive personal pronoun, 1 st person singular form		Us	Personal pronoun; object pronoun; 1 st person plural form	
		Ourselves	Reflexive personal pronoun, 1 st person plural form	

Table 3. 2: An Overview of Singular/Plural Personal Pronouns Variables

The second type of linguistic variable examined in this work was the use of kinship metaphors. Unlike with personal pronouns which are straightforwardly identified as belonging to a specific word class system, metaphor is a language usage phenomenon which occurs rather indirectly. Thus, the use of metaphor in language cannot be pinned to any word class system and its identification very much depends on contextual and pragmatic clues. This makes the identification of metaphors to be quite challenging, especially in large-scale corpora. This study however adopted a semi-automatic approach in the identification of kinship metaphors. Accordingly, the approach uses lexical terms which are associated to a kinship frame or scenario as seeds for the identification of kinship metaphors. More specifically, all the kinship terms documented in the state-of-the-art version of FrameNet as lexical units of the kinship frame were used to search the occurrence of kinship metaphors across the corpora. The advantage of using these specific lexical terms to search for potential uses of kinship metaphors in corpora is motivated by the fact that their association with the kinship frame or scenario has been attested on large

scale corpora by FrameNet annotators. Outlined in 3.4 is the full list of all the lexical terms which evoke a kinship scenario according to the FrameNet lexicon:

Forefather (N)	Name (N)	Stepsister (N)
Granddaughter (N)	Nephew (N)	Stepson (N)
Grandfather (N)	Niece (N)	Uncle (N)
Grandmother(N)	Offspring (N)	
Grandson (N)	Parents (N)	
Great-granddaughter (N)	Parental (Adj.)	
Great-grandson (N)	Paternal (Adj.)	
in-law (N)	People (N)	
Kid (N)	Relative (N)	
Kin (N)	Scion (N)	
Kinsfolk (N)	Sibling (N)	
Kinship (N)	Sister-in-law (N)	
Kinsman (N)	sister (N)	
Kinswoman (N)	Son-in-law (N)	
Man (N)	Son (N)	
Maternal (N)	Stepbrother (N)	
Mom (N)	Stepdaughter (N)	
Mother-in-law (N)	Stepfather (N)	
Mother (N)	Stepmother	
	Granddaughter (N) Grandfather (N) Grandmother(N) Grandson (N) Great-granddaughter (N) Great-grandson (N) in-law (N) Kid (N) Kin (N) Kinsfolk (N) Kinship (N) Kinsman (N) Kinswoman (N) Man (N) Maternal (N) Mom (N) Mother-in-law (N)	Granddaughter (N) Grandfather (N) Grandmother(N) Grandson (N) Great-granddaughter (N) Farents (N) Great-grandson (N) Faternal (Adj.) Faternal (N) Fatern

Table 3. 3: Kinship Metaphors Lexical Terms (adapted from the FrameNet Lexicon)

3.5 Methods of Analysis

Corpus approaches are among the fastest-growing methodologies used in current Linguistic research. Their upsurge has mostly been as a result of recent developments in corpus linguistics research. A corpus-based approach can be understood as a way of gathering and analyzing linguistic data with the help of a corpus software conceived and design for the purpose. It is this approach which is used in this research. More especially, due to the multidisciplinary approach adopted in this study, two types of corpus tools were used in this research: the AntConc corpus software (Anthony, 2014) and automatic semantic role labelling. The former was used to search and identify the linguistic variables

examined in the study while the latter was used for the extraction of targeted linguistic items, particularly the frames and frame roles of pronouns. Both corpus-based methods are discussed in this section.

3.5.1 The AntConc Corpus Software

The corpus search of linguistic variables in this study was essentially carried out using the AntConc corpus software. AntConc is an open-source, multi-purpose and multiplatform corpus tool used in linguistics to perform various types of data analysis. Baker (2010) lists the Antconc software among the most popular corpus linguistics tools. This means that AntConc software can be run on the personal computer and is capable of managing large data sets: such as the 100 million words British National Corpus (BNC). This software incorporates several tools which can be used to perform different types of analysis, among which is the concordance tool. This tool allows us to search through a corpus and to retrieve from it a specific sequence of character of any length: a word, part of a word, a phrase or even a clause. The concordance search result is displayed in KWIC (Key Word In Context) format. Such a display gives a better view of the specific context(s) in which a search item occurs. The concordance tool also displays the number of concordance hits, which corresponds to the number of times a specific searched item occurs in a corpus. Finally, this tool can also be configured to be case-sensitive by selecting the 'Case' option or to consider specific stretches of words by selecting 'Regex' (regular expression) option for a search item.

3.5.2 Semantic Role Labelling (SRL) Algorithms

A number of computational SRL resources have been reported in the literature, most of which identify semantic roles based on predicate-argument structures (Gildea & Jurafsky, 2002; Kingsbury & Palmer 2002; Carreras & Marquez, 2004; Roth & Lapata, 2015). SRL means to identify and label the arguments of a semantic predicate according to pre-defined regulations (who does what, to whom, for what, etc). One of the most influential of these approaches has been Kingbury & Palmer's (2002) PropBank, a corpus of text annotated with information about basic semantic propositions. Figure 3.2 is an illustration of SRL of a phrase-structure syntax tree from the *Penn Treebank* using Propbank style.

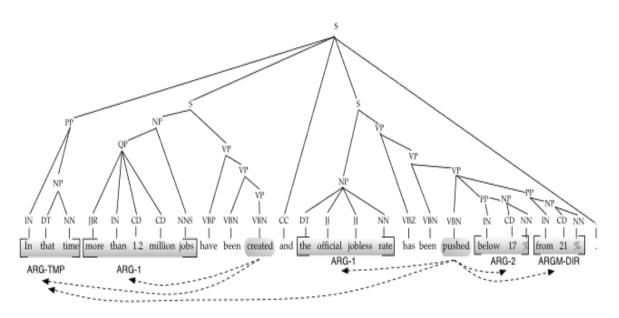


Figure 3. 2: A Phrase-Structure Tree SRL with PropBank Annotation (Das et al. 2014, p.12)

As illustrated in Figure 3.2, the SRL annotation in PropBank identifies the main verb(s) of a sentence as its predicates and assigns consistent argument labels to the various syntactic realizations of verbs. The verbs 'created' and 'pushed' are the predicates on which the arguments depend. The bracketed phrases are the arguments which show their relationship to the predicates. The dotted arrows refer each of the predicates to its arguments. It important to observe that the arguments are labelled on verb-to-verb basis. Propbank's core semantic roles are labelled using numbered arguments ranging from ARG0 to ARG 5. Each numbered argument is a reflection of the arguments that are needed for the valency of a predicate. The modifier roles are labeled using ARGM, and such roles are generally assigned functional tasks, such as ARGM-TMP (for temporal), ARGM-DIR (for directional), ARGM-EXT (for extent), ARGM-GOL (for goal), ARGM-MNR (for manner), among others.

A more recent approach to SRL is what has come to be known as *frame-semantic* parsing. This approach was first introduced with the Berkerley FrameNet project Following the frame semantic parsing paradigm, the annotation of predicate-argument structures is essentially guided by the notion of frames; a frame being understood as those background information or scenes which words or phrases typically evoke. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, each of FrameNet's frames outlines the set of Frame Elements (FE's) involved in each frame. These correspond to the syntactic arguments of the frames. FrameNet's lexical units also correspond to the predicates of the frames. One of the main

goals in FrameNet annotation is to record the semantic and syntactic possibilities of each word in each of its senses. FrameNet annotations typically proceed through a four-layer annotation, beginning with the identification of the target LU, an outline of all the FE's of the target LU, the grammatical functions of each of the identified FE's and the phrase types of each FE. Figure 3.4 is a display of FrameNet's annotation for the target LU avenge (v). The sentence currently being annotated in this window is as follows: In the film's most inventive touch, Hook tries to avenge himself on Peter Pan by becoming a second and better father.

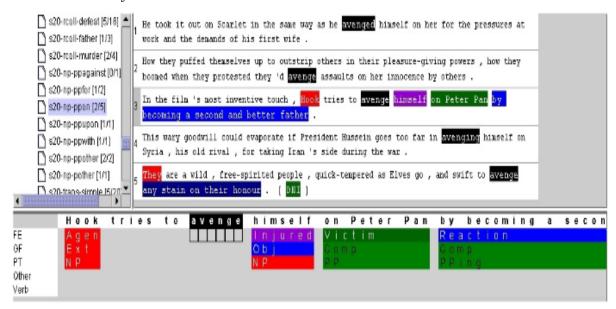


Figure 3. 3: Snapshot of FrameNet's Annotation window with the target LU

Avenge (From Ruppenhofer et al, 2016, p.20)

The frame evoked by *avenge* in this sentence is the [Revenge] frame. This frame captures a scenario which foregrounds *an Avenger*, *an Offender*, *a Punishment*, *an Injury* and *an Injured party*. These constitute the FE's of the [Revenge] frame.

FrameNet's paradigm has thus far had a significant impact on a great number of mainstream computational approaches to SRL which mostly rely on it as their major resource or use FrameNet's samples as seed examples for the training of automatic SRL systems (Das et al, 2014). Gildea & Jerufsky (2002) for instance propose an automatic semantic roles identification system which uses statistical classifiers trained on 50,000 hand annotated sentences from earlier versions of FrameNet. Giuglea & Moschitti (2006) also propose a shallow semantic parser that uses Support Vector Machines (SVM) for the automatic annotation of FrameNet semantic roles. Their system offers a novel way of

automatically determining FrameNet semantic roles using the semantic context created by the interconnecting FrameNet with two other resources; Propbank and VerbNet, especially for those predicates unseen at training time. The linguistic basis on which the authors use these three resources are *Intersecting Levin verb classes*, which refers to diathesis alternations in the way verbal arguments are grammatically constructed. The authors use SVM as well as other structural features for an automatic token-based verb classification of the Intersecting Levin classes found in all three resources. The verb classifiers are then used to annotate FrameNet with Levin class information needed for the SRL task.

This section has thus far discussed the two major linguistic paradigms adopted by most computational approaches to SRL as documented in the literature; the PropBank and FrameNet paradigms. This study however mainly subscribes to the FrameNet paradigm. This is because the FrameNet approach is profoundly grounded on in the theory of frame semantics, which is suitable for the type of analysis carried out in this research. It is also important to highlight some key differences between the two approaches. Firstly, whereas PropBank annotation is essentially based on the semantic description of phrasestructure syntax trees, FrameNet annotations focuses on the background knowledge or scenarios evoked by words or phrases as used in natural language as well as the various roles participating in such scenarios. Also, PropBank only has verbs as predicates whereas FrameNet has a more general coverage for its predicates, which include verbs, nouns and adjectives in some cases. All these are grouped under Lexical Units (LU's). Both approaches also differ in the manner in which predicates are organized. FrameNet organizes predicates based on cognitive semantic principles, thus allowing predicates to be grouped following the frame which they evoke. The [Revenge] frame for instance, may be evoked by different LU's belonging to various word classes; avenge(v), avenger (n), get back (at) (v), get even (v), payback(n), retaliate(v), retaliation(n), retribution(n), retributive(a), retributory(a), revenge(n), revenge(v), revengeful(a), revenger(n), sanction(n) vengeance(n), vengeful(a), vindictive(a). PropBank annotations on the other hand look at the syntactic relationship of words in a sentence using verbs as predicates.

3.5.3 The Identification and Processing of Pronouns

The identification of pronouns in this research was done using the AntConc concordance tool. This tool was used to query each of the pronoun variables. The goal was to get a frequency count of all the pronouns across the four varieties. To this end, the

corpus of each variety was queried for each of the pronouns. Since the study was also interested in the occurrence contexts of the pronoun variables, the search window size was set at 250 so as to get much of the context. It is worth mentioning that the default search window size is normally 50. Figure 3.4 is snapshot display of the AntConc concordance search result for the pronoun 'we' in the US corpus component explored in this work.

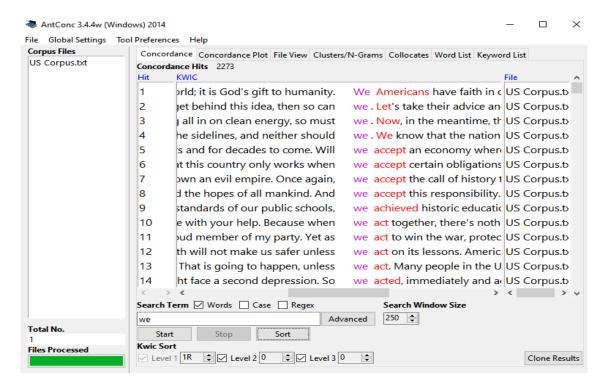


Figure 3. 4: Snapshot Display of concordance search using AntConc

The search result of each pronoun was then saved in txt format and later opened using Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for further processing and coding. The data-coding process specifically consisted in annotating the semantic frames and frame roles of each pronoun in its context of occurrence. This task was specifically accomplished using automatic frame semantic parsing. This is discussed in great detail in section 3.5.3.1

3.5.3.1 Frames and Frame Roles Extraction

The goal of the data processing was to identify the different types of frames evoked by the LU's associated with the pronoun variables as well as the frame role slots filled out by the pronouns in these frames. To attain this objective, the SEMAFOR 3.0 (Semantic Annotation of Frame Representation) (Das et al, 2014) tool, an open-source frame semantic parser developed for research purposes was used. SEMAFOR annotates

English sentences following the Berkeley FrameNet algorithm. This was used to automatically parse all sentences in which the pronouns were used and all the frames and frame roles were extracted. Altogether 14000 sentences were parsed using this frame semantic parsing tool, and the targeted semantic roles and frames were extracted for further analysis. The SEMAFOR's demo version is available online and can be accesses via http://demo.ark.cs.cmu.edu/parse? (last retrieved on August 15, 2018). The advantage of the online demo over the offline server version is that the demo uses a turbo parser which renders its output more efficient.



Figure 3. 5: Sample Display of SEMAFOR Output

It should however be mentioned that a number of limitations were observed with the SEMAFOR parser. Firstly, SEMAFOR's automatic annotation was not fully efficient in performing the task of frame disambiguation. The question of frame disambiguation arises when a target LU potentially evokes more than a single frame. In such cases, determining just which of the frames is evoked in each specific instance becomes important for the efficiency of the parsing output. The SEMAFOR parser does not take into account the specific contexts in which lexical targets are used and this flaws the accuracy of its output. This limitation has previously been demonstrated in an experimental study by Roth & Lapata (2015) who explore the relation between discourse and role labelling decisions, and how such decisions can be incorporated in SRL systems. They hypothesize that contextual information can considerably improve an existing SRL of the SEMAFOR parser. The authors experiment the accuracy of a frame semantic parsing tool which they name Framat (FrameNet adapted mate-tools), a system built from the Mate-tools and which they adapt to the FrameNet SRL algorithm by modifying its labeling from predicate specific to frame specific roles. They add four contextual features into the system of this tool, namely; modeling word meaning in context, assignment of co-occurring roles, discourse newness, and frame-based reranking. The authors test their hypothesis using the output of three different systems, namely, the Framat tool, an

enhanced system of Framat that includes context (Framat+context) and SEMAFOR. Finally, they use the F_1 score to test and compare the accuracy of the output of these three systems. The F1 test considers precision P (known as the positive predictive value) and the recall R (also known as the sensitivity) to compute the F_1 score, which corresponds to the harmonic mean of the P and R. The result of their experiment is summarized in the tables below.

Frames	SRL model	P	R	F_1
gold	SEMAFOR ⁷	78.4	73.1	75.7*
gold	Framat	80.3	71.7	75.8*
gold	Framat+context	80.4	73.0	76.5
SEMAFOR	SEMAFOR	69.2	65.1	67.1*
SEMAFOR	Framat	71.1	63.7	67.2*
SEMAFOR	Framat+context	71.1	64.8	67.8

Model/added feature	P	R	\mathbf{F}_1
Framat w/o reranker	77.5	72.5	74.9
+discourse newness	77.6	72.3	74.9
+word meaning vectors	77.9	72.7	75.2
+cooccurring roles	77.9	72.8	75.3
+reranker	80.6	72.7	76.4
+frame structure	80.4	73.0	76.5

Figure 3. 6: Frame-based SRL output using SEMAFOR, Framat and Framat+context; (from Roth & Lapata, 2015).

The results of their experiment indicate that overall, Framat+context performs better than framat and SEMAFOR in frame pattern recognition, with F_I score margins of 0.7 and 0.8 respectively. However, in terms of recall R, SEMAFOR outperforms Framat+context by only a 0.1 margin while it outperforms Framat by up to 1.4. The results also show that in terms of P Framat+context outperforms Framat by only 0.1 while it outperforms SEMAFOR by a margin of 2. Regarding the added features for contextual enhancement, the result shows that each contextual feature added to the baseline generally improves the scores.

The above experiment demonstrates some of the limitations of the SEMAFOR tool in terms of context awareness in automatic SRL. This research addressed this limitation by proceeding through a semi-automatic frame semantic parsing. Accordingly, in as much as the close to 15000 sentences scrutinized for frames were parsed using SEMAFOR's online demo, all these sentences were however qualitatively double-checked to ensure the quality of the output. In cases where the lexical targets under scrutiny evoked more than a single frame, the decision to assign any of the frames to the lexical target was done only after a thorough examination of the context by the analyst.

3.5.4 Metaphor Identification and Processing.

The method used for the identification of metaphors in this work proceeds through a semi-automatic approach. The starting point is that metaphor is not a unit of discourse, but a use of discourse (De Landtsheer, 2014). Linguistically speaking then, a metaphor can be a phrase, a sentence or even more in some cases. The first task in the identification of metaphors consisted in querying all the kinship terms outlined in section 3.4 as potential candidates for kinship metaphors, using the Antconc concordance tool. To ensure that much of the context which was needed to determine whether or not a kinship term was used metaphorically, the search window of the AntConc tool was set at 250. The search result for each kinship term was then saved in Microsoft Excel spreadsheet.

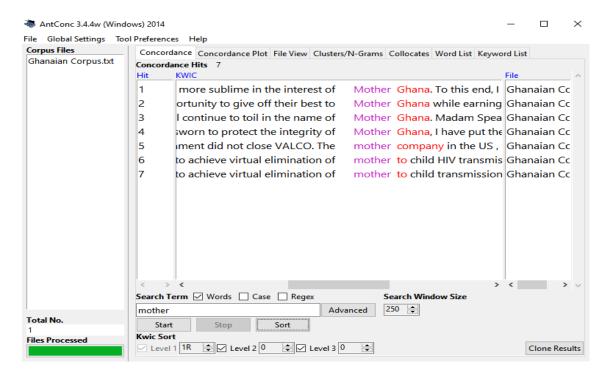


Figure 3. 7: Snapshot Display for the Occurrence of the kinship term 'mother' in the Ghanaian Corpus

The next step in the metaphor identification process was to determine whether or not a kinship term was used metaphorically. The was done following Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) approach. Accordingly, a word or phrase is identified as being metaphorical if it shows any incongruity or semantic tension caused by either *Reification*, referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is concrete; *Personification*, referring to something inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something

animate; and *Depersonification*, referring to something animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is inanimate. Those kinship terms used metaphorically were then annotated for the kinds of metaphoric mappings involved in each case: their source and target domains, and the type of metaphorical process involved in each case: whether it involved a case of reification, personification and depersonification.

The final stage consisted in systematically classifying the identified conceptual metaphors based on their hierarchical family structure, with the more general and abstract conceptual structures classified at the higher conceptual level while the more specific conceptual structures were classified at the intermediate conceptual level.

3.6 Measurement of Linguistic Variables.

Statistical measures were used in this study to measure the distribution of linguistic variables in this study. The descriptive statistics used were mainly aimed at providing the basis of the cognitive analysis carried out in this research. This was done in order to have more conclusive results. Altogether, two statistical measures were used in the quantitative analysis of the variables, namely, Gries' (2008) Deviation of Proportions (DP) and De Landtsheer's (De Landtsheer, 1994, 2009) Metaphor Frequency Index (MPI).

3.6.1 Measurement of Pronominal Variables

Dispersion generally refers to the degree to which a word's occurrences is distributed throughout a corpus, evenly or unevenly. Measuring the dispersion of linguistic variables was quite important in this study because for the occurrence of a linguistic variable or pattern to be considered as representative of the trend in a given corpus or variety, such a variable need to show some degree of even distribution across the different corpus files or the different parts of the corpus. A good number of dispersion and adjusted frequency measures have been proposed in literature, some of which are based on general statistics (such as *Standard Deviation, Variation Coefficient* and *Chi Square*) and others based on corpus parts (such as Juilland's *Usage Coefficient* and Rosengren's *Adjusted Frequency*). A comprehensive review of some of these measures is discussed in Gries (2008). The dispersion measure adopted by this work is the Deviation of Proportions (DP), which is an alternative corpus parts-based dispersion measure proposed by Gries (2008) to account for the distribution of variables across the

different parts of a corpus. One major strength of this approach is that it does not necessarily rely on the assumption of equally-sized corpora and is also not based on statistical significance, thus avoiding some of theoretical problems of hypothesis-testing paradigms as is the case with most of the other standard part-based measures.

The DP was specifically use in this work to measure the dispersion of various pronominal variables across the different corpus files of the corpora examined in this research. Below are the different steps and components involved in measuring the DP, as outlined in Gries (2008, p.415);

- I) Determine the sizes s1-n of each of the n corpus parts, which are normalized against the overall corpus size and correspond to expected percentages which take differently-sized corpus parts into consideration
- II) Determine the frequencies v1-n with which a occurs in the n corpus parts, which are normalized against the overall number of occurrences of a and correspond to an observed percentage.
- III) Compute all n pairwise absolute differences of observed and expected percentages, sum them up, and divide the result by two.

Based on these three steps, the DP result is measured on a scale range of 0-1, with 0 representing the theoretical minimum while 1 represents the theoretical maximum. The closest a value is to 0, the closest is the distribution to the expectation based on the corpus size while the closest a value is to 1, the greater is the distribution far away from the expected result based on the corpus size. Table 3.4 is an illustration of what can be considered to be a perfectly even distribution of a in an n corpus. The general assumption in this specific example is that the *n* corpus under consideration has three parts which are of equal sizes and that a occurs exactly the same number of times in all the corpus parts. Step 1 illustrates this distribution: if a is distributed as expected following the sizes of the *n* corpus, then a's frequency in each part should be $\frac{1}{3}$ of its total frequency in the entire corpus. Step 2 shows the result of the observed frequency in which a's frequency in each part of the corpus is ½ of its overall frequency, each part thus representing 0.33 of on the 0-1 scale. Step 3 proceeds by calculating the absolute difference of the expected and observed frequency, sums it up and divides it by 2. The result is the DP which shows that a is distributed perfectly evenly as one will expect based on the different parts of the corpus.

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3				
Expected %	Observed %	Abs. difference	Sum of abs. diff.	Divide by 2		
0.33	0.33	0				
0.33	0.33	0	0	0		
0.33	0.33	0				

Table 3. 4: Computation of an Evenly Distributed DP (From Gries, 2008)

What makes the DP different from other standard corpus parts-based dispersion measures is the manner in which the output of a's frequency is computed in each part of the corpus. In cases of unequal distribution of a in an n corpus, the DP will output its extreme value. But this extreme value will not be the theoretical maximum which is 1. As pointed out by Gries, even though all of a occurs in only one part of the corpus, a particular proportion was nonetheless expected to occur in this part. This is illustrated in Table 3.5. We can see from this table that the corpus is made of three equal parts, as illustrated by the expected frequency in Step 1, with each part accounting for 0.33% of the overall corpus. But unlike with the previous example, all of a's occurrences is in just one part of the corpus while the other two parts record no occurrence of a. This is illustrated in step 2. But as observed in Step 3, the absolute of each of the parts of the corpus is neither the theoretical maximum nor the theoretical minimum. This is mainly as a result of the fact that the expected frequency is factored when computing the absolute difference. The result of DP in this case is only 0.67.

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3		
Expected %	Observed %	Abs. Difference	Sum of Difference	Abs. Divided by 2 (= DP)
0.33	1	0.67		
0.33	0	0.33	1.33	0.67
0.33	0	0.33		

Table 3. 5: Computation of DP with Extreme Asymmetric Distribution (Adapted from Gries, 2008)

Before concluding this discussion on how DP is computed, it is important to illustrate how DP is outputted in extreme cases. This specifically concerns those cases where the n corpus might not be of equal parts. To illustrate this point, let us consider a

highly heterogeneous corpus with three extremely unequal parts; the first part accounting for up to 94% of the corpus while the second and third parts account for only 3% each. But on the contrary in this case, the first two parts of the n corpus each contain just 3% occurrences of a while the third part contains 94% of a's occurrences. This is illustrated in Table 3.6.

Step 1	Step 2	Step 3		
% Expected	% Observed	Abs. Difference	Sum of Difference	Abs. Divided by 2 (= DP)
0.94	0.03	0.91		
0.03	0.03	0	1.82	0.91
0.03	0.94	0.91		

Table 3. 6: Computation of DP with Extremely Heterogeneous Corpus Parts (Adapted from Gries, 2008)

As can be observed from table 3.6, the computation of the DP in this instance yields a very high result of 0.91, which is quite close to the theoretical maximum which is 1. It important to observe in this case that the very high DP result is due to the fact that the different parts of the *n* corpus were highly heterogenous, coupled with an extremely asymmetric distribution of *a* across the different parts of the corpus. To conclude this discussion on the DP measure, table 3.7 presents an overall descriptive summary statistic of some of the most well-known dispersion measures. This served as grid for the interpretation of the various DP measured carried out in this work. It can be seen in this table that Gries provides comprehensive scale for the interpretation of the different dispersion measures, including the DP. Each range corresponds to a level of statistical interpretation.

Statistic	DP	D	D_2	S	D_3	DC	idf
Minimum	0.08	-0.0027	0	0.0014	-44.75	0.0054	0
1st quartile	0.2668	0.6424	0.4415	0.0651	-3.6002	0.0543	0.0829
Median	0.6187	0.8384	0.7526	0.3499	-0.1143	0.3038	1.593
Mean	0.5965	0.6755	0.6126	0.4463	-9.2311	0.4081	2.46
3rd quartile	0.9252	0.9424	0.9256	0.8627	0.7793	0.7771	4.2016
Maximum	0.9986	0.9809	0.9684	0.9886	0.918	0.9196	7.5256

Table 3. 7: Descriptive Summary Statistics of Selected Dispersion Measures (From Gries, 2008: 420)

3.6.2 The Metaphor Frequency (MF) Index

It has been argued that the use of metaphors is ubiquitous in natural language text. Shutova & Teufal (2010) for instance empirically demonstrated that on average every third sentence in a general domain text is a metaphoric expression. One major objective of the metaphor analysis in this research was to compare the frequency of kinship metaphor across the four varieties. A major is that the corpora being compared in principle need to be of the equal sizes for any reliable conclusion to be drawn, which unfortunately was not the case. It is for this reason that a statistical measure that takes into account both the metaphor frequency and the corpus size became necessary. Prominent among the quantitative methods for investigating the use of metaphors in political discourse is De Landtsheer's (1994, 2009) Metaphor Power Index (MPI). MPI is calculated in proportion to the size of the corpus and the index is based on three variables, namely, Metaphor Frequency (MF), Metaphor Intensity (MI) and Metaphor Content Index (MC) indexes. These three variables are considered the main criteria upon which the persuasive power of metaphors in public discourse can be evaluated, and the multiplication of the sum of these variables gives the metaphor power: MP= MF x MI x MC.

In this study however, only the MF index was relevant to the analysis. This was mainly because the study is interested in examining only metaphors from the kinship source domain in all four varieties. More especially, the MF provides cues about metaphor power in political discourse as they are used by politicians to appeal to emotions (De Landtsheer, 2009). MF is calculated relative to the total number of words or length of speech in a corpus. For written data, this is obtained by dividing the total number of metaphors (f) by the total number of words in the discourse sample (tw). But as f-values are very small and difficult to understand, we multiply the f-value by 200 to obtain the MF. In the case of speech or spoken data, MF is obtained by dividing the total time of the speech (ts). The MF in this case denotes the average number of metaphors per minute. Thus, in both cases, the higher the number of metaphors (f) in relation to the number of words or speech length, the higher the MF. The MF is specifically used in this study to determine the extent to which metaphors from the kinship source domain occur in each of the four varieties. This is based on the following formulae:

Written Language: MF = f/(tw/200) or *Spoken Language*: MF = f/(ts/60).

The other two variables, namely, the metaphor intensity (MI) and metaphor content (MC) only become necessary when calculating the metaphor power (MP). The MI, also known as the originality score of metaphors (De Landtsheer, 2009), assesses the strength of metaphors based on their degree of originality, innovation, and creativity. Accordingly, metaphors are assigned scores ranging from 1 for weak (w) metaphors, 2 for moderate or normal metaphors and 3 for creative or strong metaphors. The sum of the weighted values divided by the number of metaphors gives the MI. Finally, the metaphor content (MC) ranks metaphors based on their semantic fields, particularly their source domains. This is based on semantic fields that are relatively universal, such as metaphors reflecting everyday reality, nature, politics and technology, violence and disasters, among others. These semantic fields are viewed as having differing metaphor power based on their ability to arouse strong emotions, which is quite crucial for persuasion and manipulation in political discourse more especially. Following the MC index model, different semantic categories are scored on scale ranging between 1-6, using empirical insights from psycholinguistics and social-psychology theories. However, these two latter variables of the MP are not used in this study primarily because this study investigates metaphors belonging to the same source domain. Only the MF is of special interest in this research.

3.7 FrameNet Lexicon: A Lexicographic Overview

FrameNet is online resource storing considerable information about lexical and predicate-argument semantics in English (Das et al, 2014). This section seeks to provide an overview of the FrameNet lexicon, which is the main linguistic resource informing most of the analysis in this study. As a result, it is imperative to give an outline of its architecture and to assess its current state-of-art using mainstream. In this light, the study relies on the features outlined by Bo Svensen (2009), which are classified in two set. The first set concerns general dictionary typology features while the second constitutes specialized dictionary typology features. Both sets of features are used in this study to assess the lexicographic aspect of FrameNet as an on-line lexicon of word senses. It is however worth mentioning that not all the characteristic features outlined in the available literature are examined in the present study. Only those characteristic features which bear some relevance to the current state-of-the-art frameNet lexicon are examined under this section.

3.7.1 Information Structure in FrameNet

The goal of FrameNet is to provide information on the common (background) scenes or situations which a word (or group of words) describe, and to document the range of semantic and syntactic combinatory potentials of each word in each of its senses (word valency), using attested corpus examples as evidence. FrameNet captures the scenes and situations which are evoked by words using cognitive structures called frames. FrameNet frames are "script-like conceptual structures that describe a particular type of situation, object, or event along with its participants and props" (Ruppenhofer 2016, p.7). Such frames constitute a kind of schematic representation of a situation involving various participants and conceptual roles. The presentation of each frame in FrameNet begins with an informal prose description of the various events or scenes which constitute the main elements of the frame, immediately followed by an enumeration of the various Frame Elements (FE's) that contribute to the realisation of a frame, the set of frame relations a frame has with other frames as well as the set of lexical units which evoke the frame.

On top of that, FrameNet also provides information about meaningful units of language which go beyond words. This includes the meanings and internal structure of multiword expressions, complex idiomatic expressions, and even schematic syntactic patterns which convey meaning. All these units of meaning which exceed word boundary are currently handled under FrameNet construction project, which seeks to catalog the range of grammatical constructions in English. This project seeks to "describe the grammatical characteristics and semantic import of each construction, and will link to each a collection of sample sentences that have been annotated to exhibit these characteristics, using tools developed for the earlier lexical work" (Fillmore et al. 2012, p.1).

3.7.2 Word Searches in FrameNet

Word searches in FrameNet can be done in two ways; Lexical Unit (LU) search and frame search. An LU is pairing of word with a meaning and FrameNet has an index of LU's which functions very much like a semasiological dictionary. Through this index, users can search for the meaning of an LU (a word) by either typing in the word in the search box or by searching for the word through an alphabetical query using the alphabet letters displayed under the LU search box. In the former case, the search word alongside

all its lemmatized and compound forms will be displayed, along their word classes and the semantic frames to which they are assigned. In the latter case, a similar format will be displayed in a broader alphabetical list and the user will have to scroll through to get the search word. This is illustrated in the figure below.

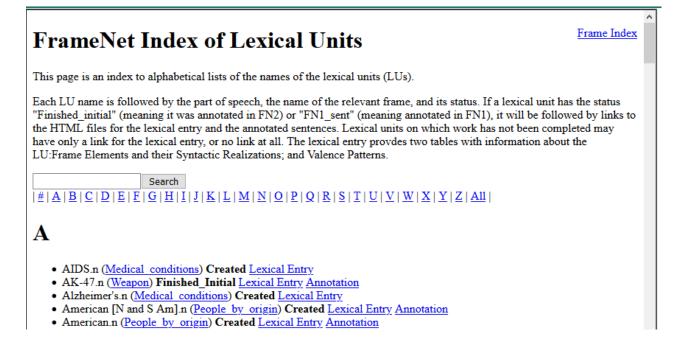


Figure 3. 8: A Screenshot of FrameNet's Lexical Unit Index Display

On the other hand, FrameNet users can also conduct more targeted searches by directly looking at the frames, without passing through the LU index. This is because FrameNet has also made provision for a frame index. It should be recalled that FrameNet's frames are conceptual structures which capture the set background events, scenes or objects alongside their participants and properties in a script-like format. The semantic participants and conceptual roles which belong to a frame are referred to as Frame Elements (FE's). Two types of FE's can be distinguished; the core and the noncore FE's. The core FE's generally refer to those obligatory participants or roles which are present each time a given frame is evoked. On the other hand, the non-core FE's are not indispensable for the realisation of a frame and might not occur in all instantiations of the frame. Also, FrameNet accounts for polysemy by assigning each of the meanings of a word to a different semantic frame at various degrees of centrality and uniqueness to the frame.

3.7.3 FrameNet's Coverage

Dictionary typologies are also classified based on time or period of coverage. One can distinguish between synchronic versus diachronic dictionaries on one hand, and historical versus contemporary dictionaries on the other hand. A synchronic dictionary describes the state of a language over a fixed and limited period of time while a diachronic dictionary describes the state of a language based on its evolution in time, and typically covers a longer period. Similarly, historical dictionaries describe the state of a language as used in an earlier period in time while contemporary dictionaries look at contemporary uses of a language. In line with these set of features, FrameNet can be described as a synchronic contemporary online lexicon.

The synchronic character of FrameNet can be justified by the fact that FrameNet uses the British National Corpus (BNC), a 100-million-word corpus of both written and spoken contemporary British English, as one of its data sources. The BNC itself is a late twentieth century data source compiled within a four years span, 1991-1994, and no new data source has been added to the corpus. Another data source used by FrameNet annotators is the U.S. newswire texts provided by the linguistic data consortium (http://www.ldc.upenn.edu) and the American National Corpus (http://anc.org). These too are data sources produced from 1990 onwards. The contemporary character of FrameNet is that its data sources are from contemporary spoken as well as written English compiled from a wide range of topics.

3.7.4 Information Depth in FrameNet

This structural configuration of the FrameNet lexicon enables its users to have access to advanced information on lexical units. In this regard, FrameNet mostly uses hypertext, with hyperlinks which users can click on to zoom into specific types of information; information on frames evoked by LU's, inheritance relations, syntactic realization and valence patterns, and so on. Figure 1 below captures the frame elements and syntactic realization of the [Leadership frame]. In this illustration the syntactic realization of the [Leadership] frame is described using the FE labels, along with the grammatical functions and phrase types with which such FE's are realized. Hence, the LU 'leader' for instance evokes the [Leadership] frame and this is syntactically realized through its FE's 'Governed' and 'Leader'. Each of these FE's is further described according to its realization in terms of grammatical function and phrase type, along with

the frequencies of such realizations in attested examples which are also made available in the lexicon.

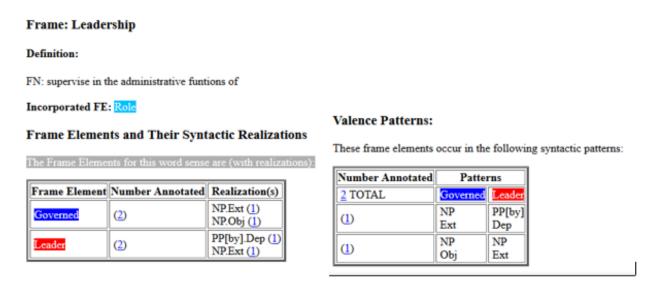


Figure 3. 9: Sample of Frame Elements and their Syntactic realization

3.7.5 Comprehensiveness and Density

Dictionary typologies are also classified based on quantitative criteria. One criterion includes dictionary comprehensiveness, and this typically concerns details such as the number of pages, number of lemmas and even the physical dimensions of printed copies. Bo Svensen (2009, p.25) observes that the terminology used here is mostly rather disorderly and the meanings of terms far from unequivocally determined, with such names as 'pocket dictionary', 'standard dictionary', 'collegiate dictionary' 'desk dictionary' and 'comprehensive dictionary'. Such descriptive labels are typically used with commercial dictionaries, and the goal of such descriptions can often target the marketing side of such commodities rather than giving a more apt linguistic description of it. Lexicons like FrameNet really have much to say about comprehensiveness. As a matter of figures, the Berkeley FrameNet has more than 13000 entries (lexical units), linked to more than 1000 hierarchically related semantic frames. These frames are attested and exemplified in more than 200,000 annotated sentences. Since it first release in 2010, FrameNet has undergone six more updated releases, and is currently (December 2018), at its 1.7 version.

Lexical Units	In FN	Finished	>10 Annotation Sets
Nouns	5558	2694	2212
Verbs	5200	2850	2295
Adjectives	2396	1368	1062
Other POS	486	65	130
Total	13640	6977	5699

Figure 3. 10: Overview of Lexical Units Word Classes

In his attempt of at a typological classification of dictionaries in terms of their comprehensiveness, Bo Svensen's distinguishes four main groups⁶, depending on their number of lexical entries. Such a classification is grossly inadequate to be applied to online lexical data bases like FrameNet, and the author himself does well to emphasis that such groupings are mainly applicable to print dictionaries. The strength of the frameNet lexicon should mostly be viewed in terms of the density of the information it provides. FrameNet definitions proceed frame by frame, with lexical entries linked to their frames, and it is not unusual for an entry to be associated to more than one frame. Lexical Unit (LU) is the term used by frameNet annotators to refer to a lexical entry (both the lemma and its inflections) and the entries are displayed in alphabetical order along with their frame(s) and information on the frame can be accessed via hyperlinks.

Each LU is thus defined in terms of the frame(s) which it evokes, and is hence is connected to other words which share the same frame. FrameNet annotators partly rely on the Oxford Advanced Dictionary definitions to describe their frames but on top of that, they complement such definitions with their own comprehension of the ideas typically evoked by the LU's and their Frame Elements (FE's), as attested by sentences from various corpora. The definitions are also followed by a systematic specification of the various FE's needed in the syntactic realization of the frame, with specifications on the FE status in each case (coreness, excludes etc). Also, FrameNet provides multiple annotated examples for each of the word senses (i.e. for each lexical unit), with an average

lemmas), group 3 (35000-70000 lemmas) and group 4 (over 70000 lemmas).

⁶ Bo Svensen (2009, pp. 26-27) attempts a classification of (print) dictionaries in terms of their comprehensives. His classification is based on the number of lexical entries (lemmas) a dictionary might have, and he distinguishes four groups; group 1 (between 5000-15000 lemmas), group 2 (15000-35000

of about 20 annotated sentences per LU, all of which are illustrative of the combinatorial possibilities of the lexical unit. This is something which no ordinary dictionary does, particularly not print dictionaries.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRONOMINAL VARIATION ACROSS VARIETIES

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I adopt an alternative approach to examining the use of personal pronouns in political discourse. The approach draws from the cognitive linguistics theory of frame semantics discussed in Chapter Two. Specifically, the analysis uses empirical findings on the frequencies of various personal pronoun types as well as their frame semantic parsing output as data for critical discourse analysis. Rather than proceeding introspectively in determining the referential functions of personal pronouns in discourse, this study uses the cognitive linguistic concept of frames to infer the various frames roles with which personal pronouns are used in each specific instance. In this way, I argue that variation in the usage patterns of personal pronouns across varieties can be conceptual in nature and that such variations are essentially constrained cultural differences across the varieties. As has been articulated in most of the discussions in Chapter Two, this approach is itself not new in the cognitive linguistics landscape but to the best of my knowledge, no study has specifically adopted this approach to examine the use of pronouns in political discourse. The analysis is informed by the resources in the current-state-of-art FrameNet online lexicon, particularly its semantic parsing algorithm. As the analysis will demonstrate, combining CDA with frame semantic parsing techniques offers a productive approach for unveiling the conceptual schemas which structure the patterns of personal pronouns used in political discourse across varieties.

4.1 Pronominal Elements: Typological Overview.

Pronominal elements have received significant attention across linguistic traditions. Traditional grammar mostly views pronouns as lexical units classified following the grammatical divisions of *person* (1st,2nd,3rd), *number* (singular/plural) and *role* (subject/object). Referring to the category of personal pronouns, Hands & Sinclair (2017) points out that there are two sets of personal pronouns: *subject* pronouns and *object* pronouns. *Subject* personal pronouns are used to refer to the subject of the clause, and include *I*, *we*, *you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, and *they*. On the other hand, *object* personal pronouns refer to the same sets of people or things as the corresponding subject pronouns, and include *me*, *us*, *you*, *him*, *her*, *it* and *them*. Halliday & Hassan (1976) have also examined pronouns in terms of their referential function in language. They classify personal pronouns (along

with possessive determiners and possessive adjectives) as constituting the category of *personal reference*;

The system of reference is known as PERSON, where 'person' is used in the special sense of 'role'; the traditionally recognized categories are FIRST PERSON, SECOND PERSON and THIRD PERSON, intersecting with the NUMBER categories of SINGULAR and PLURAL (Halliday & Hassan 1976:43, Emphasis original).

Halliday & Hassan further distinguish two major roles within the PERSON system; the *speech roles*, which refers to the roles of the speaker or addressee and the *other roles*, which refers to the roles of other entities other than the speaker or addressee. Following this distinction, *the first* and *the second person pronouns* are typically used to refer to the *speech roles*, by relying on the context of situation whereas *the third person form* is used to refer to the other roles, and generally implies the presence of other referent items in the discourse. All these distinctions are summarised in the Figure 1.

Number of	Speech R	oles	Other Roles		
Participants			Specific		Cananalizad
-	Speaker	Addressee	Human	Non- human	Generalized Human
Singular (one only)	I, me, mine, my	you, your, yours	he, him, his(det) his(pos) she, her(det), hers, her(pos)	It (sub), it (obj), [its](pos) its(det)	one (sub), one (obj), one's
Plural (more than one)	We, us, ours, our	you, your, yours	they, them, the	irs, their	

Table 4. 1: An Overview of the Referential Functions of Personal Pronouns in Discourse (Adapted from Halliday & Hassan, 1976:44)⁷

Equally important is the distinction between the two processes involved in pronominal referencing, depending on whether the referent is text-based or context-based.

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⁷ *sub = subject; *obj= object; *pos= posssessive; *det= determiner

In the former case, the person pronouns typically function 'endophorically' by either pointing to preceding items in the text (anaphoric reference) or to forthcoming items (cataphoric reference). In the latter case, personal pronouns do not refer to items present in the text; they typically depend on the context of situation to 'exophorically' define the speech roles of the speaker and the addressee (Halliday & Hassan, 1976). It is this latter type of pronominal referencing that is of interest in this study. This is especially because the genre of political discourse explored in this work can be seen as involving a direct communication involving a speaker with his/her addressees.

4.2 Distribution of Pronouns Across Varieties.

Occurrence frequency is among the most commonly used descriptive statistics in corpus linguistics and this is typically done to determine the significance of specific linguistic variables in a corpus (Gries, 2008). The starting point in this analysis consists of conducting a raw frequency count of all selected personal pronouns in the corpus of each of the varieties examined. The results of the frequency are then classified in terms of number distribution; singular versus plural. The aim of this quantitative approach is to find whether there exist any significant difference(s) among the varieties with regards to use of singular personal pronouns as opposed to their plural pronoun counterpart. This study considers any outstanding disparity in the frequencies of various personal pronouns based on pronominal number (singular versus plural) to be a potential indicator of conceptual differences across the varieties. Our null hypothesis is that the patterns of pronominal elements across these varieties will be identical (or close to identical) in terms of number. The linguistic variables investigated in this analysis are *pronominal number* and *pronominal types*. Table 4.1 shows both the raw and percentage frequency of the overall distribution of all the pronominal variables examined in this work.

As earlier discussed in Chapter Three, the frequency count was carried out using the concordance tool of the AntConc (Anthony, 2014) corpus linguistic software. All the selected pronominal items were queried in the corpora of all four varieties and the frequencies were recorded in according to their pronominal number; singular versus plural. As can be observed in Table 4.2, each column presents the occurrence frequencies of selected personal pronouns (arranged from top down) while each row presents the distribution of each pronominal item in terms of number (singular versus plural) within each variety. This allows for a more fine-grained view and interpretation of the results.

More especially, apart from comparing the overall frequency scores, it is also possible to compare the results of each pronominal pair. In this way, the study also accounts for the distribution disparities among the pronoun types and also shows the contribution of the different pronominal types to the overall results.

	Cam	eroon	South	Africa	Į Į	J S	G	hana
Pronominal Type	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular
We Vs I	493(50%)	487 (50%)	2046(88%)	274(12%)	2273(69%)	1021(31%)	942(62%)	567 (38%)
Us Vs Me	129 (74%)	45 (26%)	279 (87%)	43 (13%)	345 (76%)	108 (24%)	112(66%)	57(34%)
Our Vs My	874 (87%)	134(13%)	1514(99%)	19(1%)	1779 (90%)	189 (10%)	901(86%)	152(14%)
Ourselves Vs Myself	12(92%)	1 (8%)	42 (98%)	1(2%)	25 (96%)	1(4%)	23(92%)	2(8%)
Ourselves vs mysen	12(7270)	1 (070)	12 (7070)	1(270)	23 (3070)	1(470)	23(7270)	2(070)
Ours Vs Mine	09(75%)	03 (25%)	12(67%)	6(33%)	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	3(100%)	0(0%)
Total Frequency	1517(69%)	670(31%)	3893(92%)	343 (8%)	4429 (77%)	1322 (23%)	1981(72%)	778 (28%)

Table 4. 2: Singular Vs Plural Pronouns Frequencies Across Corpora

Generally, it can also be observed that in all four varieties, the distribution patterns for each pronominal type varies considerably but that in all cases, the plural pronouns are used more frequently than their singular counterparts. Another striking observation is that the South African variety records the overall lowest frequency for the use of singular pronouns, standing at only 8%, as compared to 23% for the US, 27% for Cameroon and 28% for Ghana. Likewise, it records the overall highest frequency for the use of plural pronouns with 92%, as opposed to 77% for the US, 73% for Cameroon and 72% for Ghana. This difference across the four varieties is highlighted in figure 2. Equally significant is the fact these findings are based on the type-token frequencies of pronouns. As Hoffmann (2019) points out, entrenchment only occurs when there is a high type-token frequency of a linguistic item in a corpus. On this basis therefore, it can be argued that these results reflect usage patterns which are entrenched across each of the four varieties, considering that the overall frequency results are the product of the token frequencies of different pronominal types.

% Frequency of Singular Vs Plural Personal Prounouns Across Varieties 8 8 2 % Frequency 90 20 4 30 20 9 Plural Singular South Africa USA Cameroon Ghana Varieties

Figure 4. 1: Overall Pattern for Singular versus Plural Pronouns Across Varieties

Mindful of the fact that the observed disparity across the varieties, especially between the South African variety and the other varieties is based only on occurrence frequency counts, there is need to measure the degree of dispersion of the linguistic variables in the different corpus files, across all four varieties. Our Dispersion of Proportions (Gries, 2008) statistical measure discussed in Chapter Three was used to check the distribution of each of the pronominal variables across all the four corpora constituting the data for this research.

-						C	
	Occurrence		Expected	Observed	Abs.	Sum of abs.	Divided 2 (=
Danasa		Cmaalran	Expected %	%	Abs. Difference	abs. Diff.	`
Pronoun	Frequency	Speaker				DIII.	DP)
We	2273	Bush	0.47	0.46	0.01	0.02	0.01
		Obama	0.53	0.54	0.01	0.02	0.01
I	1021	Bush	0.47	0.42	0.05	0.1	0.05
1	1021	Obama	0.53	0.58	0.05	0.1	0.03
0	1770	Bush	0.47	0.48	0.01	0.02	0.01
Our	1779	Obama	0.53	0.52	0.01	0.02	0.01
M.,	100	Bush	0.47	0.51	0.04	0.00	0.04
My	189	Obama	0.53	0.49	0.04	0.08	0.04
II.	2.45	Bush	0.47	0.46	0.01	0.02	0.01
Us	345	Obama	0.53	0.54	0.01	0.02	0.01
M.	100	Bush	0.47	0.39	0.08	0.16	0.00
Me	108	Obama	0.53	0.61	0.08	0.16	0.08
0 1	25	Bush	0.47	0.28	0.19	0.20	0.10
Ourselves	25	Obama	0.53	0.72	0.19	0.38	0.19
M16	1	Bush	0.47	0	0.47	0.04	0.47*
Myself	1	Obama	0.53	0.1	0.47	0.94	0.47*
Orang	7	Bush	0.47	0.29	0.18	0.26	Λ 10
Ours	7	Obama	0.53	0.71	0.18	0.36	0.18
Mina	3	Bush	0.47	0	0.47	0.04	0.47*
Mine	3	Obama	0.53	1	0.47	0.94	0.47*

Table 4. 3: DP Measure of US Corpus

The results in Table 4.3 show that except for the variables *myself* and *mine*, the DP measure for all other variables indicate an even distribution, with scores below 0.2, which fall within the minimum range. This means that the variables are evenly distributed as one would expect based on the corpus size. The variables *myself* and *mine* fall close to the *mean* range, and it indicates an intermediate DP value. Both variables present cases of extreme distribution with an output of 1 for the observed frequency since these variables only occurs in one part of the corpus. But one of the advantages of the DP over other statistical measures such as the D, D_2 , D_3 and idf is that it takes into consideration the percentage of the corpus files (expected frequency) and factors that into the dispersion measure. Thus, a variable with an extreme distribution which occurs only in a smaller percentage of a corpus will record a relatively smaller DP value than if the same variable were to occur in greater percentage of the same corpus. It is also important to observe the relationship that holds between the raw frequencies and the DP values. Typically, the

higher the raw frequency of a variable, the closer the DP is to the theoretical minimum and vice versa. Thus, *myself* and *mine* which both record the highest DP both have the lowest raw frequencies. Finally, it is also worth remarking that myself and mine are both singular pronouns.

A similar dispersion of variables is recorded in the South African corpus, but with some exceptions. As can be observed from Table 4.4, those variables with high frequency counts show the most even distribution and those with low frequency counts show the most uneven distribution. Accordingly, the variables mine, me and ours are all above the minimum DP range and fall with the range of the l_{st} quartile. The variable mine falls within the range of the mean while myself falls with the range of the median. All the remaining variables fall within the minimum range.

	Occurrence	Speaker			Abs.	Sum of	Divided by 2
Pronoun	Frequency	(President)	%Expected	%Observed	Difference	abs. Diff.	(=DP)
We	2046	Zuma	0.34	0.37	0.03	0.06	0.03
we	2040	Mbeki	0.66	0.63	0.03	0.00	0.03
I	274	Zuma	0.34	0.33	0.01	0.02	0.01
	2/4	Mbeki	0.66	0.67	0.01	0.02	0.01
Our	1514	Zuma	0.34	0.24	0.1	0.2	0.1
- Our	1314	Mbeki	0.66	0.76	0.1	0.2	0.1
My	19	Zuma	0.34	0.68	0.34	0.68	0.34*
	19	Mbeki	0.66	0.32	0.34	0.00	0.34
Us	290	Zuma	0.34	0.2	0.14	0.28	0.14
	270	Mbeki	0.66	0.8	0.14	0.20	0.14
Me	43	Zuma	0.34	0.6	0.26	0.52	0.26*
Me	43	Mbeki	0.66	0.4	0.26	0.32	0.20
Ourselves	42	Zuma	0.34	0.24	0.1	0.2	0.1
Ourseives	42	Mbeki	0.66	0.76	0.1	0.2	0.1
Myself	1	Zuma	0.34	0.1	0.66	1.32	0.66*
Myseij	1	Mbeki	0.66	0	0.66	1.32	0.00
Ours	12	Zuma	0.34	0.08	0.26	0.52	0.26*
<u> </u>	12	Mbeki	0.66	0.92	0.26	0.32	0.20
Mine	6	Zuma	0.34	0.84	0.5	1	0.50*
withe	U	Mbeki	0.66	0.16	0.5	1	0.30"

Table 4. 4: DP Measure of South African Corpus

It is important to remark that unlike in the US corpus where all the variables above the minimum range were singular pronouns, the variable *our* which is a plural pronoun is also

above the *minimum* in the South African corpus. Another observation is that the variable *myself* which is also a case of extreme distribution in the South African corpus has a higher DP as compared to its DP in the US corpus. The disparity can be explained by the distribution of the observed frequencies in both corpora. Accordingly, in the US corpus, the extreme distribution occurs in a relatively larger percentage of the corpus thus reducing the DP value whereas in the South African corpus, the distribution occurs in a smaller percentage of the corpus thus increasing the DP value.

Pronoun	Observed Frequency	Speaker(s) (President)	% Expected	% Observed	Abs. Difference	Sum of abs. Diff.	Divided by 2 (= DP)
Tronoun	Trequency	Mahama	0.57	0.57	0	uos. Diii.	(D1)
We	942	Kouofor	0.37	0.03	0.1	0.2	0.1
we	342	Atta-Mills	0.13	0.03	0.1	0.2	0.1
			0.57	0.48	0.1		
ī	567	Mahama				0.18	0.00
I	307	Kouofor	0.13	0.16	0.03	0.18	0.09
		Atta-Mills	0.3	0.36	0.06		
_	0.04	Mahama	0.57	0.69	0.12	0.4	
Our	901	Kouofor	0.13	0.04	0.09	0.24	0.12
		Atta-Mills	0.3	0.27	0.03		
		Mahama	0.57	0.49	0.08		
My	152	Kouofor	0.13	0.17	0.04	0.16	0.08
		Atta-Mills	0.3	0.34	0.04		
		Mahama	0.57	0.63	0.06		
770	112	Kouofor	0.13	0.1	0.12	0.21	0.1
US		Atta-Mills	0.3	0.27	0.03		
		Mahama	0.57	0.37	0.2		
Me	57	Kouofor	0.13	0.33	0.2	0.4	0.2
		Atta-Mills	0.3	0.3	0		
		Mahama	0.57	0.52	0.05		
Ourselves	23	Kouofor	0.13	0.22	0.09	0.18	0.09
0 111 201 703		Atta-Mills	0.3	0.26	0.04		
		Mahama	0.57	0	0.57		
Myself	2	Kouofor	0.13	0	0.13	1.4	0.7*
1/1 y o c i j	_	Atta-Mills	0.13	1	0.7	1.1	0. /
		Mahama	0.57	0.33	0.24		
Ours	3	Kouofor	0.37	0.55	0.13	0.74	0.37*
Ours	5	Atta-Mills	0.13	0.67	0.13	U. / T	0.57
			0.5	0.07	0.37		
M:	0	Mahama	,	,	,	1	,
Mine	0	Kouofor	/	/	/	/	/
		Atta-Mills					

Table 4. 5: DP Measure of Ghanaian Corpus

The DP measure of the variables in the Ghanaian corpus also shows that most of the variables are within the minimum DP range, except for *ours* and *myself*. The variable

ours (which is a plural word) has a DP value 0.37 which is within the range of the I_{st} quartile, just as in the South African corpus. Similarly, the variable myself which records the highest DP value in all the varieties, with a DP of 0.7, falls within the median range. It is important to observe that the high DP value of myself in the Ghanaian corpus is as a result of the fact that the variable apart from being extremely distributed, occurs only in 0.3% of the corpus. The variable mine for its part has an occurrence frequency of 0 and is as a result technically ruled out from the measure. All these observations are illustrated in Table 4.5

In theory, the Cameroon corpus poses no dispersion problem owing to the fact the corpus is itself made of just one file, i.e only a single president (Paul Biya) happens to have been the sole speaker for the entire period (2000-2015) considered in this study. As will be expected therefore, the DP value for all the variables will in this case logically be at the extreme of the theoretical minimum, which is 0. It is worth observing in this case that the percentage of the expected frequencies systematically corresponds to the percentage of observed frequencies, thus resulting in an absolute difference of 0 for all the variables.

Pronominal Items

Varieties	We	I	Our	My	Us	Me	Ourselves	Myself	Ours	Mine
Cameroon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Africa	0.03	0.01	0.1	0.34*	0.14	0.26*	0.1	0.66*	0.26*	0.50*
Ghana	0.1	0.09	0.12	0.08	0.1	0.2	0.09	0.7*	0.37*	/
USA	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.08	0.19	0.47*	0.18	0.47*

Table 4. 6: Overall Results of DP Measures Across Varieties

As illustrated by the DP scores in Table 4.6, the pronoun variable across all four varieties examined in this study generally fall within the range of the theoretical minimum, except for the variables *our* which is within the range of the I_{st} quartile in the South African and Ghanaian varieties, *mine* which is at the *mean* range in the South African variety and close to the *mean* in the US variety, *my* which falls within the I_{st} quartile in the South

African variety and *myself* which falls within the range of the *median* in the South African and Ghanaian varieties and close to the *mean* in the US variety. It can also be observed that all the variables which do not fall within the minimum range generally have a low occurrence frequency across all the corpora. At this point, it can be said that the null hypothesis (H0), viz that the patterns of pronominal elements across varieties will not show any significant difference(s) in terms of number, has been proven to be false.

4.3 Cognitive Variation of Personal Pronouns: Evidence from Frame Semantics.

On the basis of this quantitative findings obtained in the previous sections in this chapter, this section uses the concept of frames as currently applied in the FrameNet lexicon to further scrutinize each pronoun in its specific context of use. The goal is to find out whether there are any conceptual schemas that can be inferred from their use across each of the varieties. One of the approaches to the analysis of political text and talk consists in identifying the different referents in the utterer's 'discourse world'; the mental space entertained by the utterer as 'real' (Chilton 2004, p.53). In the same vein, a great number of studies have equally sought to identify the various 'participant' roles which utterers typically take on in their discourse and have for the most part looked at such roles in terms of social roles, which are usually made implicit through various pronominal forms (De Fina, 1995, Bramley, 2001; Chilton, 2004; Bull & Fetzer, 2006; Allen, 2007; Bello, 2013). The fact therefore remains that it is generally in the interest of politicians to present themselves as multi-faceted in order to appeal to a diverse audience, and a careful pronoun choice is one way of achieving this aim (Allen 2007). This analysis adopts an alternative way of looking at pronominal referents in political discourse. The thrust of this analysis is that from a frame-based perspective, the referents of the personal pronouns used by politicians in their discourse can be examined in terms of the 'frame roles' which they fill out each time they are used. Although politicians from all cultures make use of personal pronouns in their discourse, there might be conceptual differences in terms of the frame roles with which such pronouns are typically fleshed out. As this analysis will demonstrate, examining just which frame roles are more entrenched with specific pronoun types offers a fruitful cognitive approach to investigating their conceptual patterns across cultures and varieties.

The analysis in this section further scrutinizes all the identified pronouns using frame-semantic parsing methods and interprets the results in the light of mainstream CDA

approaches. Altogether, close to 15000 sentences comprising personal pronouns drawn from the four varieties were processed using the SEMAFOR automatic parser, and the frame roles of the pronouns were extracted, along with their main frames. In this study, however, the term *frame role* is used in lieu of *frame element* (as used in FrameNet online lexicon) since the terminology is better adapted to the objectives of this study. The extraction was done following the method described in Chapter Three. The analysis is particularly interested in looking at those frame roles which are filled out by singular pronouns as opposed to their plural counterparts. The following pronoun pairs will be the main focus of the analysis;

- (i) The first person subject personal pronoun; 'I' versus 'We'.
- (ii) The first-person possessive determiner; 'My' versus 'Our'.

Also, not all the frame roles and frames derived from the extraction process are considered in this analysis; only the top five cognitive roles and frames for each pronoun are used. The full lists of all roles and frames can however be found in the appendix section.

4.3.1 Frame Roles as Representations of the 'Self'.

In political discourse analysis, first person pronouns are considered forms of address for the 'self', i.e these pronouns typically make reference to the author or speaker of the political text and talk (Chilton, 2004). And while it is obvious that politicians generally use a mixture of both singular and plural pronouns, identifying just when and where they prefer to use either of these pronominal numbers can give considerable insight into what they are saying and how they want to be viewed (Beard, 2000). The linguistic category of personal pronouns has been previously addressed in the field of CDA by numerous studies which have mostly articulated the social roles represented by various pronominal forms, mostly by means of the analyst's intuition and socio-cognition (De Fina, 1995; Bull & Fetzer, 2006; Cap, 2005). The semantic structure of the personal pronouns (their different senses) used in political discourse consequently remains underexplored, especially when considered from a cross-cultural perspective.

4.3.1.1 The 'Self' with Singular Pronoun Forms

Table 4.7 below presents the top five frame roles used with the singular pronoun 'I' along with their frequencies, across all four varieties. A major observation is that exactly the same frame roles are fleshed out across all four varieties, though not

occupying exactly the same positions. The {speaker} ⁸role fleshes out as the first role in the South African, US and Ghanaian varieties, but only occupies the 2nd position in the Cameroon variety, after the {cognizer} role. Similarly, the {communicator} role occupies the 4th position in Cameroon and South African varieties but only features at the 5th position in the US and Ghanaian varieties. It can also be seen that the frame roles have different significance across the varieties, as reflected by their respective frequencies in each variety.

'I' Roles in Came	roon Variety	'I' Roles in SA Va	riety	
Cognizer	142	Speaker	60	
Speaker	136	Agent	40	
Experiencer	71	Experiencer	36	
Communicator	40	Communicator	32	
Agent	26	Cognizer	31	
'I' Roles in Ghana	aian Variety	'I' Roles in US Variety		
Speaker	132	Speaker	323	
Experiencer	111	Cognizer	193	
Cognizer	87	Agent	118	
Agent	64	Experiencer	114	
Communicator	40	Communicator	30	

Table 4. 7: Frequency of Top Five Roles for 'I' Across Varieties.

Based on the above frame roles and their frequency across all the four varieties, a major observation is that the singular pronoun 'I' in this genre of political discourse has a greater probability of being a slot filler of any one of these roles, among the many existing roles. This conceptual trend appears to be valid for all the varieties. The idea can perhaps further be substantiated using the psycholinguistics notion of basic level categories as articulated by the prototype theory (Rosch, 1977). In this regard, the frame roles may be seen as constituting the 'basic level' of the frame roles in each of these varieties since they are more prone to be fleshed out whenever the singular pronoun 'I' is used. These frame roles are consequently more likely to have *default value status* with the singular pronoun 'I'. It can be argued from the above frame roles that there is a universal conceptual schema for the singular pronoun 'I'. As will be demonstrated later

⁸ In this study, the curly brackets or braces { } is used to indicate FE slots filled by the different pronouns. In the vein, the square brackets [] is used to indicate frames.

on in the analysis, the use of the singular pronoun 'I' can also be seen from the perspective of the frames with which they occur.

It is obvious that politicians have very specific goals each time they use personal pronouns and that using a specific pronoun only with certain types of roles will imply that such roles are more cognitively predisposed in achieving the desired rhetorical goals. From the CDA point of view, the fact political speeches are usually written by a team of 'ghost-writers' entails they are characterised by a high degree of planning (Charteris-Black, 2004). This means that the pronominal choices politicians make are not just whimsical but rather the product of a thoughtful reflection by expert political speech writers. This point is corroborated by Beard (2000) when he points out that;

Politicians and their speech writers, then, have some difficult decisions to make when it comes to using the pronouns that will keep appearing in their speeches: how much responsibility are they prepared to take on themselves; how much responsibility for success are they willing to share with other colleagues; how confident are they that whole groups of people share their views; how much responsibility for failure are they prepared to accept as their own? (p.45-46)

The argument at this point is that there should be some rhetorical reasons as to why exactly the same types of frame roles are preferred among the many existing roles across all four varieties. It is convenient at this point to also present the frame roles in terms of their significance in each of the selected varieties. Figure 4.2 captures frame roles in terms of their significance in each variety. The plots were generated based on the percentage frequency of each frame role within each variety.

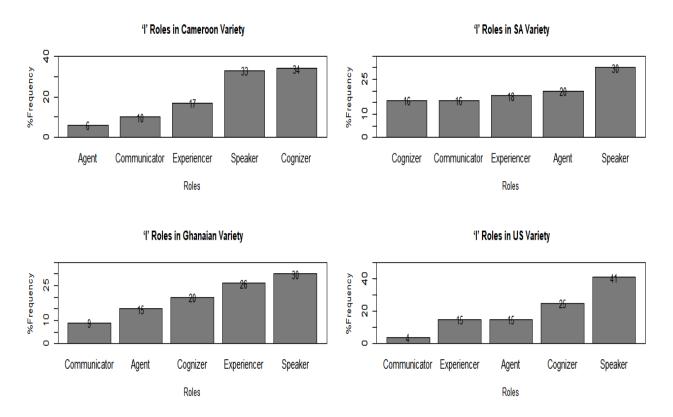


Figure 4. 2: Percentage Frequency of Top Five Frame Roles for 'I' Across Varieties.

It can be seen from the Figure 4.2⁹ that the {Cognizer} role has the highest significance frequency in the Cameroon variety with 34 % whereas the {Speaker} role has the highest frequency in the South African, Ghanaian and US varieties with 30%, 30% and 41% respectively. The results also show that the {Agent} role has the least significance in the Cameroon variety, the {Cognizer} has the least frequency the South African variety while the {Communicator} has the least frequency in both the Ghanaian and US Varieties. The differences in frequencies are pointers to the fact that the frame roles have different degrees of significance across all four varieties, and this could be as a result of conceptual differences. It perhaps important at this point to closely examine some sentential examples in order to have a more accurate picture of what politicians across different cultures are actually saying each time they choose to use either the pronoun 'I'. One of the disadvantages of singular pronouns to politicians is that they show all too clearly

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⁹ Due to space limitation, the names of some of the roles and frames are not written in full. In such cases, only their initial letters (in case of single words) or the initials of either/both words (in case of compound words are written. This is done systematically in this analysis. The full names of such word can however be retrieved from the accompanying tables.

where the blame lies if something goes wrong; but they have the advantage that they can show a clear sense of personal involvement on the part of the speaker, which is especially useful when good news is delivered (Beard 2000).

- (1) Cameroonians, Fellow countrymen, in our troubled and imperfect world, we should, *I* {Cognizer} think [Opinion], be glad that to some degree, we live in a haven of stability and peace (*Paul Biya*, *Cameroon*).
- (2) The Government has therefore reviewed the distance we have travelled in terms of implementing the mandate given by the people in 2004. *I*{Speaker} am pleased to say [Statement] that we have indeed done much to implement the commitments we made to the people in 2004 (*Thabo Mbeki, South Africa*)
- (3) As *I*{**Speaker**} speak [Statement], a restructuring of roles and responsibilities for streamlining the Presidency is being undertaken with the view to optimizing the performance (*John Kufuor, Ghana*)
- (4) And that's why *I{speaker}* 've asked [request] Vice President Biden to lead a tough, unprecedented oversight effort; because nobody messes with Joe (Barack Obama, USA).

Excerpts 1-4 are randomly selected sentences with roles with the highest frequencies across each of the four varieties. The purpose is to find possible explanations as to why politicians typically prefer these specific roles with the singular pronoun 'I'. Excerpt 1 confirms the idea that politicians typically use 'I' when it is connected to some kind of good news information for which they want to be credited. In this example, the pronoun 'I' is the {Cognizer} role in the [Opinion] frames. It is possibly this cognitive arrangement with which 'I' is embedded that is rhetorically advantageous to the incumbent and thus allowing him to credit himself with the good news information. Generally, expressions such as 'I think', 'I believe' and 'I feel' can also be used by politicians when talking about events that are disputable (Bramley 2001).

Excerpts 2 and 3 are more illustrations that politicians will only want to use the singular pronoun when it is associated with some positive action or good news. The intention is generally to get some of the credit that goes with the good news. In Excerpt 2, the pronoun 'I' is used as filler of the {Speaker} slot in the [Statement] frame. The fact

that the word 'said' is modified by the word 'pleased' which itself evokes the [Emotion directed] frame is indicative of the 'good news' nature of the piece of information. Politicians typically use emotive language when they intend to be more persuasive (Vertissen & De Landtsheer 2005). Also, the singular pronoun 'I' fills the {Speaker} slot in the [Statement] frame and is also associated with positive information. Excerpt 4 illustrates an instance where the singular pronoun 'I' is used to show a sense of personal involvement on the part of the speaker. In this case, 'I' is slot filler for {Speaker} in the [Request] frame in an effort to emphasize the incumbent's personal involvement in igniting positive action. This can also be viewed as a legitimization strategy through which the incumbent seeks to assert his authority. It is important to observe that President Obama is not the person to carry out the intended action 10 but he nevertheless will not miss the chance of getting some of the credit for the positive action. As illustrated in Excerpts 2-4, it is most likely due to the rhetoric potential of the {Speaker} role in presenting the incumbents either as a 'good news bearers' or legitimate leaders that this frame role has a greater *default value* status with the 1st person singular pronoun 'I' in the South African, Ghanaian and US varieties.

Having examined sentential examples of frame roles with the highest frequency using the cognitive paradigm developed for this purpose, it is also crucial at this point to look at further sentential examples of those frame roles with the least frequency across all four varieties. The assumption is that the rhetorical motivation for fleshing out the singular pronoun 'I' with these frame roles could be different from those roles with high frequency. The use of 'I' in these examples might have therefore been out of necessity. Below are a few sentential examples:

- (5) More concretely, the National Civic Service for Participation in Development, which *I* {**Agent**} intend to re-launch [Activity_start], will help strengthen the civic education of the youth and increase their chances of social integration (Paul Biya, Cameroon).
- (6) The people's contract for a better tomorrow is taking shape. *I*{Cognizer} trust [Trust] that all of us will identify with this historic process (Thabo Mbeki, South Africa).

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¹⁰ The term political action is used in this analysis in two different ways. Firstly, it used more generally to refer to the activities of the political actors as can be inferred from the excerpts analysed in this study. The second use of the term is more specific; in this case, it is used to refer to frames, which are equally considered forms of political action in this study.

- (7) We cannot fail to recognise the drop in the rate of armed robbery and organised crime and *I* {Communicator} commend [Judgement_communication] the Police and other security agencies for the effort they are putting into fighting crime (John E. Atta Mills)
- (8) The last time I spoke here, I {Communicator} expressed [Expressing_publicly] the hope that life would return to normal (George W. Bush, USA)

Excerpts 5-8 are randomly selected sentences with frame roles with the lowest frequency across each variety. One important observation is that 'I' is used as filler in the {Agent} slot by incumbent leaders to align themselves with positive actions, especially when such actions serve the purpose of presenting them as committed and charismatic leaders. In excerpt 5, the pronoun 'I' is fleshed out as slot filler of the {Agent} role in the [Activity_start] frame to achieve this purpose. It is rather unusual to have a singular pronoun as slot filler for the {Agent} role in political discourse. But in this specific instance the type of action implied has no potential adverse effects. As pointed out by Bramley (2001), politicians sometimes use the pronoun 'I' when talking about their individual actions, especially when such actions present them as charismatic leaders. It could therefore be that using 'I' as an {Agent} is a more productive persuasive strategy which seek to rally support for a desired action.

In Excerpt 6, 'I' is used as filler of the {Cognizer} slot in a [Trust] frame by the incumbent, probably in an effort to persuade his addressees to sustain more work in his favour. The fact could be that politicians may also use 'I' with frame roles such as {Communicator} to legitimise their authority in view of a positive self-presentation. Excerpt 7 for instance shows how the singular pronoun 'I' is used as filler of the {communicator} slot in a [Judgement_Communication] frame by President Mills, probably as a strategy to legitimize his power and authority. Similarly, excerpt 8 shows how President Bush also uses 'I' as slot filler for the {Communicator} role, most likely in an attempt to positively present himself as a committed and charismatic leader. Thus, excerpts 7 and 8 are indicative of the fact that there is a shared conceptual schema between both cultures.

Thus far, the analysis has attempted to scrutinize both in terms of frequency and sentential examples the various frame roles which are fleshed out with the singular pronoun 'I' across all four varieties and cultures. It stands out from the analysis that there is apparently a preferred conceptual schema with which politicians typically use the singular 'I', and this schema seems to be relevant across all four varieties and cultures. More especially, the findings have shown that in achieving the rhetorical purpose(s) for which the use of the singular pronoun 'I' may be intended, politicians will most likely have recourse to specific frame roles which include the following; {Cognizer}, {Agent}, {Speaker}, {Communicator} and {Experiencer}, among the hundreds of possible roles. Though the frequencies of each of these frame roles vary across varieties, the fact that they are the most significant frame roles across all four varieties attests to the fact there is some kind of universally shared conceptual schema for the singular pronoun 'I'. As has been illustrated with the sentential examples, politicians use the singular pronoun 'I' with these roles mostly in an effort to assert and legitimize their power and authority as well as for persuasive ends with regard to specific topics or intended actions.

But looking at just the frame roles with which the singular pronoun 'I' is typically fleshed out across the four varieties may not be conclusive in telling why politicians in specific instances prefer to use singular pronoun forms as opposed to the plural forms. It is for this reason that this study also examines the use of the singular possessive determiner 'my'. Such an endeavour will hopefully complement the analysis and findings obtained thus far. Table 4.8 presents the top five frame roles used with the possessive determiner 'my', across all four varieties. A striking observation is that the frequencies for the South African frame roles are outstandingly low as compared to the other varieties. This is certainly explained by the finding on distribution disparity observed between singular versus plural pronouns illustrated in the quantitative analysis in Table 1, where the singular possessive determiner 'my' represented only 1% as opposed to 99% for its plural counterpart 'our'. A plausible explanation to this outstandingly low frequency of the singular determiner 'my' can be attributed to the country's political history. In this respect, the fact could be that probably consciously or unconsciously, the post-apartheid political discourse in South Africa is prone or expected to be based on the ideal of collectivism rather than individualism in an effort consolidate the values of peace and reconciliation which are its principal objectives. This idea will be revisited later in the discussion when examining the use of the possessive determiner 'our'.

'My' Role in Ca	ameroon Variety	'My' Roles in SA	A Variety
Authority	82	Experiencer	3
Experiencer	15	Ego	2
Speaker	8	Speaker	2
Cognizer	8	Communicator	2
Agent	6	Host	2
'My' Role in Gl	hanaian Variety	'My' Roles in U	S Variety
Speaker	36	Leader	34
Leader	27	Creator	30
Agent	20	Authority	25
Cognizer	16	Agent	25

Table 4. 8: Frequency of top Five Roles for 'My' Across Varieties

5

Possessor

Speaker

14

Table 4.8 shows that unlike with the singular pronoun 'I, not exactly the same frame roles are fleshed out with the singular determiner 'my' across the four varieties. The {Ego} and {Host} frame roles for instance have slots only in the South African variety while the {Creator} frame role has a slot only in the US variety. Such trends are indicative of the fact that there could be cultural variations with regard to the cultural schema for the singular determiner 'my'. As regards the remainder frame roles, their significance varies across varieties. As this study seeks to argue, the choice of the singular determiner 'my' in each variety could be determined by the availability of these frame roles. It is probably when the singular determiner 'my' is used with these cognitive roles that the rhetorical goals politicians may have are achieved more successfully. Otherwise, those roles which never or seldom embedded with the singular determiner 'my' may simply not offer the needed rhetorical advantage(s) which politicians are looking for. Such roles may by contrast be typically available for plural determiner 'our'.

Figure 4.3 presents the cognitive roles for the singular pronoun 'my' in terms of their significance across all four varieties. Unlike with the singular pronoun 'I', the trend as regards the cognitive roles used with the singular determiner 'my' is more indicative of conceptual specificities across the varieties. It can be seen for instance that the {Authority} role is the most significant in the Cameroon variety, the {Experiencer} in South African variety, the {Speaker} in the Ghanaian variety and {Leader} in the US variety. Also, the {Agent} is the least significant in Cameroon variety, the {Host} in

South African variety, {Possessor} in the Ghanaian variety and {Speaker} in the US variety.

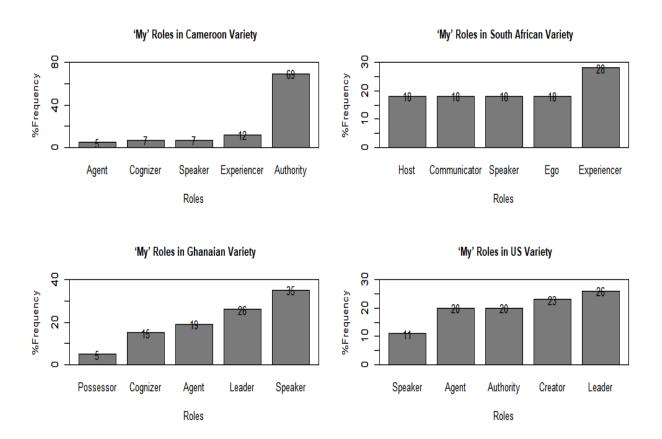


Figure 4. 3: Percentage Frequency of Top Five Roles for 'My' Across Varieties

Whilst this difference may be attributed to differences in cultural scripts or schemas, the possibility that it could as well be due to differences in the contexts of use should not be ruled out based on such an *a priori* assumption. Moreover, the fact that the raw frequency counts for the singular determiner 'my' are very low in some of the varieties also weakens the basis for any empirical conclusions. Just as was the case with the singular pronoun 'I', sentential examples with the highest and least significance frequency in all four varieties will be scrutinized and possible interpretations made using mainstream analytical tools of CDA and pragmatics.

(9) My {Authority} Dear Compatriots [People_by_jurisdiction], I have often talked about impediments to our progress, namely administrative inertia, shirking of responsibilities, personal interests, laxity, and so on (Paul Biya, Cameroon).

- (10) Inspired by our icon Madiba, it is *my* {Experiencer} honour [Emotion_directed] to dedicate this 2010 State of the Nation Address to all our heroes and heroines, sung and unsung, known and unknown (Jacob Zuma, South Africa).
- (11) I wish to restate *my* {**Speaker**} unwavering commitment [Commitment]to continue an unrelenting battle against corruption (John D. Mahama, Ghana)
- (12) Every year of *my* {Leader} Presidency [Leadership], we've reduced the growth of non-security discretionary spending, and last year you passed bills that cut this spending (George W. Bush, USA).

In excerpt 9 above, the singular determiner 'my' is used as the {Authority} role within a [People_by_Jurisdiction] frame. This cognitive arrangement is possibly intended as a legitimisation strategy whereby President Biya seeks to assert his power and authority while at the same time showing that he is personally concerned about eradicating the issues affecting the well-being of his citizens. Using 'my' with the {Authority} role almost goes unnoticed in this case, thus allowing the incumbent achieve his objective, in the most unsuspicious manner. As pointed out by Chilton (2004:47) 'self-identification as a source of authority' is productive strategy for achieving positive self-presentation. It would also seem that using 'my' with an emotive language allows politicians to sound more persuasive. This is seen in Excerpt 10 where President Zuma uses 'my' as the {Experiencer} role in the [Emotion_directed] frame. Emotions are quite important for achieving persuasion in political discourse and the {Experiencer} role in this instance allows the incumbent to successfully achieve his illocutionary act which certainly is to showcase his respect for national heroes and his attachment to the nation.

Excerpts 11 and 12 consolidate the idea that politicians use singular forms to show a sense of personal involvement, especially when this is connected with positive information. President Mahama in this instance uses 'my' as the {Speaker} role in the [Commitment] frame, and this obviously allows him to positively present himself as the committed servant of his people who is sparing no effort in stamping out corruption. In excerpt 12, 'my' is used as the {leader} role in the [Leadership] frame. This can be interpreted as a strategy for representation in which President Bush seeks to control the quality of information with regard to the specific topic under discussion. One characteristic of representation/misrepresentation strategy is that they typically violate the Grice's Maxims. This explains why representation is often referred to as 'being

economical with the truth' (Chilton, 2004, p.46). This strategy obviously allows president Bush to positively present himself as well as his leadership.

Thus far, the analysis of Excerpts 9-12 has given insights into the ways in which politicians across different cultures use the singular determiner 'my' with cognitive roles to achieve rhetoric ends. The contexts in which 'my' was used with specific cognitive roles have been quite informative on some of the discourse strategies used with 'my'. These specifically include legitimisation and representation. Given that no particular discourse strategy was seen to be peculiar to a specific variety, it becomes more evident that only cultural differences can possibly account for the conceptual disparity among all four varieties. It is plausibly as a result of the rhetorical advantages that the determiner 'my' offers that politicians often use it whenever the need arises. As earlier mentioned, sentential examples with the least frequency of cognitive roles will equally be scrutinized to present a more adequate picture with regard to the use of the singular determiner 'my'.

- (13) Regarding electricity shortage which affects not only companies but also each of you, I have expressed *my* {**Agent**} determination [Purpose] to get things done (*Paul Biya, Cameroon*)
- (14) I would like you to join me in congratulating *my* {Host} special guest [Guest_and_host], our ace Olympic swimmer Chad Le Clos (*Jacob Zuma*, *South Africa*).
- (15) Madam Speaker, one governance issue that will forever remain close to my {Possessor} heart [Body_part], is the fight against corruption (John. E. Atta Mills, Ghana)
- (16) I gave to you and to all Americans *my* {**Speaker**} complete commitment [Commitment] to securing our country and defeating our enemies (*George W. Bush, USA*)

The idea that politicians use singular forms when they want to demonstrate a sense of personal involvement with regard to specific issues is once again confirmed in Excerpt 13. Using the singular determiner 'my' as the {Agent} in the [Purpose] frame allows the incumbent to positively present himself by persuading his addressees that he is personally committed to addressing their major challenges. Excerpt 14 shows that 'my' is used by President Zuma as the {Host} role in the [Guest_and_Host] frame. The {Host} role is a privilege which he certainly does not want to share with any other person, such as his collaborators or addressees in general. The finding that the determiner 'my' can

sometimes be used by politicians to convey an emotive language is also confirmed in the Ghanaian variety. Accordingly, excerpt 14 shows how president Mills uses 'my' as the {possessor} role in a [Body_part] frame to show that he is quite passionate about his intended course of action; stamping out corruption in Ghana. Similarly, Excerpt 16 also shows how President Bush uses the determiner 'my' in a {Speaker} role to express his personal involvement and commitment in assuring the security of his country. The ultimate goal is to positively present himself as *Commander in Chief*.

Having examined the cognitive roles used with singular pronoun forms across all four varieties, it is important to summarise some of the major points. One main finding is that the singular forms 'I' and 'my' show quite different trends with regard to their selection of cognitive roles. While the roles for the singular determiner 'my' vary across all four varieties, the singular pronoun 'I' has exactly the same cognitive roles for all four varieties. Also, no noticeable difference has been identified as regards the rhetoric motivations politicians might have in using both singular pronoun forms. It stands out from the analysis that politicians across the four varieties use these pronouns for positive self-presentation, through such strategies as legitimisation and representation. Another finding is that the singular determiner 'my' can sometimes be embedded in certain cognitive roles such as {Experiencer} and {Possessor} when politicians want to arouse emotions from their audience in an effort to sound more persuasive.

4.3.1.2 The 'Self' with Plural Pronoun Forms

It is important at this point to equally examine the cognitive roles with which the plural forms 'we' and 'our' are used in order to find out if there is any noticeable trend in the use of both pronominal forms and the patterns of cognitive roles with which they are typically associated. As earlier mentioned, this study considers frequency as an indicator of the level of entrenchment of various roles within varieties. Thus, the higher the frequency of a cognitive role within a variety, the greater its level of entrenchment. Table 4.9 presents the top five cognitive roles used with the plural pronoun 'we'. One can quickly see that unlike with the singular pronoun 'I', the cognitive roles used with its plural counterpart 'we' are far from being identical across the four varieties. Accordingly, only two cognitive roles are common to all four varieties, namely the {Agent} and {Cognizer} roles. Cognitive roles such as {Speaker} feature in three of the four varieties. Also, other roles can be seen to feature only in one of the varieties; the

{Responsible_party} for instance only features in the South African variety whereas the {Topical entity} features only in the Ghanaian variety.

'WE' Roles in Ca	meroon Variety	'We' Roles in SA Varieties		
Agent	194	Agent	717	
Cognizer	71	Cognizer	214	
Entity	55	Speaker	189	
Owner	31	Experiencer	125	
Experiencer	25	Responsible Party	97	
-				
'WE' Roles in Ghanaian Variety		'We' Roles in US Variety		
'WE' Roles in Gh	anaian Variety	'We' Roles in US Va	riety	
'WE' Roles in Gh	nanaian Variety	'We' Roles in US Va	riety	
'WE' Roles in Gh	382	'We' Roles in US Va Agent	riety 752	
			•	
Agent	382	Agent	752	
Agent Cognizer	382 108	Agent Cognizer	752 358	
Agent Cognizer Entity	382 108 91	Agent Cognizer Entity	752 358 94	

Table 4. 9: Frequency of Top Five Roles for 'We' Across Varieties.

It can also be remarked that the frequency of roles used with the plural pronoun 'we' are comparatively higher than those encoded in the singular pronoun 'I'. This can be explained by the fact that the distribution frequency of plural pronouns generally outnumbered the singular as illustrated by the findings of the frequency count, except in the Cameroon variety where the plural was only marginally above the singular.

Presenting these roles in terms of their percentage frequencies can help illustrate their degree of significance across the varieties. This will certainly render more visible their level of entrenchment across the varieties. Figure 4.4 thus presents the various cognitive roles of the singular determiner 'my' in all four case studies. A major observation is that unlike with the cognitive roles of the singular pronoun 'I', the {Agent} role which has the highest frequency with the plural pronoun 'we' across all four varieties represents more than 50% of the total frequency within each of the varieties, thus implying a greater level of entrenchment. The {Cognizer} role occupies the second position in all four varieties with a frequency of 19% in the Cameroon variety, 16% in the South African variety, 17% in the Ghanaian variety and 26% in the US variety. The least frequent roles include the {Experiencer} in the Cameroon variety, the

{Responsible_party} in the South African variety, the {Topical_entity} in the Ghanaian variety and the {Speaker} role for the US variety.

Let us examine some of the possible reasons why politicians will sometimes prefer to use the plural pronoun 'we' in their speeches. As a matter of fact, Pennycook (1994) observes that the plural pronoun 'we' can simultaneously be inclusive and exclusive, and can therefore be seen as a pronoun for expressing both solidarity and rejection. One of the advantages of plural pronouns to politicians is that they help share responsibility especially when decisions are tricky and when the news is uncertain (Beard, 2000, p.45). Plural pronouns can also help politicians to get their interpreters to conceptualize group identities, coalitions, parties and the like either as insiders or as outsiders (Chilton & Schäffner 2002, p.30). All these observations are worth taking into account when examining the possible reasons why politicians may prefer to use plural pronouns. But the aim in this study is also to find out whether the use of the plural pronoun 'we' with specific cognitive roles offers any specific rhetorical benefits to politicians, particularly in the way and manner in which they present themselves vis a vis the topical issue(s) under discussion. This is because these cognitive roles are the most salient among the range of possible roles within each of the varieties.

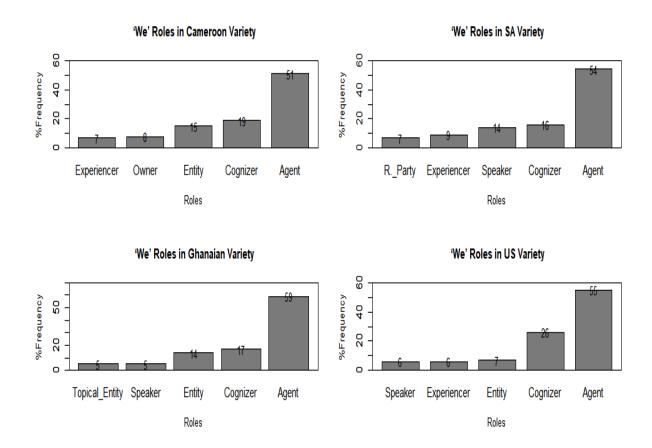


Figure 4. 4: Percentage Frequency of Top Five Roles for 'We' Across Varieties.

Excerpts 9-2 below are randomly selected sentential examples of the use of the plural pronoun 'we' with cognitive roles with the highest frequency across all four varieties. Each of these excerpts is thus analysed with a specific focus on these cognitive roles in order to identify some possible advantages they may offer to the politicians.

- (17) Although some progress was made, notably in the domains of education, health and roads, one cannot but note that we {Agent} fell short [Success_or_failure] of our objectives, particularly in the energy sector. (Paul Biya, Cameroon).
- (18) These important successes demonstrate practically what we {Agent} can achieve [Accomplishment] if indeed, as a country and a people, we unite in action for change (Thabo Mbeki, South Africa).
- (19) We {Agent} are resolved to achieve [Purpose] an early restoration of stability in the foreign exchange market. This requires that we {Agent} expand [Cause_expansion] our exports, cut down our import bill and manage our finances carefully and live within our means (John E. Atta Mills, Ghana)

(20) That's how America leads: not with bluster, but with persistent, steady resolve. In Cuba, we {Agent} are ending [Cause_to_end] a policy that was long past its expiration date (Barack Obama, USA)

Excerpt 17 shows that the pronoun 'we' is used with inclusivity in an {Agent} role by the incumbent in the [Success_or_failure) frame. This can be interpreted as a strategy aimed at the sharing responsibility for the unsuccessful action, most likely with his citizens or addressees. The use of 'we' in an {Agent} role in this case presupposes other partakers in the unsuccessful action. In excerpt 18, the use of 'we' with an {Agent} role can also be viewed as a persuasive strategy for inclusion; getting more people involved certainly gives more legitimacy to the president's political actions and assures that the responsibility will be shared in case of failure. This analysis largely corroborates Bojabotsheh et al (2014, p.320) finding on the use of plural pronouns in the ANC national election manifestos where he makes the following observation;

The use of inclusive pronouns such as 'we' and 'our' has the effect of blurring the distinction between the ANC and the audience. The audience becomes one with the ANC and, in this process of becoming, shares its achievements and failures.

It is however not surprising that the idea of inclusivity appears to be quite common with the use of plural pronouns in South African political discourse. As stated earlier, the country's political history may partly explain the predominance of plural forms in general and 'inclusivity' in particular. The fact could be that the post-apartheid political discourse in South Africa may be expected to articulate the ideals of peace and reconciliation, and the pace might have been set by the political oratory of former president Nelson Mandela. Thus, plural pronouns can be a productive way of achieving a discourse of inclusion.

Excerpt 19 presents two successive uses of 'we' in an {Agent} role. The first use of {Agent} may be interpreted as being exclusive, referring only to the incumbent and specific stakeholders (probably government officials) who are actively involved in the political action referred to. The second use of the {Agent} is inclusive, and can be interpreted as referring to all citizens. This latter use shows that pronouns may sometimes be used by politicians as a persuasive strategy to obtain more sacrifices from their public. In excerpt 20, the plural pronoun 'we' is the {Agent} in the [Cause_to_end] frame, is another instance of inclusivity. In this specific example, President Obama might be aware of the fact that American foreign policy on Cuba can be tricky and thus prefers to be

equivocal when referring to his personal stance. Bull and Fetzer (2006) found out that politicians also sometimes use pronouns the plural pronoun 'we' as a strategy for equivocation where they prefer to be rather vague and elusive with regard to their stance on specific issues.

Excepts 21 -24 below are random examples where the plural pronoun 'we' was used in the cognitive role with the least significance across each variety. It is expected that the use 'we' with a cognitive role at this level of significance would probably be less motivated when compared with its use with the most significant roles. The possible reasons behind the use of such roles could offer with other possible explanations as to why politicians will sometimes prefer to use the 1st person plural subject pronoun instead of the singular.

- (21) It is clear I repeat that until our economy returns to its normal level, we {Experiencer} will find it hard [Difficulty] to curb unemployment (Paul Biya, Cameroon)
- (22) We {Responsible_party} must warn very strongly [Required_event] that illegal and unjustified strikes such as the one recently experienced at Volkswagen in Uitenhage cannot be tolerated (Thabo Mbeki, South Africa)
- (23) Let us always bear in mind that as a people, we {Topical_Entity} have much more common ground [Have_associated] than we make it seem. (John. E Atta Mills, Ghana)
- (24) Once again, we **{Speaker}** are called [Request] to defend the safety of our people and the hopes of all mankind. And we **{Speaker}** accept [Respond to proposal] this responsibility (George W. Bush, USA)

The finding that 'we' is used in the Cameroon variety in an effort to share responsibility when talking about difficult situations is once again confirmed in excerpt 21. The incumbent uses 'we' in an {Experiencer} role in conjunction with the [Difficulty] frame when expressing his uncertainty about the difficult situation at hand. It is obvious in such instances that one of the reasons behind the inclusivity is to get his addressees involved so as to eventually share responsibility in case of failure. It would also seem that the pronoun 'we' can under certain circumstances be used by politicians when making strong declarations or pronouncing strong condemnation. In Excerpt 22, president Mbeki uses the pronoun 'we' with the {Responsible_party} role in a [Required_event] frame as a subtle coercive strategy against perpetrators of what he considers to be illegal or

unjustified strike actions, probably trade unionists. Using the plural 'we' in a {Responsible_party} role makes the incumbent's condemnation sound more legitimate as it leaves the impression that he is condemning the strike actions not only as an individual authority but in the name of the entire nation which he commands.

Politicians may also sometimes use the plural pronoun 'we' in their discursive construction of some national issues. In Excerpt 23, 'we' is used with inclusivity and is conceptualised as the {Topical_entity} in a [Have_associated] frame. This type of discursive construction possibly allows the incumbent to minimize and relegate all forms of group, ethnic or clan differences in favour of a more united nation. This discursive strategy may be productive in West African political contexts where political affinities may sometimes follow ethnic lines. Politicians may therefore also use the pronoun 'we' with purely persuasive and manipulative intents. In excerpt 24, uses the pronoun 'we' in a {Speaker} role in two successive frames; a [Request] frame and a [Respond_to_proposal] frame. This allows him to legitimate his intended action and to insinuate he is speaking in the name of the entire nation and for the interest of the people.

The next focus of this analysis is to examine the cognitive roles with which the plural determiner 'our' is typical used. This will certainly give a more accurate picture of the overall trend of the cognitive roles used with plural forms in all four varieties. Table 10 presents a summary of the top 5 roles used with the plural determiner 'our' across all varieties. One major observation is that majority of the roles for the plural determiner 'our' are different from those of the plural pronoun 'we', except for the {Agent} role which still features in all four varieties and the {Entity} which features in the Cameroon variety. Other roles such as {Ethnicity}, {Population} and {Economic_participant} each feature in only three of the four varieties. One implication of this cognitive arrangement could be that unlike with the plural pronoun 'we', the four varieties exhibit more disparity with respect to the way the plural determiner 'our' is cognitively conceptualized.

'Our' Roles in Cameroon Variety		'Our' Roles in SA Va	riety
Agent	131	Population	399
Citizens	109	Agent	243
Ethnicity	88	Authority	154
Entity	53	Possessor	74
Economy_participants	50	Experiencer	46
'Our' Roles in Ghanaia	an Variety	'Our' Roles in US Variety	
Ethnicity	137	Population	233
Population	120	Possessor	158
Agent	105	Agent	120
Economy_participants	44	Economy_participants	82
Possessor	40	Ethnicity	81

Table 4. 10: Frequency of Top Five Sematic Roles with 'Our' Across Varieties

As regards the significance of roles across all four varieties, the {Agent} role has the highest frequency in the Cameroon variety, {Population} in the South African and US varieties, while {Ethnicity} is highest in the Ghanaian variety. In terms of roles with the least frequency, the {Economic participants} has the least frequency in the Cameroon variety, {Experiencer} in the South African variety, {Possessor} in the Ghanaian variety and Population in the US variety. However, the significance of these roles in their respective varieties is far from being the same. Figure 4.5 presents the top five roles in each variety in terms of their significance. It can quickly be observed that unlike with the plural pronoun 'we' where the highest roles each represented above 50%, all roles with the highest frequency with the plural determiner 'our' have below 45%. Regarding the significance of these individual roles, the {Agent} represents 30% in the Cameroon variety, {Population} represents 36% in both the South African and US varieties while {Ethnicity} represents 31% in the Ghanaian variety. Likewise {Economic participants} has the least frequency in the Cameroon with 12%, {Experiencer} in the South African variety with 05%, {Possessor} in the Ghanaian variety with 09% and {Ethnicity} in the US variety with 12%. Also, only the {Agent} FE is identical across the four varieties

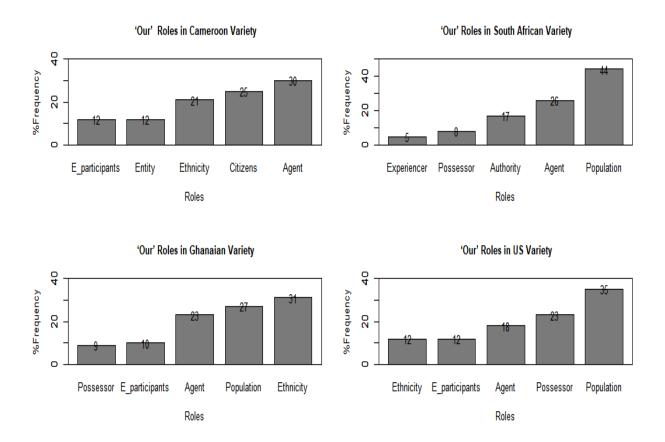


Figure 4. 5: Percentage Frequency of Top Five Roles for 'Our' Across Varieties.

The different trends across the varieties illustrated in figure 4.5 are indicative of possible conceptual variations in the way politicians across different cultures use the plural determiner 'our'. Examining sentential examples however remains the most fruitful way of finding possible explanations as to why politicians from different cultures may prefer to use the plural determiner 'our' with specific cognitive roles, among the plethora of possible roles. Just as in the preceding analyses, sentential examples with the highest and least significance roles across all four varieties will be scrutinized using mainstream tools and methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) where necessary.

Excerpts 25-28 are examples of roles with the highest frequency across all four varieties. Thus, mindful of the fact that the FE slots in these sentences are the most entrenched with the use of the plural determiner 'our', it is therefore expected that the use of 'our' with these roles will be rhetorically motivated and could thus give insights into the cognitive advantages these roles may offer to various politicians when embedded with the plural determiner 'our'.

- (25) This end-of-year message affords me the opportunity to take stock with you of our {Agent} efforts [Work] and to know where we stand and where we are going (Paul Biya, Cameroon).
- (26) Overall, we should all be proud that steadily, our {Population} country [Political_Locales] is moving away from the past of racism, poverty, conflict and economic stagnation (Thabo Mbeki, South Africa)
- (27) In our journey towards creating a prosperous and dignified life for our **{Ethnicity}** people, [People_by_Jurisdiction] we may find ourselves sometimes in the wilderness (John D. Mahama).
- (28) Our {Population} Nation [Political_Locales] needs orderly and secure borders (George W. Bush, USA).

Excerpt 25 shows that the {Agent} role is embedded with the plural determiner 'our' in a [Work] frame. This can be interpreted as a persuasive and manipulative strategy which seeks to include his addressees within his reference scope probably with the aim of sharing the responsibility of all the shortcomings that might have arisen from his leadership, and also to incite them to sustain more work in his favour. Thus, {Agent} role used with 'our' is this instance should assume responsibility for whatever might have been the outcome of past and future actions. It would seem that the plural determiner 'our' is used by politicians as a strategy for equivocation, especially in order to avoid awkward or embarrassing situations. Accordingly, in excerpt 26, President Mbeki embeds the plural determiner 'our' in a the {Population} role within the [Political locale] frame to avoid assuming responsibility for what may be considered an embarrassing or awkward past, as echoed by such words as racism, poverty, conflict and economic stagnation. Using 'our' in this instance allows President Mbeki to technically impute the responsibility to all South Africans without particularly pointing to any individuals or groups. This confirms Bull's & Fetzer's (2006) finding that politicians also sometimes use plural pronouns forms as a strategy for equivocating; understood as non-straightforward communication that appears ambiguous, contradictory, tangential, obscure or even evasive.

In Excerpt 27, the determiner 'our' occupies the {Ethnicity} slot in the [People_by_jurisdiction] frame. This construal is thus used by President Mahama as a legitimisation strategy whereby the incumbent presents himself positively by insinuating that his leadership is making every possible effort to provide the best for the people,

regardless of the circumstances. Excerpt 28 is another example that consolidates the idea that politicians use plural pronouns to share responsibility, especially when decisions are tricky. The use of the pronoun 'our' {Population} in conjunction with nation [Nation] serves as a strategy for equivocation which allows President Bush in this instance to insinuate that the consent for his intended course of action is shared by all Americans. This persuasive and manipulative strategy can equally be interpreted as an attempt by the incumbent to legitimize his intended course of action.

The analysis of excerpts 25-28 has once again confirmed the idea that the use of personal pronouns in the area of politics is hardly innocent. And as has been illustrated in these examples, the plural determiner 'our' is typically used with a rhetorical intent aimed at positively presenting the incumbents and/or legitimizing their political action. It will perhaps also suffice at this point to consider more sentential examples by examining those cognitive roles with the least frequencies in a bid to find out whether they confirm or complement the findings thus far obtained with respect to the use of the plural determiner 'we'.

- (29) As you can see, *our* {**Economic participants**} economy [Economy] is picking up and some kind of national consensus on the goal of economic emergence is discernible (*Paul Biya, Cameroon*).
- (30) Despite continuing improvements in the capacity of the economy to create new jobs, the issue of unemployment remains one of *our* {Experiencer} major challenges [Difficulty] (Thabo Mbeki, South Africa).
- (31) Mr. Speaker in this age of modern medicine, in order to best serve patients, our {Possessor} healthcare facilities [Locale_by_use] must maintain equipment that is state of the art and in good working order (John D. Mahama).
- (32) And all this work depends on the courage and sacrifice of those who serve in dangerous places at great personal risk: *our* {Ethnicity} diplomats [People_by_vocation], our {Ethnicity} intelligence officers [People_by_vocation], and the men and women of the United States Armed Forces (Barack Obama, USA).

Excerpt 29 show the use the determiner 'our' is as {Economic_Participants} role in the [Economy] frame. The incumbent in using 'we' in this manner can be seen as an attempt at controlling power through the control of information (Chilton 2004).

Politicians will generally be cautious with the information which they communicate to their addressees. The incumbent in this instance uses the 'our' as the slot filler for {Economic participants} role possibly in an effort to represent information about the economy in a positive light. Excerpt 30 once again confirms the idea that plural forms are typically used when connected to some negative state of affairs. Thus, President Mbeki in this case uses the plural determiner 'our' as slot filler of the {Experiencer} role in [Difficulty] frame possibly in an effort to share the responsibility for the difficult state of affair being discussed. Assuming responsibility for the challenge faced with respect to creating new jobs is certainly what he is trying to avoid in this instance. In Excerpt 31, 'our' is used as {Possessor} in a [Locale by use] frame. They use 'we' in this instance as a legitimization strategy in which the incumbent attempts to convince his addressees that he is sparing no efforts in providing best quality services to his people. Excerpt 32 shows that 'our' is used as slot filler in the {Ethnicity} role in the [People by vocation] frame. Using the plural determiner 'we' with this role allows President Obama to construct a nationalist discourse in by praising the efforts and sacrifices of his compatriots. This is certainly a move by the incumbent to gain more support and legitimacy.

Thus far, the analysis in this section has identified and analysed the different cognitive roles used with plural pronoun forms across all four different varieties. Altogether, two types of plural pronouns have been examined, viz. the plural personal pronoun 'we' and the plural determiner 'our'. It stands out from the analysis that the cognitive roles used with 'we' are quite different from those used with 'our'. Another major finding is that some of the cognitive roles used with 'we' feature among the first two across all four varieties. These roles include the {Cognizer} and the {Agent}. This could be indicative of a global trend. As far as the plural determiner 'our' is concerned, only the {Agent} role features in all four varieties, but with very different levels of significance. This could possibly point to the existence of specific conceptual patterns across the varieties. No outstanding differences were noticed in terms of the rhetorical intents the politicians across the different cultures have in using the plural pronoun forms. However, a major finding is that the idea of inclusivity seems to be very common with the use of 'our' in the South African variety and this also certainly explains why the singular determiner 'my' is seldom used.

4.3.2 Frame Patterns Across Varieties.

As stated earlier in this analysis, identifying and analysing the cognitive roles typically used with specific pronominal forms is just one way of investigating the cognitive patterns of singular versus plural pronoun forms across all four varieties. Another way of exploring the cognitive patterns of pronouns is by examining the various frames with which selected pronominal items gets to be typically associated. This section thus specifically aims at identifying and analysing the frames evoked by those words used in conjunction with various pronouns. The argument here is that for a particular frame to be often associated with a specific type of pronoun, that frame should have a slot which has the pronoun as its default value. Thus, if any patterning of frames is noticed with regard to the use of any specific pronoun or pronoun form across the varieties, then the analysis will attribute this to a global trend among the varieties. Similarly, those frames which will show quite little to no general trend across the varieties will be considered the local features or specificities of the varieties.

4.3.2.1 Frame Patterns with Singular Pronoun Forms.

Table 11 presents the top five frames used with the singular pronoun 'I' across all four varieties. Unlike with the cognitive roles, it can be observed that the frames used with 'I' show hardly any similarity in pattern, except for the [Statement] which occurs in all four varieties. There can be two possible explanations to this disparity across the varieties. Firstly, the differences can be attributed to the contextual differences across the varieties; the topical issues typically discussed with this singular pronoun type are not exactly the same across the four cultures, and this difference is thus redounded on the types of scenarios. The second explanation could be attributed to differences in cultural conceptualisations, especially in terms of cultural schemas. This latter view is mostly supported by findings from the field of Cultural Linguistics¹¹, a relatively recent field of study which argues that a single language can be associated with different systems of cultural conceptualisations (Sharifian, 2005, 2015). For instance, a study investigating the various conceptualisations of some selected English words by Aboriginal and Anglo-

¹¹ The term Cultural Linguistics is typically associated with the works of the Linguistic Anthropologist Gary B. Palmer and is a multidisciplinary field of study that explores the relationship between language and conceptualizations that are culturally constructed and instantiated through language and language varieties (Sharifian 2015:516). A focal point of the discipline consists in examining how various features of human languages encode cultural conceptualisations, including cultural schemas, cultural categories, and cultural metaphors. In Cultural Linguistics, language is viewed as deeply entrenched in the group-level, cultural cognition of communities of speakers.

Australian students showed conceptual discrepancies resulting from the association of different cultural conceptualisations with the same English word-forms. Accordingly, while Aboriginal people associated basic English words such 'home' to all the places where one usually stays, including houses of extended family members, the same word form to Anglo-Australians was associated with the parts of the building where they resided as well as house chores and basic furniture (Sharifian, 2005). The argument here is that the same type of cognitive arrangement could explain why varieties associate only a selected number of frames with a particular pronoun. As a matter fact, the notion of frames has been defined in political discourse as 'an area of experience in a particular culture' (Werth, 1999, as cited in Chilton, 2004, p.51)

'I' Frames in Cameroon Variety		'I' Frames in SA Variety		
Statement	58	Statement	38	
Desiring	56	Judgment_direct_address	21	
Opinion	41	Emotion_directed	19	
Certainty	32	Certainty	17	
Awareness	29	Intentionally_act	17	
'I' Frames in Ghana	Variety	'I' Frames in US Variety		
Desiring	58	Request	157	
Emotion_directed	40	Statement	103	
Statement	35	Desiring	91	
Imposing_obligation	33	Awareness	67	
Request	30	Opinion	55	

Table 4. 11: Frequency of Top Five Frames for 'I' Across Varieties

Figure 6 presents the different frames used with the singular 'my' in terms of their significance across all four varieties. As can be observed, the [Statement] frame has the highest frequency in the Cameroon and South African varieties with 27% and 34 % respectively. In the Ghanaian variety, the [Desiring frame] has the highest frequency with 30% while in US variety, the [Request] frame has the highest frequency. Another observation is that the Cameroon and US varieties share almost the frames, except for the [Awareness] frame in the Cameroon variety and the [Request] frame in the US variety with 33%. As concerns the frames with the least frequencies across all four varieties, the [Awareness] frames has the least frequency in the Cameroon variety, the [Intentionally_act] frame has the least frequency in the frequency in the South African variety, the [Request] frame is least in the Ghanaian variety while the [Opinion] frame is

least in the US variety. The remaining frames are randomly distributed across the varieties.

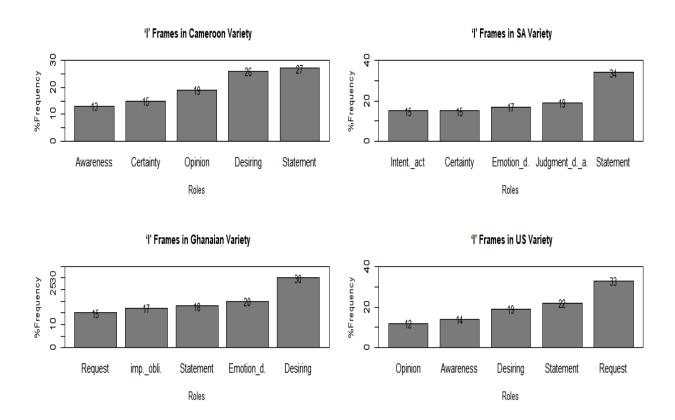


Figure 4. 6: Percentage Frequency of Top Five 'I' Frames across varieties

As was the case with the preceding analyses, examining some sentential examples in which such frames are evoked offers a productive way of finding possible explanations as to why such frames are particularly preferred with the singular pronoun 'I' across the different varieties. Excerpts 33-36 are sentential examples in which those frames with the highest frequencies across each of the varieties are evoked with a slot for the singular pronoun 'I'.

- (33) Our people should reap the spin-offs of such growth. To that end, as *I*{Speaker} reiterated **[Statement]** recently to the Government, the National Growth and Employment Strategy Paper remains our guide *(Paul Biya, Cameroon)*
- (34) In the 2010 State of the Nation Address, *I* {Speaker} announced **[Statement]** the Job fund, and three billion rand has been approved for projects that will create jobs (*Jacob Zuma*, *South Africa*).

- (35) I expect all Ministers and other Officials to be punctual to functions to which they are invited. I {Experiencer} want [Desiring] organisers of such functions to draw the attention of the Presidency to Ministers and Officials who become notorious late comers (John E. Atta Mills, Ghana)
- (36) And so *I* {Speaker} call [**Request**] on Congress to pass legislation that bans unethical practices, such as the buying, selling, patenting, or cloning of human life (*George W. Bush, USA*).

From a CDA perspective, the incumbent in Excerpt 33 uses the [Statement] frame in conjunction with the singular pronoun 'I' in the {Speaker} slot as a coercive strategy. As a matter of fact, politicians also often act coercively through language (Chilton, 2004). By using the word 'reiterate' which evokes a [Statement] frame with a slot for a {Speaker} role, the incumbent Present is most likely aware of the fact that this will put him in a position of power and domination (positive self-presentation); firstly over the members of his government who can take instructions only from him, and also his addressees, presumably his citizens, who are left with no other choice than accepting his 'proposed guide' (negative others presentation).

In Excerpt 34, the President Zuma uses the [Statement] frame the pronoun 'I' in the {Speaker} certainly because the frame is connected with good news information. This strategy thus aims at a positive self-presentation. In Excerpt 35, president Mills uses the [Desiring] frame with 'I' as filler of the {Experiencer} slot. This is another clear example of a coercive strategy which allows the incumbent assert his power and authority. He seems to imply that he as president will sanction any minister or official who is productive enough to the state institutions. Excerpt 36 shows that President Bush uses a [Request] frame with the pronoun 'I' as filler of the {Speaker} slot. This too can be seen as a coercive strategy as the incumbent in this instance also seeks to assert his authority and power.

- (37) I {Cognizer} am well aware [Awareness] that many of you, whether educated or not, are unemployed. I {Cognizer} am well aware [Awareness] that to survive, many of you resort to precarious options that are unrelated to your training or qualification (Paul Biya, Cameroon)
- (38) We have therefore agreed that he will be discharged from active service in our judiciary on the 31st of May, this year. Consequently I {Agent} will take [Inentionally_act] the necessary steps to consult the Judicial Service Commission and the leaders of the political parties represented in our National

- Parliament to determine who will be our next Chief Justice from the 1st of June, this year (*Thabo Mbeki, South Africa*).
- (39) I {Speaker} have asked [Request] the AG to pursue prosecution of persons indicted in audit reports for the misappropriation of public funds (John. D. Mahama, Ghana).
- (40) I believe a thriving private sector is the lifeblood of our economy. I {Cognizer} think **[Opinion]** there are outdated regulations that need to be changed. There is redtape that needs to be cut. [Applause]. (Barack Obama, USA).

Excerpt 37 is an illustration that politicians may also rely on singular pronoun 'I' to convince their addressees that they are concerned about their challenges, and hence that they are taking all possible measures to address such predicaments. President Biya in this excerpt uses the singular pronoun 'I' with an [Awareness] frame in an effort to persuade Cameroonian youths in particular that he is personally concerned and worried about their unemployment situation. The goal of such rhetoric move is to get the youths to believe that he is personally very close to them and that he is sparing no effort in personally addressing the issue. Of course, President Biya knows that his legitimacy as president mostly depends on the support he gets from youths, especially during election periods. Such a rhetoric move can thus be viewed as a strategy for positive selfpresentation. Excerpt 38 also consolidates the view that politicians will also sometimes use the singular pronoun 'I' to project their charismatic leadership. Thus, in this excerpt President Mbeki uses 'I' with an [Intentionally act] frame to positively present his leadership by showing that his exercise of power adheres to basic principles of democracy. Thus, the use of 'I' in this instance shows President Mbeki's action as not only legitimate but also legal.

As earlier stated, politicians will also sometimes use the singular pronoun when they want to show their personal involvement specific positive actions. Excerpt 39 once again confirms this view by illustrating how president Mahama uses 'I' with the [Request] frame to show his personal engagement for a positive change in the system of governance under his leadership. The purpose is to show his impartiality and determination in fighting corruption which is apparently a major concern under his leadership. Such a discourse is definitely aimed at legitimizing his actions and projecting his charismatic leadership. In excerpt 40, President Obama uses the singular pronoun 'I' with the [Opinion] frame to

press for fresh economic reforms. Thus, it would appear that using 'I' to express personal opinions can also sometimes be a productive rhetorical move, most especially as this is, in the case of President Obama in excerpt 40, followed by applause.

Having examined the different frames which are typically used with the singular pronoun 'I' across all four varieties, it will be productive to also explore those frames which are used with the singular determiner 'my' across all four varieties before drawing any conclusions on the general frame pattern for singular pronoun forms. Table 4.12 presents the top 5 frames used with the singular determiner 'my' across all four varieties. A major observation is that only the [People_by_jurisdiction] frame, the [Purpose] frame, the [Leadership] frame and the [Emotion_directed] frame each feature in more than one variety. This trend strongly points to the possibility of conceptual variation in the way politicians across varieties and cultures use the singular determiner 'my', especially with regards to the kinds of topical issues with which 'my' is typically associated. The argument at this point is that these frames provide the types slots needed by the singular determiner 'my' in order to achieve the rhetorical purpose for which they are intended.

'My' Frames in Cameroon Variety		'My' Frames in SA Variety	
People_by_jurisdiction	82	Emotion_directed	3
Desiring	13	Kinship	2
Opinion	6	Judgment_direct_address	2
Purpose	4	Discussion	2
Emotion_directed	4	Visiting	2
' My' Frames in Ghan	aian Variety_	'My' Frames in US Variety	
Leadership	26	Leadership	30
Speak_on_topic	23	Financial_Project_Proposal	29
Expectation	9	Project	22
Purpose	7	People_by_jurisdiction	17
Commitment	_	Personal relationship	8

Table 4. 12: Frequency of Top Five frames for 'My' Across Varieties

Another observation is that the frames in the South African variety have the least frequencies. This complements the earlier findings on the generally low frequency trend of singular pronouns cognitive roles in the South African variety, and the same explanation about the political history of the country also applies here (see section 4.2.1.1).

As in previous analyses, presenting the frames in terms of their percentage frequencies is a fruitful way of assessing the significance of each frame within each variety. Figure 7 thus presents the top five frames used with the singular determiner 'my' in terms of their significance within each variety. Following this format, the [People_by_jurisdiction] frame which is the most significant the Cameroon variety with 75%, the [Emotion_directed] frame is the most significant in the South African variety with 28%, the Leadership frame is most significant in the Ghanaian and US varieties with 36% and 28% respectively.

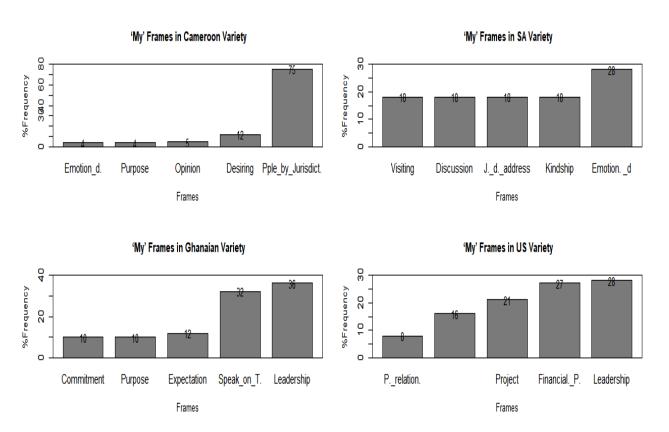


Figure 4. 7: Percentage Frequency of Top Five 'My' Frames Across Varieties

As regards the frames with the least frequencies, the [Emotion_directed] has the least frequency in the Cameroon variety with only 4%, the [Visiting] frame has the least frequency in the South African variety with 18%, the [Commitment] frame is least in the Ghanaian variety with 10% while the [personal relationship] frame has the least frequency in the US variety with 8%. Although such a trend is strongly indicative of the fact that there is variation across the varieties, they do not give insights into the rhetorical intents politicians across varieties may have each time they use the singular determiner 'my' with these frames. Sentential examples will be examined to show some of the possible

rhetorical motives politicians across the various varieties may have each time they use the singular determiner 'my' with specific frames.

- (41) My {Authority} dear young compatriots [People_by_jurisdiction], as you can see, things are happening in Cameroon. The momentum is building and it is irreversible (Paul Biya, Cameroon).
- (42) It is my {Experiencer} pleasure [Emotion_directed] and honour to highlight the key elements of our programme of action (Jacob Zuma, South Africa).
- (43) Mr. Speaker, this is why *my* {Leader}government's [Leadership] first priority is, and will continue to be, our people (*John D. Mahama*, *Ghana*).
- (44) Over the last 3 years, we've opened millions of new acres for oil and gas exploration, and tonight I'm directing my {Leader} administration [Leadership] to open more than 75 percent of our potential offshore oil and gas resources (Barack Obama, USA).

Excerpts 41-44 are sentential examples with the most significant frames used with the singular determiner 'my' across all four varieties. In excerpt 41, the [Peoples_by_jurisdiction] is used with the singular determiner 'my', which in this instance is used as filler of the {Leader} slot. President Biya in this case is certainly wants to boast about his supposed achievements, possibly in an effort to legitimize his power and to get popular support for his domestic program. Excerpt 42 shows the [Emotion_directed] frame is used with the singular determiner 'my', which in this case is the filler of the {Experiencer} slot. This can be interpreted as representation strategy by President Zuma as he in this instance aims at presenting only the positive side of his intended plan of action. One of the advantages of the representation strategy is that it allows politicians most specially to control information by presenting only those aspects which positively present them and their leadership.

In Excerpt 43, the [Leadership] frame is used with the determiner 'my' which in this case is the filler of the {Leader} slot. This cognitive configuration allows President Mahama to sound more persuasive and to positively present his leadership. Most especially, by stipulating that his leadership gives priority to the people, the incumbent certainly aims at getting more support and legitimacy from the people. Excerpt 44 also shows the [Leadership] frame being used with the singular determiner 'my' as filler of the {Leader} slot. This cognitive configuration allows President Obama to project his

charisma as leader and to positively present his leadership. Such a move can be interpreted as a strategy for legitimisation as President Obama is this instance also asserts his power and authority over his government.

Excerpts 45-48 are examples of sentences with the least significant frames used with the singular determiner 'my' across all four varieties. Just as was the case with the singular pronoun 'I', the goal in examining these sentences is to find out whether there are any further explanations as to why the singular determiner 'my' was used with these frames. Such explanations will complement the findings obtained thus far as regard some of the advantages which using the 'my' with specific frames may offer to politicians across all four varieties.

- (45) But, above all, I want to underscore that you have pride of place in the nation and to restate *my* {Experiencer} concern [Emotion_directed] for you. For, as I have often said, the future of a country lies with its youth (Paul Biya, Cameroon).
- (46) My {Agent} visit **[Visiting]** to a drug rehabilitation centre in Mitchells Plain on Tuesday convinced me that we need more energy in the fight against drug abuse and drug peddling in our communities (*Jacob Zuma*, *South Africa*)
- (47) My {Speaker} pledge [Commitment] is to build a Better Ghana and I remain anchored to that pledge (John E. Atta Mills).
- (48) And I want to thank my {Partner_1} wife [Personal_relationship] Michelle and Dr. Jill Biden for their continued dedication to serving our military families as well as they have served us. (Barack Oboma, USA)

Excerpt 45 is a good example of how the [Emotion_directed] frame is used with 'my' by President Biya in an effort to conjure an emotive discourse. As already observed in previous analysis, politicians typically appeal to emotions when they want to be more persuasive. The use of 'my' in with this frame in this specific instance is inclusive, and it enables the speaker to convince his addressee that he is personally very close to them and cares about their well-being. As has been pointed out, singular pronoun forms in their broadest reference can help politicians to show that they are in touch with all of the country, or even the world (Beard, p.45). In Excerpt 46, President Zuma uses 'my' with the [Visiting] to show his personal involvement in the arena of his domestic policy. Such

a move certainly allows the incumbent president to positively present himself as a charismatic leader.

Politicians might also sometimes use the singular determiner 'my' to convince their addressees about their commitment to the well-being of their country. In excerpt 47, President Mills uses 'my' with the [Commitment] frame to convince his addressees about his dedication to the presidential office and for the interest of Ghana. Such a move could be aimed at showing his charisma and legitimizing his leadership. In excerpt 48, President Obama uses 'my' with the [Personal_relationship] frame certainly in an attempt to praise and recognize the commitment of the American First Ladies and their services to the American nation. It is not surprising to have the activities of the presidential couples occupying an important theme in US presidential speeches. As a matter fact, this example largely espouses Lakoff's (1996) finding that the political thinking in the US is essentially based radial categories grounded on the central model of *family and family-based morality*. In this specific instance, using the [Personal_relationship] frame allows Obama to showcase the activities of the First Ladies; thus, positively presenting the presidential families by associating them with the American value of 'services to the nation'.

In this section, the frames used with the singular pronoun forms across all four varieties have been presented and analysed. The goal was to identify the different frames typically used with singular pronoun forms across all four varieties and also to assess whether there is any common pattern of frames across all four varieties. Thus, two types of singular personal pronouns were examined, namely the singular personal pronoun 'I' and the singular determiner 'my'. It stands out from the analysis that specific frames are used with either of the singular pronoun forms 'I' and 'my' across all four varieties. However, no identical patterns of frames for either of the singular pronoun forms was identified across all four varieties. But a few frames used with a particular pronoun form were shared by two or more varieties. Also, the possible rhetorical intents which politicians across the four varieties may have in using these frames show no fundamental difference. In most cases, the discourse strategies used included coercion, legitimisation, and representation and were essentially aimed at achieving a positive self-presentation.

4.3.2.1 Frame Patterns with Plural Pronoun Forms.

After examining the various frames that typically get evoked with the use of singular pronoun forms across all four varieties in the previous section, this section will

focus on scrutinising those frames which typically get evoked with the plural pronoun forms, across all four varieties. Such a venture will complement the analysis and results obtained this far and allow for more general conclusions to be drawn with regard to the patterns of the frames used across the four varieties explored in this study. Table 4.13 presents the top five frames used with the plural personal pronoun 'we' across all four varieties.

'We' Frames in Cameroon Variety		'WE' Frames in SA Variety		
Possession	31	Activity_ongoing	115	
Capability	24	Statement		
Activity_ongoing	24	Required_event	90	
Intentionally_act	23	Intentionally_act	79	
Seeking_to_achieve	13	Activity_start	56	
'We' Frames in Ghanaian	Variety	'We' Frames in US Variety		
Capability	42	Intentionally_act	142	
Activity_start	38	Needing	98	
Intentionally_act	36	Cause_change_of_position_on_a_scale	76	
Activity_ongoing	35	Awareness	62	
Have associated	31	Causation	54	

Table 4. 13: Frequency of Top Five Frames for 'We' Across Varieties

It can be observed from the table that the [Intentionally_act] frame is the lone frame which occurs across all four varieties, but with different level of significance within each variety. The [Activity_ongoing] frame features in three of the four varieties, viz. Cameroon, South Africa and Ghana. The remaining frames only feature in one or two varieties. Thus, except for the [Intentionally_act] frame, it is hard see any general trend of frames for all the varieties. The implication of this cognitive arrangement is that there is a strong degree of cognitive variation across the four varieties with regards to the types of scenarios used with 'We'. Just like with the preceding analyses, it is important to capture the various frames used with 'we' in terms of the significance of each of the frames within the varieties in which they occur.

Thus, as illustrated in Figure 7, the top five frames in each variety are presented in terms of their significance. It can be seen that the frames with the highest frequencies are different across all four varieties. Each frame generally represents below 35%. Accordingly, the [Possessor] frame has the highest frequency in the Cameroon variety with 27%, the [Activity ongoing] frame is highest in the South African variety with 26%,

the [Capability] frame is highest in the Ghanaian variety with 23% while the [Intentionally_act] frame has the highest frequency in the US variety with 32%. On the other hand, the frames with the least frequency across the four varieties each represent below 20%. The [Seeking_to_acheive] frame is least in the Cameroon variety with 11%, the [Activity_start] frame is least in the South African variety with 13%, the [Have_associated] frame is least in the Ghanaian variety with 17% and the [Causation] frame is least in the US variety with 13%. With these different trends across the varieties, one can hardly assert that there is any general pattern, except for the [Intentionally_act] frames.

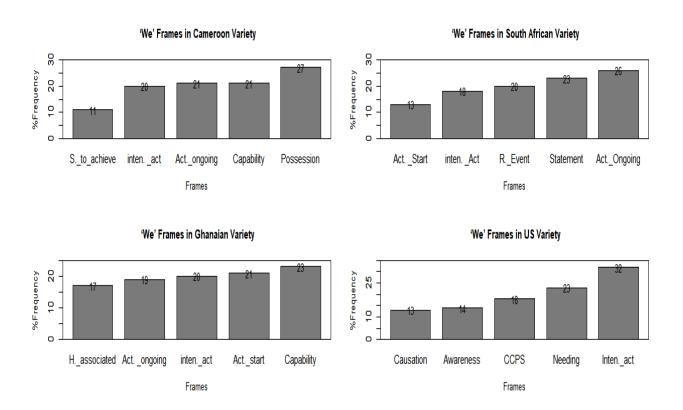


Figure 4. 8: Percentage Frequency of Top Five 'We' Frames Across Varieties

The implication of such a cognitive arrangement is that the types of scenarios commonly associated with the use of the plural pronoun 'we' across the four varieties are far from being similar. And whilst this can be as a result of the different contexts, the fact that this can also be due to conceptual differences among the four cultures should not be ruled out. It is also important to examine some sentential examples in order to look at some of the rhetorical advantages which the different frames used in each variety may offer to the politicians.

- (49) We {Owner} have [Possession] abundant and diverse natural resources as well as modern and democratic institutions. Our country is peaceful and stable. What then do we {Owner} lack [Possession]? (Paul Biya, Cameroon).
- (50) We {Agent} will continue [Activity_ongoing] to focus on making an effective contribution to the challenge of accelerating the process of the renewal of the African continent (Thabo Mbeki, South Africa).
- (51) The better we {Entity} are able [Capability] to assist one another, the faster we {Entity} can [Capability] all help to strengthen the economy by building a Ghana that is self-sufficient and successful (John D. Mahama, Ghana).
- (52) Yet as we {Agent} act [Intentionally_act] to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we {Agent} must act [Intentionally_act], first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats but as Americans (George W. Bush, USA)

Excerpts 49-52 are sentential examples of the use of 'we' with the most significant frames across all four varieties. Excerpt 49 shows how using the plural pronoun 'we' with a chain of [possessive] frames allows President Biya to elaborate an argument aimed at summoning his supporters and citizens to sustain more work for the achievement of his domestic program, especially the economy. As a matter of fact, this rhetorical move can be interpreted as a manipulative strategy through which the incumbent seeks to decline his own responsibility for the current negative economic situation. It is certainly the case in this instance that the incumbent is at all cost striving not to take responsibility for an unpleasant situation. The [possessive] frames used with the plural pronoun 'we' thus offers him an effective way of sharing the responsibility for the current negative state of affairs with others; probably his citizens in general. In Except 50, President Mbeki uses the plural pronoun 'we' with the [Activity ongoing] frame. Such a construction is probably aimed at assuring his supporters that more work will be done with respect to the issue under discussion; most likely one of his foreign policy actions. It could be that the use of the plural pronoun 'we' in this context may rather be a way of anticipating the sharing of responsibility in case of any awkward consequence of his political action.

In Excerpt 51, President Mahama embeds two instances of the plural pronoun 'we' with two [Capability] frames in a correlative expression. These combinations offer the incumbent with an artistic rhetorical strategy which certainly aims at persuading his

citizens on the need for joint efforts and solidarity building and consolidating a prosperous economy. In excerpt 52, President Bush equally uses two instances of the plural pronoun 'we' in two [Intentionally_act] frames. In this instance, the incumbent summons the unity and support of Americans not only for the war he has engaged the country in but also for his domestic policy. In a persuasive move, he tries to establish a parallel between winning the war and protecting the American people, as well as creating jobs for them. This can be viewed as a legitimization strategy through which President Bush tries to positively present himself by arguing that his actions are for the interest of all Americans, regardless of their political affinities.

Thus far, the analysis in this section has examined those frames commonly used with the plural pronoun 'we' in all four varieties. But it is also important to scrutinize those frames regularly used with the plural determiner 'our' before drawing conclusions with regard to the use of the plural pronoun forms across the four varieties. Table 4.14 presents the top five frames used with the plural determiner 'our' across all four varieties. Generally, it can be said that the frames used with the plural determiner 'our' show more resemblance than those used with the plural pronoun 'we'. Accordingly, it can be observed that the [Political locales] frame has the highest frequency in all four varieties, an the [People by jurisdiction] frame also features in all four varieties. Also, other frames can be seen to feature in three of the four varieties; the [Economy] frame occurs in the Cameroon, Ghanaian and US varieties while the [Project] frame occurs in the Cameroon, South African and Ghanaian varieties. The remaining frames occur in only one of the varieties. On this basis, one may thus observe that there is some degree of similarity in across the four varieties as regards the frames used with the plural determiner 'our'. One can therefore talk of a global trend with respect to the frames used with the plural determiner 'our'.

' Our' Frames in Cameroon Variety		'Our' Frames in SA Variety		
Political_locales	136	Political_locales	265	
People_by_jurisdiction	57	People_by_jurisdiction	156	
Economy	52	Project	95	
People_by_age	32	Leadership	70	
Project	30	Aggregate	48	
'Our' Frames in Ghana	aian Variety	'Our' Frames in US Va	riety	
Political_locales	98	Political_locales	213	
People_by_jurisdiction	78	Kinship	100	
Economy	44	Economy	82	
People_by_vocation	31	People_by_jurisdiction	81	
Project	26	Member_of_military	70	

Table 4. 14: Frequency of Top Five Frames for 'Our' Across Varieties

Presenting the frames in terms of their percentage frequencies however remains a prolific way showing the significance of each frame in the various varieties and in showing their relationships with one another. Figure 4.9 presents each of the frames based on their significance across each variety. It is seen that the [Political_locales] frame has the highest significance across all four varieties, 44 % in the Cameroon variety, 42% in the South African variety, 35% in the Ghanaian variety and 39% in the US variety. As regards the frames with the least frequencies, the [Project] frame is least in the Cameroon variety with only 10%, the [Aggregate] frame is least in the South African variety with only 07%, the [Project] frame in the Ghanaian variety with 10% while the [Member_of_military] frame is least in the US variety with 13%.

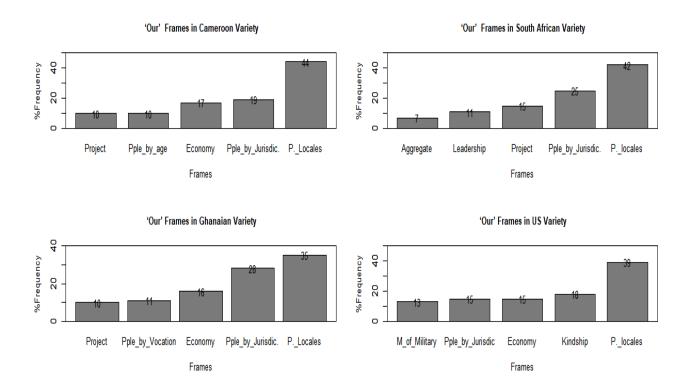


Figure 4. 9: Percentage Frequency of Top Five 'Our' Frames Across Varieties

Based on the above trend, one can say that there are some similarities in the types of scenarios with which the plural determiner 'our' is conceptualised across all four varieties. However, some particularities can also be noticed across the varieties as can be seen with the entrenchment of some distinct frames or scenarios. This study therefore factors the frame similarities into the account of the global trends of English and the distinct frames to local cultural influences with regard to the kinds of scenarios with which the plural determiner 'our' is conceptualised. But just as with the preceding analysis, only sentential examples can offer clues about the various motives or advantages which the incumbents presidents may have in using the plural determiner 'our'.

- (53) This has been brought about by the presence around our borders of armed bands, driven by extremist ideologies and lured by profit. They do not hesitate to cross over to our {Population} territory [Political_locales] where they commit various atrocities. This phenomenon is not entirely new. (Paul Biya, Cameroon)
- (54) The brutality and cruelty meted out to defenceless women is unacceptable and has no place in our {Population} country [Political locales]. Last year

- the National Council on Gender Based Violence was established (Jacob Zuma, South Africa).
- (55) The story of our {Population} nation [Political_locales], since its proclamation at the stroke of midnight 6th March 1957, by our {Population} nation's [Political_locales] founder, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, is a story of resilience (John D. Mahama, Ghana).
- (56) Our {Population} nation [Political_locales] is grateful to the fallen who live in the memory of our {Population} country [Political_locales]. We are grateful to all who volunteer to wear our {Population} nation's [Political locales] uniform (George W. Bush, USA).

Excerpts 53-56 are sentential examples showing those frames in which the plural pronoun 'our' typically fleshes out as one of the slot fillers. In Excerpt 53, 'our' is fleshes out on the {Population} slot in the [Political_locales] frame. This can be seen as an effort by the incumbent to convince his citizens that their territorial space is under the threat of their 'enermies'. This strategy certainly allows President Biya to seek the needed legitimacy for a state pre-emptive action against danger which is construed not only as real, but also imminent. This specific type of discourse strategy has been referred to as *space proximization* (Cap, 2005). Similarly, Excerpt 54 shows how President Zuma also uses the determiner 'our' as filler in the {Population} slot of the [Political_locales] frame. This rhetoric strategy certainly allows him to summon the consciousness of his citizens against unorthodox values and practices which are increasingly encroaching on their home values. The aim is certainly to gain the legitimacy of citizens for the implementation of pre-emptive sanctions.

In Excerpt 55, President Mahama uses two instances of plural determiner 'our' as slot filler for {Population} in two successive instances of the [Political_locales] frame. In this case, the inclusive use of 'our' by the incumbent probably aims at getting his citizens to share his optimism as regards the well-being of their country. This discourse strategy can be interpreted as an attempt by President Mahama to arouse the enthusiasm of his citizens in an effort to positively present his leadership. Excerpt 56 shows up to three occurrences of the plural determiner 'our' with three successive [Political_locales] frames. Probably cognizant of the fact that even a war that is 'won' comes along with great sacrifices and afflictions even on the side the winner, President Bush in this instance

uses this kind of discourse in an effort to compensate death, which is the ultimate form of sacrifice, with heroism. Using the plural determiner 'our' with the [Political_locales] frames in instance allows President Bush to insinuate that it is the entire nation which recognizes the bravery and sacrifices of all Americans who have perished due to the war. Sentential examples in which the most frames across all four varieties were used have equally been analysed. It stands out that the frames used in conjunction with the plural pronoun 'our' generally different across the varieties, except for the [Intentioanlly_act] frame which features across all four varieties. Also, the analysis of the sentential examples shows that these frames are used by the incumbent presidents to seek public support and approval for their actions and also to share the responsibility of those actions with potential awkward consequences.

4.4 Conclusion

What emerges from the analysis in this chapter is the fact that the four varieties examined in this work have shown different distribution frequencies in the use of singular versus plural pronouns, and that the South African variety significantly demarcates itself from the three other varieties in this regard. A statistical measure using the Deviation of Proportions (DP) has also confirmed that all the pronominal variables which were considered for the analysis are evenly spread across the different corpora in all the four varieties examined. Most importantly, the analysis has shown that the use of pronouns in political discourse across varieties is rife with conceptual schemas which can be described in terms of basic cognitive structures called frames. These frames provide the slots which are filled by pronouns (frame roles) whenever they are used and, in this way, also determine the type of frames with which specific pronouns are rhetorically more attracted to in political discourse. Examining the different patterns of these frames and frame roles for each pronoun variable has illustrated that specific pronouns are used more frequently only with certain frames and frame roles. Finally, from a critical discourse analysis point of view, the analysis has shown that there is usually a rhetorical intent behind the pronominal choices made by politicians across the four varieties. Some of the rhetorical strategies include legitimization and delegitimization, coercion, persuasion and manipulation, equivocation, proximization, among others.

CHAPTER FIVE

KINSHIP METAPHORS ACROSS VARIETIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the metaphoric use of kinship terms in political discourse across the selected varieties of English explored in this study. The overarching goal in this analysis is to find out whether there are any similarities and/or divergences regarding the types of metaphorical cross domain mappings which are made using knowledge and terms form the kinship field. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter Two, previous research on the use of metaphors in political discourse has foregrounded the idea that metaphors are typically used to conceptualize abstract and complex domains of political activities in terms of more concrete and experiential ones (Thornborrow, 1993; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Lakoff, 1993; Musloff, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2004). The prediction in this study is that kinship terms will constitute a significant proportion of the metaphors used in political discourse across the varieties and that a Critical Metaphor Analysis (henceforth CMA) (Charteris-Black, 2004) of such kinship metaphors will show the extent to which they are conceptually different across the varieties. This is likely because kinship practices constitute part of the cultural reality in almost every human community and is as a result a potential source of metaphors. Specifically, if the analysis shows that there are differences in the kinship knowledge and conceptualizations used in metaphor domain mappings across the varieties, then this will be attributed to cultural differences across the varieties.

5.2 Linguistic Approaches to the kinship System

In its basic sense, kinship may refer to human relationships based on ties of biology, marriage, or adoption; or to the study of such ties in one or more human cultures. Scholarly interest in the kinship system from the field of linguistics can be situated within the boundaries of sub-disciplines such as anthropological linguistics and ethnolinguistics, where linguistic analysis is mostly informed by cultural interpretations. However, recent cognitive approaches to language analysis have also started showing interest in the different types of cultural conceptualisations expressed in languages, and the kinship system is among the conceptual domains to have received significant attention (Palmer,1996; Sharifian, 2005; Polzenhagen & Wolf, 2010). As a matter of fact, Polzenhagen & Wolf, (2010) observe that cognitive linguistics research has started

looking into conceptualisations related to the *family* domain across varieties of World Englishes, and that this scope reflects the fact that the *family* is a central notion in the relevant cultural context. The authors propose a cognitive (socio) linguistics model for the analysis of cultural patterns across World Englishes, focusing on the *family* conceptual domain in Hong Kong English (HKE) and its corresponding lexical items and fixed expressions. A major aspect of their approach is that they demonstrate using Wierbicka's (1997) concept of "cultural keywords" and corpus-based methods (especially keyword search using the WordSmith tools) that lexical items from the family domain show more "statistical keyness" in ¹²ICE-Hong Kong than in ICE-Great Britain, and get to the conclusion that the "statisitical keyness" also reflect their "cultural keyness".

The present study seeks to investigate to what extent kinship terms are used across the selected varieties to conceptualise abstract political notions and processes, by examining their functions in conceptual metaphors. As pointed out in Chapter Three, all the Lexical Units (LU's) of the *kinship frame* documented in the current FrameNet lexicon constitute the linguistic variables of the analysis. There are altogether 59 lexical entries documented in the FrameNet lexicon as evoking a kinship frame or scenario. This study considers this number to be comprehensive enough to serve as the linguistic variables for analysis in this chapter. On top of that, FrameNet has also documented the valency pattern of each of these kinship LU's, supported by attested corpus examples. This was quite helpful in determining the literal meaning of each LU, and deciding whether or not it was used metaphorically in each specific instance. The study is particularly interested in examining how frequent such words were metaphorically used by politicians across selected varieties.

5.3 Kinship Metaphors Across Varieties

The starting point in this analysis is that even though the same conceptual metaphors may be used across varieties, there could also be differences in the way such metaphors are specified, as a result of cultural differences. A common form of variation

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¹² The International Corpus of English (ICE) refers to an agglomeration of corpora representing varieties of English from around the world. Each ICE corpus consists of about one million words of spoken and written English produced after 1989. Some of the countries or groups of countries currently represented in ICE include Canada, East Africa, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Nigeria, among others.

in metaphor is that a particular abstract domain is understood in a variety of cross-culturally different ways (Kövecses, 2004). Metaphors are therefore to be regarded as conceptual structures which are "processed in accordance with local languages, local discourse formations and local political interests" (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993, p.27). This view has been corroborated by a number of studies; Thornborrow (1993) for instance identifies conceptual differences metaphors used by the English and French press to report issues of security and defence while Musolf (2004) has pointed out conceptual differences in the 'travel metaphors' used in public discourses on European integration across Britain and Germany. All these findings attest to the fact that variability in the use of metaphors in political discourse is not new, especially when considered from a cross-cultural perspective.

Table 1 gives an overview of all the kinship terms which were used metaphorically across one or more varieties, along with their frequencies. The metaphor identification procedure used follows Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) discussed in Chapter Three. CMA main criterion for determining whether or not a word or expression is used metaphorically is based on the idea of "semantic tension" in the meaning of the word or phrase due to a shift in its use from the context or domain in which it expected to occur into another context or domain where it is not expected to occur.

Metaphor Keywords	Cameroon	South Africa	Ghana	US
Brother(s)	5	/	8	2
brothers and Sisters	/	/	1	1
Child (dren)	2	6	2	19
Daughters	/	2	/	5
Family	/	7	/	12
Father(s)	2	1	1	2
Forebear	/	/	2	1
Grandchildren/Grandkids	/	/	/	8
Kids	/	/	/	2
Mom	/	/	/	1
Mother	/	2	7	2
Sister (s)	/	8	11	2
Son	/	3	1	3
Total	9	29	33	60

Table 5. 1: Frequency of the Metaphoric Use of Kinship Terms Across Varieties

One general observation from Table 5.1 is that out of the 59 lexical words which were examined, only 13 of them were used metaphorically in one or more varieties. Another major observation is that the US variety has the overall highest frequency with a total 60 occurrences and 13 kinship metaphor keywords. This is followed by the Ghanaian variety with 33 instances and 8 metaphor keywords, the South African variety with 29 occurrences and 7 metaphor keywords and Cameroon variety with only 09 occurrences and 03 metaphor keywords. Such frequencies do not however reflect the significance of the metaphors in across their respective varieties. This is because the corpora explored are not of equal sizes whereas in theory, a relative bigger corpus is more likely to produce a higher frequency than a smaller corpus.

One reliable way to determine the significance of the metaphors in each of the varieties is by calculating their Metaphor Frequency Index (MFI) (Vertissen & De Landtsheer, 2005, 2008; De Landtsheer, 1994, 2009), a quantitative metaphor content analysis which has mostly been used to study metaphors in political discourse. In essence, the MFI is calculated relative to the size of the corpus sample. The MFI is itself just one among the three variables of a more robust approach to calculating the power of metaphor in discourse known as Metaphor Power Index (MPI). When examining spoken language, MFI is obtained by dividing the total number of metaphors (f) by the total time of speech (ts). The MFI in this case denotes the average number of metaphors per minute. In written discourse, this is calculated per sample of 200 words. The higher the number of metaphors (f) in relation to the number of words or speech length, the higher the MFI. This is based on the following formulae: Written Language: MFI = f/(tw/200); Spoken Language: MFI= f/(ts/60).

Varieties	Length of Corpus (in word tokens)	Kinship Metaphors	Metaphor Frequency Index
US	104928	60	0.11
South Africa	101324	29	0.06
Ghana	82136	33	0.08
Cameroon	41119	9	0.04

Table 5. 2: Metaphor Frequency (MF) of kinship Terms Across Varieties

As can be observed from Table 5.2, the US corpus has the highest frequency index, with 0.11. This means that every 200 words in the US corpus has a 0.11 kinship metaphor occurrence. Another major observation is that even though the South African and Ghanaian corpora have exactly the same metaphor frequencies, as seen in Table 5.1, this is not the case with their MFI. The results show the Ghanaian corpus has a frequency index of 0.08 whereas the South African variety has a frequency index of only 0.06. This is explained by the fact that the South African corpus is bigger than the Ghanaian corpus. While the South African corpus has 101324-word tokens, the Ghanaian corpus has only 82136 tokens. The Cameroon variety which has the least metaphor frequency count with only 09 occurrences also has the lowest MFI with 0.04. The subsequent sections shall examine these kinship terms in more detail by looking at their metaphoric expressions as well as their underlying conceptual metaphors.

5.4 Cross-domain Mapping of Metaphors Across Variety

As pointed out earlier in Chapter Two, the idea of grouping related metaphors into families has been theorized in the literature. Musollf (2004) posits that metaphor conceptual domains are radial structures whose elements can be captured in terms of intermediate analytical categories known as "scenarios". In other words, "scenarios" are categories that "reflect the documented clusters of individual tokens of domain elements in a corpus" (p.18). Even more recently, David et al (2016) have used the concept of "metaphor cascades" as analytical approach for groping related metaphors into families. A cascade approach to metaphor analysis considers each conceptual metaphor to be made up of hierarchically organised primary and general metaphors, with the primary metaphor serving as the higher-level structure and the general metaphors serving as intermediate-level structures.

In this study, I use the notion of *perspectivisation* as has been applied in cognitive linguistics in general and particularly in the theory frame semantics (Fillmore & Baker, 2010; Ruppenhofer et al, 2016) to account for existing similarities and variations with regard to the specification of higher-level conceptual structures across the varieties. For this purpose, the term *conceptual key* (Charteris-Black, 2004) to refer to the high-level conceptual structures while *conceptual metaphors* will refer to the intermediate-level specifications of the high-level conceptual structures. Where necessary, the analysis will

refer to MetaNet¹³ metaphor repository (Dodge et al, 2015) for the topology of specific conceptual metaphors. The section will also attempt an explanation of the types of evaluations made by politicians when using specific metaphoric expressions as well as the rhetorical significance of such metaphors. This is because in political discourse especially, metaphors play a heuristic and pragmatic role in determining the authors stance in relation to a particular issue (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 52). But prior to examining the similarities and variations regarding the specification of high-level conceptual structures across the varieties, it important to first have an overview of the different kinship metaphor source domains, based on the analysis of the corpora explored in this study.

Tables 3-6 give a summary of the different source domains, along with their resonance. The first column of each table outlines the specific types of kinship metaphor source domains while the second column gives the frequencies gives the frequency of each of the source domains. The third column gives the actual frequencies of the metaphoric expressions. As some kinship words were used metaphorically on more than one occasion, this is factored in the tokens, thus explaining why there are generally more tokens than types. The fourth column gives the resonance of each source domain, which is the product of the type and token of each source domain. A major advantage for calculating source domain resonance is that it allows us to measure and compare the productivity of the different source domains (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.91). The fifth column specifies the percentage of each of the source domains in each of the varieties, thus showing the significance of each source domain in each variety.

Metaphor Source Domain	Types Total	Token Total	Resonance	% of Total Resonance
Journey	4	20	80	13
Family	13	40	520	87
Total	17	60	600	100

Table 5. 3: Summary of Metaphor Source Domains and Resonance in US Corpus

It is important to point out that in identifying the different metaphor domains, the analysis did not focus on the kinship terms only, but also on entire phrases, clauses or sentences

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¹³ The Berkerley MetaNet project (Dodge et al, 2015) is an online inventory of formalised conceptual metaphors and frames, with attested examples from large-scale corpora.

in which the kinship terms were used. As a result, it was realized that in very few instances in the US sample, it was *journey* which was used as the metaphor source domain while the kinship term used for the target domain.

Metaphor Source	Types	Token	Resonance	% of Total
Domain	Total	Total		Resonance
Family	8	29	203	100

Table 5. 4: Summary of Metaphor Source Domains and Resonance in South
African Corpus

Metaphor Source	Types	Token	Resonance	% of Total
Domain	Total	Total		Resonance
Family	12	33	264	100

Table 5. 5: Summary of Metaphor Source Domains and Resonance in Ghanaian Corpus

Metaphor Source	Types	Token	Resonance	% of Total
Domain	Total	Total		Resonance
Family	3	9	27	100

Table 5. 6: Summary of Metaphor Source Domains and Resonance in Cameroon Corpus

One major observation from the preceding tables is that the *family* source domain emerges as the most resonant across all four varieties and is also the lone source domain in the Cameroon, Ghanaian and South African varsities. In the US corpus sample, *family* is also the most resonant source domain, even though *journey* also features as a source domain. In terms of the overall resonance of the source domain(s), the US variety is the most resonant with a frequency 600, followed by the Ghanaian variety which has a resonance of 264.

Summary of Metaphor Source Domains Resonance Across Varieties

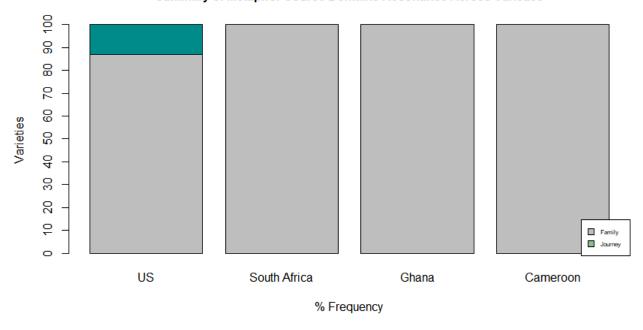


Figure 5. 1: Summary of Metaphor Domains and Resonance Across Varieties

The South African comes third with a frequency of 203 while the Cameroon variety has the least source domain resonance with a frequency of only 27. It is also important to state that in all instances in which family was used as source domain across the varieties, it was used to conceptualise the *nation* and international *relations*. This explains the predominance of the conceptual keys NATION IS A FAMILY across all the four varieties, and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS, ORGANISATIONS ARE FAMILIES in the three African varieties examined in this work. In other words, these conceptual keys represent the central mappings around which more specific conceptual metaphors can be grouped. There is also evidence of the central mapping PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION in the US corpus sample. The remainder of this chapter will examine in more detail how each of the central mappings is perspectivised across the varieties. Musolff's (2004) notion of "scenario" will be used to illustrate the more specific conceptual configurations of metaphor central mappings, thus highlighting the participants, roles and courses of action or processes involved, and the extent to which this may be different across the varieties and national cultures. More especially, if there are any outstanding differences in the types of "scenarios" for each central mapping across the varieties, then this will be attributed to the local cultural dynamics specific to each variety. Otherwise, those "scenarios"

common to all the varieties will equally be attributed to the global dynamics of the English linguistic system.

5.4.1 Conceptualising the Nation as a Family

The conceptual key *NATION IS A FAMILY* is used in this analysis to subsume the different conceptual metaphors used across the varieties to conceptualise the abstract concept of nation in family terms. This is mainly achieved through an isomorphic relation between the domains of nations and family in which either the geo-political space referred to as nation or its population is conceptualised in terms of a family, or in terms of family membership. The MetaNet metaphor repository attempts a presentation of the type of cross-domain mappings involved in the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual mapping. As illustrated in Figure 5.1, specific elements of the source domain of family are mapped onto specific elements of the target domain of nation. Depending on what particular aspect of the target domain is foregrounded, a corresponding aspect will be selected from the source domain and mapped onto the target domain. This also explains why there can be many different conceptual metaphors from a single conceptual key.

Mappings:

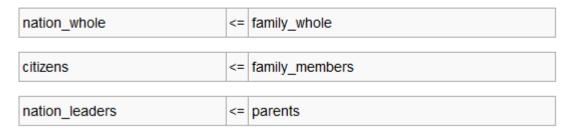


Figure 5. 2: Cross-domain Mappings in the NATION IS A FAMILY Conceptual Metaphor (From MetaNet Repository: Dodge et al, 2015)

The claim at this point is that even though the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual key is a central mapping used across the four varieties, there are differences regarding the types of scenarios with which this mapping is typically perspectivized across each variety, and each scenario determines what aspects of the metaphorical mapping is dominant in each of the corpus samples examined in this study. In this way, the central mapping provides only the main concept which offers the most characteristic and easily comprehensible illustration of the conceptual metaphor (see Musollf, 2004). The different elements of the central mapping capture the different scenarios, which include NATION IS A MOTHER; THE

PRESIDENT IS A FATHER; CITIZENS ARE BROTHERS AND SISTERS; CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN OF THE NATION, among others.

- 1) My fellow Americans, we, too, are a strong, *tight-knit family*. We, too, have made it through some hard times...We have *laid a new foundation (Barack Obama, USA)*
- 2) Over the next several months, on issue after issue, let us do what Americans have always done, and *build a better world* for *our children and grandchildren* (George W. Bush, USA)
- 3) And as extremists try to inspire acts of violence within our borders, we are responding with the strength of our communities, with respect for the rule of law, and with the conviction that American Muslims are a part of our *American family* (*Barack Obama, USA*)

Excepts 1-3 are random examples from the US corpus highlighting the use of the NATION IS FAMILY conceptual key. From a CMA point of view, all three examples show evidence of a systematic interaction between the source domain of family and the target domain of nation. An explanation for the extensive use of metaphors related to this conceptual key in the US corpus is that such metaphors serve as productive rhetoric strategies through which the incumbent presidents make evaluations regarding the state of the union. Excerpt 1 shows how president Obama has recourse to the metaphoric expression tight-knit family in an effort to make a positive assessment about the union, thus providing evidence for the conceptual key NATION IS A FAMILY. In this example, there is an isomorphic relation between the domains of nation and family in which the type of unity that characterises a nation is conceptualised in terms of the type of affectionate relationship that characterises a family. Linguistically then, this can be described as an example of reification as there is an attempt to represent the abstract idea the unity of a nation in terms of the more concrete and experiential domain of the family. It is worth pointing out in this excerpt that there is a metaphoric chaining of the family source domain with the building source domain, as evident in the expression '...laid a new foundation'. Building metaphors in US presidential speeches can be classified under two types; those that refer to parts of building and those that refer to types of buildings (Charteris-Black 2004, p.97). Accordingly, the expression '...laid down foundation' as used in this excerpt indicates the part of a building and therefore constitutes evidence of an isomorphic interaction between the knowledge of the foundation of a building and the types of activities needed to consolidate the unity of a nation.

The pragmatic implication is that the challenges encountered and surmounted by a nation should constitute a solid basis for its unity. This conceptualisation is in turn redounded on the NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor to emphasis the degree unity of the nation. It is therefore the interaction of the two conceptual metaphors NATION IS A FAMILY and NATION IS A BUILDING which contributes to the overall coherence of the excerpt. Such a metaphorical language seems to be rhetorically quite productive in appealing to the emotions of citizens and to get them endure in the phase of hardships since the outcome of such hardships are worth the sacrifices.

Excerpt 2 is another illustration of a metaphorical chaining with the family and building source domains, both of which can be explained by the conceptual key NATION IS A FAMILY. From our knowledge of family practices in western cultures in general, parents as the heads of the family typically build or buy houses to provide shelter to their family. This is most often done with the expectation that the children will have better chances of survival. It is certainly this script that constitutes the basis for the cognitive isomorphism between the source domains of building and family and the target domain of Nation. The pragmatic implication is that each generation of Americans should hand down a better legacy to the future generations. The expression '...builds a better world' in this instance may correspond to a geo-political space, rather than to the part of a building. What is particularly significant in the excerpt is the fact that the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY is perspectivised on the conceptual metaphors CHILDREN ARE THE FUTURE. This conceptual metaphor can therefore be linguistically described as an example of personification as the concept of nation which is inanimate is represented using lexical items which refer to entities which are animate. As a matter of fact, the use of this conceptual metaphor in this particular instance is rhetorically quite productive as it insinuates that the type of cultural responsibility which parents have in ensuring the survival of their children is the same type of responsibility which the current generation of Americans has to ensure the survival of future generations.

In Excerpt 3, President Obama refers to American Muslims as being a part of the American family, thus providing more evidence of the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY. In this instance, the cognitive isomorphism concerns the domains of family

membership and nation. Based on some basic knowledge of the family in the American culture, we understand that family membership guarantees a certain degree of rights and protection to all members. In pragmatic terms therefore, this insinuates that American Muslims should benefit from the same rights and protection as every other American citizen, regardless of stereotypes or prejudices. There is also consequently an implication of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION in this excerpt, as there is some degree of isomorphic relationship between the membership of a religious organisation and the membership of a nation. The use of a family metaphor in this case is rhetorically quite productive in the sense that it projects differences in religious affiliations in terms of the natural diversities which often exist within a family. This can therefore be an important strategy in political discourse, especially in contexts where polarities on like issues race and religion exist.

Thus far, the analysis has explored some random examples of the use of family metaphors in the US corpus and their cross-domain mappings. It stands out from the analysis that even though in most instances the cognitive isomorphism directly concerns the domains of family and nation, understood by the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY, there are also occurrences in which this conceptual metaphor is further perspectivised, hence instantiated using more fine-grained specifications such as CITIZENS ARE (GRAND)CHILDREN. The next steps in this analysis will therefore consist in examining the other corpora explored in this work to reveal the extent to which such specifications may differ across the varieties.

4) But we were right and did not make a mistake when we agreed together that we will transform this common troubled *motherland* and set about the task of transforming it into a country of democracy, peace, equality and prosperity (*Thabo Mbeki, South Africa*)

Excerpt 4 is an example from the South African corpus illustrating how the concept of nation is conceptualised in family terms. President Mbeki in this example uses the metaphoric expression *motherland*, which has an experiential basis, to evaluate abstract political objectives. The result is an isomorphic relation in which the family source domain is projected onto the nation, and this can be represented by the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY. It is worth observing in this instance that this conceptual metaphor is further perspectivised into a parenthood topology, thus resulting into a further fine-grained specification through the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A MOTHER. More

especially, parenthood metaphors can be particularly significant in a majority of African cultures where children are also duty-bound to the well-being of their parents. Thus, conceptualising the nation in terms of a mother can be rhetorically quite significant as it has the potential of arousing the patriotic sentiments of citizens as well as persuading them to make more sacrifices for the nation. Linguistically, the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A MOTHER is an example of personification as the inanimate concept of nation is represented as if it were animate one.

- 5) Can we *build* a unified country where all citizens have the opportunity to give off their best to *Mother Ghana* while earning a good education and a dignified standard of living? (*John E. Atta Mills, Ghana*).
- 6) We owe it to *our forebears* whose toil and sacrifice led to the victory over those who sought to oppress us and keep us from realizing our destiny as a great nation and *laid down the building blocks* for the progress we have made so far. We owe it to *our forebears*, once again, to keep the unity and cohesion of our country. Together we will build a strong and prosperous Ghana (*John D. Mahama*, *Ghana*)

Excerpts 5-6 are illustrations from the Ghanaian corpus showing how the abstract political concept of nation is conceptualised as a family. It is important to observe in both examples that only specific aspects of the general source domain of family are foregrounded and transferred onto the target domain of nation. Excerpt 5 which in essence is a rhetorical question, is another illustration of a metaphoric chaining with different source domains; family and building. The use of the parenthood metaphoric expression 'mother Ghana' can be understood through the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphor, which is further perspectivised on the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A MOTHER. In this case, the cognitive isomorphism concerns the domains of family and nation in which the geopolitical space referred to as the nation is conceptualised in terms of an animate entity. Linguistically then, this can be described as a good example of personification as the inanimate concept of nation is presented as if it were animate. As concerns the building metaphor, this complements the family metaphor by conceptualising the abstract processes involved in the establishment of a political system in terms of the more concrete processes involved in the building of a structure. This can be described as a good example of reification. In pragmatic terms, the coherence of both

conceptual metaphors is that the nation is a family home in which each member strives for the prosperity of the mother. This therefore can be a productive rhetoric strategy to get citizens sustain more work and to accept more sacrifices for the nation.

Similarly, excerpt 6 which is also taken from the Ghanaian corpus is another illustration a metaphoric chaining in which the source domain of building complements that of family in providing the overall coherence of the excerpt. The metaphoric expression 'our forebears' occurs twice in the excerpt to conceptualise the past generations and their efforts and contributions for a better nation in terms of the kind of work carried out during the construction of a building. Firstly, there is cognitive isomorphism between the domains of family and nation in which the past generations are conceptualised in ancestral terms, and secondly, the domains of building and nation in which the sacrifices and work of the past generation conceptualised in terms building a structure. In the first case, the conceptual metaphor key NATION IS A FAMILY is further perspectivised on the conceptual metaphor PREDECESSORS ARE ANCESTORS. pragmatic terms, the implication is that the nation is a family structure under construction and its foundation has already been built by the previous generations. This is rhetorically quite significant in that conceptualising the as a family structure under construction and which foundation was built by forebears or ancestors is a fruitful strategy for strengthening a sense of national cohesion and patriotism among citizens. This is even more so in most west African cultures, where ancestors are highly respected and even sometimes worshipped, thus making any ancestral legacy greatly valued.

- 7) However, before that, let us spare a thought for our soldiers who have fallen defending our *fatherland* (*Paul Biya, Cameroon*).
- 8) Take the example of our young soldiers who are ensuring our security along our borders. Their bravery, their sense of duty and sacrifice show us what utmost love for *fatherland* can be (*Paul Biya, Cameroon*).

Excerpts 7-8 are examples from the Cameroon corpus showing how there is a systematic interaction between the domains of family and nation, thus providing evidence of the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY in the Cameroon variety. What is particularly interesting in both examples is the fact that the nation as a family conceptual metaphor perspectivised on the parenthood conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FATHER,

which contrasts with what has thus far been observed with the other varieties. More especially in these excerpts, the cognitive isomorphism is between the domains of nation and family in which the geo-political space known as nation is conceptualised in terms of a father, which is an animate entity. This can therefore linguistically be described as an example of reification as the inanimate concept is conceptualised as if it were an animate one. In terms of rhetoric, conceptualising the nation as a *fatherland* can be productive persuasive strategies for inciting the patriotic sentiments of citizens towards the nation, most especially during war situations.

This analysis has up till this point examined the different kinship terms used across the varieties to conceptualise the nation in terms of a family. The specific goal was to examine the use of the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphor key across the varieties and to find out whether there are any differences in the perspectivisation of this conceptual metaphor across the varieties. It stands out from the analysis that even though conceptual metaphor Nation is a Family is used across all the four varieties explored in this work, there are differences across the varieties regarding the perpectivisation of this conceptual metaphor, thus resulting in such in more fine-grained specifications of this conceptual metaphor such as NATION IS A MOTHER, NATION IS A FATHER, PREDECESSORS ARE ANCESTORS, among others. Tables 4-8 gives an overall summary of the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphor key as well as the different perpectivised conceptual metaphors of this metaphor family across the varieties.

Conceptual Key	Conceptual Metaphors
NATION IS A FAMILY	CITIZENS ARE BROTHERS (x1)
	AMERICA IS A FAMILY (x12)
	PRESIDENT IS A FATHER (x1)
	CITIZENS ARE BROTHERS AND SISTERS (x4)
	CITIZENS ARE (GRAND)CHILDREN (x8)
	NATION IS A PARENT (x1)
	CHILDREN ARE THE FUTURE (x1)

Table 5. 7: Summary of the conceptual scenario NATION IS A FAMILY in the US Corpus

Conceptual Key	Conceptual Metaphors
NATION IS A FAMILY	SOUTH AFRICA IS A MOTHER (x2)
	CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN OF THE NATION (x12)
	PREDECESSORS ARE FATHERS OF THE NATION (x1)
	CHILDREN ARE THE FUTURE (x1)

Table 5. 8: Summary of the conceptual scenario NATION IS A FAMILY in the South

African Corpus

Conceptual Key	Conceptual Metaphors
NATION IS A FAMILY	PREDECESSORS ARE FOREBEARS (x2)
	CITIZENS ARE BROTHERS AND SISTERS (x7)
	CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN (x1)
	GHANA IS A MOTHER (x7)
	PREDECESSORS ARE PARENTS (x2)

Table 5. 9: Summary of the conceptual scenario NATION IS A FAMILY in the Ghanaian Corpus

Conceptual Keys	Conceptual Metaphors
NATION IS A FAMILY	CAMEROON IS A FATHER (x2)
	CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN (x2)

Table 5. 10: Summary of the conceptual scenario NATION IS A FAMILY in the Cameroon Corpus

5.4.2 Conceptualising International Relations as Family Relations

This section examines the different conceptual metaphors used across the varieties to conceptualise the abstract political domain of international relations in terms of the types of affinities that exist between the members of a family. Thus, the conceptual key examined in this section is INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS. It is however important to point out that this conceptual key itself presupposes the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE FAMILIES as in most cases it assumes that citizens of nations are the members of a family. As a matter of fact, it would seem that when international relations are to be presented as satisfactory and convivial among nations, the use of family metaphors are particularly more appealing to politicians across many cultures. In general, conceptualising the bilateral relations between nations in terms of the type of relationship among the members of a family can be a productive strategy for building mutual trust among nations. The types of evaluations made by the conceptual metaphors of this metaphor family are thus typically positive ones, as they carry a strong connotation of gratification. However, unlike with THE NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual key examined in the previous section, conceptual metaphors which conceptualise relations between nations in terms of the relations between the member of a family occur in only three of the four varieties, as no evidence for this conceptual key was found in the US corpus. It suffices then at this point to examine some these conceptual metaphors across the three varieties concerned. Particular attention is given the perspectivisation of such conceptual metaphors across the three varieties.

- 9) During the course of last year, our commitment to Africa's progress also found expression in the deployment of our *sons and daughters* in uniform in Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi. We did so because we remain confident that our *sister-people* in these countries will find solutions to their problems (*Thabo Mbeki, South Africa*)
- 10) We will continue to work with our *sister countries* Zimbabwe and Swaziland so that the citizens of these countries can also enjoy peace, stability and sustainable development (*Thabo Mbeki, South Africa*).

11) We firmly believe that the course and the content of the transition as well as the destiny that these *sister countries* choose, should be authored by them (*Jacob Zuma*, *South Africa*)

Excerpts 9-11 are examples showing evidence of the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS in the south African corpus. In these examples, there is evidence of an isomorphic relation between the domains of international relations and family relation in which the various types of cooperation and alliances that typically exist among nations are conceptualised in terms of the relationship that exist among member of a family. Linguistically, all three examples can be seen as examples of personification as it conceptualises the relations among entities which are inanimate as if they were animate. Excerpt 9 illustrates a metaphoric chaining whose coherence can be explained by the conceptual metaphor INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS. Firstly, the metaphoric expression sons and daughters in this case presupposes the NATIONS ARE FAMILIES conceptual metaphor as the citizens of a nation are in this case conceptualised as its children. This is followed by the metaphoric expression 'sisterpeople', which indicates an isomorphic relation between the domains of international relations and family relations in which the relation between two countries is conceptualised as the relationship between the female siblings of a family. What is particularly significant in this example is the fact that the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS is perspectivised on the sisterhood conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS.

Excerpt 10 further illustrates how the relations between nations are conceptualised in terms of the type of relationship between the siblings of a family. Accordingly, president Mbeki in this example metaphorically uses the expression 'sister countries' in describing the bilateral relation between his country South Africa and two other countries; Zimbabwe and Switzerland. In this case, there is an isomorphic relation between the domains of international relations and kinship relations in which the relations between countries is conceptualised in terms of relationship between female siblings of a family. This provides another evidence of the sisterhood conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS. Excerpt 11 provides yet another instance of how the conceptual KEY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS is perspectivised on the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS in the South African corpus. President Zuma in this

example metaphorical uses the expression 'sister countries' to refer to the bilateral relation between South Africa on one hand and other countries on the other hand. This provides more evidence for the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS in the South African corpus. All these examples attest to fact that the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS appears as a conceptual schema which is typical of the political thinking in South African political discourse. It is interesting at this stage to also explore the other varieties so as to find out if there are also specific conceptual metaphors on which the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS gets perspectivised.

- 12) Finally, Madam Speaker, a word on our foreign policy. I believe we have abundant experience and expertise in this country in the art of diplomacy and peacekeeping. We will draw on this expertise in our common desire to help our brothers and sisters in Cote d'Ivoire find a lasting solution to the political impasse there (John E. Atta Mills, Ghana).
- 13) On my fraternal visits as ECOWAS Chair to our *sister countries* of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea, at the height of the Ebola crisis, I donated 100 tons of food products to the 3 countries (*John Mahama, Ghana*).
- 14) Mr. Speaker, both the Tema and Takoradi ports are undergoing various forms of rehabilitation for modernization and expansion. Partly due to this, the volume of freight with the *sister landlocked countries* in the Sahel region has increased immensely (*John Kufuor, Ghana*).

Excerpts 12-14 are examples from the Ghanaian corpus which illustrate an isomorphic relation between the domains of international relations and family relations in which relations between Ghana and other nations are conceptualised in terms of the type of relationship between the siblings of a family, thus providing evidence of the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS in the Ghanaian political discourse. In excerpt 12, president Atta Mills metaphorically refers to the people of Cote d'Ivoire as the *brothers and sisters*, thus providing evidence of a cognitive isomorphism between the domains of international relations and family relations in which the relation between Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire is conceptualised in kinship terms. This example can therefore be understood using the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE

FAMILIES, and this complements the earlier finding on the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A MOTHER which also occurs 7 times in the Ghanaian corpus. Excerpt 12 also illustrates how president Mahama uses the metaphoric 'sister countries' to refer to the relations between Ghana and three other countries. There is thus cognitive isomorphism between the domains of international relations and family relations, which can be understood in terms of the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS. In excerpt 14, President Mahama uses the metaphoric expression 'sister countries' in describing the relation between Ghana and some Sahelian countries. This provides more evidence of the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS, in which the relations between nations are conceptualised in terms of the relations between the female siblings of a family. All these examples attest to the fact that there is evidence of the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS in the Ghanaian corpus and this is typically perspectivised on the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS. As already stated, conceptualising nations as sisters can be a productive rhetoric strategy for building mutual trust between nations since it has the potential of conveying the type of mutual trust which most often exists between the siblings of the same family into the political arena.

- 15) As you are aware, the situation in the Central African Republic also warrants our vigilance on our eastern border. We are forced to host tens of thousands of refugees from this *brotherly country (Paul Biya, Cameroon)*.
- 16) We must therefore consolidate and develop our achievements, by making the best of the peace and stability that our country enjoys. This affords me the opportunity to deplore the recent external attacks on Chad, a brotherly and friendly country. In agreement with the international community, I hereby wish to express to our Chadian brothers our solidarity and our strong condemnation of any attempt to destabilize a legitimate government through the use of force (Paul Biya, Cameroon).

Excerpts 15-16 are examples from the Cameroon corpus illustrating various instances in which political relations between nations are conceptualised in kinship terms. More especially, excerpt 15 show how president Biya metaphorically uses the expression 'brotherly country' in describing the relation between his country and the Central African Republic. This metaphoric expression thus highlights an isomorphic relation between the

domains of international relations and family relations, in which bilateral relations between these two countries are conceptualised in terms of family relations, thus providing evidence of the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS in the Cameroon corpus. Even more interesting in this example is the use of a brotherhood metaphor as opposed to a sisterhood metaphor as seen in the previous examples. Thus, the underlying conceptual metaphor in this case is NATIONS ARE BROTHERS. Excerpt 16 is another example of how President Biya relies on a metaphoric chaining from the source domains kinship and friendship to describe the bilateral relation between his country and Chad. In this case, the coherence of the entire excerpt can be understood by two conceptual metaphors, viz, NATIONS ARE BROTHERS and NATIONS ARE FRIENDS. In the former case, there is an isomorphic relation between the domains of international relations and brotherhood relations in which the alliances and bilateral cooperation between nations are understood in family terms while in the latter case, there is a cognitive isomorphism in which bilateral relations between nations is conceptualised in terms of the emotional and affectionate relationship that exist in friendship. Also, it is worth mentioning that in terms of metaphor family, the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE FRIENDS rather belongs to the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS (cf. MetaNet repository).

The analysis in this section has attempted to uncover, describe and analyse using the CMA approach some of the conceptual metaphors showing evidence of the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATION in three of the four varieties explored in this study. As stated earlier, owing to the fact that no evidence of this conceptual key was found in the US corpus, it was consequently not examined in this section. A major observation is that this conceptual schema may be specific only to African varieties of English. A number of interesting observations can however be made from the three corpora examined in this section. Firstly, the analysis has shown that even though there is evidence of the conceptual key INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS in all three corpora, there are differences as to how this conceptual key is perspectivised across the varieties. More especially, the analysis shows that the South African and Ghanaian varieties typically prefer the sisterhood perspective NATIONS ARE SISTERS whereas the Cameroon variety prefers the brotherhood perspective NATIONS ARE BROTHERS. Table 7 gives an overall summary of the INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE

FAMILY RELATIONS conceptual key as well as the different perspectivised conceptual metaphors of this metaphor family across the varieties.

Varieties	Metaphor Conceptual Key	Conceptual Metaphors
South Africa	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS	NATIONS ARE SISTERS (x8)
Ghana	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS	CITIZENS OF NATIONS ARE BROTHERS AND SISTERS (x8)
		NATIONS ARE SISTERS (x5)
Cameroon	INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS	NATIONS ARE BROTHERS (x5)

Table 5. 11: Summary of the conceptual scenario INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ARE FAMILY RELATIONS across corpora

5.4.3 Conceptualising Life as a Journey.

As indicated in section 5.3, the source domain of journey is among those identified in the US corpus. Therefore, this metaphor source domain is examined in this study because it is connected to primarily child education in the US corpus. A lot has been said on journey metaphors in the mainstream literature in general. The original cascade can be traced from Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.44) who proposed LOVE IS JOURNEY as evident in expressions such as we're at a crossroad, I don't think this relationship is going anywhere, look how far we have come, we can't turn back now among others. This was later followed by LIFE IS A JOURNEY proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) then later on modified into PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION by Lakoff (1993). There have also been attempts to incorporate this conceptual schema in political discourse by Charteris-Black (2004) who further modifies it into PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION based on the argument that political activities are oriented social activities.

The MetaNet repository attempts an overview of the different elements of the source domain which are mapped onto the target domain in the LIVE IS A JOURNEY

conceptual metaphor. It is particularly important to observe the systematic correspondence between the constituent elements of the target domain (at the left) and the source domain (at the right). These mappings of constituent elements correspond to the set of conceptual metaphors which can be evoked by this conceptual key, depending on what aspect of the conceptual key the speaker intends to foreground. It is for this reason that this study instead considers LIVE IS A JOURNEY as a conceptual key which can be used to subsume the set of conceptual metaphors which inherit from this general metaphor.

Mappings:

life_liver	<=	journeyer
life_span	<=	journey_event
main_life_goal	<=	journey_destination
short_term_life_goals	<=	journey_stops
course_of_life	<=	path_traced_by_sequence_of_motion
life_stages	<=	locations_along_journey
life_difficulties	<=	journey_difficulties
lifestyle	<=	manner_of_journey
life_companion	<=	journey_companion
relationships in life	<=	vehicles in journey

Figure 5. 3: Cross-Domain Mappings in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY Conceptual Metaphor (From Dodge et al, 2015)

In this study however, there is evidence of a conceptual key (CHILD) EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY in the US corpus. The basic feature of the schema is one in which the abstract processes of child education are conceived in terms of a goal-oriented journey scenario. The result is an isomorphic relation between the domains of education and journey in which the process of child education is conceptualised in terms of a journey scenario

17) Measuring is the only way to know whether all our children are learning. And I want to know, because *I refuse to leave any child behind in America* (*George W. Bush, USA*)

- 18) I refuse to give up on any child, and the *No Child Left Behind Act* is *opening* the door of opportunity to all of *America's children* (*George Bush, USA*)
- 19) Now let us apply the same spirit to help *liberate poor children trapped in failing public schools* (George Bush, USA).
- 20) These education policies will *open the doors of opportunity for our children*, but it is up to us to ensure *they walk through them. (Barack Obama, USA)*.

Excerpts 17-20 are examples providing evidence of the conceptual key CHILD EDUCTION IS A JOURNEY in the US corpus. What is common to all four examples is the cognitive isomorphism between the domains of child education and journey in which the goal-oriented progression of child education is conceived in terms of a journey scenario in which all travellers are moving at a targeted destination and at a certain speed. In Except 17 expression 'I refuse to leave any child behind' is used by President Bush to capture his education policy in terms of a journey scenario. What is most significant in this example is the cognitive isomorphism between the domains of child education and journey in which the goal-oriented process of child education is conceptualised in term of a journey scenario with impediments or obstacles along the path of the journey. This explains why some children will be lagging behind if proper measures are not taken. In pragmatic terms, this means that the rate of failure in schools needs to be properly addressed and this implies ramifications on the teaching and grading system. There is evidence of the perspectivisation of conceptual metaphor PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION in this metaphoric expression.

In Except 18, President Bush in this example refers to the 'No Child Left Behind Act' which is the policy document stipulating his education reforms. This expression occurs 12 times in the US corpus and itself evokes a journey in scenario. In excerpt 19, President Bush uses a journey scenario in which the travellers are halted by the impediments along their path. The pragmatic implication is that the current system represents a major obstacle to the education of children. This particular metaphoric expression is quite significant in rhetoric since this metaphoric expression allows him to position himself as the 'hero' who has come to liberate the children.

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter has examined the metaphoric use of kinship terms across the varieties explored in this study. The aim was to find out if there are any conceptual differences across the varieties. The finding has shown that the US variety uses more kinship metaphors than all the other varieties. This is exemplified due to the fact that it has the highest MFI with 0.11. This is followed by the Ghanaian variety with a MFI of 0.8, the Cameroon variety with 0.7 and finally the South African variety with 0.6. It also stands out from the analysis that the *family* source domain is the most resonant source domain across all four varieties. As regards conceptual differences across the varieties, the analysis shows that even though the same central mappings may be used across the varieties, there are however divergences in the types of scenarios with which these central domains are perspectivised across each of the varieties.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

This research has made an attempt to address the paucity of research on linguistic variation in political discourse across selected varieties. The goal was to demonstrate using empirical data and quantitative findings how varieties and cultures may show preferences for certain language features/patterns. Examining the use of two types of linguistic features has been the main focus in the research, viz.: the use of personal pronouns and the use of kinship metaphors. Most importantly, this study is as far as I know the first to investigate into the use of personal pronouns in political discourse using the cognitive linguistic concept of frames as articulated by the theory frame semantics. Also, even though research on the use of conceptual metaphors in political discourse has looked at patterns of conceptual metaphors across national cultures (see Thornborrow, 1993; Musolff, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2004, among others), much attention has not been given to the use of metaphors from the kinship domain. This study will therefore contribute in filling these research gaps.

6.1 Summary of findings

The main assumptions in this research was that there will be variation in the use of specific features/patterns of language in political discourse across selected outer circle (Cameroon, Ghana) and inner circle (South Africa, USA) varieties, and that these language features/patterns will be rife by conceptual schemas which show that there are conceptual variations across these varieties and cultures. To investigate these assumptions, a number of research questions were addressed, viz.:

- 1) What linguistic features/patterns show that there is variation in political discourse across varieties?
- 2) What are the frequencies of these features/patterns across the corpora of the selected varieties?
- 3) What cognitive schemas can be inferred from the use of these linguistic features/patterns?
- 4) In what ways are these cognitive schemas variety/culture-specific?

In order to address these research questions, the study mainly relied on the cognitive linguistics theory of frame semantics as propounded by Charles J. Fillmore and materialized for the English language through the FrameNet online lexicon (Ruppenhofer et al, 2016) and the conceptual metaphor theory initially propounded by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and further developed by Kövecses (2000, 2002, 2005). In terms of methodology, this research combined corpus-based methods, particularly automatic frame sematic parsing, with mainstream approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The main findings of the study are as follows;

6.1.1 Research Questions 1 and 2

The aim of these research questions was to identify the use and frequencies of personal pronouns and kinship metaphors across the selected varieties. A cross section of the analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 specifically addressed these questions. To begin with the use of personal pronouns, the findings have shown that there are significant differences in terms of *pronominal number* (singular as opposed to plural) across the four varieties. The most outstanding of such difference was observed in the South African corpus which has the overall highest frequency disparity with 92% for the plural pronouns as opposed to only 8% for the singular. This is followed by the US corpus with an overall frequency of 77% plural pronouns as compared to 23% singular pronouns. Also, the Ghanaian corpus had a frequency of 72% for the plural pronouns as opposed to 28% for the singular while the Cameroon corpus records a frequency of 69% for plural pronouns as compared to 31 % for singular pronouns. Thus, these findings attest to the fact that the South African variety uses more plural pronouns and less singular pronouns than the three other varieties, with a percentage difference which ranges between 15-20%. To further check the reliability of these findings, the distribution of each pronominal variable was measured across the four varieties using the Deviation of Proportions (DP) (Gries, 2008) statistical measure. The DP results also confirmed that except for a few pronouns with extremely low frequencies (generally below 20 tokens), all of the pronouns general rank within the *minimum* and Ist quartile statistical ranges, thus indicating an even distribution of the pronouns across the different corpora.

As concerns the use of kinship metaphors, the findings show that these conceptual metaphors abound in all four varieties, but with different frequencies. Accordingly, the US corpus records the highest frequency with 64 metaphor occurrences in 13 metaphor keywords, followed by the Ghanaian corpus with 33 metaphor occurrences in 8 metaphor

keywords, the South African corpus with 29 occurrences in 07 metaphor keywords and the finally the Cameroon corpus with only 09 occurrences in 03 metaphor keywords. Mindful of the fact that such findings could not lead to reliable conclusions owing to the differences in the sizes of the corpora, it was important to apply another statistical measure which takes the sizes into account. To this effect, the Metaphor Frequency Index (MFI) (De Landtsheer, 1994; 2009) was used to measure degree of significance of the use of kinship metaphors in each of the four varieties. The MFI results confirm the finding that the US corpus has the highest kinship metaphor frequency with and index of 0.11, followed by the Ghanaian corpus with an index of 0.08, the South African corpus had an index of 0.06 and the Cameroon corpus had 0.04. This means that taking into account the different sizes of each of the four corpora, the US corpus sample records the highest number of metaphors from the *kinship* domain. This is followed by the Ghanaian corpus, the South African corpus and the Cameroon corpus respectively.

6.1.2 Research Questions 3 and 4

The main purpose of these research questions was to provide a follow-up analysis using the quantitative results obtained in research questions 1 and 2. More specifically, the use of pronouns and kinship metaphors across the four varieties was further scrutinized using mainstream cognitive linguistics concepts and theories in order to identify possible conceptual schemas and to show the extent to which such schemas may vary across varieties and cultures. It stands out from the analysis of pronouns that the cognitive linguistics notion of frames as currently applied in the FrameNet 1.7 online lexicon offers a fruitful paradigm through which the referential functions of pronouns in political discourse can be determined. Generally, the findings show that certain frames and frame roles are used more frequently with specific types of pronouns and that this varies across the varieties. For instance, the results show that all four varieties have preference for a specific set of frame roles when using the singular pronoun 'I'. These frame roles include {Cognizer}, {Speaker}, {Experiencer}, {Communicator} and {Agent}. This is interestingly not the case with its plural counterpart 'We', where the set of roles with which this pronoun is fleshed out show some degree of variation across the varieties, with frame roles such as {Topical entity} and {Owner} appearing as top roles only in the Ghanaian and Cameroon varieties respectively. A similar trend is seen in the frames used with both pronouns, with frames such as [Imposing obligation] featuring as a top frame for 'I' in the Ghanaian variety only. As regards the use of 'My', there are also

variations in terms of the frame roles and frames with which this pronoun is instantiated across the varieties, with top roles such as {Creator} featuring only in the US variety, and {Leader} featuring only in the US and Ghanaian varieties. A similar trend of variation is also seen in the use of 'Our', with top roles such as {Experiencer} appearing only in the South African variety. Along the same lines, the [Leadership] frame fleshes out as a top frame only in the South African variety.

All these examples demonstrate the fact that even though certain frames and frame roles are generally instantiated as top frames/roles in different pronouns across the four varieties, there are also preferences across each of the varieties. On this basis, it can be argued that the use of pronouns across these varieties is determined by different conceptual schemas. Each of these schemas have slots which are typically filled by specific frames/frame roles each time different pronouns are used.

Regarding the use of kinship metaphors, the analysis has shown that there is empirical evidence of a kinship conceptual structure across the varieties, as evident from the conceptual keys NATION IS A FAMILY and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ARE FAMILY RELATIONS. Most importantly, a major finding is that even though these central mappings are used across the varieties, there are however variations in the specific cross-domain mappings with which these central mappings are fleshed out across the varieties. The conceptual differences across the varieties have been analysed using the cognitive linguistics notion of perspectivization and Musollf's (2004) idea of metaphor "scenario". According to Musollf, metaphor conceptual domains are radial structures whose elements can be captured in terms of intermediate analytical categories known as scenarios. Scenarios provide the perspectives along which the central mappings are developed or extended. For instance, the Cameroon corpus shows evidence of the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FATHER while in the Ghanaian and South African varieties, there is rather evidence of the metaphor NATION IS A MOTHER. Similarly, while the Cameroon corpus shows evidence of the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE BROTHERS, the South African and Ghanaian corpora rather show evidence of the metaphor NATIONS ARE SISTERS. The study thus shows that the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY is a central mapping used in all four varieties examined, but with its conceptual elements being perspectivized through scenarios which may differ across the varieties. Finally, the analysis also shows evidence of the conceptual structure PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) in the US corpus, and this is perpectivized through the scenario CHILD EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY.

6.2 Limitation of Study and Direction for Future Research

This study has a number of limitations which need to be considered when interpreting the findings. To begin with, the research has explored the use of language in a specific genre of political discourse: *Presidential Annual Policy Statements*. Consequently, the findings are based on the use of language in this specific genre of political discourse only. Also, this study is essentially synchronic, and is limited to political discourse made within the specific period of 2000-2015. The findings may as a result not be generalised to what obtained before this period. Nevertheless, the fact that the chosen period is quite recent makes the findings relevant for an understanding of the working of language in contemporary politics

There are many ways through which this study can influence future research in this domain of inquiry. To begin with, future research can expand on these findings by exploring bigger data which would include other genres of political discourse, and by examining other linguistic features/patterns, such as the use of phraseology for instance. In this way, the findings would complement to those of this research and could together give a more holistic picture of the distinctive features of language use in political discourse across these varieties. Also, future research could do a diachronic study of language use in political discourse across these varieties. This could demonstrate how language use across the varieties may have changed through time, governments and administrations.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Complete List of Frame Roles for the Pronoun 'I' Across Varieties

Appendix A1: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'I' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frame Roles	Frequencies
Cognizer	142
Speaker	136
Experiencer	71
Communicator	40
Agent	26
Entity	13
Protagonist	12
Obligator	9
Inspector	5
Responsible_party	5
Possible_event	5
Owner	3
Cognizer_1	2
Hypothetical_event	1
Guide	1
Stimulus	1
Topical_entity	1
Author	1
Expressor	1
Selector	1
Source	1
Defendant	1
Party_1	1
Supporter	1
Perceiver	1
Traveler	1
Assessor	1
Creator	1
Grand Total	484

Appendix A2: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'I' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frame Roles	Frequencies	Frame Roles	Frequencies
Speaker	132	Cause	1
Experiencer	111	Phenomenon	1
Cognizer	87	Beneficiary	1
Agent	64	Donor	1
Communicator	40	New_member	1
Obligator	33	Chosen	1
Entity	12	Grand Total	561
Leader	10		
Creator	6		
Owner	5		
Topical_entity	4		
Responsible_party	4		
Recipient	4		
Perceiver_passive	4		
Protagonist	3		
Type	2		
Arguer	2		
Inspector	2		
Hypothetical_event	2		
Submittor	2		
Theme	2		
New_leader	2		
Authorities	2		
Individual_1	2		
Wearer	2		
State_of_affairs	1		
Interested_party	1		
Member	1		
Visitor	1		
Sender	1		
Guest	1		
Investigator	1		
Host	1		
Authority	1		
Party_1	1		
Self_mover	1		
Perceiver_agentive	1		
Interlocutor_1	1		
Cotheme	1		
Interlocutor_2	1		
Performer	1		

Appendix A3: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'I' in the South African Corpus

Frame Roles	Frequencies
Speaker	60
Agent	40
Experiencer	36
Communicator	32
cognizer	31
offerer	6
Receiver	5
Responsible_party	4
Topical_Entity	4
Party_1	3
Signatory	2
side_1	2
Entity	2
Donor	2
Dangerous_entity	1
Creator	1
Cognizer_2	1
Supplier	1
Owner	1
Group	1
Wearer	1
interlocutor_1	1
Host	1
Protagonist	1
Perceiver_agentive	1
Grand Total	240

Appendix A4: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'I' in the US Corpus

Frame Roles	Frequencies	Frame Roles	Frequencies
Speaker	323	Sleeper	1
Cognizer	193	Content	1
Agent	118	Supplier	1
Experiencer	114	Informer	1
Communicator	30	Chosen	1
Perceiver_passive	26	Performer1	1
Sender	24	Attitude_description	1
Theme	15	Actor	1
Protagonist	13	Defender	1
Topical_entity	11	Player	1
Author	10	Interlocutor_1	1
Leader	8	Principle	1
Entity	7	Perceiver	1
Partner_1	7	Capitulator	1
Submittor	6	Source	1
Creator	6	Surrenderer	1
Cognizer 1	6	Operator	1
Owner	5	Assessor	1
Selector	5	Judgment direct address	1
Recipient	5	Obligator	1
Perceiver agentive	5	Protection	1
Participant 1	5	Reader	1
Hypothetical event	4	Buyer	1
Traveler	4	New member	1
Cognizer agent	3	Grand Total	1020
Party 1	3		
Donor	3		
Individual 1	3		
Deliverer	3		
Interlocutor 1	3		
person	3		
Responsible_party	3		
Helper	3		
Authority	3		
Competitor	3		
Hearer	3		
Self mover	2		
Offerer	2		
Signatory	2		
Individuals	2		
Figure	2		
-			

Appendix B: Complete List of Frame Roles for the Pronoun 'We' Across Varieties

Appendix B1: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'We' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frame Roles	Frequencies	Frame Roles	Frequencies
Agent	194	Assessor	1
Cognizer	71	Supporter	1
Entity	55	Possessor	1
Owner	31	Possible event	1
Experiencer	25	Parties	1
Speaker	13	Partners	1
Protagonist	11	Grand Total	491
Responsible party	11		
Recipient	6		
Creator	5		
Figure	5		
Interested_party	4		
Person	4		
Side 1	4		
Theme	4		
Donor	4		
Perceiver passive	3		
Topical_entity	3		
Residents	2		
Profiled_item	2		
Producer	2		
Capitulator	2		
Communicator	2		
Party_1	2		
Hypothetical_event	2		
Perceiver	2		
Standard	2		
Beneficiary	1		
Self_mover	1		
Patient	1		
Employer	1		
Side_1	1		
Importer	1		
Content	1		
State_of_affairs	1		
Giving_Party	1		
Inspector	1		
Participant_1	1		
Dependent_entity	1		
Perceiver_agentive	1		
Cotheme	1		

Appendix B2: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'We' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frame Roles Agent	Frequencies 382	Frame Roles Profiled item	Frequencies 2
Cognizer	108	New member	2
Entity	91	Helper	2
Speaker	33	Exerter	2
Topical_entity	31	Beneficiary	2
Actor	25	Child	2
Experiencer	24	Submittor	2
Protagonist	17	Perceiver	2
Person	15	Figure	2
Creator	14	Resisting_entity	1
Theme	13	Partners	1
State_of_affairs	10	Self mover	1
Partner 1	10	Earner	1
Communicator	9	Capitulator	1
Owner	9	Perceiver agentive	1
	9 7	Evaluee	1
Perceiver_passive Interlocutors	6	Factor	1
Required_situation	5	Wrongdoer	1
Hypothetical_event	5	Perception_active	1
Buyer	5 5	Party_1	1
Supplier	_	Judge	1
Responsible_party	4	Author	1
Participant	4	Bethrayer	1
New_leader	4	Resource_controller	1
Donor	4	Investigator	1
Inspector	4	Selector	1
Trajector_event	4	Emotion_directed	1
Interested_party	4	Sender	1
Cause	3	Grower	1
Competitor	3	Sleeper	1
Patient	3	Protection	1
Offerer	3	Individuals	1
Side_1	3	Provider	1
Leader	3	Cognizer_agent	1
Investor	3	Publisher	1
Performer	3	Operator	1
Locale	3	Borrower	1
Supporter	2	Agent	1
Host	2	Controlling_entity	1
Recipient	2	Phenomenon	1
Item	2	Member	1
Importer	2	Grand Total	941
Assessor	2		

Appendix B3: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'We' in the South African Corpus

Frame Roles	Frequencies	Frame Roles	Frequencies
Agent	717	Cognizer_agent	3
Cognizer	214	Capitulator	3
Speaker	189	Profiled_item	3
Experiencer	125	Leader	2
Responsible_party	97	Publisher	2
Entity	63	Assessor	2
Communicator	59	Addressee	2
Creator	33	Indicator	2
Theme	32	Total	2
Actor	31	Partners	2
Topical_Entity	24	Event	2
Owner	24	Cause	2
Inspector	22	Interlocutor_1	2
Party_1	15	Member	2
Offerer	13	Signatory	1
Host	12	Teacher	1
Partner_1	12	Influencing_entity	1
Recipient	11	Possessor	1
supporter	10	Employer	1
Required_individual	10	Possible_Event	1
State_of_affairs	10	Authority	1
Buyer	8	Producer	1
Perceiver_passive	8	Informer	1
Supplier	7	Arguer	1
self_mover	7	Calculator	1
Perceiver	7	Evaluee	1
Donor	6	Sides	1
Protagonist	6	Concepts	1
Perceiver_agentive	6	chosen	1
Individuals	5	Object	1
Participants	5	Stimulus	1
Helper	5	Exerter	1
Participant_1	5	Superior	1
item	4	Builder	1
Side_1	4	Device	1
Submittor	4	Selector	1
Person	4	Interested_party	1
Population	4	Grantor	1
Dependent	3	Phenomenon	1
Traveler	3	Constituent parts	1
Beneficiary	3	Controlling_entity	1
Conqueror	3	New_Member	1
Performer	3	Grand Total	1895

Sender 3

Appendix B4: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'We' in the US Corpus

Frame Roles	Frequencies	Frame Roles	Frequencies
Agent	752	Winner	7
Cognizer	358	Entities	5
Entity	94	Figure	5
Experiencer	84	Teacher	5
Speaker	76	Parts	5
Responsible_party	60	Self_mover	5
Actor	56	Patient	5
Partner	49	State_of_affairs	5
Protagonist	42	Payer	5
Perceiver_passive	39	Controlling_entity	5
Helper	36	Item	4
Topical_entity	35	Asset	4
Owner	33	Arguer	4
Supporter	24	Parties	4
Theme	23	Alter	4
Inspector	21	Addressee	4
Person	19	Side_2	4
Individuals	18	Debtor	4
Donor	18	Offerer	4
Interlocutor	18	Assessor	4
Side_1	17	Perceiver_agentive	4
Hypothetical_event	16	Phenomenon	3
Creator	15	Authority	3
Buyer	15	Signatory	3
Supplier	15	Competitor	3
Leader	14	Placing	3
Protection	13	Survivor	2
Communicator	13	Group	2
Possible_event	12	Employer	2
Recipient	10	Importer	2
Producer	9	Evaluee	2
Assailant	9	Cotheme	2
Conqueror	9	Resource	2
Perceiver	8	Performer	2
Judge	8	Cause	2
Population	8	New_leader	2
Investor	7	Author	2
Deliverer	7	Killer	2
Participant	7	Examiner	2

Preventing_cause	7	Forgoer	2
Sender	7		

Frame Roles	Frequencies	Frame Roles	Frequencies
Beneficiary	2	Exporter	l
Earner	2	Eclipsed	1
Destroyer	2	Type	1
Stimulator	1	Sebder	1
Heir	1	Selector	1
Trajector_event	1	Kindler	1
Occupier	1	Labeling	1
Fugitive	1	Land	1
Indicator	1	Grand Total	2270
Work	1		
Cognizer_agent	1		
Capitulator	1		
Operator	1		
Content	1		
Betrayer	1		
Party_1	1		
Defender	1		
Hindrance	1		
Deformer	1		
Authorities	1		
Informer	1		
Obligator	1		
Whole	1		
Seller	1		
Arraign_authority	1		
Shopper	1		
Publisher	1		
Side 1	1		
Questioning	1		
Name	1		
Part	1		
Getting	1		
Required_individual	1		
Sufferer	1		
Residents	1		
Host	1		
Resisting entity	1		
New member	1		
Arriving	1		
7 11 11 VIII 5	1		

Appendix C: Complete List of Frame Roles for the Pronoun 'My' Across Varieties

Appendix C1: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'my' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies
Authority	82
Experiencer	15
Speaker	8
Cognizer	8
Agent	6
Performer	4
Interested_party	3
Experiencer	3
Perceiver	1
Agent	1
Guest	1
Grand Total	132

Appendix C2: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'my' in the South African Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies
Experiencer	3
Ego	2
Speaker	2
Communicator	2
Host	2
Earner	1
Protagonist	1
Partner_1	1
Agent	1
Entity	1
Interlocutor_1	2
Grand Total	18

Appendix C3: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'my' in the US Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies
Experiencer	3
Ego	2
Speaker	2
Communicator	2
Host	2
Earner	1
Protagonist	1
Partner 1	1
Agent	1

Entity	1	
Interlocutor_1	1	
Grand Total	17	

Appendix C4: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'my' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies
Speaker	36
Leader	27
Agent	20
Cognizer	16
Possessor	5
Perceiver	4
Experiencer	4
Perceiver agentive	3
Entity	3
Possessor	3
Individual_1	3
Speaker	3 3 3 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
Ego	2
Communicator	2
Participant_1	2
Interlocutor_1	2
Superior	2
Responsible_party	1
Ethnicity	1
Interested_party	1
Creator	1
Protagonist	1
Host	1
Author	1
Performer_1	1
Supporter	1
Traveler	1
Title	1
Authority	1
New_leader	1
Member	1
Grand Total	150

Appendix D: Complete List of Frame Roles for the Pronoun 'Our' Across Varieties

Appendix D1: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'our' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies	Frames Roles	Frequencies
Agent	131	Whole	3
Citizens	109	Information source	2
Ethnicity	88	Payer	2
Entity	53	Ethnicity 1	2
Political region	50	Member 1	2
Population	49	Practitioners	2
Possessor	46	Bearer	2
Owner	28	Earner	2
Producer	23	Participant 1	2
Beneficiary	21	Trajector event	2
Institution	17	Buyer	2
Members	17	Debtor	2
Experiencer	17	Container possessor	1
Cognizer	16	Known resident	1
Patient	13	Sides	1
Responsible party	9	Complex	1
Authority	9	Travelers	1
Supplier	8	Perceiver agentive	1
Exporter	8	Side	1
Governed	7	Influencing_entity	1
Partner 1	7	Victim	1
Asset	7	Phenomenon	1
Jurisdiction	7	Trajector_event	1
Participants	6	Phenomenon 2	1
Partners	5	Recorder	1
Proprietor	4	Country 1	1
Theme	4	Capitulator	1
Speaker	4	Creator	1
Exchangers	4	Interlocutor 1	1
Participant	4	Locale	1
Group	4	Situation	1
Selector	4	Origin	1
Importer	4	Category	1
Individuals	4	Process	1
Interested party	4	Topic	1
Agriculturist	3	Defender	1
Ego	3	Component entities	1
Protagonist Protagonist	3	Entities	1
Exchanger 1	3	Co-participant	1
Side 1	3	Expressor	1
Person	3	Employer	1
Addressee	3	Parts	<u>1</u> 1
			072
Communicator	3 3	Grand Total	873
Items	3		

Appendix D2: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'our' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies	Frames Roles	Frequencies
Ethnicity	137	Perceiver	2
Population	120	Party_1	2
Agent	105	Traveler	2
Political_region	44	Interested_party	2
Possessor	40	Place	2
Cognizer	28	Helper	2
Owner	28	Cognizer	2
Ego	22	Side_1	2
Speaker	22	Competitor	2
Experiencer	22	Context	2
Parent_organization	22	Interlocutors	2
Entity	21	Figure	2
Governed	16	Performer_1	2
Parent_Institution	15	Partners	2
Jurisdiction	14	Recipient	2
User	14	Target_group	1
Individuals	14	State of affairs	1
Protagonist	11	Communicator	1
Agent	12	Participant 2	1
Borrower	10	Source_of_authority	1
Creator	10	Individual 1	1
Ethnicity_1	10	Supporter	1
Participant	9	Investor	1
Beneficiary	8	Member_1	1
Partner_1	8	Evaluee	1
Proprietor	7	Protagonist_1	1
Responsible_party	6	Activists	1
Importer	6	Container_possessor	1
Country_1	6	Person	1
Participant_1	6	Supplier	1
Creator	5	Recorder	1
Patient	4	Survivor	1
Producer	4	Members	1
Agriculturist	4	Place	1
Exporter	4	Miner	1
Earner	3	Type	1
Theme	3	Dependent_situation	1
Selector	3	Victim	1
Group	3	Interlocutors	1
Interlocutor_1	3	Side	1
Society	2	Grand Total	894
Salient_entity	2		
Group	2		
Loyal_side	2		
Self_mover	2		

Appendix D3: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'our' in the South African Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies	Frames Roles	Frequencies
Population	285	Group	3
Agent	220	Represented	3
Authority	154	Defendant	2
Possessor	74	Asset	2
Jurisdiction	68	Perceiver	2
Political_region	46	Target_group	2
Experiencer	46	Protagonists	2
Ethnicity	39	Practitioner	2
Entity	39	Employer	2
Governed	36	Tourist	2
Leader	34	Helper	2
Individuals	34	Honored_entity	2
Cognizer	32	Wearer	2
Partner_1	29	Creditor	1
Speaker	27	Individual_1	1
Owner	25	Assessor	1
Responsible_party	25	People	1
Protagonist	25	Partner_1	1
Agent	23	Emphasizing	1
Container_possessor	20	Culture	1
Parent_Institution	16	Competitor	1
Communicator	12	Importer	1
Participant	11	Interlocutor 1	1
Ego	10	Theme	1
Entity 1	10	Figure	1
Members	10	Representative	1
Beneficiary	8	Victims	1
Assailant	8	Offerer	1
Host	8	Agency	1
Side 1	7	Organization	1
Participant 1	7	Progression	1
Proprietor	7	Controlling_entity	1
Creator	6	Judge	1
Interested_party	6	Submittor	1
Supporter	5	Focal_entity	1
Institution	5	Examiner	1
Trajector_event	5	Entities	1
Parent_organization	4	Inspector	1
Side_1	4	Recipient	1
Selector	4	Patient	1
Producer	4	Representative	1
Exporter	4	Item	1
Investor	4	Items	1
Ethnicity 1	3	Grand Total	1513
Self mover	3		
Offerer	3		

Appendix D4: Complete List of Frame Roles for the pronoun 'our' in the US Corpus

Frames Roles	Frequencies	Frames Roles	Frequencies
Population	233	Employer	7
Possessor	158	Shareholder	7
Agent	120	Helper	7
Political_region	82	Communicator	6
Ethnicity	81	People	6
Loyal_side	70	Side_1	6
Ego	68	Subordinate	6
Entity	55	Producer	6
Protagonist	52	Affliction	5
Experiencer	46	Participant_1	5
Member_1	43	Supporter	5
Parent_Institution	37	Individuals	5
Responsible_party	35	Group	4
Ego	32	Debtor	4
Cognizer	29	Individual	4
Jurisdiction	28	Container_possessor	4
Authority	27	Recipient	4
Asset	26	Creator	4
Participant	25	Earner	4
Governed	25	Wielder	4
Side_2	24	Traveler	4
Speaker	23	Defender	3
Salient_entity	22	Exporter	3
Individual_1	22	Evaluee	3
Owner	21	Parent_organisation	3
Interested_party	19	Person	3
Set_of_instances	19	Governed	3
Beneficiary	18	Country_1	3
Agent	15	Defender	3
Ethnicity_1	14	Created_entity	3
Owner	12	Entity_1	3
Partner_1	12	Proprietor	3
Cognizer	11	Employee	3
Entity	10	Importer	3
Ethnicity	10	item	3
Borrower	10	Selector	2
Leader	9	Victim	2
Proprietor	8	Side	2
inhabitant	8	Party_1	2
Practitioner	8	Ingestor	2
Entities	8	Patient	2
		Seller	2

Frames Roles	Frequencies
Cognizer_1	2
Supplier	2
Perceiver_agentive	2
Investigator	1
Creation	1
Speaker	1
Buyer	1
Traveler	1
Debtor	1
Assailant	1
Jurisdiction	1
Interlocutor_1	1
Buyer	1
Target_Group	1
Protection	1
User	1
Reciepient	1
Arguers	1
Controlling_entity	1
Individual_1	1
researcher	1
Parent_organization	1
Perceiver_agentive	1
Supply	1
Payer	1
Survivor	1
Experiencer	1
Individuals	1
Phenomenon	1
Type	1
Designer	1
Interlocutors	1
Donor	1
Interested_party	1
Medic	1
Member	1
Grand Total	1777

Appendix E: Complete List of Frames for the Pronoun 'I' Across Varieties

Appendix E1: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'I' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Statement	58	Attempt	2
Desiring	56	Adducing	2
Opinion	41	Categorization	2
Certainty	32	Be in agreement on assessment	2
Awareness	29	Trust	2
Attempt suasion	21	Regard	1
Emotion_directed	15	Intentionally_act	1
Telling	13	Remembering_information	1
Reliance	12	Judgment_direct_address	1
Speak_on_topic	11	Text_creation	1
Imposing_obligation	11	Likelihood	1
Request	10	Activity_start	1
Convey_importance	10	Travel	1
Capability	10	Evoking	1
Topic	10	Using_Occasion	1
Mention	9	Taking	1
Judgment communication	8	Explaining the facts	1
Purpose	6	Cause to make progress	1
Expectation	6	Affirm_or_deny	1
Possibility	5	Rejuvenation	1
Emphasizing	5	Appointing	1
Memory	5	Assessing	1
Inspecting	5	Grasp	1
Judgment	5	Building	1
Commitment	4	Have associated	1
Reliance_on_expectation	4	Attitude_description	1
Deciding	4	Activity_ongoing	1
Indicating	4	Supporting	1
Communication	3	Coming to believe	1
Being_obligated	3	Intentionally_create	1
Possession	3	Punctual_perception	1
Expressing_publicly	3	Correctness	1
Inchoative_attaching	3	Coming_up_with	1
Commonality	3	Referring_by_name	1
Daring	2	Linguistic_meaning	1
Attention	2	Verdict	1
Placing	2	Make_agreement_on_action	1
Becoming_aware	2	Cause_to_perceive	1
Summarizing	2	Grand Total	484
Needing	2		
Communication_response	2		

Appendix E2: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'I' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Desiring	58	Expressing_publicly	2
Emotion_directed	40	Evoking	2
Statement	35	Attitude_description	2
Imposing_obligation	33	Posture	2
Request	30	Grasp	2
Commitment	26	Reporting	2
Opinion	18	Categorization	2
Judgment_direct_address	14	Deny_or_grant_permission	2
Telling	12	Emotions_by_stimulus	2
Expectation	12	Choosing	2
Attempt_suasion	12	Arriving	2
Activity_start	12	Communication	2
Awareness	12	Likelihood	2
Certainty	11	Reasoning	2
Judgment_communication	10	Respond_to_proposal	2
Leadership	10	Remembering_information	2
Purpose	9	Sacrificing_for	2
Capability	7	Exemplar	2
Activity_ongoing	7	Emphasizing	2
Becoming_aware	7	Creating	2
Speak_on_topic	6	Luck	2
Daring	6	Subjective_influence	2
Mention	6	Make_acquaintance	2
Possession	5	Deciding	2
Meet_with	5	Making_arrangements	2
Using	4	Wearing	2
Perception_experience	4	Change_of_leadership	2
State_continue	4	Discussion	2
Receiving	4	Evidence	1
Work	4	Cause_to_perceive	1
Have_associated	4	Giving	1
Feeling	4	Building	1
Being_obligated	4	Labeling	1
Intentionally_create	4	Importance	1
Memory	3	Taking_sides	1
Stimulate_emotion	3	Be in agreement on assessment	1
Judgment	3	Warning	1
Linguistic meaning	3	Ordinal numbers	1
Communicate_categorization	2	Self_motion	1
Submitting_documents	2	Activity_prepare	1
Referring_by_name	2	Becoming_a_member	1

Frames	Frequencies
Cause_benefit_or_detriment	1
Summarizing	1

Performers_and_roles	1
Thwarting	1
Placing	1
Visiting	1
Indicating	1
Willingness	1
Inspecting	1
Seeking to achieve	1
Presence	1
Sending	1
Continued_state_of_affairs	1
Criminal_investigation	1
Intentionally_act	1
Experiencer_focused_emotion	1
Contrition	1
Duplication	1
Worry	1
Taking	1
Reliance_on_expectation	1
Give_impression	1
Activity_finish	1
Tolerating	1
Expend_resource	1
Verification	1
Cotheme	1
Visitor_and_host	1
Resolve_problem	1
Attending	1
Cause_change_of_position_on_a_scale	1
Guest_and_host	1
Rite	1
Perception_active	1
Invitation	1
Grand Total	561

Appendix E3: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'I' in the South African Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Statement	38	Placing	1
Judgment_direct_address	21	Be_in_agreement_on_assessment	1
Emotion_directed	19	Possession	1
Certainty	17	Communication	1
Intentionally_act	17	Expressing_publicly	1
Request	14	Confronting_problem	1
Desiring	10	Fear	1
Offering	6	Supply	1
Receiving	5	Feeling	1
Topic	5	Activity_resume	1
Awareness	4	Cause_to_be_included	1
Summarizing	4	Using	1
Stimulate_emotion	4	Becoming_a_member	1
Have_associated	4	Wearing	1
Telling	4	Risky_situation	1
Required_event	4	Grasp	1
Trust	4	Grand Total	240
Gathering up	3		
Capability	3		
Posture	3		
Convey_importance	3		
Meet with	3		
Giving	2		
Perception active	2		
Activity start	2		
Hostile encounter	2		
Becoming aware	2		
Sign agreement	2		
Referring by name	2		
Speak on topic	2		
Opinion	2		
Intentionally create	2		
Communication response	1		
Using resource	1		
Judgment	1		
Discussed	1		
Social event	1		
Categorization	1		
Activity ready state	1		
Experiencer_focused_emotion	1		
Making arrangements	1		
waxing_arrangements	1		

Appendix E4: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'I' in the US Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Request	157	Possession	5
Statement	103	Travel	4
Desiring	91	Summarizing	4
Awareness	67	Bringing	4
Opinion	55	Discussion	4
Perception_experience	26	Activity_ready_state	4
Judgment_direct_address	25	Making_arrangements	4
Sending	24	Creating	4
Intentionally_act	24	Likelihood	4
Attempt_suasion	23	Attempt	3
Activity_start	18	Posture	3
Certainty	14	Attitude_description	3
Commitment	14	Deny_or_grant_permission	3
Emotion_directed	13	Emphasizing	3
Have_associated	11	Giving	3
Purpose	11	Delivery	3
Telling	10	Arriving	3
Preventing_or_letting	9	Coming_to_believe	3
Text_creation	9	Seeking	3
Leadership	8	Trust	3
Judgment	8	Assistance	3
Experiencer_focused_emotion	8	Visiting	3
Taking_sides	7	Finish_competition	3
Activity_ongoing	7	Hear	3
Becoming_aware	6	Using	2
Submitting_documents	6	People_by_vocation	2
Collaboration	6	Mental_property	2
Grasp	6	Gathering_up	2
Willingness	6	Subjective_influence	2
Be_in_agreement_on_assessment	6	Cogitation	2
Motion	6	Locative_relation	2
Activity_stop	5	Going_back_on_a_commitment	2
Getting	5	Offering	2
Choosing	5	Coming_up_with	2
Competition	5	Standing_by	2
Being_located	5	Abandonment	2
Make_acquaintance	5	Expectation	2
Respond_to_proposal	5	Intentionally_create	2
Agree_or_refuse_to_act	5	Linguistic_meaning Cause change of	2
Appointing	5	position_on_a_scale	2
Perception_active	5	Traversing	1

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Serving_in_capacity	1	Enter_awareness	1
Enforcing	1	Performers_and_roles	1
Communication	1	Estimating	1
Activity_prepare	1	Candidness	1
Activity_done_state	1	Setting_out	1
Cause_to_end	1	Causation	1
Come_together	1	Commerce_pay	1
Scrutiny	1	Predicting	1
Locating	1	Stimulate_emotion	1
Eventive_affecting	1	Frequency	1
Greeting	1	Evoking	1
Text	1	Waiting	1
Compliance	1	Surrendering_possession	1
Commonality	1	Funding	1
Make_agreement_on_action	1	Assessing	1
Required_situation	1	Cause_to_continue	1
Confronting_problem	1	Expressing_publicly	1
Retaining	1	Reading_activity	1
Means	1	Age	1
Self_motion	1	Reforming_a_system	1
Becoming_a_member	1	Forming_relationships	1
Sign_agreement	1	Reliance	1
Correctness	1	Undergoing	1
Gaming	1	Remembering_experience	1
Needing	1	Labeling	1
Experiencer	1	Removing	1
Becoming	1	Waking_up	1
Tolerating	1	Prohibiting_or_licensing	1
Ontogeny	1	Protecting	1
Undergo_change	1	Imposing_obligation	1
Operating_a_system	1	Grand Total	1020
Reporting	1		
Being_obligated	1		
Required_event	1		
People_by_origin	1		
Resolve_problem	1		
Giving_in	1		
Responsibility	1		
Defending	1		
Reveal_secret	1		
Adopt_selection	1		

Appendix F: Complete List of Frames for the Pronoun 'We' Across Varieties

Appendix F1: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'We' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Possession	31	Perception_experience	3
Capability	24	Compliance	3
Activity_ongoing	24	Statement	3
Intentionally_act	23	Deciding	3
Seeking_to_achieve	13	Making_arrangements	3
Activity_start	13	Becoming_aware	3
Desiring	13	Purpose	3
Accomplishment	10	Gradable_proximity	3
Needing	9	State_continue	3
Cause_change_of_position_on_a_scale	9	Improvement_or_decline	3
Confronting_problem	8	Certainty	3
Required_event	8	Launch_process	3
Success_or_failure	8	Tolerating	3
Awareness	7	Stage_of_progress	2
Commemorative	7	Activity_ready_state	2
Progression	7	Surpassing	2
Cause_to_make_progress	6	Gathering_up	2
Attempt	6	Satisfying	2
Cause_change_of_strength	5	Taking_sides	2
Emotion_directed	5	Activity_finish	2
Opinion	5	Living_conditions	2
Thriving	5	Residence	2
Expectation	5	Coming_up_with	2
Intentionally_create	5	Responsibility	2
Hostile_encounter	5	Giving_in	2
Commitment	5	Cause_to_resume	2
Getting	5	People_by_jurisdiction	2
Grasp	5	Eventive_affecting	2
Execute_plan	5	Activity_pause	2
Meet_specifications	4	Categorization	2
Cogitation	4	Being_obligated	2
Giving	4	Interior_profile_relation	2
Choosing	4	Remembering_experience	2
Building	4	Likelihood	2
Abandonment	4	Manufacturing	2
Undergoing	4	Familiarity	1
Work	4	Regard	1
Importance	4	Waiting	1
Have_associated	4	Halt	1
Make_agreement_on_action	3	Activity_prepare	1
Resolve_problem	3	Conquering	1

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Assessing	1	Reforming_a_system	1
Hiding_objects	1	Collaboration	1
Receiving	1	Reliance	1
Hindering	1	Cause_benefit_or_detriment	1
Remembering_to_do	1	Entrusted	1
Hiring	1	Memory	1
Scrutiny	1	Request	1
Being_questionable	1	Motion	1
Suasion	1	Commomerative	1
Cotheme	1	Activity_stop	1
Trust	1	Be_in_agreement_on_assessment	1
Importing	1	Objective_influence	1
Aiming	1	Expend_resource	1
Criminal_investigation	1	Adopt_selection	1
Recovery	1	Expressing_publicly	1
Inspecting	1	Opportunity	1
Reliance_on_expectation	1	Speak_on_topic	1
Daring	1	Participation	1
Cause_to_perceive	1	Communicate_categorization	1
Intentionally_affect	1	People	1
Rewards_and_punishments	1	Store	1
Coming_to_be	1	Emotions_of_mental_activity	1
Self_motion	1	Communication	1
Degree	1	Perception_active	1
Becoming	1	Supporting	1
Judgment	1	Emphasizing	1
Successful_action	1	Going_back_on_a_commitment	1
Desirable_event	1	Personal_success	1
Change_event_time	1	Attention	1
Attitude_description	1	Placing	1
Arranging	1	Undergo_change	1
Difficulty	1	Cause_to_end	1
Being_active	1	Using_resource	1
Locating	1	Possibility	1
Encoding	1	Arriving	1
Avoiding	1	Preserving	1
Recording	1	Preventing_or_letting	1
Emotions_by_stimulus	1	Grand Total	491

Appendix F2: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'We' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Capability	42	State_continue	6
Activity_start	38	Discussion	6
Intentionally_act	36	Cause_change	6
Activity_ongoing	35	Undergoing	6
Have_associated	31	Opinion	5
Causation	25	Change_of_leadership	5
Progression	18	Categorization	5
Awareness	17	Desiring	5
Purpose	17	Supply	5
Expend_resource	17	Required_event	5
Cause_change_of_position_on_a_scale	16	Likelihood	5
Accomplishment	15	Importance	5
Intentionally_create	14	Reliance	4
Expectation	14	Tolerating	4
Building	14	Subjective_influence	4
Cause_to_make_progress	14	Certainty	4
Work	13	Motion	4
		Attempting_and_	
Becoming_aware	13	resolving_scenario	4
Commitment	12	Aiming	4
Activity_finish	11	Emphasizing	4
Seeking_to_achieve	11	Temporal_collocation	4
Statement	11	Eventive_affecting	4
Collaboration	11	Undergo_change	4
Attempt	10	Giving	4
Preventing_or_letting	10	Working_on	4
Confronting_problem	10	Political_locales	3
Deciding	9	Needing	3
Coming_up_with	9	Cause_to_perceive	3
People_by_origin	9	Cotheme	3
Possession	9	Performers_and_roles	3
Execute_plan	8	Attitude_description	3
Resolve_problem	8	Cause_to_end	3
Success_or_failure	8	Gathering_up	3
Perception_experience	7	Verification	3
Judgment_communication	7	Grasp	3
Cause_change_of_strength	7	Participation	3
Emotion_directed	7	Hostile_encounter	3
People_by_jurisdiction	6	Place_weight_on	3
Making_arrangements	6	Investment	3
Scrutiny	6	Recording	3
Desirable_event	6	Judgment	3

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Successful_action	3	Activity_pause	2
Being_obligated	3	Supporting	2
Using	3	Mental_property	2
Leadership	3	Undergo_transformation	2
Cause_to_start	3	Coming_to_be	2
Offering	3	Willingness	2
Assistance	2	Candidness	2
Perception_active	2	Dynamism	2
Commerce_pay	2	Justifying	1
Becoming	2	Respond_to_proposal	1
Adopt_selection	2	Verdict	1
Becoming_a_member	2	Meet_specifications	1
Submitting_documents	2	Sending	1
Activity_prepare	2	Cause_to_resume	1
Difficulty	2	Betray	1
Experiencer_focused_emotion	2	Growing_food	1
Earnings_and_losses	2	Give_impression	1
Fear	2	Being_awake	1
Coming_to_believe	2	Cause_impact	1
Finish_competition	2	Familiarity	1
Social_event	2	Stage_of_progress	1
Conquering	2	Be_in_agreement_on_action	1
Arranging	2	Lending	1
Assessing	2	Obviousness	1
Enforcing	2	Commonality	1
Continued_state_of_affairs	2	Communication	1
Catastrophe	2	Manner_of_life	1
Convey_importance	2	Operating_a_system	1
Be_in_agreement_on_assessment	2	Rescuing	1
Importing	2	Abandonment	1
Cause_benefit_or_detriment	2	Sacrificing_for	1
Being_born	2	Origin	1
Prohibiting_or_licensing	2	Seeking	1
Compliance	2	participants	1
Request	2	Simple_naming	1
Judgment_direct_address	2	Getting	1
Cause_expansion	2	Emotions_of_mental_activity	1
Launch_process	2	Abundance	1
Commerce_buy	2	Cause_to_fragment	1
Locative_relation	2	Imposing_obligation	1
Arriving	2	Surpassing	1

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Inclination	1	Level_of_force_resistance	1
Activity_done_state	1	Rashness	1
Activity_stop	1	Taking_time	1
Frugality	1	Receiving	1
Inclusion	1	Text	1
Activity_ready_state	1	Be_on_alert	1
Change_position_on_a_scale	1	Trust	1
Reparation	1	Recovery	1
Placing	1	Locating	1
Criminal_investigation	1	Referring_by_name	1
Political_actions	1	Estimating	1
Cause_to_wake	1	Rejuvenation	1
Inspecting	1	Evaluative_comparison	1
Responsibility	1	Being_in_control	1
Adjusting	1	Win_prize	1
Scheduling	1	Remembering_experience	1
Practice	1	Remembering_information	1
Secrecy_status	1	Membership	1
Installing	1	Memorization	1
Cause_to_be_included	1	Grand Total	940
Process_continue	1		
Sharing	1		
Intentional_traversing	1		
First_rank	1		
Getting_up	1		
Cause_to_continue	1		
Protecting	1		
Stimulate_emotion	1		
Publishing	1		
Giving_in	1		
Aggregate	1		
Departing	1		
Questioning	1		

Appendix F3: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'We' in the South African Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Activity_ongoing	115	Seeking_to_achieve	12
Statement	100	Attempt	12
Required_event	90	Offering	12
Intentionally_act	79	Giving	12
Activity_start	56	Cause_change_of_strength	11
Emotion_directed	55	Social_event	11
Desiring	52	Scrutiny	11
Cause_change_of_position_on			
_a_scale	48	Usefulness	11
Certainty	46	Cause_change	11
Causation	41	Motion	10
Intentionally_create	33	Response	10
Needing	30	Participation	10
Judgment_direct_address	28	Activity_prepare	9
Placing	27	Judgment	9
D	27	Make_agreement_	0
Request	27	on_action	9
Work	25	Using_resource	8
Cause_to_make_progress	24	Speak_on_topic	8
Activity_finish	24	Cause_expansion	8
Have_associated	24	Subjective_influence	8
Possession	23	Resolve_problem	8
Attempt_Suasion	22	Taking	8
Purpose	21	Perception_experience	7
Categorization	21	Progression	7
Verification	20	Choosing	7
Emphasizing	20	Mention	7
Commitment	20	Sign	7
Capability	18	Hostile_encounter	6
Building	17	Supply	6
Confronting_Problem	16	Becoming_aware	6
Execute_plan	16	Perception_active	6
Making_arrangements	16	Being_obligated	5
Communication	15	Remembering_experience	5
Expectation	15	Continued_state_of_affairs	5
Arriving	14	Assemble	5
Collaboration	14	Political_Locale	5
Deciding	14	Assistance	5
Accomplishment	13	Undergoing	5
Awareness	13	Stimulate_emotion	5
Have_as_requirement	13	Meet_specifications	5
Supporting	12	Cotheme	5
State_continue	12	Launch_process	5

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Aiming	5	Working_on	2
Cogitation	4	Tolerating	2
Success_or_failure	4	Summarizing	2
Self_motion	4	Amalgamation	2
Desirable_event	4	Imposing_obligation	2
Change_position_on_a_scale	4	Publishing	2
Adducing	4	Death	2
Commerce_goods-transfer	4	Cause_to_amalgamate	2
Attention	4	Activity_stop	2
Submitting_documents	4	Referring_by_name	2
Grasp	4	Creating	2
Using	4	Leadership	2
Judgment_communication	4	Commonality	2
People_by_origin	4	Representing	2
Come_together	3	Be_in_agreement_on_assessment	2
Convey_importance	3	Assessing	2
Commerce_pay	3	Duration_relation	2
Expressing_Publicly	3	Forging	2
Preference	3	Become_Aware	2
Getting	3	Cause_to_be_included	2
Scheduling	3	Inspecting	2
Giving_in	3	Membership	2
Bringing	3	Difficulty	2
Agree_or_refuse_to_act	3	Activity_ready_state	2
Travel	3	Discussion	2
Cause_motion	3	Sending	2
Reasoning	3	Visiting	2
Importance	3	Adopt_selection	2
Coming_up_with	3	Compliance	1
Inclusion	3	Commemorative	1
Seeking	3	Cause_to_end	1
Locating	3	Deny_or_grant_permission	1
Setting_out	3	Evaluative_comparison	1
Memory	3	Arranging	1
Conquering	3	Successful_action	1
Attending	3	Non-commutative_process	1
Taking_sides	3	Cause_to_fragment	1
Cause_to_perceive	3	Objective_influence	1
Becoming	3	Appointing	1
Performers_and_roles	3	Halt	1
Daring	3	Breaking_out_captive	1

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Opinion	1	Commerce_scenario	1
Make_Arrangement	1	Prohibiting_or_licensing	1
Cause_to_resume	1	Social_connection	1
Manufacturing	1	Provide_lodging	1
Passing	1	Give_impression	1
Correctness	1	Feeling	1
Pay_Tribute	1	Losing	1
Judgement_Direct_Address	1	Being_up_to_it	1
Being_in_operation	1	Evoking	1
Dispersal	1	Filling	1
Cause_to_start	1	stress	1
Funding	1	Receiving	1
Activity_resume	1	Make_cognitive_connection	1
Sign_agreement	1	Cause_benefit_or_detriment	1
Experiencer_focused_emotion	1	Dynamism	1
Speed_description	1	Regard	1
Place_weight_on	1	Cause_to_be_sharp	1
Stimulus_focus	1	Rejuvenation	1
Cause_harm	1	Control	1
Subordinates_and_superiors	1	Reliance	1
Hiring	1	Means	1
Manner_of_life	1	Installing	1
Political_operation	1	Telling	1
Taking_time	1	Remembering_information	1
Emotions_of_mental_activity	1	Becoming_a_member	1
Trust	1	Removing	1
Possibility	1	Undergo_change	1
Education_teaching	1	Reporting	1
Posture	1	Grant_permission	1
Rescuing	1	Attaching	1
Familiarity	1	Mental_stimulus_exp_focus	1
Respond_to_proposal	1	Coming_to_be	1
Prevent_or_allow_possession	1	Morality_evaluation	1
Cause_Process_continue	1	Frequency	1
Preventing_or_letting	1	Being_operational	1
Develop	1	Having_or_lacking_access	1
Process	1	heard	1
Duration_description	1	Grand Total	1896
Process_continue	1		
Sending	1		
Cognizer	1		

Appendix F4: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'We' in the US Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Intentionally_act	142	Protecting	14
Needing	98	Experiencer_focused_emotion	14
Cause_change_of_position_on_a_scale	76	Becoming_aware	14
Awareness	62	Certainty	14
Causation	54	Being_obligated	12
Required_event	52	Leadership	12
Collaboration	49	Cause_to_end	12
Activity_ongoing	47	Possibility	12
Perception_experience	39	Opinion	11
Have_associated	37	Cause_to_make_progress	11
Assistance	36	Intentionally_create	11
Desiring	34	Seeking_to_achieve	11
Activity_start	33	Judgment	10
Possession	32	Origin	10
Taking_sides	28	Evidence	10
Resolve_problem	26	Grasp	10
Capability	25	Manufacturing	9
Come together	24	Discussion	9
Confronting problem	23	Cause change	9
Hostile_encounter	23	Getting	9
State_continue	22	Using	9
Request	22	Attempt_suasion	9
Verification	21	People_by_origin	9
Work	20	Activity_finish	9
Giving	19	Conquering	9
Preventing_or_letting	18	Cause_to_perceive	9
Accomplishment	18	Expend_resource	9
Trust	18	Judgment_direct_address	9
Choosing	17	Chatting	9
Progression	17	Placing	9
Building	17	Emotion_directed	8
Success_or_failure	16	Sending	8
Likelihood	16	Supply	8
Abandonment	16	Political_locales	8
Activity_stop	15	Intentionally_affect	8
Remembering_experience	15	Coming_up_with	7
Supporting	15	Be_in_agreement_on_assessment	7
Rejuvenation	14	Activity_done_state	7
Compliance	14	Commerce_pay	7
Cause_change_of_strength	14	Thwarting	7
Statement	14	Commitment	7

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Delivery	7	Desirable_event	4
Commonality	7	Perception_active	4
Cause_expansion	7	Recovery	4
Beat_opponent	7	Kinship	4
Cause_to_continue	7	Difficulty	4
Removing	7	Candidness	4
Investment	7	Obviousness	4
Response	7	Execute_plan	4
Sacrificing_for	7	Improvement_or_decline	4
Funding	7	Tolerating	3
Education_teaching	6	Retaining	3
Arriving	6	Cotheme	3
Respond_to_proposal	5	Expectation	3
Locating	5	Sharing	3
Cause_to_be_included	5	Accompaniment	3
Expensiveness	5	Willingness	3
Deciding	5	Gathering_up	3
Statement	5	Agree_or_refuse_to_act	3
Purpose	5	Gradable_proximity	3
Make_agreement_on_action	5	Debt	3
Being_in_control	5	Launch_process	3
Making_arrangements	5	Speak_on_topic	3
Coming_to_believe	5	Assessing	3
Feeling	5	Waiting	3
Representing	5	Being_located	3
Morality_evaluation	5	Reasoning	3
Amalgamation	5	Abounding_with	3
Waver_between_options	4	Rescuing	3
Living_conditions	4	Commerce_scenario	3
Manner_of_life	4	Creating	3
Offering	4	Participation	3
Subjective_influence	4	Dead_or_alive	3
Change_position_on_a_scale	4	People	3
Taking	4	Self_motion	3
Counterattack	4	Breaking_out_captive	3
Commerce_buy	4	Sign_agreement	3
Rewards_and_punishments	4	Preserving	3
Storing	4	Attack	3
Emphasizing	4	Prevent_or_allow_possession	3
Being_at_risk	4	Undergoing	3
Scrutiny	4	Bringing	3

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Adopt_selection	3	Evoking	2
Questioning	3	Treating_and_mistreating	2
Deny_or_grant_permission	2	Daring	2
Using_resource	2	Undergo_change	2
Cause_to_amalgamate	2	Locale_closure	2
Activity_pause	2	Used_up	2
Meet_specifications	2	Losing	2
Enforcing	2	Attention	2
Differentiation	2	Experiencer_focus	2
Precariousness	2	Electricity	2
Earnings and losses	2	Defending	2
Becoming	2	Serving_in_capacity	2
People_by_jurisdiction	2	Performers and roles	2
Becoming a member	2	Judged	1
Mental property	2	System complexity	1
Hindering	2	Speaker	1
Affirm or deny	2	Non-gradable proximity	1
Activity_ready_state	2	Coming to be	1
Telling	2	Notification_of_charges	1
Importing	2	Setting out	1
Traversing	2	Besieging	1
Cause to start	2	Suasion	1
Examination	2	Commerce money-transfer	1
Attaching	2	Theme	1
Arranging	2	Operating a system	1
Reliance	2	Motion directional	1
Activity resume	2	Betrayal	1
Contacting	2	Exporting	1
Social interaction evaluation	2	Going_back_on_a_commitment	1
Replacing	2	Cause_motion	1
Finish competition	2	Part whole	1
Change_of_leadership	2	Level of force resistance	1
Stimulate emotion	2	Exclude member	1
Activity prepare	2	Forgoing	1
Destroying	2	Achieving first	1
Judgment communication	2	Forgoing	1
Surviving	2	Grooming	1
Killing	2	Freeing from confinement	1
Text creation	2	Commerce sell	1
Avoiding	2	Medical professional	1
Transition_to_a_state	2	People_by_vocation	1

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Change_event_time	1	Hiring	1
Breaking_apart	1	Justifying	1
Seeking	1	Quarreling	1
Halt	1	Sign	1
Change_of_quantity_of_possession	1	Emotions_by_stimulus	1
Cause_benefit_or_detriment	1	Social_desirability	1
Shopping	1	Identicality	1
Personal_success	1	Filling	1
Amassing	1	Connecting_architecture	1
Have_as_requirement	1	Speaker	1
Being_awake	1	Redirecting	1
Point_of_dispute	1	Demilitarization	1
Stimulus_focus	1	Reforming_a_system	1
Communication	1	Evaluative_comparison	1
Cogitation	1	Enter_awareness	1
Political_locales	1	Departing	1
Surrendering	1	Imposing_obligation	1
Agent	1	Annoyance	1
Taking_captive	1	Win_prize	1
Communication_response	1	Successful_action	1
Temporary_leave	1	Correctness	1
Posture	1	Cognitive_connection	1
Losing_someone	1	Repayment	1
Practice	1	Locative_relation	1
Manipulation	1	Arrest	1
Cause_to_fragment	1	Catastrophe	1
Means	1	Reporting	1
Presence	1	Aiming	1
Appointing	1	Inhibit_movement	1
Emptying	1	Temporal_collocation	1
Run_risk	1	Burying	1
Hiding_objects	1	Losing_it	1
Scheduling	1	Intentional_traversing	1
Compatibility	1	Categorization	1
Searching_scenario	1	Cause_to_resume	1
Competition	1	Luck	1
Calendric_unit	1	Reshaping	1
Endangering	1	Adjusting	1
Fear	1	Residence	1
Publishing	1	Typicality	1
Setting_fire	1	Cause_harm	1

Frames	Frequencies
Cause_change_of_consistency	1
Being_active	1

Eclipse	1
Cutting	1
Attitude_description	1
Intoxication	1
Being_up_to_it	1
Invading	1
Employing	1
Rising_to_a_challenge	1
Inheritance	1
Have_visitor_over	1
Grand Total	2271

Appendix G: Complete List of Frames for the Pronoun 'My' Across Varieties

Appendix G1: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'My' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frames	Frequencies
People_by_jurisdiction	82
Desiring	13
Opinion	6
Purpose	4
Emotion_directed	4
Performers_and_roles	4
Importance	3
Speak_on_topic	2
Statement	2
Certainty	2
Request	2
Visiting	1
Temporary_stay	1
Communication_response	1
Commitment	1
Timespan	1
Attention	1
Means	1
Stimulus_focus	1
Grand Total	132

Appendix G2: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'My' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Leadership	26	Text	1
Speak_on_topic	23	Change_of_leadership	1
Expectation	9	Judgment	1
Purpose	7	Emotion_directed	1
Commitment	7	Emotions_of_mental_activity	1
Opinion	5	Emphasizing	1
Body_parts	5	Grand Total	149
Attention	4		
Project	4		
Visiting	4		
Relation_between_individuals	3		
Communication_response	3		
Request	3		
Buildings	3		
Perception_active	3		

Subordinates_and_superiors	2
Discussion	2
Desiring	2
Co-association	2
Performers and roles	2
Presence	2
Kinship	2
Judgment_direct_address	2
Importance	1
Work	1
Telling	1
Being obligated	1
Appellations	1
Artifact	1
Inclination	1
Means	1
Travel	1
Compliance	1
Aggregate	1
Opportunity	1
Guest_and_host	1
People_by_jurisdiction	1
Subjective_influence	1
People_by_vocation	1
Supporting	1
Attempt_suasion	1

Appendix G3: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'My' in the South African Corpus

Frequencies
3
2
2
2
2
2
1
1
1
1
1
18

Appendix G4: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'My' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Leadership	30	People by vocation	1
Financial Project Proposal	29	Serving in capacity	1
Project	22	Evoking	1
People by jurisdiction	17	Buildings	1
Personal relationship	8	Possession	1
Workspace	8	Desiring	1
Kinship	7	Expected location of person	1
Being obligated	4	Financial obligation	1
Co-association	4	Grand Total	188
Respond to proposal	3		
Request	3		
Change of leadership	3		
Self Reliance	3		
Relation_between_individuals	2		
Attempt_suasion	2		
Importance	2		
Commitment	2		
Prople by epoch	2		
Speak on topic	2		
Statement	2		
Timespan	2		
Participation	2		
People_along_political_spectrum	2		
Leadership_duration	2		
Reforming_a_system	1		
Law	1		
Instance	1		
Limitation	1		
Protecting	1		
Manner_of_life	1		
Activity_start	1		
Opinion	1		
Judgment_direct_address	1		
Difficulty	1		
Accoutrements	1		
Education_teaching	1		
Recovery	1		
People_by_fame	1		
Authority	1		
Encoding	1		
Imposing_obligation	1		

Appendix H: Complete List of Frames for the Pronoun 'Our' Across Varieties

Appendix H1: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'Our' in the Cameroon Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Political locales	136	State_of_entity	4
People_by_jurisdiction	57	Member of military	4
Economy	52	Amalgamation	4
People by age	32	Accompaniment	4
Project	30	Desiring	4
Progression	25	Expectation	4
Work	23	Businesses	4
Purpose	21	Change of leadership	4
Cause change of position on a scale	18	Medical conditions	4
Education teaching	14	Importance	4
Possession	14	Importing	4
Manufacturing	14	Infrastructure	4
System	14	Compatibility	3
Organization	13	Improvement or decline	3
Reject leadership	12	Needing	3
Collaboration	11	Aggregate	3
Military	11	Means	3
Leadership system	10	Fields	3
Intentionally act	10	Competition	3
Institutions	9	Temporal collocation	3
Roadways	9	Hostile encounter	3
Agrarian	9	Trust	3
Boundary	9	Reforming a system	3
Attempt	8	Wealthiness	3
Exporting	8	Revolution	3
Funding	8	Agriculture	3
Law	8	Kinship	3
People_by_vocation	7	Bungling	3
Being_obligated	7	Relational_political_locales	2
Being_at_risk	7	Taking_sides	2
Leadership	7	Statement	2
Recovery	7	Choosing	2
Exchange	7	Alliance	2
Electricity	6	Catastrophe	2
Capability	6	Expensiveness	2
Accomplishment	6	Commerce_buy	2
Emotion_directed	5	Success_or_failure	2
Buildings	5	Commitment	2
Mining	5	Defending	2
Money	5	Documents	2
Locale_by_use	5	Earnings_and_losses	2

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
People_by_Locale_Proximity	2	Relation_between_countries	1
Repayment	2	Heritage	1
Idiosyncrasy	2	Remembering_experience	1
Individual_history	2	Be_on_alert	1
Political_Event	2	Request	1
Stimulate_emotion	2	Becoming_aware	1
Predicament	2	Research	1
Difficulty	2	Posture	1
Certainty	2	Differentiation	1
Diversity	2	Launch_process	1
Range	2	State_continue	1
Location_in_time	2	Predicting	1
Motion	2	Exemplar	1
Locales	1	Presence	1
Ingredients	1	Storing	1
Stage_of_progress	1	Emphasizing	1
Network	1	Successful_action	1
Limitation	1	Custom	1
Objective_influence	1	Frugality	1
Required_event	1	Being_operational	1
Opinion	1	Communicate_categorization	1
Freedom	1	Coming_to_believe	1
Attempt_obtain_mineral_scenario	1	Discussion	1
Travel	1	Records	1
Participation	1	Change_position_on_a_scale	1
Cause_expansion	1	Employment_end	1
Path_traveled	1	Judgment_communication	1
Expressing_publicly	1	Grand Total	873
Attempt_suasion	1		
Manner_of_life	1		
Authority	1		
Imposing_obligation	1		
Giving_in	1		
Friendly_or_hostile	1		
People_by_residence	1		
Taking_time	1		
Judgment_direct_address	1		
Unemployment_rate	1		
Perception_active	1		
Regard	1		
	_		

Personal_relationship

Appendix H2: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'Our' in the Ghanaian Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Political_locales	98	Competition	5
People_by_jurisdiction	78	Means	5
Economy	44	Resources	5
People_by_vocation	31	Military	5
Project	26	Intentionally_create	5
Kinship	22	Money	5
Law	22	Locale_by_ownership	5
People_by_age	21	Participation	4
Commitment	19	Undergo_change	4
Purpose	19	Change_of_leadership	4
Team	18	Diversity	4
Political_Project	17	Needing	4
Leadership	16	Intentionally_act	4
Education_teaching	15	Expectation	4
Aggregate	15	Manufacturing	4
Roadways	14	Exporting	4
Work	11	Medical_conditions	4
Borrowing	10	Agriculture	4
People_by_Locale_Proximity	10	Success_or_failure	3
Collaboration	10	Earnings_and_losses	3
Leadership_system	10	Difficulty	3
Locale_by_use	9	Emphasizing	3
Individual_history	9	Emotion_directed	3
Institutions	9	Taking_sides	2
Progression	8	Request	2
Possession	8	Appellations	2
Electricity	8	Manner_of_life	2
Attempt	8	Body_parts	2
Businesses	7	Importance	2
Infrastructure	7	Clothing_parts	2
Desiring	7	Cogitation	2
Deciding	6	Assistance	2
Opinion	6	Alternatives	2
Natural_features	6	Visiting	2
Custom	6	Member_of_military	2
Foreign_Colloboration_Law	6	Stage_of_progress	2
Being_obligated	6	Aiming	2
Discussion	6	Travel	2
Importing	6	Mining	2
Buildings	5	Political_actions	2
Foreign_or_domestic_country	5	Having_or_lacking_access	2

Frames	Frequencies		Frequencies
Predicament	2	Food	1
Destiny	2	Instance	1
Expertise	2	Funding	1
Accomplishment	2	Bungling	1
Resource	2	Membership	1
Hostile_encounter	2	Change_position_on_a_scale	1
Response	2	Boundary	1
Dominate situation	2	Performing_arts	1
Self motion	2	Experiencer focused emotion	1
People along political			
spectrum	2	Deserving	1
Weather	2	Capability	1
Attitude	2	Be in agreement on action	1
Adjacency	2	Capital stock	1
Authority	2	Becoming_aware	1
Trust	2	Fame	1
Awareness	2	Judgment	1
Attention	2	Stimulus focus	1
Performers and roles	2	Judicial body	1
Win prize	2	Familiarity	1
Breaking_out_captive	2	Just found out	1
Living conditions	$\frac{-}{2}$	Supply	1
Respond to proposal	1	Being_in_control	1
Text	1	Surviving	1
Substance	1	Protecting	1
Commemorative	1	Adducing	1
Gizmo	1	Public services	1
Cardinal numbers	1	Coming to be	1
Sharing	1	Expend resource	1
Committing crime	1	Getting	1
Supporting	1	Records	1
Organization	1	Violence	1
Vehicle subpart	1	Reject leadership	1
Communication	1	Wealthiness	1
Having commercial agreement	1	Relation between individuals	1
People	1	Gusto	1
Legal privilage	1	Reliance	1
Alliance	1	Labor product	1
State_of_entity	1	Artifact	1
Cause change of position	1	111111111111111111111111111111111111111	1
on a scale	1	Grand Total	894
Suitability	1	Granu Iviai	074
Attitude_description	1		
Autude_description	1		

Appendix H3: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'Our' in the South African Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Political_locales	265	Deciding	7
People_by_jurisdiction	156	Possession	7
Project	95	Businesses	7
Leadership	70	Judgment	7
Aggregate	48	Importance	6
Economy	46	Infrastructure	6
System	42	Request	6
Law	41	Judicial_body	6
Collaboration	28	People_by_Fame	6
Attempt	27	Activity_prepare	6
Being_obligated	25	Temporal_collocation	5
People_by_vocation	22	Roadways	5
Purpose	21	Representative	5
Law_enforcement_agency	20	Supporting	5
Accomplishment	18	Entity	5
Education_teaching	16	Locale	5
Leadership_system	16	Destiny	5
Work	15	Response	4
Desiring	14	Change_of_leadership	4
Commitment	13	State_of_entity	4
Intentionally_act	13	Offering	4
Emotion_directed	13	Capital_stock	4
Locale_by_use	13	Government_institution	4
Hostile_encounter	11	Expectation	4
Individual_history	11	Reject_leadership	4
Kinship	10	Boundary	4
Difficulty	10	Participation	4
Relation	10	People_by_age	4
Emphasizing	10	Exporting	4
Expertise	10	Public_services	4
Manner_of_life	9	Manufacturing	4
Judgment_direct_address	9	Expend_resource	3
Organization	9	Freedom	3
Capability	9	Self_motion	3
Body_parts	9	Institutions	3
Cause_expansion	8	Artifact	3
Progression	8	Diversity	3
Attack	8	Replacing	3
Successful_action	8	Military	3
Guest_and_host	8	Speak_on_topic	3
Team	7	Opinion	3

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Statement	3	Adjusting	1
People	3	Assigned_location	1
Awareness	3	People by origin	1
People by Locale Proximity	3	Sequence	1
Means	2	People_by_residence	1
Trial	2	Medical_conditions	1
Competition	2	Attitude_description	1
Clothing	2	Submitting_documents	1
Building	2	Weapon	1
Law_enforcement	2	Money_Saving	1
Money	2	Win_prize	1
Employing	2	Needing	1
Timetable	2	Political_Independence	1
Undergo_change	2	Labor_product	1
Fields	2	Apartheid	1
Wealthiness	2	Verdict	1
Sharing	2	Assessing	1
Prison	2	Responsibility	1
Buildings	2	Posture	1
Existence	2	Improvement_or_decline	1
Network	2	Presence	1
Attention	2	Measure_duration	1
Thriving	2	Legal_privilage	1
Commemorative	2	Social_Media_Account	1
Touring	2	Examination	1
Human_Resource	2	Stage_of_progress	1
Assistance	2	Appellations	1
Being_at_risk	2	Change_position_on_a_scale	1
Estimating	2	Inspecting	1
Personal_relationship	2	Success_or_failure	1
Importing	1	Locale_by_ownership	1
Having_or_lacking_access	1	Compatibility	1
Change_of_quantity_of_possession	1	Bounded_entity	1
Custom	1	Morality_evaluation	1
Usefulness	1	Cure	1
Co-association	1	Name_conferral	1
Social_connection	1	Relational_political_locales	1
Dead_or_alive	1	Topic	1
Getting	1	Relational_quantity	1
Certainty	1	Activity_start	1
Discussion	1	Reliance_on_expectation	1

Frames	Frequencies
Undergoing	1
Economic_connection	1
Vehicle	1
Being_in_control	1

Visiting	1
Communication	1
Attempt_suasion	1
Expressing_publicly	1
Craft	1
Political_Liberty	1
Locative_relation	1
Grand Total	1513

Appendix H4: Complete List of Frames for the pronoun 'Our' in the US Corpus

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Political_locales	213	Leadership_system	9
Kinship	100	Information_Source	9
Economy	82	Custom	8
People_by_jurisdiction	81	Similarity	8
Member_of_military	70	Range	8
Military	55	Biological_area	8
Alliance	43	Destiny	8
Leadership	37	Fields	7
Education_teaching	36	Defending	7
Purpose	36	Capital_stock	7
Being_obligated	33	Reliance	7
Law	32	Aggregate	7
Being_at_risk	26	Employing	7
Friendly_or_hostile	24	Weapon	7
Relation_between_individuals	23	Assistance	7
State_of_entity	23	Means	7
Commitment	22	Difficulty	7
Work	21	Intentionally_act	7
Money	21	People_by_epoch	6
Alternatives	20	Political_Organization	6
Importance	20	Subordinates_and_superiors	6
Identicality	19	Hostile_encounter	6
Capability	18	Progression	6
Project	17	Manufacturing	6
System	17	Recovery	6
Boundary	15	Appellations	6
Buildings	15	Political_Independence	6
Epoch	15	Vehicle	6
Individual_history	14	Travel	5
Manner_of_life	14	Billing	5
Locale_by_use	14	Supporting	5
People_by_vocation	13	Certainty	5
Opinion	13	Institutions	5
Collaboration	12	Location_in_time	5
Relational_location	10	Thriving	5
Desiring	10	Possession	5
Authority	10	People_by_origin	5

Businesses	10	Predicament	5
Borrowing	10	Commercial_transaction	5
Foreign_or_domestic_country	10	Experiencer_focused_emotion	4
Body parts	9	Substance	4

Frames	Frequencies	Frames	Frequencies
Deciding	4	Advantage	2
Exporting	4	Attributes	2
Cause_change_of_			
position_on_a_scale	4	Trust	2
Getting	4	Categorization	2
Services_System	4	Funding	2
Commerce_scenario	4	Communication	2
Diversity	4	Choosing	2
Competition	4	Fear	2
Success_or_failure	4	Military_operation	2
		Cause_change_of_position	
Opportunity	4	on_a_scal	2
Electricity	4	Subjective_influence	2
Earnings_and_losses	4	Measure_duration	2
Roadways	4	Gusto	2
People by Locale Proximity	4	Freedom	2
Natural features	4	Taking sides	2
Secrecy status	3	Protecting	2
Attempt	3	Undergoing	2
Being employed	3	Conduct	2
Infrastructure	3	Network	2
Relation	3	Medical conditions	2
Judgment direct address	3	Fame	2
Unemployment rate	3	Food	2
Legal_previlage	3	Being_in_control	1
Importing	3	Adopt_selection	1
Manner	3	Storing	1
Creating	3	Becoming aware	1
Change_of_leadership	3	Undergo_transformation	1
Relation_between_Countries	3	Judgment_communication	1
Medical_professionals	3	Giving	1
Grasp	3	Perception_experience	1
Morality_evaluation	3	Having_commercial_agreement	1
Needing	3	Chance	1
Perception_active	3	Candidness	1
Emphasizing	2	Exemplar	1
Supply	2	Aiming	1
Daring	2	Improvement_or_decline	1
Occupy_rank	2	Sacrificing_for	1
Locale_by_ownership	2	Attack	1
People_by_age	2	Social_connection	1
Artifact	2	Cause_benefit_or_detriment	1
Discussion	2	Limitation	1

Frames	Frequencies
Food	1

Grand Total	894
Artifact	1
Labor_product	1
Reliance	1
Gusto	1
Relation_between_individuals	1
Wealthiness	1
Reject leadership	1
Violence	1
Records	1
Getting	1
Expend resource	1
Coming_to_be	1
Public services	1
Adducing	1
Protecting	1
Surviving	1
Being in control	1
Supply	1
Just found out	1
Familiarity	1
Stimulus_focus Judicial body	1
Judgment Stimulus focus	1
	1
Becoming_aware Fame	1 1
Capital_stock	1
Be_in_agreement_on_action	1
Capability	1
Deserving	1
Experiencer_focused_emotion	1
Performing_arts	1
Boundary	1
Change_position_on_a_scale	1
Membership	1
Bungling	1
Funding	1
Instance	1
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