

## **LANGUAGE AND HATE SPEECH: A COGNITIVE GRAMMAR APPROACH**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Every electioneering period in Kenya witnesses ethnic animosity that is fuelled by hate speeches by protagonists. Language is used as a tool that evokes bitterness and thereby injuring one's emotions leading to conflict. This has polarized this country politically. Besides understanding hate speech, this paper looks at ways in which language can be used as a tool for peace-building and enhancing national coherence. This paper borrows greatly from Cognitive Grammar as advanced by Langacker (2008). I have intentionally employed Langacker's thoughts of Schematization, Conceptualization, Categorization, Domains, Base and Profile among others. If a linguistic item (for instance a word) can arouse ethnic animosity, is there a way in which we can achieve a less offensive conceptualization of that word? Key to this paper is that meaning is viewed as grounded in embodied human experiences and that it resides in the mind of the language users as conceptualization. Conceptualization is an interactive process between the language users. During this interaction, interpretation of meaning will depend on the knowledge of the notion at hand.

**Key words:** Cognitive grammar, conceptualization, hate speech, schematization, usage event

### **1.00 INTRODUCTION**

A word has power. God created the world by His word. A word can be used to bring into existence what was not there and equally bring to nothing what once existed. This is particularly true if the word is uttered by a person who has authority over you like leaders, parents, academicians, administrators and others. Kenyans have the tendency of fanatically following their leaders, be they political, religious, or scholarly. These leaders have many platforms they use to reach out to their masses at will. Popular platforms include the media and political rallies held across the nation. Whatever they tell their followers is perceived by the followers as the truth and given that words are deeds, the masses are always swayed to the directions that the leaders want to move them. It is unfortunate that these leaders have also become opinion masters in decision-making processes. A majority of them are biased and you cannot fail to see their outright display of hatred messages in their political campaigns, wanting to outdo each other in their endeavors. The worst scenarios happen during electioneering periods. Hate speeches are

hurled at each other across the nation. Political tension is always heightened and war breaks out immediately after election results are announced. Lives and properties have been lost. Amazingly, the very political leaders who fuel these ethnic wars turn around to say how they were quoted out of context and that they never meant what was reported or even witnessed in broad daylight. We are yet to see those that we perceive to be perpetrators of hate speech taken to court and even sentenced. They get away scot free. Why? One reason could be the inability to define what constitutes a hate speech despite the law acknowledging that it exists. Another reason could be our conceptualization of hate speech viz a viz free speech. It gets worse is done when the children and the young people witness this and they pick it up and carry the trend to the next generations.

This paper addresses hate speech and how it is understood within Kenyan law. Principals of Cognitive Grammar (CG) are employed in the analysis of what constitutes hate speech and by so doing, it is hoped that the perpetrators of hate speech shall be found culpable and face the full course of the law. An example of a hate speech is given and the tenets of CG are used to analyze it in order to establish if at all it can be considered as hate speech. It is also hoped that institutions that are directly involved with passing on of societal values to the young ones and other members of the society will employ CG principals in teaching love and cohesion.

## **2.00 HATE SPEECH**

Hate speech is defined in Section 13 of the National Cohesion and Integration Act. This section says:

A person who —

- a) uses threatening, abusive or insulting words or behavior, or displays any written material
- b) publishes or distributes written material
- c) presents or directs the public performance of a play
- d) distributes, shows or plays, a recording of visual images
- e) provides, produces or directs a program which is threatening, abusive or insulting or involves the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behavior

f) commits an offence if such person intends thereby to stir up ethnic hatred, or having regard to all the circumstances, ethnic hatred is likely to be stirred up.

The utterance, whether written or oral has to meet two tests for it to be considered hate speech:

1. It has to be threatening, abusive or insulting or involve the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behavior; and
2. Is intended to stir up ethnic hatred, or can cause ethnic hatred to be stirred up.

Please note that the Act defines “ethnic hatred” as hatred against a group of persons defined by reference to color, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins.

### **3.00 COGNITIVE GRAMMAR AND MEANING**

Langacker (1987, p. 12) argues that since language is symbolic in nature, then meaning is very crucial in all linguistic entities. This means you cannot isolate form from meaning and if one has to study grammar then one has to look at both the lexicon (fixed expressions of a language) and the grammar of the symbolic assembly. While applying CG to translation, Tabakowska (2013, p. 232) looks at a linguistic unit as a lexeme, a bound morpheme, a complex word (for instance the plural form of a countable noun), and an idiomatic phrase or, at the sentence level a grammatical construction with a schematic meaning. Langacker refers to these linguistic units as fixed expressions in a language. To Langacker fixed expressions are expressions that are familiar and conventionally used in the given languages. There is also a possibility of having other words that are novel, meaning that they are neither familiar nor conventional in a given language.

Though not fully disregarding language universals, Langacker (1987, p. 47) posits that meaning is language-specific to a considerable extent. He says, “since languages differ in their grammatical structure, they differ in the imagery that speakers employ when conforming to linguistic convention,” (ibid., p. 42). CG provides the cognitive resources that can help a person infer the meaning of the speaker as is informed by the language and the sociocultural background of the speaker. These cognitive resources are applicable to all human languages, meaning that any language user can employ these cognitive tools to get to the meaning of a speech.

Despite the fact that every linguistic expression has meaning, Langacker (2008, p.11) claims that one cannot exhaustively describe the meaning of a linguistic expression. Instead, he

argues that any semantic description only limits itself to what is central or relevant for a specific and immediate purpose which that linguistic item could be serving in a given usage event. Using an example of a tree, Langacker (1999, p. 14:4), explains that our knowledge of trees includes physical properties (like shape and height), biological properties (growth rate, root system), utility (wood, shade, food source), and other specifications. In as much as each of these specifications relates to a certain extent to the meaning of “tree,” Langacker says that a lexical item will take on a different meaning each time it is used depending on the array of associated conceptions it evokes on a given occasion and the level of specificity activated. Langacker (2008, p. 39) further adds that for a given lexical meaning, certain specifications are very central in that they are always activated whenever the expression is used. Others are less central, meaning that they are less frequently activated. Some specifications can be so peripheral that they are accessed only in certain contexts. In this paper the reader is encouraged to identify and describe those domains that are central, less central, and on the periphery in various usage events.

Langacker identifies various basic and very general psychological phenomena evident in many other facets of cognition. These are association, automatization, schematization, and categorization (2008, p. 16).

### **3.1 Association**

Langacker (ibid.) says that association refers to the establishment of psychological connections with the potential to influence subsequent processing. Though he says that association has numerous manifestations in CG, he suggests that we need to remember the association between a semantic and a phonological structure that defines a symbolic relationship. The structure formed by associating a semantic structure and a phonological structure is a symbol.

### **3.2 Automatization**

When a complex structure goes through repetition, it ultimately becomes mastered to the point where it requires little conscious monitoring. Repeated usage of a structure over time makes it finally become entrenched for a speaker and conventional within the speech community. It is then assumed to have become an established unit that is referred to as a lexical

item. This means that every concept has a history, and that it required a history to develop into a conventional concept.

### **3.3 Schematization**

Langacker (ibid., p. 17) describes schematization as a process of extracting the commonality inherent in multiple experiences to arrive at a conception representing a higher level of abstraction. We create concepts in our minds through schematization. Schematization gives rise to schemas (symbolic units). Of importance to this paper is how participants in a discourse instantiate their own schemas.

### **3.4 Categorization**

Langacker (ibid.) describes categorization as “the interpretation of experiences with respect to previously existing structures” and that “a category is a set of elements judged equivalent for some purpose.” He further gives an example of alternate senses of lexical items as constituting a category equivalent in having the same phonological realization. Hate speech is a concept with multiple but interrelated senses organized with respect to a prototype (central sense). These numerous senses define the range of the conventional usage of a lexical item. Its radial analysis is crucial in order to establish its prototype and the various category members related to the prototype in given usage events.

### **3.5 Construal**

This has to do with the different ways in which a particular entity is construed or viewed by a speaker. Meaning is conceptualization. What an expression means is both the content that is invoked in that expression and how that content is viewed in the context. Construal is very significant to meaning because “it implies that the meaning of an expression is not determined in any unique or mechanical way from the nature of the objective situation it describes. The same situation can be described by a variety of semantically distinct expressions that embody different ways of construing or structuring it” (Langacker 1987, p. 107). In a later publication (2008, p.55) he says that when a scene is viewed, what is actually seen depends on how closely the viewers examine it, what they choose to look at, which elements they pay most attention to, and where they view it from. While discussing linguistic relativism and cultural relativism, Swoyer (2014) says that language together with culture affects how one experiences and thinks about the world.

To him certain aspects of language, for example syntax or lexicon, can influence perception, classification, or memory in clearly specifiable ways. If this is anything to go by, it means that language users are capable of construing meaning differently since they have different aspects that will definitely influence how they construe their worlds. Langacker (2008, p.55) has come up with four broad classes of construal phenomena namely specificity, focusing, prominence, and perspective.

### **3.6 Specificity**

This refers to the level of precision and detail at which a situation is characterized. For example in Luhya, *ingokho* refers to chicken but when you say *inyabuli* you are referring to a specific female chicken that is already laying eggs or just about to start laying eggs. *Isuyi* is a young female chicken that is not very near to laying eggs but is edible. *Shiminyoli* refers to a chick that is neither edible nor able to lay eggs. Various senses for linguistic items could be given but a Luhya conceptualizer may want to choose a particular one that he/she feels is precise to enable him/her to characterize a given situation.

### **3.7 Focusing**

This has to do with what gets relative prominence in a linguistic expression. In an expression a component that is given prominence is assumed to be the primary focus or the trajector while the landmark receives less prominence (a secondary focus). For example

1. a) Mary loves John.
1. b) John loves Mary

In (a), Mary is the trajector while John is the landmark. In (b) John is the primary focus while Mary receives the secondary focus. Different languages may not necessarily have the same grammatical construction and therefore trajector-landmark construction shifts are likely to be observed. What is given prominence in one language may not necessarily be given the same prominence in another language because of different cultural backgrounds.

### **3.8 Perspective**

Viewpoints of speakers are equally important in understanding the meaning of an utterance. Langacker (2008, p.23) defines perspective as a viewing arrangement which is the overall relationship between the viewers (the conceptualizers – the speaker and the hearers who

apprehend the meanings of linguistic expressions) and the situation being viewed. Take for instance:

2. (a) the glass is half empty.

2. (b) the glass is half full.

In a context where the glass had been filled half way, some conceptualizers would explain it as (a) while others would render it as (b).

The other tenet of CG that I consider relevant to this paper is domains as discussed below.

### **Domains**

This is the information that we have in the long term memory that helps in understanding the meaning of a concept. Langacker (2008, p. 44) looks at domains as indicating any kind of conception or realm of experience that an expression invokes as a basis for its meaning. He refers to this collective set of domains as a domain matrix. For example, the domain matrix for elections to a Kenyan citizen include violence, death, loss of property, displacement, politicians, voters, electoral bodies, political campaigns, propaganda among others. There are other concepts in Kenya that could invoke the same domains invoked by elections as a basis for their meaning. Such concepts include: terrorism, natural calamity like floods, crime etc.

Given that relevant domains can be open-ended, there is a high possibility of domains of a complex matrix overlapping with one another often to the extent of full inclusion. In such cases there is a possibility of certain domains being activated when an expression is used in a given occasion, a situation Langacker refers to as “centrality.” Domains in a complex matrix do have different degrees of centrality. Some domains may show a higher degree of centrality, meaning that they are easily and readily invoked in a given usage event while other domains may be quite peripheral. According to Langacker, relative centrality of constitutive domains is one facet of linguistic meaning. Langacker claims that one cannot exhaust all the domains in a matrix. Instead, the number of domains that one can recognize depends on the purpose of the study (2008, p. 44). In this paper therefore, what entails hate speech will then constrain the domains in the domain matrix of hate speech.

### **Basic vs. Nonbasic Domains**

Langacker (ibid. p.45) notes that one concept can serve as a domain for the characterization of another but such a concept reaches a point by which there is no further reduction. They cannot be derived, neither are they analyzable into sub-concepts. Such are basic domains. Langacker gives space and time as prime examples of basic domains. Nonbasic domains are concepts that function as domains for the characterization of a higher-order concept. Langacker adds that they vary in their degree of conceptual complexity and that to a certain extent, they can arrange themselves in hierarchies. The analysis of such hierarchies helps in determining the conceptual structure that is critical in such a study.

### **Accessibility of Concepts**

Langacker (ibid. p.47) posits that merely listing domains found in a matrix is not sufficient. Instead how they relate to one another, and how they are mentally accessed is crucial to linguistic meaning. Certain domains will always be activated when an expression is used in a given occasion. Langacker refers to this situation as centrality. Domains in a complex matrix do have different degrees of centrality. Other domains may be quite peripheral. Of importance to this paper is the claim by Langacker that relative centrality of constitutive domains is one facet of linguistic meaning. Linguistic items may allow for access to several domains but they may selectively do this while making some domains to be more highly activated than others. The degree of centrality as noted by Langacker depends on context and usage. Whereas this may be straightforward in simple lexical items like *risasi* (Swahili: bullet), Langacker (ibid. p.53) says that in the case of complex expressions, the matrix for the overall expression incorporates all the domains of the components.

### **Profiling**

Langacker (ibid. p. 66) defines a profile as what a linguistic expression designates or refers to within its base and that a base is a certain body of conceptual content that an expression selects as a basis for its meaning. For example, January, February, and March are months of the year. This conception of the months of the year is their base. From this example that Langacker gives, a base of a predication is its domain (or each domain in a complex matrix). The base helps in understanding what a word means. “January” can profile the first month of the year, the date that some school calendars begin, the driest season in Kenya, etc. What concerns this paper is the claim by Langacker that every predication is characterized relative to ‘cognitive domains’, where

a domain can be any sort of conceptualization: a perceptual experience, a concept, a conceptual complex, an elaborate knowledge system, etc.

Langacker (1999, p. 99) implies that both participants in a usage event have a role to play if the intentions of the event are to be realized. The hearer has to interpret the event as the intended realization of particular linguistic structures while the speaker has to select the relevant linguistic structures capable of evoking the desired contextual understanding. Since every society has its own socio-cultural dimensions, what these claims made by Langacker imply is that the various interlocutions need to be analyzed in relation to their linguistic structures.

#### **4.00 OTHER WORKS ON MEANING**

Several works have used other theories to arrive at a meaning of a linguistic item including Tioye (2014) who employs Mental Space Theory in his analysis. This is a theory of meaning construction which it views as dynamic. CG analyses the knowledge in the long-term memory that has been cued by an expression in a discourse, how that knowledge is organized and accessed.

Alo (2012) applies Relevance Theory (RT) while looking at how the metaphor ‘light’ means in different Biblical cognitive environments. However, Alo mentions that RT is a theory of verbal communication and not necessarily a theory of studying languages implying that RT cannot satisfactorily be used to analyze how a community conceptualizes its cultural and material realities, a gap that CG proves helpful to fill.

#### **4.1 EFFECTS OF HATE SPEECH**

To help address the lack of sufficient research and documentation to discern how and when precisely speech—understood broadly to include print media, radio, television, and new technologies, as well as public speaking—relates to the occurrence of genocidal violence, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum convened a seminar in February 2000 at which experts explored four contemporary case studies as well as international law governing this area. The following four key findings emerged from that seminar presentations and discussions.

1. The lines separating hate speech, propaganda, and incitement are not clear.

While patterns exist across the different case studies with regard to the tactics and strategies leaders employed to increase intergroup tensions, there is no consensus on what

constitutes each of the three categories—hate speech, propaganda, and incitement—and international criminal law governing this area is still in flux.

## 2. Speech is tied to context.

The context in which speech occurs helps determine its impact, as does the position of the person or persons speaking. Additionally, hate speech alone does not indicate impending violence. It is only by analyzing contextual clues that the potential threat of any given speech can be evaluated.

## 3. Media are productive forces in a conflict.

Both national and international media are productive forces in the stories they tell; how events are described, when stories appear, and whose voices are included can all change the unfolding course of a conflict. Additionally, new technologies enable different voices to emerge and accelerate the dissemination of messages, which presents both challenges and opportunities.

## 4. Societies have numerous options for curtailing the effects of hate speech.

Currently there exist mechanisms—and the potential for augmenting and expanding such mechanisms—that could creatively and effectively address the problem of hate speech. Among these are programs that reach out to media professionals directly and that focus on the community-wide implications of hate speech. But further study of the relationship between hate speech and group-targeted violence is seriously limited by the absence of an archive for this subject.

This paper tries to address the second and the fourth findings. It is my view that once hate speech has been established, deterrent measures need to be put in place as a way of bringing the vice to an end. The following is an example of a political speech and then the application of CG to ascertain whether it constitutes hate speech or not.

### 4.2 AN EXAMPLE OF A HATE SPEECH AND ITS ANALYSIS

*“2017 imekaribia na sisi kama watu wa ODM tumebaki na risasi moja ...this time round the outcome of the election ikiwa tumeshinda na watunyang’anye wacha kiumane. Raila ndio awe President lazima watu wakufe kiasi...”*

2017 is approaching and we as members of ODM have one bullet left. This time around if Raila wins the election and it is snatched from him let the worst come to the worst. For Raila to become the president a number of people must die (my translation from Swahili).

These words were spoken by Aladwa, a political leader, during a presidential political rally on Mashujaa Day in Kibera, Kenya in 2016. At that time, Aladwa was the Nairobi ODM chairman. ODM stands for Orange Democratic Movement, a political party in Kenya during the presidential election campaigns at that time. Such remarks by a political leader are triggers for ethnic violence should Odinga win the elections and his victory is snatched from him. When he was arrested, Aladwa claimed that his statement had been quoted out of context and that what he actually meant was that the deaths would be as a result of joy and not violence.

What followed after the elections is exactly what his speech entailed. Raila Odinga, who was the presidential candidate for ODM lost to the incumbent President, Uhuru Kenyatta and it was believed by his supporters that his victory had been stolen from him. ODM leaders thereafter rallied people to demonstrate throughout the country. In the process many lives were lost following the confrontation between the police and the protesters, property destroyed and it was not business as usual until the widely acclaimed handshake between the political opponents that the political temperatures went down.

Langacker (2000) discusses how linguistic units can be abstracted from usage events and the necessary analysis made of each one of them. This will guide us in analyzing a hate speech too. CG claims that all linguistic items are meaningful and that all linguistic units are abstracted from usage events, i.e., actual instances of language use. Each such event consists of a comprehensive conceptualization, comprising an expression's full contextual understanding, paired with an elaborate vocalization, in all its phonetic detail. In other words, when you utter a word like *risasi* (Kiswahili for 'bullet'), it means that this linguistic item has a comprehensive conceptualization that entails its full understanding within the context in which it is uttered and its vocalization.

Langacker (ibid.) further asserts that the conceptualization inherent in a usage event includes the interlocutors' apprehension of their interactive circumstances and the very discourse they are engaged in. In the example of the hate speech given, the participants were engaged in a political rally where supporters of ODM party were being addressed by party leaders. They were

aware of their ground (G) and the current discourse space (CDS). Langacker elaborates that the ground consists of the speech event (in this case a political rally), the speaker (S) who is the political party leader, and hearers (H) who are the party followers. their interaction, and the immediate circumstances (time and place of speech). According to Langacker (2008), time and space are both non-basic domains. Langacker (2000) defines the CDS as the mental space comprising those elements and relations construed as being shared by the speaker and hearer as a basis for communication at a given moment in the flow of discourse. He further adds that the ground and the CDS are among the cognitive domains capable of being evoked as the conceptual base for the meanings of linguistic elements.

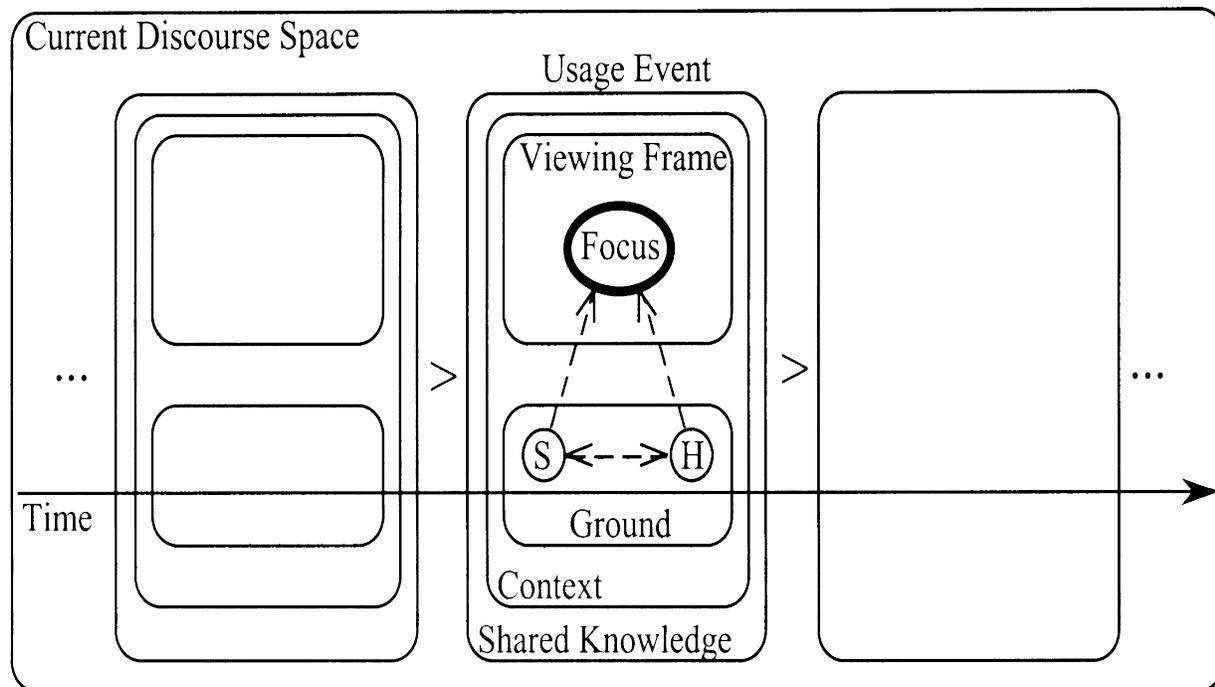


Fig 1. (Source: Langacker 2001)

Langacker uses this diagram to explain what goes on in a usage event. This diagram elucidates the mechanisms and the role of the players in a usage event more clearly. A usage event is an action carried out by the speaker and hearer. This is a political rally where the political leaders are addressing their supporters in Kibera, Kenya on first of June, 2016 (Mashujaa Day, a national holiday in Kenya). The speaker (S) acts in an initiative capacity. In this case the political leader, Aladwa, who was addressing the rally and uttering the above quoted words became the initiator of the usage event. The hearers (H) who in this case were the party

supporters were being responsive, but whether their role was active or reactive, Langacker adds that each had to deal with both a conceptualization and a vocalization, the two basic “poles” of an utterance.

Langacker’s (2008, 5) major claim is that grammar is symbolic in nature. By symbolic he means the pairing between semantic structure (meaning) and a phonological structure (its sound), such that the two are able to evoke one another. Any lexical item, for example the Kiswahili *washenzi* ‘fools’ is analyzed as the pairing of meaning on one side and a phonological representation on the other side. Other linguists take for example, a noun, and argue that a noun is purely a grammatical construct that does not require any semantic characterization. Langacker describes these symbolic structures as being bipolar since they have a semantic pole and a phonological pole. This is illustrated in the following diagram where  $\Sigma$  stands for a symbolic structure *washenzi*:

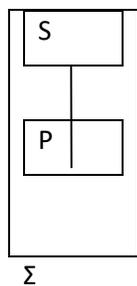


FIGURE 2

This diagram shows that a symbolic structure, *washenzi* ( $\Sigma$ ) resides in a link between a semantic structure (S) and a phonological structure (P), such that S and P can evoke each other. Langacker (2001) states that at the conceptualization pole, the objective situation is generally more substantive, more concrete, and more at the center of our attention than the other channels. At the vocalization pole, segmental content is comparably salient. This means for example that one cannot claim that the *washenzi* he/she uttered is not conceptually the one represented or rather vocalized phonetically as [waʃɛndʒ].

The characterization of a semantic structure that is evoked by its phonological structure<sup>1</sup> is its conceptualization (Langacker 2008, 15). This meaning-phonological pairing is what

<sup>1</sup> Under phonological structure, Langacker also includes gestures and orthographic representations.

Langacker refers to as symbolic structure. Crucial to this paper is the semantic structure (meaning) of the linguistic items used in a hate speech.

Langacker (2001) further states that the speaker's and hearer's action involves the directing and focusing of attention and that in successful communication, they manage to coordinate this action and focus attention on the same conceived entity. We can ask ourselves the following questions: Where was Aladwa directing his listeners? He directed his listeners into believing that Raila had to ascend to power at all costs including death. Where did he want them to focus their attention? Raila had to be enthroned at whatever cost. We need to remember that words are deeds. A single word is capable of generating heat that can turn a country into a state of anarchy especially if the word comes from our leaders.

In Figure 1 above, Langacker has what he calls a viewing frame. To him the immediate scope of our conception at any one moment is limited to what appears in this frame, and the focus of attention of what an expression profiles (what it designates) is included in that scope. Therefore, a usage event as is the case of that political party takes place in an immediate context of speech (a political rally), interpreted broadly as including the physical, mental, social, and cultural circumstances. Langacker says the ground is at the center of the context of speech, and one element of this context is the very fact that the speaker and hearer are engaged in a coordinated viewing of some facet of the world. In this case, both the party leaders and the party supporters are focusing their attention on winning elections. In this sense their viewing frame is part of the speech context.

Besides the context of speech, Langacker (2001) shows that the CDS includes a body of knowledge presumed to be shared and reasonably accessible. It also includes the speaker's and hearer's apprehension of the ongoing discourse itself: a series of previous usage events, as well as subsequent events that might be anticipated. In my example of a hate speech given above, the participants had a shared body of knowledge that was also accessible. ODM supporters have been historical supporters of Raila, their preferred presidential candidate whom they follow almost fanatically. The participants had full apprehension of previous usage event as well as future anticipations. There was full knowledge that around such times in the political calendar of our country there is always a lot of mistrust of one another such that ODM supporters would not take defeat just plainly. In the event that they lose the election, then the only way to ascent to

power was the focus of that political rally. This obvious would lead to uprisings from other parts of the country that do not support Raila. Given that our political parties are tribal based, Aladwa's utterances were geared toward fanning ethnic animosity and therefore he was culpable for hate speech.

## 5.00 CONCLUSION

Much has been written on language and national cohesion. Psychologists and sociologists and other related disciplines have also written a lot on societal integration. However there remains an unmet need of helping in the understanding of when members of a society learn hate speech and how they can unlearn it. Institutions like marriage, families and religious organizations may need to get more assertive in instilling politeness into the lives of their members. Meanwhile those found culpable should face the law. This will deter others from propagating hate speech. Any attempt to foster national unity should be embraced at all cost. While discussing how words are deeds, Austin (1990, p. 94) asserts that illocutionary acts are statements whose mere utterance can lead to hearers into some action.. In an attempt to improve on Austin's idea, Searle (1989, p. 26) affirms that indeed talking is performing acts according to rules.

Nelson Mandela (1994, p. 749) says the following:

No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.

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