A MARCH TOWARDS REFORM:
THE METAPHORICAL CONCEPTUALISATION
OF "REFORM" IN KING ABDULLAH II'S LANGUAGE

AHMAD EL-SHARIF
Al-alBayt University
a.el-sharif@aabu.edu.jo

1. Introduction

The first waves of the Arab Spring have brought to Jordan a discourse that recognises public demands for a change of the status quo. Talking about fundamental change has become open and not restricted to the opposition (such as Islamic Brotherhood). This discourse is materialised through manifestos, articles, expressions and slogans which reflect public dissatisfaction at the way successive governments have failed to meet various economic challenges which Jordan has faced in the last fifteen years. In fact, Jordanians anticipated other countries in their demand for genuine political and economic reform, even several years before the Arab Spring (Muasher 2011). As no government has succeeded in bringing about economic growth or genuine political reform, Jordanians remain sceptical about the Government's constant promises of achieving positive change, both political and economic. For instance, Jordanians showed a remarkable reluctance to participate in several local and parliamentary elections because it is widely acknowledged that elections in Jordan are continuously subject to massive fraud (Vogt 2011: 66). International developments have also had undeniable influence in calling for urgent reform. For instance, Hamas' rise to power in the Gaza strip in the 2006 elections (Muasher 2011: 15) and the indirect influence of "The Greater Middle East Initiative" from President Bush's administration (Bush 2003) have given impulse to calls for political reform in the Middle East, and Jordan.

In contrast to successive governments, King Abdullah II of Jordan demonstrates in his speeches and letters a substantial and optimistic vision towards implementing positive change in political life. This optimistic vision towards reform was to be materialised by the royal committees appointed by KAII. These committees were asked to present guidelines and recommendations for the amendment of laws (and even of the constitution itself), of anything that touched the essence of political life. Two important recommendations of these royal committees were the setting up of a constitutional court to monitor laws and regulations and an independent commission to oversee parliamentary elections. These two institutions were designed to help in limiting the governments' practices of issuing temporary laws or dissolving elected parliament. However, as such measures did not contribute to easing the difficult economic situation and the tough austerity measures, public dissatisfaction has increased drastically. King Abdullah II has continuously found himself forced to change the government, an act that has been considered by some "a well-established mechanism of Jordanian politics to ease social tensions, re-orientate the course of politics and keep the monarchy above the fray of day-to-day politics" (Vogt 2011: 65).

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2. Reform in the Political Language of King Abdullah II

King Abdullah II (KAII) has constantly presented himself as the patron of reform, and he makes reform a topical theme in his political language. The proliferation of the theme "reform" inspires emergence of social structures which represent the "reformative" discourse in Jordanian politics. These structures construct the "systems of rules which make it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular times, places and institutional locations" (Fairclough 1992: 40). The discourse of KAII constructs fundamental aspects of the discourse of 'the power elite' (Domhoff 1978). Such a discourse is recognised as being most influential because it is produced by those who have greatest access to tools of persuasion (e.g. media, political office), and who can easily use strategies to "change the mind of others in one's own interests" (van Dijk 1993: 254). Accordingly, the discourse of KAII significantly participates in the hegemonic construction of the political life on account of his socio-political power.

In his reformative discourse, KAII constantly elaborates the importance of political, economic, social and cultural positive change, as can be seen in his constant use of the keyword "reform" in his speeches, letters, and even in his monograph *Our Last Best Chance*. For instance, in 295 speeches and letters delivered or issued by KAII in the last thirteen years, the word "reform(s)" (*islaah/islaahaat*) occurs at least once in 122 speeches and letters. In the last few years, reference to reform has

significantly increased. To illustrate, in the first three years of KAII's reign (Feb 1999-Dec 2002), "reform" occurred 24 times in 46 speeches and letters, about 0.5 times for every 1000 words (on average, a speech or letter involves about 990 words). However, between January 2010 and April 2013, "reform" occurs 158 times in 72 speeches and letters, about 2.2 times for every 1000 words. This indicates how reform has recently become a topical theme in the discourse of KAII. The importance of the King's observable enthusiasm towards reform should be emphasised because of his influence upon political life. For instance, in his letter to Mr. Ahmad Lozi, head of the "Royal Committee to Revisit Constitution", KAII emphasised that "[we] are keen to produce outcomes that enhance the distinguished performance of our political system to assert that our country is founded on a Hashemite heritage that has deep roots as the vanguard of constitutional reform" (*A Letter to Mr. Ahmad Lozi,* 26 April 2011, translated from original Arabic)[1].

The analysis of KAII's discourse on reform aims to draw on the socio-cultural realities of Jordanian political life as constructed by the King's influence in shaping the discursive structures within the Jordanian political context. The Constitution grants the monarch unlimited jurisdiction and social power. The Constitution plainly states that the King exercises absolute power in administering the state's affairs when he signs, executes, and vetoes laws (Constitution Article 28 and 40). Van Dijk points out that "social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge" (van Dijk 1993: 254). As language reflects the social reality and is also regarded as a medium that contributes to its very constitution (Schäffner and Wenden 1995: xi-xxii), "reform" in Jordan is conceptualised by the realities of the political and social structures of Jordan. These structures are mostly constructed by the emergence of power differences, dominance, and ideologies of commanding (dominant) groups in Jordan. Critical analysis can demonstrate how KAII's discourse, and metaphors, control the mind and actions of the Jordanian (dominated) group and how to identify the social consequences of the existing relationships between dominant and dominated groups (van Dijk 2001: 355). Consequently, our analysis is based on a systematic description of, first, the forms and meanings of the text (textual analysis), second, the production of the discourse and its interpretation (discourse practice). Finally, we will identify the level of broader social analysis it reflects (socio-cultural practice) (Fairclough 1992: 4).

3. Political Language and Metaphor Analysis

Metaphors have essential functions in political language and discourse. They organise the cognitive operations of social communication and verbal interaction

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and add vividness to spoken, or written, language. In addition, metaphors have a social function, as "the conventions of figurative language constitute a rhetorical code and understanding that code is part of what it means to be a member of the culture in which it is employed" (Chandler 2003). This sociocultural function gives metaphors their persuasive power by providing cognitive frames for perspectives on different social issues such as defence and security policy (Chilton 1996; Chilton and Ilyin 1993; Thornborrow 1993), social struggles and unemployment (Straehle et al. 1999), and conflicts and racism (Van Teeflen 1994).

Contemporary cognitive theories of metaphor adopt an analytical structural framework by which a metaphor is recognised as a conceptual phenomenon that "conceptually" connects notions to ideas through a process of 'cross-domain' mapping (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). For example, we conceptualise our human body as a CONTAINER for ideas or emotions, political bodies as SHIPS which traverse the sea, debate and arguments in terms of "conflicts" and WARS (Kövecses 2002). These conceptual metaphors beget unlimited numbers of metaphorical expression such as "I am filled with anger" and "his point of view is indefensible", which can appear cross-culturally. Within this framework, a metaphor should be understood in terms of two parts: the first makes an idea that conveys a certain meaning on the basis of human physical experiential knowledge; the second involves the original (abstract) notion or concept whose meaning is intended to be conveyed or understood by the first part. Formally, the former is called 'source' domain and the latter is the 'target' domain; both domains make a metaphor with the form THE STATE IS A SHIP.

The cognitive account of metaphor accentuates its vital function in language and thought. A metaphor provides the speaker with an accessible tool with an evocative power. This power allows novel ideas to evoke messages implanted within an item of cultural information common to the interlocutors. Metaphors play a dynamic role in communicating and evoking conflicting social policies through competing generative metaphors (Schon 1993). Therefore, politics benefit from the evocative power of metaphors because of their pervasiveness in language and thoughts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Once a metaphor is used and established in political language, 'political metaphor' begins to hold ideological implications. This viewpoint establishes the significance of metaphors to politics by which metaphors "simplify and make issues intelligible to resonate with underlying symbolic representations, to stir emotions and bridge the gap between the logical and the emotional" (Mio 1997, cited in Charteris-Black 2006: 265). When the relevance of political metaphors is studied in relation to their themes, contexts and genres, they are found to be used essentially to represent differences in power, social

practices, principles, thoughts and beliefs based on a well-defined statement, or system, of beliefs (Fairclough 1995: 74). To identify these themes, political metaphors are identified, interpreted, explained, and evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively. This is achieved by considering the interdependency of the semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions of the metaphors identified in the discourse to discern its ideological implications (Charteris-Black 2004: 35-39).

In the political language of KAII, metaphors play a significant cognitive and heuristic role in conceptualising "reform" according to a range of conflicting sociocultural representations, which in turn characterise Jordanian public discourse. For instance, in one speech "reform" is represented by KAII as desirable, but "imported", fruit; or a secret prescription that will heal a weak economic situation. This metaphor heuristically aims to motivate Jordanians to support the government's controversial, and unpleasant, measures designed to ease the economic crisis but which are brought in at the expense of public satisfaction and welfare.

The King's vision of reform stems from a firm standpoint that characterises his reign. In his letter of designation of Prime Minister Designate Adnan Badran (April 2005), KAII conveyed his vision of reform in these terms:

> [w]e pride ourselves for being the first to adopt **reform** and to assume a <u>pioneering</u> role in the region. **Reform** is a comprehensive and long-term <u>process</u>, although we are certain that <u>the fruits</u> of **reform** will <u>ripen</u> in time. **Reform** demands the participation and effective contribution of all segments of society to <u>face</u> its political, economic and social <u>challenges</u>. (*Letter of Designation to Adnan Badran*, 5 April 2005; translated from original Arabic)

The extract above shows how the rhetoric of KAII accentuates his self-depiction as the patron of reform. The King "adopts" (*yatabanna*) reform with the goal that Jordan will assume a "pioneering" (*ryaadi*) position in its "long-term process". Here, reform is portrayed as "fruits" (*themaar*) which Jordanians impatiently wait to "ripen" and reap (*yajni themaarah*), and "reform process" as a venture that involves challenges (*tahadeyaat*) which must be "faced". These metaphors construct embedded social, and sometimes ideological, assumptions which characterise the political language of KAII with which he underpins his reformist vision. As Shapiro (1989) points out, political "language" is treated as a transparent tool as it serves as a 'conduit' between thoughts or concepts and things. Accordingly, "language" should be contrasted to "discourse" by investigating how the latter involves approaches to language that treat it as if it were an *opaque* entity. Language, meanwhile, is analysed in terms of the many linguistic functions it displays. These functions bring out various social and ideological assumptions embedded within discourse. At this juncture, KAII's discursive practice of

encapsulating metaphors, such as "adopting" reform and "pioneering" it and facing all "challenges" in the "venture" towards "ripening" the "fruit" of this reform, aims to create a heroic "call to arms" scenario to "collectively face all threats" which "challenge" the reform process.

3. Methods

The purpose of this paper is to analyse quantitatively and qualitatively the frequent types of metaphors which appear in KAII's discourse about reform. The paper adopts a corpus-based approach to critical metaphor analysis in order to investigate the frequency of occurrence of particular instances and patterns of metaphoric usages. The analysis will reveal the viewpoints, or ideologies, embedded within these metaphors, of the discourse producer, King Abdullah II. Research in the critical analysis of metaphors emphasises that metaphors are mainly used intentionally in discourse for "the rhetorical aim of persuasion" (Charteris-Black 2004: 247). This persuasive function depends considerably on a positive, or negative, "evaluation" of metaphor, and it personalises the recipient's (listener or reader's) social and emotional attitudes towards the metaphorised notion. These attitudes are mostly reflected in the recipient's ordinary social and individual sets of beliefs.

The basis of corpus approaches to metaphor analysis is the identification of an instance of metaphor in discourse by looking for "the presence of incongruity or semantic tension –either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels– resulting from a shift in domain use" (Charteris-Black 2004: 35). Incongruity is an important criterion for systematically revealing metaphorical source domains in all instances of linguistic metaphors identified in the corpus; hence, we can identify JOURNEY, BUILDING, PLANTS, CONFLICT, or NATURE source domains by looking for the 'metaphoric keywords' which are used in the corpus to refer to selected 'target' domains. These keywords are the verbal (spoken or written) representations of the conceptual mappings in the speaker's mind and they systematically link interrelated elements from the conceptual source domain to the target domain. Metaphoric keywords must therefore be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively: that is to say, the frequency of their occurrence and their context. Frequent metaphoric keywords, which represent larger conceptual source domains, will provide indications of the rhetoric and ideologies of the discourse maker in regard to reform. Then, the critical analysis of these metaphors will reveal ideological aspects of the discourse of the 'dominant group' and the manner by which this discourse manufactures the 'dominated group's' consensus about –and acceptance of– the dominance of the dominant groups (Herman and Chomsky 1988).

Such an analysis must start by defining the corpus, coding (annotation) the keywords and their source domains, and systematic procedures for contextual analysis.

4. The Corpus

The analysis involves studying a large body of texts (corpora), produced by KAII, using computational corpus-based approaches to text analysis. This involves finding different repetitive patterns of language use in the texts (discourse) in hand. These texts were collected from KAII's official website (www.kingabdullah.jo). This website hosts accessible and up-to-date collections of all KAII's speeches and letters (both in Arabic and English) dating from when he ascended the throne in February 1999. The exact time span of the corpus is from KAII's accession to the throne in February 1999 until June 2013. There are no specific criteria concerning the selection of the texts in the corpus. It involves 295 texts which include *General Speeches, Speeches from the Throne* (addressed to the parliament), *Letters of Designation* (addressed to the newly designated prime minister), *Letters to Prime Ministers* (addressed to the in-office prime minister), *Letters on Occasions and Selected Letters.* The size of the corpus is about 290,000 words and they are distributed as set out in Table 1.

Type of text	Number	Size (words)	Average (word/text)	Percentage
General Speeches	179	227950	1273.4	61%
Speeches from the Throne	11	13637	1239.7	4%
Letters of Designation	15	28268	1884.5	5%
Letters to Prime Ministers	43	12869	299.2	15%
Letters On Occasions and Selected Letters	47	9283	197.5	16%
Total	295	292007	989.8	

TABLE 1. Distribution of texts in the corpus of King Abdullah II's discourse

Coding and Contextual Analysis

The corpus was first saved in a machine-readable form ("rich text format" *.rtf). Then, quantitative and qualitative analysis of KAII's discourse was carried out with *NVivo 10* software. *NVivo* is a qualitative data analysis computer software package designed for qualitative researchers working with rich text-based and/

or multimedia information[2]. The software supports deep levels of analysis of small or large volumes of data as required. The analysis of the corpus involves first coding each mass text with its basic information (date, context, theme, etc.). The following step involves identifying all instances of the keyword "reform(s)" (*islaah/islaahaat*) in the corpus using Text Search or Word Frequency Query. All instances of the keyword "reform(s)" (*islaah/islaahaat*) in the corpus were coded according to the metaphoricity (metaphoric/non-metaphoric) of their surrounding context. This means that the keyword is categorised according to its use in the narrow context(s) where it occurs and within Charteris-Black's scope of 'incongruity' (Charteris-Black 2004). If the keyword is proved to be incongruent in relation to context and its use involves semantic tension resulting from a shift in domain use, then it is used metaphorically. This metaphoric keyword will be coded again into a relevant conceptual source domain (e.g. PATH, CONFLICT, NATURE, VALUABLE COMMODITY, etc.). After coding all instances of the keyword "reform" on NVivo 10, the corpus was ready for the application of several forms of corpus-based processes such as concordancing instances of a given metaphor, extracting all collocations of a metaphoric keyword, identifying trends of conceptual metaphors, cross-examining statistical information using the software search engine and query functions.

The contextual analysis of "reform" involves recognising how the discourse producer, KAII, associates his conception of "reform" and the metaphors he uses to represent how it is conceptualised. This analysis aims to reveal KAII's subjective conception of "reform"; the significance and values entailed in his conception(s); the relevance of these conception(s) to different social and ideological beliefs and to the Jordanian context. Such an approach is widely acknowledged in research in discourse analysis (e.g. Goatly 2006; Charteris-Black 2004 and 2006; Fairclough 2000; Flowerdew 1997).

5. Findings and Discussion

In Arabic, the word *ʿiSlaah* (reform) is derived from the triadic root *S-l-h:* denoting the action of something becoming, or making something better by removing or putting right faults or errors (*Almaʿaani Arabic Dictionary Online*: '*ʿiSlaah* '). A typical use of the noun *ʿiSlaah*, in standard Arabic would be:

- *qaama be-ʿislaah alsaaʿa*

  he-did of-<u>fixing</u> the clock

  "he fixed the clock"

- *qaama almuzareᶜuun be-ᶜislaah ʾaraaDyhem*

  they-did the farmers of <u>preparing</u> their lands [to "be re-cultivated"]

  "the farmers re-cultivated their lands"

- *sharaᶜuu be-ᶜiSlaah almabaany alqadimah*

  they-began of-<u>renovating</u> the buildings the old.

  "they began renovating the old buildings"

The denotation of *ᶜiSlaah* refers to acts of improvement or amendment of what is wrong, corrupt, or unsatisfactory (*Merriam-Webster: Dictionary and Thesaurus*: "reform"). In sociological, political, and economic jargon, "reform" is understood in terms of a sort of fine adjustment, or redressing serious wrongs in social structures, without altering fundamentals of the system under reform. Thus, reformists seek to improve a system as it stands, and never to radically put an end to it (Innes 2003).

The diachronic analysis of the corpus of KAII's discourse shows that between February 1999 and April 2013, KAII mentioned and discussed "reform(s)" 353 times in 122 speeches and letters. The analysis also shows that the frequencies (and ratios "reform"/text) of the instances where KAII discussed "reform" follow a systematic pattern through time. Two periods show a remarkable escalation of references to "reform" by KAII: the first between January 2002 and December 2005, and the second between January 210 and December 2011. By contrast, the period between January 2006 and December 2010 shows a significant decline in references to "reform" by KAII. Figure no. 1 below illustrates this.
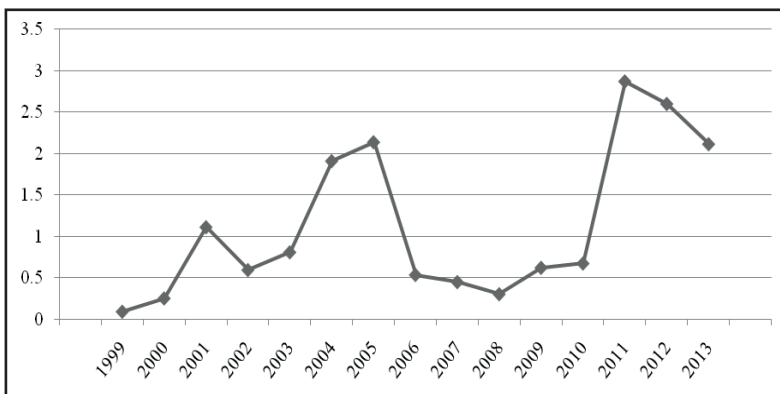
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FIGURE 1. Ratio of the frequency of occurrence of "reform(s)" every 1000 words in KAII's discourse between Feb 1999 and April 2013.

The increased frequency of references to "reform" in the two indicated periods can be interpreted as a reaction to important external and internal factors which necessitated accelerating the pace of reform. The increased reference to "reform" in the first period can be attributed to the initiation of reform in the Middle East as envisioned by President Bush's administration in what was known as "the Greater Middle East". Meanwhile, the increased frequency in the second period can be interpreted as a reaction to increasing demands for reform and positive change triggered by the Arab Spring.

Of the 353 instances of "reform(s)" in the corpus, 273 (about 77%) show the connotations of "incongruity" (Charteris-Black 2004). In these, the connotation is expressed metaphorically. In the other 80 instances (23%), "reform(s)" is used literally. Remarkably, this correlation between metaphoric and non-metaphoric reference to "reform" remains prototypical in all KAII's discourses, and it is not affected by the passing of time, as can be seen from figure 2 below:
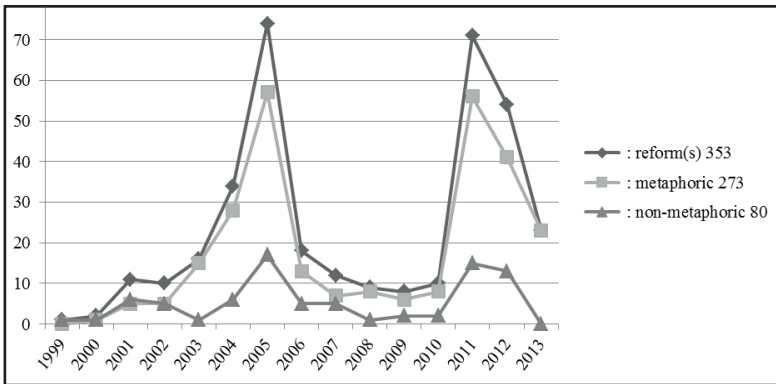
FIGURE 2. Reference to "reform(s)" metaphorically and non-metaphorically in the corpus of KAII's discourse between 1999 and 2013

The contextual analysis shows that when "reform(s)" is metaphorically referred to, it is conceptualised in terms of 11 conceptual source domains. These domains involve PATH and MOVEMENT (a single source domain), BUILDING, AGENTIVE ("reform" as an agentive force), CONFLICT, NATURE, MACHINE, OBJECTS, VALUABLE COMMODITY, PERSONIFICATION, PLANTS, and VITALITY (reform is "something" "vital" and "indispensable" to mankind) domains. The approximate frequencies of metaphors of "reform" in the corpus in respect to their source domains are represented in Figure 3 below.
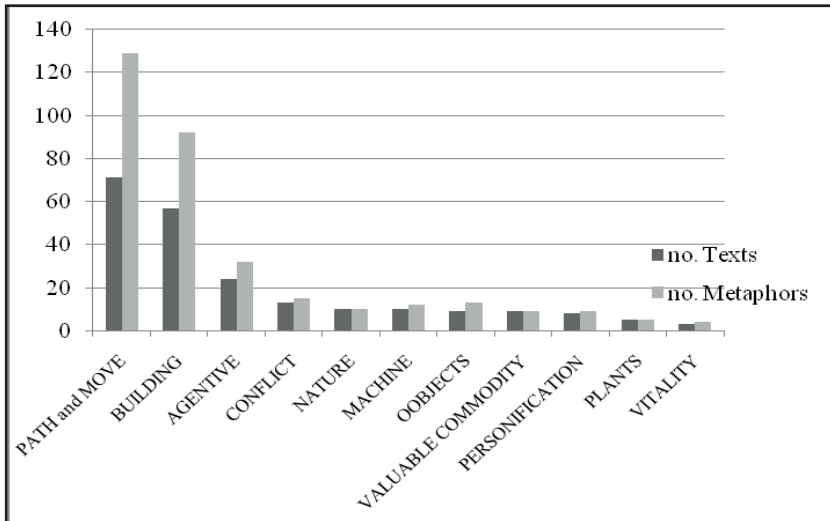
FIGURE 3. Major metaphoric source domains used to conceptualise "reform" in the corpus of KAII's discourse

Both PATH (and MOVEMENT) and CONFLICT conceptual domains are found to reflect salient social and ideological representations which stand for existing social structures within the Jordanian context. These conceptual domains make up about 67% percent of the total number of conceptual metaphors in the corpus, and the metaphor REFORM IS A PATH makes the most frequent generic representation for "reform" in KAII's language.

The semantic basis of REFORM IS A PATH predominantly shows emphasis on "reform" as a process rather than as an agent. This metaphoric representation is a type of 'grammatical metaphor' (Halliday 1985); in that, all activities related to "bringing about reform" (*'aSlaha/yuSleh/sa-yuSleh*) are nominalised into an abstract noun –reform (*'iSlaah*). KAII emphasises the conceptualisation of *'iSlaah* itself rather than its proponents: "reformers" (*muSlehyn*) or "reformists" (*'iSlaahyyn*), and he emphasises how "reform" is a "process" not "persons". In the following passage underlined keywords stand for conceptual domains:

> We have noticed, and continue to monitor, the focused attacks on **reform** and its backers […]. It is a pity that those who criticise and attack this national programme have <u>deviated from</u> the principles of **reform** and succeeded in personalising its proponents, when in actuality, **reform** is a set of principles, not individuals. The painful reality is that they have succeeded in individualising and personalising

> **reform**. (*A letter to PM Adnan Badran*, 16.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)

KAII avoids explicitly naming reform proponents, just as he avoids labelling them either "reformists" or "reformers". Instead, he calls them "backers" and dissociates them from reform because their "reformative" policies were considered "unpopular" and controversial by the Jordanian public. Economic liberalism and free-market policies, which were advocated by "reformists", have never been enthusiastically welcomed by Jordanians.

Metaphors of PATH, JOURNEYS and MOTION convey ideas of improvement and progress in different domains of experience. The experiential bases of these metaphors involve images schemes which identify a path, a point of departure, source(s) or means of movement, the path traversed, and the destination or goal, and by necessity, the travellers themselves (Kövecses 2002: 31). These ideas and images construct a conceptual mapping in which A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY is conceptualised as A PROCESS OF TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION (Lakoff 1993). Charteris-Black sees that the rhetorical purpose of JOURNEY (and PATH) metaphors is to create solidarity so that positively evaluated purposes may be successfully attained (Charteris-Black 2005: 46). In KAII's rhetoric, "reform" is constantly conceptualised in terms of A LONG PATH which Jordan must follow. His image scheme involves identifying three elaborations related to the REFORM IS A PATH metaphor:

- Recognising the chosen PATH; such as its length, the different stages it involves, the time needed to traverse it from beginning to end, and the obstacles it involves.
- Identifying TRAVELLERS who take the PATH.
- Defining the ultimate GOAL or DESTINATION of the PATH taken, in other words the desired outcome from taking the PATH and the relative LOCATION of the TRAVELLERS within the PATH at a given stage.

In this regard, KAII frequently refers to "reform" as a *masyrat al'iSlaah* (reform process, or literally "a march towards reform"); the two keywords *masyrah* (a march) and *al'islaah* (reform) collocate 74 times in the corpus. The King's perception of reform as a PATH emphasises how reform is a long sustainable process with no instantaneous outcome. The course towards reform is altered by unpredictable and idiosyncratic factors. This is perceived when KAII addresses an international audience justifying alleged accusations of delay in reform. He says:

> In our view, successful **reform** is not an event. It is <u>a sustainable process</u> that will build on its own successes –<u>a virtuous cycle of change</u>. …[a]s President Bush recognises, **reform** <u>will take a different course</u> in each country in the Middle East.

> In my meeting with the President last week, we had very good discussions about the progress that is being made. (*Speech at George Town University*, 21.03.2005, originally in English)

In the first years of KAII's reign, Jordan received reasonable aid from the United States to implement "serious" reform (Fact Sheet of the US Department of State 2012). Jordan constantly promoted itself as a modern democratic country with established democratic practices. However, KAII firmly emphasises that Jordan should not rely on already prescribed formulas imported from outside, and Jordanians should be realistic about the difficulty of implementing imported versions of reform. The LONG PATH metaphor emphasises the difficult and hazardous nature of implementing reform and tries to minimise the level of expectations about its success.

Since his accession to the throne, KAII has set up several commissions to suggest sensible measures to accelerate the reform process. The *National Agenda* of 2005, for instance, was a royal committee of 27 members who represented a wide variety of the Jordanian social and political spectrum. The committee was directed to "take a holistic approach and came up with a far-reaching set of recommendations to implement political reform" (Abu Libdeh 2005). However, though the recommendations of the *Agenda* were adopted, they have never been sensibly implemented by successive governments. Later on, new committees were created with longer term plans to re-suggest more "realistic" reformative steps. KAII justifies such delay in achieving promised reform by arguing (as seen in extract no. 2 above) that the PATH towards reform is "a virtuous cycle of change" and it "will take a different course" in each country.

In addition, the language of KAII emphasises the nominative and abstract aspect of "reform" to distance it from personalisation. It is noticeable that KAII's language avoids mentioning those who are labelled "reformers" or "reformists". Instead, KAII refers to all who back reform as TRAVELLERS.

> We are facing a new phase in the march of **reform**, modernisation and development, and we have to identify the priorities… (*Speech from the Throne*, 01.12.2004, translated from original Arabic)

> We are at a new threshold of **the reform** and modernisation march, and confronting the challenges imposed upon us. (*Speech from the Throne*, 01.12.2005, translated from original Arabic)

> We know the way ahead. There must be **reform**; there must be effective, innovative development assistance. (*Speech at the European People's Party Summit*, 16.12.2010, originally in English)

> The key to success in our **reform** process is that it is founded on a democratic approach built on partnership among all components of our one Jordanian society,

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and their positive interaction with **reform** efforts as the process <u>progresses</u>. (*Address to the nation after the Parliamentary Election*, 29.01.2013, translated from original Arabic)

The extracts above show that KAII, who represents the power-elite dominant group, extensively associates himself with those, among his dominated people, who back his vision of reform, through his use of the personal plural pronoun "we". The personal pronoun "we" here serves an important ideological dimension that expresses social relations within the society in question (van Dijk 1998: 203) by indicating an explicit grammatical relation of inclusion and communality (Pennycook 1994: 175). As all Jordanians are metaphorised in terms of TRAVELLERS along the PATH towards reform, the JORDANIANS ARE TRAVELLERS ALONG THE PATH OF REFORM metaphor makes a collective representation that stands for all Jordanian people; even those who do not believe in reform or back its implementation. The TRAVELLERS representation illustrates how issues of political stability and security top KAII's priorities. Both social and political stability are recognised by Jordanians –on all levels– as their major asset. The extensive use of the JORDANIANS ARE TRAVELLERS ALONG THE PATH OF REFORM metaphor emphasises the collective nature of reform and accentuates KAII's concern that a large leap towards reform, without the participation of all spectra of society, may threaten the stability of the state.

The outcome expected from reform (a sustainable process) is conceptualised in KAII's language as the TARGET or the DESTINATION of the PATH of reform. KAII perceives reform as materialising through constitutional guidelines, laws and democratic institutions and practices. It would guarantee a decent livelihood for citizens, opening up new horizons of achievement for them, creating genuine public participation and accountability, and promoting effective political representation. The King says:

This year, the **reform** <u>roadmap</u> is dominated by three clear <u>end-game goals</u>: holding free and fair parliamentary elections, under a law allowing for the highest degree of representation, […] (*Remarks at the ceremony to inaugurate the new headquarters of the World Affairs Council-Amman, Jordan*, 31.01.2012, translated from original Arabic).

The metaphoric keyword "roadmap" (*khareTat Taryq*) (it appears 5 times in the corpus) and the phrase "end-game goals" (*maᶜaalem muHadadah*) give confidence to the general public, especially to Jordanian people, about the seriousness of efforts in the reform process. In addition, KAII foregrounds here the importance of the TRAVELLERS by offering them a chance to partake in decision-making through their participation at specific, and critical, stages of the reform process. Accordingly, the REFORM IS A TARGET metaphor shows how PATH and

JOURNEY are important in political language as they point to the desirability of destinations, i.e. policy outcomes (Charteris-Black 2004: 93). This metaphor also reflects here the discourse maker's perspective from a realistic standpoint; metaphors drawing on domains of collaborative activities such as "journeying" encourage greater interest in the (reform) process itself rather than in its promoters and followers.

In another respect, criticising the government's languid efforts in implementing reform took its origin in the large gap between its rhetoric and its practices. The launch of several reform initiatives and committees of reform in the last ten years has not accelerated the pace of reform. The result is that most Jordanians have declined to engage in this process. In his language, KAII admits that there are OBSTACLES and BARRIERS which discourage Jordanians from joining the PATH towards reform. The King goes on to say that such obstacles are the result of two factors: *circumstantial* challenges and *man-made* resistance:

> We are at a <u>new threshold</u> of the **reform** and modernisation <u>march</u>, and <u>confronting the challenges</u> imposed upon us by difficult regional circumstances […]. (*Speech from the Throne*, 1 December 2005, translated from original Arabic)
>
> […], we are not surprised when some people oppose the principles of **reform** and seek to maintain the *status quo*: every call for positive change that requires sacrifices <u>will face resistance</u>. (*A letter to PM Adnan Badran*, 16.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)
>
> Indeed, Jordan has already been recognised for its success in education **reform** and economic growth. But unfortunately there <u>will always be resistance</u> to change. At times, **reform** <u>has hit heavy weather</u>. (*Remarks at the University of Mississippi*, 03.02.2006, originally in English)

The King conceptualises the challenges facing "reform" in terms of the CHALLENGES ARE BARRIERS metaphor, and he emphasises here the need for endurance until the desired destination is reached. Insisting on the priority of stability over reform, KAII takes a realistic standpoint by encouraging Jordanians not to expect instantaneous results from ongoing reformative measures and policies. On many occasions, opponents of real reform have constantly resisted radical reform policies claiming that radical reform may threaten political and social stability (Muasher 2011).

When first calls for reform were raised (in 2005), crucial regional events slowed down the pace of reform: for instance, the success of the Muslim Brotherhood in the parliamentary elections and the terrorist hotel bombings in Amman (both in 2005) and Hamas' unexpected victory in the election in the Palestinian Territories (in 2006). These events led some conservative, and allegedly anti-reform, forces within the regime to put aside the reform agenda in favour of approaches more solidly based on security policies (Vogt 2011).

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To reinforce his vision of reform, KAII has introduced a new rhetoric that is embedded within the REFORM IS A PATH metaphor by bringing out the inevitability of offering "sacrifices" to reach reform goals. Therefore, KAII emphasises that reform demands fortitude in bearing the burdens of sacrifice and optimism until the desired goals of reform are achieved. The rhetoric of "sacrifice" in KAII's language shift the emphasis from images of "journey" to "military expeditions" as derived from conceptual domains of WARS and CONFLICTS. The King says:

> We are fully convinced that **reform** initially requires sacrifice but it constitutes a guarantee of our sons' and daughters' future prosperity. (*A letter to PM Adnan Badran*, 16.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)

> As I underline the necessity to achieve political **reform**, I am aware that our biggest battle field is the economy. Our people have withstood poverty, unemployment and job shortages. We have *exerted great efforts to realise* **reform**, which, admittedly, has seen some flaws, especially in light of a strangulating global financial crisis. (*A Letter to PM Marouf Bakhit*, 22.03.2011, translated from original Arabic)

This shift from images of "journey" to "military expeditions" comes as a reaction against discontent aroused by governmental liberal policies which limit the role of the state in the economy; especially its ability to subsidise vital public needs and provide jobs for marginal regions outside Amman. In this context, KAII implicitly associates "reform" as a political process with moral or religious concepts following the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION (Charteris-Black 2004). A "sacrifice" involves an act of offering to a deity what is considered most precious; especially one's own life. KAII then endows reform with sacred and divine eminence using the metaphor REFORM IS A MILITARY EXPEDITION. The strength of such a metaphor, used in political discourse, derives from its ability to arouse emotions of good-will and solidarity: metaphors of WAR and CONFLICT are used in political language to foreground ideas of unity, common interest, and concern about others; especially in terms of a desire to protect what is precious. KAII says:

> And as you have always been the defenders of the homeland and the protectors of our march and achievements, you are today the safe hands that are capable of protecting the march of **reform**, modernisation and development, which constitute our path to achieving comprehensive development. (*Speech On the Occasion of Army Day*, 06.06.2005, translated from original Arabic)

> As I underline the necessity to achieve political **reform**, I am aware that our biggest battle field is the economy. (*A Letter to PM Marouf Bakhit*, 22.03.2011, translated from original Arabic)

> [...] so that we all join ranks for progress, **reform**, and national security in its widest meaning. (*Speech from the Throne*, 26.11.2011, translated from original Arabic)

The three extracts above demonstrate that KAII empowers his vision of political and economic reform with the rhetoric of political legitimisation based on sacrifice and visible achievement. Considering the state's stability and security as a valuable commodity, and that slow and steady steps towards reform strengthens this stability, WAR and CONFLICT metaphors formulate KAII's legitimacy through the metaphors REFORM IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY and JORDANIANS ARE ONE TEAM SOLDIERS. Keywords such as "protecting/protectors" and "attacks on" with "reform" evoke KAII's constant perspective expressing his desire for a reform that will maintain social and political stability.

Finally, the political language of KAII on reform involves positive language that is not related to war and conflict domains; especially those related to Jordan's position in the march towards reform in the last three years. The King says:

> It should be noted that the **reform** process has not progressed at the pace we sought. It stumbled and slowed down now and then, and on more than one occasion. (*Letter of Designation to PM Sameer AlRefae'i*, 22.11.2010, translated from original Arabic)

> [...] you are charged with conducting a comprehensive assessment [...] and a clear plan of action that pushes forward the **reform** process after revisiting all legislation governing political... (*Letter of Designation to PM Ma'rouf AlBakheet*, 01.02.2011, translated from original Arabic)

Positively evaluated political metaphors here follow the metaphor PROGRESS IN REFORM IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT. In terms of evaluation, "progress" echoes an essential human desire to receive a reward corresponding to effort and sacrifices made. Progress represents the fulfilment of plans made and targets set, or DESTINATION, in the PATH toward reform.

The King supports his FORWARD MOVEMENT image by explicitly referring to what is achieved for reform during his reign, especially in terms of laws and legislation. Still, KAII constantly emphasises that his endeavour to make Jordanians commit themselves to the sustainable reform effort has been relatively fruitful. He emphasises that practical, swift and appreciable STEPS in the march towards political reform have already been taken. KAII has entrusted the government and parliament with the task of speeding up democratic reforms, and true to his own ideals, he formed the *National Dialogue Committee* on March 2011. The work of this committee was complemented by setting up, by Royal Decree, a *Royal Committee on Constitutional Review*. This committee recommended several amendments to the Constitution and will be responsible for introducing significant improvements to political life such as suggesting specific modifications of a new electoral law. For example, that 15 seats should be reserved in parliament to be decided by direct votes for an "open-list" that involved national political figures at national level. In addition, the formation of a panel of 13 notable members was

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recommended, which would include seven retired judges to oversee any future election; this panel is now known as the *Independent Electoral Commission.* Another recommendation of the *Royal Committee on Constitutional Review* was the creation of a *Constitutional Court.* The King continually asserts that these measures, though few, make substantial PROGRESS on the PATH towards reform.

6. Conclusion

In KAII's political language and discourse, "reform" *('iSlaah)* is predominantly represented in terms of metaphors from the PATH domain. Several metaphoric images from the PATH domain are collectively used to represent reform in terms of a cooperative, challenging, long, and sustainable process. As metaphors construct a persuasive discursive practice in language and discourse (Charteris-Black 2005; Fairclough 1992), KAII's political metaphors make a social practice (i.e. socially constructed in Jordanian political and public discourse and communication) by which images of travelling along the path towards reform represent KAII's rhetoric of political reform. The extensive use of metaphors from the PATH domain to conceptualise "reform" coincides with the political rhetoric of calling for "adherence" and "adopting" a set of beliefs which a "chosen" group of people are encouraged to follow. This process corresponds to inherent social practices derived from universal experience of travelling long distances towards a defined destination. This language gives confidence to discourse recipients, especially the Jordanian people, about the seriousness of the reform process in KAII's rhetoric.

In another respect, images from the domains of WAR and CONFLICT in KAII's language define the rhetoric of "sacrifices" which the TRAVELLERS on the PATH of reform must offer. KAII's political metaphors reflect existing power differences between the dominant power-elite (Domhoff 1978) group and the dominated one. The language stands for the discourse of the dominant power-elite that controls political discourse on reform. Accordingly, the central theme of KAII's political metaphors on "reform" is designed to show the indispensability of reform to Jordan, and the challenges which Jordanians may face and the sacrifice they have to offer up for reform. The logic by which KAII foregrounds the concept of "reform" in Jordanian political language stems from several metaphoric images which emphasise how once the TRAVELLERS along the PATH of reform have chosen their path, they must finish it. The "path" towards reform is constantly conceptualised as long and not easy, and all TRAVELLERS join the march as SOLDIERS in a "military expedition". Thus, genuine reform and social and political stability of the state are both assured.

In addition, the critical analysis of instances of PATH and CONFLICT metaphors in KAII's language and discourse reveals underlying ideological beliefs which justify the values, beliefs, and ideologies of KAII's vision of reform. The King emphasises that all Jordanians are TRAVELLERS along the PATH of reform, and they are the PROTECTORS who "joined the ranks" in this MARCH against THREATS. These images, together with many others illustrated above, indicate how KAII regards his position as a participant leader, and not just as a commanding ruler in the reform process. This discourse reflects significant aspects of 'social order' (Pennycook 2010: 85-94) in Jordanian society; especially as KAII's voice is a sensible and realistic one that does not delude Jordanians about the outcome of reform policies at the expense of maintaining the state's political stability.

It might be difficult to determine to what extent KAII's rhetoric on reform has been successful. In his discourse, KAII shows a willingness to reform traditional structures in political and social life. The King overtly points out that his vision of genuine reform will be materialised in the long run by having elected governments; still, he accepts that little has been achieved in this respect, and much more needs to be done to advance on the path towards reform. As KAII admits, reform is "a virtuous cycle of change", and so it is still early to expect appreciable reform in Jordan in the next few years.

Notes

[1] All references to KAII's discourse (speeches, letters, etc.) are available through KAII's official website http://kingabdullah.jo/ . The original language of the majority of the selected texts is Arabic, and they are authoritatively translated into English by the Royal Court and published in the website. Texts addressed in front of international media and occasions are originally addressed in English by the King.

[2] NVivo 10 helps users organise and analyse non-numerical or unstructured data by allowing users to classify, sort and arrange information; examine relationships in the data; and combine analysis with linking, shaping, searching and modelling.

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