



**Arab American University**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**Indirectness in Political Discourse: A Comparative  
Critical Discourse Analysis of Abbas and Netanyahu's  
United Nations General Assembly Political Speeches  
(2016-2018)**

By

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**This Thesis was Submitted in Partial Fulfillments of  
the Requirements for the Master's Degree in  
Intercultural Communication and Literature**

**March\ 2021**

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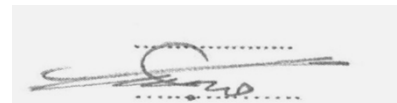
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### III Declaration

I, **Maria Ibrahim Abu Al-Rub**, student of the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the Arab American University hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**Indirectness in political discourse: A comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Abbas and Netanyahu's United Nations General Assembly Political Speeches (2016-2018)**”, is all by my own work and the resources that are used in this thesis (including the internet resources) have been referred to and properly acknowledged as required.

I declare that I have fully understood the concept of plagiarism and I acknowledge that my thesis will be immediately rejected in case of including any type of plagiarism.

**Maria Ibrahim Abu Al-Rub**

**Signature:**

طارق ابراهيم ابو الرب

#### IV

### **Dedication**

This thesis work is dedicated to God Almighty, who gave me more than I dreamed of; to my beloved parents, Ibrahim and Fidaa, who paved me the way to reach this day, and whom without I wouldn't be the person I am today; to my brothers and to my sister, who relieved the burden of life with their kind smiles; to my beloved relatives, who provided me with emotional and moral support; and to my loving husband, Osama who supported me and never lost his trust in me .

Lastly, I'm highly dedicated this study to my great supervisor, Prof. Abd-Al Sattar Qassim, may his soul rest in peace, the first one who was able to translate my thoughts into written words; and to Dr. Amjad Abu Al-Izz who supported and helped me when I was most in need of help.

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**Abstract**

Indirectness is a phenomenon that has been used by politicians universally. In this phenomena politicians prefer to convey their meanings without explicitly, clearly, and directly stating it to the public. Politicians, for many reasons, exploit indirectness, they prefer to exploit it when they are dealing with a sensitive issues or with another politician to take advantage of it since it appeals them to achieve different pragmatic functions, such as to build rapport, defend themselves, convince their audience, avoid responsibility, reject decisions politely, and to achieve politeness.

With regards to politics, indirectness is exploited heavily by politicians on nearly all of political occasions like on the political speeches. Due to the influential role indirectness plays at political speeches, political speeches have become an interesting and essential area to be investigated where a critical and pragmatic analysis can be done. In political speeches, politicians are able to achieve their political aims indirectly and ambiguously without being clear, direct, and honest. How politicians indirectly achieve their political aims and why is one of the issues that pragmatics field is concerned with and discussed where the analysts study the intended meaning of the politicians. As such, this study has been done to investigate the two politicians, Mahmoud Abbas and Benjamin Netanyahu's use of indirectness in their political speeches at the UN General Assembly 2016-2018 from a critical pragmatic perspective. This study examines six political speeches, three by Abbas and three by Netanyahu.

The analysis of the speeches has shown that politicians use many indirectness strategies in their political speeches to not only achieve politeness but also to achieve other pragmatic functions. Also, politicians in most cases fail to follow the four Grice's maxim to achieve the pragmatic functions they draw to achieve behind exploiting

indirectness. The politician's culture affects their use of indirectness but it is more as a personal skill that varies from one politician to another regarding their hidden intentions. Therefore, the five drawn hypotheses are confirmed.

The present study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the introduction that contains the problem, aims, hypothesis, limits, procedures, value of the study, definitions of the study terms, and theoretical background to critical discourse and pragmatic theories. Chapter two supplies the reader with a theoretical background of the relation between indirectness and pragmatics. Chapter three embarks upon the indirectness strategies that are used by Abbas and Netanyahu in their political speeches to the UN General 2016-2018. Chapter four dedicated to the analysis of the data. The fifth chapter presents conclusions and recommendations.

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# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction**

**1.1 Statement of the Problem**

**1.2 Aims**

**1.3 Hypotheses**

**1.4 Procedure**

**1.5 Limits of the Study**

**1.6 Value of the Study**

**1.7 Previous Literature and Studies**

**1.8 Definitions of the Study Terms**

**1.9 Discourse Analysis**

**1.10 Theoretical Background**

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**1.12 Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory**

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## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

In the field of pragmatics, there are many topics that are worthy to be investigated, indirectness is one of those topics. Indirectness is a universal phenomenon in which the speaker tends not to speak in a direct, clear and straight way, but in a vague and indirect way to avoid potential problems, avoid responsibility, or to steer the hearer to an intended point or an idea.

Indirectness is used to attain politeness, that what has been assumed by many scholars like Searle (1979), and Leech (1983), however, many other scholars like Blum-Kulka (1987) and Haugh (2015) argues that indirectness is not always utilized for politeness. This study conducted to figure out whether politicians always use indirectness only for politeness or not. The study endeavors to appropriately answer the following questions:

- What pragmatic strategies do the politicians utilize to achieve indirectness in their political speeches?
- Do politicians always employ indirectness to achieve politeness?
- What are the pragmatic functions the politicians intend to attain by employing indirectness if they do not always use indirectness for politeness?
- Do politicians violate the four Gricean's maxims in their political speeches, if yes, why?
- Do politician's culture affect their use of indirectness or it is a personal skill?

## 1.2 Aims

The study aims at:

- Identifying the pragmatic strategies that politicians use to achieve indirectness in the study data.
- Finding out if politicians always employ indirectness for politeness or not.
- Revealing the pragmatic functions behind the politicians' use of indirectness.
- Finding out whether politicians violate Gricean's four maxims in their political speeches and why they violate it.

## 1.3 Hypothesis

To achieve the previous aims, the study is based on the following hypothesis:

- Indirectness is used by the politicians in their political speeches
- Simultaneously, the politicians employ more than one indirect strategy
- Politicians do not always use indirectness for politeness
- Politicians often violate Grice's four maxims in their political speeches.

## 1.4 Procedure

The following steps are taken to investigate the above hypothesis:

- Mentioning theoretical information related to indirectness in general and its relationship with pragmatics in specific.
- Adding basic information about political speeches and political indirectness.
- Choosing the data to be analyzed (three speeches by the President Mahmoud Abbas, and three speeches by the prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu)

- looking at the data to be analyzed in terms of the models that are adopted by the researcher.
- Stating the conclusions reached from the results of the analysis.

### **1.5 Limits of the Study**

This study is confined to:

- Examining intentional indirectness only since pragmatics concerns only with this type of indirectness.
- Taking in consideration only the verbal indirectness. Many verbal indirectness strategies are chosen for analysis.
- Analyzing only six speeches, three by Mahmoud Abbas, and three by Benjamin Netanyahu at the UN General Assembly (2016-2018)

### **1.6 Value of the Study**

The outcomes obtained in this study will provide benefits to the public, as they show how politicians exploit verbal indirectness to influence, persuade and manipulate them. it is hoped that the study will be beneficial for those who are interested and concerned with politics, discourse analysis and pragmatics as they can benefit from the theoretical information to develop more interesting studies that are related to this field.

### **1.7 Previous Literature and Studies**

The research deals with one of pragmatic topics that is worthy of investigation which is indirectness that Netanyahu and Abbas use at their speeches, it will be examining Abbas's and Netanyahu's use of indirectness discorsal strategy as an aspect of communication style, it also aims to understanding how their culture affect their use

of indirectness for politeness which they adopt on at the UN general assembly at 2016, 2017, and 2018.

I would refer to research done earlier by Maia Alavidze. The topic of the research is " Politeness in President Trump's speeches. This research analyzed Trump's political speeches to explore how language is used by Trump at his speeches to let American people like him. The research shows that Trump employs negative and positive politeness by using different strategies like indirectness. And it shows that politicians usually try to maintain a good image in public and the only way to do that is by using politeness strategies.

Another research is done by Samuel Gyasi Obeng. The topic of the research is Indirectness in Political Discourse. At his research, he found that "politicians avoid candid or obvious statements and choose to communicate indirectly". Especially when the topic of the discourse 'communicates difficulties'. He also found that politicians aim to communicate in a vague way to save their faces, their careers, and to gain interactional and political advantage over their political opponents. He achieved his goals of examining the use of indirectness by politicians by submitting some political discourses which are made by politicians in developed and developing countries to scrutiny.

He relates those discourses to Grice's cooperative principle and conversational maxims and "demonstrate that political utterances overtly and blatantly float these maxims.

The knowledge gap in the literature that is linked with research with the justification of the study:

The existing researches are not extensive, they do not cover other important aspects of intercultural communication. It is only examining the use of indirectness strategies by Trump, Barack Obama, and David Cameron. They do not study the role of culture at influencing those politician's use of indirectness discorsal strategies and that what my research adds to the literature, it will add how each of Netanyahu's and Abbas's culture influences their communication style (how they use indirectness at their speeches) it will help scholars who are interested in the relation between culture, discourse and politics because It focuses on culture's influence at indirectness use by politicians.

## **1.8 Definitions of the Study Terms**

### **1.8.1 Political Discourse, Language, Speech**

Political discourse is the uttered words and the written texts produced by politicians. The political discourse has become a major domain of language use that attracted the interests of the researcher due to its importance and its effective role at maintaining and organizing international relations as Ardita Dylgieri (2017) shows. Political discourse analysis "provides an insight into the way social power abuse and social dominance are enacted and reproduced by text and talk" as Van Dijk tells, Therefore, critical discourse analysis focuses on the ways in which the actual language can convey the force of influence in a given communicative and cultural context. So without language it is hard to understand politics, and it is harder to comprehend politician's intentions and goals. Beard (2000) states that the language of politics is a feature different from other types of discourse since political discourse conveys politicians' sounds and government's hidden ideology. Political discourse aims to lead the audience toward an intended point or ideology either via interviews or speeches,

therefore, politicians carefully and thoughtfully choose their words which have a strong and effective impact on their audience. Thus, by moving from language to context and from context to language Gee, (2014), the CDA reveals certain features in word choice and grammar, as well as the structure of speech. So politicians' power of speech depends on the power of language, where language acts powerfully at manipulating peoples' opinions and constructing socio-political cognition. Politicians usually use effective communication styles in their speeches to impose their opinions, declare political issues in a convincing way at critical periods, but when talking at this critical periods about sensitive, dangerous and crucial topics or when talking about potential face-threatening acts most of the politicians intend to use indirect and ambiguous communication style to gain a political, international and interactional advantage over their political opponents and to save their image in the public, and this is the case of this research where the prime minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu and the president of Palestine Mahmood Abbas deliver well political speeches at the UN general assembly (2016-2018). Each politician has his own communication style, political and social ideologies that are influenced by his own culture. Politicians also intend to follow a manipulative and indirect language to deliver their ideologies, and convince the audience of it by using the discursial strategy of indirectness which the extend of using it varies from culture to another and this is what this study explores, it explores the discrepancy of the use of indirectness devices at the 6 selected speeches which delivered by Netanyahu and Abbas at the UN General Assembly 2016-2018.

### **1.9 Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use since discourse refers to the language and the use of this language (Brown & Yule 1983; Cook1989). 'Language in



use' refers to the expectation, norms, and preferences that links language with context since some linguists aimed to associate discourse with the contextual domain. Therefore, discourse analysis studies the relation between the written language, the spoken language, and the institutionalized form of language with the context in which it is used in and for.

Discourse analysis defined by (Paltridge,2006) as an approach that deals with the knowledge beyond the words, sentences, clauses and phrases. Discourse analysis can be viewed from two different perspectives, the first one is textually oriented view in which it examines the features of language within the text, the last is the socially oriented view in which it focuses on the function of language within a text does within the cultural and social sitting.

### **1.9.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach in the field of discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis defined by (Kramer 2007) as an analysis system which "attends to discrete portions of the language with a particular socio-historical context with an aim of providing a multi-layered analysis of how the language operates communicate surface level language as well as underlying dynamics of interpersonal relations, cultural traces, institutional influences, and ultimately power." Critical discourse analysis, which is a subset of the critical theory, emerged from "the critical linguistic" by Lancaster school of linguistics in 1970. CDA studies the function of the texts in changing and developing social systems in relation to demographic aspects such as economic status, education levels, religion. In addition to the demographic aspects, CDA studies the function of the well written texts in changing the public world's attitude toward a particular point, idea, decision or belief in the political

field since political discourse has become an attractive field to be analyzed by CDA to reveal politicians' ideologies and styles.

CDA as (Wodak, 1996) refers to is a tool used to analyze the linguistic aspect of problems in the social field. This reference means that CDA does not only pay attention to the language and its use in any field but also it focuses on the linguistic and semiotic aspects of the social and cultural processes. Social process includes the process of political discourse formation. With a political stance, critical discourse analysis examines discourse's role in the way that the abuses of power are constituted by explicitly examining the dynamics of power, ideology and knowledge (Phillips and Hardy, 2002). CDA also explores the nature of persuasion in language either in the fields of politics, economic, or in social field (Fairclough, 1995).

The language is a social practice that implies the relationship between language, institution and social structure since it is affected by culture and society, and at the same time affects the culture and society since it determines, influences, and sustains the production of social roles and structure.

## **1.10 Theoretical Background**

### **1.10.1 Norman Fairclough Approach**

Fairclough is a discourse analyst and is a professor of linguistics at department of linguistics Lancaster University. As applied to sociolinguistics, Fairclough is one of the founders of critical discourse analysis. He is the first who inserts the term 'discourse analysis' and referred to as discourse approaches before called discourse analysis. Fairclough believes that the relation between linguistic and social analysis of discourse is brought by CDA, (Fairclough 2002), and in his approach he focuses on language in

its social context and its relation to power. In other words, language according to Fairclough is a part of society, formed by the society and formed society, so Fairclough considers language as a social process since discourse is a product of social production and interpretation which organized and manipulated by different levels of social organizations which are: "the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for discourse; and the level of the society as a whole" Fairclough ( 2001).

Fairclough's approach deals with ideology and power, and it views how both are related and interconnected. Fairclough states that power is transformed via ideology which he considers as the medium that power goes through. Fairclough believes that the ideological function of discourse is to maintain and sustain the power relation between individuals.

Language is the solely and the most effective medium for ideology and convincing, so it is the medium for the speaker to convey his ideologies to convince and manipulate his audience by leading them to his points directly and indirectly.

### **1.10.2 Van Dijk's Approach**

Tuen Adrianus Van Dijk is a well-known scholar in the field of text linguistics, in the field of critical discourse, and in the field of critical discourse analysis. He is a pioneer figure in the critical discourse analysis field, he is a professor and discourse analyst at the university of Amsterdam.

Van Dijk defined CDA as a kind of analytical tool that is used to examine how inequality, dominance and social power find their way to be enacted through social and

political discourse. Dijk's approach is called 'socio-cognitive approach' which refers to the notion that discourse is a product of social interaction, In other words, discourse is influenced directly by society and is a part of social structure. The other part of the name of Dijk's approach 'cognitive' refers to the notion that discourse is influenced by the speaker's cognitive process. Dijk defined social cognitive as "the system of mental representation and process of group members".

Van Dijk's approach of social-cognitive focuses on connecting the micro-structure of the language which includes language use, verbal action, communication and discourse with the macro-structure of language which gathers the notion of power, inequality and dominance among social groups Van Dijk (2001).

### **1.11 Pragmatics**

Pragmatics is one of the branches of linguistics that explores the relations between language and its user. It also can be described as a linguistic branch which studies the rule systems that determine the literal meanings of linguistic expressions. Pragmatics is a study that investigates how literal and nonliteral aspects of communicated linguistic meaning are dictated by rules that allude to the physical or social context in which language is used. Among these aspects are conversational and conventional "implicatures". For instance, "Nada has a red car" conversationally implicate that Nada has no more than one red car; "He was white but kind" conventionally implies an unspecified contrast between white and kindness). Pragmatics gives humans as David Lodge states, "a fuller, deeper, and generally more reasonable account of human language behavior". People in most cases do not say things randomly, they make utterances for certain purposes, for example, to convince. Pragmatics play an essential role at understanding what person clearly means when speaking, it is a branch

that studies how "gets more communicated than is said" as (Yule,1996: 3) states. To be clear, Pragmatics concerns about indicating how recipients understand the hidden intentions of senders by drawing deductions from sender's utterances. Pragmatics deal with implications that the sender suggests and implies, but doesn't state it clearly in his statements.

### **1.11.1 Theories of Pragmatics**

Pragmatics is a field that consists of many theories. Grice's cooperative principle (1975), and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987). The two theories are playing an essential and indispensable role at discovering the relationship between pragmatics and indirectness, so they will be more elaborated on in this paper.

### **1.11.2 Grice's Cooperative Principle**

Paul Grice was the first who attempted to delineate in a general principle, "the mechanisms by which people interpret conversational implicature." Thomas 1995. This principle is called the cooperative principle and It is supposed to be observed by the interlocutors. Grice's cooperative principle approach describes how people derive unstated meanings in conversations and speeches. it works for revealing the relation between direct and indirect speech acts. Grice suggested four conversational maxims that grow from the pragmatics of natural language in order to affect interlocutors' cooperation. Grice's maxims are a way to explain the relation between what is said and what is understood from it, and they are based on Grice's theory which he condensed in one sentence, "make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." The four maxims are divided into categories of quantity, quality, relation

and Manner as stated by Grice (1975). These conversational Maxims roughly place the rules in words on that we tend to orient our communicative behavior or rather as Levinson paraphrases them in his work linguistics as "the maxims specify what participants have to do in order to converse in an efficient, rational, cooperative way:

They should speak sincerely, relevantly and clearly while providing sufficient information." Levinson (1983: 102). Grice in logic and conversation lists the maxims in this way:

The maxim of quantity depends on the quantity of information to be provided for the receiver, and from it falls the following maxims:

**A1.** Make your contribution as informative as needed.

**A2.** Do not make your contribution more informative than is needed.

The maxim of quality, where the speaker tries to be truthful and reliable. Under the category of quality maxim, two maxims fall from it:

**B1.** Do not say what you believe to be false.

**B2.** Do not say that for which you have no adequate evidence.

The maxim of relation, Grice places only one maxim under the category of relation maxims which is :

**C.** Be relevant

The maxim of manner. Under the category of manner maxim fall 4 maxims:

**D1.** Avoid obscurity of expression.

**D2.** Avoid ambiguity.

**D3.** Be orderly.

**D4. Be brief.**

These maxims as Levinson states are specifying what participants must do in order to converse in a maximally efficient, rational, and cooperative way. Speakers according to Levinson should speak relatively, clearly, and they should be sincere when delivering speeches, and while providing adequate information (Levinson, 1983: 102).

politeness is definitely obligatory for Leech to answer the question "why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean" and additionally, he is convinced that the Politeness Principle "is not just another principle to be added to the cooperative principle, but is a necessary complement, which rescues the cooperative principle from serious trouble" Leech (1983: 80). Grice's argues that people do not always observe the four maxims to fulfill certain goals like showing themselves as polite, to be influential, or to be kind. Finegan (2008, 49).

**1.11.3 Violating the Maxims**

Grice noticed that not all individuals observe the maxims, once the speaker fails to watch the maxims, this implies that there's a distinction between what the speaker says and what he means. Non-observance of the maxims could be located on violating those four maxims. Violating the four maxims, quantity, quality, relation and manner could happen when the speaker aims to deceive, hide the truth, to not harm the hearer, to convince the hearer, or to mislead the hearer. People violate Grice's maxims in different life situations when they communicate.

**1.11.4 Critical Challenges to Grice's Theory**

Due to intercultural differences, researchers opposed its universality arguing that cooperative conversation is culturally determined as social behavior. Therefore, it

cannot universally be applied. For example, Prince (1982) claimed that floating a maxim does not mean that this maxim does not exist. As long as it is shown that the maxim is not applied in a certain culture, and being applied in another, that means that this maxim does exist, but not necessarily applied. In other words, the flouting of a maxim means that the maxim is present.

### **1.12 Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory**

Politeness theory is one of pragmatic theories. It works on clarifying why the speaker tends to use indirectness when he communicates. According to Eelen and Watts, politeness has been conceptualized "particularly as strategic conflict-avoidance or as strategic construction of cooperative social interaction." cf. Eelen 2001:21, Watts 2003: 47. According to Thomas (1995: 95), Politeness plays an essential role at peoples' choice of words in their different life situations. And it is according to Brown & Levinson (1987: 1) should be considered as strategic conflict-avoidance that can be found in the view that the fundamental social role of politeness is in its ability to perform as the simplest way of dominant potential aggression between potentially interactional parties. It can also be found within the views that connect politeness with smooth communication due to its advantages of avoiding disruption and maintaining the social equilibrium and good relationships between states, interlocutors, organizations and etc, (Ide, 1989: 225, 230& Leech,1983: 17). Politeness tends to save faces as Trosborg (1995) states, so people who tend to be polite should show that they are aware of their face and other's faces by following particular strategies that work for saving faces.

As the politeness theory is based basically on the concept of "face" which refers here to the public self-image, and that people have to follow politeness strategies which



culturally vary and based on the ethos of their particular cultures. One or more could be applicable in one's culture, so we can say that politeness is a universal phenomenon that exists nearly in every culture, but what may makes an illusion is which strategy of politeness is appropriate to use in a particular culture. Brown and Levinson pretend their theory to be universally valid by positing a universal model person (MP) with the flexibility to rationalize form communicative goals to the best means of fulfilling this goal. According to Eelen (2001: 5), the (PM) model can be seen as an embodiment of principles of social reasoning in addition to the universally valid human characteristics. Yet, Brown and Levinson admit that cultural elaboration is expected in the level of questioning what styles of speech acts threaten face, what politeness strategy is preferred to use and when.

### **1.12.1 Face (public self-image)**

The notion of the face used by Brown and Levinson at their politeness theory has come under scrutiny due to its application to politeness. Face is first defined by Goffman (1967) as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self-delinement in terms of approved social attributes." Brown and Levinson admit that they borrow the notion face from Goffman (1967) and define it closely to Goffman's definition of it, they define it as the " the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself." People experience face concerns in many social situations, so individuals daily fight to preserve their face. The face can be lost, maintained or can be enhanced as Brown and Levinson stated at (1987). Face is a social image that people would like to preserve, so the need for maintaining one's face means that face can be threatened. Brown and Levinson sub-divide individual's public self-image into positive

self-image and negative self-image, and to save one's face, one should take care of both levels.

Positive self-image can be defined as people's desire to be accepted by others, liked by the others, and connected to the group. While negative self-image is the desire to be independent and free. Threatening negative face happens when one of the individual's basic rights like freedom is threatened. For example, the freedom of speech, the interruption while speaking is an act of face threatening. While threatening a positive face happens, for example, when someone criticizes someone's work negatively and not appreciating it.

### **1.12.2 Face Threatening-Acts**

Face threatening act occurs when the speaker raises a request or presents a piece of advice to others, and when he tends to express disagreement or disapproval. Face threatening acts are defined by its potential threat to the characteristics of positive and negative faces. Therefore, speech acts such as disagreement, disapproval, and request are considered to be substantially face threatening because it violates other's freedom of choice, speech and imposes rules and commands. According to Curtone (2011: 52), face threatening acts are from the essential factors that are required to be understood the relation between politeness and face. Brown and Levinson distinguish between negative face threatening acts and positive face threatening acts. Negative threatening acts are the acts that threaten the negative face of the other by creating an offence to his negative face such as excuses, unwilling promises, expressing thanks, and offers. It occurs when the speaker tends to avoid or does not avoid the obstruction of the hearer's freedom of action. For example, by creating pressure on the hearer to either perform or not perform

an action like, advice, requests, orders, warning, threats, unwilling promises or expressing thanks.

Positive threatening acts are the acts that express the speaker's negative evaluation of the hearer's positive face. The speaker can threaten the hearer's face by separating him from the group mentally or physically by showing his carelessness to the hearer's thoughts, existence, wants, and feelings. Positive face threatening acts contains the acts of not appreciating, positively evaluating the hearer's positive face by the speaker such as expressing hard and negative criticism, indicating that he does not like the hearer's desires, dreams, decisions or attitude, expressing his disapproval of the hearer's positive face by implying directly or indirectly that the hearer is wrong, misguided and irrational.

### **1.12.3 Strategies to diminish Face Threatening-Acts**

Off records strategy and on records strategy are two politeness strategies that are used by Brown and Levinson at their politeness theory. Grice argued that all communicators are rational beings who are interested in conveying messages for hidden reasons. Brown and Levinson use Grice's argument at their politeness theory and point out that the speaker should first choose whether he will do negative threatening acts or not. If the speaker chooses to do face threatening acts, then they will use off record strategy. Off record strategy is the last politeness theory that is, in other words called indirect strategy. This strategy uses indirect language, and it is used when the speaker has more than one "unambiguously attributable intention" so he cannot be considered to have committed himself to a specific intention. Brown and Levinson (1987). Speakers use this strategy to keep away from being responsible for an act. Off records domains many tactics stated by Brown and Levinson that fulfill the speaker's intention to keep

away from being accountable for his words or acts like the tactic of metaphor, circumlocution, irony, hints and rhetorical questions.

### **1.13 Methodology**

#### **1.13.1 Theoretical Framework**

The study includes a theoretical framework which takes into consideration linguistic and non-linguistic analytical features to analyze the six selected speeches. The theoreticians conceived at the study are: Norman Fairclough (1998-2001), Van Dijk (1988, 1998, 2000,2006), Paul Grice (1975), Brown & Levinson (1987). This study employs CDA approaches and pragmatic approaches to make a reference to the rhetorical devices and link it with indirectness.

CDA's methods applied in this study depend on Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach and Fairclough's critical approach. In addition to Van Dijk's and Fairclough's approach, Grice's cooperative principle and Brown and Levinson politeness theory are used to fulfill successful comparative analytical process of the six selected speeches. The connective and description of the textual level and the contextual level Van Dijk and Fairclough adopted in their approaches will be conducted in this through the use of comparative and analytical methods which are the rhetorical devices of circumlocution, antanagoge, anecdote, evasion and many else in addition to the four Gricean's maxim, manner, quality, quantity and relative to examine why politicians use indirectness, how they use, and what affect their use of it. The last is Brown and Levinson politeness theory which will help in clarifying why the speaker tends to use indirectness when he communicates by giving an explanation of what is politeness, how they use it, and does they always use indirectness to accomplish politeness.

### **1.14 Applied Methods and Procedure**

A six political speeches, 3 for the President of Palestine Mahmoud Abbas and 3 for the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at the UN General Assembly (2016-2018). The speeches were taken from The Times of Israel's newspaper website which is the online edition of the Times of Israel Newspaper and Haaretz website which is the online edition of Haaretz newspaper in addition to the Jewish press website. The speeches tackle various issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian struggle and to the Iran deal of nuclear. The issues in these six speeches were the most prominent when these speeches were held in the UN General Assembly.

The thesis analyzes the use of indirectness in Mahmoud Abbas's and Benjamin Netanyahu's speeches at the UN to reveal their hidden intentions, goals, and the ideologies behind using it. The study is a comparative discourse analyzes uses CDA approaches in addition to pragmatics approaches and theories to accomplish the analytical process successfully.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Indirectness and Pragmatics**

#### **2.1 Communication Style**

#### **2.2 Indirectness**

#### **2.3 Types of Indirectness**

#### **2.4 Directness Versus Indirectness**

#### **2.5 Advantages and Disadvantages of Indirectness**

## Chapter Two

### Indirectness and Pragmatics

#### 2.1 Communication Style

Communication is one of the important features of human life that aids them fulfilling their goals, sharing their voices and thoughts, and as Steinberg (2007:39) tells, being able to communicate through language verbally and nonverbally is the main characteristic that differentiates human beings from the other existing creatures. Communication as defined in the book A Primer in Communication studies is the process of generating meaning by exchanging verbal and nonverbal symbols and signs that are affected by multiple contexts. And according to Lane et al (2016: 10), communication is the process in which people transfer meaning to others. the success of communication goals depends on the skills and abilities of the sender to convey the messages in a way that makes the receiver receive the intended meaning. There are types and styles of communication that senders can adopt to communicate efficiently. The types of communication are verbal and non-verbal communication as (Rosengren 2000: 38) tells. In verbal communication, ideas, thoughts and decisions are exchanged by words as (Guffey et al 2009: 49) tell about this type of communication, while in non-verbal communication, there are strategies that are used to convey messages without using words such as: facial expressions, gestures, touches... as (Arnstien and Piccolo 2011: 107) tell. Along with the types of communication, there are the styles of communication which affect the speaker's efficiency in communication process, in one hand we have the direct verbal communication which happens when the speaker expresses his desires, needs, goals and decisions explicitly, and when his true intentions

communicate with his verbal messages. On the other hand, we have the indirect verbal communication where the speaker's intentions behind his message are hidden and need to be critically analyzed to get the intended meaning. The difference between the direct and the indirect speaker is that the indirect speaker believes that being polite and respectful is more important than giving a true response, true decision or clear idea about an issue, especially in critical situations to avoid any tension or dangerous consequences.

### **2.1.1 Indirect Verbal Communication Style**

Indirect verbal communication style is the style we will get in deeply at this study, because such a style is popular among politicians who aim to be polite, indirect and ambiguous when delivering speeches to the public.

Generally, the communicator's specific aims behind performing communication is to maintain the harmonious relationships with the others. Communicators can obtain such aim by using different communication strategies. One of these strategies is the indirectness strategy as Supturo (2015: 1) states, it is considered one of the most effective strategies that fulfill the orator's goals and needs without putting them in critical situations, and embracement.

This presumption is assumed and supported by Tannen (1992: 47) who declares that indirectness strategy is one of the most important aspects of communication. Indirectness enables individuals to be polite, and it keeps them away from responsibility, critical situations, embarrassment and confrontation because what they say is something, and what they intend is something else, in other words, the explicit meaning is different from the implicit meaning which needs to be critically analyzed to be clear, so what they will be responsible for is the explicit meaning.



### **2.1.1.1 Indirect Speech Strategies**

Indirect speech strategy is very important for those who are in critical situations, and for those who are looking for the safe side. The lack of such an important strategy makes the orator look impolite, hostile, indiscreet, and put him in dangerous situations, because at critical situations, people deal with what they heard sensitively, so any inappropriate word or idea even if it is true according to the orator will destroy relationships and become dangerous if it is told directly. Indirectness strategy offers many tactics that allow the communicator to say sensitive, dangerous or important decisions in an appropriate, safe and polite way so as a result, the relationships will always be good and the speaker will always be on the safe side in any argument. There are many circumstances in which the orator feels that it will be better to be indirect in conveying his messages to the others such as to attack the receiver, to praise him, or to ask someone for something. The indirect communicator uses indirectness strategies for certain purposes, so now we have to know what indirectness means.

## **2.2 Indirectness**

Indirectness is one of the strategies that are considered as a cosmopolitan phenomenon that people use in their process of communication in their daily life, academic life, political occasions, and etc. Ma and Li (2016:133)

As Brown and Levinson (1987: 134) state, indirectness is "any communicative behavior, verbal or nonverbal, that conveys something more or different from what it literally means." The issue of how people do things with words, how they get from what is said to what is communicated because what is said is not always the same as what is communicated which makes individuals curious about indirectness, how to use it and

how others use it in order to understand the intended meaning of the speaker. In order to get the intended meaning, people should read between lines because as Tannen (2006: 361) states, it is impossible for the orators to utter all of his meanings in the expressions they use and say because they realized that not all meanings should be clearly stated and not all ideas should be clearly expressed.

### **2.3 Types of Indirectness**

Indirectness is classified into many types, the first is the verbal indirectness, the other is the non-verbal indirectness as Zhang (2009: 99) states.

#### **2.3.1 Verbal indirectness**

Verbal indirectness is a communication strategy where the communicator avoids directness to obviate responsibility and crises. Verbal indirectness allows the orator to speak in a difficult way that needs critical analyzing, and skillful hearer to get the intended meaning. Such a type of indirectness makes the orator utterances harmonious with face and politeness which the orator has to save while speaking or delivering a speech.

To practice verbal indirectness, there are many useful and effective devices that are interrelated with this type like, metaphors, hyperbole, euphemism, circumlocution, proverb, and etc.

#### **2.3.2 Non-Verbal Indirectness**

Coming to non-verbal indirectness, people in their daily life use this type of indirectness unconsciously, for example, when someone is bored and waits for the other to end a conversation, he will watch his clock continuously. Another example is smiling, people can use a smile to hide their real feelings, sadness, happiness, angry,

and etc. These and other strategies vary from one culture to another so the communicator should be aware of the meaning behind these strategies to get the intended meaning, to save his and the other's face and to avoid any embarrassment crises.

### **2.3.3 The Intentional Indirectness**

The intentional indirectness is the type of indirectness that the communicator uses intentionally to achieve different goals and advantages through language. While

### **2.3.4 The Unintentional Indirectness**

The unintentional indirectness is the type of indirectness where the communicator accidentally and unintentionally uses it in some cases like when he forgets an idea or a word.

## **2.4 Directness Versus Indirectness**

At the binary system, indirectness is the opposite of directness. Indirectness as mentioned before is a way of conveying messages through specific strategies like antanagoge, metaphors, circumlocution, and etc, to avoid responsibility and crises, while directness is the utterances that are not filled with any face maintenance or face saving devices, nor suffused with polite or apologetic expressions as Obeng (1994: 42) states. Directness is easier when it comes to analysis, the meaning is clearly stated and the idea or the decision is clearly expressed so there is no need for intervening steps to get the intended meaning as when it comes to analyzing indirect speeches that are full of hidden and implicit messages that need intervening steps to get it.

### 2.4.1 Directness

Directness is the quality of being frank, honest, and straightforward in attitude and speech. People are more direct in restaurants, they have nothing to hide from the waiter, but they are more indirect when they are delivering speeches about critical issues to the public.

In direct communication, the orator uses "positively and negatively laden-words". Speakers when talking about the positive features of the issue they are discussing, they use direct positive adjectives to describe, for example, the meeting I was on is very organized and the hosts were very nice and kind. And when telling the negative features of an issue, they will use direct negative adjectives, for example, the meeting was unorganized, and the discussion was boring. So, as Arndt and Janney (1987) states, direct communicators tend to apply positively and negatively laden-words. Positively laden-words include kindness, love, freedom, success and etc. While the negatively laden-words include terms like rudeness, failure, poverty, ugliness and etc.

The direct communicator tends to be clear and inclusive when speaking about an issue, also, they use imperatives and interrogatives to give their elucidation. It should be known that imperatives in middle class Anglo speaking are considered impolite forms that command the others to do or to say something. Using imperatives and interrogatives by a direct communicator that directness and politeness are not interrelated concepts. Signs of showing politeness while communicating directly are not manifested, and that is the reason behind some people's question to the others, why you are so direct!

### **2.4.2 Indirectness**

Conversely, in indirect communication, the orator tends to be indirect by not using "positively and negatively laden-words", for example, instead of saying 'the meeting was organized and the hosts were kind', they would say 'the meeting was as should be and the hosts did their job'.

Indirect communicators when trying to give their elicitations they do not use imperatives, but interrogatives along with declarative forms because they believe that imperatives are considered as impolite forms and do not show any kind of politeness. Politeness at verbal indirect communication is manifested in the use of kind expressions, indirect commands with pleasing, do you mind?, complain politely, so signs of reflecting politeness are used in this type. The intended meaning indirect communication style is hidden, the orator does not convey his\her meaning by expressions as the direct communicator does, direct communicator's intended meaning is reflected by the expressions they orally and directly say and utter.

### **2.5 Advantages and Disadvantages of Indirectness**

Indirectness is useful when complaining, requesting, commanding, and when delivering political speeches at critical periods, on the other hand, it is not useful in other cases, like in the case of apologizing, apologizing needs clear and direct expression to be honest and believable, and when one ask you to give your honest opinion about a sensitive issue that needs only directness. Directness is useful and should be used by experts who have to tell the truth as it is directly, for example, lawyers and scientists who swear to tell the truth as it is clearly, directly and honestly because their work is sensitive, and because people's souls are under their tongues. Disadvantages and advantages of indirectness will be elaborating more on next.

### **2.5.1 Advantages of Indirectness**

Indirectness is effective, useful and functional. It is one of the skills that all people should learn and practice in many cases to avoid responsibility, to maintain relationships, and to save theirs and others' faces. Indirect communicator uses indirectness because of its advantages which are:

#### **2.5.1.1 Avoiding Responsibility**

Indirectness allows people to avoid accountability for their utterances, behaviors and opinions because they deliver it in an indirect way so that people cannot judge them easily. Avoiding responsibility happens by attributing what he says to statistics, expectations, organizations, in addition to making himself unsure of what he is saying by using specific words and tactics that aid him fulfilling his goals Haugh (2015).

#### **2.5.1.2 Rejection and Denial**

Indirectness is a useful and polite way that people use to express their denial and rejection of anything. Rejecting someone's ideas, project, offer, denying suspicion, or behavior needs to be done in a polite way so the speaker maintains a good relationship with the receiver.

#### **2.5.1.3 Rapport**

One of the advantages of the use of Indirectness Strategies in political speeches is building rapport. Rapport in politics means the same as rapport in other fields, either economic, social or academic. Rapport is a state of harmonious understanding with individuals, groups or organizations, and building rapport with an individual or a group needs a development of the relationship in addition to understanding their needs, goals and cultural values. Building good relationships with individuals, groups and states is

one of the strongest skills that everyone, especially politicians must have to be an effective and active leader.

Indirectness has an advantage of rapport, and rapport is a product of using indirectness. Being polite, quiet, indirect, care about others emotions, and save others' face and dignity maintain the relationships between individuals because relationships emerge from respect.

#### **2.5.1.4 Self Defense**

Through indirectness, we introduce what we have in our minds of the others, testing the stagnant waters before diving deep into it is a characteristic method of balancing our needs with the needs of others. Instead of proclaiming thoughts and letting them fall where they may, we convey antennas, get a feeling others' thoughts and their likely response to our own, and shape our thoughts as we go. Self-defense is an advantage of indirectness, it safeguards people's face from embarrassment, criticism, and misunderstanding. For example, if a woman wants to invite her neighbor for cup of tea, she may raise a question before her invitation, like "what do you have today?", indirect communication in this case safeguards the woman's face if her neighbor refuses her invitation.

#### **2.5.1.5 Convince Receiver**

At the point when we talk about conversion, we are, more often than not, examining ways we can be more powerful, and more persuasive. We're keen on addressing the requirements of clients, fans, and devotees, and doing as such in a way that truly addresses them. Persuasive speeches generally are written in the indirect order, not necessarily because they hold bad news within it but because the speaker

knows previously that their speeches' goals go against the hearer's wishes, so whether the speaker wants to convince an audience to join a faith, believe, idea or a decision, he should let them overhear his message instead of hitting them over the head with it. Achieving this requires indirectness strategies. Indirectness strategies are effective for persuasive as long as persuasiveness needs special language.

#### **2.5.1.6 Politeness**

Indirectness is developed to accomplish politeness. Politeness is the element of language uses that most obviously reveals the nature of human sociality as expressed in speech. Politeness is basically a matter of taking the feelings of others into consideration as to how they ought to be treated in interactional way including behaving in a way that demonstrates suitable concern for interlocutor's social relationships and social status. Politeness, in this broad sense of speech situated to an Integrator's public persona or face, is widespread in language use. Since then, taking people's feelings into consideration means saying things in a less straightforward way than when one is not taking others' feelings into consideration, ways of being polite provide likely the most unavoidable and pervasive source of indirectness, reasons for not saying exactly what one means, how people shape their communicative intents in formulating their utterances. According to Thomas, who states that people by employing indirectness obtains some advantages and disadvantages and the most important advantage behind peoples' employment of indirectness strategies in their discourse is politeness 1995: 143.

Indirectness may also be used to avoid upsetting others, to protect oneself from criticism, attack or any external threat Haugh (2015. 40), to show solidarity, to not be a tyrant, and to be loveable, influential and reliable.



## **Chapter Three**

### **Indirectness in Political Discourse**

#### **3.1 Political Language**

#### **3.2 Indirectness in Political Language**

#### **3.3 Indirectness Strategies in Political Language**

#### **3.4 Culture and Pragmatics**

## Chapter Three

### Indirectness in Political Discourse

#### 3.1 Political Language

Any political well, decision, and action are influenced, prepared and introduced by language. Language plays an important role in individuals' daily lives due to its influential role as it is the primary medium of communication, and being the primary tool for communicating individual's thoughts, ideas, beliefs and decisions with others. Justová (2006: 6). The concepts of 'language' and 'politics' are intertwined. Beard (2000) claims that "language of politics...helps us to understand how language is employed by those who seek power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power" Taiwo (2009).

Politicians' main aim is to gain power and authority, and most political parties are in constant struggle for power in order to maintain their positions, or to seek a position, and language is the "conveyor belt of power" as Taiwo (2009) states. There are many tools in the hand of politicians to gain power and to hold positions, one of the tools is the use of language efficiently and appropriately in their discourse since language moves people to debate, vote, revolt, and therefore, it is a tool that politicians use to explain political stability or instability as Taiwo (2009) states. The study of language has become central to the academic discipline that are related to politics. Political scientists, pragmatics, critical discourse, and sociolinguistics discuss the relationship between language and politics. Political scientists for example study the consequences of the political decisions on a certain society, and of the political realities that are constructed through discourse while linguists for example study the linguistic

structure used by the politicians to get politically relevant messages to the addressee to achieve a particular function politically, socially or economically. Schäffner (2010: 201).

Political language plays an essential role in politics, though it aids politicians to achieve their goals in the easiest ways as long as it does not need any physical force. Rhetoric is one of the most useful language devices that enable politicians to convince and manipulate people as Wardy (2005: 1) states. It is known that politics is concerned with power, the power to manipulate others' values, the power to make decisions, and the power to control resources through rhetoric device, and that can be supported by Jones and Peccie (2004) assumption that "politicians through the ages have owed much of their success to their skillful use of rhetoric" by which they aim to convince their audience of their views' validity by using persuasive language. Rhetoric as Aristotle defined, it is "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion into whatever subject" in other words, rhetoric is the art of persuasion which combined with grammar and logic. Although language is indisputably and important in politics field, it's "can misrepresents as well as representing realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries, which can have implemented to change realities and in some cases improves human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate the realities and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations." Fairclough (2006: 1) and that depends on the politician and his government goals. Serving political or any field's relationships depending on how the speaker uses language and on the social status of the speaker as Wareing (2004: 9) stated the effectiveness of language functionality depends on and concerns with who is allowed to say and to whom who is allowed to say which is "deeply tied up with power and the status" of the speaker.

The use of language, the process of choosing the suitable word, and the way this language is delivered depends on the status of the speaker. Words as Wareing (2004) states have a strong influence upon us and according to the status of the speaker, the receiver, the sensitivity of the topic, the period in which the topic will be submitted, and whether it will be delivered in public or in private, in addition to which identity the speaker want to project. Language not only influences our thoughts and beliefs, but it also can control our thoughts and beliefs as Jones and Peccei (2004) pointed out. Politicians influence on their audience flaws from using resources that play an effective role in shaping others' beliefs and thoughts like the restriction of information, expert skills, and the ability to convince, manipulate and confer a favor on the others, and hurt them without using military power. Politicians become successful and influential when they recognize the Importance of informal influence and how to use it in their speeches as Edelman (1977: 123) states. "Presupposition" and "implicature" are a tool that help politician to influence the others informally Jones and Peccei (2004). Presupposition and implicature lead the speaker to be able to convey their messages and lead the receiver to make assumptions about the received information that is not explicitly spoken or written. Presuppositions is a thing, an idea, belief or a message that is tacitly supposed to beforehand relate to an utterance or a piece of writing whose truth is taken for granted in discourse. Wikipedia, while implicature is a concept referred to the process of implying a message or a meaning beyond the literal meaning or the literal sense of what is stated orally or by writing to misguide the hearer. Implicature and presupposition are effective techniques in political discourse because they save the speaker from the assumptions that the hearer creates from the speaker and make it harder for the receiver to reject or criticize an idea communicated in this way.

Implications and presuppositions are a tool for informal influence or in other words "indirectness" strategy because both of them do the same function using rhetoric devices. There are many studies that examine the politicians' use of rhetoric in their speeches like Obeng the publisher of (political language: indirectness in discourse), and Jones and Peccie (2004). Indirectness as this studies show, is the most influential rhetoric device employed by politicians due to its functionality.

### **3.2 Indirectness in Political Language**

"Any theory of...political communication...must take verbal indirection as one of its essential facets" as Obeng (1997) states. Politicians use indirectness and prefer it due to its functionality at their speeches, especially that politicians have to be aware of what they are saying because of their sensitive positions and their sensitive role in maintaining good relationships with their people and with their opponents. Politicians employ indirectness on many political events and situations like in presidential speeches, presidential campaign, election campaign, conferences and when delivering speeches in critical periods as Obeng states" they avoid candid or obvious statements and choose to communicate indirectly." Politicians prefer to be ambiguous, and oblique in their communication, especially when delivering political speeches because of "the risky and tricky nature of politics itself, and especially to the power of the spoken word." Obeng (1997). However, indirectness is heavily employed in political discourse.

A major characteristic of political speeches is that the orator "politician" do not directly state their ideas, beliefs, decisions and plans to the public for the reasons mentioned in the previous chapter, among this reasons and benefits are avoiding responsibility, avoiding criticism, saving their face along with the others' faces, maintaining good relationship, and to steer away from crises as Obeng (2002: 5) states.

### 3.2.1 Definition of Political Speeches

Political speech is a vocal communication using political language to fulfill political goals. Political speech is one of public speech types that is performed to a live audience in public. Political speeches are formal, face to face, or speaking to a group of people about an issue matters. It is a part of the art of persuasion as long as politicians' main aim is to persuade people of their ideas and decisions without using military power or physical force. Political speeches should be delivered carefully by professionals due to its effective role in political, social, and professional life, since the political speeches are "like an egg, when dropped, it shatters" Owomoyela (1981:11), any misunderstanding or an improper verbalization may cause the politician to face serious diplomatic or political consequences. Political speeches include candidate discussions, the form of government and how it should be run, and every discussion that circulates around politics. Political speeches can serve the purpose of conveying messages and information, to manipulate, or to convince people to do certain acts or to believe certain ideas, so speeches must be carefully written, prepared, and delivered. In general, speeches are a multi-step process where ideas and thoughts are translated into spoken utterances. Speech's production requires the speaker to follow a particular step to produce informative, well-written, proposed and influential speech. Producing speeches involves the selection of appropriate words that fit with the topic, the audience, and the status of the speaker, in addition to the selection of the appropriate form of the words and its organization from the morphology, lexicon and through syntax, as long as "the spoken word can make or break on the spur of the moment" McDowell (1985: 115).

### **3.2.2 Restrictions in Political Speeches**

Despite the broad freedom of expression that is warranted by the first amendment "an amendment to the United States Constitution that banned any law limiting freedom with respect to religion, expression, peaceful assembly, or the right of citizens to petition the government." There are some exceptions that are historically rooted like, first: the government can limit the manner, place, and time of the speech according to the political, economic and social status of the region. Second, incitement, fighting words, obscenity, fraud, threats and defamation are restricted by the government in political speeches. According to the Supreme Court in *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1996), the government can ban "incitement speech" due to its dangerous consequences. Laws also prohibiting any speech that involve any kind of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion, sex, and sex orientation to protect human dignity. Any speech involves threat either to a group of people, political or religious party, and any intentional incitement against religion, race, sex, or against any political party are banned and punishable because it breaks up the rules put by the government and human rights organizations of protecting human rights, dignity and face.

Freedom of expression is limited in certain situations and it is not an absolute right as long as one's freedom ends where the freedom of others begins. Politicians have their freedom to express their thoughts, ideas, state their rules and decision and declare it to the public, but the way they express it should be done in an appropriate way that maintains and respects the others freedom, reputation, security, and safety. (First Amendment)

### **3.3 Indirectness Strategies in Political Language**

Indirectness is placed in political language via multiplicity pragmatic strategies like: circumlocution, evasion, metaphor, innuendo, logos, ethos, Antanagoge, pathos, hypophora, name-calling, asterismos and anecdote.

#### **3.3.1 Evasion**

Evasion as Obeng defines it is the process of "avoiding answering directly or avoiding facing up real difficult or tricky communicative or discourse issues". Politicians tend to use an evasion strategy to avoid giving honest and significant information because it goes against their goals and wishes Galasinski (2008, 82). politicians choose to use evasion when there is no other choice for them, but to state an issue. Evasion can be done by violating or flouting the Grice's maxim by not giving sufficient and related information that satisfy the receiver's curiosity about an issue. Obeng (1997: 55).

#### **3.3.2 Circumlocution**

Circumlocution is a pragmatic strategy for indirectness that defined by (Obeng 1997) as the process of "talking around a subject, using an unnecessary large number of words, or evasive language."

(Haven 1999:95) Politicians use a circumlocution to keep away from difficulty, danger, or to not verbalize the utterances that may be considered as face threatening utterances. (Obeng 1997). In critical periods, circumlocution is an effective rhetorical device used by politicians who are responsible to defend themselves, their governments and countries, and for politicians who want to hold on to power and authority. In addition to the political motivations behind using circumlocution, there are social



motivations also like avoiding talking about bad, sad, or about things that may pose offenses.

Circumlocution strategy may be employed by politicians to reflect politeness since this strategy refers to the process of talking about critical issues in an indirect way, and it allows the orator to make his utterances ambiguous so in this case they can preserve faces. Al shemmary and Ubied (2016:39).

### **3.3.3 Innuendo**

Innuendo is a pragmatic device that people utilize in their communication, it refers to the utterances that transfer an implicit derogatory meaning aimed at a certain goal. In politics, innuendo occurs when politicians want to sound "politically correct" and to avoid responsibility for a certain statement. "Innuendo dominates political language" Bell (1997) , and politics when formulating innuendo create "an oblique allusion involving a veiled reflection on the character or the reputation of another political actor." Obeng (1997)

Politicians communicate in an oblique way so the process of comprehension between them becomes more difficult due to the ambiguity of the orator's statements. Political actors in most cases when delivering a speech or talking about a critical topic, tend to use innuendo and achieve it by many tactics. Innuendo can be obtained by indirectness strategies like metaphor, using the third person pronoun, circumlocution, violating Grice's maxims of manner, quality, quantity and relevance, and many others that work for politicians' benefits. The use of such sophisticated strategy of political discourse provides the politician with a high degree of protection and communicative immunity from their political opponents. Obeng. (1997: 72)

### 3.3.4 Metaphor

Metaphor plays a central role in political discourse on account of its pragmatic, semantic, and textual 'added value' effect. It is defined as "a figure of speech in which one thing is compared to another by saying that one is another." Kovecses (2002)

Metaphor "connects perfectly with pragmatic" Klingbeil (2006: 273) since the pragmatic function is to protect speaker's and receiver's face. Metaphor is heavily exploited in political language, and it is a vital tool used by politicians carefully in their language since it is "an artificial and highly figurative designed with premeditated intent" Dobric (2009: 5). Metaphor is an effective indirect strategy that enables politicians to persuade the public in addition to disparaging their enemies and opponents in the same field indirectly since they can refer to issues that threaten their opponents' face indirectly. Obeng (2002) Metaphor is an effective tool for politicians when hoodwinking the others or disfiguring them. For example, Saddam in the Gulf war was called "Hitler" by the American government in order to make the military attack that it carried out on the Iraqi army legitimate. The American government employment of this metaphor conceals the fact the many Iraqi people had died because of this attack but they have died because of Saddam's aggressive acts that led to this act. Lin (2011: 481).

### 3.3.5 Antanagoge

Antanagoge is a term that derived from the Greek language, it is a Greek combination, the first part of it 'ant' means against in English, and the other part 'anagoge' means leading up in English, so antanagoge means against leading up. Antanagoge consists in two contexts which are:

First: The figure by which the accused is unable to respond to the opponent's claim or accusation, instead, he responds via counterclaim or accusation to the accusation brought by the opponent. Peter Bowler, *The superior person's second book of weird and wondrous words* (1992)

Second: is a technique by "aligning positive perspectives to mitigate the negative aspects of an idea, person, or object". In this context, negative opinions that make the idea seem undesirable and tough are moderated with similar positive opinions are introduced, thus making balance of negative with a positive in a way that glorifies the positive opinions about an idea or a person over the negative opinions. McGuigan. Brendan, page 140) for example: the president is gray, but he absolutely works for our benefits. He has some flaws, but his achievements are many. The example contains two antanagogenes. The first sentence contains one negative opinion about the president followed by a positive idea and the second sentence involves the same to create balance. Politicians usually use this rhetorical device to protect their image and position.

### **3.3.6 Anecdote**

Anecdote is a rhetorical device employing a very short story to illustrate a particular point the speaker wants the audience to pay attention to. The story used as a rhetorical device, usually contains dialogue and actions that help in illustrating the speaker's idea. This device is used to persuade the audience, to develop an idea, or to lead the audience to an intended idea.

### **3.3.7 Hypophora**

Hypophora is a rhetorical device in which a speaker raises a question the audience may have and immediately answers it. The question can be either obvious with

no hidden meaning or can work for leading the audience toward a particular intended point.

When speakers make use of hypophora they control their answers, so they leave no space for argument. Hypophora performs pragmatic significance since it works for protecting politician's faces in public, because it keeps no way of refusing or arguing their points of views.

### **3.3.8 Ethos**

Ethos is one of the three corners of the 'rhetorical triangle' which used to persuade the hearer or the reader. Ethos is the ethical appeal in which the speaker or the writer forms through the use of personal credentials and quotes for popular experts to convince the reader of his credibility.

### **3.3.9 Pathos**

Pathos is the second corner of the 'rhetorical triangle'. It is the emotional appeal of persuasion process in which it is formed through other rhetorical devices like anecdote to arouse the audiences' hatred, love, sympathy, or other feelings toward an event, person or an idea...etc.

### **3.3.10 Logos**

Logos is the last corner of the 'rhetorical triangle'. Logos is created through the use of facts, statistics, hard evidence like images, videos and maps to persuade the audience of a particular idea or belief.

### **3.3.11 Name-Calling**

Name calling is a strategy used by propagandists when they want to arouse fear emotions in the audience's heart, especially for those who go against the speaker's

benefits and rules. Name-calling is the use of offensive words to describe a person or a group in order to make the audience distrust the speaker's opponent's thoughts, ideas and decisions.

### **3.3.12 Asterismos**

Asterismos is a rhetorical device which applied by using unnecessary words like listening to gain the audiences' attention to what you are going to say in a subconscious way.

## **3.4 Culture and Pragmatics**

"Pragmatics" alludes to the investigation of language in context. Thus, it focuses on exploring the meaning an utterance acquires on the bases of the social and situational context in which it is embedded. One of the numerous worries of the field of pragmatics is that linguistic knowledge, such as vocabulary and knowledge of grammar alone is insufficient for interacting across cultures. Rather, the field states that the significance of an articulation cannot always be interpreted in a literal way, yet relies upon the setting where it occurs. A speaker from a different cultural background in addition to his knowledge of the target language, he should be versed in the sociolinguistics knowledge that qualify him to infer the intended meaning of the speaker. Conversational reasoning refers to the ability to get the intended meaning out of a letter. As indicated by Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009), quoting from Thomas (1995: 1), "individuals don't always or even usually say what they mean." People tend to convey messages instead of stating it clearly for certain goals. Thus, inference is the ability of the listener to read between the lines and draw the hidden meaning from the speaker's speech. Gompers (1992: 230) describes inferencing as "hypothesis-like tentative assessments of communicative intent, that is, the listener's interpretation of what the speaker seeks to convey."

For this, listeners need to rely on background assumptions and make use of "knowledge of the world" outside of language. The speaker derives this knowledge from his "usual ways of being in social situations" as Scollon and Scollon (200: 12) said. This means that conversational inference is not a process of largely conscious interpretation and analysis, but rather a habitual response to social situations that we are used to encountering based on our education in a specific cultural and social environment. This is due to the fact that what people say, how they say it, and what is being said is influenced to a high degree by the speaker's cultural background and the addressees alike, so much so that it tends to be mostly outside our direct awareness. Thus pragmatism and cultures are inextricably connected, which make the study of pragmatism necessarily relevant to cross-cultural studies. It can thus be said that the field of pragmatism across cultures investigates the speech behavior and norms of different cultures, with emphasis on meaning derived from context, the appropriateness of using language in different cultural contexts, and the complexities and challenges associated with gaining pragmatic competence. According to Alcón and Safont Jordá (2008: 193), pragmatic competence requires "knowledge of those rules and conventions underlying appropriate use of language in particular communicative situations and on the part of the members of specific speech communities." Or, as Mey (2016: 19) put it, the question within pragmatism is "how we are able to put language to some decent, socially relevant use, and to do something sensible in the larger context of society", and one might add, in the broader context of different cultures, communities, and societies of practice in the whole world.

Pragmatic competence entails the ability to produce speech that is meaningful and appropriate to the social and contextual framework in which it is produced and the

ability to correctly interpret another person's message by inferring the intended meaning. Hence, this field of study is equally concerned with meaning building, for example, 'the contribution of the speaker', and the interpretation of meaning, for example, 'the contribution of the addressee', for the exchange of messages, although there is a stronger focus on productive skills than on perceptual skills, and there are three aspects of contextual knowledge Particularly relevant to the concept of meaning-making and inference across cultural contexts, it is the context of meaning formation, the context of language formation and the common ground.

## **Chapter Four**

### **Analysis and Discussion**

#### **4.1 Collecting and Describing Data**

#### **4.2 Models of Analyzing**

#### **4.3 Analyzing Data**



## **Chapter Four**

### **Analysis and Discussion**

#### **4.1 Collecting and Describing Data**

The data of the present thesis is composed of six political speeches for two politicians. The transcripts were obtained from, Times of Israel's newspaper website which is the online edition of the Times of Israel Newspaper and Haaretz website which is the online edition of Haaretz newspaper in addition to the Jewish press website. The speeches tackle various issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian struggle. The issues in these six speeches were the most prominent when these speeches were held in the UN General Assembly.

The politicians analyzed belong to different countries and cultures, namely, one from Palestine and the other from what is called "Israel". The politicians were selected from different countries in order to not limit the analysis in one country and one culture. Palestine and "Israel" countries are chosen because of their long political and cultural conflict, which requires both parties to make a political, cultural and military effort to prove the legitimacy of the state and its right to exist to the public world.

From Palestine, Mahmoud Abbas was chosen as he is the president of the state of Palestine from 2005 until this day. He is a member of the Fateh party and was elected chairman of the Fateh party at 2009, and he served as the first prime minister of the Palestinian authority at 2003. Abbas also led the PLO Negotiations Affairs Department. From Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu was chosen as he is the longest-serving prime minister in Israeli history since 2009 until this day in addition to his position as chairman of the Likud (national liberal movement).

Each selected political speech transcript is given a serial number and is quoted by maintaining its original quotation marks. The texts analyzed are also numbered sequentially. The researcher reads the six transcripts carefully. Indirectness strategies in politician's sentences are identified. Then they are analyzed in terms of the adopted model. The six speeches are adequate for analysis. All of the seven indirectness strategies occur in them.

## **4.2 Models of Analyzing**

Two theories of pragmatics are used as models of analysis. The first theory of face and politeness that is proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). The second theory is Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975). The relation between the two theories and indirectness is the primary motivation behind choosing them as models of analysis. Indirectness is achieved by breaking Gricean maxims as well as implicatures. It is sometimes used for saving face. The analysis of the texts will explain how the strategies of indirectness contravene Grice's maxims to reach an assortment of pragmatic rationales. Politeness is one of those rationales. Also, it will show how politeness are achieved by appreciating positive and negative faces.

## **4.3 Analyzing Data**

### **4.3.1 Benjamin Netanyahu**

Benjamin Netanyahu is an Israeli politician who held the premiership in his country more than once, he is known for his support for the establishment of settlements, support for the movement of Russian immigrants, and for his toughness towards the Palestinians. He was born on October 21, 1949, in Tel Aviv. He traveled to the United States, where he received his secondary education in the state of

Philadelphia, in the United States, and finished his undergraduate studies at Harvard University with a major in business administration. He is the son of the Jewish Historian, Professor Ben Zion Netanyahu. Netanyahu joined the army and served in the special operations unit from 1967-1972, during which he participated with the special group that succeeded in releasing the Israeli hostages hijacked on an Air France plane. He worked for some time in trade and entrepreneurship, then began his political career as assistant to the ambassador of Israel to Washington in 1982, then ambassador to the United Nations in 1984. He also held a number of positions, including Director of the Yonatan Institute for Combating Terrorism in 1972, Deputy Head of the Israeli Diplomatic Mission in the United States from 1982 to 1984, and as Israel's delegate to the United Nations from 1984 to 1988.

Netanyahu was a member of the first Israeli delegation to the US-Israeli strategic talks in 1984, and held the position of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel from 1988 to 1991, and was a member of the Israeli delegation at the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991 and deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office from 1991 to 1992. He also served as the prime minister of Israel from 1996 to 1999, then the position of foreign minister in 2002, and his country's finance minister in 2003 until he resigned from the position in 2005. He adopted the Israeli settlement policy in the West Bank widely, and approved many settlement decisions and the construction of housing units for Israelis in Jerusalem and the West Bank. Also, during his reign, the Israeli incursions into the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the displacement of Palestinians from Jerusalem and other areas increased. Netanyahu wrote a number of books, including "Terrorism: How the West Achieves Victory" in 1987. "Global Terrorism: Challenge and Response" in 1991. He also wrote "A Place Among Nations: Israel and the World"

in 1992. And “Fighting Terrorism: How Democratic Countries Can Defeat Domestic and Global Terrorism in 1996. Also, The Zionist Organization of America awarded him the "Henrietta Zold" prize in 2012, on the occasion of the organization's 100th anniversary.

#### **4.3.1.1 Analysis of Netanyahu's Speech at the UN General Assembly 2016**

**"What I'm about to say is going to shock you: Israel has a bright future at the UN"**

Netanyahu starts his speech at the UN General Assembly with a strong and rhetoric statement. At the UN General assembly, each speech delivered in it holds a political, social, religious or economic message to the UN General Assembly members, to all politicians around the world, and to every person interested in politics seated in front of the TV. Netanyahu by stating such a statement at his General Assembly address challenges the UN by using asterismos rhetorical device. The term "shock you" grabs the audience's attention to hear what will come next after and at the same time it tells that what will come next is unpredicted, unbelievable, and surprising. Netanyahu here breaks Grice's quantity maxim, he does not mention why Israeli has a bright future of the UN, what helps, who helps, what are the steps and what are the plans. Such an indirect statement saves his government's face, protects his plans, and protects those who works for Israel benefits in order to strengthen its position in front of the world and the UN.

**"...year after year I've stood at this very podium and slammed the UN for its obsessive bias against Israel. And the UN deserved every scathing word-for the disgrace of the general assembly..."**

Netanyahu, after the UN General Assembly's 2015 session, which adopted 20 resolutions that singled out Israel for criticism, while adopted only 3 resolutions on Iran, Libya, Syria, North Korea and other savage nations, attacks the UN for being biased against his government, against his nation 'Israel' in the General Assembly. Netanyahu's accusation against the General assembly of being obsessive, biased and bring disgrace to the UN called antanagoge since this rhetorical device is used by Netanyahu because he is unable to respond to the UN's accusations against his government because what his government's aggressive actions against Gaza, Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon are clear and noticed to the public world. Instead, he responds to the UN's claims via counterclaim by describing the General Assembly as biased, obsessed and disgraced. Also, he uses the term 'disgrace' which is a metaphor for failing relationships because of a certain bad action. Netanyahu used this metaphor to send a message for the UN that the General Assembly by singling Israel for criticism, breaking up any good or possible good relationship between the UN and Israel, so challenging will be on the floor. Netanyahu violated quantity maxim by not telling what are the reasons that arouse the General Assembly to decide the 20 resolutions against Israel, nor mentioning Israeli's actions against Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. Mentioning others faults and ignoring other's faults is considered as a violating quantity maxim as long as Netanyahu as a politician should give enough information to the audience even if it goes against his benefits.

**"And what about the joke called the UN Human Rights Council, which each year condemns Israel more than all the countries of the world combined"**

In Netanyahu's statement, indirectness is performed via metaphor and innuendo strategies. Netanyahu describes the UN Human Rights Council as a joke to indirectly ruin its reputation, reliability and honesty. Joke as we all know "is the use of humor in

which words in a well-defined narrative structure are employed to make people laugh and are not intended to be taken seriously", so Netanyahu indirectly tells his audience that neither he, nor his government, and no one of his audience should take UN's decisions seriously by utilizing name-calling strategy that he applies to an offensive and silly term at the same time 'joke' refers to his government's opponent which is the General Assembly. He implies that the UN Human Rights Council is not rational, not reliable and not logical. Netanyahu makes use of metaphor strategy and name-calling strategy to perform innuendo that targets the UN Human Rights Council since innuendo is used when politicians veiled reflection on the reputation of another politician or political institutions.

Netanyahu's main aim behind applying the three strategies is to harm the UN Human Rights Council's reputation and condemning it indirectly.

**"The UN, begun as a moral force, has become a moral farce. So when it comes to Israel at the UN, you'd think nothing will ever change, right? Well think again. You see, everything will change and a lot sooner than you think. The change will happen in this hall, because back home, your governments are rapidly changing their attitudes towards Israel. And sooner or later, that's going to change the way you vote on Israel at the UN."**

Netanyahu challenges the UN by affirming that his state will have a bright future in the UN in all ways either it accepts or not. Netanyahu makes use of the strategy of circumlocution in addition to the strategy of hypophora. He used hypophora by raising a direct question that leads the audience to his main point of ensuring that Israel will have a bright future. Also, he used the circumlocution strategy to denote the fact that governments are working with Israel and for Israel's benefits without informing the

public to strengthen its position in the UN General Assembly. Netanyahu used this strategy to save the governments cooperating with Israel in order not to be threatened by any party opposing the strengthening of Israel's position before the United Nations, also he works to protect his plans for better future for Israel from any tampering attempt or from any agreements that may take place against Israel's interest. "back home, your governments are rapidly changing their attitudes toward Israel", Netanyahu tries to tell the world to what extent Israel is strong, to what extent his speech is strong and influencing other governments. Such a strategy called innuendo. Netanyahu uses circumlocution and hypophora to perform innuendo. Innuendo is accomplished also via implicature since Netanyahu violates the manner maxim as well as quantity maxim. Netanyahu does not say directly that audiences' governments are cooperate with Israel, and he does not provide them with enough information about how their governments will help Israel, when, and what are the reasons, so he left the audience with many questions in their heads about what he stated.

**"But I have to tell you this: for the first time in my lifetime, many other states in the region recognize that Israel is not their enemy. They recognize that Israel is their ally. Our common enemies are Iran and ISIS. I believe that in the years ahead we will work together to achieve these goals, work together openly."**

Netanyahu in this quote indirectly says that many states work with Israel and for Israel benefits secretly. Netanyahu violates the quantity maxim by not telling who are the states that work with and for his state. He put many states under suspicion as long as any state work with and for Israel in the eyes of the international community and the UN General Assembly is uncooperative in bringing peace, so what he is doing is saving the cooperated governments face from any threat, in the same time he tries to convince

the cooperated states that they will be protected and respected by the Israel government. Such an attitude is an attempt to gain more cooperation from those states.

"Work together openly" tells us that if what Israel and other states is doing is right or is not politically sensitive then there is no need to work secretly, Netanyahu intends to be ambiguous in this case, but give a small cue or a key for the audience to guess who are those states which is "our common enemies are Iran and ISIS." It is easy for states' governments, leaders, presidents, and primers to know which of the world states have an issue with Iran and trying to end ISIS existence but the public world may have no idea about those states, so the goal behind Netanyahu's ambiguity is to save his government's face in addition to other states' face in the public.

**"The united nations denounces Israel; the united states support Israel. And a central pillar of that defense has been America's consistent support for Israel at the UN. I appreciate president Obama's commitment to that longstanding US Policy. In fact, the only time that the United States cast a UN Security Council veto during the Obama presidency was against an anti-Israel resolution in 2011. As president Obama rightly declared at this Podium, peace will not come from statements and resolutions at the United Nations."**

Netanyahu challenges the UN and strengthens his position by, benefiting from the US's policies that go with his wishes in addition to its support for Israel in all ways for a brighter future. Netanyahu here also challenges the UN with Obama's sentence of "peace will not come from statements and resolutions at the United Nations", he is indirectly saying that who will make the difference in Israeli-Palestinian issue is the United States not the UN's resolutions that he described before as biased and as a joke. Netanyahu makes use of evasion strategy since he uses an oblique allusion involving a



veiled reflection of the reliability and efficiency of the UN General Assembly in taking right decisions.

**"Today's automatic majority against Israel at the UN reminds me of the story, the incredible story of Hiroo Onada. Hiroo was a Japanese soldier who was sent to the Philippines in 1944. He lived in the Jungle. He scavenged for food. He evaded capture. Eventually he surrendered, but that didn't happen until 1974, some 30 years after World War II ended. For decades, Hiroo refused to believe that war was over. As hero was hiding in the jungle, Japanese tourists were swimming in pools in American luxury hotels near Manila. Finally, mercifully, Hiroo's former commanding officer was sent to persuade him to come out of hiding. Only then did Hiroo lay down his arms."**

In an economic field, to attract the right customer the producer must understand how to communicate the customer's wants and the special value that his product or service delivers to the customer. The same in the political field, Netanyahu makes use of an anecdote rhetorical device of telling such a story to his audience in order to illustrate his points that honored Israel's technological advancement, security, intelligence.... Netanyahu's story arouses many questions in the audience's minds, what is he trying to tell? Does he try to tell us to believe in Israel, to follow Israel, to work with Israel or he is trying to honor America in the eyes of the public as long as it is the strongest state supporting him. Netanyahu is trying to convince the public to believe in Israel, to entertain Israel's luxurious services either it is political, economic, or social instead of fighting it. He sells his thoughts indirectly to the customers who seek power, support, and safety. His strategy is closed to the concept of seduction. He indirectly states that 'follow us and entertain safety and power, work against us and suffer from danger.

**"I have so much confidence, in fact, that I predict that a decade from now an Israeli Prime minister will stand right here where I am standing and actually applaud the UN. But I want to ask you: why do we have to wait a decade? Why keep vilifying Israel? Perhaps because some of you don't appreciate that the obsessive bias against Israel is not just a problem for my country, it's a problem for your countries too because if the UN spends so much time condemning the only liberal democracy in the middle east, it has far less time to address war, disease, poverty, climate change and all the other serious problems that plague the planet"**

Netanyahu makes use of hypophora rhetorical device in addition to the antanagoge in which he raises a question and immediately answers it by criticizing the UN's ignorance of other sensitive issues like climate change that affects the world badly and focuses only on condemning Israel. He responds to the UN's resolutions and condemnations via counterclaim in which the UN is inefficient, wasting time, concerning with problems at the expense of other important issues that plague the world, and by its inability to solve the Israel-Palestinian issue that in his opinion needs not that much of time to be solved. Netanyahu uses hypopohra and antanagoge to perform innuendo. Netanyahu also incites heads of state and government against the United Nations for failing to take firm decisions on issues that concern the whole world.

**"Are the million slaughtered Syrian helped by your condemnation? The same Israel that has thousands of injured Syrians in our hospitals, including a field hospital that I built right along the Golan Heights border with Syria. Are the guys hanging from cranes in Iran helped by your denigration of Israel? That same Israel where guys march proudly in our streets and serve in our parliament"**

Netanyahu makes use of hypophora strategy by arousing many questions and then immediately answers them. Netanyahu's questions lead the audience toward an intended point in which his answers leave no spot for argument or debate. Netanyahu uses hypophora to defend his government in front of the UN resolutions against it by answering the questions with facts and achievements made by Israel for other nations and for its people. Netanyahu also tried indirectly to show his government's goodwill toward Syria, Iran, North Korea and other nations which received no help from the UN. He shows his care for those nations which consider Israel as its enemy to weakening the UN's role and efficiency of the public. What Netanyahu is doing is purifying Israel's face, justifying Israeli's actions and damaging the UN's face.

**"The sooner the UN's obsession with Israel ends, the better. The better for Israel, the better for your countries, the better for the UN itself."**

Netanyahu makes use of anaphora indirect strategy, 'the better, the better, the better' to appeal his audience's emotions in order to persuades encourage, and motivate the nations to take a firm step against the UN in order to put it under pressure to solve the Israeli issue. Netanyahu knows how to manipulate audiences', he touches their emotions by engaging their countries in his speech, and by showing his interest in peace for Israel, other nations and for the UN itself. But when it comes to the UN, it could be understood in two ways: an obsession with Israel will open the way for resolving other conflicts that fall upon its shoulders, and restore the confidence of the rest of the nations in its competence and credibility. Also it could be understood as a threat to the UN by indirectly saying that without ending its obsession with Israel, the challenge between Israel and the UN will not end, and as long as the United Nations does not recognize

Israel, Israel will always reduce the credibility and competence of the United Nations to the world.

**"If UN habits die hard, Palestinian habits die even harder."**

Netanyahu makes use of metaphor in which the UN stands along with Palestinian against Israel. He implicitly blames the UN for allowing Abbas to criticize and attack Britain in regard to the Balfour Declaration. He indirectly criticizes the UN's rules and strategies and indirectly asks the UN to change its rules and be firm with the Palestinians who are stuck in the past instead of cooperating for peace for all parties. Netanyahu awakens the public to recognize the UN biased against Israel and its failure in controlling what should be said in the speeches. "Is he kidding? And this is taken seriously here? Netanyahu here makes use of hypophora strategy since he is reducing the UN's credibility and efficiency by using questions that indicate his astonishment on the United Nations approval of such mockery at such a headquarters. He takes Abbas's attack of the Balfour Declaration in a sarcastic way.

**"president Abbas attacked the Balfour Declaration because it recognized the right of the Jewish people to a national home in the land of Israel...now mind you, the issue of settlement is a real one and it can and must be resolved in final status negotiations. But this conflict has never been about the settlement...it's always been about the existence of a Jewish state, a Jewish state in any boundary."**

In the above quote from Netanyahu's speech, Netanyahu performs indirectness via two strategies: Antangoage and Innuendo. Netanyahu makes use of Antangoge because he is already knowing that the Balfour Declaration is refused, attacked and criticized by the Palestinian, so he responds via counterclaim by turning the political

and geographical issues that are related to the Balfour declaration into racial and religious issue. In other words, he transformed the issue from geopolitical issue to an ethnic, religious issue, as he dismisses the Palestinians' accusations that the Balfour Declaration was a promise that oppresses the rights of the Palestinians with harsh accusations where he indirectly accuses the Palestinians of being racists and against the Jewish religion. He deliberately and indirectly used the word "the Jewish state" in order to influence Public sentiment, as the issue has become a matter of religion and nationalism rather than a geopolitical issue that is related to the fate and rights of the Palestinians. Netanyahu applied antanagoge to accomplish innuendo. The target of innuendo is the Palestinians, the Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas, and any nation agrees with Palestine. Innuendo is used in this context to cessation the solidarity with the Palestinian people, which do not recognize the Jews as a religious people on the land of Palestine and what is called Israel by accusing them of being racist.

**"Over dinner, Ali asks his mother what would happen if he killed a Jew and went to an Israeli prison?...In fact, she tells him, the more Jews he kill, the more money he'd pay...How can any of us expect young Palestinians to support peace when their leaders poison their minds against peace? We in Israel don't do this, we educate our children for peace. In fact we recently launched a pilot program, my government did, to make the study of Arabic mandatory for Jewish children."**

Netanyahu makes use of three strategies to accomplish indirectness: anecdote, pathos, ethos, and innuendo. Netanyahu chose to narrate a story he created about how Palestinian raise up their children, and compares between how Palestinians raise their children with Israeli, how the Palestinian government deals with terrorism and how the Israeli government deals and work. Netanyahu by applying anecdote strategy, and

practice ethos at the same time in which he convince the public of himself in addition to his government's credibility and efficiency at fulfilling peace. Netanyahu makes use of pathos via telling a story that arouses audience's angry feelings toward the Palestinians who brought their children up against peace and at the same time arousing audiences' honorable feelings and sympathy toward the Israeli governments which works for peace. Anechdote, pathos, and ethos are used to accomplish innuendo which aims at ruining the Palestinians reputation to the nations by stating statements like this: "we educate our children for peace", "Palestinians leaders celebrate terrorists. While Israel jails the handful of Jewish terrorists among us, the Palestinians pay thousands of terrorists among them." Harming the Palestinians reputation and condemning them is the aim that Netanyahu intends to fulfill by using such strategies.

**"That's the same Hamas terror organization that cruelly, unbelievable cruelly refuses to return three of our citizens and the bodies of our fallen soldiers, Oron Shaul and Hadar Goldin. Hadar parents...all they ask for is one simple thing-to be able the grave of their fallen son Hadar in Israel. Hamas refuses. They couldn't care less...I implore you to stand with them, with us, with all that's decent in our world against the inhumanity of Hamas...Hamas breaks every humanitarian rule in the book, throw the book at them."**

Netanyahu makes use of pathos, he plays with the public emotions as if he is playing guitar. He touches the heart of every dad, every mom, brother and sister in the world, because he knows that the change occurs from within. He is clever in manipulating the audience's emotions, sympathy along with hatred creates massive anger towards Hamas, so Israeli's attacks and aggressive actions against Israel will be justified when the world sees only the other black face of Hamas that is presented by

Netanyahu. "throw the book at them", Netanyahu arouses the UN, the public and any responsible party to take a tough stand against Hamas and to do not accept any negotiations with them indirectly because he has not the authority to control or to determine the decisions of the United Nations or other governments, but he has the ability to influence these parties in order to sympathize with Israel and take a stand against Hamas indirectly by using rhetorical devices like Pathos strategy.

**"The future belongs to those who innovate and this is why the future belongs to countries like Israel. Israel wants to be your partner in seizing that future, so I call on all of you: cooperate with Israel, embrace Israel, dream with Israel. Dream of the future that we can build together, a future of breathtaking progress, a future of security, prosperity and peace, a future of hope for all humanity, a future where even at the UN, even in this hall, Israel will finally, inevitably, take its rightful place among the nations."**

Netanyahu makes use of pathos and ethos to perform indirectness. He first praised his country, which he represented before the United Nations, by stating that it is one of the developed countries that deserves peace and that it deserves to have its place among nations, whether in the United Nations or in other international organizations. Netanyahu makes use of ethos, an ethical appeal in which he is trying to tap into the audiences' values that they hold indirectly, Netanyahu in his speech shows himself and his government as a peace seeker and peace supporter. Pathos is used along with ethos by Netanyahu. He recognized that asking the public to cooperate with Israel, asking the international organizations to embrace Israel is not enough alone, he makes use of pathos in which he uses emotional words like embrace, dream, build together, hope, and humanity. Netanyahu indirectly plays with the publics' emotions and minds and

implying that his argument rests upon that values that matter the public, so the public should accept his argument, requests, and actions.

#### **4.3.1.2 Analyzing Benjamin Netanyahu's Speech at the UN at 2017**

At the beginning , Netanyahu starts his speech with a boasting and challenging statement "we're in the midst of a great revolution, a revolution in Israel's standing among the nations". Netanyahu supports his statements with justification " this is happening because so many countries around the world have finally woken up to what Israel can do for them."

Netanyahu used ethos to indirectly convince the audience of Israel's capability, power and credibility. He also makes use of metaphor in "countries...finally waken up", Netanyahu implies that those countries were unconscious of Israel's capability, power and efficiency, and that any country that is not aware of Israel's capability and power is in deep sleep. Wake up is the opposite of sleep, wake up refers to the awareness of one's surroundings and to the experience of enlightenment which is a status that is compared literally to waking up from sleep. Such a strategy alarms the sleeping countries to wake up, to take a step toward Israel, to entertain the services that Israel introduce for its followers.

**"Now it's true. I haven't visited Antarctica, but one day I want to go there too because I've heard that penguins are also enthusiastic supporters of Israel. You laugh, but penguins have no difficulty recognizing that something are black and white, are right and wrong. Unfortunately, when it comes to UN decisions about Israel, that simple recognition is too often absent."**

Netanyahu makes use of irony to attack the UN's decisions against Israel. He makes a comparison between the penguins and the UN that makes the audience laugh,



but Netanyahu's aim behind using such a comparison is to criticize the UN's decisions against Israel, he indirectly said that penguins are smarter than the UN General Assembly. Netanyahu used irony to accomplish innuendo. Innuendo targets the UN, to negatively criticize it. Such a strategy works here to reduce the UN's efficiency and credibility to the public.

**"Syria has barrel-bombed, starved, gassed and murdered hundreds of thousands of its own citizens and wounded millions more, while Israel has provided lifesaving medical care to thousands of Syrian victims of that very same carnage."**

Netanyahu boasts his government's humanitarian toward Syrians who are oppressed, attacked, killed, starved by the Syrian government. What Netanyahu is doing is deforming Syrian government's face to the public by accusing it of killing its citizens. Netanyahu indirectly boasts his government power, humanity, and authority while indirectly attacking the Syrian government by applying logos strategy. Mentioning numbers(hundreds, thousands, millions) , and achievements are one of Netanyahu's favorite tools that he used to positively represent his government, and to negatively represent the others in addition to the use of pathos strategy in which he manipulated the audience's emotions by talking about the oppressed Syrian victims. By using this strategy he arouses anger emotions toward the Syrian government, sympathetic emotions toward the Syrian victims, and honorable emotions toward Netanyahu's government.

**"So is there no limit to the UN's absurdities when it comes to Israel? Well, apparently not, because in July, UNESCO declared the tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron a Palestinian World Heritage in site. That's worse than fake news. That's**

**fake history. Mind you, it's true that Abraham is the father of both Ismael and Isaac, is buried there, but so too are Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca- Sarah is a Jewish name, by the way-and Leah, who just happen to be patriarchs and matriarchs of the Jewish people. You won't read about that in the Latest UNESCO report."**

Netanyahu makes use of hypophora to attack the UNESCO after its declaration of the tomb of patriarchs in Hebron as Palestinian World Heritage in sight. Netanyahu answered his question immediately by saying "apparently no", his answer implies his refusal of that declaration, so he makes use of another strategy, logic in which he used, evidences from Bible to make his argument stronger and convincing to the audience who will use the bible as a tool to believe what Netanyahu is saying " you can read about that in somewhat weightier publication-it is called Bible". Netanyahu indirectly refused the UNESCO declaration and criticized its credibility to save his face from any threat and to keep himself and his government away from any responsibility to UNESCO since it is legal and the international organization works for peace and human rights.

**"Now, you know I've been ambassador to the UN and I'm a long-serving Israeli prime minister, so I've listened to countless speeches in this hall, but I can say this: none were bolder, none more courageous and forthright that the one delivered by President Trump Today."**

After Trump's speech upon the nuclear deal with Iran, and after calling the deal 'embarrassment', Netanyahu's speech came as an appendix to Trump's speech hours earlier. Both Netanyahu and Trump focused on Iran in their speeches. Netanyahu started his critiques with words that add a sense of credibility to what he will say later like "I'm

long-serving Israeli prime minister". Such a statement supports Netanyahu's position, and "none were bolder" will support Trumps' argument about what they have said and will say about Iran . Netanyahu shows his admiration for Trump's speech because what was stated in Trump's speech fits the principles and the goals of Netanyahu's government.

**"Two years ago, I stood here and explained why the Iranian nuclear deal not only doesn't block Iran's path to the bomb, Iran's nuclear program has what's called a sunset clause...and I warned that when sunset comes, a dark shadow will be cast over the entire Middle East and the world, because Iran will then be free to enrich uranium on an industrial scale, placing it on the threshold of a massive arsenal of nuclear weapons."**

Netanyahu makes use of logos strategy in which he is mentioning the loopholes in the Iranian nuclear agreement that enable the Iranians to continue working on nuclear weapons after sunset. Two years ago and still focusing on Iran until the moment of delivering this speech, warning the world in general and Iran in specific for two years to stop working on the nuclear bomb, Netanyahu is focused on Iran because it is a source of terror, a source of threat to Israel. Although Israel is the only country in the Middle East to develop nuclear weapons, and it is one of the countries that obtained its nuclear weapons without international sanctions. Focusing on Iran, accusing Iran, and letting the world think only how to stop Iran is a way to shift the looks away from Israel's nuclear weapons. Netanyahu is clever in negatively presenting Iran to the public, he makes use of pathos strategy to arouse the emotions of fear and hatred of the public toward Iran.

**"That's why I said two years ago that greater danger is not that Iran will rush to a single bomb by breaking the deal, but that Iran will be able to build many bombs by keeping the deal. Now, in the last few months, we've all seen how dangerous even a few nuclear weapons can be in the hands of a small rogue regime."**

Netanyahu says in reference to North Korea how dangerous nuclear weapons when it is in the very wrong hands. In Netanyahu's criticism of the deal, he makes use of two strategies, metaphor and innuendo to imply how much it is dangerous for the world that Iran possesses nuclear weapons. He uses North Korea as an example but his target was Iran. The concept "small rogue regime" functions as a metaphor since Netanyahu links North Korea to rogue which means "an elephant or other large wild animal driven away or living apart from the herd and having savage or destructive tendencies." In regard to innuendo, Netanyahu directs an implied connotation toward North Korea. Conceptually, he describes North Korea as an animal, and we all know that animals do not have a mind to decide what is good and what is bad, and particularly he uses the term 'rouge' to indirectly describe the North Korea as brutal and dangerous. Netanyahu makes use of the strategy of metaphor to perform innuendo. Innuendo is accomplished via implicature, since Netanyahu violates the manner maxim in which Netanyahu does not directly say that the "small rogue regime" is North Korea. Only people who are familiar with Trump's speech on Iran will know who is the intended regime.

**"I know there are those who still defend the dangerous deal with Iran, arguing that it will block Iran's path to the bomb...Ladies and gentlemen, that's exactly what they said about the nuclear deal with North Korea, and we all know**

**how that turned out. Unfortunately, if nothing changes, this deal will turn out exactly the same way."**

Netanyahu reminds the public about what happened after the nuclear deal with North Korea many years ago. Reminding them of the results of the agreement is a warning to the parties participating in the Iran nuclear agreement, as he expects the bad consequences that will happen, so he suggests the community to change the deal but in a convincing way. Netanyahu attacks those who defend and support the Iranian nuclear deal indirectly via innuendo strategy. Netanyahu blames the supporters and the defenders of the North Korea nuclear deal since he is expecting what will happen if the Iranian deal do not change. Innuendo is achieved by Netanyahu by two factors. The first factor is that Netanyahu makes use of generic reference, "I know there are those who still defend the dangerous deal with Iran" and "that's exactly what they said about the nuclear deal with North Korea". He does not specify who are the defenders, and who said that the North Korean deal will block North Korea from the bomb. He does not mention any of their names to keep himself away from responsibility. Here, Innuendo supports Netanyahu with political immunity since he is trying to avoid being accountable and responsible for what he is saying. Accordingly, he breaches Gricean's maxims of quantity, manner, and relevance. Netanyahu violates the quantity maxim since he does not mention enough information to the audience, what changes he want to happen and what are the gaps of the North Korea deal that led to the failure of the deal. In addition to quantity maxim, he violates manner maxim as a result of his obscurity in which he does not specify who are the people who supported and defended the North Korea nuclear deal. Even though he violated manner and quantity maxims, he is still

cooperative because the audience will take the context of the speech into account, so they will realize what his suggestions are. In other words, they are aware of innuendo.

**"But I also have a message today for the people of Iran: you are not our enemy; you are our friends...one day, my Iranian friends, you will be free from the evil regime that terrorizes you, hangs guys, jails journalists, tortures political prisoners, and shoot women like Neda Sultan, leaving her chocking on her own blood on the street of Tehran. I have not forgotten Neda. I'm sure you haven't too."**

Netanyahu indirectly plays on the emotions of the public to support his argument against Iran. Netanyahu makes use of metaphor strategy in which he links Iran to evil and brutality. In addition to the metaphor, he applies the pathos strategy to support his argument. He used many images that arouse hatred, and anger feelings toward Iran like "hangs guys", "tortures political prisoners", also he uses a very bad image that describes an Iranian woman is chocking in her blood killed with cold blood to show how much Iran is evil and dangerous. In the other hand, he uses many words that arouse feelings of respect and pride toward Israel like, "my friends", "I have not forgotten Neda" to convince the public of his argument against Iran. Netanyahu makes use of metaphor and pathos strategies to accomplish innuendo in which his target is to damage Iran's reputation in the whole world.

**"A hundred and twenty years ago, Theodor Herzl convinced the first Zionist congress to transform our tragic past into a brilliant future by establishing the Jewish state. one hundred years ago, the Balfour Declaration advanced Herzl's vision by recognizing the right of Jewish people to a national home in our ancestral homeland. Seventy years ago, the united nations further advanced that vision by**

**adopting a resolution supporting the establishment of a Jewish state. and 50 years ago, we reunited our eternal capital Jerusalem, achieving a miraculous victory against those who sought to destroy our state."**

For Netanyahu it is crucial to mention what Herzl has done for Israel, and that the UN was with Israel in which it supported the Jewish state seventeen years ago.

Netanyahu makes use of logos in which he uses evidences that may prove his argument of gaining the public world's acceptance of the Jewish state on the land of Palestine. The achievements he mentioned is considered a part of the psychological warfare that Netanyahu plays against the Palestinian state. Netanyahu boasts his state's power, and his state leaders' capability of convincing the public of their rights year after year.

#### **4.3.1.3 Analyzing Netanyahu's speech at the UN General Assembly at 2018**

**"When I spoke here, three years ago, Israel stood alone among nations. Of the nearly 200 countries that sit in this hall, only Israel openly opposed the nuclear deal with Iran. We oppose it because it threatens our future, even our survival. We oppose it because the deal paved Iran's path to a nuclear arsenal. And by lifting the sanctions, it's fueled Iran's campaign of carnage and conquest throughout the Middle East."**

Netanyahu begins his speech with words that clarify Israel's attitude and other nation's attitude toward the Iranian nuclear deal. Netanyahu implicitly says that if all nations keep silent, Israel will not, it will always be opposed to Iranian nuclear deal until it is changed as supposed.

**"In May, I provided hard evidences of Iran's plans to build nuclear weapons...Months have passed. The IAEA has still not taken any action. It has not posed a single question to Iran."**

Netanyahu indirectly accuses the IAEA of ignoring sensitive issues like Iran's nuclear weapon issue. On the other hand, he shows his loyalty to the IAEA and the UN's nuclear agency roles. Netanyahu makes use of two strategies, pathos, and innuendo. Netanyahu supports his argument by saying "I provided hard evidences", he leaves no way for the argument or suspicion. He saves his face in addition to his government's face from any external threat that may false or weaken his argument in the UN, also he does not leave any room for Iran, the IAEA, and the UN nuclear agency to deny what he is saying. To accomplish innuendo strategy, Netanyahu makes use of pathos strategy as a tool for attacking and damaging the IAEA reputation and competency among the nuclear agencies in which he shows the agency's failure to operate toward dangerous issues even with the existence of hard evidences.

**"In May, we exposed the site of Iran's secret atomic archive....Today, I'm revealing the site of a second facility...let me show you...here it is. You see, like the atomic archive, it's another innocent looking compound...it's 100 meters from the kalishoi, the rug cleaning operation. By the way, I hear they do a fantastic job cleaning rugs."**

Netanyahu indirectly threatens Iran in which he informs it that Israel is familiar with everything it is doing and with every step it takes. Netanyahu makes use of pathos since he is trying to convince the IAEA, the UN nuclear agency, and the public of his credibility and honesty when it comes to Iran's nuclear issue. Netanyahu brings hard evidences like photos that clearly show Iran's 3 secret nuclear warehouses. Persuading



others with hard evidences is much more effective and convincing operation because when it comes to sensitive issues, it is better politically and socially to provide strong evidence. Netanyahu violates the manner maxim because of his vagueness, in addition to the manner maxim, he violates the quantity maxim in which he did not provide enough information about the sources of his information which left the audience with many questions that need answers.

**"You have to ask yourself a question. Why did Iran keep a secret atomic archive and a secret atomic warehouse? The answer to the question is simple. The reason Iran didn't destroy its atomic archive and its atomic archive and its atomic warehouse is because it hasn't abandoned its goal to develop nuclear weapons. In fact, it planned to use both of these sites in a few years when the time would be right"**

Netanyahu makes use of hypophora and innuendo strategies to achieve indirectness. He raises a question then immediately answering it to lead the audience to his point. Netanyahu's point about Iran is that it deceives the IAEA and the UN nuclear agency in which it did not get rid of its secret atomic archive, neither of its secret atomic warehouse. Netanyahu's aim behind using anaphora is to accomplish innuendo in which he intends to deform Iran's face to the public world since it did not commit to the laws and restrictions posed to it in regard to the nuclear archive and warehouse issue. Netanyahu violates manner maxim because of his vagueness since he does mention or clarify why he is very sure about Iran's attitude toward its nuclear archive and nuclear warehouse.

**"But, ladies and gentlemen, rest assured, that won't happen. It won't happen because what Iran hides, Israel will find....Now, I have also a message**

**today for the tyrants of Tehran: Israel knows what are you doing, and Israel knows where are you doing it. Israel will never let a regime that calls for our destruction to develop nuclear weapons, not now, not in ten years, not ever."**

Netanyahu assures the public world by strong words that reflect his government's organized attitude against Iran. He threatens Iran's security indirectly by saying "what Iran hides, Israel will find", implicit threat saves Netanyahu's face from any threat and responsibility since he does not directly say I am spying on you, or I'm threatening you.

**"And if you think, if you think that Iran's aggression has been confined to the middle east, think again. Last month, two Iranian agents were arrested for plotting terrors attacks right here in the United States. And several weeks ago, Iranian agents were arrested for plotting terror attacks in the heart of Europe"**

Netanyahu makes use of a pathos strategy in which he arouses terror in the heart of the western people put their states under pressure in order to work with Israel and the US against Iran. Netanyahu violates the manner maxim because of his ambiguity, since he does not state what he wants directly. In addition to violating manner maxim, he violates quantity maxim in which he does not mention the reasons behind Iranian's attacks, he just negatively presents their attacks. If you look at his speech at the UN in 2016, he states in regard to Ahmad Dawabsha case that " this is not our people. This is not our way." Netanyahu does not leave any room for the public to justify the Iranian's attacks in which he tries to say that Palestinians and Israelis have a common issue to struggle for, but what does Iranian want from the US, Europe and Israel to attack it. He makes use of pathos, violates manner and quantity maxims to accomplish innuendo to damage Iran's reputation in the public world.

**"So I also have a message for Hezbollah today: Israel knows, Israel also knows what you are doing. Israel knows where you're doing it. And Israel will not let you get away with it"**

Netanyahu challenges Hezbollah is using pathos and logos strategies in which he practices a psychological warfare by boasting his intelligence's achievement on revealing Hezbollah's precision missile sites hidden in Beirut, and his willing of hold him accountable for his actions.

**"They argued that US sanctions alone would have little impact, little economic impact on Iran. That's what they say. Really? Well, let's see what happened to Iran's economy now that president Trump has forced companies to choose between doing business with Iran and doing business with the United States, whose GDP is 50 times the size of Iran's GDP."**

Netanyahu is still commenting on the Iran nuclear deal in which he challenges the deal supporters with an implicit threat of Iran and the supporter countries that the US is able to destroy their economy if Trump just forces companies to choose between Iran and America. Netanyahu put the Iran deal supporters under pressure in which he gave them the choice, whether to change their attitude toward the Iran deal or to lose their economic stability among the other nations. Netanyahu draws strength from Trump's attitude toward the Iran deal in general and with Israel in particular and that can be seen in Netanyahu's similar sentences " Israel is deeply grateful to President Trump."

**"I listened to these protests. I talk to the Iranian people. I issue these videos and I get so many responses from Iranians. At first I thought these are Iranians exiles in the safety of London or Paris or Los Angeles. No, Iranians, from Iran embracing Israel, criticizing the regime....From the striking bazaar merchants to**

**the young women uncovering their hair, the people of Iran are bravely standing up to a regime the has brutally repressed them for four decades."**

Netanyahu makes use of vivid evidences that can be used against Iran. He shows that Iranian themselves are against Iran's aggressive attitude toward the world and toward the Iranian themselves. Netanyahu convinces the audience indirectly of his credibility and humanity in which he shows that Iranian people "embracing Israel", where they ask for the intervention of Israel to rid them of the regime that Netanyahu described as 'brutal'. Netanyahu makes use of metaphor in which he links the Iranian regime to brutality to justify his attitude toward it.

**"Israel's Arab citizens vote in our election...and have the same individual rights as all other Israelis. Today, there are at least five times as many Palestinians as there were in 1948, the year of Israel's founding. Yet here at the UN Israel is outrageously accused of ethnic cleansing. Ladies and gentlemen, you know what this is? it is the same old anti-Semitism with a brand new face."**

Netanyahu indirectly criticizes the UN accusations against Israel and makes use of logos and hypophora strategies as an attempt to convince the public world of his critique accuracy. Netanyahu is aware of the positive consequences he may witness when he mentioned how equally the Israeli government deals with the Israeli Arab citizens. Logos is accomplished by Netanyahu by giving the public world vivid and convincing evidences to prove the opposite of the United Nations' accusations that Israel is carrying out ethnic cleansing, as he compared the number of Palestinians in 1948 and 2018 as evidence of his sincerity. Netanyahu implicitly aroused a question for the world public had to think about that if Israel had carried out ethnic cleansing against the Palestinians, would there be five times the number of Palestinians now at Israel?

The expected question as he draws for is No! The implicit question Netanyahu arouses at the public world mind is similar at his aim behind the direct question of "you know what this is?" In regard to UN accusations. Netanyahu used hypophora to lead the audience to his intended point which is Israel is not racist, Israel does not do ethnic cleansing. Netanyahu makes use of logos and hypophora to accomplish innuendo which targets on damaging the UN's reputation and deforming its face to the public since it is inaccurate in its accusation toward Israel, deficient, and not honest.

**"Moments ago, President Abbas outrageously said that Israel's nation-state law proves that Israel is a racist, apartheid state....President Abbas, you should know better, you wrote a dissertation denying the holocaust. Your Palestinian Authority imposes death sentences on Palestinians for selling land to the Jews...you proudly pay Palestinian terrorists who murder Jews....And you condemn Israel's morality? You call Israel racist?"**

Netanyahu is commenting on Abbas's accusations against Israel. He makes use of antanagoge strategy in which he responds to Abbas's accusation via accusation. Abbas accused Israel of being racist and apartheid in his speech at the UN 2018 "Israel adopted a racist law...this law remind us of the apartheid that existed in South Africa", so Netanyahu makes use of an antanagoge strategy to deny Abbas's accusation indirectly in which he focuses his effort on showing the Palestinian Authority it is the racist state not Israel by giving many vivid evidences that strengthen his argument "you Palestinian Authority imposes death sentences for selling land to the Jews". Along with antanagoge strategy, Netanyahu makes use of logos strategy to accomplish antangoage successfully by adding vivid evidences. Logos and antanagoge are used to accomplish

innuendo since Netanyahu intends to damage the Palestinian Authority face to the public in which it is racist and immoral.

**"Ever since Abraham and Sarah made their journey to the promised land nearly 4000 years ago, the land of Israel has been our homeland. It is the place where Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob, Leah and Rachel carried on their eternal covenant with god...where the Maccabees fought and where Masada fell. It is the place from which we were exiled and to which we returned, rebuilding our ancient and eternal capital Jerusalem."**

Netanyahu is one of the politicians who use religion to gain power. He used religious facts to support his argument on his state's right to create the nation-state of Israel. Netanyahu makes use of ethos, pathos and logos strategies, he uses religion to prove his credibility to the public in which he is familiar with what his religion says" the land of Israel...it is the place from which we were exiled and to which we returned, rebuilding our ancient and eternal capital Jerusalem". It is known psychologically that anything is valued or believed by an individual can be used to exploit or to manipulate that individual mentally and emotionally. Religion is a sensitive and powerful factor that used by the politicians because no negotiation can be built around it in which if someone introduce a religious belief and trying to protect it, the audience will absolutely be on the side of the protector, so Netanyahu studied this point clearly to gain the public worlds' support and approval for Netanyahu's attitudes . In addition to manipulating the audiences' minds, Netanyahu manipulates their emotions too, he arouses the public worlds' challenge and hatred feelings toward any party that may take or destroy that belief or faith of creating the nation-state of Israel.

#### **4.3.2 Mahmoud Abbass**

Mahmoud Abbas, who also called Abu Mazen is a Palestinian leader who born in Safad in 1935. Abu Mazen served as prime minister of the Palestinian authority in 2003 and was elected to be its president after the death of the president Yasser Arafat in 2005. Abbas is instrumental in building relations and networks that, through a two-state solution, simultaneously laid the foundations for peace with Israel and for Palestinian self-determination. He received his secondary education in Syria and university at Damascus University. Then he joined Cairo University to study law. In 1982, he obtained from the Russian Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow, the Institute of Oriental Studies (Orientalism), where he obtained a doctorate in political science, and his thesis was on "Secret Relations between Nazi Germany and the Zionist Movement", "The Relationship Between Nazi Leaders and Leaders of the Zionist Movement" which it published. It was published by Ibn Rushd in 1984 in a book entitled: The Other Side: Secret Relations between Nazism and Zionism. He started his political activity from Syria, then moved to work as Director of Personnel Affairs in the Civil Service Department in Qatar, and from there he organized Palestinian groups and contacted the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah), which was nascent at the time. He participated in the First Central Committee, but remained far from the center of events due to his presence in Damascus and the base of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was in Beirut. He has been a member of the Palestinian National Council since 1968. During his political career, he obtained a doctorate in the history of Zionism from the Faculty of Oriental Studies in Moscow. He led the negotiations with General Matityahu Peled, which led to the Declaration of Principles of Peace based on the Two-State Solution announced on January 1, 1997. He is also a member of the Economic

Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization since April 1981, and took over the portfolio of occupied territories after the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad). Mahmoud Abbas's possession of the many data and his knowledge of the internal affairs in America and Israel after his studies, meetings, negotiations enable him to choose the topics that he prefers to raise in his speeches, in addition to his selection of his words during his speeches that may affect the public world since he understands how Israeli and American leaders work and think in addition, knowing the internal affairs of the American United States and Israel enable him to act in a way that preserve his face and others face so all parties are in the safe side.

In 1996, he was appointed Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and this made him practically the second man in the ranking of the Palestinian leadership. He had returned to Palestine in July 1995. He participated in secret talks between Palestinians and Israelis through Dutch mediators in 1989, and coordinated negotiations during the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991. He also oversaw the negotiations that led to the Oslo Accords, and led the negotiations in Cairo that became what is known as the Gaza-Jericho Accord. He has headed the Negotiation Affairs Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization since its inception in 1994, and worked as the head of international relations in the organization.

Mahmoud Abbas played a prominent role in the 1993 Oslo negotiations that established the Oslo Accords, which officially known as the Declaration of Principles on Transitional Self-Government Arrangements. Oslo Accords are a peace agreement signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization in the American city of Washington on September 13, 1993, in the presence of former US President Bill Clinton. The agreement was named after the Norwegian city of Oslo, where the secret



talks that took place in 1991 resulted in this agreement in what was known as the Madrid Conference. The Oslo Accord, which was signed on September 13, 1993, is the first direct official agreement between Israel, represented by its foreign minister at the time, Shimon Peres, and the Palestine Liberation Organization, represented by the Secretary of the Executive Committee, Mahmoud Abbas. The Declaration of Principles and the exchanged messages constituted a turning point in the relationship between the PLO and Israel, according to which the parties committed themselves to the following, first, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in the words of its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, committed itself to the right of the State of Israel to live in peace and security and to reach a solution to all fundamental issues related to the permanent status through negotiations. The other, and it will amend the provisions of the National Charter in line with this change, and will take the responsibility of obligating all members of the Liberation Organization to them, preventing the violation of this situation and arresting the violators.

Secondly, the Government of Israel, through Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, decided that, in light of the commitments of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people, and to start negotiations with it.

One of the most important provisions of Oslo Accord is first, the Palestine Liberation Organization renounces terrorism and violence (forbids armed resistance against Israel) and deletes the clauses related to it in its charter such as armed action and the destruction of Israel. Second, Israel recognizes the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. (Exchanged Letters - Second Discourse)

Third, The Palestine Liberation Organization recognizes the State of Israel (on 78% of the land of Palestine - that is, all of Palestine except the West Bank and Gaza).

Forth, within five years, Israel will withdraw from lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in stages, the first of which are Jericho and Gaza, which constitute 1.5% of the land of Palestine. Finally, Israel recognizes the right of the Palestinians to establish self-rule (later known as the Palestinian National Authority) on the territories it withdraws from in the West Bank and Gaza (self-rule for the Palestinians and not an independent sovereign state).

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas announced at (September 30, 2015) that the Palestinian Authority's withdrawal from the Oslo Accords in response to Israel's failure to fulfill its commitments regarding the transitional plan aimed at ending the Israeli occupation. Also, Abbas added that everyone who says that he is with the option of the two-state solution should recognize the two states, and not just one, as it is no longer useful to waste time in negotiations in terms of negotiations. It is required to find an international umbrella that oversees the end of this occupation in accordance with international legitimacy resolutions, and until then Palestinians call on the United Nations to provide international protection for the Palestinian people in accordance with international humanitarian law.

All of what mentioned above help understanding Abbas's attitude toward all issues mentioned in his speeches.

#### **4.3.2.1 Analyzing Mahmoud Abbas's Speech at the UN General Assembly 22-9-2016**

**"I had hoped that I would not have been compelled to make this statement today, hoping that the cause of my people would have been justly resolved, would**

**have been genuinely heard, and that hearts and consciences would have acted to lift them from oppression."**

The Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas starts his speech with a strong statement in which he accuses the world leaders of being unjust, heartless and conscienceless since they do not work for a just resolution for the Israeli-Palestinian issue. Abbas makes use of innuendo strategy in which his aim behind describing the world leaders as heartless and unjust indirectly is to deform their face to the public so they will be seen as droopy and unjust. At the same time, Abbas makes use of ethos strategy in which he describes the tragedy his people are suffering from the Israeli oppressed occupation. Abbas makes use of innuendo and ethos to accomplish pathos in which he indirectly arouses the world leaders to take an action toward the Israel-Palestinian case so there will no need each year to deliver a speech, to negotiate and to struggle.

**"As you all are aware, we have accepted the primacy and judgment of international law and resolutions of international legitimacy, and made a historic and immense sacrifice, when the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, accepted to establish the state of Palestine on the 4 June 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital. What more can be asked of us?"**

Mahmoud Abbas indirectly represents himself and his government positively in which they seek peace and work for justice. He implicitly complains the Israeli's and the whole worlds' negative attitude toward the Palestinian issue since the Palestinians are the only party who sacrifice to find a satisfying resolution for both sides, the Israeli and the Palestinian sides. Abbas makes use of ethos strategy in which he tries to persuade

the public world of his and his government's good intentions toward the Israeli-Palestinian issue. "What more can be asked of us?" this is a question that denotes Abbas's refusal to sacrifice more alone to end the Israeli-Palestinian struggle in which he indirectly asks the Israeli government and other world governments to cooperate with Palestine.

**"We remain committed to the agreements reached with Israel since 1993. however, Israel must reciprocate this commitment and must act forthwith to resolve all of the final status issues. It must cease all of its settlement colonization activities and aggressions against our cities, villages and refugees...and release the thousands of our prisoners and detainees. How can anyone seeking peace perpetrate such actions?"**

Abbas makes use of innuendo strategy in addition to pathos strategy in which he uses innuendo to deform the Israeli government's face by mentioning its aggressive actions against the Palestinian people. He also makes use of pathos strategy since he seeks the international world's sympathy and cooperation with the Palestinians, so he uses expressions and statements that arouse sympathy toward the Palestinians and anger toward the Israeli government which Abbas describes as colonized, aggressive and unjust government. Abbas here violates the relevance maxim since he instead of asking how to stop the aggressive activities, he arouses a question that attacks the Israeli leadership to the public. Abbas at the end of the paragraph uses anaphora strategy in which he asks the audience a simple question which has no direct answer to first, avoid being responsible for directly attacking the Israeli government and accused it of being anti-peace, and second, to lead the audience to the negative image he has drawn on the Israeli's indirectly since the answer of the question after criticizing it before is that Israel

does not seek peace but it pretends that. Abbas in this sense violates manner maxim due to his vagueness in which he chooses not to directly answer the question, but to let the audience to conclude it by themselves.

**"Despite the security council's adoption of 12 resolutions condemning Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian Territory since 1967, none of these resolutions has been implemented, encouraging Israel to continue pursuing its plans for the seizure of more Palestinian land in the west Bank, including East Jerusalem, with impunity...."**

Abbas resorts to innuendo to criticize the security council's attitude toward the Israeli-Palestinian case in which he indirectly attacks its negative attitude toward Israeli's aggressive actions since its resolutions have no real existence in the floor, the 12 resolutions are only written in the papers. Abbas deforms the security council's face to the public in which he indirectly tries to represent it as incapable, incompetent, and has no power over the Israeli government. Abbas chooses to be polite when criticizing the security council to save his face and the council's face in addition to keep away from responsibility.

**"In this regard, I am compelled to gain warn that what the Israeli Government is doing in pursuit of its expansionist settlement plans will destroy whatever possibility and hopes are left for the two-state solution on the 1967 borders."**

Abbas after revealing the Israeli's aggressive and unjust actions toward the Palestinians to the public, he strengthened his point with the use of pathos strategy in which he makes use of the term warn to arouse the fear and anxious feelings in the heart of the parts responsible of finding a solution.

**"We will therefore continue to exert all efforts for a Security Council resolution on the settlement and the terror of the settlers, and we are undertaking extensive consultations with the Arab Countries and other friendly countries on this matter. We hope no one will cast a veto."**

Abbas challenges the Israeli government and the Security Council politely in which he justifies his intention of describing the settlers as terror makers. Abbas makes use of pathos strategy in addition to ethos strategy in which he first arouses the anxiety feeling in the hearts of the Israeli government and the Security Council members by challenging them and cooperating with Arab and other friendly countries that its names are never mentioned before by Abbas for many reasons ,the most important one is to save his plans and to maintain his good relationships with it, so Israel will not be able to damage those plans, in addition to save the Palestinian and the other cooperated countries faces to those who are against them in the public. Abbas violates the quantity maxim in which he did not mention enough information about how he will convince the Security Council, what are his plans, who are the cooperated countries and what next. Also, he makes use of ethos strategy in which he shows his good job, his cooperation, his effort and his good relationships with the other countries so that strengthening his point of view to the public since he has many countries that believe in his state's right of being free and independent.

**"Military orders continues to be issued to prohibit their use of the majority of their lands in the West Bank, including Jerusalem.... And it continues to illegally alter identity and status of occupied East Jerusalem and to commit aggressions and provocations against our Christian and Muslim holy sites....The**

**continuation of the Israeli aggressions against our Muslims and Christian holy sites is playing with power."**

Abbas at this part of the speech touches the heart of every Muslim and every Christian person in the world. He makes use of pathos strategy in which he plays with the emotions of the audience by turning the issue from a political issue to a religious one in order to gain the public support and sympathy.

**"Here, I must once again appeal to you to provide international protection for the Palestinian people, suffering under occupation since 1967.... I extend my appreciation in this regard to the Security Council members who convened an Arria meeting of the Council to explore the possibilities of international protection for our people, and I urge that these efforts continue. If you do not ensure for us protection, then who will?"**

Abbas directly Appeals to the Security Council to protect the Palestinians from the Israeli occupation which oppressed them in all ways. He makes use of pathos strategy to gain the public world support and sympathy toward the Palestinians by describing their suffering and the hard circumstances they live due to the Israeli aggressive actions. At the same time, Abbas indirectly arouses the Security Council to be on the Palestinian side by honoring its positive attitude toward the Palestinian when exploring the possibilities for international protection for them.

"If you do not ensure for us protection, then who will?" by arousing this question, Abbas smartly and indirectly plays in the Security Council's emotions to gain their support in which he admits their strength, credibility and efficiency so as we "the Arabs" believe, the more you appreciate the other, the more the other will give you, and

that what Abbas follow in his speech in some cases. So, pathos is creatively used by Abbas in this part of speech.

**"There is no conflict between us and the Jewish religion and its people. Our conflict is with the Israeli occupation of our land. we respect the Jewish religion and condemn the catastrophe that befell the Jewish people in World War II in Europe, and View it as one of the most heinous crimes perpetrated against humanity."**

Abbas at this part of speech makes use of ethos, pathos, and innuendo in which he defends his face to the public after Netanyahu's accusation of Palestinians from being racism and anti-Jews. Abbas shows his respect for the Jewish religion and declares that the conflict is not religious, but is a political conflict concerns about the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian land. Abbas shows his credibility, his honorable attitude toward different religions, and his sympathy toward what happened to the Jews in the World War II. By using ethos he accomplishes pathos since his goal behind using ethos is to create a desirable emotional affection of the public world toward his personality and toward his government since both are attacked and accused of being racism and anti-Jewish religion by Netanyahu in his speeches to the UN General Assembly. This part of speech denies Netanyahu's accusation of Palestinian government and president since Abbas shows his respect and sympathy to Jews. Abbas makes use of ethos and pathos to achieve innuendo since Abbas's implicit goal is to deform the Israeli government and its representative Netanyahu to the public by showing them as liars and occupiers who use their religion as an excuse to attack the Palestinians and to occupy their land.



**"Realization of a historic reconciliation between the Palestinian and Israeli peoples requires that Israel acknowledge its responsibility for the Nakba inflicted on our people to this very day....I believe that the Arab peace initiatives presents a reasonable, serious solution. Yet Israel continues to insist on being selective, choosing only what it wishes from this initiative, such an establishment of relations with the Arab countries first without ending its occupation on Palestine. This is definitely a recipe for the continuation of the conflict in our region."**

Abbas makes use of innuendo to deform the Israeli government's face to the public who seeks responsibility from both the Israeli and the Palestinian sides to end the Israeli-Palestinian struggle in which he indirectly accuses Israel of being irresponsible for what happened to the Palestinians after Al-Nakba 1948, Abbas asks the Israeli government to be responsible politely instead of threatening them directly psychologically or physically like Netanyahu does in his speeches, for example, by mentioning how powerful his government is, how America will work against each government attack Israel...etc. Abbas at the same part of the speech criticizes the Israeli side of being selfish and opportunist since they work only for their benefits, so he shows his understanding of such a Machiavellian plan and declares his refusal of it.

**"By the end of this coming year, 100 years will have passed since the Balfour Declaration....Yes, 100 years have passed since the Balfour Declaration, by which Britain gave, without any right, authority or consent from anyone, the land of Palestine to another people...as if this is not enough, the British Mandate interpreted this Declaration into policies and measures that contributed to the perpetration of the most heinous crimes against a peaceful people in their own land, a people that never attacked anyone or partook in a war against anyone."**

In this Part of the speech, Abbas indirectly blames Britain for what happened and still happening to the Palestinians since 1917, he retells the public that the Declaration is illegal, unjust, brought and still bringing dangerous consequences on the Palestinian since it is against their rights and independence. Abbas makes use of innuendo in addition to pathos strategies in which he introduces Britain as irresponsible, inhuman, and racist since it declares a Declaration that makes the Palestinians suffering from 1917 until the current moment. He also makes use of pathos strategy in which he use emotional expressions to describe the Palestinians like peaceful people to gain the public support and sympathy toward the Palestinians in addition to arouse anger and disappointment emotions toward Britain and the Balfour Declaration.

**"In addition, Israel, since 1948, has persisted with its contempt for international legitimacy by violating United General Assembly resolution 181 (II), Which called for the establishment of two states on the historic land of Palestine....We continue our efforts to build the foundations of a culture of peace among our people. We stand against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and we condemn it by whomever and wherever."**

Abbas makes use of innuendo and ethos strategies in this part of the speech in which he intends to damage the Israeli government face to the public by negatively representing them due to their violation of the UN resolution 181 (II). On the other hand, he positively represents his government as loyal, and peace seeker. Abbas makes use of pathos to convince the audience of his government's credibility, loyalty and humanity to gain their support and accept his argumentation. Innuendo and pathos strategies are used by Abbas in this context to positively represent the Palestinians governments and negatively represent the Israeli one.

**"Our hand remains outstretched for making peace. But the question that keeps presenting itself over and over again: is there any leadership in Israel, the occupying power, that desires to make a true peace and that will abandon the mentality of hegemony, expansionism and colonization, and that will recognize the rights of our people and will end the historic injustice inflicted upon them? It is Israeli's breach of the agreements it has signed and its failure to comply with its obligations that has led us to the deadlock and stalemate that we remain in."**

Abbas still affirming his and his government's positive attitude toward the peace making process for both Palestinian side and Israeli side to brightening his face to the public. At the same time he arouses a critical question about whether there is any leadership seeking true peace for the both sides to the public and follows it immediately with a direct answer that denies the existence of any just leadership and any commitment to peace agreements. Such a strategy is called hypophora in which Abbas uses to lead his audience to his point of view about Israeli leadership indirectly. What the audience will understand from Abbas's question and answer is that no Israeli leadership cooperates, and no Israeli leader is loyal. Abbas also makes use of pathos strategy by describing their suffering because of the Israeli occupation. Hypophora and pathos strategies are applied to accomplish innuendo which works for destroying the Israeli leadership to the public world.

**"We continue to rely on the international community to shoulder its responsibilities, and we call on those countries in particular that have harmed the rights of our people to rectify this injustice. Moreover, we appeal to countries that have not recognize the state of Palestine to do so."**

Abbas indirectly and politely requests global cooperation with the Palestinian side and hold them the responsibility for his people's suffering. Moreover, he asks the unnamed countries that harm the Palestinian rights to relook at their actions and attitude which he described as unjust. Abbas makes use of name-calling strategy in which he uses the term injustice in order to make the audience distrust and disrespect the unnamed countries which work against Palestinian freedom and independence. Abbas chooses to do not mention the name of the countries which he accused of being unjust to save his face from any threaten, from any responsibility or accountability of what he said, Abbas in this case violates Quantity maxim due to his vagueness about the countries' names and accomplishes innuendo in which he sounds correct, but ambiguous at the same time to keep away from responsibility since each country against Palestine will realize that it is the intended country.

**"It is my hope that I will not have to make such a statement again as there is a collective responsibility upon you to ensure that 2017 is the year of ending the occupation. Will you uphold this responsibility? It is my hope."**

Abbas at the end of his speech makes use of pathos, ethos and innuendo strategy. Abbas makes use of pathos since he from the beginning of the speech until the end of it tries to arouse the public world honor, respect, and sympathy toward the Palestinians and their attitude toward the Israel-Palestinian struggle. Also, he makes use of ethos strategy since he simultaneously calls for peace and justice for both the Israeli side and the Palestinian side to show his loyalty, credibility and justice. Pathos and ethos in this context are used to accomplish innuendo strategy since Abbas tries to question the UN's credibility.

#### 4.3.2.2 Analyzing Mahmoud's Abbas Speech at the UN General Assembly 2017

**"Twenty-four years have passed since the signing of the Oslo Accords, an interim agreement that set a five-year period for bringing an end to the Israeli occupation, granting hope to the Palestinian people that they would soon achieve independence within their State and achieve peace between Palestinians and Israelis. What is left of this hope today?"**

Abbas starts his speech reminding the UN and the international world of the Oslo Accords to indirectly criticize the UN's, the Israeli's and the International world's negative attitude toward that Accords as it disappointed the hopes of the Palestinians and did not achieve anything that was agreed upon between the parties. Abbas makes use of pathos strategy, whereas he raises the public's feelings in order to gain their cooperation, sympathy and support for the Palestinian cause and from the Palestinian president's stance towards the responsible party's attitude. Abbas also makes use of hypophora whereas he arouses a question to accomplish pathos strategy, "What is left of this hope today?", he arouses sympathy emotions toward the Palestinian, at the same time, he stirs up feelings of anger and hatred towards the Israeli side who for twenty-four years and until today is still shattering the dreams of the Palestinians by continuing to build illegal settlements, confiscating lands unlawfully, killing Palestinians and many other illegal practices that the Oslo Agreement stipulated not to carry out. Abbas makes hypophora to accomplish pathos and let the question without an answer lead the audience to his point of view without making any direct accusation or claim to avoid responsibility and accountability. Abbas makes use of pathos and hypophora to accomplish innuendo in which he distorts the face of the lethargic parties participating in the Oslo agreement to the public who wait for them to be responsible and logical.

**"We recognized the state of Israel on the 1967 borders. But Israel's continuous refusal to recognize these borders has put into question the mutual recognition we signed in Oslo in 1993. Since my speech before your august Assembly last year, when I appealed for 2017 to be the year for ending the Israeli occupation of the territory of the State of Palestine, the Israeli Government has relentlessly pursued its settlement campaign on our land, in contravention of all international conventions and the relevant resolutions on the question of Palestine. It has persisted with its flagrant disregard for the two-State solution, resorting to delay policies and tactics and devising pretexts to evade its responsibility to end its occupation of the territory of the State of Palestine."**

Abbas makes use of innuendo strategy where he indirectly deforms the Israeli government's face to the public by negatively representing them in which he depicts the Israeli side as the problematic 'other' who does not abide by the decision and resolutions relating to the two-State solution and to end its occupation of Palestine. On the other hand, Abbas positively represents his government's attitude toward the international laws and agreements since they recognized Israel. Abbas also makes use of ethos strategy in which he shows his loyalty and commitment to the international laws and decision to gain the public's support and cooperation.

**"Instead of addressing the underlying issues and resolving the root causes of the conflict, it has tried to misdirect international attention to the secondary issues actually caused by its colonial policies. While we call – just as the international community continues to call – for an end of the Israeli occupation of the territory of our State, it incites and makes false accusations, pretends there is no Palestinian partner, and imposes unreasonable, obstructive conditions. Israel is**

**well aware, as you all are, that its occupation breeds incitement and violence, and this Israeli military occupation of our land has now lasted for over half a century."**

Abbas makes use of antanagoge strategy in which he responds to Israeli's irresponsible attitude toward the underlying issues that are related to the two-State solution and to their false accusation toward the Palestinian of being with an accusation to it, whereas it misdirects the international attention towards an unrelated issues like Syrian war and Iran nuclear bomb issues which basically are caused by the Israeli colonial policies as Abbas states. Abbas also responds to Israeli's indirect accusation to the Palestinian of being uncooperative, racist and aggressive with an accusation in which the Israeli part is an occupying power which imposing unreasonable and obstructive conditions on the Palestinian people. Abbas also makes use of a name-calling strategy in which he links Israel to occupation, and then links the Israeli occupation in violation and incitement to invoke fear in his audience toward Israeli's actions. Abbas makes use of pathos along with antanagoge and name-calling to arouse sympathy feelings toward the Palestinian issue which he describes as ignored. Abbas makes use of antanagoge, name-calling and pathos strategies to accomplish innuendo in which Abbas works to form a negative opinion and to deform the Israeli face to the public.

**"For over a decade we agreed with Israel to form a trilateral committee comprising the US, Israel and Palestine to address the issue of incitement, and the US has the ability to assess adherence within that committee. This committee worked for barely a year and was then cancelled. Since then it is we who have called for reviving it without success. So who is responsible for incitement and who is trying to let incitement continue?"**

Abbas indirectly complains about the Israeli's and the US's negative attitude toward the issue of ending incitement toward the Palestinians in addition to their irresponsibility and incredibility. Abbas makes use of ethos where he shows his credibility and responsibility toward the committee that cancelled after only one year of its creation. Abbas makes use of ethos in which he shows his credibility and loyalty to gain the international world appreciation and support, and at this time, he intends to make a comparison between his attitude, the Israeli attitude and the US's attitude to accomplish innuendo which works for damaging the Israeli face in addition the UN's face to the public who expect support and cooperation from the two parties. Abbas also makes use of hypophora in which he arouses the question of ". So who is responsible for incitement and who is trying to let incitement continue?" and let it unanswered to let the audience deduce the answer from the context, so he indirectly leads the audience to recognize that Israel and the US are the parts who are responsible for incitement without directly stating it in order to keep away from responsibility and any face threat.

**"Beyond any doubt, draining the swamp of colonial occupation of our land and ending its unjust, oppressive and illegal practices against our people would greatly affect the fight against terrorism, depriving terrorist groups of one of the key rallying cries they exploit to promote their repugnant ideas. We must thus reiterate that ending the Israeli occupation of our land is of urgency and an integral part of the efforts that must be undertaken to confront such groups. We, the Palestinians, stand against local, regional and international terrorism, in whatever shape or form, regardless of its source and origin. We are against international terrorism and fight against international terrorism."**



Abbas indirectly instigates the international society against the Israeli occupation, which he indirectly called as terrorist by using name-calling strategy in which he links the term 'terrorist' to the Israeli's government that occupies Palestine as he considers it one of the terrorist groups that pose a threat to the Palestinians and to the world in general. By using a name-calling strategy, Abbas accomplishes pathos strategy in which he aims to arouse fear emotions in the audiences' hearts, anger emotions toward the Israeli occupation in specific in the terrorist groups in general. Also, he makes use of ethos where he positively describes the Palestinians' attitude toward terrorism and terrorist groups to gain the public support and cooperation. Abbas makes use of name-calling, pathos and ethos to accomplish innuendo since Abbas aims to deform the Israeli image to the public.

**"On our part, we have also repeatedly tried to revive the peace process and called on the Israeli Prime Minister to affirm his commitment to the two-State solution and sit with us at the negotiations table to delineate the borders between Israel and the State of Palestine in order to open a path for meaningful negotiations to resolve all other final status issues. We sit down, delineate the borders then tackle all other issues. Unfortunately, he rejected this offer."**

Abbas makes use of ethos strategy since he tries to persuade the public of his government's peaceful attitude and its cooperation in the peace process. On the other hand, he shows Benjamin Netanyahu's negative attitude toward the peace process to finally accomplish innuendo in order to deform Netanyahu's face to the public and the other governments who await positive attitude and cooperation from Israel in the peace process.

**"Even as we continue our genuine efforts for success of the peace process and the achievement of its ultimate goals, Israel continues to breach its commitments and to obstruct efforts, guaranteeing the process' failure by its relentless settlement activities and undermining of the two-State solution. Israel is building settlements everywhere, and there is no space left for the State of Palestine, which is unacceptable for both us and yourselves, and you have a responsibility on this regard, as this represents a real threat to both peoples, Palestinians and Israelis, and compels us to undertake a comprehensive, strategic review of the entire process."**

Abbas makes use of innuendo as he continues his attempts of deforming the Israeli government's face to the public by mentioning their aggressive and unjust actions to steer the suspicion and accusations away from his government if any failure may happen in the peace process. He indirectly blames the Israeli side on the failure of the peace process and makes use of ethos strategy in which he and his government work hard to fulfill peace for both sides, so the blamed part in this case will be Israel with strong evidences delivered by Abbas to the public. Abbas at the end of the quote makes use of pathos in which he arouses fear and stress emotions due to the dangerous consequences that may happen for all parties if steps are not taken carefully and seriously and bears the public and the UN General Assembly the responsibility if the process failed.

**"Our problem is with the Israeli colonial occupation and not with Judaism as a religion. Judaism for us Palestinians – Christians and Muslims – will never be considered a threat. It is a monotheistic religion like Islam and Christianity. The Creator says in the Quran: In the name of God the merciful “we do not distinguish**

**between his prophets". All prophets are equal for us: Mohammed, Jesus, Moses, Younes. All religions are equal and we do not distinguish between God's prophets. We also wish to all Jews happy new year, as well as to all Muslims. This coincidence that we are celebrating both religions' new year simultaneously is a call for coexistence."**

Abbass makes use of antanagoge due to Netanyahu's accusation for him and his government of being anti-Semitic. Abbas responds to Netanyahu's accusation with an accusation in which he accused Israel of being colonizing and occupying power. Netanyahu in most cases turns the Israeli-Palestinian struggle into religious struggle to defeat the Palestinian and arouse the public hatred emotions toward the Palestinians since religion is a common sensitive issue around the world. Abbas also makes use of ethos to defend himself to the public, he appeals to Quran to prove his point of view in order to gain the audience's trust and respect.

**"The impunity that continues to be granted by the international community with regard to Israel's aggressive policies has clearly only emboldened its pursuit of these policies. Let me remind you that Israel has violated international resolutions since its establishment. It has violated the United Nations Charter and continues to do so, as well as resolutions 181 (II), 194 (III), 242 (1967), 338 (1973), all the way to Security Council resolution 2334 of 2016. If the United Nations does not pursue implementation of its own resolutions, who will? Is Israel above the law? Why do you accept such double standards?....Has the international community surrendered itself to the fact that Israel is a country above the law? Why does it deal with States according to double standards?"**

Abbas here directly blames the international community for Israeli's continuous violation of the UN's resolutions and the international laws that work for the two-state solution. Abbas makes use of hypophora and lets the questions unanswered after criticizing the international biased attitude toward Israel in order to lead the audience to his point of view which implies the international communities' lack of credibility and responsibility in addition to the Israeli's rebellion and its rejection of the UN's and the international sanctions and resolutions. Abbas also makes use of innuendo where he tries to deform the international communities', the UN's and the Israeli's face to the public who seeks credibility, responsibility and commitment.

#### **4.3.2.3 Analyzing Mahmoud's Abbas Speech at the UN General Assembly 27-9-2018**

**"Jerusalem is not for sale and the Palestinian people's right are not up for bargaining in the name of God, the most merciful and beneficent."**

Abbas starts his speech with a strong thesis that draws the main red lines which Abbas wants the public world, the Israeli government and the UN General Assembly members to recognize. Abbas looks affirm, letting no way for any negotiation on Jerusalem and the Palestinian rights which gives the first impression about what will his speech discuss from the beginning till the end.

**"In these days last year, I came before you appealing for freedom, independence, and justice for my oppressed people, who are suffering under the Israeli occupation for more than fifty-one years. I return to you today as this colonial occupation continues to suffocate us and to undermine our serious efforts to build the institutions of our cherished state."**

Abbas shows his disappointment of the UN's attitude in which he needs again to deliver a speech about the same issues he discussed and appealed to solve in 2016. Abbas makes use of pathos strategy in which he describes the suffering of his people again because of the Israeli occupation aggressive attitude toward the Palestinian rights and independence for more than fifty-one years. Abbas also makes use of metaphor in which he describes the Israeli occupation as colonial and suffocating since the Israeli government is tightening the screws on the Palestinians through its rejection of any agreement that does justice the Palestinians and guarantees their freedom, in addition to building more illegal settlements and confiscating Palestinian lands unlawfully. Finally by imposing some laws and penalties on the Palestinians, which prevent them from travelling freely or even from making any simple modifications to their homes, as is the case with the Palestinian in Jerusalem to persecute and force them to leave Jerusalem. Abbas connects Israel with the verb suffocating in which he indirectly seems to compare Israel to choking gas or to a noose. Abbas makes use of pathos and metaphor to accomplish innuendo to damage the Israeli government's face to the public in which Abbas described as colonial and suffocating.

**"Last July, Israel adopted a racist law that crossed all the red lines and called it the "Nation-State Law of the Jewish People". This law denies the connection of the Palestinian people to their historic homeland and dismisses their right....This law constitutes a gross breach and real danger, both politically and legally, and reminds us of the apartheid state that existed in South Africa....We further call on the international community and this august Assembly to act to reject it and condemn it as racism illegal law and deem it null and void, just as the UN condemned apartheid South Africa in several resolutions in the Past, bearing**

**in mind also that thousands of Jews and Israeli citizens have rejected and protested this law and 56 Knesset members out of 120 voted against it."**

Mahmoud Abbas makes use of pathos, logos and name-calling strategies to accomplish innuendo in which he first describes the Israeli law of "Nation-State Law of the Jewish People" as a racist law that dismisses and denies the Palestinians rights and independence, he uses the terms, racist, red lines, homeland, rights, real danger to arouse the public sympathy emotions toward the Palestinians, and anger emotions toward the Israeli laws and decisions. Along with the use of pathos, Abbas makes use of logos strategy in which he used strong and affective evidences that may strengthen his point of view in accusing Israel and its laws of being racist, he brings a vivid example which is the issue of the apartheid South Africa and how the UN deals with it. Abbas implicitly shows his awareness to what the UN does for other states, to its resolutions and laws to force the UN to do the same with the Palestinian issue in addition to mentioning the numbers of Jewish and Knesset members who refuse the Israeli acts and against the Israeli law. Such evidence will strengthening his argument about the Israeli law since Jews themselves refuse and against it. Abbas makes use of name-calling in which he used terms and concepts arouse fear emotions in the public world's hearts like the use of racism, racist, real danger, and the Israeli's hearts like crossed the red lines, reject, condemn it in the strongest terms. Abbas by using pathos, logos, name-calling achieves innuendo which attends to destroy the Israeli government's face and questioning the UN's credibility in addition to distrust both of them since their attitudes, laws, and resolutions go against the Palestinian wishes.

**"We have always fully and positively engaged with the various initiatives of the international community that have aimed at achieving a peaceful solution**

**between us and the Israelis....We continued on this path with the administration of President Trump from the start of his tenure, with the same positive engagement....We awaited the peace initiatives with utmost patience, but were shocked by decisions and actions he undertook that completely contradict the role and the commitment of the United States toward the peace process."**

Abbas makes use of ethos in which he positively describes his peoples', and his governments' attitude, credibility and cooperation toward the peace process to grasp\gain the public's and the UN's respect, trust and cooperation. By using ethos strategy to positively represent himself and his government, he uses it at the same time to indirectly criticize and negatively represent Trump's negative and choking attitude toward the peace process by which the audience will distrust him, disbelieve him, and never respect his decisions. The ethos here is used to achieve innuendo in which Abbas tends to deform the United State president's face to the public.

**"...The US administration went even further in its assault by cutting assistance to the Palestinian National Authority, UNRWA and Palestinian hospitals in occupied East Jerusalem. With all of these decisions, this administration has reneged all previous US commitments, and has undermined the two-State solution, and has revealed its false claims of concern about the humanitarian conditions of the Palestinian people."**

Abbas makes use of innuendo in the first place in which his main aim is to damage the US administration's face to the public after the US's decision of cutting its assistance to the Palestinian Authority and ANRWA in which it uses assistance as an economic and political leverage to pressure the Palestinians to accept the US's decision. Abbas condemns the US negative attitude toward the Palestinian and accuses it of being

irresponsible and inhuman for ignoring the difficult humanitarian conditions that the Palestinians endure due to the Israeli occupation. Abbas in addition to innuendo strategy, makes use of pathos strategy in which he tries to gain the public's sympathy toward the Palestinians who suffer from inhuman conditions due to the Israeli's aggressive actions toward them.

**"It is ironic that the American administration still talks about what they call the "deal of the century". But what is left for this administration to give to the Palestinian people? Humanitarian solutions?."**

Abbas implies his sarcastic toward the American administration's attitude since it calls for the "deal of the century" which violates Palestinian people rights and independence, Palestinian refugees' right of return, in addition to the international law. Abbas makes use of innuendo in which he shows the US administration as incredible, irresponsible, and inhuman since it still calls for the deal of the century and ignores the Palestinian suffering and tragedy. "But what is left for this administration to give to the Palestinian people? Human solutions?". Abbas indirectly denotes his refusal of considering the US as a mediator in the peace process with Israel since it is biased for Israel and works for its benefits. Abbas makes use of pathos in which he by applying the question of "humanitarian solutions?" , he tries to arouse hatred and anger emotions toward the US administration in addition to make the audience distrust this administration since the question denotes sarcasm and disappointment in which Abbas does not trust or believe its solutions anymore because it is only written resolutions.

**"I must remind you once again that Israel, the occupying power, has not implemented any single resolution of the hundreds of resolutions adopted by the Security Council, most recent of which was resolution 2334 (2016), and by the**



**General Assembly regarding the question of Palestine. Is it acceptable that Israel remains without accountability or consequence? Is it acceptable that Israel remains a state above the Law? Why does the Security Council not uphold its duties to compel Israel to abide by international law and to bring an end to its occupation of the State of Palestine?"**

Abbas first makes use of name-calling strategy when talking about Israel, he describes it as "the occupying power". by calling it "the occupying power", Abbas makes use of pathos strategy in which both name-calling and pathos strategy work for damaging the Israeli government's face in which it is occupying the land of Palestine by arousing the hatred and anger feelings in the heart of the public. Abbas also makes use of hypophora by arousing the first two questions that have an implicit meanings which Abbas wants to deliver to the public. Abbas does not answer the questions, he indirectly delivers his point of view about the Israeli government's attitude toward the international laws and the UN's resolutions in which he denotes his refusal of the Israeli government's attitude and attacks the Security Council's attitude toward the Israeli government's action by arousing another question that blames and accuses the Security Council of being irresponsible and incapable. Name-calling, pathos and hypophora are used in this context to accomplish innuendo which works for damaging the Security Council's face and the Israeli government's face to the public.

**"We resist this colonial, settler Israeli occupation through the legitimate means created by this international organization. Foremost among these is peaceful. Popular resistance as we witness today in the Great March of return in Gaza."**

Abbas makes use of name-calling strategy in which he uses the terms colonial, settler and occupation to describe the Israeli government's attitude. At the same time, Abbas attempts to justify the Palestinian's attitude toward the Israeli occupation to the public by using the antanagoge strategy in which he indirectly accuses Israel and Donald Trump decision in which Israel is accused of being illegal, unjust, and occupying power, while Donald Trump accused of being unjust and biased to Israel. Abbas also indirectly states that the Great March of return is a normal and expected response to Donald Trump's decision that recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel since the position is against the Palestinian wishes and the international law. Name-calling and antanagoge strategies are used to achieve innuendo that works for damaging the Israeli government's face in addition to Donald Trump's face to the public since both behave negatively toward the peace process between Israel and Palestine.

**"Our Palestinian people and the territory of the State of Palestinian are in more urgent need of international protection than at any time before.... While we welcome all the economic and humanitarian support to our people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip through the legitimate Palestinian institutions, we refuse that this support be considered a substitute to a political solution that would bring an end to the Israeli occupation and achieve the independence of the State of Palestine on the ground. This support also cannot be considered an alternative to lifting the Israeli blockade and ending the division between Gaza and the West Bank, and we will firmly stand against any attempts, under any pretext, to separate our beloved Gaza from our State."**

At the beginning of this quote, Abbas makes use of pathos in which he arouses the publics' and the international organizations' sympathy toward the Palestinian people

who need to be protected from the Israeli aggressive actions and unjust laws, especially in the time he delivers his speech due to the strict and unjust decisions issued by Donald Trump against the Palestinians, in addition to Israeli's failure to abide by the UN's resolutions and the International laws, that calls for Palestinian independence and rights. Abbas indirectly warns the international organizations and the aid supplier countries that the Palestinians will not accept their unjust resolutions and decisions.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Findings and Conclusion**

#### **5.1 Findings**

#### **5.2 Conclusion**

#### **5.3 Recommendations**

## **Chapter Five**

### **Findings and Conclusion**

#### **5.1 Findings**

The critical discourse analysis, including pragmatic analysis of the chosen data shows that indirectness finds its way through expressions in the political speeches that were delivered by Abbas and Netanyahu who are well skilled, educated, politically and socially prepared to deliver speeches. Audience of Abbas and Netanyahu expect them to be obvious, direct and state truth. Whilst Abbas and Netanyahu are indirect, ambiguous, and unclear, so the audience tends to relate many different interpretations to what Abbas and Netanyahu assert in their political speeches. Abbas and Netanyahu in their political speeches in the UN at the years of 2016, 2017, 2018 convey extra hidden and implicit meanings behind what they state publicly in their speeches like, deforming their opponent's face to the public in addition to attacking them indirectly, honoring themselves, praising countries, parties and decisions, and persuading the public of their different points of views. Such hidden meanings or messages can be realized by those who have a good background on politics and language.

In this study, it has been discovered that Abbas and Netanyahu exploit many indirect strategies to achieve indirectness in the analyzed six political speeches. Abbas and Netanyahu used many strategies from the eleven indirect strategies to accomplish indirectness like circumlocution, evasion, metaphor, innuendo, logos, ethos, pathos, antanagoge, hypophora, name-calling, astersimos and anecdote. More than one indirect strategy used by Abbas and Netanyahu in every passage in their speeches to the UN as seen in the analysis part. In some cases, many indirect strategies led to the utilization of

other indirect strategies, for example, in Abbas's speech to the UN 2016 where he exploits Hypophora and pathos strategies to accomplish innuendo which works for destroying the Israeli leadership's face to the public world.

It has been found that some indirectness strategies are used to accomplish politeness, while others are used to accomplish other indirectness functions like persuading others, attacking others, damaging other's face to the public and, etc. For example, politicians employ evasion, metaphor, antanagoge and circumlocution to achieve politeness, however, they use logos, ethos, pathos, hypophora, name-calling, anecdote, and astersimos to attain many pragmatic intentions other than politeness. Although indirectness strategies are classified into strategies that applied to achieve politeness and other to achieve different pragmatic intentions, but in some cases, politicians use some indirect strategies to achieve both politeness and other pragmatic intentions, so it can be said that some indirect strategies can work for more than one function like when politicians use metaphor, for example, it can be used to achieve politeness in addition to criticizing or attacking an opponent indirectly.

Abbas and Netanyahu take into consideration politeness in their political speeches to the UN by appreciating the face (Negative and positive) of their own, their opponents, other parties, countries, and that of their audience as well. That is, they avoid attacking or threatening their opponents and the UN's decisions directly, they choose to be polite by using indirect strategies. They do their best at avoiding being indirect at criticizing and attacking the others to keep away from responsibility and accountability on their utterances.

The study also proves that Abbas and Netanyahu frequently violated Grice's maxims to strengthen their communication and won the negotiation with less losses.

The analysis also proves that Netanyahu infringed Grice's maxims more than Abbas did, and that can be explained by studying each one's cultural background. Netanyahu's culture is a culture of power where his main aim behind violating Grice's maxims is to convince the audience of his state's rights of existence in the Palestinian land logically in addition to convince them with his points of views toward the Iranian nuclear bump issue without facing any threat or harsh critique. He had to violate the Grice's maxim as well as applying indirect strategies to have a successful, safe, and logical communication due to the sensitivity of the issues he touches in his three analyzed speeches. From my point of view, explicitly, Netanyahu for audiences who are not familiar with the language and how politicians play with it will see Netanyahu as direct, brave, clear and bold in his speeches due to his confidence and strength in delivering speeches, stating issues, and showing how powerful is his government in addition to its political achievements while for those who get in deep at analyzing his speeches, they will notice how indirect, unclear and vague is he. On the other hand, Abbas's culture is a culture of peace where Abbas and all Palestinian work for peace, for a mutually satisfying solution for both the Israeli and the Palestinian sides. So the study proves that Grice's maxims are violated more by those who seek power, who have to hide some facts or to tell it implicitly and indirectly, while those who seek peace do not have to violate Grice's maxim since seeking peace is an honoring process that has not to be hidden.

In this study, the researcher analyzes parts of the speech that contain indirect strategies while the rest are not analyzed. In this sense, it can be said that Abbas and Netanyahu are direct in some cases and indirect in other cases, and that depends on the

issues itself since they are clear on the issues that are beneficial and easy for them, and in the issues that are not sensitive so they will not face any possible threat.

## 5.2 Conclusion

The following are the main conclusions reached at in this thesis:

Abbas and Netanyahu, in the six analyzed political speeches, often exploit indirectness when they deliver a speech to the Public in the UN General Assembly on a sensitive topic or issue, their active . Abbas and Netanyahu frequently exploit each other in their speeches and hardly ever provide a piece of speech without indirectness strategies. Indirectness usage in their speeches is expressed in many types and ways via its strategies, in some cases, they get around the issues without touching it directly by using circumlocution, in other cases, they look evasive when talking about a sensitive issue. Also, they use many other strategies that keep them away from any responsibility and accountability by giving ambiguous and vague meaning to what they orally tell their audience, so the hearer's comprehension is based on his own expectations and assumptions . In this way, no one can ask the politicians about what he did not directly say in his speech. This matches with the first hypothesis which is Abbas and Netanyahu use indirectness in the six selected political speeches which were delivered at the UN General Assembly 2016-2018, in addition, it has been concluded that Abbas and Netanyahu in some cases use more than one indirect strategy in one sentence so there are more than two indirect strategies at each paragraph of their speeches. for example, Netanyahu in his speech in 2016, quote number 8 in chapter 4 p.35 uses hypophora and antanagoge to perform innuendo, this also can be seen in Abbas's speech at 2017, quote 3, p.52 where he makes use of pathos, logos and name-calling. They also make use of some indirect strategies by means of others like at the same quote by Abbas, quote 3,



p.52 where he uses pathos, logos and name-calling strategies to accomplish innuendo, so innuendo is achieved through pathos, logos, and name calling in this sense. This corresponds to the second hypothesis which is Abbas and Netanyahu frequently make use of indirect strategies in political speeches, and they do some indirectness strategies through others. Politicians use indirectness to achieve politeness, they avoid threatening face acts by using multiple indirect strategies that help them avoid any face threat. In addition, they reject positions and ideas politely and indirectly with mentioning the reasons behind their rejection . Abbas and Netanyahu do not only exploit indirectness for politeness, but to achieve other pragmatic functions more than politeness such as avoid responsibility and accountability on what they say, to build rapport with other countries, to defend and safeguard themselves to the public and from the public, to convince and persuade their audience, to condemn their opponents indirectly, without being accountable for that, to validate their dangerous and bad policies, acts, to mislead their audience, last and not finally is to gain power. This point validates the fourth hypothesis which is Politicians do not always use indirectness for politeness. Finally, it has been concluded that Abbas and Netanyahu frequently violate Grice's maxims in political speeches they violate it to achieve intended pragmatic intentions, such as appearing unsure of what they are saying to keep themselves away from the responsibility of what they say, when they have insufficient information about what they say or to hide information they do not want to state it out. This corresponds to the fifth hypothesis which supposed that Politicians often violate Grice's four maxims in their political speeches to accomplish particular pragmatic intentions.

### 5.3 Recommendations

In the light of this study, the researcher has come up with some recommendations:

1. People have to think twice in what the politician says in their speeches. also they have not to believe in all what politicians say because they do not always say the truth. People have not to be influenced by what politicians say so they have to know more about politician's speeches backgrounds.
2. Audiences should be aware of politician's previous speeches to reveal the hidden meanings and intentions in a particular speech.
3. There are more hidden meanings in politicians' political speeches so the audience should be familiar with indirectness strategies to explore those meanings in order to understand and reveal the politician's intentions.

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## الملخص

اللامباشرة هي ظاهرة استخدمها السياسيون على مستوى العالم. في هذه الظاهرة، يفضل السياسيون نقل المعاني دون ذكرها بشكل صريح وواضح ومباشر للجمهور. يستغل السياسيون اللامبالاة لأسباب عديدة، ويفضلون استغلالها عندما يتعاملون مع قضايا حساسة أو مع سياسي آخر للاستفادة منها لأنها تتأشدهم لتحقيق وظائف براغماتية مختلفة، مثل بناء العلاقات، والدفاع عن أنفسهم، وإقناع جمهورهم، وتجنب المسؤولية، ورفض القرارات بأدب.

فيما يتعلق بالسياسة، يتم استغلال اللامباشرة بشكل كبير من قبل السياسيين في جميع المناسبات السياسية تقريباً مثل الخطب السياسية. بسبب الدور المؤثر الذي تلعبه اللامباشرة في الخطب السياسية التي لطالما أصبحت محط اهتمام كثير من الذين يودون التحقيق في مثل هذه الخطب حيث يمكن إجراء تحليل علمي ونقدي على تلك الخطابات. في الخطب السياسية، يستطيع السياسيون تحقيق أهدافهم السياسية بشكل غير مباشر وغامض دون أن يكونوا واضحين ومباشرين وصادقين. المجال البراغماتي عادة يهتم في كيفية استخدام السياسيون اللامباشرة في خطاباتهم وماذا يحققون من ورائها. حيث يدرس المحللون المعنى المقصود أو المخبئ من الخطابات التي يلقيها السياسيون.

على هذا النحو، تم إجراء هذه الدراسة للتحقيق في استخدام السياسيون، محمود عباس وبنيامين نتنياهو، استخدام اللامباشرة في خطابتهما السياسية في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة 2016-2018 من منظور عملي نقدي. تتناول هذه الدراسة ست خطابات سياسية، ثلاثة لعباس وثلاثة لنتنياهو.

في ضوء ما ذكر أعلاه ، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى: (1) استكشاف الاستراتيجيات البراغمية التي يحقق من خلالها عباس ونتنياهو اللامباشرة في خطابتهما السياسية في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة (2016-2018) ، (2) اكتشاف ما إذا كان السياسيون يستخدمون دائماً اللامباشرة لتحقيق الأدب ، (3) التحقيق في الدوافع البراغمية وراء استغلال السياسيين للخطابات اللامباشرة في خطاباتهم ، (4) التحقيق فيما إذا كان السياسيون ينتهكون مبادئ جريس في خطاباتهم واستكشاف الأسباب الكامنة وراء هذا الفعل (5) استكشاف ما إذا كانت الثقافة تؤثر على استخدام السياسيين اللامباشرة في خطاباتهم وكيف يُنظر إلى الأدب عبر الثقافات حيث أن الدراسة تحلل خطب سياسيين كل منهما ينتمي إلى ثقافة مختلفة.

لتحقيق أهداف الدراسة، تم الافتراض ان السياسيون يستخدمون اللامباشرة في خطاباتهم السياسية، وفي الوقت نفسه، يستخدم السياسيون أكثر من استراتيجية غير مباشرة، لا يتأثر استخدام السياسيين لطابع اللامباشرة دائماً بثقافتهم، ولكنها في معظم الحالات مهارة شخصية. لا يستخدم السياسيون دائماً اللامباشرة للتأدب وغالباً ما ينتهك السياسيون مبادئ جريس الأربعة في خطاباتهم السياسية.

استراتيجيات في خطاباتهم السياسية ليس فقط لتحقيق الأدب ولكن أيضاً لتحقيق وظائف براغمية أخرى. أيضاً، يفشل السياسيون في معظم الحالات في اتباع مبادئ جريس الأربعة لتحقيق الوظائف البراغمية التي يسعون لتحقيقها وراء استغلال اللامباشرة. تؤثر ثقافة السياسي على استخدامهم اللامباشرة، لكنها بالأحرى مهارة شخصية تختلف من سياسي لآخر فيما يتعلق بنواياهم الخفية. لذلك ، تم تأكيد الفرضيات الخمس الموضوعة.

الدراسة الحالية مقسمة إلى خمسة فصول. يقدم الفصل الأول المقدمة التي تحتوي على المشكلة والأهداف والفرضيات وحدود الدراسة والإجراءات المتخذة وقيمة الدراسة وتعريف مصطلحات الدراسة والخلفية النظرية للخطاب النقدي والنظريات البراغماتية. يزود الفصل الثاني القارئ بخلفية نظرية للعلاقة بين اللامباشرة والبراغماتية. يتناول الفصل الثالث الاستراتيجيات اللامباشرة التي استخدمها عباس ونتنياهو في خطابتهما السياسية أمام الأمم المتحدة 2016-2018. الفصل الرابع مخصص لتحليل البيانات. الفصل الخامس يعرض الخاتمة والتوصيات.