

Chapter

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE AND
POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A
COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF LEGITIMATION USING PRONOUNS,
MODALITY AND LEXICALIZATION IN
NEWS REPORTING OF THE GAZA WAR¹**

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The Palestinians have two "choices" in the Israeli script: obedience or annihilation. Obedience is not an alternative to destruction, but another way that a population can be deadened within life." By war and by peace, Israel aims to destroy the Palestinians, physically and psychologically. *Samera Esmeir* (22 - 28 January 2009), Issue No. 931, Al -ahram Weekly.

Research attempts to identify the relationship between language and power. According to Kramarae, Schulz and O'Barr (1984), people usually use language in social contexts to communicate human concerns among which are powers. Wrong (1979) claims that power is the ability of someone to make intended and predicted effects on others. It is also believed that power had a close relationship with politics. Power has been found as the most effective

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determinant of language choice in addressing others. Brown and Levinson (1987) theory on politeness tested in different contexts and languages (Brown and Gilman 1989), Atawneh (1991) showed evidence to support this premise. The most obvious manifestation of power is observed during times of war since there are two enemies each of which uses power to win the battle at the verbal political level or at the military level on the ground (Wrong 1979, Foucault 1982, Kramarae 1984, Fairclough 2001, Beecling 2004). There is the possibility of both enemies having either equal power or imbalance in power. In each case, language choice will depend on the balance of power

The kind of language that may be used in the events of war is either threatening or warning to take actions by the powerful side, or denouncing such threats and actions by complaints, appeals or refusals. Power comes from below as well as above, in a shifting relationship of force and resistance. It is not merely negative or repressive, but also positive and implicit in the constitution of discourse and knowledge.

A well-known explanation of this is sir Gawain's reactions to the lady's offers and suggestions in (sir Gawain and the Green Knight) story (Campbell, 1990). Sir Gawain is a powerless man but clever and the lady is powerful. Sir Gawain considered all the lady's offers and suggestions as commands and he must obey these commands. He didn't refuse her offers since she threatened his life, but he used politeness strategies to achieve "non-compliance" without clear refusal. Thus sir Gawain didn't lose his face.

This research will look into the psychology of power in Gaza war in 2009. The weak parties involved in these conflicts are the United Nations, European countries, Palestinians and Arabs. The powerful sides are Israel and the United States. The statements made by politicians or the views presented in the editorials (Vaughan 1995) of leading newspapers have different kinds of verbs, images, modals and metaphors. It is assumed that power will provide the most effective felicity conditions to bring truth or lies in a speech act.

Sources of data will be from searching newspaper issues and magazines during the times of crises. Newspapers and magazines of both sides will have to be searched for statements and views of speakers of the governments and high ranking people. Such papers and magazines are found in the archives of university libraries and the internet web sites.

1. INTRODUCTION

Analyzing the language of war as reported in the media has become a tradition in discourse analysis. The ²Harvard Law Review, (2006) model of legitimation of war on Iraq including the just war theory, the schema theory and the in-group and out-group cognitive structures will be used in the analysis of media texts reporting or commenting on Gaza war. Using pronouns and metaphors in different ways to serve the legitimation agenda of every party in the war will be explored under the just war theory. The Palestinians use pronouns and metaphors in ways different from the Israelis and the Americans or the Arabs. In particular, the pronouns “us” and “them” versus “we” and “you” show various functions in the discourse of war. For example, “we” can be used as potential inclusive, inclusive or exclusive, (Ferrarotti, 2009). Another example is using “us” to define ourselves, and “them” to refer to the enemy, (Thorn, 2006). Metaphors are used to disguise the truth and make a cover for the nasty actions in war. The metaphorical frameworks that were employed to promote the invasion of Iraq helped to hide the true consequences of violent conflict: blood, bones, and bodies, (Richardson, 2007). Three elements will be explored here, analyzing a selection of editorials from the parties involved in the war; key elements in the just war theory, and the linguistic analysis of pronouns, modals and lexicalization used in quotes and reports on the war.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the elements of seeing Gaza war as just/unjust war?
2. What are the functions of pronouns (in-groups/ out-group), lexicalization and modality in the discourse of Gaza war?

² War, Schemas, and Legitimation: Analyzing the National Discourse about War Harvard Law Review Vol. 119, No. 7 (May, 2006), pp. 2099-2120 (article consists of 22 pages) Published by: The Harvard Law Review Association, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4093611>.

3. HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

1. It is hypothesized that the Israelis will use legitimation elements as just war and proportionality.
2. It is hypothesized that the first person pronouns, modals and lexicalization will be used by both sides to serve different agendas.

4. DATA COLLECTION

Data will be taken from media sources including newspapers and websites or TV reports representing the four involved parties in the war, i.e., The Israelis and their supporters, the Palestinians and their supporters, the neutral parties watching the war. The study will depend mainly on quotes from political leaders or officials of the parties as reported in the media besides editorials during the war period from December 28, 2008 to January 18, 2009.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

Review will include studies which include critical discourse analysis, legitimation and just war theory, using personal pronouns for various functions, lexicalization, and modality. These elements are all relevant to the design of the current study and data analysis.

5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In “*The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*”, Van Dijk (2003) has pointed out that CDA principally studies the way social power and dominance are reproduced in the social and political context. CDA, in essence, aims at the analysis of how discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society, (Ibid). Dijk further argued that CDA is usually multidisciplinary. In other words, we may find critical analysis perspectives that help in CDA in disciplines such as: pragmatics, rhetoric, and media analysis. In other words, language and discourse in an important dimension of CDA. This dimension, however, insists that the analyst should be constantly aware of the word choice in order to understand the underlying meanings of lexical items. To simplify the role of

CDA, Dijk suggested that CDA research is concerned with answering this question: “How do (more) powerful groups control public discourse?”

An important notion of CDA is that of power, and more precisely the social power of groups or individuals, Van Dijk (2003). Power in this context is defined in terms of control. That is, those who can control the acts and the minds of others are viewed as powerful, (Ibid). This ability necessarily presupposes a power base of those powerful people such as: force, money, knowledge, and political status, (Ibid). As an illustration, the power of the military is based on force whereas the power of the rich is based on money. Moreover, the power of dominant groups is based on rules, norms, and general consensus and thus establishes hegemony, (Ibid).

5.2. Just War Theory

The most commonly known elements of Just War Theory are *just cause, legitimate authority, right intention, probability of success, proportionality of ends, and last resort*, (Orend, 2005; Harvard, 2006; Moseley, 2009). In this study, the researcher will only investigate three elements of Just War Theory i.e. Just Cause, Last Resort, and Proportionality.

5.2.1. Just Cause

In order for politicians to convince the world community and most importantly their nations of war, they have to provide good reasons for their decision of war, (Orend, 2005). In addition, war is most often considered as a very argumentative issue which goes into critical sessions of debates and discussions before it is agreed on, (Harvard, 2005). Correspondingly, war decision makers do not need regular causes for justifying their war; they simply need just causes which are most notably seen as just to the public (Orend, 2005; Harvard, 2005). For example, in legitimate wars, states usually try to meet the standards of human rights and make every effort to appear as liberating others, (Orend, 2005). Most theories think that defending one’s self or preventing an impending war could be a just cause, (Harvard, 2005; Moseley, 2009).

5.2.2. Last Resort

For wars to be seen as “just”, it is necessary to prove to the public that war is the last resort and that all the efforts made to prevent it were useless. In essence, war makers should appear as if they are obliged to resort to war and

that they have already done everything they could to prevent it, (Moseley, 2009).

Presenting war as the last resort can be seen in the following quotations:

“We decided to enter a kind of a truce and not to attack Gaza Strip. Hamas violated, on a daily basis, this truce. They targeted Israel, and we didn't answer. They smuggled weapon, they built a small army in Gaza Strip, so the situation was unbearable... we need to give an answer to this.” (Israeli Foreign Minister, Tzipi Livni, on January 4, 2009).

According to Livni, Hamas's violation of the truce, targeting “Israel”, and rearming Hamas's army were more than what “Israel” can tolerate. This implies that “Israel” has tolerated a lot and suffered a lot. Thus, “Israel” has tried all the nonviolent peaceful solutions to protect its nation, but all these solutions have failed to protect “Israel”.

5.2.3. Proportionality

In war times, civilian casualties are usually relatively high. These casualties should not be reported to the public as they are; since they provoke insistent calls to end the war and they mostly put war makers under severe criticism.

It is, therefore, crucial for war makers to minimize the real numbers of these casualties, (Orend, 2005; Moseley, 2009). Proportionality, on the other hand, requires that the armed forces should not attack civilians to meet their objectives; so as to make their war appear reasoned and accepted, (Ibid).

5. 3. Using Personal Pronouns for Various Functions

“We” is used more than *I* by newspapers editors and articles writers, Eckersley and Eckersley (1960:97). This is because writers and editors tend not to sound egotistical and because each writer feels that s/he isn't speaking for or about himself but speaking for and about the whole community, (Eckersley and Eckersley 1960:97; Quirk et al, 1985:339). In addition, Fairclough (1989) claimed that instead of *I*, kings and leaders use *we*. Throne (2009) has also claimed that establishing opposites is simply achieved by using pronouns i.e. "us" and "them".

Quirk et al (1985:350) have argued that *we* have the following uses:

1. Writers usually use the "inclusive authorial *we*" in writing books e.g. *we are going to discuss pronouns in Chapter 3*.
2. In scholarly and scientific articles where the writers avoid using *I* in order not to sound egotistical e.g. *we have to add salt now*.
3. In the collective sense of "the nation" e.g. *we will liberate our land*.
4. In contexts where the speaker tries to imply that s/he is sharing the "problem" with the hearer e.g. doctors sometimes say to their patients: *how are we feeling today?*
5. In reference to the 3rd person (*he/she*) e.g. when talking about their managers, some say: *we are in a bad mood today*.

As we noticed, *we* is used to establish opposites (Throne, 2009), to speak about the collective sense of "the nation" (Quirk et al, 1985:350), and to exercise power by kings and leaders (Fairclough, 1989). This would mean that the use of *we* is most suited for powerful leaders in order to: (a) talk on the behalf of their nations and thus gaining support as they symbolize the whole "nation" (b) establish opposites between their nations and others when it is necessary e.g. in war times (c) exercise their power over their people and thus have the ability to lead them. In addition, Brown and Gilman (1960) claimed that the choice of personal pronouns could reflect the power and the solidarity of the speaker and that the interpretation of the use of personal pronouns reflects the status of the user among his/her group.

Personal pronouns have been classified into two categories in terms of inclusiveness and exclusiveness (Fairclough, 1989). More specifically, pronouns are inclusive when the speaker includes his/her audience to the referents, whereas exclusive pronouns exclude the hearer from the referents.

5.4. Lexicalization

People use lexical items in order to describe and to name different elements of the world where they live. Their nomination of the different elements reveals the way they view them. Therefore, nominations differ according to the ideologies of different groups of people. In this regard, as reported in Zaher (2009), Van Dijk (1991: 53) stated that: "lexicalization ... is never neutral: the choice of one word rather than another to express more or less the same meaning or to denote the same referent may signal the opinions, emotions, or special position of a speaker". However, the analysis of the lexical items used in newspapers will help us to reconstruct the image of the world presented by the press (Pisarek, 1983 cited in Zaher, 2009). In addition,

lexical choices could serve ideologically in the representation of different sides of the “Israeli”/Palestinian conflict and the legitimation or delegitimation of their actions depending on the ideology of the newspaper.

One strategy of lexicalization is categorization. As reported in Zaher (2009), Van Leeuwen (1996) defines categorization as: “the representation of social actors by functionalizing, identifying or appraising them, i.e. by referring to them by virtue of ascribing to them identities, functions and positive or negative evaluations that they share with others”. In other words, people use categorization in social interaction to refer to entities in the world and to classify them. Additionally, selecting a certain category creates a bond between what is being categorized and other members of the same category. Thus, our perception of a person or a group is influenced by our categorization of the person or the group. The categorizations of the different groups might also affect our actions towards them, For example, those who categorized Palestinians as terrorists would perceive that Palestinians should be killed.

5.5. Modality

As reported in Fairclough (2003), Halliday and Martin (1993) define modality as “the speaker’s judgment of the probabilities, or the obligations, involved in what he is saying”. On the other hand, they claim that modality “involves the many ways in which attitudes can be expressed towards the pure reference-and-prediction content of an utterance, signaling factuality, degrees of certainty or doubt, vagueness, possibility, necessity, and even permission and obligation.”

These formulations see modality in terms of a relationship between speaker or writer and representations. Modality, therefore, is more close to subjectivity than it is to objectivity as it involves the speaker's judgment and prediction. Moreover, modality has been discussed as having two different functions i.e. an epistemic meaning and a deontic function. The former expresses a logical probability where the later expresses a use related to social interaction, consider the following examples:

Ali *may* come this afternoon. (*may* suggests a probability).

You *may* leave.

(*may* suggests giving a permission and thus accomplishes a social interaction).

Modality can be seen as a process of texturing identities (Fairclough, 2003). In other words, what a person commits himself/ herself to is a very important part of their identities. Moreover, modality can be recognized through the following relevant markers:

1. Modal verbs, e.g. can, could.
2. Modal adverbs, e.g. certainly, probably.
3. Participial adjectives, e.g. required, supposed.
4. Other types of adverbs, e.g. in fact, obviously, usually, often.
5. Hedges, e.g. sort of, kind of.

These markers, however, have significant value in texts, for example, participial adjectives can express the necessity of doing or not doing something. Other markers like modal verbs can be used to express obligation e.g. must. Moreover, the rhetoric power of the speaker who uses modality as well as the speaker's political power can be examined through his/her use of modals (Fairclough, 2003).

Having reviewed the studies related to the themes of the research paper, it has become obvious that now we have a framework for analyzing data in the field of political discourse related to Gaza war.

6. PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

The study will analyze media texts reporting the different views involved in the War on Gaza. The Israelis sources will include *The Jerusalem Post*, *Haaretz and other web sites*; for the Palestinians, *Websites and TV reports*; for the US, *New York Times/ Washington Post besides other websites and reports from TV*. The models for analysis will be:

1. the legitimation of just/unjust war using the just war theory and the schema theory.
2. "a comparative perspective of the use of "we" and "you" by (Ferrarotti, 2009) and
3. Lexicalization.
4. "Modality and evaluation" in terms of apostolic and diagnostic modality which draws distinctions between exchange types and speech functions (Fairclough, 2009 edition). The focus will be on Modality and evaluation contributing to research the tension between social identity and personality, and aesthetics of public identities.

7. DATA ANALYSI

Only relevant examples from data will be used to stand as evidence for the themes of the questioned topics. Data sources are given in footnotes or at the end of every quote.

7.1. Just War Theory

The most relevant elements of *just war* to this study are: *just cause, proportionality of ends, and last resort.*

Just Cause means that a country must go to war for an appropriate reason, which most clearly exists when a country is responding defensively to an attack by another. Particularly relevant in the current US “war on terror” is the question of preemptive or preventive action. Most theorists believe that preventing or preempting an impending war can be a “just” cause: the real focus is on the degree and imminence of the threat and the level of evidence necessary to legitimate the anticipatory strike.

Seeing Gaza war as just war on the part of the Israelis is justified by the statement of Ehud Barak, the Minister of Defense saying:

We have carefully weighed all our options. We are not war hungry, but we should not allow a situation where our towns, villages and civilians are constantly targeted. It will not be easy or short, but we are determined. We are peace-seekers. We have restrained ourselves for a long time, but now is the time to do what needs to be done. (Ehud Barak, Israeli Minister of Defense, BBC, January 4, 2009).

The major problem is targeting Israeli civilians by Hamas rockets. Barak makes his audience believe that the Israelis seek peace but they are forced to engage in this war. Of course nothing is mentioned about the reasons why Hamas rockets were fired. That is why it seems natural to accept a justification for war based on this simplistic reason. However, the audience of Barak is mainly the Israeli public and the world watching the events. Peres, the Israeli president, confirms what just Barak claimed in the most diplomatic way and style making the Israelis look like victims and those under siege in Gaza as aggressors.

"We don't intend neither to occupy Gaza nor to crush Hamas, but to crush terror. And Hamas needs a real and serious lesson. They are now getting it ... We shall not accept the idea that Hamas will continue to fire and we shall declare a ceasefire. It does not make any sense."

Israeli President Shimon Peres: (January 05, 2009 Source: Reuters).

The Israeli President laid out the just cause for the war on Gaza, i.e., stopping firing towards Israel. To him that is called terror which must be crushed. Such reasons obviously will be approved by the international community. Consequently, the war is legitimate by all means. Of course again, Peres did not mention in any way why Hamas continued to fire their rockets against Israel.

Support for the Israeli claims on the justification of war comes primarily from Israeli allies and friends like Britain, Italy and the US as seen in the following quotes published by Reuters on January 5, 2009:

Italian Foreign Ministry:

"The Italian government, which even recently supported Israel's right to self-defense... makes a heartfelt appeal to our Israeli friends so that everything possible is done to ensure the protection of civilians and the provision of humanitarian aid."

Again, the Italian ministry ignored the roots of firing rockets and only presents the Israeli side of the story. This attitude questions the credibility of the Italians like all other Israel allies who only go with the Israeli narrative.

British Prime Minister Gordon Brown:

"What we've got to do ... is work harder than we've done for an immediate ceasefire. The Israelis must have some assurance that there are no rocket attacks coming into Israel."

The tone of this statement is softer than that of the Italian. There is a tendency or implication that the rockets issue will be discussed on both sides.

January 4, 2009 at 07:56 am.

Obama.

"If somebody was sending rockets into my house where my two daughters sleep at night, I'm going to do everything in my power to stop that. I would expect Israelis to do the same thing."

Source: *guardian.co.uk*.

Obama statement is even more supportive of the Israeli position than others. Any country will not accept sit idly while thousands of rockets are fired at their citizens. Simplifying the issue in this manner is only indicative of a total bias and animosity to the other side of the conflict from a party that has been seen as mediator for peace.

The just cause must also be the primary motivation for action. Hence, although the United States entered Iraq under a disarmament theory of preemption, entry predicated on an actual intent to secure future oil supplies would render the war illegitimate.

The stated aim of Israel was to curb rocket and mortar fire by militants from Gaza. That was the right intention. However, the real undeclared purpose was as said by one Israeli soldier reported by BBC news on March 19.

"We are the people of Israel; we arrived in the country almost by miracle, now we need to fight to uproot the gentiles who interfere with reconquering the Holy Land."

Israel troops admit Gaza abuses, BBC News, (19 March 2009), http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7952603.stm.

While the declared intention was said by the minister of defense, Barak:

"We are peace-seekers. We have restrained ourselves for a long time, but now is the time to do what needs to be done."

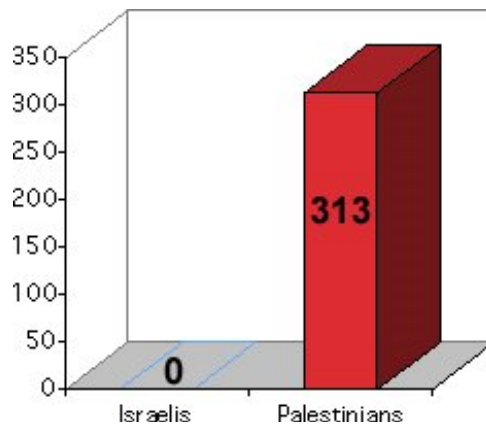
Proportionality. — Proportionality requires that the harm caused by military action correspond to the injustice that provides just cause for the war. Though just war theory defines harms primarily as human suffering and physical damage. Civilian casualties should be minimized. Therefore, armed forces should not attack civilians to meet their objectives so as to make their war appear reasoned and accepted.

Hamas claimed that 1,314 died in the conflict of which 412 were children and 110 were women while only 48 were Hamas members. Hamas estimated the wounded at 5,300, of these Hamas claimed 1,855 were children and 795 were women. ^{xxviii}.

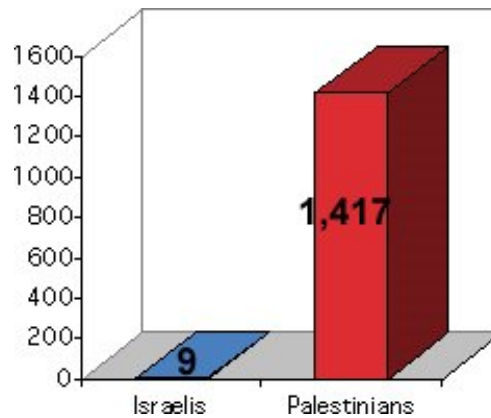
Since Israel's defensive operation began in December 27, over 294 Israelis were injured in Palestinian rocket and mortar attacks and over 244 Israelis have been treated for shock.³

The evidence of lack of proportionality is clear according to these figures. It will be seen more obvious in the following graph⁴:

In a lead editorial, the *Times* made its position clear in short order.



Palestinian and Israeli Children Killed in Gaza 12/27/08 - 1/18/09.



Palestinians and Israelis Killed in Gaza 12/27/08 - 1/18/09.

³ Source: www.SderotMedia.com Wed Feb 10 2009 00:28:08, retrieved Sept. 2, 2011.

⁴ http://www.ifamericansknew.org/cur_sit/dec08.html, retrieved Sept. 2, 2011.

"Israel must defend itself," it began. "And Hamas must bear responsibility for ending a six-month cease-fire this month with a barrage of rocket attacks into Israeli territory."

"Israel must make every effort to limit civilian casualties. Hamas's leaders, especially those safely ensconced in Damascus, are unconcerned about their people's suffering — and masters at capitalizing on it." *The New York Times* and Gaza: Justifying genocide, 31 December 2008, Bill Van Auken.

There is little to distinguish the "newspaper of record's" version of events from the mendacious account being peddled by the American media in general: the Palestinians are the aggressors and Israel the victim. Never mind the grim and unequal equation of the conflict: roughly 100 Palestinians killed for every Israeli. There has been ample evidence to invalidate the claim of proportionality in this war.

7.2. Pronouns

Applying the analytical framework on the data collected from "Israeli" officials revealed their power, their underestimation of Palestinians, and their pride of the "Israeli" army. For example, Olmert delivered a speech after the cabinet meeting on January 17, 2009)⁵. In that speech, many instances of pronouns are found. He used the pronoun we thirty times, the pronoun us seven times, the pronoun our seventeen times, the pronoun they seven times, and the pronoun them five times.

There were cases of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the "Israeli" people in the pronoun we. That is, twenty occurrences of we forms were found to be exclusive of the "Israeli" people and only ten occurrences were found to be inclusive. Inclusive we forms were meant to refer to the "Israeli" people as one group with its representative Olmert. On the other hand, the exclusive we forms excluded the "Israeli" people from the referents but included the government of "Israel". In addition, five inclusive us forms were found in Olmert's speech as opposed to only two exclusive us forms. The pronoun our was used seventeen times to refer to the "Israeli" people and the "Israeli"

⁵ Olmert's speech was taken from the official website of the former "Israeli" Prime Minister Ehud Olmert;
<http://www.pmo.gov.il/PMOEng/Archive/Speeches/2009/01/speechcabinet170109.htm>.

government. On the other hand, they and them were meant to refer to Hamas and the Palestinian citizens .

The sentences of “we” are presented positively; “we” are attached to positive actions, for example: “We feel the pain of every Palestinian”, “We do not hate you”, “we did not want and do not want to harm you”. On the other hand, “they” sentences are attached to more or less negative actions, for example: “They were mistaken”, “They were surprised”. Hence, after establishing such gloomy image of the “other” the war can be legitimized

There are instances of “I”, for example: “I have been watching the people of Israel day and night”, “I saw the brave soldiers”, “I also saw the actions of the Home Front Command”. These instances are attached with some qualities of a good and a responsible leader who watches his people day and night and who cares about them and this is a noble characteristic of good leaders. This may imply that he is not like leaders who seek for leisure and entertainment, yet he sounds like a loyal leader.

The use of the inclusive “we” forms could suggest the following:

- a. Olmert wanted his people to work as one team e.g. "we make the unprecedented effort to fight for and realize our right of self-defense".
- b. Olmert implied that his nation carries the same views, the same feelings, and the same responsibilities i.e. remembering the fallen e.g. "we must also remember the fallen".

As a result, he categorized himself and his nation in the same group i.e. “we”. Olmert has further practiced his power when he spoke on behalf of his nation about the nation’s responsibility towards the fallen.

Inclusive “our” forms may suggest the following:

1. Olmert and the “Israeli” people are in the same boat; they have the same enemy and the same soldiers, for example: “*If our enemies decide*” and “*ten of our soldiers*”. Olmert used the pronoun “our” to mean that all “Israelis” (not only Olmert and his government) have the same enemy. Thus, every “Israeli” must be involved in the battlefield since the enemy is theirs.
2. *Inclusive “our”* could be used as a means of sustaining solidarity among the “Israeli” people since “*our enemy*” is the same, “*our soldiers*” are the same, and “*our children*” are the same. Hence, “Israelis” need to work as one team in order to “*defend our children*”. This is, therefore, not only Olmert’s responsibility to defend the

- “Israeli” children but it is also “*our*” responsibility and everybody should be involved in this responsibility.
3. Raising the national feelings by reminding them of “*our strength*”, “*our power*”, and “*our future*”. Power, future, and strength are very essential values to the nation that everyone would be glad to defend. These are issues that the whole nation cares about since these are not Olmert’s but “*ours*”.
 4. Olmert is expressing his love to his soldiers by describing them as “sons” and by talking to them as a father e.g. “*our dear and beloved sons*”. By so doing, he is not acting as a severe commander but as a father who cares for his beloved sons. Additionally, fathers would gladly die for the safety of their sons and would make sacrifices to protect them. Therefore, it is not because Olmert hates his soldiers that he sent him to Gaza but because he loves them. Moreover, because soldiers are dear to everyone “*our dear*”, this could raise the soldier’s self-esteem and confidence.

Exclusive we forms were meant to include the government of "Israel". These forms could be used to:

1. Talk about the accomplishments of the "Israeli" government, for example:
"We formulated understandings with the Egyptian government...the realization of which will bring about a significant reduction in weapons smuggling from Iran and Syria to the Gaza Strip". The achievements are not only of Olmert’s efforts but by the help of his government members. Olmert doesn’t sound egotistical or arrogant but he sounds as a humble leader who shares everybody of his government in that achievement. Wouldn’t do so, Olmert would likely lose support from his government and his nation.
2. Greet and motivate the "IDF" forces e.g. “We send our wishes for a speedy recovery to the residents of the South and to the IDF soldiers injured during the operation”. The soldiers are motivated and greeted by the “Israeli” government i.e.
the elite of the “Israeli” government.
3. Talk about the ethics of the "Israeli" government e.g. "we made widespread and concerted efforts to see to the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian population". This may imply that he and his government work as one united team and that they are not separated.

Inclusive "us" forms were used when Olmert wanted to raise the self-esteem of the "Israeli people e.g.: "it was the home front that created an

unshakable foundation which strengthened us and gave us the ability to continue fighting". In another example, Olmert involves all the "Israelis" in threat that comes from "those who threaten us". Hence, this threat matters to everyone in the country and thus everyone will be concerned of how to end that threat. In another instance of "us" Olmert said: "I do not suggest that it or any other terrorist organization test us.". In this example, Olmert created a powerful image of the "Israeli" people and not only of his government. This image might contribute to sustaining confidence among the "Israelis".

On December 30, 2008 Barak was quoted saying: "This operation will be extended and deepened as we find necessary" (*Gil Hoffman, Shalhevet Zohar, Jerusalem Post, Dec 30, 2008; pg. 3*). War-according to Barak-is subject to the "Israeli" government's decision. In other words, war will begin and end on the time when the "Israeli" government finds it appropriate. Accordingly, neither the International Community nor the Security Council or any other party can determine or impose on "Israel" when to stop war. He was also quoted saying: "*The goals of this operation are to stop Hamas from attacking our citizens and soldiers.*", (ibid). By using the pronoun "our" when talking about the citizens and the soldiers, Barak sounds like a responsible politician for all the citizens and the soldiers of "Israel" and he wants to fight Hamas for the sake of protecting them not for the sake of his own interests. He is, therefore, fighting for the sake of a noble cause.

The Palestinian Side

Now that we have looked at the data from the "Israeli" side, analyzing pronouns of media texts from the Palestinian side will be introduced to show the solidarity and the victimization of the Palestinians.

Meshaal stressed almost the same idea that Haniyeh spoke about i.e. powering from the Gazans. For example, Meshaal said:

"The precious blood to us from our children and women will empower our attachment to our objectives and demands".

In this quote, the pronoun "us" could refer to Meshaal and Hamas. Meshaal and Hamas feel sad toward the Palestinian children and the Palestinian women who were killed because their blood is precious. Therefore, he and Hamas care about them and sympathize with them. Additionally, the children and women mentioned are not strangers but they are very close to Meshaal and Hamas because they are "*our children and women*". This could imply the existence of solidarity between Hamas and the Gazans. The blood of

children and women cannot be seen like normal blood but as blood that empower “*our attachment to our objectives and demands*”. As a result, the blood will serve to the benefit of every Palestinian cause and not only for Hamas’s cause because they empower “our” attachment not only Hamas’s attachment. The pronoun “our” was also attached to the objectives and demands in order to imply that the objectives and demands are not only of Hamas but of the Palestinians. Hence, Hamas is presented as sharing the same objectives and demands that the Palestinians have which, in turn, serves to show solidarity between Hamas and the Palestinian people.

Meshaal was found to ask for public and international support as he declared that “*We are a nation with modest abilities to defend itself, its rights and its land*”. The pronoun “*we*” is apparently a referent to all the Palestinians including Hamas. Accordingly, the abilities of Hamas not only belong to Hamas but to the Palestinian nation. Further, these abilities are said to be “modest” which could imply that it is needed to supply the Palestinians with more abilities. The “*modest abilities*” of the Palestinians are used for noble causes i.e. defending the Palestinian nation, defending the nation’s rights, and defending the nation’s lands. These noble missions-according to Meshaal- are the missions of Hamas and all the Palestinians. Accordingly, Hamas deserves the support of all nations since it is committed to noble causes regarding defending the Palestinian rights and the Palestinian lands. However, when *addressing the Arab countries*, Meshaal said:

“Don’t oppress your brothers and your kindred...and I call on everyone to stand with us after the end of this aggression, Allah willing, after our victory”.

Meshaal reminded the Arabs with their relations with the Palestinians as brothers and kindred. Reminding Arabs with such a blood relation, the Arab nationality is provoked. Immediately after provoking the Arabic nationality comes Meshaal’s explicit call for everyone to stand with “*us*”. The pronoun “*us*” apparently refers to all the Palestinians and this would mean that when Arabs support Hamas, not only Hamas but all the Palestinians will benefit from it.

When talking about the demands of Hamas, Meshaal said:

“We are the victim, we were invaded we are the people to whom all these massacres were committed. We demand”.

The pronoun “we” apparently refers to Hamas and the Palestinian people. Therefore, the demands that follow these lines are not only of Hamas but of all the Palestinian people. There must be a kind of consensus among the Palestinian people and Hamas about these demands. Hence, Hamas is presented as the leader of the Palestinian people who determines their demands and who speaks on behalf of them.

Meshaal’s grounds in dealing with any initiative are built on the demands of the Palestinian people, he said:

“we -with an open mind- are dealing with any initiative or any decision on the basis of the legitimate demands of our people”.

This may pave the way to the legitimation of any political decision from Hamas. In addition, the Palestinian people and not only Hamas will discuss the decision of entering a truce, Meshaal said: “*people discuss in the issue of truce as we did in the past*”. Such harmony between Hamas and the Palestinian people can tell about the good relations between Hamas and the Palestinians.

7.3. Lexicalization

Investigating the lexicalization of the “Israeli” newspapers has revealed different negative categorizations of the Palestinians. To begin with, Palestinians are categorized as terrorists in an article entitled:

“Some 20 Kassam rockets and mortar shells pounded the western Negev over the weekend as Palestinian terror factions in the Gaza Strip intensified their attacks on Israel”. Yaakov Katz; Jerusalem Post, December 6, 2008)

We notice that “terror” is described as “Palestinian” which gives an impression that terror is attached to Palestinians. The description of Palestinians as terrorists is a negative categorization of Palestinians that evokes prejudice towards them. This may pave the way for the legitimation of killing hundreds of Palestinians since they are categorized as terrorists. Furthermore, the authors made their audience believe that all the Gazans fire rockets as they wrote in the headline: “Gazans fire rocket barrage on Negev.”. The word “Gazans” could be seen as a general term that might include almost all the Gazans. This may create an image to the reader that Gazans (not Hamas) are responsible for the firing of rockets. Hence, the killing of Gazans is legitimized since they are all involved in firing rockets.

Foolish, despaired, and humiliated are other examples of negative categorizations of Palestinians. The word “*foolish*” was used in a column entitled “Middle Israel: The Truth about Gaza” (*Amotz Asa-e, Jerusalem Post*, January 1, 2009, pg.4). The word applies to all the people of Gaza cause-as the writer claims-ever since the times of Alexander, Gaza resisted a very powerful army which is like the “Israeli” army. This foolishness is likely to last forever since the author has reached to his conclusion by referring to the past (tradition) and the past will repeat itself again and again. Additionally, the use of the words “destitution”, “humiliation”, and “despair” gives the impression that the author is calling for the destruction of Gaza and for the collective punishment of all the Gazans because-according to the author-they are foolish. In addition, the word “hallmark” indicates that Gaza has always been living in humiliating and despairing living conditions. Accordingly, who in the world would condemn “Israel” for destroying Gaza or humiliating its people?

On January 9, 2009 Eli Kavon wrote an essay entitled “*Hamas is blind*” (*Eli Kavon, Jerusalem Post*, January 9, 2009; pg.4). The word “blind” is likely to mean that Hamas lacks perception and rational thinking. Kavon derogated the Palestinians in Gaza by categorizing them as desperate. By so doing, Kaven is implicitly showing his prejudice of the Palestinians. He stated: “The Palestinians in Gaza today are desperate because they are prisoners of their own delusions and their own self-imposed culture of victimization”. The Palestinians-according to Kavon- “are prisoners of their own delusions” so they are not like civilized nations who don’t follow delusions. Moreover, the Palestinians -according to Kavon- are not victims since the “culture of victimization” is a delusion. In Kavon’s sense, the Palestinians are not categorized as victims, therefore; the “Israeli” military campaign against them is legitimate.

On the first day of the Gaza War, Yaakov Katz authored an article where he said: “The air strikes that began at 11:30 a.m. ... killed over 200 Palestinians” (*Yaakov Katz, Jerusalem Post*, Dec 28, 2008, pg. 9). Using neutral words “*air strikes*” to describe that attack could soften the impacts of that attack.

On the other hand, three major Palestinian newspapers (Al-Quds, Al aayam, and Al-Hayat) have categorized the attack as “massacre” which implies that this attack killed innocent civilian people. Further, Katz used the word “Palestinians” to talk about the deaths in that attack. The use of “Palestinians” could be misleading because the author didn’t mention who was exactly killed i.e. Palestinian children, Palestinian gunmen, Palestinian women etc...Contrary to that, one Palestinian newspaper (Al-Quds) has reported in

December 30, 2008 that in three days the death toll of children was about 40 and 180 children injured. Furthermore, it was reported in Al-Hayat newspaper on December 28 that the bodies were found with no heads and parts. Such information was absent from the article of Katz.

The “Israeli” locals are categorized into two different categorizations. The “Israeli” locals are categorized as terrified for example: on October 30, 2008 Shelly Paz and Yaakov Lappin wrote on the news section:

“Worker killed, 16 hurt in Grad attack on Ashkelon. Hanni al-Mahdi from Beduin village of Aro'er dies of shrapnel wounds. Locals terrified, but want the IDF to 'clean Gaza of rocket launchers'. Dozens of rockets, mortars hit South, send Sderot residents back to shelters”. *Shelly Paz and Yaakov Lappin, Jerusalem Post, Dec 30, 2008, pg. 2.*

Categorizing the “Israelis” as terrified could mean that they were badly attacked and that might evoke feelings of sympathy towards them. In this headline, however, it is clear that the deaths and the wounds on the “Israeli” side are given in detail. In addition, the headline gives an impression that panic spread among the “Israeli” citizens around Gaza. However, nothing was mentioned about whether or not the “dozens” of rockets and mortars caused any damage or loss in lives in “Israel”. Focusing on the losses of the “Israeli” side can also be found in another news written by Yaakov Lappin and The Jerusalem Post staff entitled “3 wounded as Grad rockets hit Ashdod”. In this news the authors mentioned in detail where the rockets hit, for example: they mentioned that one of the rockets hit a house yard while another hit a factory.

Another categorization of the “Israeli” people and its army was connected to religion. On January 19, 2009 Haaretz reported: “The Chief Rabbi of Safed, Rabbi Shmuel Elyahu, visited a Bnei Akiva yeshiva in Ashdod yesterday where he declared the war against Hamas as “*a war of the people of Israel against Amalek.*” (*Jack Khoury, Nadav Shragai, Yoav Stern and Haaretz Correspondents, Haaretz, January, 19, 2009*). According to Rabbi Elyahu, all the “Israeli” people are involved in the war against Hamas. Rabbi Elyahu made an analogy between an old religious war (war against Amalek) and the war against Hamas. By so doing, the Rabbi evokes the religious feelings of the “Israeli” people and thus makes people look at that war as religious. However, glorification of the “Israelis” is manifested by Rabbi’s reference to the war as a religious war. In other words, those who stand against a religious war are usually looked at as negative people whereas those who proclaim a religious war are people of high morals.

On December 29, 2008 The Jerusalem Post quoted Livni saying:

“I will not accept any equation between the Hamas that tries to kill children and Israel that defends itself while doing everything possible to prevent harming children”. (*Gil Hoffman and Shalhevet Zohar, Jerusalem Post, December 29, 2008*).

The word “equation” could be interpreted as making an analogy between “Israel” and Hamas in terms of killing children. It is not acceptable-according to Livni- to blame “Israel” for killing children since it defends itself and prevents “harming children”. It is not even acceptable to say that both sides kill children or to make both sides responsible for the killings. It is only Hamas to be blamed because it “tries to kill children”. It is, therefore, legitimized for “Israel” to kill children while it is not for Hamas.

On December 28, 2008 Fox News quoted Barak saying: “Now is the time for fighting” (*Ehud Barak, Fox News, December 28, 2008*)⁶. The use of the word “now” could imply that there has been a predetermined plan of the “Israeli” army for attacking on that time. Hence, the Cast Lead wasn’t an accidental unplanned war; rather it was a full planned scheduled attack that was to take place on that day. Furthermore, Barak sounds like a soldier who is waiting for that moment that he longed for a long time.

Now that we have looked at the data from the “Israeli” side, lexicalization of media texts from the Palestinian side will be introduced to show how the Palestinians are victimized in the war. In addition, rallying support and saving face are also introduced in lexicalization of media texts taken from the Palestinian side.

In the aftermath of the Cast Lead and on October 31, 2008, Haniyeh delivered a televised speech to the Palestinian people⁷. What can be noticed in Haniyeh’s speech is the abundant use of the word “victory”. For example: “*we are close to victory*” and “*the signals of victory have begun to show themselves*”, this could imply that the Palestinians have achieved many of their goals and they are now very close to victory.

In other words, the Palestinians must be working now to achieve their last goal. claiming victory could be true if it meets the following conditions:

1. The power balance should be against the enemy.

⁶ The quote is taken from a news story from Foxnews.com; <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,473145,00.html>.

⁷ Haniyeh’s speech was videotaped by Press TV, Aljazeera, and other channels. However, the speech is taken from YouTube and was accessed in June, 10, 2011.
URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQGTaohlomM>.

2. Damage on the enemy side is noticeable and greater than self-damage.
3. The public is somewhat protected from the atrocities of war by having shelter, enough food, water supply, and communication.
4. The world media report the news of victory by pictures, video, and journalists reports from the battlefield.
5. Perseverance during the war for suffering and loss of life is quite manifested.

In his speech, Haniyeh has made it clear that victory will be achieved for two reasons; the first reason is the firm stand of the people of Gaza and the second reason is the stand of the Palestinian resistance against the “Israeli” army.

Haniyeh stated:

“Victory is coming because this people has stood firmly and because this resistance has stood and has maintained and has defended and has also lived up to the expectations of the people of Palestine and the Ummah”.

Knowing that their *firm* stand is a reason for victory; the people of Gaza are invited to show solidarity since solidarity is needed to stand firm against the “Israelis”. Additionally, the people of Gaza are also invited to support the Palestinian resistance because-according to Haniyeh- the Palestinian resistance is another reason for achieving *victory*, Haniyeh stated:

“I tell you people in Gaza, I tell you people of the world we need more and more, we are in dire need of this”.

It is the resistance that came up to the expectations of the Palestinians and the Ummah (the Islamic nation); it didn’t let them down and it didn’t abandon them on these difficult circumstances.

Haniyeh did also pay *tribute* to the Palestinian security services, the Palestinian government, and the Palestinian medical teams. Paying tribute indicates a high degree of gratitude and respectfulness to those mentioned in the speech. We, therefore, understand that those whom Haniyeh mentioned did their jobs in a perfect manner that deserves such high gratitude, Haniyeh said: “*who are working on the difficult circumstances and who proved their responsibility and capability of withstanding these difficult circumstances*”. Such responsibility and capability in the different teams mentioned could imply that those Palestinian teams were characterized by solidarity. In

addition, the Palestinian medical teams and the ambulances were targeted by the “Israelis”, the “Israeli” warplanes even targeted them and targeted the ambulances”. Creating such an image of the situation in Gaza (targeting the ambulances and the medical teams) should provoke the feelings of sympathy from the different countries of the world, “I tell you people of the world we need more and more, we are in dire need of this”. Regardless of this dire need, Palestinians are very expected to achieve victory, “we will stay standing firmly on our own two feet and we will stay with our heads hang high and we will be victorious with Allah’s help”.

On the same speech Haniyeh said:

“What is happening in Gaza is not normal aggression. It is a real war, a war without morals, with neither principles nor laws. It is a war of elimination against the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip”.

The use of the word *aggression* implies that the “Cast Lead” is an illegitimate unjust war. Haniyeh further claims that the Cast Lead is more than a normal aggression but “a war without morals”. Accordingly, it is expected that “Israel” kills children, women, old people, civilians, etc... It is also expected that “Israel” will commit crimes that the world has never heard of. The audience is also expected to view the “Israeli” army as an aggressive bloody army. This can serve to make the world sympathizes with the Gazans and with Hamas. Furthermore, Haniyeh described the war as “a war of elimination against the Palestinian people”. This would mean that the “Israeli” army targets every Palestinian since it aims at eliminating every Palestinian. In addition, Haniyeh used the word “Palestinian” in order to send a message that not only Hamas is targeted but the Palestinian people. However, the word *Zionist* might imply that not every Jew is involved in the “aggression” but only the Zionists. Therefore, Hamas doesn’t consider the Jews as enemies but the Zionists only.

On January 10, 2009, Meshaal delivered a televised speech on Syria TV⁸. In his speech which lasted for about half an hour, Meshaal addressed different parties: the people of Gaza, the Arab leaders and the Arab nations, the “Israelis”, the “Israeli” leaders, and “the free of the world”.

Meshaal not only called the Arab leaders to support the Palestinians, but also called the *nation* (the Islamic nation) to support them, he said: “*I call on*

⁸ Meshaal’s speech was videotaped by Syria TV and reported by Aljazeera channel. The video was accessed in June, 10, 2011. The video was taken from YouTube.
URL: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5Cs6YrvOok&feature=related>.

our nation to remain in one line in support of the just battle of our people". Here Meshaal made it clear that the battle is a battle of the Palestinian people not a battle of Hamas. Accordingly, Hamas was out of the scene but when the battle of the Palestinian people began, they marched and stood with the Palestinian people. Now, it is the Arabs' turn to stand with the Palestinian people like Hamas. Another quote that supports the same idea (i.e. the battle of the Palestinian people) can also be found in the following lines:

"This war is not a war on Hamas as the Zionist enemy tries to portray, but is a war on all the Palestinian people, the Palestinian issue and the whole nation."

In these lines, Mashaal added another party involved in the war that is the Islamic nation. Hence, not only the Palestinians are supposed to defend Palestine but every Muslim in the world.

On December 30, 2008, the first pages of Palestinian newspapers were full of news about Gaza. The news carried different titles like:

"The Black Saturday: headless bodies, messed up body parts, and alive people searching for their loved ones amid tens of corpses", (Al-Hayat newspaper, December 30, 2008).

The first part of the title "*the Black Saturday*" could indicate that what happened on that day is catastrophic and terrible. The second part of title gives precise descriptions of the bodies, for example: "*headless*" and "*messed up*". However, such precise descriptions are absent in the titles of the "Israeli" newspapers that we have investigated, for example: The Jerusalem Post has reported that 200 Palestinians were killed without mentioning anything about their age or their bodies (Yaakov Katz, *Jerusalem Post*, Dec 28, 2008; pg. 9). Such precise information can also be found in al-Quds newspaper, for example: Al-Quds newspaper has reported the following on December 30, 2008:

"Death toll rises to 330 martyrs, including dozens of children and women" (Al-Quds newspaper; December 30, 2008).

The word *martyr* could indicate that the Palestinians who were killed have been killed for a noble cause. Furthermore, some extra information is given about the martyrs like *children* and *women*. This might serve to show the brutality of the "Israeli" assault. On the same day, Al-Quds has reported the following about the death of children: "*The death of about 40 children and injuring about 180 in three days*" (Al-Quds newspaper; December 30, 2008). This reporting might refute Livni's claims on December, 28 that there were no

civilian casualties among those who were killed. Another Palestinian newspaper that gives a detailed description of the deaths is *Alayam newspaper*. In one of the titles it is stated that: “23 martyrs in the sixth day of the massacre, including one of the leaders of Hamas and 11 children and 9 women” (Alayam newspaper, January, 1, 2009). The “Israeli” attack is described as a *massacre* or an *aggression* not only in Alayam newspaper but in all the Palestinian newspapers. This would show the brutality of the “Israeli” assault and the illegitimacy of the war. In addition, this might provoke the world’s sympathy with the Palestinians

7.4. Modality

Olmert’s speech⁹ is mostly made of statements and most of the statements are realis e.g. “the entire international community is ready to mobilize in order to achieve maximum stability”, but a few are irrealis, either hypothetical “*If Hamas decides to continue its wild terrorist attacks*”, or predictions “*Israel will be ready for that scenario*”. Moreover, Olmert makes strong commitment to truth of statements about material processes e.g. “Israel will cease its actions”, one mental process e.g. “and will feel free to continue”, and verbal processes e.g. “the IDF will consider withdrawing”. However, the high abundance of material processes may suggest that Olmert is a man of action.

There are twenty one predictions where Olmert used the modal “will” e.g. “we will be able to provide”. However, “will” is used to make very strong predictions where the degree of probability is very high, Murcia and Freeman (1999). Accordingly, Olmert is making strong commitment to truth. Even when Olmert makes predictions, he uses a very strong modal (will) to make predictions. Since he commits himself strongly to truth and makes very strong predictions, he must be confident and certain about what he predicts or says.

Haaretz quoted Olmert saying: “Olmert: Gaza war won't end until rockets and smuggling stop” (*Barak Ravid, Haaretz, January, 12, 2009*). The modal “won’t” is used to talk about impossibilities Murcia and Freeman (1999). Here, Olmert’s judgment of Gaza war is that he is very certain about the end of the war. He is, therefore, very powerful to make his own strong judgment of ending the war. Further, Olmert used the word “until” as a condition for ending the war. Ending the war is subject to the application of Olmert’s condition. Therefore, Olmert speaks out of power since he

⁹ PM Olmert’s Statement after the Cabinet Meeting.

determines when war will end. Olmert further said: "Every child and adult not involved with terror who has been caught as a casualty of our military efforts is a victim for whom we apologize, which we want to prevent." In this quote Olmert thinks that any child- "not involved with terror"- will not be targeted, therefore; the "Israeli" army may target any child involved with terror. Additionally, "Israel" is not targeting children-"not involved with terror"- , yet killing children is something that "we want to prevent" and if it happened "we apologize". To make apology is not enough for those who lost their children or relatives. However, it is not acceptable that Palestinians kill "Israelis" and apologize. In other words, the powerful can apologize for killing while the weak should pay an expensive price if kills.

On January 4, 2009 the BBC quoted Barak saying:

"We have carefully weighed all our options. We are not war hungry, but we should not allow a situation where our towns, villages and civilians are constantly targeted. It will not be easy or short, but we are determined. We are peace-seekers. We have restrained ourselves for a long time, but now is the time to do what needs to be done." (Ehud Barak, Israeli Minister of Defense, BBC, January 4, 2009).

The major problem is targeting "Israeli" civilians by Hamas rockets. Barak makes his audience believe that the "Israelis" seek peace but they are forced to engage in this war. Of course nothing is mentioned about the reasons why Hamas rockets were fired. That is why it seems natural to accept a justification for war based on this simplistic reason. However, the audience of Barak is mainly the Israeli public and the world watching the events.

Barak used the modal "should" which indicates high authority of the speaker, Murcia and Freeman (1999). Barak also claimed that they are not war seekers, but they had no choice but war in order to protect their people. The time is due, in Barak's view, to resort to war which they are not hungry for but obliged to.

On January 12, 2009 Haaretz quoted Livni saying: "*I am not going to negotiate with Hamas and don't need them to sign anything for me*" (*Barak Ravid in Haaretz, January, 12, 2009*). Livni is very certain about that since she used "going to" which is used with actions that the speaker is very certain about and to make very strong predictions, Murcia and Freeman (1999). This may also indicate that Livni has very strong prejudice toward Hamas. Livni has also added:

“The war on terror will be long and difficult and we will use military force because that is how one fights terror? With military force and no alternatives. When they fire [rockets], I've said before, we must return the fire.” (ibid).

Livni makes very strong predictions; the first prediction is that war will be long and difficult and that “Israel” will use military force in fighting “terror”. This may imply that it is very probable that “Israel” will use force in the future when fighting “terror”. After that, she made a statement of fact (not a prediction) when she claimed that there are no alternatives for military force. Hence, “Israel’s” resort to military force against “terror” is a fact that doesn’t allow for change or doubt.

Haaretz also quoted Livni saying: "Israel is a country that reacts vigorously when its citizens are fired up, which is a good thing," she said. "That is something that Hamas now understands and that is how we are going to react in the future." (ibid). Livni’s first statement is a fact presented in the simple present “Israel is a country that reacts vigorously”. This statement gives an impression that this fact is not subject to doubt or question. Furthermore, Livni adds that even in the future, she is very certain that “Israel” will react as such.

On December, 28, 2008, Tzipi Livni was quoted saying:

“we decided to enter a kind of a truce and not to attack Gaza Strip. Hamas violated, on a daily basis, this truce. They targeted Israel, and we didn't answer. (“Israeli” Foreign Minister, Tzipi Livni; NBC’s Meet the Press; December, 28, 2008).¹⁰

According to Livni, Hamas’s violation of the truce, targeting “Israel”, and rearming Hamas’s army were more than what “Israel” can tolerate. This implies that “Israel” has tolerated a lot and suffered a lot. Thus, “Israel” has tried all the nonviolent peaceful solutions to protect its nation, but all these solutions have failed to protect “Israel”.

As we notice, the first sentence is modalized with the hedge “kind of”. This would imply that what the “Israelis” entered is not a real truce but it is something which is more or less a truce. This could suggest that Livni doesn’t

¹⁰ This quote was taken from a televised interview with Livni on NBC’s Meet the Press. The transcription of the interview is found on the website: clips and comment; <http://www.clipsandcomment.com/2008/12/28/transcript-israeli-foreign-minister-tzipi-livni-on-meet-the-press-december-28-2008>.

recognize Hamas as a state but as a terrorist organization with whom truces are not made. On the other hand, terrorist organizations should be dealt in a different way which requires making special kinds of truces that are not like normal ones.

Now that we have looked at the data from the “Israeli” side, analyzing modality of media texts from the Palestinian side will be introduced to show how the Palestinian politicians used modality markers to make strong predictions about making victory in order to quiet the worries and fears of their people.

Haniyeh made statements of facts about the victory like “*we are closer to victory*” (Haniyeh’s speech)¹¹ and strong predictions like “*We will have victory*” (ibid). Moreover, the Palestinians are going to be victorious because the “Israelis” are highly expected to fail in achieving any of their goals, “*We will have victory because the occupation will fail in achieving any of its goals*”. Accordingly, there is nothing that should Palestinians worry about. However, it is too early to make such a prediction in the begging of the war but this may serve to raise the self-esteem of the Gazans since-according to Haniyeh- the Gazans are the winners despite of all the loses. Other officials of Hamas such as Khaled Meshaal and Khalil Alhayeh were found to talk about victory of the Gazans over the “Israelis”.

On January 12, 2009, Haaretz quoted Haniyeh saying: “*Gaza will not break - our victory over the Zionists is near*” (Avi Issacharoff, *Hamas is willing to negotiate on Gaza cease-fire*, Haaretz, January 12, 2009). According to Haniyeh, Gazans and their government-not only Hamas-will not surrender to “Israel”. In Gaza, therefore, it is the mission of every man, woman, child, and resistant to stand against the Zionist aggression. This will insure the fulfillment of the claim that “Gaza will not break”. Haniyeh, is also very certain and confident that Gazans and Hamas will stand together against the aggression. What also supports this claim is that Haniyeh and Hamas take their power from the people of Gaza, Haniyeh stated: “*When we watch over you, residents of Gaza, we draw patience and will power from you*” (Haniyeh’s speech). Since Haniyeh draws patience from the residents of Gaza and powers from them, Haniyeh represents himself and Hamas as humble to the people. In other words, Hamas isn’t superior to the residents of Gaza, yet Hamas’s power and patience are provided from Gazans which could imply that there is a strong good relation between the Gazans and Hamas. Moreover, Hamas-according to Haniyeh- represents the power of the residents of Gaza

¹¹ Haniyeh’s speech is used to refer to the speech that was mentioned in footnote number 6.

because Hamas's power and patience are drawn from the people of Gaza. However, Haniyeh seemed to be in need of the Gazan's support because he used a humble language with them.

Regardless of the different calls to support Hamas and the Palestinian people, Meshaal said: "*the resistance on the land of Gaza is fine; still and will remain and will win*" (Meshaal's speech)¹². Since "the resistance on the land of Gaza is fine" and since it "will remain and will win", there should be no need for asking Arabs and Muslims for help. On the other hand, Meshaal said: "*resistance in the Gaza Strip is not as powerful as that in Lebanon, but the mercy of Allah will empower us*" (ibid). These lines suggest that the resistance (mainly Hamas) is in need of supply because it is not that powerful like that in Lebanon.

However, Meshaal is very certain about the victory since he said "after our victory". In Meshaal eyes victory is inevitable and thus the man is making a suggestion for Arabs after the victory. Meshaal has also made a connection between ending the aggression and victory that is ending the aggression is the victory despite the difference, he said: "after the end of this aggression, Allah willing, after our victory".

To conclude this section, it seems obvious that modality shows the high confidence of the speaker or his low confidence about what is being said. If the speaker has more power, he will show more confidence and therefore will use strong modals about predictions for the future. The weaker the power, the modals used will be of more tentative value. Though the Israelis are more powerful, the Palestinians show certainty about their survival and the way they view things.

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown how war language is dependent on elements like the just war theory, the choice of the lexical items, the modality of the speaker in expressing self-confidence about his commitment to the truth of what he believes as true or tentatively true. The Israelis driven by their power and strong allies use a political language that serves their purposes in ways ignoring the cause of attacks against Israel while stressing only the results of such attacks that causes panic and some damage to their citizens. The Palestinians take some pride in their fight by standing against the giant power

¹² Meshaal's speech is used to refer to the speech that was mentioned in footnote number 7.

of Israel and its allies though they bear heavy losses in deaths and damage in properties.

Quoted Newspapers

Palestinian Newspapers	Speeches
<p>Al-Hayat newspaper, December 30, 2008. URL: http://www.alhayat-j.com/newsite/pdf/index.html</p> <p>Al-Quds newspaper December 30, 2008. URL: http://www.alquds.com/news/pdf/index/date/20090130</p> <p>Alayam newspaper, January, 1, 2009. URL: http://www.al-ayyam.com/default.aspx?Date=1/1/2009</p>	<p>A videotaped speech of Ismael Haniyeh on Press TV. The speech is taken from YouTube and was accessed in June, 10, 2011. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQGTAohlomM.</p> <p>A videotaped speech of Khaled Meshaal on Syria TV and reported by Aljazeera channel. The video was accessed in June, 10, 2011. The video was taken from YouTube. URL: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g5Cs6YrvOok&feature=related.</p>

Jerusalem Post	Haaretz	Other Sources
<p>IAF Aircraft Target Gaza Kassam Crews as Rocket Attacks Continue By: Yaakov Katz December 6, 2008 URL: http://www.jewishpolicycenter.org/475/iaf-aircraft-target-gaza-kassam-crews-as-rocket</p>	<p>Safed chief rabbi calls on state to exact 'revenge' against Arabs Right group urges censure of Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu for calls to 'hang children of Mercaz Harav gunman from tree.' By: Jack Khoury, Nadav Shragai, Yoav Stern and Haaretz Correspondents January, 19, 2009 URL: http://www.haaretz.com/news/safed-chief-rabbi-calls-on-state-to-exact-revenge-against-arabs-1.242746</p>	<p>A televised interview with Livni on NBC's Meet the Press. The transcription of the interview is found on the website: clips and comment; URL: http://www.clipsandcomment.com/2008/12/28/transcript-israeli-foreign-minister-tzipi-livni-on-meet-the-press-december-28-2008/ December, 28, 2008</p>

(Continued)

<p>Worker killed, 16 hurt in Grad attack on Ashkelon. Hanni al-Mahdi from Beduin village of Aro'er dies of shrapnel wounds. Locals terrified, but want the IDF to 'clean Gaza of rocket launchers'. Dozens of rockets, mortars hit South, send Sderot residents back to shelters By: Shelly Paz and Yaakov Lappin Dec 30, 2008, pg. 2. URL: http://www.jpost.com/Cooperations/Archives/Default.aspx</p>	<p>Olmert: Gaza war won't end until rockets and smuggling stop Barak, Livni disagree with Olmert, want quick end to Gaza fighting; PM: Truce now would be missed opportunity. By Barak Ravid January, 12, 2009 URL http://www.haaretz.com/news/olmert-gaza-war-won-t-end-until-rockets-and-smuggling-stop-1.267974</p>	<p>ISRAEL VOWS TO EXPAND GAZA AIRSTRIKES AS DEATH TOLL PASSES 200 Fox news URL: http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,473145,00.html December 28, 2008</p>
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