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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Israeli Political Speeches before Normalization with Arab Countries

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Keywords: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Critical discourse analysis-Normalization-Political Speeches-Textual Analysis-Discursive Practice-Social Practice and Zionism	Abstract <p>The current study is a Critical Discourse Analysis of Israeli Political Speeches before Normalization with Arab Countries that shows the mutual effort between Israel and Arabs countries to achieve normalization. The most important aims of the current study are; i) Investigating whether normalization and peace process are presented positively or negatively in the Israeli Political Speeches before normalization. ii) Identifying the textual analysis of speeches that are used by the three Israeli politicians before normalization period. iii) Showing the discursive practices which are used in the Israeli Political Speeches before normalization. The aims are only outcomes to the following problems; what is the most influential political speech type is used? What is the textual analysis used in the Israeli Officials' Political Speeches before normalization? What are the discursive practices used by Israeli Politicians before normalization? Fulfilling the above aims, the study hypothesizes that Israeli politicians employ the language to serve their purposes through using different strategies. Finally, Language is utilized to show Israel's hegemony and victory through Israeli politicians' speeches. The data have been selected from Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs website. The</p>
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Available online 23-1-2022	Israeli Political Speeches are analyzed ideologically and linguistically according to Fairclough's three-dimensional approach (1989, 1995, and 2010). To sum, the selected Israeli Political Speeches before normalization have explicit negative ideologies more than the ones after normalization.
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التحليل النقدي لنصوص الخطابات السياسية الاسرائيلية قبل التطبيع مع البلدان العربية

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<p>الخلاصة: تُبين هذه الدراسة الحالية و الموسومة التحليل النقدي لنصوص الخطابات السياسية الاسرائيلية قبل التطبيع مع البلدان العربية الجهود المشتركة بين العرب و اسرائيل لإتمام التطبيع. و الاهداف المهمة لهذه الدراسة هي (١) التحقق في ما اذا عُرِضَ التطبيع و عملية السلام ايجاباً أم سلباً في الخطابات السياسية الاسرائيلية قبل التطبيع. (٢) استبانة التحليل النصي للخطب التي يستخدمها السياسيون الاسرائيليون الثلاث قبل فترة التطبيع. (٣) بيان الاساليب الاستطرادية التي تستخدم في الخطابات السياسية الاسرائيلية قبل التطبيع.</p> <p>وما الاهداف الا هي نتائج للقضايا التالية؛ ما هو أكثر أنواع الخطاب السياسي تأثيراً؟ ما هو التحليل النصي المُستخدم في الخطابات السياسية للمسؤولين السياسيين الاسرائيليين قبل التطبيع؟ ما هي الاساليب الاستطرادية التي يستخدمها السياسيون الاسرائيليون قبل التطبيع؟ و لتحقيق الاهداف اعلاه، تفترض هذه الدراسة بان السياسيين الاسرائيليين سخروا اللغة لخدمة غاياتهم من خلال استخدام مختلف الاستراتيجيات. و ختاماً، أُستخدمت اللغة لبيان هيمنة و تفوق اسرائيل من خلال خطابات السياسيين الاسرائيليين. في ما جُمعت المعلومات من موقع وزارة الخارجية الاسرائيلية. و حُللت الخطابات السياسية الاسرائيلية فكرياً و لغوياً طبقاً لنموذج فيركلف ذي الابعاد الثلاثة (١٩٨٩ ، ١٩٩٥ ، و ٢٠١٠). وبالمختصر المفيد، تَظهرُ الافكار السلبية واضحة في الخطابات السياسية الاسرائيلية قبل التطبيع أكثر مما هي عليه بعد التطبيع.</p>	<p>الكلمات الدالة:-</p> <p>- تحليل الخطاب النقدي</p> <p>-التطبيع</p> <p>-خطابات سياسية</p> <p>-تحليل نصي</p> <p>-التطبيق الخطابى</p> <p>-التطبيق الاجتماعي و الصهيونية</p> <p>معلومات البحث</p> <p>تاريخ البحث:</p> <p>الاستلام: ٢٠٢١-٧-١٢</p> <p>القبول: ٢٠٢١-٨-٣٠</p> <p>التوفر على النت 23-1-2022</p>
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1. Introduction

The Israeli Politicians utilize language and propaganda for their purposes. The strategy of employing language to certain purposes gains a lot of interest and compassion in the Western mass media in its different kinds: visual, audio and printed media. The Israeli Politicians focus on what so-called their 'historical rights' and regular repetition of Jerusalem, Golan Heights, Arab terrorism, clashes in West Bank and Hebron. That makes Israel and its crises be the main thought in the westerners' minds, causing offensive and negative thoughts about Israel be forgotten. Ideologically speaking, political speeches have the power of changing the conflict and ideas.

In fact, the adequate exploitation of language manipulation of politics could grant political benefit and firmly regulate people against their interests. When situations demand politicians to grab the mass to their ideology, surely, political discourse dialectically articulated can be a unique vehicle towards achieving that ultimate end. Since its creation in 1948, Israeli Propaganda has been devising ways of misleading public opinion and corrupting the minds of people worldwide. This, in turn, depends on strategies result from profound experience. Another important factor can be added to strengthen their propaganda that Israel is multi-races and languages nation, that is to say, it can target any nation by immigrants who speak the language of targeted nation and share the same cultural heritage.

2. Discourse Analysis

In study of language, some of the most interesting questions arise in connection with the way language is used, rather than what its components are. All analysts take language as their focus of interest. It is also implied by Burr (1995: 163) that conversation analysis involves a form of discourse analysis, while it could also be said that discursive psychology, interactional sociolinguistics and all of the different strands of critical discourse analysis are also forms of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is mainly a qualitative form of analysis; traditionally it has involved a 'close reading' of a small amount of text, such as a detailed transcription of a conversation. Although in more recent years, discourse analysts have started to utilize quantitative one.

We are asking how it is that language users make sense of what we read in texts, understand what speakers intend in spite of what they say, recognize connected as opposed to jumbled or incoherent discourse, and successfully take part in that complex activity called conversation. It is undertaking what is known as discourse analysis (Yule, 1996 :139).

Branches of knowledge are being developed; each day has new inventions and discoveries. The field which is called Discourse Analysis appears in different disciplines of the humanities like anthropology, literary studies, semiotics, psychology, sociology, and a new interdisciplinary field of study has come from the social sciences and linguistics speech communication. It is remarkable that the development of modern discourse analysis begins at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s (Van Dijk, 1988: 17; Baker et al , 2011:32).

As some discourse analysts focus on how meaning and structure are shown in texts, others, since the early 1990s, have used discourse analysis more extremely to examine issues relating to power, inequality and ideology. However, all forms of discourse analysis have tended to stress the importance of examining occurring texts even if

methods of analysis focus (e.g. the extent to which intertextuality, methods of production and reception or socio-historical context is considered). It is claimed by Burr (1995: 163) that the term is an 'umbrella which covers a wide variety of actual research practices with quite different purposes and theoretical backgrounds.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The researcher views that an approach to the analysis of discourse which views language as a social practice and is interested in the ways that power relations and ideologies are shown through language. Critical discourse analysts are especially interested in issues of inequality, sometimes keeping in mind the question 'who benefits?' when carrying out the Critical Discourse Analysis, unlike many other forms of linguistic analysis, is not only concerned with words on a page but also involves examining social context. That is to say, asking why and how the words came to be spoken or written and what other texts are being referenced by them. Norman Fairclough (1989) developed the approach of three-dimensional framework which is adopted for analyzing CDA texts. The first stage, description, involves text analysis, correlating with critical linguistics which itself was developed. The second stage, interpretation, focuses on the relationship between text and interaction, seeing the text as both a product of the process of production and a resource in the process. The relationship between interaction and social context is examined by the final stage explanation, considering the social effects of the processes of production and interpretation.

2.2 The Prominent Figures of CDA

There are many scholars who study subject in great detail and have contribution in order to develop the field of critical discourse analysis. As CDA is constructed of various approaches including socio-cognitive studies, sociocultural change and change in discourse, French discourse analysis, critical linguistics and social semiotics. All these different approaches have been studied by different scholars like , Van Dijk , Fairclough and Van Leeuwen(Barker and Galasiński, 2001: 62). The most powerful scholars in the developing and enhancing the role of CDA are; Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk., Ruth wodak, Theo van Leeuwen, and Mechil Foucault.

2.2.1 Norman Fairclough: He is a genius sociolinguist at Lancaster University. In spite of his retirement in 2004, he is now an Emeritus Professor and he has joined the Institute for Advanced Studies as Honorary Research Fellow. Moreover, he presides over "Deputy Director of the Centre for Cultural Political Economy Research".

2.2.2 Fairclough's Approach

A three-level CDA framework which aims at raising the consciousness of social relations is adopted by Fairclough, "through focusing upon language" (Fairclough, 1989: 4). The three-level framework which is concerned with analyzing data is created by Fairclough, specifically on the levels of text analysis (written or spoken), a discourse practice, and a social practice. Fairclough (2010: 3-4) confirms that CDA has three basic properties:-

Firstly, its primary focus is on complex social relations, not on entities or individuals (things and persons) because of its being relational. Secondly, because CDA depends on works of various fields, it is an interdisciplinary form of analysis. Thirdly, the relations are being between objects that are separated but not discrete from each other

so that it is called dialectical in this sense. For example, the relation between power and discourse, discourse and power even though they are different elements but not discrete in the social process, i.e. they are connected with each other.

Fairclough (1989: 10) identifies his approach as "an alternative orientation, not just as another method of language study. " What he identifies as "a social theory of discourse" is an attempt to "bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language"(Fairclough, 1992: 92). Discourse is presented by Fairclough as a three dimensional concept, Fairclough (1989, 1992a, 2001b). Briefly speaking, three linguistic levels are included in this method of discourse analysis; description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 2010: 132).

2.2.2.1 Textual Analysis (Description)

Text analysis is the first analytical level in Fairclough's three dimensional approach. Fairclough (1992: 75) mentions that in analyzing texts, one's focus will be on four main headings which are ascended on a scale. These are: Vocabulary which deals with individual words, grammar which deals with words combined into clauses and sentences, cohesion which deals with how clauses and sentences are linked together, and text structure which deals with "large scale organizational properties of texts". To analyze those linguistic features is possibly important for a CDA approach. Doing so, Fairclough (ibid: 73-76) states that a distinction between meaning and form is required. As named by De Saussure, "Signified" and "Signifier". In linguistic traditions, while De Saussure (Abdul Hameed:25)and others consider the relation between signified and signifier as arbitrary; the relation between signified and signifier as socially motivated is viewed by Fairclough and other CD analysts.

2.2.2.2 Discursive Practice (Interpretation)

The analysis of discursive practices involves consideration of text production and distribution processes, adding to them texts consumption and interpretation by different consumers, as media audiences. All of these items are Fairclough's concern in this model (Fairclough, 1995a: 9). It is also taken into account, in this model, the relational and dialectical relations between media texts and sociocultural events, such as social change. With this result, Fairclough's CDA approach has skillfully been developed to understand not just a text, but also tries to understand the world where this text has been produced. As a result, that would lead to more logical interpretations of the text with its embedded power relations, implicitly and explicitly.

For that reason, CDA is all about analyzing a particular text, in its wider context of discursive practices and its influence on sociocultural practices. That leads us to say , partly to put the presuppositions of a text and the way they are produced and arranged within the context of cultural and social practices in order to grasp the power and ideological relations embedded in that text (Richardson, 2007:36-38).

2.2.2.3 Social Practice (Explanation)

Social practice analyzes discourse in relation to ideology and power, viewing power as a means for hegemony (Fairclough , 1992: P.86). This is the third level of Fairclough's approach which deals with things more than discourse and language. Logically speaking, this level goes beyond the process of interpretation and production of texts so as to study their social effects as it is concerned with analyzing the relationship between interaction and social context (Fairclough, 1989: 26). In this level, the relationships of text to the social, political, economic, and ideological

practices with outside society are shown. (Richardson, 2007: 114 ; Fairclough, 1995 a : 62). The analyst has to consider the outside influences on journalism and text production, as the journalism and the social world affects each other; that is shown in the case of analyzing newspapers discourse (Richardson, 2007: 114).

2.2.3 Power

Surely speaking, there is always a purpose for a special utilize of language. Thus, an accurate choice is always made by people when something is said or written. The specific way of language use made by people is what makes a language powerful (Weiss & Wodak , 2003: 14) . Our real experience is constructed by the structure of power in society and discourse that is reflected in discourses too (Lather, 1991:25). If not always, power is one of the 36 central concepts of CDA because CDA often aims at analyzing "language use of those in power".

2.2.4 Ideology

First of all, the concept of ideology is extremely important in the field of CDA because this field is concerned with unveiling the ideologies of everyday and institutional discourse. The French philosopher Destutt de Tracy firstly utilized the concept of ideology when he presented it as "the science of ideas" (Van Dijk, 2011: 381). Later, this term is given many definitions and adopted by many scholars. For instance, it is denoted by Fairclough (1992: 87) that ideology is the sense of reality, i.e. "the physical world, social relations, social identities" which are expressed by various forms and meanings of discursive practices, "which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation" of power relations. In this definition, Fairclough links ideology to the relations of power and inequalities, which lead to maintaining domination. Moreover, ideology is defined by Van Dijk (1998: 8) as the set of ideas, values and beliefs shared by members of a certain group which presents a limited view of the world. It is added that ideology links social structure with social cognition.

2.2.5 Normalization between Israel and Arab Countries

The Middle East conflict has major influence on global politics, the identities and interests of all conflicted nations. So far, for over sixty years, it has remained unresolved and various efforts made as part of the peace process seem to bring no long-lasting results. The roots of the Zionist -Arab conflict can be traced back to the beginnings of the Jewish settlements in Palestine which , in the 19th century, was chosen by the Israelis as the location of the future state of Israel and supported by Great Britain under state of Israel and supported by Great Britain under the 1917 Balfour Declaration(Krolikowska, 2015:124-130).

After WW I, Principal Allied Powers obliged the British government to create favorable conditions for Jewish settlers in Palestine which resulted in a significant increase in the number of settlers. So, in 1939, when Europe experienced the outbreak of WW II, nearly 30% of Palestinian residents were of Jewish origin, and they formed their own self-government (ibid: 124-130).

Now, Zionism is defined as that national movement of the Jewish people that in its initial phase in the 19th and 20th century propagated the idea of establishing the state of Israel on the territory of Palestine and halting assimilation of Jews living in Diaspora. Its name derives from the word 'Zion', which is one of the Old Testament names for Jerusalem and the Israeli land (As cited, cf. Davis 2003; MacAllister 2008). The

initiative figure of Zionism was Mordecai Manuel Noah who advocated the need to establish the state of Israel as early as in 1818.

3. Methodology. It sheds light on the reasons behind choosing these data, corpus, some models. Analytical instruments and procedures are used in this study.

3.1 Corpus

The corpus selected for the present study is the transcripts of three Israeli politicians' speeches from 2019 to 2021 in various occasions. The talks have been delivered and transcribed in English (not in Hebrew) because the speeches have been submitted by the Israeli government to the United Nations and those who are very alien to Hebrew language. UN participants from other countries as well as the rest of the world (including Arabs and Muslims) do not understand their language (Hebrew) because Hebrew is local language and spoken only by one nation. In fact, the Zionist movement proclaimed its interest not in peoplehood and territories, but in the restoration of Hebrew as a national language (Spolsky, 2008:68). Surely speaking; most people follow the speeches in English. English transcripts for the Israeli political speeches are easily found and downloaded from (mfa.gov.il). The political speeches are limited to Israeli President, Reuven Rivlin, Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, and Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi as shown in the tables(1),(2) and (3).

Table 1 Summary of the related information regarding Rivlin's Speeches

No.	Year	Date	Occasion	Period	Word count	Total
1	2019	Oct.10	Memorial ceremony for the fallen of 1973 Yom Kippur War	Before Normalization	704	1127
2	2019	Nov.6	When Rivlin addresses Christian summit	Before Normalization	423	

Table 2 Summary of the related information regarding Netanyahu's Speeches

No.	Year	Date	Occasion	Period	Word count	Total
1	2019	Dec.22	Netanyahu's remarks at the start of the weekly Cabinet meeting	Before Normalization	525	2472
2	2020	Jan.28	Netanyahu's remarks at the joint statements with U.S. President Donald Trump at the White House	Before Normalization	1947	

Table 3 Summary of the related information regarding Ashkenazi's Speeches

No.	Year	Date	Occasion	Period	Word count	Total
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1	2020	May.18	Ashkenazi's speech upon taking office	Before Normalization	1118	1624
2	2020	Aug.11	Ashkenazi holds political-security briefing for foreign diplomats at Israel's northern border	Before Normalization	506	

3.2 Procedures

The study begins by gathering the required data for the qualitative and quantitative analyses. For this aim, the scripts of six addresses before normalization have been tackled. The political speeches have been distributed as two ones to each official. They include the speeches of President Reuven Rivlin, the Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi. The Israeli political Speeches have been collected from the official website of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The audio files of the six political speeches have been downloaded and examined to check the accuracy and reliability of the scripts of the talks. The audio files and the scripts collected from the website are in English (not Hebrew). Fortunately, the Israeli officials delivered their talks in English in spite of their being alien to English. However, this eases the process of getting data. After confirming the quality and accuracy of the scripts of the talks (data) via reading and listening, they were saved on computer. Then, the analysis of the political speeches is done. We read each script to identify the frequency of the use of devices used by the three officials.

3.3 Data Selection and Description

The data selection for this study have been downloaded from the websites. The most influential one is the Israeli Foreign Ministry website (mfa.gov.il). So, all the Israeli political speeches have been downloaded from that site which has the suitable data for the present study. The selected data have been downloaded depending on the dates of speeches and positions of the Israeli officials during their political emergence. The political speeches have been limited to Israeli President, Reuven Rivlin, Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu , and Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi. Each one of them has two political speeches before normalization. Six political speeches have been selected for this study. The speeches will be analyzed according to Fairclough's model. Besides, the deadline for the period before normalization was 13th of Aug. 2020. The date 13th of Aug.2020 shows the announcement of normalization publicly, that is to say, the period after this date is a period of real normalization.

Here is a Fairclough's model is the selected and adopted one for doing this study which tends to investigate the Israeli political speeches which are said in different occasions. As this study tends to deal with social, political issues and to reveal hidden ideologies and to analyze identity behind their speeches, so this model is the most appropriate one. In brief, this method of discourse analysis includes three linguistic levels; description, interpretation, and explanation.

3.4 Qualitative vs. Quantitative Analysis

The purpose behind the qualitative analysis is to understand and analyze social interactions. Words and images are usually analyzed within qualitative analysis which identifies patterns, themes and features. Whereas the purpose of quantitative analysis is to test hypotheses, to look at cause and effect and to make predictions. This analysis must be subjective. Statics and numbers are usually analyzed within quantitative

analysis which identifies statistical relationships. This kind of analysis is objective (www.lancaster.ac.uk). These two kinds of analysis are going to be done in this study. Revealing the hidden ideologies are going to be done within the qualitative analysis whereas, the percentages of the used passive voice, intertextuality, modality, presuppositions are going to be shown within the quantitative analysis.

3.5 The Selected Israeli Political Speeches

All the Israeli Political Speeches below are taken from Israeli Foreign Ministry Website .They are six in number. They sequentially belong to Israeli President, Reuven Rivlin, Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, and then Foreign Minister Gabi Ashkenazi. Each one of them has two political speeches before normalization. The selected political speeches for this study have been taken from the website (mfa.gov.il); it is Israeli Foreign Ministry website. Six political speeches have been selected for this study. By the way, the deadline for the period before normalization was 13th of Aug.2020. The date (13th of Aug.2020) shows the announcement of normalization publicly, that is to say, the period after this date is a period of real normalization.

3.6 Qualitative Analysis

This study is concerned with analyzing and investigating the Israeli Political Speeches before normalization, so, certain political speeches are being selected for this purpose. To achieve this assignment, many tools are utilized in order to analyze and illustrate the ideologies and identities that have been presented in Israeli Political Speeches. These tools ; vocabulary, overlexicalisation, transitivity, modality, passivization, sentences length and complexity, presupposition and intertextuality are used by the researchers to examine the selected Israeli Political Speeches from Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs website which show ideologies and identities that are represented explicitly and implicitly.

3.7 Quantitative Analysis

This analysis is also required in order to present an objective analysis and avoid being subjective while analyzing. The political speeches are for three officials whom we care to their speeches before normalization.

4. Data Analysis and Results

Now, the first one is negative expressions which are widely utilized before normalization. In other words, they are utilized for 46 times in the three Israeli officials' political speeches before normalization as shown in table (4).

Table 4 Negative expressions (Before normalization)

No.	Official's name	Negative Expressions	Frequency	Total	
1	President Rivlin's speech on 10 th of Oct.2019	holocaust	1	17	
		anti-Semitism	3		
		anti-Semitic	1		
		Yom Kippur War	7		
2	President Rivlin's political speech on 6 th of November 2019.	Jerusalem is our capital	1		
		anti-Semitism	2		
		anti-Zionism	1		
		anti-Israel	1		
	Prime Minister Benjamin	ICC in Hague has a step backwards	1		

3	Netanyahu's speech on 22 nd of Dec.2019.	took a Palestinian claim who do not have a state	1	18
		Jew's homeland	1	
		continue to fight	2	
		struggle for our rights and our historical truth	1	
4	Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's speech on 28 th of January.	to recognize the state of Israel as a Jewish state	4	
		sovereignty on Judea and Samaria	6	
		confront	2	
5	Foreign Minister, Gabi Ashkenazi's speech on 18 th of May 2020.	the most complex periods in Israel	3	11
		the cost of our independence	1	
		operations on its borders	1	
		fought in the Yom Kippur War	1	
		the unique challenges facing us	1	
6	Foreign Minister, Gabi Ashkenazi's speech on 11 th of August 2020.	Israel supports a mandate	1	11
		Israel cannot remain indifferent	2	
		American proposal to extend the embargo	1	
Total				46

Also, overlexicalization is used by Gabi Ashkenazi's, Benjamin Netanyahu and President Rivlin as explained in table (5).

Table 5 Frequency of Overlexicalisation

Item/Officials	President Rivlin	Prime Minister Netanyahu	Foreign Minister Ashkenazi	Total
Synonymy	8	10	5	23
Hyponymy	2	1	2	5
Antonym	4	2	9	15
Nominalization	4	6	6	16
Negation	4	4	5	13
Adverb	6	8	11	25
Total	28	31	38	97

Table (6) shows the transitivity is used in different rates by the Israeli Officials according to the Table below.

Table 6 Transitivity in Israeli Politicians' Speeches before normalization

The period	Type of transitivity	Frequency	percentage	Total
	Mental	19	21.34 %	

Before normalization	Material	42	47.19 %	89
	Verbal	18	20.22 %	
	Behaviourial	2	2.24 %	
	Relational	4	4.49 %	
	Existential	4	4.49 %	
Total	-----	89	99.97 %	

Presupposition is assumption that is built in to an utterance. In other words, presupposition is a tool to analyze implicit or hidden meaning within the explicit media texts.

Table 7 The percentage of Presuppositions before normalization

The period	Presupposition type	Frequency	Percentage	Total use
Before normalization	Existential	28	21.53 %	130
	Factive	22	16.92 %	
	Non-factive	2	1.53 %	
	Lexical	64	49.23 %	
	Structural	10	7.69 %	
	Counterfactual	4	3.07 %	
Total	-----	130	99.97 %	

In addition, the modality is used in different rates by the Israeli Officials according to the Table below.

Table 8 Modality in Israeli Politicians' Speeches

The period	Meaning of Modal Verbs	Frequency	Percentage	Total
Before Normalization	intention	26	39.39 %	66
	obligation	9	13.63 %	
	ability	5	7.57 %	
	prediction	12	18.18 %	
	probability	4	6.06 %	
	inability	3	4.54 %	
	non-obligation	2	3.03 %	
	possibility	5	7.57 %	
Total	-----	66	99.97 %	

Table (9) shows passivization, presupposition and intertextuality and their counts for each Israeli Officials.

Table 9 Passivization and Intertextuality in Israeli Politicians' Speeches

Item/Official	President Rivlin	Prime Minister Netanyahu	Foreign Minister Ashkenazi	Total
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Passivization	4	24	12	40
External intertextuality	13	25	15	53
internal intertextuality	7	3	4	14
Total	24	52	31	107

We sum up , table (10) shows briefly the results and counts of all devices used by the researchers.

Table 10 Frequency and percentage of discursive devices in the six political speeches before normalization

Item/Official	President Rivlin		Prime Minister Netanyahu		Foreign Minister Ashkenazi		Total
Over-lexicalized Items	28	28.86 %	31	31.95 %	38	39.17 %	97
Negative expressions	16	34.78 %	18	39.13 %	12	26.08 %	46
Transitivity	21	23.59 %	38	42.69 %	30	33.70 %	89
Passivization	4	10 %	24	60 %	12	30 %	40
Sentences Counts	84	23.14 %	170	46.83 %	109	30.02 %	363
Presupposition	27	20.76 %	57	43.84 %	46	35.38 %	130
Modality	15	22.72 %	38	57.57 %	13	19. 69 %	66
External intertextuality	13	24.52 %	25	47.16 %	15	28.30 %	53
internal intertextuality	7	50 %	3	21.42 %	4	28.57 %	14
Total	215 (23.94 %)		404 (44.98 %)		279 (31.06 %)		898

5. Discussion

The period before normalization has more negative expressions and ideologies for many purposes. For the three Israeli officials, they utilize negative expression (46) times of their speeches. Transitivity is used in the before normalization period. They can be calculated below ; mental (19 times) , material (42 times), verbal (18 times) ,behavioural (2 times), relational (4 times) and existential (4 times).Modality is approximately utilized at the same rate in spite of the difference in number. Before normalization, (66) modal verbs are used. Of course, Israeli Politicians aim to convey the messages that these are red lines to Arabs if they come to peace and normalization. Also, more over-lexicalized items are appeared before normalization, it means the period before normalization expressed more negative expressions and ideologies concerning the vital issues about peace with neighbouring Arabs. Passivazation is shown in Israeli Political Speeches in different rates. So, the number of passive voice forms and its percentage in the period before normalization is approximately the highest

which tries to bring the focus on the vital issues in the Middle East. The percentage of using passivization before normalization is 11 %. The selected Israeli political speeches before normalization are long which means more and more paragraphs. They try to prove that Israel is strong whether in war or peace. The speeches before normalization consist (91) paragraphs. Consequently, the political speeches, before normalization, consist of (363) sentences. In turn, this simply means that the Political Speeches before normalization have more negative ideas and ideologies.

6. Conclusions

In the six selected Israeli Political Speeches before normalization, the Israeli Politicians use textual devices, discursive and social practices to achieve their mission through language; like, passivation, transitivity, overlexicalization and etc. They are widely used by Netanyahu because he is the Prime Minister, the influential position in Israel. Then, Ashkenazi, the Foreign Minister, because of his worldwide tours. At last, Rivlin, who presides over an honorary position, uses these strategies less than his comrades. Negative expressions and ideologies are widely utilized before normalization. Passivization is also used in Israeli Political Speeches mostly to bring the focus on political issues like peace, normalization and occupied territories. Passivization, before normalization, is widely used. Purposely, Mr. Rivlin, unlike Netanyahu and Ashkenazi, uses the passive voice economically before normalization because of their official positions. Presuppositions are also used by Israeli Officials as a magic strategy in conveying the implicit ideologies about their struggle and peace with their neighbours (Arabs countries).

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