

Discourse in a Confrontational Situation: The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

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Abstract

The aim of the article is to shed light on ongoing situation about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through the lenses of newspaper heading analysis. Newspapers manipulate newspapers heading to persuade and influence public opinion so that political actions may be carried out. Unfortunately, such manipulation can lead to drastic consequences such as violent solutions. Through discourse analysis this study compares and contrasts different newspapers and magazines headlines of the Palestinian Israeli conflict. The researcher has used these newspapers and magazines to show attitudinal differences as reflected in discourses of the newspapers. The researcher collected his data from newspapers and magazines through the Internet. The newspapers and the magazines belong to two communities, each of which has its point of view regarding the conflict. Four major key concepts have emerged in the data: OCCUPATION, TERRORISM, SETTLEMENTS, and PEACE PROCESS. Through talking about these concepts and events, analysis of news headlines, grammatical and lexical metaphor, euphemism, stereotypes, and other rhetoric and linguistic devices are used to achieve intentions.

Keywords

Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Language, Newspaper headlines, Critical Discourse Analysis, Representations of Palestinians

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Introduction

There is a strong relation between discourse features and ideology. Newspaper reports are, without doubt, ideological processes. The language that is used in newspapers plays a critical role. The language that is used in newspapers reflects and reproduces its ideology. Undeniably, in addition its role as a tool for communicating and interacting, language may be used to influence innumerable roles. For example, if a certain group of people have a distinct ideological leaning and they want to liberate their country, are they heroes, patriots, terrorists, strugglers, rebels or resistance-fighters? How do we refer to their operations against the other side? Are they heroic actions and legitimate/ rightful resistance or terror/ riot and violence? The way a media conceives this ideological principle will be reflected in the language of texts produced about it (Atawneh, 2009; Wodak, 2009; Singh, 2012; Baidoun, 2014). A newspaper may see an event or a series of events as either one of terrorism or liberation. Different connotations of legitimacy and approval are carried by these labels (Clark, 1992). Bhatia (2009: 281) pointed that certain discourse features such as the dichotomies of good vs. evil; law vs. lawlessness; civilization vs. barbarism; and freedom vs. tyranny as discourse features.

A newspaper undertakes that there is constantly only one sensible opinion on any material offered to the audience. According to Fowler (1991), what characterizes newspapers is not values and beliefs they offer, but rather the textual strategies employed which foreground values and beliefs of speech act. Newspapers may lead their readers to accept violent solutions to international conflict rather than reasoned discourse. Leaders of great nations may resort to using language to promote violence and to make war a favorable option. A military action can be justified through metaphors that have often been employed in attempts to vindicate the guilt of air strikes against innocent people. Discourse has a tremendous power in assigning discrimination against the others. According to Fairclough, (2001) power tends to manifest itself through the use of language. Underscoring an identical opinion, Nelson (2003) perceives:

Human conflict begins and ends via talk and text. We generate, shape, implement, remember and forget violent behavior between individuals, communities or states through a specific discourse. It is discourse that prepares for sacrifice, justifies inhumanity, absolves from guilt, and demonizes the enemy (449).

In sum, this paper pursues to cherish our awareness of the significant role discourse plays in changing people's views; in achieving consent and domination, and production of ideology; (Fairclough, 2001). Consequently, one of the central aims of this paper is to suggest that linguistic, lexical and rhetorical phrasing have something to contribute to the understanding of news items. Other variables, which affect the importance attributed to a news report, are also examined. The following is under study: syntactic structures, headlines structure, schematic structure, metaphor, euphemism, and stereotypes. The aim was to show how such devices are used to have an effect on newspapers' readers.

1. Literature Review

Within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a number of approaches have been provided by theorists for the critical analysis of texts meaning-making practices (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak, 2009; Van Dijk, 1998). For example, Fairclough's has the view of

CDA is that of a critical, interdisciplinary problem-oriented approach that includes a diversity of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse. On the other hand, in her Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) Wodak uses Theory of Text Planning, cognition theories, and Critical. For the purposes of this study and under the framework of CDA a number of approaches will be used where critical *linguistic* and *textural* analyses are incorporated with Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA). According to this approach discourse can only be understood in relation to context and in accordance with a specific situation where an utterance is used. Consequently, this study is directed by specific linguistic techniques such as *passivisation/passive* (Van Dijk, 1988) and *nominalization* (Nir & Roeh, 1992; Lemke, 1995) and specific rhetoric devices like *metaphor*, *euphemism* and *stereotypes* that are manipulated as linguistic means to affect "people's political and ideological views" (Thomas et al., 2004: 41)

So, the study has been driven from the understanding of the "robust" relationship between discourse and society, and the awareness that language is and can be employed for purposes such as domination, power and social control (Wodak, 2009). Linguistic resources and rhetorical devices are manipulated to serve a range of functions, for example to enhance a belief, to justify a position and to counter an argument. According to Wodak (2009), critical discourse analysis demonstrates how language is used to legitimize taking certain actions within the social context. According to Singh (2012: p.529) language is used by a certain group to "establish political legitimacy, garner civilian support and justify its use of political violence." According to her, ideology is manipulated to legitimize the use of violence within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict context. Similarly, Brown and Yule (1983: p.1) believe that "The analysis of discourse, is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purpose or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs." They clarify that the analysis of language in use is not only restricted to the structure of a certain text or its textual analysis, but it goes beyond that to include the language in use in social contexts.

Lemke (1995) asserts that language does not work in isolation. Meaning always gets made in context where social expectations and non-linguistic symbols play a role. According to him a theory of meaning must consider how and why every meaningful human action is meaningful to members of a community- it must be social, historical, cultural and political, because the unit of meaning is a human action addressed to real and potential others. When he speaks about discourse in general, he has in mind a social activity of making meaning with language. He also means the actors in the discourse:

Since discourse in general is an aspect of social activity, of human activity, it never makes meaning just with language alone. We cannot speak of pure linguistic words or sentences without also speaking with a recognizable personal voice-quality that does not affect the sense of which words we are saying, but which adds other nonlinguistic dimensions of potential meaning to the act of speaking.....Discourses (i.e. type of discourse), particularly are characteristic of communities and sub-communities than of individuals. They provide us with a resource for making meaning that is equally as important as the grammar and lexicon of our language, though we use it in a rather different way (Lemke, 1995: 7-10).

In his discussion of the rhetoric of the Allied News Management in the 1991 Gulf War, Musolff (1995) illustrates how Iraq has been portrayed as invader and aggressor whereas the Allies were portrayed as anti-aggressors; they came to save the victim from the conquest of a

brutal tyrant. In his article he quotes Western politicians as saying “now as a High Noon, now as fist fight between a clean-cut hero and a school yard bully”.

Many studies have shown there is a strong relation between linguistic and ideological process. These studies demonstrated how linguistic, lexical and rhetorical phrasing make meaning. Nir and Roeh (1992) suggest that there is a dialectical relationship between the extent of public attention given to certain events and their salience in the news. On the one hand, the manner of journalistic coverage helps to determine the public perception of the event; on the other hand, the press is aware of the relationship’s attribution of importance to a certain event and responds accordingly. They find that the more popular the newspaper is, the more sensitive it is to the position an event occupies on the public agenda. Bhatia (1993) suggests that investigating any genre requires the following steps: “placing the given genre-text in a situational context; surveying existing literature, refining the situational/ contextual analysis, defining the speaker/ writer of the text, the audience, their relationship and their goals, defining the historical, socio-cultural philosophical and/or occupational placement of the community in which discourse takes place, identifying the network of surrounding text and linguistic traditions that form the background to this particular genre-text, identifying the topic / subject / extratextual reality which the text is trying to represent ... Studying the institutional context; and determining the level of linguistic analysis” (Bhatia, 1993: 22-24).

Haidar and Rodriguez (1995) assert that stereotypes are a manifestation of power and ideology. Nir and Roeh (1992) compared two Israeli newspapers. They concluded that in crisis newspapers reflect mainstream ideology, instead of boosting “public awareness about the importance of its events.” They suggest “after all, if journalism would merely present the facts”, we would not find Palestinians presented or named differently from Israelis. Atawneh (2010: 277) concluded that language is shaped by power. According to his study, the ideology of aggressiveness and belligerency is reflected in Israeli language. That includes “making threats, killing, insulting, arrogance, deception, and excluding the other”. On the other hand, the Palestinian language, as Atawneh found, “reflects the appeal for help, defensiveness, and attempts to save face and maintain dignity while seeking peace with the Israelis at the same time”.

2. Operational Definitions:

The following section presents some operational definitions used in the study, particularly, rhetorical devices such as metaphors, euphemism and stereotypes.

2.1. Rhetorical devices

Rhetoric devices can be used in specific ways to enhance the argument of the newspaper. Some of these devices are metaphors, euphemism and stereotypes. They are used by newspapers to manipulate the readers into taking certain actions, and embracing certain values and beliefs.

2.2. Metaphors

Metaphors tell us something about aspects of thinking and talking, of language and mind, about fitting of language to what we perceive, experience and understand. Reddy (1979: 287) opines that metaphors “involve the figurative assertion that language *transfers* human

thoughts and feelings.” He presents a number of examples that “imply that words contain or convey thoughts and feelings when communication is successful (p. 288).”

Goatly (1993) assumes that metaphor involves parts of a text being used to refer not to their conventional referents, but unconventionally to other objects or concepts. It can be used to explain some relatively abstract concept in terms which are more familiar to the hearers. The hearer/reader is forced to pay them special attention.

Metaphorical expressions are characterized as being highly informative, packing many ideas into a short space. A related effect of metaphor is that metaphorical expressions of the active kind tend to be foregrounded psychologically. We are forced to pay them special attention because, all other things being equal, their interpretation is likely to be less straightforward than the interpretation of the expressions in the surrounding text (Goatly, 1993: 126).

Metaphors are not mere words or ideas; they represent modes of thought and the frame the discourse of a certain newspaper. Metaphors can have a very influential role due to their ‘literary’ quality and visual concreteness. This rhetorical thrust helps to foreground some elements and background others.

Metaphors are used to give ideas about US-OTHERS. A range of conventional metaphors is used to frame the identity and actions of the others. Moreover, the metaphoric meaning differs from one context to another. It can frame two parties as enemies.

Metaphor is common in news reporting as in any other kind of writing. In news reports, metaphors give a sense of exaggeration to the event. Metaphors can be used to achieve political goals. Every party tries to employ the metaphor to achieve its aims and interests. Van Teeffelen (1994) suggests that metaphors construct a boundary threat to the Israeli world, to racist effect. At the same time attention is paid to the situational and ambiguous uses of metaphors, and the ways in which the narrative and political context credentializes racist interpretations.

2.3. Euphemism

A euphemism is a polite word or expression that people use to talk about something they find unpleasant or embarrassing. It displays an intercourse of words, ideas and actions in a variety of positions. Miller (1992) suggests a definition of politics:

We could describe national politics, in general, as the conflict between two forms of euphemism: the government of the day employing enhancing euphemisms for all situations no matter how unpropitious; the opposition employing demeaning euphemism for all situations no matter how propitious. The battle is to persuade the public to believe one set of euphemisms rather than the other (Miller, 1992: 24).

Miller refers in this definition to euphemism where governments are engaged in euphemisms to convince the public to believe in one set of euphemism rather than another.

2.4. Stereotypes

Fowler (1991) defines a stereotype as “a socially- constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be stored, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible; ‘mother’, ‘patriot’, ‘businessman’, ‘neighbor’, on the one hand, versus ‘hooligan’, ‘terrorist’, ‘foreigner’, ‘wet [tory]’, on the other, are some specific instances of stereotypical categories which we project on to the world in order to make sense of it (Fowler, 1991: 17).

3. Methodology

This section describes the methodology of the study. It provides a table of the *corpus of Study* and discusses the research methodology, research design, data collection and data analysis.

This study adopts a qualitative *CDA Newspaper study and textual analysis*. According to Wodak (1996), CDA is essentially interdisciplinary and is concerned with social problems. It is concerned with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Moreover, she thinks that ideology affects the use of language and in order to understand texts interpretation and perceive their social effects, there is a need to analyze texts and investigate them. Wodak and Meyer (2009: 31) opine that is no “consistent CDA methodology” for CDA. Despite that they think that the theoretical origins of CDA are visible in the work of "Louis Althusser's theories of ideology, Mikhail Bakhtin's genre theory, and the philosophical traditions of Antonio Gramsci and the Frankfurt School" (in Titscher and associates, 2000:144, as cited in Assaiqeli, 2012). This study is a combination of two methods/approaches: mainly a textual analysis (CDA), and also a descriptive method.

3.1. Research Design

The methodology used in this paper is principally a textual analysis (CDA), and also a descriptive method. The sources of data are largely based on “available online texts” published in Israeli and Palestinian newspapers that are concerning *the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. In most of CDA studies, according to Wodak and Meyer (2009: 27) explicit sampling is not recommended and “available texts” can do the job.

Through discourse analysis this study compares and contrasts different newspapers and magazines coverage of the Palestinian Israeli conflict. The research consisted of 50 news articles from different media outlets. Twenty-five news headlines were from Israeli Newspapers and twenty-five headlines from Palestinian Newspapers (See Table 1). The newspapers and the magazines belong to two communities, each of which has its point of view regarding the conflict.

1- **Palestinian:** Falistin Muslimeh (**FM**) / AL-Quds (**QN**) / AL-Ayyam (**AN**)

2- **Israeli:** Jerusalem Post (**JP**) / Zionist Organization of America (**ZOA**) / and Ha'aretz (**HA**).

3.2. Data Collection

Wodak and Meyer (2009: 27-32) believe that "There is no accepted canon of data collection, but many CDA approaches work with existing data, i.e. texts not specifically produced for the respective research projects." They add that there is not considered to be a precise point that must be completed before analysis begins" "it is a matter of finding indicators for particular concepts, expanding concepts into categories and, on the basis of these results, collecting further data (*theoretical sampling*). In this procedure, data collection is never completely excluded, and new questions always arise which can only be dealt with if more data are collected or earlier data are re-examined" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 27). In this study, the researcher adopted a random sampling process based on the availability of the data concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from two main sources: **Palestinian** and **Israeli** online sources (See Table 1 for the corpus of the study). The texts selected were distributed on a span of 16 years (1998 – 2014).

The researcher collected articles online using related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This explains the importance of analyzing the content of news articles using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as it demonstrates how language is produced to reflect power, identity, and ideology. Moreover, it can be used to legitimate violence and aggression. The researcher has used these newspapers and magazines to show attitudinal differences as reflected in discourses of the newspapers.

In this procedure, data collection is never completely excluded, and new questions always arise which can only be dealt with if more data are collected or earlier data are re-examined" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 27). In this study, the researcher collected his data through different means: random sampling, keeping links of articles and searching for related items using certain search words related to the conflict. Accordingly, the researcher adopted a random sampling process based on the availability of the data concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from two main sources: **Palestinian** and **Israeli** online sources (See Table 1 for the corpus of the study). In addition to random sampling, the researcher used to keep news article headlines and hyperlinks that are related to the conflict. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has never stopped. However; there are ups and downs in the tensions between the two sides. When the situation is very tense over certain issues, any researcher can collect infinite number of news stories within 24 hours. When the researcher comes across any piece of news, he can see related news headlines within the same article. Finally, in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, researchers can use search words, for certain news stories, they can provide search words about agents, events within a certain period of time. For example, if I was searching for a news story like "Palestinian boy killed by Israeli soldiers, or young Israeli settler killed by Palestinian" such search words will provide researchers with plenty of news articles. One of them will be like this which dates back to July 2nd 30, 2013: "*Palestinian killed in clashes with IDF near Hebron (JP)*" <http://www.jpost.com/Defense/Report-Palestinian-killed-in-clashes-with-IDF-south-of-Hebron-318407>. The texts selected were distributed on a span of 16 years (1998 – 2014).

3.3. Data analysis

To achieve the objectives of the study, this paper shows how rhetoric devices and linguistic devices are used to shape the news events. Particularly, it aims to show how analysis of headlines, thematic structure, syntactic structure, metaphor, euphemism, stereotypes and linguistic devices are used to achieve certain intentions. Table 1 presents the corpus of the study that is analysed.

Table 1: Corpus of Study

News-paper	Palestinian:	Israeli:
	1. Falistin Muslimeh (FM) 2. AL-Quds (QN) / 3. AL-Ayyam (AN)	1. Jerusalem Post (JP) 2. Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) 3. Ha'aretz (HA)
1	Hanan Ashrawi quits 'corrupt' Arafat cabinet (AN). Aug 1998	Two quit PA (Palestinian Authority) cabinet over corruption (JP). Aug 1998
2	The new cabinet enhances the democratic process (QN). Aug 1998	10 killed, hundreds wounded in "Nakba" riots (JP). May 2011
3	Arafat neglects calls for reform (FM) Aug 1998	Man killed in Ramallah (JP) Jun 2014
4	Death of baby in Hebron (AN). Mar 2001	Settler stabbed to death in Hebron (HA) Aug 1998
5	Killed in a bomb attack (QN) Dec 2001	Israeli killed in car shooting near West Bank (HA) Mar 2003
6	12 injured in new confrontations by the occupation forces (AN) Feb 2004	Hebron man killed in a terror attack (JP) Mar 2002
7	15 residents injured by settlers (QN) Undated	Palestinian shot after he tries to stab soldier dies of wounds (JP) May 2008
8	Israel arrests a Palestinian intelligence officer (FM). July 2003	Palestinian killed in clashes with IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) near Hebron (JP) Aug 2014
9	Netanyahu supports the settlers in Tel Remeideh (QN) Nov 1999	IDF soldier shot dead by Palestinian sniper in Hebron (JP) Sep 2013
10	Tel Rmaideh settlement is considered a nest of racist Khakh movement. (QN) Dec 200	Palestinian teenager killed by IDF fire near Hebron (JP) Mar 2014
11	The Israeli soldiers entered Qana as hungry wolves. (FM) July 2006	Force killed Hamas men at short range (HA) Sep 1998
12	The offspring of monkeys and swine. (FM) Dec 1999	Rallies inside the Green Line passed peacefully. (JP) undated
13	A deadly snake stopped in his way. (FM) Undated	Oslo is an evil accord, Netanyahu tells wife of Shlomo Ra'anan (HA) Aug 1998
14	Tomorrow the injustice will vanish in its nest. (FM) Jan 2001	Shlomo Ra'anan was killed in Hebron. (JP). Aug 1998
15	And a flight (flock) of eagles above the Pleiads (FM). Nov 2000	Shlomo Ra'anan, 63, of Tell Rumeida was killed (JP). Aug 1998
16	"The Arab and Palestinian land of 48. i.e. the Palestinian land which was occupied in 1948. (FM) Nov 2000	Hebron man killed in terror attack (JP) Aug 1998
17	A baby died because an Israeli roadblock prevented her mother from entering the hospital. (AN) Feb 2002	In Jenin, five Palestinians were injured (JP). Jan 2013
18	Settler stabbed to death in Hebron (AN) Nov 2014	Arafat again urges 'jihad' against Isreal (ZOA) Aug 1998
19	Five residents were injured in Hebron (QN). Feb 2014	Two Terrorists Eliminated By Israeli Forces Were Involved In Murdering 4 Americans And Wounding 14 (ZOA) undated
20	A mother of five children shot dead in her house in Rammallah (AN) Mar 2002	Palestinian Savagery in Israel Yesterday and Today (ZOA) undated
21	Jewish extremists put the last nail in the peace coffin (AN) Nov 2002	Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators rampaged through IDF roadblocks around the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The demonstrators ignored appeals by the Palestinian authority and attacked IDF soldiers in Gaza and in West Bank in a violent commemoration of the 50th anniversary of al-Nakba ("the catastrophe"), the Palestinian term for the founding of the state of Israel. (JP) 1998
22	Palestinian policeman reprimanded for murder (AN). Nov 2001	PM Netanyahu pinned the blame on the PA for stirring up hostility to Israel. (JP) Aug 1999
23	PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) men hit by	"It is easy to whip up a frenzy of bloodshed and

News-paper	Palestinian: 1. Falistin Muslimeh (FM) 2. AL-Quds (QN) / 3. AL-Ayyam (AN)	Israeli: 1. Jerusalem Post (JP) 2. Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) 3. Ha'aretz (HA)
	<i>rubber bullets (AN). Aug 1999</i>	<i>violence: he said” We cannot tolerate a situation in which violence erupts whenever there are points of difference in the negotiating process. (JP) undated</i>
24	<i>Netanyahu support settlers in Tell Rmeadeh by building fixed houses for them (QN) April 1998</i>	<i>Young demonstrators began to stream to the IDF checkpoints. The most severe rioting was at Erez roadblock where Palestinians mobbed a police station and headed for the IDF checkpoints. (JP) June 1998</i>
25	<i>Palestinian prisoners stage hunger strike (FM). Sep 2010</i>	<i>The Palestinian demonstrators poured into the streets. PA aid hunt for killers of two settlers. The assailants then approached the vehicle, and fired again before fleeing with Liebman’s weapon. (JP) Oct 1998</i>

4. Findings and Discussion

The Palestinians are characterized differently in various newspapers. In Palestinian newspapers, they are portrayed as demanding their own rights and sufferers of the Israeli policy. In Israeli newspapers, it is underlined that a peaceful solution to the problem must be found, and at the same time the Palestinians are portrayed as having to halt terrorism.

Four major key concepts have emerged in the data: OCCUPATION, TERRORISM, SETTLEMENTS, and PEACE PROCESS. Through talking about these concepts and events, news headlines analysis, grammatical and lexical metaphor, euphemism, stereotypes and other rhetoric and linguistic devices are used to achieve intentions.

4.1. Analysis of Headlines

Headlines play a very crucial role in conveying the message to the readers. The reader’s interests in reading the news items will depend to a great extent on the way the headline is structured. The headlines represent the newspaper’s ideology. As explained by Dijk (1991), headlines serve important textual cognitive and ideological functions and implications. According to him, this presupposes complex social attitudes and ideologies. He deems that “journalists may ‘upgrade’ a less important topic by expressing it in the headline, thereby ‘downgrading’ the importance of the main topic.” (p. 51-52). Due to their semantic, cognitive and ideological relevance in contexts of conflicts, this section pays special attention headlines: their contents and structures:

The researcher presupposed a strong connection between the rhetoric and the underlying ideology of the conflict coverage will be clear in the phrasing of the headlines. Headlines basically recount themes. The most important pieces of information are presented:

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
1- HANAN ASHRAWIN QUILTS ‘CORRUPT’ ARAFAT CABINET (AN).	2- TWO QUIT PA CABINET OVER CORRUPTION (JP).
3- THE NEW CABINET ENHANCES THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS (QN).	
4- ARAFAT NEGLECTS CALLS FOR REFORM (FM)	

Because the headline is structured differently, a different story is told (Wang, 1993).

The AN’s headline emphasized the issue of the formation of a corrupted Palestinian cabinet. It tries also to characterize Arafat as a corrupted man since he is the head of this cabinet (CORRUPT ARAFAT CABINET). AN emphasized mentioned the name of the Palestinian minister who left the government as leading figures. As it is known to the Palestinian people, Hanan is a leading figure in the Palestinian history and played a prominent role in the Palestinian society as Palestine's most well-known female politicians. This means that Hanan is not any person and her resign from the government over corruption puts the newly formed Palestinian Authority in a critical position. The QN, on the contrary, backgrounded the issue of Ashrawi’s resignation and treated it as a separate news item. In its main comment on the formation of the Palestinian cabinet, it focuses on the building of the Palestinian democracy. FM highlights the facts that Arafat neglects calls for reform. Thus, Palestinian newspapers may present in this situation same facts with different point of view.

On the other hand, the JP details the corruption in the Palestinian new cabinet. The JP lead contains a lot of information about the corruption in the Palestinian Authority institutions. It emphasizes the number (two quit). As the story continues, it also gives statistical numbers for a poll that indicated that the Palestinians believe that the Palestinian political institutions are corrupted (see Appendix 1 for a recent example of newspaper coverage for a certain event by different newspapers).

4.1.1 News Headlines Structure

Fries (1997) describes the theme as the point of departure of the clause as message. One can recognize themes because they appear in the clause initially. While the information focus is the information which is presented as newsworthy, the thematic structure and the information structure form part of a complex of interlocking structures. Thematic structure assigns the functions Theme and Rheme. The clause complex has one thematic structure as a whole, and each clause also has a thematic structure (Fries 1997: 231-233).

After examining the news item regarding the Palestinian cabinet, one may conclude that the JP and FM stories are structurally more complete according to the standard condition and causes of the main events. Journalism traditional “Wh” questions are all or less answered. They comprehensively answer the “Who”, question. This appears in the headlines. The ‘What’, ‘Where’, ‘Why’, ‘When’ and ‘How’ questions are answered in the following paragraphs. The QN item, in contrast, possesses a rather different thematic structure. It is clear that the big part of ‘What happened’ and ‘Why the resignation has happened’ questions are not answered. There is backgrounding to the corruption of the new cabinet. The four

“WH” questions and the matter of “How” are not objectively covered. Consequently, the incompleteness of the thematic structure in the news story is clear.

As Van Dijk (1995) asserts:

Overall meanings, i.e, topics or macrostructure, may be organized by conventional schemata (superstructures), such as those that define an argument, a conversation or a news report.... Since schematic categories also define the (canonical) order of discourse, they may signal importance or relevance. Initial summaries, such as headlines in the news, for instance, have the crucial function of expressing the topic highest in the macrostructure hierarchy, and, therefore, the subjectively most important information of a news report. This means that this link between macrostructure and superstructures may be ideologically manipulated. Semantically subordinate topics may be “upgraded” and put in the headline, thus assigning more prominence to them and vice versa (Van Dijk, 1995:28).

It is very important to check the schematic superstructures of a news item, because in the study of discourse the schemes and themes are closely related. The superstructure schemata provide us with a clear picture of how differently the various newspapers report the event in the form of discourse as well as the thematic structures of their respective discourse style (Wang, 1993). The **FM** provides a complete scheme for the story. Its news discourse contains comprehensive schematic categories in ‘summary’ and ‘story’ within the element of the ‘story’. The categories of ‘situation’ and of ‘comments’ are also covered in great details. The **JP** and **QN**, on the contrary, present a very simple superstructure schema for the news story. It seems that they utilize a single-line discourse structure to describe this particular news event. The researcher can not make generalizations that these two newspapers treat all news items in the same way.

4.1.2. Syntactic Structures

Newspapers operate at syntactic level. While structuring news headlines newspapers manipulate syntax is a vital device to create a meaning out of a certain text. Consequently, certain words or phrases are reduced or removed. In her discussion of the syntactic structure of news reports, Najjar (1996) cites Van Dijk (1988). She says syntactic structure betrays underlying ideological positions. For example, using passive constructions and deleting agents from typical subject position connotes the negative actions of powerful groups.

The best way to look at the syntactic structures of the newspapers in question is to examine the syntactic structure of the propositions regarding the operations by Palestinians against Israelis or Israelis against Palestinians. The researcher found many items. In each item the transitivity of the syntactic structure has been examined as revealed in how explicit the agent, the object of the action, and the action itself are described.

The researcher followed Nir and Roeh (1992) in the way they divided the syntactic structures into four major groups, arranged in decreasing ‘degrees of transitivity’:

Nominalization

is the use of a noun or an adjective instead of an explicit verb. In his discussion of the technical features of discourse. Lemke (1995) believes that nominalization is only the most

obvious special case of a more general feature of technical discourse that he called *condensation*:

In brief, nominalization allows an entire activity, a Process complete with its particular participants and circumstances, to be understood merely by naming it with the process noun. The whole implied activity can then be qualified and related to other activities in a highly condensed manner. The complete activities, and thus the complete meanings are only recoverable by readers familiar with the thematic formations of relevant intertexts in which the activities are explicitly presented (Lemke 1995:60)

In many cases the headlines of the newspapers are phrased in the form of noun phrase:

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
<i>Death of baby in Hebron (AN)</i> <i>Killed in a bomb attack (QN)</i>	<i>10 killed, hundreds wounded in “Nakba” riots (JP)</i>

Use of the passive verb with no mention of the agent:

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
	<i>Man killed in Ramallah (JP)</i> <i>Settler stabbed to death in Hebron (HA)</i> <i>Israeli killed in car shooting near West Bank (HA)</i> <i>Hebron man killed in a terror attack (JP)</i> Palestinian shot after he tries to stab soldier dies of wounds (JP)

Use of passive verb with mention of agents:

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
<i>12 injured in new confrontations by the occupation forces (AN)</i> <i>15 residents injured by settlers (QN)</i>	<i>Palestinian killed in clashes with IDF near Hebron (JP)</i> <i>IDF soldier shot dead by Palestinian sniper in Hebron (JP)</i> <i>Palestinian teenager killed by IDF fire near Hebron (JP)</i>

transitive active structure with mention of the agent:

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
<i>Israel arrests a Palestinian intelligence officer (FM)</i> <i>Netanyahu supports the settlers in Tel Remeideh (QN)</i>	<i>Force killed Hamas men at short range (HA)</i>

We notice that in newspapers headlines, all function words are deleted. Through the analysis of newspapers headlines, it seems that there is a *tendency* in *some* Israeli newspapers while reporting attacks by Palestinians on Israelis to bring the agent into focus. While, when attacks by Israeli soldiers or settlers are reported, *generally*, no mention of the agent is made. A similar pattern is noticed in the Palestinian newspapers.

4.2. Rhetorical devices

The goal of this part is to reveal how the newspapers use certain rhetorical devices to support, persuade, and reinforce their arguments and interests.

4.2.1. Metaphors

Both Israeli and Palestinian newspapers used metaphor. This section presents firstly the use of metaphor by Israeli newspapers. Then the use of metaphor in Palestinian newspapers follows:

As the study shows, Israeli newspapers use of metaphor implies that Israel finds itself in a bad situation because it is obliged to oppress the Palestinians (Van Teeffelen, 1994). At the same time it tries to find reasons for its policies against the Palestinians. On the other hand, the Palestinians use metaphor to achieve political aims and interests. The metaphor that is used by both sides has an effect on the reader's perception of the Palestinian / Israeli society as well as the political and military actions of both sides (Van Teeffelen, 1994).

The Israeli newspapers exploit a number of themes that show the threats of the Palestinian "terrorists". These ideologies and other Western images of the Palestinians give negative attitudes. Other themes in the Israeli newspapers emphasize the homelessness and lawlessness of the Palestinian Arab fighters trained to fight Israel:

*Hundreds of thousands of **demonstrators rampaged** through **IDF** roadblocks around the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The **demonstrators** ignored appeals by the Palestinian authority and attacked **IDF soldiers in Gaza and in West Bank in a violent** commemoration of the 50th anniversary of al-Nakba ("the catastrophe"), the Palestinian term for the founding of the state of Israel. (JP)*

*PM Netanyahu pinned the blame on the PA for **stirring up** hostility to Israel. (JP)*

*"It is easy to **whip up a frenzy** of bloodshed and violence: he said"*

We can not tolerate a situation in which violence erupts whenever there are points of difference in the negotiating process. (JP)

*Young demonstrators began to **stream** to the IDF checkpoints. The most severe rioting was at Erez roadblock where Palestinians **mobbed** a police station and headed for the IDF checkpoints. (JP)*

*The Palestinian demonstrators **poured into** the streets. PA aid hunt for killers of two settlers. The **assailants** then approached the vehicle, and fired again before fleeing with Liebman's weapon. (JP)*

It is clear from these news items that Israeli newspapers use a lot of metaphors in its coverage of the events in the Gaza strip and the West bank.

The Israeli newspapers used the metaphor of **volcano, water, heat and animals**. The metaphor of **volcano** is used to show that the demonstrators are uncontrollable, dangerous, and may cause a lot of damage. In the same way, in many news items the metaphor of **water** is used to describe how dangerous the Palestinian demonstrators are: "began to **stream** to IDF, **poured into** the streets, who **swept** past them." The metaphor of heat is used also to

show that the Palestinians are under their leader’s control “string up” hostility, “sparked” clashes, fed a diet of hostility. The metaphor of **animal** is also employed to achieve certain effects. As Van Teeffelen (1994) says the **animal** metaphor insinuates the mob to be either beyond control-run ‘wild’ – or under control of the leader- as in ‘a mob of sheep’. Here the writer wants to tie the metaphors in with the behaviourism theory and how outsiders manipulate mass behaviour: “hunt for killers, whip up a frenzy of bloodshed, who roam free, Palestinian mobbed a police station”.

The metaphors of **volcano**, **water**, **heat**, and **animals** point to the rushness and speed of people’s movement. The term **hunt** is a term suitable to people hunting animals, and its use to refer to the Palestinian strugglers reinforces the non-human factor. Given our understanding of what animals are like, the animal metaphors are often used to characterize the personalities of the people. The readers of the newspapers are designed to be consistent with such metaphorical estimations of animal personalities. Thus, for example, if the demonstrators are seen as aggressive, deceitful, paranoid, intransigent, the readers will treat them differently than they would if they are portrayed to them as trustworthy, peace-loving, and cooperative. Such metaphorical preconceptions about animal personality lie behind their policy.

Metaphors consistently create images to support themes. For example, to support the Jerusalem Post theme of the need to crack down Hamas movement in the territories, Hamas is seen as a physical body that must be harmed physically. Violent verbs such as eliminate ‘knock out’, ‘eradicate’, ‘crack down’, ‘break the bone of’, are used. As Vaughan (1995) says: the use of these verbs in a serious editorial (rather than say, on the sports page) draws the discourse of sports and fighting on an individual level into the discourse of higher-level political commentary, creating a response in the reader that weaves into his or her arguments posed (Vaughan, 1995: 70)

As the study shows, the Palestinian newspapers use the metaphor in the same way as the Israelis. They use it to describe the barbarity, bestiality, wildness and the savagery of the occupation. But they also use it positively when describing how noble the martyrs are.

In describing the Israeli side, we read these lines in different Palestinian newspapers and magazines:

*Tel Rmaideh settlement is considered a **nest** of racist Khakh movement. (QN)*

*The Israeli soldiers entered Qana as **hungry wolves**. (FM)*

*The offspring of **monkeys and swines**. (FM)*

*A deadly **snake** stopped in his way. (FM)*

*Tomorrow the **injustice** will **vanish** in its **nest**. (FM)*

In these lines the Israeli side is portrayed as animals in its cruelty and fierceness. These metaphors make quite clear perception of ‘Israelis’ as non-human bestial. ‘Swine’ and ‘monkeys’ are profoundly offensive insults to the Jews. It should be noted that this particular system of beliefs is not created by the newspapers. Fowler (1991) believes that they are part of the culture. He adds:

There is a theoretical point to be emphasized, that the paradigm, the particular system of beliefs, pre-exists these news reports, being part of the general discourse of the paper and, more widely, of the culture of its production and consumption. The animal insults are not judgements formed specifically for the evaluation of X on this occasion, but an expression of a set of general prejudices (Fowler, 1991:118).

The occupation, in the Palestinian metaphor, is portrayed as the darkness and injustice that will disappear forever. In the Palestinian metaphor darkness means the occupation, slavery and homelessness. However, light means freedom, liberation and self-determination. Moreover, the Palestinians use the metaphor of animals/ birds to give dignity to the Palestinian strugglers and martyrs:

And a flight (flock) of eagles above the Pleiads (FM). Here the martyrs are portrayed as eagles. Najjar (1996) says the metaphor of bodies presents martyrs as essential to the movement toward the goal or as the bridge of the gap over the abyss. These metaphors show that the act of martyrdom deserves approval and praise because it is worthy and honorable. Praise legitimizes the act of martyrdom and indirectly prescribes more sacrifice for independence.

The Palestinian newspapers are full with metaphors that call for sacrifice:

The uprising is a flaming fire (FM).

Palestine is a bride, and to attain it, one needs a dowry paid in blood. AN

Palestinian bodies are bridges (QN).

Occupation is slavery (FM).

Liberation is freeing Palestinian from slavery (AN).

And the Palestinian continues paying the blood tax for their freedom and independence. (QN)

Metaphor creates meaning. It pushes the reader to pay attention by its conceptualization of issues. Metaphors are not just words and phrases. They tend to be taken for granted because they are rooted in everyday discourse.

4.2.2. Euphemism

The language of newspapers and magazines is full of euphemisms and abstract things. The use of euphemisms in the news tends to depersonalize the result of a certain conflict, i.e. to hide its human impact:

Security and military zone vs siege and imposed curfew, IDF (Israeli Defense Force, the Guard of Border) vs the Israeli soldiers, eliminate vs kill, events vs carnage and massacre, our partner vs Yasser Arafat, entrance vs invasion, freed vs escape, enter vs break into, military zone vs sealed of Judia and Sumaria, rest vs bury, security forces vs the soldiers of the occupation, construction of new houses vs expansion of settlements for Israeli settlers, Hebron man vs settler. (JP, HA)

Netanyahu uses “our partner” as a euphemism for the Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat.

The Israeli news are replete with euphemisms. Instead of saying that the Israeli army imposed curfew on a Palestinian city, it says the **IDF** (Israeli Defense Forces) and security forces announced that city a closed military zone. First, it portrays Israeli soldiers as defense security forces who have legitimacy. They are defending and securing their land. Secondly, their measure on the Palestinian city is given a polite name. It is a closed military zone and not a curfew. To the Palestinian they are the same because in both cases the residents are under siege and they will not be able to move in and out freely.

In other news items Israeli press treats the Israeli settlers in Hebron as residents whereas from Palestinian point of view they have no right to live in Hebron. For example, in a headline in the **JP** we read:

A Hebron man killed in terror attack.

By this structure of the headline the Israeli settler was treated as a legitimate resident of Hebron and the Palestinians who stabbed him are characterized as terrorists. From a Palestinian point of view, they have the right to kill any Israeli as long as they are occupying their land.

In other news item the Israeli press refers to the Palestinian land which was occupied in 1948 as the **Green Line** as we read in the **JP**:

Rallies inside the Green Line passed peacefully.

However, the Palestinian press refers to them as "the Arab and Palestinian land of 48. i.e. the Palestinian land which was occupied in 1948. (FM)

Najjar (1996) supports the idea that the Palestinian newspapers never use Israeli terminology:

Alkatib never uses ‘Israel Defense Forces’(IDF), the official name of the Israeli army, but uses substitutes such as ‘the Israeli army’, ‘the occupation forces’, ‘the occupation army’, ‘the army’, ‘army forces’, and ‘soldiers’. The magazine places the words Israeli ‘Border Guards’ in quotation marks to suggest that it rejects the term for soldiers who have a reputation for brutality (Najjar 1996:517)

After the peace talks, some Palestinian newspapers tried to prepare the Palestinian for the new stage of peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. So some new terms appeared on the newspapers such as the term of *"our partner in the peace process vs the Israel enemy. QN Our partner vs the Israel government QN The other side vs the Israel government QN*

4.2.3. Stereotypes

If we look again at the newspaper items, we find the categorization is very much presented. The study shows that words and phrases are used to categorize the Palestinians and the Israelis and to predicate attribute of them.

The Palestinians are characterized as the following in the Israeli news:

Terror groups, Islamic militants, security prisoners Fatah strugglers, our enemy, Palestinian terrorists suicide bombers, Jihad terrorists, suicide bombers, Moslem revolutionaries, extremist Moslem terror gang, demonstrators, killers, assailants, local Islamic militants, the Palestinian Authority, Palestinian Arab terrorist, Arab killers, killers of Americans, the master Hamas bomb-maker, rioters.

The Israelis are characterized as the following in the Palestinian news:

Jewish terror, Jewish terrorists, army under-cover units murderers, death squads, extremists Jewish settlers, extreme rabbis, extreme right wing activists, Zionist Israelis, Israeli occupation, Jewish settlements.

The way the two parties categorize each other tell us how the structure of the ideological world is portrayed in the newspapers. All stereotypes are a manifestation of power and ideology. In characterizing each other we can see reference to actors and reference to events.

4.3. Reference to actors

The corpus of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict news items is replete with mentions of actors. They are referred to in different ways. The researcher sorted the ways in which actors are mentioned as follows:

a) Mention by name:

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
<i>Natanyahu support settlers in Tell Rmeadeh by building fixed houses for them (QN)</i>	<i>Oslo is an evil accord, Natanyahu tells wife of Shlomo Ra'anan (HA) Shlomo Ra'anan was killed in Hebron. (JP).</i>

b) Age of group:

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
<i>A baby died because an Israeli roadblock prevented her mother from entering the hospital. (AN)</i>	<i>Shlomo Ra'anan, 63, of Tell Rumeida was killed (JP).</i>

c) Residence and Place.

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
<i>Settler stabbed to death in Hebron (AN) Five residents were injured in Hebron (QN). A mother of five children shot dead in her house in Rammallah (AN)</i>	<i>Hebron man killed in terror attack (JP)</i>

d) Nationality.

from Palestinian newspapers	from Israeli Newspapers
<i>Jewish extremists put the last nail in the peace coffin (AN) PLO men hit by rubber bullets (AN). Palestinian prisoners stage hunger strike (FM).</i>	<i>In Jenin, five Palestinians were injured (JP).</i>

These categories refer to the actors in terms of their position in the society. Mention by name is very important. *Generally*, in Israeli newspapers, most of the Jewish actors are mentioned by name. The reference to Palestinians was by gender, age, or occupation. This is the same in Palestinian newspapers. The reference by name to a person gives him a clear-cut identity and is dedicated to Palestinian actors.

By mentioning the age, the Palestinian newspapers try to give a message to the world that the Israeli soldiers do not differentiate between a baby or an elderly, man or a woman- *A baby dies in her way to hospital (AN)*, and *Qusay Hani Tamimi, three months old, dies on his way to the hospital*. Both of whom died as a result of the strict instructions that the Israeli soldiers follow at the checkpoints in Hebron between 24 and 27 August 1998, respectively (AN). In other cases, a lot of Palestinian women were shot dead in their homes while the Israeli

soldiers were shooting fires randomly. The killings of women and infants show how cruel, savage and barbarous the occupation is.

In her discussion of the issue of the age Najjar (1996: 514) cites the notes of Colin McIntyre to show that the age of the death is seen as significant when it is shockingly young: “the age says that those honored gave their lives when young, making the sacrifice that much greater” (1990: 63).

She emphasizes that the inclusion of location of the death gives a sense of place and community. She illustrates with vivid examples that “no corner of the occupied territories is safe under occupation, on the top of them and directly below them, ..., one *man with bad eyesight died when he fell off his own flat roof where he was sleeping after soldiers invaded his home* (1994: 515).

4.4. Reference to events

The use of different labels for the same events also reflects support or denial of the actions taken by both sides. Naming an event can be a measure of legitimacy. Nobody denies that terms like resistance, struggle, are more legitimate than riot and violence. In this connection, we find a lot of differences between Israeli and Palestinian newspapers. This is not unexpected since the Palestinians look for these actions as rightful and legitimate resistance against the occupation. However, the Israelis newspapers look at the action from another point of view.

Conclusion

The newspapers presented the same main argument, that is, the discourse of newspapers is a tool of social political production, highly reflected within the power structures and giving values and beliefs about the world. Newspapers are basically oriented to achieve certain interests. When writers begin to write, they reveal their own stance towards what is written. No newspaper writes from an objective God’s eye view (Lemke 1995:4).

As what has been well established in the literature, the language in the newspapers is used to form ideas and beliefs. The discourse features played an influential role in the construction of ideas. Linguistic resources and rhetorical devices are manipulated to serve a range of functions, for example to enhance a belief, to justify a position and to counter an argument. It would be very useful to present the following arguments represented by various newspapers for each nation in question:

Regarding Palestine, Palestinian newspapers suggest that Israel should stop its encroachment policy towards the Palestinians (**FM**). As the occupation continues, settlers plan expansion, closure leads to gross losses from the Palestinian economy. **AN** deems that Israel must help the Palestinian Authority set up a strong government that is capable of controlling the territories. **QN** suggests that the Palestinians demand their own state. Two different sets of pressure are exerted on the Palestinians; establishing a strong government and fighting “terrorism”.

Regarding Israel, Palestinian newspapers view Israel as trying to destroy the peace process through closing the territories and expansion of settlements. **AN** deems that Israel should not close the territories under any circumstances. By closing the territories Israel puts the Palestinian Authority in a hard situation through its strict policy. Clearly, there are two sets of pressure acting on Israelis; continuing the peace process and stopping the establishment of settlements.

All these arguments have in common a criticism of the way Israel has been dealing with the Palestinian problem. **FM** and **AN** are the most critical of Israel. The Israeli newspapers **HA** and **JP** go through a process of self-examination, concluding that the Israeli government does not represent the majority of the Israelis.

By making explicit the strategies used by newspaper writers to represent what is happening in the world, we can gain insights of how discourse features are used to manipulate ideologies and social beliefs. Rhetorical and linguistic devices are only few forms of discourse structures. The researcher examined a limited set: syntactic structures, thematic structure, schematic structure, metaphor, euphemism, and stereotypes.

The study shows that different newspapers structure newspaper headlines in a way that cope with their ideologies. By applying this strategy, a different story is told and consequently a different impact is obtained. Other news items show that metaphor is frequently used in newspapers by political figures. By using metaphor, they play with words and play down the value of certain events. Metaphors are not mere words or ideas; they represent modes of thought and frame the discourse of certain newspapers. The rhetorical thrust of metaphors helps to foreground some elements and background others. The aim, however, is to reveal methods in which the study of discourse provides tools of gaining insights into newspapers discourse.

Many studies have shown that there is a strong relation between discourse features and linguistic process. The findings of this study reveal that the coverage of newspapers to certain events is different both structurally and qualitatively. Other findings suggest that the coverage of newspapers to a certain event is determined by cultural, social, ideological, and political factors. As underlined in the literature, the findings in this paper indicated that language is used to express national identities and the ideological leanings. The Palestinian rhetoric is manipulated to create an image about their right in Palestine, their rightful and heroic resistance, and condemning Israeli aggression. Similarly, Israeli newspapers manipulated rhetorical devices to justify their deeds and legitimate their aggression. In conclusion, language plays an important role in how a certain event or incident is perceived and thus we react in accordance to a mainstream of a newspaper ideology. Our reactions are shaped to a great extent by the way the pieces of news are represented. As suggested by Atawneh (2010), the Palestinians were viewed by Israelis as terrorists and Israelis were viewed by Palestinians as occupiers forcing themselves in settlements taken by force with the support of USA and the Israeli and maintaining their occupation by means of military power.

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