A CORPUS-DRIVEN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TRANSCRIPTS OF HUGO CHÁVEZ'S
TELEVISION PROGRAMME '*ALÓ PRESIDENTE*'

by

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ABSTRACT

This study proposes a methodology that combines techniques from corpus linguistics with theory from the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The methodology is demonstrated using a corpus comprising transcripts of Hugo Chávez's television programme, *Aló Presidente*, broadcast between January 2002 and June 2007.

In this thesis, I identify a number of criticisms of CDA and suggest that corpus linguistics can be used to reduce the principle risks: over-/under-interpretation of data and ensuring that the examples used are representative. I then present a methodology designed to minimise these effects, based upon a hypothesis that semantic fields are used more frequently in periods when they are topical, and therefore one can isolate instances which were produced at times of change. I use the *Aló Presidente* corpus to present a detailed description of three such semantic fields and then adopt the concept of discourse strategies from the DHA to demonstrate how Chávez's framing of the topics changes with time. This leads to a set of conclusions which seek to answer the research question:

How is life in Venezuela framed as having changed under Chávez's Presidency by reference to his *Aló Presidente* television programme during the period 2002-2007?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

In this thesis I present a methodology which integrates techniques from corpus linguistics

with others from Critical Discourse Analysis in order to permit an investigation into the

discourse strategies used by President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela in his *Aló Presidente*

television programme, between 2002 and 2007.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a broad field which focuses upon the linguistic analysis

of political texts (including both written and spoken texts). The nature of CDA will be

discussed in chapter 2, in which many of the problems with the approach will be highlighted.

Practitioners of CDA have themselves acknowledged some of these issues and the solutions

these practitioners have proposed will also be described. One such solution is the idea of

triangulation which is implemented in the Discourse-Historical approach to CDA, discussed

in section 2.5.

The DHA is demonstrated in chapter 3, which reports a pilot study, using just a short excerpt

of one of the *Aló Presidente* transcripts. As a result of this investigation, a number of

shortcomings are noted, foremost among which is the fact that the choice of a particular

passage for study is likely to influence the results. In section 3.3.5, therefore, I conclude that

the best solution would be to use <u>all</u> available texts for such a study, rather than merely

selecting an excerpt.

Chapter 4 describes corpus linguistics – the analysis of language using statistical

methodologies in the form of computer programs – and I suggest that some of the techniques

from this field might be used to provide a selection of candidate passages for study using the

DHA. I note that this procedure would also allow the researcher to reduce the risk of bias since these candidates could be selected prior to any contextual and background research, thereby enabling a very neat distinction of the raw results from the (interpreted, and therefore inherently fallible) conclusions drawn from them.

My aim, therefore, is to create a methodology which adds a step to the DHA methodology. This step uses corpus linguistics to select candidate concordance lines for the DHA study from a corpus, thereby ensuring that the entire corpus is considered and so minimising the risk that the choice of a particular excerpt could cause the DHA study to be unrepresentative of the whole.

This methodology is described in section 5.1 and is based on a simple hypothesis: that **topics which become more or less important over time will be discussed respectively more or less frequently**. I argue that if one takes a number of political texts produced over a period of time, being of the same genre and having (as far as is possible) a consistent audience and setting, any differences in the frequency of types (distinct words) between the individual texts in the collection are likely to be related to the changing topicality of issues related to those types. I present the software (Perl scripts) and the procedure required to perform the necessary calculations, which results in a list of types whose frequency has changed the most at different points in the corpus (the 'most-changed types').

In order to demonstrate this methodology, I use the *Aló Presidente* corpus. As described in section 5.3, this was formed by collecting the transcripts of Chávez's *Aló Presidente* television programme, originally broadcast between January 2002 and June 2007, and totalling over seven million tokens (running words).

In accordance with my hypothesis, I propose, in section 6.1, that many of the most-changed types are indeed semantically-related, suggesting that the topics to which they relate had changed in importance to President Chávez (such a conclusion would not, of course, be so evident had only one type in a semantic field changed in frequency). Three such fields ('Venezuela', 'political doctrines' and 'the social missions') are then selected for further investigation in chapters 7-9 respectively, in a study which aims to provide an answer to the following research question:

How is life in Venezuela framed as having changed under Chávez's Presidency by reference to his *Aló Presidente* television programme during the period 2002-2007?

To do this, a further part of my methodology is used (in sections 6.2-6.4), in which the main collocates of the most-changed types are identified and the concordance lines from those periods when the collocation changed the most in frequency are selected. This results in a list of candidate concordance lines for each of the semantic fields.

Meanwhile, for each of the semantic fields being studied, a specific research question is formulated (see section 5.1.1.9). This research question is related to, but is separate from, the main research question presented above. The candidate concordance lines which are considered relevant to the specific research question for that semantic field are analysed using the DHA in chapters 7-9. It is the conclusions from each of these specific research questions which are then used to form the conclusion to the main research question in section 10.1.

Finally, section 10.2 provides a critique of the methodology, discussing its strengths and weaknesses, before highlighting potential further research.

1.2 VENEZUELA UNDER CHÁVEZ

Whilst the aim of this investigation is not to provide a complete analysis of Chávez's language, nor to critique the President's policies, but rather to offer a procedure for using all available texts in a DHA study, it is useful to explain the context in which the discourse was created. Most of this background information will be provided where required in this thesis but the following description is a brief overview of the Venezuelan situation.

President Hugo Chávez Frías is the President of Venezuela. He is widely recognised to be one of the world's more controversial leaders. Originally from a poor background, he rose through the ranks of the Venezuelan army to become a politics lecturer, and then the leader of a failed military *coup* in 1992. He was released from prison in 1998 and won the Presidential election the following year. His aim of helping the poor through social 'missions' was central to his policies during his first term, during which Chávez also survived a *coup* in 2002 and a recall referendum in 2004. The President won a second term in an election in December 2006, following which he nationalised many key industries, declaring the country to be on a path to socialism. Despite allegations of mismanagement, corruption and restrictions on media freedoms, in February 2009, the electorate backed a constitutional change allowing Chávez to stand for an unprecedented third term.

Besides Chávez, the other key figure who will be mentioned regularly during this thesis is Simón Bolívar. Bolívar (1783-1830) was the principle military leader who won Venezuela's independence from Spain alongside much of the north of the South American continent. He had travelled widely in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century and is said to have been influenced both by the atmosphere of Napoleonic France and by the pre-revolutionary writings of that country's republican movement (Gott, 2005: 94-95). Gott has described the

reverence still afforded to Bolívar in Venezuela as being like that of a '*secular cult*' (2005:

91) and one of the main findings of my work will be that Chávez not only uses Bolívar's ideas

to legitimise his own policies but also that Chávez actively seeks to emulate his predecessor

as President, in order to derive benefit from the popular veneration of Bolívar.

1.3 Aló Presidente

For the corpus linguist, President Chávez is particularly interesting because the Venezuelan Ministry for Popular Power in Communication and Information (MINCI) releases onto the World Wide Web transcripts of the President's television programme *Aló Presidente* (which is broadcast, live, typically for between five and six hours most weeks). It is because of the availability of this unusual data source that Venezuela was chosen as the subject of my research, rather than any a personal alignment with or against Chávez's politics. As I stress in section 2.5.1, I believe that this distance helps to minimise the risk of bias in my interpretations, another issue over which much CDA work has been criticised. This does mean, however, that I do not feel it appropriate to draw any particular conclusions in regard to the implications of my findings for Venezuelan politicians, which would be a hallmark of most CDA studies (see section 3.2.7).

To explain a weekly television programme in a written document is obviously very difficult, and so, over the following pages, a summary of one (reasonably typical) edition, number 294 from 16th September 2007, is given. The appendix, section 11.1, includes a picture taken at roughly fifteen-minute intervals during the same programme, along with a brief description of what was happening at the time. As with most editions, this was an outside-broadcast and, on this day, it came from a gas field. Unsurprisingly, the main topic for the programme was gas.

From a multi-modal perspective there is much to say about the programme, and it is worth briefly noting a few of the main points. First, the early parts of the programme seem to reveal Chávez as a man of the people, friendly, and open to meeting the workers. As is usual, there is also a pre-recorded summary of the main issues to be raised which follows this.

The main content of the programme from then on is a conversation between Chávez and some PDVSA representatives about gas and its importance to Venezuela. Additional short segments include one where a local resident talks about the poverty in the area, despite financial benefits of the gas. Chávez uses this occasion to highlight his aim of redistributing the wealth of Venezuela's natural resources to the poor.

A little later, the BBC's John Sweeney asks Chávez a question. This was done in a mixture of English and Spanish, with live interpreting. Foreigners, and especially journalists, are commonly featured on the programme, and are used to demonstrate to the Venezuelan people that there is international interest in Venezuela and its policies.

The use of children and traditional music, often especially composed and with lyrics describing Chávez's presidential qualities, not only breaks up the monotony, but again can be seen as allowing Chávez to express his family side. At the end of this particular edition, he is seen dancing, and he is also known for singing along to traditional songs and sometimes unexpectedly breaks into unaccompanied song himself during his monologues. Demonstrating his qualities as a 'normal person' is also presumably Chavez's aim in showing the early photographs of himself towards the end of the programme. It may also be to encourage family viewing of the programme.

One of the final regular features is the press review, which is often accompanied by a book review. This gives Chávez the opportunity to comment on reports about his government's policies and about himself which have appeared in the generally hostile printed press, and also on television. Any books which he describes are often in favour of his policies or consist of interviews with Chávez. Many of these are subsequently republished and distributed free-of-charge by the MINCI.

2   LITERATURE REVIEW I: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

2.1   INTRODUCING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

2.1.1   A Definition

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) began at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s but it was approximately a further twenty years before a distinct group of researchers began developing it (M. Meyer, 2001: 4-5). The distinctive feature of work in CDA is that it is interdisciplinary, studying not only texts themselves but how they are created by society and how they interact with that society, its history and traditions, and with other texts. Contextual features such as power, history and ideologies are therefore central to a CDA study (M. Meyer, 2001: 3).

According to Van Dijk,

> *One of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions.*

> (Van Dijk, 1996: 84)

What distinguishes Critical Discourse Analysis from being merely Discourse Analysis has been summarised by Fairclough, one of the key figures in CDA, as being that:

> Critical *is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be*
>
> *hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology…*

<div align="right">(Fairclough, 2001: 4)[1]</div>

Fairclough has recognised that language affects our understanding of the world around us, since it is intended especially to mobilise us. But political discourse does not occur as an individual instance. Rather, we are being constantly subjected to a range of individual *'discursive events'* which together form part of an *'order of discourse'*: the discourses and genres prevalent in such settings as in Parliament and on television (Fairclough, 1997: 86).

In turn, these *'orders of discourse'* will affect the *'social order'*: the perception of the world by society. It is the links between these three levels which Fairclough sees as the topic of CDA:

> *A critical perspective on discourse is for me a perspective which is concerned with*
> *showing up often opaque connections between language and other aspects of society*
> *and culture. I am particularly interested in how changing discursive practices relate to*
> *wider process of contemporary social and cultural change.*

<div align="right">(Fairclough, 1997: 86)</div>

Indeed, in investigating the relationship between a text and the *'order of discourse'* in which it is situated, much of great value has been written, particularly about how lexical choice (including euphemism and metaphor) and interpretation affect political discourse.[2] Gaffney, for example, used CDA to investigate the party conference addresses given by David Owen, David Steel, Neil Kinnock and Margaret Thatcher in 1986, with the aim of comparing their

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[1] Fairclough is referring here to Critical Language Study, now commonly known as CDA

[2] See Wilson (2001) for a good summary of these studies.

differing concepts of leadership. Features that his analysis uncovered included humour, issues of morality, biblical reference, maxims, reference to tradition and ideology as well as legitimisation by reference to notable historical figures (Tennyson for Steel and Shelley for Kinnock) (Gaffney, 1991).

It has been said that there is *'no specific approach'* used in CDA (De Melo Resende, 2009: 364). This is a stance which Wodak also supports:

> *'We concluded above that CDA does not constitute a well-defined empirical methodology but rather a bulk of approaches with theoretical similarities and research questions of a specific kind. But there is no CDA way of gathering data, either.'*
>
> (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 27)

That said, there <u>are</u> two broad approaches to CDA analyses. The first of these is what I shall term the 'traditional' method, using manual analysis of typically short, selected passages, which will be described in the remaining part of this chapter. The other version, which has become popular over the last decade, is a form which uses larger text corpora to investigate the features. This will be discussed in section 4.3.

What is true for both forms of CDA, however, is the somewhat paradoxical situation in which Critical Discourse analyses are more concerned with analysing the linguistic features in the text, whilst their concluding criticisms are often focussed on the text's message. At the analysis stage, it is not so much the overt message which is seen to be of interest but rather the linguistic resources which create it:

CDA strongly relies on linguistic categories. This does not mean, of course, that topics

and contents play no role, but the core operationalizations depend on linguistic

concepts such as actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation and so on.

(Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 28)[3]

Given this emphasis, typical conclusions arising from CDA work, which relate to the whole

text in context, do not always seem to sit easily with the analysis on which they are

supposedly based. An example of this might be Holmes' analysis of a workplace interaction

between Tom (the boss) and Linda (who has gone to Tom's office to complain that she had

been passed over for a promotion which she had been promised, in favour of another

colleague). The meeting has ended amicably, with Tom promising *'next time it happens and*

if it does happen again then yeah sure no difficulties', to which Linda has responded *'okay*

thanks' (Holmes, 2005: 55). Holmes' conclusions about this passage seem to bear little

resemblance to the original. Whilst both participants are said to exhibit the qualities of the

other gender, for example, Holmes argues that this leaves Tom in a stronger position because

of his gender:

Tom draws on a range of strategies ranging from those which are stereotypically

associated with masculinity and overtly doing power, through to more 'feminine'

strategies aimed at [...] negotiating an acceptable outcome. Linda similarly behaves

both in ways that are stereotypically 'feminine', expressing deference [...] and in

more 'masculine' ways by contesting Tom's account of how her situation arose.

[...] [G]ender is never explicit [...] it operates in the background, constraining the

behaviour of each participant, but arguably restricting Linda's options more strongly

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[3] It is acknowledged that Wodak has, in recent years, tended to adopt the corpus-based CDA methodology, rather than the traditional one which is the focus of this section. Nevertheless, her comments are still applicable to both approaches.

than Tom's. In other words, gender acts as a framework which implicitly legitimizes

Tom's assertive behaviour.

(Holmes, 2005: 55)

I do not wish to suggest that Holmes' conclusion is necessarily incorrect. Rather, I argue that by starting from an analysis of such linguistic categories as actors and argumentation in specific excerpts from the transcript and using these to form a broader set of conclusions about the content of the interaction as a whole and its relationship to workplace discourse in general, she may be overplaying the issue of gender and not accounting for other factors (such as the relative seniority of the participants, which Holmes barely mentions).

The other notable feature of all CDA studies (both traditional and corpus-based), then, is the fact that they aim towards a conclusion which may be applied. This, in turn, means that some types of discourse are more appropriate for CDA studies than others. Fairclough believes that the optimum study is one in which the discourse is *'perceived by those involved as having real significance in their own lives and experience'* (Fairclough, 2001: 217).

At this point, more concrete examples of CDA work are called for. Many valuable studies of politics involving Venezuela have originated within CDA, and there is regrettably insufficient space here to cover more than just a couple (although other examples will be given at various points in this thesis). One example, however, is Aponte Moreno's PhD dissertation, which contains a detailed survey of President Chávez's use of metaphor in nine individual texts (including two *Aló Presidente* transcripts). Commentators have noted that metaphor is a key feature of political language (see Partington's example of game metaphor, page 113), used to obscure and clarify meaning, to personify political forces and to convey double meanings (Taran, 2000: 127-128). Aponte Moreno's explanation for the importance of metaphor is that

logical deduction from metaphors can lead people to conclusions which the politician him- or herself does not need specifically to articulate:

> *[I]n the conceptual metaphor VENEZUELA ES UNA MADRE, the following entailments may arise depending on the person's believes* [sic] *and experiences: Venezuela deserves respect, Venezuela wants us to love each other (as brothers and sisters), Venezuela deserves protection, Venezuela is sacred, Venezuela deserves the greatest honesty, etc. Each entailment may have further entailments, which result in a large net of entailments.*

<div align="right">(Aponte Moreno, 2008: 47)</div>

This is, I believe, a very neat example of CDA since it highlights a specific feature by which audiences might well be influenced without them being explicitly aware of it.

Similarly, Montero and Rodriguez-Mora reach some interesting conclusions regarding the strategies used by three Latin American politicians in their arguments. In particular, they note the use of de-personalisation as a means to avoid directly acknowledging an opposition argument, giving the example of Caldera's '*There are those who think that in order to overcome the crisis we ought...*' (Montero and Rodriguez-Mora, 1998: 94). Linked to this is the use of what they refer to as '*de-politicizing terms to evade conflict*', as where Menem avoids mentioning working-class poverty by referring to '*The humble; the more dispossessed; those who are simply hungry*' (Montero and Rodriguez-Mora, 1998: 97). They also identify examples of juxtaposition being used to establish (implicit) links between two or more ideas. Montero and Rodriguez-Mora highlight Cardoso's assertion (in which he leaves the audience to apply his comments to himself) that '*The leader of a democratic country has to listen.* [He] *cannot decide impulsively, in order only to please*' (Montero and Rodriguez-Mora, 1998: 95).

The aim of most CDA studies, as with the two preceding examples, is ultimately to uncover how linguistic resources which make up a text are used within the political realm with the aim of influencing populations. This is surely a worthy goal, and one which is in line with the objectives of my own study. With this comes a range of other problems, however, which have often led to criticism of CDA methodologies. It is these issues upon which I will focus next.

2.1.2 Subjectivity in CDA

It was noted above that Fairclough believes CDA to be most apt for studies which have significance for those involved but one of the predominant criticisms of CDA is that researchers often choose the texts precisely because they are involved, and this, in turn, risks subjectivity in their analyses. For example, Wilson observes that in studies by both Stubbs and Van Dijk, '*social and political judgements have been made before analysis commences*' (Wilson, 2001: 411). Wodak (herself a strong proponent of CDA) agrees that this is problematic and so warns that '*all possible systematic reading should be considered*' (Wodak, 2009: 314), although one doubts that this is ever truly possible, given that it is human nature to have preconceptions.

The criticism of subjectivity in analysis is particularly important within CDA because the authors of such studies often have political objectives in carrying out the work. Fairclough himself has acknowledged this in stressing that CDA has a political goal, although he denies that it can provide any answers in itself (1999: 66) and Meyer goes still further:

CDA scholars play an advocatory role for groups who suffer from social discrimination.

(M. Meyer, 2001: 15)

The principle CDA researchers respond to the criticism of subjectivity by arguing that most academic work in the social sciences is politically motivated and, indeed, as the quotation from Meyer above suggests, some even opt to present these motivations as virtues.

Critical Discourse analysts [...] are aware that their work is driven by social, economical and political motives, but they argue that this applies to all academic work, and that CDA at least makes its position explicit. And they feel no need to apologize for the critical stance of their work.

(Van Leeuwen, 2009: 278-279)

Van Leeuwen's assertion above is probably valid and I agree that it is appropriate (and a long tradition) for academics to defend their conclusions. It is nevertheless worrying if an academic should suggest that their results might be personal to him-/herself because of the influence of their own beliefs:

Readers' answers are likely to be different from mine, and this should not be regarded as grounds for consternation but as worth exploring in itself.

(Fairclough, 2001: 11)

Many major proponents of CDA have recognised these criticisms over recent years and this awareness has probably contributed to the increased interest in the 'corpus-based' form of CDA and movement away from this 'traditional' form.

2.1.3 Summary

To summarise, then, CDA can be viewed as a broad field, with no specific methodology but with two distinct traditions, the 'traditional' (which is the subject of this chapter) and the 'corpus-based' (which will be discussed in chapter 4). Within CDA, researchers investigate the relationship between language and power, which is surely a worthwhile exercise. Criticisms that the texts for analysis might be chosen on the basis of their influence on the researcher have somewhat served to malign much traditional CDA, however, since it is difficult for such investigations to avoid subjectivity. Proponents of traditional CDA typically respond by observing that much academic work is subjective and that this need not be a major cause for concern provided that the investigator's motivations are transparent.

In order to describe this conflict more fully, it is first necessary briefly to discuss the nature of power and then to draw conclusions on the potential implications for the study of power relations within CDA.

2.2 POWER RELATIONS

Political discourse is often important because of the results of that discourse, and this in turn is why CDA is, in my opinion, an interesting approach. In other words, it is not the language itself which has wider ramifications which make it a worthy field of study but rather the consequences of a powerful person using that language to achieve some goal (Bourdieu, 1991: 188).

Van Dijk has noted that '*[p]ower is a property of relations between social groups, institutions or organisations*' (Van Dijk, 1996: 84). This means that it would be incorrect to talk in this thesis of how Chávez obtains his power through his use of language, since power can only be vested in him through his relationship with social groups (such as part of the electorate) and other institutions (whether state, party or informal). What <u>can</u> be investigated is how the President might use language to appeal to these groups and institutions for their support and, having gained it, how he uses language to reinforce this power.

Bourdieu has introduced the term 'kred' (which he derives from 'credit') to refer to this support which groups and institutions can give, which results in empowering an individual. Giving kred is not, however, a one-way communication: people who have invested their kred in a given manifesto, expect to reap benefits from it in return (Bourdieu, 1991: 192).

Bourdieu's premise is that politics starts from people having opposing views of the world, and this mobilisation is a means for making one view take precedence. Assuming this to be true, then one key means of reinforcing the political objective must be by reminding supporters that they are unhappy with the established social order, which he terms the 'doxa'. In other words, heretical political language may achieve its objective optimally when it sets out to manipulate those who have invested their kred to turn them further against the doxa.

Méndez, meanwhile, stresses that political discourse is the arena in which power is negotiated through the construction and maintenance of hegemonies:

La construcción de una nueva hegemonía utiliza el mecanismo por el cual se reestructura el discurso político combinando discursos ya existentes, o desempolvando los relegados, en una nueva manera.

(Méndez, 2004: 111)

The concepts of hegemony and doxa are not contradictory; rather I see them as external and internal manifestations of the same point. A given doxa will prevail within a political entity (a broad term, used to refer to a state, organisation or any other union of people with power), as described by Bourdieu. That same doxa might, however, cause the entity to become powerful among competing entities, resulting in hegemony. To be in such a position will generally be seen as good by the population of the hegemonic entity, since it in turn increases their standing within the larger community.

Political discourse is, then, at the heart of politics as different sides aim first to gain access to it and then to use it to mobilise (control) the audience. The amount to which an audience is willing to accept this control, however, will depend upon the amount of kred which they give to the politician who is using the language. The purpose of the discourse will be to win the audience over, so as to make them reject the doxa and encourage them to believe some heretical viewpoint. In return, there is the implicit promise of reward (often a better life) for those who accept this viewpoint, once the speaker has achieved power.

As Van Dijk has observed, however, in order even to start to deliver the discourse, the orator/author may already have demonstrated power through the ability to call the meeting, to decide upon other participants, to control when they may speak and to have convinced an

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audience to attend, all of which amount to what he refers to as 'access' (Van Dijk, 1996: 87-88). He believes that this access is a crucial part of the eventual ability to 'control', which is how he terms the ultimate aim of political discourse:

> [M]entally mediated control of the actions of others is the ultimate form of power, especially when the audience is hardly aware of such control as is the case in manipulation. Indeed, most forms of discursive and communicative access we discussed above, such as control of setting, interaction, topic or style, will be geared towards the control of the minds of participants, recipients or the audience at large, in such a way that the resulting mental changes are those preferred by those in power, and generally in their interest.

> (Van Dijk, 1996: 89)

Schäffner uses the label '*strategic functions*' to refer to the methods that are used by politicians to mobilise a population, and she sees these as forming a link between the political and linguistic levels in a political text. She believes that an analysis of this discourse can start from either a linguistic point-of-view, asking what role the strategic functions fulfil, or from a '*macro-level*', asking how language serves the purpose of the text. As she continues:

> For both perspectives, the political situations and processes can be linked to discourse types and levels of discourse organisation by way of an intermediate level: that of strategic functions. The most important such strategic functions are coercion, resistance, opposition and protest, dissimulation, and legitimisation and delegitimisation.

> (Schäffner, 1997: 3)

As Schäffner observes, these strategic functions must come ultimately from the language which the politician uses and so it is the lexical and grammatical details in the discourse which cause them to occur. This is where CDA comes in, creating a link between linguistics, these strategic functions and the writer/speaker's ultimate quest for kred in his/her discourse community.

2.3 APPROACHES TO THE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF POWER

2.3.1 Relationship to Functional Grammar

Many CDA studies draw inspiration from Halliday's Functional Grammar in order to underpin their analyses of political language and power relations. According to Halliday, features in language broadly fall into three categories:

- the ideational metafunction, which describes how things which humans experience (such as houses and walking) are construed, and which therefore focuses on representation in the clause;

- the interpersonal metafunction, which describes how our relationships with others (through offers, things sensed and occurrences, for example) are enacted, with a focus on the clause as an exchange;

- and the textual metafunction, which describes how the text is organised and how a sequence of events is presented, with a focus on the clause as a message.

(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 29-30, 61)

One of the key Hallidayan theories used in CDA is that of modality, in which Halliday ordered both the probability (that must be / probably is / needn't be etc.) and obligation (You must / should / can etc.) types of modality by the value attributed to them (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 623). Halliday sees modality as forming part of the interpersonal metafunction, since it allows an assessment to be expressed to another person (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 116). Since spontaneous speeches are known to contain many predictive

(future) modals due to the amount of promises which politicians make[4], Halliday's table of modalities is useful when analysing political discourse, because it provides an index to the value placed on a judgement by a politician and allows one to compare the nuances which might be attributable to slightly different formulations of the same phrase. One example which uses Halliday's description of modality from within 'traditional' CDA is De Melo Resende's (2009) paper on the portrayal of homeless people in a Brazilian apartment building circular, in which she demonstrates how the framing of the homeless as undesirable is strengthened through the use of different degrees of modality (De Melo Resende, 2009: 372-373).

As the background to this example suggests, however, CDA is often more concerned with the clause as a representation, as it is the portrayal of a given situation, the doxa in Bourdieu's terms, which will be key to gaining the audience's kred. This means that Halliday's theories on the ideational metafunction, and particularly the experiential part of it (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 176) are also very useful. Of particular note is the feature which Stubbs and Halliday have referred to as 'ergative verbs' (those which can be both intransitive and transitive and where the subject in the intransitive form is a nominal group which can be transposed to the object when the verb is transitive (Stubbs, 1996: 133)). The key feature of ergative verbs is, Halliday reasons, that the Agent (the 'do-er' of the action) may be optionally omitted:

> *Either the process is represented as self-engendering, in which case there is no*
>
> *separate Agent; or it is represented as engendered from the outside, in which case*
>
> *there is another participant functioning as Agent. Thus the clauses* the glass broke, the

---

baby sat up, the boy ran *are all structured as Medium + Process. In the real world,*
there may well have been some external agency involved in the breaking of the glass;
but in the semantics of English it is represented as having been self-caused. [...] We
may choose to put the Agent in, as in the heat broke the glass, Jane sat the baby up,
the lion chased the boy [...] *A large number of processes may be represented either*
way: either as involving Medium only, or as involving Medium plus Agent.

(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 290)

Since the subject matter of this thesis is in Spanish, it is pertinent to make a couple of observations about the implications of ergatives and modals in that language at this point. Ergative verbs will, I expect, play less of a role since the ability to omit the Agent is provided through the impersonal pronoun '*se*' or, more rarely, '*uno*'. For this reason, I will pay close attention in the results chapters to the use of these pronouns, since they may well be used to suppress the Agent in a similar way to the ergative in English (see section 10.1.3.2). As for modal verbs, I assume that these will work in much the same way as in English, since all of the phrases in Halliday's table of modalities have approximate Spanish equivalents. Again, these will be discussed, as appropriate, in the results chapters.

2.3.2 Appraisal

The Hallidayan concepts of modality and Agent are just two of many features which are analysed within the appraisal framework. This is another CDA methodology (O'Halloran and Coffin, 2004: 276), intended to reveal how authors use language to indicate what stance a reader is expected to take by studying both the experiential and interpersonal facets of the discourse. Appraisal is itself divided into the categories of attitude (such as emotional reactions), engagement (how the speaker/writer positions him/herself with respect to the text)

and graduation (whether the statements in the text are raised by the use of 'infinitely more' or lowered by 'somewhat', for example) (Martin and White, 2005: 34-37). Consequently, appraisal can be viewed as a broader analysis than social actor analysis (another CDA methodology), which focuses solely on that one aspect.

A study using the appraisal framework has led, for example, to interesting conclusions about how the editorial in a Hong Kong-based magazine directed the readers to a certain understanding of the events of 11th September 2001:

> *Readers are positioned to understand Americans' grief, but be appalled by their jingoism* [...] *Similarly readers are commended to stamp out terrorism, but to reflect on grievances as well – although there's little chance of Americans taking a critical look at themselves. Thinking people in other words know the right way to feel, but that's not going to affect unthinking Americans.*

(Martin, 2004: 335)

The Hallidayan basis of most traditional CDA studies has, therefore, resulted in an understanding of the large number of features in political discourse which can contribute to the attainment of kred and thus (political) power. As insightful as the conclusions are, however, they are not without their critics. De Melo Resende, for example, has to note that some of her assumptions are not explicit in the text itself, but rather, are based on her own observations:

> *Evidently, these meanings are not created in this building circular. They are recreated, resignified and relocated in practice.*

(De Melo Resende, 2009: 376)

This brings us back to the issue of subjectivity, noted in section 2.1.2 as the principle criticism of CDA. If De Melo Resende's conclusions are based (at least in part) on information which is not found in the text itself, can her work be said to be an exercise in linguistics, or is it mere political argument? In order, therefore, to investigate the limitations of CDA further and to help to highlight potential difficulties and dangers which might be encountered when using a similar methodology, the next section criticises in detail one particular example of a CDA study.

2.4 Limitations of Traditional CDA

Whilst I accept the principal ideas of CDA and whilst – as I hope I have demonstrated – I consider it a worthy field of study, I can also acknowledge the objections to CDA which have been raised, many of which I have also held myself in the past. The objective of this section, it must be emphasised, does not have the intention of disparaging the authors of the study in question (especially since many of the observations could be made of other studies, too). Rather, I wish to examine in some detail the problems with one particular piece of work, to see to what extent these criticisms are justified, and what might be done to mitigate the issues. For this purpose, I use Montero and Rodriguez-Mora's (1998) investigation of the political discourse of President Cardoso of Brazil, President Menem of Argentina and Chávez's predecessor, President Caldera of Venezuela. Their work takes two or three speeches by each President, which were pre-selected for satisfying certain criteria, and then investigates particular features in each.

2.4.1 Representativeness

The first stage in almost any linguistic study is, of course, choosing the text to study. For a CDA study, which (as noted in 2.1.1) will typically aim to draw conclusions which can be applied in a socio-political context, this could be regarded as particularly perilous. If the text chosen for study is an especially unrepresentative example, such as one which no longer reflects the speaker's views (people do change their opinions over time) or one which originated in a situation where the speaker was being particularly belligerent then, perhaps, the conclusions drawn may well be unfounded. In Montero and Rodriguez-Mora's work, the basis for choosing the particular texts is justified only as being:

[A]ccording to their relevant character, to important moments of the presidencies, or to their repercussion in the media, and the diffusion given by the presidential offices.

(Montero and Rodriguez-Mora, 1998: 92)

which suggests that the texts were considered remarkable in some way. This being the case, it must inevitably mean that the texts chosen are unrepresentative of the total output of the three Presidents (the bulk of which can be assumed, by definition, to be unremarkable in relation to these passages). This does not invalidate the results themselves, of course, but merely means that the authors probably should not attempt to draw generalised conclusions which are then claimed to apply to the three Presidents' discourse outputs in total. The conclusions can only relate to the particular examples being studied.

The implication is that CDA studies which aim to draw conclusions should try to use unremarkable (and therefore representative) material. Can a human brain, with its penchant for noticing the unusual, ever do this successfully? Conversely, if an example of a speaker's speech were to be chosen entirely at random, and a mundane or banal passage were selected, it is also possible that no worthwhile conclusions could be drawn at all.

The ideal solution would seem to be to use <u>all</u> of the speaker's output, but within traditional CDA at least, the sheer volume of data would make this task impossible. This is, however, possible if techniques from corpus linguistics (see chapter 4) are adopted and integrated with CDA, as discussed in section 4.3.

2.4.2 Comparability

The second criticism of Montero and Rodriguez-Mora's work relates to comparability. The texts which result from the pre-selection are difficult to compare with each other on solely linguistic grounds. Not only is the Brazilian one in Portuguese whilst the other two are in Spanish, but Menem is partly represented by an address given to a United Nations environmental conference, Cardoso by two interviews on a range of topics, and Caldera by addresses on social and economic policy. Each of these genres will have their own styles and audiences (for such is the definition of genre) and so there is a risk that the conclusions drawn will relate to the differences in genre rather than to the three Presidents themselves.

Further consideration of this issue suggests that the following may be regarded as being among the different variables which may define a given text:

- Speaker

- Language

- Date of production

- Place of production

- Intended audience

- Speaker's relationship to the audience

- Topic

In an ideal study, if Montero and Rodriguez-Mora wished to attribute a given feature to a particular speaker, all of these other variables would need to be kept as consistent as possible. There is otherwise a risk that the feature could in fact be due to a difference in one of the other variables. They would therefore need to compare only texts written in just one language and these texts would also have been produced in identical circumstances for identical

audiences on identical dates. This can, of course, only be a set of ideal requirements; the

linguist often has to work with the texts that are available and so such a perfect set will rarely

(if ever!) present itself. I do, however, consider the goal of keeping all but one variable

consistent to be an ideal towards which we should aim, and this point will likewise be

returned to in section 4.3.

2.4.3   Mediation of Subjectivity

The final criticism returns, once more, to the issue of subjectivity. The authors' methodology

involved:

> *- Registering those aspects of the discourses that we thought made specific senses*
> *[sic].*
>
> *- Registering and discussing rival projects elicited by the reading of the texts.*
>
> *- Agreeing in the sense ("unity of sense") of the discourse.*
>
> (Montero and Rodriguez-Mora, 1998: 92)

The basis for these stages was an admission that interpreting discourse necessarily requires

the researcher to apply knowledge beyond that which can be obtained from the texts

themselves. This is probably inevitable to some extent; philosophers have long argued that

interpretation is a prerequisite of understanding (see, for example, Gadamer and Glen-Doepel,

1975: 389). By performing this process jointly, however, the researchers aimed to ensure

that, if either of them interpreted the text in a certain way because of their own personal

(political) opinions, this might be highlighted in the course of their discussions. This is an

apparently useful exercise but one might ask whether anything is really gained from it. Both

researchers, for example, work in an academic environment and, as such, they are likely to be members of a well-educated elite. Given this, it seems unlikely that there would have been sufficient differences in their opinions to make the discussions which they held as effective as they might have been, had they come from more divergent backgrounds.

Other CDA studies do not perform such joint analyses but generally merely acknowledge that interpretation is necessary when studying any text. Fairclough uses the term '*Members' Resources*' (MR) to refer to the researcher's own opinions which will naturally and inevitably form part of this interpretation. Thus, proponents of CDA such as Van Dijk (2001: 352-353) and Fairclough (below) argue that interpretation is legitimate, provided that the researcher's engagement is conscious and documented:

> *[I]f analysts are drawing upon their own MR to explicate how those of participants operate in the discourse, then it is important that they be sensitive to what resources they are themselves relying upon to do analysis. At this stage of the procedure, it is only really self-consciousness that distinguishes the analyst from the participants she is analysing.*

> (Fairclough, 2001: 138)

Fairclough has suggested that MR might be most consistently documented if the CDA research is carried out through asking a series of targeted questions. This process aims to ensure that the researcher concentrates on the process of explication of specific points about the text (such as the use of metaphor, and the passive voice or whether agency is clear), thereby helping to ensure that any additional MR used in forming a judgment is made explicit (Fairclough, 2001: 92-93). Although Fairclough's particular questions will not be used in this study (due to my wish to implement triangulation, discussed in section 2.5.2), a similar set of

questions will be adopted in the application of the Discourse-Historical Approach (see section 2.5.3)

2.5   LIMITING SUBJECTIVITY

2.5.1   Distancing the Researcher from the Investigation

One means that a researcher could adopt in order to limit the risk of subjectivity influencing his/her work would be to research something on which they have no particular opinions and by which they cannot be affected.

I have attempted this approach in this study: my choice of Hugo Chávez as my subject is partly because I am disinterested in it. I am not Venezuelan, have no roots there, and am personally unaffected by political developments there.

This approach is, of course, not perfect since it brings with it the risk that my contextual knowledge may be limited and this in itself might lead me to misinterpret in some instances. Equally, I have had to do a lot of background reading on Venezuelan history and politics so that I could understand the transcripts and this reading will have caused me to have MR which will, inevitably, influence my interpretations.

On the other hand, Chávez's policies cannot have direct implications on my life or that of my family, and so, even if I were completely positive about his actions, there would be no point in me giving him my kred. Furthermore, his discourse is unlikely to influence my understanding of the doxa as much as it might for a Venezuelan. I believe that these advantages make me less likely to approach the topic with pre-conceived opinions than many others (particularly the Venezuelan academics like Bolívar who have also worked on Chávez's language). In doing so, it, hopefully, makes my work less at risk of these criticisms than it might have been had a study of British politics been attempted, for example.

2.5.2 Triangulation

In a further attempt to minimise the risk of bias caused by the investigator's interpretation, Wodak and her colleagues have proposed a technique referred to as 'triangulation'. This methodology aims to investigate the text from a number of different perspectives, with the idea that the study will then be sufficiently broad so as to reduce the risk of the researcher's opinions affecting the analysis:

> *Triangulation means that discursive phenomena are approached from a variety of methodological and theoretical perspectives taken from various disciplines. For example, in exploring the phenomenon of national identity, our interdisciplinary approach combines historical, socio-political and linguistic perspectives [...] which enable us to provide a detailed picture of the Austrian identity.*

> (Wodak et al., 2009: 9)

Triangulation involves investigating co-text, intertextual and interdiscursive references and context (including situation and historical background) to inform the reading recursively (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93). Wodak and Meyer argue that, if this is performed in a sufficiently detailed manner, the risks described in the previous section can be reduced, since the analyst is forced to consider multiple points-of-view. The triangulation process is recursive since, as well as informing the initial conceptualization of the project and the analyst's assumptions, the theory is also used to inform the interpretation and the examination of the assumptions at the end of the study, which in turn leads to the conceptualization of the next stage of the study (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 24).

2.5.3 The Discourse-Historical Approach

An example of a procedure informed by triangulation is found in the 'Discourse-Historical Approach' (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis, elaborated by Wodak and her colleagues. There are several accounts of the approach, (see, for example, Reisigl, 2008, Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, Wodak, 2009) and the slightly different procedures put forward in them, whilst generally consistent, can lead to confusion. Reisigl, for example, indicates that triangulation should be performed during the initial collection of the data (2008: 100), whilst Reisigl and Wodak later say that triangulation should take place throughout the study and particularly during the interpretation of the results (2009: 96).

It is this latter description of the DHA process which has been chosen for the pilot study in chapter 3.[5] The DHA has itself been adopted because it is designed for diachronic research, thereby making it ideal for my aim of studying how life in Venezuela is framed as having changed under Chávez's Presidency by reference to his *Aló Presidente* television programme during the period 2002-2007.[6]

Key features of the DHA include its interdisciplinary approach and the importance placed on the fact that results should be able to be applied (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95). (Examples of the application of results from DHA have included expert opinions for court cases, supporting NGOs on human rights issues and election monitoring (Wodak, 2009: 325)). Amongst the other important features are that:

> 4. *The research incorporates fieldwork and ethnography (study from 'inside'),*
> *where required for a thorough analysis and theorizing of the object under*

---

[5] In an attempt to reduce the risk of confusion, particularly given the foregoing, I have provided a diagram in Figure 2-1 which demonstrates the relationships of the different steps in the version of DHA adopted.

[6] This overall research question will be justified in section 5.1.1.9.

investigation.

5.   The research necessarily moves recursively between theory and empirical data. Numerous genres and public spaces as well as intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are studied. [...]

7.   The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process linking texts and discourses intertextually and interdiscursively over time.

8.   Categories and tools are not fixed once and for all. They must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation.

(Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95)

It is probably due to this final point that the DHA is described as an approach rather than as a methodology: to adapt the exact procedure for any given text might make one wary, since to do so surely risks criticism for pre-conceived ideas influencing the results; on the other hand, it reflects the realities of handling different genres and styles. Different texts will be likely to have different marked features and so they may well require different methodologies in order to extract the greatest number of conclusions from them.

DHA, it should be stressed, is presented not as an alternative to CDA but rather as a form of CDA which achieves triangulation both at linguistic and at contextual levels. In **linguistic triangulation**, three different features in the language used are investigated:

The DHA is three-dimensional: after (1) having identified the specific contents *or* topics *of a specific discourse, (2)* discursive strategies[7] *are investigated. Then (3),* linguistic means *(as types) and the specific, context-dependent* linguistic realizations *(as tokens) are examined*[8].

<div align="right">(Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93)</div>

In **contextual triangulation,** meanwhile, it is features external to the text which are noted; these external features include:

- *The* intertexutal and interdiscursive relationships *between utterances, texts, genres and discourses*

- *The extra-linguistic variables*

- *The* history and archaeology of texts and organisations*, and*

- *The institutional frames of the* specific context of a situation.

<div align="right">(Wodak, 2009: 318)</div>

In the DHA approach that I shall follow, therefore, the analysis of **five different discursive strategies** is performed as the second part of the linguistic triangulation. These strategies are:

1. **referential strategies or nomination strategies** – naming or referring to the social actors

2. **predicational strategies** – labelling the social actors in a positive or negative manner

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[7] The nature of discursive strategies will be discussed below.

[8] Again, see below for a definition of linguistic realizations. The distinction of types and tokens will be described in detail in section 4.2.2.

3. **argumentation strategies** – using some pre-existing premise about the topic (known as *topoi*) to justify these positive and negative attributions

4. **perspectivization, framing or discourse representation** – descriptions of how the social actors perceive and present the topic

5. **intensifying strategies and mitigation strategies** – used by a social actor to highlight or to background an aspect

<div align="right">(after Wodak, 2009: 319-320)</div>

The strategies have been formulated as five questions by Reisigl and Wodak, which the analyst strives to answer and these five questions have been used to good effect as the basis of a detailed analysis of newspaper articles relating to immigration in the UK (Khosravinik, 2009). It is these questions which will also be answered in the analysis in the following chapter, with reference to a short passage from one edition of *Aló Presidente*:

1. *How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?*

2. *What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?*

3. *What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?*

4. *From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?*

5. *Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?*

<div align="right">(Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93)</div>

It is at this point that the different, contradictory, descriptions of the DHA become problematic, since (despite describing these five questions as being based on the 'discursive strategies' referred to in the second stage of the linguistic triangulation), Resigl and Wodak also claim that the latter three of these questions also form the 'linguistic realizations' described in the third stage of triangulation (2009: 110). This complication, and my interpretation of Resigl and Wodak's intention, is perhaps best shown in diagrammatic form (see Figure 2-1, page 41).

Nevertheless, the relationship between DHA and other forms of CDA will be apparent. Whilst there is much overlap, and so the following is necessarily considerably simplified, it could be said that the first question draws particularly on Hallidayan notions of agency and that the concepts of 'positioning' and 'graduation' from appraisal[9] will be especially relevant in questions two and five. DHA is therefore informed by other branches of CDA and so it is primarily the provision of the extra dimension of triangulation, based on intertextuality and textual history, which makes a study an identifiably DHA investigation.

DHA, then, attempts to answer the five questions above (as part of a detailed case-study), whilst referring to both the wider text-internal (linguistic) and text-external (contextual) triangulation to collect data on the subjectivity of the participants in the text (Heller, 2001: 260). Answering the five questions on discursive strategies is, however, just a part of the total study. Wodak has developed an eight-point procedure, which describes how to perform a Discourse-Historical analysis, noting that the list is somewhat idealised and so '*is best realized in a big interdisciplinary project with enough resources of time, personnel and*

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[9] See section 2.3.2

money'. She does, however, believe that it can be adapted for use in a PhD thesis but that this would require some practical limits to be imposed:

> *[O]ne can certainly conduct only a few case studies and must restrict the range of the data collection (to very few genres)*

<div align="right">(Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 96).</div>

The full procedure (to which I have added footnotes to explain how the features already discussed relate) is reproduced below:

1. ***Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge*** *(i.e. recollection, reading and discussion of previous research).*

2. ***Systematic collection of data and context information[10]*** *(depending on the research question, various discourses and discursive events, social fields as well as actors, semiotic media, genres and texts are focused on).*

3. ***Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses*** *(selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.).*

4. ***Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions*** *(on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data).*

5. ***Qualitative pilot analysis*** *(allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions).*

6. ***Detailed case studies[11]*** *(of a whole range of data, primarily qualitative, but in part also quantitative).*

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[10] Contextual triangulation

[11] Linguistic triangulation (see page 35), in the second stage of which the questions relating to the five discursive strategies (see page 37) are asked.

7. ***Formulation of critique*** (*interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique*).

8. ***Application of the detailed analytical results*** (*if possible, the results might be applied or proposed for application*).

<div align="right">(Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 96)</div>

The risk, as hinted at above, is that a Discourse-Historical analysis, when applied without limits, can easily become rather unwieldy as the study may become somewhat circular: applying triangulation may well lead to other avenues of research which had not previously been considered.

Only by limiting the amount of triangulation performed and by not performing the study in a recursive manner was the DHA thought to be useful for my purposes. This appeared to be a reasonable procedure at least for a small-scale pilot project, which is described in chapter 3. In this project, I have attempted to follow each of the above steps as closely as possible, in order to ascertain how appropriate is the DHA (which is more commonly used for newspaper reports or crafted speeches) when applied to the unique genre of *Aló Presidente*.[12]

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[12] The description of *Aló Presidente* as a genre in its own right is adopted from Bolívar (2003: 86). I agree with Bolívar's analysis in this respect, and it is for this reason that other frameworks which are specifically designed for other genres of television programme (such as Pollack's framework for the analysis of documentaries (2008: 80) and Myers' framework for analysing television debates (2008: 122-123)) are inappropriate for my purposes.

The Discourse-Historical Approach

1. Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge

2. Systematic collection of data and context information

1. History & archaeology of texts & organizations

2. Institutional frames of the specific context of a situation

3. Intertextual and interdiscursive relationships

4. Extra-linguistic variables

Contextual triangulation

3. Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses

4. Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions

5. Qualitative pilot analysis

6. Detailed case studies:

1. Identify the specific comments / topics

2. Investigate discursive strategies

1. How are persons, objects... named? **(Nomination)**

2. What characteristics, qualities, features are attributed? **(Predication)**

3. What are the linguistic means & specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations?

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse? **(Argumentation)**

4. From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions & arguments expressed **(Perspectivization)**

5. Are the utterances articulated overtly? **(Intensification)**

Linguistic triangulation

7. Formulation of critique

8. Application of detailed analytical results

Figure 2-1: The Discourse-Historical Approach

3 A PILOT STUDY USING THE DHA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter introduced the agenda of CDA and showed it to be quite broad,

ranging from the grammatical (mode, tense) to the more abstract (controlling turns[13],

dominant processes). Although these aspects are united in as much as they are performing

linguistic studies of political material with politico-social objectives, different researchers, as

one might expect, place more importance on some of these issues than on others. For

example, whilst Fairclough notes grammatical features, Van Leeuwen highlights the portrayal

of Actors (in a Hallidayan sense (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 179-189)), an approach

further developed by those working on appraisal, and Van Dijk's interests focus more on the

expression of power and dominance.[14]

After discussing some of the criticisms that have been levelled against CDA, the Discourse-

Historical Approach (DHA) was introduced in section 2.5.3 as a methodology that can be

used within Critical Discourse Analysis. It has an advantage over some other CDA

methodologies in that it incorporates triangulation, which is intended to mitigate the criticism

of subjectivity, in particular. Furthermore, it has been specifically designed for the purpose of

handling discourse within a historical perspective and is therefore in line with the objectives

of the present study.

This chapter presents a pilot study which was carried out in order to test the suitability of

DHA for my purpose. The aim of this pilot study was to discover how Chávez presented his

---

[13] Alternating spoken utterances.

[14] Fairclough (2000), Van Leeuwen (2009) and Van Dijk (1996) respectively may be cited as examples of work in each type of study.

leadership qualities at the start of his second Presidential term during the first thirty minutes of the first edition of *Aló Presidente* of that term (edition 263 of 21st January 2007). The rationale behind the choice of this particular pilot study was that President Chávez's public role is as a leader and that therefore:

1. He would wish to present himself as an effective leader *and*

2. This presentation would be achieved through language *and*

3. The start of a new term in office, soon after a majority of the population have invested their kred in the President by electing him, is an opportune moment for this.

The pilot study followed closely the eight steps described on page 39 (see also Reisigl and Wodak (2009)), although (as noted there) some of the questions which they present overlap somewhat and so other researchers might have included the answers below under different question-headings. One of the key features of the eight-point list is that Wodak recommends a recursive approach to the stages (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 96), since this aids the triangulation of the data.   Given the small-scale nature of this pilot study, such recursion was regrettably not possible to achieve in any great detail.

3.2 INVESTIGATION

3.2.1 DHA Step 1: Activation and Consultation of Preceding Theoretical Knowledge

A brief study of literature written by political scientists and commentators reveals that differing opinions on Chávez's personality, particularly regarding his leadership qualities, are rather ambivalent.

Ali, for example, notes that the *Le Monde* newspaper had called Chávez a '*spokesperson of the disinherited*' (Ali, 2006: 160) and then quotes the then governor of Lara State, Luis Reyes Reyes, whose description of the President would seem to imply a perfect leader. Chávez is said to be:

> *an excellent strategist, intelligent, passionate, moderate in his opinions, a person*
> *that knows how to listen.*

> (Ali, 2006: 183)

Similarly, Raby tells us that '*it is undeniable that Chávez exhibits characteristics of charismatic leadership'* (Raby, 2006: 238) and remarks that this may contribute to:

> *fulfil a necessary symbolic function in popular mobilisation and in the real, effective*
> *construction of a new and more just social system which will also be more democratic.*

> (Raby, 2006: 238)

In contrast to these positive assessments, however, Bolívar has described Chávez as being insulting and divisive (Bolívar, 2003: 88-89), whilst Shifter has argued that '*[h]is autocratic and megalomaniacal tendencies have undermined governance and the democratic process in*

Venezuela' (Shifter, 2006: 46). Furthermore, Shifter has compared Chávez to Perón, whom Shifter describes as:

> *a military figure who attempted a coup and used his considerable oratorical skills to*
> *attack the political establishment and make rousing appeals to the downtrodden.*

<div align="right">(Shifter, 2006: 50)</div>

3.2.2 DHA Step 2: Systematic Collection of Data and Context Information

The procedure adopted for the collection of data will be described in detail in section 5.3, along with a description of *Aló Presidente* itself (including in terms of how it is staged and the nature of the audience). Similarly, the rationale for the selection of the particular text chosen is given in section 3.2.3, below. Consequently, only the contextual triangulation of the text is detailed in this section.

3.2.2.1 Intertextual and Interdiscursive Relationships

The text being studied in this chapter is just a part of edition 263 of *Aló Presidente*, which itself is just one episode of the programme. In addition to this relationship to a wider discourse, however, the passage contains reference to four other texts, which are used to support Chávez's main themes:

- Direct quotation of conversations with family & army generals;
- The song '*La Guerra del Petróleo*' by Alí Primera, which contains the lyrics '*soldado vuelca el fusil contra el oligarca*';

- The poem, by an unknown author, which is read during the video. It is in the first-person as though it had been written by Chávez himself;

- Marciano's column in the *Vea* newspaper.

3.2.2.2   Extra-Linguistic Variables

Figure 3-1: Setting of Edition 263 of
Aló Presidente

During this edition of *Aló Presidente,* Chávez appears, dressed in his trademark red shirt (red being the colour of the political Left), seated at a desk in the Miraflores Presidential Palace. On his desk is an old black-and-white photograph of a woman, whom we are told is his Grandmother. Behind the President, a bookcase is sparsely furnished.

The camera has a small field-of-view for the majority of the programme, with the President's face filling the frame. This prevents the viewer from being distracted by other things in the room, although his/her attention may be drawn to the moderately empty bookshelves when Chávez mentions how much he likes to read. A small audience of perhaps fifty people (principally government officials and ministers) is seated just in front of the President's desk, some of whom are also dressed in red shirts.

3.2.2.3 History and Archaeology of Texts and Organisations

Edition 263 was broadcast on 21st January 2007. It was the first edition at the start of Chávez's second term, and followed about four months off-air during the Presidential election campaign. The video of the edition was made available on the Ministry of Information's website within a few days of broadcast, and this recording seems to be unedited from the live transmission. The transcript was added to the same Ministry's website within a few months and it matches the video recording, with the following five minor exceptions:

- two words from the poem were incorrectly transcribed (they had been subtitled correctly but there is poor audio on the recording of the poem, which may account for this transcription error);
- on three occasions, Chávez repeated or corrected what he was saying, but these repetitions/corrections were omitted from the transcribed version.

Other observations about the history of the text are that:

- The direct quotations in the text may well not be perfectly recalled since a few decades had elapsed between the events being related and the date of broadcast;
- Alí Primera was a Venezuelan composer and singer of left-wing political songs during the 1970s and early 1980s. The song '*La Guerra del Petróleo*' was released in 1977 and tells of a Venezuelan and Colombian in peaceful accord and united in despising a 'Yankee', who is portrayed as taking their common spilt blood (oil).
- At the time, the author of the Marciano column in *Vea* was unknown to the general population.[15]

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[15] It has since become common knowledge that this was a pseudonym for the then Vice President of Venezuela, José Vicente Rangel.

3.2.2.4 Institutional Frames of the Specific Context of the Situation

To some extent, as the President, Chávez is not really confined by institutional frames in *Aló Presidente*. The programme's length is defined by him, and so there are no time constraints, and the lack of script means that the content is generally also dictated by the President.

That said, the President clearly has an editor (the person who reminds him about the pre-recorded video) and the availability of the video also suggests that it was a planned interlude, and in this way *Aló Presidente* is constrained by the limitations and customs of television. Likewise, one could argue that whilst he is in front of the camera, Chávez cannot do whatever he likes (if there is no outside broadcast equipment available, for example, he would be unable to go for an unplanned walk outside during the programme) and so the President could be seen as becoming a prisoner of the medium for the five or six hours that the programme typically lasts each week.

3.2.3 DHA Step 3: Selection and Preparation of Data for Specific Analyses

The initial decision to be made was to choose the edition of *Aló Presidente* which was to be used for the investigation. Edition 263 was chosen because the fact that it was the first edition of Chávez's second term minimised the risk of intertextual reference to a previous edition, which might have made the analysis overly complex for a pilot study. Furthermore, I had been in Venezuela just prior to the broadcast of the edition and so I felt that I had a better understanding of the political situation at the time than might have been the case for another edition.

The broadcast itself lasted for just under six hours, which was clearly too much for a detailed analysis of the type required by the DHA methodology. Rather than selecting an arbitrary excerpt from the middle of the edition, it was decided that the start of the broadcast could be used, since this is presumably the point at which Chávez would be trying to 'hook' viewers, to convince them to continue watching for the rest of the broadcast. It was further estimated that approximately fifteen minutes would represent an appropriate excerpt for the analysis, given the detail required, which equates to about four pages of the transcript.

It quickly became apparent, however, that fifteen minutes covered only to the end of a section where Chávez is talking about his grandmother, and so a lot of the relevant content, deemed necessary for a successful CDA study by Fairclough and others in section 2.1, would have been omitted. Consequently, it was decided to extend the passage under investigation through the three and a half minute long pre-recorded video/poem and then to the discussion based on the *Vea* newspaper article which lasts until 0:33:15.

A brief summary of the investigated section may therefore be presented as follows:

Video time	Description
0:00:00	Pre-recorded video with voiceover, featuring Chávez visiting other Latin American leaders and Iran. *(Not analysed)*
0:03:35	Titles
0:03:45	Welcome, 'How much has happened in the last month!'.
0:07:25	Talking about his grandmother
0:18:35	Video poem about Chávez's grandmother
0:22:00	Discussion of *Vea* newspaper column

Table 3-1: Sections in the video excerpt

As such, the passage being investigated can be seen as comprising four distinct sections:

- The introduction to the programme (lines 1-34)

- Memories of Rosa Inés Chàvez (the President's grandmother) (lines 35-133)

- Pre-recorded video with a poem about the President's relationship to Rosa Inés (lines 134-175)

- Commentary on Marciano's column (lines 176-281)

The transcript of this except is reproduced in the appendix to this chapter (3.4) and it is to that reproduction which the line numbers above refer. Because it would not be feasible to carry out a larger study if it were necessary to carefully edit the transcripts first, the decision was taken not to correct the five errors that were found. The only change that was made was the removal of the header and footer on each page which gave the edition number and date of broadcast; this issue will be returned to in section 5.3.4.

3.2.4 DHA Step 4: Specification of the Research Question and Formulation of Assumptions

In an initial viewing of the passage, and reading of the transcript, the parts which stood out particularly are (1) the description of Chávez as a politician who takes the lead in forming an effective discussion, even among other political leaders, and (2) the stories of his unprivileged upbringing. Thus, I reached the conclusion that Chávez comes across as a strong but compassionate leader in this passage, which is rather in line with the three points forming the hypothesis in section 3.1. On the assumption that this impression must be gained from linguistic features in the discourse itself, I wanted to discover what these features were. This enabled the research question to be specified as:

'How does President Chávez convey his qualities of leadership in the first thirty minutes of the first *Aló Presidente* of his second term?'

It is important to stress that I am not interested in whether or not Chávez <u>is</u> a strong or compassionate leader, since this must be an issue on which a political scientist is better qualified to pass judgement than a linguist, but I am interested in how the language is used to <u>convey</u> this impression.[16]

The fifth and sixth steps defined by Wodak have been combined since this is only a pilot study and there is therefore no need for the pilot and main study to be categorised as separate steps.

3.2.5 DHA Steps 5/6: Case Study

The case study follows the three general DHA questions (discussed on page 35) but focuses especially, in section 3.2.5.2, on the five questions related to the discursive strategies (described on page 37).

3.2.5.1 *Linguistic Triangulation I: Identify the specific* contents *or* topics *of the discourse*

In terms of more precise issues involving the text, the most striking observation is, perhaps, the paucity of modal adjuncts. Even the commentary, which one could envisage containing a great deal of opinion, is expressed as a set of unmitigated facts. In so doing, Chávez does not

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[16] The relationship between external reality and linguistic study is rather beyond the scope of this thesis but will briefly be returned to on page 100.

permit the possibility of alternative interpretations and one might argue that the President therefore comes across as an all-knowing teacher, interpreting the newspaper column on the audience's behalf.

In this regard, it would have been interesting to investigate how Chávez switches between quoting the article and his own commentary, particularly in the light of Halliday's discussion of the relationship between new/given information and thematic structure (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 93-94). Unfortunately, as Halliday observes, emphasis in speech is most commonly used for this purpose and, whilst a video recording of this particular edition was available to me, the same was not true of many other editions and so I would not have been able to study this effect in the main results chapters.

What can be noted, however, is the manner in which Chávez jumps between the four different sections of the text. At the start of section 2, for example, the President says *'Y hablando de ese tema'*, despite the fact that there is, in fact, no link between what he has just described (the Presidencies of Lula and Morales) and the following topic (his grandmother). Similarly, immediately after the poem, Chávez starts section 4 with *'Luego, 21 de enero, comentaba el tema internacional'*, where again neither the *'luego'* nor the *'tema internacional'* has any relationship with the topic of the preceding poem (though they might refer back to the end of section 1). This serves, surely, to underline the spontaneity of *Aló Presidente*, since such illogical progressions would surely never have been scripted (and, indeed, Halliday's models of 'thematic organisation' do not seem to allow for such disjuncture!), perhaps pointing to the President working through a list of bullet points on a cue card, without having thought previously about how he would link one item to the next.

3.2.5.2 Linguistic Triangulation II: Investigate Discursive Strategies

In order to perform this section of the detailed study, the five questions about the discursive strategies (see page 37) were adopted from Reisigl and Wodak:

1. *How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?*

The predominant social actor in the passage is President Chávez himself and all of the other participants are described in relation to him. Furthermore, as demonstrated in Table 3-2, there is a distinct asymmetry between those whom the President favours (shown as '*Chávez+*' in the table, who are generally named directly) and those to whom he is opposed ('*Chávez-*', who are generally not named). The numbers following each actor in the table are line numbers in the transcript.

Chávez+ named	Chávez+ unnamed	Chávez- named	Chávez- unnamed	Others (no clear positive/ negative affect)	Self
Daniel (Ortega) (27)	*Los/as venezolanos/as* (19)	*(George) Bush* (27)	*la derecha* (212)	*Santa Inés* (31)	*este servidor* (125)
Rafael Correa (28)	*un buen grupo de compañeros* (264)		*un imperio* (275)	*Los habitantes de nuestra planeta* (24)	*(Hugo) Chávez* (26)
(Luis Inácio) Lula (de Silva) (30)	*Me regalaron* (8)		*fuerzas internas y externas* (275)	*Nicolas* (218)	*el grupo de oficiales* (99)
Evo Morales (33)	*una delegación venezolana* (184)		*otros* (87)	*el hijo del general Torrijos* (257)	
Michelle Bachelet (216)	*grupos de ministros y demás funcionarios...* (196)		*casi todos* (220)	*los gobiernos de Endara y Moscoso* (258)	
Bolívar (279)	*me honraron* (265)		*el funcionariado* (243)	*ustedes* (10)	
Tovar Jiménez (83)				*los viejos* (42)	
Ramón Carrizalez (85)				*unos señores* (45)	
Rosa Inés Chávez (36)				*otros cadetes* (70)	
Adán (Chávez) (50)					
Daniel (Chávez) (56)					
Dios (20)					
Alí Primera (68)					
Pedro Pérez Delgado (119)					
Hugo Enrique Trejo (117)					
Ana (118)					
Urdaneta (125)					
Felipe Antonio Acosta (125)					
Raúl Isaías (125)					
Zamora (159)					
(José Antonio) Páez (161)					
Jorge Rodríguez (187)					
Tiradentes (266)					

Table 3-2: Nomination of Social Actors

I additionally consider the two audiences (the one present in the room with Chávez and the other the viewers/listeners to the programme) to be actors who are not directly named in this passage.

It is immediately apparent from this table that those whom Chávez favours include his family, other army generals and other Latin American leaders. There is only one named focus of his negative comments: the then US President, George Bush.

In terms of the other Latin American leaders who are referred to in the passage, whilst Chávez uses '*Chávez*' to refer to himself in the third person (line 26), the Brazilian leader, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, is referred to by the commonly-used short form of his name, '*Lula*' (line 30), the Nicaraguan President is referred to simply as '*Daniel*' (line 27) but the Ecuadorian President is named '*Rafael Correa*' (line 28). Also presented with both first name and surname are the Chilean President, '*Michelle Bachelet*' (line 216) and the Bolivian President '*Evo Morales*' (line 33). These might be said to stand out as being less disrespectful than '*Bush*' (line 27), and so the different leaders might be seen as being ranked in terms of amity towards Chávez through his use of their names. The former US President is not, however, directly referred to as being an enemy; rather the use of a baseball simile (line 27) allows him to be framed as a leading player in an opposing (and losing) imperialist team.

Another person who is named in the passage, using only his surname, is the Venezuelan independence leader Simón Bolívar (see section 1.2) (line 279). Unlike with Bush, Chávez expresses his agreement with Bolívar's stance. It may be argued, however, that Chávez uses the surname at this point as a mark of respect for Bolívar.

Two other named individuals in the passage are Colonels Tovar Jiménez and Ramón Carrizalez[17] (lines 83-85), who are contrasted with those who were part of the old regime (the latter being portrayed as having been corrupt and focused upon a hedonistic and self-serving existence). Indeed, Chávez argues that the two Colonels named above were not promoted to become Generals precisely because of their selfless qualities. Chávez thereby implies that the polarisation of the country in 2007 derives from a 'them and us' relationship within the army some 25 years previously.

In line 119, Chávez refers to his great-aunt as the daughter of Pedro Pérez Delgado, more commonly known as Maisanta, the early twentieth century Caudillo leader. Along with Esequiel Zamora, a nineteenth-century peasant leader, and José Antonio Páez, chief of the army which fought Spain in the Wars of Independence, Maisanta is also invoked in the poem (line 160) to further legitimise the President's own destiny.

Whilst Chávez clearly names his allies, he does not overtly name many of those who oppose him. In particular, the people or leaders who make up '*la derecha*' (line 212) are not named, nor are the '*imperio*' and '*fuerzas internas y externas*' (line 275), against which he describes himself as battling. The other unnamed person is '*este servidor*' (line 125), who is said to have sworn the MBR-200 oath with Urdaneta, Acosta and Isaías on 17th December 1982. Isaías (who has since withdrawn his support from Chávez) has affirmed in a *New York Times* article that there was no fifth person present (Isaías Baduel, 2007). Chávez must, therefore, be referring to himself as '*servidor*'; the President who is a servant rather than a leader, which is very reminiscent of Christian teaching about Jesus.

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[17] Both these colonels supported Chávez during his time in the army.

Also of interest is how Chávez addresses the audience. Line 19 contains an interesting reformulation from '*ustedes*' to '*nosotros*', thereby allowing himself to be included as a beneficiary of his promise. In turn, this permits a further reformulation to '*todos los venezolanos y las venezolanas*'. Chávez thereby includes the opposition, which would not so clearly have been the case with '*ustedes*', given that opposition supporters are unlikely to watch the programme. The prayer at the start of the edition is, perhaps, little different from the New Year messages given by the leaders of many countries, but in referring to all Venezuelans in his prayer (line 20), it may be argued that Chávez is again trying to appear less divisive to those who support the political opposition.

Chávez is also seen in this passage to regularly change the pronoun that he uses to refer to himself. One has the impression that the emphatic use of '*yo*' (for example in line 51) is greater in this passage than in standard speech, thus making the form marked. Nevertheless, Chávez also uses '*nosotros*' (line 44), which could be an example of a royal plural form, or referring to both himself and his (as yet un-introduced) brother, or it might refer to the whole of his generation. More frequent than this, however, is the use of the impersonal form '*uno*', such as in lines 47 and 48. In using this, Chávez might be argued to be distancing himself from the audience, possibly making himself appear to have been more exposed to poverty than they have been.

2. *What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?*

It is only members of Chávez's immediate family who are attributed traits in this passage.

In referring to his grandmother, Chávez quotes her use of the diminutive form '*Huguito*' on six occasions (for example, line 59). This was pronounced with the second vowel as [u:], thus conveying the sense of being it from an uneducated, simple (but nonetheless loving) person. Whether or not she actually used this form in this way remains an unanswerable question but it is Chávez's representation of her, and the implications that this has for the way in which he is framing himself, which is important for my purposes. In saying that she '*va con nosotros*' (line 75) after her death, Chávez could be argued to be bestowing on her the sense of being the mother of the country, guiding what he is doing (unless the '*nosotros*' is inferred as referring to himself in a royal plural, or to himself and Adán).

On the other hand, there is another interesting insight into the President's relationship with his grandmother which is found in the passage. His grandmother warns him that '*Usted se va a meter en un lío*' (line 73). There is a sense here of the prescient, knowledgeable person but it is also notable that his own grandmother is again said to have referred to Chávez as '*Usted*'. If this is an accurately-remembered direct quotation it could imply either that his grandmother was giving him a great deal of respect or, perhaps, that she wished to distance herself from him. The latter is unlikely given the presence of the diminutive in the following line. The possibility of his grandmother revering him is also implied by the fact that, just before her death, the final instance of '*Huguito*' (line 107) is pronounced with a short vowel.

Interestingly, the President readily admits to his Grandmother not having confidence in him, calling him '*disposicionero, usted inventa mucho*' (line 66). '*Disposicionero*' is not found in

many Spanish dictionaries, but Rodríguez-Valdés has provided the gloss of 'rascal' or 'cheat' in relation to Chávez:

> *'Doña Elena, la mamá de Chávez decía que su hijo era muy disposicionero y todos los llaneros saben que en lenguaje coloquial eso equivale a embustero.'*

<div align="right">(Rodríguez-Valdés, 2006)</div>

Rather than undermining his argument, however, I believe that the intention here is to present his Grandmother as being too simple to understand the enormity of the change he wished to introduce, perhaps also seen in the immediate juxtaposition of the topic of his Grandmother's death with that of the Revolution (lines 120-123).

Chávez's brother Adán is also constructed as having come from the same poor background as the President ('*desnuditos, en pelota*', line 50) but Adán was shameless in his nudity, whilst Hugo (although only being two years old) is said to have covered himself for the photograph (line 51). It is, of course, highly unlikely that such young children would have taken such conscious decisions themselves but telling this story allows Chávez to construct a greater sense of dignity for himself.

In the passage, Chávez presents himself as someone who is decisive and inspirational. This is achieved, for example, through the emphatic repetition of the personal pronoun *'yo'* (line 238), which serves to portray him as being at the centre of the meeting, suggesting something that the Brazilian President would not otherwise have done. The then/now contrast in *'Así era antes, ahora no, ahora la propuesta fue aceptada'* (line 244) similarly implies that Chávez's suggestion created a watershed in the nature of Latin American diplomacy. Furthermore, in this particular citation, the use of the passive both permits *'aceptada'* to occur

in an emphatic position and also means that those who are accepting the proposal are unnamed (although who they are is clear from the rest of the paragraph). As such, attention is not drawn away from Chávez to the other participants, who are thereby backgrounded.

3.2.5.3   *Linguistic Triangulation III: Examine the Linguistic Means and Linguistic Realizations*

3. *What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?*

Chávez further tries to justify his position and his policies by indicating that he is a selfless soldier, prepared to get on with the job, regardless of any personal trials (lines 93-94), that the mission on which he has embarked is reflected in the New Year hopes of the people (lines 100-101) and that the promise made to his Grandmother is a promise to the whole country that if he should fail to achieve his objectives, he will die in the attempt (line 178-179). The task itself is justified through a line of a song by the popular Venezuelan singer Alí Primera '*Soldado vuelca el fusil contra el oligarca*' (lines 71-72). The fact that he was honoured in Rio de Janeiro also endows him with recognition by a foreign country (line 265).

Overall, however, argumentation is avoided in this passage, with Chávez tending instead to describe potentially controversial issues as given. Examples of this might be found in his description of '*la nueva geometría del poder*' (line 193), which is not explicated in detail, and also in the implication that conflict and interruptions are good during Presidential summits (lines 220-222).

4. From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?

This question is obviously intended to be asked of newspaper articles or other political commentary, which is what the DHA is primarily intended for, rather than for a transcript involving a named speaker. Consequently, it should come as little surprise that the nominations are all expressed from Chávez's point of view, as it is he who chooses how to refer to each of the social actors. As such, they are expressed from the position of the man who is jointly the Venezuelan President and leader of the PSUV party. There is no indication of attribution to others, except for his grandmother, and there are no alternative perspectives presented.

5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?

The only significant intensification in this passage that I was able to identify was '*gran*' in the phrase '*gran líder militar*' (line 116), which not only honours Coronel Trejo but also, thanks to Chávez describing him as '*como un padre… orientador*', gives the impression that Chávez has himself learnt from a superlative example. It may also be argued, however, that the use of the quotation from the *Vea* article from line 182 onwards is a further example of intensification, since it serves to support Chávez's argument.

More interesting, however, is the use of direct quotation from Chávez's grandmother, despite the fact that she had died several years previously. This is overt articulation which is intended to support Chávez's portrayal of himself, and it therefore intensifies his own recollections,

but, due to the unreliability of the human recall of distant events, the accuracy of these quotations is questionable.

3.2.6 Formulation of Critique

This section of the programme, which had been expected to include topics such as an introduction to Chávez's policies, thanks to the voters for electing him, and reference to the opposition, instead uses the Saint's day of the date of broadcast to allow the President to discuss his close family.

Chávez thereby uses this occasion to present himself as a leader by stressing both his family connections with Pedro Pérez Delgado but also his poor background and simple family. Rather than being contradictory, I would argue, using the concept of appraisal introduced in section 2.3.2, that the two sides of Chávez's family history have the effect of positioning the audience to adopt a sympathetic regard for the President. By linking his grandmother's death with the start of his subversive activities in the Venezuelan army, Chávez aims to show that he is capable of leading the country, despite any personal adversities; a theme which is reiterated in the poem. Social actor analysis suggests that the passive voice may be used to foreground Chávez in relation to other political figures who are thereby backgrounded (an example of this is given in Van Leeuwen, 2009: 280-281). The use of the passive in this way also has resonance with the ergative verbs described by Halliday with reference to English (see section 2.3.1).

When Chávez does talk about politics, it is again to legitimise his leadership qualities: he demonstrates how his idea to improve conferences with other political leaders had been adopted and was proving successful.

The passage investigated is also quite divisive at times, containing criticisms of the political right and stressing how ineffective previous conferences had been. This division is also achieved through naming allies but leaving the opposition vague. The President may be aware of this, however, as he does correct himself on occasion to stress that his sees himself as leader of all Venezuelans. The contradiction here may be said to be reflected in the polarised country: all are governed by one person but that one leader's policies are often confrontational towards a large number of the country's population.

3.2.7 Application of the Detailed Analytical Results

I believe that as a non-Venezuelan, it is not appropriate for me to apply the results of this analysis in any form of advice about what either side 'should' or 'should not' do with these findings. It is, however, evident that further research on pronouns and Chávez's portrayal of his family as a dynasty, despite his well-documented and under-privileged upbringing, may be worthwhile.

3.3 DISCUSSION

3.3.1 Triangulation

Perhaps the greatest difficulty which I encountered whilst following the DHA was that it was sometimes difficult to avoid repeating the same feature under multiple headings. For example, Coronel Trejo is referred to as *'gran'* and I have argued above that this adjective intensifies the values implied by '*líder*'. According to Riesgel and Wodak, intensification strategies are one of the discourse strategies which form the second dimension of linguistic triangulation (see page 35) but the question '*Are the respective utterances* [...] *intensified?'* (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93) is posed in the third dimension of the triangulation (see page 35). This is perhaps indicative of the fact that, whilst giving a helpful guide as to what the researcher might consider, the three individual dimensions of linguistic triangulation are too artificially separated to be practical for presenting results discretely. All of these issues are necessarily interlinked. Equally, I believe that the same flaw is present in the separation of the four different features relating to contextual triangulation (again, described in 2.5.2). Triangulation may well be a useful idea in theory, therefore, but one wonders whether these apparently overlapping dimensions do not detract from its practical application. The point of triangulation is supposed to be that it encourages the researcher to view the text from multiple perspectives to reduce bias, but if these different perspectives cannot be clearly differentiated, surely that is detrimental to the intention?

3.3.2 Over-interpretation

I also have concerns that the research in this chapter might at times over-analyse the transcript. The danger is that the analyst is looking for an explanation (or explanations) of

some impression that he/she thinks that the audience might derive from reading the same excerpt. This naturally means that there is the risk that the analyst's desire to find a cause could lead to the interpretation of some feature as excessively important. Furthermore, the analyst often has the disadvantage of coming from a different social background (generally middle-class, educated) than the target audience. This has the result that the Member's Resources (see page 30) used for the interpretation may well differ, and hence the audience's impression might also vary from that of the analyst. Again, this is not necessarily problematic in itself, since every interpretation will naturally differ but it would perhaps make it unsafe to attempt to apply the results too rigidly without, for example, surveying data to demonstrate also how the intended audience reacted. As O'Halloran and Coffin have succinctly put it:

> '...in their act of highlighting ideological meanings in a text, critical linguists read a text with a particular goal, one which the more casual reader would not have. So how do analysts know that they are not overinterpreting the text from the perspective of the casual reader as a result of who the analysts are, the values they carry (often liberal-left), their own specific goals, and the amount of effort they are putting into reading it?'

> (O'Halloran and Coffin, 2004: 276)

3.3.3 Ignored features

Furthermore, the analysis has nothing to say about some of the features which, in my opinion, are among the most relevant to the research question 'How does President Chávez convey his qualities of leadership in the first thirty minutes of the first edition of *Aló Presidente* of his second term?' in the text. Such features include the presentation of the election results as a foregone conclusion (line 11); the danger that the edited summary of a summit attended only

by the Presidents might be an inaccurate or incomplete record of the discussion (line 218); the impact on democracy of having such closed meetings as those described in line 211 and the apparent contradiction of '*parlamentarismo de calle*' (line 170) with the notion of '*dictar leyes habilitantes*' (line 171) are all ignored by the DHA approach.[18] I suspect that many proponents of non-DHA CDA would agree with me that, to be a full analysis, the analyst needs to consider wider political interpretations as well as linguistic ones, which the DHA (as I have demonstrated) does not completely achieve. One solution to this problem might be for the linguist to work jointly with a colleague from the political sciences. Where this is not the case, however (as in this work), I would argue that the linguist often has insufficient knowledge and experience to be expected to consider such instances in detail and, therefore, this points to the need to formulate the research question itself to focus on linguistic aspects of the text(s) undergoing analysis.

Three important problems with the DHA have, therefore, been identified:

1. The occasionally obscure boundaries between the different dimensions of triangulation;
2. the difficulty of interpretation; and
3. that the questions set by the DHA leave the possibility that some important content may pass without comment.

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[18] One might add to this list the apparently irrelevant mention of the coffee cup at the start of the episode, which must be commented on, due to the fact that it seems entirely unconnected with anything else. It is conceivable that this is a signal to an overseas embassy for example (there is a long history of public broadcasts including such signals, going back to the use of a poem by Verlaine on the BBC to inform the French resistance of D-Day), but naturally this can only be conjecture.

Added to this there is the (not insignificant) remaining obstacle to the use of CDA for the present study: the fact that only short excerpts can be selected for such an analysis, meaning that a comparison of a large amount of text over a long period of time is impractical.

3.3.4 Choice of text and word

There is, however, a further issue which will be discussed over the course of the following pages and which I believe to be more critical than any of the three above problems, related to the choice of text and any individual words to be investigated.

A substantial part of my analysis has focused on what Chávez has to say about his relationship with his grandmother and other personal histories. Whilst this is of interest for a study about the President, his grandmother is not a topic in most editions of *Aló Presidente*, and, as a result, I cannot be sure that I would have been able to draw similar conclusions had a different edition been chosen. Equally, I certainly have not covered every instance in the programme in which Chávez frames himself as a leader. However, until this is done, can I really know that my conclusions are valid?

As a strong opponent of the President, Bolívar has been particularly concerned about the prominence of *Aló Presidente* and she explains how, in her opinion, Chávez's discourse in it is directly responsible for creating division in the population:

> *El lenguaje agresivo e insultante que Chávez usa en su programa ha contribuido, en parte, a la extrema polarización y a la ingobernabilidad. La permanente confrontación y la violencia asociada especialmente con el programa* Aló Presidente [...] *no ayudan a dar la impresión de un Venezuela democrática y pacifista.*

> (Bolívar, 2003: 88-89)

In one paper, for example, she observes that Chávez says '*yo*' 120 times in edition 101 and 182 times in the shorter edition 102, a fact which she attributes to an increase in his authoritarianism between the two editions (during which time the coup took place) (Bolívar, 2003: 103, 105).

In another paper, Bolívar states that:

> *Many new offensive expressions appeared after December 2004.* [...] *Two words are remembered by all the women and men in* [two of the groups which she surveyed] *in their attribution to the Government against the Opposition: 'terrorists' and 'assassins'.*

(Bolívar, 2005: 13-14)

Whilst both of these pieces of work are interesting and the conclusions drawn are valid given the data investigated, there is a problem in that, had a larger amount of discourse been studied, the conclusions would have been somewhat different. In the case of the occurrences of *terroristas / asesinos*, for example, investigating their frequencies in the whole of the *Aló Presidente* corpus (covering January 2002 to June 2007) gives the following graph (Figure 3-2). Of course, this is not the complete political discourse and no checks have been made as to whether the *terroristas* and *asesinos* refer to the political opposition or to others who might be referred to as terrorists and assassins. It would nevertheless appear from this graph that Bolívar's survey may not be sufficiently accurate to give an adequate description of the features in the discourse. Whilst the frequency of *terroristas* does increase in early 2005, it had previously been used much more often in 2002 and, in the case of *asesinos*, no major change in the frequency is noticed.
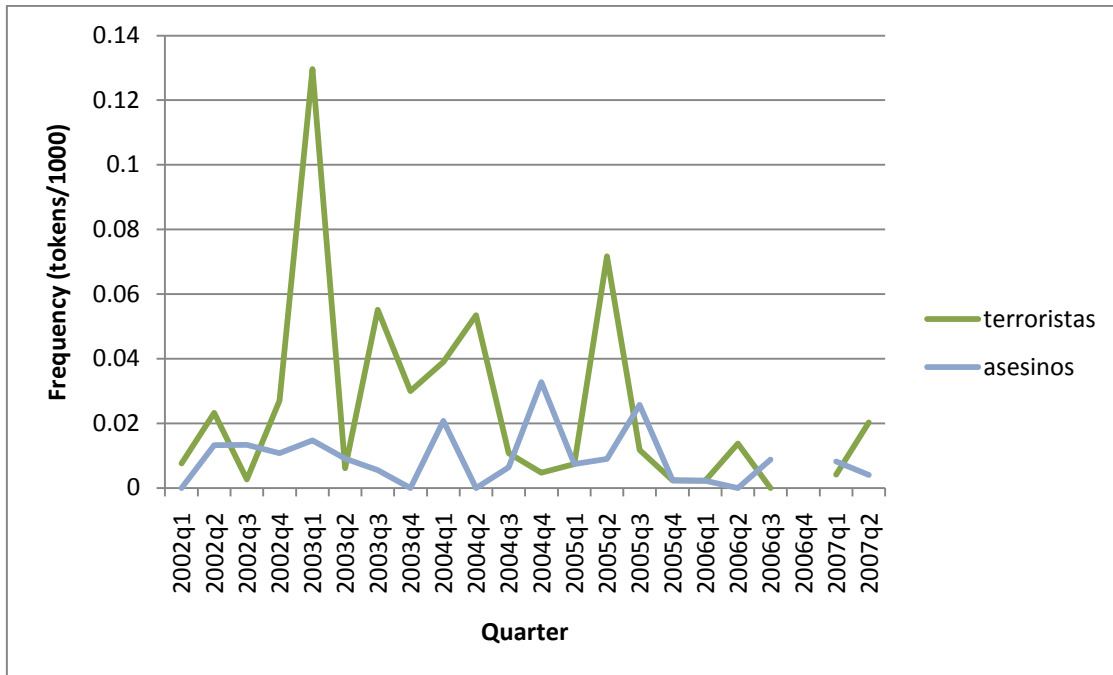
Figure 3-2: Frequency of *terroristas* and *asesinos* per 1000 tokens[19]

The same is true of her investigation involving *yo*: had Bolívar continued this study by using, perhaps, twelve editions on either side of edition 100, and normalised (not raw) frequencies, she would have discovered that, whilst the frequency of *yo* does increase after the coup, it quickly returns to its previous level:

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[19] See section 4.2.2 for a definition of 'tokens'. A gap is seen in the graph because there were no *Aló Presidente* broadcasts in Q4 2006 due to the Presidential election campaign.
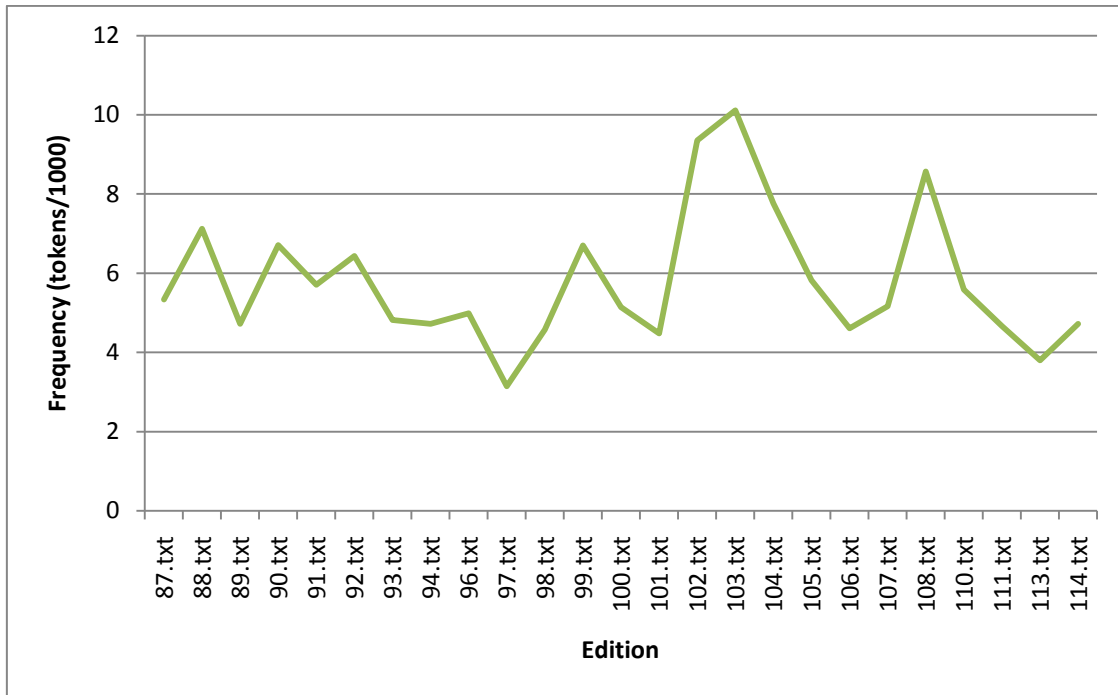
Figure 3-3: Occurrences of *yo* per 1000 tokens

These examples indicate that there is an inherent problem in manual CDA analyses, which is perhaps more serious than the dismissal of concerns about data selection (see section 2.4) suggests. This problem is that one cannot be certain that, given a different text for the same discourse, the conclusions would be the same. If one can only make claims based on the particular text investigated, is it still appropriate for Critical Discourse Analysts to make broader claims and recommendations as a result of their work? It appears, then, that there is some amount of serendipity involved in the choice of text used for a traditional CDA/DHA analysis.

Nevertheless, there is potential for some of the conclusions reached by traditional CDA to be supported with quantitative data, which would aid in their verification. For example, in a study about Irene Sáez's candidacy in the 1998 Venezuelan Presidential election, Montero claims that '*Sáez's discourse is punctuated by silences*' (Montero, 2000: 55), without giving

statistics as to how often she is silent, or for how long. The reader is also told that Sáez '*frequently*' defined herself as '*conscious*' (Montero, 2000: 56), but not exactly how frequently, nor how this compared to the other candidates. Were these data to be quoted, it would undoubtedly help to assure the reader that the conclusions had been drawn primarily from the texts themselves and not from preconceptions.

3.3.5 Conclusion

On the one hand, the DHA framework has been shown to yield some interesting results in this pilot study, despite the noted overlap between a number of the questions and the fact that the technique is not really designed for working on transcripts. Consequently, in the results chapters 7-9, I will not answer the DHA questions individually as has been done here, although the theories from DHA will be mentioned when it is deemed appropriate.

Whilst I broadly support the objectives of CDA, therefore, this chapter has revealed a number of difficulties in the application of the DHA methodology:

1. The risk of over-interpretation;
2. The fact that the DHA questions leave some important features without discussion;
3. The reliance of a DHA study on the particular text chosen, without any focus on the extent to which that text is representative, without which the conclusions drawn must be considered to be only provisional, pending work on other samples;
4. The sometimes obscure boundaries between the different dimensions of triangulation.

The first of these problems is probably inherent in any linguistic analysis of any text and it is likely that it is a necessary peril in the field. We can only try to be sensitive to it. I also hope

that the second and fourth issues will be overcome by not attempting to follow the DHA procedure so closely, giving me the freedom to make any additional observations required.

As to the third, I would like to see the analysis performed on a much larger number of texts, ideally <u>all</u> relevant texts, so that the element of chance in the choice of text could be minimised. This exercise would clearly be impractical for a human to perform, due to the enormity of the task of searching for examples in a huge quantity of text and then performing the DHA (designed to be applied on short sections of text) to them all. This implies that some form of assistance from computers would be required. Details of such assistance, and how it has been applied within CDA, are given in the following chapter.

3.4 Appendix: Excerpt From Transcript, Aló Presidente, N° 263

Salón Ayacucho, Palacio de Miraflores

Domingo, 21 de enero de 2007

ALÓ PRESIDENTE de nuevo en el aire, ¡bravo!

Buenos días desde aquí desde el Palacio de Miraflores, Venezuela, Venezuela, Venezuela.
Bueno, ¡feliz año nuevo!, desde ALÓ PRESIDENTE, el primer ALÓ PRESIDENTE de este
año 2007, domingo 21 de enero; ALÓ PRESIDENTE número 263, ¡cuánta falta me hacía un
cafecito en ALÓ PRESIDENTE!, hay una tacita que me regalaron por allá en Bolivia, bien
bonita, para tomar café.

Bienvenidos todos ustedes aquí esta mañana, ya casi medio día, al programa número 263.
Como recordaremos, desde septiembre suspendimos el ALÓ PRESIDENTE porque
entrábamos entonces en la Campaña Miranda, rumbo a lo que iba a ocurrir y ocurrió el
domingo 3 de diciembre.

Ahora retomamos, comenzando el año, este año comenzó... ¡qué año tan revolucionario este
2007!, comenzó en revolución, alta revolución, a altas revoluciones comenzó el 2007, cuántas
cosas han pasado ya en apenas 20 días y medio, cuántas cosas desde el primero de enero,
desde que sonaron las 12 campanadas; bueno, muchas, muchas, muchas expectativas después
del gran triunfo revolucionario, el compromiso repotenciado con ustedes, porque de eso se
trata: ustedes... nosotros pues, todos los venezolanos y las venezolanas.

Pido a Dios, elevo mis plegarias a Dios en este primer domingo, primer ALÓ PRESIDENTE
de 2007, este domingo 21 de enero, para que todas las cosas marchen bien, que todas las cosas
marchen bien para beneficio, para bienestar, para felicidad de todos los venezolanos y más
allá, del mundo; pidamos por la paz del mundo, por la mayor suma de felicidad posible para
todos los habitantes de nuestro planeta y para nosotros en nuestra Venezuela, en nuestra
América Latina.

El 10 de enero, doble toma de posesión, es como un doble play al imperialismo: Chávez hizo
out aquí en la mañana y Daniel allá en la tarde; doble play, le sacamos dos out a Bush ese día

28   10 de enero, y por si faltaba uno, triple play, el 15 de enero allá en Ecuador con Rafael

29   Correa.

30   El primero de enero ya había comenzado Lula la ofensiva, Lula tomó posesión del nuevo

31   período el primero de enero; ¡cuántas cosas, Dios mío!, ¡y cuánta fuerza desatada en Centro

32   América, aquí en el norte de Suramérica, allá en el corazón de Suramérica, en las montañas de

33   Ecuador y más abajo en la Bolivia que lideriza el compañero Evo Morales!, ¡cuántas cosas

34   hemos conversado en estos días, cuántos acuerdos hemos hecho!

35   Y hablando de ese tema, comencemos por allí pues, en el día de Santa Inés.

36   ¡Ah!, pero permítanme algo muy, muy de aquí de mi corazón, aquí está Rosa Inés Chávez,

37   ella nació un día de Santa Inés; Rosa Inés era bella, yo la llevo en el alma, Rosa Inés Chávez,

38   que Dios te tenga allá en la gloria; ¡cuánto me enseñaste!, ¡cuánto amor me sembraste en el

39   alma!

40   Santa Inés. Hoy es día de la patrona de Cumaná ¿no es así? Virgen de Santa Inés y de Rosinés

41   —día de tu santo, mi niña—, de Rosinés. A Rosa Inés Chávez cuánto la recuerdo, todos los

42   días; allá tengo un retrato grande, esta foto... ustedes saben, casi no quedan fotos de los viejos,

43   eran esos tiempos del siglo XX, la primera parte del siglo XX, la segunda parte, cuando

44   nacimos nosotros ya, pero no quedaban, y menos en esos campos: ¿qué foto?, la única foto

45   que uno tiene de niño es de cuando llegaban unos señores a tomar unas fotos, que se tapaban

46   la cabeza y ¡chas!; y uno quedaba encandilado, ahí no había cámaras fotográficas en esos

47   pueblos ni nada que se le pareciera; o allá en Barinas —en la capital— cuando uno iba a sacar

48   la cédula, yo ni recuerdo qué año, uno sacaba la cédula como a los 15 años, cuando estaba en

49   el liceo ya, las primera fotos para el liceo, para la inscripción en el liceo. Del resto, alguna

50   foto vieja donde aparecemos Adán y yo desnuditos, en pelota, ¿te acuerda Adán? Esa foto

51   más nunca la he visto, desnudos en pelota: Adán impúdico, yo en cambio me tapé con una

52   franelita, yo me tapaba. ¿Adán esa foto qué se haría?, ¿tú la tienes allá? Estábamos en una

53   banqueta, ¿te acuerdas de esa foto? Estábamos yo, como de 2 años y tú de 3 pues,

54   lógicamente. Esa foto hay que conseguirla, esa es la más vieja foto. Por cierto que Adán

55   acaba de tener un nieto y yo, cuando lo levanto, que lo vi bien, dije: este es Adán otra vez,

56   este muchacho se parece es al abuelo, igualito a Adán cuando era niño. Daniel, ¿no? Daniel.

57 Bien, entonces por eso les pedía permiso para meterme en el alma mía, de mi abuela, ustedes
58 saben esas querencias más profundas, la abuela... bueno, sí, trabajadora; ellas nos enseñó a
59 leer y a escribir antes de ir a la escuela, ella decía: "Tienes que aprender Huguito", y Adán
60 también, a los dos nos enseñó, fue nuestra primera maestra, pues: las letras redonditas que
61 ellas hacía y a leer, nos enseñaba a leer, quizás de ahí viene la pasión —en mi caso— por la
62 lectura, por la buena escritura, la buena ortografía, no cometer ni un error de una coma, de ahí
63 que algunos me sufren porque yo soy "que si el acentico, la comita", la forma de la prosa
64 incluso, y del verso de cuando en cuando. La abuela, yo recuerdo que ella me decía, ya yo
65 militar: "Huguito, Huguito, usted sálgase de ahí, usted no sirve para eso". Y a mí me gustaba,
66 ya me gustaba el ejército, y yo le preguntaba ¿y por qué no sirvo para eso, abuela? "Usted es
67 muy disposicionero, usted inventa mucho".

68 ¡Y dígame después, cuando un día llegué a la casa, ya de teniente y con música de Alí
69 Primera! Y ella oía por supuesto, tenía esa inteligencia innata de nuestro pueblo profundo y
70 ella oía el canto de Alí Primera y un día llegamos con otros cadetes —en vacaciones— un
71 diciembre o un julio, qué sé yo, y nos sentamos ahí y yo puse a Alí Primera: "Soldado vuelca
72 el fusil contra el oligarca...". Y se fueron los compañeros y después me dijo ella: "¿Se da
73 cuenta? Usted se va a meter en un lío, porque yo estoy oyendo esa música y usted se la pone a
74 sus compañeros, Huguito, Huguito". ¡Ay!, la abuela.

75 Bueno aquí va con nosotros, nunca morirá dentro del corazón y además yo tengo con ella un
76 compromiso, un compromiso: como ella me descubrió antes de tiempo, me intuyó; entonces
77 cuando murió aquel 2 de enero de 1982 que fue el año... cuando la sembramos pero al mismo
78 tiempo cuando retoñaron cosas; la sembramos en medio de retoños y de amaneceres el año
79 1982.

80 Ese año, recuerdo que el primero de enero yo amanecí de guardia en la Academia, era
81 teniente, amanecí de guardia en la Academia Militar y como ella estaba muy mal ya, recuerdo
82 que había pedido permiso, me dio pena pero tuve que decirle a mi coronel Tovar, que era un
83 hombre muy, muy... es un hombre extraordinario el "Caballo" Tovar Jiménez, mi coronel,
84 donde esté un abrazo, es de esos insignes oficiales que no llegaron nunca a generales,
85 precisamente Ramón Carrizalez lo recuerda y todos los militares que estamos aquí —
86 Carreño—, porque tenían unas posiciones muy firmes y se fueron quedando en la Cuarta

87 República. En cambio otros —al amparo del poder, de la corrupción y de la buena vida—
88 llegaron a altas posiciones, eran aquellos tiempos.

89 A mí me dio pena porque yo llegaba de permiso de primer turno, yo nunca he tenido buena
90 suerte para el juego ni el azar así que no me gusta nada de eso, pero cuando —por
91 obligación— participaba en esos sorteos para salir de permiso, en los batallones se sorteaba,
92 entonces uno agarraba un papelito, yo casi siempre agarraba libre el primer turno o sea que
93 tenía guardia el 31, ya me hacía a la idea, y no me importaba en verdad, nunca me importó de
94 manera extraordinaria no estar en casa el 31, claro que es bonito pero cuando uno se hace
95 soldado... ¡soldado es soldado!

96 Entonces tenía guardia el 31 de enero ahí en Fuerte Tiuna, en la Academia y desde ahí
97 observaba, a mí me gustaba mucho pararme en el Gran Hall, ahí en la puerta grande que da
98 hacia las columnatas, y ver el jolgorio en la soledad, a las 12 de la noche nos asomábamos ahí
99 el grupo de oficiales a darnos el abrazo y a ver los cohetes de los cerros de El Valle y a oír los
100 rumores de la alegría y la esperanza de un pueblo que se renueva cada 31 de diciembre, y ya
101 andábamos nosotros en revolución.

102 A mí me dio pena porque llegó mi Coronel el primero de enero, el 31 hubo reunión de
103 oficiales despidiendo el año y me dio pena pero lo hice, le dije: mi Coronel, yo necesito un
104 permiso, tan pronto regresen los que están de permiso de segundo turno, es decir como el 6 de
105 enero o el 4; y le expliqué: mire mi abuela —que es mi mamá vieja— está muy mal y no le
106 quedan muchos días de vida, yo me acabo de despedir de ella hace dos días, un abrazo y las
107 lágrimas y recuerdo que me dijo: "¡Ay!, Huguito no llores, que quizás con tanta pastilla me
108 voy a curar". Pero no, ya no tenía cura, sabíamos que se iba, ya se estaba yendo.

109 Entonces le dije: "Mi Coronel, yo necesito ir a pasar unos días allá con ella porque se está
110 yendo, no son muchos los días que le quedan". Y el buen coronel me dijo: "Chávez vaya,
111 vaya". Yo era jefe de deportes y no había en ese momento ningún gran compromiso
112 deportivo, empezando el año, y todo funcionaba ahí... uno era el coordinador, el jefe, los
113 equipos deportivos, los entrenadores y todo. Entonces me dijo: "Váyase el 5 de enero cuando
114 lleguen los demás".

115 El primero me voy a visitar a mi coronel Trejo ahí en Macuto, él tenía una casita allí, y bueno,
116 ese fue como un padre, otro padre mío, orientador, el gran líder militar de los años 50,

primero de enero, Hugo Enrique Trejo, ahí estuvimos conversando todo el primero, en la tarde me fui a Villa de Cura a visitar a mi tía-abuela Ana que allá está a sus 92 años, la hija de Pedro Pérez Delgado, y estando allá salí a afeitarme porque estaba muy mechudo —como decimos—, para regresar en la tarde a la Academia, cuando regreso ya tenía la noticia: "ha muerto la abuela".

Así que la sembramos al día siguiente. Pero yo, como andábamos en Revolución ya, del alma salió el compromiso, un poco el anuncio, el compromiso sellado.

Bueno, y ese año comenzamos a sellar el compromiso en el Samán de Güere, porque fue ese diciembre 17 cuando juramos Urdaneta, Felipe Antonio Acosta, Raúl Isaías y este servidor; juramos allá en el Samán de Güere comenzar en firme y en serio la construcción de un movimiento revolucionario en el seno del propio Ejército nacional, y darle vida al Movimiento Bolivariano en esa juventud militar que luego, del 82 al 92, 10 años después, explotó la rebelión militar del 4 de febrero.

Me dicen que tienen un video. Yo quiero, con el permiso de ustedes, hay un video que hicieron no sé en qué momento, que ratifica el compromiso, que es con Rosa Inés, mi abuela; pero es con todos ustedes, el compromiso con la Patria, con la Revolución, con la Patria nueva. ¿Tenemos el video? ¿Sí? Vamos a verlo pues, muchachos. Adelante.

Quizás un día yo hubiera querido
dirigir mis pasos hasta tus vecinos,
con los brazos en alto y como alborozo,
colocar en tu tumba una gran corona de verdes laureles:

sería mi victoria y sería tu victoria
y la de tu pueblo, y la de tu historia;
y entonces por la madre vieja
volverán las aguas del río Boconó,
como en otros tiempos tus campos regó;

y por sus riberas se oirá
el canto alegre de tu cristofué
y el suave trinar de tus azulejos

146   y la clara risa de tu loro viejo;

147   y entonces en tu casa vieja

148   tus blancas palomas el vuelo alzarán

149   y bajo el matapalo ladrará "Guardián",

150   y crecerá el almendro junto al naranjal,

151   también el ciruelo junto al topochal,

152   y los mandarinos junto a tu piñal,

153   y enrojecerá el semeruco junto a tu rosal,

154   y crecerá la paja bajo tu maizal,

155   y entonces

156   la sonrisa alegre de tu rostro ausente

157   llenará de luces este llano caliente;

158   y un gran cabalgar saldrá de repente

159   y vendrán los federales con Zamora al frente

160   y las guerrillas de Maisanta con toda su gente

161   y el catire Páez con sus mil valientes;

162   o quizás nunca, mi vieja,

163   llegue tanta dicha por este lugar,

164   y entonces, solamente entonces, al fin de mi vida

165   yo vendría a buscarte, mamá Rosa mía,

166   llegaría a tu tumba y la regaría

167   con sudor y sangre,

168   y hallaría consuelo en tu amor de madre,

169   y te contaría de mi desengaño entre los mortales,

170   y entonces tú abrirías tus brazos

171   y me abrazarías cual tiempos de infante,

172   y me arrullarías con tu tierno canto

173   y me llevarías por otros lugares

174   a cantar canciones

175   y a lanzar un grito que nunca se apague.

176   Bueno, ese fue un compromiso, es decir, todo eso se puede recoger en una expresión mucho

177   más corta: Patria o muerte, sencillamente así, Patria o muerte; y ahora Patria, socialismo o

178   muerte, quizás un día le coloque una gran corona de verdes laureles, o llegue a tu tumba con

179   sudor y sangre. Patria o muerte, sencillamente así.

180   Luego, 21 de enero, comentaba el tema internacional dentro de este camino de Patria o

181   muerte, y la Patria, mucho más que Venezuela, es la gran Patria, nuestra gran Patria.

182   Estaba viendo el "Marciano" de hoy, del diario Vea. El diario Vea habla por cierto del ALÓ

183   PRESIDENTE de hoy: "Vuelve el programa más esperado por los venezolanos. Foro Social

184   Mundial comienza en Nairobi hoy en busca de alternativas...". Allá tenemos una delegación

185   venezolana participando en el Foro Social Mundial.

186   "La Asamblea Nacional en sesión permanente, parlamentarismo de calle. El vicepresidente

187   Jorge Rodríguez: 'Venezuela ejerce soberanía al dictar leyes habilitantes'...".

188   Por cierto que hoy comenzamos con el Gobierno endógeno. El Gobierno endógeno es uno de

189   los instrumentos del motor constituyente, nueva geometría del poder, nos vamos a mover

190   sobre el mapa; la geometría, bueno, y el movimiento sobre el mapa.

191   Estuve leyendo, he estado leyendo mucho porque a mí me apasiona la geografía, leyendo,

192   leyendo, pensando, leyendo corrientes del pensamiento de la geografía, vamos a darle vida al

193   mapa, la nueva geometría del poder.

194   Entonces el Vicepresidente y yo hicimos un acuerdo: cuando yo esté todos los domingos en

195   un ALÓ PRESIDENTE en cualquier sitio, él estará en el otro extremo del país, en cualquier

196   punto. De manera sorpresiva vamos a llegar con grupos de ministros y demás funcionarios,

197   servidores públicos, con los gobernadores, alcaldes a hacer inspecciones, asambleas

198   populares. Así que tenemos un pase para la una de la tarde aproximadamente con el

199   Vicepresidente, él debe estar por allá en Delta Amacuro, allá en el Orinoco, donde el Orinoco

200   se abre al Atlántico y donde viven esas comunidades milenarias de nuestros pueblos

201   aborígenes, nuestros indios warao, allá estaremos haciendo el contacto con el vicepresidente

202   Jorge Rodríguez.

203   Pero decía que estaba leyendo "Marciano en domingo": "Cambio de época, con retrato en

204   familia". Y hay aquí un buen enfoque sobre el momento que estamos viviendo a nivel

205 mundial y sobre todo a nivel de nuestra América. Voy a leer sólo una parte, dice así,

206 "Marciano en domingo. Cambio de época". Leo:

207 "En efecto, eso es un cambio de época, la definición es del presidente ecuatoriano Rafael

208 Correa, no se trata de simples cambios políticos, cambios de personajes, cambios cosméticos;

209 hay algo de fondo que proviene de la entraña del pueblo, o como alguien dijera: del subsuelo

210 de la Patria, esta vez de la Patria latinoamericana. ¿Son procesos diferentes en cada país?

211 Cierto, por suerte...".

212 Porque esta es una de las cosas que la derecha pretende utilizar contra nosotros: que si Lula es

213 distinto a Chávez, y que si Evo es distinto a Lula y que tienen enfoques... pero, bueno, gracias

214 a Dios que es así, eso es algo natural y absolutamente necesario. Pero la sumatoria —como se

215 demostró ahora en la Cumbre de Río de Janeiro— es extraordinariamente positiva, ¡vaya qué

216 potencial tenemos ahí!, ese grupo de compañeros y compañeras, en el caso de Michelle

217 Bachelet, ¡qué potencial para el debate!, cuánto le decía yo a algunos periodistas —y a

218 Nicolás— cuando veníamos retornando de Río de Janeiro, y a los compañeros, ¡cuánto han

219 cambiado estas cumbres!, antes eran un fastidio, ¡si uno llegaba era a leer un discurso! Bueno,

220 yo nunca leí, pero casi todos leían un discurso, nadie interrumpía a nadie, no había conflicto,

221 ¡qué conflicto va a haber así, si éramos como unos muertos, eso era una cosa muerta!

222 ¿Alguien ha visto conflicto en un cementerio? No hay conflicto entre los muertos; entre la

223 memoria de los muertos sí hay conflictos, pero ahí en el cementerio no hay conflicto, aquello

224 era una mortandad, aquellas reuniones de presidentes; incluso a veces yo iba dispuesto, yo

225 decía: voy a provocar a alguien a ver si por lo menos me responde... ¡um-um!: tú podías

226 insultar a alguien... rostros imperturbables, nadie respondía nada, ni debate alguno.

227 Ahora no, ahora, yo recuerdo mi crítica de Cochabamba, y luego en privado con algunos;

228 entonces Lula convocó un día anterior a la reunión de Mercosur, a esta reunión de Suramérica

229 de nuevo, para continuar la de Cochabamba, ¡y vaya qué reunión!, ahí estuvimos sólo los

230 presidentes y la presidenta Bachelet, ni siquiera los cancilleres estuvieron allí, y, bueno,

231 algunos que tomaba nota, un equipo técnico de Lula, pero nosotros entramos solos y ahí

232 estuvimos varias horas, un debate bien interesante, y reclamos, reclamos, ideas, posiciones,

233 respuestas, otras respuestas, y la resultante: maravillosa, se consolida un grupo, éramos un

234 conjunto de personas que asistían a reuniones a dar un discurso y a tomarse una foto y a

235 aparentar una unidad que lejos estaba de existir. Ahora no, es un grupo que se está

236 consolidando, y luego la reunión pública allá al día siguiente.

237 Por ejemplo, yo propuse en la reunión del 18, la de sólo los presidentes de Suramérica, como

238 fue tan rico el debate, le dije a Lula: Lula, yo propongo algo, que ustedes los anfitriones,

239 Brasil, hagan una relatoría de todo este debate privado, se extraiga de ahí el súmmun, el jugo,

240 lo valioso; que se pulan las propuestas, los conflictos que tenemos que solucionar —

241 heredados, la mayor parte de ellos—, las propuestas, etc. Y luego, para que eso no quede en el

242 aire como ha ocurrido siempre, que los presidentes dicen, dicen y dan discursos, pero eso se lo

243 lleva el viento, porque ya los documentos venían preparados por el funcionariado, y luego los

244 presidentes hablan como en un diálogo de sordos. Así era antes, ahora no, ahora la propuesta

245 fue aceptada y esa relatoría nos va a llegar dentro de unos días a cada presidente, para trabajar

246 e ir apuntando hacia la toma de decisiones para la reunión de Caracas.

247 Se ha decidido una reunión aquí en Caracas, de todos los presidentes de Suramérica, en el

248 próximo mes de abril, dos días, el primer día la encerrona de los presidentes, y el segundo día

249 ya la reunión pública cuyo tema central va a ser la energía, una reunión energética.

250 Bien. Entonces, ¡cómo ha cambiado todo esto! Por eso dice aquí Marciano: "Lo de Ecuador

251 no es similar, son diferentes los procesos —cierto, por suerte—; lo de Venezuela no es igual a

252 lo de Argentina, lo de Ecuador no es similar a lo de Brasil, lo de Bolivia tiene connotaciones

253 propias, al igual que lo de Chile, Nicaragua tiene su especificidad, también el movimiento

254 popular mexicano, al que le fue escamoteada la victoria electoral, como también sucedió en

255 Perú; Paraguay tiene un matiz que dista mucho de lo que fue la política de esa nación en el

256 pasado, Uruguay es emblema de la victoria popular en una de las naciones de mayor cultura

257 en la región. ¿Es posible comparar el Gobierno del hijo del general Torrijos, Martín, con los

258 denigrantes gobiernos de Endara y Moscoso? Imposible".

259 Comentarios de "Marciano en domingo", pero que tienen mucho, mucho de realidad, y más

260 allá de esto, pues, como yo he comentado, hay —tomo la frase de Correa— un cambio de

261 época, amanece una nueva historia, el retorno de la historia, una época que comienza; no

262 desaprovechemos esta época, no desaprovechemos esta época, esa es una gran

263 responsabilidad para nosotros en todos estos países: visualizar, planificar e impulsar el

264 proceso unitario, yo lo resumo así, así le comentaba a un buen grupo de compañeros en Río de

265 Janeiro, allá en la Asamblea Legislativa del Estado de Río de Janeiro, donde me honraron —y

266 eso yo lo recibo es a nombre de todos ustedes— con la Orden Tiradentes; Tiradentes, aquel

267 gran líder brasileño, primer gran rebelde brasileño contra el imperio portugués, Tiradentes.

268 Me impusieron esa orden y yo comentaba ahí, con un grupo grande de compañeros de los

269 distintos movimientos políticos, revolucionarios, sociales del Brasil, que no perdamos esta

270 oportunidad.

271 Es una fórmula que podemos resumir en tres factores: unión, unión para la libertad, sólo

272 unidos seremos libres, unidos nuestros pueblos, unidos nuestros gobiernos, unidas nuestras

273 economías, unidos nuestros potenciales en Suramérica, unidos para ser libres; ninguno de

274 nuestros países podrá ser libre por sí solo, nosotros hemos venido recuperando grandes

275 espacios de libertad, pero se trata de una batalla contra un imperio, contra unas fuerzas

276 internas y externas que tienen un gran poder.

277 Pues bien, unidos para ser libres, y ser libres para desarrollar nuestras propias políticas,

278 nuestros propios proyectos complementarios hacia un gran proyecto similar, parecido o

279 inspirado en el que lanzó Bolívar cuando convocó al Congreso de Panamá: conformar en esta

280 parte del mundo, en Suramérica, un bloque de repúblicas, la "Nación de repúblicas" decía

281 Bolívar, un bloque de poder, se trata de poder, es el poder, es el poder.

4 LITERATURE REVIEW II: CORPUS LINGUISTICS

4.1 CORPUS LINGUISTICS

4.1.1 Introduction

The preceding two chapters discussed what can be described as the 'traditional' approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, and then demonstrated the use of one particular CDA methodology, Discourse-Historical Analysis, applied to a thirty-minute excerpt from one edition of *Aló Presidente.* From this, it was found that DHA can be used to uncover interesting information about how President Chávez constructs his leadership qualities in this particular instance. Concerns were raised, however, about the risk of over-/under-interpretation using this methodology as well as whether the findings can be assumed to be representative of Chávez's wider discourse if one uses just a small sample of it.

In this chapter, the discussion moves to the use of large collections of text ('corpora') and the field of corpus linguistics, in which computer programs are used to aid analysis of the corpora. It will be shown that the techniques developed by corpus linguists have been applied by Critical Discourse analysts with varying degrees of success. Conclusions will be drawn from this, which will be used in the following chapter to describe a new methodology which can be employed to overcome some of the problems inherent in the traditional approach to CDA.

4.1.2 Introducing Corpus Linguistics

Put simply, the term 'corpus' refers to any collection of texts (which includes both spoken and written language) but users of corpora have adopted the term with a more precise definition.

For the corpus linguist, a corpus is a collection of written texts or transcriptions of speech, saved as files on a computer system and designed for automatic extraction of the language examples that the corpus contains by one or more computer programs (Sinclair, 1991). Given the fact that computers can process a large quantity of data very quickly, the aim of most corpus studies is to investigate the use of language in the corpus. This point is key: the corpus can only be used to tell the researcher about the language in the corpus itself but this would be quite pointless for the purposes of many studies were it not also both possible and reasonable for the researcher to interpret and generalise the results obtained, so as to reach a set of conclusions about language as a whole. One of the most useful by-products of such a process is often that examples are obtained from the corpus, thereby saving the researcher from the potential perils of (in the case of lexicography) devising an example which might later turn out to be inaccurate, or (in the case of discourse analysis) picking out a particularly unusual usage.

Corpora are often divided into 'sub-corpora', which group individual texts by a given factor, most commonly genre or topic. Thus, the corpus as a whole, or one or more sub-corpora may be analysed and/or compared, depending on the parameters given to the software.

There are many types of corpus, serving different purposes. Amongst these are:

1. 'specialist corpora' which are designed for the investigation of a particular issue;
2. 'reference corpora' or 'sample corpora', which contain a large amount of text from a wide variety of authors and genres, with the aim of creating a database which represents the language as broadly as possible.[20]

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[20] Note though, that the word 'representative' is often considered taboo in corpus linguistics, since measuring all language-use by all speakers across all domains and genres is obviously problematic!

3. 'monitor corpora', which are reference corpora which have developed over time and which can be divided into periods, thereby permitting diachronic research into language development.[21]

The corpus of President Chávez's discourse used in this study is obviously a specialist corpus according to these definitions.

---

[21] (The latter two of these types of corpus are described in detail in Sinclair, 1991: 23-26). It has been argued that the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) is probably the only monitor corpus, since other corpora are not adequately balanced to allow comparison of the effects of time whilst controlling genre (Davies, 2009). COCA, however, currently only covers a span of less than twenty years, so limiting the studies which can be undertaken with it at present. A still unanswered question is what constitutes a period for the purpose of monitor corpora: it seems likely that this will be strongly dependent on genre, since innovation is more prevalent in the fields of current affairs and technology than in fiction writing, for example.

4.2 CORPUS THEORY

4.2.1 Concepts in Corpus Linguistics

As with any discipline, corpus linguistics has a range of techniques and accompanying terminology which is used for precise purposes. Consequently, this section (4.2) will be devoted to explaining some of these, so that it will be possible to show how these theories have been applied within CDA in section 4.3.

Early in the history of corpus linguistics, it was realised that the basic unit of meaning in language could be perceived otherwise than as the word (which is what the format of most dictionaries would often seem to imply). This realisation came through insights gained by using reference corpora to try to distinguish the different meanings of phrasal verbs involving the word *'set'*, for example. Sinclair described that:

> *The prospect arises of being able to present the facts of the language in a much more precise way than before. Instead of individual words and phrases being crudely associated with a 'meaning', we could see them presented in active and typical contexts, and gradually freed from those contexts to enjoy, in most cases, a severely limited autonomy.*

<div align="right">(Sinclair, 1991: 78)</div>

This is not really as surprising a conclusion as it at first sounds. In a previous study, I showed how the word *work* had two broad meanings in nineteenth-century English: either a one-off task, or employment requiring manual labour, particularly in agriculture. At the start of the nineteenth century, it could also refer to religious duty or to thought but within a few decades

it was linked to avoidance of poverty (Smith, 2006: 93-94).[22]   Clearly, users would have

needed to disambiguate these potential senses, and this was done on the basis of what people

tend to call 'context'.

4.2.2   The Role of Collocation

What the introduction of computers and large-scale studies in linguistics demonstrated is that

this disambiguation tends to be driven by the propensity of one word to occur together with

others. **'*Collocation*'** was a term which had already been coined by Firth for a similar concept.

He had noticed that the meaning of 'ass' in 1950s colloquial English could be disambiguated

from the animal sense through the presence of one of a small number of adjectives placed

before it:

> *One of the meanings of ass is its habitual collocation with an immediately preceding*
> you silly*, and with other phrases of address or personal reference [...]*
>
> *There are only limited possibilities of collocation with preceding adjectives, among*
> *which the commonest are* silly, obstinate, stupid, awful, *occasionally* egregious.

(Firth, 1957: 195)

It will be understood from this quotation that Firth regarded the collocation itself as <u>being</u> the

meaning, rather than as an indication of it, which would be the modern understanding. Firth

also argued that collocational meaning is entirely distinct from contextual meaning (Firth,

1957: 195); a stance which would likewise be questioned today (for example, one could

imagine that the phrase 'That ass scratched my car' could be used, in which none of the

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[22] As is noted in the cited work, this study did suffer from an insufficiency of data, and so this must be borne
in mind when considering the results given.

collocational adjectives listed by Firth is present but which, in a city environment, is still unlikely to be interpreted in the animal sense).

Nevertheless, the term 'collocation' has been adopted within the realm of corpus linguistics because there are obvious parallels with Firth's description. In the previous study referred to above, for example, I found that the collocation of *hard* with *work* strongly indicates the task sense, rather than the employment sense and additionally implies that the task is to be completed by an individual (Smith, 2006: 62). There are many other similar instances of disambiguation.

The fact that collocation is so important, of course, raises the question as to how far away from the word under investigation (known as the '**node**') one should look for collocates. Intuition suggests that many collocates will be found in the immediate vicinity (one word to the left and one to the right) of the node, but other words such as *very* or *perhaps* etc. might well intervene. Indeed, Sinclair found as early as 1970 that the node exerts less influence the further away from the node one looks (Sinclair et al., 2004: 43) and was able to argue that *'the influence of the node does not extend beyond the span position four'* (Sinclair et al., 2004: 48), on the grounds that 95% of the node's influence can be found within such a **span**. Sinclair therefore advocated searching within a span of five words to the left and right of the node, which has become the *de facto* standard in the field despite the fact that Sinclair later discovered that most English words have a stronger prediction to the right than to the left (Sinclair et al., 2004: 50-53).[23] More recently, Mason has convincingly argued that the span should not be fixed but rather that it should vary depending on the node, and he has demonstrated a mechanism for calculating the optimum span in each case (Mason, 2000).

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[23] For practical reasons related to printing, Scott has also referred to a span of 80 characters (Scott, 1997: 234), which is in practice little different from the standard ten-word span.

Regrettably, however, currently-available software for corpus linguistics does not make use of Mason's work and so Sinclair's ten-word span will be adopted in this study.

In order better to present the importance of collocations, some corpus linguists align sentences centred upon the node. The resulting layout is known as '**concordance lines**' and they are often sorted alphabetically by some word in a given position relative to that node (two words to the left, for example), in order to highlight the collocational tendencies of the node. Whilst concordance lines can be useful in revealing patterns in the usage of collocates around node words, and hence for studies such as those done by Sinclair, they do have some disadvantages:

1. First, they do not take frequency into account in their presentation; the researcher is required to count the examples, which can be time-consuming.

2. Concordance lines also do not sort themselves; the researcher must choose which sorting order(s) to use, thereby leaving the potential for some important feature to be missed.

3. Most critical for the purposes of the present study is that, even in landscape format, only a few words either side of the node can be shown. This may be acceptable for genres with a small mean sentence length but with longer sentences, such as Chávez's, there may well be insufficient co-text surrounding the node on the printed page for the useful presentation of data.

This third point means that it is often necessary to read beyond the concordance lines to be able to interpret the data shown. For this reason, the concordance lines in this work are presented as multi-line quotations which are more meaningful.

If a word often has no meaning in itself when divorced from its collocates or its context, then we might be justified in asking: 'What is a word?' This question is, of course, important for the corpus linguist who plans to use computer tools to search for words (or groups of them) but the answer seems only to reveal the problematic nature of 'word'.

The English word 'word' can have both the meaning of individual occurrences (for example, we say 'There are ten words in the sentence', even if one of them occurs multiple times) or a distinct occurrence ('The word 'good' occurs three times'). To circumvent the resulting confusion, corpus-linguists try to avoid the use of 'word', instead using the terms '**type**' for an individual word and '**token**' for each of its occurrences. I shall also adopt this usage from the end of this section onwards but, for the purposes of simplicity, I shall continue to use the word 'word' whilst discussing its problems in these paragraphs.

Furthermore, word boundaries can be elusive. Clear evidence of this can be witnessed, for example, in the change from the orthography 'to-day' to 'today' in English, which I encountered in previous research (Smith, 2006: 18) and will also be intuitive to any student of a foreign language who has ever attempted a translation. The number of words in a sentence in the target-language is rarely identical to the number in the source-language, because there are many concepts which can be expressed with one word in one language but which will require multiple words, or even paraphrase, to achieve an adequate rendering in another. This effect is even more pronounced with regard to Chinese, for example, where the very concept of a word is different from those of Indo-European languages.[24]

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[24] This topic is, of course, beyond the scope of the present work but it is worth noting that Duanmu (1998: 135) mentions that many Chinese linguists believe that 'word' is not a meaningful concept and cites Lü's (1990: 367) assertion that only in 1907 was a contrast made between *zi* (character) and *ci* (word) in Mandarin.

This problem is compounded when one considers the differences between spoken and written forms of the language. The way in which written words are divided was often decided by monks in medieval times or otherwise by convention (the fact that the spelling 'alright' has relatively recently become commonplace, for example). When one speaks, however, and particularly in stress-timed languages such as English, pauses are not equal between words in the way that the written space between them is. Perhaps, therefore, the spoken word should be considered separately from the written one? Fortunately, this somewhat polemical issue need not concern my study since, although the data used is Chávez's (spoken) television programme, the data is sourced in the form of (written) transcriptions, and so the words as they appear in the transcript can be used as the basis for the research.

4.2.3   The Role of Keywords

Whilst a node and its collocates may be identified within a given text or set of concordance lines for a corpus, often more interesting are the insights which can be gained when multiple corpora, or sub-corpora of an individual corpus, are compared. **Keywords** are those types which occur statistically significantly more (or less) frequently in one corpus than in another. When defined in this manner, a specific corpus is compared to a reference corpus using some statistical measure (for example log-likelihood[25]), subject to a certain probability level (normally, as is conventional in humanities subjects, p=0.95) (Scott, 2004c). It is known that some of the keywords from such analyses will reveal the main topic of the text (Scott, 2004c), which is generally termed '**aboutness**' (Phillips, 1989).

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[25] Log-likelihood, alternatively known as G² or G-score, (Oakes, 1998: 38) has been argued by Scott to be '*a better estimate of keyness*' (Scott, 2004b) than the alternative measure, chi-square.

The concept of aboutness is rather intuitive and, as such, this technique can be used to verify what the important topics in a text are. If a text is a medical text about heart transplants, for example, one might expect types such as *heart* (or perhaps *coronary* in texts designed for a medical audience), *donor* and *transplant* to occur more frequently than in a corpus comprising a mixture of novels, newspaper articles and speech on a variety of topics. Indeed, quickly verifying this example shows that if one takes the Wikipedia entry for Heart Transplantation (Wikimedia Foundation, 2008) and, using the article as a corpus, compares the word-list derived from it to the FROWN corpus of English using WordSmith Tools' Keywords software, one indeed finds *heart*, *transplant*, *patient*, *donor* and *procedure* to be the top five keywords.

Whilst keywords can themselves reveal interesting insights, Scott has also investigated what he refers to as **key-key-words** (Scott, 1997). His procedure took the frequency of each type and compared it, on a text-by-text basis, to a reference corpus to give a list of keywords for each text. These lists were then compared to discover which keywords occurred in multiple texts, which would indicate that they were key in that type of text (Scott, 1997: 236-237). This was then taken a stage further to give a list of the keywords which were found within the same individual texts as the ones in which a certain key-key-word is found; he calls these keywords '**associates**' of the key-key-word (Scott, 1997: 238-239). Finally, he notes that if one merges the lists of keywords in which at least a given percentage of the keywords are the same when calculating these associates, and performs this operation recursively using different percentages, then a series of '**clumps**' of associates is produced, which often seem to represent semantic fields and which can therefore be used to disambiguate polysemous types (Scott, 1997: 240-241).

This is a fascinating and very noteworthy insight but it does cause a dilemma for the diachronic corpus linguist working with a set of similar texts which have been produced over time, since the production of the key-key-words list will necessarily involve texts from the whole period covered by the corpus, thereby removing the very variable (namely, change over time) which one wishes to isolate.

4.2.4 Technological considerations in corpus design

Having now introduced some of the principle linguistic ideas in corpus linguistics, it is also necessary to introduce the main technological ones, since these will be drawn upon in designing my methodology in section 5.1. As described above, the corpus linguist will generally see the corpus as a collection of texts stored on computer. Most corpus linguistics software is designed for use on plain ASCII or Unicode text files (.txt), the most basic form of raw text storage.

Once the corpus texts have been converted into .txt format, a decision must be taken as to whether or not any 'markup' (additional information about the text, which does not form part of the original language) would be included and, if so, how much. Proponents of markup claim that it enables more detailed analyses to be carried out (Biber et al., 1998: 257-258). For example, 'meta-data'[26] may indicate the original source of the material, and may be necessary for subsequent division into sub-corpora, but there is a debate as to whether it should be included in the same file as the corpus-text, or whether it should be kept separately. Other experts strongly argue that a corpus should be kept free of anything other than the text itself

---

[26] I understand 'meta-data' to be that information which is pertinent to the whole text (place and date of creation, the speakers it contains, copyright information, the name of the transcriber and so forth), as distinct from 'tagging' in the text, to be discussed in further paragraphs, which relates to the addition of information relevant only at the point of insertion into the transcript.

(Sinclair, 1991: 21), seeing tagging as a vestige of an era when computers had more limited processing power and memory, and so could not operate directly on the text as a whole (Sinclair, 2004: 190-191).

One of the main arguments against markup has been that, once markup is included in a text, it is difficult to retrieve the original 'clean' text, thus hindering the repurposing of the corpus for other investigations (Sinclair, 1991: 21). This observation was probably valid at the time that it was made but the arrival of eXtensible Markup Language (XML) as a standard promoted by the W3C (the internet standards body), however, means that markup can now be easily-parsed by a computer, which was not always the case with its less-defined predecessors (SGML and TEI). Specifically, this means that use of valid XML by corpus designers should result in it being possible always to return to the original language, by instructing the computer to ignore the whole markup, or sections of it, thus making this criticism of markup moot. Indeed, the creators of the British National Corpus, a reference corpus of English, have converted their corpus into XML (Burnard and Aston, 2008) and, in doing so, created both a 'schema' (Burnard, 2007) for an XML-subset for use in corpora and appropriate lookup software, which, it seems likely, could become standards in their own right.[27] This XML-subset will hereafter be referred to as BNC-XML.

One of the conclusions from my earlier work had been that the annotation of individual tokens with grammatical information (known as 'Part-Of-Speech tagging') could have provided useful insights (Smith, 2006: 98) and it became clear early in this work that a POS-tagged version of the corpus would be required here also. For example, the investigation into the

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[27] Note, however, that TEI P4 and TEI P5 are also in XML format. The BNC's XML format slightly pre-dates these, and as such there are minor incompatibilities between them (documented in Burnard, 2005).

type *estado* would not have been possible if it were not practicable to separate the 'nation'

meaning from other senses, see section 6.2.2.

POS-tagging a corpus is itself controversial within the field of corpus linguistics. It involves

the use of specially-designed software ('the POS-tagger*')* to prepare the texts with POS tags,

which may indicate lemmatised forms, for example.[28] Inclusion of POS tags within the text

might permit the analysis of all forms of a verb simultaneously. In languages such as

Castilian, where inflection is also a feature, POS tags would also allow all examples of an

adjective, regardless of the morphology, to be assessed together.

However, these are also precisely the reasons why POS-tagging is opposed. A principal

danger of both markup and POS-tagging is that they could encourage the researcher to think

of tokens individually and to ignore their context; this is clearly flawed, since, as already

described above, few, if any, 'words' have meaning in total isolation. I do not, however,

consider these objections to be particularly valid in this work since, as has already been

explained, I am only using the corpus to suggest candidates for a DHA investigation which

will, necessarily, require the analysis of the context around the node.

Furthermore, many scholars (such as Teubert, 2009: 17) argue against POS-tagging on the

grounds that such tagging adds information which has been interpreted on the basis of

traditional linguistic concepts (such as the notion of a verb versus a noun). Sinclair, for

example, has warned that:

> *[W]e are in danger of having problematic analytical systems imposed on us, derived*
>
> *from traditions of language analysis which have, in the past, specifically rejected*
>
> *corpus evidence. The difficulty arises because those varieties of computational*

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[28] Lemmatisation is the process of converting a word-form to its dictionary headword. For example, when lemmatised, 'books' becomes 'book' and 'is' becomes 'be'.

linguistics which used to ignore corpus evidence have quite dramatically switched in recent years in their attitude to corpora, but have retained models of language which are not justified by the evidence they now have.

(Sinclair, 1991: 22)

It is possible, therefore, that adding information about these grammatical categories is nothing more than an opportunistic approach extending the use of the categories from their traditional role in language education to a purpose for which they are not at all suited. Likewise, lemmatisation, which is commonly done with POS-tagging, can obscure, for example, types and n-grams[29] which occur more often in one tense or person than another.

Appendix 11.3 demonstrates both meta-data and tagging by giving examples of different markup conventions for the same passage from Arthur Conan Doyle's *Study in Scarlet*. These are intended solely to help the reader to understand the concepts involved, and (for reasons of space) do not necessarily perfectly conform to the standards documentation, where applicable. From these examples, the advantages, and disadvantages, of the BNC-XML format are clear: the software is explicitly told that it is a work of fiction, and so may be included in a fiction sub-corpus. The usage of all adjectives could easily be investigated, by extracting all tokens (<w>) with the 'JJ' pos attribute, and the noun 'plot' (as opposed to the verb 'to plot') could be extracted with its plural form 'plots' on the basis of the presence of both the lemmatised headword (the hw attribute) 'plot' and the pos attribute 'NN'.

It is important to be aware that POS-taggers do, however, have some problems. Just as humans will disagree about the part of speech of some examples of language, so no automatic POS-tagger is completely reliable. In the example in Appendix 11.3, for example, it is clear

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[29] Common sequences of types of indeterminate length.

that the Tree-Tagger POS-tagger (see section 5.2.2) does not recognise Roman numerals, as the number 'VII' has been incorrectly classed as 'JJ' (adjective), and not 'CARD' (cardinal number).

Piccioni has found in a corpus of texts by Lorca that an untrained version of the Spanish version of the Tree-Tagger POS-tagger achieved an accuracy of approximately 85% (Piccioni, 2005: 5). This might seem high, but it does mean that of the seven million tokens in the Chávez corpus, over one million of them can be expected to be incorrectly identified. This might have been lessened slightly with training, but for the purposes of this study, it was considered acceptable, since at least the initial work was to be carried out on the plain-text version, rather than the POS-tagged one. Obviously, manual correction of the POS tags in this much data was not a feasible option, but is the only way to be more certain of the results.

4.3 Approaches to Corpus Linguistics within Critical Discourse Analysis

4.3.1 Compatibility of the Two Approaches

At the end of the preceding chapter (page 71), four main criticisms of DHA were noted: the risk of over-interpretation, difficulties with the principle of triangulation, the fact that some features were unaccounted for and that, if just a small excerpt from a text is sampled, it may not be representative. It was suggested that this latter issue might be overcome through the use of all texts, and corpus linguistics provides the tools by which this might be achieved.

Teubert has suggested that the impact of the first criticism (over-interpretation) might be reduced by using corpora. He emphasises that, in corpus linguistics, experiments are repeatable (with the same results obtained by different people performing the same test) and that the validity of the results can be demonstrated through measures of statistical significance:

> *Computational tools are the realisation of an impartial methodology. The computer does the counting, the measuring, the comparing and the sorting. The computer programs used to carry out these tasks are open to scrutiny and have to be approved by the peer community. The results they produce are reproducible; whenever the programs are running over the same corpus, identical results will be produced. This makes the methodology of corpus linguistics analogous to that of the natural sciences such as physics or chemistry.*

> (Teubert, 2009: 15).

This is certainly a persuasive argument, and it may seem very appealing for corpus linguistics to claim to be scientific. Yet it is not possible to disprove irrefutably hypotheses about language using accepted formulae, nor do words have properties as predictable as those of

elements of the periodic table. Tools from corpus linguistics can provide the basis of a methodology but the results obtained can mean nothing without human interpretation, which is as flawed for the corpus linguist as it is for the CDA researcher.

What is possible, however, is that the results and interpretation stages can be separated: corpus linguistics can provide the data, leaving it to human research to interpret them subsequently. As such, bias could be minimised both by having multiple researchers analyse the same results (thus applying their own Member's Resources to them) and also, perhaps more importantly, by only setting the research question <u>after</u> the results have been obtained (see also 5.1.1.9). When this is combined with my approach of investigating something by which I am not personally affected (see section 2.5.1), I believe that this gives the corpus linguist the advantage of limiting (though by no means entirely excluding) the risk of pre-conceptions which might otherwise influence the study.

In terms of improving objectivity in this manner, Teubert has also suggested that the researcher should not look at any form of 'reality' beyond that which is explicit in the text:

> *Linguists have to rely on texts. Their access to people's minds is as limited as that of an audience of a play. All they can infer in respect to the personae of the play's characters must be contained in the lines these characters have. All linguists can find out about meaning must be contained in texts. [...] All attempts to step outside of our natural language to describe the meaning of an instance of natural language have been doomed to fail. Deixis or reference to some discourse-external reality is, as Wittgenstein has pointed out, as little a solution as guessing at the author's intentions.*

(Teubert, 2003: 9)

Teubert's stance in this regard seems initially clear but for the fact that, when one looks at many of his studies, they often seem to involve the type of discourse-external reference which he suggests corpus linguists should avoid. He cannot, for example, analyse the view of the European Union expressed in British newspapers (Teubert, 2007) without accepting that there is a European Union about which one can have an opinion, nor can he discuss the validity of intellectual property (Teubert, 2008) without accepting that copyright and patents are a notion in our society, not just a concept in texts.

I consider this to be a reflection of the way in which texts are not written in complete isolation. They are designed to interact with a world beyond themselves. This is perhaps particularly true of political texts which, as discussed in section 2.2, are generally produced with the aim of obtaining kred. As Pollack has argued:

> *Numerical data needs explanation, that is, it is necessary to relate it to our social world in order to attach it with meaning.'*

<div align="right">(Pollack, 2008: 83)</div>

Whilst there would seem, therefore, to be common ideals shared between CDA and corpus analysis of political texts, in that both can be used to discover how such kred is obtained, there is also a substantial difference. For the Critical Discourse Analyst, it is the reality which matters, hence the ultimate goal of reaching conclusions which might be applied (see section 2.1), and for them the text is a means of leading to a discussion of this reality.

For many corpus linguists such as Teubert, however, drawing on the philosophical tradition which claims that discourse itself creates truth (see, for example, Gadamer and Glen-Doepel, 1975: 401, Gergen, 1994: 189, McKeon, 1972: 47), it is preferable, even imperative, to

explain the linguistic data in the text without needing to relate anything to any 'reality' external to the text. [30]

To what extent can these divergent positions be reconciled? Is it necessary to reconcile them? Each approach has its distinct advantages and disadvantages:

- The use of corpora alleviates some of the danger of using unrepresentative samples but also means that there may be too much data to make it practical to analyse each example in as much detail as might be done in traditional CDA (an issue to which I will return below).

- Critical Discourse Analysts can reach practical conclusions from their work, which can be applied in real life, whereas the corpus minimises the text's relationship to the world outside.

- Corpus linguists strive to minimise bias through distancing themselves from the text, whereas in CDA a criterion of success is often that the researcher is personally involved in the outcome.

I believe that this means that, though distinct and (somewhat) at odds with each other, CDA and the analysis of political discourse through corpora may be seen as complementary. I place myself somewhere between Teubert's approach and that of CDA, concentrating on the text to obtain the data for analysis, but acknowledging the circumstances in which it was created during the interpretation stage. As a result, I believe that:

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[30] It is worth noting that Teubert has himself recently appeared to modify his opinions on this absolute position, admitting that the receiver of discourse will construct a reality from it, but warning that linguists must not attempt to impose their interpretations upon others (Teubert, 2009: 34). Consequently, I believe that the dichotomy between the aims of corpus linguists and Critical Discourse Analysts still persists.

1. My choice of a topic by which I am unaffected means that the interaction between my personal opinions and the text is probably smaller (reduced influence of MR);

2. The risk of bias is further reduced by setting the research question on the basis of what can be shown to have changed in the text (see section 5.1), rather than issues which I might feel to be important;

3. Using all available transcripts of *Aló Presidente*, produced over a five and a half year period, rather than selecting excerpts improves the validity of the conclusions drawn.

I consider that such an approach can dramatically reduce the effect of my third criticism of DHA detailed on page 71 (the use of small samples), and go a substantial way to limiting the first (over-interpretation). There is, however, a not insignificant compromise made in that what corpus linguists cannot do easily is to identify a 'one-off' occurrence of some feature, which may be important precisely because of its unusual nature:

> *[T]he concept of frequency must not be divorced from the significance that the item in question has in a particular semantic and social context. Certain collocates [...] may be very infrequent, in fact, and represent all the more marked choices in a given text because of their rarity.*

> (Koller and Mautner, 2004: 224)

Related to this is another criticism that has been levelled at corpus linguistics by practitioners of CDA: that some features in political discourse, for example metaphor, cannot easily be identified using automatic means.[31] As the quotation from Stubbs below suggests, however, it may be that individual cases of metaphor are actually also instances of a wider intertextual

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[31] Whilst a number of corpus linguists are working on overcoming the challenge of identifying metaphor automatically, the techniques involved are still far from reliable (Deignan, 2005: 92-94)

pattern, and, if so, these correlations between texts would become more obvious when obtained statistically:

> *In an individual text, neither repeated syntagmatic relations, nor any paradigmatic relations at all, are observable. However, a concordance makes visible repeated events: frequent syntagmatic co-occurrences, and constraints on the paradigmatic choices.*

(Stubbs, 2001: 315)

Such procedures might make corpus analysis an ideal discovery mechanism for these often unnoticed features in the future, once the techniques for doing so have been improved.

4.3.2 Methodologies used by Previous Corpus CDA Studies

4.3.2.1 Some examples

In an attempt to overcome the differences between CDA and corpus linguistics noted above, some authors (for example Baker et al., 2008) have attempted to perform their investigations twice, first using the corpus (to enable the study of the whole discourse, rather than a sample) and then adopting a more traditional CDA approach to achieve the level of detail which corpus tools, looking only for frequent occurrences, are likely to miss. I consider such studies to be an interesting approach but they tend only to have limited success. The principle reason for this seems to be that computer programs can handle large amounts of data quickly, whereas a manual CDA analysis of a large corpus would probably take a lifetime to complete. As a result, corpus linguists and critical discourse analysts tend to ask different research questions which reflect the quantity of data which can be realistically handled, and so integrating the two techniques in this way may not be convincing.   It is perhaps because of

this that most CDA work using corpora aims for the corpus to inform the study which is still predominantly CDA. It is this form of CDA which I call 'corpus CDA' and which I contrast to the traditional CDA introduced in chapter 2.

One of the earliest and most regularly-cited examples of such a study, using a large corpus, was a survey of the nodes *ethnic, tribal* and *racial*, studying in particular how four newspaper articles were found to have adopted these types differently in relation to different countries (*ethnic* in Yugoslavia, *tribal* in Kenya, where *racial violence* was also found, *racial* in South Africa and *ethnic* in the specific sense of 'Black/Asian' in Britain) (Krishnamurthy, 1996). It is important to observe that this topic originated from the investigator's initial intuition that these particular types would be worthy of study (an intuition obtained from reading four individual texts), which led to a hypothesis about their use. What made Krishnamurthy's work innovative at the time, however, was that from this initial observation, his results were verified against accounts in both standard and learner dictionaries, and also concordance lines from the COBUILD corpus. Furthermore, his study was able to be diachronic through a comparison of the pre-1985 18 million word COBUILD with the post-1985 121 million word COBUILD (which would later form part of the Bank of English corpus). Thus, the initial analysis led to a much broader set of conclusions about the usage of the nodes, which could be claimed to be more representative than a study of the four initial texts would have permitted. It also allowed observations to be made about how conflict in the Balkans in the mid-1990s was affecting the development of the nodes' use.

Following Krishnamurthy's methodology, Orpin's (2005) paper on *sleaze* also used collocation to describe that type. As she noted:

> *Lists of significant collocates gathered in this way provide a semantic profile of a*

word, and thus enable the researcher to gain insight into the semantic, connotative and prosodic meanings of a word.

<div align="right">(Orpin, 2005: 40)</div>

Her interesting findings included not only the increase in the frequency of occurrence of *sleaze* in British English since 1985 (Orpin, 2005: 56) but also that the British press might be reinforcing stereotypes through the tendency to refer to *sleaze* in Britain but *graft* in Italy and (the more negative) *corruption* in the case of a number of Far Eastern countries (Orpin, 2005: 58).

A further example of corpus CDA is the investigation into the language of the Bloody Sunday inquiry by Bondi. She compared two corpora, one containing the transcripts of days 180 to 224 of the Bloody Sunday inquiry and the other a set of press reports about the inquiry, to the British National Corpus to find the keywords relating to the proceedings, and then used the collocations uncovered to investigate emotion at the inquiry (Bondi, 2007: 414-420). Whilst this appears to be a very practical approach to such an investigation, it has the problem of treating the inquiry as a synchronic whole, rather than a period of time (emotions might have changed in the forty-five day period, which Bondi would not have been able to discover).

One other potential problem is that she relies on her own ability to sort different types of emotions, stating, for example, that:

It was possible to categorise those occurrences under two main emotional axes.

<div align="right">(Bondi, 2007: 420)</div>

This is, indeed, a common technique used by a number of corpus analysts but, in my previous work, I discovered that it was problematic due to the risk of miscategorisation. The inherent

risk was, perhaps, emphasised due to the nature of that study, in which I attempted to analyse the concept of 'work' in a corpus of nineteenth century English fiction. It was felt then that my modern assumption that one type would expect a positive or negative emotion could colour my judgement when interpreting the citation. One example from that study was *'a long day's work'* in the following citation from Buckstone's 1829 novel 'Luke the Labourer':

> *A drop more brandy; a look at my wife's grave; a good long think of what ha' passed, and then for the finish of my long, long day's work.*

In this case, I found that I had insufficient empathy with a working-class early-nineteenth-century man to really know whether the 'work' was considered good (because without it the labourer might starve due to poverty) or whether it was interpreted as negatively as it probably would be today (Smith, 2006: 70-71, 95). The paragraph within which the concordance line was embedded did not give sufficient information to permit the categorisation to be made. Perhaps it could also be interpreted in both ways, which would seem to argue against the polarisation which Bondi assumes to be present in her work. Such a situation might not have been so problematic for Bondi as she was analysing a relatively contemporaneous discourse, but having found that it was not suitable for a twenty-first century analysis of nineteenth-century text, I did not wish to use such categorisations in this present methodology.

There are also other aspects of Bondi's (2007) work which she regrettably has not documented, perhaps due to lack of space. I strongly believe that, in order to allow others to be confident in our conclusions, corpus linguists ought to detail exactly the rationale behind our decisions. This is because one key advantage that corpus linguistics can bring to academic work is that, using the same corpus, the same queries can be run by others and they

can expect the same results to occur. This repeatability is true of few other humanities

disciplines and, although I do not deny that the same results might then be <u>interpreted</u>

differently by other researchers, it adds a very convincing aspect to our endeavours. Anyone

else wishing to repeat Bondi's work may well be interested, for example, in whether the forty-

five days of transcripts that she assessed can be considered representative of the whole

inquiry, which she seems to imply through her conclusions, and what her rationale was for not

using the complete set of transcripts in her corpus. Similarly, we are not told whether her

corpus of press articles covers the same dates as the transcripts, or whether she might be

inadvertently comparing two rather different stages of the inquiry.

Another issue which Bondi does not appear to account for is the different speakers in the

transcripts. This is a point which affects my study of the *Aló Presidente* corpus, too, since

although Chávez is undoubtedly the main speaker in each edition, there are interventions and

interviews involving other people. In the case of Bondi's work on the Bloody Sunday

inquiry, the police, relatives of the dead and others would all be likely to relate different

versions of the events and so there is the potential, depending on exactly which transcripts

were used, that her corpus contains a predominant amount of data from one of these groups,

which in turn might affect her understanding of the emotions involved. This is a difficult

problem to which there is no obvious solution but for my purposes, I believe that the general

lack of pro-opposition content in *Aló Presidente* means that my corpus can be viewed as a

homogenous whole, and so I am perhaps less affected by this issue than is Bondi.

Despite these apparently negative comments, however, I strongly support one of Bondi's

methodological decisions, which I, too, plan to follow in this work. Other than her work, each

of the examples of CDA studies using corpora which I have cited in this chapter has started

from the point of the researcher knowing the type which he/she wishes to investigate and then

performing a corpus analysis on it. Is there any guarantee, however, that the researcher's

chosen node is the most interesting, or will his/her choice potentially result in an inaccurate

conclusion because the most appropriate node was not chosen at the outset (a near-synonym,

perhaps)? Worse still, could the results obtained be a skewed picture because the choice of

node itself was somehow biased?

Bondi's innovative solution to this difficulty of knowing <u>what</u> to study was to start her

research with a keyword analysis comparing the Bloody Sunday data to the British National

Corpus, which she used as a reference corpus. This provided a list of the keywords in her

data, which then provided candidates for a more detailed analysis of their

negativity/positivity, based on the concordance lines of those keywords (Bondi, 2007: 417).

Whilst I might have reservations about her reliance on such categorisation, therefore, I believe

that the idea of using keywords to help in the formulation of the research question is a very

positive one, since it helps in distancing the researcher from the work and thereby, I would

argue, aids in justifying the results. I have already acknowledged that interpretation is a

necessary part of any discourse analysis, and that this will inevitably bring an unavoidable

risk of bias, but the goal of minimising this bias affecting the initial choice of the study is, I

believe, commendable.

One feature shared by all of the studies mentioned in this section is comparison to a reference

corpus. This is, perhaps, a major factor in explaining why corpus CDA has become popular,

since it allows the researcher to verify phenomena observed in smaller-scale studies. An

example of why this is important is given by Widdowson. He noted that an earlier study by

Fairclough had described how the use of the phrase *'the poor people flock to the city'*

indicated that the movement was an unconscious one. Fairclough's reasoning was that *'flock'* is an action usually involving sheep and so the implication is that the poor were also being *'notoriously passive'* (Fairclough, 1995: 113, cited in Widdowson, 2000). Widdowson's paper verified this claim by reviewing the instances of *'flock'* in the British National Corpus and found that sheep are not, in fact, the most common animals to flock but rather humans are, and often in contexts where the action is definitely not passive (Widdowson, 2000: 18).

Whilst this is a clear-cut example, comparison may itself present an important difficulty, which some researchers seem to have overlooked. This difficulty is that, when one compares a specialist corpus to a reference corpus, it raises the question of whether one can be certain that any differences noticed are caused only by the <u>one</u> factor which made the specialist corpus 'specialist' in the first place. In other words, if I were to compare a specialist corpus of *Aló Presidente* from 2002-2007 to a reference corpus of twentieth-century Castilian Spanish, can I be certain that the differences between the corpora are due to the nature of *Aló Presidente*? Could it not be that geographic variation (Venezuela / Spain) or time (2002-2007 / twentieth century) have caused the differences instead?

4.3.2.2 Controlling variables

This difficulty also applies when multiple specialist corpora are compared, as in Méndez's (2004) study of democracy in the speeches of three different Venezuelan Presidents: Caldera, Pérez and Chávez. In this work, Pérez's language was represented by the speech that he gave at his investiture, along with five annual speeches to Congress. The corpus used to represent Chávez's language, however, comprised books of interviews given to Agustín Blanco Muñoz and Teodoro Petkoff (Méndez, 2004: 136). It would surely have been preferable for Méndez

to carry out her comparison using Chávez's investiture speech and speeches to Congress (on similar topics to those chosen to represent Pérez, where these existed) since otherwise one cannot be certain that the differences noticed really are due to ideological differences between the speakers as Méndez claims. It might just be that the different audiences and settings required a different type of speech, which in turn caused the results to appear as they did.

Of course, even if Méndez were to have constructed her corpus in such a way, there would always be more than one variable because the three subjects were President at different times in the country's history, which inevitably makes time an additional factor to account for. Méndez does, herself, recognize this in saying that in Caldera's first administration, the ending of guerilla wars in the country was the primary objective, whereas in the second, economic concerns were foremost. For Pérez, two very different events related to the oil market marked his various administrations: first the oil crisis of 1973, and then the *Caracazo*[32] (Méndez, 2004: 162-164).

Anderson (2001) provides one example of how this situation might have been partially avoided. He has attempted to study the use of metaphor in three periods of Soviet history (November 1964 and February 1985, which he refers to as the '*authoritarian*' period; 1989, the '*transitional*' period and October 1991 - December 1993, the '*electoral*' period) (Anderson, 2001: 316). Whilst one might criticise the unequal nature of the periods forming each of these sub-corpora (particularly the fact that two individual months, over twenty years apart, are combined into the first sub-corpus), Anderson has opted to make token count the primary measure of comparability, and the disparity in the length of time that each sub-corpus represents is to some extent accounted for by a reasonable equivalence in their size. The size

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[32] The *Caracazo* was a series of protests in February 1989, triggered by a 100% increase in the price of fuel.

of the 1989 corpus, he describes, is just 1.12 times that of the *'authoritarian'* corpus (Anderson, 2001: 316). One might therefore reasonably assume that comparing the whole of 1989 to the whole of, say, 1985, as opposed to just one month, would be likely to have resulted in the 1985 corpus being substantially larger. Anderson has also been broadly consistent in the content of the sub-corpora (the few differences are probably more reflective of the realities of corpus collection, rather than oversights) as the main content is based around having *'fifty speeches, interview comments, or articles'* (Anderson, 2001: 316) in each, although it is regrettable that no indication of the intended audience is provided for each of these.

I consider Anderson's work to be valuable, particularly for what he terms 'metaphors of personal superiority' (Anderson, 2001: 318) which investigate the use of child-rearing metaphors in how the members of the Politburo addressed the population, which are echoed by Aponte Moreno's findings described on page 12. Statistically-supported contributions, such as the following, indicate how corpus investigations, when supported by manual checks to verify the sense, can give vital information for research questions such as this:

Preservation of the idea that persons exercising political authority should define

themselves as a special, higher order of persons juxtaposed by intellectual superiority

to the ordinary working person would have obstructed movement toward democracy.

Accordingly, relative to the authoritarian corpus, rabotnik *occurs less than half as*

often in the transitional corpus and less than one-quarter as often in the electoral

corpus.

In the electoral corpus, moreover, the term has reverted to its meaning of persons

engaged in other than manual labor, losing its reference to government officials. It

has come to mean "employee".

(Anderson, 2001: 320)

Partington (2003: 21-23) has also stressed the importance of reducing the number of variables in a corpus CDA study. I want to study the effect of changing circumstances <u>over</u> <u>time</u> on Chávez's language as used in *Aló Presidente*, and so I need to try to minimise the influence of all variables other than time. Partington, on the other hand, wished to study the <u>nature</u> of White House briefings, and so, for him, it was this type of text that was the crucial variable. He therefore constructed a corpus of news interviews to be used as his comparison corpus, with the aim of ensuring that differences caused by the macro-genre (news and current-affairs) and period, for example, would not be apparent and only the peculiarities of the White House press briefings sub-genre would stand out. He readily admits, however, that constructing the ideal comparison corpus is often difficult, and, indeed, may never be perfect (Partington had to use a corpus of British interviews for his comparison corpus due to a lack of other American data (Partington, 2003: 21-22)):

There can often, then, be considerable difficulties in finding the 'perfect' comparable

corpus and in controlling the number and degree of differences. Moreover, for our

purposes, it would scarcely be advisable to measure one corpus against another that

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was too similar. For example comparing WHB [Partington's White House Press Briefings corpus] *to another corpus of briefings, perhaps from a different source or a different period of time would probably reveal very little about the essential nature of briefings, about their linguistic peculiarities. The keywords lists would only throw up lexis highlighting different topics of discussion and different personalities of the day, everything else, being the same, would be invisible.*

(Partington, 2003: 23)

I believe that Partington's discussion about the validity of comparison increases the value of his interesting work, in which, using his corpus, he has revealed fascinating insights into the nature of these events. He has uncovered, for example, that the personal pronoun *'I'* may be used by the spokesman either as a filler, to hedge the information relayed, to hedge what the spokesman feels that the President would believe, or to indicate the spokesman talking as a private individual (Partington, 2003: 77-89). He has further documented how journalists use other people's criticisms to challenge the podium-speaker with a different point of view, and how the latter deals with this (Partington, 2003: 100-108). Like Anderson above, Partington (2003: 207-209) also uncovered a number of examples of metaphorical language, particularly those likening politics to a 'game', and especially a game of chess.

Partington's methodology is, however, somewhat unusual for a corpus CDA study as he first read each text, making notes on his observations, which then served as the basis for further study. Thus, it was features that he found striking during the reading process which were studied, rather than the normal situation in which the researcher starts with a specific research question (Partington, 2003: 12). Formulating the research question only after reading the corpus is an interesting technique because, had the reading been performed by someone who

was not associated with the research itself, this might be used as a mechanism to help to solve the paradox of the results being pre-determined by the expected conclusion (see also page 99). It is problematic, however, because, as Partington tacitly admits (2003: 12), this is only feasible with smaller corpora and, in this case, it was Partington himself who read the corpus.

4.3.3 Considerations in Designing a Study

There are, therefore, two potential difficulties which the corpus CDA analyst needs to consider:

1. when two or more corpora are compared, a range of factors (author, intended audience, time and place of production...) might vary and, unless all but one of these is controlled as far as possible, it is not always convincing to claim that the differences between the corpora are due solely to any one of these variables;

2. even when variables are reasonably controlled, as in Partington's case, consideration needs to be given as to whether it is most suitable to determine the research question prior to the investigation (as with Méndez); only after initial observations have been drawn from a manual pilot study (i.e. reading, as Krishnamurthy and Partington did) or as a result of data from a corpus (as in Bondi's case).[33]

On the first issue, I believe that corpus analysis can indeed help to justify the conclusions reached in a certain type of CDA study, while still acknowledging that there are some discourse features which a corpus analysis is likely to miss, and, therefore, that manual analyses are also necessary. But for corpus data to really stand up to full scrutiny, many linguists need to improve their handling of the data. Corpora need to be made as

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[33] For further discussion of this point, see section 4.4.

representative as possible (a concern also raised by Baker et al. (2008: 275)) and the design criteria and decisions need to be fully documented, so that another person could make an identical corpus (critical if, due to copyright restrictions, for example, the corpus itself cannot be distributed but the texts themselves are available, as is the case with the *Aló Presidente* corpus). Part of the description of the design needs to focus on how variables were minimised. In scientific laboratory experiments, it is considered essential to test only one thing at a time, leaving the other factors identical, known as 'controlling' them. A failure to do this is generally considered sufficient grounds to refute a claim that the research question has been answered. Whilst it is clearly not as easy to do this with language as it is, for example, with a chemical in laboratory conditions, it should still be our ideal to construct a homogenous corpus such that the factor in the research question is the sole variable. In my case, this means that, if I wish to investigate change over time, I should aim, as far as is practicably possible, for other variables such as the speaker(s), audience, setting, and medium (ie. written or spoken language) to be kept constant. Since the individual editions of *Aló Presidente* included are broadly similar in length, and the sub-corpora to be used represent equal period-lengths, I believe that I have controlled the size of each of my sub-corpora as effectively as possible.

As I have recognized throughout this discussion, this theory is often hindered by the practicalities of finding suitable texts. There is, however, another problem with adopting this ideal, which is the question of whether comparison of two texts really tells us anything. Stubbs, for example, compared the frequency of transitivity in the verbs in two texts, one from geography (G) and one from ecology (E). As he noted:

> *[W]ithout comparative corpus data, we are limited in how we can interpret such*
>
> *figures. We do not know whether such distributions are within a typical range for*

English: does text G have relatively few transitive uses, or is it text E that has relatively many?

(Stubbs, 1996: 138)

The same holds true with the comparison of two specialist corpora or sub-corpora. Without comparison to a reference corpus as well, we have no baseline within wider language against which to compare. I originally planned, therefore, to use such a reference corpus for additional verification. There were two possible candidates for this. One was a dictionary of Spanish political terms (Fernández Sebastián et al., 2008) but sadly this covered Spain, rather than Venezuela, which meant that comparisons were not justifiable or, in many cases, relevant. The other candidate was the Spanish Royal Academy's CREA corpus (Real Academia Española, 2002). Whilst it is possible to limit results to a Venezuelan sub-corpus in the CREA, there is little political content in the corpus from Venezuela, which would also have limited its use since many of the nodes that I searched for were not included in the corpus. The implication of the lack of suitable reference corpus is that, although I can reach such conclusions as 'sub-corpus A has more of feature x than B', I cannot say how this compares with wider Venezuelan political usage. Consequently, the methodology has been designed such that I only ever compare parts of the *Aló Presidente* corpus and, therefore, it does not matter how Chávez's usage is similar to or different from that of the general population.

In assessing some extant examples of corpus CDA in this section and the preceding one, I have demonstrated that the choice of methodology can lead to certain conclusions and, therefore, I have argued that the introduction of corpus linguistics within CDA should bring

with it careful consideration of the design of both the studies themselves and the corpora being used. This is not intended to imply that the merging of the two techniques has no role, however, but rather that manual qualitative and quantitative analyses can be complementary but can also be open to criticism without careful consideration of the methodology employed.

Naturally, following such a cautious approach will restrict the types of text which are suitable for use in a corpus. Accepting this limitation, however, reduces the risk that incompatible texts are compared or that studies are designed to compare different variables, in turn leading to questions as to which variable is responsible for the conclusions drawn from them. For some investigations, it may be unclear what the variables involved are, however. In such instances, I believe that thorough documentation of all of the design criteria and related considerations is all the more necessary, since this would permit others to make minor adjustments to an otherwise identical methodology performed on an identical corpus, thereby helping to ascertain what variable(s) is/are involved.

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

The principle findings from this chapter can be summarised as follows:

- Corpus linguistics concentrates on high-frequency phenomena, such as repetition of individual types or patterns.

- Corpus linguistics often misses individual/rare occurrences (since the techniques are geared towards finding frequent features), although these might well be important. A possible solution to this might be found in intertextual comparison.

- The most significant difference between corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis is generally that the former focuses primarily on the text whereas critical discourse analysis is interested in the interaction of the language with the social circumstances within which the text is produced.

- Corpus linguistics provides a mechanism for verifying the analyst's intuition and assumptions by comparison with wider language use (often in the form of a reference corpus), beyond just the text in question.

- Some studies using corpora can be justifiably criticised, principally due to the methodology involving potentially unfair comparisons due to uncontrolled variables.

This latter problem can, I believe, be partially resolved by being very careful as to the corpora one selects. In this work, the principle object of the investigation is to discover how President Chávez's policies have been presented over time. This means that time should ideally be the only variable and all others (for example, speaker, audience, duration and setting) should be controlled.

Whilst for some studies this would be a difficult set of criteria with which to comply, in the case of Chávez it is more-or-less possible, thanks to his television programme and the fact

that transcripts of it are available. Each edition has Chávez as the primary presenter, performing the vast majority of the speech acts; the audience is always a broadcast television and radio audience[34], primarily targeted at a domestic audience of citizens; the programme lasts for approximately six hours and it is performed by Chávez sitting at his desk as a live broadcast (often an outside-broadcast).

What, then, of the second point raised at the start of 4.3.3: that critical discourse analysts applying corpus linguistics often choose the node word of their investigation in advance? Whilst Koller and Mautner applaud investigations which do not '[start] *off with a* tabula rasa' (2004: 220), for me this is worrying because it risks the problems described above regarding pre-conceived expectations influencing the results. As Orpin noted:

> *The major problem in combining a CDA approach with corpus methodology is deciding*
>
> *where to start.* [...] *If corpus methods are to be employed in critical language study,*
>
> *the researcher needs* [...] *to find a point or points of entry into the data.*

(Orpin, 2005: 38-39)

What would seem to be needed is a methodology which at least provides candidate types suggesting what the discourse analyst might investigate. This could be based, as in Bondi's work described above, on the notion of keywords. In the context of this project, this would allow me to investigate those policies which could be shown to be most important (where importance is determined automatically through some feature in the corpus), rather than those which I deem to be important. Interpretation would still be required, of course, but by doing

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[34] In 2007, Chávez added a number of radio-only editions, of which fourteen are also included in the corpus used for this work. Appendix 11.4 gives a full list of the editions included in the corpus and the sources from which the transcripts were obtained.

this, one could generate the results for that topic from the corpus <u>before</u> performing background research on it, thereby hopefully limiting risk of bias in the choice of examples for study.[35] By interpreting these results subsequently, a separation of the raw results and the conclusions drawn from them might be achieved. In turn, this would permit others to criticise the triangulation and conclusions reached, whilst giving them the certainty that the concordance lines are complete and as free as possible from bias.

Obtaining these candidate types by such a process could be inserted as an additional step following step 2 (the systematic collection of the data, or in this case, the corpus)[36] in the DHA procedure presented on page 39.

It is such a methodology which I shall present in the following chapter.

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[35] As described on page 39, the DHA procedure requires the research question to be defined only after collecting the data. My suggestion here is to take this further, by both collecting the corpus itself <u>and</u> obtaining the candidate concordance lines for the study before setting the research question.

[36] As will be discussed in section 5.1.1.8, if I add my methodology as a step at this point, the systematic collection of context information, which also forms part of step 2 in Reisigl and Wodak's description, must take place after the candidate lines have been obtained.

5   Corpus Design and Investigation

The previous chapters of this thesis have discussed CDA, and in particular the DHA variety of it, and then criticised its 'traditional' application. It has been suggested that techniques from corpus linguistics might provide a means of overcoming the key potential problems with CDA, namely the risk of over-interpretation and researcher bias, but that studies using corpora also have disadvantages. These are principally that an important single instance might be overlooked because corpus studies prioritise frequently-occurring features, but also that researcher bias can be present when the investigator chooses the node word for investigation prior to commencing the study. It has been postulated that the notion of keywords, whereby two sub-corpora are compared, might help to solve this difficulty but in order for this to be convincing, I need to ensure that the sub-corpora ideally differ only by the time periods which they comprise.

Section 5.1 describes a proposed methodology for performing this research, which will result in a set of candidate concordance lines which can then be analysed manually using the DHA as a basis. The rest of this chapter will then describe the software which is required in order to adopt the methodology (section 5.2) and, following this, the design of the *Aló Presidente* corpus used as the data-set for my work (section 5.3).

5.1 Proposed Methodology

5.1.1 The Methodology

It was argued in chapter 4 that, in order to be as free from bias as possible, not only should corpora be used to support the findings in a CDA study, but also the choice of nodes for use in the study itself should ideally be determined by the corpus, rather than the researcher's (potentially unreliable) intuition. It is an attempt to design a methodology to do this which is the principal objective of the present thesis.

The central hypothesis upon which this methodology is based is the concept of aboutness (see page 91). This may be summarised thus: **topics which become more or less important over time will be discussed respectively more or less frequently**. This means, for example, that if media becomes an important political topic at a given time, Chávez is likely to use types from that semantic field (*medios, comunicación, periodicos, radio, televisión, periodistas* etc.*)* more frequently than had been the case prior to it becoming an important topic for him. Likewise, when the media subsequently cease to be discussed as a key topic, it is probable that the frequency of these types will decrease towards the mean level for the corpus. It should be noted that 'important political topic' can refer only to those which are important and which feature in the discourse. It is recognised that there may well be other topics which are important to other political figures at a given moment but which the President himself chooses to ignore, and that these will not be highlighted by this methodology. This is not considered to be a significant failing, however, since, in any case, one cannot really study what is not present in discourse beyond merely remarking on its absence.

Assuming this underlying hypothesis to be correct, I believed that a methodology could be created which would allow the researcher to identify those topics which changed in

importance over the time span covered by the corpus. The steps for this methodology are described in more detail in the next few pages and the application of them to the *Aló Presidente* corpus will be detailed in chapter 6. The methodology is unashamedly a hybrid of approaches from corpus linguistics (steps 1-6) and ideas based on the DHA (steps 7-10).

As was outlined at the end of section 4.4, I believe that this methodology may be viewed as an additional step in the DHA procedure, and to that end Figure 5-4 (on page 180) is a version of Figure 2-1, showing how these steps can be integrated into the DHA.

5.1.1.1   Step 1: Divide the corpus by time

In order to verify such changes over time, it is necessary to divide the period covered by the corpus into multiple sub-corpora, ideally of equal periods in length. The choice of the period length is somewhat arbitrary and more work might be done on identifying the optimum time-span for any given corpus. In the case of the *Aló Presidente* corpus, which covers five and a half years, I chose quarter-year (i.e. three month) periods based on the following rationale:

1. Personal experience following politics both in Venezuela and in Britain shows that issues can be important for just a few weeks and then cease to be headline news. Therefore, the period would need to be sufficiently short for these cases not to become 'diluted'. Had the corpus been divided into years, for example, an issue that was important for just one month (8% of the sub-corpus) would probably not have been highlighted by this methodology.

2. Conversely, the nature of *Aló Presidente* is such that each week's edition is often broadcast from an outside location and the main topic discussed in that particular edition is often related to the location. An outside broadcast from a hospital, for

example, will be likely to focus upon the topic of medical care. The period chosen,
therefore, needed to be larger than one week in order that these 'broadcast topics'
would not become overly dominant in such a way as to hide the political themes which
were being discussed over a number of editions.

5.1.1.2   Step 2: Obtain the frequency of every type in every period

The second step in the methodology was to obtain the frequency of every type in each of the
periods. This is, on the face of it, a trivial task with most corpus software but see section 6.1
for details of the technical challenges which can result from attempting to do this with corpora
of the size of the *Aló Presidente* corpus (over seven million tokens) and larger.

5.1.1.3   Step 3: Compare the frequency of every type in every period with that of
every other period

In order to assess which topics have changed in their frequency over the whole corpus it was
then necessary to compare all of these frequencies. For example, the frequency of *de* in
Q1 2002 had to be compared with that of *de* in Q2 2002, Q3 2002 and so on for all twenty-
one sub-corpora. This exercise must then be repeated for every different type in the corpus.

The comparison of frequencies of every type between more than two sub-corpora is not at
present possible using commercially available corpus linguistics software (whilst XAIRA
does, for example, permit collocates and concordance lines to be obtained from multiple
partitions, it cannot perform statistical analyses in the same way). Consequently, it was

necessary for me to write a program which would perform this task. The source code (written in the Perl programming language) is reproduced in 5.4.2.

An important feature which is built-into the program is that, when dealing with comparisons between sub-corpora, if the number of tokens in each sub-corpus is not identical, it is necessary first to normalise the frequency counts, since failure to do this can lead to invalid conclusions being drawn. For example, it would be incorrect to claim that sub-corpus A (with 5 instances of a given node) has fewer occurrences than sub-corpus B (with 10 instances) if sub-corpus A comprises 50 tokens and sub-corpus B has 100. In this case, the number of occurrences is, in fact, identical between the sub-corpora (10%). Whereas percentages, by definition, describe the frequency per 100 occurrences, however, in corpus linguistics frequency per 1000 occurrences is more commonly used. A corpus linguist would often describe the foregoing example as occurring 100 times per thousand, therefore.

The program actually performs many calculations on each type (which were tested in various pilot studies), including determining the sub-corpus in which the type is most changed relative to the whole corpus, the mean number of times that it occurs and the difference between the maximum and minimum frequencies. For the purposes of this thesis, however, it is the standard deviation score which is important.

The use of standard deviation is well known in mathematics but it is rarely used in corpus linguistics, since simultaneous statistical comparisons of a range of sub-corpora (as opposed to just two or three) are also quite rare.[37] It is, therefore, worth recalling that when one has a set of frequencies, the standard deviation (σ) will describe the range of variation.

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[37] It is acknowledged that the standard deviation does form a part of the formulae for some of the more common measures in corpus work, including t- and z-score, but linguists generally discuss these measures

I first attempted to use standard deviation for the purpose of investigating language change in my MPhil thesis. Although it was not successful on that occasion, a fact which I attributed to the size and nature of the corpus used for that study (Smith, 2006: 46), I remained convinced as to the general validity of the approach.

The logic behind this theory is that if one imagines that a politician always said exactly the same phrases week after week, then after dividing the corpus into sub-corpora covering periods of equal length, the frequency of any given type would be identical in each period. As an example, a table of frequencies of the type *hoy* (today) might therefore look like this:

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6	Period 7	Period 8	Period 9
Hoy	335	335	335	335	335	335	335	335	335

Table 5-1: Imagined frequencies of *hoy* if a speaker said the same things in each period.

In this case, $\sigma = 0$. It is more likely, however, that the hypothetical politician will refer to some topics more than others, for whatever reason, as time passes. Thus, in the *Aló Presidente* corpus, the token frequency table for the type *hoy* looks like this:

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6	Period 7	Period 8	Period 9
Hoy	0.0084	0.0075	0.0070	0.0082	0.0084	0.0076	0.0104	0.0090	0.0093

Table 5-2: Frequencies of *hoy* per 1000 tokens

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without describing the mathematical rationale for using them or the individual component parts which form the complete formula.

One measure that might be investigated, for example, is whether *ayer* (yesterday) has changed more or less than *hoy* over the whole corpus. To do this, the standard deviation can be measured for each type. In the Chávez corpus, for *hoy* $\sigma \approx 0.154$, whilst for *ayer* $\sigma \approx 0.118$. This shows that *hoy* has the greater variance in the data. Thus, by analysing the standard deviations of all types in the corpus, it is possible to generate a list of the most-changed types across the whole corpus.

The Perl program which I developed for this thesis performed the standard deviation calculations on this basis and the output was re-imported into Excel and was sorted by the descending standard deviation. This gave a list of the types which had changed most between the quarter-year periods forming the corpus.

Leech, Rayson and Wilson have warned that even when frequencies are normalised per 1000 tokens, differences in language variety can also cause frequencies to be incomparable (Leech et al., 2001: 16). This does not need to be a concern for me because the corpus is homogeneous in the nature of its source (spoken Venezuelan political discourse, as articulated principally by President Chávez). Another of their warnings is that types might be 'overused' within a constituent part of the corpus (due to the dominant topics in the texts which make up the corpus), and that frequencies are thereby artificially inflated (Leech et al., 2001: 17). In my case, far from being a problem, this is exactly what I am aiming for, since this is what will give me the 'aboutness' dominating *Aló Presidente* in each quarter.

5.1.1.4   Step 4: Group the most-changed types into semantic fields

Having followed the procedure for steps 1-3 above, I believed that I would now possess a list of the most-changed types, according to their relative frequencies, across the period covered by the whole corpus. If the hypothesis presented at the start of section 5.1 were correct, I further believed that many of these most-changed types would have related meanings (ie. they would be from the same semantic field). This would be because the comparison stage (step 3 above) is essentially a form of keywords analysis and so the topics which create the aboutness of the texts in the corpus would be those which I would expect to be highlighted.

(This was not, in fact, the case since the most-changed types in my study proved to be grammatical types such as articles, participles and pronouns. Consequently, at this stage, I decided to concentrate on an investigation of the most-changed nouns in the corpus. This decision is described in more detail in section 6.1.)

5.1.1.5   Step 5: Use collocation to reduce the number of concordance lines for manual analysis

By following steps 1-4, I had a list of those topics which had changed the most across the corpus, and some candidate types within those topics for which I could obtain the concordance lines. Initial testing showed, however, that this would result in several hundred, if not thousand, lines which would need manual study for any given topic. Not only would this be time-consuming but also, I reasoned that with so many lines, there would be a risk that researcher bias might again become substantial, due to the natural tendency that reading the first lines might influence the reading of the rest. I wanted the number of lines for manual analysis to be reduced to just the periods when change in the topics took place, which would

substantially reduce the number of lines for study. Furthermore, I considered it preferable for the lines due for manual analysis to be first categorised by meaning. Categorisation would, I believed, make any changes between any two individual instances more apparent than if there were many intervening, unrelated lines obscuring the similarities and differences.

In section 4.2.2, I described that collocation can be viewed as a means to disambiguate some of the polysemy which, as discussed in section 4.2.1, is inherent in many types. I realised, therefore, that collocation might also be a means to achieve these objectives of reducing the number of lines for investigation and categorising them. As an example, *docente* is a collocate of *estado*[38]. *Estado* by itself conveys little meaning, but with *docente*, a particular role is attributed to *estado*. This attribution is a form of predication for the purposes of DHA. By obtaining the concordance lines for *estado+docente* from across the corpus, therefore, any change in the propensity of this predication to occur should become apparent. For each of the types in each semantic field resulting from step 4, I therefore used the XAIRA software (see 5.2.3) to obtain a list of its main collocates, ordered by z-score.

The z-score permits one to assess the probability that the collocation might have occurred by chance (Hinton, 2004: 30, Oakes, 1998: 8): the higher the z-score, the more likely it is that the collocation has not occurred at random. As such, the statistic can be viewed as a measure of collocational strength. For example, the collocation of *estado* with *también* occurs nineteen times but with a z-score of 0.00, so there is a strong likelihood that this has occurred by chance. In contrast, the collocation of *estado* with *docente* occurs thirteen times but the z-score of 33.3 indicates the probability that this collocation is significant ($p > 0.99$).

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[38] In this example and the others given in the following paragraph, the type *estado* has already been limited to the 'country' meaning by also requiring that it be followed immediately by an adjective (see section 6.2.2).

On this basis, I chose to include only those collocates which (a) had a z-score of 20 and greater and (b) occurred five times or more in collocation with the node. Both of these limits were chosen somewhat arbitrarily but with the rationale of ensuring that (a) only those collocates most likely to be interesting and (b) which would have sufficient examples to compare were chosen.

It quickly became apparent from initial testing that several non-spoken types (headers and footers and the names and titles of people and places, see section 5.3.4) are present in the transcripts and that these tended to be included as collocates with a high z-score. Whilst this is to be expected, such examples were not actually said by anyone during the broadcast and so were not considered suitable for the proposed analysis. Fortunately, such instances are very obvious in concordance lines since they are repeated very regularly with no variation at all in the span, and so these could be manually excluded.

Whilst this did dramatically reduce still further the number of concordance lines for investigation, a number remained which were clearly irrelevant for my purposes. I realized that the reason that I felt them to be irrelevant was because they did not relate to the DHA discursive strategies because the collocates were not social actors (see page 36). Consequently, using the definition of 'social actors' implicit in the first DHA question (see page 37), I manually removed those collocates which were not '*persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions*'. I accept that this intervention is not optimal and runs contrary to the objective of avoiding bias in the initial stages of the research. With this in mind, therefore, more work might perhaps be done as to how best to recognise social actors in a text programmatically.

In summary, therefore, the concordance lines selected for the DHA analysis were those that contained a collocate of the node (within a L5-R5[39] span), where the collocate:

a) occurs at least five times as a collocate of the node and

b) does not occur in headers or other annotations to the transcript and

c) has a z-score greater than 20.0 in collocation with the node and

d) which can be classified as a person, object, phenomenon, event, process or action.

For the purposes of simplicity, those collocates of each node which match these four requirements (a)-(d) above are henceforth called the node's 'permitted collocates'. Where a node had more than five permitted collocates, it was the five with the greatest z-score which were adopted for the research (for reasons of limited space and time).

5.1.1.6 Step 6: Identify when the permitted collocates' frequencies changed relative to the node

Having obtained the permitted collocates, I wanted to limit the concordance lines for analysis to those quarter-year periods which were most likely to be interesting. Proceeding on the premise that periods having low frequencies cannot be compared reliably, and that periods having high frequencies were likely to be the most interesting (because the examples they contain contribute more to the aboutness of the texts in that period), I decided to concentrate on those quarter-year periods which had relatively high frequencies of the node with each of its permitted collocates. In order to do this, I used Microsoft Excel to create a graph of the normalised frequency with which the node occurred with the permitted collocates, with frequency /1000 tokens on the y-axis and time on the x-axis. This then allowed those quarter-

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[39] 5 tokens to the left and 5 tokens to the right.

years with high frequency to be apparent as peaks on the graphs. The following rules were used to decide which periods to study:

1) If a permitted collocate only peaked in one period in the corpus, it was disregarded (because it was not possible to compare its usage over time).

2) In other cases (where there was more than one peak in the corpus), where a peak lasted for one quarter only, it was that quarter for which concordance lines were obtained.

3) Where there was a long time interval between peaks, or where a trough appeared particularly deep, one quarter in the trough between them was chosen in order to verify how the collocation was being used in the intervening time. There was an exception to this rule, however, which was that if the raw frequency of occurrences in the trough was 3 or fewer, this analysis was not performed as there would have been too few instances to draw conclusions.

4) Where the peak 'flatlined' for more than one quarter-year, it was generally the first quarter which was used for the analysis, in other cases it was the highest point on the peak which was used.

To illustrate these rules, a simplified version of Figure 6-7 (which shows the graph of *estado* with its permitted collocates) is reproduced as Figure 5-1 below. This version has been annotated with a position exemplifying each of the four rules above.
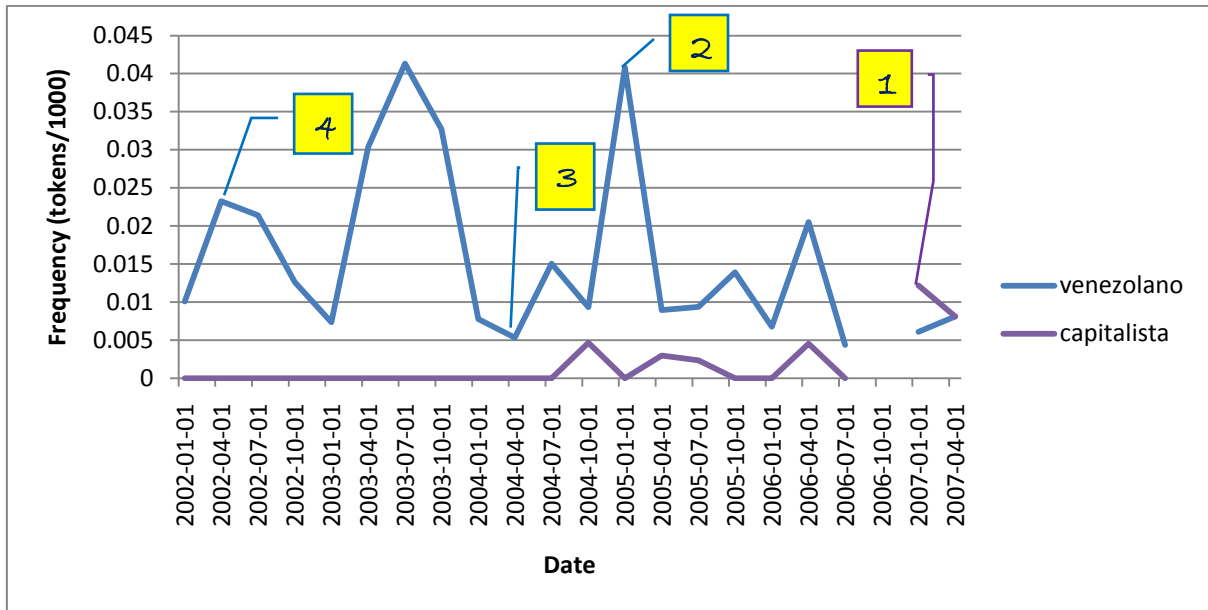
Figure 5-1: Illustration of quarter year periods selected for investigation

5.1.1.7   Step 7: Obtain the concordance lines for DHA-based analysis

Using the XAIRA software (see section 5.2.3), the corpus was queried for the node, with each of its permitted collocates, in each of the identified periods of interest in turn. For example:

For the node *estado*:

- In collocation with *venezolano*

    o   Q2 2002

    o   Q2 2003

    o   Q1 2005

    o   Q2 2006

and similarly with the other permitted collocates, see section 6.2.2.

The concordance lines were each given a unique identifier, using the following format:

CH.N#ID@ED/Q

where:

- CH is the chapter of this thesis which relates to the current node;

- N is a number representing the node (as allocated at the start of each of the results chapters);

- ID is a serial number incrementing from 1;

- ED is the *Aló Presidente* edition number and

- Q is the quarter and year.

Thus, the identifier 7.2#7@195/Q2-2004 should be read as 'line number 7 resulting from the corpus query for node 2 in chapter 7, coming from *Aló Presidente* number 195, broadcast in the second quarter of 2004'.

The concordance lines obtained are included on the accompanying CD-ROM[40] for the purposes of completeness but, naturally, many turned out not to contribute to answering the research question set and so only those which are commented upon are printed within the results chapters 7-9. For the purpose of accuracy, I should mention that a limitation in XAIRA means that it is not possible to search for a pair both within a span and a sentence. For my purposes, I felt it important for the collocate to be in the same sentence as the node but, since I was also searching within the standard ten word span used by corpus linguists, lines in which the collocate and node were not in the same sentence had subsequently to be removed manually. Similarly, lines were on occasion duplicated by XAIRA where the

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[40] See the file /ConcordanceLines/Chapter[x]/[node]_[collocate]_[year]-[quarter].txt (replacing [x] with the chapter number, [node] with the nodeword and [collocate] with the collocate of interest, both without any accented characters).

collocation occurred more than once and such duplicate lines were also removed manually so as not to require analysis on multiple occasions. Depending on when these removals occurred, identifiers might have already been assigned, which accounts for the occasional jumps in the incrementing sequence when viewing the complete set of lines. The important point is that no lines have been removed from the complete set other than for these two reasons.

Chapter 6 describes the process for steps 1-7 for each of the three semantic fields being investigated, corresponding to the corpus-based part of the methodology.

5.1.1.8 Step 8: Perform contextual research

As previously described, I believe that the seven steps above can be inserted into the DHA procedure after step 2 (see page 39), which thereby extends the DHA so as to allow candidate concordance lines to be extracted from an entire corpus, and thus aids in reducing the risk of choosing unrepresentative passages for the analysis.

Having obtained the concordance lines, therefore, the rest of the study could continue broadly following the DHA steps, although the addition of my extra stage does make it necessary to change their order slightly.

The contextual research into the semantic field itself, (using news reports, internet research and academic works by political scientists) was performed at this stage so as to ensure that it was complete before the research question was set. According to Reisigl and Wodak's description, this should have been done during step 2 of the DHA procedure (page 39) but, of course, this could not be done prior to knowing the semantic field which would be studied.

The outcome of this contextual research is presented at the start of the results chapter corresponding to each semantic field (chapters 7-9).

5.1.1.9 Step 9: Set the research question

The next stage was to use the knowledge gained from step 8 to set a research question related to that semantic field, which would be answered using the information in the concordance lines. In each case, the research question relates in some way to one or more of the discourse resources recognised by DHA (see page 36).

Setting the research question after having collected the concordance lines also aims to address the criticism of DHA made in section 3.3.4 that the alternative approach risks calling into question the representativeness of the text being studied, since it otherwise might have been chosen specifically to answer the research question (see also 4.3.1).

The research questions set were:

- 'How does Chávez frame the Venezuelan State and changes in his relationship with its institutions between 2002 and mid-2007?' (see section 7.1.2);

- 'What discourse resources are used by Chávez in presenting the changes which he introduced to the Venezuelan economy in the period covered by the corpus?' (see section 8.1.2)

- ''What arguments and perspectives does President Chávez use to promote the social missions on *Aló Presidente* in the period January 2002 – June 2007?' (see section 9.1.2)

At this stage an overall research question for all three results chapters was also set:

How is life in Venezuela framed as having changed under Chávez's Presidency by reference to his *Aló Presidente* television programme during the period 2002-2007?

This will be answered in chapter 10, using the answers from the research question for each semantic field.

5.1.1.10 Step 10: Perform the manual DHA-based analysis

Only once all of the preceding nine steps had been completed did I read the concordance lines and commence a detailed analysis of them, the objective being to use the basis of the DHA discursive strategies to answer the research question which had been set. The means by which this was performed was as follows:

1. All of the concordance lines were printed out;

2. Those lines which were considered to have content relevant to the research question were identified (this can be considered to correspond to step 3 of the original DHA procedure on page 39);

3. In those which were considered relevant, the language was analysed to identify the discourse strategies used;

4. Those lines which were considered to have the most interesting use of discourse strategies are the ones included in the results chapters.

The following key points should be borne in mind when reading the manual analysis in the results chapters:

- It is not the collocations themselves which are the subject of the investigations but rather the context surrounding them, found in the concordance lines. The collocations serve only as a means to locate the extended co-texts which occur at moments of possible change.

- The scope of this context is generally the sentence but less may be presented if only a part of the sentence is required to illustrate the point being discussed; on occasion more may also be required. For this reason, the lines as reproduced do not respect the normal L5-R5 span used for concordance lines within corpus linguistics.

- The discourse strategies recognised by the DHA (see page 36) are not discussed in turn, so as not to confuse the otherwise broadly chronological or topic-based presentation of the chapters but it should nevertheless be clear to which discourse strategy each paragraph refers.

It quickly became apparent that some of the types being investigated would, due to their nature, require slightly different treatment from others. The missions (chapter 9), for example, clearly needed to be divided by the noun phrase immediately following the type *misión*, in order to separate the individual missions. Similarly, *estado*'s nation meaning would need to be separated from its other definitions. The relevant results chapters describe the procedures used for this.

Due to the problems with implementing the DHA noted in section 3.3, the results chapters do not follow the precise order of the five DHA questions relating to the five discursive strategies (see page 37) but are nevertheless informed by them.

5.1.2 Criticism of the methodology

The essence of the methodology to be used in this thesis, then, can be summarised thus:

1. identification of the most-changed types over time;

2. sorting those types into groups (semantic fields);

3. selection of groups for further study;

4. optimising the number of lines for manual study through concentrating on the type's permitted collocates

5. analysis of the resulting concordance lines, broadly following the DHA framework.

Before continuing, however, it is worth briefly mentioning three of the potential criticisms that might be made of the methodology presented in this chapter, of which the researcher needs to be aware.

First among these is that the technique cannot reveal what is not present in the text. Fairclough has described that it is important to consider what is absent in a text, since this will often be as crucial to how the audience will interpret the text as what is present (Fairclough, 2000: 179). This is probably unavoidable with any technique for textual investigation and so, at the interpretation stage, the researcher needs to be sensitive to such cases.

Similarly, it is also crucial to bear in mind that this analysis cannot analyse a number of non-verbal features in the discourse. In the case of *Aló Presidente*, for example, it will be described on page 149 that Bolívar believes that Chávez's clothing plays a role in this regard, in addition to which, his hand gestures, facial expressions, intonation and so forth are also excluded (at least pending the development of corpus linguistics software which is able to process audio and/or video).

It may also be argued that by not including a comprehensive analysis of all concordance lines, I risk criticism of 'cherry picking' unusual (and therefore unrepresentative) lines for my analysis, one of the criticisms that I made of CDA in section 2.4.1. To some extent this is unavoidable; many of the nodes used for study resulted in several hundred concordance lines and a thorough discussion of all of them would not only require several volumes but would also be extremely tedious for the reader, since a majority would have little to do with the research question or would involve stating the obvious. It is in order to mitigate this potential criticism, however, that <u>all</u> concordance lines are included on the accompanying CD-ROM and the reader is invited, if he/she is so inclined, to repeat my analysis, since I am confident that similar results would be obtained.

Whilst these limitations do somewhat reduce the scope of what is possible, they also hold true for other text-based approaches such as traditional CDA. This is not seen as a major constraint, however, since it is believed that the results from the analysis will still be of interest to anyone wishing to know more about Chávez's changing discourse on the topics of the missions, political doctrines and Venezuela as a country.

Perhaps a more convincing criticism would be that the methodology cannot cope with synonymy. By concentrating on pairs of collocates, any change in collocation might be missed. As a hypothetical example, if Chávez stopped talking about the *estado* as being *docente* because he started to use *educativo* instead, would this be noticeable in the results? The answer is that this would depend when in the corpus this change occurred. If it happened towards the end of the period covered by the corpus, it might be that it would not have a high enough z-score to have become a permitted collocate by June 2007, when the corpus ends.

Similarly, the fact that permitted collocates are disregarded if they occur only in one quarter might also mask such changes. In other cases, however, the substitution of one collocate for another should be obvious as one collocate becomes prevalent and the other reduces in frequency. This perhaps points to the fact that this methodology might be most effective if repeated whenever new material is added to a corpus which is continually updated, rather than one having an end date. Nevertheless, the methodology as applied here would still show the reduction in *estado + docente*, which is itself worthy of comment, although it must be remembered that this might not be the whole picture. It is also probably fair to say that a manual DHA study (in which examples had been chosen somewhat at random) would be unlikely to draw attention to such cases either.

5.2 SOFTWARE REVIEW

Before considering the software, the nature of the corpus used must be briefly described (a fuller description will be given in section 5.3).

The *Aló Presidente* corpus is formed of the transcripts released by the Venezuelan Ministry of Information (MINCI). The MINCI transcripts are published mainly in PDF format. Consequently, it was necessary to complete the rather laborious manual process of opening each script within Adobe's Acrobat Reader and then copying the text into a text editor, and then resaving the file as a plain-text file[41]. Once this had been completed, the questions of format, tagging and markup became important (see section 4.2.4).

It was apparent early in the research that a POS-tagged version of the corpus would be required (to aid in distinguishing the 'country' meaning of *estado* from its other senses, for example, see section 6.2.2). In the light of the controversy described in section 4.2.4, however, I adopted the use of two versions of the corpus: the plain-text version was used for the initial work on the corpus (methodology steps 1-4), and a BNC-XML version which had been POS-tagged by Tree-Tagger was used for steps 5-7, although corpus queries which limited results to a certain POS tag were avoided as far as possible. Such queries were performed only as and when required by the analysis and for the reasons that will be justified at the appropriate points in the discussion in chapter 6. It is important to stress that the two versions contained identical copies of the transcript: this is a matter only of format, not content.

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[41] This can be a deceptively long process, particularly if one has to circumvent 'locks' (rights protection mechanisms) on the files.

As a result of this decision, and given the basis of the methodology described in section 5.1, it was apparent that this project would require one or more computer programs which would perform the following operations:

- To convert the result of a Tree-Tagger POS-tagged output to BNC-XML;

- To produce word-lists for the whole corpus and for individual files (used in initially obtaining the list of most-changed types);

- To identify the most-changed types (by frequency over time) from a word-list, using the procedure described in section 5.1.1;

- To produce concordance lines for a node+collocate from a plain-text version of the corpus, using only a specific sub-corpus (representing a quarter-year period);

- To produce concordance lines as above from the BNC-XML version of the corpus, where the node has only a given POS tag.

No one piece of software met all of these requirements and so three main pieces of commercial software were used in this study. However, it was also necessary (and a large part of the total work completed for this project) to write some of my own programs. In order to exemplify why my own software (which will be discussed in section 5.2.4) was required, the commercial programs will be introduced and evaluated below.

5.2.1 WordSmith Tools

The WordSmith Tools suite of programs (Scott, 2004a) has been defined by its author as being '*organic software*' (Scott, 2007) in that it matures and changes over time. This means both that it benefits from regular additions of new features and bug corrections, but also that there can be many new versions within just a few months, thereby introducing the possibility

that the precise settings which define the statistical tests used might alter, thus making data retrieved on two different dates not comparable. It was for this reason that all work for this study was done with version 4.0.0.361 of 30th September 2006, and, in particular, the software was not updated to version 5 on its release in June 2007. WordSmith Tools was used for the initial generation of wordlists from the corpus. Although the version of the programs used is supposed to be able to handle an XML formatted corpus, this proved problematic in the case of BNC-XML. Consequently, obtaining the concordance lines was performed in XAIRA instead (see section 5.2.3).

Programs in the WordSmith Tools suite are among the most ubiquitous of corpus linguistics programs, yet personal experience shows that some users do not always understand the complexity of some of the settings involved. Because changing just one parameter can yield a different set of results, it seems necessary to document the relevant configuration options used for this study:

Language: Spanish/Venezuela; Plain-text; Sentence and Paragraph ends default;
Concordance: Span [N-5] to [N+5]; Minimum frequency 5; Length 1 with no limits; Calculated by MI3.

Wordlist: standardised type-token basis: 1000; no tags

Despite WordSmith Tools' many features, it was not able to do all of the processing needed for this study, and so some additional pieces of software were required. In particular, WordSmith has no specific features which would allow investigation of the corpus over time and is therefore limited in its use for diachronic analyses. (A common 'workaround' is to use dates at the start of a filename and then to sort on the filename. Whilst this works to an extent, it requires multiple queries in WordSmith and possibly also rearrangement of the file directories to permit files to be grouped for comparison of multiple periods.)

5.2.2 Tree-Tagger

The Spanish edition of Tree-Tagger (TC-Project, 1994) was used to POS-tag the corpus.

Some remarks about its reliability were made on page 97, but these shortcomings were

considered acceptable in this study since the POS-tagged corpus was only used for

disambiguating types by part-of-speech, leaving the analysis of individual concordance lines

to manual investigation.

Tree-Tagger itself takes a plain-text file and processes it, so that each type occurs on a new

line, separated by a tab character from its POS tag and lemma, thus:

```
Pues    CSUBF  pues
este    DM     este
programa       NC      programa
cuán   NP     cuán
útil   ADJ    útil
ha      VHfin haber
sido    VS     ser
para    CSUBI para
comunicar      VLinf comunicar
,       CM     ,
como    CSUBX como
dice    VLfin decir
nuestro        PPO     nuestro
pueblo         NC      pueblo
que     CQUE  que
sabe    VLfin saber
muy     ADV    muy
bien    ADV    bien
```

Unfortunately, this is not immediately useful for either WordSmith Tools or XAIRA to

process, and so it was necessary to re-format this Tree-Tagger output. As stated previously,

BNC-XML was chosen for this purpose, and a Perl script (appendix 5.4.1) was written to take

the original plain text files, run Tree-Tagger on them, and then to reformat the Tree-Tagger

output into BNC-XML, as demonstrated in Appendix 11.3, for use in XAIRA. It will be

noted that, for completeness, a few tags additional to the BNC set, such as the edition number and place of broadcast were added to the XML.

Due to the difficulties discussed in 5.3.4 below with regard to identifying speakers automatically, the XML output from the Perl scripts defines only one speaker, named 'All Speakers', as the orator of the entire script, which contains just one utterance. This is obviously far from ideal, and greatly limits the research that can be done. It also serves to demonstrate further the need for all documents released on the web to be always appropriately and consistently marked-up. In this case, the transcribers have already added the information as to who is speaking but the inconsistency with which this has been done means that these annotations cannot be used for this sort of research.

5.2.3 XAIRA

XAIRA (Oxford University Computing Services, 2007) stands for XML-Aware Indexer and Retrieval Architecture, and was designed for browsing the XML version of the British National Corpus.

XAIRA has many very advanced features, including the ability to compare multiple sub-corpora (which it refers to as 'partitions') to each other, making it far more useful for diachronic research than WordSmith Tools. For example, using the 'Query Builder' on a partitioned corpus, it is possible to obtain the collocates of all cases of type *a* used as part-of-speech *b* in sub-corpora *x*, *y* and *z*, or even (provided that the texts contain meta-data about the place of broadcast, as with the *Aló Presidente* corpus) just those used in programmes from Caracas. WordSmith Tools is not able to divide a corpus on the basis of the meta-data in this way. Had it also been possible to identify the speakers (see section 5.3.4), similar queries

could also have been created to run on Chávez's speech alone, using this method, which would have been the ideal. This clearly shows the usefulness of corpora containing meta-data when used with specifically designed software, although to do so is to disregard the strong arguments (detailed in 4.2.4) in favour of using only plain text corpora.

Since XAIRA is currently unable to calculate collocational strength by MI3 score, the setting for this was set to z-score. Other settings were kept the same as those used in WordSmith Tools.

5.2.4 Software which had to be written especially

Despite the many features of the software described above, however, none was able to perform two of the required tasks from the list at the start of this chapter:

- To convert the result of a Tree-Tagger POS-tagged output to BNC-XML;
- To identify the most-changed types (by frequency over time) from a word-list, using the procedure described in section 5.1.1.

Consequently, I was obliged to write scripts (using the Perl programming language) to perform these tasks myself. The source code for them is reproduced in the appendix to this chapter (sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 respectively). As was mentioned briefly in section 5.1.1.4, and will be discussed further in chapter 6, an adjustment had to be made to the methodology so that only nouns could become node words. An additional program had to be written to perform this task, which is presented in 5.4.3.

5.3 The Aló Presidente Corpus

An important issue which arose in the discussion in chapter 4 was the need to clearly

document the design of the corpora and other tools used so as to enable others to recreate and

repeat an identical study. The present section is, therefore, devoted in part to this, but also to

a detailed description of the *Aló Presidente* programme. This description also comprises part

of the contextual triangulation, common to all of the results chapters.

5.3.1 Aló Presidente

One of the key elements of Chávez's policy is a determination to educate the population. As

part of this aim, he decided to engage with both the media, and the wider population, by

broadcasting his own programme, though his initial attempts were hardly a great success

(Marcano and Barrera Tyszka, 2004: 269-270). On 23rd May 1999, less than six months after

his installation, however, *Aló Presidente* was born.

Bolívar has described how, in the first edition of the programme (which is outside the corpus

used for this study), Chávez indicated that the programme has three main aims: for the

President to maintain contact with the people, to differentiate his government from previous

administrations and to *'orientar'* the revolutionary process (Bolívar, 2003: 89). She has also

stressed that, when it was first aired, it was unprecedented. Never before had a Venezuelan

President produced and presented his own programme which interacted with the general

public (Bolívar, 2003: 86).

As is the case in the sample edition described in appendix 11.1 (see also section 1.3), *Aló*

Presidente is generally an outside broadcast from a different location in the country, although

some editions have been from Miraflores Palace (the Presidential residence) itself. It is a

weekly programme, broadcast on Sundays. The duration is determined by Chávez, but is generally around five to six hours. This very long duration means that the topics covered and the discourse styles used in the production are quite uniquely broad, with the result that the staunchly anti-government Bolívar considers the programme to be a genre in its own right:

> *El programa comporte rasgos con otros programas de televisión tales como talk shows, noticieros, mesas redondas y reuniones ministeriales, pero no cumple estrictamente con los rasgos formales de ninguno de ellos pues su meta no es divertir o presentar noticias, ni gobernar desde el programa, sino legitimar un gobierno que se inició como democrático, con cabida por los venezolanos, pero que gradualmente se ha ido alejando del compromiso inicial hasta convertirse en un programa en defensa de un «gobierno revolucionario» por el cual los venezolanos no votaron.*

> (Bolívar, 2003: 86)

There are a few pre-recorded, narrated, video 'packages', which may be used to introduce images from a newly-built hospital, for example, but apart from these, the programme is mainly a live monologue by Chávez, sitting behind a desk, normally wearing his trademark red shirt. There is an audience present, which appears to be invited, and indeed most of these also wear red. The clothing worn is highlighted by Bolívar as a tool used by Chávez '*lo que simbólicamente lo acerca a sus interlocutores*'. On occasions the President will dispense with the default red colour and replace it with his army uniform or a sports jacket, depending on the topic in the programme (Bolívar, 2003: 93).

Many Ministers from the government also sit in the audience but do not generally comment, unless asked by Chávez to remind him of some statistic or other fact. Initially, the programme mainly centred on telephone calls from the people (carefully selected, it would appear) but these have gradually become fewer in number, something which Bolívar suggests is due to the

President's insecurity following the coup in 2002 (Bolívar, 2003: 102). Chávez, then, often has up to six hours, sometimes more, to fill by himself; time which can also contain quotations from his favourite texts such as the work of Simón Bolívar or the Constitution (Bolívar, 2003: 97). Apart from this, the main functions of the programme are to talk about the process of government and to describe what the government has been doing and to discuss current affairs (Bolívar, 2003: 94). Bolívar has summarised the style of the programme as being generally narrative and highly evaluative. It is, she says, informal for the most part with jokes, singing and the use of informal forms of address such as '*hermano*' but this will be replaced by an insulting tone when he addresses the media, the traditional political parties or the Church, for example (Bolívar, 2003: 96). Part of the reason that *Aló Presidente* creates a strong impression with the viewer is that Chávez is able to do this entirely unscripted, apart from a few cue-cards which remind him of the general topics that he planned to cover (and the viewer knows from occasions when these have been blown away during the programme – a not infrequent occurrence – that Chávez does not rely on them to any great extent). The topics range from his family, childhood memories and reminiscence of his days in the army to economic theory and presentation of policy and projects, often within a few moments of each other as he rambles from one subject to the next. Despite this, sooner or later, all of his points will reach a conclusion, no matter how many digressions have intervened. The President himself, in conversation with Dietrich, has called this being 'pedagogic':

Todos mis asesores me dicen que no pase por favor de cuarenta minutos, en televisión, en radio, etcétera. Si yo voy a comunicarle a mi pueblo venezolano, por ejemplo, una política económica petrolera, a mí me gusta siempre hacer la reflexión, y entonces pintar un marco, reflexionar, volver sobre la idea, dándole vuelta hasta que uno llega a una conclusión. Ser lo más pedagógico posible.

(Dietrich, 2004: 52)

By any standard, and regardless of what one thinks of his politics, Chávez must be regarded as an exceptional communicator to be able to sustain this for over 360 editions to date, and consistently be near the top of the ratings, notwithstanding the length of the broadcast (statistics which Chávez enjoys regularly repeating during the programme).

In *Aló Presidente*, Chávez uses an informal style to address his message superficially to the invited audience. He also uses conversation with his special guests (and sometimes ministers) to convey his message. This is a very powerful way of using the medium, since it allows the viewer at home (for whom the message is, of course, primarily intended) to feel that they are eavesdropping on matters of State. The presence of the rest of Chávez's cabinet during the programme must also convey the sense that they, the electorate, are being allowed to witness the very heart of government, in which they might then feel involved. Indeed, the quotation from Dietrich's book above suggests that part of Chávez's aim in presenting the programmes is to encourage understanding of governance. This seems to fulfil most of the criteria (other than brevity) set down by Atkinson (1984: 166-167), which he deemed necessary for effective communication by politicians on television.

Aló Presidente has come to be the occasion during which Chávez makes major policy announcements. Most notably, the edition of 23rd January 2000 saw the naming of the Vice-President and, in April 2002, he sacked a number of key members of the board of the state oil

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company, PDVSA, live on-air (Marcano and Barrera Tyszka, 2004: 271). Using the programme in this way has had two key effects. First, it means that policy cannot immediately be debated, since the opposition is not able to use *Aló Presidente* to discuss their ideas. Second, it means that journalists find themselves having to watch *Aló Presidente* on Sundays, so that they have something to write about on Mondays (Marcano and Barrera Tyszka, 2004: 271). This in turn increases the importance of the programme and the meta-discourse about it.

Bolívar has been particularly concerned about the prominence of the programme and she explains how, in her opinion, Chávez's discourse in it is directly responsible for creating division in the population:

> *El lenguaje agresivo e insultante que Chávez usa en su programa ha contribuido, en parte, a la extrema polarización y a la ingobernabilidad. La permanente confrontación y la violencia asociada especialmente con el programa Aló Presidente [...] no ayudan a dar la impresión de un Venezuela democrática y pacifista.*

> (Bolívar, 2003: 88-89)

Of course, as a live broadcast, with all of the necessary organisation and security, it is not cheap and an opposition politician has claimed that the first 192 editions cost the Venezuelan state a total of 37 million dollars (Marcano and Barrera Tyszka, 2004: 272): just under $200,000 per programme.

Thus, *Aló Presidente* appears carefully constructed to appeal to the viewer and the general lack of opposition content means that Chávez does not have to fight any countering arguments to maintain the audience's trust in what he is saying. Those criticisms that do surface will be likely to appear in the written press over the following days, and so, if Chávez wants to discuss the points raised, the issue might feature in the press review during the following

week's *Aló Presidente*. He therefore has the final say. Otherwise, the issue can be ignored. The power of *Aló Presidente*'s format can therefore be seen as the fact that it does not suffer from the risks implied by dialogue but meta-linguistic features such as tempo, intonation and gesture can aid interpretation in a way which is not possible in writing.

Aló Presidente, then, is a very effective way for Chávez to describe his agenda, which cannot immediately be attacked, since the opposition has no voice in the programme. The pervasiveness of the programme means that all sectors of society become almost obliged to watch it. The sheer quantity of speech involved means that, especially amongst a poorly educated population, it is likely that the viewers will come to regard Chávez's discourse as prestige (he is, after all, the President), and they may well, therefore, draw on it in their own linguistic interactions with others, thereby reinforcing the message. This in turn would serve to strengthen Chávez's policies and further weaken opposition attempts to gain influence in Venezuelan politics. Supporters of Chávez would be likely to retort that the length of *Aló Presidente* is necessary to allow the President to respond to the attacks made on him elsewhere in the press, and that, therefore, the programme contributes to, but does not dominate, the ongoing conversation about politics in the country. This seems to coincide with Bolívar's belief (2003: 106) that the lasting effect of the programme will be to create cohesion amongst the President's supporters while at the same time reinforcing division amongst those who oppose him.

5.3.2 Corpus Creation

As stated in chapter 1, the aim of this research is first to identify a set of topics which have notably changed in frequency of reference over the period covered by the corpus and then to

investigate how President Chávez refers to these topics, since I believe that this will shed light on how he portrays Venezuelan society as having changed over that time. The hypothesis underpinning this work, as discussed on page 122, is that when two sub-corpora of Chávez's political discourse taken from different time periods are compared, the resulting keywords are likely to be indicative of the topics which receive an increased or decreased emphasis. Thus, a mechanism is created for determining candidates for detailed investigation.

In order to undertake the analysis, therefore, it was first necessary to construct a corpus of Chávez's discourse. Much has been written and argued about corpus design and so, as asserted by Sinclair (1991: 13) and as discussed in section 4.3.3, it seems important to document the various decisions that were taken and the potential opportunities afforded (and problems presented) by the corpus that was eventually used.

The first issue was one of size. Among the first computerised corpora in the 1960s were the BROWN and LOB corpora, which were limited by the available technology to just one million tokens each (C. F. Meyer, 2002: 32). Today, this is generally seen as insufficient for investigation of rarer lexico-grammatical phenomena in even a synchronic context (Sinclair, 1991: 18), with the largest modern corpora such as the German language corpus at the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* in Mannheim exceeding three billion tokens and the English language Bank of English exceeding five hundred million tokens. The minimum number of tokens required for a detailed corpus investigation of this type is unknown (one assumes that there will be a point of diminishing return), so the general principle of making the corpus as large as practical must be assumed to apply.

One of the most complex problems which most corpus linguists have to overcome whenever they attempt to design a new corpus is that of initially sourcing the texts in an electronic

(typed) format suitable for processing with corpus software, and then securing copyright permissions if the corpus is destined for subsequent publication.

A written (transcribed) source is required since speech-recognition technology is still insufficiently advanced to be able to permit corpus linguists to work on corpora of audio or video files. (Whilst there are multimedia corpora in existence, such as the Nottingham Multi-Media Corpus, they can still only be searched either through the transcript or by manually watching the video material, noting the time-code and then obtaining the transcript for that time-code.) These difficulties are compounded if other, non-linguistic features are considered in the analysis, leading to Knight's call for the development of a standard to allow gestures and facial expressions, for example, to be marked-up in transcripts:

> *[S]ome form of annotation and mark-up of visual data is currently necessary to facilitate the analysis of MM* [multi-media] *data* [...] *Regardless of the method used, it is important, for the future of MM corpus research development, that a more integrated and standardised system for MM transcription is compiled.*
>
> (Knight, 2009: 117)

Had all of the videos been available for all of the programmes for which I had transcripts, one possible solution would have been to adopt the multimedia corpus design used by Scarano and Signorini. Their corpus contained transcripts (marked-up in both XML and the CHAT phonetic transcription formats), the sound files from which they had been transcribed and an XML alignment file to join them, so that the relevant excerpt could be played back directly from within the corpus (Scarano and Signorini, 2005: 194-196).

It is also not currently possible accurately to transcribe text automatically and, given the excessive amounts of time that human transcribers require to transcribe speech, large spoken

corpora are relatively rare, and the spoken parts of reference corpora tend to be quite small (in the British National Corpus, for example, just 10% of the corpus is transcribed from speech (Oxford University Computing Services, 2005)).

Copyright has been an issue ever since the creation of the BROWN and LOB corpora over forty-five years ago; these used only excerpts of texts, rather than whole texts, partly to avoid the problem. The same principle was also adopted by their successors, the FROWN and FLOB corpora in the 1990s. To use an excerpt, however, is to ignore the valuable linguistic information that might be contained in the opening and closing lines and so Sinclair has argued in favour of the use of whole texts only (Sinclair, 1991: 19, see also Tognini Bonelli, 2001: 62). The Bank of English does use full texts, but only after extensive negotiations with the owners of the rights in the content[42]; other corpora make use of public domain texts, or those in which copyright has expired. The *Aló Presidente* corpus used for this study was compiled in late 2007, during the campaigning for the then proposed constitutional reform, which, if passed, (as seemed almost inevitable at the time) would have seen the removal of all intellectual property protection in Venezuela. At this stage, Chávez also made many speeches indicating that he disagreed with the concept of copyright, and so (on the basis that it would have been hypocritical at best for the Venezuelan government to argue otherwise), I made the assumption that I could treat the transcripts which the corpus contained as public domain material. In the event, however, the 2007 constitutional reform measures were not passed in the referendum. Rather than allow this to hinder my work at an advanced stage, I simply decided not to distribute the corpus further.

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[42] Even then the ownership of the texts generally remains with the original publisher.

For a diachronic study, it seems sensible to advocate that ideally there should be a continuous set of texts included in the corpus, in order to minimise the gaps in the corpus' coverage. The presence of such gaps is one feature of Anderson's (2001) work with which I feel uneasy, although, as discussed in section 4.3.2, his rationale for permitting such discontinuous periods was to equalise the token counts between the sub-corpora. I, on the other hand, feel that to include only speeches from the start of 2002, from the end of 2003 and then from different months in 2006, for example, would have seriously limited the conclusions that could be drawn. It was optimal, in my opinion, to include all of the available texts and not simply to select from them. Furthermore, to limit the risk of differing audiences and situations influencing the data, the texts had to have been presented in similar circumstances. Briefly put, the corpus required not only a diachronic dimension, but also a homogeneous composition, in order to control as many external parameters as possible, as discussed in chapter 4.

Fortunately, for work on Chávez, such a data-set was readily available. The data-set involved is the transcripts of Chávez's weekly television programme, *Aló Presidente*: the texts were already available in an electronic format, having been transcribed for the MINCI and, apart from a gap during the autumn of 2006, coinciding with the Presidential election campaign, they are produced almost every week.[43] Had any other politician, from almost anywhere else in the world, been chosen for this study, however, finding suitable texts would not have been so easy.

Editions 205 of 24th September 2004 onwards are available from the official *Aló Presidente* website but earlier editions were harder to locate as they tended to be archived on web-servers

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[43] Full details of the sources and the dates of the programmes' broadcasts can be found in the appendix at section 11.4.

but were no longer linked to anything and so not traceable using search engines. A combined solution of using the Wayback Machine (Internet Archive, 1996-) and URL manipulation was therefore employed. The total corpus size is 7,040,917 tokens and it covers 189 editions of *Aló Presidente*, from edition 91 of 6th January 2002 to edition 286 of 17th June 2007. Seven editions had no transcripts available, for the reasons detailed in the appendix at section 11.4. In two of these cases, the non-availability was because only fragments of the transcripts were available and, following the recommendations given by both Sinclair and Tognini Bonelli (see above), these were disregarded.

5.3.3   Representativeness in the *Aló Presidente* Corpus

Because much work in corpus linguistics thus far has concentrated upon drawing linguistic conclusions from a reference corpus, many corpus linguists might question whether a body of texts which contains predominantly just one individual's speech is a corpus. Whilst it is natural that a researcher investigating English grammar would not consider using a corpus formed from the output of only one speaker (who might well not use certain structures, or who might have idiosyncratic usage), since I am only claiming to investigate Chávez, there is no reason to include others in the corpus. This means that any conclusions drawn can only be said to relate to the population of texts in the corpus, and must not be extrapolated to be taken as representative of anything beyond this.

Of course, *Aló Presidente* also cannot be claimed to represent all of Chávez's rhetorical output, so it is not possible to assert that the corpus is representative of his speech. Far from it; the President makes numerous other speeches and television broadcasts each day, and is very regularly interviewed by both national and international media. Even if this quantity of

text were to be added, it would still not be representative of the discourse of Chávez's government as it would continue to be just a fraction of the total output of the staff of the various ministries, local authorities and Parliament which comprise it, let alone the rest of the discourse of government (opposition speeches, newspaper commentaries and diplomatic representation, for example). Fairclough has described how, in British politics, a policy generally will be promoted through a series of events (including, for example, speeches, press releases, research reports and conferences) (Fairclough, 2000: 174). In the Venezuelan context, therefore, one must understand the discourse of *Aló Presidente* to be just part of this process.

Furthermore, there are speakers other than Chávez on *Aló Presidente* (including interviewees, Ministers, and voice-overs on narrated segments), whose contributions, for reasons that will be explained in greater detail below, were not removed from the transcripts. Whilst, given this situation, one must be careful not to attribute to Chávez personally something said by another participant in the programme, the rarity of dissent or opposition in it means that all of the transcripts can be broadly described as *Chavista* (Bolívar, 2003: 94).

5.3.4 A Non-Ideal Corpus

The design of the ideal corpus is probably something on which no two corpus linguists could agree, especially given the differing arguments and opinions over both corpus design (the need for whole texts, proportions of spoken/written language) and corpus enrichment (the value of markup, POS-tagging, and so forth). Even if it were possible to determine what form such a standardised corpus should take, it is highly improbable that one would be found, which had not been purposefully designed for corpus linguists. Indeed, if such a perfect

corpus were to be found, it would call into question whether the language being researched had occurred naturally. Consequently, it seems sensible to avoid discussion of the ideal corpus, and to concentrate instead on ensuring that any methodology used by corpus linguists is sufficiently robust to be able to operate on any texts that are available for use, regardless of their format or content, with minimal (or, ideally, no) preparatory work required to 'clean' the texts first. The decision was therefore taken to handle the texts as they came, with no alteration other than the conversion to plain text.

The *Aló Presidente* corpus provides examples of why flexibility in the methodology is required. To illustrate these examples, randomly selected samples of one of the pages from different editions of *Aló Presidente* which are in the corpus are given below. The first is from edition 150 and the second from edition 239. It will be noted in particular that the programmes contain multiple speakers – not just Chávez himself – and so, if one is only interested in studying Chávez (as I am), there could well be an argument for wishing to exclude these other voices. In a corpus as large as this, however, this would need to be an automated process, due to the amount of time that would otherwise be required.

In the first example, identifying speakers automatically looks possible, since the person is identified at the start of a line, and is followed by a colon. However, the transcriber in the second example has chosen not to use a colon for this purpose. (The bold formatting will, of course, be lost in the conversion to plain text, as will the italics in the second example). Additionally, in the first example, one of the speakers is 'telephone call', who is actually the same person as the speaker María Elena Carrero but for the fact that she had not yet introduced herself. This sort of case, and variations on it, would be exceedingly difficult to program a computer to handle. Although this transcript can be seen to be an accurate record of the speech (even the non-lexical sound '*Ufff*' is transcribed), the word '*Estado*' has been

abbreviated to '*Edo.*', which a computer will treat as being a different type from the full form. Equally, in the second example, the word '*(Aplausos)*' is given. The marking of this action is confined to the later texts in the corpus, and generally it does not occur in parentheses either. A computerised analysis would undoubtedly, therefore, treat this as a spoken word without specific intervention by the linguist.[44]

A further major problem is the presence of the footer giving the broadcast date and place in the second example, (and most transcripts from later periods in the corpus). Given that this occurs on every page, this results in a large number of occurrences of this footer text in the corpus, which both artificially adds to the number of occurrences of the words used, and may also split phrases or n-grams that occur over a page break.

Additionally, it is worth noting that the song in the second example has not been transcribed. This appears not to be a general policy, sometimes the song lyrics are reproduced, at other times not. This also affects the ability of different transcripts to be compared.

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[44] In the conversion of the corpus to BNC-XML, '*(Aplausos)*' was in fact captured and tagged as an event, rather than as an uttered word, so this comment applies only to the plain-text version of the corpus.

¿Y tú mi reina, me traes una amarilla, una rosa amarilla como las banderas de Zamora y aquí dice: Primer productor del país, rosas de Bailadores. Bueno muchachos, muchas gracias. Ahora ¿qué tenemos allí? ¡Hora mi vida! ¿Cómo estás tú? Mira esta muchachita. ¿Cómo te llamas tú? Está pegando la brisa fresca ya fría del páramo. ¿Cuántos páramos? De todo este páramo. Aquí hay. Todo esto es el páramo de Mucuchíes. Tenemos una llamada telefónica ¿quién nos llama? Aló. Oye pero aquí, aquí producen un pan muy sabroso también. ¿Quién probara un pan de Mucuchíes, el pan andino vale, pero por qué no me traen un pedazo de pan? ¿Ah? ¿Verdad? Oye aquí se produce un pan sabroso ¿verdad? ¿Quién nos llama? A ver hay llamada telefónica.

Llamada telefónica: Aló.

Presidente Chávez: Aló -vayan muchachitos pues. Muchas gracias, que Dios me los cuide. Déjenme todo esto aquí. ¿Quién nos está llamando? Aló. ¿Con quién hablo?

María Elena Carrero: Está hablando con María Elena Carrero.

Presidente Chávez: Mayerlín.

María Elena Carrero: No, María Elena Carrero.

Presidente Chávez: Y tú estás dónde?

María Elena Carrero: Yo estoy en Macaracuay, en Caracas.

Presidente Chávez: Ah tu estás llamando desde Caracas.

María Elena Carrero: Yo nací en un pueblecito del Edo. Mérida, del Sur. Se llama Guaraje.

Presidente Chávez: Tu naciste en Mérida ¿cómo se llama el pueblo donde naciste.

María Elena Carrero: Guarasque. Cura del Coronel Sánchez Varrero, héroe de la Primera Guerra Mundial.

Presidente Chávez: Héroe de la Primera Guerra Mundial, Coronel Sánchez Carrero. ¿Ella dijo Chiguará?

María Elena Carrero: No, Guaraque.

Presidente Chávez: Ah Guaraque. Vamos a saludar a toda la gente de Guaraque. Bueno mira y tú María Elena ¿vives en Caracas desde cuándo?

María Elena Carrero: Ufff..

Presidente Chávez: Ufff.

María Elena Carrero: Tengo nieto.

Figure 5-2: Sample page from the transcript of edition 150

comienzan a salir comunicados por ahí, de gobiernos y cancillerías, bueno, lo lamento mucho, pero este material tiene que conocerlo el mundo, los pueblos. Al menos yo cumplo con el pueblo venezolano y bueno, es posible que este programa lo vean en otras partes, creo yo... que en algunas partes lo vean, es posible que Telesur retransmita estas cosas. Telesur está transmitiendo, vamos a saludar a Andrés Izarra y a Telesur, a Aram Aharonian y a todo ese equipo, y a darles un aplauso, a Telesur.

Asistentes (Aplausos).

Presidente Chávez A Telesur, Telesur. También muchas televisoras en Brasilia, en Centroamérica, en México, en los propios Estados Unidos, hay televisoras pequeñas, locales, que se pegan a la señal del satélite de *Aló Presidente*; bueno por Internet salimos a medio mundo, desde Moscú hasta Ottawa, y desde Washington hasta más allá, por todos lados anda *Aló Presidente*, ya es una institución los domingos.

Bueno, entonces, lo primero que vamos a presentar es el video de la primera Cumbre, una Cumbre maravillosa, la III Cumbre de los Pueblos en Mar del Plata. Adelante muchachos.

Video

Dirigente indígena ecuatoriana, Blanca Chancoso Hoy, ante la pretensión de revivir las negociaciones del ALCA y sumarle los objetivos militaristas de Estados Unidos, en esta Tercera Cumbre de los Pueblos de América, asumimos el compromiso de redoblar nuestra resistencia, fortalecer nuestra unidad en la diversidad y convocar a una nueva y más grande movilización continental para enterrar el ALCA para siempre, y construir al mismo tiempo, bajo su impulso, nuestra alternativa de una América justa, libre y solidaria. Mar del Plata, Argentina, 4 de noviembre del 2005. ¡Fuera Bush!

Canción: No lo van a impedir.
Autor e intérprete: Amaury Pérez.

Diego Armando Maradona *Que los quiero mucho, gracias por estar. La Argentina es digna, echemos a Bush.*

Presidente Chávez *Quiero saludar también a un eminente compañero, luchador indígena también: Evo Morales.*

Evo Morales *Muchas gracias comandante, mi saludo revolucionario a todo el pueblo norteamericano antiimperialista, suerte que sigan esa gran lucha para liberar a Latinoamérica, muchas gracias.*

---

15 Aló Presidente Nro. 239
Salón Ayacucho – Palacio de Miraflores
Domingo, 13 de noviembre de 2005

Figure 5-3: Sample page from the transcript of edition 239

Given all of these issues, and others besides, it is perhaps surprising that the corpus was used without much editing. An initial attempt was indeed made to 'clean up' the available data by automatically identifying speakers and marking them up in XML, and including a header with the meta-data from the footer which was then suppressed from the text body. This was not very successful, however, not only because of the many issues described above but also because of the various different conventions found in the other transcripts (which one assumes might be traced to different transcribers). I also felt somewhat uneasy about doing this, since it would indicate that the methodology proposed is useful only on a perfect, edited, corpus.

Additionally, I consider it justifiable that no attempt has been made to distinguish individual speakers because, as mentioned in section 5.3.3, *Aló Presidente* is considered to be Chávez's programme (he speaks by far the most in any given edition) and there is rarely much open criticism of his policies. Furthermore, if one were to try to remove other speakers, leaving only Chávez's text, the linguistic integrity of the parts of the programme which feature conversations would be damaged.

Finally in relation to the transcripts, it needs to be recognised that the validity of any conclusions drawn would be questionable if the transcripts were highly edited compared with the original television broadcast, or otherwise inaccurate. Three editions of the programme were therefore obtained on video and were watched in their entirety whilst being compared with the transcripts. There were no significant differences beyond the lack of lyrics for some songs, already described. On the basis of this sample (only three editions, but totalling over twenty hours of speech), the transcriptions were assumed to be accurate. The transcripts are, however, only orthographic transcripts – they are purely of the text itself (including some, but not all, false starts) – and are not phonetic transcripts, which would contain additional information such as hesitation length, intonation and all false starts. Again, having phonetic

transcripts would have been ideal, since many more features could have been investigated, but I still consider the simpler transcripts available to be useful, especially since, if this work were to be repeated for another politician or setting, it is unlikely that phonetic transcripts would be available there, either.

Having now given this background information about the software adopted and the nature of the *Aló Presidente* corpus, I continue in chapter 6 by investigating this data, using the methodology outlined in section 5.1.

5.4 APPENDIX

5.4.1 Perl script to convert plain-text to BNC XML via Tree-Tagger

```
# --------------------------------
# Perl script to convert Alo Presidente plain-text
# to BNC-like XML with TEI header
# --------------------------------
# DS 2007-12-01 v1.1
# --------------------------------



# --------------------- Prepare variables ------------------------
my $inputfile;              # Path to the input file
my $tt_file;                # Path to tree-tagger file
my $xml_file;               # The path to the XML file
my $maxeditions = 286;      #The highest number of editions that we have in the input
directory
my $i;                              # The current edition number
my $thisline;               # The current line
my @splitline;              # Array from tab delimited  line from Tree-Tagger output
my $type;                           # The current type
my $pos;                            # The current Part of Speech
my $lemma;                          # The current lemma
my $sentno = 1;                     # Incrementing sentence ID number
my $wordno = 0;                     # Incrementing token ID number
my $applausecount = 0;      # Incrementing applause event ID number
my $outputbuffer;           # Buffer containing XML created for the current document

# -------------- Corpus data
my $corpusdata = <<HEREDOC;
87     31625   31313   2001-12-02    "Barquisimeto" "Lara"
88     30983   30767   2001-12-09    "Arco De La Federación, El Calvario" "Caracas D.C."
89     37497   36930   2001-12-16    "Terminal Marítimo De Pasajeros De La Guaira"
       "Vargas"
90     22730   22533   2001-12-23    "Barranco Yopal En El Estado Apure"   "Apure"
91     29028   28736   2002-01-06    "Parroquia La Pastora" "Caracas D.C."
92     40542   40255   2002-01-13    "El Tocuyo"     "Lara"
93     38255   38018   2002-01-23    "Observatorio Cajigal" "Caracas D.C."
94     45705   45377   2002-01-27    "Mérida En El Estado Mérida"  "Mérida"
95                     "?"
96     40520   39869   2002-02-17    "Campamento Experimental De La Universidad De Los Andes"
       "Barinas"
97     36552   35889   2002-02-24    "La Vega"       "Dominican Republic"
98     31653   31211   2002-03-03    "Barrio José Félix Ribas De Petare"   "Caracas D.C."
99     34560   34205   2002-03-10    "Fuerte Guaicaipuro"   "Miranda"
100    53305   52819   2002-03-17    "Parque Nacional El Avila"    "Caracas D.C."
101    31479   31036   2002-04-07    "Palacio De Miraflores"       "Caracas D.C."
102    21292   21168   2002-04-28    "La Casona"     "Caracas D.C."
103    23436   23262   2002-05-05    "Palacio De Miraflores"       "Caracas D.C."
104    25008   25757   2002-05-12    "Fuerte Tiuna" "Caracas D.C."
105    31213   30948   2002-05-26    "Carucieña-Barquisimeto"      "Lara"
106    27896   27618   2002-06-02    "Unknown"       "Unknown"
107    44107   43715   2002-06-09    "El Platanal"  "Zulia"
108    33579   33362   2002-06-16    "La Casa Natal Del Libertador"        "Caracas D.C."
109                    "?"
110    27586   27377   2002-06-30    "El Museo Histórico Militar De La  Planicie" "Caracas
```

166

```
D.C."
111    34904   34514   2002-07-14      "Winche"        "Miranda"
112                    "?"
113    37986   37645   2002-07-28      "Sabaneta"      "Barinas"
114    29798   29472   2002-08-04      "La Vega"       "Dominican Republic"
115    41508   41221   2002-08-11      "El Archipiélago De Los Roques"    "Los Roques"
116    23670   23319   2002-08-18      "Maracay"       "Aragua"
117    44024   43210   2002-08-25      "Central Azucarero Motatán"    "Trujillo"
118    30389   29940   2002-09-08      "Puerto Ordáz" "Bolívar"
119    42281   41659   2002-09-15      "Barquisimeto" "Lara"
120    46171   45695   2002-09-29      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
121    40372   39889   2002-10-06      "Santa Barbara"        "Zulia"
122    41025   40639   2002-10-12      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
123    30614   30325   2002-10-20      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
124    57280   56558   2002-10-27      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
125    38926   38542   2002-11-03      "Unknown"       "Unknown"
126    37728   37432   2002-11-10      "Barquisimeto" "Lara"
127    23386   23183   2002-11-17      "El Callejón El Loro En La Parroquia El Valle"
       "Caracas D.C."
128    35704   35168   2002-11-24      "Petare"        "Miranda"
129    37557   37187   2002-12-01      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
130    41831   41604   2002-12-08      "Unknown"       "Unknown"
131    48136   47752   2002-12-15      "Unknown"       "Unknown"
132    30736   30611   2002-12-23      "Unknown"       "Caracas D.C."
133    29750   29557   2002-12-29      "Yagua" "Carabobo"
134                    "?"
135    27573   27542   2003-01-12      "La Aduana Maritima Principal De La Guaira"  "Vargas"
136    34973   34689   2003-01-18      "La Zona F"     "Caracas D.C."
137    54265   52191   2003-02-02      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
138    41392   41177   2003-02-09      "La Refinería El Palito" "Carabobo"
139    39298   39124   2003-02-16      "El Complejo Muscar"    "Monagas"
140    38165   37928   2003-02-23      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
141    31409   31241   2003-03-02      "Unknown"       "Unknown"
142    35653   35108   2003-03-09      "Complejo Azucarero Ezequiel Zamora, Sabaneta"
       "Barinas"
143                    2003-03-16
144    14736   14670   2003-03-22      "Guanare"       "Portuguesa"
145    98401   97619   2003-03-30      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
146    37642   36992   2003-04-06      "Aeropuerto Internacional De Maiquetía"     "Vargas"
147    47071   46542   2003-04-26      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
148    23176   22879   2003-05-04      "Yacambu"       "Lara"
149    46316   46025   2003-05-11      "La Represa La Vueltosa, Uribante-Caparo"    "Tachira"
150    33036   33764   2003-05-18      "Mucuchies"     "Mérida"
151                    2003-06-01
152    39498   39139   2003-06-08      "El Complejo Refinador Paraguana"    "Falcon"
153    23230   23125   2003-06-15      "Manaos, Amazonas"     "Brasil"
154    41083   40737   2003-06-22      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
155    27528   27234   2003-07-06      "La Capilla De La Alcaldia Del Municipio Libertador"
       "Caracas D.C."
156    34306   33908   2003-07-13      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
157    37378   37030   2003-07-27      "La Urbanizacion Barina"       "Barinas"
158    32607   32228   2003-08-03      "Unknown"       "Caracas D.C."
159    31647   31295   2003-08-10      "La Comunidad Goaruco San Rafael Del Mojan"  "Zulia"
160    17834   17674   2003-08-17      "Palermo Chico En Buenos Aires"        "Argentina"
161                    2003-08-24
162    25978   25624   2003-08-31      "El Valle De Quibor"   "Lara"
163    31273   30809   2003-09-07      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
164    40772   40201   2003-09-14      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
165    35876   35514   2003-09-21      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
166    36144   35671   2003-10-05      "Valencia"      "Carabobo"
167    43263   42827   2003-10-12      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
168    21993   21693   2003-10-19      "San Carlos"    "Cojedes"
169    34644   34171   2003-10-26      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
170    24032   23736   2003-11-02      "El Castillo Pampatar En Margarita"   "Nueva Esparta"
171    36931   36528   2003-11-09      "Tinaquillo"    "Cojedes"
172    27921   27563   2003-11-16      "La Hacienda De Maiz 'El Chivo'"      "Bolívar"
173    32339   31871   2003-12-07      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
174    38242   37770   2003-12-14      "El Barrio El Onoto En Caricuao"       "Caracas D.C."
175    25067   24885   2003-12-21      "Bajo Grande"  "Zulia"
176    39745   39308   2003-12-28      "El Central Azucarero Ezequiel Zamora"      "Barinas"
177    27712   27362   2004-01-11      "El Complejo Cultural 'Andresote'"    "Yaracuy"
178    39661   39166   2004-01-18      "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
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179    36288   35838   2004-01-25   "La Plaza Cristo Rey En La Parroquia 23 De Enero"
               "Caracas D.C."
180    26552   26305   2004-02-01   "La Casa Del General Ezequiel Zamora, Cua"    "Miranda"
181    37480   37007   2004-02-08   "La Universidad Bolivariana"  "Zulia"
182    39130   38745   2004-02-15   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
183    42672   42313   2004-03-07   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
184    36049   35668   2004-03-14   "La Isla Del Burro"    "Carabobo"
185    43584   43268   2004-03-21   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
186    40894   40565   2004-03-28   "La Planta De Llenado De PDVSA En Guatire"    "Miranda"
187    32849   32551   2004-04-04   "Cabruta"        "Guarico"
188    41460   41067   2004-04-11   "Fuerte Mara"  "Zulia"
189    32970   32650   2004-04-18   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
190    36836   36476   2004-05-02   "Los Frigorificos De Mercal En Tazón" "Miranda"
191    40969   40555   2004-05-09   "El Hospital Materno Infantil De Barinas"    "Barinas"
192    41387   40865   2004-05-23   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
193    35355   34957   2004-06-13   "Santa Inés"   "Barinas"
194    32510   32083   2004-06-20   "Ferrocarril De Charallave En Valles Del Tuy"
               "Miranda"
195    30966   30496   2004-06-27   "Nucleo De Desarrollo Endogéno Alberto Lovera, El Tigre"
               "Anzoategui"
196    34504   33968   2004-07-04   "Los Jardines Del Valle, Caracas"    "Caracas D.C."
197    42059   41534   2004-07-11   "Lagunillas"   "Zulia"
198    44220   43671   2004-07-18   "La Ermita, San Cristóbal"    "Tachira"
199    35281   34859   2004-07-25   "El Calvario Urbanización El Silencio"        "Caracas
D.C."
200    40045   39616   2004-08-01   "La Ciudad Vacacional Los Caracas"    "Vargas"
201    37317   36905   2004-08-22   "Ejido" "Mérida"
202    37447   36981   2004-08-29   "La Finca El Juncal En El Socorro"    "Guarico"
203    46239   45510   2004-09-12   "Tacagua Vieja, Sector Araguaney"    "Caracas D.C."
204    50203   49315   2004-09-19   "La Unidad Edúcativa Nacional Claudio Feliciano Las
Adjuntas - Parroquia Macarao" "Caracas D.C."
205    36850   36206   2004-09-26   "Parque Sur, Municipio San Francisco, Maracaibo"
               "Zulia"
206    39562   39009   2004-10-03   "La Cooperativa Central Cafetalero Bramón Municipio
Junin" "Tachira"
207    40501   39498   2004-10-10   "La Refinería De Puerto La Cruz"     "Anzoategui"
208    60895   59766   2004-10-17   "El Sector El Tirano" "Nueva Esparta"
209    45561   44943   2004-10-24   "Maracaibo"    "Zulia"
210    45957   45530   2005-01-09   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
211    51359   50773   2005-01-16   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
212    27885   27612   2005-02-13   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
213    36945   36722   2005-02-20   "Las Instalaciones De La Industria Venezolana Papelera,
Morón" "Carabobo"
214    41113   40681   2005-02-27   "La Urbanización Yaracuy I Cocorote" "Yaracuy"
215    31501   31276   2005-03-13   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
216    49742   49232   2005-03-20   "El Campo Experimental Del Inia, Sabaneta"    "Barinas"
217    32095   31754   2005-04-03   "Las Queseras Del Medio"       "Apure"
218    45717   45346   2005-04-10   "Las Puntitas De Yuma En Las Riberas Del Lago De
Valencia"      "Carabobo"
219    26816   26625   2005-04-17   "El Fundo Zamorano Miguel Jose Sanz" "Miranda"
220    41336   40953   2005-04-24   "Carora"        "Lara"
221    28545   28128   2005-05-08   "La Mesa De Guanipa"  "Anzoategui"
222    31100   30850   2005-05-15   "El Liceo Bolivariano De La Urb. Llano Alto" "Barinas"
223    38245   37988   2005-05-22   "Exposición Iraní Círculo Militar"   "Caracas D.C."
224    13472   13342   2005-06-05   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
225    44956   44635   2005-06-12   "El Centro Diagnóstico Integral De La Parroquia Los
Godos Y La Cruz En Maturín"   "Monagas"
226    50013   49213   2005-06-26   "Santa Ana De Coro"    "Falcon"
227    47764   47304   2005-07-03   "La Sede Del Ince Metal Minero En La Parroquia 23 De
Enero" "Caracas D.C."
228    48191   47857   2005-07-10   "El Complejo Cultural Cecilio Acosta" "Miranda"
229    50495   49972   2005-07-17   "La Zona Industrial El Piñon En Cumaná"        "Sucre"
230    48495   48053   2005-07-31   "El Núcleo Endógeno Fabricio Ojeda En Gramoven, Catia"
               "Caracas D.C."
231    41907   41296   2005-08-21   "Villa Bolívar, Provincia Pinar Del Río"       "Cuba"
232    25176   24791   2005-08-28   "El Hospital Militar Dr. Carlos Arvelo"        "Caracas
D.C."
233    54068   53638   2005-09-04   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
234    42250   41815   2005-09-25   "El Hato La Marqueseña"        "Barinas"
235    40816   40316   2005-10-02   "Palacio De Miraflores"        "Caracas D.C."
236    48836   48265   2005-10-09   "Cuara En El Valle De Quibor" "Lara"
237    47873   47476   2005-10-23   "Unidad Educativa Bolivariana Gran Colombia, Los
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Rosales"        "Caracas D.C."
238     51272   50413   2005-10-30      "La Sede De La Universidad Bolivariana Maturín"
        "Monagas"
239     50842   49903   2005-11-13      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
240     36235   35525   2005-11-20      "Puerto Ordaz"  "Bolívar"
241     48803   48296   2005-11-27      "Tía Juana"     "Zulia"
242     43604   42865   2005-12-18      "Hacienda La Elvira, Municipio Monagas"     "Guarico"
243     42322   41663   2006-01-08      "Núcleo De Desarrollo Endógeno José Félix Ribas, El
Consejo, Municipio Revenga"    "Aragua"
244     44662   43929   2006-01-15      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
245     34006   33397   2006-01-29      "Antonio Guzmán Blanco, Parroquia Antímano" "Caracas
D.C."
246     51022   49958   2006-02-05      "Hospital Julio Rodríguez, De Cumaná" "Sucre"
247     57476   56377   2006-02-19      "Ciudad Guayana"        "Bolívar"
248     42027   41392   2006-03-05      "Autopista Antonio José De Sucre, Municipio Acevedo"
        "Miranda"
249     49627   48788   2006-03-19      "Núcleo Endógeno 'Francisco Farfán', Elorza" "Apure"
250     55030   54046   2006-03-26      "Ocumare Del Tuy"       "Miranda"
251     53755   52771   2006-04-02      "Hato San Pablo Paeño - Municipio Achaguas"  "Apure"
252     54196   53474   2006-04-09      "Campo De Carabobo"     "Carabobo"
253     46217   45462   2006-04-23      "Campo Oficina, Municipio Simón Rodríguez, El Tigre"
        "Anzoategui"
254     44743   44289   2006-05-07      "Municipio Palavecino, Cabudare"        "Lara"
255     41785   41480   2006-05-21      "Ciudad Guayana"        "Bolívar"
256     37258   37079   2006-05-28      "Templo De Kalasasaya, Tiwanaku"        "Bolivia"
257     44779   44068   2006-06-04      "Los Venados, Parque Nacional El Ávila"         "Caracas
D.C."
258     48027   47136   2006-06-11      "Villa Bruzual – Municipio Turén"      "Portuguesa"
259     45638   44919   2006-08-06      "Unidad De Producción Socialista Manuel Carlos Piar"
        "Bolívar"
260     59868   58906   2006-08-20      "Hospital Cardiológico Infantil Latinoamericano Gilberto
Rodríguez Ochoa Montalbán"     "Caracas D.C."
261     45789   44879   2006-09-03      "Academia Militar De Venezuela – Fuerte Tiuna"
        "Caracas D.C."
262     43982   43208   2006-09-10      "Unidad De Producción Socialista Argimiro Gabaldón,
Boconó" "Trujillo"
263     46548   45827   2007-01-21      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
264     57011   56492   2007-01-28      "Centro De Formación Socialista José Laurencio Silva,
San Carlos"    "Cojedes"
265     11761   11486   2007-02-15      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
266     12745   12570   2007-02-22      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
267     15790   15549   2007-02-23      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
268     15172   14938   2007-02-26      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
269     16848   16518   2007-02-27      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
270     16179   15934   2007-02-28      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
271     14801   14464   2007-03-01      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
272     15546   15308   2007-03-05      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
273     17764   17458   2007-03-06      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
274     18560   18297   2007-03-13      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
275     19630   19314   2007-03-14      "Palacio De Miraflores"         "Caracas D.C."
276     44254   43786   2007-03-18      "Fila De Mariches"      "Miranda"
277     18594   18151   2007-03-22      "Centro De Alta Tecnología Manuela Sáenz, Cabimas"
        "Zulia"
278     36019   35399   2007-03-25      "Hato Calleja, Municipios Pedraza y Barinas" "Barinas"
279     16656   16356   2007-03-27      "Sala Ríos Reyna, Teatro Teresa Carreño"        "Caracas
D.C."
280     24753   24295   2007-03-29      "Centro De Formación Socialista Manuel Piar – Puerto
Ordaz" "Bolívar"
281     23720   23352   2007-04-12      "Salas Ríos Reyna, Teatro Teresa Carreño"       "Caracas
D.C."
282     34185   33477   2007-04-15      "Villa Del Rosario"     "Zulia"
283     48106   47225   2007-04-22      "Fundo Zamorano Bella Vista – Urachiche"        "Yaracuy"
284     20273   19917   2007-04-24      "Unidad Educativa Bolivariana Negra Hipólita, Sarao-
Chaguaramal, Barlovento"       "Miranda"
285     59872   59036   2007-06-10      "El Cajón De Arauca"   "Apure"
286     23324   22983   2007-06-17      "Centro Técnico Socialista Productivo Florentino"
        "Barinas"
HEREDOC

# ----------------------- Write the corpus data into an array
my @corpusdata_array = split("\n",$corpusdata);
```

```perl
# ----------------------- Iterate through the corpus editions which we have in plain-text,
sending them to Tree-Tagger
# The earliest edition we have is edition 87 (87-91 for testing purposes, 91+ for the actual
research)
for ($i=87; $i<($maxeditions+1); $i++)
{
        # Check whether we have the script in the texts directory
        $inputfile = "texts/" . $i . ".txt";
        # Only if the plain-text version is available:
        if (-e $inputfile)
        {
                # Set the output file for the tagged version
                $tt_file = "tagged/". $i . ".txt";
                # Send file to Tree-Tagger for tagging
                system("tag-spanish " . $inputfile . " " . $tt_file);
                # Display status on screen
                print "Running tagger on " . $inputfile . "\n";
                # Wait 10 seconds for the tagging to complete before continuing
                sleep(10);
                # Set the output file for the XML data
                $xml_file = "xml/" . $i . ".xml";
                # Display status on screen
                print "Running XML on " . $tt_file . "\n";

                # Fetch the meta information about the current edition from the corpusdata
array
                my @thistext_data = split("\t",$corpusdata_array[($i-87)]);
                my $tokencount = $thistext_data[1];                     # Total tokens in edition
                my $wsused = $thistext_data[2];                             # Total tokens in
edition for the purposes of WordSmith Tools
                my $editiondate = $thistext_data[3];        # Date of broadcast
                my $editionstate = uc($thistext_data[5]);    # State from which broadcast
                my $editionloc = uc($thistext_data[4]);            # Place broadcast from
                # And remove the quotes from the state and place
                $editionstate =~ s/\"//g;
                $editionloc =~ s/\"//g;

                # Display status on screen
                print "\n-- Got AP edition " . $i . " (" . $editiondate . ")";

                # Define the input and output files for the XML
                open(INPUT,"<$tt_file") or die "Error opening Tree-Tagger file.\n";
                open(OUTPUT,">$xml_file") or die "Error opening XML file.\n";

                # Iterate line-by-line through the output from Tree-Tagger. Each line is a new
token.
                while(<INPUT>)
                {
                        $thisline = $_;
                        $wordno = $wordno + 1; # Increment the word count

                        # Split the tab-delimited list . Example:
                        # buenos        ADJ     bueno
                        @splitline = split("\t",$thisline);
                        $type = @splitline[0];
                        $pos = @splitline[1];
                        $lemma = @splitline[2];
                        # Has the effect of chomping
                        $lemma =~ s/(\n)|(\r)//g;

                        # Escape XML entities which would cause parse errors
                        $type =~ s/&/&amp;/;
                        $lemma =~ s/&/&amp;/;
                        $lemma =~ s/"/&quot;/;

                        # Convert applauses to TEI-events not lexical types
                        if ($type =~ /aplausos/)
                        {
                                $applausecount = $applausecount + 1;  # Increment the applause
count
                                $outputbuffer .= "\n<event desc=\"applause\" />";
                        }
```

```perl
                    # All other types are converted to XML
                    else
                    {
                            # Example output:
                            # <w hw="bueno" pos="ADJ">buenos </w>
                            $outputbuffer .= "\n<w hw=\"" . $lemma . "\" pos=\"" . $pos .
"\">" . $type . " </w>";
                    }

                    # If the current line contains a full stop, question mark or
exclamation mark, insert a sentence tag
                    if ($thisline =~ /(\tFS\t)/)
                    {
                            $outputbuffer .= "\n</s>";
                            $sentno = $sentno + 1; # Increment the sentence ID
                            $outputbuffer .= "\n<s n=\"" . $sentno . "\">";
                    }

            } # Ends iteration through the Tree-Tagger file
            # Close the Tree-Tagger file
            close(INPUT);

            # Now write the XML (BNC-XML, based on TEI) document
            print OUTPUT "<?xml version=\"1.0\" encoding=\"ISO-8859-1\"?>\n<apDoc
xml:id=\"" . $i . "\">\n<teiHeader>";
            print OUTPUT "\n<fileDesc><titleStmt><title>Alo Presidente " . $i .
"</title><respStmt><resp>POS-tagging, conversion to XML</resp><name>Dominic Smith
dom\@domsmith.co.uk</name></respStmt></titleStmt><editionStmt><edition>APCorpus
2007</edition></editionStmt><extent> " . $tokencount . " tokens; " . $wsused . " wordsmith-
used; " . $wordno . " w-units; " . $sentno . " s-units
</extent><publicationStmt><distributor>MINCI/DS</distributor><availability>Copyright
material</availability><idno type=\"ap\">" . $i . "</idno></publicationStmt><bibl><title>Alo
Presidente " . $i .
"</title><author>MINCI</author><imprint><pubPlace>Caracas</pubPlace><publisher>MINCI</publishe
r><date>" . $editiondate . "</date></imprint></bibl></fileDesc>"; #TEIHeader
            print OUTPUT "\n<encodingDesc><tagsDecl><namespace name=\"\"><tagUsage
gi=\"event\" occurs=\"" . $applausecount . "\"/><tagUsage gi=\"s\" occurs=\"" . $sentno .
"\"/><tagUsage gi=\"w\" occurs=\"" . $wordno . "\"/><tagUsage gi=\"u\"
occurs=\"1\"/></namespace></tagsDecl><refsDecl><para>Reference the text ID
number</para></refsDecl></encodingDesc>";
            print OUTPUT "\n<profileDesc><creation>" . $editiondate .
"</creation><particDesc><person xml:id=\"ALL\"><name>All
speakers</name></person></particDesc><settingDesc><setting who=\"ALL\"><placeName>" .
$editionstate . "</placeName><locale>" . $editionloc .
"</locale><activity>AP</activity><date>" . $editiondate .
"</date></setting></settingDesc><textClass><keywords scheme=\"AP\"><term>Politics - Latin
America - Venezuela</term><term>Television -
Politics</term></keywords></textClass></profileDesc>";
            print OUTPUT "\n<revisionDesc><change date=\"2007-12-01\"
who=\"dom\@domsmith.co.uk\">Encoded as TEI</change></revisionDesc>";
            print OUTPUT "</teiHeader>\n<stext type=\"OTHERSP\">\n<u who=\"ALL\"><s
n=\"1\">";
            print OUTPUT $outputbuffer;
            print OUTPUT "</s></u>\n</stext></apDoc>";
            # Reset the output buffer for the next file
            $outputbuffer = "";
            # Close the output file
            close(OUTPUT);

    } # Ends if the plain-text document exists

}       # Ends iteration through all plain-text files

# EOF
```

5.4.2 Perl script to perform statistical calculations on a CSV file containing type frequencies

```perl
#!usr/bin/perl
use Statistics::Descriptive;
my $starttime = time();

# ========================================================
# +++++++++++++++++++++ INFO +++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++
# ========================================================

# ------------------ ABOUT -----------------------
# This perl script takes a CSV file containing type
# frequencies for different periods and creates a
# CSV file containing the standard deviations
# representing changes over time
# ------------------------------------------------

# ------------------ COMMAND-LINE ARGUMENTS -------
# 0) Input CSV filename
# 1) Output CSV filename
# 2) Minimum Z-Score to use (default: 0; 1.64 = sig @ 0.95)
# 3) Minimum tokens required (default: 1000)
# 4) In_all (binary indicating whether the token must be in all sub-corpora to be included in
results. Default: 0)
# ------------------------------------------------

print "\n\n\n";
print "     ------------------------------------------------\n";
print "     | Word lookup in Chavez (Alo Presidente) Corpus |\n";
print "     |             Get most-changed types            |\n";
print "     |             (c) 2007 Dominic Smith            |\n";
print "     ------------------------------------------------\n";

# -------------------- CHANGELOG ------------------
# 2007-10-17: Original version
# 2007-10-21: Changed from log-liklihood to z-score
# 2007-10-24: Changed to use WordSmith wordcount totals
# 2008-02-21: Improved commenting
#                      switched to use Statistics::Descriptive module
#                      works purely on 1/4 year periods
# ------------------------------------------------

# ========================================================
# ++++++++++++++++++ SET-UP +++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++
# ========================================================

# ------------------ Handle command-line arguments -
my $inputfile = $ARGV[0];
my $outputfile = $ARGV[1];
my $min_z = $ARGV[2];
my $min_t = $ARGV[3];
my $in_all = $ARGV[4];
if ($inputfile =~ /^-h$/)
<:
        # Help
        print "This script takes a WordSmith Tools CSV export from a frequencies \n";
        print "file and outputs a CSV file  containing the  varience between the \n";
        print "sub-corpora for any type (standard deviation), and the z-score of \n";
        print "the most  different sub-corpora for each type.  For more details, \n";
        print "see the source code.                       (c) 2007 Dominic Smith \n\n";
        print "Command-line Arguments: \n";
        print "input_file*; output_file*; [minimum_z-score]; [minimum_tokens]; [in all files?]
\n";
        print "* = Required\n\n";
        exit;
:>
```

```perl
if ($min_z !~ /^([0-9.]+)$/) <:$min_z = 0;:>
if ($min_t !~ /^(\d+)$/) <:$min_t = 1000;:>
if ($in_all !~ /^([0,1]<:1:>)$/) <:$in_all = 0;:>

# ----------------- Define word counts ------------
my $total_tokens = 7244525;
# The final entry in the array avoids division-by-zero errors in the case of null lines
my @wordcounts = (346379, 264243, 326675, 488447, 411289, 289203, 311517, 356023, 366237,
321700, 398565, 183216, 281826, 348834, 354726, 363059, 369550, 365759, 191912, 412142,
306142, 0.00000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000001);

# ---------------- Prepare other variables --------
my $got_result = 0;
my $linenum = 0;
my $calcs = 0;
my @years = ('2002q1', '2002q2', '2002q3', '2002q4', '2003q1', '2003q2', '2003q3', '2003q4',
'2004q1', '2004q2', '2004q3', '2004q4', '2005q1', '2005q2', '2005q3', '2005q4', '2006q1',
'2006q2', '2006q3', '2007q1', '2007q2','');

sub zTest
<:
        # Does a Z-Test calculation
        # Variables to pass:
        #   1) This result; 2) Mean; 3) St. Dev
        my @params = @_;
        my $this = $params[0];
        my $mean = $params[1];
        my $stdev = $params[2];
        # Avoid division by zero errors
        if ($stdev == 0) <:$stdev =
0.000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000000
000000000000001;:>
        my $result = ($this-$mean) / $stdev;
        # Ensure result is always positive
        if ($result < 0) <:$result = $result - $result - $result;:>
        return $result;
:>

# ----------------- Prepare input/output files -----
open(OUTPUT, ">$outputfile") or die "Error creating output\n";
open(WORDLIST, "<$inputfile") or die "Error opening input wordlist\n";
# Header line
print OUTPUT "Type,Rank,Tokens,StDev,Range,Mean,Max-Z,Year\n";

# ==========================================================
# +++++++++++++++++ MAIN ROUTINE ++++++++++++++++++++++++++++
# ==========================================================

while(<WORDLIST>)
<:
    chomp;
    $thisline = $_;

    # If not first (header) line
    if ($linenum > 0)
    <:
        $got_result = 1;
        # Split the line
        my @lineinfo = split(',',$thisline);
        my $this_type = $lineinfo[0];
        print "  RESULTS FOR $this_type \n";
        my $rank = $linenum;
        my $token_count = $lineinfo[1];
        my @freqData; #Array will hold frequency data per mille

        for (my $i = 3; $i<24; $i++)
        <:
             # In each period...
             my $thisfreq = $lineinfo[$i];
            #Get per mille frequency
            $per_mille = ($thisfreq / $wordcounts[($i-3)] * 1000);
```

```perl
                $calcs = $calcs + 1;
                push(@freqData,$per_mille);
        :>

        $stat = Statistics::Descriptive::Sparse->new();
        $stat->add_data(@freqData);
        $stdev = $stat->standard_deviation();
        $calcs = $calcs + 1;
        $range = $stat->sample_range();
        $mean  = $stat->mean();
        $calcs = $calcs + 1;
        $min_val = $stat->min();

        # Look for greatest Z-Score
        my $index = 0;
            my $highz = 0;
            my $highz_yr = 0;
            my $highz_freq = 0;
            foreach (@freqData)
            <:
                    my @zparams = ($_, $mean, $stdev);
                    #print "\nInfo for " . $years[$index] . ": f=" . $_ . "; m=" . $mean .
"; s=" . $stdev . "; ";
                    my $zresult = zTest(@zparams);
                    $calcs = $calcs + 1;
            #print "z=" . $zresult;
            if ($zresult > $highz)
            <:
                    $highz = $zresult;
                    $highz_year = $years[$index];
                    $highz_freq = $_;
            :>
            $index++;
            :>

        if (($highz > $min_z) && ($rank < $min_t))
        <:
                if (($in_all == 0) | (($in_all == 1) && ($min_val > 0)))
                <:
                        #Only print significant results if the Z score is above the
minimum and the rank is less than the minimum and either the type is in all sub-corpora or
that restriction is off
                        print OUTPUT $this_type . "," . $rank . "," . $token_count . "," .
$stdev . "," . $range . "," . $mean . "," . $highz . "," . $highz_year . "\n";
                :>
         :>
    :> # Ends if linenum > 0

    $linenum = $linenum + 1;
:> # Ends <WHILE>
# =====================================================
# +++++++++++++++++++ FINISH ++++++++++++++++++++++++++++
# =====================================================

close(WORDLIST);
print OUTPUT "\n\nConfig: minimum Z-Score $min_z; minimum_rank $min_t; in all? $in_all \n";
close(OUTPUT);
my $dur = (time() - $starttime);
if ($got_result < 1)
<:
        print "\n\nNo data found.";
:>
else
<:
        print "\n\nDone. The wordlist has been saved as $outputfile\n";
        print "Used: minimum Z-Score $min_z; minimum_tokens $min_t\n";
        print "Took: $dur seconds to perform $calcs calculations";
:>

print "\n\n";
# ================ EOF ===============================
```

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5.4.3 Perl script to determine nouns from a list of the most-changed types

```perl
#!usr/bin/perl
# -------------
# Script to take list of changed words, run through a sample of tagged files in the AP Corpus
and determine those which are nouns
# (c) 2009 Dominic Smith, v.0.2
# -------------

sub uppercaseASCIIAndAccents
<:
        my @params = @_;
        my $thisword = uc($params[0]);
    $thisword =~ s/á/Á/g;
    $thisword =~ s/é/É/g;
    $thisword =~ s/ó/Ó/g;
    $thisword =~ s/ñ/Ñ/g;
    $thisword =~ s/í/Í/g;
    $thisword =~ s/ú/Ú/g;
        return $thisword;
:>

# Get sample files
print "Loading samples\n";
open(TEXT1, "<../tagged/94.txt") or die "Error opening text 1\n";
@xml1 = ();
while (<TEXT1>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml1,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT1);

open(TEXT2, "<../tagged/113.txt") or die "Error opening text 2\n";
@xml2 = ();
while (<TEXT2>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml2,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT2);
open(TEXT3, "<../tagged/131.txt") or die "Error opening text 3\n";
@xml3 = ();
while (<TEXT3>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml3,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT3);
open(TEXT4, "<../tagged/149.txt") or die "Error opening text 4\n";
@xml4 = ();
while (<TEXT4>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml4,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT4);
open(TEXT5, "<../tagged/167.txt") or die "Error opening text 5\n";
@xml5 = ();
while (<TEXT5>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml5,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT5);
open(TEXT6, "<../tagged/185.txt") or die "Error opening text 6\n";
@xml6 = ();
while (<TEXT6>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml6,$thisword);
```

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```perl
:>
close(TEXT6);
open(TEXT7, "<../tagged/203.txt") or die "Error opening text 7\n";
@xml7 = ();
while (<TEXT7>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml7,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT7);
open(TEXT8, "<../tagged/221.txt") or die "Error opening text 8\n";
@xml8 = ();
while (<TEXT8>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml8,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT9);
open(TEXT9, "<../tagged/239.txt") or die "Error opening text 9\n";
@xml9 = ();
while (<TEXT9>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml9,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT9);
open(TEXT10, "<../tagged/257.txt") or die "Error opening text 10\n";
@xml10 = ();
while (<TEXT10>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml10,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT10);
open(TEXT11, "<../tagged/275.txt") or die "Error opening text 11\n";
@xml11 = ();
while (<TEXT11>)
<:
        $thisword = uppercaseASCIIAndAccents($_);
        push(@xml11,$thisword);
:>
close(TEXT11);


# --- Open wordlist
$candidates = 0;
open(WORDLIST, "<../wordlists/mostchanged2.csv") or die "Error opening wordlist\n";
open(OUTPUT, ">../wordlists/candidates.txt") or die "Error making candidates list\n";
while(<WORDLIST>)
<:
        chomp;
        $thisword = $_;
        print "Handling $thisword ... ";
        $total=0;
        print $total . " ";
        $adj=0;
        $nc=0;
        $np=0;
        $vl=0;
        $other=0;
        for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml1); $i++)
        <:
                if ($xml1[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
                <:
                        $xml1[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                        $total++;
                        if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                        elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                        elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                        elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                        else <:$other++;:>
                :>
```

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```
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml2); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml2[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml2[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml3); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml3[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml3[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml4); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml4[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml4[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml5); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml5[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml5[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml6); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml6[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml6[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
```

```
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml7); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml7[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml7[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml8); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml8[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml8[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml9); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml9[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml9[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml10); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml10[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml10[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " ";
for($i=0; $i<scalar(@xml11); $i++)
<:
        if ($xml11[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i)
        <:
                $xml11[$i] =~ m/^$thisword\t(\w+)/i;
                $total++;
                if ($1 =~ /ADJ/) <:$adj++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NC/) <:$nc++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /NP/) <:$np++;:>
                elsif ($1 =~ /VL/) <:$vl++;:>
                else <:$other++;:>
        :>
:>
print $total . " \n";
if ($total > 0)
<:
```

```
                    if ((($nc+$np)/$total*100)>60)
                    <:
                            print OUTPUT $thisword . "\n";
                            if ($candidates > 49) <:
                                    print "Done\n";
                                    close (WORDLIST);
                                    close (OUTPUT);
                                    exit;
                            :>
                            else <:
                                    print "\n\t" . ($candidates*2) . "%\n";
                                    $candidates++;:>
                    :>
            :>
    :>
close (WORDLIST);
close (OUTPUT);


    # ================== EOF ======================
```

My Methodology and the DHA

1. Collect and prepare corpus

2. Selection of data for specific analyses

1. Divide the corpus by time
2. Obtain the frequency of every type in every period
3. Compare the frequency of every type in every period with that of every other period
4. Group the most-changed types into semantic fields
5. Use collocation to reduce the number of concordance lines
6. Identify when the frequency of the collocation changed
7. Obtain the concordance lines for the DHA analysis

My methodology

3. Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge

4. Systematic collection of context information

1. History & archaeology of texts & organizations

2. Institutional frames of the specific context of a situation

3. Intertextual and interdiscursive relationships

4. Extra-linguistic variables

Contextual triangulation

5. Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions

6. Detailed case studies:

1. Identify the specific comments / topics

2. Investigate discursive strategies

1. How are persons, objects... named? **(Nomination)**

2. What characteristics, qualities, features are attributed? **(Predication)**

3. What are the linguistic means & specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations?

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse? **(Argumentation)**

4. From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions & arguments expressed **(Perspectivization)**

5. Are the utterances articulated overtly? **(Intensification)**

Linguistic triangulation
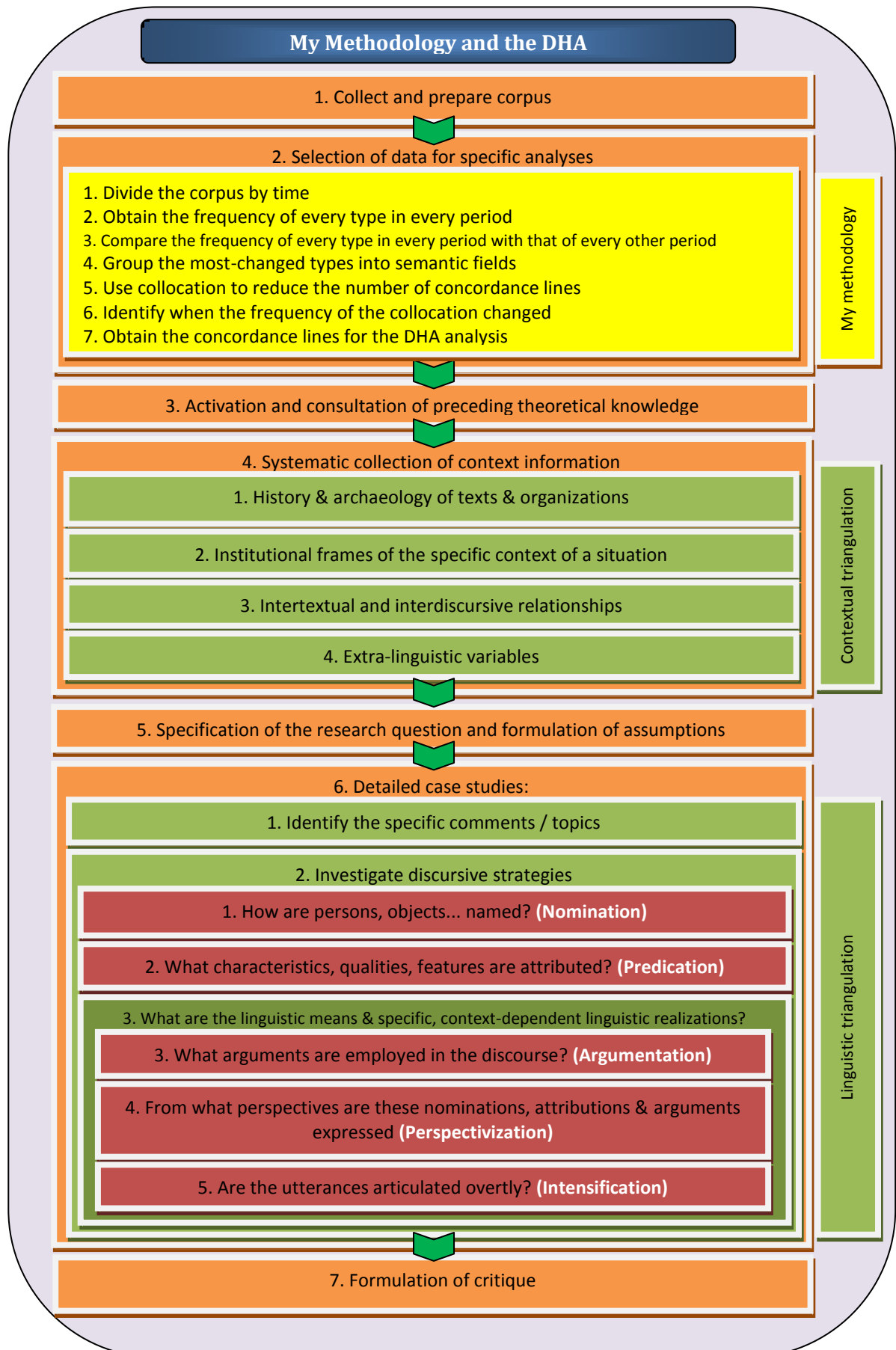
7. Formulation of critique

Figure 5-4: My methodology integrated with the DHA

6 IDENTIFICATION OF SEMANTIC FIELDS AND OBTAINING CONCORDANCE LINES

In this work so far, I have argued that Critical Discourse Analysis is an interesting field for researching political discourse. There are, however, a number of difficulties with traditional CDA, principally risks that the discourse might be over- or under-interpreted, and that an unrepresentative sample of discourse might be chosen. It was suggested that the use of a corpus might reduce the impact of these problems but that, in so doing, other issues would be raised, especially the fact that different variables should be controlled and that the researcher might influence the results through his/her choice of research question. I noted that this latter point might be solved by setting the research question on the basis of some feature in the corpus and, in section 5.1.1, I described a methodology through which the topics which have changed the most in their frequency (and, therefore, I hypothesised, their importance) over a period of time could be identified.

The methodology is formed from ten steps, the first six of which are primarily based on ideas from corpus linguistics (with the principal aim of reducing the risk of investigator bias) and the last four of which are essentially based on ideas from the Discourse-Historical Approach.

In the present chapter, I first describe the implementation of the methodology's four initial steps, namely:

1. Divide the corpus by time;
2. Obtain the frequency of every type in every period;
3. Compare the frequency of every type in every period with that of every other period;
4. Group the most-changed types by frequency into semantic fields.

In the second section of this chapter, I then give the results for the next two steps of the methodology for each of the three semantic fields selected for study:

5. Use collocation to reduce the number of concordance lines for manual analysis;

6. Identify when the permitted collocates' frequencies changed relative to the node;

The remaining steps, which use the basis of DHA to analyse the concordance lines which will be identified in this chapter, are described in the three results chapters 7-9.

6.1 IDENTIFICATION OF CHANGED SEMANTIC FIELDS

As described in 5.1.1.1, the *Aló Presidente* corpus was divided into twenty-one quarter-years. The second stage of the methodology was to obtain the frequency of every type in every period, so that these data could be compared.

This was achieved using the 'detailed consistency' feature in the WordSmith Tools Wordlist program, and the data were exported to a very large Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. I highlight the size of the spreadsheet since this, in itself, brings a technical challenge which others repeating the technique might need to overcome, for Excel cannot handle more than 65,536 rows in a single worksheet. With 83,296 different types in the corpus, and therefore 83,296 rows in the worksheet, the wordlist was too large for Excel to import.

Fortunately, a consequence of Zipf's Law was able to assist. Whilst this is now known not to be a strict law (and it is possibly valid only for mathematical rather than linguistic reasons (Li, 1992)), it has also been described as *'true as a rough approximation'* (Sinclair et al., 2004: 32). The law states that '*the size* [frequency] *of the r'th largest occurrence of the event* [type] *is inversely proportional to its rank*' (Adamic, 2000), and so will be shown as a straight line on log-log graph paper. This in turn implies that there will be very many types in a corpus which only occur once, known as 'hapaxes'. In the case of the *Aló Presidente* corpus, some 30,762 types (37%) are indeed hapaxes, and since something which only occurs once cannot be compared with another instance, this enables these 30,762 rows to be removed from the wordlist export, thereby reducing the total to 52,534 rows, which is within the limits permitted

by Excel.[45] A corpus which was very much larger than mine might, however, have to adopt an alternative solution in order to circumvent the limit.

The final step in preparing the data for the comparison was to remove the first 17 rows of the spreadsheet, which are added by WordSmith Tools to provide statistical data which are not needed for these purposes, and also the 'N', 'No. of Lemmas' and 'Set' columns, none of which is required for processing.

The first few rows and columns of the resulting spreadsheet are shown in Table 6-1.

Type	Total	Texts	2002q1	2002q2	2002q3	2002q4	2003q1	2003q2	2003q3
DE	344838	189	17268	13007	16909	24396	20878	14520	14812
QUE	215917	189	11595	9356	10423	16588	12987	9151	9504
LA	213226	189	11233	7965	10406	15687	12966	8618	9813
Y	199224	189	11000	8389	10359	15767	13128	8696	9243
EL	183330	189	9102	6550	8797	12841	11021	7993	8326
A	162860	189	8616	6399	7485	12354	9745	6787	7584
EN	141038	189	7201	5196	6922	9918	7959	6041	6328
LOS	96261	189	4975	3873	4689	7264	6241	4308	4495

Table 6-1: Part of the type frequencies spreadsheet

Using the methodology described in section 5.1.1.3, the frequencies obtained in the previous step were to be compared by using the standard deviation statistic to try to find those types which had changed the most in their frequency over the period covered by the corpus (and which would, I hypothesised, indicate the most-changed topics). Rather surprisingly,

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[45] It is this version of the spreadsheet that is included on the CD-ROM.

however, the top most-changed types (by standard deviation) were grammatical, rather than

lexical, types[46]:

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[46] I have used a light grey background on those types which I consider grammatical but it is recognised that the distinction between grammatical and lexical types may not be clear-cut (*múy*, for example, might be argued to fall into either category). The solution to the problem caused by the presence of the grammatical types, which will be introduced below, means that this is not an issue with which we need to be overly concerned.

Type	Standard Deviation
DE	3.773101
Y	3.518118
QUE	3.491705
#[47]	2.883945
EL	2.616921
LA	2.527152
PRESIDENTE	2.233168
A	2.164387
EN	1.93172
CHÁVEZ	1.559816
LOS	1.529973
UN	1.215465
NO	1.21208
CON	0.970065
SE	0.904456
POR	0.891697
ES	0.845769
AQUÍ	0.831459
DEL	0.796695
ASISTENTES	0.796582
UNA	0.780165
LO	0.750302
PARA	0.739655
DOMINGO	0.672828
APLAUSOS	0.671377
YO	0.664318
ALÓ	0.659894
MISIÓN	0.659727
LAS	0.616148
TÚ	0.597577
HOSPITAL	0.59099
BUENO	0.571453
ESTÁ	0.569773
SOCIALISTA	0.564258
Nº	0.546001
PERO	0.511454
VENEZUELA	0.509103

ME	0.485811
ESTADO	0.480404
RODRÍGUEZ	0.470477
PUEBLO	0.467381
ESTE	0.45118
AL	0.449585
GENTE	0.44615
SÍ	0.445696
COMO	0.437274
LE	0.434188
VAMOS	0.428036
MIL	0.424214
SU	0.423557
PUES	0.423555
USTEDES	0.411964
ESA	0.41179
PROGRAMA	0.408334

Table 6-2: The most-changed types by standard deviation

---

[47] # is used by WordSmith Tools, and therefore this list which derived from it, to represent any numeral.

It is possible that looking at grammatical keywords could add a fascinating alternative dimension to the research. Groom (2007), for example, has noted the link between what Gledhill (2000) called 'Salient Grammatical Words' and epistemologies, thereby indicating that the domain of a text can determine the use of such grammatical types. He noted, for example, that such types as *both* and *these 'are bound up with the grammar of nominal groups'* (Groom, 2007: 248), which are *'prized'* (and therefore used more frequently) in written academic English (Groom, 2007: 252). Other than Groom's work, however, there are relatively few studies of grammatical keywords which might provide examples of how to analyse this type of concordance line, nor am I aware of CDA studies which start from the investigation of grammatical types. It may also be that this change is indicative only of a change in Chávez's style. For all of these reasons, I have decided to focus on the most-changed nouns.

Nouns were chosen because they are most likely, by definition, to reveal the topics which have changed but this is not to suggest that other word-classes would be ignored in the investigation, since those other classes would be represented by types acting as collocates of the noun node. Again, there is no commercial software available at present to select nouns from a wordlist and so I was obliged to write another Perl program for the purpose. This took a sample of 10% of the editions from across the Tree-Tagger POS-tagged version of the *Aló Presidente* corpus and then checked, for each type in the most-changed-types list previously obtained, to see whether the type had been tagged as NP (Proper Noun) or NC (Common Noun) on at least 60% of the occasions where it occurred in the sample. The program then produced a list of the first fifty nouns found. The source code for the program is to be found in section 5.4.3.

The resulting list of the most-changed nouns by standard deviation is shown in Table 6-3 below. With the exception of Proper Nouns, brief English glosses have been provided but the meanings will be explained in more detail below, where appropriate.

Type	St. Dev.
PRESIDENTE (President)	2.233168
CHÁVEZ	1.559816
ASISTENTES (Audience)	0.796582
DOMINGO (Sunday)	0.672828
APLAUSOS (Applause)	0.671377
ALÓ	0.659894
MISIÓN (Mission)	0.659727
HOSPITAL (Hospital)	0.59099
VENEZUELA	0.509103
ESTADO (State)	0.480404
RODRÍGUEZ	0.470477
PUEBLO (People, Village)	0.467381
GENTE (People)	0.44615
PROGRAMA (Programme)	0.408334
MINISTRO (Minister)	0.394519
NACIONAL (National)	0.388661
PAÍS (Country)	0.3846
PRODUCCIÓN (Production)	0.372657
GOBIERNO (Government)	0.355003
CENTRO (Centre)	0.354639
SEÑOR (Mr.)	0.339678

MERCAL	0.328859
ROBINSON	0.327294
BOLÍVAR	0.32311
FEBRERO (February)	0.322332
UNIDAD (Unity)	0.319927
GRACIAS (Thank you)	0.317657
MUNICIPIO (Municipality)	0.316029
MARZO (March)	0.311943
ABRIL (April)	0.307598
PLAN (Plan)	0.307058
AGOSTO (August)	0.298729
SOCIALISMO (socialism)	0.295809
ELORZA	0.2936
NRO (No.)	0.291575
PDVSA	0.291141
MARÍA	0.281593
AÑO (Years)	0.27531
SEPTIEMBRE (September)	0.275139
AÑOS (Years)	0.274546
CARAS	0.273439
EMPRESA (Business)	0.273255
VISTA (View)	0.272507
ZULIA	0.270332
VUELVAN	0.268871

DIOSDADO	0.254136
ESTUDIANTE (Student)	0.25197
APURE	0.251679
BOLIVIA	0.246471
CONSTITUCIÓN (Constitution)	0.246018
PALACIO (Palace)	0.244909

Table 6-3: The fifty most-changed nouns by standard deviation

Of course, it may not be the case that individual types can reflect a most-changed topic (Chávez might merely have adopted a different label for a topic that was otherwise being treated the same, although even this might also be argued to be important as different nuances might be involved). What I hoped, as described in section 5.1.1.4, was that many of the types uncovered would be able to be grouped into sets of types with similar meanings: semantic fields. Such a result would, I believed, mean that the whole topic was changing in the frequency with which it was being discussed, as multiple types, which were related to that topic, would all have changed in their frequency over the five and a half years. It was pleasing to note that this is exactly what could be done with the nouns listed above, which were grouped as described below and summarised in Figure 6-1:

1. Government institutions: *ministro, gobierno, municipio, constitución*;

2. Venezuela: *venezuela*[48]*, estado*[49]*, nacional, país*; (see chapter 7)

3. Political doctrines: *producción, socialismo, empresa*; (see chapter 8)

4. Population: *pueblo, gente, unidad*;

5. Other types related to political policy: *pdvsa, plan, estudiante*;

6. Historical figures: *rodríguez, bolívar*;

7. Social projects ('missions'): *misión, hospital, mercal, robinson*[50]*, caras, vuelvan*; (see chapter 9)

8. Types which changed only due to alterations in the presentation conventions in the transcripts (*aplausos, aló, presidente, nro*), the names of contributors (*presidente,*

---

[48] To prevent the computer program treating tokens with inconsistent capitalisation as being different, the program first converted each transcript to lower-case throughout.

[49] *Estado* can, as in English, mean a state of affairs as well as nation state. The means employed to deal with this, and other similar cases, are described at the relevant point in the results chapters.

[50] Although a historical figure, Robinson's name is most commonly used in the corpus in the title of the *Misión Robinson* social programme.

chávez, elorza, maría, diosdado, señor), places from which different editions came (*zulia, apure, bolivia, palacio*) and the types which were related to the date of broadcast (*domingo, febrero, marzo, abril, agosto, año(s), septiembre*). These were excluded.

9. Types which could not be classified elsewhere (*gracias* and *vista*). These two types were also excluded from further study.

Figure 6-1: The most-changed nouns sorted into semantic fields

The choice of which of these semantic fields I would go on to study in detail was driven principally by the wish to ensure that, at far as possible, I covered different aspects of

Venezuelan politics. I expected, for example, that the concordance lines of *robinson* and

estudiante would not be sufficiently different (both being related to education) for an

adequately broad overview of Venezuela under Chávez to be obtained. In Figure 6-1, I have

attempted to represent the fields by how related I expected them to be; I expected more

similarity, for example, between 'government institutions' and 'Venezuela' than between

'social programmes' and 'government institutions'. The accuracy of this aspect of the

diagram is relatively unimportant but it led to the decision to study the following three

semantic fields:

1. Venezuela;

2. Political doctrines;

3. Social programmes.

6.2 Obtaining Concordance Lines for Venezuela

One of the groups (semantic fields) of most-changed topics identified in section 6.1 related to Venezuela as a country, and contained the types *Venezuela, estado, nacional* and *país*. It is the concordance lines of these four types which will be studied in chapter 7. Before the analysis could take place, however, I needed to identify the specific concordance lines for investigation, using the two further steps from the methodology defined in section 5.1.1:

5. Use collocation to reduce the number of concordance lines for manual analysis;

6. Identify when the permitted collocates' frequencies changed relative to the node;

In this section, I discuss each of the types forming the semantic field 'Venezuela' in turn, describing how these two steps were implemented for this semantic field.

6.2.1 Nacional

Upon looking briefly at the concordance lines for the four types *Venezuela, estado, nacional* and *país,* two problems were immediately apparent. The first of these was the following: It will be recalled that *nacional* was selected in section 6.1 because more than 60% of its occurrences in a sample of the corpus had been tagged as being a noun. This was most commonly in a noun phrase (such as *guardia nacional*) and it was hoped that this would reveal something about the role of these important national institutions in Venezuela. To investigate this, however, required the exclusion of adjectival uses of the type. This was done by adapting the methodology so that the corpus queries used to identify the permitted collocates would use only those instances of *nacional* which had been POS-tagged as a noun. With this sole exception, the procedure for determining the permitted collocates, described in

section 5.1.1.5, was followed exactly.[51] This resulted in the list in Table 6-4, which shows the

permitted collocates of *nacional* (as a noun):

Type	Frequency	Z-score
guardia	973	231.4
asamblea	853	205.0
instituto[52]	524	133.1
agenda	345	87.4
257	89	83.2
204	85	82.2
feliciano	88	73.5
nivel	388	73.1
gobierno	776	71.9
adjuntas	85	70.1
consejo	283	65.0
radio	212	63.0
parque	168	62.4
mandatario	92	59.9
claudio	88	58.8
electoral	204	56.9
la	5245	56.1
ejecutivo	124	55.7
ávila	91	54.5
educativa	148	53.3
experimental	54	50.6
panteón	57	49.7
armada	269	43.8
himno	58	42.6
el	4056	42.1
diario	131	41.4
prudencio	44	41.3
regional	124	40.9
fuerza	296	40.8
del	1840	38.7
superintendente	33	37.3
-	176	37.2
fisco	40	36.8
tributario	27	36.2

---

[51] The procedure for determining the permitted collocates is set out in detail for this first case but (for reasons of space) is omitted from the discussion henceforth.

[52] *Instituto* occurs in the names of many different organisations (including the *Instituto Nacional de Tierras, Instituto Nacional de Deportes, Instituto Nacional de la Mujer* and *Instituto Nacional de Cooperación Educativa*) and generally appears in a participant's title (for example, '*Presidente del Instituto Nacional de la Juventud*'). For this reason it was not itself considered a permitted collocate.

coordinador	76	34.9
diputados	100	32.3
desarrollo	302	32.3
territorio	100	32.3
topógrafo	17	32.0
tierras	213	30.6
¡poder	11	30.1
ingreso	76	29.7
inamujer	17	28.9
destacamento	35	28.8
aviación	53	28.7
preparatorio	18	28.6
de	5755	28.3
comando	112	28.2
movilización	40	28.1
unión	107	27.9
sistema	151	27.2
redistribución	21	27.1
internacional	132	27.0
producción	221	26.7
unidad	151	26.6
táctico	25	26.3
cadena	64	26.3
ferroviario	22	26.2
noly	10	26.1
sector	156	25.5
cinemateca	8	24.2
nacional	374	24.1
semillas	49	23.9
diputado	73	23.3
público	92	23.0
industria	78	22.7
soberanía	73	22.7
n°	106	22.3
interés	69	22.1
farabundo	13	21.6
selección	30	21.6
galería	10	21.2
plan	205	21.0

Table 6-4: Collocates of *nacional* (POS-tagged as 'NC' or 'NP')

Because there were so many of these potential permitted collocates, I decided to focus only upon the five with the greatest z-score[53] and which also suggested the use in the title of an institution. This resulted in the following list of permitted collocates of *nacional*: *guardia* (guard), *asamblea* (assembly), *gobierno* (government), *consejo* (council), *ejecutivo* (executive).

As described in section 5.1.1.6, a graph was then created, showing the frequency of the collocation of *nacional* with each of the permitted collocates (y-axis; expressed in tokens per thousand) over time (x-axis). This graph is shown in Figure 6-2:
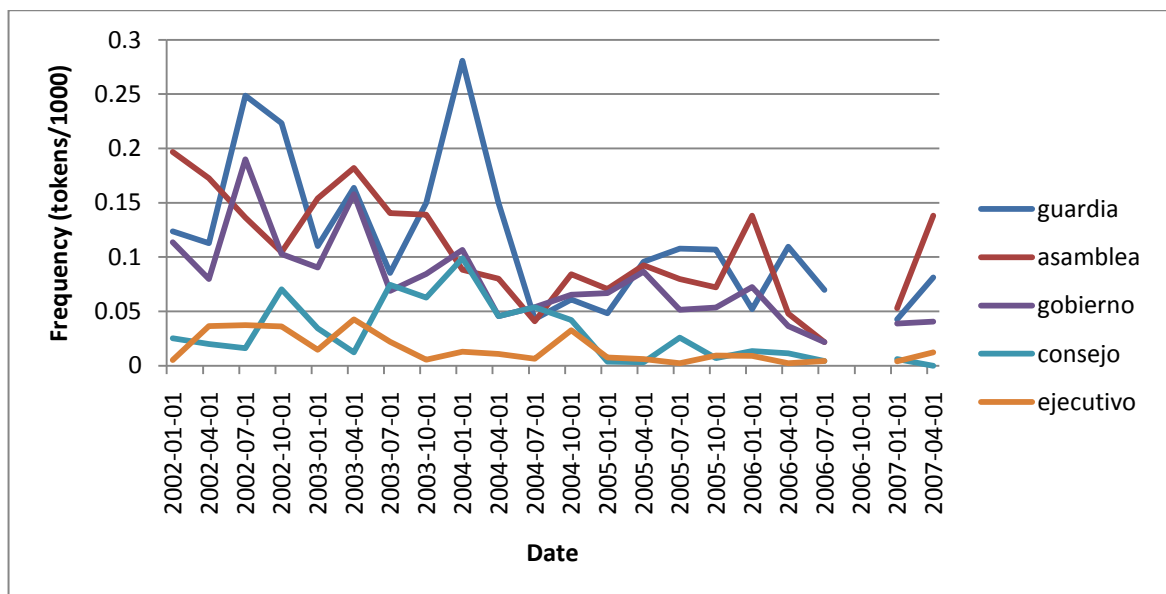

Figure 6-2: Frequency of *nacional* with permitted collocates

(Note: The gap in this graph and others in this chapter exists because *Aló Presidente* was not broadcast in Q4 2006 due to the Presidential election campaign.)

---

[53] On the basis that z-score can be seen as a measure of the strength of a collocation (see page 129).

Again following the procedure set out in section 5.1.1.6, the shape of this graph was then used to decide which quarter year periods to study for each permitted collocate. The identified periods are shown in the following list:

Guardia + nacional

- Q3 2002 – Peak
- Q3 2003 – Trough
- Q1 2004 – Peak
- Q3 2005 – Peak
- Q2 2006 – Peak

Asamblea + nacional

- Q1 2002 – Peak
- Q2 2003 – Peak
- Q3 2004 – Trough
- Q1 2006 – Peak
- Q2 2007 – Peak

Gobierno + nacional

- Q3 2002 – Peak
- Q2 2003 – Peak
- Q1 2004 – Peak
- Q3 2006 – Trough

Consejo + nacional

- Q4 2002 – Peak

- Q1 2004 – Peak

Ejecutivo + nacional

- Q2 2002 – Peak

- Q2 2003 – Peak

- Q4 2004 – Peak

6.2.2 Estado

More complex than the problems faced in relation to *nacional* was the procedure which was

required to allow the permitted collocates of *estado* to be obtained. The primary problem

with attempting to investigate the type *estado* is that it occurs with many different meanings

and in many different contexts. As in English, it can refer to a state of affairs (referred to

henceforth as definition (1), to an administrative sub-division of a country (2) or to a national

political entity (3). In Spanish, this orthography is also used for the past participle of the verb

ESTAR[54]*,* one of the ways of saying 'to be' (4).

For the purposes of chapter 7, it was meaning (3) in which I was interested and, fortunately, it

was again possible to use the POS-tagged corpus to perform most of the disambiguation

necessary.

---

[54] I adopt here the convention of using uppercase to represent the verb's entire conjugation.

It was found that *estado* had been POS-tagged 9337 times as a common noun, 3540 times as a proper noun, 923 times as a form of *ESTAR*, 99 times (incorrectly) as a participle and 21 times (again, incorrectly) as an acronym. I surmised that the majority of cases where it was tagged as a proper noun would be with meaning (2) as it would be followed in position R1 (ie. the token immediately to the right of the node) by the State's name, which will also be a proper noun (eg. *Estado Miranda*). I also imagined that where *estado* had been lemmatised to *ESTAR* it should always be used in terms of definition (4).

Taking a random selection of 10 concordance lines for these two cases should have validated this belief. The lines lemmatised to *ESTAR* were indeed accurate, as seen in the following sample:

Figure 6-3: Sample of concordance lines for *estado* as *ESTAR*

The problem, however, was that there were a number of cases where the type had been incorrectly POS-tagged as a participle or proper noun, where usage was in fact a mixture of definitions (2) and (3):

```
con algunos representantes allí del Estado de Nueva York , para regresar el día
                                El Estado conjuntamente con la iniciativa privad
de México , Nasser Al Mohami del Estado de Qatar y Vir Korneli Berharan Jat c
r como ciudadano y como Jefe de Estado y bueno y como uno de los actores c
e están ocurriendo aquí en nuestro Estado , con las personas de la tercera edac
do este pico producto del golpe de Estado y luego ha venido progresivamente d
                                El Estado conjuntamente con la iniciativa privad
i impuesto , etcétera lo paguen y el Estado pues tenga un presupuesto sólido y c
   Es posible hacerlo siempre que el Estado nos ayude y nosotros pongamos la b
i que incrementar y nosotros como Estado pues darle los recursos hasta donde
```

Figure 6-4: Sample of concordance lines for *estado* POS-tagged as a participle

```
   096 Aló Presidente desde Caparo ☐ Estado Barinas Fecha : 17 de Febrero
i y las leyes tienen que cumplirse , y el Estado está en la obligación de hacerla
i Vicente Rangel , y del gobernador del Estado Aragua , Didalco Bolívar , en la
de vamos a obligar a las empresas del Estado a darle acceso a toda la produc
ordinador con todos los organismos del Estado .
ca en este caso por ser Puerto Rico un Estado Libre Asociado y entonces aqu
añas comunicacionales dirigidas por el Estado , pagando , no sé cuántos millo
i tener complicidad en funcionarios del Estado que no detectaron o se hicieror
                    La vivienda en el Estado ha sido una de las tareas más a
                    Así que aquí en el Estado Lara los pintores regularmente :
```

Figure 6-5: Sample of concordance lines for *estado* POS-tagged as a proper noun

The same was also true of the cases which were identified as common nouns, with the additional problem that some of the examples of forms of *ESTAR* had also been incorrectly classed as common nouns by the POS-tagger:

Un saludo al gobernador del estado Cojedes Johnny Yánez al al
Hemos estado lidiando con movimientos es
idente en el 99 , siempre he estado dándole el mayor apoyo al g
; 62 la Cumbre de Jefes de Estado , Cumbre de Ministros , org
Un Estado responsable , un Estado de justicia , además de dere
ue aquí no hubo un golpe de Estado ?
olítica muy importante que el Estado venezolano debe cuidar , fo
siones a la construcción , el Estado solo no puede con esto , ah
eflexión en estos señores , el estado está obligado a tomar decisi
correcto presidente , hemos estado haciendo una labor aquí en
la conspiración del golpe de Estado de abril , el Gobernador de

Figure 6-6: Sample of concordance lines for *estado* POS-tagged as a common noun

The POS-tagger, then, had experienced significant difficulties in classifying this type, leading to an error rate which, initial trials indicated, would be too high to be reliable.

I realised, however, that careful use of corpus techniques would mean that it would still be possible to investigate the 'nation' sense of *estado* (3). The solution arrived at was to investigate all adjectives that immediately follow every instance of *estado*, regardless of the POS tag of *estado*.

I believed that this should work because cases of definition (4) will be eliminated since use of *estado* as part of *ESTAR* will almost always be followed by another verb participle; equally, where used in sense (2), the State's name (a proper noun) could be expected to immediately follow *estado*. Sense (1), it was surmised, would also be removed from the data since, in this case, *de* would be generally expected in R1 position. In other words, one can disambiguate the various senses of *estado*, even when a POS-tagger has failed to do so, by looking at the POS tag of the immediately following type.

Of 13605 cases of *estado* in the corpus, there are 941 which are followed by a type POS-tagged as an adjective in the R1 position. It was these 941 which were used for determining

the permitted collocates of *estado*, following the procedure discussed in section 5.1.1.6. The top five permitted collocates of *estado* were *capitalista* (capitalist), *democrático* (democratic), *docente* (teaching), *social* (social) and v*enezolano* (Venezuelan).

Drawing a graph of the frequency of occurrence of *estado* with each of these permitted collocates per quarter-year period results in the graph in Figure 6-7:
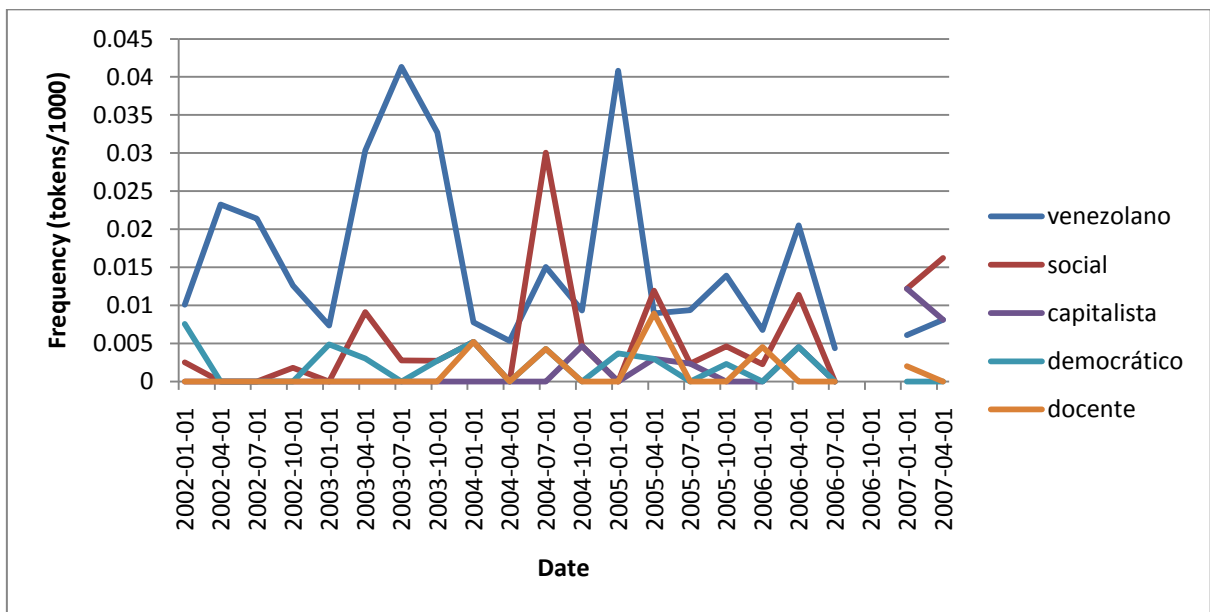
Figure 6-7: Frequency of *estado* with permitted collocates

Before using this graph to identify the periods for study for each of the permitted collocates, it should be stressed at this point that the graphs in Figure 6-2 and Figure 6-7 should not should be compared with each other, nor should any of the other graphs in this chapter be compared. The reason for this is that the y-axis scale is not consistent since I am interested only in the shape of each graph individually and it is irrelevant to my methodology how the peaks or troughs compare between different nodes.

That said, using this graph, and following the procedure in section 5.1.1.6, I identified a number of periods for study for each of the permitted collocates:

estado + venezolano:

- Q2 2002 – Peak

- Q2 2003 – Peak

- Q2 2004 – Trough

- Q1 2005 – Peak

- Q2 2006 – Peak

estado + social:

- Q2 2003 – Peak

- Q3 2004 – Peak

- Q2 2005 – Peak

- Q2 2006 – Peak

- Q2 2007 – Peak

estado + capitalista:

- Q4 2002 – Peak

- Q1 2007 – Peak

6.2.3 País

The same procedure was used for *país* as was used for *estado*: the 378 concordance lines in which *país* is followed immediately by an adjective were first collected and I then selected for study those which contained permitted collocates. I retained the limitation that the node had to be followed by an adjective because (with the exception of *nacional*, which I considered a

special case as it is used in the names of institutions) I felt it important to use the same modification of the methodology for all nodes in the semantic field (see, however, page 205).

The top five permitted collocates for *país*, which were selected as previously described, were *soberano* (sovereign), *serio* (serious), *libre* (free), *agrícola* (agricultural), *entero* (whole).

The graph of the frequency of occurrence of these principle collocates with the node is as shown in Figure 6-8.
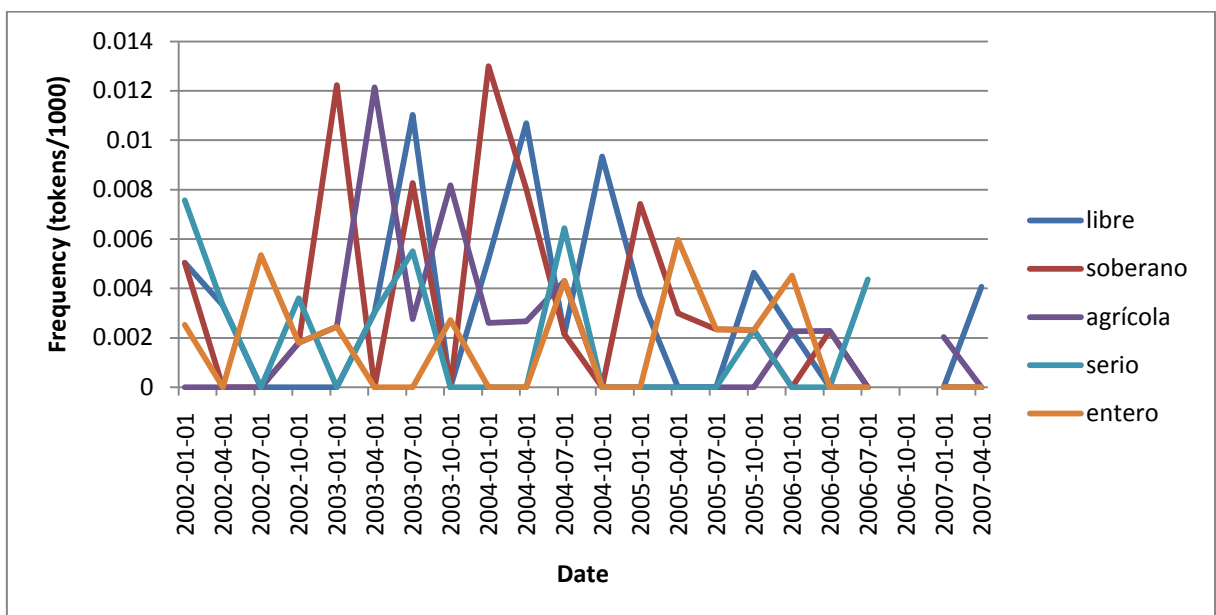
Figure 6-8: Frequency of *país* with permitted collocates

By referring to this graph, the following periods were chosen for study:

País + libre:

- Q3 2003 – Peak
- Q2 2004 – Peak
- Q4 2004 – Peak

País + soberano

- Q1 2003 – Peak

- Q1 2004 – Peak

- Q1 2005 – Peak

País + agrícola

- Q2 2003 – Peak

- Q4 2003 – Peak

- Q1 2006 – Peak

- Q1 2007 – Peak

País + serio

- Q1 2002 – Peak

- Q3 2003 – Peak

- Q3 2004 – Peak

- Q3 2006 – Peak

País + entero

- Q3 2002 – Peak

- Q2 2005 – Peak

- Q1 2006 – Peak

6.2.4 Venezuela

There are 15,384 cases of *Venezuela* in the corpus. Unfortunately, because of the way that *Venezuela* is used in Spanish, only 279 of these are followed immediately by an adjective and so there would have been insufficient data to study had the same methodology been used as had been adopted for *estado* and *país*. Consequently, it was decided to remove the requirement for there to be an immediately following adjective.

Once the permitted collocates had been obtained, *bolivariana* was immediately excluded since it is covered in chapter 8. I also excluded those permitted collocates which are used predominantly in names of places (for example, *Academia Militar de Venezuela en el Fuerte Tiuna*) or titles (eg. *El Tricolor de Venezuela, declamador, Víctor Morillo*). *Radio* was also excluded since it is generally used in the title of the radio network which broadcasts *Aló Presidente, Radio Nacional de Venezuela*. The rationale for these additional exclusions was that these types were generally not articulated on *Aló Presidente* but instead reflect from where the programme was broadcast, titles of interviewees and meta references to the programme itself. Had the transcripts been a phonetic transcript or otherwise marked-up, these cases would have been excluded as described in section 5.3.4. Finally, I had also to exclude the collocation of *venezuela* with *petróleos* because, regrettably, space does not permit an adequate discussion of the contextual research necessary for an investigation into the government's relationship with the State oil company, to which most of these lines referred.

This left the following permitted collocates: *república* (republic)*, central* (central)*, banco* (bank)*, mercosur* (Mercosur)*, mundo* (world)*, embajador* (ambassador)*, Universidad* (University)*, capitanía* (captaincy)*, criollitos* (native (diminutive))*, aislar* (isolate). Again, due to lack of space, only the first five of these are presented in this thesis.
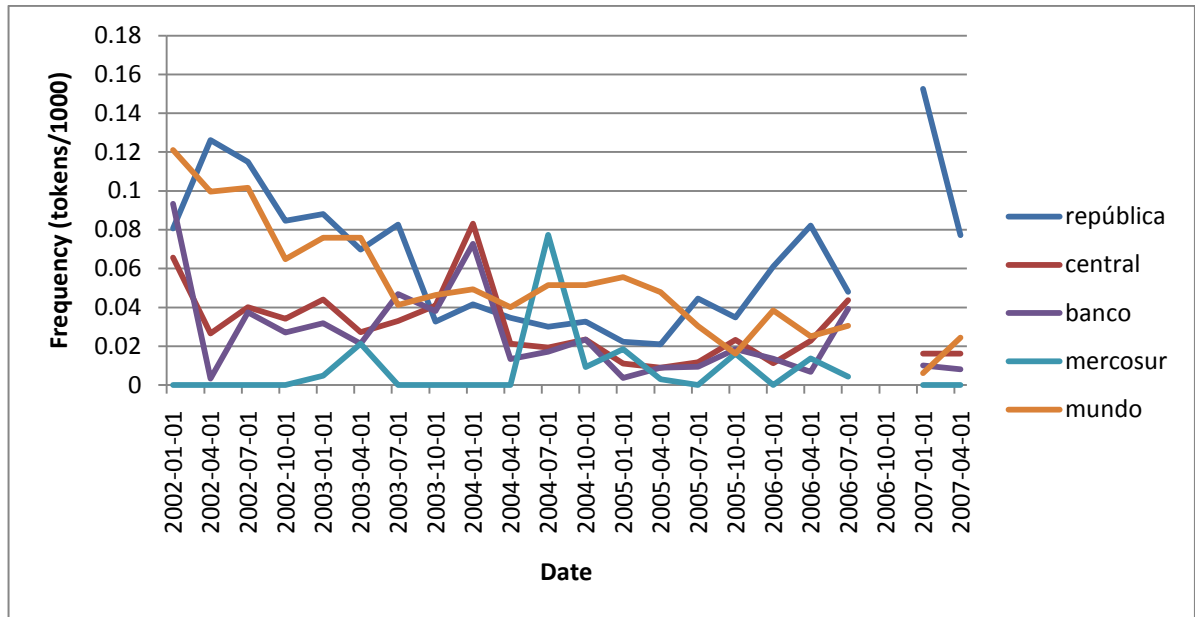
Figure 6-9: Frequency of *venezuela* with permitted collocates

The periods selected for study on the basis of Figure 6-9 were:

Venezuela + república

- Q2 2002 – Peak

- Q3 2003 – Peak

- Q2 2005 – Trough

- Q2 2006 – Peak

- Q1 2007 – Peak

Venezuela + central

- Q1 2002 – Peak

- Q1 2004 – Peak

- Q3 2006 – Peak

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Venezuela + banco

Most of the concordance lines of *venezuela + central* and *venezuela + banco* refer to the
Central Bank. With the exception of Q1 2002, the quarter year periods which would have
been used for *venezuela + banco* are the same as those which had already been used for
venezuela + central. This is indicated by the fact that the lines for *banco* and *central* on Figure
6-9 tend to follow each other. To avoid as much repetition of the same examples as possible,
therefore, only concordance lines from Q1 2002 were obtained, since the graph implies that a
different usage is involved in this one quarter.

Venezuela + mercosur

- Q2 2003 – Peak
- Q3 2004 – Peak

Venezuela + mundo

- Q1 2002 – Peak
- Q1 2005 – Peak
- Q3 2006 – Trough

Having obtained these lists of interesting periods for each of the four nodes related to
Venezuela with their permitted collocates, XAIRA was used to obtain the concordance lines
for each collocation in each of the identified periods. It is these concordance lines which are
used for the research on the semantic field of 'Venezuela' presented in chapter 7.

6.3 OBTAINING CONCORDANCE LINES FOR POLITICAL DOCTRINES

The second of the semantic fields identified in section 6.1 was one which I labelled 'political doctrines' and which contained the types *socialismo*, *empresa* and *producción*.

The procedure for identifying the permitted collocates of each of these nodes was that set out in section 5.1.1.5 and demonstrated in section 6.2. For reasons of space, the detailed steps involved are not repeated here but it is necessary to point out that, as each of the nodes had many permitted collocates, again it was the five with the greatest z-score that were used for the research.

These 'permitted collocates' were:

- For the node *socialismo*: *capitalismo* (capitalism)*, rumbo* (course or path)*, utópico* (utopian)*, patria* (fatherland)*, camino* (path);

- For the node *empresa*: *socialista* (socialist), *producción* (production), *privada* (prívate), *mixta* (mixed), *mediana* (medium-sized);

- For the node *producción*: *socialista* (socialist), *empresa* (business), *comercio* (commerce, business), *social* (social), *empresas* (businesses).

As described in section 5.1.1.6, the number of concordance lines to be analysed was then limited by using a graph of the frequency of these collocations per quarter-year period in order to ascertain when the frequency of these collocations changed the most. It was these quarter year periods which were adopted for the analysis.

6.3.1 Socialismo

The graph for *socialismo* and its permitted collocates is shown in Figure 6-10.
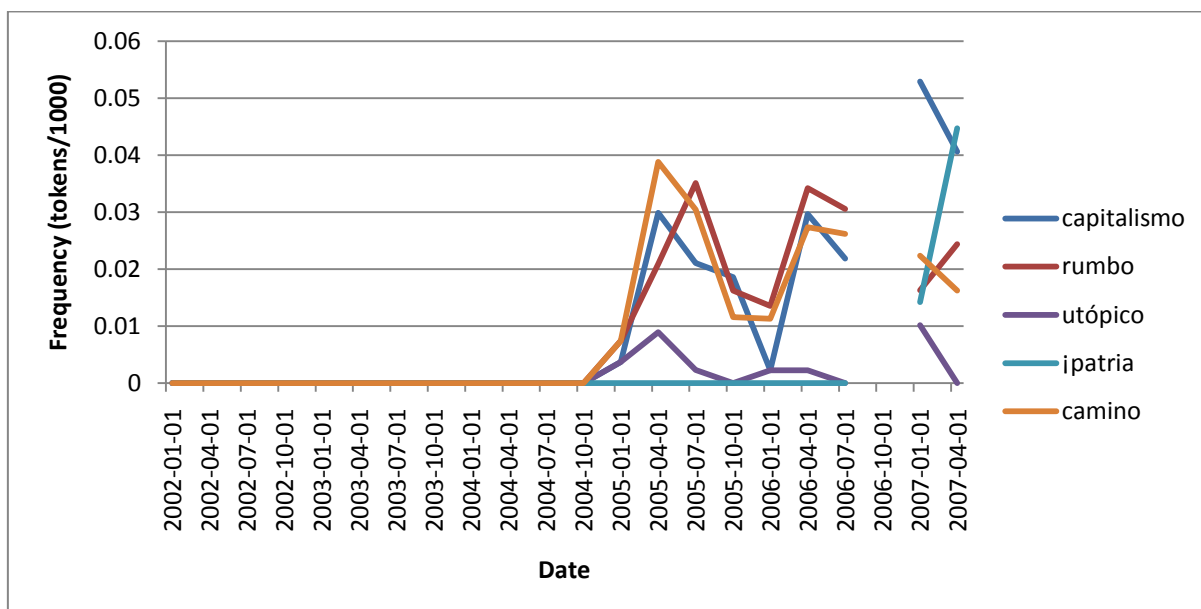
Figure 6-10: Frequency of *socialismo* with permitted collocates

In Figure 6-10, it is seen that *¡patria* only occurs frequently in collocation with *socialismo* in the final six months of the corpus, and so it was excluded in line with the rules set out in section 5.1.1.6 (one cannot compare something which only occurs once). For the four remaining types, the quarter-year periods selected for investigation were:

- *capitalismo*: Q2 2005, Q2 2006, Q1 2007;
- *rumbo*: Q3 2005, Q2 2006, Q2 2007;
- *utópico*: Q2 2005, Q1 2007;
- *camino*: Q2 2005, Q2 2006, Q1 2007.

6.3.2 Empresa

The graph for the frequency of *empresa* with its permitted collocates is shown in Figure 6-11:
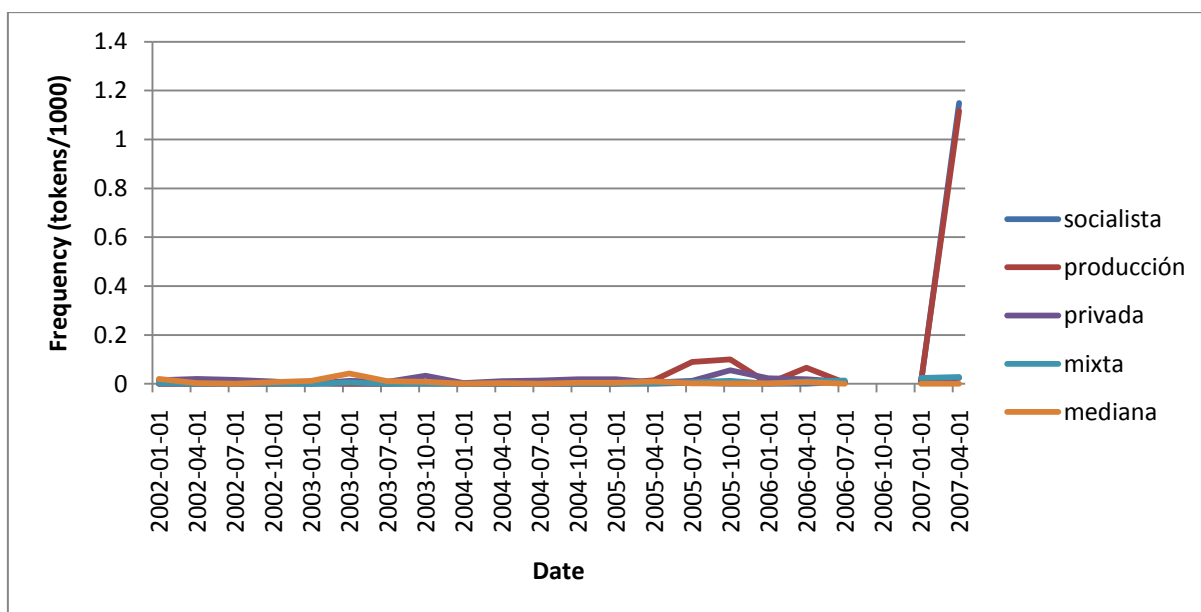
Figure 6-11: Frequency of *empresa* with permitted collocates

The graph of *empresa* in Figure 6-11 is distorted by the very high peaks of *socialista* and *producción* in the final quarter, which reduce the impact of the other collocations since the y-axis is scaled to fit the abnormal data points. Once these two peaks had been noted so that they could be included in the list of periods for study, they were removed from the graph and the y-axis was rescaled, so that the other data became more apparent, as shown in Figure 6-12.
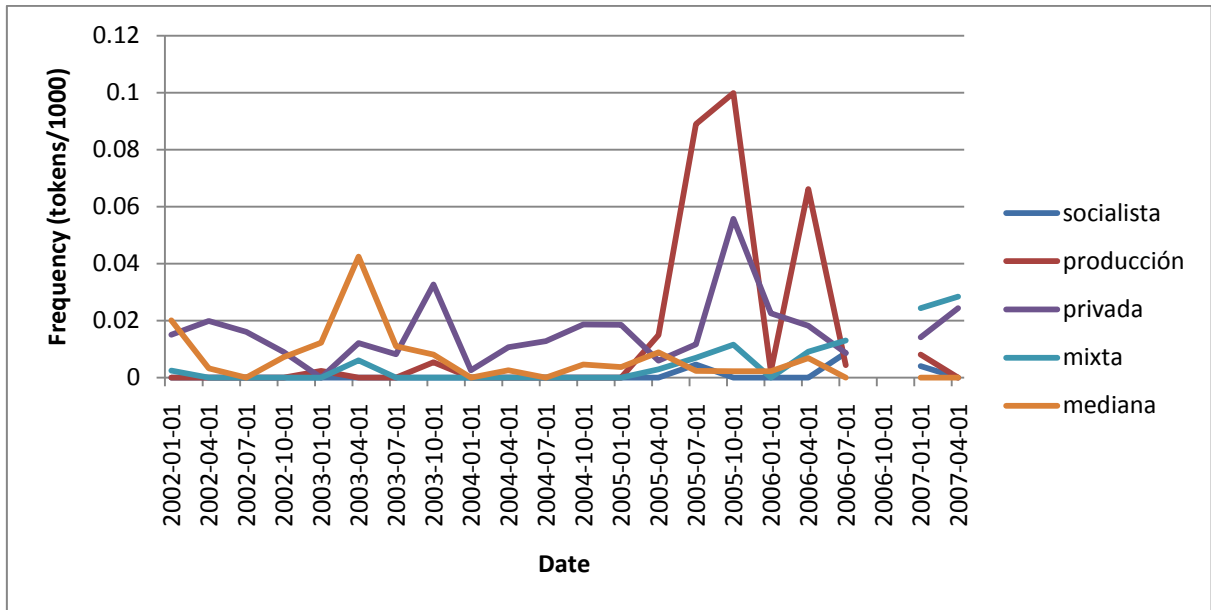
Figure 6-12: Frequency of *empresa* with permitted collocates (outliers excluded)

Again, it is shown that *socialista* only occurs with sufficient frequency in the last quarter-year period in the corpus and so, as with *¡patria* above, it was disregarded. This left the following four remaining sets of collocates and periods to be studied:

- *mediana:* Q1 2002, Q2 2003
- *producción*: Q3 2005, Q2 2006, Q2 2007;
- *privada*: Q2 2002, Q4 2003, Q4 2005, Q2 2007;
- *mixta*: Q4 2005, Q3 2006, Q2 2007.

6.3.3 Producción

The graph of *producción* (as a node) also exhibited the distorting peaks as had been the case for *empresa*, as shown in Figure 6-13. Figure 6-14 shows the same graph with these peaks removed, so as to enhance the scale in the y-axis.

Figure 6-13: Frequency of *producción* with permitted collocates
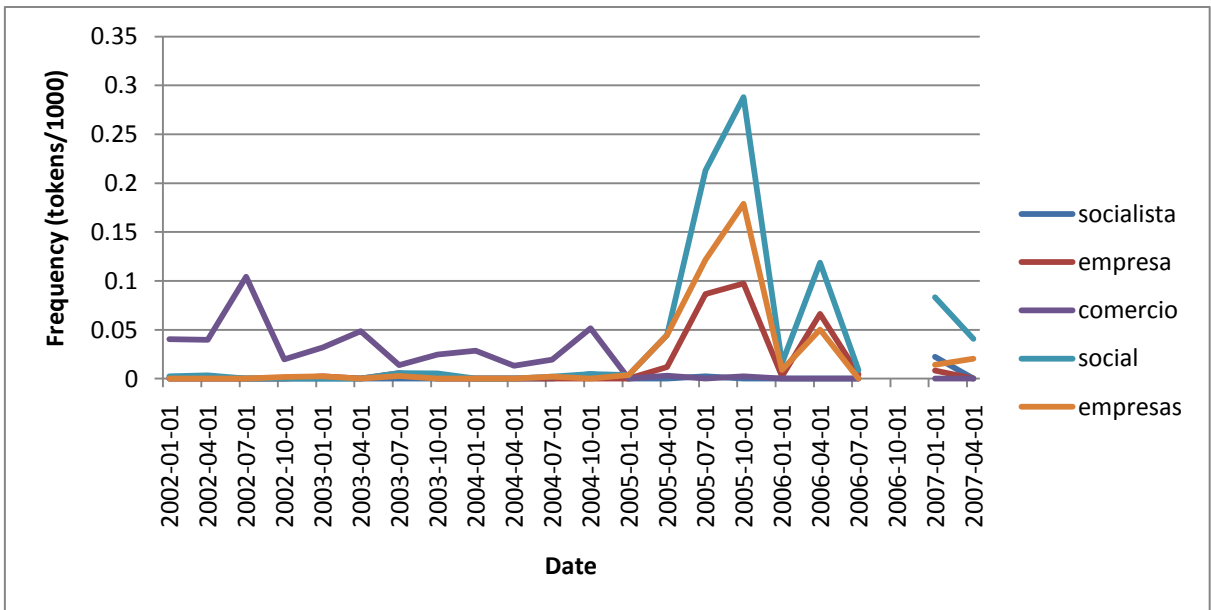
Figure 6-14: Frequency of *producción* with permitted collocates (outliers excluded)

In this case, there were sufficient data for analysis of all of the collocates and so the following periods were chosen:

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- *socialista*: Q3 2006, Q2 2007;
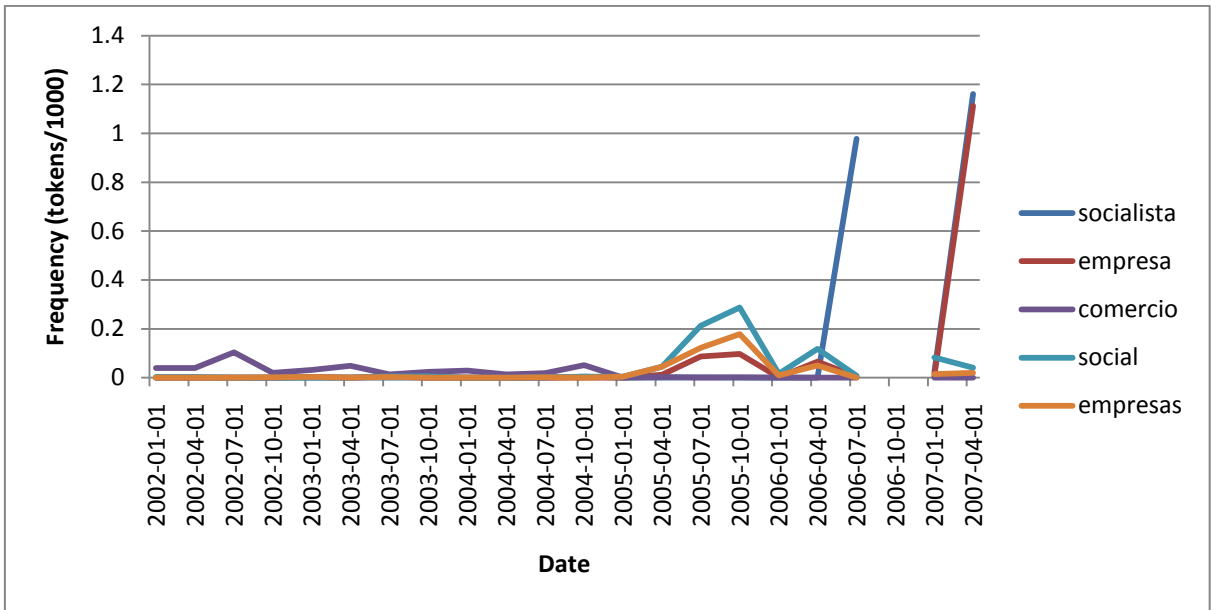- *empresa*: Q4 2005, ~~Q2 2006~~[55], ~~Q2 2007~~;
- *empresas*: Q4 2005, ~~Q2 2006~~;
- *comercio*: Q3 2002, Q2 2003, Q4 2004;
- *social*: ~~Q4 2005~~, ~~Q2 2006~~, Q1 2007.

Ascertaining this list, however, resulted in a similar problem to that which had been faced in the study of *venezuela + central* and *venezuela + banco*: that the data had led me to study both *empresa* (as a node) in collocation with *producción* and also *producción* (as a node) in collocation with *empresa(s)*. Furthermore, both of these studies involved investigations of Q2 2006 and Q2 2007. This, I envisaged, could be caused by a phrase involving these two types becoming prevalent in these particular quarters, and so the concordance lines were quickly checked, before further analysis was performed, to verify that this was the case. The cause, it turned out, was Chávez's introduction of the concept of an *Empresa de Producción Social* (a social business model, where the objective is for a factory to give a percentage of its production to the local community, rather than selling goods for profit). The fact that this collocation was used almost without exception in this phrase meant that the same concordance lines would appear in the above-mentioned reciprocal cases, and so the duplicated work was avoided. The same is also true of the collocation of *social* with *producción* in Q4 2005 and Q2 2006, which would similarly have been included in the concordance lines for *empresa(s)* with *producción* in the same periods. These cases are the ones shown by strikethroughs in the list above.

The concordance lines for each of the pairs of collocates in each of the identified periods were obtained using XAIRA and are used for the research in chapter 8.

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[55] See the following paragraph for an explanation of the strikethroughs in this list.

6.4 OBTAINING CONCORDANCE LINES FOR SOCIAL PROJECTS

The third semantic field selected for study in section 6.1 was one which I labelled 'social projects' and which contains the types *misión* (mission)*, hospital* (hospital)*, mercal* (Mercal)*, robinson* (Robinson)*, caras* (faces)*, vuelvan* (turn).

My knowledge of Venezuelan politics had to be used in order to construct this grouping, since it is not immediately apparent why they are related. The answer is that Chávez's social policy focuses on a number of 'missions', including *Misión Robinson*, *Misión Mercal* and *Misión Vuelvan Caras*.[56] *Hospital* was included because other missions relate to medical care, and so intuition suggested that references by Chávez to *hospital* are also likely to relate to the missions.

As with the semantic fields of 'Venezuela' and 'political doctrines', the permitted collocates of each of these nodes was identified, following the procedures based on those in sections 5.1.1.5 and 5.1.1.6.

The reason that those procedures could not be followed exactly was the fact that the nature of the missions presented several problems to the methodology, which meant that a number of lines had to be excluded.

Specifically, two exclusions were made from all nodes in this semantic field. The first of these was caused by the fact that there was a very large number of titles given to the speakers in the transcripts, such as '*Director del Hospital Militar, Coronel Earle Sizo*' which consequently became a very frequent phrase in part of the corpus for the collocation of *hospital* with *militar*. These titles are also a difficulty for the other chapters in this research,

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[56] The objectives of these missions will be discussed in section 9.1.1.

as has already been mentioned, and I did not wish to include them in my analysis because they had not actually been uttered in the programme itself. Owing to the sheer number of these cases which were found surrounding the node words at this stage, an extra step was added to the procedure for determining permitted collocates: where more than 80% of occurrences of the collocate pair were in such titles, the type was excluded from analysis. (For cases where there were more than 100 occurrences of the pair, the limit was set as being more than 80 of a random sample of 100 lines, in order to make determining this more manageable.) Setting such a limit was necessary because, although it had been possible to disregard these cases manually in other sets of results, such an approach was no longer practical with such a large number of concordance lines.

There were additional problems introduced by variants of some of the missions. For example, Chávez introduced *Misión Robinson II* and *Misión Vuelvan Caras Jovenes*, which meant that *II* and *jovenes* respectively became frequent collocates of these missions. These cases form the second set of exclusions, since it would have complicated the methodology (and also the chronological presentation of these results) if different forms of the missions were being analysed together.

After these exclusions had been applied, the permitted collocates were obtained in the same manner as for the other semantic fields.

6.4.1 Misión

The permitted collocates of *misión* were *arranca* (start) and *estudiando* (studying). There was a further permitted collocate, *cumplida* (completed), but since it only occurred in Q1 2002, it was excluded from the analysis.

Cumplida is also omitted from the graph of the frequencies of the permitted collocates (Figure 6-15) due to the fact that, in the one quarter-year period when the collocation does occur, it occurs 0.212 times per 1000 tokens, scaling the y-axis scale such that fluctuations in the frequency of the other collocates become less apparent.

Figure 6-15: Frequency of *misión* with permitted collocates

On the basis of Figure 6-15, the periods selected for the analysis were:

- *arranca*: Q1 2004, Q1 2006, Q1 2007;

- *estudiando*: Q1 2004, Q1 2005, Q2 2006, Q2 2007.

6.4.2 Hospital

For *hospital*, the permitted collocates were *militar* (military) and *arvelo*[57] (Arvelo). *Materno* (maternal), *clínico* (clinic) and *universitario* (university (adj.)) also only peaked in one quarter and so were ignored.

Figure 6-16 shows how the frequency of these permitted collocates in conjunction with *hospital* changed over time:
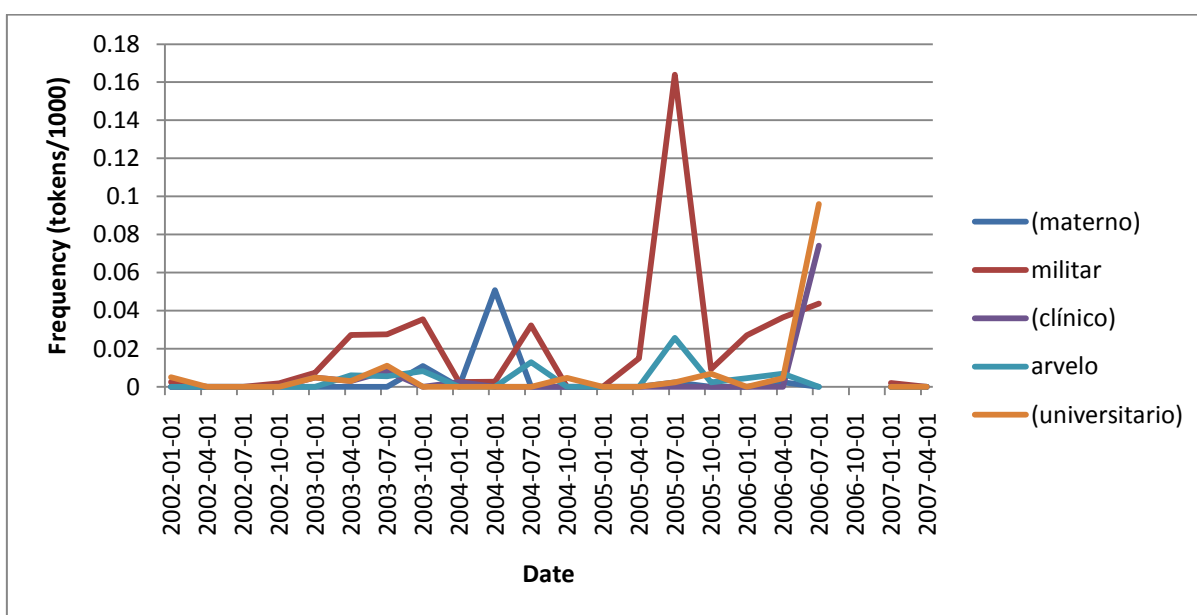
Figure 6-16: Frequency of *hospital* with permitted collocates

This graph was again used to determine the periods for which concordance lines would be extracted:

- *militar*: Q4 2003, Q3 2004, Q3 2005, Q3 2006;

- *arvelo*: Q3 2004, Q3 2005.

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[57] Although titles of people had been removed as described above, I had not done similarly with names of places because the hospital names had been uttered, unlike the people's titles which were merely present because of the format of the transcripts. As will be described in section 9.2.2, there is a hospital discussed in the corpus (named after Carlos Arvelo), which explains the inclusion of this collocate in the list.

6.4.3 Mercal

For *mercal*, the permitted collocates were *mercados* (markets), *alimentos* (food), *protección* (protection), *mercalitos* (small Mercal shops) and *bodegas* (grocery stores). The frequencies of these collocations are as shown in Figure 6-17:
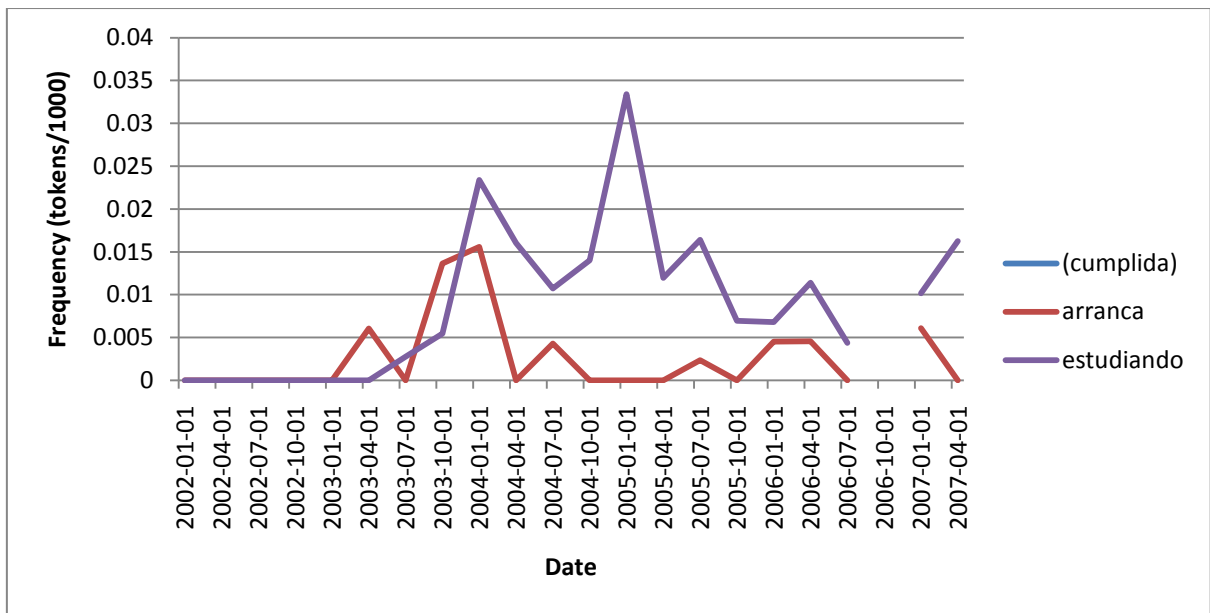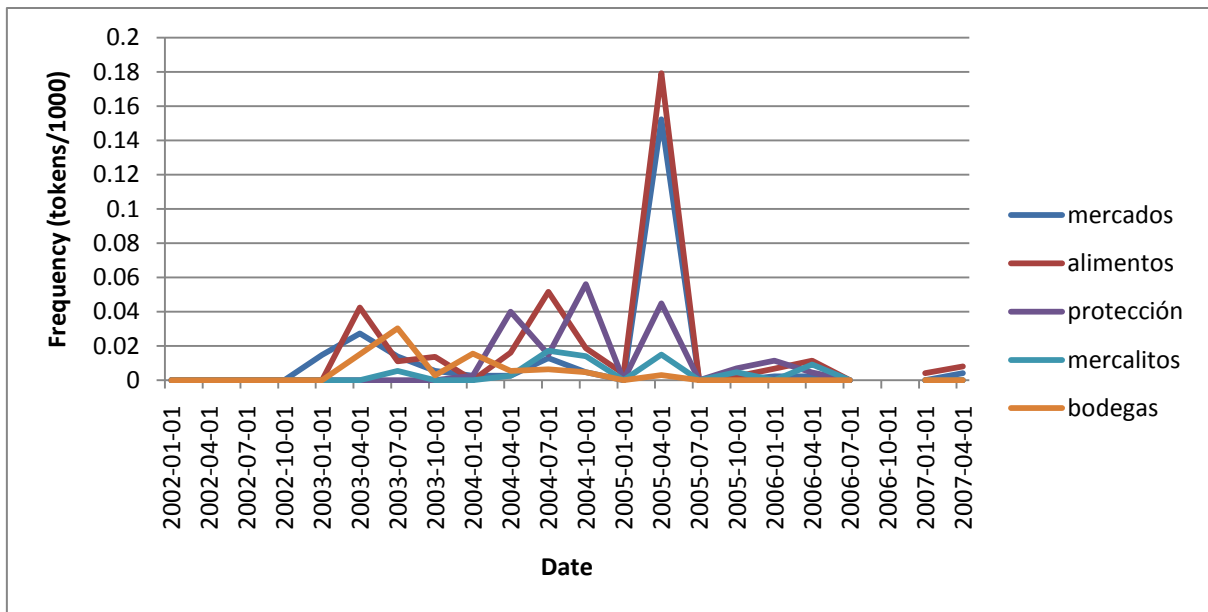

Figure 6-17: Frequency of *mercal* with permitted collocates

On the basis of Figure 6-17, the periods selected for study were:

- *mercados*: Q2 2003, Q3 2004, Q2 2005;

- *alimentos*: Q2 2003, Q3 2004, Q2 2005;

- *protección*: Q2 2004, Q4 2004, Q2 2005;

- *mercalitos*: Q3 2004, Q2 2005;

- *bodegas*: Q3 2003, Q1 2004.

6.4.4 Robinson

As noted in footnote 50 on page 189, *Robinson* recalls the name of Simón Rodríguez (known as Simon Robinson in exile), who was Simón Bolívar's (see section 1.2) tutor, and as such is a person inextricably linked with Venezuelan independence from the Spanish.

I was initially concerned that concordance lines referring to Robinson (the historical figure) might be obtained from the corpus query, even though they might have nothing to do with the mission named after him. I reasoned, however, that the use of permitted collocates would provide a means to mitigate this risk, since it is unlikely that *alfabetizados* (one of the permitted collocates of *misión + robinson)* would collocate with *robinson* in other situations, for example.

The permitted collocates were identified as: *alfabetizados* (made literate), *facilitadores* (facilitators), *aprendiste* (you learnt), *graduados* (graduates) and *alfabetización* (teaching literacy). Their frequencies in collocation with *robinson* over time are shown in Figure 6-18:
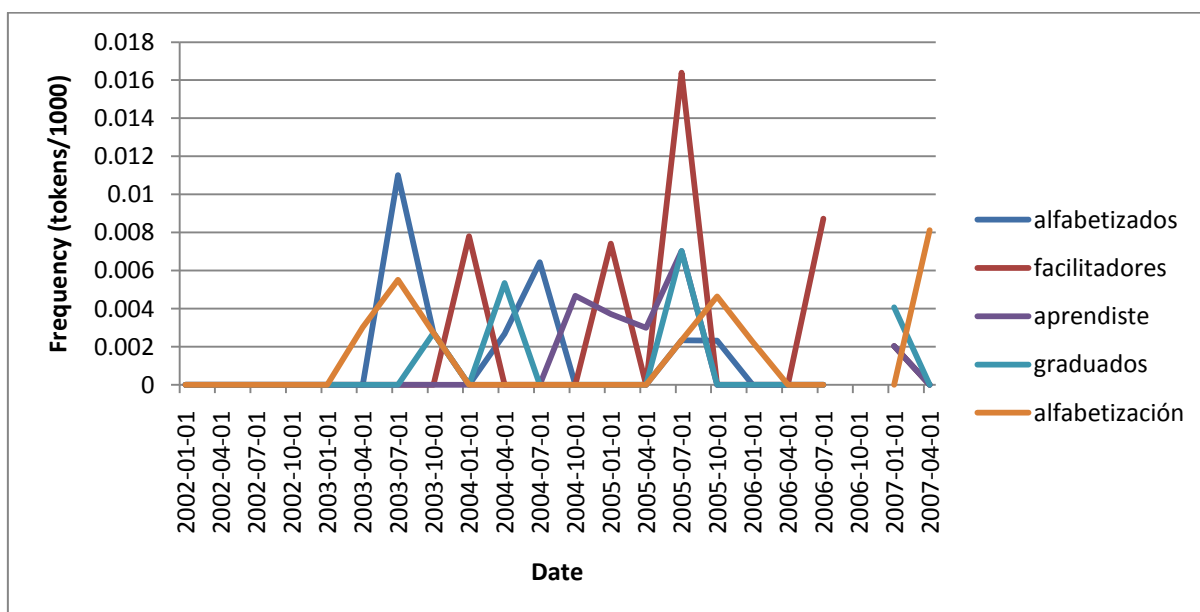
Figure 6-18: Frequency of *robinson* with permitted collocates

Using this graph, the periods selected for study were:

- *alfabetizados*: Q3 2003, Q3 2004, Q3 2005, Q1 2007;

- *facilitadores*: Q1 2004, Q1 2005, Q3 2005, Q3 2006;

- *aprendiste*: Q4 2004, Q3 2005;

- *graduados*: Q2 2004, Q3 2005, Q1 2007;

- *alfabetización*: Q3 2003, Q4 2005, Q2 2007.

6.4.5 Vuelvan Caras

Vuelvan Caras was treated as a phrase due to its use as the title of the mission. The permitted collocates for the phrase were *lanceros* (lancer (masculine)), *lanceras* (lancer (feminine)) and *curso* (course). There were also two permitted collocates which were excluded: *promoción* (not shown in Figure 6-19 for the same reason as the collocation of *cumplida* with *misión*), which only peaked in Q1 2007 and *gritó* which was a permitted collocate only in Q2 2004.

The frequencies of the collocations are shown in Figure 6-19:
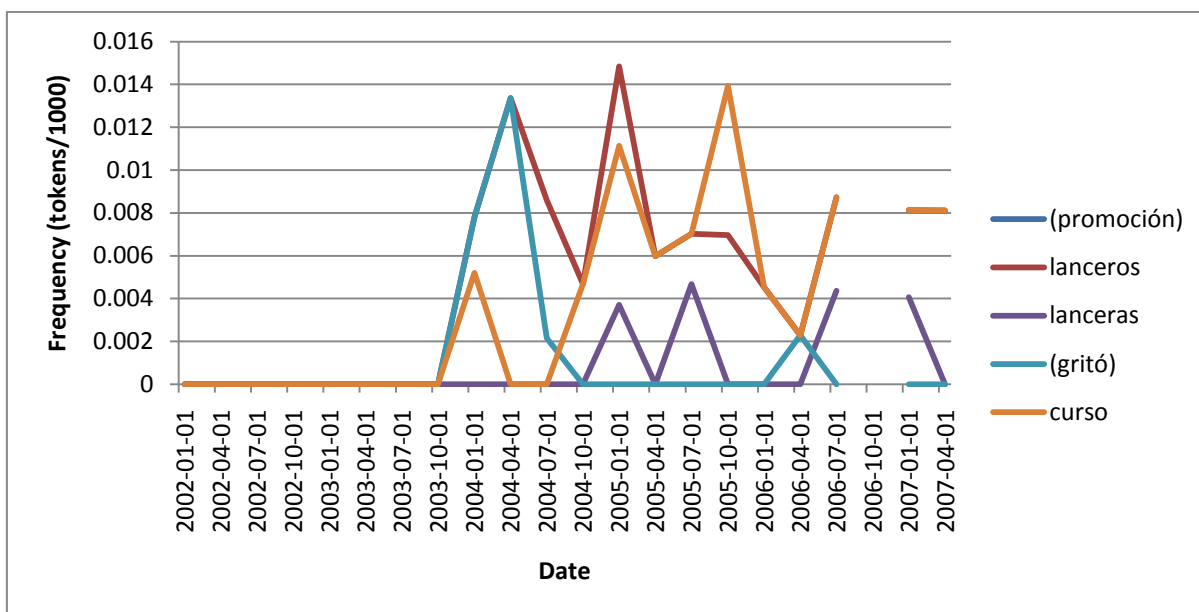
Figure 6-19: Frequency of *vuelvan caras* with permitted collocates

The periods selected for study using this graph were:

- *lanceros*: Q2 2004, Q1 2005;

- *lanceras*: Q1 2005, Q3 2005, Q1 2007;

- *curso*: Q1 2005, Q4 2005, Q1 2007.

The reader might wonder, given the graph in Figure 6-19, why Q3 2006 was not also included in addition to Q1 2007 for *lanceras* or *curso*. My reasoning is that there were no broadcasts of *Aló Presidente* during Q4 2006 and so the two apparent peaks in both Q3 2006 and Q1 2007 should be interpreted as though the gap in the graph were not present.

Again, XAIRA was then used to obtain the concordance lines for each of the five types in this semantic field in collocation with their permitted collocates in the periods identified in this section. These lines are used for the analysis in chapter 9.

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6.5   FORMAT OF THE RESULTS CHAPTERS

With the various steps of the investigation described in this chapter having been completed, the corpus-based stages of the study were also finished and I now possessed a list of concordance lines ready for manual study based on the DHA. These lines had been chosen in such a way that the various deficiencies in DHA studies identified in section 3.3 could be mitigated to some extent, using some of the ideas introduced in section 4.3. Principally, I was now able to claim that my own bias had played as small a role as possible in the choice of the lines to study and that the research question would be set as a response to the nature of the lines, not vice-versa.

The following three results chapters describe the manual analysis in greater detail. Each is structured in a similar way, with an 'initial research' section (comprising step 8 (performing contextual research) and step 9 (setting the research question)), following the methodology. The main research then follows, which comprises step 10 (performing the manual DHA-based analysis) from the methodology. Finally, a conclusions section uses the results obtained to answer the research question. In each results chapter (with the exception of chapter 9 on the social programmes, and also sections 7.3-7.8 on specific national institutions) the concordance lines are presented chronologically, so as to make the differences and similarities between years clearer. (Strict chronological order has not been adopted for the discussion of the lines within each year, however, since it was felt that this made the arguments much harder to follow.) In the case of the exceptions, each individual *misión* or institution is discussed separately but, within this discussion, a roughly chronological order is also followed.

7 RESULTS I: VENEZUELA

7.1 INITIAL PREPARATION

In section 5.1, I introduced a methodology which combines processes from the DHA variety of CDA with an approach using corpus linguistics in order to overcome a number of shortcomings found in traditional DHA (among which were the somewhat arbitrary selection of both the texts used and the topic to study). The methodology's basis is the identification of topics which have changed in frequency in a corpus of texts, which, I hypothesised, would in turn highlight varying degrees of significance afforded to those topics in the texts themselves (through the idea of aboutness).

Section 6.1 demonstrated how this methodology could be applied to a corpus of transcripts of Hugo Chávez's *Aló Presidente* television programme, as a result of which the semantic field of Venezuela was highlighted as a changed topic. In section 6.2, the second part of the methodology was then followed. This yielded a list of concordance lines related to this field, which will be analysed in sections 7.2-7.8.   The process for generating this list had involved as little personal intervention as possible so as to limit the risk of the researcher's natural bias affecting the choice of text and topic.

7.1.1 Contextual research

Before the analysis can take place, however, it is necessary to perform contextual research in order to inform the choice of research question which will be answered during the analysis. (This will be the research question for the present chapter, the answer to which will inform the response to the thesis' research question posed in section 5.1.1.9.) Documenting the findings

from contextual research is necessary since it forms part of the triangulation of the texts (see section 2.5.2).

This stage would probably be easier for the other, less abstract, semantic fields that are to be studied (political doctrines and social programmes), however, since deciding what to research when the topic is the entirety of a country's recent politics and history is difficult. Consequently, I decided to focus upon (1) a summary of the recent history of Venezuela (some of which has already been described in chapter 1 and so will not be repeated here) and (2) the Chávez government's foreign relations. This decision was principally informed by the fact that the main points of domestic policy are covered in the contextual research in chapters 8 and 9.

Chávez started to become politically involved when he was in the army. By 1980, he was chief sports instructor in the army in Caracas, and within a few years he found himself teaching politics and history in the military academy. In 1982, Chávez founded the *Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario 200* within the army, the aims of which were based on a revolution which would bring about the reorganisation of the State following the precepts of Simón Bolívar and his mentors (Chávez Frías, 2002), see also section 1.2.

Marcano and Barrera Tyszka believe that Chávez imagines several different facets of Bolívar's character: the liberator of Venezuela from the Spanish, the disgraced exile, and the status of being almost a deity for a people who hope for a better future (Marcano and Barrera Tyszka, 2004: 58-59)

According to Francia (2003: 79), meanwhile, it is Bolívar's positive qualities which Chávez believes are inherent in Venezuelan culture, and can therefore be built upon to ensure the stability of the country.

Following his election to the Presidency in 1999 and as he had promised during the campaign, one of Chávez's first actions was to rewrite of the Constitution. This was put to a referendum in August 2000 and was passed with 60.3% of the vote (3,757,773 votes). The Constitution is particularly significant since Chávez uses it to emphasise the importance of involving the population in the political process (Harnecker, 2005: 12), a point to which I shall return regularly in the ensuing chapters.

Chávez has been criticised for his use of the country's resources to, for example, pay off $538 million of Argentina's foreign debts (The Economist, 2005c: 47) and to donate oil to Bolivia, as well as to the poorer sectors of society in the United States of America, rather than investing the money in domestic improvements. In the latter case, twelve million gallons of oil was provided at just 60% of the market rate to deprived areas, such as the Bronx, in a move seemingly intended to bolster anti-Bush sentiment among the American poor in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina (Charter, 2005: 47).

The focus on developing economic policy with other Latin American countries is also demonstrated by his decision for Venezuela to join the *Mercosur* trade pact and his wish to create a *Banco del Sur* as an alternative to the IMF (Jones, 2008: 442). The combination of these factors has given rise to concerns among investors, both at home and abroad, regarding the management of the economy.

Inflation, according to the government's own figures, was at 23% in 2004, and as high as 31.2% in 2001, a level which it reached again at the end of 2008. Unemployment was quite stable from 1999 to 2004 at between 13.25% and 18.05% (Marcano and Barrera Tyszka, 2004: 390). The percentage of the population reported to be living in poverty has also shown little sign of decreasing through most of Chávez's first term, despite the high-profile social

missions. Having risen from just under 20% in 1980 to about 60% in 1996 (Márquez, 2003: 261), since Chávez came to power, it has varied from 39.25% in 2001 to 60.1% in 2004 (Marcano and Barrera Tyszka, 2004: 390), according to official statistics. This measure had reduced to 27.5% by mid-2007 (Rodríguez, 2008: 52).

Concerns such as these contribute to opposition complaints about the government and its institutions. In April 2002, this led to an attempted coup against Chávez which succeeded in returning former President Carmona to power for just three days, with twenty people (according to the official figure, but possibly more) killed on the streets of Caracas. Understanding this coup is central to understanding Venezuela's polemical foreign relations, especially with the USA. Once Chávez had been ousted from power, the US State Department issued a statement blaming him for the coup (Jones, 2008: 348), shortly before the International Republican Institute, an American pro-democracy NGO, indicated that it *'applauds the bravery of civil society leaders* […] *in their struggle to restore genuine democracy to their country'* (IRI Press Statement, quoted in Jones, 2008: 349).

After (the elected) Chávez had been restored to power, this statement, which implied that the coup had been in the interests of democracy, undoubtedly damaged US relations with Venezuela.   The fact that the IRI is a major donor to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and that NED beneficiaries were prominent in Carmona's short-lived cabinet (Jones, 2008: 352) had further sullied the US position in Venezuela, even before it was revealed in 2004 that large grants had been given to anti-Chávez organisations by the NED in 2002 *'in a way reminiscent of the Nicaragua experience'* (Jones, 2008: 305).

> *Since then, Chávez has invoked the incident to make his case that the United States is determined to bring about "regime change" in Venezuela. The argument has been made with even greater conviction - and, for many Latin Americans, with no small*

measure of plausibility – following the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

(Shifter, 2006: 56)

Given the US's apparent attempts to influence the course of Venezuela's politics through a coup d'état, it is unsurprising that relations in recent years have been acrimonious. However, this also served to increase Chávez's influence in the wider Latin American region, not so much because governments are pro-Caracas, nor because of Chávez's generosity discussed on page 225, but rather because they were opposed to the policies pursued by George W. Bush's government:

> *For now, Mr Chávez's diplomacy chimes with an anti-American mood in many Latin American countries. Governments are happy to pocket Venezuelan subsidies. His willingness to meddle in their internal affairs "may cause some discomfort," says a Latin American diplomat. "But if you break publicly with Chávez you're playing Bush's game".*

(The Economist, 2005c: 47)

Since the 2006 Venezuelan Presidential election, moves by Chávez and his government have included the nationalisation of the oil and telecommunications industries (achieved without the need for force and by the government paying for their shares). On the symbolic date of 1st May 2007, Chávez announced the withdrawal of Venezuela from the IMF and World Bank, declaring them to be puppets of the US government. Meanwhile, it was revealed that the head of the Central Bank does not have access to the accounts of the *Fonden*, estimated to be worth about $18 billion, which funds much of the work of the missions (Salmerón, 2007).

7.1.2 Research question

Having completed this contextual research, the question which I wished to answer in the analysis of the concordance lines relating to Venezuela was the following:

'How does Chávez frame the Venezuelan State and changes in his relationship with its institutions between 2002 and mid-2007?'

This question was chosen since a majority of the concordance lines of the four types under investigation seemed to relate to Chávez talking about the State in general, or about specific institutions within the State. I believed that the changing foreign relations under Chávez would cause a strengthening presentation of Venezuela's stance as anti-American, whilst also highlighting the country's positive relationships with other nations in Latin America. An exception to this might be the lines immediately following the 2002 coup, in which I would expect to find the framing of the Chávez government as the legitimate one.

These assumptions are broadly in line with my conclusions in section 7.9 but the predominance of reference to a historical perspective, found throughout many of the analyses, was not expected.

7.1.3 Presentation of results

Since this is the first results chapter in this thesis, some explanation of the presentation adopted for all three results chapters is required at this point. As described in section 5.1.1.7, each concordance line was given a unique identifier and all lines are available on the accompanying CD-ROM. Only those which are commentated explicitly in these chapters are reproduced in the printed version. Many of the omitted examples, as will be seen on the

CD-ROM, are used in titles or other situations in which there is little or no context to analyse, as in the case of:

*Presidente Chávez: Este es un **país libre** y soberano.*

<div align="right">7.2#7@195/Q2-2004</div>

There are also other instances which have not been discussed here (but which are on the CD-ROM) where the concordance lines were interesting from the point of view of policy but which would have played little role in answering the research question, as in the case of:

*...yo sé que a usted no le gusta que usemos la palabra agradecimiento, pero sí quiero usar la expresión de reconocimiento por el auxilio financiero que hizo la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** a través del Bandes a la mayor cooperativa láctea...*

<div align="right">7.3#355@280/Q1-2007</div>

The concordance lines are reproduced from the transcripts without editing, so any typographical errors in them are to be found in the original sources. Throughout these results chapters, the reproduced concordance lines often extend beyond the 10 token span normally adopted by corpus linguists (and which was used for the corpus-based stage of the present research) since the application of DHA to the lines often requires additional contextual data which may be found beyond the standard span. Within quotations, bold is used to show the node and its collocate. English translations of those concordance lines which are quoted in the text may be found in the appendix to each chapter.

Within each section in each of the three results chapters, the concordance lines which will be referred to in the text are shown as a figure with their unique identifier (for cross-referencing

with the data on the CD-ROM). The figure also allocates to each line a serial number which, for purposes of brevity, will be used to refer to the line within that section's text.

In the present chapter, the results of the analysis are presented chronologically, although where specific institutions are involved (as opposed to the country generally), these are discussed separately at the end, in order to assist the reader. When reading the unique identifiers in this chapter, the following are the numbers which represent the four different corpus queries carried out:

7.1 – *estado* + permitted collocates

7.2 – *país* + permitted collocates

7.3 – *Venezuela* + permitted collocates

7.4 – *nacional* + permitted collocates

Unique identifier:
Query ID: 7.3 (Venezuela + collocates)
Result number: 240
Edition number: 97 from Q1, 2002

1. De aquellos dolores vienen estos amores y horizontes; así que esta semana tendremos   dente" recordad   profundidad, buscando profundidad, buscando la perspectiva histó   acontecimientos que hoy además son referencia para el **mundo** no s   **ela**. 7.3#240@97/Q1-2002

Serial number, used to refer to the line within the current section

2. Aqu   lo verdades a **Venezuela** y al **mundo**, informando; y sobre todo llena   or fuerza para esta marcha paso redoblado hacia el 2021, cuando estaremos entrando entonces a la era dorada, después que transitemos esta década, la década más difícil para nosotros va a ser   Siglo XXI 7.3#254@99/Q1-2002

*The **node and permitted collocate** searched for*

Figure 7-1: Presentation of concordance lines

7.2 ANALYSIS

The types to be studied under the semantic field heading 'Venezuela' were *venezuela, estado, país,* and *nacional*. The concordance lines that are reproduced over the following pages result from the work in section 6.2.

7.2.1 2002

Figure 7-2 shows those concordance lines relating to Venezuela from 2002, which were considered most relevant to the research question. As is the case for all of the results chapters, those lines which were obtained but which are not discussed below (because they were deemed irrelevant to the research question) are contained on the accompanying CD-ROM but are not reproduced here.

1. eso es otro de los abusos de alguna gente que ha tenido privilegios durante muchos años, especialmente algunos medios de comunicación, vuelvo a insistir en eso porque ellos tienen que reflexionar y el **país serio** tiene que pedirles reflexión. 7.2#32@91/Q1-2002

2. nos quedamos en un pequeño brindis conversando con intelectuales, escritores, estudiantes y estudiosos de todo el continente americano y de otros continentes también allí, nos obsequiaron varios libros, muy interesados en venir a Venezuela a apreciar lo que aquí está ocurriendo en toda su magnitud, porque el mundo entiende que allí está **Venezuela** en el **mundo** ocupando posiciones de liderazgo, de trabajo y de ejemplo. 7.3#221@92/Q1-2002

3. Me han informado que hay un editor del Financial Times de Londres el señor Richard Loperd está con nosotros y también de Irlanda Kim Blandec y Donacha O´Brien, de Australia Bentle Bim, de Australia SBC Televisión periodistas del mundo, ellos vienen con mucha frecuencia a investigar lo que está pasando en **Venezuela**, el **mundo** tiene sus ojos puestos en Venezuela 7.3#226@93/Q1-2002

4. todos estos show que monta la oposición, todos estos show mediáticos que reflejan al **mundo** algo que en **Venezuela** no está ocurriendo. 7.3#234@96/Q1-2002

5. De aquellos dolores vienen estos amores y de aquellas tragedias vienen estos horizontes;

así que esta semana tendremos que, y yo comienzo en "Aló Presidente" recordando pero en profundidad, buscando profundidad, buscando la perspectiva histórica de aquellos acontecimientos que hoy además son referencia para el **mundo** no solo para **Venezuela**. 7.3#240@97/Q1-2002

6. **Venezuela** tiene amistad con el **mundo** y quiere tener buenas relaciones con el mundo, con todos los países del mundo, basados en principios de respeto, de igualdad, de democracia internacional, de paz internacional, de luchas conjuntas contra tiranías, contra crímenes internacionales, contra terrorismo, contra el narcotráfico 7.3#244@98/Q1-2002

7. la democracia, lo decimos desde **Venezuela** al **mundo**, y está en nuestra Constitución, la democracia no puede ser sólo ir a elegir a un Presidente o un gobernador o un alcalde. 7.3#246@98/Q1-2002

8. la educación no es un negocio, no es una cuestión de lucro, es un derecho humano gratuito para todo el mundo : ricos, pobres, negros, blancos, etc., etc.
Presidente Chávez : Estamos oyendo a un profesor Emilio Silva, caraqueño, matemático, profesor de la Universidad **Central** de **Venezuela** emitiéndonos conceptos extraordinarios, sobre lo que es el derecho a la educación. 7.3#119@98/Q1-2002

9. Aquí estamos diciendo verdades a **Venezuela** y al **mundo**, informando; y sobre todo llenándonos de mayor fuerza para esta marcha paso redoblado hacia el 2021, cuando estaremos entrando entonces a la era dorada, después que transitemos esta década, la década más difícil para nosotros va a ser esta, la primera década del Siglo XXI 7.3#254@99/Q1-2002

10. volvieron las sembradoras y volvieron las cosechadoras y, ahora le vamos a traer unos sistemas de riego portátiles sobre todo para el Guárico por el verano y, entonces ahora es que el mundo se está dando cuenta que Venezuela es un **país serio** y un gobierno que trabaja y que produce. 7.2#34@100/Q1-2002

11. en educación superior nunca antes se había tomado en cuenta las normas de homologación como las ha aplicado este Gobierno, incluso más allá de las exigencias de los propios gremios, porque entendíamos que era una responsabilidad, tenía una deuda el **Estado venezolano** con sus trabajadores. 7.1#1@101/Q2-2002

12. tenemos una visión muy, muy interesante, que es la Internacional de los Círculos Bolivarianos, que busque la unión y la conglomeración de todos esos círculos que están atomizados alrededor del mundo, de manera de crear un ente internacional en algún momento que pueda tener comunicación no solamente con el **estado venezolano** sino con muchísimos puentes de relaciones internacionales de Derechos Humanos. 7.1#3@105/Q2-2002

13. Nelson García : Bueno, en primer lugar nuestra arma fundamental es la Constitución de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** 7.3#23@105/Q2-2002

14. guardias nacionales de la gran unidad élite de la institución, se mantuvieron firmes y cohesionados los días 11 y 12 de abril al lado del señor general de división Eugenio

Antonio Gutiérrez Ramos nuestro líder, en cumplimiento a la institucionalidad y a la Constitución de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** 7.3#24@105/Q2-2002.

15. No aceptamos repito, no aceptamos que se elimine la Constitución de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela**. 7.3#27@106/Q2-2002

16. El régimen socioeconómico de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** se fundamenta en los principios de justicia social, democracia, eficiencia, libre competencia, protección del ambiente, productividad y solidaridad a los fines de asegurar el desarrollo humano integral y una existencia digna y provechosa para la colectividad. 7.3#31@107/Q2-2002

Figure 7-2: Concordance lines for Venezuela, 2002

Throughout the examples in Figure 7-2, Chávez's perspective is predominantly a historical one and this tone is set very early in the corpus in a passage (line 5) in which the President argues that contemporary events must be viewed in a historical context and, moreover that the whole world can learn from this. Indeed, (9) suggests that he portrays even future events as occurring relative to a longer-term perspective. He uses, for example, the metaphor of a military quick-march to characterise getting through the coming decade, which he describes as being 'the most difficult for us'. (Note that it is not clear whether 'us' refers to 'the government' or 'the population'.) Chávez does not try to argue the reasons for such a march, promising only that the goal will be reached in 2021, which he characterises as being 'golden'.

This historical perspective is also evident in Chávez's decision to name the country a 'Bolivarian' State (see chapter 8) but this historically-based ideology has, apparently, been updated in order to permit more modern concerns, such as environmental issues, to be attributed to the Republic in (16), which is a quotation from the Constitution. Note that this line gives no indication of who is being referred to by *'colectividad'* (is it the entire population, a section of it or a more specific meaning?): this is an interesting choice of lexis,

since *colectividad* had a specific meaning similar to 'cooperative' during the Spanish Civil War (which endured into the Franco era in Spain), in which case one might wonder whether *'provechosa'* refers to financial wealth or a general enrichment of the quality of life.

One of the President's main focuses in the early part of the corpus is on education policy and, in particular his aims (through the *misiones*, for example) to educate the poor. The implementation of such an ideal requires the population to accept the idea of free, universal education. This argument is presented in (8) through the use of a quotation from an educator who is both named but also described in terms of his professional qualifications, which in turn endows him with the characteristic of pedagogical credibility. The Professor argues that education is 'not a business' and this is of note since it is phrased not as an argument that it 'should not be' but rather implies a complete denial of the idea that the private sector should have any role in education. Finally in relation to (8), Chávez calls the concept of free and universal education 'extraordinary' whilst also reiterating one of the Professor's points, that education is a right. Consequently, I believe that there is an implicit argument that the whole population owes a debt of gratitude to the government for its provision of education.

Another of the main policies of Chávez's first term in office was the introduction of so-called 'Bolivarian Circles'. These were founded by Chávez in the 2000 Constitution as local action movements, consisting of about ten local people who volunteered to undertake tasks from street cleaning to study groups to providing crèches (Jones, 2008: 294). In (12), there is the implication that the Venezuelan State would support moves to expand the Bolivarian Circles internationally but that this would not be a central government policy. This implication is achieved through the usage of '*en algún momento'* (rather than a more specific date for the policy's introduction)*,* the subjunctives *'busque, pueda'* and also by presenting the need for communication with the Venezuelan government to be initiated by any such group. Whilst it

might be '*interesante*', therefore, the President would appear to have alternative projects for his international agenda and/or has no wish to risk exporting his domestic project.

The President is often broadly critical of previous governments, but he limits the potentially divisive nature of this position through refraining from naming which one he is criticising. An example of this may be found in the use of the impersonal '*se*' to avoid directly articulating which previous government he is referring to in (11), whilst still allowing the audience to understand that the Chávez government is different. Similarly, in (1), the President uses *alguna/algunos* to avoid direct reference to those who are opposed to the government's policies. In this instance, because the rest of society is attributed with the characteristic of being *serio*, I would argue that there is the implication that these unnamed people and communication media must therefore be considered non-serious.

This has two effects: first, it refers to the population as the 'country', thereby implying that the concept of the Venezuelan people is more important than the geographic entity, but, additionally, by referring to his own country as being 'serious', Chávez might be drawing a depreciatory comparison with other countries.

As an example of this, in (10) the government's investment in agriculture is described as being viewed externally as a demonstration of the seriousness of the Venezuelan government, which in turn gives an implication that previous administrations (which did not have this policy) were not considered 'serious' by foreign governments in the past. Another discourse strategy is operating here, in as far as this policy is being led by his government and yet the President has referred to *Venezuela* (the country) as being 'serious', not just his administration. This might imply that Chávez is seeking to involve the entire population thereby conferring the credit for the policy upon the people collectively.

Another example of the external perspective is also present in (2), in which the President uses international interest in the missions to attribute to his government the characteristic of being a world leader in political policy. At the same time, Chávez might acquire personal kudos from the implication that his ideas have foreign support. This, I would argue, is very much an example of external perspective being used to enhance the President's standing domestically, particularly given that the international audience of *Aló Presidente* at least at this time must be very small (the TeleSur international satellite TV channel, which carries the programme, had not yet launched).

Although in (2) the visitors are not directly named, there are examples in the corpus where Chávez does name people and institutions with the apparent objective of furthering the argument that there is international interest in the country's policies. This is found in (3), for example, where the foreign correspondents who are present for that edition of *Aló Presidente* are expressly named.

Whilst the President is apparently enthusiastic with the international attention that his policies have gained, it would seem that he is concerned that foreigners may also be receiving alternative perspectives from media supported by the Venezuelan opposition. In (4), Chávez claims that these programmes portray something 'which is not happening'. The impression of the disdain in which he holds such broadcasts is created through the lexical choice of '*shows*' (implying that they are not sufficiently factual or serious to warrant being called 'documentaries').

Chávez does appear, in 2002, to be quite concerned by his international standing and, in talking about this issue in (6), he uses lexis to make a very careful distinction in how he frames his country's relationship with other nations. I consider that the distinction between

'friendship' and 'good relations' in this example is quite surprising, in that 'good relations' are, according to Chávez, better than 'friendship'. Furthermore, the President attributes a long list of characteristics to the nature of 'good relations', which he does not apply to 'friendship'.

Similarly surprising is Nelson García's framing of the 2000 Constitution as a weapon in (13). One of the roles of a weapon is, of course, to threaten people, whereas I suspect that in most countries a Constitution would be viewed as a means of protecting the population. This example, it must be remembered, followed the coup attempt against Chávez in April 2002, which might explain the use as a threat against those who supported the coup.

The description of the coup itself in (14), is, the audience is told, taken from a letter to a newspaper which had been written by a group from the *Guardia Nacional* but which had not been printed. In the letter, the group has accredited those elements of the military who did not desert their posts to join the uprising but who instead remained loyal to Chávez, as having done so in accordance with the Constitution. The use of the country's full name in the reference to the Constitution in the letter is probably intended as a reinforcement of the respect due to the Constitution and the country, both patriotically and from the military as an institution.

The Constitution is also attributed permanence, despite it being only two years old, through Chávez's assertion that he has no wish to see it replaced; an assertion which is intensified through the repetition of *'no aceptamos'* in (15). The idea of the Constitution being important in framing Venezuela's relationship with its institutions will recur many times throughout this chapter.

In (7), broadcast shortly after the coup attempt, Chávez addresses his comments to the 'world', noting that there is more to democracy than the election of leaders. I would argue that

this is another example of the President avoiding naming his opponents, discussed earlier in this section, since the contextual research suggests that this is likely to have been intended as an accusation of American involvement in the coup.

7.2.2   2003

Figure 7-3 shows those concordance lines relating to Venezuela from 2003, which were considered most relevant to the research question.

1. Allá España; sus leyes y sus instituciones y es un **país soberano** digo esto, porque esta semana con la detención absolutamente legal del terrorista Carlos Fernández después de haber seguido todos los procedimientos que manda la Constitución 7.2#13@140/Q1-2003

2. Aznar por favor, cada quien en su sitio, es un **país soberano**, Venezuela se respeta como nosotros respetamos a España y respetamos a todos los países del mundo y hasta cuando van a estar con eso. 7.2#14@140/Q1-2003

3. negociando el **Estado venezolano** con grandes empresas del mundo en Europa, en Norteamérica, en Surámerica y nosotros importamos y buscamos el mejor precio. 7.1#8@146/Q2-2003

4. ahora estás viendo la realidad, cómo necesitamos un Estado articulado, fuerte, un **Estado social** de derecho y de justicia que sea capaz de generar una situación de justicia, muy importante eso del contacto de ustedes con los poderes locales, dime un poquito de eso. 7.1#40@147/Q2-2003

5. una nueva empresa del **estado venezolano**, nacido al calor de la coyuntura, ahí están los videos, eso vuela, mire, me dicen que hay que equipar a veces hasta tres veces los locales de Mercal : caraota, azúcar, arroz, de todo. 7.1#11@148/Q2-2003

6. Al día de hoy 8 de mayo del 2003 disponemos de inmediato de 22.300 toneladas de productos básicos en depósito, sin embargo, esta cantidad tiende a aumentar porque estamos creando la gran reserva estratégica alimentaria del **estado venezolano**. 7.1#12@149/Q2-2003

7. Vamos a ser un **país** modelo en desarrollo **agrícola**, vamos a producir alimentos para nuestro pueblo y para pueblos hermanos además, para venderles barato a los pueblos del Caribe que no tienen casi tierra ni agua. 7.2#25@150/Q2-2003

8. Después de su visita a la UNA, el Jefe del **Estado venezolano** inauguró las instalaciones del Hotel Aguas Termales en San Juan de los Morros, infraestructura repotenciada para

ampliar las posibilidades turísticas de la región.
7.1#13@152/Q2-2003

9. Entrevistado II : Mi experiencia como funcionario diplomático del **Estado venezolano** ha sido fructífera la experiencia en esta interrelación entre el mundo civil y el mundo militar, la experiencia sobre todo en el intercambio de conocimientos en la materia de la seguridad y defensa y el desarrollo integral en el **Estado venezolano**. 7.1#15@153/Q2-2003

10. A su llegada a territorio guaraní el presidente Chávez fue recibido por varias personalidades mientras que numerosos ciudadanos manifestaron su apoyo a la gestión que encabeza el Jefe del **Estado venezolano**, quien además pudo compartir las notas del Alma Llanera, interpretada por un grupo local 7.1#16@154/Q2-2003

11. Pues bien de esa visita a **Mercosur**, **Venezuela** acentuando y fortaleciendo los caminos del Sur, Venezuela en ofensiva internacional, Venezuela ocupando lugar importante en América y en el mundo 7.3#189@154/Q2-2003

12. para que este siglo que apenas comienza sea el siglo en el cual llevemos a la concreción, a la realidad el sueño de aquellos que en este salón, que en estas calles, que en estos espacios lloraron, clamaron, oraron, y luego se fueron a los campos de batalla a darle nacimiento a **Venezuela**, a la **República**, hoy Bolivariana de **Venezuela**. 7.3#33@155/Q3-2003

13. La Constitución de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** establece que la educación es un derecho humano y un deber social fundamental 7.3#41@158/Q3-2003

14. Esta nuestra lengua nativa fue utilizada cada día menos, hoy luchamos por rescatarla amparados por la revolución bonita, con la Constitución de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela**. 7.3#45@159/Q3-2003

15. frente a la globalización neoliberal y sus políticas expresadas en el ALCA, en el Plan Colombia, la conspiración contra la **República** de **Venezuela**, el bloqueo a Cuba, etc, las ideas de Bolívar hoy más nunca están presentes : la unidad, la solidaridad, el antiimperialismo, la autodeterminación de los pueblos 7.3#46@159/Q3-2003

16. Vete de aquí diablo perverso, aquí está una cruz que te sacamos neoliberalismo, mira la Constitución de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela**, cruz contra el diablo del neoliberalismo salvaje que pretendió adueñarse de estos pueblos, adueñarse del alma de esta gente, pero qué atrevimiento vale, de verdad que son atrevidos los neoliberales, los que pretenden dominar el mundo son bien atrevidos, vinieron a meterse con el pueblo de Bolívar 7.3#48@160/Q3-2003

17. José Sequera : Yo y todo el pueblo de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** le damos un gran abrazo y un fuerte aplauso porque usted se lo merece señor Presidente, como usted no ha llegado ningún otro Presidente aquí en este país, y gracias a Dios y a la Virgen Santísima que lo tenemos a usted, pues, porque los demás han sido puro fraude, los demás Presidentes 7.3#58@165/Q3-2003

18. Venezuela fue un **país agrícola**, llegó la explotación petrolera, se instaló el modelo petrolero, transnacional, los campos fueron abandonados 7.2#28@172/Q4-2003

19. y cuando hablamos de siembra no sólo nos referimos al sector agrícola, es la siembra de un **país**, la siembra **agrícola**, la siembra de la Venezuela nueva, la siembra de esta Constitución, que va a cumplir 4 añitos el próximo 15 de diciembre 7.2#29@172/Q4-2003

Figure 7-3: Concordance lines for Venezuela, 2003

In 2002 one of the main discourse resources which Chávez was found to use was implication. This is found again in 2003. One finds, for example, line (8) in Figure 7-3 (spoken by the narrator), in which the lack of a connecting token between the two clauses provides an implication of a one-to-one relationship between the hotel and the infrastructure. The intention may be to avoid any concerns amongst the population that the government might be planning to be involved in other similar schemes in the area, which could be a potential risk to any privately-owned and pre-existing tourism developments. By not using a connective or even just *'que es una'* between the clauses, the possibility for future government investment (a many:1 link) may be argued to be left open.

Similarly, in (5), Chávez does not explicitly say who has told him about the frequency of restocking of Mercal shops, nor what amounts of produce are involved (if the number of items on the shelf is limited to start with, it is natural that frequent restocking may be required), or how this might compare to standard (private) supermarkets. This permits the audience to infer that the Mercal shops are widely patronised, and this may in turn encourage increased custom from other viewers from these government-owned shops.

The Mercal markets are stocked primarily with produce from local cooperatives and the development of agriculture is one of Chávez's priorities. The President highlights this idea in (7), for example, in which he claims that 'we' are going to produce food. The referent of 'we' is, however, unknown. Presumably it is not the government itself, and so the implication is

that it must be a sector of the population. The use of the future tense here, and the fact that a simple statement is used, rather than structuring the policy as an argument, may also imply that the population will not be asked whether they wish to work in this industry or not.

It was noted that another discourse resource used by Chávez in 2002 was that of perspectivization. Specifically, he was found to have presented Venezuela for his domestic audience in terms of how the country might be viewed (positively) from abroad. This is also found in (7), since the description of Venezuela as a 'model country' must necessarily be with reference to other countries. There might also be an implication underlying the quotation too, as it might be seen as an appeal to the population by Chávez to become employed in the agricultural sector, since the world is watching his policies and he wants these to succeed. Consequently, I believe that, in 2003, Chávez may be said to be using the international interest in his Bolivarian Revolution to justify his policies to an even greater extent than that noted in 7.2#34@100/Q1-2002.

The idea of selling food cheaply to other Caribbean nations is, it would seem, an easy way for the Venezuelan President to garner further international support, which might be used to advance his standing at home and so to encourage still more kred to be invested in him. In this sense, *Aló Presidente* is an important tool, because it allows the voices of these foreigners to be heard within Venezuela. A particularly good example of this might be in (17), in which the speaker (who has telephoned the programme) thanks God for Chávez, thereby implicitly framing him as almost saintly, whilst the speaker attributes the status of fraudsters to other Presidents. This endorsement creates the inference that only Chávez can be trusted to deliver on his policies.

At the end of 2003, in (18), Chávez presents his main argument for his focus on an agrarian economy quite succinctly, and on this occasion the use of a historical perspective is adopted, as it had been in 2002. The argument is that the start of oil exploitation in the twentieth century was responsible for the demise of both agriculture and the related infrastructure. By using the verb *llegar* to refer to the start of the petroleum industry, the implication is created that this industry came from abroad and supplanted the native agriculture.

Chávez also uses agriculture as a simile for the wider economy in (19). This example is interesting as it refers both to the Constitution and to a new country as being 'sown', but without indicating by whom: is it by Chávez, by the government's policy or by the population? Furthermore, the use of the diminutive form *añitos* in referring to the Constitution's age supports the observations made about the long-term nature of the planned process and the apparently-desired permanence of the Constitution made in my comments on 2002**.**

An interesting choice of lexis is found in (10), in which the narrator uses '*encabeza'* to characterize Chávez's role within the government, as opposed to presenting the President as directing or leading policy. The result of this choice, I would argue, is to create a simile whereby Chávez is framed as the intellect guiding the politics of the country but that a body of officials is required to support the intellectual head. This is particularly interesting given that Chávez, the ex-army general, was commanding a Cabinet formed primarily of other ex-military members. One diplomat (it is not known whether the diplomat had a military or civilian background) is interviewed on *Aló Presidente* in (9) and uses *'sobre todo'* to intensify his positive evaluation of the military presence in the government.

It is not only descriptions of Chávez himself which may be augmented through the use of discourse resources. The President uses the strategy himself with regard to a policy which aimed to create a reserve of food. In this instance, found in (6), a volume of food, which already sounds considerable, is immediately superseded by a report that the objective is to increase it still further. This aim is then further increased by the use of the adjective *'gran'* in describing the project.

In (3), *'grandes'* is again used to emphasise the importance of the companies with which the government negotiates and the emphatic use of *'nosotros'* aids in positioning the Venezuelan State against the companies in these negotiations which, as indicated through the marked use of the present participle (*'negociando'*), are ongoing. This line is also interesting for political reasons, which must be remarked upon, since at this stage, Venezuela is clearly being described as being actively capitalist, at least in terms of its dealings with foreign markets, taking advantage of competition between countries in order to secure the best deal.

Domestically, meanwhile, the President combines a number of discourse strategies in the creation of an impassioned argument for change. In (4), for example, the army General whom Chávez is addressing is being told how he is to interpret unnamed events and processes (*'estas viendo'*) from the President's perspective. Chávez argues in favour of a strong State (thereby implying that the State is currently relatively weak) in order to create justice (again, possibly implying both that justice is currently lacking, and that there is a link between a State's strength and its ability to ensure justice). That this is said to be important in the Minister's dealing with local authorities might suggest, without the President having to articulate it, that local authorities are unjust at present.[58] To strengthen the argument in favour of a strong State

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[58] If this is the case, this would be an unarticulated attribution, which is not one of the discursive strategies specifically included in Wodak and Meyer's list (see page 36), see also section 3.3.3.

still further, three forms of intensification are used: repetition of *Estado*, the listing of adjectives without connectives ('*articulado, fuerte, un Estado social*') and also the use of types which suggest priority (*necesitamos, importante*), the latter occurring with the intensifier *muy*.

In my comments on Venezuela in 2002, much was made of the role of the external perspective: Chávez's apparent interest in how Venezuela was viewed from abroad, and using this interest in his argumentation regarding domestic policy. In 2003, however, this perspective is not so prevalent. One reason for this could be the continuing struggle to secure Venezuela's admission into the Mercosur trading block. In (11), Chávez adopts a future perspective on what life will be like when (and if) membership is approved, attributing an international importance to Venezuela and also describing the country as being on an offensive. The President does not, however, name the target of this offensive.

Perhaps more important for Venezuela's international relations in 2003 was the arrest of Carlos Fernández[59], described by Chávez in (1) as a 'terrorist'. This arrest was criticised by the Spanish government, amongst others, leading the Venezuelan President to argue that the due legal process had been observed. The Constitution is characterised as being the object which sets out these processes, without any discussion as to whether or not they are appropriate, merely drawing a distinction between Spain's laws '*sus leyes*' and those of Venezuela. By referring to Venezuela as a 'sovereign country' in this same line, the President reaffirms this distinction, distancing his country from the former colonial power.

The Fernández case causes Chávez to appeal directly to Spain's Prime Minister Aznar, arguing that Venezuela is a sovereign country and that it should therefore be respected. The

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[59] Then Head of Fedecameras, a Venezuelan business organisation and organiser of the general strike during the winter of 2002-2003

example in (2) contains both an instance of strong intensification through the repetition of *respectar* three times (see also 7.1#27@215/Q1-2005) but also carries the implication that Venezuela considers herself to be an equal to Spain (both are sovereign) and therefore that Chávez considers himself the equal of Aznar. It is perhaps for this reason that Chávez addresses the Spanish Prime Minister simply as '*Aznar*', whereas one would normally expect leaders of countries to address each other more formally when being watched by their populations.

Just as the Constitution was referred to as setting out the judicial process in (1), there are other examples in 2003 of policy being justified on the basis that the Constitution requires it, thereby implying that Chávez is being guided by this document. Given that Chávez was its author, however, this is perhaps a somewhat fallacious argument: in effect, Chávez is quoting himself in such justifications as seen in (13) and (14).

Consequently, I interpret the Venezuelan Constitution more as a manifesto than as a Constitution in the terms of the United States or European Constitutional Republics.   This manifesto sets out Chávez's plan to give a re-birth to Simón Bolívar's early nineteenth century vision of Venezuela, hence the President's adoption of a historical perspective in many of his utterances. (12) seems to support this view, as Chávez argues that at the start of the twenty-first century, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela will be born, thereby realising the dreams of those who had fought for the country's independence from Spain two hundred years earlier.

This argument is, however, logically dependent upon the idea that Bolívar would have wanted Venezuela to be self-sufficient in agriculture, rather than involving itself in international markets, despite its potential oil wealth. In presenting this argument in (15), however, Chávez

implies a number of anachronistic attributions (in particular, Bolívar would not have known

about 'neoliberal globalisation' in the 1800s, nor about the future importance of oil) but by

not overtly referring to these, Chávez avoids undermining his argument. Another feature

which is avoided in this example is explicitly naming the United States government (clearly

the referent of 'Cuban blockade'), again, presumably, to mitigate the potential conflict that

this might cause.

In a long metaphor using religious language in (16), Chávez refers to the Constitution as a

Cross with which the Venezuelan people will beat the cunning neoliberal devil (see also

7.3#23@105/Q2-2002 on the Constitution as a weapon). The implication is that Chávez is

calling on his followers to be guided by this Cross into a battle. If they win, they (who are

referred to as the 'people of Bolívar', thereby maintaining the historical connection) will have

outsmarted the devil.

7.2.3   2004

Figure 7-4 shows those concordance lines relating to Venezuela from 2004, which were

considered most relevant to the research question.

1. esta guerra que bueno, que es realmente un conflicto histórico, pues, aquí estamos confrontados dos concepciones, los que amamos de verdad a esta patria, los que queremos que sea un **país soberano** y libre y un grupito de venezolanos que utiliza a otro grupo más grande de venezolanos, los confunde, los marea, les invierte la vida, los llena de angustia, de terror y de pánico a través de los medios de comunicación, a través de los rumores, la guerra psicológica se llama eso 7.2#15@182/Q1-2004

2. Yo insto al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos a no meterse en las cosas de Venezuela, este es un **país soberano**, el gobierno de los Estados Unidos se llevó su gran sorpresa el 11 de abril, pero bastante daño nos causaron, bastante daño, apoyando a estos delincuentes de aquí, y reconociéndolos y dándoles cabida allá en Washington. 7.2#16@182/Q1-2004

3. Venezuela será para siempre un **país** verdaderamente **libre**, donde mandamos y mandaremos nosotros los venezolanos y las venezolanas. 7.2#6@195/Q2-2004

4. Ahora, **Venezuela** no ingresó a cualquier **Mercosur**, o en cualquier momento a Mercosur, tenían que darse las condiciones apropiadas, ideales para que **Venezuela** ingresa al **Mercosur**, un Mercosur repotenciado, un Mercosur donde se está construyendo un proyecto alternativo, un Mercosur impulsado por pueblos que han despertado 7.3#192@197/Q3-2004

5. había cierto riesgo porque es que había oposición, había alguna oposición de que **Venezuela** se incorporara al **Mercosur**, no voy a decir de donde, pero en primer lugar de Norteamérica, los aliados de Estados Unidos aquí en el Sur, no querían que **Venezuela** se incorporara a **Mercosur**, y esta fue una de las razones de peso, incluso no nos respondían algunos aliados que tuvieron relaciones carnales 7.3#193@197/Q3-2004

6. Aquel Gobierno argentino, no voy a nombrar a nadie, pero ustedes saben, me estoy refiriendo a la época en que Argentina fue esclavizada por el neoliberalismo, y dependían de Washington, y entonces se oponían a que **Venezuela** revolucionaria entrara a **Mercosur**, decían, cuidado, cuidado con Chávez, cuidado con Venezuela, nos puede contaminar, téngalo lejos 7.3#194@197/Q3-2004

7. es la noticia de la década, **Venezuela** ingresó al **Mercosur**, y qué casualidad, los grandes diarios de la oposición venezolana, nada, como si eso no tuviera importancia, vean ustedes la mezquindad, el egoísmo de la oligarquía que controla a los grandes diarios con excepción de " Panorama " 7.3#197@197/Q3-2004

8. pasan diciendo que Venezuela está aislada, que Chávez y la política internacional aisló a Venezuela, que Chávez es odiado por los presidentes del mundo, que le dieron la espalda, etc., y allí está el resultado, eso, el solo ingreso al Mercosur sin decir más nada, sino se dijera más nada **Venezuela** ingresó a **Mercosur**, pulveriza todo un discurso de años de este comando del diablo, de esta oligarquía criolla, de esta oposición descocada, que no da pie con bola, no da pie con bola. 7.3#201@197/Q3-2004

9. nuestra total convicción de que el papel que va a jugar **Venezuela** en el **Mercosur** ampliado en esta suerte de alianza del Sur que recrea los grandes ideales de nuestros próceres, de Bolívar, de Sucre, de San Martín va hacer un papel protagónico y decisivo 7.3#210@200/Q3-2004

10. que cada día se parezca menos al viejo Estado corrupto, tecnocrático, ineficiente, que era como un elefante con las 4 patas quebradas, corrupto y corruptor, ese Estado viejo de la cuarta república todavía tiene por allí sus restos, hay que terminar de enterrarlo y hay que darle nueva forma al nuevo **Estado social** de derecho y de justicia. 7.1#41@201/Q3-2004

11. lo que puede representar para un Estado serio, para un Gobierno serio, para un **país serio**, a una oposición seria que necesitamos. 7.2#38@201/Q3-2004

12. Ahí vamos, es el nuevo **estado social** de derecho y de justicia, es la nueva institucionalidad democrática, bolivariana, son las nuevas columnas del estado nuevo,

para generar justicia e igualdad. 7.1#42@202/Q3-2004

13. los lanceros organizados en cooperativas deben ser parte de ese ministerio sin que sean funcionarios públicos no van a recibir salarios, pero están organizados y ello son parte de la estructura del Ministerio y eso es perfectamente posible porque la constitución ordena que el estado nuevo debe ser un **estado social**, social no un estado burocrático, un **estado social** de derecho y de justicia, los comités de tierra urbana 7.1#46@203/Q3-2004

14. El nuevo **Estado social** a través del Ministerio de la Economía Popular debe comenzar a proveer recursos, no para el individuo sino para el colectivo, el problema es colectivo y la solución es colectiva. 7.1#50@204/Q3-2004

Figure 7-4: Concordance lines for Venezuela, 2004

In 7.1#40@147/Q2-2003, one of the discourse strategies on which I remarked was the use of a list of adjectives to intensify an argument. This technique is used again by Chávez, just over a year later, in concordance line (10) in Figure 7-4, in his description of the '*viejo*' Venezuela. All of these adjectives are strongly pejorative, thereby negatively portraying the 'old' country (which is how Chávez names the Fourth Republic). In addition to this overt negativity, the use of the metaphor of an elephant suggests that the country was slow and cumbersome and a further metaphor indicates that it is moribund and in the process of being buried (although '*parezca*' implies that its influence is still present). In contrast to this is the new country (understood to be the Fifth Republic introduced by Chávez's 2000 Constitution). Whilst the old country had been framed in a negative way, the positive attributes ('*de derecho y de justicia*', a quotation from the Constitution) are applied to the new one.

(12) also describes this new country, emphasising its strong basis (a set of democratic and 'Bolivarian' institutions), which are the metaphorical columns which support it. This also creates the impression that justice and equality thereby emanate from the State, in turn implying a causative relationship between the institutions and the result (justice and equality).

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Therefore, there may also be the implicit argument that these results cannot be achieved without those institutions.

The argument behind the causative relationship is developed later by Chávez in (14) when he confirms that State will provide resources to these institutions rather than to individuals, which is how the President believes that equality can be achieved. This is, I would argue, a potentially risky argument for Chávez, since it implies that the President does not trust any individual citizen not to be corrupted; which his electorate would surely find insulting.

Among the new institutions are the workers' cooperatives which Chávez starts to promote around this time. One description of the 'social state' is particularly instructive in terms of how Chávez framed their relationship with the State apparatus. The organisers of the cooperatives have to be within the structure of the relevant ministry even though they will not be paid. It is, perhaps, particularly notable that this arrangement of the 'social state' is contrasted in (13) with that of a bureaucratic State, thereby implying that a system in which potentially large numbers of citizens are being coordinated by Ministries is nonetheless unlikely to be bureaucratic.

Furthermore, it will be noted that it is the Constitution which is once again used as the justification for this system. Given that the population voted for the Constitution, by using this document to support his policy, the President might be argued to be trying to divert blame for any future repercussions to the citizens who voted for it. My reading, however, is rather that Chávez is endowing his Constitution with the status of a book to be venerated and used to guide the country's (political) life in the same way as a Bible might guide a religious person. The adoption of quasi-religious reference here will be a feature which will recur through these chapters.

In terms of political policy in 2004, one of the main events was Venezuela's entry into the Mercosur block, which, as noted in my comments on 2003, had long been an objective for Chávez. In explaining why Venezuela joined at this particular moment, Chávez argues in (4) that people have woken up and that this in turn created the appropriate conditions. Exactly who these *pueblos* are, however, is left open and this allows Chávez to avoid having to say precisely which foreign governments have come to accept his policies.

The discourse strategy of avoidance of nomination is used again in (5), although it is more overt on this occasion ('*no voy a decir de donde*') when Chávez describes how the Mercosur entry was not universally supported. Chávez thus avoids causing embarrassment to opposing foreign governments but these same governments are also characterised as having been in a 'carnal relationship' with the devil, a simile for being supporters of George W. Bush's policies, thereby suggesting an anti-Bush perspective and an obvious indictment of the American regime.

Shortly afterwards in the same edition, however, Chávez does single out the Argentinean government as being the opposition to Venezuela joining Mercosur, in (6). As part of this, Chávez attributes some reported speech to an unnamed Argentine dissenter. This is a powerful technique, since the broadcast audience cannot easily verify the accuracy of this quotation or the attribution.

The entry of Venezuela into the Mercosur bloc is also important for another reason, as this occasion reveals much about the President's relationship with the media. By characterising the fact that the (mainly opposition-controlled) press had not reported on the entry as being 'in poor spirit', the President implies in (7) that he feels that the media should prioritise those news stories which the government believes to be important. Furthermore, by referring to the

story as 'news of the decade', the President may be argued to be attempting to set the news agenda himself.

Chávez also states in (8) that by joining Mercosur, foreign criticisms of him personally have also been proved wrong, an argument that is reinforced through the phrase '*sin decir más nada*'. The same line also contains the metaphorical reference to George W. Bush as 'the devil', continuing a theme from (5), as well as a reference to football ('*no da pie con bola*'), which might serve to increase the accessibility of Chávez's language.

In the case of the Mercosur announcement, the use of the historical perspective comes not from Chávez himself but rather from Miguel Bonazo, an Argentinean visitor. In (9), he characterises the trading bloc as an alliance of the type which Bolívar and other independence leaders would have wanted. Given the use of the historical perspective in 2002 and 2003, it seems somewhat odd that Chávez does not use the same argument in these concordance lines, perhaps indicating that the President considers the modern implications of the bloc to be more important than drawing nineteenth-century parallels.

In 7.2#32@91/Q1-2002, Chávez had given the title of 'the serious country' to the section of the Venezuelan population which supported him. In 2004 (11), however, this phrase is modified, as Chávez calls for the creation of a 'serious' opposition. In doing so, Chávez undermines the credibility and standing of the current opposition.

One might wonder, therefore, how Chávez frames his relationship with the population and (3) gives an interesting insight, as the President claims that his government can 'send' citizens to do things. Whilst this seems to be at odds with the attribution of a 'truly free country' in the same line, it could also suggest that Chávez might already have been thinking in terms of

socialism by 2004, making 'freedom' something which is focused on the entire society rather than the individual.

As was argued in the case of '*país serio*', I believe that an external perspective is used when the President talks about a 'free' country, since assessing freedom in a nation necessarily requires comparison with other countries. The concept of a free country in the case of Venezuela appears to be closely linked to Chávez's argument about sovereignty introduced in 2003. Whereas in 2003, it was Aznar who was the subject of Chávez's appeal for Venezuela to be respected as sovereign, by 2004 it was the United States government. In (2), for example, the President highlights the allegations that the CIA had been involved in the coup attempt against Chávez in April 2002, organised by elements of the political opposition whom he refers to as 'delinquents'.

In (1), Chávez develops the features of this free and sovereign country by arguing that it is the site of a battle on three fronts between those who want this sovereignty and those who do not. This latter group is the one which opposes Chávez and it is identified by a number of characteristics: (a) the use of the diminutive *grupito* minimises the impression of their number or significance; (b) they aim to confuse and panic other Venezuelans; (c) they use the media to spread 'rumour' in a form of psychological warfare. 'Confusion' and 'rumour' are interesting lexical choices because neither necessarily denote deliberate mis-information: it is perfectly possible to have rumours which are true but unacknowledged, assuming that some powerful entity (such as a State) does not want the rumour known. Thus, Chávez stops short of characterising the opposition as lying.

7.2.4 2005

Figure 7-5 shows those concordance lines relating to Venezuela from 2005, which were considered most relevant to the research question.

1. estábamos hablando de **Venezuela** en el **mundo**, quiero recordarles que Alo Presidente tiene también una página web, a través de la cual ustedes pueden bajar la señal en vivo del programa y de hecho esto ocurre, en verdad en verdad, algunos pueden creer que es una exageración, pero en Moscú hay gente que nos está viendo 7.3#265@210/Q1-2005

2. India : Con este viaje se concreta la primera visita bilateral de un jefe de **estado venezolano** a La India 7.1#21@215/Q1-2005

3. Francia : El jefe de **estado venezolano** culminó su gira internacional en el viejo continente, específicamente en Francia, en donde lo recibió el presidente Jack Chirac y, este encuentro estuvo marcado por el fortalecimiento de los lazos de amistad que siempre han unido a Francia y Venezuela. 7.1#23@215/Q1-2005

4. Vean ustedes esto tiene mucha significación Ali, en cuántos años nunca un jefe de **estado venezolano** hubiera hecho una visita oficial a India, así verdad, Alí. 7.1#24@215/Q1-2005

5. hemos dicho al <u>mundo</u> entero; a todos los líderes con los que he me reunido en el <u>mundo</u> a los pueblos del <u>mundo</u> le <u>seguimos</u> alertando y <u>seguimos</u> diciendo, <u>Venezuela</u> no tolerará ningún tipo de injerencia norteamericana en los asuntos internos que sólo conciernen a la nación <u>venezolana</u>, al pueblo <u>venezolano</u>, al **estado <u>venezolano</u>** y al gobierno de los Estados Unidos les digo, <u>respete</u> para que lo <u>respeten</u> compaé, porque si usted no <u>respeta</u> usted no será <u>respetado</u> tampoco 7.1#27@215/Q1-2005

6. todo el equipo una estrategia en las próximas semanas para informar con mucho detalle a nuestro pueblo, a través de videos, a través de publicaciones especiales, programas de televisión, documentales, etc , todo lo que **Venezuela** está haciendo en el **mundo** y sobre todo los resultados de nuestro intenso accionar internacional , que no se detendrá por supuesto. 7.3#270@215/Q1-2005

7. Miren porque en esa dirección hay que abundar, hay que insistir y hay que avanzar, yo lo dije hace un rato, se trata del **Estado social**, no es el Estado clásico donde un grupo, un sector, un partido se adueña de todo; no, no es un Estado del pueblo un **Estado social** 7.1#54@220/Q2-2005

Figure 7-5: Concordance lines for Venezuela, 2005

In 2005, the idea of a small group of people spreading mis-information about the government remarked on above becomes particularly important. This is because Chávez argues in line (7) in Figure 7-5 that there is not one single group which is involved in running the State, thereby implying that people with alternative views are also welcome. In the very same example where this attribution is found, however, the President uses the repetition of '*hay que*' three times in order to intensify his own view of the future direction of the country.

Chávez's stance that the international community must treat Venezuela as a sovereign country has already been introduced. He continues to stress the importance of this in 2005, this time explicitly referring to the United States. This emphasis is especially remarkable in (5) where the President again uses multiple repetitions to highlight his position (underlining has been added to indicate these cases).

However, it would be wrong to suggest that Chávez frames Venezuela as an isolationist country in 2005, as he embarked on a high-profile international tour in order to promote trade and investment by foreign countries. In (2) and (3), the newswire style (naming the place before the main story is developed) is adopted by the narrator, thereby giving these cases very strong emphasis. This would have been particularly noticeable when spoken, since this style is almost uniquely a written style and creates the impression that the reports are from the perspective of an (impartial) external observer.

The example in line (3) is also remarkable as France is referred to as part of the 'old continent', thereby implying that since Venezuela is a part of the new continent, it is, therefore, likely to assume an increasingly important role in the future, perhaps unlike France (see also 7.1#41@201/Q3-2004). Nevertheless, the contrast implied through the distinction of old and new is mitigated through the remark that the two countries have always been

friendly and that this friendship is strengthening under Chávez. His Indian visit is particularly

highlighted in (4) through the implication that it is amazing that such a visit by a Head of

State had never occurred before (and, therefore, that previous governments have been

neglectful in not visiting India). This implication is achieved through the use of the intensifier

'*así verdad*'.

In addition to these state visits, President Chávez continues to emphasise the fact that his

policies are being watched outside of Venezuela, just as he had in 2002. Chávez uses fact that

the programme had been downloaded from the *Aló Presidente* website by somebody in

Moscow (1) as a means to add credibility to this argument. I would again suggest that this

argument is intended for domestic reception (with the President implying that this

international attention is likely to mean support for his policies), and my belief appears to be

supported by the fact that Chávez orders a campaign in the media on Venezuela's position in

the world in (6).

7.2.5 2006

Figure 7-6 shows those concordance lines relating to Venezuela from 2006, which were

considered most relevant to the research question.

1. Aquí dice : "La patria venezolana ha sido víctima de la forma adoptada de régimen político presidencialista, autocrático y cogollocrático, sus dirigentes, quienes la condujeron hacia rumbos perdidos, contradictorios, vacilantes, desde el primer instante en que arrancó el primer Plan de la Nación, el **país entero** fue avanzando sin destino, sin objetivos nacionales claramente definidos, sin horizontes históricos"; esto es cierto, ahora tenemos un proyecto nacional, después de varias décadas de marchas y contramarchas fue anunciado el nuevo Plan de la Nación 7.2#46@250/Q1-2006

2. el socialismo es que todos vivamos iguales, que nosotros reconozcamos la valía del trabajador, la valía del que siembra el café, no podemos explotarlo, hay que pagarle un precio justo por el café y luego en colectivo trabajar con cooperativas, en cogestión, las

torrefactoras, procesarlo y luego el **Estado social**, con las comunidades, transportarlo y traerlo a los mercados y nadie explota a nadie y vean que se puede vender a la mitad del precio en comparación con el llamado " libre mercado " y todos terminamos en equilibrio. 7.1#57@253/Q3-2006

3. Entonces, la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** y su Revolución Bolivariana es sobre todo humanista, yo siempre digo cristiana, porque Cristo vino a enseñarnos esto, la humanidad, la humanidad, la justicia. 7.3#74@253/Q2-2006

4. una Guardia Territorial activa, un Cuerpo de Reservistas organizado por todo el territorio nacional y la unión civicomilitar alerta y en disposición de resistir, cueste lo que cueste; soberanos hasta la médula porque somos Venezuela : la esperanza de un nuevo modelo socialista en la alborada del siglo XXI, y como **país soberano** que somos no nos amedrentamos frente a un poderío militar aparentemente ilimitado, alimentado por la industria armamentista más codiciosa del mundo entero, capaz de invadir, bombardear, torturar e incluso tumbar gobiernos, bajo quién sabe cuál vil e inventado pretexto, para luego intentar someter a los pueblos 7.2#22@255/Q2-2006

5. al embajador de la **República** Islámica de Irán en **Venezuela**, Ahmad Sobhani, y aprovecho su presencia en nuestro programa, Embajador, para transmitirle un saludo, ferviente saludo de amistad y de afecto, al pueblo iraní, de solidaridad al presidente Ahmadineyad, y decirle a Irán que estamos con ustedes contra la amenaza imperialista y que exigimos respeto a la soberanía 7.3#83@255/Q2-2006

6. [el] presidente de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** Hugo Chávez, inició su visita a la hermana República de Bolivia, para consolidar la integración latinoamericana 7.3#91@256/Q2-2006

7. Nosotros no vamos a permitirle al imperio norteamericano y a sus lacayos aquí, vístanse como se vistan que nos lleven de nuevo al grado de desestabilización que nos llevaron en el 2002, no lo vamos a permitir, y hago un llamado al **país serio** que somos la mayoría y no sólo a los que siguen al Gobierno. 7.2#40@260/Q3-2006

8. Bueno, allá — por ejemplo — en el **mundo** árabe, quieren Café **Venezuela**; allá en el Asia quieren Café Venezuela, vamos a exportar nuestro café, que es parte de nuestra cultura, de nuestras tradiciones. 7.3#279@262/Q3-2006

9. Venezuela va a ser un gran productor de café, para nuestro mercado y para exportarlo, el mejor café del **mundo**: Café **Venezuela**. 7.3#280@262/Q3-2006

Figure 7-6: Concordance lines for Venezuela, 2006

The historical perspective which Chávez has used in previous years when referring to

Venezuela is further reinforced in 2006. In line (1) in Figure 7-6, for example, the President

argues that previous governments were not guided by any plan and so had no destiny towards

which they were aiming. Chávez increases the credibility of this argument by attributing it to a quotation from a book, *El Árbol de las Tres Raíces* (see page 315). By claiming to have a plan (even one which he is partly responsible for writing), Chávez therefore implies that his government is better than those which preceded his administration.

Around the start of 2006, Chávez began to argue in favour of the development of socialism in Venezuela (see chapter 8). In (2), the President initially asks for (as opposed to enforces) the change, both through the use of the subjunctive mood ('*que reconozacamos*') and also through the emphatic *nosotros*. This latter discourse strategy might be argued to be a means of stressing that this appeal refers to the whole population, not just to the government. In the following phrases, however, the appeal is intensified through, for example, the indicative use of '*no podemos*' and '*hay que pagarle*'.

It is perhaps a contradiction, therefore, that Chávez is still talking about exporting coffee to international markets (which are still capitalist) in (8) and (9), referring to Venezuela's coffee as the world's best in (9) and characterising such coffee as part of the country's traditions in (8). Possibly the most significant feature in these examples, however, is what is missing: there is no mention of Mercosur, despite the enthusiasm for the trading bloc witnessed in the concordance lines from 2004.

The President is, however, apparently aware that there will be international criticism for his decision to pursue a socialist agenda and so argues that Venezuela's sovereignty can only be protected through increased militarisation. It is evident that (4) refers to the United States government in this regard, due to the attributed features such as '*un poderío militar aparentemente ilimitado*'. Notably, Chávez again refrains from overtly naming the USA, perhaps to avoid damaging relations between the countries any further. Chávez reinforces his

argument by listing the retaliatory measures which, he claims, the USA has at its disposal (invasion and bombardment, for example). By producing this list, I would argue, the President implies that because the United States is capable of such things, it is likely to actually carry them out. Such an implication would, perhaps, draw upon topical issues such as the United States' actions in Iraq and CIA involvement in the 2002 coup attempt, making it seem all the more credible. The argument is further strengthened through '*cueste lo que cueste*' and also through the use of the redundant adjective '*inventado*' in relation to 'pretexts': by definition, 'pretexts' tend to be 'invented' otherwise they become reasons for action.

In the same edition of *Aló Presidente*, Chávez welcomes the Iranian ambassador to Venezuela, referring to him as a brother and attributing friendship and solidarity to their relationship in (5). Chávez argues that 'the imperialist threat' is the main reason for their friendship but again without naming the United States government as being the source of this perceived threat.

Whilst the perspective in (5) is almost certainly political, as Chávez seeks allies for his policy, the use of *hermana* to refer to Colombia in (6) suggests the historical perspective, since Bolívar's original vision was for a united *Gran Colombia*, comprising modern-day Venezuela, Colombia and Bolivia. It is not only through singling out other countries as friends that Chávez attempts to further his proposed reforms, however. Religion is also used, as in (3), in which the President refers to Christ when attributing the qualities of justice and humanity (which is also stressed through its repetition) to his revolution.

As has been seen, one of the main discourse strategies used by Chávez during 2006 is the non-overt nomination of the United States. An example of this may be found in the use of the phrase '*país serio*' in (7). In 7.2#38@201/Q3-2004, it will be recalled, this phrase referred to

all who did not subscribe to the ideologies of the 'non-serious' opposition parties and in

7.2#32@91/Q1-2002 it had been used in reference to Chávez's supporters only. In 2006,

however, Chávez explicitly <u>includes</u> those 'who do not follow the government' in his

reference, resulting in the 'serious country' evolving to mean all who do not support the

United States. Logically, the implication of this is that the US cannot be considered to be

'serious', and I therefore interpret Chávez as using this phrase as a means to ridicule the Bush

administration, again without actually naming Bush as the target.

7.2.6   2007

Figure 7-7 shows those concordance lines relating to Venezuela from the first six months of

2007, which were considered most relevant to the research question.

1. La Reforma Socialista Constitucional, vamos rumbo a la **República** Socialista de **Venezuela** y para eso se requiere una profunda reforma de la Constitución Nacional, de nuestra Constitución Bolivariana 7.3#283@263/Q1-2007

2. Que terminamos siendo, si no corregimos a tiempo, el **Estado capitalista** aliado con trabajadores capitalistas, una cooperativa capitalista y es peor el remedio que la enfermedad, compadre. 7.1#68@264/Q1-2007

3. El informe muestra el contraste entre el viaje realizado por el Presidente de Estados Unidos, George W. Bush, por varios países latinoamericanos, y la gira paralela que cumplió el presidente de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela**, Hugo Chávez Frías. El reporte citó al presidente del Instituto Norteamericano de Encuestas Inter American Dialogue, Peter Hakin, expresando que la gira de Bush resultó afectada, por lo que calificó como el efecto Chávez. 7.3#325@274/Q1-2007

4. dotación de maquinarias, herramientas e insumos; inclusión para los trabajadores del campo y la activación de un modelo de producción endógeno y sustentable. Éstos son los logros palpables del renacer de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela**. El Socialismo Agrario pretende garantizar la independencia en manos del pueblo, porque la tierra como bien de todos es de quien la trabaja 7.3#348@278/Q1-2007

5. Uno de los objetivos prioritarios de la Constitución de la **República** Bolivariana de **Venezuela** es garantizar la educación a todos los venezolanos y venezolanas como un derecho humano y un deber social fundamental. 7.3#352@280/Q1-2007

Figure 7-7: Concordance lines for Venezuela, 2007

Following Chávez's re-election for a second term at the start of 2007, he increased the emphasis on his planned move to socialism in his speeches. As part of this, he implies, through the juxtaposition of the last two sentences in line (4) in Figure 7-7, that the government's expenditure on agriculture to date was a feature of this process which was already underway. Chávez thereby implies that socialism was a change in perspective, rather than a change in policy. This in turn, I suggest, limits the opposition's ability to argue against it effectively if the policy was already widespread.

There is, however, still the potential that socialism might not gain popular support and so the President argues that failure to adopt socialism completely would leave a series of 'capitalist cooperatives'. This argument in (2) is intensified through the use of a metaphor which characterises socialism as a remedy to cure the illness of capitalism.

In both 2002 and 2003, the Constitution was cast as being responsible for driving political reform and this discourse strategy, almost personifying a document, is also found in 2007 in (6). On this occasion, the Constitution is portrayed as the cause of the adoption of socialism. I believe that, to some extent, this absolves Chávez from absolute liability for the implementation of his policies; whilst Chávez did write the Constitution, it was the population who passed it in a referendum and so, I suggest, from Chávez's perspective they have taken at least part-ownership in the policies.

The Constitution itself, however, would need to be changed as part of the conversion to socialism. This alteration is characterised by Chávez in (1) as being *'profunda'*.

Furthermore, in the same passage, the President names the country as the '*República Socialista de Venezuela'*, not the *'República Bolivariana de Venezuela'* (the official title according to Chávez's 2000 Constitution). This change, I believe, was done so as to make the *'Constitución Bolivariana'* seem all the more outmoded.

In terms of policy, Chávez again talks about the topic of education as being a priority in the Bolivarian (i.e. 2000) Constitution, characterising it, as he had done in 7.3#119@98/Q1-2002 as being a human right. In (5), however, a further quality is added, which is the idea that education is a 'fundamental social duty', thereby implying that all citizens have an obligation to support the government's objectives.

Chávez's foreign policy, and in particular the difficult relationship with the United States and Venezuela's courting of allies, also continues in the first half of 2007. In (3), for example, a BBC news report about international tours by both Bush and Chávez is mentioned by the narrator, who highlights the fact that, in the report, the President of the Inter-American Dialog (IAD) had referred to 'the Chávez effect'. When combined with the narrator's assertion that the two trips were in contrast to each other, this IAD quotation suggests that Chávez's tour was seen as the more successful of the two, and thereby implies that Bush is held in lower esteem than the Venezuelan leader. This, I would argue, is particularly so when the quotation is characterised as being attributable to a President of an international organisation being quoted by a globally-respected news organisation.

7.2.7   Chávez's framing of the State

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this investigation about how Chávez frames his relationship with the State during the period covered by the corpus.

First, one major characteristic which is present throughout the text is the use of a historical perspective. I believe that this indicates that the President has a strong sense of his links with Bolívar and the other heroes of the War of Independence against Spain. Moreover, I would argue, it demonstrates that the President is very much aware of his own history-making potential and that he, likewise, aspires to be revered for generations to come.

In 7.3#254@99/Q1-2002, Chávez declared that the first decade of the twenty-first century would be the most difficult on the journey to his vision of Venezuela in 2021. I believe that this indicates that Chávez has a long-term plan for the country's future and that this drives his sense of destiny and ambition. I would also contend that he was prepared for criticism of his decision to implement socialism and, to this end, he prepared the new Constitution early in his first term in such a way that it could be used to justify policies as they were implemented (this will be discussed further later in this chapter). What he perhaps found more surprising was the international interest in his policies shown by observers and academics which he also deftly cites in his discourse to suggest foreign support.

The methodology has proved useful in providing examples of such features as the changing meaning of '*país serio*', used by Chávez initially to ridicule the opposition by negative implication and later to imply his contempt for the Bush administration in the United States. The Venezuelan President's growing confidence in confronting what he perceives to be Washington's lack of respect for Venezuelan sovereignty (particularly following the emergence of the allegations over CIA involvement in the 2002 coup) can be traced through the initial tendency not to name the US at all in his programme – leaving this to be inferred – to the introduction of such nominations as 'the devil' to refer to Bush.

7.3 BANCO CENTRAL

Whilst the commentaries in section 7.2 covered the general usage of the types identified in the semantic field of Venezuela, this section discusses the specific case of *Banco Central de Venezuela* (which was a phrase found in most of the concordance lines for *venezuela + central*).

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7.3.1 2002

Figure 7-8 shows the concordance lines of *banco* and *central* in collocation with *venezuela* from 2002, which were considered most relevant to the research question.

1. vamos a gestionarle por el Banco del Pueblo o el Banco de la Mujer, la ventaja es que ya la revolución ha creado instrumentos no estamos desarmados, tenemos al **Banco** Industrial de **Venezuela** que ahora tiene una línea de microcréditos 7.3#169@92/Q1-2002

2. evaluando las circunstancias y las proyecciones a recortar el presupuesto cerca de un 7%, y además anunciar en conjunción con el Banco **Central** de **Venezuela** una nueva política cambiaria que le corresponde al Banco **Central** de **Venezuela**, pero como dice la Constitución en coordinación con el Poder Ejecutivo, así que esas fueran las medidas anunciadas, 7.3#115@96/Q1-2002

3. Las tasas de interés están sumamente altas, eso nos preocupa, la política monetaria corresponde fijarla al Banco **Central** de **Venezuela** que es un ente autónomo, no depende del gobierno, pero estamos trabajando de manera coordinada porque este es un asunto de altísimo interés nacional, de altísimo interés popular y uno de los efectos que esperamos lograr con estas medidas fiscales y cambiarias es que las tasas de interés vuelvan recuperar su nivel racional 7.3#116@96/Q1-2002

Figure 7-8: Concordance lines for '*Banco Central*', 2002

As had been the case with reference to the country's politics, Chávez uses the notion of compliance with the Constitution to support his argument in favour of reducing the budget, with the aim of solving the pressure on the Bolivar.   In this initial instance (concordance line

2 in Figure 7-8), the Central Bank is characterised as doing its job by changing its policy, which is said to be as being 'in conjunction' with government policy.

This brings Chávez to emphasise, in (3), the Central Bank's autonomy from the government whilst also characterising the relationship between the two as being one of cooperation. This is despite the reported scale of the interest rate problem, which is itself underscored through the use of the superlative '*altísimo*'. One particularly interesting feature, however, is implied through the use of '*esperamos lograr*': the possibility of failure in their efforts, perhaps adding to the credibility of the overall argument.

Whilst the Central Bank concentrates on the stabilisation of the currency, Chávez names two other national banks in (1), through which microcredits can be awarded to Venezuelan businesses. One of the characteristics applied to these banks, according to Chávez, is that they are 'arms' created by the revolution, just as the Constitution had been characterised as a 'weapon' in 7.3#23@105/Q2-2002. Furthermore, Chávez chooses to use the verb '*tener*' in his description of the government's relationship with these alternative banks, also characterising this as an 'advantage'. Something can only ever be advantageous when compared with something else, however, and the implication is therefore that Chávez considers the autonomy of the Central Bank to be a disadvantage.

7.3.2   2004

Figure 7-9 shows the concordance lines of *banco* and *central* in collocation with *venezuela* from 2004, which were considered most relevant to the research question.

1. un campesino de Yaracuy que me envía el mensaje de que continuemos solicitándole al Banco **Central** de **Venezuela** el apoyo que requiere la agricultura. 7.3#129@177/Q1-2004

2. Yo sigo insistiendo y seguiré insistiendo, el Banco **Central** de **Venezuela** no puede negarse a cumplir con la Constitución y con la propia Ley del Banco **Central** de **Venezuela**. 7.3#131@177/Q1-2004

3. Más claro no canta un gallo doctor Diego Luis Castellanos, presidente del Banco Central y señores directores del banco **Central** de **Venezuela**, ustedes fueron puestos ahí para cumplir con la Constitución y con las leyes, para contribuir con el desarrollo integral del país, más claro no canta un gallo. 7.3#139@177/Q1-2004

4. José Vicente ahí para conversar con él un minuto, por favor, hacen un Consejo de Ministros el lunes en la noche, o el martes, aprueban lo que ya hemos aprobado en reuniones, el Plan Especial de Siembra para el 2004, y luego inmediatamente una carta dirigida al presidente del Banco **Central** de **Venezuela**, enviando anexo el plan, el mismo martes, cuando regrese ya debe haber recibido el presidente del Banco Central esa carta, el día 14, el día 15. Yo esperaré uno días, pues, para tomar la decisión que me corresponda tomar. 7.3#142@177/Q1-2004

5. Yo <u>sigo insistiendo</u> y usted <u>debe seguir insistiendo</u> y el Gabinete Económico <u>debe seguir insistiendo</u> y los agricultores <u>deben seguir insistiendo</u>, y el país <u>debe seguir insistiendo</u>, en que el Banco **Central** de **Venezuela** garantice de <u>verdad</u>, <u>verdad</u> y no con puras promesas, como ya lo han hecho en otras ocasiones, el financiamiento a la agricultura 7.3#148@180/Q1-2004

6. yo lamento que en el Banco **Central** de **Venezuela** alguna gente siga con criterios, que son criterios neoliberales, pues, es decir, se habla de una autonomía del Banco Central, y la respetamos, pero entonces los Bancos Centrales de nuestros países son autónomos en relación con los gobiernos, pero no son autónomos en relación con el Fondo Monetario Internacional 7.3#154@184/Q1-2004

Figure 7-9: Concordance lines for '*Banco Central*', 2004

By 2004, there is no mention of these alternative banks, which largely explains why the frequency of collocations of *Venezuela + banco* and *Venezuela + central* diverges only in 2002 in the graph in Figure 6-9.

Instead, as Chávez's policy of increasing the role of agriculture in the economy strengthens, the concordance lines reveal a breakdown in the relationship between the Central Bank and the government, as demonstrated in line (1) in Figure 7-9, for example.

The argument employed by the President is, once again, that the Constitution demands funding for agriculture, and the Central Bank is therefore characterised as neglecting its duty. The use of both *sigo* and *seguiré* in (2) intensifies the sense of Chávez's exasperation at the impasse.

In order to advance the argument that the Central Bank is breaching the Constitution, Chávez appeals to the Bank's President directly, arguing that the primary role of the Central Bank is to comply with the Constitution, and thereby also implying that its primary function is to release money for Chávez's planned agricultural development. Repetition is the discourse strategy which is again used to strengthen this argument, in this case using an appropriately agricultural saying '*más claro no canta un gallo*' in (3). Furthermore, by using the passive '*fueron puestos*' to avoid saying exactly who put Castellanos in charge, Chávez is able to avoid attributing any responsibility for the breakdown to whoever nominated the directors.

Chávez's strategy is to ensure that the public realise that he is working on a solution and so, in (4), the scenario of an internal meeting is set up during *Aló Presidente*, with Chávez directing how the government intends to negotiate to release the necessary funds. This will have two effects: (1) that Chávez frames himself as the effective leader who has a plan but (2) it must also put some pressure on the Central Bank, since it would be difficult for it to deny a request which has been made on-air in front of a television audience. This seems likely to impress the audience but it is, perhaps, a risky strategy, because the discourse does not reveal what the policy is, since Chávez refers to it only as '*lo que ya hemos aprobado*'. Similarly, '*la

decisión que me corresponda tomar', might be say to avoid revealing the plan to the audience. I believe that the use of the imperative *'apueben'* to intensify this perspective risks accusations that the President is ordering a government official to 'rubber-stamp' a policy, perhaps without proper process.

As the relationship with the Central Bank deteriorates further, Chávez calls on the entire population to petition the Central Bank to ask for credit to be made available for the government's policy. This is achieved through (5) which involves a great deal of repetition to make it more effective (these are underlined in Figure 7-9). This same excerpt also attributes to the Central Bank the characteristic of having reneged on its promises in the past, thereby weakening still further the Bank's possibility of defence.

Perhaps Chávez becomes aware that this friction could cause further instability and so he modifies his stance (6) to criticising only 'some people' within the Central Bank. His argument is that the Central Bank of '*nuestros paises... no son autónomos en relación con el Fondo Monetario Internacional*'. This single phrase contains two simultaneous implications: (a) that similar problems are not unique only to Venezuela and (b) that he believes that achieving independence from the IMF must be an objective. The tone of this passage seems rather different from that of (5), and I believe that this noticeable difference is achieved through the use of '*lamento*' and *'siga con'*, both of which can be said to attribute to the Bank the status of being unfortunate in the choice of its staff, who have outmoded ideas.

7.3.3 2006

Figure 7-10 shows the concordance lines of *banco* and *central* in collocation with *venezuela* from 2006, which were considered most relevant to the research question.

1. nosotros no hemos recortado para nada el gasto fiscal que era parte del formato del Fondo Monetario Internacional, lo cual generaba mayor pobreza, miseria, etc. La economía del país creció de manera sostenida, éstas son las cifras del Banco **Central** de **Venezuela**: " La economía creció de manera sostenida significativa y generalizada " — son los términos utilizados por el Banco Central — ; por decimoprimer trimestre consecutivo, 11 trimestres consecutivos con un crecimiento sostenido significativo y generalizado 7.3#161@260/Q3-2006

Figure 7-10: Concordance line for '*Banco Central*', 2006

Chávez's position, that the Central Bank's failings are due to the IMF, continues into 2006. He argues that it is the IMF's policies that have resulted directly in increased levels of poverty, which therefore implies that poverty can be reduced by the Central Bank rejecting those policies. This argument in line (1) in Figure 7-10 is juxtaposed with news of the Central Bank's statement that economic growth had continued, thereby also implying that such growth had been achieved as a result of the anti-IMF stance. Linguistically, however, nothing connects these two sentences and the logical conclusion that might be derived from this implication – that adherence to the IMF's ideology would have resulted in recession – is also not stated. Thus, it is quite possible that the growth had little to do with the Central Bank's policies and more to do with the high price of oil in 2006.

7.3.4 Chávez's framing of his relationship with the *Banco Central*

The methodology has been successful in identifying the principle moments at which the President's relationship with the Central Bank has been most topical. From an analysis of the resulting concordance lines, it is possible to see that much of Chávez's first term was dominated by a growing struggle to obtain finance for his projects. Initially, this was solved

through the creation of alternative lending banks, leaving the Central Bank to concentrate upon stabilising the currency, but the Central Bank's refusal to provide money to fund agrarian reform in 2004 led the President to accuse the Bank of neglecting its constitutional duties. This was later toned down into an argument against some individual neoliberally-orientated economists within the Bank and an assertion that the country needed to move away from IMF models. By 2006, a period of sustained growth was used by Chávez to imply success for this policy (but without directly attributing this as the cause of the growth).

7.4 ASAMBLEA NACIONAL

Asamblea was another permitted collocate of *nacional*. In this section, therefore, I investigate

what the concordance lines reveal of Chávez's relationship with the national parliament, in

those quarter-year periods which were identified in section 6.2.1.

7.4.1 2002

Figure 7-11 shows the concordance lines of *Asamblea Nacional* from 2002 which were

considered most relevant to the research question.

1. Bueno aquí estamos, estamos muy complacidos con esa gran victoria que obtuvieron los diputados revolucionarios, un gran saludo a toda esa gente que ayer de verdad, con valor y con gallardía defendieron la presidencia de la **Asamblea Nacional**. 7.4#12@91/Q1-2002

2. Nosotros ayer nos anotamos un triunfo, el poder popular que está allí en la **Asamblea Nacional** y ellos por supuesto, una derrota más y seguirán obteniendo derrotas si ellos siguen sacando sacando esas cuentas que ellos mismos pretenden engañara al pueblo y resulta que ellos caen en su propia trampa y se creen sus propias mentiras. 7.4#15@91/Q1-2002

3. todos ustedes estén pendientes porque ese día martes 15 a partir de las 10 de la mañana estaré llegando ya a esa hora a la sede de la **Asamblea Nacional**, voy a dar como manda la Constitución el mensaje de gestión, mensaje anual a la Asamblea que realmente no es a la Asamblea, es al país pero desde la Asamblea y ante el Cuerpo de Diputados de la **Asamblea Nacional**. 7.4#36@92/Q1-2002

4. Le dice a Carlos Andrés Pérez que aquí tenemos que tomar el control de la **Asamblea Nacional** a como dé lugar, nadie puede decir que eso no es una intención desestabilizadora, es una intención desestabilizadora, está más que comprobado, y detrás de eso están todas estas cúpulas : cúpulas económicas, cúpulas políticas y allá ya tienen su líder pues Carlos Andrés Pérez, Carmona Estanga, Ortega, toda 7.4#42@93/Q1-2002

Figure 7-11: Concordance lines for '*Asamblea Nacional*', 2002

Chávez's treatment of the national assembly at the start of 2002 is marked by an articulation of concerns about the institution. In line (1) in Figure 7-11, the President makes positive remarks about the people who had 'defended' the assembly (*'valor', 'gallardía'*), which are intensified by calling the event itself a *'gran victoria'*. The fact that the population had to defend the assembly at all, however, points to difficulties at the institution and this impression is further extended in (2) by the creation of a contrast between *'el poder popular'* and *'ellos'*, who are presented as liars who are trying to deceive the people. As was noted in section 7.2, avoidance of naming opponents is often used by Chávez and the subject of this criticism is similarly only explicated about two weeks later in (4), in which the country's previous Presidents and others in authority are blamed for attempting to destabilise the assembly. The strategy of creating a contrast between previous administrations and Chávez's government was also noted in section 7.2.

Line (3) relates to the President's annual State of the Union address to the Assembly. It is notable that Chávez cites the Constitution as being the reason why this is necessary; again, it has already been stressed that as the author of the Constitution, Chávez is citing himself when making such statements. Perhaps more interesting, however, is that he remarks that although the speech is given to the Assembly, it is actually addressed to the public (television and radio) audience. This would seem to serve as evidence of Chávez's stated wish to include the wider population in the political process (see section 5.3.1).

7.4.2   2003

Figure 7-12 shows the concordance lines for *Asamblea Nacional* which were considered relevant to the research question, from 2003:

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1. Presidente Chávez : bueno Mary muchas gracias a ti y a todos los diputados a nuestra **Asamblea Nacional** nuestro saludo, respeto, reconocimiento y el apoyo a los diputados que dan la batalla en la **Asamblea Nacional** contra, sobre todo en estos últimos días, en los cuales un grupo de desesperados, diputados de la oposición ha tratado de quebrar la continuidad de la **Asamblea Nacional** y de romper con la Constitución, con su obligación constitucional. 7.4#111@152/Q2-2003

2. Los diputados y cualquier ciudadano puede, con estas imágenes que son pruebas, es un golpe de estado contra la Constitución y contra la **Asamblea Nacional** y esto puede ser objeto de un juicio, antejuicio de mérito le sale a diputados, ¿no Juan? 7.4#120@152/Q2-2003

3. Están cometiendo un delito, quemar una ley en el Parlamento, un diputado, el delito es doble, o pararse a golpear las mesas o a tumbar las mesas o amenazar con sabotear las sesiones de la **Asamblea Nacional** eso es un delito, sabotaje. 7.4#126@152/Q2-2003

4. si deben legislar en la calle, bueno, ustedes tomarán la decisión, el país sabe que cuenta con un presidente de la **Asamblea Nacional** ponderado, equilibrado, pacifista, revolucionario y justo 7.4#132@152/Q2-2003

5. le dije Diosdado conversa, diputados de la **Asamblea Nacional** les dije, vayan a conversar con la oposición, porque también son venezolanos, a llamarlos a la reflexión Dios mío. 7.4#138@153/Q2-2003

Figure 7-12: Concordance lines for '*Asamblea Nacional*', 2003

The sense of Chávez's poor relationship with the Assembly is perpetuated in the concordance lines from the second quarter of 2003.

Section 7.2 highlighted the role of the Constitution in Chávez's discourse and I suggested that the document might also contribute to Chávez's presentation of himself as a heroic leader following in the tradition of Bolívar. Thus, it is notable that the failure to observe the Constitution's provisions is referenced in lines (1) and (2) in Figure 7-12 in which Chávez criticises opposition politicians for conducting a coup against the Assembly. Both of these lines are found in edition 152 and, later in the same edition (3), Chávez further remonstrates with the opposition by accusing them of 'sabotaging' the Assembly.

In contrast to these negative presentations of the political opposition, the President of the Assembly is attributed with positive adjectives (*'equilibrado', 'pacifista', 'justo'*) in (4). Interestingly this list also includes *'revolucionario'*, perhaps undermining the values suggested by *'equilibrado'*.

By (5), it seems that Chávez is prepared to be more conciliatory towards the opposition, recognising them as being 'Venezuelan too' and directing members of his party in the Assembly to talk to them. There are two interesting features in this line, however. First, that Chávez actually addresses his order to '*diputados de la Asamblea Nacional*', although he clearly means to address those deputies who are on Chávez's side (since the opposition could not talk with themselves). Consequently, the opposition politicians are excluded from recognition even as being members of the assembly. The second feature is that '*llamarlos a la reflexión*' implies that compromise is not an option for the President. The opposition must be brought around to the government's way of thinking.

7.4.3   2006-2007

Although the third quarter of 2004 was also one of the periods identified by the work in section 6.2.1 for study in relation to the *Asamblea Nacional*, there were no concordance lines which were immediately relevant to the research question and so it is omitted here.[60]

Consequently, Figure 7-13 includes the relevant lines from 2006 and 2007 (with only two such lines, the two years are being treated together in this section):

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[60] For the purposes of transparency, the concordance lines for this quarter are included in full on the accompanying CD-ROM, should the reader wish to verify this.

> 1. porque de verdad que esta es la Ley de nosotros, la ley del pueblo y nosotros creemos que es importante que esa Ley, cuando se apruebe, haya pasado por una verdadera legislación comunitaria, por un verdadero proceso de asambleísmo de calle, donde trabajemos de verdad el pueblo y la **Asamblea Nacional** de la mano. 7.4#210@249/Q1-2006
>
> 2. Yo voy a insistir a la **Asamblea Nacional** ahora, y pido al pueblo que me den ese voto de confianza, cuando corresponda el referendo para aprobar la reforma constitucional. 7.4#237@285/Q2-2007

Figure 7-13: Concordance lines for '*Asamblea Nacional*', 2006-2007

In the first of the lines in Figure 7-13, Chávez is imagining a future in which the National Assembly can be an institution serving to enact laws which have been created by the people directly. Of linguistic interest here is that this is not done using the indicative but rather the subjunctive ('*apruebe', 'haya pasado', 'trabajemos'*), instilling a rare sense of uncertainty in one of Chávez's predictions (compare, for example, 7.3#189@154/Q2-2003 in section 7.2.2).

In (2), President Chávez is appealing for support for the proposed new socialist constitution (the referendum which he went on to lose in December 2007). The interesting feature here is the distinction between '*insistir*' for the Assembly and *pedir* for the wider population: '*insistir*' suggests that the President feels unable to take for granted the support of the members of the Assembly (which he probably could, as they all came from his party after the opposition had boycotted the previous election). Rather, it implies that he would have to take action actively to garner the support, in turn implying that he at least expected some resistance to the Constitution from the Assembly.

7.4.4   Chávez's framing of his relationship with the *Asamblea Nacional*

The relatively few concordance lines analysed for the collocation of *Asamblea* with *Nacional* all refer to the National Assembly, the lower House of Parliament. Through these concordance lines a picture of a difficult relationship with the Assembly is painted in 2002 and 2003. There then follows a long period during which either the study in section 6.2.1 did not highlight any quarter-year periods for investigation or during which there were no concordance lines relating to Chávez's relationship with the institution. According to my hypothesis given on page 122, I would expect these to be times during which the Assembly was of little importance to the President, implying that he did not have problems with its members in these years. The end of the corpus, however, indicates the possibility that resistance to the new Constitution might have been the cause of a worsening relationship between the Presidency and the Assembly.

7.5   CONSEJO NACIONAL ELECTORAL

Consejo was another permitted collocate of *nacional*. Amongst the concordance lines

obtained for this pair of tokens, the vast majority referred to the *Consejo Nacional Electoral*

(CNE) (National Electoral Council), the organisation charged with organising elections in

Venezuela.   It is necessary to point out, however, that a small number of other lines referred

to other organisations, such as the *Consejo Nacional de Seguridad y Defensa* or the *Consejo*

Nacional de Universidades. These concordance lines are included on the accompanying CD-

ROM but, in order not to complicate the research on *nacional* further, they were excluded

from the analysis; therefore, only lines relating to the electoral organisation were included

(limited to the periods identified in section 6.2.1).

7.5.1   2002

The concordance lines relating to the *Consejo Nacional Electoral* from the 2002 sub-corpus,

which were relevant to the research question are shown in Figure 7-14:

---

1. ese **Consejo Nacional** Electoral hay que sustituirlo y la Asamblea Nacional está en mora
    también al respecto, deben hacerlo por el bien del país. 7.4#258@123/Q4-2002
2. Propónganlo, recojan las firmas, hagan la documentación, el **Consejo Nacional** Electoral
    verá si las preguntas que son planteadas, bueno son no sólo lógicas sino que están dentro
    del marco constitucional. 7.4#266@124/Q4-2002
3. políticos y dirigentes de la oposición tomen definitivamente el camino de la democracia y
    el marco de la Constitución me parece muy bien y debo también al respecto comentar que
    el Gobierno que presido pues dio instrucciones muy claras para garantizar el orden en la
    marcha durante la marcha y en las inmediaciones del **Consejo Nacional** Electoral
    7.4#276@126/Q4-2002
4. No lo van a lograr, no lo van a lograr ni aun cuando el **Consejo Nacional** Electoral
    apruebe la famosa pregunta, que es una pregunta totalmente contradictoria ¿está usted de
    acuerdo en que el Presidente Chávez renuncie voluntariamente? 7.4#294@128/Q4-2002

Figure 7-14: Concordance lines for '*Consejo Nacional*', 2002

The first concordance line in Figure 7-14 reveals that Chávez initially wanted the CNE to be replaced. By juxtaposing this with a reference to the *Asamblea Nacional*, through '*también*', the implication is made that similar criticisms to those noted in 7.4 also apply to the CNE. It is notable that the President does not propose directly replacing the electoral body himself, however, as indicated by the use of the polite second person verb '*deben*'.

Unlike with the National Assembly, however, negative comments about the CNE do not develop further. This is almost certainly because the opposition then announced that they would take advantage of the provision for a recall referendum against Chávez. This provision had been written into the Constitution by the President less than three years earlier. Thus, in (2), Chávez invites the opposition to start collecting the signatures for the petition against his Presidency, which would be required to initiate the referendum. It is noteworthy, however, that Chávez directs the CNE to verify not only that the proposed referendum question be permitted under the Constitution but also that it be 'logical'. This instruction is given indirectly through the use of the future indicative, which allows him both to avoid using the imperative (which might be taken as evidence of interference in the constitutional process) and also to create the impression that the requirement for a 'logicial' referendum question is part of a long-standing procedure ('*el Consejo Nacional Electoral verá...*').

This is important because about one month later, in (4), Chávez directly labels the proposed question as 'contradictory' (thereby also suggesting that it is illogical). Additionally, this line contains a rare example of Chávez using sarcasm to belittle the importance of the referendum question ('*la famosa pregunta*'). The President's use of '*aun cuando el Consejo Nacional Electoral apruebe*' nevertheless implies that he will not interfere in the CNE's decision over the question, with the adoption of the subjunctive recognising that approval of the proposed wording is a possibility, despite his opinion.

Similarly, in (3), Chávez frames himself as having strong democratic credentials by attributing *'muy bien'* to the fact that the opposition are organising the petition.

7.5.2   2004

The relevant concordance lines from 2004 are shown in Figure 7-15:

1. no, no aceptamos chantajes de ningún tipo, y yo estoy seguro que a pesar de los francotiradores que ya han aparecido, empezado a salir dentro del propio **consejo nacional** electoral tiroteando a la misma institución a la que pertenecen, siguiendo instrucciones de los comandos de oposición, sin embargo estoy seguro que la mayoría honesta, racional, respetuosa de las normas en el **consejo nacional** electoral sabrán desenvolverse 7.4#324@179/Q1-2004
2. Los trabajadores venezolanos, la clase obrera venezolana, los profesionales y técnicos que laboramos en la administración pública y en el sector privado le damos un voto de confianza Presidente al **Consejo Nacional** Electoral y queremos igualmente señor Presidente informarle a usted y a todos los trabajadores del país que el próximo jueves estaremos firmando la Convención Colectiva de los trabajadores del Sector Público 7.4#342@183/Q1-2004
3. ha sido un buen comunicado y lo mejor que han dicho en mi criterio es que ellos por supuesto que reconocen la autoridad del **Consejo Nacional** Electoral y que la decisión final sobre todo esto la tomará el **Consejo Nacional** Electoral, no pretende ni la OEA, ni el Centro Carter erigirse como un cuerpo supranacional porque ellos saben que este es un país soberano. 7.4#345@183/Q1-2004
4. Vamos a ver si es verdad que eso antes ocurría, ocurría, el Gobierno no tiene nada qué ver, no ese es el **Consejo Nacional** Electoral el que toma la decisión. 7.4#354@186/Q1-2004

Figure 7-15: Concordance lines for '*Consejo Nacional*', 2004

The recall referendum was not held until August 2004 (the collection of the signatures for the petition fell foul of various technicalities) and it is perhaps for this reason that the concordance lines from the first quarter of 2004 show many similarities with those from the

autumn of 2002. Thus, in line (4) in Figure 7-15, Chávez accepts the jurisdiction of the CNE over matters related to the referendum.

An interesting line in this regard is (3), in which Chávez highlights the fact that his opponents in the recall referendum have agreed to accept the CNE's declaration as to whether the referendum can be declared free and fair, rather than accepting any criticisms made by foreign NGOs. Chávez attributes this common ground to the fact that his opponents recognise the country's sovereignty, a statement which may be intended to minimise the differences between the two camps by drawing on the values of sovereignty discussed in section 7.2. This is a particularly unusual example in that, as noted several times in this chapter already, the President generally prefers to background opponents by avoiding overt references to them.

Despite Chávez's acceptance of the CNE's role in organising the referendum, however, (1) indicates that he is still troubled by the presence of opponents within the CNE, using a military metaphor to call them '*francotiradores*' and '*comandos*', implying that these opponents have a subversive, secret mission at the electoral body. (Chávez's use of analogies is another recurring feature in these chapters.)

This leaves only the rather strange line (2) to discuss. In this example a trade union leader first informs Chávez that a large number of workers support him at the CNE and then the leader immediately goes on to talk about a convention for public sector workers which his union will sign. The non-sequitur in this one sentence is striking but again the corpus can reveal nothing about the reason, particularly without the original video or audio. In any case, the fact that a union leader feels the need to express the support of his members for Chávez at the CNE suggests that the pro-/anti- government split within the CNE might have been more significant than is suggested by the concordance lines from Chávez himself.

7.5.3 Chávez's framing of his relationship with the *Consejo Nacional Electoral*

There are probably too few concordance lines in this section to reach any strong conclusions about Chávez's relationship with the *Consejo Nacional Electoral* but there is some evidence that the President was concerned about potential subversion from the political opposition within the body. For any politician to criticise such a body, set up to protect the electoral process from party political interference, might be damaging to their democratic credentials. It is therefore possible that Chávez played down these problems on *Aló Presidente*, particularly in the light of the recall referendum against him.

The fact that there are no concordance lines after 2004 is due to the fact that the work in section 6.2.1 indicated little change in frequency thereafter which, according to my hypothesis (page 122), suggests that the CNE did not change in its importance for Chávez following this time. Combined with the collocation's low frequency in Figure 6-2, this indicates its low priority, thereby suggesting that the problems at the institution were resolved and that Chávez did not therefore consider them worthy of further discussion.

7.6   EJECUTIVO NACIONAL

Despite the *ejecutivo nacional* being highlighted by the work in section 6.2.1 as an important collocation, none of the concordance lines obtained was found to be particularly relevant to the research question. I believe (but have not thoroughly verified, since this is beyond the requirements of the present investigation) that the reason for this might be that Chávez himself does not often refer to the *ejecutivo nacional*. It appears instead to be a phrase used almost exclusively in narrated passages or in quotation from written sources. As such it is subject to variation in frequency in those editions which have more or fewer of these narrated or quoted instances. Whilst the lines obtained are included on the CD-ROM to permit others to verify this, therefore, the concordances lines are not discussed here.

7.7 Gobierno Nacional

Gobierno was another permitted collocate of *nacional*. In this section, therefore, I investigate

what the concordance lines reveal of Chávez's relationship with the government which he led,

in those quarter-year periods which were identified in section 6.2.1.

7.7.1   2002

The concordance lines relating to the *Gobierno Nacional* from the 2002 sub-corpus, which

were relevant to the research question are shown in Figure 7-16:

1. Hemos hecho carreteras, caminos y no sólo el **gobierno nacional** a través de los presupuestos de infraestructura, la Fuerza Armada, los gobernadores; caminos vecinales, asfaltados. 7.4#399@113/Q3-2002

2. ya basta de que lo que sea producido en Venezuela necesariamente asociado como si fuera de mala calidad, aquí hay numerosas empresas que fabrican con tecnología de punta, que han invertido en la formación de sus recursos humanos; de tal manera que con esto el **gobierno nacional** le extiende la mano al empresario emprendedor y estamos seguros que el empresario emprendedor también le va a tender la mano, no al Gobierno sino a los venezolanos. 7.4#417@115/Q3-2002

3. ese turismo que se incrementa cada día más a Los Roques, entonces es una estrategia, el **gobierno nacional** asegurando la soberanía y el apoyo a toda la población venezolana y allí incluyo el comentario de siempre, qué bueno hacerlo a cada rato, en cada ocasión, la clase media venezolana, la clase media venezolana sabe que cuenta con este Gobierno, que este Gobierno le pertenece, que este Gobierno trabaja también 7.4#420@116/Q3-2002

4. Manuel Rodríguez, Presidente Central Motatán : Muchas gracias por representarnos aquí, que yo creo que es el regalo más grande que nos puede dar a Trujillo y a toda Venezuela, demostrarle que con la ayuda del **gobierno nacional** se puede lograr cualquier objetivo y puede un pueblo entero poder vivir en paz y trabajar, que es lo que hay que hacer, trabajar y dejar de buscarle problemas a los demás. 7.4#429@117/Q3-2002

5. Bueno un llamado y un mensaje a los alcaldes, también a los gobernadores para que juntos como ha dicho la Ministra, el Gobierno es uno solo, aquí está dicho, un gobierno

> corresponsable de los problemas, no es que el **gobierno nacional** entonces se va a desentender de la problemática de las escuelas que dependen del Gobernador, del Alcalde, no, eso es un problema de todos; o del hospital, o del ambulatorio, o que algún Gobernador va a decir bueno este ambulatorio no es mío. 7.4#447@118/Q3-2002
>
> 6. porque también tenemos a la Represa de Calabozo, Tierra Blanca que le hemos estado sacando el jugo, el agua al río Guárico y hay que cuidarlo, cuidar sus riberas y todos estos planes del **gobierno nacional** revolucionario y de los gobiernos locales pues seguramente nos permitirán manejar bien esta situación, pero sin la cooperación de la población, en este caso de toda Caracas sería mucho más difícil, es imprescindible que usted colabore. 7.4#474@120/Q3-2002

Figure 7-16: Concordance lines for '*Gobierno Nacional*', 2002

One of the recurring themes in chapter 9 in particular will relate to the role of the military in the missions. Line (1) in Figure 7-16 is an early example in this regard of the armed forces carrying out roles on behalf of the government. In this line, the government is portrayed as working in cooperation with other institutions, including the military. This could, perhaps, be risky as it could indicate the government's weakness in having to rely upon the armed forces to carry out its directives but, I argue, the phrase *'no sólo'* avoids this interpretation by implying that the use of the military reinforces the government's capacities, rather than detracting from them.

(2) continues this theme of the government cooperating with other bodies, although this time it is in relation to assistance lent to SMEs (Small and Medium-sized Enterprises). What is interesting here is the use of the future tense (*'le van a tender el mano'*) when Chávez indicates that the SMEs assisted by the government will have to help the wider Venezuelan population. It will be noticed throughout these chapters that there are many occasions when the President uses the future tense to provide an indication of future policy whilst stifling opportunities to debate it.

Aiding the local population to find work is the topic of (4), in which the President of a local sugar refinery informs Chávez that, with the government's assistance, businesses can help the people to live and work in peace and that this is what *'hay que hacer'*. A similar use of *hay que* was noted in section 7.2.4 as a means through which personal opinions about the country's future direction can be intensified, so as to sound more definitive.

Government does not only aid businesses, of course; another of its functions is to resolve problems. (5) contains a warning to local government not to wash its hands of problems, saying that these are the joint responsibility of all branches of government. This is interesting because it could be another case in which Chávez is avoiding naming a particular subject in order to avoid offence. It seems unlikely that this would need to be said (particularly not in front of a national television audience) were there not problems with some branches of local government in this regard. (6), broadcast less than a month later, can be interpreted as a reiteration of this point.

Finally, (3) is interesting because of the focus on the middle classes. If one accepts the premise that people do not generally use language to talk about the obvious (people do not often talk about grass as 'green' unless they have particular reason to describe it, such as distinguishing it from brown, wilted grass), then repeating the statement that the government is for the middle classes implies that a proportion of the audience might not have considered the government as striving to assist that section of the population.

7.7.2 2003

The relevant concordance lines from 2003 are shown in Figure 7-17:

1. Presidente Chávez : Bueno entonces fíjate, ahí es donde nosotros tenemos que sacar la Constitución y buscar alternativas jurídicas, porque no puede ser que el **Gobierno Nacional** le envíe los recursos a una Gobernación o a una Alcaldía, el dinero pues, que son miles de millones de bolívares para que ellos atiendan los hospitales, los ambulatorios o las escuelas y resulta que ellos utilizan el dinero en otras cosas. 7.4#486@147/Q2-2003

2. esa es la unión nacional, es el proyecto nacional; aquí no puede haber un **Gobierno Nacional** haciendo unos planes y un gobierno regional haciendo otro, no, no es un proyecto integral de desarrollo 7.4#489@147/Q2-2003

3. Presidente Chávez : Bueno esa es, eso, lo que el Ministro explicó tan claramente - gracias Efrén- ahí es que está el esfuerzo estratégico, el esfuerzo entre el **gobierno nacional** revolucionario, los gobiernos estadales, los gobiernos locales, los productores, los consumidores, las cooperativas, todos juntos lo haremos; no podrán con nosotros los que pretenden ahogar el país o romper las cadenas alimentarias, o producir desabastecimiento para que la gente diga que es culpa de Chávez, no, 7.4#501@149/Q2-2003

4. Fondapfa, Foncrei, Banfoandes, el Banco Industrial de Venezuela, todos los organismos financieros del **gobierno nacional** para nosotros facilitar que esos recursos realmente le lleguen a nuestros productores, firmando convenios con quien sea. 7.4#504@149/Q2-2003

5. Lo que se ha hecho y Florencio Porras y ellos lo hacen a nivel regional, pero no tenemos todavía una coordinación nacional que por ejemplo hoy me haya permitido a mí aquí en Mérida hablar, unir, juntar, sumar los logros del gobierno regional revolucionario con el **gobierno nacional** para informar cosas recientes. 7.4#510@149/Q2-2003

Figure 7-17: Concordance lines for '*Gobierno Nacional*', 2003

A similar argument can be used in the case of line (1) in Figure 7-17: the very fact that Chávez talks, albeit in hypothetical terms, about the potential that some elements of local administration might be corrupt, implies that he is aware of examples of such corruption. Consequently, this line can also be considered as another instance where Chávez has avoided naming the perpetrators whilst also making it clear that corruption is not acceptable (*'no puede ser'*), an indication which is intensified through the repetition of '*no'* in (2).

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The role of the Constitution has already been discussed in this chapter and (1) is also interesting in this regard, since Chávez says that, if justice is also corrupted locally, he will ensure that such corruption is prosecuted but that this will always be in line with the Constitution. As such, the implication is that the Constitution provides many alternative means through which the legal system is able to operate.

Problems with the relationship between local and national government are also apparent in (5), in which the President uses the present perfect subjunctive '*haya permitido*' followed by a list of infinitives to define the level of coordination which he would have preferred. Other examples of Chávez's use of lists to intensify statements have already been discussed in section 7.2 and will recur elsewhere in these chapters.

Another occasion on which Chávez uses a list is (4), in which he details a number of financial institutions which have been used by the government to fund its projects. I contend that such a list is more impressive than just naming one source of funding, since it implies increased confidence that the projects will come to fruition (of course, this may well be a false impression if there are many banks, each providing only a small amount of money). Similarly, the long list in (3) creates the impression of a strong, united front, against an anonymous 'them' (implied through the third-person plural verbs '*podrán*', '*pretenden*'), which one may take to mean the participants in the general strike at the time. As such, this is an example not only of listing as a discourse strategy but also of Chávez's avoidance of naming his opponents.

7.7.3   2004

The most relevant concordance lines from 2004 are shown in Figure 7-18:

1. Cuenten con el apoyo del **Gobierno nacional**, por supuesto, y con el apoyo de la Fuerza Armada para hacer cumplir las decisiones del Poder Ejecutivo. 7.4#537@177/Q1-2004

2. qué bueno una gobernación que como lo ha dicho Didalco Bolívar, ha asumido el compromiso de construir, terminar el liceo y colocar la casilla policial y estar atentos, bueno porque es gente de Aragua, el **gobierno nacional** hace el contrato, busca los recursos, contrata, construye pero la gente es de ahí de Aragua y el gobernador no puede estar de espaldas, cosa que lamentablemente sí nos esta ocurriendo, en el Zulia por ejemplo nunca conseguimos ningún tipo de apoyo de la gobernación del Zulia 7.4#546@178/Q1-2004

3. La idea es de hacer un plan flexible que armonice con el Plan de Desarrollo de la ciudad que el Señor Presidente de la República tiene por esos sectores para que el Zulia no vaya para un lado y el **gobierno nacional** vaya por el otro, sino que todos marchemos unidos por el desarrollo de la región. 7.4#558@182/Q1-2004

4. Pero no, todo lo contrario, no sólo es que no cooperaron o no han cooperado sino que han saboteado o han dificultado o intentado sabotear la obra del **gobierno nacional**, los intentos del **gobierno nacional**, las políticas del **gobierno nacional**. 7.4#561@182/Q1-2004

5. el **gobierno nacional** no ha diseñado, lo ha convertido en proyectos, en intentos pero no, no hay un gobierno en el Estado Carabobo con el cual conversar, con el cual coordinar, es imposible. 7.4#570@184/Q1-2004

6. La Misión Vuelvan Caras tiene una importancia vital, yo pido a todos los candidatos a gobernadores, alcaldes, alcaldesas; pido a todos los grupos sociales, pido a todos los gobernadores patriotas, los alcaldes, los ministros, todos los funcionarios del **Gobierno nacional**, de los gobiernos regionales que nos juntemos y cada día coordinemos más y mejor las acciones de la Misión Vuelvan Caras. 7.4#579@185/Q1-2004

Figure 7-18: Concordance lines for '*Gobierno Nacional*', 2004

The theme of the military working with the government is again found in line (1) in Figure

7-18 as Chávez informs a member of the audience that the armed forces will implement

government policy. This is problematic in the case of Zulia, a state where, at the time, the

political opposition was in power, however. In (2), therefore, Chávez sets up a contrast between Aragua and Zulia, declaring that it is 'lamentable' that the national government struggles to implement policy in that state. This weakly-negative adjective is reinforced through the use of both *'nunca'* and *'ningún'*.

The problems faced by the government in relation to Zulia led, in (3) to a guest making what might be interpreted as an implicit suggestion that the population should protest against the government of Zulia, using the present subjective to create this implication (*'sino que todos marchemos'*). Chávez's criticisms of the state government in Zulia are expanded in (4), in which he argues that the government there 'sabotaged' his reforms. A list of allegedly sabotaged elements (*'obra'... 'intentos'... 'políticas'*) is used to intensify the extent of the lack of cooperation which Chávez's administration receives from the local authorities there.

Carabobo state is also implied to be similarly unsupportive of Chávez's plans in (5) but, in this case, the criticism is much more restrained and the implication is made that Carabobo causes the President fewer problems than Zulia. This implication is, I believe, partly created because the subjects of the criticisms (*'conversar'*, *'coordinar'*) are less critical to the role of government than *'obra'* and *'política'* in (4).

It is perhaps because of these difficulties that Chávez uses the relatively uncontroversial *Misión Vuelvan Caras* social programme (see section 9.2.5) in (6) as a focus to appeal for cooperation from local governments (*'que nos juntemos y cada día coordinemos más'*). I contend that this phrase must be directed towards the opposition-controlled states, since such support could have been expected to be forthcoming from states in favour of Chávez's reforms and so the subjunctive would not have been required.

7.7.4 2006

The most relevant concordance lines from 2006 are shown in Figure 7-19:

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:1em;">

1. Nosotros estamos aquí trabajando conjuntamente con todas las instituciones del **Gobierno Nacional**, mi Comandante, y bueno, hasta la primera fase ya nosotros hemos comenzado lo que es la sensibilización turística a través del ministerio de Turismo, dos semanas; otras semanas estuvo la gente de Foncrei trabajando en los 19 ambientes que aquí hay activados, en La Paragua. 7.4#584@259/Q3-2006

2. estamos trabajando aquí en La Paragua, que estamos yendo a cada una de las minas, estamos yendo y pronto estaremos en Tumeremo, pronto estaremos en otras regiones pero lo importante es que aquí está el **Gobierno Nacional**, están los ministerios trabajando, estamos dando capacitación, estamos dando la asistencia técnica y pronto vamos a dar yo estimo que en unos quince días ya los primeros financiamientos, Presidente. 7.4#585@259/Q3-2006

3. que se le aprobó a la gente, porque esta es una gente que está organizada, entonces aquí tienen que estar sus áreas deportivas, sus áreas para las reuniones comunales, su Mercal, su Barrio Adentro y todos los servicios que necesita una comunidad que va a ir creciendo con el aporte del **Gobierno nacional**. 7.4#587@261/Q3-2006

</div>

Figure 7-19: Concordance lines for '*Gobierno Nacional*', 2006

The concordance lines from the third quarter of 2006 are very few and so any conclusions drawn must be considered as tentative. What is noticeable, however, is that there are no cases amongst them in which there are indications of problems for the central government in coordinating with local authorities. This is perhaps because institutions directly controlled by central government (such as the missions) had become prevalent across the country, as emphasised by the list in line (3) in Figure 7-19.

Similarly, the spread of these institutions empowered local people to interact directly with the central government, as highlighted by (1). What is particularly interesting in this line is the emphatic repetition of the personal pronoun *'nosotros'*, which appears to distinguish the

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speaker from some other groups. This is indeed the case: the speaker is a local *Misión Vuelvan Caras* coordinator (see section 9.1.1) who is asking Chávez to grant a special exemption to the funding rules for his *Vuelvan Caras* group.

The ministries themselves are apparently keen to highlight their role in the local communities. In (2), this is achieved through the use of a list of three initiatives that the ministry has been / will be implementing, all of which use forms of the verb *DAR*, thereby also implying the government's benevolence. Furthermore, the word order in '*están los ministros trabajando*' places the ministries into the emphatic position in the clause, thereby reinforcing the fact that it is they, not local authorities, who are doing these things.

7.7.5   Chávez's framing of his relationship with the *Gobierno Nacional*

Somewhat unexpectedly, therefore, the concordance lines for *gobierno nacional* reveal more about Chávez's relationship with local authorities than with the national government.

At the start of the corpus, in 2002, Chávez emphasised that national and local government must work together but the combined problems of alleged corruption and lack of cooperation from opposition-controlled localities in 2003 and 2004 led to an increased national government presence in local communities, which Chávez achieved by promoting local participation in the social missions across the country.

The fact that there is no research of concordance lines after 2004 is explained by my comments on the *CNE* in section 7.5.3.

7.8 GUARDIA NACIONAL

Guardia was another permitted collocate of *nacional*. In this section, therefore, I investigate

what the concordance lines reveal of Chávez's relationship with this branch of the armed

forces, in those quarter-year periods which were identified in section 6.2.1.

7.8.1 2002

Figure 7-20 shows the concordance lines of *Guardia Nacional* from 2002 which were

considered most relevant to the research question:

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1. mira Chávez es que por ahí se dice están preocupados en la **Guardia Nacional** porque se corre la voz de que si usted llega a la Presidencia o si hubieran triunfado el 4 de febrero que sé yo iban a eliminar la Guardia Nacional? ¿tu te acuerdas? 7.4#639@114/Q3-2002

2. yo también le dije esta mañana al ministro de Producción a Ramón Rosales vamos a revisar muy bien todas estas cosas, y vamos a cerrar esas brechas que están abiertas por donde nos están metiendo contrabando, nos están tracaleando y nos están subfacturando, vamos con la **Guardia Nacional**. 7.4#663@115/Q3-2002

3. por supuesto que eso genera entonces enfrentamientos, genera mayores tensiones y por eso ordené a la **Guardia Nacional** estar en la calle permanentemente y vigilante para evitar que esa situación pueda desbocarse, pero repito cada quien que asuma su responsabilidad. 7.4#672@115/Q3-2002

4. Presidente Chávez : Bueno la **Guardia Nacional**, un abrazo y el compromiso de la **Guardia Nacional** junto con los gobernantes, los trabajadores, los empresarios verdaderos, la Fuerza Armada es para ir acabando pero de manera progresiva y firme estos delitos que tanto daño nos hacen. 7.4#681@117/Q3-2002

5. entonces yo hago un llamado a la moral nacional pero además de eso a la lucha, a todos los entes del Seniat, la **Guardia Nacional**, los ministerios, vamos a tener que crear un escuadrón especial por llamarlo de alguna manera integrado por la Disip, Inteligencia Militar, porque esto es seguridad del Estado, claro que esto es seguridad del Estado, **Guardia Nacional**, la inteligencia del Ejército, de la Marina, de la Aviación 7.4#687@117/Q3-2002

Figure 7-20: Concordance lines for '*Guardia Nacional*', 2002

The predominant feature of the *Guardia Nacional* in the concordance lines from 2002 is that of Chávez taking personal command of this institution. In line (3) in Figure 7-20, for example, it is Chávez who (according to his own account of the events) ordered the *guardia* into the streets to prevent further trouble. Similarly, in (2) Chávez emphasises that it was he ('*yo*') who told the minister that the *guardia* was to be sent in, although in this case it is notable that Chávez then ascribes the policy to the Minister and himself jointly, through the use of the plural verb ('*vamos*'). This might allow Chávez to avoid personal responsibility for any failure of the *guardia* in meeting their objectives.

(5) contains another apparent example of this, where Chávez announces the creation of a new branch of the intelligence services, by informing the relevant ministries that '*vamos a tener que crear*'. I argue that this formulation makes the President's wish very clear but, by avoiding the use of the imperative for this command and instead making the entire government accountable, Chávez himself can thereby avoid any potential criticism over the actual implementation of the policy.

Another role of the *guardia*, according to (4), is the protection of the legitimate government of the country against attack. The fact that Chávez often avoids naming the opposition has already been mentioned, and a further example of this is present in this line, in which they are referred to only by inference in '*nos hacen*', which is further emphasised by its emphatic position at the end of the sentence. In addition, this line also includes yet another example of Chávez's avoidance of the imperative whilst at the same time giving a clear instruction to the armed forces in '*la Fuerza Armada es para ir acabando ... estos delitos*'.

The fact that Chávez apparently emphasises the role of the *guardia* so much in this quarter is perhaps partially explained by (1), which indicates that members of the *guardia* are concerned

about the possible closure of their units under Chávez's presidency. I believe that the

President may be quelling these worries by using *Aló Presidente* to emphasise his reliance

upon the *guardia*.

7.8.2   2004

The most relevant concordance lines from 2004 are shown in Figure 7-21:

1. en la violencia que desató la oposición desconociendo las instituciones, tratando de chantajear al país, lamentablemente unas personas muertas, y entonces ahora el ataque, toda una campaña orquestada nacional e internacionalmente para señalar a Chávez como violador de los derechos humanos, al gobierno nacional, a la **Guardia Nacional**. 7.4#765@183/Q1-2004

2. Ahora, lo lamentable es que termine la vida de un hombre de esa manera, y que además se le mienta a su propia familia, se le mienta a un país y al mundo para tratar de dirigir la culpa hacia los funcionarios, en este caso de la **Guardia Nacional**, y más allá por supuesto el Gobierno, y más allá Hugo Chávez, porque incluso un grupo de personas que se identifica con este nombre de Gente del Petróleo, los mismos, algunos de ellos los golpistas, y los saboteadores de Pdvsa hicieron una marcha hasta la Embajada de España, imagínate tú 7.4#771@183/Q1-2004

3. Con el máximo respeto a los derechos humanos, pero por supuesto la **Guardia Nacional** recibiendo disparos de ametralladoras, disparos de armas de fuego, o aquella muchacha de la **Guardia Nacional** a la que viene una mujer de la oligarquía y le escupe la cara y trata de quitarle el arma, porque para la **Guardia Nacional** esta mujer, el rolo que ellas cargan es el arma, y esa es un arma el rolo, y esa muchacha sabe (la **guardia nacional**), que no puede permitir que le quiten el armamento. 7.4#792@184/Q1-2004

4. Presidente Chávez : Y hoy tenemos una verdadera **Guardia Nacional** incorporada - como componente de la Fuerza Armada- a las tareas para, en primer lugar asegurar la soberanía, la defensa del país, el orden público, la seguridad de las personas, de las instalaciones, luchando esta **Guardia Nacional** contra, bueno, los desestabilizadores, los golpistas, los conspiradores 7.4#804@185/Q1-2004

5. Entonces la **Guardia Nacional** si tiene que tomar cuerpos policiales, los toma; si tiene que neutralizar Policías, las neutraliza; si tiene que neutralizar conspiraciones, las neutraliza, con el apoyo por supuesto del Ejército siempre, en primer lugar. 7.4#807@185/Q1-2004

6. La **Guardia Nacional**, consciente de su rol encomendado por la Constitución de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela, establece como prioridad de sus esquemas operacionales, el mantenimiento y el restablecimiento de la seguridad pública, a fin de garantizar la confianza y tranquilidad ciudadana. 7.4#819@185/Q1-2004

7. sabemos que estos grupos que pretenden y pretendieron incendiar al país utilizando su gran ventaja mediática, luego atropellan a estos hombres y a esta institución, y a estas mujeres de la **Guardia Nacional**, pero bueno es parte de esta batalla por defender la verdad, por defender la patria y sus instituciones. 7.4#825@185/Q1-2004

8. el Artículo 62 de la Constitución de 1811 del 23 de diciembre de ese mismo año, contempla la creación de la **Guardia Nacional**, posteriormente usted hace referencia a 1821, efectivamente el Libertador lo ordena, y el encargado de ejecutar es el General Carlos Soublette, posteriormente el General José Antonio Páez, crea nuevamente la **Guardia Nacional**, el General Cipriano Castro y finalmente el General López Contreras, lo cual nosotros hemos especulado 7.4#828@185/Q1-2004

9. Pues bien, así que, entre esas instituciones, la **Guardia Nacional** ha venido cumpliendo con una tarea fundamental en defensa, incluso de las personas, de las personas, la **Guardia nacional** muchas veces ha tenido que proteger gente del atropello, mis felicitaciones a la **Guardia Nacional** Bolivariana, de inspiración bolivariana, creada por decreto, primero como bien lo ha dicho el General de División Villegas Olarte, en aquella primera Constitución de 1811, nació junto con la República, y luego Bolívar en 1821. 7.4#834@185/Q1-2004

10. Esta es una de las más grandes tareas que está cumpliendo la **Guardia Nacional**, por eso le reiteramos nuestras felicitación; eso es todos los días golpe al narcotráfico y adelante con la colaboración de la inteligencia del Estado. 7.4#840@185/Q1-2004

Figure 7-21: Concordance lines for '*Guardia Nacional*', 2004

In the concordance lines for *guardia* from 2002, the institution had been presented in

7.4#681@117/Q3-2002 as having a role in protecting the government against an unnamed

opposition. The lines from 2004 contain similar examples, as in line (3) in Figure 7-21, in

which a member of the *guardia* is opposed to a woman from the 'oligarchy'. Similarly in (7),

unnamed '*grupos*' are accused of 'destroying' various state institutions (including the

guardia) and, in (4), Chávez says that the *guardia* are fighting against 'destabilizing forces'.

I argue that, because the President has made it evident that the government is itself threatened

by similar forces (see section 7.2), the *guardia* also becomes strongly linked to the

government. It is interesting in this regard that, in (3), Chávez has used the lexical choice of *'muchacha'* to describe the member of the *guardia* who was attacked by the woman. The National Guardswoman cannot, of course, have been as young as *'muchacha'* implies but it does result in the impression that the *guardia* is vulnerable; this impression might therefore be carried over by the audience to the government which the *guardia* is protecting.

Further evidence for the role of the *guardia* in 2004 can be found in (5), in which Chávez's use of the indicative carries with it the implication that the *guardia* regularly has to fulfil its functions, rather than it having merely hypothetical powers which it might have to use at some time. One of the focuses of the *guardia*'s actions in 2004, the audience is told in (10), is in relation to the infiltration of illegal drugs into the country, leading to Chávez expressing his congratulations to the *guardia.* The President's habit of applauding sections of the State apparatus with which he is pleased will be discussed further in chapter 9, in which Chávez will be shown regularly to ask the audience to applaud a certain ministry or group of employees. In comparison with those examples, (10) seems relatively weak, being restricted to a mere *'le reiteramos nuestras felicitación'*.

More interesting, perhaps, is Chávez's framing of the *guardia* with a historical perspective in (8) and (9), the latter of which (along with (6)) links the *guardia* to past and present versions of the Constitution. Similarly, in (1), I contend that the external perspective is present, as Chávez shows his concern at how he is framed by foreign governments, although I believe this to be at least partially countered by the ridicule implied by *'imagínate tú'* in (2). These two perspectives and the role of the Constitution have been adequately discussed in section 7.2.

7.8.3 2005

As would be expected from Figure 6-2, there were relatively few concordance lines from
2005 and 2006, which I believe (according to my hypothesis on page 122) to be an indication
that Chávez placed a reduced importance on the *guardia nacional* in those years.
Nevertheless, the concordance lines from 2005 which were considered most relevant to the
research question are shown in Figure 7-22:

1. General Gutiérrez : Muy bien, muchas gracias mi Comandante en Jefe, un gran saludo
muy respetuoso y trabajando pues, incansablemente, por buscar dentro del comando de
las escuelas de la **Guardia Nacional**, ese fortalecimiento direccionando bajo el nuevo
pensamiento militar 7.4#879@233/Q3-2005

2. Presidente Chávez : Ese es Barrio Adentro I. Sargento Baudín : Cierto, mi Comandante
en Jefe, para que se cumplan las metas establecidas por el gobierno nacional, esto es el
sargento del pueblo, utilizamos nuestros mismos medios, nuestros vehículos, pero no
importa, la **Guardia Nacional** se inició a pie, seguirá construyendo Venezuela, seguirá
construyendo Patria porque eso se lleva aquí dentro del corazón, mi Comandante en Jefe,
construir lo que todos queremos, la Venezuela de todos, el camino del socialismo del
siglo XXI, mi comandante en jefe. 7.4#882@233/Q3-2005

Figure 7-22: Concordance lines for '*Guardia Nacional*', 2005

In line (1) in Figure 7-22, General Gutiérrez claims to be 'looking for' evidence of a
'strengthening' in the *guardia*'s training schools. This implies that there must previously have
been a weakness in these establishments, and also that whatever the '*nuevo pensamiento*'
might be, it is not yet prevalent. An impression of an institution in transition is thereby
created, and so the idea of contrast between the *guardia*'s past and its future.

This sense of transition is also created in (2), in which the sergeant's apparent enthusiasm,
expressed through the repetition of '*seguirá*' and the phrase '*lo que todos queremos*' might be
argued to be undermined by his comment that the *guardia* is using its own resources to

implement the government policy. I believe that his '*no importa*' betrays the fact that others

are complaining about this fact, since otherwise I would expect this issue not to be worthy of

mention.

7.8.4   2006

The concordance lines which were deemed relevant from 2006 were also very few, and are

shown in Figure 7-23:

1. Se conformaron de esta manera : tuvimos el apoyo de la **Guardia Nacional**, del alcalde del municipio Pao, Juan de la Cruz Aparicio; Fundacomún, Minpades (Ministerio de Participación Popular y Desarrollo Social), la gobernación y el FUS (Fondo Único Social). 7.4#894@252/Q2-2006

2. Entonces, de todos modos, por supuesto, solicito de inmediato públicamente aquí al almirante Maniglia, al comandante general de la Reserva más bien el general Quintero Viloria un informe de este caso de la Reserva de la **Guardia Nacional**, del Comando Regional 3, allá en el estado Zulia, para tomar los correctivos que haya que tomar. 7.4#936@258/Q2-2006

Figure 7-23: Concordance lines for '*Guardia Nacional*', 2006

In line (1) in Figure 7-23, there is further evidence of an increasing role for the *guardia* in

implementing government policy, as it is listed amongst a number of bodies which played a

part in one particular project. Again, I consider this to be the use of a list to emphasise the

extent of the revolution.

More interesting, perhaps, is (2), which follows a telephone call from a *guardia* reservist in

Zulia, who has complained that reservists had not been paid and that this had contributed to a

90% reduction in their numbers. Taken at face value, Chávez is apparently quite disturbed by

these revelations and so orders a report on the problem and corrective measures during *Aló Presidente*. Chávez's habit of giving orders and making policy decisions during the programme is mentioned repeatedly over these chapters but I consider this example to be particularly important because of the phrase '*públicamente aquí*', which serves to indicate that he is aware that the programme is being broadcast to a wide audience and that it is not usual practice to give such orders in public. It is perhaps for this reason that the President uses the subjunctive '*haya*' to acknowledge that the telephone call might have contained inaccuracies and that there may be extenuating circumstances to justify the withholding of the reservists' salaries. When this example is given more careful consideration, however, it appears quite impressive that the President knows the names of those in charge in the particular region of Zulia. This suggests (and, of course, its veracity cannot be ascertained by the audience) that Chávez might have known about the problem previously and that perhaps the telephone conversation might have been staged, so as to emphasise the audience's impression of a President actively engaged in making decisions and enforcing policy spontaneously in a public setting.

7.8.5 Chávez's framing of his relationship with the *Guardia Nacional*

The story told by these concordance lines, therefore, appears to be one of increasing politicisation as the *guardia nacional* moves from being a body which defends the government and the country to one which actively implements government policy. There does not appear to be any time at which relations are particularly strained and so this evolution seems quite subtle. Nevertheless, this change appears to occur around 2005 (if one accepts the indications given by very little data), after which Chávez engages personally in directing the *guardia* and resolving any problems in the organisation.

7.9 CONCLUSION

The research question posed at the start of this chapter was:

'How does Chávez frame the Venezuelan State and changes in his relationship with its institutions between 2002 and mid-2007?'

Throughout the corpus, Chávez's perspective is broadly a historical one, framing the Venezuelan State as having neglected its long-term destiny and one which requires a strong leader (Chávez) to bring the country back to the Bolivarian vision. It is a country based on a Constitutional framework (written by Chávez), which he uses to support his arguments for reform, which include a reduced dependence on oil and an increased focus on agriculture. The State is further constructed as one which attracts a great deal of international attention but which is blighted by United States involvement, particularly as a result of the coup attempt in 2002. It therefore requires the creation of strategic alliances, motivated both by ideology and history, bolstered by the *guardia nacional*, to support itself. By the end of the period, it is apparent Chávez plans to adopt socialism as a model for the internal market, but that the country would not be isolationist and foreign trade would also be important.

It has been demonstrated that this methodology has also revealed three main periods in Chávez's framing of the role of the Central Bank: (1) as being responsible for stabilising the currency in 2002 whilst other new, recently created banks provided funding for Chávez's projects; (2) as a neoliberal opponent to Chávez's policies in 2004, which was a dereliction of its Constitutional duties and (3) as a safe guarantor of the country's sustained growth whilst also rejecting the IMF's formulae in 2006.

Similarly, the research has revealed a period of difficult relations between Chávez and the *asamblea nacional* in 2002 and 2003, other difficulties – possibly played-down –between the

President and the *CNE* up to and including 2004 and a lack of cooperation by opposition-controlled local authorities until 2005.

It has also been shown that Chávez is highly reliant upon inference in his argumentation, the use of lists to emphasise the number of roles played by the state, and also the avoidance of nomination, all of which must hinder the opposition's ability to counter the President's position. Further examples of all of these discourse strategies (and others) will be revealed in chapters 8-9 and a series of conclusions (both on the efficacy of my methodology and on Chávez's use of these strategies) will be drawn in chapter 10.

7.10 Appendix: Translations of Concordance Lines[61]

...that is another of the abuses by some people who have had privileges for many years, especially in some of the communication media, I am going to insist on this again, because they must reflect and the serious country must ask them for reflection. 7.2#32@91/Q1-2002

...we were there in a little cocktail party, talking with intellectuals, writers, students and people who study all of the American continent and other continents too, they gave us some books, [they were] very interested in coming to Venezuela to appreciate all that is happening here in its magnitude, because the world understands that here is Venezuela in the world, taking up positions of leadership, work and being an example. 7.3#221@92/Q1-2002

They've told me that there are Mr. Richard Loperd, an editor from the London Financial Times, and from Ireland Kim Blandec and Donacha O'Brien, from Australia Bentle Bim, from SBC Television Australia, journalists from around the world, they come very frequently to investigate what is happening in Venezuela, the world has its eyes set on Venezuela. 7.3#226@93/Q1-2002

...all these shows which the opposition stages, all of these media shows which reflect what is not happening in Venezuela to the world. 7.3#234@96/Q1-2002

From those sadnesses come these loves and from those tragedies come these horizons; so it is that this week we will have to remember, and I start 'Aló Presidente' remembering, but profoundly, looking for profoundness, looking for the historical perspective in those events which, furthermore, today are a reference for the world, not just for Venezuela. 7.3#240@97/Q1-2002

Venezuela has friendship with all of the world and wants to have good relationships with the world, with all of the countries of the world, based on principles of respect, equality, international democracy, international peace, joint struggles against tyrannies, against international crimes, against terrorism, against drug-trafficking. 7.3#244@98/Q1-2002

...democracy, we say from Venezuela to the world, and it is in our Constitution, no President, nor governor, nor mayor can go and choose democracy alone. 7.3#246@98/Q1-2002

... education is not a business, it is not a question of luxury, it's a free human right for the whole world: rich, poor, black, white, etc. etc. Chávez: We are listening to Professor Emilio Silva, from Caracas, a mathematician and lecturer at the Central University of Venezuela, broadcasting extraordinary concepts to us, about the right to education. 7.3#119@98/Q1-2002

Here we are telling the truth to Venezuela and to the world, informing them; and above all filling ourselves with greater strength for that quick-march towards 2021, when we will then be entering into the golden era, after we have traversed this decade, the most difficult decade for us will be this one, the first decade of the 21st century 7.3#254@99/Q1-2002

The seed drills returned and the combine harvesters returned and now we are going to bring some mobile irrigation systems to all of Guárico for the summer and so it is now that the

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[61] These translations, and those in subsequent chapters, are deliberately quite literal in order to preserve features such as lexical choice to the greatest extent possible.

world is realising that Venezuela is a serious country and a government which works and which produces. 7.2#34@100/Q1-2002

... in Higher Education the rules on official approval had never been taken into account as they had been applied in this government, even beyond the demands of the unions themselves, because we understood that they were a responsibility, the Venezuelan State owed a debt to its workers. 7.1#1@Q2-2002

...we have a very, very interesting vision, which is the International Organisation of Bolivarian Circles, which looks for the unification and conglomeration of all those Circles which are fragmented around the world, in such as way as to create an international entity at some point, which could be in communication not only with the Venezuelan State but also with very many links to international relations on the subject of human rights. 7.1#3@Q2-2002

Nelson García: Well, in the first place, our fundamental weapon is the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. 7.3#23@105/Q2-2002

...the National Guard from the great elite unit of that institution, stayed firm and united on 11th and 12th April, at the side of Division General Eugenio Antonio Gutiérrez Ramos, our leader, in conformity with the institution and with the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. 7.3#24@105/Q2-2002

We do not accept, I repeat, do not accept, that the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela be eliminated. 7.3#24@105/Q2-2002

The socio-economic regime of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is based on the principles of social justice, democracy, efficiency, free will, protection of the environment, productivity and solidarity with the aim of assuring integral human development and a dignified and fruitful existence for the whole community. 7.3#31@107/Q2-2002

There, Spain, its laws and its institutions and it's a sovereign country, I say this because this week, with the absolutely legal detention of the terrorist Carlos Fernández, after going through all of the procedures which the Constitution demands... 7.2#13@140/Q1-2003

Aznar, please, each in his place, this is a sovereign country, Venezuela is to be respected as we respect Spain and we respect all of the countries of the world and how long are they going to be dealing with this? 7.2#14@140/Q1-2003

...the Venezuelan State negotiating with the world's big companies, in Europe, in North America, in South America and we are importing and we are looking for the best price. 7.1#8@146/Q2-2003

...now you are seeing the reality, how we need a strong, articulate State, a social State of rights and justice which is able to create a situation of justice, this is very important for you with the contact you have with local government, tell me a little about that. 7.1#40@147/Q2-2003

... a new business from the Venezuelan State, born from the heat of opportunity, here are the videos, it's flying [off the shelf], look, it's said that they have to restock Mercal branches up to three times, sometimes: carrots, sugar, rice, everything. 7.1#11@148/Q2-2003

Today, 8th May 2003, we have 22,300 tons of basic products available immediately in depots; nonetheless, this quantity is tending to increase because we are creating the Venezuelan State's great strategic food reserve. 7.1#12@149/Q2-2003

We are going to be a model country on agricultural development, we are going to produce food for our people and for brother countries as well, to sell them cheaply to Caribbean countries which hardly have any land or water. 7.2#25@150/Q2-2003

After his visit to the UNA, the Head of the Venezuelan State opened the installations of the Hotel Aguas Termales in San Juan de los Morros; re-empowered infrastructure to increase the touristic possibilities of the region. 7.1#13@152/Q2-2003

Interviewee II: My experience as a diplomatic civil servant of the Venezuelan State has been productive, the experience of that interaction between the civil world and the military world, the experience above all in the interchange of knowledge on security and defence matters and the integral development in the Venezuelan State . 7.1#15@153/Q2-2003

On his arrival in the lands of the Guarani [an Amazonian tribe], President Chávez was received by various people while many citizens showed their support for the management which the Venezuelan Head of State heads, who could also share in the music 'Alma Llanera', performed by a local group. 7.1#16@154/Q2-2003

Well, that's enough of that visit to Mercosur, Venezuela emphasising and strengthening the southern paths, Venezuela on an international offensive, Venezuela occupying an important position in South America and in the world. 7.3#189@154/Q2-2003

...so that this century, which is only just beginning, will be the century in which we carry to its concretion, to reality the dream of those who cried, shouted, prayed in this room, on these streets, in these spaces, and then went to the battlefields to give birth to Venezuela, to the Republic, today the Bolivarian [Republic] of Venezuela. 7.3#33@155/Q3-2003

The Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela establishes that education is a human right and a fundamental social duty. 7.3#41@158/Q3-2003

This, our native language, was used less and less, today we are fighting to save it, protected by the good revolution, with the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. 7.3#45@159/Q3-2003

...against neoliberal globalisation and its policies expressed in the FTAA, in Plan Colombia, the conspiracy against the Republic of Venezuela, the blockade of Cuba, etc., Bolívar's ideas are today more present than ever: unity, solidarity, anti-imperialism, self-determination for populations 7.3#46@159/Q3-2003

Go away from here perverse devil, here is a cross which we bring before you, neoliberalism, look at the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, a cross against the devil of savage neoliberalism which sought to enslave these peoples, enslave the soul of this people, but what audacity, really, they are audacious the neoliberals, those who would dominate the world really are audacious, they came up against Bolívar's people 7.3#48@160/Q3-2003

José Sequera: Me and all of the people of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela give you a great hug and strong applause because you deserve it, President, there has been no other

President like you in this country, and thanks be to God and to the most Holy Virgin that we have you, therefore, because the others have been pure fraud, the other Presidents. 7.3#58@165/Q3-2003

Venezuela was an agricultural country, the exploitation of petrol arrived, the petrol industry's multinational model was installed, the fields were abandoned. 7.2#28@172/Q4-2003

...and when we talk about sowing, we are not only referring to the agriculture sector, it's the sowing of a country, an agricultural sowing, the sowing of a new Venezuela, the sowing of this Constitution, which will be just 4 years old on the 15th December. 7.2#29@172/Q4-2003

...this is such a great battle, which is really a historic conflict, therefore, we are here confronted with two concepts, those of us who love each other, and the fatherland, truly, those of us who want this to be a sovereign and free country and a small group of Venezuelans who use another group of Venezuelans, confuse them, make them dizzy, turn their lives upside down, fill them with anguish, terror and panic through the communication media, through rumours, that is called psychological warfare 7.2#15@182/Q1-2004

I urge the United States government not to meddle in Venezuelan affairs, this is a sovereign country, the government of the United States brought its great surprise of 11th April but they have caused us enough damage, enough damage, assisting the delinquents from here, recognising them and giving them influence there in Washington. 7.2#16@182/Q1-2004

Venezuela will always be a truly free country, in which we direct and we will direct Venezuelan men and women. 7.2#6@195/Q2-2004

Now, Venezuela has not joined any old Mercosur, nor has it joined Mercosur at any old moment, there had to be appropriate conditions, ideal for Venezuela to join Mercosur, a strengthened Mercosur, a Mercosur where an alternative project is being constructed, a Mercosur driven by peoples who have woken up 7.3#192@197/Q3-2004

...there was a certain risk because there was opposition, there was some opposition to Venezuela joining Mercosur, I'm not going to say where from, but above all from North America, allies of the US here in the South, they didn't want Venezuela to join Mercosur, and this was one of the weighty reasons, some of the allies who had carnal relations didn't even respond to us 7.3#193@197/Q3-2004

That Argentinean government, I'm not going to name anyone but you know I'm referring to that time when Argentina was enslaved by neoliberalism, and depended on Washington, and then they opposed revolutionary Venezuela entering Mercosur, they would say, be careful, be careful with Chávez, be careful with Venezuela, they could contaminate us, keep them away 7.3#194@197/Q3-2004

It's the news story of the decade, Venezuela has joined Mercosur, and how casual are the Venezuelan opposition's main newspapers, nothing, as if it wasn't important, look at the wretchedness, the egoism of the oligarchy which controls the main newspapers with the exception of 'Panorama' 7.3#197@197/Q3-2004

...they went around saying that Venezuela is isolated, that Chávez and international politics had isolated Venezuela, that Chávez is hated by the world's Presidents, that they would turn their backs on him, etc. and here's the result, this, only the entry of Venezuela into Mercosur

that's all. Just the fact that Venezuela has joined Mercosur, pulverising a whole discourse which this devil has commanded, that Creole oligarchy, that brazen opposition which doesn't pay attention, doesn't pay attention. 7.3#201@197/Q3-2004

...our total conviction that the role that Venezuela is going to play in Mercosur, amplified in this fortune of the Southern alliance which recreates the great ideas of our predecessors, Bolívar, Sucre, San Martín, it will play the decisive role of a protagonist 7.3#210@200/Q3-2004

...that every day it seems less like the old, corrupt, technocratic, inefficient State, which was like an elephant with 4 broken feet, corrupt and corrupting, this old State of the fourth republic now has its remains over there, we have to finish burying it and we must give a new form to the new social State of rights and justice. 7.1#41@201/Q3-2004

...which could represent it for a serious State, for a serious Government, for a serious country, to the serious opposition which we need. 7.3#38@210/Q3-2004

There we go, it is the new social State of rights and justice, it is the new democratic and Bolivarian institutionalism, for those qualities and the new columns of the new state, to generate justice and equality. 7.1#42@202/Q3-2004

...the lancers organised into cooperatives must be part of this ministry without being civil servants they are not going to receive salaries, but they are organised and they are part of the Ministry's structure and that is perfectly possible because the constitution orders that the new state must be a social state, social is not bureaucratic, a state of rights and justice, the committees of urban land 7.1#46@203/Q3-2004

The new social State, through the Ministry of the Popular Economy must start obtaining resources, not for the individual but rather for the community, the problem is the community's and the solution is the community's. 7.1#51@204/Q3-2004

...we were talking about Venezuela in the world, I want to remind you that Aló Presidente also has a webpage, from which you can download the live stream of the program and this really happens, truly, truly, some people might think it's an exaggeration, but in Moscow there are people who are watching us 7.3#265@210/Q1-2005

India: With this visit, the first bilateral visit of a Venezuelan Head of State to India has been made concrete. 7.1#21@Q1-2005

France: The Head of the Venezuelan State ended his international tour in the Old World, specifically in France, where he was received by Jack [sic] Chirac and this meeting was marked by the strengthening of the bonds of friendship which have always united France and Venezuela. 7.1#23@Q1-2005

You [addressing the audience] see, this is very significant, Ali. In so many years a Venezuelan Head of State had never been on an official visit to India, it's true, Ali. 7.1#24@Q1-2005

... we have said to the whole world; to all the leaders with whom I have held meetings around the world and to all the people of the world, we continue to warn them and we continue to alert them, Venezuela will not tolerate any form of North American injustice in the internal

affairs which only concern the Venezuelan nation, the Venezuelan people, the Venezuelan State and to the government of the United States I say, respect [Venezuela] so that they respect you, friend, because if you do not respect, you will not be respected either. 7.1#27@Q1-2005

...all of the team, a strategy in the next few weeks to inform our people, with a lot of detail, through videos, through special publications, television programmes, documentaries, etc. about all that Venezuela is doing in the world and especially about all the results of our intensive international action, which will not stop, of course. 7.3#270@215/Q1-2005

Look because we must abound in that direction, we must insist and we must advance and I said it a moment ago, it's a matter of the social State, it isn't the classic State where a group, a sector, a party rules everything; no, no, a social State is the people's State 7.1#54@220/Q2-2005

Here it says: 'The Venezuelan fatherland has been the victim of the model adopted by the Presidential, autocratic and centralising political regime, its leaders, who led it towards lost, contradictory and uncertain causes, since the first instant when the first National Plan started, the entire country was advancing without a destiny, without clearly defined national objectives, without historical horizons'; this is certain, now we have the national project, after several decades of to-ing and fro-ing the new National Plan was announced. 7.2#46@250/Q1-2006

...socialism is that we all live equally, that we recognise the value of the worker, the value of he who sows the coffee, we cannot exploit him, we must pay a fair price for the coffee and then work collectively in cooperatives, co-managed, the roasting plants, process it and then the social State, with the communities, transport it and bring it to the markets and nobody exploits anybody, and you see that you can sell at half the price in comparison to the so-called 'free market' and we all end up equal. 7.1#57@253/Q3-2006

So, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and its Bolivarian Revolution is above all human, I always say Christian, because Christ came to teach us this, humanity, humanity, justice. 7.3#74@253/Q2-2006

...an active Territorial Guard, an organised body of reservists over the whole of the national territory and the alert civil-military union and ready to resist, whatever the cost; sovereign to the core because we are Venezuela: the hope of a new socialist model at the dawn of the 21st century, and as a sovereign country let us not be frightened against an apparently unlimited military might, fed by the most greedy arms industry in the world, capable of invading, bombing, torturing, even making governments fall, under who knows what vile and invented pretext, to then try to make the people submit 7.2#22@255/Q2-2006

...the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Venezuela, Ahmad Sobhani, and I'm taking advantage of your presence on our programme, Ambassador, to send a greeting, a fervent greeting of friendship and fondness, to the Iranian people, of solidarity to President Ahmadinejad, and tell Iran that we are with you against the imperialist threat and that we demand respect for sovereignty 7.3#83@255/Q2-2006

[the] President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, started his visit to the sister country of Bolivia, to consolidate Latin American integration 7.3#91@256/Q2-2006

We are not going to allow the North American imperialists and its lackeys here, however they are clothed, so that they can once again bring us to the level of destabilisation that they brought us in 2002, we are not going to allow it, and I make an appeal to the serious country that we are the majority, and not only those who follow the Government. 7.2#40@260/Q3-2006

So, over there, for example, in the Arab world, they want Venezuelan coffee; over there in Asia they want Venezuelan coffee, we are going to export our coffee, which is part of our culture, our traditions. 7.3#279@262/Q3-2006

Venezuela is going to be a great coffee producer, for our market and for exporting it, the best coffee in the world: Venezuelan coffee. 7.3#280@262/Q3-2006

The Socialist Constitution Reform, we are going towards the Socialist Republic of Venezuela and for that a profound reform of the National Constitution is required, of our Bolivarian Constitution 7.3#283@Q1-2007

We'll end up being, if we don't correct ourselves soon, the capitalist State which is allied with capitalist workers and a capitalist cooperative, and that cure is worse than the illness, friend. 7.1#68@264/Q1-2007

The news shows the contrast between the trip made by the President of the United States, George W. Bush, through various Latin American countries, to the parallel tour which the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez Frías undertook. The report cited the President of Inter American Dialog, Peter Hakin, expressing that Bush's tour had been affected by what he called the 'Chávez effect'. 7.3#325@274/Q1-2007

...supplying machinery, tools and materials; inclusion for the workers in the countryside, and the activation of an endogenous and sustainable production model. These are the palpable achievements of the rebirth of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Agrarian Socialism aims to guarantee independence in the hands of the people, because the land is everyone's but belongs to whoever works it. 7.3#348@278/Q1-2007

One of the objectives of the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela is to guarantee education for all Venezuelans as a human right and a fundamental social duty. 7.3#352@280/Q1-2007

We are creating the new social State – as the Constitution demands it – to create the socialist republic, socialist society. 7.1#62@286/Q2-2007

...we are going to manage it through the Popular Bank and the Woman's Bank, the advantage is that now that the revolution has created instruments, we are not unarmed, we have the Venezuelan Industrial Bank which now has a range of micro credits 7.3#169@92/Q1-2002

...evaluating the circumstances and the projections to reduce the budget by about 7% and additionally to announce in conjunction with the Venezuelan Central Bank a new exchange policy, which is the Central Bank's but, as it says in the Constitution, in coordination with the Executive Power, so those were the announced measures 7.3#115@96/Q1-2002

Interest rates are excessively high, this worries us, monetary policy is, take note, a matter for the Venezuelan Central Bank, which is an autonomous entity, it does not depend on the

government, but we are working in a coordinated manner because this is a matter of highest national interest, of the greatest popular interest, and one of the effects which we are hoping to achieve with these fiscal and exchange measures is that the interest rates will once again return to a rational level 7.3#116@96/Q1-2006

...a peasant from Yaracuy who sent me this message, that we continue asking the Venezuelan Central Bank for the help which agriculture needs. 7.3#129@177/Q1-2004

I continue to insist, and I will continue to insist, the Venezuelan Central Bank cannot avoid meeting its obligations under the Constitution and under the Law on the Central Bank of Venezuela itself. 7.3#131@177/Q1-2004

A cock does not crow clearer, Doctor Diego Luis Castellanos, President of the Central Bank, and the Directors of the Venezuelan Central Bank, you were put in your positions to comply with the Constitution and with the laws, to contribute to the country's integral development, a cock does not crow clearer. 7.3#139@177/Q1-2004

José Vicente come and talk to him for a moment, please, hold a Council of Ministers on Monday night, or Tuesday, approve what we have already approved in our meetings, the Special Sowing Plan for 2004, and then immediately send a letter to the President of the Central Bank of Venezuela, attaching the plan, and on the same Tuesday when he returns the President of the Central Bank should have already received that letter, on the 14th or 15th. I will wait for a few days, then, take the decision that I need to take. 7.3#142@177/Q1-2004

I continue insisting and you must continue insisting and the Finance Cabinet must continue insisting and the farmers must continue insisting and the country must continue insisting, that the Venezuelan Central Banks really, really guarantees, not with mere promises, as they have done on other occasions, the financing of agriculture. 7.3#148@180/Q1-2004

I am sad that in the Venezuelan Central Bank some people continue following policies, which are neoliberal policies, so, that is to say, they talk about Central Bank independence, and we respect that, but then the Central Banks of our countries are independent in relation to their governments, but they are not independent with respect to the IMF. 7.3#154@184/Q1-2004

...it is not for nothing that we have reduced the fiscal budget which was part of the IMF's format, that part which generated greater poverty, destitution, etc. The economy of the country grew sustainably, these are the figures from the Venezuelan Central Bank: "The economy grew sustainably, significantly and across many sectors" – those are the terms used by the Central Bank –; for the 11th consecutive trimester, 11 consecutive trimesters with a sustained, significant and generalised growth 7.3#161@260/Q3-2006

Well, here we are, we are very pleased with that great victory which the revolutionary deputies obtained, a great greeting to all of those people who yesterday, with truth, valour, and gallantry, defended the Presidency of the National Assembly. 7.4#12@91/Q1-2002

We recorded a triumph for ourselves yesterday, popular power is now in the National Assembly and they, of course had another defeat and they will continue being defeated if they continue to take, take from those stories which they themselves aimed to [use to] deceive the people and the result is that they fall in their own traps and believe their own lies. 7.4#15@91/Q1-2002

...all of you, be ready because on that day, Tuesday 15th from 10am, I will be coming already at that time, to the seat of the National Assembly, I am going to give, as the Constitution demands, the management message, the annual message to the Assembly which isn't really to the Assembly, it's to the country from the Assembly and in front of the whole body of the National Assembly's deputies. 7.4#36@92/Q1-2002

I say to Carlos Andrés Pérez that here we must take control of the National Assembly, just as happened, nobody can say that that isn't a destabilising intention, it is a destabilising intention, it's more than confirmed, and behind it are all those party leaders, economic leaders, political leaders, and there they already have their leader, therefore, Carlos Andrés Pérez, Carmona Estanga, Ortega, all of them 7.4#42@93/Q1-2002

President Chávez: Well Mary, many thanks to you and to all of the deputies, greetings to our National Assembly, respect, recognition and help for the deputies who battle in the National Assembly against [those], especially in these last few days, among who are a group of despairing men, opposition deputies have tried to break the continuity of the National Assembly and to break with the Constitution, with their constitutional obligation. 7.4#111@152/Q2-2003

The deputies and any citizen can, with these images which are evidence, it is a coup against the Constitution and against the National Assembly and this can be the subject of legal process, impeachment for Deputies, isn't it Juan? 7.4#120@152/Q2-2003

They are committing an offence, burning a law in Parliament, for a Deputy, the offence is double, or stopping to hit the tables, or knock the tables over, or threatening to sabotage the sessions of the National Assembly is an offence, sabotage. 7.4#126@152/Q2-2003

If you have to legislate on the streets, well, you take the decision, the country knows that it can trust in a steady, balanced, pacifist, revolutionary and just President of the National Assembly 7.4#132@152/Q2-2003

I said to Diosdado 'talk', I said to the Deputies of the National Assembly, 'go and talk with the opposition, because they are Venezuelans too, for God's sake, bring them to their senses.' 7.4#138@153/Q2-2003

Because in truth this is our Law, the law of the people and we believe that it is important that this Law, when it is approved, will have passed through a real community legislative process, real street assemblies, where the people work for real, with the National Assembly holding their hands. 7.4#210@249/Q1-2006

I am now going to insist in the National Assembly, and I ask the people to give me this vote of confidence, when the referendum to approve the constitutional reform comes. 7.4#237@285/Q2-2007

...we must substitute this National Electoral Council and the National Assembly is in default too, for that matter, you must do it for the good of the country. 7.4#258@123/Q4-2002

Propose it, collect the signatures, fill in the paperwork, the National Electoral Council will see whether the questions which are proposed, well they aren't logical, but whether they are constitutionally acceptable. 7.4#266@124/Q4-2002

...that politicians and leaders of the opposition definitively take the path of democracy and the rules of the Constitution seems very good to me, and I must, for that matter, also comment that the Government over which I preside gave very clear instructions to guarantee order in the march, during the march and in the area around the National Electoral Council 7.4#276@126/Q4-2002

They are not going to succeed, they are not going to succeed, not even if the National Electoral Council approves the famous question, which is a completely contradictory question, are you in agreement that President Chávez should voluntarily resign? 7.4#294@128/Q4-2002

No, we do not accept any type of blackmail, and I am certain that despite the snipers which have already appeared, starting to come out from within the national electoral council itself, firing on the same institution which they belong to, following the instructions of opposition commandos, nevertheless, I am sure that the honest, rational majority, which respects the rules in the national electoral council, will know how to cope 7.4#324@179/Q1-2004

The Venezuelan workers, the Venezuelan working class, the professionals and technicians who work in the public administration and in the private sector, give a vote of confidence, President, in the National Electoral Council and we also want, President, to inform you and all of the country's workers that next Thursday we will be signing the Collective Convention of workers in the Public Sector 7.4#342@183/Q1-2004

...it has been a good statement and the best that they have said, in my opinion, is that they of course recognise the authority of the National Electoral Council and that the final decision about all of this will be taken by the National Electoral Council, not the OAS, nor the Carter Center, established as a supranational body, because they know that this is a sovereign country. 7.4#345@183/Q1-2004

Let's see whether it is true that this happened before, it happened, the Government has nothing to do with it, no, it is the National Electoral Council which takes the decision. 7.4#354@186/Q1-2004

We've made highways, roads, and not only the national government through the necessary infrastructure, the Armed Forces, the governors; local, asphalt roads. 7.4#399@113/Q3-2002

Now that's enough of what is produced in Venezuela being necessarily associated with being of poor quality, there are many factories here which manufacture with the latest technology, which have invested in training their human resources; in such a way that, thanks to this, the national government can extend a hand to the enterprising businessman and we are sure that the enterprising businessman will also extend his hand, not to the Government but to the Venezuelan people. 7.4#417@115/Q3-2002

...this tourism which increases daily in Los Roques, well now it's a strategy, the national government ensuring sovereignty and help for the whole Venezuelan population and there I include my familiar comment, it's good to do it sometimes, on each occasion, the Venezuelan middle class, the Venezuelan middle class knows that it can trust this Government, that this Government belongs to it, that this Government is also working 7.4#420@116/Q3-2002

Manuel Rodríguez, President of the Motatán plant: Many thanks for representing us here, I think it is the greatest gift that you could give to Trujillo and all of Venezuela, demonstrating

that with the national government's help any goal can be reached and an entire people can live in peace and work, it is what must be done, work and stop looking to hinder others. 7.4#429@117/Q3-2002

Well, a call and a message to the mayors, also to the governors so that together, as the Minister has said, the Government is one, it says it here, one government jointly responsible for problems, it's not that the national government is going to wash its hands of the little problems in schools which are dependent on the [local] Governor, the mayor, no, it's everyone's problem; or of the hospital, or the out-patients department, or if some Governor is going to say 'well that out-patients department isn't mine'. 7.4#447@118/Q3-2002

...because we also have Represa de Calabozo, Tierra Blanca, which we've been making the most of, the water from the river Guárico and we must look after it, look after its banks and all of these plans from the revolutionary national government and from the local governments then will surely allow us to manage this situation well, but without the population's cooperation, in this case of the whole of Caracas, it would be much more difficult, your collaboration is indispensible. 7.4#474@120/Q3-2002

President Chávez: Well then, think about it, here is where we have to get out the Constitution and look for legal alternatives, because it cannot be that the National Government sends resources to a Governor's office or a town-hall, money, I mean, which are thousands of millions of Bolivars so that they can take care of hospitals, out-patients departments or schools and they end up using the money for other things. 7.4#486@147/Q2-2003

...this is national unity, it is the national project; here there cannot be a National Government doing some plans and a regional government doing others, no, no this is an integral development project. 7.4#489@147/Q2-2003

President Chávez: Well, this is, what the Minister explained so clearly – thanks Efrán – here is this strategic effort, the effort between the revolutionary national government, state governments, local governments, producers, consumers, cooperatives, we will do it together; those who would like to suffocate the country, or break the chains of food, or produce a shortage so that the people say it's Chávez's fault, cannot handle us, no. 7.4#501@149/Q2-2003

Fondapfa, Foncrei, Banfoandes, the Industrial Bank of Venezuela, all of the national government's financial organisations to make it easier for us to ensure that these resources really reach our producers, signing agreements with whoever. 7.4#504@149/Q2-2003

Which has been done and Florencio Porras and them are going it at a regional level, but we do not yet have a national coordination which, for example, would have permitted me today here in Mérida to talk, meet, assemble with, summarise the achievements of the revolutionary regional government with the national government so that I could inform [you] about recent things. 7.4#510@149/Q2-2003

Trust in help from the national Government, of course, and in help from the Armed Forces to bring to fruition the decisions of the Executive Power. 7.4#537@177/Q1-2004

...how good is a [regional] government like the one Didalco Bolívar talked about, it's taken on the promise of constructing, finishing the high school and putting up the police hut and being attentive, well of course, because they are people from Aragua, the national government

makes the contract, looks for the resources, contracts them, constructs but the people from here, from Aragua and the governor cannot turn their backs, something which unfortunately really is happening to us, in Zulia for example, we never get any type of help from the [state] government in Zulia 7.4#546@178/Q1-2004

The idea is to make a flexible plan which harmonises the Development Plan for the city, which the President of the Republic has for those sectors, so that Zulia does not go in one direction and the national government go in the other, but that we are all marching together for the region's development. 7.4#558@182/Q1-2004

But no, on the contrary, it is not only that they do not cooperate or have not cooperated but that they have sabotaged or made difficult or tried to sabotage the national government's work, the national government's attempts, the national government's policies. 7.4#561@182/Q1-2004

...the national government has not outlined, it has converted into projects, into intents but no, there is no government in Carabobo State with which to talk, with which to coordinate, it is impossible. 7.4#570@184/Q1-2004

Misión Vuelvan Caras is of a vital importance, I ask all of the candidates for governorships, mayors, mayoresses,; I ask all social groups, I ask all of the patriotic governors, mayors, ministers, all of the national and regional government's civil servants to come together and to coordinate the actions of Misión Vuelvan Caras ever more and better. 7.4#579@185/Q1-2004

We are here working jointly with all of the national government's institutions, Commander, and well, up to the first phase, now we have started the tourism campaign through the ministry of Tourism, two weeks; in other weeks the people from Foncrei were working in the 19 areas which have been activated here, in La Paragua. 7.4#584@259/Q3-2006

We are working here in La Paragua, we are going to each of the mines, we are going and soon we will be in Tumeremo, soon we will be in other regions, but the important thing is that the National Government is here, the ministries are working, we are creating the abilities, giving the technical assistance and soon we will give, I estimate, that in a fortnight, the first finances already, President. 7.4#585@259/Q3-2006

...which the people approved, because this is an organised people, so here will be the sport areas, the areas for communal meetings, its Mercal, its Barrio Adentro and all of the services which a community needs, which will continue to grow with the support of the national Government. 7.4#587@261/Q3-2006

...look Chávez it's that here they say that they are worried in the National Guard because the word is going around that if you come to the Presidency or if they had triumphed on 4th February or whatever, they were going to eliminate the National Guard. Do you remember? 7.4#639@114/Q3-2002

I also said to the minister of Production Ramón Rosales this morning that we are going to go over all of these things very well again, and we are going to close those breaches which have opened, through which they are bringing in contraband, tricking us, undercharging us, we are going in with the National Guard. 7.4#663@115/Q3-2002

...of course this will generate confrontations, generate greater tensions, and for this reason I've ordered the National Guard to be permanently in the streets, vigilant to avoid this situation kicking-off, but I repeat that each person must assume his own responsibility. 7.4#672@115/Q2-2003

President Chávez: So, [to] the National Guard a hug and the commitment of the National Guard together with the governors, workers, true businessmen, the Armed Forces, to get rid of these crimes which are doing so much damage to us, in a progressive and firm manner. 7.4#681@117/Q3-2002

  ...so I call on the national morality but also in the fight on all of the entities of Seniat, the National Guard, the ministries, we are going to have to create a special squadron, to call it something, integrated in Disip, Military Intelligence, because this is about the State's security, of course, it is the State's security, the National Guard, Army, Navy and Air Force intelligence 7.4#687@117/Q3-2002

...in the violence which the opposition unleashed, denying knowledge of the institutions, trying to blackmail the country, unfortunately [with] some people dead, and now the attack, a whole national and international orchestrated campaign to designate Chávez, the national government, the National Guard as violators of human rights 7.4#765@183/Q1-2004

Now, the sad thing is that a man's life ends like that, and that additionally he lies to his own family, he lies to a country and to the world by trying to direct the blame to the civil servants, in this case the National Guard and beyond them to the Government of course, and beyond that to Hugo Chávez, because there was even a group a people which identifies itself with this name of 'Petrol People', the same people, some of them were strikers, and the saboteurs of PDVSA marched to the Spanish embassy, do you believe it? 7.4#771@183/Q1-2004

With the greatest respect to human rights, but of course the National Guard receiving machine gun bursts, discharges from firearms, or that girl from the National Guard to whom a woman from the oligarchy came and spat in her face and tried to take her weapon off her, because for the National Guard this woman, the baton which they carry is the weapon, it's a weapon the baton, and that girl knows (the National Guard) that it cannot be permitted that they take the weapon away from her. 7.4#792@184/Q1-2004

President Chávez: And today we have a truly incorporated National Guard – as a component of the Armed Forces – the job of which is, in the first place to assure sovereignty, the defence of the country, public order, security of the people, security of installations, this National Guard fighting against, well, destabilising forces, strikers, conspirators. 7.4#804@185/Q1-2004

So the National Guard, if it has to take on police forces, it will take them on; if it has to neutralise the Police, it neutralises them; if it has to neutralise conspirators, it will neutralise them, with assistance from the Army, of course, always, in the first place. 7.4#807@185/Q1-2004

The National Guard, conscious of its role dictated by the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, establishes as a priority in its operational schemes, the maintenance and re-establishment of public security, with the aim of guaranteeing confidence and calm amongst the citizens. 7.4#819@185/Q1-2004

...we know that those groups which want to and wanted to set light to the country using their great media advantage, then trampling over these men and this institution, and these women of the National Guard, but, well, it's part of this battle to defend the truth, to defend the fatherland and its institutions. 7.4#825@185/Q1-2004

...Article 62 of the 1811 Constitution of 23rd December of that same year, envisages the creation of the National Guard, then you refer to 1821, effectively the Liberator ordered it and the person charged with executing it is General Carlos Soublette, later General José Antonio Páez, creates the new National Guard, General Cipriano Castro and finally General López Contreras, the one whom we have reflected upon. 7.4#828@185/Q1-2004

Well then, so it is that, between these institutions, the National Guard has come with a fundamental task of defence, including that of people, people, the National Guard has many times had to protect people from accidents, my congratulations to the Bolivarian National Guard, inspired by Bolívar, created by decree, first, as Division General Villegas Olarte has correctly said, in that first Constitution of 1811, it was born with the Republic, and then by Bolívar in 1821. 7.4#834@185/Q1-2004

This is one of the greatest tasks which the National Guard is carrying out, for this reason we reiterate our congratulations; this is committing a coup against narcotrafficking every day and continuing with the collaboration from the State's intelligence. 7.4#840@185/Q1-2004

General Gutiérrez: Very good, many thanks my Commander in Chief, a great and very respectful greeting and working, then, unceasingly, to look inside the command of the National Guard's schools, directing this strengthening under the new military thinking 7.4#879@233/Q3-2005

President Chávez: This is Barrio Adentro I
Sergeant Baudín: Of course, my Commander in Chief, so that the goals established by the national government will be achieved, this is the Sergeant of the people, we are using the same methods, our vehicles, but it does not matter, the National Guard started on foot, it will continue constructing Venezuela, it will continue constructing the fatherland because this is in here, in the heart, my Commander in Chief, constructing what we all want, Venezuela for everyone, the path to 21st century socialism, my Commander in Chief. 7.4#882@233/Q3-2005

They were formed in this manner: we had support from the National Guard, the mayor of the municipality of Pao, Juan de la Cruz Aparicio; Fundacomún, the Ministry of Popular Participation and Social Development (Minpades), the governor's office and the Single Social Fund (FUS). 7.4#894@252/Q2-2006

So, in any case, of course, I am asking Admiral Maniglia, the General Commander of the Reserves, rather General Quintero Viloria, here, immediately, publicly, for a report on this case of the Reserves of the National Guards of Regional Command 3, over there in Zulia State, to take the corrective measures which might need to be taken. 7.4#936@258/Q2-2006

8   RESULTS II: POLITICAL DOCTRINES

8.1   INTRODUCTION

The methodology explained in section 5.1, and implemented in section 6.1, revealed

socialismo (socialism)*, empresa* (business) and *producción* (production) to be among the

types which changed the most in their frequencies over the period covered by the corpus and

these types were grouped together in a semantic field which I named 'political doctrines'.

This chapter describes an analysis of the concordance lines derived from these three node

types.

8.1.1   Contextual research

Chávez's initial involvement with politics came in 1982 when, as a politics lecturer in the

army, he founded the *Movimiento Bolivariano Revolucionario 200*, which Gott has referred to

as starting *'more as a political study circle than as a subversive conspiracy'* (Gott, 2005: 38).

The MBR 200 concluded during the 1980s, however, that revolution was the only way to

change the situation in the country. Using Chávez's knowledge as a politics lecturer, their

ideas were all based on a broad manifesto, known as *El árbol de los tres raíces* ('The tree

with the three roots') (Chávez Frías, 2002) which Chávez is credited with formulating. At the

root of the tree referred to in the title is the so-called *Sistema EBR*, which drew on three

patriotic figures from Venezuelan history:

- E - Ezequiel Zamora, who called for free lands and free men, elections, and an end to
  the oligarchy;

- B - Simón Bolívar, who highlighted the need for Latin American unity;

- R - Simón Rodríguez, known in exile as Samuel Robinson, on whose political philosophy the MBR 200 ideals were based.

It is for this reason that, in Figure 6-1, *Rodríguez* and *Bolívar* were placed adjacent to the topic of political doctrine: their names, under Chávez, have become linked with such doctrines. Once Chávez came to power in 1999, he did indeed talk of his policies as being 'Bolivarian', as will be seen in the present chapter.

2005, however, saw a major new direction in Chávez's policy when, in January of that year, in a speech at the World Social Forum, he started talking openly about moving towards the adoption of socialism in Venezuela. In an environment in which forty percent of industrial concerns had ceased operations since 1999, and with a number of other firms working below capacity, the government's new plan was to expropriate failing companies in order for them to be run by local communities as part-public, part-private cooperatives, alongside the existing capitalist enterprises (The Economist, 2005a: 51): so-called '*empresas mixtas*'.

President Chávez's second term in office began with his investiture on 10th January 2007, at which he promised to construct a new socialist society in Venezuela, swearing the promise on Christ, whom he called '*el más grande socialista de la historia*'. In the same speech, the President likened his intended socialist state to a vehicle being propelled by five different motors, all working together. These motors comprised:

- a new, temporary 'enabling law' (giving the President the authority to rule by decree for certain issues);
- the creation of a new socialist constitution;
- imposing 'moral values' through the education system;
- rearranging the structure of the government;

- encouraging greater popular participation in the governance of the state.

<div align="right">(Gobierno Bolivariano de Venezuela, 2007)</div>

8.1.2 Research question

In formulating the research question for this chapter, I reasoned that any move towards socialism, and particularly the introduction of *empresas mixtas*, would be likely to be controversial. I was, therefore, interested in how Chávez framed his policies in order to try to convince the population to support his objectives.

Consequently, the research question set for this chapter was:

'What discourse resources are used by Chávez in presenting the changes which he introduced to the Venezuelan economy in the period covered by the corpus?'

The conclusions drawn from this question will be used in chapter 10 to assist in answering the general research question set in section 5.1.1.9.

My principle assumption was that the historical perspective, which I found to dominate in section 7.2, would become less important as the discourse about Bolivarianism was replaced with a rhetoric centring on socialism, which has less of a tradition in Venezuela. This will be found in my conclusion (section 8.3) not to be the case, however. Rather, through the study in this chapter, I will find that references to the historical perspective in general, and to Bolívar in particular, serve to reinforce the impression of the heritage of Chávez's policies and his personal destiny. Also in common with my conclusions from chapter 7, it will become

apparent that the President relies strongly on contrast as a discourse strategy as capitalism and socialism are opposed in the concordance lines, much as the political opposition had been framed in contrast to the government in section 7.2.

Perhaps surprisingly for followers of Venezuelan politics, I will also argue that Chávez's representation of socialism is weaker in 2007 than it had been previously, and I suggest a possible explanation for this outcome.

8.1.3 Presentation of results

The corpus query numbers for this chapter, which serve to identify the node word used in obtaining each concordance line, are as follows:

8.1 – *Socialismo* + permitted collocates

8.2 – *Empresa* + permitted collocates

8.3 – *Producción* + permitted collocates

8.2 ANALYSIS

The research discussed in section 6.3 revealed a number of permitted collocates which, I believed, would aid in revealing how Chávez's presentation of the different political doctrines had altered over time. Furthermore, the work in section 6.3 had suggested a number of periods as being worthy of study and it was the concordance lines extracted for these periods which were analysed in line with the methodology set out in section 5.1.1.10.

8.2.1 2002

Figure 8-1 shows the concordance lines that I considered most relevant to the research question from 2002:

1. Nosotros hemos venido dando, el 70 % de los requisitos de créditos que tenemos de los diferentes organismos que ha creado el Estado para justamente promover la micro **empresa** y la **mediana empresa**, y una de las mejores formas de expresión de la microempresa es la cooperativa y de la **mediana empresa** es la cooperativa, es crear todos estos institutos de financiamiento del Banco del Pueblo, del Banco de la Mujer, el Instituto de Microfinanzas los institutos regionales 8.2#128@92/Q1-2002

2. Realmente es una experiencia muy enriquecedora el haber tenido el apoyo de la **empresa privada** para montar este Infocentro que ha servido como un elemento de escape para este personal que está allí recluido 8.2#71@105/Q2-2002

3. Noticias en positivo **El gobierno nacional aprobó la creación de la empresa de telecomunicaciones de la C.V.G , empresa que operará con capital mixto entre el Estado, la **empresa privada** y la participación de los trabajadores, con una inversión de 60 millones de dólares este proyecto aprovechará la fibra óptica de la infraestructura eléctrica 8.2#72@107/Q2-2002

4. Y hablando de la economía y toda esa exposición que hacían los ministros de Finanzas, **Producción** y **Comercio**, Planificación y Desarrollo, estaba revisando ayer estos datos, porque la inflación es un diablo, y aquí estaba suelto, nosotros lo amarramos, este año ha tenido un repunte, un repunte inflacionario 8.3#220@111/Q3-2002

5. Vamos a hacer un proyecto integral allí, Rafael, encárgate de coordinar con los ministros de Infraestrucutra, de **Producción** y **Comercio**, Viceministro de Turismo, y todos los entes involucrados en esto. 8.3#232@117/Q3-2002

6. es una obligación de darle prioridad al compre venezolano; le pido al Ministro de **Producción** y **Comercio** que esté muy pendiente de esto y que me avise, yo felicito a todos, pero por si acaso si alguien no quisiera usted me avisa porque he dicho que es causa de destitución aquellos funcionarios que son de libre remoción que no quieren cumplir con esto 8.3#234@117/Q3-2002

7. afortunadamente la mayoría de los sectores privados del país tienen conciencia de que sólo con la unión del Estado, sectores privados y los trabajadores echaremos al país adelante, una economía sólida, productiva, así que este segundo semestre pues hemos arrancado con fuerza para elevar la **producción** y el **comercio**. 8.3#241@117/Q3-2002

8. estuvimos también aprobando con el Ministro de **Producción** y **Comercio** un Decreto, el régimen especial aduanero para el sector automotriz, instrumento para el impulso de la industria nacional porque esa es una línea estratégica del Gobierno, insisto en ella, empresarios de Venezuela y le hablo a los verdaderos empresarios, los que de verdad trabajan, los que invierten 8.3#244@119/Q3-2002

Figure 8-1: Concordance lines for Political Doctrines, 2002

With only two of the pairs of collocates being studied coming from 2002, there is limited data to study for this first year of the corpus. This, in itself, says a great deal: my hypothesis on page 122 proposes that there is a relationship between the frequency of a type and changes in the importance placed on that type in the discourse. With both a coup attempt against Chávez in the spring of 2002 and strikes during the following winter, the lack of concordance lines could indeed reflect the fact that little importance was placed on political reform at this stage.

What can be found in the few concordance lines available for study, however, is that to the private sector is attributed the positive characteristic of having helped a government project in line (2) in Figure 8-1. In the same edition of *Aló Presidente*, the creation of a new mixed-capital telecommunications company in (3) is called 'positive news' (thereby strongly emphasising the fact that this is intended to be understood as being a good thing).

This initial model of a private company working with the State is presented in (7) as something which the private sector already knows to be beneficial to them. By saying this,

Chávez might be suggesting that the State's involvement in private businesses is widely recognised. He thereby reduces the risk of counter-argument by the implication that any business that argues against this 'fact' does not represent a majority opinion or does not want improvement in Venezuela's economy.

Nevertheless, Chávez creates the impression that he is keen to expand the private sector, an implication suggested by the fact that, in (1), he lists more than one government-run institution from which small and medium-sized businesses can obtain credit. As I have already argued in section 7.3, however, I believe that these particular banks were formed partly as Chávez's response to the resistance to his projects which prevailed amongst the staff of the Central Bank in 2002 and so one might question the amounts of money which these smaller banks had available to them.

The implication of (6) is that some civil servants disagreed with the policy of State co-operation with private enterprise, and, therefore, by presenting business as being in favour of it, the position of these '*funcionarios*' would have been weakened. The way in which this implication is created is very interesting. Chávez appears to create a dialogue between business and an imagined civil servant. The civil servant is introduced by using the subjunctive mood '*quisiera*' to say 'if such a person exists'. Whilst in a literal sense, the use of this mood means that such a civil servant does not necessarily exist, I would suggest that, because humans rarely talk about things for no reason, the implication is that Chávez knows that at least one civil servant with these opinions does exist but that he (the President) is avoiding naming him/her. Furthermore, the subsequent switch from the singular '*alguien*' to the plural form '*aquellos funcionarios*' suggests that there may be more than one government employee who disagrees.

A possible reason for this resistance in the Ministry might have been a feeling that Chávez was taking over some of the role of Ministers and dictating policy to them. Evidence for this might be said to be found in the switch of subject from '*los ministros*' to '*éstaba [yo]*' in (4), resulting in the implication that Chávez aims to sideline the role of the Ministry in tackling inflation.

Dictating policy may also be present in (5), in which *'vamos a hacer'* leaves no opportunity for the Minister to debate with Chávez as to the desirability or otherwise of this policy.

Similarly, *'insisto'* used as an intensifier in (8) leaves little room for the affected section of the population (private business owners, who are being labelled as part of the government's strategy, whether or not this is their personal objective) to discuss the policy. Furthermore, there is the implication that if they do not follow the government's aims, they are not 'true' businessmen, which might damage their credibility.

From 2002, therefore, the little data that there is suggests that Chávez is directing policy personally, perhaps even to the detriment of relations with the relevant Ministries. The President seems to regard what one might call public-private partnerships as especially positive. The principle discourse strategy used to achieve this is to construct a dialogue which ascribes positioning to various groups of people.

8.2.2 2003

Figure 8-2 shows the relevant concordance lines from 2003:

1. Es decir, un Gobierno articulando soluciones y ustedes también amigos de la pequeña **empresa** y de la **mediana empresa**, ya tenemos algunos otros convenios listos para firmar con Turismo el sector Turismo, el sector Transporte y seguimos adelante con los acuerdos del sector automotriz, el sector textil, confección, los sectores productivos; porque eso es parte de esta revolución 8.2#135@146/Q2-2003

2. Tony D´Elías : Ahora Presidente yo le digo una cosa, usted tiene en el Ministerio de Agricultura y Tierra y en **Producción** y **Comercio** unos héroes, porque son gente que han atacado la crisis desde abajo 8.3#252@147/Q2-2003

3. agradecimiento a los empresarios del sector turismo, a los trabajadores que ahora están forman cooperativas turísticas en este gran impulso al cooperativismo que se está dando en Venezuela y al Gobierno, felicitaciones a la Ministro del Trabajo, al Ministro de **Producción** y **Comercio**, al Viceministro de Turismo. 8.3#255@148/Q2-2003

4. El fortalecimiento de la economía productiva es otra de las prioridades de los bolivarianos, es por ello que mediante el Fondo de Apoyo a la Pequeña y **Mediana Empresa** se ha invertido un total de 3 mil 55 millones 540 mil 236 bolívares en programas de financiamiento a los artesanos, microempresarios, transporte y prestadores de servicios turísticos. 8.2#141@152/Q2-2003

5. la **empresa privada**, así como estos empresarios que aquí han dado este ejemplo invirtiendo, creyendo en Venezuela, generando puestos de trabajo, cuidando el equilibrio ambiental, pensando en un proyecto turístico, en un parque infantil, en el beneficio al país 8.2#82@171/Q4-2003

6. es una instalación privada de la **empresa privada**, pero con apoyo crediticio de Corpozulia, y de allí vamos a procesar para la producción y el consumo nacional y también para la exportación, buenas noticias. 8.2#83@171/Q4-2003

Figure 8-2: Concordance lines for Political Doctrines, 2003

It would seem that, by 2003, Chávez's relationship with the Ministry of Production and Commerce had improved. In one instance in line (3) in Figure 8-2, for example, the President congratulates the Ministry for having carried out government policy. Similarly, in an intervention from Tony D'Elías in (2), he reminds Chávez about the pro-government role that

some civil servants had played during the PDVSA strike. Elías recognises that not all staff in the Ministry supported the President's objectives as his use of '*unos*' suggests. Furthermore, by naming that group of civil servants as '*héroes*', Elías elevates them to an almost mythical level, thereby attributing his own support to them.

The framing of the government's relationship with the private sector is also quite positive. As had been the case in example 8.2#72@107/Q2-2002 above, Chávez overtly attributes the label 'good news' to a description of a private enterprise funded by public money in (6).

Similarly, the President lists in (5) the positive aspects of private business, creating benefits for the country as a whole. The use of lists was seen in chapter 7 to be an effective means by which Chávez enumerates things with which he is in agreement and this instance is intensified by the direct reference to some businessmen to be taken as good examples.

Another means through which Chávez articulates his support for (private) SMEs is to emphasise in (4) how much money has been invested in them to date through a government-operated investment bank. In order to achieve this, the exact total of these investments is given. The President's use of statistics to support his arguments will be particularly prevalent in chapter 9 and so will not be further discussed here, save to note that the use of *'se'* in (4) obscures whether this investment was instigated by the central government or another entity. Instead, I wish to highlight the listing of different sectors in (1). I believe that the effect of this is to emphasise the broad range of industry which the government is interested in supporting, thereby giving the impression of the government being perhaps more active in its support than if Chávez had just used *empresas*, for example. Furthermore, the comment '*eso es parte de esta revolución*' attributes to this support both the quality of being intrinsic to all

that Chávez stands for (and therefore creates a sense of permanence), but also suggests the

possible implication that previous governments had neglected investment in SMEs.

8.2.3   2005

The concordance lines from 2005 that were considered most relevant to the research question

are shown in Figure 8-3:

1. aquello es **capitalismo**, esto es **socialismo**, así de lo sencillito pues no es ningún fantasma hay que tenerlo miedo, ningún monstruo devorador de niños, no, son dos modelos 8.1#1@218/Q2-2005

2. El socialismo rompe con la lógica explotadora del **capitalismo**, el **socialismo** es el Estado en este caso, el Estado contratando con la Cooperativa y la Cooperativa va y trabaja y se reparte equitativamente la ganancia eso es un elemento, no es que eso sea el socialismo, es un elemento de la configuración de un Estado y de una sociedad socialista 8.1#2@218/Q2-2005

3. la obra de Cristo no tengo dudas de que el proyecto capitalista es el de Judas y el proyecto de Cristo es el mismo de Bolívar y es el nuestro es el camino a un socialismo del Siglo XXI que es el que estamos comenzando a construir un camino nuevo y es el **camino** del **socialismo** el que pone al ser social en primer lugar 8.1#86@222/Q2-2005

4. ese es el **camino** y el **socialismo** no está en contradicción con el desarrollo económico todo lo contrario lo necesita el desarrollo económico como el social, no está en contradicción con la empresa privada, no está en contradicción con la propiedad privada, no todo eso cabe dentro de un socialismo nuevo 8.1#88@223/Q2-2005

5. Por eso qué razón tiene Alberto Cudemus cuando dice "y quién le tiene miedo al socialismo" El **socialismo** es el **camino** para salir de la pobreza y de la miseria y de la desigualdad y darle fuerza integral a la nación 8.1#89@223/Q2-2005

6. Voy a atreverme a llamar a las corrientes de pensamiento de Bolívar, de Sucre y de Simón Rodríguez y luego Zamora -un poco más acá, 1846, 1850 hasta 1860 cuando murió- partes del socialismo originario; incluso precedente al utopismo socialista o a las corrientes del **socialismo utópico**. 8.1#80@224/Q2-2005

7. Cristo era socialista, claro que no había surgido todavía la tesis del socialismo, ni siquiera el **socialismo utópico**, como sabemos, pero el planteamiento de Cristo no es lo que algunos dicen que Cristo dijo o hizo, no. Entonces Cristo, el planteamiento de Cristo

es eminentemente socialista : la igualdad. Y dijo Cristo : "El único camino a la paz es la justicia"; mientras no haya justicia en el mundo, mientras no haya igualdad 8.1#81@225/Q2-2005

8. Esto es **socialismo**, en el **capitalismo** esto es imposible porque el capitalismo es el reino del odio, es el reino de la desigualdad; el capitalismo dice que los que viven en la miseria, bueno, eso tiene que ser así porque es así. 8.1#7@226/Q2-2005

9. la democracia revolucionaria es la transición, el puente **rumbo** al **socialismo**, un **socialismo** del siglo XXI, y un socialismo bolivariano, un socialismo venezolanista, latinoamericanista, e invito, sigo invitando a los venezolanos y a todas las venezolanas a que dejemos a un lado cualquier tipo de complejo, cualquier tipo de temores, cualquier tipo de fantasmas viejos 8.1#49@229/Q3-2005

10. Si Bolívar hubiera vivido 30 o 20 años más no tengo la menor duda de que hubiese sido socialista, iba **rumbo** al **socialismo** Simón Bolívar 8.1#51@229/Q3-2005

11. hace dos meses apenas escribí esto, bueno, fíjate, ya existe, están naciendo las **empresas** de **producción** social, ha nacido una aquí 8.2#7@229/Q3-2005

12. toda empresa del Estado debe transformarse en el corto plazo en una **empresa** de **producción** social, porque las empresas del Estado venezolano durante mucho tiempo no han sido sino empresas capitalistas y se han comportado de la misma manera que las empresas privadas 8.2#11@229/Q3-2005

13. Hemos diseñado un formato para hacer un convenio de una especie de corresponsabilidad; lo vamos a firmar dentro de dos semanas con los gobernadores y alcaldes : con todos esos recursos que van a recibir ustedes, cada proyecto debe dar, debe ser convertido en una **empresa** de **producción** social o en una empresa de producción comunitaria 8.2#20@229/Q3-2005

14. hay que ir saliendo del capitalismo progresivamente e ir, bueno, echando como el piso del nuevo modelo socialista, lo que hemos dado en llamar **empresa** de **producción** social, yo pido a todos que empecemos unificándonos en el nombre y más allá del nombre vienen los conceptos ¿no? 8.2#23@230/Q3-2005

15. algunas empresas que han estado naciendo, empresas que salen del marco capitalista y están construyendo espacio **rumbo** al **socialismo**, un **socialismo** del nuevo siglo, un socialismo de nuevo tipo, una democracia socialista, esta Revolución abre caminos hacia la construcción de un socialismo 8.1#59@234/Q3-2005

16. Mira, Freddy : esta empresa que ha nacido hoy, desde ahora mismo tiene que ser una **Empresa** de **Producción** Social. 8.2#30@234/Q3-2005

17. Nosotros lo que queremos es una **empresa privada** seria, **empresa privada** nacionalista, **empresa privada** honesta, en trabajo junto con el Estado y los trabajadores; que no explote a los trabajadores, que nadie explote a los demás, que se acabe el cobro de comisiones, las corruptelas entre sector público y sector privado 8.2#91@240/Q4-2005

18. En vez de comprar nosotros el cien por ciento a lo mejor vamos con ustedes, empresarios venezolanos, en una **empresa mixta** venezolana 8.2#116@241/Q4-2005

19. Y te digo una cosa, en esto yo voy a ser muy exigente, y el ministro igual que yo : le vamos a dar prioridad de contratos y trabajo a quienes de verdad nos demuestren que están dispuestos a cambiar el modelo, rumbo a las **Empresas** de **Producción** Social. 8.3#75@241/Q4-2005

20. Son empresas privadas que están ya en una lista, en un registro, y les agradezco mucho que hayan acudido a nuestro llamado para comenzar a trabajar conjuntamente rumbo a las **Empresas** de **Producción** Social. 8.3#114@241/Q4-2005

21. las **Empresas** de **Producción** Social, la economía popular, las cooperativas, el sector privado, el petróleo, el gas, la petroquímica, la minería, etc.; es un avance indetenible, indetenible 8.3#123@241/Q4-2005

Figure 8-3: Concordance lines for Political Doctrines, 2005

The comments given for 2002 and 2003 above are based on a relatively small amount of data and so should be read with some caution. There are also no significant collocates found by the work in section 6.3 of any of the three nodes in 2004 (except for the three concordance lines of the collocation of *comercio* with *producción*, which are included on the accompanying CD-ROM but which were not considered worthy of comment). From 2005 onwards, however, there is much more to analyse as the move to socialism became more prominent in Chávez's policies.

Chávez's definitions of socialism in relation to capitalism are strongly polarised, with capitalism being described in particularly negative terms (*'odio', 'desigualdad', 'miseria'*) in line (8) in Figure 8-3. In the same example, Chávez presents these qualities as inevitable, through the phrase *'eso tiene que ser así porque es así'*. Given that capitalism is represented as intrinsically bad, I believe that there is an implication in the concordance lines that denouncing capitalism is the only means by which the country's situation can be improved.

Similarly, in (2), Chávez presents capitalism negatively as being 'exploitative'. He does not go so far as to suggest that all of society must immediately convert to socialism, however; instead he claims that the government can be socialist independently of the rest of the economy, by operating a policy of procuring solely from worker's cooperatives. The audience is told, however, that these cooperatives would not be fully socialist themselves, even though they would be required to share their profits.

In (11), Chávez therefore implicitly acknowledges that he requires businesses to move towards socialism. Not asserting this overtly, however, avoids his having to admit to the weakness of the role of President, which is that he is dependent upon the cooperation of the population (or at least a section of it).

As exemplified in (3), and also in (15), the change to socialism is portrayed as being a journey towards a new form of socialism. This metaphor permits the President both to imply that capitalism is old-fashioned but also to distinguish his concept of socialism from the arguably failed models of the twentieth century.

In terms of the relationship between the President and business itself, Chávez indicates that a key feature of his vision is that socialism can combine successfully with private enterprise but, significantly, there is no detailed argumentation in (4) as to exactly how this will work. Instead, Chávez describes the private sector as fitting within the socialist model, thereby implying that socialism is superior to private enterprise.

A further example of his vagueness as to how this new model will function is found in (18), where the President has chosen to use *'vamos'* rather than *'trabajamos'* in describing how the government will relate to private businessmen. This suggests a less specific form of support

than active assistance from central government, which is further weakened by the phrase *'a lo mejor'*.

As noted above, Chávez has described capitalism as being intrinsically unequal, whilst socialism is framed as being the diametric opposite. In (17), the President indicates his belief that private enterprise can exist within a socialist state provided that capitalist inequalities do not exist. In order to achieve this, the adjective *'serio'* is applied to *'empresa privada'* in much the same way as was observed in chapter 7: the implication is that any business that continues to exploit its employees cannot be serious, thereby depreciating its status.

This differentiation is, however, somewhat undermined by the argument used by Chávez in favour of State-owned businesses becoming '*Empresas de producción social*' (EPS) in (12). In this example, the President attributes a certain behaviour (without describing exactly what this is) to (implicitly, all) private businesses. If becoming an EPS is the only way to escape from that behaviour, one must wonder how the President believes a private business can exist within socialism. Perhaps it is to distract from this lack of clarity that there is no overt criticism of the behaviour in the example. The negativity is expressed only through the use of '*no han sido sino*'.

Chávez acknowledges his gratitude towards, and makes other positive comments about, those business leaders who support his policy on *Aló Presidente*, perhaps providing the incentive of a possible name-check on national television in return for compliance in (20).

Another reason for acknowledging his supporters may, perhaps, be that the wider population is still fearful of socialism in 2005. Such fear is addressed directly by Chávez in (5), though notably he does this by quoting somebody who had appeared earlier in that edition of *Aló Presidente*, thereby suggesting that Chávez himself no longer recognises fear as a response to

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socialism. Also interesting in this regard is that *'fuerza integral'* is contained in an enumeration of qualities attributed to socialism with which the audience may well empathise. Increased national strength is, therefore, assumed to be positive.

A perceived fear of socialism is also addressed by Chávez himself in (1), in which he personifies socialism as a ghost or a monster. He proceeds to explain to his audience that such fear is a childish response and that, in reality, socialism contains nothing of which adults need be afraid. This image is intensified by the use of the diminutive form '*sencillito'*, further constructing socialism as something entirely harmless.

By referring to his brand of socialism as 'Bolivarian' in (9), Chávez invokes the name of Simon Bolívar and, thereby, a sense of patriotism is attributed to the ideology.   This is continued in (10), in which Chávez argues that Bolívar would have been socialist had the label been created by that stage.

This is the first instance that can be found in these concordance lines of the historical perspective, so prominent in the investigation in chapter 7, being used in relation to the topic of socialism. A possible reason for this will be discussed below. The idea that Bolívar's theories were socialist, at least in part, is repeated by Chávez in (6).

It is not only Bolívar who is, somewhat anachronistically, attributed with the label of 'socialist' but also Christ. Examples of this can be found in very many of the concordance lines[62]; among those not reproduced here for lack of space are 8.2#13@229/Q3-2005, 8.1#9@226/Q2-2005 and 8.1#92@225/Q2-2005. In (7), the basis for Chávez's description of Christ as a socialist is shown to be Christian teachings on equality and justice. The President is, however, aware of other interpretations of these teachings, which he dismisses by saying

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[62] See the CD-ROM for the complete set.

'no es lo que algunos dicen', without discussing the nature of this theological debate further. This same phrase also creates a dialogue between Chávez and the unnamed people against whom his comments are directed, in which those opponents are backgrounded by Chávez's refusal to name them.

Furthermore, in (3), the President links the themes of Bolívar and Christ as being socialist and presents them as being in opposition to capitalism, as represented by the Biblical figure of Judas Iscariot. These parallels are likely to be particularly effective with a predominantly Catholic audience. There is another interesting feature in this example: by using '*nuestro*' after naming Bolívar and Christ, Chávez frames himself as leader continuing a long-running project. By offering an alternative route to socialism, '21st century socialism', the President implies the possibility of success where Christ and Bolívar had previously failed. This might lead to the conclusion that Chávez could be regarded as greater than either of these.

This implication is, of course, dependent upon Chávez's ultimate success in implementing his objectives. Characterising himself as someone who gets things done is therefore a means of strengthening his position in this regard and example (11) provides such a characterisation. The President shows that in just two months a project has changed from being a plan on a piece of paper to the creation of an entirely new business.

It is perhaps for this reason that, as noted in 2002 and 2003, Chávez finds it necessary to direct policy personally. By 2005, however, the concordance lines seem to suggest that this aspect of his leadership has led to limited opportunities for discussion of economic policy. There are, for example, indications of a new company's business model being fixed by the President, live, on-air in both (16) and 8.2#31@234/Q3-2005 (see CD-ROM). Similarly, all

levels of the local government structure are told that they must create new EPSs in 8.3#105@241/Q4-2005 (see CD-ROM) and (13), again leaving this policy with little debate.

The wider population also seems to be excluded from debating this change, as Chávez characterises it as unstoppable (21) and uses *'hay que ir'* in (14), thereby implying that this course is the only option open to the Venezuelan people.

In (19), which relates to an idea to bias government procurement in favour of goods coming from EPSs, the President can be argued to be speaking for the Minister but the actual amount of agreement between the two of them on this subject is disguised. This is not, in my opinion, the most interesting feature in this example, however: rather it is the issue of who is being primarily addressed. Superficially, '*te*' refers to the interlocutor, a representative from the Caneca company, but the use of '*en esto yo voy a ser muy exigente*' indicates that Chávez intends to take personal responsibility for ensuring that this policy is carried out, particularly with its emphatic use of *'yo'*. Therefore, it is quite possible that this comment is also intended to apply generally to all companies who supply the government.

In the concordance lines from 2005, therefore, Chávez directs his statements on economic policy to two different audiences. To the general population, the President employs an argument which consists of first portraying capitalism and socialism as being evil and good respectively and then explaining why the people should not be afraid of socialism. This is supported by descriptions of Christ and also Bolívar as socialist, implying that it would be un-Christian and un-patriotic not to be socialist. Finally, he uses the metaphor of a journey to describe how he is leading business into this socialist future.

When the President directs his comments to business leaders, however, the argumentation

seems to be less clear. He appears to contradict himself on whether or not it is possible for

private enterprise to work within a Socialist model and he is vague about how the State will

be able to help in the conversion of existing capitalist businesses. He uses his control of the

programme to restrict debate on economic policy and instead asserts that businesses must

convert to the new EPS model if they wish to secure government contracts.

8.2.4   2006

Figure 8-4 lists the concordance lines which I considered relevant to the research question

from 2006. Before listing them, however, it is necessary to remark that no concordance lines

for the collocation of *mixta* with *empresa* appear here, despite the fact that this collocation

was selected for research in Q3 2006 in section 6.3. The reason for this is merely that none

was considered relevant to the research question; they do nevertheless appear on the

accompanying CD-ROM.

1. Y Jesús, desde el punto de vista de la confrontación histórica entre el **capitalismo** y el **socialismo**, Jesús de Nazaret fue el primer socialista de nuestra era; porque el socialismo se basa precisamente en el colectivo, en el amor, en la igualdad, en la justicia. 8.1#11@252/Q2-2006

2. gente sabe que yo amo los libros, son grandes compañeros; me mandan libros pero por bojotes, de cualquier parte del mundo y de aquí de Venezuela; libros nuevos, libros viejos; mira este que me llegó, vean ustedes, nada más ni nada menos que del Mahatma Gandhi : El **camino** del **socialismo** 8.1#100@253/Q2-2006

3. no se trata de la vieja y clásica empresa capitalista de Estado, no, son empresas de nuevo tipo que desde ahora deben comenzar a nacer con el signo de lo nuevo, de esta transición del **capitalismo** hacia el **socialismo**, de forma tal que hay que tener mucho cuidado – todos los gerentes, los directivos, los líderes, los trabajadores – de comenzar ahora mismo, repito, a sembrar las semillas adecuadas : nuevas relaciones de producción,

nuevas relaciones técnicas de producción 8.1#18@255/Q2-2006

4. Tomemos de Bolívar su idea profunda, su idea presocialista, era un pensador que iba **rumbo** al **socialismo**; sólo que todavía no había llegado al mundo de las ideas y de la praxis el proyecto socialista, el mundo apenas estaba corriendo la Revolución Industrial, y el germen del socialismo estaba surgiendo, luego tomó forma con el socialismo utópico 8.1#69@255/Q2-2006

5. tienen que compartir la gestión para que eso sea una **Empresa** de **Producción** Social si no, no lo es, si no es una empresa clásica capitalista, y ahí no debemos tenerle temor a los trabajadores, no, son seres humanos, estoy seguro de que rendirán más las empresas, tendrán mayor eficiencia. 8.2#51@255/Q2-2006

6. estoy recordando ahora mismo a Eduardo Galeano cuando decía que no hay nada menos extraño a estas tierras nuestras de la América india que el socialismo, porque aquellas comunidades vivían en **socialismo** : no había **capitalismo** aquí, no había propiedad privada; sociedades teocráticas, ¿eh? 8.1#19@256/Q2-2006

7. Lo que tenemos que asegurar y garantizarnos es la continuidad de la Revolución Bolivariana, de este proceso nuestro de transformación política, democracia revolucionaria **rumbo** al **socialismo**, democracia popular participativa; continuar con la revolución económica, la agricultura, el turismo, la pequeña y mediana industria, la producción nacional 8.1#74@258/Q2-2006

8. estamos hablando de una verdadera potencia mundial. Todo este eje, Bolivia, incluyendo Bolivia; estoy seguro que luego, de muchas maneras, con Chile, Perú, Ecuador, Colombia conformaremos el gran bloque suramericano, nada más ni nada menos que el proyecto, el macro proyecto de Simón Bolívar. Elías Jaua, háblanos, te ruego, de lo que aquí está naciendo; del feudalismo al socialismo a través de la Unidad de **Producción Socialista** Manuel Carlos Piar. 8.3#6@259/Q3-2006

Figure 8-4: Concordance lines for Political Doctrines, 2006

As he had done in 2005, Chávez again uses Christianity in examples such as line (1) in Figure 8-4 and 8.3#16@262/Q3-2006 (see CD-ROM) to justify his socialist policies in 2006. Doing so also introduces a historical perspective (with *'nuestra era'* linking New Testament times directly to modern Venezuela) and provides a sanctifying rationale for his objectives.

This historical perspective, however, not only relates to religious figures but (again in common with 2005) to Bolívar as well. He is referenced in descriptions of socialism in 8.1#17@255/Q2-2006 and 8.1#72@256/Q2-2006 (see CD-ROM), for example, and also in

(4). In this latter case, Bolívar is again characterised as being ahead of his time, thinking of socialist policy several decades before the creation of the label.

Venezuela is a predominantly Catholic country and the population celebrates Bolívar as its hero. Since the President argues that both Christ and Bolívar can be seen as socialists before their time, there is the creation of a theme that socialism is native to Venezuela. This is borne out in (6), in which the President suggests that capitalism was imported during the Spanish colonial era.

Bolívar had envisioned a united Latin America, however, and by arguing that there is a link between Bolívar and socialism, the President also implies that socialism is an indigenous feature of other nations. A socialist Latin American bloc, he says in (8), is the 'macro project' which Bolívar sought and which he (Chávez) is now bringing to fruition.

Framing the move to socialism as a continuation of the Bolivarian Revolution in (7) itself creates, through implication, an argument that the President had a popular mandate for the change. The logic of this argument can be described thus:

1. Chávez had been elected President in 1998 as a member of a 'Bolivarian' party;

2. In 1999, the population had approved Chávez's 'Bolivarian' constitution in a referendum;

3. Bolívar was a socialist;

4. Moving to socialism is therefore a continuation of 'Bolivarianism';

5. Therefore, the population have already voted to support this policy.

It should be remembered, however, that 2006 was also the year of a Presidential election, and so this might also be intended to be an argument in favour of the continuity represented by Chávez at that election.

Between them, (3) and (7) (also from the second quarter of 2006) seem to suggest that Chávez was aware of the potential difficulties that might be faced in implementing Bolívar's legacy, however. '*[H]ay que tener'* in (3) and '*tenemos que asegurar'* in (7) are both formulations which betray the fact that there are other ways that private business might wish to develop and that the government will be vigilant in assuring that they adopt a socialist ethos. This, one may argue, in turn implies not just the lack of debate that was highlighted in the comments on 2005 but also a loss of freedom for business owners to develop their own enterprises in the way that they wish, and this lack of freedom is further reinforced through the use of *'deben'* in (3) and *'insistiré'* in 8.2#39@255/Q2-2006 (on the CD-ROM).

In describing the differences between capitalism and socialism, Chávez again adopts the argument which he used in 2005 that capitalism is exploitative (8.1#13@253/Q2-2006 on the CD-ROM) but also introduces a new characterisation of capitalism, which, he implies in (5), is 'scared of workers'. This is very interesting in terms of relations within businesses since it suggests Presidential support for the empowerment of the workers, though Chávez has notably avoided explicitly suggesting that workers should try to force their employers to convert to socialism. Linguistically, this is achieved through quite a subtle process: what Chávez actually says is (paraphrased) that because a business is a social one, not a capitalist one, therefore the management should not be afraid of the workers. Since the President has previously created a dichotomy between capitalism and socialism, this can be interpreted as 'capitalist businesses are afraid of their workers'. The President has sided with the employers (not the employees) through the first-person plural *'debemos',* however, which precludes the interpretation 'we, the workers, are being repressed and so should do something about it', which would be likely to cause widespread unrest.

Why, however, should the audience trust that the President knows what he is doing? In order to answer this, the President's framing of himself is important. (2) is interesting in this regard, since it involves the President describing his own attributes: he portrays himself as someone who is self-educated and who continues to read in order to learn more (and therefore there is the implication that he listens to and considers many arguments); and also as someone who is well enough regarded internationally for people to send him books on political theory. In naming such a widely-respected person as Mahatma Gandhi as the author of one of these books (the fact that he is actually reading it is only implied, not articulated directly), Chávez creates the impression that he is learning from a great teacher, an impression which Chávez causes to be emphasised through the emphatic use of '*nada más ni menos*'.

Due to the suspension of the *Aló Presidente* programme during the Presidential election campaign in the autumn of 2006, there are relatively few concordance lines compared with 2005 and 2007. It is remarkable, however, that there is no evidence of there being different messages to different audiences in 2006 which had been observed in the previous year; instead the vast majority of the examples discussed here have been directed to the general public, not to business leaders.

For this audience, the argument that Bolívar and Christ were socialists (which was noted in 2005) is taken further in 2006, with the characterisation of capitalism as a foreign import which supplanted native socialism during the colonial era, and that Chávez is therefore continuing Bolívar's legacy and the struggle for Venezuelan independence from imperialist powers.

8.2.5 2007

The concordance lines from 2007 that I considered most relevant to the research question are

listed in Figure 8-5:

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1. De teniente ya yo tenía estos libros, ésta es una colección — ya lo he dicho — de cuatro tomos, **capitalismo, socialismo**, comunismo y fascismo. 8.1#25@264/Q1-2007

2. se destruye la humanidad, los valores humanos se destruyen en el **capitalismo**, sólo el **socialismo** nos permitirá ser humanos de verdad algún día. 8.1#27@264/Q1-2007

3. Bueno, y ustedes saben, nosotros en Simón Rodríguez tenemos uno de los más grandes pensadores del **socialismo utópico**, pero él avanza más allá del mero socialismo utópico y comienza a morder tesis del socialismo científico. 8.1#83@264/Q1-2007

4. Ése es el **camino** del **socialismo**, liberar a todos de la miseria y que vivamos como hermanos como dijo Cristo. 8.1#106@264/Q1-2007

5. Y entonces, ahora he dado instrucciones para incluir la creación de empresas, ya no sólo de **producción social**, sino de propiedad social. 8.3#273@264/Q1-2007

6. Estaremos dando ideas, llamado a la reflexión, haciendo lecturas, revisando la prensa diaria, haciendo comentarios, recibiendo llamadas y buscando soluciones, abriendo el **camino** en la construcción del **Socialismo** del siglo XXI. 8.1#109@265/Q1-2007

7. eso tiene que ser de propiedad y de **producción social**, desde el sector primario donde está la cría del ganado, hasta el distribuidor final, donde está el consumidor final que compra un kilito de carne, dos kilitos de carne, etc. 8.3#278@267/Q1-2007

8. Ese, agrego yo, no es otro que el **socialismo**; porque el **capitalismo** lo que garantiza es el mal común, el mal para las mayorías; y si acaso una minoría vivirá bien, pero a la final hasta la minoría que pretende vivir bien en el capitalismo también deteriora sus condiciones de vida, porque la tragedia arrastra a los pueblos enteros. 8.1#30@268/Q1-2007

9. maestros de las universidades; ustedes padres de familia, madres de familia : estas son las cartas de nacimiento de la Patria, del proyecto de esta Patria, de nuestra Patria, los padres de la Patria, busquemos estos códigos, aquí están los códigos que hoy necesitamos para construir nuestro **socialismo**; olvidémonos del **capitalismo**, olvidémonos, y discutamos, eso sí, qué tipo de socialismo, cómo es que lo vamos a construir, ese sí es el debate que hay que dar. 8.1#34@270/Q1-2007

10. Cuando planteamos el **socialismo** como **camino** es para salvar de la muerte a millones de seres humanos, salvarlos de la muerte por hambre, enfermedades, miseria, y más allá : salvar la vida de la especie humana, la sobrevivencia de la especie 8.1#114@272/Q1-2007

11. Ahora, que al frente de la empresa de **producción social** exista una bloquera privada,

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que exista, que un señor la montó con mucho esfuerzo, le dieron un crédito y hace bloques, hágalos; eso sí, siempre y cuando usted no esté contaminando allí todo el barrio, siempre y cuando usted no esté explotando a los trabajadores 8.3#285@276/Q1-2007

12. Vamos a dar un aplauso a esa propuesta de que hagamos una **empresa mixta** 8.2#122@282/Q2-2007

13. Ministra del Poder Popular para las Industrias Ligeras y Comercio, María Cristina Iglesias Sí Presidente, ayer estuvimos trabajando toda la tarde con el equipo iraní y llegamos a la conclusión de que era necesario crear esta **empresa mixta** que se va a encargar no solamente de explorar todas las potencialidades que tiene Venezuela para exportar hacia Irán, e Irán hacia Venezuela, sino de toda la región también 8.2#124@282/Q2-2007

14. Ambas Empresas de **Producción Socialista** : la procesadora de leche y la de inyección de plástico forman parte del grupo de 20 plantas contempladas en el convenio Irán-Venezuela, en las áreas de lácteos, maíz, plásticos y autopartes, con una inversión total de más de 300 mil millones de bolívares 8.3#37@282/Q2-2007

15. pero es parte del proceso, del ensayo y del error, inventamos o erramos, y si erramos volvemos a inventar sobre el error y vamos enderezando el **rumbo** hacia el **socialismo**. 8.1#75@283/Q2-2007

16. Presidente de CVG-Telecom, Julio Durán El problema es que cuando entramos a una red **privada** nosotros como **empresa** tenemos que pagarle a esa red privada 8.2#110@283/Q2-2007

17. Aquí estamos todos en la Planta Francisco Carvajal de Aragua de Barcelona, muy felices porque estamos dando pie a la Revolución con esta **empresa** de **producción** socialista, dentro del proceso de transformación que va liderizando la Revolución Bolivariana y usted personalmente comandante 8.1#69@286/Q2-2007

Figure 8-5: Concordance lines for Political Doctrines, 2007

In 2006, Chávez was shown to have presented himself as someone who read a great deal in

order to further his political education. The following year, he emphasises in line (1) in

Figure 8-5 that this in no way implies that he is naïve; on the contrary, he characterises

himself as someone who has studied the differences between the various political systems for

some time. Despite this learning, however, in (15) the President admits that there may be

errors made in the process of implementing policy. I believe that Chávez emphasises his own

fallibility in order to absolve himself from some of the blame which might arise should his

plans not come to full fruition. It also serves to make the extent of the President's ambitions seem all the more credible, since he frames himself as being willing to risk major structural change, rather than the, perhaps less perilous, option of making more minor policy decisions.

As well as being a reader, Chávez also portrays himself as a commander, leading the government and giving orders personally, as in (5) and 8.2#123@282/Q2-2007 (on the CD-ROM), for example. This is important because it was in January 2007, at the start of Chávez's second term in office, that the President introduced socialism as a central tenet of government policy. The concordance lines reveal that whilst Chávez is characterised as directing activities and learning more about political systems, the work done by his ministers is the product of intensive co-operation with international allies, who have come together to carefully discuss the matter at hand, as shown in (13), for example (see also my comments on the external perspective in chapter 7).

The President once again uses both history and religion as a justification for his drive to convert to socialism. In terms of historical figures, various people are once again invoked by Chávez as having been in support of socialist ideals, as was the case with the reference to Ghandi in 2006. Albert Einstein is one of these (line 8.1#111@268/Q1-2007 on the CD-ROM) and another is Simón Rodríguez, Simón Bolívar's tutor (6). Perhaps most interesting about this latter example is the use of *'tenemos'* with the emphatic *'nosotros'* to include the Venezuelan people, again reinforcing the construction of socialism as being inextricably linked to Venezuelan independence.

The religious argument is especially prominent in a long extract surrounding concordance line 8.1#37@272/Q1-2007 (see CD-ROM). In this, Chávez reads from an interview conducted by the *El Universal* newspaper with a Jesuit priest. The priest is quoted both in support of the

idea of socialism as a Christian ideal and also in support of Chávez as its instigator in Venezuela.

It might be argued, however, that the President's own explanation of his ideology's relationship with religion is rather simplistic. In (4), it is summarised almost as an equation:

Freedom from poverty + Living as brothers = Christ's instruction = Path to socialism

This equation, however, masks an interesting linguistic feature: the switch from the use of the infinitive '*liberar'* to the subjunctive '*que vivamos'*. Through this, there is the implication that Chávez's implementation of the path to socialism can certainly reduce poverty but that he is less certain of his ability to control the brotherly behaviour of his compatriots. The President has perhaps identified a weakness in his ability to bring his project to fruition, and so he appeals here for support from the general population.

It is perhaps for this reason that, in the following edition, Chávez emphasises the government's current actions. I have already observed that lists tend to be used by Chávez to enumerate positive features (see example 8.2#82@171/Q4-2003) and the long list in (6) remarkably contains eight participles (assuming that one accepts that '*llamado'* should be '*llamando'*). The participles create the impression of a government which is much occupied with carefully considering the country's position and direction. [63] An example in which Chávez emphasises the size of an investment has already been given in this chapter (page 324) and (14) includes another such example, although on this occasion the actual figure may be subject to rounding. Again, chapter 9 contains more discussion of this discourse strategy.

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[63] Chávez's opponents, however, would be likely to note that none of the verbs in (6) actually involves the process of governing *per se* and so I believe this to be a very surprising set of features for Chávez to attribute to the government, since the implication might well be that the government will be ineffective because of its obsessive introspection.

I further believe that the additional impression of a government working cohesively is created by the fact that the President congratulates a Minister's decision live on air in (12), a technique also observed in 2003. It achieves this, I argue, by attributing Chávez's personal support to the outcome, thereby legitimising the Minister's policy. By actively calling for applause, the President also can be argued to be asking the audience to invest their kred in the Minister as a proxy for Chávez himself. I would argue that this is very important in the wider context of Venezuelan politics, which is dominated by Chávez as a personality. By requesting the audience to support other government figures in this way, one may argue that the President is providing suitable candidates for the continuation of the socialist project in the event that Chávez himself becomes unable to continue as leader.

Presenting the government as a team is, I argue, also a means for the President to limit the potential damage to his personal reputation by a problem, which is that when people invest their kred in a leader, they expect a reward in return for this trust, often in the short-term. The substantial economic changes which Chávez wishes to introduce, however, will take some time to bring to fruition and will be controversial. As such, the introduction of an additional characteristic into his previous description of socialism is required. Until (2), there are no concordance lines which have been highlighted by my methodology which characterise a substantial delay between starting to convert the country to socialism and obtaining the perceived benefits of the new system. The significant delay is here suggested through the phrase '*algún día*', and this may therefore be seen as an appeal for patience by Chávez to the population.

Perhaps the reason why the President hints at these delays is to be found in (9). This line reveals another feature of Chávez's socialist vision: that the precise detail of how the socialist society would work had not yet been entirely defined. Rather, somewhat in contrast to my

comments on Chávez's personal leadership style noted above, he wants to open up a debate in society on this issue.

One of the more interesting features in (9) is, I believe, the use of the definite articles in '*el debate*'. By using this in place of the indefinite article, the President may be argued to be excluding other debates, such as whether socialism is necessary. Indeed, the emphatic repetition of '*olvidémonos*' prevents discussion of capitalism within the discourse. The terms of reference for the debate are also limited by this statement in that the population is being required to adopt Chávez's historical perspective, looking for the 'codes' which are declared to exist in papers originating from Venezuela's independence.

This denial of any debate on capitalism had, perhaps, been explained two editions previously in (8), when Chávez argued that capitalism intrinsically means that the entire population will be destroyed by such a system, since even the minority who prosper from it will eventually experience a reduced quality of life. This argument, I believe, further adds to the historical perspective underlying the President's policy, since it implies that his consideration is not the short or medium-term, but rather Venezuela's long-term destiny.

Apparently paradoxically, however, just a few weeks later, the President's attitude seems to have changed, arguing instead that capitalism can be acceptable, so long as it is not exploitative and provided that it can co-exist with social businesses. This example (11) is also remarkable since it reflects the situation from the business owner's perspective, not the customers' ('*con mucho esfuerzo*'). The emphatic *'hágalos; eso sí'* is particularly interesting, since it draws attention to this altered characterisation of capitalism.

This is perhaps reminiscent of line 8.2#91@240/Q4-2005 cited above; acknowledging that capitalist business can co-exist within a socialist society and implying that it might in fact be

possible for capitalist companies not to be exploitative, contrary to many other examples quoted in this chapter. One of the reasons for this change of viewpoint might, perhaps, have been due to Chávez finding himself faced with commercial realities, such as CVG-Telecom which was shortly to become part of the State telephone company. The company's President argued on *Aló Presidente* (16) that they could not adopt entirely socialist policies when they had to pay what are known in the industry as 'termination rates'.

Despite the possible weaknesses already discussed, Chávez's arguments in favour of the outcomes deriving from the adoption of socialism in 2007 are often much more intense than they had previously been. In (10), for example, he builds on his earlier theme that socialism is a means to escape exploitation (see 2006), to suggest that it can therefore save the lives of millions of human beings. This implies, again drawing on his previously-established contrast between the ideologies, that capitalism can be said to kill millions of people. As such, Chávez states that the survival of the entire human race is dependent upon a conversion to socialism. This is, I believe, a crucial concordance line, which will be discussed further in my concluding remarks to this chapter.

The implementation of the socialist project itself undergoes a change in 2007, as Chávez replaces the concept of *Empresas de Producción Social* with *Empresas de Producción Socialista*. The latter requires socialist values (including giving away some of the products to the local community, ownership of the company by the workforce and no significant profits to be generated) to be upheld throughout the entire supply chain. In explaining this in (7), it is notable that the President views the operation from the perspective of the end user who buys just a small amount of the product; the insignificance of this quantity being emphasised through the use of the diminutive '*kilitos*'. This in turn means that Chávez does not view the supply chain from the perspective of the manufacturer, who will necessarily have a reduced

income at each stage of the manufacturing process and for whom the small quantities purchased by individual consumers will amount to his total production.

The first of these socialist companies were formed under an agreement with Iran and were declared open during edition 282 of *Aló Presidente* (see (14) and also 8.2#59@282/Q2-2007 on the CD-ROM) in the presence of the Iranian Ambassador to Venezuela, again underlining the international aspect of Chávez's policies. Despite this, however, Chávez was still being seen as personally in charge of the process. In (17), for example, a representative of one of these first socialist companies addresses the President as '*comandante*'. This form of address may be interpreted both as an acknowledgment of Chávez's military background but it also suggests a certain degree of trust between the person who gives the orders and the recipient of them, and so, I believe, it may be seen as a manifestation of kred.

2007, then, sees Chávez framing himself as an educated leader, piloting the country towards a brighter future. The exact nature of that future is, however, ill-defined and open to some debate within an overriding constraint that capitalism is generally unacceptable. Perhaps because of this, the President seems to have consciously moved away from claiming the socialist agenda as his own, making other ministers jointly responsible for its development. The concordance lines from this year are, I argue, slightly less positive than those of previous years, as Chávez warns that the country may not reap the benefit of change for some time. Towards the end of the corpus, in June 2007, there is apparent evidence for an acceptance that the planned changes might not be able to be so profound as the President had previously indicated.

8.3   CONCLUSION

The research question set for this chapter was:

What discourse resources are used by Chávez in presenting the changes which he introduced to the Venezuelan economy in the period covered by the corpus?

An analysis of the concordance lines arising from the methodology has demonstrated that a number of discourse resources were used by the President, including predication, argumentation and perspectivization. Perhaps due to the topic of the concordance lines in this chapter, nomination (or its avoidance) was found less often than in chapter 7.

At the start of the corpus, it is found that Chávez often supported the idea of mixing capitalist and socialist businesses but comes, especially from 2006 onwards, to attribute a growing number of features to socialism, often defining it positively in juxtaposition to capitalism, which he generally defines negatively in later years, although there is an apparent weakening of this position towards the end of the corpus.

His argumentation started as being directed towards encouraging Ministries to comply with his policies, then to convincing the wider population that there was no need to be afraid of socialism. Whilst the majority of the corpus predominantly reveals Chávez to be promoting this policy personally, in 2007 the President invites the general public to discuss the socialist future of the country and retreats from the position of President-led policy towards one which involves consensus with other sections of government. Despite this increased openness, however, there are examples throughout the corpus in which Chávez's use of language implies that the general move towards socialism is not open for debate.

This, I believe, is because underlying Chávez's motivation is the historical perspective. 8.1#114@272/Q1-2007 is particularly interesting when the sentence is considered in the light of the topic of legacy that has been explored through this, and the previous, chapter: I believe that Chávez sees himself not only as finally fulfilling Bolívar's wish for an independent Latin America (not previously achieved in any complete sense if one views capitalism as an ideology which arrived with the Spanish conquest) but also that he is instigating a process which, if carried out globally, would make him (Chávez) the saviour of humankind on an international scale, potentially also making him more of a national hero than Bolívar.

Personally, I am quite surprised by the set of conclusions reached in this chapter, since there appears to be a discontinuity between the perception by most political commentators (that the socialist project became more intensified in Venezuela in 2007) and the data contained in this chapter (which suggests that the discourse around the socialist project actually becomes increasingly subject to mitigation). I do not wish to claim, however, that the political commentators are incorrect, since the emphasis on socialism in Venezuela has certainly become greater subsequently and few people would see 2007 as a year in which Chávez's personal leadership weakened.   Rather, I would argue that my research has demonstrated that commentators from a non-linguistic background are unlikely to detect the use of mitigation as a discourse strategy, which might serve to absolve Chávez of some personal responsibility should his project fail or should the population's support turn against him in the future. It is for this reason, I argue, that the overtly-expressed policy appears to be disjointed from the underlying rhetoric.

8.4 APPENDIX: TRANSLATIONS OF CONCORDANCE LINES

We have come along granting 70% of the requests for lines of credit that are received by the different organisations which the State has created to fairly promote micro businesses and medium-sized businesses, and one of the best means of expression for a micro-business is as a cooperative, and for a medium-sized business is as a cooperative, it is creating all of those financial institutions, the People's Bank, the Woman's Bank, the Institute of Microfinance, regional institutions... 8.2#128@92/Q1-2002

Really it is a very enriching experience to have had assistance from private business in putting this 'InfoCentro', which has served as an element of escape for the staff who are confined over there. 8.2#71@105/Q2-2002

Good news **The national government approved the creation of the C.V.G. telecommunications company, which will operate with a mixed capital from the State, private business and the participation of the workers, with an investment of 60 million Dollars, this project will take advantage of the fibre optics in the electricity infrastructure. 8.2#72@107/Q2-2002

And talking about the economy and all of the presentations that the ministers of Finance, Production and Commerce, Planning and Development made, I was looking over the data yesterday, because inflation is a devil, and here it was loose, we tied it down, this year it has had an upturn, an inflationary upturn. 8.3#220@111/Q3-2002

We are going to do an integral project on that matter, Rafael, put yourself in charge of coordinating with the ministries of Infrastructure, Production and Commerce, the Vice ministry of Tourism, and all of the entities involved in this. 8.3#232@117/Q3-2002

...it is an obligation to prioritise buying Venezuelan goods; I ask the Minister for Production and Commerce, to be very concerned about this and to tell me, I congratulate everyone, but if, in case, if someone does not want to, tell me about it, because I have said that it is a case for dismissal if those civil servants who are free, dismissal if they do not want to comply with this. 8.3#234@117/Q3-2002

...fortunately, the majority of the country's private sectors know that only through a union of the State with the private sector and workers will we take the country forward, a solid, productive economy, so it is that in this second semester we have therefore energetically launched [a project] to increase production and business. 8.3#241@117/Q3-2002

...we were also approving a Decree, with the Minister of Production and Commerce, the special customs procedure for the automotive sector, an instrument to assist the national industry because it's one of the Government's strategic lines of thought, I insist on it, Venezuelan businessmen, and you talk to the real businessmen, those who really work, those who invest... 8.3#44@119/Q3-2002

That is to say, a Government which is articulating solutions and you, too, friends of small businesses and medium-sized businesses, we already have some other agreements, ready to sign with [the Ministry of] Tourism and the tourism sector, the transport sector and we are continuing with agreements in the automotive sector, the textile sector, manufacturing, the productive sectors, because that is part of this revolution 8.2#135@146/Q2-2003

Tony D'Elías: Now, President, I will say something to you, in the Ministry of Agriculture and Land, and Production and Commerce, you have some heroes, because they are people who have attacked the crisis from below. 8.3#252@147/Q2-2003

...thanks to the businessmen in the tourism sector, to the workers who are now forming tourism cooperatives in this great push to cooperativism which is taking place in Venezuela, and to the Government, congratulations to the Ministry of Work, the Ministry of Production and Commerce, to the Vice ministry of Tourism. 8.3#255@148/Q2-2003

The strengthening of the productive economy is another of the priorities of Bolivarians, that is why, through the Fund for Assistance to Small and Medium-sized Businesses, a total of 3 055 540 236 Bs has been invested in programmes financing artisans, micro-businesses, transport and providers of services for tourists. 8.2#141@152/Q2-2003

...the private sector, just like those businessmen from here, who have given that example, investing, believing in Venezuela, creating jobs, looking after the environmental balance, thinking of a tourism project, a park for children, in benefitting the country 8.2#82@171/Q4-2003

...it's a private installation, belonging to the private sector, but with assistance in the form of credit from Corpozulia, and from there we will process [food] for production and national consumption and also for export, good news. 8.2#83@171/Q4-2003

...that's capitalism, this is socialism, it's that simple, then, it's no ghost to be scared of, no monster which eats children, no, they are two models 8.1#1@218/Q2-2005

Socialism breaks the exploitative logic of capitalism, socialism is the State in this case, the State making contracts with the Cooperative, and the Cooperative goes and works and the profits are shared equally this is an element, but this is not socialism, it is an element of the configuration of a State and of a socialist society 8.1#2@218/Q2-2005

...Christ's work, I do not doubt that the capitalist project is Judas' and that Christ's project is the same as Bolívar's and it is our path to a 21st century socialism, which is what we are starting to construct, a new path, and it is the path to socialism, which puts the social being in the first place 8.1#86@222/Q2-2005

...this is the path and socialism is not in contradiction with economic development, on the contrary, economic development needs social [development], it does not contradict private enterprise, it does not contradict private property, no, there's space for all of this inside a new socialism 8.1#88@223/Q2-2005

That is why Alberto Cudemus is so correct when he says 'and who is scared of socialism?' Socialism is the path to escape from poverty and squalor and from inequality and gives integral strength to the nation. 8.1#89@223/Q2-2005

I am going to dare to call the trains of thought of Bolívar, Sucre, and Simón Rodríguez and later Zamora – a little closer, 1846, 1850 until 1860 when he died, part of original socialism; even precedents of utopian socialism or the themes of utopian socialism 8.1#80@224/Q2-2005

Christ was a socialist, of course the thesis of socialism had not yet arisen, not even utopian socialism, as we know, but Christ's approach is not what some people say that Christ said or did, no. So Christ, Christ's approach, is eminently socialist: equality. And Christ said "The only path to peace is justice'; as long as there is no justice in the world, as long as there is no equality... 8.1#81@225/Q2-2005

This is socialism, in capitalism this is impossible, because capitalism is the kingdom of hate, it is the kingdom of inequality; capitalism says that, those who live in poverty, it must be like that, because it's like that. 8.1#7@226/Q2-2005

...the revolutionary democracy is in transition, on the bridge which leads to socialism, a 21st century socialism, and a Bolivarian socialism, a Venezuelan, Latin American socialism, and I invite, I continue inviting, every Venezuelan man and woman to leave any sort of complex on the side, any sort of fears, any sort of old ghosts 8.1#49@229/Q3-2005

If Bolívar had lived 30 or 20 years more, I do not have the slightest doubt that he would have been socialist, he was going towards socialism, Simón Bolívar 8.1#1@229/Q3-2005

...I barely wrote that two months ago, well, take note, it exists already, *Empresas de producción social* are being born, one has been born here 8.2#7@229/Q3-2005

...every State-owned business must be transformed in a short time to an *empresa de producción social*, because Venezuela's State-owned businesses have, for a long time, been nothing but capitalist businesses and have behaved in the same way as private businesses 8.2#11@229/Q3-2005

We have designed a format forming an agreement, a sort of co-responsibility; we are going to sign it with governors and mayors in the next two weeks: with all of these resources which you are going to receive, each project must give, must be converted into an *empresa de producción social* or a community-owned company which produces for the community 8.2#20@229/Q3-2005

...we must progressively leave capitalism and go, well, building the new socialist model on the foundations of what we have come to call the *empresas de producción social,* and I ask everyone to start using this name consistently and, beyond the name come the concepts, don't they? 8.2#23@230/Q3-2005

...some businesses which have been being born, businesses which come out of the capitalist framework and are constructing space, a path towards socialism, a socialism of the new century, a new type of socialism, a socialist democracy, this Revolution is opening paths towards the construction of a socialism... 8.1#59@234/Q3-2005

Look, Freddy, this business which has been born today, from this same moment it must be an *Empresa de Producción Social* 8.2#30@234/Q3-2005

We, what we want, is a serious private sector, a nationalist private sector, an honest private sector, working with the State and with workers, which does not exploit workers, nobody should exploit anyone, payment of commission charges should finish, the petty corruption between the public and private sectors 8.2#91@240/Q4-2005

Instead of us buying one hundred percent, perhaps we will go with you, Venezuelan businessmen, in a Venezuelan mixed business 8.2#116@241/Q4-2005

And I'll tell you one thing, I'm going to be very insistent on this, and the minister equally so, we are going to give priority for contracts and work to those who really can demonstrate to us that they are prepared to change model, towards *Empresas de Producción Social*. 8.3#75@241/Q4-2005

They are private businesses which are already on a list, on a register, and I thank them a lot that they heard our call to start to work together creating *Empresas de Producción Social*. 8.3#114@241/Q4-2005

The *Empresas de Producción Social*, the popular economy, cooperatives, the private sector, petroleum, gas, the petrochemical industry, mining, etc., it is an unstoppable advance, unstoppable 8.3#123@241/Q4-2005

And Jesus, from the point-of-view of the historic confrontation between capitalism and socialism, Jesus of Nazareth was the first socialist of our era; because socialism is based precisely on collectives, love, equality, justice. 8.1#11@252/Q2-2006

...people know that I love books, they are great friends, they send me books by the bundle, from all over the world and from here in Venezuela; new books, old books, look at this one which came to me, look, it's nothing more or less than by Mahatma Gandhi: The path to socialism. 8.1#100@253/Q2-2006

...it's not about the old and classic State-run capitalist business, no, these are a new type of business, which from now on must start to be born with the mark of the new things, of this transition from capitalism to socialism, in such a way that, we must be careful, managers, directors, leaders, workers, to start from this very moment, I repeat, to sow the appropriate seeds, new production relations, new relationships with production processes 8.1#18@255/Q2-2006

Let's take Bolívar, his profound idea, his pre-socialist idea, he was a thinker who was going towards socialism; only that the ideas and the praxis of the socialist project had not yet come to the world, the world was only just going through the Industrial Revolution, the germ of socialism was sprouting and then took shape as utopian socialism 8.1#69@255/Q2-2006

...you must share the management for this to be an *Empresa de Producción Social*, if you do not, it is not, if not, it is a classic capitalist business, and on that point, we must not make the workers afraid, no, they are human beings, I am sure that businesses will produce more, they will be more efficient. 8.2#51@255/Q2-2006

I am remembering Eduardo Galeano at this very moment, when he says that there is nothing less foreign to these lands of our Indian America than socialism, because those communities were socialist: there was no capitalism here, there was no private property, theocratic societies, hey? 8.1#19@256/Q2-2006

What we must be sure of and guarantee is that the Bolivarian Revolution will continue, from this political transformation of ours, revolutionary democracy going towards socialism, participatory popular democracy; to continue with the economic revolution, agriculture, tourism, SMEs, national production 8.1#74@258/Q2-2006

...we are talking about a real world power. All of this axis, Bolivia, including Bolivia; I am sure that then, in many ways, with Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, we will fashion the great South American bloc, nothing more and nothing less than the project, Simón Bolívar's macro project. Elías Jaua, will you talk to us about what is being born here; from feudalism to socialism from the Manuel Carlos Piar *Unidad de Producción Socialista*? 8.3#6@259/Q3-2006

I had these books when I was a lieutenant, this is a collection – I've already said – of four volumes, capitalism, socialism, communism and fascism. 8.1#25@264/Q1-2007

...humanity is destroying itself, human values are destroyed in capitalism, only socialism will permit us to be true humans one day. 8.1#27@264/Q1-2007

Well, and you know, in Simón Rodríguez we have one of the greatest thinkers on utopian socialism, but he goes further than mere utopian socialism and starts to nibble at the thesis of scientific socialism. 8.1#83@264/Q1-2007

This is the path to socialism, liberating everyone from poverty so that we can live as brothers as Christ said. 8.1#106@264/Q1-2007

And so, I have now given instructions to include the creation of businesses, now not only of social production, but of social ownership. 8.3#273@264/Q1-2007

We will be suggesting ideas, calling to reflection, reading, checking the daily press, making commentaries, receiving calls and looking for solutions, opening the path to the construction of 21st century socialism. 8.1#109@265/Q1-2007

...this must be under social ownership and of social production, from the primary sector, where animal husbandry takes place, to the final distributor, where there is the consumer who buys a small kilo of meat, two kilos of meat, etc. 8.3#278@267/Q1-2007

This, I add, is nothing other than socialism; because what capitalism guarantees is communal harm, harm for the majority, and perhaps a minority will live well but at the end of the day even the living conditions of the minority which sought to live well in capitalism deteriorate, because the tragedy drags down whole populations. 8.1#30@268/Q1-2007

...university lecturers, fathers in families, mothers of families: these are the birth documents of the fatherland, of the project of this fatherland, our fatherland, the fatherland's fathers, let us look for these codes, here are the codes which we need today to construct our socialism, let us forget capitalism, forget it, and let us discuss this, yes, what type of socialism we are going to construct, this, yes, is the debate which must take place. 8.1#34@270/Q1-2007

When we propose socialism as a path it is to save the lives of millions of human beings, saving them from starvation, illnesses, poverty and, furthermore, to save the life of the human race, the survival of the species 8.1#114@272/Q1-2007

Now, say that in front of this *Empresa de producción social* is a private block of flats, which happens, that some guy put up with a lot of effort, they gave him credit, and he builds the blocks, fine, build them; but as long as you are not contaminating the whole district around there, as long as you do not exploit the workers 8.3#285@276/Q1-2007

We're going to give applause for this proposal of making a mixed business 8.2#122@282/Q2-2007

Minister of Popular Power for Light Industries and Business, María Christina Iglesias: Yes, President, yesterday we were working all afternoon with the Iranian team and we came to the conclusion that it was necessary to create the mixed business which is going, not only to explore all of Venezuela's possibilities for exporting to Iran, and Iran to Venezuela, but the whole region as well 8.2#124@282/Q1-2007

Both of them are *Empresas de Producción Socialista*: the milk-processing plant and the plastic injection plant form part of the group of 2 plants which are envisaged in the Iran-Venezuela agreement in sectors of dairy products, maize, plastics and car parts, with a total investment of more than 300 thousand million Bolivars. 8.3#37@282/Q2-2007

...but it's part of the process, of trial and error, we invent or we err, and if we err, we return and correct the error and we straighten out the course to socialism. 8.1#75@283/Q2-2007

President of CVG-Telecom, Julio Durán: The problem is that when we connect to a private network we, as a business, have to pay that private network 8.2#110@283/Q2-2007

Here in the Francisco Carvajal de Aragua plant in Barcelona, we are very happy because we are giving rise to the Revolution with this *Empresa de Producción Socialista*, in the process of transformation which the Bolivarian Revolution is leading, and you personally, Commander 8.1#69@286/Q2-2007

9   RESULTS III: MISSIONS

9.1   INITIAL RESEARCH

The third semantic field to be discussed, as identified in chapter 6, is Chávez's social missions. This semantic field is the topic of the present chapter and comprises the types *misión, hospital, mercal, robinson, vuelvan* and *caras*. *Hospital* is a type naturally related to the missions, since healthcare is the focus of *Misión Barrio Adentro*. *Misión Mercal* relates to the foundation of a national network of shops selling government-subsidised food to the poor. *Misión Robinson* started by providing basic education to illiterate adults but it has since been extended to provide higher education as well. The types *vuelvan* and *caras* were treated as a phrase since the *Misión Vuelvan Caras* is an employment scheme which aims to make the country more self-sufficient in agriculture and also to produce food for the *Mercal* shops. I see the missions as a means through which Chávez rewards the predominantly poor populace for their kred (see page 17), and yet the missions' potential for success is clearly dependent upon the population's involvement in them. It is in this light that I was particularly interested to discover how Chávez appeals to the population to join the missions and (as part of this) how he frames the missions' objectives.

The titles of the missions all point to the strong historical perspective which has been found in the preceding chapters, often being named after a historical figure or event (*Misión Robinson* is an example of the former, and *Misión Vuelvan Caras*, which recalls an order given by one of Bolívar's generals, is an example of the latter.[64])

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[64] The command 'about turn' is famous since it led to the Venezuelan army outmanoeuvring the Spanish during a key battle in the Wars of Independence.

9.1.1 Contextual research

The missions were among the most high-profile of the policies which Chávez introduced in his first term. In addition to those described above, other examples include the following:

- *Misión Milagro* gives free eye care to the poor and regularly treats over 1300 people per week.

- *Misión Ciencia* invested 12.7 billion Bolivares (5.9 million US Dollars) in science-related projects in 2006 (MINCI, 2007).

- *Misión Alimentación* supplies subsidised food, through the *Mercal* co-operatives set up by the government, to the poorest sectors of the population. The *Mercal* supermarkets supply some 40% of staple foods (The Economist, 2005b: 23).

- Under *Misión Barrio Adentro*, 16 000 Cuban-trained doctors have been brought into Venezuela to provide health-care (The Economist, 2005b: 23).

- *Misión Identidad* encourages the poor to be correctly registered to give them these benefits and also voting rights.

- *Misión Negra Hipólita* helps the homeless.

- *Misión Robinson* gives the poor access to state education and then, through *Misión Sucre*, to higher education with scholarships.

- *Misión Vuelvan Caras* promotes employment by attempting to make the country self-sufficient, especially through agriculture and local co-operatives, partly in conjunction with *Misión Zamora*, which proposes land redistribution.

The use of the title 'mission' is obviously intended, in a predominantly Catholic country, to invoke the concept of the Christian social mission. In referring to missions, therefore, Chávez

would seem to be appropriating the work of the established Catholic Church, which risks upsetting it, although he himself regularly talks of his faith.

Amongst the criticisms of the missions are that the President has made these investments without first changing the structure of the education or social security apparatus, potentially limiting their effectiveness (Parker, 2005: 48). Heath has argued that *Misión Identidad* has created a new group of Chávez supporters in the lower-classes who had not previously voted, and that this served not only to solidify support for Chávez in this economic group but also to create a new class divide in Venezuelan politics which had not previously existed (Heath, 2009: 199). Another criticism, as one taxi driver remarked to me, is that Chávez has spent money investing in new hospitals rather than renovating old ones, which would have proved cheaper but would have given the President less to show off.

Additionally, there has been some debate over the claim made by Chávez's government that the *Misión Robinson* had resulted in the country becoming free from illiteracy. One study has calculated that by the time *Misión Robinson I* had finished, there were still one million illiterate people in Venezuela, a drop of only 100,000 since the start of the mission, and that this difference could itself be explained by demographics, rather than the policy itself (Rodríguez, 2008: 55). Rodríguez (2008: 56) also notes that, according to the government's own data, the staff of the mission were never either employed or paid, which must raise questions about the quality of the teaching. Despite this, the claim was repeated on one of a series of posters celebrating Venezuela's success in meeting the Millennium Development Goals in 2008 (Figure 9-1).

Figure 9-1: Venezuelan Government poster advertising reaching the Millennium Development Goals. (MINCI, 2008)

The health-care mission, *Barrio Adentro*, has also been described as '*controversial*' (Guillermoprieto, 2005: 24) both because of its reliance upon Cuban personnel and also the fact that those who benefit from it easily become enamoured of Chávez, thereby potentially making the mission a tool for gaining votes. This latter argument might, however, be excessively pessimistic, since, as the same article goes on to point out, it is surely the job of a

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modern state to provide healthcare and previous governments are viewed as having failed in this responsibility, particularly where the poor were concerned (Guillermoprieto, 2005: 25).

It has also been suggested that both the amounts of money involved, and the effectiveness of the missions, have been overstated. According to Francisco Rodríguez, Chief Economist in the National Assembly from 2000-2004, the Chávez government deliberately underfunded the Consolidated Social Fund – which provided money to some, but not all, missions – when oil prices rose and then falsified the accounts to make it appear that the fund was paying-out money to social programmes which it did not coordinate (Rodríguez, 2008: 50). He further argues that much of the reduction in poverty in recent years was caused directly by the higher oil price, and that, when this is taken into account, statistics demonstrate that, in this regard, the Chávez government has underperformed compared with other developing countries (Rodríguez, 2008: 52-53). This leads him to the conclusion that the missions are both ineffective and money-wasting, only serving the purpose of being a very visible symbol of the government:

> *In Venezuela, one can see the* misiones *everywhere: in government posters lining the streets of Caracas, in the ubiquitous red shirts issued to program participants and worn by government supporters at Chávez rallies, in the bloated government budget allocations. The only place where one will be hard-pressed to find them is in the human development statistics.*
>
> (Rodríguez, 2008: 53)

9.1.2 Research question

On the basis of the contextual research, I considered that promotion would be a key feature for this semantic field, since Chávez would be attempting to convince the television audience to become involved in the various missions that he was creating. I was therefore interested in the discourse resources which the President uses for this purpose. As a consequence of this, the research question set was:

'What arguments and perspectives does President Chávez use to promote the social missions on *Aló Presidente* in the period January 2002 – June 2007?'

I expected to find a strong prevalence of historical reference, as has already been observed in the other investigations mentioned so far, leading to characterisations of the missions as being desirable because they continue Bolívar's aims for the country. This was not, however, the case. Whilst the missions are generally predicated in a positive manner, it is because of their own objectives, rather than the historical links. Two features which I did expect to find <u>were</u> present in the concordance lines, however: (1) that Chávez portrays himself as directing the missions personally and (2) that much of the basis for the arguments in favour of the missions was founded on a pre-Chávez / under-Chávez distinction. More surprising was the fact that *Misión Vuelvan Caras* appears to be described in generally negative terms, although only a limited amount of data was put forward by the methodology for investigation here.

9.1.3 Presentation of results

The results in this chapter are presented in a different form from that used for section 7.2 and chapter 8. The reason for this is that at least three of the five permitted collocates (possibly also *hospital*) refer to individual missions and so it seems sensible to discuss each permitted

collocate separately and to highlight the similarities and differences over time with regard to the particular mission studied.

The Query IDs used in the creation of the ID numbers for each concordance line are:

9.1 – *misión* + permitted collocates;

9.2 – *hospital* + permitted collocates;

9.3 – *mercal* + permitted collocates;

9.4 – *robinson* + permitted collocates;

9.5 – *vuelvan caras* + permitted collocates.

9.2 ANALYSIS

A selection of the most relevant concordance lines resulting from the work on the social

programmes in section 6.4 is reproduced over the following pages. The full set of lines can be

found on the accompanying CD-ROM.

9.2.1 Misión

Figure 9-2 shows those concordance lines which will be discussed in this section, which were

found from corpus queries involving the permitted collocates of *misión.*

1. Pronto **arranca** la **Misión** Vuelvan Caras, eso va a ser extraordinario porque en primer lugar vamos a rescatar del desempleo a un número bastante grande de compatriotas, 1 millón mínimo, menos no aceptamos, 1 millón de compatriotas. 9.1#3@182/Q1-2004
2. Luis Lugo : Para mí la Misión Vuelvan Caras es un proyecto muy importante porque nos capacita a nosotros, los que estamos **estudiando** en la **Misión** Ribas, en la Misión Sucre y todas las Misiones, Miranda, para la formación de nuevos técnicos, nuevos trabajadores de las empresas textiles en general. 9.1#13@184/Q1-2004
3. Entonces esta muchacha ahora va a comenzar su estudio, va a estar **estudiando Misión** Sucre, universidad, y Artesanía Integral, capacitación para el trabajo de corto plazo, de forma tal que ella puede estudiar varios años esa carretera universitaria, pero al mismo tiempo pueda trabajar, y le vamos a estar pagando una beca de 186 mil bolívares mensuales. 9.1#20@185/Q1-2004
4. Carmen, me alegro mucho, fíjate, estas **estudiando** en la **Misión** Sucre, estas en Vuelvan Caras, eso es lo ideal, he dado instrucciones a los ministros Aristóbulo, por la Misión Robinsón; Rafael Ramírez, por la Misión Ribas y Samuel Moncada, por la Misión Sucre, para que en los próximos meses haya una mayor incorporación de compatriotas a estas misiones 9.1#27@216/Q1-2005
5. Ella está **estudiando** en la **Misión** Sucre, pero también está capacitándose para el trabajo, para sembrar hortalizas y frutas y es coordinadora. 9.1#28@216/Q1-2005
6. De ese superávit del 2006, aquí estoy aprobando 1.5 billones de bolívares para dar inicio a la Misión Villanueva, precisamente hoy que **arranca** la **Misión**, un billón 500 mil bolívares, esto es para la primera parte, obras en el Área Metropolitana de Caracas y área de influencia, 580 mil millones. 9.1#10@276/Q1-2007

Figure 9-2: Concordance lines for *misión* with permitted collocates

In his presentation of the missions in these lines, Chávez uses a number of positive predications to argue explicitly that the missions are of benefit to the population. For example, he refers to *Misión Vuelvan Caras* as *'extraordinario'* in line (1) in Figure 9-2 and says that it is *'ideal'* that someone is involved in both *Misión Sucre* and *Vuelvan Caras* in (4). Furthermore, he emphasises his aims for the growth of *Vuelvan Caras* in (1) by the use of the phrase '*menos no aceptamos'*, although this is mitigated through the use of *'número bastante grande'*, perhaps to avoid creating the implication that the one million target might reduce the national unemployment rate to zero. These positive presentations of the missions are supplemented by Luis Lugo's intervention in (2), in which he refers to the missions as being *'muy importante'* for future employment. This is a sentiment echoed the following year by Chávez himself in (5), although in this latter case the President's focus is agriculture rather than textile factory workers.

(6), meanwhile, implies that *Misión Villanueva*, a programme for building new towns comprising low-cost housing, will be well financed. Although there is no explicit dialogue with a third-party here, I believe that it is possible to see traces of a dialogue through Chávez's argument that they will be well funded. One would normally expect financing to be taken for granted with the launch of any policy and so I understand this example to be implicitly countering an argument that *Misión Villanueva* will not have sufficient funds to attain its objectives. This implication is also derived from the use of *'para la primera parte'*, which serves to indicate that this is just the first of many subventions for the mission. Through the use of the first-person singular in *'estoy aprobando'* in the same sentence, Chávez suggests that he has taken personal control of the budget in order to assure the population that the planned new towns will come to fruition.

This issue of funding the missions is also present in (3), in which the President is talking about providing bursaries to participants in *Misión Sucre* (an access programme for University-level education). In this case, Chávez highlights the bursary which *'vamos a estar pagando'*. This is interesting linguistically because the use of the continuous future provides a sense of immediacy and the indicative mood avoids any doubt that the money will be forthcoming. *'[A]l mismo tiempo pueda trabajar'*, meanwhile, suggests through the present subjunctive that working during the course is not necessary, and so it is implied that the bursary is sufficient. Economically, the interest here is that the vague *'varios años'* implies that there is no fixed end for the *Misión Sucre,* and, if one were to take the statement at face value, the government could be required to pay the bursaries for an indefinite period of time.

Perhaps most interesting with regard to *misión*, however, are the joint facts that these predications have been identified only in 2004 and 2005, and that no argumentation has been noted. This suggests that the President did not have to convince the population of the benefits of the missions and that there was little opposition to them from other political or media figures at the time.

9.2.2 Hospital

Figure 9-3 shows those concordance lines which will be discussed in this section, which were found from corpus queries involving the permitted collocates of *hospital*.

> 1. La salud es una de las grandes prioridades de la Revolución Bolivariana y el Jefe del estado venezolano no descansa en su afán de darle al pueblo el acceso a un sistema de salud pública digno, por ello el Presidente Chávez hizo entrega este jueves, de 21.2 millardos de 60 millardos de bolívares previsto para la dotación de varios hospitales del Distrito Capital, en acto celebrado en el Teatro del **Hospital Militar**.
> 9.2#2@170/Q4-2003

2. así que no tenemos vida y pedimos vida y salud a nuestro Dios para cumplir este compromiso, gran compromiso con ustedes, con todos los venezolanos y con todas las venezolanas, muy bien y hablando de salud estábamos viendo las escenas de ese tremendo acto que hicimos en el **Hospital Militar**, entregándole créditos, créditos no, corrijo, recursos a los hospitales más grandes del país para que mejoren sus condiciones o las condiciones de atención a los pacientes, en total sobrepasa los cuarenta mil millones de bolívares, esfuerzos duros 9.2#3@170/Q4-2003

3. Presidente Chávez : Bueno, me parece una excelente idea, y tenemos que hacer un apoyo especial al **Hospital Militar** para que amplíe su capacidad, pero eso es una necesidad suprema. 9.2#6@173/Q4-2003

4. Bueno, y entonces comimos palo a pique, dulce de lechosa, y ahí atendí al coronel director del **Hospital Militar** de Maracay -Róger- ese **Hospital Militar** es un buen hospital, pero también con muchos problemas, bueno, me trajo todo un proyecto, unas deudas, los quirófanos, ellos quieren apoyar Barrio Adentro en Maracay pero hasta ahora no han podido por cuando la situación es difícil, pero le he asignado ese mismo día, 10 mil millones de bolívares para el **Hospital Militar** de Maracay para ponerlo como una tacita de oro, y ese **Hospital Militar** además sirve las guarniciones de Valencia también, de Puerto Cabello, de San Juan de los Morros, y ahora con el plan de recuperación; Róger, quiero que hables con el coronel para apoyar también desde el Ministerio e incorporarlo al sistema de Barrio Adentro, ahí en Maracay 9.2#7@174/Q4-2003

5. En el **Hospital Militar** se baten record de atención a pacientes, salió en Últimas Noticias el 23 de julio, noticias positivas. 9.2#9@199/Q3-2004

6. El Centro Asistencial y lo estamos repotenciando de cabo a rabo, el **Hospital Militar** doctor Carlos Arvelo cuarenta y cuatro años de fundado y ha batido record, en la atención a pacientes, no sólo militares, a familiares de militares sino ahora abierto a Barrio Adentro y hoy en esos días, se están desarrollando unas jornadas médicas, allá en el Hospital Carlos Arvelo, abierto ahora 9.2#10@199/Q3-2004

7. Ahí está un ejemplo, allí hay un caso digno o un caso con el cual se puede hacer una comparación, que pasaba antes allí y que está pasando ahora, un **Hospital Militar** que ahora está repotenciado, al servicio de todos militares y civiles. 9.2#14@199/Q3-2004

8. Te felicito a ti y a todo el equipo del **Hospital Militar**, estaba recordando bueno cuando en años anteriores, veíamos como se hundía nuestro **Hospital Militar** y criticábamos aquello, ahora que dicha tener la oportunidad, hay que darle gracias a Dios y a la historia, y al pueblo venezolano que nos ha dado la oportunidad de recuperar nuestro hospital y ponerlo al servicio de la gran familia militar venezolano que tanto necesitaba este hospital 9.2#16@199/Q3-2004

9. Entonces él fue a visitar al papá al **Hospital Militar**, y me llamó pero con una indignación que yo tuve que decir, cálmate un poquito. 9.2#22@228/Q3-2005

10. Y tenía razón para indignarse, llegó allá, a pesar de que él sacó no sé cuántos médicos escuálidos que había ahí en el **Hospital Militar**, que no querían atender a los pobres,

que le cerraban la puerta en las narices a los médicos cubanos, que no atendían a Barrio Adentro, todavía quedaba un grupito y él los consiguió. 9.2#23@228/Q3-2005

11. Esa madrugada había unos médicos cubanos con unos enfermos, y se negaban a atenderlos, bueno, los mandó para su casa y los sacó del **Hospital Militar**, y me llamó indignado esa noche. 9.2#24@228/Q3-2005

12. o el glaucoma, son una de las enfermedades serias que hay que diagnosticar; y ahora ya, con 400, ahora 600 aquí y 600 que pondrán; y eso irán ustedes preparando a la gente para el futuro porque ya empiezan ahora, Hugo, tú sabes, un gran centro en el **Hospital Militar** 9.2#27@231/Q3-2005

13. Presidente Chávez : No, y antes, antes militar pues, entonces teníamos al **Hospital Militar**; pero ciertamente el pueblo pobre de Venezuela, la mayoría ¡Jamás ! 9.2#28@231/Q3-2005

14. mucho más conocimiento, pero ahora porque hay equipos nuevos, programas nuevos, etc., y por esa vía, al duplicarlo, hay la posibilidad de que resulte que incrementemos otros 10 o 20 mil, ustedes 20 ó 30 mil, mientras más médicos, más profesores, más microuniversidades, allá en el **Hospital Militar** seleccionan buenos muchachos y los preparan, primero buenos médicos, amplios conocimientos, pero eso es lo que llaman los internos, sí, estos ya son los internos, estos ya son los residentes, es aquel que se graduó de médico, nosotros hemos convertido todos los hospitales en docentes. 9.2#30@231/Q3-2005

15. El doctor y coronel Siso es el director del **Hospital Militar** doctor Carlos Arvelo y además oftalmólogo de una gran experiencia; yo quiero felicitar a Siso y a todo el personal médico, civil, militar, a todo el personal de enfermería, a todo el personal de trabajadores, de empleados de nuestro **Hospital Militar** y pido para ellos que les demos un aplauso a todos por el tremendo trabajo que están cumpliendo en el nuevo hospital doctor Carlos Arvelo. 9.2#33@232/Q3-2005

16. El **Hospital Militar** no sólo es **hospital**, es una gran escuela, una escuela de postgrado, y ahora también de pregrado: ya vamos con la Misión Sucre y la formación de 200 mil médicos, incluidos oftalmólogos. 9.2#34@232/Q3-2005

17. Anteriormente, en la cuarta república, el **Hospital Militar** estaba casi cerrado, era exclusivamente para la atención al mundo militar, a la familia de los militares, y eran excepciones… ¿cómo las llamaban, te acuerdas? 9.2#35@232/Q3-2005

18. Doctor Siso : Ni las enfermeras ni los empleados ni obreros del **Hospital Militar** tenían derecho a la atención dentro de esta institución. 9.2#36@232/Q3-2005

19. Presidente Chávez : Ni siquiera los que aquí trabajaban… Por allá veo al ministro de Salud, Francisco Armada, vean, ésa era la República elitesca, ahora el **Hospital Militar** está abierto, atendiendo con calidad, con esmero y cada día mejor a la gran familia militar venezolana, pero abierto también a Barrio Adentro y a barrio afuera y a todos. 9.2#37@232/Q3-2005

20. Tercero : Se realizaron sesiones de trabajo con diversos actores para la construcción de la propuesta de Barrio Adentro III, incluyendo al Instituto Venezolano de los Seguros Sociales, direcciones de Salud de los estados, **Hospital Militar** Carlos Arvelo,

> direcciones de Salud de los municipios, también de alcaldías y alcaldías mayores cuando corresponda, Dirección de Sanidad Militar, hospitales universitarios de Caracas y Maracaibo y otros hospitales del país. 9.2#55@232/Q3-2005

Figure 9-3: Concordance lines for *hospital* with permitted collocates

As described in section 6.4.2, the type *hospital* had two permitted collocates, *militar* and *arvelo*. Before commencing the analysis of these concordance lines, therefore, an explanatory note is required, since the reader will have noticed that none of the lines in Figure 9-3 demonstrates the collocation of *hospital* with *arvelo*. The explanation is that the two quarter-year periods set for the investigation of *arvelo* were the same as two of the periods for *militar*. In these quarters, most of the discussions involving *hospital + militar* concerned the *Hospital Militar Carlos Arvelo*.[65] This meant that almost all of the concordance lines of *hospital* collocating with *arvelo* had already been retrieved in the investigation of *hospital* with *militar*. (The only exceptions being one case in which *militar* had been omitted from the hospital's name and another in which a typographical error was present in the form of '*miliar*' [sic].)

As was the case for *misión*, a number of positive adjectives are used to refer to the government's medical policies. Initially (in 2003), these are mitigated, as is the case with '*buen hospital*' (line 4, Figure 9-3) and '*digno*' (1), which implies that a worthy health system is the ultimate aim but is not yet in place. In 2005, the descriptions of healthcare are no longer undermined in this way, with one hospital being described as having been transformed into a training hospital (the '*no sólo*' in this example, (16) implying that this is a positive

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[65] As described in section 6.4, speaker names had been suppressed from the research on the grounds that they had not actually been spoken on the programme. Because place names were often part of the actual discourse, however, they were retained, which explains the presence of this hospital in the list of permitted collocates.

attribution). The same establishment has also been opened up so as to permit the poor to access treatment there for the first time, thereby allowing Chávez to refer to the hospital itself as *'nuevo'* (15), even though it had previously existed.

Such improvements in military hospitals, according to (20), are only one of the aspects of the new health system, another important issue being the provision of finance for them. There are only two lines in which this expenditure is described and, interestingly, in both cases (1 and 4), Chávez is portrayed as having given this money personally. This is particularly noticeable in (4), in which Chávez uses the first-person *'le he asignado'*, whereas in (1) it had been the narrator who made the attribution *'Presidente Chávez hizo entrega'*.

This serves to imply that the President is personally linking himself to the eventual success or failure of the policy. This implication is reinforced by Chávez's descriptions of his involvement as being a *'tremendo acto'* and *'esfuerzos duros'* (2). Similarly, the President also frames himself, again in the initial part of the corpus, as being personally interested in the difficulties faced by one particular hospital in (4).

This impression of Chávez's adoption of personal responsibility is also created through his involvement in another hospital's problems, which are described in lines (9)-(11). A sense of the President's anger at the employees who were not complying with government policy is created through the description of the Minister's indignation and Chávez's agreement *'tenía razón para indignarse'*. This reference to a third-party allows the President to portray himself as being level-headed when faced with this situation (*'cálmate un poquito'*), whilst also using very negative constructions in relation to the employees (*'médicos escuálidos', 'le cerraban la puerta en las narices a los medicos cubanos'*). Perhaps especially interesting is the increased negativity between (10) and (11) in the way that the construction *'no querían*

atender a los pobres' then becomes *'se negaban a atenderlos'*. The first version could imply that the hospital staff did treat them, despite their unwillingness, whereas the second is an overt statement of the staff's refusal.

(10) contains the phrase *'todavía quedaba un grupito'*. The use of the diminutive implies that this occurrence is likely to be exceptional, since there were only a few staff who behaved in this way. *Todavía*, meanwhile, sets up the differentiation between the pre-Chávez era and the current government, which has already been described in other chapters. There are numerous other examples of this dichotomy being created, all of which imply that life is better under Chávez and/or was worse before the start of his Presidency, for example the implication in (1) that the healthcare system had not previously been *'digno'*. Additionally, the previous state of affairs under which military hospitals were only open to the military is presented negatively but it is notable that this evaluation is not directly articulated until 2005. In 2003, the emphasis is instead on the increased numbers of people now being treated (5 and 6), and presents a positive description of the present situation (*'repotenciado'* (7)). By 2004, the President refers to the hospital as having been 'sinking' in (8), a lexical choice which allows him to avoid directing his accusation at any particular individual or organisation (*'se hundía nuestro Hospital Militar'*). (8) is also interesting as Chávez thanks both God and history for giving him the opportunity to improve the situation, making it seem almost as though Chávez regards himself as having been fated to find himself in this situation (see the discussion of the role of the historical perspective in the preceding two chapters). Only in 2005 does the contrast with the former situation become more overt, for example through the use of the strongly emphatic '*¡Jamás!'* (13) and the repetition of the intensifier *'ya'* (14). It is also only in 2005 that the concordance lines reveal an acknowledgement from the President that *'eran excepciones'* (17), thereby further suggesting that the previous system had been unfair (see

also (18)). This distinction between then and now culminates in (19) with the contrast of *'la República elitesca'* versus the *'calidad... esmero'* to be found in the hospital today *'ahora el Hospital Militar está abierto'*.

I would suggest that this is a carefully planned argument against the old system which Chávez could not afford to attack at first, since he was reliant upon the same staff at the Military Hospitals to introduce his plans. Consequently, the argument was introduced over a two year period, indicating considerable political astuteness by the President, although (9) to (11) might serve to suggest that even then it was too great a change for some employees. A possible indication that this argument influenced at least one person is found in (12), where the Military Hospital director's comment (*'hay que diagnosticar'*) suggests that these illnesses would not have been diagnosed previously.

A theme that emerges through the concordance lines is the lack of opportunity for debate about the proposals which were being introduced. Examples of this are the President referring to his policy as *'una necesidad suprema'* (3) and his direction in (4) that the hospital should become involved in *Misión Barrio Adentro*. On that basis, it is notable that, in (20), Chávez does describe a consultation exercise, perhaps indicating that he has realised that this would be necessary in order to retain the support of the hospital employees. As with the discussion of financing in section 9.2.1, I interpret this again as an implicit argument between Chávez and some other (unnamed) group who might be concerned, such as the hospital staff in the latter case.

9.2.3 Mercal

Figure 9-4 shows the concordance lines of the permitted collocates of *mercal.*

1. la iniciativa del gobierno bolivariano se concretó este martes 22 de abril cuando el presidente Chávez inauguró en la parroquia Caricuao, en Ruiz Pineda, el módulo de **Mercados** y Alimentos, **Mercal**, dando inicio al programa alimentario que cubrirá a más de un tercio de la población venezolana, a este módulo de Caricuao inaugurado junto a otros dos en San Juan y en Lomas de Urdaneta, le seguirán 100 instalaciones similares más a nivel nacional. 9.3#1@147/Q2-2003

2. Esta es la cantidad de alimentos que se ha estado vendiendo en los primeros Mercal que hemos instalado en la ciudad de Caracas, pero vendrá por todo el país **Mercal**, **Mercados** de Alimentos, vean ustedes cómo en los últimos días, comenzando mayo, esto fue el primero de mayo se vendieron 3,1 toneladas de alimentos, en estos tres Mercal, pero pasamos a 5,3 el 2 de mayo y a 8,2 toneladas, impresionante, me informe el coronel Liscano Acevedo 9.3#5@148/Q2-2003

3. Narrador : Con la presencia del Primer Mandatario nacional se inauguraron este sábado 7 de junio tres nuevos **mercados** alimentarios populares conocidos como **Mercal**, en el marco del relanzamiento del plan estratégico de seguridad alimentaria, PESA, estas tres modernas y solidarias instalaciones están ubicadas en las populosas zonas del 23 de Enero, Petare y Las Mayas para expender alimentos de alta calidad a bajo costo para toda la población. 9.3#7@152/Q2-2003

4. Yo tengo aquí, vamos hacer algunos comentarios sobre la botica popular, este programa comenzó ayer, la Botica Popular, así como **Mercal**, Mercado de **Alimentos** para el Pueblo, Boticas Populares, con los gobernadores, con los alcaldes contamos, todo el apoyo, sobre todo también con la participación de las comunidades, cuidado con los especuladores, cuidado con los corruptos, porque claro como se vende muy barata las medicinas 9.3#31@152/Q2-2003

5. Pero tenemos que unificar eso, Carlos, tiene que ser un solo plan, y Mercal, Mercal es la punta de lanza, Mercal, no se trata de que vamos a estar inventando otro nombre aquí en el Zulia, otro nombrecito allá, no, no, no, una sola línea estratégica, **Mercal**, y todas las **bodegas** tienen que estar ahí, asociadas a Mercal, que es la línea central del Gobierno revolucionario, para que la cosa rinda más. 9.3#120@159/Q3-2003

6. Escúcheme algo, nosotros en las **Bodegas Mercal** hacemos algo muy importante, que es el contacto directo con los vecinos, y ahí en ese contacto directo imagínese usted hasta dónde llegamos y alcanzamos 9.3#127@183/Q1-2004

7. y Mercalito, y la bodeguita y el camioncito, la bodega móvil, todo eso, así como el cuerpo humano dije, las venas, las arterias, etc, los vasos capilares me faltaban, lo más finito son los vasos capilares, hasta los vasos capilares, un camioncito con un megáfono "Se vende **Mercal** Móvil **Protección**" ese es el vaso capilar que vaya y de vuelta por donde la gente no tiene ni para pagar la buseta, para ir al mega mercado, porque el mega mercado es muy bueno, extraordinario pero los más pobres de los más pobres no pueden,

la mayoría no viene al mega mercado porque a veces no tienen ni para la buseta, en cambio hay gente de clase media que no necesita ese Mercal Protección que viene al mega mercado. 9.3#66@190/Q2-2004

8. Bueno, es el arranque de un programa **Mercal** Máxima **Protección**, alimentos, con una dieta bien establecida, como ya lo decía Freddy, con condiciones de salud, porque esos alimentos son limpios, condiciones sanitarias óptimas, un sistema justo de distribución, esto es parte del sistema de redistribución del Ingreso Nacional. 9.3#74@190/Q2-2004

9. Presidente Chávez : Aquí están los datos exactos de Mercal, el fondo rotatorio que **Mercal** ha tenido para comprar **alimentos**, porque **Mercal** va vendiendo, ahí no se gana dinero, el objetivo de nosotros no es ganar dinero, Mercal compra y vende bien barato, y con la venta, lo que recoge de la venta, sigue comprando, es un fondo rotatorio. 9.3#33@196/Q3-2004

10. Aquí no ha habido ningún incremento ni está previsto que lo haya este año, para el año que viene pudiéramos revisar alguna cosa, a ver, pero este año no habrá incremento de precio alguno en los **alimentos** que vendemos en **Mercal**, pero ni un centavo, nada. 9.3#34@196/Q3-2004

11. Por medio de la red de distribución y comercialización de la Misión Mercal la producción de nuestros agricultores, llega a los hogares venezolanos favoreciendo a millones de personas quienes pueden adquirir productos de calidad a bajo costo, los **mercados** de alimentos **Mercal**, están presentes en 24 estados del territorio nacional, con 207 módulos Mercal tipo I, 565 módulos tipo II, 7.287 bodegas Mercalitos, 221 Mercalitos móviles y 82 centros de acopio. 9.3#12@198/Q3-2004

12. Bueno seguimos con Mercal, este programa de hoy dedicado a los niños, a las niñas, y el tema central está en **Mercal**, **mercados** de alimentos, las misiones bolivarianas, fíjate que la oposición ellos primero dijeron, primero condenaban las misiones, vean ustedes la irresponsabilidad de esta gente, hace meses atrás comenzaron a condenar las misiones : que Mercal no que eso es un desastre, que están envenenados los alimentos 9.3#13@198/Q3-2004

13. estamos atendiendo en Mercal, ya lo dije hace rato 8 millones de personas, se están beneficiando directamente sin intermediarios, 8 millones de personas en todo el país, mensualmente, para estas personas que compran en **Mercal** la inflación en los **alimentos** básicos de la canasta alimentaría es igual a 0, 0, no se ha incrementado ningún precio de ningún alimento en Mercal en un año y no se va a incrementar en este año así lo he dicho y lo ratifico no hay aumentos de precios ni en caraotas, ni en arroz 9.3#39@198/Q3-2004

14. Acosta a la carga a buscar los acaparadores me les quitan todo eso que tienen acaparado y lo vendemos bien barato en las calles, las bodegas ambulantes, bien barato al pueblo, pero en verdad es un delito y además hay que abrirles un juicio, acaparar alimento eso es un delito, bueno así que **Mercal** está garantizando **alimentos** populares, miren al día de hoy funcionan en todo el país 82 centros de acopio, no había aquí ni uno, todos estaban en manos privadas, ahora es del estado he allí la diferencia del neoliberalismo o con el neoliberalismo, el neoliberalismo, no los privados hacen todo 9.3#40@198/Q3-2004

15. Mercal no pierde dinero cuando venden, lo que pasa es o está especulando, Mercal está hecha para no perder dinero, claro que estamos subsidiando algunos productos, y he aprobado el subsidio, pero no es que estamos perdiendo dinero, eso no es ninguna perdida esa es una ganancia, así que **Mercal** dona los **alimentos**, es decir los alimentos para ser preparados es decir los insumos, y ahí en esas casas se dotan de cocinas, de una neverita, se contrata una gente, la misma gente de la casa de familia, preparan la comida y vienen, hay una lista de comensales. 9.3#44@198/Q3-2004

16. La alimentación también es una prioridad del gobierno bolivariano y para garantizar la seguridad alimentaria de los venezolanos, fue creada la Misión Mercal que nació el 9 de abril del año 2003 beneficiando a 8 millones de persona, y cuenta con 7 mil 287 **Mercalitos**, 565 **Mercal** tipo II, 207 Mercal tipo I, 221 Mercalitos móviles, 82 centros de acopio, 19 Supermercal, generando 7 mil 263 empleos directos y 37 mil 521 indirectos, pero además se crearon mil casas de alimentación, beneficiando a 150 personas 9.3#102@200/Q3-2004

17. deben recordar que hay por allí mucha gente pobre y que el estado tiene la red **mercal** de **alimentos** y nosotros tenemos que suplirnos de la producción nacional para no seguir importando pollos de ninguna parte del mundo. 9.3#47@202/Q3-2004

18. **Mercal** , la venta de **alimentos** por **Mercal** entre enero y mayo de este año alcanzaban 880 toneladas diarias , beneficiando a 2.2 millones de personas . 9.3#49@202/Q3-2004

19. Es una verdadera cadena de abastecimiento de alimentación que no tiene parangón en Venezuela, no hay ninguna red privada de **alimentos** que compita con **Mercal**. 9.3#51@202/Q3-2004

20. **Mercal protección** es que estamos seleccionando y aquí o hay ni debe haber, oído ni debe haber, ningún tipo de amiguismo ni de partidismo ni nada de eso nada de eso es lo más necesitados Mercal protección es una lista que se hace de las familias más pobres en los barrios se les da un ticket ¿no ? 9.3#78@208/Q4-2004

21. Es decir, esas personas de **Mercal Protección**, 42.923 hasta ahora, es un número ya importante, pero deberíamos estar por encima a estas alturas, vamos a apurar el paso para el fin de año. 9.3#82@208/Q4-2004

22. Este número sí me deja relativamente satisfecho, porque nunca estaré satisfecho, yo me moriré insatisfecho, pero hay que ir bajando los niveles de insatisfacción, logros cada día más contundentes, 200.000 personas que vana comprar a Mercal a mitad de precio, de los precios de **Mercal**, ese es **Mercal Protección**. 9.3#84@208/Q4-2004

23. Casas de alimentación, esto ya está beneficiando en el Zulia a 34 mil 500 personas, vamos incrementando, programas alimentarios, el suplemento alimentario en el Zulia ya está beneficiando a 6 mil personas totalmente gratuito y vamos alcanzar 35 mil este año en el Zulia, **Mercal protección** con descuentos de 50 % ya está beneficiando en el Zulia a 13 mil personas y vamos hacia las 50 mil. 9.3#86@209/Q4-2004

24. En base al tremendo rendimiento de la Misión Mercal es que he tomado algunas decisiones esta semana para su expansión, para continuar expandiendo a Mercal, profundizando a Mercal y además ustedes saben que los precios de los **alimentos** en **Mercal** no han sufrido ningún incremento en el costo desde hace más de un año y debo

decirles que, no tengo previsto en el corto plazo ningún incremento en la canasta básica de **alimentos** de la Misión **Mercal**, estamos haciendo un esfuerzo para reducir los costos operaciones, reducir los costos de la producción y he dispuesto un subsidio para CASA la Corporación Agroalimentaria Nacional que suministra a Mercal, un subsidio mensual de 24 millones de dólares y esto equivale a 51 mil 600 millones de dólares mensualmente como subsidio 9.3#53@219/Q2-2005

25. estamos ya vendiendo diariamente 4 mil 117 toneladas de alimentos, habíamos comenzado en apenas 800 toneladas hace un año; **Mercalitos** móviles, **Mercal** tipo 1, Mercal tipo 2, Super Mercales tenemos ya 31 en todo el país, aquí hay un gráfico de cómo ha evolucionado la red comercial de Mercal 9.3#107@219/Q2-2005

26. Yo hablaba de esto y recordé esta homilía de Benedicto XVI precisamente hablando de Mercal y de la decisión que hemos tomado de seguir ahora creciendo y consolidando a **Mercal** para llevarle todos **alimentos** de calidad y asequibles para todos, y estaba hablando de esa especie de demonio que por el mundo se desató del capitalismo, la perversión del capitalismo : el egoísmo, el individualismo, la riqueza fácil, todo eso son signos del capitalismo. 9.3#55@220/Q2-2005

27. No está previsto en el corto plazo incrementar los precios de los **alimentos** en **Mercal** así lo digo ante todo el país, y para ello estamos subsidiando y en un cantidad importante, aproximadamente 24 millones de dólares al mes, esto hay que bajarlo con las inversiones que estamos aprobando y además con la lucha contra la especulación. 9.3#56@220/Q2-2005

28. energía termodinánica engendrada por la propia actividad física y cerebral del hombre" Y para generar – digo yo ahora- para generar esa energía termodinámica de la actividad física y mental del hombre la alimentación es esencial, los alimentos pues, la producción de alimentos y aquí está la producción de algunos **alimentos** de **Mercal**. 9.3#58@220/Q2-2005

29. va a estar seguro por encima de cuatrocientos mil bolívares el salario mínimo y hay que seguir haciendo esfuerzos por elevar el poder adquisitivo bajar la inflación y ahí está **Mercal**, venta de **alimentos**, calidad y barato; incrementar el poder adquisitivo del hombre, de la mujer de la familia ese es un reto de nuestro gobierno. 9.3#59@220/Q2-2005

30. un pueblo estaba en manos de un pequeño grupo de transnacionales o empresas nacionales casi todas por cierto se prestaron a la agresión contra Venezuela y quisieron rendirnos por hambre, y entonces nosotros dijimos : no, ahora que hemos aprendido esto vamos a tomar decisiones y fue así como nació la Misión **Mercal**, **Mercados** de Alimentos y comenzamos dando pequeños pasos, comenzamos vendiendo doscientas toneladas de alimentos por día y además todo lo hacíamos por las Guarniciones Militares porque no teníamos estructura, los cuarteles se convirtieron en Centros de Acopios, los camiones militares eran los que distribuían 9.3#16@226/Q2-2005

31. hoy, 14.165 instalaciones, vean ustedes el gráfico, cómo ha evolucionado la red Mercal, aquí está, comenzamos con tres, 1896, 14.164 a la fecha de hoy es una verdadera red nacional que seguirá fortaleciéndose, seguirá extendiéndose y hay algo muy importante,

Oropeza, desde que arrancó la red **Mercal** nosotros estamos vendiendo los **alimentos** a los mismos precios. 9.3#62@226/Q2-2005

32. Presidente Chávez : Bueno, **Mercal Protección** ya llegó a 400 mil personas, hay una lista en cada Mercal y llego yo, y como producto de un estudio social, ahí no hay ningún tipo de manejo partidista, ni debe haberlo, ni de mis amigos, ni nada de eso, contraloría social, es el mismo pueblo 9.3#93@226/Q2-2005

33. la que está chequeando, las señoras, así como Carmen, allá en la Casa de Alimentación está chequeando que no se desvíe un grano de arroz, que no se desvíe un kilo de leche, que no se desvíe un kilo de carne, todo debe ir hacia donde va, está planificado, **Mercal Protección** 400 mil personas, las Casas de Alimentación, estamos ya por 600 mil personas, bueno, en fin, para Proal hemos aprobado un total ¿a cuánto llega el total? 9.3#94@226/Q2-2005

34. los recursos que hemos aprobado esta semana pasada, son los recursos provenientes del petróleo, una cantidad bastante grande de recursos en bolívares para extender esto, es decir, la red, los brazos de Mercal se van a fortalecer aún más y se van a poner más largos, por todas partes, los **Mercal**, los **Mercalitos**. 9.3#109@226/Q2-2005

Figure 9-4: Concordance lines for *mercal* with permitted collocates

Many of these concordance lines, rather unsurprisingly, are examples of Chávez describing the *Misión Mercal* and, as such, they are particularly relevant to an understanding how he presents the *Mercal* programme.

The first concordance line in Figure 9-4 is the narrator describing the inauguration of the first *Mercal* supermarkets. This is at the start of the narrated passage and so it is interesting in that it is the eventual plan (using the future tense) rather than a description of the first two establishments which is the focus here. Furthermore, the scale of this plan is emphasised through the repeated use of *más*, at least the second of which is redundant.

When he first introduces the *Mercal* scheme, the President emphasises that it is not just another name through a repetition of '*no'* three times (5) but rather describes it as being central to the government's objectives. Again, this line does not actually describe what these long-term objectives are.

In (3), the *Mercales* are described as containing high quality and low cost food but interestingly there is not yet any mention of local produce as a characteristic (this is introduced the following year, as seen in (11) (*nuestros agricultores*). Another quality added in 2004 (9) is that *Mercal* is a not-for-profit organisation, which is likewise not articulated in the concordance lines from 2003. This leads to an argument in (15), in which the government's subsidy of *Mercal* produce is described as a gain for the state rather than as a loss. There is a double implication here: first that the subsidies are considered important by the poor, since it allows them to buy quality produce which probably would not have been available to them previously, and second that Chávez is empathising with these poor people, considering their needs to be more important than the government's long-term fiscal obligations.

This is worthy of mention because (17) (also from 2004) highlights the fact that by sourcing produce within Venezuela, the country will become less reliant upon imports. The focus, then, seems to have moved slightly between 2003 and 2004 from being a poverty-reduction scheme to highlighting the security gained from increased self-sufficiency. Further evidence for this perhaps comes from (6), in which it is a *Mercal* employee who stresses that the contact with neighbours afforded by *Mercal* is important.

Despite this, however, the objective of helping the poor clearly remains, evidence for which can be found in (24) (from 2005), which describes the extent of the subsidies required to maintain prices in *Mercal* shops. This line is particularly significant because of the serious implication that it contains. The use of the present participle at the start of the excerpt reinforces the immediacy of the proposed expansion, whilst the stressed need for a reduction in operating costs at the end of the passage implies that there were questions regarding the sustainability of the current levels of subsidy given to *Mercal*. In between these two

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descriptions of the situation, Chávez makes himself personally implicated in setting the cost of produce bought at *Mercal* through the use of the first-person singular (*'no tengo previsto... ningún incremento'*). On the other hand, by changing to the plural later in the same sentence (*'estamos haciendo un esfuerzo para reducir los costos operaciones'*), the President implicitly places responsibility for these cost reductions upon others (who are not named; does he mean his government as a whole or *Mercal* staff?). He therefore allows himself the option of blaming others should it become necessary to increase the cost of the subsidised produce.

This use of a changed subject within a clause or sentence is also present in the lines from the previous year; in (10) (*'no está previsto ... pudiéramos revisar'*) and also (13) in which Chávez again frames himself as being directly responsible for setting the price (*'así lo he dicho y lo ratifico'*).

In 2005, the problems presented by the increasing cost of subsidising *Mercal* are presented positively by Chávez in (29), as being yet another reason for the existence of the social programme which, by reducing inflation, will increase the purchasing power of the poor.[66] Again, at the end of the line, Chávez refers to increasing purchasing power as '*un reto de nuestro gobierno*', thereby giving the government as a whole, rather than himself personally, responsibility for meeting the challenge.

Any concerns amongst the audience regarding the cost of *Mercal* are mitigated by (34), which explains that the petroleum industry is providing the benefits. By saying that the industry's involvement is only *'bastante grande'*, however, Chávez also reduces the risk of criticism that all of Venezuela's oil wealth is being channelled into the social programmes.

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[66] The economic argument that such an increase in purchasing power can itself drive inflation is not addressed in this passage.

Perhaps most interesting in these concordance lines is that there is no historical perspective and that the religious aspect occurs only in (26), which is quite different from the other results discussed in this thesis. It is also notable that these concordance lines do not distinguish between how life was before Chávez and how it is now, as has been described previously. The nearest the President comes to using this device is found in (30) (from 2005) in which he claims that some unnamed companies '*quisieron rendirnos por hambre*' and that this is the reason why *Mercal* was founded, thereby continuing the food security argument introduced in 2004, discussed above.

This does not mean, however, that the President does not attack those who disagree with *Mercal*. In (12), for example, he accuses the unnamed '*oposición*' of condemning the idea of *Mercal*. In (4), '*cuidado con los especuladores, cuidado con los corruptos*' implies that, even at the start of the mission in 2003, people were taking advantage of *Mercal*'s subsidised prices and problems with stock supply to speculate with the produce. Most notably, both of these lines use a direct appeal to the viewer to achieve their goals ('*fijate... vean ustedes*' in (30) and '*cuidado*' in (4)).

In terms of the issue of speculation, the problem is clearly an ongoing one, found throughout the period covered by the lines. By 2005, however, the President uses the present participle, repeated twice, to emphasise the proactive efforts that have been made to ensure that no food is diverted ('*está chequeando*', (33)). Nevertheless, in (27) the President claims that speculation is also a reason why subsidies on *Mercal*'s produce may have to be reduced, thereby perhaps removing some of the personal responsibility for pricing that he had previously attributed to himself.

The President's attacks on capitalism are also much reduced in this selection of concordance lines, although this may partly be accounted for by the fact that all come from the early years of the corpus. The only clear example of a distinction being made between what Chávez is doing through *Mercal* and neoliberal models comes in (14). ((19) also contains an arguable example of this, in which the President makes the observation that no private company is competing with *Mercal*.)

Chávez's arguments often serve to portray him as educated, although, significantly, there is no detailed economic theory in these concordance lines. Instead, biology is used to describe the body's need for food in (28) and, in (8), we find the unusual argument that people shopping at *Mercal* can have a *'dieta bien establecida... porque esos alimentos son limpios'*. Human biology is also used to present a metaphor involving veins and arteries in (7). This, I suggest, serves to emphasise the impression of Chávez's determination to improve the conditions of the poor whilst the potential dangers of the economic model which he is endeavouring to implement are not openly recognised. Perhaps more importantly, by presenting himself as educated (which is a quality one would normally expect from the leader of a country), I believe that the President may be engaging in an implicit dialogue with his opponents who may wish to portray him as being the contrary.

As with many politicians discussing policies with an economic impact, statistics are used throughout the corpus lines to add a sense of credibility to the mission: (2), (11), (16), (18), (21), (22), (23) and (25) all include figures reflecting the scale of the *Mercal* scheme, often with hints from the President that these figures are to be considered positively, as in *'ya importante'* in (18). In addition, (31) not only contains statistics but also involves the President holding up a graph of the mission's growth to the camera, which is an effective form of non-linguistic argumentation to support his message.

The final interesting observation about the discussion of *Mercal* is that (20) and (32) both

contain a claim by Chávez that *Mercal* is non-partisan and open to everyone on low incomes.

This implies that the opposition may well have mounted a campaign to suggest that only

Chávez's supporters were able to benefit from *Mercal.* If so, this is a very rare example of

Chávez directly addressing criticism from the opposition.

9.2.4 Robinson

Figure 9-5 shows those concordance lines which will be discussed in this section, which were

found from corpus queries involving the permitted collocates of *robinson.*

1. Aquí tenemos hoy con nosotros a un grupo de ex analfabetas, se gradúan mañana, **alfabetizados** del Plan **Robinson** y le vamos a dar un caluroso aplauso a estos compatriotas que han aprobado ya, yo no sé si les faltará algún examen, pero han pasado un examen ya. 9.4#1@163/Q3-2003
2. va muy bien, Presidente, va como los lanceros de Páez, allá el Negro Primero, tenemos hasta este momento ya en manos de nuestra coordinaciones a nivel nacional, 234.211 planillas que ya están de regreso, recordemos que armamos un operativo impresionante con más de 120.000 **facilitadores** reunidos en sus ambientes **Robinson**, en su ambiente Ribas y las diferentes misiones y ya tenemos de regreso las primeras 234.211 planillas que están siendo en este momento transcritas. 9.4#11@180/Q1-2004
3. Con 50 mil nuevos graduando para llegar a 1 millón 250 mil **alfabetizados**, la Misión **Robinson** celebró su primer aniversario el pasado jueves 1 de julio en el Teatro Teresa Carreño, en un masivo acto que contó con la presencia del Presidente de la República. 9.4#5@196/Q3-2004
4. Bueno, muchachos, el Frente Miranda va desfilar también ese día, va a desfilar el Frente Miranda, va a desfilar la reserva militar, van a desfilar los **alfabetizados** de **Robinson**, no serán todos porque no cabrían en toda Caracas, millón y medio; la Misión Ribas, ya va por casi un millón la Misión Sucre. 9.4#6@201/Q3-2004
5. a través de la Misión **Robinson**, han sido **alfabetizados** 1 millón 250 mil compatriotas que fueron llevados a la luz del conocimiento gracias al apoyo de 126 mil facilitadores. 9.4#7@204/Q3-2004
6. Misión Antonio José de Sucre, el Gran Mariscal, un triunfador yo seré pues, si me voy a graduar, con **Robinson aprendiste**, a escribir ya leer y con Ribas conseguiste llegar hasta

bachiller, Sucre te abre las puertas a hacer un profesional, la revolución es cierta, nada la podrá parar. 9.4#20@209/Q4-2004

7. cien millones de dólares muchos, muchos y no pequeñitos, países ya de cierta, pues nosotros estamos invirtiendo para el desarrollo social y luego económico en un trimestre 150, 160 millones de dólares solo en la Misión Vuelvan Caras, aquí no estamos metiendo el Plan de Becas y los **Facilitadores** de la Misión **Robinson**, la Robinson II, la Sucre, la Ribas. 9.4#13@215/Q1-2005

8. Presidente Chávez : Bueno , ahora fíjate una cosa, Aristóbulo, y a todos ustedes, la Misión **Robinson**; los **facilitadores**, así como Adriana; la Misión Robinson y todas las misiones tienen que pasar a un nivel superior de organización social, de forma tal que la Misión sea un canal a través del cual se puedan recoger todos estos problemas y solucionarlos. 9.4#14@227/Q3-2005

9. Ministro de Educación y Deportes, Aristóbulo Istúriz : Estamos dispuesto a eso, Presidente, porque tenemos muchísimos, tenemos 128 mil **facilitadores** en **Robinson** I y tenemos 97 mil **facilitadores** en **Robinson** II, imagínese 97 mil comités en defensa, comités robinsonianos en defensa de la educación, qué le parece ese nombre, vamos a comenzar a trabajar con eso, los comités robinsonianos; por cada facilitador constituir un comité . 9.4#15@227/Q3-2005

10. Ministro de Educación y Deportes, Aristóbulo Istúriz : Bueno, Presidente, nosotros tenemos 128 mil **facilitadores** en **Robinson** I, tenemos 97 mil en Robinson II y creo que esa es la fuerza promotora, yo le proponía a usted el que nosotros hiciéramos la organización de los facilitadores, esa organización de facilitadores, ese movimiento de facilitadores, apoyarlos y asignarles la tarea de promover los comités en cada ambiente, si tenemos le digo 128 mil **facilitadores** de **Robinson** I, 97 mil **facilitadores** de **Robinson** II ahí está en todo el territorio nacional, creo que el motor deben ser los facilitadores, la organización de facilitadores, porque eso nos ayuda a la conformación del Movimiento Estudiantil Robinsoniano, como a los Comités Robinsonianos de Educación. 9.4#16@227/Q3-2005

11. De esos 787 que están sentados, 372 son de **Robinson** I, vienen **graduados** de **Robinson** I, y 415 son reingreso, eso es importante. 9.4#25@227/Q3-2005

12. Seguir motivando a todos los **graduados** de **Robinson** para que sigan Robinson II, para que ahora se conviertan en nuevos lectores, para que leamos, hagamos mesas redondas de trabajo en los barrios, leamos libros, tesis, discutamos la cultura, o sea, que el haber aprendido a leer y escribir debe ser sólo el piso de un edificio que vamos 9.4#26@227/Q3-2005

13. Recuerden que llegamos a millón y medio de **alfabetizados** en la Misión **Robinson** I. El estado Mérida, declaramos territorio libre de analfabetismo los municipios Rangel y Libertador; en el estado Miranda, al Municipio Los Salias y a Cristóbal Rojas; en el estado Monagas, el Municipio Piar; en el estado Nueva Esparta los municipios Marcano y García; 9.4#8@230/Q3-2005

14. Para producir alimentos, un Mercal Continental; para hacer un plan de **alfabetización**, la **Misión** Robinson Continental; para hacer la Misión Ribas, capacitación para el trabajo; para darle tierra a los que no tienen, para un plan de vivienda, para producir vacunas y medicinas gratuitas para los pueblos; una Misión Barrio Adentro Continental. 9.4#32@239/Q4-2005
15. Presidente Chávez Todas las misiones, la Misión **Robinson** I de **alfabetización**, la Misión **Robinson** II, la Misión Ribas, la Misión Sucre, la Misión Madres del Barrio, la Misión Cultural, la Misión Árbol, la Misión Barrio Adentro; ahora el quinto motor, la Explosión del Poder Comunal, los consejos comunales, están en manos de las mujeres 9.4#33@281/Q2-2007

Figure 9-5: Concordance lines for *robinson* with permitted collocates

The surprising lack of historical perspective witnessed in the concordance lines for *mercal* is also observed in those for *robinson*. Although this may in part be due to the fact that the methodology was deliberately designed to include only the *Misión Robinson* and not direct references to Robinson the historical figure, I still expected some discussion of why the mission is named after him. The only line in which Chávez makes a historical reference is line (6) in Figure 9-5, which reveals how the *Misiones Robinson, Ribas* and *Sucre* together form an adult education system from basic literacy to university-level. Even in this case, however, the historical link is not directly articulated; rather, it is created through the juxtaposition of Sucre's full name and title followed immediately by the phrase '*un triunfador yo seré pues*', thereby implying that by following these three missions anyone can become as successful as Sucre himself. (2) also contains a similar example (not articulated by Chávez personally), in which a simile is drawn between progress with the development of the missions and the successes of Bolívar's general: '*va como los lanceros de Páez*'.

Framing the mission within a military domain is not limited to that instance, however. In (9), the local activists who implement *Misión Robinson* are described by the Minister of Education as being '*en defensa de la educación*'. Rather than being archetypal male soldiers, however,

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these local activists are often women, as Chávez highlights in (15). This line is particularly noteworthy because the President emphasises the extent of women's support of the missions not only by placing *'todas las misiones'* in the emphatic position at the start of the sentence but by then listing many of these missions and asserting that '*Todas* [...] *están en manos de las mujeres'*.

It is not just the description of the teachers which is interesting but also those concordance lines which relate to the participants themselves. In (1), Chávez directs the audience to warmly applaud one of the first groups to graduate from the mission (when it was still known as *Plan Robinson*, the name Chávez gave to the pilot scheme). This instruction, combined with the description of the group as '*compatriotas'* may well be designed to encourage others to take part in the scheme, since *compatriotas* can be regarded as making all citizens equal, levelling any differences between them. By 2004, once the mission had been well established, however, it is once again framed in military terms, not only linguistically but also physically, in the military parade described in (4).

The *Misión Robinson*'s ultimate aims are only articulated in the concordance lines in 2005 (12 and 14), where the President describes a highly educated society. In (12), Chávez uses the metaphor of a building to underline his belief that he sees education as a foundation for society. As with many of the other results already observed, the same line also uses a list to denote something which is considered positively; in this case the books which Chávez wants the population to read and the discussions he wants them to have. Also of interest is how he presents this wish, using the first-person plural present subjunctive to implore the audience to take part (*hagamos... leamos...discutamos)* which is more inclusive than *quiero que hagan*, for example.

Other than this, the mission is described as being *'un masivo acto'* (3) and as being a means for solving social problems (8). (6) is also interesting in this regard for the implication that the missions, once established, will endure: *'la revolución es cierta, nada la podrá parar'*. It can be argued, however, that asserting this might well betray that Chávez is fearful that something might stop the process, since otherwise he would have little cause to make this claim.

The ultimate aim of the mission, then, is to reduce illiteracy and this gives a good opportunity for the President to promote his government's successes through declaring those areas where the mission has been completed to be 'free of illiteracy', as in (13).

As with other pairs of collocates investigated previously, the President also references the powerful domain of religion in (5) and the mission is further described as having an international dimension, as in (14). This latter point is especially important in contributing to the presentation of Chávez as a leader of standing in the region, as previously discussed.

Another feature which this mission has in common with *Misión Mercal* is a strong reliance on statistics to support the President's arguments. This is found in (7), for example, where the US$160 million investment in '*desarrollo social*' is implied to be substantial, and therefore positive. Similarly, figures are used in (5) where the total of 1,250,000 literate people is also presented as a positive number, and likewise with the 120,000 *'facilitadores'* in (2) (from the start of 2004). By the second half of 2005, the number of staff involved with *Misión Robinson I* had risen to 128,000 and 97,000 for the second phase of the mission, according to (10) which presumably is seen as being an even greater improvement both for the success of the mission itself and for what the Education Minister calls the *'fuerza promotora'* in this line. (11), meanwhile, uses the phrase *'eso es importante'* to highlight 415 students who are

returning to the mission, thereby encouraging those in the audience who might have abandoned the programme to return to their education. There are many other instances of the use of statistics, for example in lines 9.4#9@279/Q1-2007, 9.4#10@177/Q1-2004, 9.4#19@261/Q3-2006 and 9.4#28@279/Q1-2007 on the CD-ROM.

In conclusion, the *Misión Robinson* is presented positively throughout the corpus, using figures to support the President's arguments in its favour. Frequently, this is done through direct appeal to the audience to participate. There appears to be surprisingly little reference to Robinson as a historical figure in relation to the mission named after him. The initiative is at first presented as an anti-illiteracy campaign but this develops over about two years (2003-2005) to result in the presentation of a highly educated society with adults having benefited from the missions to receive an education to University level.

9.2.5 Vuelvan Caras

Figure 9-6 shows those concordance lines which will be discussed in this section, which were found from corpus queries involving the permitted collocates of *vuelvan caras.*

1. Tengo una acotación, que durante los nueve meses que estamos en el **curso** de **Vuelvan Caras** no hemos tenido una respuesta con respecto a los proyectos para darle apoyo a ese grupo y hemos venido trabajando prácticamente con las uñas porque no tenemos por supuesto un área, no tenemos tierras para que ellos puedan desarrollarse, sembrar. 9.5#9@210/Q1-2005

2. Pronto vamos a graduar la primera oleada de "**Lanceros** de **Vuelvan Caras**" que ya están comenzando a ocupar los Núcleos de Desarrollos Endógenos. 9.5#5@213/Q1-2005

3. Ustedes Carlos, en esa una hectárea que tu vas a apartar ahí, a lo mejor tu vas a recibir tres **lanceros** que están en **Vuelvan Caras**, tu vas a ser profesor de ellos también, los vas a enseñar, los vas a ayudar, de repente vas a compartir hasta la comida con ellos. 9.5#6@213/Q1-2005

4. Néstor González : El procedimiento fue que me inscribí en la Misión Ribas, entonces vinieron las inscripciones de **Vuelvan Caras**, escribí mi **curso** de herrero, y entonces me salió y tuve que ir al INCE Metal minero, porque me llamaron a la casa, me inscribí allá y estoy participando aquí en la Misión Vuelvan Caras. 9.5#10@215/Q1-2005

5. La recuperamos, ordenamos todo y ahora la estamos entregando a asociaciones productivas, a cooperativas, a **lanceros** de **Vuelvan Caras**, para que comiencen a producir la tierra. 9.5#7@216/Q1-2005

6. Presidente Chávez : Todos tienen beca, muy bien, ahora ustedes saben que y esto se los digo a todos los **lanceros** de **Vuelvan Caras**, la fase de la beca sólo o la beca sólo estará funcionando, sólo estarán recibiendo becas, mientras dure el período de adiestramiento, que ya está llegando a su fin, como tú misma decías, tienen ocho meses, ahora tienen que ponerse a trabajar, por eso me siento alegre. 9.5#8@216/Q1-2005

7. Narrador : Pero esta empresa no es sólo productiva, es fundamentalmente social, por lo que se creó un comedor solidario que funciona dentro de las instalaciones de la planta y donde un grupo de **lanceras** de la Misión **Vuelvan Caras** trabajan, de manera incansable, para dar alimentación a niños y niñas de la comunidad. 9.5#22@229/Q3-2005

8. Entrevistado Quizás porque vengo de muy abajo — vengo desde **Vuelvan Caras**, hice mi **curso** de **Vuelvan Caras**, me gradué como Vuelvan Caras — , y en el área de la construcción conformamos una cooperativa, ahorita estamos trabajando con el plan de sustitución de rancho por casa. 9.5#11@241/Q4-2005

9. Presidente Chávez Oye Sonia, entonces tú formas parte de un grupo de personas que hizo un **curso** textil en la Misión **Vuelvan Caras**, estaban desempleados, ahora tienen una cooperativa, recibieron inducción social, preparación o capacitación para conformarse en cooperativa, porque eso no es tan fácil, eso requiere una cultura, el trabajo de cooperativa. 9.5#12@241/Q4-2005

10. Por medio de un compañero me enteré de que se iba a dictar el **curso** de **Vuelvan Caras** y entonces me integré, y de ese curso salió la cooperativa. 9.5#13@242/Q4-2005

11. Presidente Chávez ¿Ustedes también hicieron el **curso** en la Misión **Vuelvan Caras**? 9.5#19@280/Q1-2007

Figure 9-6: Concordance lines for *vuelvan caras* with permitted collocates

Perhaps the most remarkable feature about the *Misión Vuelvan Caras* is that all of these

concordance lines come only from 2005 and, as such, no comparisons can be made with other

years. Other periods were selected for study by the methodology (specifically Q2 2004 for

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lanceros, Q1 2007 for *curso* and Q1 2007 for *lanceras*) but these were not considered sufficiently relevant to the research question to be worthy of comment. A typical example of this is found in concordance line (11) in Figure 9-6.

Furthermore, there are no lines in which the aims of the mission are expressed by the President himself directly, although (10) does give an example of an outcome from the mission, expressed by one of the participants.

Overall, and in stark contrast to many of the other missions previously investigated, the concordance lines in Figure 9-6 are predominantly negative. In (1), for example, Mileidy Cespedes (a *Vuelvan Caras* lecturer) complains to Chávez about the practicalities of running the mission, which is intensified through the phrase *con las uñas*. Similarly, I consider (8) (in which an interviewee talks about his work since leaving the mission) to attribute negative qualities to the mission through the juxtaposition in *'vengo de muy abajo – vengo desde Vuelvan Caras'*.

Later in the same edition, the President uses one of his favoured rhetorical devices, the contrast of the past versus the present, to attempt to re-establish the positive contribution that the mission has made in Sonia's life (*'estaban desempleados, ahora tienen una cooperativa'*, (9)). This example is particularly noteworthy since Chávez has also changed from addressing Sonia personally to using the polite plural *ustedes* form to address Sonia's colleagues as well. By doing this, I would argue that Sonia's ability to criticise is weakened, since the President is making Sonia a spokesperson for her colleagues, so limiting her ability to express her personal opinion.

A further feature found in the lines is that there is evidence of Chávez again directing those involved in the missions to work in certain companies. Examples of this are found in the

constructions *'tu vas a…'* in (3) and *'tuve que ir al INCE Metal minero'* in (4). On the other hand, the use of the structure using the present subjunctive *'comiencen'* in (5) is a very unusual example of Chávez allowing for the possibility that the mission as a whole might fail to accomplish its objectives.

Perhaps part of the reason for requiring graduates to do certain jobs is due to the expense of the bursaries given to participants, which is mentioned in (6). In this example, *'por eso me siento alegre'* is used somewhat ambiguously: is the President happy because those involved in the mission will become employed, or because their drain on the State finances will be reduced?

Added to all of the above is the conspicuous lack of figures to support the arguments in the concordance lines (not even in relation to the size of the bursaries). The use of statistics to present the government's strong involvement in the missions has been prominent in the other two missions discussed in this chapter. In the case of *Vuelvan Caras*, however, the only lines in which the President uses positive language in talking about the mission are those in which graduations from it are described, as in (2).

Despite a general lack of data, therefore, (there were only a total of 25 concordance lines highlighted by the methodology), there seems to be some suggestion that the *Misión Vuelvan Caras* was not so strongly supported by the President as the other missions and perhaps that it had been ill-conceived. It is only the narrator in (7) who describes an example of the mission's benefits to one community in a positive manner, intensifying this through the use of *'de manera incansable'* to highlight the dedication of those involved.

9.3 CONCLUSION

The research question set at the start of this chapter was:

What arguments and perspectives does President Chávez use to promote the social missions on *Aló Presidente* in the period January 2002 – June 2007?

Using the methodology described in section 5.1, I have come to a number of conclusions to this question on the basis of a detailed analysis of sets of pairs of collocates from five types within the semantic field of Chávez's missions (*misión, hospital, robinson, mercal* and *vuelvan caras*).

Each of the missions (with the exception of *Vuelvan Caras*) is described in generally positive terms, despite their cost to the government. There are two other perspectives which I have identified: first that in the concordance lines relating to *hospital* and *mercal*, Chávez emphasises his personal interest in the success of the missions. The other, perhaps more interesting, perspective relates to the framing of the ultimate aims of the missions for the wider society (as opposed to the short-term benefits which individual participants can gain). These aims are not discussed until 2005 in the cases of *hospital* and *robinson* and 2004 in the case of *mercal.* In the case of *hospital*, I suggested that this delay might have been due to the need to convince staff to work differently over a period of time but it may be that there is a wider change in 2005 since this is also when the President starts to develop the arguments based on a contrast with pre-Chávez-era hospitals.

My research has also identified three argumentation strategies which are adopted in the concordance lines. The first of these is education, found in the concordance lines for both *misión* and *robinson*. In the former case it was Chávez presenting himself as educated and thereby enhancing the argument in favour of the missions. In the latter case, Chávez was

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arguing in favour of a well-educated population by using the technique of predicting what life will be like when *Misión Robinson* has achieved its goals. I believe that these strategies are forms of argumentation since they relate to implied discourse to avoid or to counter criticism. By presenting himself as educated, for example, the President forestalls any criticism by his opponents that he does not understand the implications of his actions. In doing so, however, it may also be argued that the President reduces the opportunities for debate about the missions, and this second argumentation strategy was similarly observed in the cases of *hospital* and *vuelvan caras*.

One other feature in these concordance lines was the use of argumentation supported by statistics or other figures, which was noticed in the lines for *misión* and *robinson.*

In conclusion, therefore, a set of interesting comments can be made about these concordance lines on the basis of the analysis but, given that the methodology is designed to locate periods of change, it would seem that it has been less effective in this instance than for the other results chapters. I believe this to be because Chávez tended to talk a great deal about the individual missions when they were first launched but there is no continuous discussion of them thereafter. This, I believe, also explains why the frequencies for the types were often lower than for the other sets of results.

The implications of these conclusions will be discussed further in chapter 10.

9.4 APPENDIX: TRANSLATIONS OF CONCORDANCE LINES

Misión Vuelvan Caras will launch soon, this is going to be extraordinary because, to start with, we are going to save quite a large number of compatriots from unemployment, 1 million at least, we will not accept less, 1 million compatriots. 9.1#3@182/Q1-2004

Luis Lugo: For me *Misión Vuelvan Caras* is a very important project because it enables us, we who are studying in *Misión Ribas*, in *Misión Sucre* and of the missions, *Miranda*, to train new technicians, new workers in the textile factories in general. 9.1#13@184/Q1-2004

So, this girl is now going to start her studies, she's going to be studying in *Misión Sucre*, university, and Integral Crafts, enabling her for short-term work, so that she can study this university course for a few years, but at the same time she will be able to work, and we are going to pay her a bursary of 186 thousand Bolivars per month. 9.1#20@185/Q1-2004

Carmen, I am very happy, take note, that you are studying in *Misión Sucre*, you are in *Vuelvan Caras*, this is the perfect situation, I have given instructions to the ministers, Aristóbulo for *Misión Robinson*, Rafael Ramírez for *Misión Ribas*, and Samuel Moncada for *Misión Sucre*, so that in the next few months there will be a greater incorporation of compatriots in these missions 9.1#27@216/Q1-2005

She is studying in *Misión Sucre*, but she is also training herself for work, to grow vegetables and fruits, and she's a coordinator. 9.1#28@216/Q1-2005

From this surplus from 2006, I am approving here 1.5 billion Bolivars to give a start to *Misión Villanueva*, on this day that the mission is launched, one billion, 500 thousand Bolivars, this is the first part, works in Caracas and its suburbs, 580 thousand million. 9.1#10@276/Q1-2007

Health is one of the great priorities of the Bolivarian Revolution and the Venezuelan Head of State is not tiring in his eagerness to give the people access to a public health system which is worthy of the name, for this reason President Chávez gave away, this Thursday, 21.2 billion of the 60 billion Bolivars ear-marked for the endowment of various hospitals around the capital city, in an event which took place in the Military Hospital's operating theatre. 9.2#2@170/Q4-2003

...so it is that we are not alive and we ask our God for life and health to complete this commitment, this great commitment to you, to all Venezuelan men and women, very good, and talking of health we were watching the scenes of that tremendous act which we did in the Military Hospital, giving credits, credits, no, I correct myself, resources to the greatest hospitals in the country so that they can improve their conditions, or the conditions in which patients receive attention, in total exceeding 40 thousand million Bolivars, hard tasks 9.2#3@170/Q4-2003

President Chávez: Good, and so we ate milky sweet *palo a pique* and there I met the Colonel Director of the Military Hospital in Maracay – Róger – this Military Hospital is a good hospital, but with many problems too, well, he brought me a whole project, some debts, the operating rooms, they want to support *Barrio Adentro* in Maracay but they have not been able to up until now, the situation is difficult, but that very day I assigned to him 10 thousand million Bolivars for the Maracay Military Hospital to make it like a golden chalice, and this Military Hospital also serves the garrisons in Valencia, Puerto Cabello, San Juan de los

Morros as well, and now with a recovery plan; Róger, I want you to speak with the Colonel to support this as well from within the Ministry and to incorporate it into the *Barrio Adentro* system, there in Maracay 9.2#7@174/Q4-2003

In the Military Hospital, they are beating the record for attending to patients, it was in *Últimas Noticias* on 23rd July, good news. 9.2#9@199/Q3-2004

The Medical Centre and we are re-empowering it from top to bottom, the Doctor Carlos Arvelo Military Hospital, founded for 44 years and it has beaten a record, in attending to patients, not only military people, military families, but also now open to *Barrio Adentro* and at present they are rolling-out medical days, there in the Carlos Arvelo Hospital, now open 9.2#10@199/Q3-2004

There is an example, there is a worthy case there, or a case with which a comparison can be made, what happened before there and what is happening now, a Military Hospital which is now strengthened, serving all military personnel and civilians. 9.2#14@199/Q3-2004

I congratulate you and all of the team in the Military Hospital, I was recalling, well, when in previous years we used to see how our Military Hospital was sinking and we used to criticise that, now that the said [hospital] has had the opportunity, we must give thanks to God and to history, and to the Venezuelan people who have given us the opportunity to recover our hospital and to put it at the service of the great Venezuelan Military family which so needed this hospital 9.2#16@199/Q3-2004

So he went to his father in the Military Hospital and he called me but with such indignation that I had to say, calm down a bit. 9.2#22@228/Q3-2005

And he was right to be indignant, he arrived there, despite that, he threw out I don't know how many squalid doctors there were there in the Military Hospital, who did not want to attend to patients, who would shut the door in the faces of the Cuban doctors, who were not attending to [patients from] *Barrio Adentro*, there were still a small group and he got them. 9.2#23@228/Q3-2005

Early that morning, there were some Cuban doctors with some ill people and they were not attending to them, well, he sent them all home, and got them out of the Military Hospital, and he called me that night, indignant. 9.2#24@228/Q3-2005

...or glaucoma, there are some of the serious illnesses which must be diagnosed; and now, with 400, now 600 here and 600 who may come; and so you will go on preparing people for the future, because you start now; Hugo, you know, a great centre in the Military Hospital 9.2#27@231/Q3-2005

President Chávez: No, and before, so before I was a soldier, then we had the Military Hospital; but certainly the poor people of Venezuela, the majority, never! 9.2#28@231/Q3-2005

...much more knowledge, but now because there is new equipment, new programmes, etc. and, in this way, by repeating it, there is the possibility that we could end up with a further 10 or 20 thousand, with you 20 or 30 thousand, so more doctors, more teachers, more micro-Universities, there in the Military Hospital they select the good guys and they prepare them, first good doctors, sufficient knowledge, but that is what they call interns, yes, they already

are interns, they are already resident, it is those who graduated in medicine, we have converted all of the hospitals into teaching hospitals. 9.2#30@231/Q3-2005

Doctor Colonel Siso is the director of the Doctor Carlos Arvelo Military Hospital and, is also a very experienced ophthalmologist; I want to congratulate Siso and all of the medical personnel, civilian, military, all of the nursing staff, all of the working personnel, employees of our Military Hospital and I ask you all to applaud them for the tremendous work which they are achieving in the new Doctor Carlos Arvelo Hospital. 9.2#33@232/Q3-2005

Military Hospitals are not only hospitals but also a large school, a postgraduate school, and now also undergraduate: we are going forward with *Misión Sucre* and the training of 200 thousand doctors, including ophthalmologists. 9.2#34@232/Q3-2005

Before, in the Fourth Republic, Military Hospitals were almost closed, they were exclusively for the military world, the military families, and there were exceptions, what were they called, do you remember? 9.2#35@232/Q3-2005

Doctor Siso: Neither the nurses nor the employees nor manual workers of the Military Hospital were entitled to be treated in that institution 9.2#36@232/Q3-2005

President Chávez: Not even those who worked there... Over there I see the Minister of Health, Francisco Armada, look, that was the elitist Republic, now the Military Hospital is open, treating the great Venezuelan military family with quality, with care, and better each day, but now also open to *Barrio Adentro* [inside the *barrio*] and outside the *barrio* and to everyone. 9.2#37@232/Q3-2005

Third: Working sessions took place with the various stakeholders in the creation of the proposed *Barrio Adentro III*, including the Venezuelan Institute for Social Security, Healthcare Boards for each of the states, the Carlos Arvelo Military Hospital, Healthcare Boards for municipalities, also Mayors and mayoralties when appropriate, the Directorate for Military Health, the University Hospitals of Caracas and Maracaibo and other Venezuelan hospitals. 9.2#55@232/Q3-2005

...the Bolivarian Government's initiative came to fruition on Tuesday, 22nd April when President Chávez inaugurated the Markets and Foods site, the Mercal, in Caricuao Parish, in Ruiz Pineda, starting the alimentation programme which will cover more than a third of the Venezuelan population, this site in Caricuao was inaugurated along with two others in San Juan and in Lomas de Urdaneta, 100 similar installations will follow nationally. 9.3#1@147/Q2-2003

This is the quantity of food which has been being sold in the first Mercals which we have installed in the city of Caracas but Mercal, Food Markets, will come to the whole country, look at how in the last few days, starting in May, that was on 1st May, 3.1 tonnes of food were sold, in these three Mercals, but we rose to 5.3 on 2nd May and to 8.2 tonnes, impressive, Colonel Liscano Acevedo informs me 9.3#5@148/Q2-2003

Narrator: With the presence of the national Chief Executive, on Saturday, 7th June, three new food markets for the people, known as Mercal, were inaugurated, as part of the relaunching of the strategic plan for food security, PESA, these three modern institutions, having solidarity, are located in the populous districts of 23 de Enero, Petare and Las Mayas to sell high quality food at low cost for the whole population. 9.3#7@152/Q2-2003

I have here, we are going to make some commentaries on *botica popular* [popular biotics], this programme started yesterday, *Botica Popular*, just like *Mercal*, food markets for the people, *Boticas Populares*, we have all the support, from the governors, the mayors, and above all with participation from the communities, be careful of speculators, be careful of the corrupt, because, of course, as the medicines are being sold very cheaply... 9.3#31@152/Q2-2003

But we must unify this, Carlos, it must be just one plan, and Mercal, Mercal is the starting point, Mercal, it's not about us going to be inventing another name here in Zulia, another little name there, no, no, no, a single strategic line, Mercal, and all the shops must be here, associated with Mercal, which is the central line of the revolutionary Government, to make the thing go further. 9.3#120@159/Q3-2003

Listen to me say something, we are going to do something very important in the Mercal shops, which is direct contact with the neighbours, and there, in that direct contact, imagine where we can reach and what we can do 9.3#127@183/Q1-2004

...and the little Mercal, and the little shop, and the little van, the mobile shop, all of this, it's just like the human body, I said, the veins, arteries, etc. I forgot the capillary veins, the most finite are the capillary veins, even the capillary veins, a little van with a megaphone "Mercal Protection Mobile on sale here", this is the capillary vein which goes to and fro, where people do not have to pay for the bus to go to the hypermarket, because the hypermarket is very good, extraordinary, but the poorest of the poorest can't, the majority of them do not go to the hypermarket because sometimes they can't even afford the bus, on the other hand, there are people in the middle class who don't need this Mercal Protection because they go to the hypermarket. 9.3#66@190/Q2-2004

Good, it's the launch of a Mercal Maximum Protection programme, food, with a well-balanced diet, as Freddy talked about already, with healthy conditions, because this food is clean, optimal conditions for health, a correct distribution system, this is part of the system for redistributing the National Income. 9.3#74@190/Q2-2004

President Chávez: here are the exact data on Mercal, the rotating fund which Mercal has had to buy food, because Mercal sells, there they do not make profit, our objective is not to make money, Mercal buys and sells very cheaply, and with the sales, what the sales make, it carries on buying, it's a rotating fund. 9.3#33@196/Q3-2004

Here there has not been any increase, nor is it expected that there will be one this year, next year we could revise something, we'll see, but this year there will not be any price increase in any of the foods which we sell in Mercal, not by a hundredth of a Bolivar, nothing. 9.3#34@196/Q3-2004

Through *Misión Mercal*'s distribution and marketing network, our farmers' produce reaches the homes of Venezuelans, to the advantage of millions of people who can acquire quality products at low cost, the Mercal food markets are present in 24 states in the nation, with 207 Mercal Type I shops, 565 Type II shops, 7287 little Mercal grocery stores, 221 mobile Mercals and 82 collection points. 9.3#12@198/Q3-2004

Well, we continue talking about Mercal, today's programme dedicated to children, and the central theme is Mercal, food markets, with Bolivarian missions, think about the opposition

that they gave them at first, at first they condemned the missions, you see the irresponsibility of these people, months ago they started to condemn the missions: Mercal, no, this is a disaster, the foods are poisoned 9.3#13@198/Q3-2004

..we are taking care of Mercal, I already said a moment ago that 8 million people are benefitting directly, without middlemen, 8 million people in the whole country, every month, for these people who buy at Mercal, inflation in the basic foodstuffs in the shopping basket is equal to 0, 0, no price of any food has increased in Mercal in a year, and it is not going to increase this year, so I have said and I ratify it, there are no increases in the prices of carrots, nor rice. 9.3#39@198/Q3-2004

Acosta, get on the task of finding the hoarders and get rid of them all for me, those who have hoarded and we sell it very cheaply in the streets, mobile grocery stores, really cheaply to the people, but in truth it's a crime, and moreover we must start prosecuting them, hoarding food is a crime, well just as Mercal is guaranteeing food for the people, look to date there are 82 collection points around the country, there wasn't one here before, they were all in private hands, now it belongs to the State, there is the difference from neoliberalism, or under neoliberalism, neoliberalism, no, the private [businessmen] do everything 9.3#40@198/Q3-2004

Mercal does not lose money when they sell, what is happening is speculation, Mercal is designed not to lose money, of course we are subsidising some products, and I have approved that subsidy, but it's not that we're losing money, this is no loss, this is a profit, so it is that Mercal gives the foodstuffs, that's to say the food to be prepared and that's to say the raw materials, and there in these houses they have kitchens, a larder, people are hired, the same people as from the family home, they prepare the food and they come, there is a list of diners. 9.3#44@198/Q3-2004

Food is also a priority for the Bolivarian Government and to guarantee food security for the Venezuelan people, *Misión Mercal* was created, which was born on 9th April 2003, benefitting 8 million people, and it has 7287 little Mercals, 565 Type II Mercals, 207 Type I Mercals, 221 Mobile Mercals, 82 collection centres, 19 Supermercals, generating 7263 jobs directly and 37521 indirectly, but a thousand food houses have been created as well, benefitting 150 people 9.3#102@200/Q2-2004

...you must remember that there are a lot of poor people and that the State has the Mercal food network and we must supply ourselves from national production, so we do not continue importing chicken from any part of the world. 9.3#47@202/Q3-2004

Mercal, selling food through Mercal between January and May this year reached 880 tonnes per day, benefitting 2.2 million people. 9.3#49@202/Q3-2004

It is a veritable food supply channel which is without compare in Venezuela, there is no private food network in competition with Mercal. 9.3#51@202/Q3-2004

Mercal Protection, it's that we are selecting and here, or there should not be, of course there should not be, any sort of cronyism, nor partisanship, nor anything like that, it's the most needy, Mercal Protection is a list that is made of the poorest families in the 'barrios', you give them a ticket, don't you? 9.3#78@208/Q4-2004

That is to say, those people in Mercal Protection, 42,923 to date, that is a large number, but we should aim higher, around this high, we are going to quicken the pace in time for the end of the year. 9.3#82@208/Q4-2004

This number, yes, leave me relatively satisfied, but I will never be satisfied, I will die unsatisfied, but we must carry on reducing the levels of dissatisfaction, each day the achievements become more overwhelming, 200,000 people who are going to buy in Mercal at half price, half of the Mercal prices, this is Mercal Protection. 9.3#84@208/Q4-2004

Food shops, this is already benefitting 34,500 people in Zulia, we are increasing it, food programmes, the food supplements in Zulia are already benefitting 6,000 people, completely free, and we are going to reach 35,000 this year in Zulia, Mercal Protection, with 50% discounts is already benefitting 13,000 people in Zulia, and we are going towards 50,000. 9.3#86@209/Q4-2004

The basis for the tremendous performance of *Misión Mercal* is that I have taken some decisions this week for its expansion, to continue expanding Mercal, increasing Mercal's coverage and you also know that the price of food in Mercal has not suffered any increase in the cost for over a year and I must tell you that I do not expect any increase in the cost of a basic basket of food from *Misión Mercal* in the short term, we are making an effort to reduce operational costs, reduce production costs and I have ordered a subsidy for CASA, the National Agriculture and Food Corporation, which administers Mercal, a monthly subsidy of 24 million dollars, this equates to 51,600 million dollars per month in subsidies 9.3#53@219/Q2-2005

...we are now selling 4,117 tonnes of food per day, we started with barely 800 tonnes a year ago, Mobile Mercals, Type I Mercals, Type II Mercals, Super Mercals, there are now 31 in the country, here is a diagram of how the Mercal commercial network has evolved 9.3#107@219/Q2-2005

 I was talking about this and I remembered Benedict XVI's homily talking about Mercal itself, and about the decision which we have taken to continue growing and consolidating Mercal now, to bring you quality food, accessible to all, and [subject unclear – either Chávez or the Pope] was talking about that sort of demon which untied capitalism around the world, the perversion of capitalism: egoism, individualism, easy richness, all of these are signs of capitalism. 9.3#55@220/Q2-2005

It is not expected, in the short term, to increase the price of food in Mercal, I say it in front of the country, and for this reason we are subsidising, and to a significant amount, approximately 24 million dollars per month, we must decrease this with the investment which we are approving and also by fighting speculation. 9.3#56@220/Q2-2005

...thermodynamic energy engendered by the person's physical and mental activity" And to generate – this is me talking now – to generate this thermodynamic energy by a person's physical and mental activity, food is essential, food then, production of food, and here is the production of some of the food for Mercal. 9.3#58@220/Q2-2005

I am sure the minimum wage will be above 400,000 Bolivars and we have to continue making the effort to increase purchasing power, to lower inflation, and that's where Mercal fits in, the

sale of food, of quality and cheaply, increasing a man's, a woman's, a family's purchasing power, this is a challenge for our government. 9.3#59@220/Q2-2005

A population was in the hands of a small group of multinationals or national businesses, of course almost all of them contributed to the aggression against Venezuela and wanted to subdue us through hunger, and so we said: no, now we have learnt about this, we are going to take decisions, and that's how *Misión Mercal* was born, food markets, and we started with small steps, we started by selling two hundred tonnes of food per day and we did it through the military garrisons because we didn't have structure, military quarters were converted into collection points, we used military lorries for the distribution 9.3#16@226/Q2-2005

...today, 14,165 installations, look at this diagram, how the Mercal network has evolved, here it is, we started, with 3, 1896, 14,164 to date, it really is a national network which will continue to get stronger, it will continue to grow, and, there's something very important, Oropeza, since the Mercal network launched, we are selling the food at the same price. 9.3#62@226/Q2-2005

President Chávez: Well, Mercal Protection has now reached 400,000 people, there is a list in every Mercal, and I come and, as a product of a social study, there is no type of control by political parties, nor should there be any, nor from my friends, nothing like that, a social accounts office, it's the same people 9.3#93@226/Q2-2005

...the woman who is checking, the women, just like Carmen, there in the Food House, she is checking that not one grain of rice is diverted, that no kilo of milk is diverted, that no kilo of meat is diverted, everything must go to where it is going, it is planned, Mercal Protection, 400,000 people, the Food Houses, we're now around 600,000 people, well at the end of the day, for *Proal* we have approved a total, what was the total? 9.3#94@226/Q2-2005

...the resources that we have approved this past week, they are resources coming from petroleum, quite a large quantity of resources in Bolivars, to extend this, that's to say, the network, Mercal's arms, are going to be strengthened even more, they are going to become longer, everywhere Mercals, little Mercals. 9.3#109@226/Q2-2005

We have a group of ex-illiterates here with us today, they are graduating tomorrow, made literate by *Plan Robinson*, and we are going to give these compatriots a warm applause, who have already passed, I don't know whether they still have to do another exam, but they've already taken one exam. 9.4#1@163/Q3-2003

...it's going very well, President, it's going like Páez's lancers, there in Negro Primero, up to now we have, in the hands of our national coordinators, 234,211 candidate forms, which have already been returned, let us remember that we are armed with an impressive operation, with more than 120,000 facilitators together in the *Robinson* rooms, in the *Ribas* rooms and the different missions, and now we have the first 234,211 candidate forms back, which are being transcribed at the moment. 9.4#11@180/Q1-2004

With 50,000 new [people] graduating, giving 1,250,000 people made literate, *Misión Robinson* celebrated its first anniversary on Thursday, 1st July in the Teresa Carreño Theatre, in a great act, at which the President of the Republic was present. 9.4#5@196/Q3-2004

Well, guys, the Miranda Front is going to march on this day as well, the Miranda Front is going to march, the military reservists are going to march, those made literate by *Robinson* are

going to march, not all of them, because they would not all fit in Caracas, one and a half million, *Misión Ribas*, now *Misión Sucre* is nearly at a million [people]. 9.4#6@201/Q3-2004

...through *Misión Robinson* 1,250,000 compatriots have been made literate, who were brought to the light of knowledge thanks to the support of 126,000 facilitators. 9.4#7@204/Q3-2004

Misión Antonio José de Sucre, the Great Marshal, so I will be a victor, if I graduate, you learnt with *Robinson*, to read and write, and with *Ribas* you reached your Bachelor's degree, *Sucre* opens doors to you to make yourself a professional, the Revolution is certain, nothing will be able to stop it. 9.4#20@209/Q4-2004

... hundred million Dollars, many, many countries, and not small ones, are certain, so we are investing for social and then economic development, in one trimester 150, 160 million dollars just [spent] on *Misión Vuelvan Caras*, here we aren't including the Plan for Bursaries, the facilitators for *Misión Robinson, Robinson II, Sucre, Ribas*. 9.4#13@215/Q1-2005

President Chávez: Well, now, think about one thing, Aristóbulo, and all of you, *Misión Robinson*; the facilitators, like Adriana; *Misión Robinson* and all of the missions must move to a greater level of social organisation so that the mission is the channel through which all of these problems can be captured and resolved. 9.4#14@227/Q3-2005

Minister for Education and Sport, Aristóbulo Istúriz: We are ready for this, President, because we have very many, we have 128,000 facilitators in *Robinson I* and 97,000 facilitators in *Robinson II*, imagine 97,000 committees in the defence, Robinson-like Committees, defending education, how do you like that name, we're going to start work on this, Robinson-like Committees; create a committee for each facilitator. 9.4#15@227/Q3-2005

Minister for Education and Sport, Aristóbulo Istúriz: Well, President, we have 128,000 facilitators in *Robinson I*, we have 97,000 in *Robinson II*, and I think that this is the promotional force, I proposed it to you, what we were doing with the organisation of the facilitators, this organisation of facilitators, this facilitators' movement, to support them and to assign to them the task of promoting the committees in each area, if we have, I say, 128,000 *Robinson I* facilitators, 97,000 *Robinson II* facilitators, and that's in the whole country, I think that the motor must be the facilitators, the organisation of facilitators, because that helps us with constituting the Robinson Student Movement, just as with the Robinson Education Committees 9.4#16@227/Q3-2005

Of these 787 who are seated, 372 are from *Robinson I*, they have graduated from *Robinson I*, and 415 are re-entering, this is important. 9.4#25@227/Q3-2005

To continue motivating all of the graduates of *Robinson I*, so that they continue to *Robinson II*, so that they now become new readers, so that we can read, let us make working roundtables in the *barrios*, let's read books, theses, discuss culture, or whatever, because the fact of having learnt to read and to write must be only the floor of a building 9.4#26@227/Q3-2005

Remember that we are reaching one and a half million made literate by *Misión Robinson I*. We are declaring the municipalities of Rangel and Libertador in Mérida state to be a territory free of illiteracy, in Miranda state, the municipality of Los Salias and Cristóbal Rojas; in Monagas state, the municipality of Piar; in Nueva Esparta state, the municipalities of Marcano and García... 9.4#8@230/Q3-2005

To produce food, a Continental Mercal, to make a literacy plan, *Misión Robinson Continental*, to make a *Misión Ribas*, enabling for work, to give land to those who have none, for a plan for housing, to produce free vaccines and medicines for the people; a *Misión Barrio Adentro Continental*. 9.4#32@239/Q4-2005

President Chávez: All of the missions, *Misión Robinson* for literacy, *Misión Robinson II, Misión Ribas, Misión Sucre, Misión Madres del Barrio, Misión Cultural, Misión Arbol, Misión Barrio Adentro*; now for the fifth motor, the Explosion of Communal Power, community councils, they are in the hands of women 9.4#33@281/Q2-2007

I have a note in the margin, that in the nine months that we have been on the *Vuelvan Caras* course, we have not had a reply with regard to the projects to support this group, and we have ended up working practically with our fingernails, because we don't have an area, of course, so that they can develop it, to sow. 9.4#9@210/Q1-2005

Soon we are going to graduate the first wave of the '*Vuelvan Caras* Lancers', who are already starting to occupy the Endogenous Development Nuclei. 9.4#5@213/Q1-2005

You, Carlos, within this, a hectare which you are going to set aside there, perhaps you will receive three lancers who are in *Vuelvan Caras*, you are going to be their teacher too, you are going to teach them, you are going to help them, suddenly you are even going to share your food with them 9.4#6@213/Q1-2005

Nestor González: The procedure was that I signed up for *Misión Ribas*, then the inscriptions for *Vuelvan Caras* happened, I signed up for the course to be a blacksmith, and then I came out and had to go to INCE Metal mining, because they called me at home, I signed up there and I am participating in *Misión Vuelvan Caras* there. 9.4#10@215/Q1-2005

We got it back, tidied it all, and now we are giving it to producing associations, to cooperatives, to *Vuelvan Caras* lancers, so that they can start to produce from the land 9.4#7@216/Q1-2005

President Chávez: They all have bursaries, very good, now you know that, and I say this to all of the *Vuelvan Caras* lancers, the phase of the bursary alone, or when the bursary alone will function, you will only be receiving bursaries, during the training period, which is now coming to an end, as you yourself said, you have eight months, now you must put yourself to work, and I feel happy about that. 9.4#8@216/Q1-2005

Narrator: But this business is not only productive, it is fundamentally social, and that is why a dining-room based on solidarity was created, which functions inside the installations of this plant and where a group of *Misión Vuelvan Caras* lancers work, unceasingly, to give food to the children from the community. 9.4#22@229/Q3-2005

Interviewee: Perhaps because I come from the bottom – I come from *Vuelvan Caras*, I did my course in *Vuelvan Caras*, I graduated from *Vuelvan Caras* –, and in the construction sector we set up a cooperative, right now we are working on the plan to substitute ranches with housing. 9.4#11@241/Q4-2005

President Chávez: Listen, Sonia, so you are part of a group of people who took a textile course in *Misión Vuelvan Caras*, you were all unemployed, now you have a cooperative, you received a social induction, preparation or enabling to create a cooperative for yourselves,

because that is not so easy, that requires a culture, work in a cooperative. 9.4#12@241/Q4-2005

Through a friend I heard that they were going to give a *Vuelvan Caras* course and so I joined in, and from that course, the cooperative came. 9.4#13@242/Q4-2005

President Chávez: Did you do the course in *Misión Vuelvan Caras* too? 9.4#19@280/Q1-2007

10 CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have presented a procedure which adds a step to the DHA methodology, using computer programs that were especially written for the purpose, to select concordance lines for study based on the changing frequency of topics. It was in order to test the efficacy of this method that the individual studies reported in the results chapters were undertaken. This chapter is consequently divided into two sections. The first (10.1) answers the research question set in section 5.1.1.9 in order to summarise the results obtained. This serves, in itself, as an evaluation of the procedure adopted. The second section (10.2) then forms a broader critique of the methodology.

10.1 CONCLUSIONS ON THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The following research question was posed in section 5.1.1.9:

How is life in Venezuela framed as having changed under Chávez's Presidency by reference to his *Aló Presidente* television programme during the period 2002-2007?

In this section, I will use the conclusions from the three results chapters (7-9) to answer this question, also demonstrating how my research relates to the DHA, as described in section 2.5.3. While reading this section, the reader may find it helpful to refer to Figure 5-4 on page 180, which displays my implementation of the DHA procedure, since the ensuing discussion is expressed in these terms.

10.1.1 Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge

As described in section 2.5.1, the topic of Chávez's discourse has been chosen because I was disassociated from it, prior to starting this research. This means that there is no preceding theoretical knowledge to activate.

10.1.2 Contextual triangulation

10.1.2.1 The History and Archaeology of Texts and Organizations

The background information concerning Venezuela under Chávez, which I discovered after having obtained the concordance lines for study, was given in section 1.2 and so will not be reiterated here. As for the corpus itself, its provenance is as described in section 5.3, and further details are provided in appendix 11.4.

10.1.2.2 Institutional Frames of the Specific Context of a Situation

As also discussed in sections 3.2.2.4 and 5.3.1, *Aló Presidente* is really limited only by the constraints of the television medium (although the fact that there is also a radio audience should be considered). Otherwise, President Chávez has quite unparalleled freedom to do and say as he pleases during the broadcast. Whilst some institutional frames might be argued to exist in terms of how he addresses other ministers, important businessmen and dignitaries during the programme, examples such as the one on pages 322 (in which I argued that Chávez usurped a minister's position, whilst also making discouraging comments about inflation) and 244 (in which he was disrespectful to the then Spanish Prime Minister Aznar) suggest that these, too, can be broken.

10.1.2.3 Intertextual and Interdiscursive Relationships

The fact that the political opposition is not present on the programme means that there are few overt interdiscursive relationships in the corpus. I have argued, however, that when the President forms contrasts, he is responding to, or pre-empting, some criticism in some other setting (such as the pro-opposition written press), thereby creating the impression of dialogue (see, for example, pages 321, 330 and 362).

There is more intertextual reference in the *Aló Presidente* transcripts (beyond the regular press review sections of the programme, which did not provide any concordance lines for the analysis but which is exemplified in the sample programme in appendix 11.1). There are, for example, regular references to the Constitution (written by Chávez himself) and the writings and mythologies of Simón Bolívar throughout the lines studied. I have also suggested that Biblical reference is occasionally present, as on page 331, for example.

10.1.2.4 *Extra linguistic variables*

It has not been possible for me to study extra-linguistic variables (such as the programme's location and staging) in much detail, both because it is beyond the remit of this thesis and also because, for the most part, only transcripts were available to me. I do not doubt, however, that a study of these topics would be critical in an all-encompassing study of *Aló Presidente.* For the present, I am limited to referring to Bolívar's commentary on such matters (see section 5.3.1).

10.1.3 Linguistic triangulation

10.1.3.1 *The specific topics investigated*

The topics investigated in this research are those which my methodology indicates are among the most-changed topics by frequency over the period covered by the corpus: Venezuela, political doctrines and missions. Assuming my hypothesis on page 122 to be correct, I believe that the changes in frequency can be interpreted as indexing Chávez's changing priorities over the time period represented by the corpus.

In each of the three results chapters, which corresponded to the three topics studied, I posed an individual research question, which was based on my findings from the contextual research on that topic. The results chapters conclude with a brief answer to those individual questions, which aims to summarise the discourse strategies most used in relation to that topic. In the present section, I use those answers to form a more substantial response to the research question posed in section 5.1.1.9.

Despite this, my conclusions here cannot be comprehensive since (although I believe that I have analysed all the relevant lines in my research, from the candidates selected by my methodology), the candidate lines themselves were only taken from the periods which exhibited the greatest changes in the frequency of the node with its permitted collocates. There is, therefore, the potential that an important occurrence would not have been discussed because it occurred outside one of these periods. Furthermore, as highlighted in section 5.3.3, my research cannot aim to reflect all of Chávez's discourse. I nevertheless believe that my methodology has succeeded in its objective of ensuring greater coverage of Chávez's language than would otherwise have been possible. As such, it achieves my objective set out in section 1.1, by helping to ensure that my ensuing comments are based on a sample of *Aló Presidente* between 2002 and 2007, which is reasonably representative (in that the lines are obtained from across the whole corpus) whilst still ensuring that valid conclusions can be drawn from it (which might not be the case with a random sample).

10.1.3.2 The discursive strategies used by Chávez

In order to present the discursive strategies used, the questions related to the five discursive strategies posed by Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 93) (see also page 37) are reproduced and answered below:

1. *How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?*

I have shown that Chávez generally tends to avoid nomination of those who oppose his policies (see pages 235, 250) but he regularly names those institutions which implement them (see for example page 297). Relatively rare exceptions to this include the implied portrayal of

George W. Bush as the devil (page 250), and references to the political opposition as 'delinquents' (page 252).

On page 23, I noted that I would pay particular attention in the results chapters to the use of '*se*' and '*uno*'. With only two exceptions (pages 235 and 324), the expected use of these forms to avoid personal implication in the outcomes of policies was <u>not</u> noted as a feature of Chávez's language. There are a number of possible reasons for this, including his tendency to take personal responsibility for policy (only rarely using plural subjects to implicate the entire government, as discussed on pages 292 and 376). Instead of these forms, I have noted the frequent use of '*hay que*', which I argue serves a similar purpose (for example, page 254).

2. *What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?*

The main feature attributed to the social actors from the opposition is that they can be negatively contrasted to Chávez's policies which are, therefore, implied to be positive. Furthermore, this negative contrast occasionally is expressed in such a way as to imply that the President is ridiculing his opponents (see pages 235 and 251). On the other hand, the government's policies are attributed the qualities of being traditional or indigenous to Venezuela (page 335).

Chávez frames himself as being educated (page 337) and decisive, an impression accentuated by the manner in which he takes direct responsibility for problems which are raised in the programme and which he believes he can resolve (page 332). I have argued on pages 322 and 369 that this may, in turn, restrict the opportunities for debating many facets of political policy.

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?

I believe that actual argumentation is surprisingly sparse in *Aló Presidente,* perhaps due to the fact that the opposition do not have a voice on it. This, however, means that Chávez is often able to direct the audience or interlocutor towards a particular understanding of what is being said, thereby limiting alternative interpretations of his arguments (see page 243 for example).

One of the other principle strands of argument which has been identified throughout these results chapters, however, is the use of the Constitution (which Chávez had written in 1999) to justify policy (page 245) in matters as diverse as the protection of local languages to the creation of a social state (page 249).

The other argumentation strategy that has been identified is that of contrast. I have suggested (on page 321) that the President's use of contrast leads to the creation of a dialogue in which the President's detractors are unable to answer within *Aló Presidente*. (Whilst they are able to answer in other media after the programme, this limits them to less prestigious settings.) This effect is amplified when Chávez adopts the technique of contrasting previous governments with his. I have asserted with reference to both the missions (page 256) and general policy direction (page 386) that this then/now contrast allows the President to create the impression that the opposition is out-of-date and that his policies are the modern answer.

4. From what perspectives are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?

Four perspectives have been identified in the research, which predominate in the use of nomination, attribution and argument in *Aló Presidente*. These perspectives are:

- historical, particularly with reference to Simón Bolívar and other important figures from Venezuela's independence movement (for example, page 328);

- religious, such as referring to Jesus Christ as a Socialist and comparing his own policies to Christian teaching (page 330);

- external, attested in the President's regular reference to how his policies are being portrayed abroad (page 236); and

- military, for example when the links between the armed forces and government policy are stressed (pages 283 and 382).

The historical and external perspectives are particularly interesting because their use develops over time. In section 7.2, I found that the only historical perspective in 2002 was an appeal to view policy within a long-term context, with Chávez's plans presented as part of a 'quick-march' (page 233) which would last until 2021. In 2004, the figure of Simón Bolívar was used to support the aim of Mercosur membership. Bolívar was invoked again in 2005, when I found (page 330) that Chávez describes Bolívar as a socialist. I argued in both chapters 7 and 8 that the historical perspective was used by Chávez in 2006 (an electoral year) in an argument that political parties must have long-term goals. Having won this election, in 2007, Chávez cited other historical figures such as Albert Einstein and Simón Rodríguez in favour of his socialist objectives (page 340). There are notable parallels between this and Gaffney's findings, discussed on page 10.

Similarly, it was found in section 7.2 that Chávez's use of the external perspective evolves from referring to foreign interest in the missions and concerns at how the Venezuelan government is portrayed in foreign media in 2002 to a direct appeal to respect Venezuela's sovereignty made to Aznar in 2003. Between 2004 and 2006, criticism of other countries

increases, particularly with reference to the United States. This is perhaps the reason for Chávez stressing Venezuela's positive relations with India, Iran and Colombia between 2005 and 2006. These criticisms were not found in 2007, however; instead an implication that a foreign tour had been viewed as more successful than one by George W. Bush was the only reference to the external perspective.

The combination of the four perspectives serves, as I have postulated on page 368, to further the impression that Chávez is concerned with his own destiny and eventual legacy, aspiring to be remembered as at least an equal to Bolívar himself.

5. *Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?*

The results chapters have regularly highlighted the role of implication in Chávez's discourse, rather than overt articulation. Examples of this include the portrayal of Bush as the devil, the implication that the political opposition are not serious, and that socialism is indigenous, already described above.

There is rarely use of mitigation, although I have argued on page 246 that the avoidance of nomination is an example of this. More common is the use of intensification, which may be achieved through statistics (as in the examples cited on page 378) or through actions such as directing the audience to applaud ministers who have implemented government policy, thereby honouring them (page 342).

10.1.4 How is life in Venezuela framed as having changed?

My methodology was designed so as to highlight periods in which certain topics became more or less frequent over time, giving it the advantage over most traditional CDA studies that it can consider the differences and similarities in discourse collected over a long period. This allows it to be used to answer the research question set in section 5.1.1.9, which actually pre-supposes two separate questions:

- Are there indications in the results chapters that life has changed?

- How are these changes framed?

Each of these different aspects will be discussed separately below. Before embarking upon this discussion, however, it is important to stress once again the point raised in section 5.3.3: that these conclusions can apply only to the particular concordance lines analysed. Whilst I believe that the design of the methodology means that they will also be representative of *Aló Presidente* as a whole, further work verifying this against the periods which were not selected for research would also be required. This, however, is outside the remit of this thesis.

10.1.4.1 Policy

The main policy change over the period 2002-2007, as demonstrated by my analysis of the corpus, was undoubtedly the gradual move towards socialism. I have postulated in the results chapters that, in 2004, Chávez argued in favour of a mixed model, with capitalist negotiation for the best deal on the international food markets but internal production based on workers cooperatives, structured within the ministries. In 2005, the President announced his plan that government should procure goods only from such cooperatives, whilst telling the population that they should not be afraid of socialism and highlighting the exploitative nature of the

capitalist system. This latter argument was continued in 2006 and to it was added the notion that capitalism is scared of workers. Nevertheless, Venezuela continued to export coffee to the (capitalist) international markets, and Chávez stressed that he was only asking for, not enforcing, socialist policies on the country. Following Chávez's re-election as President in 2007, he emphasised that (provided they are not exploitative) capitalist enterprises can co-exist with socialist ones, whilst also implying that the adoption of socialism is only a change in perspective, not in policy itself, and arguing that it would lead eventually to the reduction of poverty and the saving of lives. It would, the President argued, take time to achieve this, however.

Thus, I believe that there is evidence that Chávez's development of this argument had been long-planned and, in using the effective discourse strategies discussed above (such as the use of historical figures, for example Bolívar and Christ, in support of his ideas), the President demonstrates his shrewdness in promoting his policies. If this had indeed been planned well in advance of Chávez coming to power in 1999, the missions might have been intended as a way of ensuring that the government was present even in the most remote of communities, helping to ensure that policy would have grassroots support (see page 375). It may be, therefore, that the financial difficulties faced by the missions in 2005 hastened the move to socialism at that time, due to their unsustainability, and it is also possible that Chávez's fears regarding United States foreign policy (following both CIA involvement in the 2002 coup attempt and the invasion of Iraq) also accelerated this process.

10.1.4.2 Framings

The presentation of private sector business in *Aló Presidente* develops through the corpus in tandem with the policy development. In 2002 and 2003, the private sector is portrayed in a broadly positive manner, although as early as 2002, the President insists that these businesses must follow government policy and, in 2003, it is the levels of government investment in them which is stressed. The fact that businesses were in receipt of such government money must surely have influenced business leaders to change their business models, adopting government policy, when, in 2005, Chávez argues that the new *Empresas de Producción Social* were superior to capitalist businesses. During 2006, Chávez uses his television programme to stress that any new businesses should be socialist and, in 2007, the *Empresas de Producción Social* are indeed replaced by *Empresas de Producción Socialista*.

Nevertheless, it has been discovered that in 2002 civil servants are concerned at what they saw as Chávez's interference in the private sector. This was also a year in which the President faced a number of other challenges, including the short-lived coup. With reference to this, the President cites the Constitution in support of those members of the army who had not deserted their posts during the coup, while also implying the attribution of permanence to the Constitution. Meanwhile, Chávez is also critical of past governments (without naming them) for not having long-term objectives which, I argue, serves to draw a distinction between his administration and those which had preceded it.

The theme that Chávez has a long-term policy objective is also present in 2003, in which the 1999 Constitution is again attributed the quality of being a permanent guide, which Chávez uses to guide his reaction to the arrest of Carlos Fernández. I have found evidence for improved relations within the government during 2003, despite (or possibly because of) the fact that Chávez asserts his superiority over civil servants in the same year. It is perhaps

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because of these improved relations that the President is able to introduce the theme of an implied link between justice and the State's strength. By telling the audience that previous governments had been weak, therefore, the impression of greater justice under Chávez is also implied.

The contrast between previous governments and Chávez's is continued in 2004, in which the President uses the metaphor of a slow (and now-dead) elephant to describe former administrations. He also augments the argument from 2003 (that justice derives from a State's strength) by highlighting the Bolivarian institutions (including the missions) as the source of his government's authority. Only a small minority do not want this, the audience is told, but this small minority (the political opposition) has access to the media, allowing them to conduct psychological warfare. The 'social State', of which the Bolivarian institutions are the cornerstone, is justified by citing the Constitution, which, although it had been written by Chávez himself, I argued to have been the subject of almost biblical veneration.

It is perhaps because of the attacks from the opposition that, in 2005, Chávez presents himself as someone who is personally in charge, directing <u>his</u> policy and who obtains results. Despite this, he also stresses in the same year that he is willing to listen to alternative opinions about the country's future direction.

The President's concern with his own presentation is the main theme identified in 2006, in which the fact that he is well educated is highlighted as his main quality, to the extent that he is sent books on politics and philosophy from abroad.

The length of time for which he has been studying is a topic in 2007, in which Chávez also portrays himself as a commander but also as a fallible human being, who might make mistakes when implementing his policies. Despite this, I believe that 2007 was also the year

in which Chávez is most likely to use language to restrict the audience's ability to debate the change to socialism. This was, perhaps, intended to increase the likelihood of a favourable outcome for the President in the referendum on the new socialist Constitution that would be held at the end of the year. The need to have a new Constitution is interesting because the existing one was less than ten years old and this runs counter to the previous attribution of permanency to the document. The President makes this argument by casting the 1999 Constitution as driving the reform, whilst also saying that it would need to be changed itself as part of the conversion to socialism, thus making it seem out-moded. Finally, I have also argued that Chávez's habit of congratulating ministers on *Aló Presidente* attributes his support to them, thus identifying possible successors to continue his project at the end of his Presidency.

10.1.4.3 Conclusions

The procedure that I have used in identifying those parts of the corpus to analyse leads to the conclusion that the move to socialism, therefore, is framed as being led by Chávez personally. The argumentation, initially directed towards ministers, later becomes addressed to the wider population and also becomes more negative in its references to capitalism. I have argued that the discourse strategies used by the President in respect of his country's future leads to a restriction of debate in the country. This also, I believe, aims to undermine any confidence that the population may have in their country's present situation, by virtue of an argument that, two hundred years after the country's independence had been gained, the shackles of colonialism remained in place as a result of the capitalist system. If successful, this argument serves to strengthen Chávez's position through the gradual construction of the implication that the President is destined to finish Simón Bolívar's work.

I have also uncovered evidence that Chávez sought to reduce the opportunities for debate over the running of hospitals and *Misión Vuelvan Caras* institutions, for example, and it further seems that dissent within the central bank and the *CNE* was also reduced, giving the impression of a more autocratic State. Meanwhile, it appears that the role of the military, in the missions for example, increased through the period, and that the *guardia nacional* was also politicised between 2002 and 2007.

On the other hand, Chávez's presentation of himself as being well-read, and his emphasis on education, must give the hope of a better life to the participants of the education missions. Despite the use of statistics to demonstrate the extent of the missions, problems with financing and implementing them might have served to undermine this hope and it is perhaps for this reason that the missions are discussed less frequently in 2007.

As I found in section 3.3, some work probably remains to be done on refining the DHA questions asked, since (as with the pilot study) a number of my answers overlap somewhat between the different discourse strategies recognised by DHA. Additionally, as I noted in that section, some important issues are also not covered. More notable among these are probably the effects of the polarisation caused by Chávez's reliance on contrast and personal direction of policy. As I concluded in section 3.3.3, the optimal solution to this would be to have a political scientist involved in the research, as well as a linguist. It should also be observed that references to the Mercosur group and to the 'Bolivarian circles' are not present at the end of the corpus, and so it is likely that the input of a political scientist would be useful in describing the reasons for this.

Further critique of the methodology will be given in section 10.2, which complements the points raised in section 5.1.2.

The final step of the DHA methodology, and of most CDA studies, is to use the conclusions to create some advice which can be applied. As I noted in section 3.2.7, this is not something which I feel it is appropriate for me to do. I adopted the topic of Venezuela and Chávez for this study partly because I was unaffected by it (see section 2.5.1), and so I believe that it would be untenable for me to offer suggestions to any party or organisation in Venezuela as to how they might use discourse to further their cause.

10.2 CRITIQUE OF THE METHODOLOGY

In this section, I first recapitulate my justification for why my methodology is required, before giving a summary of it, finally offering a critique of my additions to the DHA procedure.

10.2.1 Rationale

In chapter 2, I chose the DHA as the methodology for carrying out an analysis of the discourse in *Aló Presidente* and, in chapter 3, a pilot study was used to demonstrate its application. As a result of this, in section 3.3.5, I set out a series of deficiencies with the DHA methodology. These were:

1. *The risk of over-interpretation;*

2. *The fact that the DHA questions leave some important features without discussion;*

3. *The reliance of a DHA study on the particular text chosen, without any focus on the extent to which that text is representative, without which the conclusions drawn must be considered to be only provisional, pending work on other samples;*

4. *The sometimes obscure boundaries between the different dimensions of triangulation.*

As described in chapter 1, my principal objective in this thesis was not to describe Chávez's language but rather to describe a methodology integrating techniques from corpus linguistics and DHA, which would alleviate the third of these identified problems (representativeness). I have done this through a procedure introduced in section 5.1, which adds a step to Reisigl and Wodak's DHA methodology (2009) and also re-orders some of the subsequent steps. Implementing this procedure also required me to write specific software, which forms a not insignificant part of the work undertaken in this thesis.

10.2.2 Summary of methodology

The introduced step reduces the problem of ensuring that the text studied is representative by allowing a whole corpus to be taken as the starting point and then selecting individual lines from within the corpus for study. The criterion for selecting the concordance lines is based upon the hypothesis '*that topics which become more or less important over time will be discussed respectively more or less frequently*' (page 122). Drawing on this idea, the following procedure is applied to the corpus:

1. The corpus is divided into periods (I used quarter-year periods);

2. The frequency of every type in every period is obtained;

3. The frequency of every type in every period is compared with that of every other period;

4. The most-changed types by frequency are grouped into semantic fields and the fields for analysis are chosen from this list;

5. The most frequent 'permitted collocates' of each of these types are identified;

6. The periods in which the frequencies of each of these collocations changed the most are identified;

7. All of the concordance lines containing the collocations from step 5, which occurred during the periods identified in step 6, are obtained from the corpus. These lines become the 'candidate lines';

8. Contextual research relating to the topics is performed;

9. The research question is set;

10. The lines from amongst the candidate lines, which are considered relevant to the research question, are analysed using the DHA.

10.2.3 Critique

This methodology (described diagrammatically on page 180), I believe, goes some way to solving the potential problem that unusual lines are chosen to answer a research question in which the researcher has some particular interest. In my version, (1) a standardised process chooses the lines for research, (2) the research question is defined <u>after</u> the lines for study have been identified, and is based upon a topic which has changed over the period covered by the corpus and (3) (in my case), I had chosen a topic by which I am personally unaffected. I thereby achieved the objectives set out on page 102.

It has been acknowledged in section 10.1.4.3 that the second and fourth of the problems quoted above (in 10.2.1) remain, as does the first (over- or under-interpretation), although I have suggested that input from a political scientist in the research would help to lessen this, ensuring that the DHA remains rooted in actual events (see also the discussion of joint research on page 29). It may also be possible to use cross-referencing against another corpus to keep interpretation in check, and this might be a subject for future work in this field.

More research may also be needed into the amount of context which it is necessary to study when investigating concordance lines in this way, since this might also aid in the researcher's interpretation of each line. It may be that Mason's work (2000) could assist in this regard (see also section 4.2.2).

Another area on which more work might be required is into the reasons why (as noted on pages 214 and 389) the investigation into the missions was more problematic than for the other two semantic fields. I suspect that this might indicate that my procedure is less successful when applied to individual policies.

Some may wish to point out that the conclusions in section 10.1.4 are little different from what myriad social scientists and journalists have already said about Venezuela at the start of the twenty-first century. I do not believe that this detracts from my work; rather, it shows that my methodology can support research in the social sciences by 'triangulating' (to borrow a term from CDA) conclusions reached through that field's traditional methods with linguistic data. Similarly, the conclusions reached in section 3.2.5 are also quite similar to those reached above; again, I consider that this justifies my approach, in that I have arrived at a similar argument as can be obtained through 'traditional' CDA, whilst also limiting the potential criticisms.

Meanwhile, I recognise that the hypothesis on page 122 is dependent on an assumption that there has been no change in the basic definition of the nodes or their permitted collocates during the period under investigation, and therefore that it is only changes in the topics being discussed which are located by the procedure. This is not, I believe, a problem for a study only spanning a few years but may limit its implementation in other circumstances. I also, of course, depend on the hypothesis itself being correct. I believe that both the fact that semantic fields were able to be identified in section 6.1 and the fact that interesting results, demonstrating change over time, were obtained for all of the investigated types together stand as testament to its veracity. However, without the ability to know exactly what Chávez was thinking during the programme, I have to admit that (like many such hypotheses) it cannot ultimately be proved.

11 APPENDIX

11.1 AN EDITION OF *ALÓ PRESIDENTE*

0h00m

Opening titles

1h15m

President of PDVSA Gas

0h15m

Chávez talking with gas plant employees

1h30m

Images while Chávez talks about gas trade with Middle East

0h30m

Chávez greeting gas plant employees

1h45m

Chávez talking about gas

0h45m

(Pre-recorded) State gas company representative explains site

2h00m

A local resident complaining that the gas money isn't reaching the local poor

1h00m

Chávez explains importance of gas

2h15m

Chávez calculating oil revenues

2h30m

Chávez gives an answer to a question posed by the BBC's John Sweeney

2h45m

More about gas…

3h00m

Chávez explains locations of gas pipelines

3h15m

More about gas…

3h30m

More about gas…

3h45m

Children perform a traditional musical interlude

4h00m

Chávez taking off a hat that the children have given him

4h15m

Congratulating the 'Ultimas Noticias' newspaper on its anniversary

4h30m

Primary school children re-enacting a scene between S. Rodriguez and S. Bolívar

4h45m

More about gas…

5h00m

More about gas…

5h15m

Using a map to explain geopolitics of gas

	5h30m Satellite link to an auto-gas service station		6h45m Chávez reminiscing through his family archives
	5h45m PDVSA employee explaining the location of gas fields to Chávez		7h00m Criticising press coverage of himself during the past week
	6h00m Chávez being shown around exposition of uses of gas in the home		7h15m Introducing the theme of new local government structures
	6h15m Chávez looking at gas tanks on a lorry		7h30m Children performing and singing for Chávez
	6h30m PDVSA employee describes new social housing for gas workers		7h40 Closing titles: Chávez clapping along to the music, wearing the hat from earlier
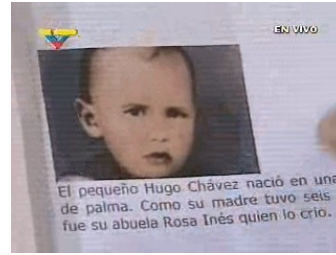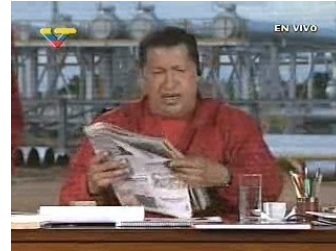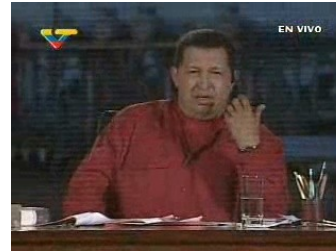
11.2 TREE-TAGGER POS TAGS

(Reproduced from TC-Project, 2007)

```
ACRNM    acronym (ISO, CEI)
ADJ      Adjectives (mayores, mayor)
ADV      Adverbs (muy, demasiado, cómo)
ALFP     Plural letter of the alphabet (As/Aes, bes)
ALFS     Singular letter of the alphabet (A, b)
ART      Articles (un, las, la, unas)
BACKSLASH backslash (\)
CARD     Cardinals
CC       Coordinating conjunction (y, o)
CCAD     Adversative coordinating conjunction (pero)
CCNEG    Negative coordinating conjunction (ni)
CM       comma (,)
CODE     Alphanumeric code
COLON    colon (:)
CQUE     que (as conjunction)
CSUBF    Subordinating conjunction that introduces finite clauses (apenas)
CSUBI    Subordinating conjunction that introduces infinite clauses (al)
CSUBX    Subordinating conjunction underspecified for subord-type (aunque)
DASH     dash (-)
DM       Demonstrative pronouns (ésas, ése, esta)
DOTS     POS tag for "..."
FO       Formula
FS       Full stop punctuation marks
INT      Interrogative pronouns (quiénes, cuántas, cuánto)
ITJN     Interjection (oh, ja)
LP       left parenthesis ("(", "[")
NC       Common nouns (mesas, mesa, libro, ordenador)
NEG      Negation
NMEA     measure noun (metros, litros)
NMON     month name
NP       Proper nouns
ORD      Ordinals (primer, primeras, primera)
PAL      Portmanteau word formed by a and el
PDEL     Portmanteau word formed by de and el
PE       Foreign word
PERCT    percent sign (%)
PNC      Unclassified word
PPC      Clitic personal pronoun (le, les)
PPO      Possessive pronouns (mi, su, sus)
PPX      Clitics and personal pronouns (nos, me, nosotras, te, sí)
PREP     Negative preposition (sin)
PREP     Preposition
PREP/DEL Complex preposition "después del"
QT       quotation symbol (" ' ")
QU       Quantifiers (sendas, cada)
REL      Relative pronouns (cuyas, cuyo)
RP       right parenthesis (")", "]")
SE       Se (as particle)
SEMICOLON semicolon (;)
```

```
SLASH    slash (/)
SYM      Symbols
UMMX     measure unit (MHz, km, mA)
VCLIger clitic gerund verb
VCLIinf clitic infinitive verb
VCLIfin clitic finite verb
VEadj    Verb estar. Past participle
VEfin    Verb estar. Finite
VEger    Verb estar. Gerund
VEinf    Verb estar. Infinitive
VHadj    Verb haber. Past participle
VHfin    Verb haber. Finite
VHger    Verb haber. Gerund
VHinf    Verb haber. Infinitive
VLadj    Lexical verb. Past participle
VLfin    Lexical verb. Finite
VLger    Lexical verb. Gerund
VLinf    Lexical verb. Infinitive
VMadj    Modal verb. Past participle
VMfin    Modal verb. Finite
VMger    Modal verb. Gerund
VMinf    Modal verb. Infinitive
VSadj    Verb ser. Past participle
VSfin    Verb ser. Finite
VSger    Verb ser. Gerund
VSinf    Verb ser. Infinitive
```

11.3 EXAMPLES OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF MARKUP

Plain-Text

```
Chapter VII
LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS
The intelligence with which Lestrade greeted us was so
momentous and so unexpected that we were all three fairly
dumbfounded. Gregson sprang out of his chair and upset the
remainder of his whisky and water. I stared in silence at
Sherlock Holmes, whose lips were compressed and his brows
drawn down over his eyes.
"Stangerson too!" he muttered. "The plot thickens".
```

Basic SGML meta-data

```
<meta>
  <title>A Study in Scarlet
  <author>Conan-Doyle, Arthur
  <type>Written <genre>Fiction <year>1887
<text>
  <chapter> Chapter VII
LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS
  <body>
The intelligence with which Lestrade greeted us was so
momentous and so unexpected that we were all three fairly
dumbfounded. Gregson sprang out of his chair and upset the
remainder of his whisky and water. I stared in silence at
Sherlock Holmes, whose lips were compressed and his brows
drawn down over his eyes.
"Stangerson too!" he muttered. "The plot thickens".
```

A minimal implementation of TEI P2, with abbreviated meta-data.

```
<TEI.2 lang="en">
<teiHeader>
 <fileDesc>
   <titleStmt>
     <title>A Study in Scarlet</title>
     <author><name reg="Conan Doyle, Arthur">Sir Arthur
Conan Doyle</name></author>
   </titleStmt>
   <sourceDesc>
     <bibl>
       <title>A Study in Scarlet</title>
       <author>Sir Arthur Conan Doyle</author>
       <imprint><pubPlace>Ware, Herts.,
UK</pubPlace><publisher>Wordsworth Editions
Ltd.</publisher><date>1992</date></imprint>
     </bibl>
   </sourceDesc>
 </fileDesc>
</teiHeader>
<div1>
   <head>Chapter VII<lb/>LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS</head>
<p>The intelligence with which Lestrade greeted us was so
momentous and so unexpected that we were all three fairly
dumbfounded. Gregson sprang out of his chair and upset the
remainder of his whisky and water. I stared in silence at
Sherlock Holmes, whose lips were compressed and his brows
drawn down over his eyes.</p>
<p><q>"Stangerson too!"</q> he muttered. <q>"The plot
thickens"</q>.</p>
</div1>
```

```
                   </TEI.2>

Automatically    <?xml version="1.0" encoding="ISO-8859-1" ?>
POS-tagged        <teiDoc>
BNC-XML⁶⁷         <teiHeader>
                   <fileDesc>
                    <titleStmt> <title>Study in Scarlet</title>
                   <respStmt><resp>POS-tagging, conversion to
                   XML</resp><name>Dominic Smith</name></respStmt></titleStmt>
                      <editionStmt> <edition>TestCorpus</edition>
                   </editionStmt>
                      <extent>67 tokens; 67 w-units; 8 s-units</extent>
                      <publicationStmt> <distributor>Not
                   distributed</distributor> <availability>No longer in
                   Copyright</availability> <idno type="test">1</idno>
                   </publicationStmt>
                      <bibl>
                        <title>Study in Scarlet</title>
                        <author>Sir Arthur Conan Doyle</author>
                        <imprint> <pubPlace>Ware, Herts., UK</pubPlace>
                   <publisher>Wordsworth Editions, Ltd.</publisher>
                   <date>1992</date> </imprint>
                      </bibl>
                    </fileDesc>
                    <encodingDesc>
                     <tagsDecl>
                      <namespace name=""> <tagUsage gi="s" occurs="8" />
                   <tagUsage gi="w" occurs="67" /> </namespace>
                     </tagsDecl>
                    </encodingDesc>
                   </teiHeader>

                  <wtext type="FICTION">
                  <pb n="33"/>
                  <div level="1">
                   <head>
                    <s n="1">
                     <w hw="chapter" pos="NP">CHAPTER </w>
                     <w hw="7" pos="JJ">VII</w>
                    </s>
                    <s n="2">
                     <w hw="Light" pos="NP">LIGHT</w>
                     <w hw="in" pos="IN">IN</w>
                     <w hw="the" pos="DT">THE</w>
                     <w hw="darkness" pos="NN">DARKNESS</w>
                    </s>
                   </head>
                   <p>
                    <s n="3">
                     <w hw="the" pos="DT">The</w>
                     <w hw="intelligence" pos="NN">intelligence</w>
                     <w hw="with" pos="IN">with</w>
```

---

⁶⁷ The tagging of types in this example was performed using Tree-Tagger (TC-Project, 1994), see section 5.2.2. Consequently, this implementation differs from the BNC itself as Tree-Tagger POS tags (documented in 11.4) are given in place of the standard tags in the pos attribute of the <w> tag, and there is no c5 attribute (which was determined from the Claws 5 software for the BNC). Unlike Claws 5, Tree-Tagger is unable to determine multi-word units, and so all types are marked by the <w> tag alone, with no <mw> tags.

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```
     <w hw="which" pos="WDT">which</w>
     <w hw="Lestrade" pos="NP">Lestrade</w>
     <w hw="greet" pos="VVD">greeted</w>
     <w hw="us" pos="PP">us</w>
     <w hw="be" pos="VBD">was</w>
     <w hw="so" pos="RB">so</w>
     <w hw="momentous" pos="JJ">momentous</w>
     <w hw="and" pos="CC">and</w>
     <w hw="so" pos="RB">so</w>
     <w hw="unexpected" pos="JJ">unexpected</w>
     <w hw="that" pos="IN">that</w>
     <w hw="we" pos="PP">we</w>
     <w hw="be" pos="VBD">were</w>
     <w hw="all" pos="RB">all</w>
     <w hw="three" pos="CD">three</w>
     <w hw="fairly" pos="RB">fairly</w>
     <w hw="dumbfounded" pos="JJ">dumbfounded</w>
     <w hw="." pos="SENT">.</w>
</s>
<s n="4">
 <w hw="Gregson" pos="NP">Gregson</w>
 <w hw="spring" pos="VVD">sprang</w>
 <w hw="out" pos="RP">out</w>
 <w hw="of" pos="IN">of</w>
 <w hw="his" pos="PP$">his</w>
 <w hw="chair" pos="NN">chair</w>
 <w hw="and" pos="CC">and</w>
 <w hw="upset" pos="VV">upset</w>
 <w hw="the" pos="DT">the</w>
 <w hw="remainder" pos="NN">remainder</w>
 <w hw="of" pos="IN">of</w>
 <w hw="his" pos="PP$">his</w>
 <w hw="whisky" pos="NN">whisky</w>
 <w hw="and" pos="CC">and</w>
 <w hw="water" pos="NN">water</w>
 <w hw="." pos="SENT">.</w>
</s>
<s n="5">
 <w hw="I" pos="PP">I</w>
 <w hw="stare" pos="VVD">stared</w>
 <w hw="in" pos="IN">in</w>
 <w hw="silence" pos="NN">silence</w>
 <w hw="at" pos="IN">at</w>
 <w hw="Sherlock" pos="NP">Sherlock</w>
 <w hw="Holmes" pos="NP">Holmes</w>
 <w hw="," pos=",">,</w>
 <w hw="whose" pos="WP$">whose</w>
 <w hw="lip" pos="NNS">lips</w>
 <w hw="be" pos="VBD">were</w>
 <w hw="compress" pos="VVN">compressed</w>
 <w hw="and" pos="CC">and</w>
 <w hw="his" pos="PP$">his</w>
 <w hw="brow" pos="NNS">brows</w>
 <w hw="draw" pos="VVN">drawn</w>
 <w hw="down" pos="RP">down</w>
 <w hw="over" pos="IN">over</w>
 <w hw="his" pos="PP$">his</w>
 <w hw="eye" pos="NNS">eyes</w>
 <w hw="." pos="SENT">.</w>
```

```
    </s>
    <s n="6">
     <w hw="'" pos="QUOT">'</w>
     <w hw="Stangerson" pos="NP">Stangerson</w>
     <w hw="too" pos="RB">too</w>
     <w hw="!" pos="SENT">!</w>
    </s>
    <s n="7">
     <w hw="'" pos="QUOT">'</w>
     <w hw="he" pos="PP">he</w>
     <w hw="mutter" pos="VVD">muttered</w>
     <w hw="." pos="SENT">.</w>
    </s>
    <s n="8">
     <w hw="'" pos="QUOT">'</w>
     <w hw="the" pos="DT">The</w>
     <w hw="plot" pos="NN">plot</w>
     <w hw="thicken" pos="VVZ">thickens</w>
     <w hw="'" pos="QUOT">'</w>
     <w hw="." pos="SENT">.</w>
    </s>
   </p>
  </div>
 </wtext>
</teiDoc>
```

11.4 CORPUS STATISTICS AND SOURCES

Date	Ed.	Tokens	Medium	Source	Notes
06 January 2002	91	29028	TV	Misión	
13 January 2002	92	40542	TV	Misión	
23 January 2002	93	38255	TV	Misión	
27 January 2002	94	45805	TV	Misión	
?	95	0	TV		Only fragments available
17 February 2002	96	40520	TV	Misión	
24 February 2002	97	36552	TV	Misión	
03 March 2002	98	31653	TV	Misión	
10 March 2002	99	34560	TV	Misión	
17 March 2002	100	53305	TV	Misión	
07 April 2002	101	31479	TV	Misión	
28 April 2002	102	21292	TV	Misión	
05 May 2002	103	23436	TV	Misión	
12 May 2002	104	25008	TV	Misión	
26 May 2002	105	31213	TV	Misión	
02 June 2002	106	27896	TV	Misión	
09 June 2002	107	44107	TV	Misión	
16 June 2002	108	33579	TV	Misión	
?	109	0	TV		Not available
30 June 2002	110	27586	TV	Misión	
14 July 2002	111	34904	TV	Misión	
?	112	0	TV		Not broadcast
28 July 2002	113	37986	TV	Misión	
04 August 2002	114	29798	TV	Misión	
11 August 2002	115	41508	TV	Misión	
18 August 2002	116	23670	TV	Misión	
25 August 2002	117	44024	TV	Misión	
08 September 2002	118	30389	TV	Misión	

15 September 2002	119	42281	TV	Misión	
29 September 2002	120	46171	TV	Misión	
06 October 2002	121	40372	TV	Misión	
12 October 2002	122	41025	TV	Misión	
20 October 2002	123	30614	TV	Misión	
27 October 2002	124	57280	TV	Misión	
03 November 2002	125	38926	TV	Misión	
10 November 2002	126	37728	TV	Misión	
17 November 2002	127	23386	TV	Misión	
24 November 2002	128	35704	TV	Misión	
01 December 2002	129	37557	TV	Misión	
08 December 2002	130	41831	TV	Misión	
15 December 2002	131	48136	TV	Misión	
23 December 2002	132	30736	TV	Misión	
29 December 2002	133	29750	TV	Misión	
?	134		TV		Not broadcast
12 January 2003	135	27573	TV	Misión	
18 January 2003	136	34973	TV	Misión	
02 February 2003	137	54265	TV	Misión	
09 February 2003	138	41392	TV	Misión	
16 February 2003	139	39298	TV	Misión	
23 February 2003	140	38165	TV	Misión	
02 March 2003	141	31409	TV	Misión	
09 March 2003	142	35653	TV	Misión	
16 March 2003	143	0	TV	Misión	Only fragments available
22 March 2003	144	14736	TV	Misión	
30 March 2003	145	98401	TV	Misión	
06 April 2003	146	37642	TV	Misión	
26 April 2003	147	47071	TV	Misión	
04 May 2003	148	23179	TV	Gob	
11 May 2003	149	46316	TV	Gob	

18 May 2003	150	33036	TV	Gob	
01 June 2003	151	0	TV	Gob	Could not unlock PDF
08 June 2003	152	39498	TV	Gob	
15 June 2003	153	23230	TV	Gob	
22 June 2003	154	41083	TV	Gob	
06 July 2003	155	27528	TV	Gob	
13 July 2003	156	34306	TV	Gob	
27 July 2003	157	37378	TV	Gob	
03 August 2003	158	32607	TV	Gob	
10 August 2003	159	31647	TV	Gob	
17 August 2003	160	17834	TV	Gob	
24 August 2003	161	0	TV		Not available
31 August 2003	162	25978	TV	Gob	
07 September 2003	163	31273	TV	Gob	
14 September 2003	164	40772	TV	Gob	
21 September 2003	165	35876	TV	Gob	
05 October 2003	166	36144	TV	Gob	
12 October 2003	167	43263	TV	Gob	
19 October 2003	168	21993	TV	Gob	
26 October 2003	169	34644	TV	Gob	
02 November 2003	170	24032	TV	Gob	
09 November 2003	171	36931	TV	Gob	
16 November 2003	172	27921	TV	Gob	
07 December 2003	173	32330	TV	Gob	
14 December 2003	174	38242	TV	Gob	
21 December 2003	175	25067	TV	Gob	
28 December 2003	176	39745	TV	Gob	
11 January 2004	177	27712	TV	Gob	
18 January 2004	178	39661	TV	Gob	
25 January 2004	179	36288	TV	Gob	
01 February 2004	180	26552	TV	Gob	

08 February 2004	181	37480	TV	Gob
15 February 2004	182	39130	TV	Gob
07 March 2004	183	42672	TV	Gob
14 March 2004	184	36049	TV	Gob
21 March 2004	185	43584	TV	Gob
28 March 2004	186	40894	TV	Gob
04 April 2004	187	32849	TV	Gob
11 April 2004	188	41460	TV	Gob
18 April 2004	189	32970	TV	Gob
02 May 2004	190	36836	TV	Gob
09 May 2004	191	40969	TV	Gob
23 May 2004	192	41387	TV	Gob
13 June 2004	193	35355	TV	Gob
20 June 2004	194	32510	TV	Gob
27 June 2004	195	30966	TV	Gob
04 July 2004	196	34504	TV	Gob
11 July 2004	197	42059	TV	Gob
18 July 2004	198	44220	TV	Gob
25 July 2004	199	35281	TV	Gob
01 August 2004	200	40045	TV	Gob
22 August 2004	201	37317	TV	Gob
29 August 2004	202	37447	TV	Gob
12 September 2004	203	46239	TV	Gob
19 September 2004	204	50203	TV	Gob
26 September 2004	205	36850	TV	AP
03 October 2004	206	39562	TV	AP
10 October 2004	207	40501	TV	AP
17 October 2004	208	60895	TV	AP
24 October 2004	209	45561	TV	AP
09 January 2005	210	45957	TV	AP
16 January 2005	211	51359	TV	AP

13 February 2005	212	27885	TV	AP
20 February 2005	213	36945	TV	AP
27 February 2005	214	41113	TV	AP
13 March 2005	215	31501	TV	AP
20 March 2005	216	49742	TV	AP
03 April 2005	217	32095	TV	AP
10 April 2005	218	45717	TV	AP
17 April 2005	219	26816	TV	AP
24 April 2005	220	41336	TV	AP
08 May 2005	221	28545	TV	AP
15 May 2005	222	31100	TV	AP
22 May 2005	223	38245	TV	AP
05 June 2005	224	13472	TV	AP
12 June 2005	225	44956	TV	AP
26 June 2005	226	50013	TV	AP
03 July 2005	227	47764	TV	AP
10 July 2005	228	48191	TV	AP
17 July 2005	229	50495	TV	AP
31 July 2005	230	48495	TV	AP
21 August 2005	231	41907	TV	AP
28 August 2005	232	25176	TV	AP
04 September 2005	233	54068	TV	AP
25 September 2005	234	42250	TV	AP
02 October 2005	235	40816	TV	AP
09 October 2005	236	48836	TV	AP
23 October 2005	237	47873	TV	AP
30 October 2005	238	51272	TV	AP
13 November 2005	239	50842	TV	AP
20 November 2005	240	36235	TV	AP
27 November 2005	241	48803	TV	AP
18 December 2005	242	43604	TV	AP

Date				
08 January 2006	243	42322	TV	AP
15 January 2006	244	44662	TV	AP
29 January 2006	245	34006	TV	AP
05 February 2006	246	51022	TV	AP
19 February 2006	247	57476	TV	AP
05 March 2006	248	42027	TV	AP
19 March 2006	249	49627	TV	AP
26 March 2006	250	55030	TV	AP
02 April 2006	251	53755	TV	AP
09 April 2006	252	54196	TV	AP
23 April 2006	253	46217	TV	AP
07 May 2006	254	44743	TV	AP
21 May 2006	255	41785	TV	AP
28 May 2006	256	37258	TV	AP
04 June 2006	257	44779	TV	AP
11 June 2006	258	48027	TV	AP
06 August 2006	259	45638	TV	AP
20 August 2006	260	59868	TV	AP
03 September 2006	261	45789	TV	AP
10 September 2006	262	43982	TV	AP
21 January 2007	263	46548	TV	AP
28 January 2007	264	57011	TV	AP
15 February 2007	265	11761	Radio	AP
22 February 2007	266	12745	Radio	AP
23 February 2007	267	15790	Radio	AP
26 February 2007	268	15172	Radio	AP
27 February 2007	269	16848	Radio	AP
28 February 2007	270	16179	Radio	AP
01 March 2007	271	14801	TV	AP
05 March 2007	272	15546	Radio	AP
06 March 2007	273	17764	Radio	AP

434

13 March 2007	274	18560	TV	AP
14 March 2007	275	19630	Radio	AP
18 March 2007	276	44254	TV	AP
22 March 2007	277	18594	Radio	AP
25 March 2007	278	36019	TV	AP
27 March 2007	279	16656	Radio	AP
29 March 2007	280	24753	Radio	AP
12 April 2007	281	23720	Radio	AP
15 April 2007	282	34185	TV	AP
22 April 2007	283	48106	TV	AP
24 April 2007	284	20273	Radio	AP
10 June 2007	285	59014	TV	AP
17 June 2007	286	23324	TV	AP
Totals:	189*	7040917		

Sources:

AP = Aló Presidente Website: via http://www.alopresidente.gob.ve/transcripciones/

Gob = Gobierno en Línea: http://www.gobiernoenlinea.ve/docMgr/sharedfiles/Alo_Presidente_xxx.pdf (Replace xxx with the edition number)

Misión = Misión Venezuela: via http://www.misionvenezuela.gov.ve/AloPresidente/2002/

* refers to number of editions actually sourced

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