

Identity in the Discourse of Condoleezza Rice on Iraq after 2003

Lecturer. Dr.

Ali Abdulhameed Faris

alifares1966@yahoo.com

Dept. of English/ College of Arts

University of Basra

Assist. Lecturer

Hussein Abdul Kareem Yaqoob

husseinjacob75@yahoo.com

Dept. of English/ College of Arts

University of Basra

Abstract

The current study is concerned with examining the notion of identity in Condoleezza Rice's discourse in relation to conceptual metaphors and quotations. The data of analysis were chosen selectively from Rice's *A Memoir of My Years in Washington: No Higher Honor*. The selection of data was centered on the metaphors and quotations that revolved around the social and political situation of Iraq after the fall of the regime of Saddam Hussein in 2003. This study adopts the following theoretical framework: 1. Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Mental Processes of Identity Evaluation, 2. Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, 2004) Conceptual Metaphor Theory which was taken on to examine how metaphors were used by Rice to create reconciliation between the different political leaders, and 3. Recanati's (2004) Pragmatics of Quotation as a Language Game. The study came up with the following conclusions: a. as linguistic devices, metaphors and quotations popped up as exploratory vehicles because they were helpful to reveal the concept of identity in Rice's investigated discourse, b. via conceptual metaphors and quotations, the identity of the Iraqi political class looked befogged and deformed, and c. the socio-cultural differences between Arabs and Americans had their impact on shaping the notion of identity in the given discourse.

Keywords: Identity, Quotation, Critical Discourse Analysis, Conceptual Metaphor, Political Discourse, Condoleezza Rice, Iraqi Demography, Communicative Functions

1. Introduction

By virtue of a socio-cultural perspective, language use and identity are conceptualized. Identity, which is echoed in human action, is socially constituted. It is not fixed nor is it intrinsic to the individual. Rather, it is a reflexive dynamic product of the social, historical, and political contexts of an individual's lived experiences (Edwards, 2009). It is worthy of mention that our identities are defined in terms of our membership in social groups that are based on gender, social class, religion, and race. Identity is defined by certain factors, such as the geographical region where one is born; upon our birth, specific identities as Chinese, Canadian, or Russian are assumed. Joseph (2004) adds that membership in regional groups can be defined within national

boundaries. Accordingly, identities such as northerners and southerners are taken on. Moreover, role-relationship with others plays an important part in establishing identity. Hence, roles as parents, children, siblings, or cousins are all activities associated with the family. By the same token, roles such as supervisors, managers, subordinates, or colleagues are related to workplaces. Preece (2019), on his part, believes that the development of social identities goes in line with the values, beliefs, and attitudes that are associated with various group memberships.

The term identity politics, employed in this study to call attention to the political actors in Iraq after 2003, refers to the political stances that are based on the interests and perspectives of social groups. According to Trent and Friedenber (2000), identity politics involves all the methods by means of which the politics of people are structured and shaped via correlated social organizations. Such organizations are hinged on age, religion, sect, nationality, ethnicity, social class, language, gender, race, generation, occupation, political party affiliation, sexual nature or orientation, and rural and non-rural habitation. What is significant in this respect is that there is a correlation between identity politics, as a social categorizing mode, and the feeling of being oppressed by some social groups.

Politics is interconnected with power which is, in turn, expressed by means of language. It can be defined as that struggle for power so as to put ideas whether they are political, social, or economical into practice (Howarth et al., 2000). It is worth noting that language is the basic medium for politicians to express power. Politics itself is power and it is one of the basic means of politicians to emphasize power. For rhetorical effects, politicians employ figures of speech so as to provide clarity and uncover hidden comparisons. As such, conceptual metaphors are commonly utilized in political discourse to make the message of the speaker more understandable and accessible to the listener (Charteris-Black, 2011; Semino & Koller, 2009; Lakoff, 1991, 2002, 2008).

The use of metaphor in political discourse is one of the interesting topics which has its uniqueness and its specification. The uniqueness of metaphor stems from its exploitation in certain contexts and its organization (Lakoff, 2004). Metaphors play a pivotal role in public discourse in general and political discourse in particular. They are characterized by their rhetorical and ideological influence in political discourse. Beard

(2000) adds that politicians could either gain or lose power by means of their skills in manipulating metaphors influentially.

Lakoff et al. (1980, 1982) view that metaphor is conceptual in nature as it is related to the thinking of one thing in terms of another; it is a pervasive culture-wide disposition that helps to conceive one fixed object through another object. Lakoff (1980) explains that a word or a phrase can be identified as a metaphor if it is understood beyond the literal meaning in the context. The literal meaning stems from the source area which is an area of sensory or cultural experience, and a target area whereby the source area was transferred to.

As they are employed to discuss issues such as war, disease, money, death, journey, etc., conceptual metaphors are seen as influential linguistic devices. In terms of these devices, recipients can conceive issues of various abstract and complicated social, financial, and political realities. The use of metaphors in political discourse could help political messages to be more persuasive as they have potentially instrumented in evoking concepts that have already been known or recognized (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 2004; Lakoff; 2008; Musolff, 2004).

In addition to the conceptual metaphors, quotations are also explored in this study as a linguistic device that could help bring to light the concept of identity. A quotation can pragmatically be used as in language games when it is used for manipulating social order and the structure of society (Washington, 1992). In the context of a language game, quotation is seen as a social practice embedded in social activities; it involves reporting the context in which the words occur. Words lose most of the force which they acquire in the context of specific language games when they are deprived of their context. By virtue of its pragmatic mechanisms, quotation, being ubiquitous, is a partially conventional implicature and partially conversational implicature (Recanati, 2004).

Language game is a philosophical concept that was proposed and elaborated by Ludwig Wittgenstein. According to Wittgenstein, a word or a sentence could have a meaning in consequence of the rule of context wherein it is used. For example, the utterance 'water' can be used to signify an order, exclamation, request, answer to a question, or any other form of communication. Jago (2007) adds that Ludwig Wittgenstein is opposed to the idea that language is separate from reality. Galves &

Gaffal (2013) explain that Wittgenstein is of the view that simple examples can be used in multifarious ways. The famous example referred to by Wittgenstein is the word ‘game’ which can be used for various kinds of games: board games, betting games, sports, war games; they are all different uses of the word game. Then, the meaning of the word is based on the game where it is used. The word ‘water’ can have no meaning when it is apart from its use within a language-game. It can be used as an order to ask someone for a glass of water or to warn someone that water is poisoned. Galves & Gaffal (2013) state that the concept of language game, according to Wittgenstein, is not limited to word-meaning but also sentence meaning. For example, ‘Moses did not exist’ can mean various things. The sentence is meaningless if it is used independently, that is for no particular purpose; it is meaningful only if it is set in its appropriate context.

Since the discourse of Condoleezza Rice, under investigation, revolves around the political situation of Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein who had ruled Iraq for around 23 years, it is significant to give a hint about the demography of the Iraqi community. Coughlin (2005) explains that most of the population of Iraq, which is estimated, as of 2016, to be 37, 202, 572, are Arab; they are the ethnic dominant group that accounts for (75- 80%), forming 3 quarters of the population. They are followed by Kurds who are estimated to be 15 – 20% of the population of Iraq and live in the highlands which are the northern area of the country. The Iraqi minorities constitute 5% of the population of Iraq. They include Turkmen, Yezidis, Shabak, Assyrians, and Sabaeen-Mandaeen. Most of the Shia of Iraq follow Al- Jafferi Islamic school of jurisprudence whereas the Iraqi Sunni follow Al- Shafi Islamic school of jurisprudence.

The totalitarian and oppressive nature of Saddam regime had its stark hold on and control over the various social components of Iraq. Once the regime fell, the conflicts of the social components over the ruling and governing of Iraq became concrete. The Shiites, the Sunnis, and the Kurds all claimed their rights to governing Iraq after Saddam (Jackson & James, 2012).

2. Research Objectives

The current study is an attempt to reveal aspects of identity in the discourse of Condoleezza Rice (the ex-American Secretary of State from 2005 to 2009). The

pragmatic role of conceptual metaphors and quotations is considered as a helpful linguistic device to uncover identity in Rice’s discourse on the Iraqi situation after 2003. Fairclough (2010) sees that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) explores how the message is delivered through words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, texts and other rhetorical devices such as similes, and metaphors. This study tries to show how language, as a means of political negotiation, is manipulated by Rice to maintain certain subjects and themes that are closely related to changes occurring in social relationships and in social identities. The present research aims at deepening the understanding of the concept of identity in Rice’s view on the Iraqi leaders who are of different political blocs and different ideological orientations. To achieve the objective of this study, the following theoretical insights were adopted: 1. Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) Mental Processes of Identity Evaluation, 2. Lakoff’s and Johnson’s (1980, 2004) Conceptual Metaphor Theory which was advocated to examine how metaphors were used by Rice to forge reconciliation between the different Iraqi political blocs, and 3. Recanati’s (2004) Pragmatics of Quotation as a Language Game. The three conceptual insights constitute the following conceptual framework of this study:

Tajfel & Turner’s Mental Processes of Identity Evaluation (1979)	Lakoff’s & Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980)	Recanati’s Pragmatics of Quotation as a Language Game (2004)
Identity in the Discourse of Condoleezza Rice		

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the Study

3. Methodology

The research design of this paper is qualitative since it reflects the conventions of CDA as a method of data analysis. As it is qualitative, it involves non-statistical approach of data analysis (Merriam, 2009). Words, phrases, sentences, and the whole speech act related to the total speech situation constitute the data of analysis in this study. Being a CDA study, absorbing in a variety of social contexts, this paper is supposed to decode the meaning of the aforementioned language units that go beyond the bounds of sentence to deal with the whole text in connection with the outside world. The data of research is collected from a book written by Condoleezza Rice (the former American Secretary of

State) entitled *No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington* published in 2011. The work seeks to investigate, discover, describe, and explain qualities of a particular social context that cannot be measured or illustrated via a quantitative approach.

3.1 Research Questions

The present study endeavors to answer the following questions:

1. How is the identity of Condoleezza Rice shaped in the discourse under investigation?
2. How is the identity of the Iraqi political spectrum produced and reproduced in the given discourse?

3.2 Data Collection

Rice's language contains a variety of rhetorical and grammatical devices that could contribute to shaping a variety of social realities and social events. Special attention was given to conceptual metaphors and quotations as linguistic devices that could help reveal the notion of identity in Rice's discourse. Rice's book comprises 58 chapters. Data collection of this paper is concerned with the chapters that revolve around the Iraqi situation after 2003. These chapters are: 12 (Saddam again), 16 (New Challenges in Iraq), 18 (Iraqis Need to Govern Themselves), 25 (Baghdad and Cairo), 33 (A Change of Leadership in Iraq), 37 (Iraq Spirals Downward), 40 (A Diplomatic Surge), and 43 (Iraq and the Home Front). Going through these chapters, 3 metaphors and 7 quotations are detected and are to be discussed in this study.

3.2.1 Data Collection Techniques

The techniques of data collection of this study are the following:

- a. deep reading of the book *No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington*,
- b. investigating data involving aspects of identity based on conceptual metaphors and quotations,
- c. choosing texts, containing conceptual metaphors and quotations, that are concerned with the Iraqi social events and social realities after the American occupation of Iraq in 2003,

- d. classifying conceptual metaphors and quotations in accordance with the issues of identity,
- e. taking the Iraqi variant social contexts into consideration when highlighting identity,
- f. accounting for the latent qualities of conceptual metaphors and quotations in forging authority and constructing identity.

3.2.2 Data Analysis

The data analysis in this study is based on the steps of data analysis proposed by Mills and Huberman who see that discourse analysis goes through data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion or verification. According to Mills and Huberman (1994), all these steps, which are interwoven, would maintain a ‘common judgment’ that is called analysis. The four steps are shown in the following figure:

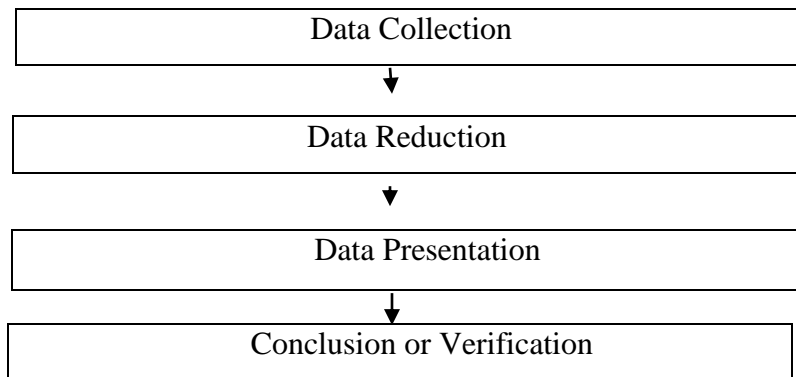


Figure 2: Mills & Huberman’s Steps of Data Analysis

3.3 Research Reliability and Validity

Having subscribed to the conventions of Critical Discourse Analysis, it could be assumed that the interpretations of the findings of a study are a reflection of the ideologies and attitudes of the analyst (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Hoping to overcome intrinsic biases, to increase the credibility and validity of the findings, to give a more balanced picture of the situation, multiple theoretical moves to analyze data were made and several evaluators were involved in this study.

4. Theoretical Background

Lakoff (2002, 2004) sees that communication is the essence of politics. Political communication is multi-disciplinary as it draws on the fields of communication, political

science, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, linguistics, etc. (Kaid, 2004). In the past, political communication was seen as an intervening process whereby political institutions and citizens go into an interaction with each other. Hence, political influences are mobilized and transmitted. Today, the term ‘political communication’ is broader in that it is used to include such activities, as presidential and parliamentary elections, governing a state, massing the public opinion, etc. (Trent & Friedensberg, 2000; Perloff, 2003).

Since the aim of this paper is to explore identity in the discourse of Rice concerning the Iraqi political situation, it is necessary to highlight cultural identity. Cultural identity, as a part of a person’s self-conception and self-perception, is the feeling of being affiliated to a group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is related to any social group that has its own distinct culture. It is based on nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, and/ or locality. Tajfel and Turner (1979) propose three mental processes that are involved in evaluating identity. They are social categorization, social identification, and social comparison:

1. Objects are categorized by people in order to be understood and identified. Similarly, people, including ourselves, are categorized so that they can understand the social environment. Social categories like black, white, European, African, Asian, Muslim, Jewish, Christian and bus drivers are used by people because they are useful in that by means of them we can find out things about ourselves and know what categories we belong to. Behaviors, for example, whether appropriate or inappropriate, are defined in terms of the norms of a group.

2. In social identification, which is the second stage of social identity theory, individuals, who have already been categorized in terms of their belongingness to a certain group, are identified. If, for example, an individual has categorized himself/herself as a student, s/he would act in the ways s/he believes students act and conforms to the norms of the group. What is notable in this regard is that there is an emotional significance to an individual’s identification with a group. Equally significant is self-esteem which is bound up to group membership. When people are assigned to a particular category, it would be easy to know about them. Knowing the category, that we belong to, helps us to know about ourselves. Social acts are, thus, looked upon as appropriate in terms of the norms of the group we

belong to. If somebody is identified as a democrat, s/he would likely adopt the behaviors that are associated with this group. Moreover, s/he would develop a sense of emotional connection to this given identity.

3. In the stage of social comparison, we, having been categorized ourselves as part of a group and having been identified with that group, tend to compare our group with other groups. If our self-esteem is to be maintained, our group needs to be compared favorably with other groups. This final stage of social comparison is crucial in understanding prejudice; since two groups have identified themselves as rivals, they are forced to compete so as the members of the groups can maintain their self-esteem. Competition between two groups is basically a competition of identities which results in a rivalry for powers, resources, and jobs. In this respect, it is important to shed light on the terms 'ingroup', the group that somebody is identified with, and the 'outgroup' which is the group that somebody is not identified with, and s/he may discriminate against.

The Social identity theory proposed by the social psychologists John Turner and Henri Tajfel in the 1970s came up with the idea that individuals' personal identity and their intergroup behavior are correlated. The concept of ingroup favoritism, based on the principles of this theory, is produced as a result of dividing people into groups. Ingroup favoritism can be defined as the tendency of individuals to respond positively to the members of their group and act cautiously towards the members of the outgroup (Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

It is noteworthy that meaning is embedded in the shared human experience. The exploration of the fabric of meaning that is woven thread by thread by bodily experience and embroidered by metaphor is the main target of cognitive linguistics. Metaphor, in terms of cognitive linguistics, is a mapping from a source domain to a target domain. Time, emotions, and state of being are the common target domains for metaphor. 'People are plants' is a statement that involves metaphorical expressions. It may be used to refer to stages that human goes through childhood as sprouting up, youth as a blossom, old age as a time of withering and fading (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

According to Lakoff et al. (1980, 1978, 1982), manipulating unconscious mental imagery for letting concretely pictured physical objects and situations stand in for the more abstract objects and situations is the main principle of cognitive linguistics.

Metaphor is a conceptual issue that is held when one thing is conceived in terms of another thing. It is a cross-domain map wherein a pervasive culture-wide disposition for conceiving one fixed sort of thing in terms of another fixed sort of thing is held. A word or a phrase is identified as a metaphor if it is understood beyond the literal meaning; it is derived from the source area where cultural experience is ingrained and transferred to the target area which is often abstract. Based on the cognitive approach proposed by Lakoff et al. (1980; 1978; 1982), it could be possible to study both the universal and the cultural specific character of conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors are based on the basic experience of people who have grown up in different cultural environments. Hence, our perception of the world and our use of metaphor are impacted by our unique cultural backgrounds.

Metaphors play a very basic role in language to such a degree that their pervasion is remarkable in both thought and everyday language. From a cognitive linguistic point of view, our communication and our modes of thinking and acting are shaped by conceptual metaphors. In other words, our social, cultural, and psychological realities are structured and configured by metaphors since they are effortlessly used by people in everyday life. Against such background, it could be said that understanding metaphors is helpful in understanding the kind of the world we live in (Lakoff, 1980, 1982).

According to Kovecses (2002), a conceptual metaphor refers to the conceptual domain (A) which is itself conceptual domain (B). These two domains which are involved in conceptual metaphor are respectively called source domain and target domain. The source domain indicates the conceptual domain that is used to help understand another conceptual domain. 'The conceptual domain' that we attempt to understand by means of the source domain is called 'the target domain' (Koveces). By and large, the abstract concept functions as target whereas the more concrete one is utilized as its source.

Examples of conceptual metaphors include 'life', 'argument', 'love', 'ideas', and 'social organization' as target domains throughout the use of 'journey', 'war', 'building', 'food', and 'plants' as their source domains. That 'He attacked every weak point in my argument' and 'His criticism was right on target' are both linguistic expressions that are conventionally used by most English speakers to talk about *argument* since

understanding the abstract concept of *argument* is facilitated by the more concrete concept of war. The metaphorical expressions ‘attacked every weak point in’ and ‘right on target’ in the above examples open the door for the conceptual metaphor ‘Argument is war’. In more exact words, the concept of ‘War’, which is the source domain, clears the way to understand the abstract concept ‘Argument’ which is the target domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). According to Kovecses (2002:29) ‘conceptual metaphors’ are classified into different types that can be “determined on the basis of conventionality, function, nature, and level of generality”. Based on its cognitive functions, conceptual metaphors are classified into three types: structural metaphors, ontological metaphors, and orientational metaphors. Moreover, metaphors are also classified in terms of conventionality. Conventional metaphors are commonly used by people for everyday purposes.

Understanding target A via the structure of source B is the cognitive function of a structural metaphor. Against such a backdrop, it could be realized that the source domain provides knowledge for understanding the target domain. In structural metaphors, many mapping between elements of A and B are involved to help clarify abstract target domains. Kovecses (2002) sees that ‘mapping’ is significant as it explains why certain expressions are used for the purpose of understanding the target domain. ‘Time Is Motion’ is a metaphor that is employed to show that time is ‘conceptualized by means of motion’ (Kovecses, 2002). In terms of this metaphor, it can be realized that time is understood via certain fundamental elements such as physical objects, their locations, and their motion. What can be realized in the given metaphor is a set of mapping according to which ‘times’ refers to ‘things’ and the passing of time is ‘motion’. By means of this set of mapping, the notion of time has become clear. Against such a backdrop, it could be said that understanding the concept of time is strenuous without the manipulation of metaphor. What is significant to be recognized in this respect is that structural metaphors, which are culturally grounded in our experience, can be looked upon as a means for people to understand ‘target concepts’ through mapping (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). The metaphor implied in ‘Argument is war’ can be perceived as an example casting light upon the conceptualization of ‘argument’ in terms of physical conflict. Contrary to animals that go through physical conflicts to get food, sex, and territory, humans usually

employ verbal arguments to obtain their wants. In view of this, verbal arguments, which are utilized by humans, are conceived in the same way as ‘physical battles’ are (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003).

The degree of conventionality can be a criterion for classifying metaphors. ‘Conventional metaphors’ are used by ordinary people for everyday purposes (Kovecses, 2002). The following are examples of conventional metaphors as cited in Kovecses (2002: 29):

Table 1: Examples of Conventional Metaphors

Examples of Conventional Metaphors	Metaphorical Expressions
Argument is war.	I defended my argument.
Love is a journey.	We’ll just have to go our separate ways.
Ideas are food.	I can’t digest all these facts.

Being worn out and clichéd, the above metaphorical expressions are seen as highly conventionalized. The expression ‘defend’ is used in relation to ‘arguments’, ‘go our ways’ is used in relation to ‘love’, and ‘digest’ is used in relation to ‘ideas’. Whenever people think about abstract domains like ‘argument’, ‘journey’, ‘food’, conventional metaphorical expressions like ‘defending’, ‘going our separate ways’, and ‘digesting’ are thought of (Kovecses, 2002).

Mapping has been advocated as mechanisms to understand how ‘conceptual metaphor’ works. It is, according to Lakoff (1993) a fixed part of a ‘conceptual system’. It is further defined by Kovecses (2002) as a set of fixed ‘conceptual correspondences’ occurring between ‘constituent elements’ of the source and target domains. He also adds that people can understand one domain in terms of another by means of mapping between the source and target domains. That ‘Social organizations are plants’ is an example of a conceptual metaphor whereby the mechanism of mapping is easy to understand. Kovecses (2002) explicates the mapping between ‘plants’ and ‘social organizations’ as shown in the table below:

Table 2: Mapping between the ‘Plants’ and ‘Social Organizations’

Source Domain (Plant)	Target Domain (Social Organizations)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growth of the plant - The root of the plant - The flowering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of the organization - The origin of the organization - The most successful stage

What can be perceived from the conceptual metaphor above is that the source domain of ‘plants’ and the target domain of ‘social organizations’ are connected through the mechanism of mapping. Being rooted in everyday experience and knowledge, mapping, as seen by Lakoff (1993), is a ‘conventional’ way people utilize to conceptualize things. The meaning of a metaphorical expression is more easily understood when conceptual connections are provided. In other words, knowing the set of mapping that is applied to a given source-target pairing leads to knowing the meaning of a conceptual metaphor.

Quotations, which are advocated in the current study to disclose identity, can be utilized for various reasons:

- a. for illuminating the meaning or supporting the arguments of the work where they are quoted,
- b. for providing direct information regarding the quoted work in or for discussing it positively or negatively,
- c. for paying homage to the original work or author,
- d. for making the user of quotation appear to be well-read, and
- e. for invoking the reader’s philosophical thoughts (Recanati, 2004).

What is common about the use of language, in various social contexts, is that various communicative functions are performed. Examples of these communicative functions are: commenting, requesting, directing attention, protesting, warning, showing, expressing feeling, and rejecting (Bates, 1976). Fairclough (1989, 1995) explains that CDA dives into miscellaneous texts (spoken, written, direct, or indirect) wherein multiple rhetorical devices can all make the raw material of a discussion for CDA analyst.

5. Review of Related Literature

Qaiwer (2016) studied the construction of identity and strategies of self-presentation in the discourse of the former American President Barack Obama. The pluralistic mixed-method approach was utilized in this study to highlight the construction of personal, relational, and collective identities. The study concluded that identity could be constructed and defended; it helped in shaping the professional image of the President. Identity in political discourse was also highlighted by means of conceptual metaphors by Otieno et. al. (2015). They showed that metaphors could be manipulated for pragmatic as well as strategic reasons. They might be used by politicians to help them be aware of different political issues, to make them able to express their general attitudes toward politics and to identify their ideological positions. Ling (2010) applied Lakoff's theory of conceptual metaphor to identify the metaphor of war in five areas: politics, business, sport, disease, and love. The study concluded that the major themes and mapping of the five conceptual metaphors (politics is war, business is war, sport is war, disease is war, and love is war) could help people understand how war metaphors work in a variety of target domains in everyday English.

To prove that quotation could play an important role in revealing identity in political discourse, Fetzner (2019) highlighted the strategic use of the communicative act of quotation in the questions of the German Chancellor Angela Merkel. In addition to the four common types of quotations (direct, indirect, hypothetical, and mixed) Merkel, as the study revealed, employed one more format in her questions which was focusing. The study also showed that quotations had been used by Merkel to fulfill an argumentative function.

Results and Discussions

The results and discussions of this study fall into two parts: the first part draws on the conceptual metaphor and identity, whereas the second part is engaged with quotations and the concept of identity. The analysis and discussion of the data of the current study are based on the following theoretical literature for examining the concept of identity in Rice's discourse: Tajfel and Turner's (1979) *Mental Processes of Identity Evaluation*, Recanati's (2004) *Pragmatics of Quotation as a Language Game*, and Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, 2004) *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*.

6.1 Conceptual Metaphor and Identity

This part of the study is concerned with highlighting conceptual metaphors and how they can bring out into the open thematic insights into the identity and authority of the speaker and recipients. Moreover, revealing such metaphors could show how they could fit into the scheme of things so they can make sense and plan for the future of Iraq. Understanding these metaphors will be discussed along with the major themes and mapping involved. Conceptual metaphors are typed in italics, whereas quotations are typed in bold so as to have them recognized.

Extract 1

The argument was really more straightforward: *Saddam Hussein was a cancer* in the Middle East who had attacked his neighbors, throwing the region into chaos. He had drawn the United States into conflict twice, once to expel him from Kuwait and a second time to deliver airstrikes against suspected Weapons of mass destruction sites because he would not allow arms inspectors to do their job

(Rice, 2011:197).

Looking over the source domain and the target domain of the metaphor ‘Saddam Hussein was a cancer’, it could be realized that Rice makes an analogy between ‘Saddam Hussein’ and ‘cancer’. The mechanism of mapping of this metaphor can be stated in the following table:

Table 3: Mechanism of Mapping of the Metaphor ‘Saddam was cancer’

Source Domain (cancer)	Target Domain (Saddam Hussein)
- A destructive disease involving abnormal growth of cells with the potential of invading other parts of the body	-Defiant dictator who ruled Iraq from 1979 to 2003. -He used violence and intimidation during his ruling in Iraq. -He involved the country into two destructive wars; one against Iran in 1980-88, and the second against Kuwait which broke out in 1990.

It is worth noting that Rice attempts to press home the idea that the danger of Saddam’s politics is analogous to that of cancer. Both wreak havoc and destruction and endanger the existence of human beings. The source domain of this metaphor revolves around the seriousness of cancer as a disease which can immensely spread to every internal organ of the body. The target domain mulls over the character of Saddam Hussein who controlled the country from 16 July 1979 until 9 April 2003. According to

Coughlin (2005), he was in charge of torturing, killings, and mass graves. He used chemical weapons against his own people in 1980. Moreover, he involved his country in destructive wars. Both were costly wars in terms of loss of lives. The first was against Iran in 1980 and ended in 1988, and the second was against Kuwait in 1990. Both of them were traumatic experiences for Iraq and Iraqis as they caused mass destruction and long lasting damage to the economy, health system, social order, environment, and wellbeing of the Iraqi people. By virtue of the aforementioned metaphor, the identity of Saddam Hussein can be revealed. This revelation can be consolidated by means of the three mental processes of evaluation proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979) as shown in the following table:

Table 4: Evaluation of the Identity of Saddam Hussein

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
Saddam Hussein	President of Iraq	Adopting dictatorial, oppressive, and totalitarian politics which are all inhumane	Posing a major threat to human life
Cancer	Disease	Having detrimental and destructive effects on the human body	One of the biggest threats to human life

Extract 2

We also decided to intensify U.S. efforts, principally through intelligence channels, to build the capabilities of the opposition figures in exile and to help them unite. Frustrated with Saddam’s constant flouting of his obligations under the armistice, Congress had passed and President Clinton had signed into law the Iraqi Liberation Act in 1998 that had put most of the machinery and funding into place. But *the exiles were a mixed bag*, ranging from the well-organized Kurds, who were already living and governing the north of Iraq, to the Shia and Sunnis, who were scattered from Syria to Iran and from London to New York, with minimal indigenous support (Rice, 2011: 32).

The structural metaphor ‘a mixed bag’ used by Rice is a reflection of the reality that Iraqi exiles are of various social roots. The target domain of this metaphor is that the Iraqi exiles are of different ideologies. The ideologies adopted by these exiles vary according to their ethnic and sectarian backgrounds. They maintain varied intents and goals across the Iraqi demography. It would be difficult for Rice to reconcile the

inconsistent agendas of Iraqi politicians. So, it is a hard task for her to satisfy all tastes of Iraqi political blocs. Being Kurdish, Sunnis, and Shia, exiles have lived in different parts of the world. Makiya (1998) sees that owing to the systematic politics of persecution and suppression practiced by the regime of Saddam Hussein, many Iraqis have been forced to flee Iraq. While they have been in exile, they have taken up political agendas that are related to their different sectarian and ethnic backgrounds. After the fall of the regime of Saddam, the exiles were shipped back to Iraq bringing with them different political directions. They have been polarized to make up three main groups: the Sunnis, the Shia, and the Kurd's blocs. Each group has tried to advance its political agendas in the situation of Iraq after Saddam Hussein. The continued rifts between agendas of these political blocs have sparked off sectarian cleavages that have later led to extremist violence in many Iraqi regions including Baghdad, Mosul, Tikrit, Dayala, and Babylon. On the heels of such a critical situation, Rice attempts to enforce the American agendas on these groups. In terms of the above conceptual metaphor, Rice seems to have absorbed that bringing the political blocs together is a tall order. Against such debilitating and wearisome reality, the speaker produces the conceptual metaphor 'the exiles were a mixed bag' whose mechanisms of mapping, between the 'exiles' and the 'mixed bag', can be shown in the following table:

Table 5: Mechanism of Mapping of the Metaphor 'Exiles were a mixed bag'

Source Domain (a mixed bag)	Target Domain (exiles)
A diverse assortment of people	- Adversaries of Saddam regime

The flagrant intervention of the US in the Iraqi situation is due to the belief of the Americans that they have saved Iraqis from the regime of Saddam Hussein. By and large, a struggle for power has been cherished by the three blocs: the Shia, the Sunni, and the Kurds. Above all, the Americans, who have been regarded as occupiers, have sought to assume power over the entire Iraqi political spectrum. That 'We also decided to emphasize U.S. efforts..... them unite' signifies Rice's attempt to intensify her identity as a top American diplomat that is responsible for uniting the varied political blocs in Iraq after the American occupation and the fall of Saddam's regime.

Smith (2016) states that Bush, during the first term of his presidency, endeavored to form a coalition on the pretext of disarming Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Bush’s diplomatic campaign for this objective started in 2002. His decision to wage war against Iraq was not approved by the UN. Nevertheless, a coalition which was a combined troop from the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland invaded Iraq on 19 March 2003. With regard to the legality of the invasion, it was a point of debate. Kofi Annan, the secretary-General of the United Nations from 1997 to 2006, announced that the invasion of Iraq was illegal in accordance with the charter of the UN. As a consequence of the invasion and the mismanagement of the occupation, a power vacuum was left which later led to extensive sectarian violence between Shias and Sunnis. Huntington (1993), in his thesis ‘Clash of Civilizations’ argues that cultural lines including basically people’s cultural and religious identities would be the source of conflict in the post-cold war world.

In the above conceptual metaphor, the speaker is quite aware of the identities of the Iraqi exiles. By virtue of the given metaphor, which implies that the situation of Iraq involves a heterogeneous group of Iraqi politicians with conflicting political agendas and objectives, the identity of Iraqi exiles can be evaluated, as shown in the following table:

Table 6: Evaluation of the Identity of Iraqi exiles

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
Iraqi political exiles	Opponents of Saddam’s regime	Embracing conflicting political agendas	A diverse assortment of people

Extract 3

So when Sistani spoke, it mattered. Ironically, he would not meet with nonmembers of the faith, particularly foreigners, so we had no direct contact with him. His son acted as a conduit for his views, which we came to regard as crucial to progress in Iraq. Yet this mysterious man always seemed to be on the right side of the issues; he was a voice for democracy and for the separation of religion from matters of the state. In private *we called him Iraq’s Benjamin Franklin*- a wise man who never held or wished to hold elected office

(Rice, 2011: 242).

In contrast to the above metaphor which indicates disharmony and disintegration, the metaphor ‘In private we called him Iraq’s Benjamin Franklin’ denotes harmony and

unity. In the above metaphor, the mechanisms of mapping between ‘Sistani’ and ‘Franklin’ can be stated in the following table:

Table 7: Mechanism of Mapping of the Metaphor ‘We called him Iraq’s Benjamin Franklin’

Source Domain (Benjamin Franklin)	Target Domain (Sistani)
-voice for freedom, democracy, and desegregation, and independence	-voice for peace, democracy, integration, and independence

It is noteworthy that Rice, in the given metaphor, attempts to liken the Iraqi cleric Sistani to the American civic activist Benjamin Franklin. Wood (2005) sees that Benjamin Franklin (1706- 1790), as a polymath, was one of the founding fathers of the US as he, with a committee of five members, lent a helping hand to draft the declaration of independence and the constitution of the US. By means of this declaration, 13 American colonies, which had been under the British rule for more than 170 years, declared their freedom and independence.

After the American occupation to Iraq in 2003, al-Sistani began to call for a constitution that may secure the rights of all the segments of the Iraqi society without any discrimination. Being engaged in matters of not only religion but also state, he, for the purpose of forming a transitional government, called for a democratic elections referendum. In June 2004, he stated that the Iraqi government was not democratic enough as it lacked the legitimacy of elections and did not represent all segments of Iraqi society and political forces. However, al-Sistani expressed his wishes that the government would prove to be efficient and well-knit. Having assumed responsibility for the independence of Iraq, he endorsed the withdrawal of the American troops in 2008. In March 2013, he issued a fatwa whereby he prohibited the shedding of the Iraqi blood; particularly the Sunni blood (Camp, 2011).

That three provinces of Iraq fell in the hands of ISIS on June 13, 2014, Sistani, through his representatives, appealed to the Iraqi people to join the Iraqi security forces to fight the ISIS militants. Against such backdrop, Rice seeks to draw out an analogy between the two social actors: Benjamin Franklin and Sistani who share certain characteristics despite the fact that they belong to two different cultures and ideologies. Both of them call for unity, democracy, constitutional convention, and independence. The

metaphorical expression above can be deliberated over when evaluating identity in terms of Tajfel and Turner’s (1979) three mental processes of evaluation, as shown in the table below:

Table 8: Evaluation of the Identity of Ali Sistani & Benjamin Franklin

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
Ali Sistani	The most senior cleric in Shia Islam	A voice for democracy and unity	He is best known for advancing the notion of non-violence, democratic vote, and constitutional convention.
Benjamin Franklin	One of the founding fathers of the USA.	An American civic activist	He is best known for calling for the independence of and desegregation in the USA.

6.2 Quotations and Identity

This part of the study focuses on showing the relationship between identity and quotations. The quotations appear in bold for recognition:

Extract 4

We needed to institutionalize the Arab world’s relationship with Iraq and believed that the GCC+ 3 could help bridge differences. It was a major step forward, but the GCC was a conservative group of Sunni authoritarians. Perhaps Hoshyar Zebari, the Iraqi foreign minister, and a Sunni Kurd, had it right when he once told them, **“You treat us like a virus. I don’t know what makes you more nervous, the Shia part or the democracy part.”** Now, in the fall of 2006, I desperately needed the Arabs to rally around the Iraqis

(Rice, 2011, p.508).

While having a meeting with the foreign ministers of GCC+2 (Arab Gulf States+ Egypt and Jordan) to urge them to support Iraqi government and the young Iraqi democracy, Rice, in the above extract, alludes to the speech of the Iraqi foreign minister Hoshyar Zebari (from 2003 to 2014) which was addressed to the foreign minister of Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). That ‘You treat us like a virus. I don’t know what makes you nervous, the Shia part of the democracy part’ is an indication that Rice is fully aware of the structure of the Iraqi society and the nature of the relationship between Iraqi Shia and the Sunni governments of the Arab countries. This quotation is cited by Rice to provide information about the issue that the strained relationship between the Iraqi

government and the Arabs is owing to the fact that a great part of this government is Shia. She seems to be quite aware of the nature of the relationship between the Iraqi government and the Sunni governments of the Arab Gulf States which see the new Iraqi government as pro-Iranian since many of its members are Shia Muslim - the numerical majority in Iraq. Shia, as seen by Fuller and Francke (1999), is one of the most sensitive issues for the Arab Sunni elite. Lumor (2008), on his part, supposes that geographical considerations and the national security interests of states have reinforced the present dynamics of the regional-level of the Sunni-Shia divide. Hence, the logic of the divide at the regional level cannot be explained by mere history and identity. It is also reinforced by Geo and power politics. Having practically always been the oppressed in Islam, Shiites, according to Lumor (2008), are usually been perceived as the more politicized of the two strands; a view that has made the Shiites, in the eyes of the Arab Sunni governments, as a potential threat in the new geographical situation.

By virtue of the given quotation, the nature of the problem between Arabs and the Iraqi government appears to be categorized and identified by Rice. Having categorized the Iraqi people into Sunni and Shia, Rice is definitely mindful of the norms of each group. The mental processes of evaluating the identity of social actors by means of the quotation, in the above extract, can be outlined in the following table:

Table 9: Evaluating the identity of the Iraqi government and the identity of the GCC+ 2 governments

Group	Social categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
GCC Governments	Conservative group of Sunni Authoritarians	Adopting conservative Islamic Sunni norms	Stable and richly experienced governments
Iraqi government	Conservative group of Shia Authoritarians	Adopting conservative Islamic Shia norms	Newborn government

Extract 5

Ahmed took me downstairs, where the ministers were beginning to assemble for the ceremonial breaking of the fast by eating dates. After joining them- and enjoying the tasty, sugary bites- the more conservative Gulf Arabs left to engage in prayers. **“We’ll be right back in about fifteen minutes,”** one of them said. **“But if your Shia were here, it would take an hour,”** he continued, drawing out the your to make it clear that he meant the U.S.- backed Iraqi government. I stood there

with the Egyptian and the Jordanian waiting for the others to finish praying. **“What a weird place the Middle East is- full of contradictions and chasms,”** I thought. Before I could reflect too much more, prayers were over. They had taken less than fifteen minutes (Rice, 2011: 509).

In this extract, Rice cites three quotations so as to posit the structure and the order of the Arab world. The quotations ‘We’ll be right back in about fifteen minutes,’ and ‘But if your Shia were here, it would take an hour,’ evoke the attitude of Rice that the Arab society, as a Muslim society, is split by Islamic sects; a point that has been exploited by the ruling class, throughout the history of Islam, for the purpose of shaping or reshaping a certain social act or reality (River, 2014). In line with quotations ‘We’ll be right back in about fifteen minutes,’ one of them said. ‘But if your Shia were here, it would take an hour,’ Rice highlights that there are sectarian tensions between the Arab governments, namely the governments of the Arab Gulf States, and the Iraqi government. These tensions are quite felt by means of the nominal phrase ‘your Shia’. The quotation ‘If your Shia were here..... an hour’ underlies a deep feud between the two sects- the Arab governments and the Iraqi government sectarian grounds. Moreover, Rice in the above extract uses quotations as a language game that is embedded in social activities. Against such background, one can claim that quotations are employed by Rice to focus attention on particular controversial realities in the Arab society, namely the Sunni- Shiite divide. Clash of identity, in the above extract, goes beyond the Sunni-Shiite divide to involve the Islamic-western divide; a clash emerges vividly by way of the quotation that ‘What a weird place the Middle East is- full of contradictions and chasms, I thought’. As an American and of Western culture, Rice sees the act of praying in Islam as a waste of time. Moreover, she rings a note of sarcasm of the people of the Middle East because she believes that their social acts do not match up with their Islamic faiths. Evaluating the identity of social actors that emerged via the given quotations can be demonstrated in the table below:

Table 10: Evaluating the identity of the Middle East People and the Identity of the Americans or Westerners

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
-------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-------------------

People of the Middle East	Muslims	Embracing the Islamic faith and Culture	Having a disconnection with their thinking because their actions and words do not match
Westerners	Non- Muslims	Embracing Western culture and values	Living in congruence with values they adopt and acts they do

Extract 6

The Hakim women arrived at the State Department a few months later. In bounded acute girl wrapped in a scarf but also wearing a pink T-shirt. **“I have seen you on TV,”** she said in perfect English. **“I want to be a foreign minister too.”** Hakim clearly had great hopes for his granddaughter. Maybe that was evidence of a small crack in the wall of resistance to progress for women in the region. It was good to be a woman- and the United States’ chief diplomat, particularly in the Middle East

(Rice, 2011: 510)

At one moment, while she was in Baghdad, Rice met with the late Abdul Aziz al-Hakim who was the leader of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). Al-Hakim, a conservative Shia cleric, seems to have surprised Rice by asking her a favor which is to write a note to his 13 years old granddaughter and then to see her at the State Department a few months later. The love and admiration of al-Hakim’s granddaughter for Rice have aroused her curiosity about the position of women in the Middle East. The quotation ‘I have seen you on TV,’ she said in perfect English. ‘I want to be a foreign minister too’ goes against Rice’s negative perspective on the status of women in the Middle East. She thinks that women, in the Middle East, are merely second-class citizens. Henceforth, the initiative of al-Hakim by asking her to write his granddaughter a note and receive her at the State Department in addition to al-Hakim’s granddaughter telling her that ‘I have seen.....TV,’ ‘I want.....too’ were both perceived by Rice as signs of the melting of the iceberg before the progress of women in the Middle East. Being of the same mind, York (2014) views that woman, in the Arab world, has weak participation in politics; soft issues such as social affairs and women’s issues are her only option in case she has got a high position. This position, of course, is owing to two main factors: the first is the inherent social patriarchal attributes, whereas the second is the stereotypification of women in the Arab society. Her absence from politics results

in an imbalance in gender rights; an issue that could exasperate social inequalities and consequently debilitate the quality of life.

In the above extract, Rice has implicitly considered the identity of women in the Middle East, particularly in the Arab society, and compared it to that of the American or western women. She assumes that women, in the Middle East, are poor defenseless victims of background thoughts and traditions. The woman has not cherished the same intellectual position as man has, especially in the sphere of politics. This situation is opposite to that of women in the American or western societies wherein she is treated as a man’s equal and is no longer a victim of discrimination.

Table 11: Evaluating the identity of a woman in the Middle East and the identity of a woman in the American or western society

Group	Social Categorization	Social identification	Social Comparison
Woman in the Middle East, namely in the Arab society	Arab, Muslim	Not having a chance to occupy political positions	Living in patriarchal society
Woman in the Western world	Non-Muslim	Having a role in political positions	Allowed to aspire to any position or ideal she wishes

Extract 7

The politics in Iraq was in an absolutely poisonous state in all directions as sectarian violence raged between the Sunnis and the Shias. Before arriving in Baghdad, I told the press that it was not up to the United States to heal the divisions. **“They are going to have to resolve these issues among themselves,”** I said

(Rice, 2011: 511)

The quotation ‘They are going to have to resolve these issues among themselves’ is used by Rice to draw attention to the point that Iraq confronts harsh political reality. It resounds the terrible situation in Iraq in one of its most critical eras. It is used by Rice to show beyond doubt that the deterioration of the political and security situation in Iraq has been at its abyss. Nicolas & and Frenez (2010) state that the absence of political consensus between the Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds has dragged the country into a sectarian war that led to more than 268,000 violent deaths in Iraq from 2005 onwards as it is recorded by the monitoring organization. Rice (2011) sees that Iraq has experienced a high level of sectarian violence between 2006 and 2008. In the view of some scholars

and journalists, the civil war, experienced by Iraqis, resulted from the prevalent intercommunal violence between the Iraqi Sunnis and Shiites following the US invasion in 2003 (Siracusa & Laurens, 2019). As an authoritative American politician, Rice points out that the deterioration in the security situation, which pervaded huge territories of Iraq, has been specifically related to the political divisions between the Iraqi political blocs. That ‘Before arriving in Baghdad.....themselves’ is an indication of the vivid occurrence of the two groups in the discourse of Rice: the ingroup is represented by the United States as it is stated in ‘I told the press that it was not up to the United States to heal the divisions’, and the outgroup represented by the Iraqi political conflicting blocs which have dominated the political scene in Iraq after the ousting of the regime of Saddam Hussein. According to the writer, putting an end to the terrible situation in Iraq is not the responsibility of the U.S. but it is the responsibility of the Iraqi politicians who have shown irreconcilable political attitudes. Ricks (2007) assumes that the American military action in Iraq in 2003 has inflamed the sectarian tension which, on its part, resulted in an aggravation of the humanitarian crisis. Owing to the operations of the American counter-insurgency and the sectarian violence, a substantial increase in mortality and displacement has affected hundreds of thousands of people.

It is worth noting that, in the above quotation, there seems to be two types of social actors: the Iraqi politicians on the one hand and the American government which has had a crucial influence on the development and implementation of the Iraqi politics on the other. The Iraqi politicians seem to have lost control over the political and security situation; meanwhile, the American government, which had overthrown the regime of Saddam Hussein in March 2003 and assumed control over Iraq as the Coalition Provisional Authority, announced its irresponsibility of the rapid decline of security and levelled the blame squarely at the Iraqi politicians. Ricks (2007) sees that the major impact of the American authority on the political situation in Iraq remained vital and concrete despite the fact that the rule in Iraq had been transferred to a new Iraqi government in June 2004.

In the extract above, it would be valuable to mention that two identities are in view: the Iraqi identity which appears to be disintegrated, and the American identity which turns out to be consolidated, commanding, and domineering. Foucault (1980) suggests

that the tactics of domination are to be highlighted when studying the concept of power. The evaluation of identities, via the three given mental processes, can be summarized in the table below:

Table 12: Evaluating the Iraqi Social Identity and the American Identity

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
Iraqi Sunnis and Iraqi Shiites	Iraqi Muslims	Adopting Islamic Conservative Sunni and Shiite norms	They are divided
American officials & American troops	Americans	Adopting American cultural norms	They are consolidating, commanding, and domineering.

Extract 8

The meeting with the Sunnis started on a bizarre note. The speaker of Iraq’s parliament, Mahmoud al-Mashhadani, related a story that was meant to be a compliment but made my skin crawl. He told me that he had been in prison at the time of the 2003 invasion. Apparently, the inmates followed the news of the U.S. buildup, including my aggressive language against Saddam. **“We put your picture up on the wall,”** he said. **“We loved you.”** I’m not sure if it was true, but it was a novel way for the speaker to introduce himself

(Rice, 2011:512).

In the above extract, Rice quotes directly Mahmoud al-Mashhadani who was the speaker of the Iraqi Council of Lawmakers from 2006 to 2008 saying ‘We put your picture up on the wall,’ and ‘We loved you’ strikes as a strange note for Rice. The quotes are begrudgingly obscure and full of non-sequiturs. According to her, it is an unusual compliment delivered by an outsider. Thus, she has assumed two conclusions for his speech which seems to be unprecedented for her; it is either untrue or it is a novel way to introduce one’s self. Seeing into al-Mashhadani’s quoted words, it could be supposed that they have their roots in the Iraqi oral culture. He may attempt to compliment her through an impassioned and targeted conversation which turns to be incomprehensible for her.

Al-Almashhadani’s speech can be pragmatically described as an implicature that helps to shape his subconscious. It may have powerful implications for those who share

his culture, but it looks as a baseless claim for Rice who belongs to a different culture. The given quotations can be implicatures since al-Mashhdani attempts to imply something that is beyond the literal sense of what is explicitly stated. That ‘We put your picture up on the wall’ may mean that Rice is a savior of Iraqis or it can mean that Rice is looked at as an inspiration to Iraqis even though she could be a destroyer of Iraq. Being a top powerful member in Bush’s cabinet, Rice has played a leading role in the illegitimate war against Iraq in 2003 (Memcott, 2011). The evaluation of al-Mashhadani’s aforementioned words can be summed up in the table below:

Table 12: Evaluating al-Mashhadani’s Mode of Self Introduction

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
Almashhadani	Conservative Sunni lawmakers	A speaker of the Iraqi council of representatives from 2006 to 2008	Belonging to the Iraqi culture, he introduced himself in a way that sounds odd for Rice who belongs to the American culture

Extract 9

But as I listened to the Sunnis, they seemed to place the blame squarely on the Shia without recognition of their own responsibility to press their Sunni compatriots to lay down their arms. After nearly an hour of hearing more complaints about the Shia, I finally snapped, “Let me tell you something,” I said. **“We have a saying in America: you can hang together, or you can hang separately. If this situation doesn’t improve, when I come back here in six months you will all be swinging from a lamppost. It is time to make your peace with each other”**

(Rice, 2011:513).

In this extract, Rice makes an allusion to the direct speech of Benjamin Franklin (see extract 5). It is the saying which reads ‘You can hang together, or you can hang separately’ wherein Rice was born in its social reality, she has grown in it and reflected it back in her narrative. This famous line was said by Franklin in July 1776 on the occasion of signing the Declaration of Independence. It is an example of parallelism or wordplay that is used by Franklin to mean two different things. ‘Hang together’ is a figure of speech used by Franklin to mean ‘stick together’ or support one another. It is noteworthy that ‘hang together’ has been paralleled by Franklin with the phrase ‘hang separately’. Franklin, by using this line, meant that the signers of the Declaration had to help and support each other otherwise they would be ill-fated. In a broad sense, he attempts to

convey the message that if the delegates, who had descended from different colonies, did not support each other, they would be defeated by England (Issacson, 2004). Writ large, Rice alludes to Franklin’s speech so as to send her message to the Iraqi political leaders, whether they are Sunnis or Shia, that if they do not help and support each other, they will be doomed; that is they will face the same wretched and hellish fate. By and large, the recovery and flourishing of Iraq, according to Rice, are conditioned by the integration of all its social communities.

Table 13: Evaluating the Identity of the Iraqi Leaders and the Delegates of the American Declaration of Independence

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
Iraqi Sunni leaders and Iraqi Shiite leaders	Sunni and Shiite lawmakers	They ran the political process after the downfall of Saddam regime in 2003.	They are compared to the delegates of the American Declaration of Independence in 1776.

That ‘.... you can hang together or you can hang separately’ is an obvious indication of the sectarian division of Iraqi leaders; a division that has had its grave repercussion consequences on all social aspects of life in Iraq. What is significant in the quotation above is that it reveals the power of its producer. Due to her position as a top American official, Rice appears to exercise her power over Iraqi politicians urging them to put their sectarian and ethnical differences aside if they intend to stay in power. Rice seems to anticipate the future of Iraq and acts as a peacemaker who tries to bring the divided Iraqi leaders together. Jackson and Jones (2012) observe that America, by invading Iraq, has created divisions in the Middle East that could take decades to repair. Sectarian and ethnical splits, according to Jackson and Jones (2012), are ostensible reasons for America to endorse its existence in the region.

Extract 10

I would convey the same message to Shia parliament leaders who visited me as well. Their complaints and accusations sounded almost identical. **“Americans understand fighting al Qaeda,”** I told them. **“We even understand that some Iraqis think we are occupying your country and that you don’t like it. But Iraqis killing Iraqis- Americans don’t get that, and we’re not going to put our bodies in the middle of your blood feud”**

(Rice, 2011:513).

That ‘We even understand..... feud’ implies that Iraq was standing on the edge of disaster. It echoes the precarious situation of Iraq which is a strategically vital country in the Middle East and an immensely oil-rich country (Ricks, 2007). Following the 2003 invasion of Iraq, a great deal of political differences has arisen between the Shia and the Sunnis. Rice (2011) sees that as the Shiites have been targeted by certain elements of the Iraqi Sunni insurgency, the Sunnis, in turn, have complained of discrimination and the abuse of human rights by the Iraqi’s Shia government; a point that has precipitated the fall-off the country down a cliff. The speaker seems to be concerned about the situation of Iraq which is on its way to a sectarian war.

The deterioration of the Iraqi situation was due to the clash of the political agendas of the major political actors: the Sunnis, the Shiites, and the Kurds; the political strife paved the way for the notable collapse of security. Rice, in the given quotation, tries to absolve the U.S to the responsibility for the deterioration. Mackay (2006) states that the American invasion would lead Iraq to a damage that would be unrecovered. He adds that the alleged reason of the American invasion to Iraq has been to disarm Iraq of the WMD and to free Iraqis from the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein, whereas the true objectives of that invasion have been the following: to protect the national security of Israel, to contain Iran as anti-American and anti- Israeli defiant power, to control the oilfields of Iraq, to control the routes of oil export, to control the price of oil barrel, to undermine the potentialities of Russia in the Middle East, and finally to plug off the escalating economic success of China. In general, the identity of social actors, in the above quotation, can be tabulated as below:

Table14: Evaluating the Identity of the Sectarian Division in Iraq

Group	Social Categorization	Social Identification	Social Comparison
Iraqi Shiite leaders and Iraqi Sunni leaders	Shiite and Sunni lawmakers	They are divided.	As two social groups, they are almost identical in their accusations and complaints of each other.

In the discussion above, there are some linking lines between conceptual metaphors and quotations. Each has a certain communicative function as shown in the table below:

Table 15: Communicative Functions of the 3 Discussed metaphors and 7 Discussed Quotations

Extract No.	Quotation	Metaphor	Communicative Function
1		Saddam Hussein was cancer in the Middle East.....	Directing attention
2		But the exiles were a mixed bag.....	Directing attention
3		In private we called him Iraq's Benjamin Franklin...	Commenting
4	'You treat us like a virus. I don't know what makes you more nervous, the Shia part of the democracy part.'		Protesting
5	'What a weird place the Middle East is-full of contradictions and chasms,' I thought.		Rejecting
6	'I have seen you on TV,' she said in perfect English. 'I want to be a foreign minister too.'		Directing attention
7	'They are going to have to resolve these issues among themselves,' I said.		Directing attention
8	'We put your picture up on the wall,' he said. 'We loved you.'		Expressing a feeling of shock
9	'We have a saying in America: You can hang together or you can hang separately'. If this situation doesn't improve, when I come back here in six months you will all be swinging from a lamppost. It is time to make your peace with each other'.		Warning
10	'We even understand that some Iraqis think we are occupying your country and that you don't like it. But Iraqis killing Iraqis-Americans don't get that, and we're not going to put our bodies in the middle		Rejecting

	of your blood feud'		
--	---------------------	--	--

In extract 1, the conceptual metaphor ‘Saddam was cancer in the Middle East...’ is used by Rice to direct the attention of receivers to the devastating politics of Saddam Hussein. Rice (2011) is of the idea that Saddam was one of the most brutal tyrants in recent history. Rice, in extract 2, tries to draw the attention of her recipients, by means of the conceptual metaphor ‘But exiles were a mixed bag’.., to the fact that Iraqi politicians were of various ideological attitudes. In extract 3, she puts forward her view on the character of Ali Alsistani who was likened by her to Benjamin Franklin.

In extract 4, she shows her protest against the negative attitude of the Arab leaders towards the first government of Iraq after the overthrowing of Saddam’s political regime in 2003. Being in the Middle East, Rice expresses her rejection of the social realities and social acts of the Arab world which is, according to her (2011), full of contradictions and feuds, as stated in the quotation in extract 5. Having had a rather oblique view of girl’s and woman’s lives in the Middle East, Rice attempts to direct the attention of her readers, in extract 6, to the initiative by al-Hakim who wanted Rice to receive his granddaughter, who has the greatest admiration for her, at the Department of State, in Washington, which marks an advance for gender equality in a region where woman’s rights, as seen by Rice (2011), have been abrogated by entrenched patriarchal and conservative forces.

In extract 7, it can be realized that there is a direct assertion on Rice’s part that the social feuds and political differences between the Iraqis can only be settled, via dialogue, by the Iraqis themselves. Due to her allegiance to a different cultural norm, Rice, in extract 8, seems to be shocked by the way al-Mashhadani introduces himself. Her shock is owing to two different social and environmental frameworks. In extract 9, Rice warns the Iraqi political leaders that if their political disagreements continued, their lives all would be threatened by the forces of terrorism and there would be no victors in that strife. Rice, in extract 10, rejects the social acts of Iraqi politicians believing that their actions could lead Iraq to more chaos and disorder.

6. Conclusions

Investigating the discourse of Rice, encapsulated in her book, one can assume that the concept of identity is formed in response to the increasingly sophisticated challenges

resulted from the American occupation of Iraq which toppled the regime of Saddam Hussein and endeavored to establish a new political system in 2003. Metaphors and quotations, as linguistic devices, have exploratory function as they offer some insights into how identity is constructed. The use of metaphors and quotations played a significant role in constructing the relationship between the socio-cultural milieu and the related social practices of agents or individuals (the Iraqi Sunnis and the Iraqi Shiites). In the given discourse, by means of metaphors and quotations, Rice appeared to be as a mediator who attempted to reconcile the Iraqi conflicting political blocs who projected various identities. The conceptual metaphor in extract 1 identifies Saddam Hussein as a cruel and oppressive ruler who posed a real threat to the world peace and security. In extract 2, via the conceptual metaphor, the identity of the Iraqi exiles is maintained; it showed that the Iraqi politicians in Iraq after 2003 were of different ideological orientations. They were not concerned about Iraq, as seen by Rice, as much as about their personal and sectarian agendas. In extract 3, the deployed metaphor was a real shift in Rice's perception of the Iraqi political actors after 2003. She admires the personality of Ali al-Sistani and sees him as a highly influential voice of democracy, peace, and integration in Iraq.

Quotations played a vital role in working out the concept of identity in the discourse of Rice on the Iraqi situation after 2003. In extract 4, the quotation is intended to view the identity of the GCC governments which had the air of being opposed to the Iraqi newborn government due to sectarian grounds; the GCC rulers are Sunni lawmakers, American allies, adopting Sunni conservative norms and anti-Iranian political agendas, whereas the Iraqi government involves Shia politicians having cultural interrelationships with the Iranians'. In extract 5, a negative view on the people of the Middle East was expressed by stating the actions of people, in the Middle East, do not match their words. Historically, such a view stems from the cultural disparities between the Arabs and westerners. Disparities that have made the adoption of each identity (Arabs and westerners) quite distinct; a finding that answers research question 1 *'How is the identity of Condoleezza Rice shaped in the discourse under investigation?'*. In a similar vein, Rice took up an unenthusiastic attitude about the role of women in the Arab world, as shown in extract 6. This attitude is rendered explicit when she was surprised by the social

acts of al-Hakeem's granddaughter who showed admiration of and love for Rice's specifically when the young girl spoke out her dream to be a big shot as Rice.

By virtue of the quotations in extracts 7, 9, and 10, and with the help of Tajfel and Turner's processes of mental evaluation, the Iraqi identity turned out to be jeopardized by political and sectarian divisions that tore up the fabric of the Iraqi society; a finding which answers research question 2 '*How is the identity of the Iraqi political spectrum produces and reproduced in the given discourse?*' .In short, each of the metaphors and quotations, discussed above, implied certain communicative function (see table 15).

References

- Bates, E. (1976). *Language in context: Studies in the acquisition of pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press.
- Beard, A. (2000). *Language of politics*. London: Routledge.
- Brewer, M. & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this 'we'? Levels of collective identity and self-presentations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 71, pp. 83-93.
- Camp, D. (2011). *Battle for the City of the Dead*. New York: Zenith Press.
- Charteris-Black, J.(2011). *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chilton, P. (2004). *Analyzing political discourse: theory and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Coughlin, C. (2005). *Saddam: His Rise and Fall*. New York: Ecco.
- Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fuller, G. and Francke, R. (1999). *The Arab Shia: the forgotten Muslims*. New York: Martin's Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*, 2nd edition. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Fetzer, A. (2019). And I quote: forms and functions of quotations in Prime Minister's quotations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 151, pp. 91- 102.
- Galves, J. & Margit, G. (2013). *Forms of life and language games*. Frankfurt: Verlag.
- Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse theory and political analysis: Identities, hegemonies, and social change*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Huntington, S. (1993). The clash of civilization? *Journal of Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3, pp. 22-49.

- Issaacson, W. (2004). *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc.
- Jackson, A. & Jones, M. (2012). *Iraq after Saddam Hussein: Facing challenges, securing gains*. New York: Nova Science Pub.
- Jago, M. (2007). *Wittgenstein*. London: Humanities-Ebook Co. uk.
- Joseph, J. (2004). *Language and identity: national, ethnic, religious*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaid, L. (ed.). (2004). *Handbook of political communication research*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates publishers.
- Koveces, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1978). Some remarks on AL and Linguistics. *Cognitive Science*, vol. 2, pp. 267- 275.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1982). Persuasive discourse and ordinary conversation, with examples from advertising in analyzing discourse. *Text and Talk*, (pp. 25-42).
- Lakoff, G. (1991). Metaphor and war: the metaphor system used to justify war in the gulf. *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 23, pp. 25-32.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In *Metaphor and Thought*, pp. 202- 251.
- Lakoff, G. (2002). *Moral politics*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors we live by* 2nd edition. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2004). *Don't think of an elephant! Know your values and frame the debate*. Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing.
- Lakoff, G. (2008). *The political mind: Why you can't understand 21st –century American politics with an 18th century Brain*. New York: Viking.
- Ling, S. (2010). *A Cognitive study of war metaphors in five main areas of everyday English: politics, business, sport, disease, and love*. Unpublished thesis, Kristianstad University.
- Luomr, M. (2008). *Sectarian Identities or Geopolitics?* Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/48033/08_sectarian_identities_or_Geopolitics on the 6th of August 2019.
- Mackay, N. (2006). *The War on Truth: Everything you ever want to know about the invasion of Iraq but your government wouldn't tell you*. New York: CASEMATE.
- Memmmott, M. (2011). *Pre-Iraq War Intelligence on WMDs Was Clear, Condoleezza Rice Says*. Retrieved from National Public Radio, Inc [us] [npr.org/ sections/ the](http://npr.org/sections/)

two-way/2011/11/02/141933739/pre-Iraq-war-intelligence-on-wnds-was-clear-condol. 8/13/2019.

- Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative research: A Guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Miles, M. & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Musolff, A. (2004). *Metaphor and political discourse: Analogical reasoning in debates about Europe*. Basing `stoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nicolas, S. & Ferencz, B. (2010). *Blood on our hands: The American invasion and destruction of Iraq*. New York: Nimble Books LLC.
- Otieno, R. et. al. (2015). *Metaphor in political discourse: A review of selected studies*. *International Journal of English and English Literature*, vol. 7, pp. 21- 26.
- Perloff, R. (2003). *The dynamic of persuasion: Communication and attitudes in the 21st century*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Preece, S. (2019). *The Routledge handbook of language and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Qaiwer, S. (2016). *A Study of identity construction in political discourse*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nottingham.
- Recanati, F. (2004). *Pragmatics of quotation as a language game*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rice, C. (2011). *A memoir of my years in Washington: No higher honor*. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Ricks, T. (2007). *The American military adventure in Iraq, 2003 to 2005*. New York: Penguin Books Ltd.
- River, C. (2014). *The History of the Sunni and Shia Split: Understanding the Divisions within Islam*. New York: Create Space Independent Publishing Platform.
- Semino, E. & Koller, V. (2009). *Metaphor, politics, and gender: a case study from Italy*. *Politics, Gender, and Conceptual Metaphors*, pp. 36-61.
- Siracusa, J. & Laurens, V. (2019). *Going to war with Iraq: A comparative history of the Bush Presidencies (the evolving American Presidency)*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, J. (2016). *Bush*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). *An integrative theory of intergroup conflict*. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, pp. 33-47.
- Trent, J. & Friedenber, R. (2000). *Political campaign communication*. London: PRAEGER.
- Washington, C. (1992). *The identity theory of quotation*. *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 89, No. 11, pp. 582-605.
- Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.
- Wood, G. (2005). *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*. New York: The Penguin Press.

York, R. (2014). Life satisfaction across nations: The effects of women's political status and public priorities. Journal of Social Science Research, No. 48, pp. 48-61.

المستخلص

مفهوم الهوية في خطاب كوندوليزا رايس حول العراق بعد 2003

تهتم الدراسة الحالية بمفهوم الهوية في خطاب كوندوليزا رايس. سلطت الدراسة الضوء على الاستعارات الذهنية والاقتراسات كأدوات لغوية تمكن الباحث من دراسة مفهوم الهوية. اعتمد الباحثان كتاب كوندوليزا رايس " ذكريات من سنيّ حياتي في واشنطن اسمى مراتب الشرف " كأساس للتحليل. ركزت الدراسة على الاستعارات الذهنية والاقتراسات التي تهتم في الشأن الاجتماعي والسياسي العراقي بعد سقوط نظام صدام حسين في 2003. تبنت الدراسة ثلاثة اطر نظرية لكي تحقق اهدافها: العمليات الذهنية لتقويم الهوية لتاجفل وترنير 1979, نظرية الاستعارة الذهنية لليكوف و جونسون 1980-2004, و معنى الاقتراس كلعبة لغوية لريكانتي 2004. توصلت الدراسة الى ان الاستعارات والاقتراسات يمكن استخدامها كأدوات لغوية مساعدة لكشف مفهوم الهوية في خطاب رايس. و بينت ايضا ان هذه الادوات اللغوية تعكس ضبابية الطبقة السياسية العراقية. اضافة الى ذلك, ان للتباين الثقافي والاجتماعي بين العرب والامريكان تأثيرا على تشكيل مفهوم الهوية في خطاب رايس.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهوية, الاقتراس, تحليل الخطاب النقدي, الاستعارة المفاهيمية, الخطاب السياسي, كوندوليزا رايس, الديموغرافية العراقية, الوصائف الايصالية