

The Exceptionality of Jordan and its Democracy in King Hussein's Last Speech From the Throne

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Abstract

The Late King Hussein's last Speech from the Throne in 1997 was given amidst public outcry over the outcomes of the parliamentary elections which resulted the triumph tribal figures with regional affiliations after the boycott of most political parties. This brought to public debate the questions of maintain the long-established balance between the several socio-political structures in the political life in Jordan. While the speech can be perceived as a reflection of King Hussein's vision about 'Jordanian democracy', it can also be interpreted as an elaborate scheme to construct the conventional understanding of the exceptionality of Jordan and its socio-political institutions; including democracy. This article discusses the representation of 'Jordanian democracy', the state, and the socio-political structures in Jordan as reflected in the Late King's last speech from the throne (1997). The analytical framework follows a critical metaphor analysis perspective in which all instances of metaphors used to epitomise these issues are primarily acknowledged from there sociocultural context. Herein, the article focuses on revealing the aspect of metaphorical language by which the Late King Hussein legitimizes and, hence, constructs, the prevailing ideology pf the 'exceptionality' of Jordan.

Keywords: King Hussein, Jordan, Metaphor, Political Discourse, Critical Metaphor Analysis

1. Introduction

In the Six-Days War in 1967, Jordan lost its control of the West Bank to Israel. As Jordan's defeat resulted the total loss of administrative institutions in all municipalities and urban centres in the West Bank, the political life in Jordan has been interrupted. At the time, about half of the members of the Jordanian parliament were elected from the West Bank. In the following few years, Jordan was devastated by various events which made it challenging to restore an ordinary democratic, or parliamentary, life. For instance, the aftermaths of the civil war in 1970 and the announcement of martial laws and October (*Yom Kippur*) war in 1973 have maintained the *status quo* for the following decades. For more than twenty years, the parliament in the two Banks has remained in hold, political parties have been banned, and the martial laws have been sustained. In July 1988, and after persistent pressure from the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Arabic countries, the late King Hussein decided to sever the administrative ties with the West Bank. (Schueftan, 2013: 270). In the following few months, the King publicized that Jordan will restore political openness and democratic institutions without the representation of the West Bank. Consequently, a new parliament was elected in 1989. This first parliamentary was a notable landmark in Jordan modern history and its Parliamentary life. Remarkably, and unlike the following parliaments which came after, the first parliament was characterised by its socio-political diversity where several political spectra of Jordanian society were represented. This socio-political diversity was ranged ideologically from the extreme left from communists and Marxists to the extreme right from Islamises (*See Lucas, 2005*). In the following year, King Hussein appointed a royal committee (represented by most social and political movements) to draft *al-Mithaq al-Watani* (the National Charter). This Charter aimed to 'point out the way for the future, establishing general guidelines on the exercise of political pluralism in so far as it constitutes the second component of democracy' (National Charter, 1991). The recommendations of the committee have precipitated numerous measures on the ground to restore democracy to the political life. For example, martial laws were officially removed In April 1992, political parties were authorized to work on the Jordanian soil, and new press-laws were approved (Lucas, 2005). Naturally, in the verge of this novel atmosphere, political language has amalgamated within the everyday debate of the Jordanian elites and laymen. Controversial domestic, and international, affairs became part of the overall set of public discourse in Jordan about democracy; such as the new liberal economic reforms, allegations of corruption, negotiation with Israel, electoral and press laws (Kamrava, 1998: 140). The parliament has had also its share of public debate. Much of influential and controversial debates have moved from public outlets to the parliament, and King Hussein pioneered in steering such debates through his *Khutab Al'arsh* (Speeches From The Throne).

2. Speeches from the Throne

Speeches From The Throne are familiar ceremonial events in democratic monarchies, and they are primarily meant to outline the key achievements of the government in the preceding parliamentary year and draws the main aspects of the government's domestic program for the

following year (The Hashemite Royal Court, 2015). As these speeches typically outline the head of the state visions about political life, in the Jordan context they also reflect the King's rhetoric and statesmanship. The language of these speeches are characterised by high level of rhetoric and emotional language that is cultivated by the first-class education and values he received in renowned academic institutions in Jordan and Europe (Shlaim, 2007). For example, the rhetoric of King Hussein in his speeches exhibits abundant use of metaphorical language. Even within a single paragraph, the King alternates between more than one metaphorical image in *conceptualising* a specific theme. In the prelude of his speech from the throne to the newly-elected parliament in 1997, King Hussein described the subject of 'family' and the 'tribe' as¹:

The family or the tribe in our country—as in every country—is one of the **cells of society**, which make up the entire people. **It maintains society's lofty ideals, protects its noble values, and moves its beautiful traditions and generous customs forward.** The family—like the tribe in this precious homeland—has always been **a source of goodness and an aid of honor and pride.** It has never been—may God forbid—a burden or a source of blemish, nor has it been a shortcoming or a censure.

In this set of metaphoric images, King Hussein addressed the most positive values of the tribe against the allegations aroused of its infamous contribution in bringing to the parliament those whose primary affiliation is to their kinship relationships not to the nation. Once he describes the reality of 'family' and 'tribe' within the Jordanian context, the king implicitly address the question of the *exceptionality* of Jordanian national identity. Jordanians were the descendants of several origins and ethnicities such as Trans-Jordanians, Palestinian, Syrians, Caucasians, and are affiliated to several religious sects of Islam and Christianity. What is more, Jordan has constantly hosted tens of thousands of Arabs whose countries suffered from political or social or economic predicaments. Herein, the integration of all these components to form the unique Jordanian identity is best addressed by the significance of the family to emphasize the unity and harmony of among the different components of Jordanian society.

King Hussein's (henceforth KH) Speeches from the Throne occupied a focal point in the political discourse in Jordan. As the main purpose of political discourse is to evoke ideologies by means of persuasion, the emotional appeal of metaphors in the political language is the main trope that facilitates the path to the discourse to be persuasive (Charteris-Black, 2005:251). Contemporary research in metaphor emphasises its role in perceiving the form of the message conveyed and the understanding of its content. This role is materialised in language as a metaphor is used to conceptualise what is abstract and immaterial by foregrounding their most common and salient connotations. In politics, abstraction in language is common, and metaphors, accordingly, are very common for their role in *conceptualising* and *persuasion* (Charteris-Black, 2004). The relationship between a metaphor ability to conceptualise what is abstract and its persuasiveness stems from the recipient's conventional acquaintance with the set of associations, and mappings, which the

¹ The subject conceptualised is underlined and metaphors highlighted in **bold-face** font.

metaphor assigns to the conceptualised notion on the basis of the experienced and acquired real-world knowledge of the speaker and listener. In this regard, the role of the message recipient's cognitive system, or his understanding, is vital in raising the awareness to the articulated metaphor and its understanding (Goatly, 1997: 137). This involves the awareness of socio-cultural and linguistic conventions used in conveying explicit, or implicit, intentions, ideas, and ideologies. In this respect, Critical Metaphor Analysis (*see*. Charteris-Black, 2004) is one of the most satisfactory approaches to metaphor analysis in political discourse because of its simplicity and straightforwardness in divulging the embedded ideological aspects of metaphor in political language and discourse. For instance, this approach is based on three stages: the first is the *identification* of metaphors in a given text, and deciding whether they show a sort of semantic tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain. The second stage is the *interpretation* of these metaphors and determining the nature of social relations constructed through the identified metaphors. The final stage is the *explanation* of metaphors which aim to highlight how metaphors are interacting within the historical and social context in which they occur (*See* Charteris-Black, 2004: 34-35). Furthermore, the long established conceptual theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) asserts that metaphors correlate with the social values of their producers (speakers and writers). This indicates how metaphors can tell how the cognitive framework of a speaker (writer) works, and how the same speaker (writer) views and verbally delivers a current issues within the scope of his real world. Consequently, once metaphors are critically analysed within the frameworks of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis in a given political language or discourse, they can uncover the values and ideologies underlying the speakers' social and political standpoints as they appear in the 'text' in hand.

3. The Linguistic Context of the Text

The text under investigation can be categorized under hortatory discourse that aims to state the general ideas, stances, and ideological beliefs of the *orator* (speech maker). In general, such speeches are not necessarily meant to be persuasive; thus there is no overt, or significantly implicit, *nonreciprocal* attempt or intention of one party [the orator] to change the behaviour, feelings, intentions, or viewpoint of another by communicative means (Lakoff, 1982). Instead, such discourse aims to urge its audience to impulsively embrace, and admit, some broad-spectrum course of conducts, actions, or beliefs. The mode of the text is originally spoken, and it was publically addressed at the Opening of the Thirteenth Parliament at the Jordanian Parliament (*Majles Al-'Ummah*; Lit. 'Council of the Nation') on the 29th of November 1997. The speech was addressed in Arabic; few months before the Late King's departure to the United States for treatment from cancer. The size of the original Arabic text is 3, 142 words in 95 paragraphs.

In this speech, Late King Hussein (the speaker) is directly addressing members of the Parliament (the hearers), and indirectly addressing Jordanians through media. Although both the constitution and the institutional practices bestow the King the status of a national leader who has more institutional power than his hearers, King Hussein is also expected to adopt a suitably humble and respectful fatherly *tone*, especially given the subject matters he

addressed in the speech. In this regard, the speaker (the King) is adopting an appropriate tone and level of formality on the basis of institutional and social relationship with the addressees. In another respect, the *field* of the text here is concerned with the several issues which Jordan faced in the previous year of the speech. The discourse of the speech here pays most attention to the political and social relations between Jordanian people and their voting-related attributes and practices in the last parliamentary elections and their attitudes about its process and results. The argument of the speech acknowledges the long-established social practices which dominated the orientations of Jordanians in their voting preferences.

The King's hortatory intent here is to argue in favour of the exceptionality of the Jordanian socio-cultural and political context especially when it comes to the Jordanian concept of democracy. For instance, the King emphasises in his speech how that the 'tribe' constitutes a significant component of the new-born political 'democratic' life in Jordan. In this regard, the King (the speaker) follows several rhetorical and discursive devices in conveying such ideological beliefs to his direct and indirect audience. This is mostly reflected in the language of the speech in terms of content and structure. The speech reflects a high level of formality as characterised by the lexical choices and the organisation of the speech. Herein, the sociocultural context of the text involves the historical events which frame the production of the text. The text was produced in response to the events of the results of the parliamentary elections and saw tribal-figures independents won of 75 of the 80 seats, and it saw also the boycotting of major political parties from the opposition because of the electoral 'one man, one-vote' law (Nohlen *et al.*, 2001: 151). The 'one man, one-vote' electoral law had been sternly criticized on the grounds that the voters are restricted to vote for one single candidate instead of voting for a coherent 'political' party-list even when there are more than one parliamentary seats available for the single electoral directorate (Al-Rantawi, 2007: 3). As a result, the law minimized the chance for political parties to make majorities in the House of Representatives (*Majlis Al-Nuwaab*) to the benefits of candidates of individual or tribal affiliations. This event prompted widespread debate on the reality of democratic life in Jordan and issues related to the different agendas waiting Jordan in the following few years (Hamzeh, 2001). It is worth emphasising also that the setting of the speech is also significant as it is delivered one year before the Late King's departure to the United States to undertake a long treatment journey which was not successful at the end. Herein, the speech was the last of King Hussein's speeches from the throne.

In terms of content, the speech involves both historic and diachronic account of the government's achievements in the previous sessions and its agenda for the coming session. In the first section of the speech, the King congratulated the elected members of the parliament for winning the trust of their electorates. Then, he elaborately talked about the current electoral law and the nature of democracy in Jordan. Next, he addressed the exceptionality of Jordanian society and its different components. In the second section, the King presented the achievements of the government in the previous year, and its agendas for the following year. Here, the King advocated the policies of the government and urged the government to reinstate new laws and regulations to promote democratic and economic reform in Jordan. In the third section, the King browsed the many international events which have had influence

on Jordan; especially the situation in Iraq and the peace process between Israel and Palestine. In the fourth and last section of the speech, the King returned to embark upon domestic issues with elaboration and paying particular issue to the economic situation in Jordan. The King ended his speech by gracing the exceptionality of Jordan and its people and beseeching them to withstand the challenges which face the state and its survival.

4. Methods

The main purpose of this article is to linguistically analyse the rhetoric of King Hussein's in his last speech from the throne paying special attention to the methods by which metaphorical language is discursively used to construct the *exceptionality* of the political life in Jordan at the end of Late King Hussein's reign. For this purpose, the oral delivery of King Hussein's last speech from the throne (1997) is analysed on the grounds of qualitative critical discourse analysis. The text of the aforementioned speech is extracted from King Hussein website "A Living Tribute to the Legacy of King Hussein I" created in 1998 by The Press Department of the Royal Hashemite Court. According to the description provided in the website, the site is designed to be "a living tribute to the legacy of King Hussein, the father of modern Jordan". The website offers a wealth of information on the Late King, his life, legacy, and achievements and, among many other things, a selection of speeches and letters in different languages) addressed by the Late King in different occasions.

The qualitative analysis of the text is basically administered by NVivo 10 software. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package that is designed for qualitative researchers working with very rich text-based and/or multimedia information. The software supports deep levels of qualitative analysis on several genres of visual (and even audio) data. In the case of this article, the data consists only of one text extracted from King Hussein's website and digitally stored by the researcher in a machine-readable for (in *.rtf form).

The analysis of the text involves coding each 'metaphorical unit' (word, phrase, sentence, paragraph) in the text which overtly, or implicitly, refers to components of Jordan state and society and their multifaceted institutions such as 'tribe', 'government', 'democracy', and 'Jordan' among others. The coding itself involves labelling each of the selected metaphor according its category following the conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and in reference to their role in political discourse on the basis of Critical Metaphor Analysis (See. Musolff, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005). These categories involve semantic domains such as path and movement, personification, conflict, family, conduit, nature, etc.) and identifying its discursive function and features (to contrast, to elaborate, to repeat emphatically, to appeal religion or history or emotions... etc.). The scope of this article will be principally oriented to studying the most salient and frequent types of metaphors especially those from the metaphorical domains of journey, building, conflict, nature, personification and family.

Finishing the process of coding for all metaphoric units in the text, qualitative, and few simple quantitative, analyses and queries are carried out. This begins with identifying all instances of the coded linguistic units in the text using 'Node Query'. All codified linguistic units are then categorised and regrouped according to their use within their narrow context

and within the scope of critical discourse analysis. The contextual linguistic analysis of the speech involves recognising how the discourse producer, late King Hussein, uses metaphorical language to align three basic dogmatic and ideological maxims: his conception of 'Jordan' and its multifaceted institutions, the exceptionality of the Jordanian context, and that Jordan is a democracy. This alignment aims to demonstrate the King's conceptual and subjective understanding for these dogmatic maxims and their implications to the social and ideological structures in Jordan on the basis that metaphorical language reflects ideological assumptions.

5. Findings

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the text indicate the frequent occurrence of metaphors in King Hussein's language from the domains of 'path' and 'movement', 'personification', 'conflict', 'nature', 'family', and 'building'. To elaborate, metaphors from the domains of 'path' and 'movement' appear in 47 instances, personification appear in 22, metaphors of building in 20, conflict in 19, nature in 18, and family in 7 instances among many other metaphorical domains. Such metaphors are known to be among the most frequent categories of conceptual metaphors found in political discourse (*See*. Charteris-Black, 2005).

5.1. *PATH and MOVEMENT Metaphors*

Path and movement (or journeying) metaphors are used to conceptualise and represent processes and experiences which require long time to accomplish and involve several stages during the course of their achievement. Technically, path and movement metaphors define experiential bases by defining a starting point or a source of movement, a path traversed, and a goal. The target domains associated with path and movement domains differ in terms of their conventionality and novelty and they cover several aspects of human life, business transactions, economic or political or social reform, emotional feelings, human relationships, and sport and contests, (*See*. Lakoff & Johnson, 1980 Charteris-Black, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005; Feldman, 2006). In addition, metaphors of 'journeying' can be also understood as an extension of path metaphors and thus reformulated as a mapping in which a purposeful activity is a process of travelling along a path towards a destination (Lakoff, 1993).

Political discourse exhibits the extended 'journey along a path' metaphors to represent purposeful activities. This is mainly attained when "the use of verb of motion highlights movement and the use of 'destination' highlights goal-orientation" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 74); herein, political language relies principally on this extended 'journey along a path' metaphor using the conceptual metaphor 'PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION' (*ibid*). According to this conceptual metaphor, politicians' intentions, deeds, and goals are conceptualised as the path and destinations of travellers, and the aim is to reach a predetermined better end than the contemporary one. These desired ends are highly valued because they will achieve the beneficial social intentions which the speaker, and his audience, seeks (*ibid*: 93).

Almost one-fifth of the metaphors found in Late King Hussein's speech from the throne can

be classified under the extended ‘journey along a path’ metaphors and following the conceptual metaphor ‘PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION’. In this regard, the SOCIAL ACTIVITY, as the text demonstrates, stands for about ten years of democracy after Jordan’s decision to return to this path in 1989. This choice has been adopted after all administrative ties with the occupied West Bank of Palestine have been severed in July 1988 and win which Jordan pronounced its disengagement from the West Bank surrender the claim to sovereignty over the West Bank (King Hussein, 1988: ‘Address to the Nation’). Later, King Hussein called for the restoration of the parliament, and the first parliamentary elections were held in November 1989. This was the first general elections since 1967 (Nohlen *et al.*, 2001: 148). Since then, there were another two parliamentary elections (1993 and 1997) under the reign of King Hussein.

In his last speech from the throne, the King emphasises how parliamentary elections are landmarks in our ‘path’ of democracy towards another stage but with equivocal targets. The King says:

1. While the government committed itself and delivered a free and fair election within the time specified by the law and the Constitution, the results of this election **have taken us from** a climate of full freedom and equal opportunities to **a new stage of many duties and responsibilities, objectives and goals**, which we trust you have the determination to face and the ability to achieve.

In the previous excerpt, the King enunciates his government commitment to paving the way to deliver election hinging on the conceptual metaphor ‘PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH’. However, the King does not explicitly continue in his metaphoric image to confirm the ‘TOWARDS A DESTINATION’ part. As the observant Jordanian citizen might expect that after about eight years of democracy and three successive parliamentary elections, the main lines of the outcomes from joining this ‘long path’ should reach a ‘destination’. Instead, the King emphasizes that Jordan has passed just few stages of this ‘long path’ and there are still other ‘stages’ which involves ‘many duties’ and ‘responsibilities’, ‘objectives’ and even new ‘goals’. What is more dramatic here is that these new ‘stages’ require the ‘determination to face’ some unforeseen challenges during the course of traversing this ‘path’. This pessimistic posture towards the progress in the ‘long path’ of democracy and achieving its outcomes is occasionally normalized by the King by working on the emotional appeal conveyed through religious language. In this regard, the conceptual metaphor ‘PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH’ is accompanied with optimistic expressions drawn from the semantic domain of religion. The King says:

2. The twenty-first century **is knocking on our doors**. And if **our journey through** the recent decades of the twentieth century was **filled with difficulties and challenges**, they were also abundant with achievements and victories, **praise be to the Almighty**.

3. Just as the human being was our main and only resource **during that long and hard journey**, he will always be that in **the times ahead**. He is our means **to reach** more success and glory.

The ‘long path’ towards democracy and its productive outcomes are attributed to the will of God; making this ‘PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY’ a ‘sacred mission’ that is glorified by blessings from God. In this regard, politics, and its activities, is accredited by religion on the foreground of the conceptual metaphoric representation POLITICS IS RELIGION (Charteris-Black, 2004). Herein, we distinguish how metaphorical language from the conceptual domain of PATH and MOVEMENTS are pragmatically used to provide the required ‘positive’ evaluation to a ‘PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY’ that requires ‘TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH’ until reaching a ‘A DESTINATION’ after experiencing great endurance and hardship. Still, as can be seen in excerpt no.3 above, the King’s language remains blurred about the ‘destination’ of the ‘long journey’ towards ‘success’ and ‘glory’. Both destinations are conveyed in the speech in their broad-sense even as the King is adopting a stance that states his trust in the Jordanian man to achieve the goals of democracy. Such reliance on metaphorical language from the conceptual domain of PATH and MOVEMENTS can be vital in evoking ideological beliefs in political discourse as it is the case of King Hussein’s account of those political parties and movements who decided to boycott the parliamentary elections as a protest against the electoral laws which involve the ‘one person one vote’ system. The King demeaned these political parties and movements and their efforts to influence and obstruct the polling process:

4. And as we aspired from the outset to see everyone **participate** in that election, we will always be keen for the freedom of people to have their own opinions so that the difference of opinions remains a high-grade and **healthy enrichment of our political life, along with the pluralism that garnishes democratic march.**

While the King lays much emphasis on that democracy is a collective responsibility which all citizens bear, he differentiates in the speech between the majority who opted to bear the responsibility and ‘participate’ in the ‘democratic march’ and those who opted to abandon this ‘march’ for their own purposes. The King does not refer to the reason behind the boycotting groups’ stance, and whether their act is tolerable or unbearable. What is remarkable here is that the King does not accentuate his ideological attitude toward them; so, we see how he refuses to ‘label’ or demonise them. To him, those who opted to abandon the ‘march of democracy’ stay the faithful citizens whom he, and the nation, always embraces.

One peculiar feature of all PATH and MOVEMENTS metaphors in King Hussein’s speech is that they constantly refer to the idea of ‘progress’; or that it is a *forward* movement. This schematic representation reflects the King optimistic vision to democracy in Jordan as he outlines in the speech several *landmarks* along the ‘path to democracy’ as referential points. The most important one of these landmarks is the cooperation between the different democratic institutions in the state. The King elaborates:

5. The *basic support* to the democracy we enjoy—and any other democracy—rests upon the sincere and continuous cooperation between the executive, legislative and judicial branches. This is followed by their cooperation with the political powers and civil society’s institutions. Finally, a combined cooperation with the people collectively or the nation in its entirety.

This elaborated proposition summarizes the King’s awareness of democracy as a collective

task as manifested through PATH and MOVEMENT metaphors. What is more, one can see how the King relies on other conceptual domains of human experience to reflect the idea of democracy as a collective task reflected through the use of the metaphoric keyword ‘support’. This metaphoric keywords also maps ‘democracy’ with the conceptual domain of BUILDING.

5.2. BUILDING Metaphors

‘Building’ makes another semantic domain frequently used in political language to conceptualize the idea of achievement. What is more important is that the schematic conventional representation of states, as political bodies, coincides with PATH and MOVEMENT metaphors in respect of the idea of ‘collective task’. For instance, the actual long-termed processes of founding the state with its constitutional institutions, public and private sectors foundations and organizations, establishments and infrastructure, all can be metaphorically depicted as a long ‘journey’ in which there is a ‘start’ point with ‘travelers’ traversing a ‘path’ towards a common ‘goal’. Accordingly, one can accord between the conceptual PATH and BUILDING domains by mapping between the TRAVELERS and the MASONRIES and WORKERS to represents citizens for instance. In addition, the two domains metaphorically map IMPEDIMENTS and OBSTRUCTIONS along the process (path) of CONSTRUCTION (JOURNEY). Moreover, the state is conventionally metaphorised as the ‘container’ of its citizens and immigrants (Charteris-Black, 2006). Altogether, BUILDING metaphors can be understood in political language from the combined schematic representations from the conceptual domains of PATH and CONTAINER; a representation that is repeatedly raised by researchers of metaphor in political discourses. For example, the process of establishing the United European Community has been portrayed in different sorts of discourse in terms of the domains of ‘journey’ during the process of its creation and a ‘container’ in terms of the fact that it involves a variety of nations ad ethnic groups. These two metaphorical conceptualizations lead to shaping the thinking and the practice of European politics for a long time (Musolff, 2004).

Charteris-Black sees that metaphors from the conceptual BUILDING source domain “carry a strong positive connotation because they express aspiration towards desired social goals” (Charteris-Black, 2004: 70). In his speech from the throne, King Hussein’s relies on BUILDING metaphors to rationalize noble ends of establishing the unique sort of states he aspires. This state, as the King accentuates, encompasses peoples from different social backgrounds on the basis of the conceptual metaphor ‘JORDAN IS A BUILDING WORKSHOP’ where the meaning of the ‘building’ here refers to both the process of construction and the idea of containment. This combined metaphoric representation is elaborated in the following excerpt from the speech:

6. Our homeland should collectively transform into a **perpetual workshop**. Each one of its sons should have his role and responsibilities. The writer and the artist, the laborer and the farmer, the employee and the professional. A **workshop** with no place for spectators and negligent people. The **building of a homeland** is like life itself: continuous and perpetual.

And if the sons of this country **did not build** it, then they have no right to idly criticize and complain, nor to derogate or defame. They should have no right to expect others to **build** their country for them.

The idea of ‘building the homeland’ unescapably entails the idea of ‘containment’ as became visible in the word ‘homeland’. When Jordan is depicted as a BUILDING WORKSHOP where all Jordanian cooperate in building it and raise its pillars, King Hussein emphasizes here that the outcome would make the ‘homeland’ that encompasses all spectrums of Jordanian society. This building also is meant to be the first line of defense against all sort of possible internal and external threats. King Hussein states:

7. Our most important entry into the new century should be through our strong national unity, **based** on cooperation and brotherhood in the framework of a young and modern state, whose **cornerstones** are stable institutions, whose reference is the Constitution, the law and the National Charter, and whose **way is democracy, pluralism, responsible freedom**, and the **security** and **dignity** of man. It is the unity that seeks **to build** a modern and strong society that preserves its national character and Arab identity, and is eager to work and to react with the world with an open mind.

Charteris-Black (2004: 71) sees that metaphors from the conceptual domain of BUILDING are discursively provoked in politics by the conceptual metaphor ‘SOCIETY IS A BUILDING’. This metaphor unfailingly conveys the required positive evaluation when implying the achievement of an anticipated valued mission. For instance, the actual outcome of the act of ‘building’ can refer to ‘home’ or any other sorts of functional buildings (e.g. palace, castle, edifice, etc.). The King’s use of ‘building’ metaphors in its broad generic sense works in stressing the one particular positive evaluation resulted from the meaning of building process (i.e. as collective endeavor) rather than from its outcome. While one may argue that depicting Jordan as ‘home’ evokes stronger positive evaluation associated with the emotional appeal (i.e. family life and values), nonspecific acts of ‘building’ evoke a stronger positive evaluation as they rise for the sentient awareness to sound collective values such as responsibility and commitment towards a noble cause. As the valued Jordanian version of ‘democracy’ requires the co-operation of government, institutions, and Jordanian people, metaphors of building are here motivated by the conceptual metaphor ‘A WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING’ Charteris-Black (ibid: 73) to enforce and convey the desired positive evaluation for this unique ‘Jordanian democracy’. Herein, one can argue here that King Hussein adeptly advances a rhetoric in which metaphors of BUILDING are used in the best and most efficient way when he conveys different meanings from metaphors of ‘building’ with a minimum and concise amount of words (*See*. Ortony, 1975).

5.3. CONFLICT Metaphors

One of the implications of BUILDING metaphors in King Hussein’s speech from the throne is how the ‘containing building’ is understood as a source of protection against external or internal threats. Political language, in general, accentuates appealing the people’s feelings of solidarity and comradeship especially when there is a need to announce unpopular decisions or policies. King Hussein speech involves several instances of metaphors from the conceptual

CONFLICT domain which coincide with the BUILDING conceptual domain which denote the idea of both ‘containment’ and ‘protection’. For instance, King Hussein depicts the country as a building that strives in order to establish its bureaucratic and democratic institutions:

8. If bureaucracy is civil service’s **enemy** number one, then corruption is **the most destructive tool** that **demolishes** the **pillars** of that service and destroys every hope of advancement. No one in the nation or the state should be more motivated to **fight off** these two **arch enemies** of progress and advancement than the employee himself, who is the core of sound management and the nerve of dignified and pulsating life.

9. One of our most important and sacred duties will be **protecting** the concept of the people from disintegration and deterioration and **rejecting** all contradicting practices and behavioral patterns.

The excerpts above show that CONFLICT metaphors in King Hussein’s speech are primarily used to emphasis one kind of enemy of the state and its institutions. This enemy is internal and domestic rather than and external one. For the King, ‘corruption’ is considered more dangerous enemy than other external threats. In this context, CONFLICT metaphors are employed with the BUILDING metaphoric scheme in order to establish a positively evaluated sense of social duties for Jordanians towards their country, and not focus on the external threats. In fact, in other part of the speech, the King tends to explicitly differentiate between the two kinds of threats especially when he talked about external and international affairs such as the peace process. He says:

10. The peace process has faltered recently as a result of the Israeli government’s obstinacy and stubbornness. But we remain in firm belief that people’s determination in the choice of peace **will finally overcome** all the obstacles until the entire region enjoys the dream of progress and prosperity.

In addition, the King uses CONFLICT metaphors to conceptualize other ‘marginal’ domestic issues which concern Jordanian society and the welfare of its components. The King sees that these marginal issues hit the core of the Jordanian society, and that Jordanians must stand against these threats. The King elaborates few of these threats when he says:

11. This is why we must all pay serious attention to some of the dangerous phenomena that remain a source of women’s **suffering**, and which—unfortunately—constitute an inhuman **violation** of their basic rights.

12. As for the children, and despite all laudable efforts, there remains a number of negative, harmful and shameful practices that **we must all confront** with rigor and determination.

As one can see from the elaborated excerpts above, CONFLICT metaphors can be elucidated in terms of what is already known for Jordanians about their own homeland. Accordingly we can draw the scenarios in the excerpts above from the basic metaphorical mapping ‘LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL’ (See. Charteris-Black, 2004: 70). This last mapping engenders the conceptual metaphor ‘A JORDANIAN IS A COMBATANT’ which stands for

the King's position to his Jordanian subjects. In this regard, King Hussein regards all Jordan citizens as COMBATANTS in a conflict for the survival of the state. This fight is against is mostly against domestic enemies rather than external ones.

5.4. FAMILY Metaphors

Metaphors from the FAMILY conceptual domain are socially constructed within the Jordanian collective conscious. This construction is experientially based upon the importance of family within the traditional Jordanian socio-cultural context. Jordanian society is intrinsically characterized by its strong tribal affiliations (*See Bin Muhammad, 1999*). The tribal affiliations in Jordan accentuate the deeply-rooted family values which praise mutual respect among members of the one household and helping the brother in need. In King Hussein's speech, we see that metaphors of FAMILY frequently appear within the socio-political contexts which reinforce the mutual relationships between Jordanians. Herein, the conceptualization of the Jordanian state is understood in terms of the FAMILY metaphors using the mapping 'JORDAN IS A FAMILY'. This mapping entails the drawing of an existing schematic representation of a nucleus family that consists of FATHER/SON relationships. The King discursively relies on such metaphoric representation to stand for the positively-evaluated relationships between Jordanians with all their social backgrounds. King Hussein says:

13. Therefore, congratulations to those who won the confidence of the people and the voice of our nation, and felicitations to the **nation** for the allegiance and dedication of its **sons**.

14. Our homeland should collectively transform into a perpetual workshop. Each one of its **sons** should have his role and responsibilities. The writer and the artist, the laborer and the farmer, the employee and the professional. [...] And if the **sons** of **this country** did not build it, then they have no right to idly criticize and complain, nor to derogate or defame.

15. Our **nation** has had enough of the patterns of defamation and curses. It is time for some of its **sons** to grow up and fear God in the affairs of their people and the destiny of their nation, particularly at this time, which is characterized by the establishment of unions, agreements, and groupings.

Lakoff perceives that the basic mapping of the FAMILY conceptual domain is understood in terms of 'A NATION IS A FAMILY'. This mapping provides a frame of reference which "allows us to reason about the nation on the basis of what we know about a family" (Lakoff, 1996, 154–155). Accordingly, the social construction of Jordanian society and the mutual relationships between Jordan and other Arab countries suggests reconstructing the relationships between the other Arab countries as the mutual relationships between humans (i.e. *personification*). This reconstruction brings forward the very ideologically-based dictum of King Hussein 'the Arabic nation is one family'; which in turn, can be conceptualized in terms of the conceptual metaphor 'ARABS ARE BROTHERS' in addition to the self-centered metaphor JORDANIANS ARE BROTHERS'. Remarkably, this 'ARABS ARE BROTHERS' metaphor is also flagrantly used in the speech when highlighting the relationships between Jordan and the other Arab countries in the form of

BROTHER-BROTHER metaphoric schemes. The King says:

16. We have provided the Palestinian Authority with all **brotherly** and sincere support throughout different times and stages. We will continue to support our **brothers**, today and in the future, towards attaining the Palestinian people's legitimate rights and establishing their independent state on their national soil, with its capital in Jerusalem.

17. We have maintained our eagerness, as we have always been, for continued coordination with our **brothers** in the Arab World, particularly with Egypt, in the service of the peace process on the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese tracks.

18. Because cooperation and coordination with the Arab **brothers** is a basic cornerstone of Jordanian thought and practice, I have exerted great efforts in that direction by means of direct meetings with Arab leaders and officials.

One can see here that there is some sort of implicit incorporation between the FAMILY metaphors the metaphors from the domains of CONFLICT and BUILDING. This can be understood again from the perspective of 'containment' and 'protection' presented earlier. What these metaphoric schemes have in common is that they appeal for emotions and arise feelings of compassion and harmony between all many spectrums of Jordanian society.

6. Conclusion

The illustration of most frequent metaphors in King Hussein speech shows that the Late King creatively employed metaphorical language to represent the different socio-political structures of the Jordanian society. As the King emphasizes that the social structure of Jordan works with its democratic institutions to integrate an ideological discourse that accentuated the *exceptionality* of the Jordanian example of democracy. King Hussein rhetorically used metaphors in seeking to arouse the emotional appeal to render into a collective discourse that symbolizes the distinctive features of Jordanian society by emphasizing the diversity, unity, and *exceptionality* of Jordanians.

For instance, one can see how the King enunciates parliamentary elections and his government's commitment to deliver it in terms of the conceptual metaphor 'PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH'. As the King does not explicitly refer to the 'DESTINATION' of this 'PATH', he equivocatingly that 'Jordanian democracy' is a long process and that Jordan has passed just few stages of the 'long path' towards an indefinite democracy. What is remarkable here is the King postulation on hinging on the distinctive qualities of the Jordanian man; especially, his patience and endurance. Herein, the King's metaphors of PATH and MOVEMENTS reflect a discursively desirably 'positive' evaluation to 'Jordanian democracy' as a 'PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY' that requires 'TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH' without reaching a 'A DESTINATION'. Still, a noteworthy characteristic of PATH and MOVEMENTS metaphors in King Hussein's speech is that there constant reference to the idea of 'progress' and movement *forward*. This schematic representation reflects the King own optimistic vision to 'Jordanian democracy'. This 'optimistic' vision is largely elaborated through the King's use of 'BUILDING' metaphors in its broad generic sense. Charteris-Black sees that metaphors from the

conceptual BUILDING source domain “carry a strong positive connotation because they express aspiration towards desired social goals” (Charteris-Black, 2004: 70). Unlike metaphors of PATH and MOVEMENT, BUILDING metaphors are used to overtly rationalize noble ends of establishing and achieving. In this regard, BUILDING metaphors stress the positive evaluation resulted from the meaning of establishing the ‘Jordanian democracy’ as a building process (i.e. as collective endeavor) rather than from its outcome. What is more, depicting Jordan as ‘home’ using BUILDING metaphors evokes two sorts of positive evaluation: one associated with the emotional appeal (i.e. family life and values), the second is associated with the acts of ‘building’ and the sound collective values of responsibility and commitment towards noble causes. Such an idea is also elaborated through extending the BUILDING image to propose the idea of both ‘containment’ and ‘protection’ from the conceptual CONFLICT domain. Here, metaphors from CONFLICT conceptual domain are used to call for unity against internal and domestic threats which face the state and its stability. Such a schematic representation accentuates the exceptionality of the Jordanian people on the basis of the basic metaphorical mapping ‘LIFE IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL’ (See. Charteris-Black, 2004: 70). Accordingly, the King’s position to his Jordanian subjects and their exceptionality is reflected through the conceptual metaphor ‘A JORDANIAN IS A COMBATANT’. Such a representation shifts the King emphasis of the exceptionality of Jordan, and its democracy, to the exceptionality of the Jordanian people. This can be manifestly perceived through another integrated representation that involves the implicit incorporation between the FAMILY metaphors and the metaphors from the domains of CONFLICT and BUILDING ‘the homeland’. One can notice how metaphors of FAMILY frequently appear in King Hussein’s speech within the socio-political contexts which reinforce the mutual relationships between Jordanians using the mapping ‘JORDAN IS A FAMILY’. Still, this entails the drawing of an existing schematic representation of a nucleus family that consists of the positively-evaluated FATHER/SON relationships. On the other hand, FAMILY metaphors stand for another ideologically-based dictum in which the Arabic nation is depicted as one family. This representation strengthens the idea of the Exceptionality of Jordan and Jordanians as they are affiliated to their Arab ‘BROTHERS’.

Reliance on metaphorical language from the conceptual domain of PATH and MOVEMENTS, BUILDING, CONFLICT, and FAMILY can be vital in evoking the ideological beliefs concerning the exceptionality of Jordan and its socio-political structures in political discourse. One implication of such beliefs is the case of King Hussein’s account of those political parties and movements who decided to boycott the parliamentary elections as a protest against the electoral laws which involve the ‘one person one vote’ system. While the King lays much emphasis on that democracy is a collective responsibility which all Jordanian bear, he differentiates in the speech between the majority who opted to bear the responsibility and ‘participate’ in the ‘democratic march’ and those who deliberately opted to abandon this ‘march’ for their own purposes. As an initiative to reconciliation, the King did not accentuate his ideological attitudes toward this group; he didn’t use metaphorical language to ‘label’, ‘demonise’, or even ‘marginalise’ them.

Here, one can argue that King Hussein used metaphorical language as a rhetorical, but

indispensable, tool to support his own conception - before the parliament and the people - about the exceptionality of Jordan and its people. This exemplary speech illustrates how King Hussein's political language and discourse is a reach source for research critical metaphor analysis. The critical study of such language and discourse should be revived through more detailed and comprehensive research and on a larger corpus-based scale.

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