

CHANGING ROAD SIGNS IN ISRAEL: PRODUCTION AND PERCEPTION

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

In Palestine/Israel the struggle to control the land and the people is not merely conducted through physical violence. More subtle attempts for controlling the region and labeling it as belonging for one side rather than the other are implemented. This paper focuses on an Israeli suggestion to change the orthography of city names on road signs so that they are transliterations of the Hebrew name of the city. This one event, the Israeli suggestion to change city names on road signs, is represented to the public by two competing, and mostly opposing, discourses. This paper uses critical discourse analysis to analyze four articles, two of which are written by Arabic media sources, and the other two are written by Israeli ones. This analysis is paired with a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the reactions of participants of different political affiliations to chosen excerpts of the articles. The paper aims at showing how one event is represented differently through different discourses, and how people who are affected by specific discourses react to them.

To my loving and supportive husband, Samer, and to my parents.

This would not have been possible without you.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In Palestine/Israel, there is a continuous struggle for control of the land and the people. This struggle is most commonly portrayed in the media as a physical struggle. Despite the intensity of the physical conflict and the number of human lives that are lost from both sides, the symbolic struggle is also prominent. The symbolic struggle aims at gaining symbolic power, which is a way of attempting to gain control of the present and the future, and even re-write the past. The type of symbolic paper that this paper focuses on is an Israeli suggestion to change city names on road signs in Israel/Palestine. This paper studies how this issue is reported in the Arabic and Israeli written media, and how people of different political affiliations – pro-Palestinian, Pro-Israeli, and Neutral – read those articles.

The paper is organized as follows:

- 1- Literature Review
- 2- Methodology:
 - a. Critical Discourse Analysis
 - b. Quantitative
 - c. Qualitative
- 3- Results and Discussion:
 - a. Critical Discourse Analysis
 - b. Quantitative
 - c. Qualitative
 - d. Overarching discussion
- 4- Conclusion and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 LANGUAGE AND POWER

Language is not merely a means of communication, but rather a means for revealing identities and attitudes, and also forming them. Using a certain language or a certain dialect is indicative of a certain social or political identity. Speaking Posh for example in Britain puts someone in a certain social class. The fact that the language and the class are called the same – Posh – shows how both the class and the language are linked together. Another way of indicating identity is when native speakers of American English who are of Arabic origin, pronounce the word “Arab” with a pharyngeal that mimics its pronunciation in Arabic, thus indexing their Arabic identity. Moreover, using a certain language could indicate attitudes and stances, for example, Palestinians who reply in Arabic or ask the Israeli soldiers to speak with them in Arabic rather than Hebrew, represents the stance of rejecting the Israeli control. As for Language as a way of forming identities and stances, Bourdieu views language as capital which is used to reach higher levels in society (1991). Thus, it is a way of obtaining a certain identity in society; it is a way of social movement. Learning a certain language, for instance, could be a means for getting jobs in the government. This is usually the case for countries under occupation especially during colonialism; for in order to work in the government one had to learn the language of the occupier, the Lebanese people for example had to learn French. As for creating attitudes, one of the most prominent machines for creating stances is the media. The media manipulates the presentation of information in order to create certain attitudes about languages. Van Dijk (n.d., p. 28) clarifies the role of the media by emphasizing the ideas of his predecessors (Fowler, 1991; Golding, 1992; Hall, 1982) and proclaiming that “Markets, politics, policies, exploitation, and marginalization all need an ideological basis. Such ideologies require production and reproduction through public text and talk, which in our modern times – are largely generated or mediated by the mass media”. Thus, media has an essential role in either initiating an ideology or guaranteeing its maintenance and longevity. In reality there are numerous ideologies that are being created by the mass media, and those do not usually coincide. This is where the role of media becomes more complicated, for it does not only aim at perpetuating its ideologies but also at rejecting the ideology of the other. In order to achieve this, the media creates stereotypes about the other, for “the same prevalent prejudices produced or

supported in the media are being used to create the collective states of minds” (Van Dijk, n.d., p. 29). This idea of creating and maintaining ideologies coincides with Bourdieu’s idea of practices and habitus. Bourdieu argues that people are raised to have certain ways of life by being inculcated into practices (Bourdieu, 1991).

This power of language is not innate in to its linguistic structure, but is more of an invisible historical result which dictates to us what to say and how to say it (Foucault as cited in Bloomaert, 2005, pp. 99- 105). This shows the historical setting, and the continuous building of a supra-discourse is what creates this power to create daily discourse which align with the supra-discourse, or which fit into a certain archive.

In the case of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, language policy is a way to put an official coloring to language choice in a certain community and to change to push for providing a higher status to language, and consequently its speakers. This is based on the role of language in conflicts and struggles for Shohamy states that “language has become a tool for the manipulation of people and their behaviors, as it is used for a variety of political agendas in the battle of power, representation and voice”(1999, p.22). Through boosting the status of a certain language, people would change their linguistic behavior in order to accommodate with this new phenomenon. People start learning this language in order to fit in a certain group and to get hold of the resources which are available to those in power. Shohamy explains this by saying that “It is through language that group memberships are determined, leading to categories of "us" and "them", inclusion and exclusion, loyalty and foreignness, "haves" and "have nots” (1999, p.23). Suleiman also mentions the same point “[...] language serves as a marker of group identity and as a boundary-setter between the in – group (ourselves) and the out- group (others) (2004, p.7).

Language policy is not an unconscious phenomenon in society, but rather official language policies that are crafted to fit certain purposes. Language policy aims at raising the status of one or several languages in a certain community. There are several types of language planning; according to Cobbarubias there are three types of language policies that indigenous communities have to choose from namely endoglossic, exoglossic, and mixed (as cited by Ruiz, Winter 1995, pp. 74 - 75). This shows that language policies can, respectively, either enforce a language from within that community, from outside of the community, or enforce two languages.

The Official languages in Israel are Hebrew and Arabic. This may seem as a good sign that the language policy aims at having a bilingual state. However, the covert language policies come into play in this situation, and undermine the policy, for “Language policies are mostly manifestations of intentions while less attention is given to the implementation of policy in practices” (Shohamy, 2006, p. 51). In other words, the policies might claim something; however, the reality might be different on the ground. Thus, looking into such covert policies might explain situations like Guinea in which an indigenous language was chosen as the official language; however they suddenly switched back to French (Myers -Scotton, 1990); this situation shows that perhaps there were covert language policies that opposed the official language policy. According to Shohamy there are two ways for implementing language policies; overt and covert (2006, p. 58). Overt language policies are those that are related to language of education, voting; etc. Covert policies, on the other hand, include things like the language on signs. This is a situation that is common in conflict zones, whether political, social, or economical. For, in these situations language is a way to represent and push for or against change. Live examples of countries currently under occupation provide rich data for covert language policy; the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which is the focus of this paper provides an illustration of this situation. Thus, it seems that Israel’s language policy on the ground is through raising the status of Hebrew and lowering that of Arabic. According to Shohamy “language is an integral part of nation building” (1999, p. 26). Israel is an example of that for reviving Hebrew and making it the official language is an integral part of the identity of Israel. Furthermore, “[...] the association of nation with language meant that "the other" languages used in the nation had to be ignored or suppressed” (1999, p. 27), thus this is what is happening to Arabic. According to Jabareen “By law Arabic is an official language. In practice however,” public and governmental offices relegate it to a secondary role” (n.d., p. 9). Thus, Arabic on the official does not have the same status as Hebrew although it is too in the state’s language policy an official language.

It is important here to mention that there were attempts from within the Israeli community to give Arabic a better status. However, these voices were silenced, or at least were not as powerful as the 1952, a Jewish MK from the communist party suggested that Arabic and Hebrew be naturalized, a right member of Knesset opposed the idea saying: “in the State of Israel only the Hebrew language will rule” (Fisherman and Fishman, 1975:507) (Suleiman, 2004, p. 146)

Arabs, who were able to stay in Israel after its creation, became part of the Israeli Knesset. These people at times voiced out what they noticed about the use of Arabic language in Israel. In 1952 in a Knesset meeting, the Arab Knesset member Abdul Aziz al- Zu'bi mentioned how were signs in Arab communities were mostly in Hebrew and that the signs that were written in Arabic were either futile information or embedded with offensiveness to the Arabs. An example of the futile information is that Israelis did not put any information about the train schedule in Arabic, but they put the bathroom sign in Arabic. As for the embedded offensiveness, the Israelis in the bus did not put any signs in Arabic about how to behave or where to go, except for the “beware of pickpockets” sign (Suleiman, 2004, p. 147 – 148). Another example is in the form of advice from the Israeli parliament to the people, it advises the Israeli public from using Arabic is provided by Zuckermann (2006, p.66):

In a session at the Israeli Parliament on 4 January 2005, then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon rebuked Israelis for using the etymologically Arabo-English hybrid expression “yàla báy” (lit. “let’s bye” – that is, “goodbye”), instead of “the most beautiful word” – “shalóm” (“peace,” “hello,” “goodbye”).

This is a clear shunning of the language of the enemy, it puts the Arabic language on a lower level, presents it as ugly and impure; whereas Hebrew is a better language which is beautiful and there is no need to use language. As for Arabic, there is a similar shunning of Hebrew, but it is unofficial. There is a Facebook website which I once saw which calls Arabs who are living in what is now considered Israel to not code-switch between Arabic and Hebrew, and to use a pure Arabic. Their reasoning is that this is the language of the enemy, and that it should not be accepted as a normal language.

This act of shunning the language of the other is a way of attempting to confiscate the other from the possibility of getting domination over the other. According to Bourdieu “The distinctiveness of symbolic domination lies precisely in the fact that it assumes, of those who submit to it, an attitude which challenges the usual dichotomy of freedom and constraint” (1991, p.51), this concept of symbolic domination makes each side actively not submit to the domination of the other.

These acts are representative of the struggle over space, each side attempts to keep the space vibrant with its language. However, in reality, the power relations between the two sides are not equal, and one of them can actually take more drastic steps to symbolically claim the space for its own. Israel has political and military control over the whole area of Palestine/ Israel despite the various acts and political rhetoric that camouflages this state of affairs.

The case of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict is representative of the role of language and the role of media in perpetuating that role of language in the struggle. The study examines the opposing discourses the represent a proposed change in the language of road signs in Palestine/Israel. Four newspapers articles, two of which are written by Arabic media and the other two by Israeli media, are analyzed using a critical discourse analytic approach. In addition, the reaction to these discourses is checked through written commentaries of participants about those articles. This is achieved through pairing the analysis of the articles with an experiment that checks the reactions of people who have different affiliations to the Palestinian/Israeli conflict - Pro-Palestinian, Pro-Israeli, and Neutral – to the articles. This aims at fulfilling the gap that some accuse the critical discourse analysis of having, namely “it does not analyze how a text can be read in many ways, or under what social circumstances it is produced and consumed” (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000, p. 455). Accordingly, through analyzing the reactions of three groups that having opposing opinions a more thorough and objective analysis of the texts is gained.

2.2 LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPING

Linguistic landscaping is a field that was researched in a rather informal fashion; it was not considered a field of its own. However, in the end of the 20th century and the start of the 21st, it was introduced as a discipline. There are various definitions of linguistic landscaping; some of them are the following:

"The visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region"

(Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 23, as cited by Bakhus, 2007, p.9)

" any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location"

(Ben - Rafael et al., 2006, as cited by Bakhus, 2007, p.9)

” language use in its written form (visible language) in the public sphere” ---- so it includes newspapers, visiting cards, and other print media”

(Itagi & Singh, 2002 a, as cited by Bakhus, 2007, p.9)

The first definition is the most applicable to the purposes of this paper; nevertheless, a more precise definition that is based off Landry and Bourhis’s definition (1997: 23, as cited by Bakhus, 2007, p.9), is tailored to fit the scope of this research paper:

Linguistic landscaping is the choice of languages on road signs as a result of explicit or implicit language policies.

The important addition on this definition is the specification of a source for the language choices. This condition limits the types of chosen signs to one category, which ensures a focused analysis over one type of road signs.

The literature contains an array of differing ways of studying linguistic landscaping, which are either quantitative or qualitative methods. Although both types of analysis are important steps towards understanding linguistic landscaping, they are deficient in providing a well-rounded analysis of linguistic landscaping.

The quantitative studies include ones that were conducted in Israel/Palestine. The quantitative results reflect the numerical results of an undefined source, and the minimal qualitative analysis that is provided is merely the reflection of the researchers’ personal opinions without being grounded in any theoretical basis. Hence, this quantitative analysis serves merely as a news report about the situation. It merely highlights the choices of languages and disregards the reasons or the results of those choices.

On the other hand, the According to Backhaus “public signs are a specific type of semiotic sign in that they too stand for something other than themselves” (2007, p. 5), and “From a semiotic point of view, a public sign makes sense only in combination with its referent” (2007, p.6). Moreover, “Following Peircan theory, the authors also underline the necessity of an interpreting entity. Unless interpreted by someone, human being or other, a public sign has no meaning (see Keller (1995:119) for a counter perspective)”(2007, p. 6).

However, there were other studies that were done, that had a more qualitative bend to them. One of these studies is the study done by Yasir Suleiman in his book “A War of Words”; in this study he goes deeper into the structure of the Arabic words and sentences on the signs. He shows how these languages show the subtle grammatical and stylistic mistakes that are made.

2.3 NAMING PLACES

An issue that connects both the issue of language and linguistic landscaping is the naming of cities. Place names, according to UN resolutions, are not meaningless labeling, they carry within them a sense that is conceptualized in the minds of the people and passed down through generations. The resolution says that the names of places “can identify and reflect culture, heritage and landscape” and are important as “significant elements of the cultural heritage of a nation” (UN conference resolutions V/6 and VIII/9 as cited by Georgiou, 2010, p. 142).

This issue of naming places gets a higher charge in conflict areas. For, in those areas there is usually a mismatch between the history, culture, and heritage of two (or more) conflicting groups of people. Accordingly, there is a competition and conflict over naming places using the language or name that is used by one of the groups. This issue has occurred in various places, and accordingly there is an official UN naming committee called: United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) (<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/default.html>). A review of its website shows that it has several divisions, each of which is responsible for a region and a group of languages. Interestingly, it appears that majority of declarations or laws are detail oriented, and are strictly about the phonological and orthographical choices and they do not go further into investigating the effect of these on national identity.

This issue is addressed by Georgiou (2010), who focuses on the choice of Greek and Turkish standards when Romanizing the names of places and the disregard for the dialect of Cyprus. He shows how the committee responsible for the naming of places uses linguistic reasons, and does not even mention historical or cultural reasons which are the main justifications for the opposition.

Another case for a conflict zone that has an issue with naming places is Israel/Palestine, which is the main focus of this paper. Choosing names for cities, towns, villages, settlements, and kibbutzim in Israel/Palestine has been one of the well planned issues since the establishment of Israel in 1948 on Palestinian land. In addition, the fact that the choice of names is put on signs forms an important part of linguistic landscaping of the region.

As of the creation of the state of Israel on Arab land in 1948, the names committee was responsible for looking for Hebrew names for the newly confiscated Arab cities, villages, and lands that became settlements. Each of these committees was responsible for finding names that would reflect biblical stories about the time when the Israelites were in Palestine, or in a way that would Hebraize the Arabic names. This Hebraizing of the Arabic names was recommended and monitored by the Jewish national fund (Suleiman, 2004, pp. 160 – 163). Thus, the Hebraizing of the Arabic names of cities, villages, and lands is not a mere coincidence. It is a policy that is fully supported by the Zionist Regime, and it is one of its tactics to obliterate any Arabic trace, not just in terms of what is visible but also in terms of what is said and heard.

The issue studied in this paper is a new proposal for a change in the naming of cities in road signs. The issue is one of the most prominent and recent competitions for naming cities in Israel/Palestine. It is the call by the Israeli transport minister, Yisrael Katz, to change the names of cities on road signs. He made this proposition on July 13, 2009. His proposition specifically calls for changing the previous road signs which had the name of each city in the three official languages, Hebrew, Arabic, and English, to writing in each language the transliteration of the Hebrew name. In other words, Yurushalyiem will be written in the “English” alphabet, Arabic alphabet, and in Hebrew (Baker, 2009; Etzion, 2009). In other words, they decided to remove the Arabic names of the city, and instead of that use the Arabic transliteration of the Hebrew name for the city. For example, the city يافا “yafa” will no longer have this Arabic name on road signs, but will be called يافو “yafo” which is the transliteration of the Hebrew name. Another example is Jerusalem, which in Arabic is القدس, according to this new policy it will no longer have this name but will be called يوروشليم “yourushaleem” which is the transliteration of its Hebrew name.

This issue was only presented, but no wide scope implementation of it is on the ground yet. However, it had quite a stir in the media when it was first proposed. The question is what the role of the media is in presenting such an issue to the public, and how do the ideologies of people come into play when they read those media articles.

2.4 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Van Dijk, questions, in his article “The Mass Media Today: Discourses of Domination or Diversity?”(n.d.), the role of the media. He comes to a conclusion that media should be viewed as a source of power and domination rather than merely a presentation of ideas (Van Dijk, n.d., p. 31). It is this power of the media which is to create public consent for new issues, “These processes of the manufacture of the public consent, public discourse, and public opinion, are unthinkable without the active role of the media” (Van Dijk, n.d., p. 30).

In the media there are various representations which work to form ideological frameworks. According to Van Dijk, “Clusters of related attitudes may finally be organized by an **ideological framework** consisting of the basic evaluative propositions defining the various symbolic or material interests of a group” (Van Dijk, n.d., p. 32). The repetition and re-production of those ideas inculcates them into the minds of the people, which is similar to Bourdieu’s of the inculcation of practices (Bourdieu, 1991). The inculcation into ideological frameworks, because it is done through mass media, has the following effect “Personal mind control becomes social mind control and ideological hegemony” (Van Dijk, n.d., p. 32).

Thus, the role of media is not merely informational and objective. This is especially clear in conflict zones, where one topic is understood differently by opposing sides. These different world views and representations could be traced through using discourse analysis, for through it “a detailed analysis of dominant media discourses provides insight into the models, which indirectly influence the development of new attitudes and ideologies” ” (Van Dijk, n.d., p. 34). In other words, Media is a type of discourse, and according to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000, p. 448) “discourse is an opaque power object in modern societies”. Critical discourse analysis which is led by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Twun Van Dijk, aims to analyze “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak 1995; 204 as cited in Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000, p.448) Van

Dijk explains that importance of the application of this type of analysis, for he believes that it “primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context). Thus, aids in unveiling the underlying structures and practices which produce and reproduce power and domination in societies. Discourse analysis uses systemic functional analyses of transitivity, agency, nominalization, mood, information flow, and register in order to figure out the relationships between discourse and social meaning (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, p. 454). Thus, according to Van Dijk this type of analysis of texts, takes into account social power and how that is manipulated to send out a specific message.

There are a number of studies which implement Critical Discourse Analysis in their studies; however, what is usually speculated but never checked empirically is how people actually read those articles. That is, the effect of the articles on the audience is merely anticipated but never certain.

The aim of this study is to pair a discourse analytic study of four newspaper articles, two of which are Arabic and the other two are Israeli, with a quantitative and a qualitative analysis using the concepts of Bourdieu and Bakhtin of the responses of pro-Palestinian, pro-Israeli, and neutral participants to excerpts from those articles.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study is three fold; first, a discourse analysis of newspaper articles, second, a quantitative analysis of 3 participants reactions to excerpts from the four chosen texts, and third, a qualitative analysis of the written commentaries by the same 3 participants. Explanations of the three parts of the study are presented below.

3.1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS-METHODS

A critical discourse analytical approach to media is applied for the analysis of newspaper article. Four articles are analyzed using this method. Two of these articles were written by the Israeli media, and the other two were written by Arabic media sources. The articles written by the Israeli media are the following: “Transportation Ministry to Hebraize road signs” by Yediot Ahronot, and “‘Yerushalayim' or 'Jerusalem'? English, Arabic place names will be transliterated from Hebrew under transportation minister's proposal” by The Jerusalem Post. The Arabic sources are the following: “Israel's Transportation Ministry to 'Hebraize' road signs” by Maan news, and “Israel to Drop Arabic Names: Thousands of road signs are the latest front in Israel’s battle to erase Arab heritage from much of the Holy Land, according to critics in both Israel and the wider Arab world” on Aljazeera Magazine. (Please see Appendix A)

3.2 QUANTITATIVE METHODS

As for the second part of the study, there were three target groups for this study. The target groups depended on the political affiliations of the participants which could be one of the following: Pro-Palestinian, Pro-Israeli, and Neutral. They were all expected to be living in the USA at the time of the experiment, and have never lived in Israel/Palestine although they could have visited at some point in time.

Six participants were recruited from the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. Four of the participants were assigned to the neutral group, one to the Pro-Palestinian, and one for the Pro-Israeli (this assignment was based on the results from a questionnaire which will be explained in the next section). In order to make the results comparable, the data collected from three neutral participants was not included in the analysis. Only one neutral participant, who was the most neutral participant according to the questionnaire, was included in the analysis.

Hence, three participants were included in the analysis. Two were recruited from Arabic courses, and one from the Hebrew courses. Two of the participants were females, and one was a male. Their ages ranged from 19 to 24 years old. Two of them were undergraduate students, and one was a graduate student. Their majors are the following, without any particular order, Urban Planning, Chemistry, and Civil Engineering.

There were three tasks which are written commentaries on four excerpts from four news articles, two of which are from Arabic sources and the other two are from Israeli sources (See appendix F). There were three tasks done on those four excerpts, the tasks differ in the information given about the task or the focus of the task. The first task (See appendix B) – the default task – asked the participants to comment on each of the excerpts without giving them any further information. Thus, they did not know the sources for the excerpts, and they did not know which words to focus on. In this task, no information was given to the participants. The first task aimed to test how the participants react to excerpts of different political backgrounds without knowing the articles' affiliations, and what type of judgments they produce. The results from this task are expected to be mostly neutral judgments. Example (1) is a sample of task A:

Example (1):

English and Arabic road signs for Israeli cities have in the past generally avoided alienating one side, in most cases calling the Palestinian capital Jerusalem in English, Al-Quds in Arabic and Yerushalayim in Hebrew, the three spellings commonly used in each respective alphabet. Some signs spell out the Hebrew version first, with the Arabic in parentheses.

But on Monday Transportation Minister Katz, a Knesset member of the Israeli right-wing Likud Party, announced that all references would soon wipe clean Palestinian language from the signs, and reflect a Hebrew-only transliteration in English and Arabic.

The second task (See appendix C) – the source focus task - provides the source for each article and mentions whether it is Arabic or Israeli. This task aimed at checking whether there is a correlation between knowing the source and the type of judgments that they produce. The

results from this task are expected to be more politically charged, and neutrality is expected to drop substantially. In addition, there is expected to be a much higher polarity of judgments in the Pro-Palestinian and Pro-Israeli groups, whereas the neutral subjects should be the most neutral in this task. Example (2) is a sample of this task:

Example (2):

Source: Maan → Arabic Palestine online news source source to Arabic audience.

English and Arabic road signs for Israeli cities have in the past generally avoided alienating one side, in most cases calling the Palestinian capital Jerusalem in English, Al-Quds in Arabic and Yerushalayim in Hebrew, the three spellings commonly used in each respective alphabet. Some signs spell out the Hebrew version first, with the Arabic in parentheses.

But on Monday Transportation Minister Katz, a Knesset member of the Israeli right-wing Likud Party, announced that all references would soon wipe clean Palestinian language from the signs, and reflect a Hebrew-only transliteration in English and Arabic.

In the third task (See Appendix D) – the source-word task – the sources are provided and also two ideologically loaded words that are in the excerpts are underlined. Ideologically loaded words are those words which the researcher found, through reading the articles, that they represent the main idea that the article is presenting. The aim of this task was to see how the participants react to the specific ideas in the text, taking into account the context and the sources. The results of this task should be even more politically charged than the second task and neutrality should drop even more. Example (3) is sample of this task.

Example (3)

Source: Maan → Arabic Palestine online news source to Arabic audience.

English and Arabic road signs for Israeli cities have in the past generally avoided alienating one side, in most cases calling the Palestinian capital Jerusalem in English,

Al-Quds in Arabic and Yerushalayim in Hebrew, the three spellings commonly used in each respective alphabet. Some signs spell out the Hebrew version first, with the Arabic in parentheses.

But on Monday Transportation Minister Katz, a Knesset member of the Israeli right-wing Likud Party, announced that all references would soon wipe clean Palestinian language from the signs, and reflect a Hebrew-only transliteration in English and Arabic.

Moreover, each of the participants was asked to fill out a questionnaire (See Appendix E). The aim of the questionnaire was to assign each of the participants to one of the following groups: pro-Palestinian, pro-Israeli, and neutral. In reality, there is a vast number of indicators that show a person's political/ideological affiliation with either the Palestinian or Israeli side. It is however, impossible to account for all of those factors. Accordingly, a number of the ideological affiliations were chosen to assign the participants to one of the previously mentioned groups. Accordingly, the questions attempt to know what type of connection each participant has with Palestine/Israel. In the first question, the participant is asked whether s/he has ever visited either country and the reasons for that visit. This question provides us with some information about the actual connection with the country. As for the second question, the participants are asked to define the location of each country. This represents the political stances of the participant, for borders in the Palestinian/Israeli conflict are a crucial issue. A few Israelis and Most Palestinians, consider the whole land that is marked on the map as Israel as an occupation and that it actually is Palestine, Some Israelis and some Palestinians consider Israel on the map a country as long as the West bank and the Gaza strip are not included, whereas a few Palestinians and most Israelis consider the whole piece of land as belonging to Israel. The difficulty with this question is that a person's answer might not be based on personal opinion but rather on information from the media sources, this is why the third question was used. The third question checks how each participant views himself/herself, that is what is his/her claimed identity. This is important because this will help in affirming or rejecting our interpretations of the second question. The fourth question, checks what sources of information each participant reads, this shows where the person gets his/her information from which helps in knowing the type of information that probably helps in constructing his/her ideology.

As for the procedures for this part of the study, the researcher met with each participant individually in a quiet study room in the undergraduate library at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign at a time that was suitable for both the participant and the researcher. The participant was given an overview of the topic which all papers are informing their readers about, this helped in providing the readers with some information that will allow them to understand the excerpts especially that they are not reading the complete articles (See appendix A). The information was presented as neutrally as possible, through simply pointing out how the signs look like, and how the proposed change will make them look. After these preparatory steps, the experiment began. Each participant was given one excerpt at a time of the default task (See appendix B), and asked to write a commentary on a blank document, that only has the number of the Task on it, on the laptop of the researcher. The ordering of the paragraphs was randomized, that is the researcher made sure that the excerpts were not given in a specific order so that no priming issues could arise. In addition, no time restrictions were imposed on the participants; neither in the time needed to read the excerpts nor on the time needed to write. The same occurred procedure was carried in Tasks B and C (See appendices C and D). The instructions that were given in task A were to read the excerpts, then type the reaction to them on the laptop, and they were explicitly told that there were no time limitations on either the reading or the typing. In task B, the participants were told that they are reading the exact same excerpts that they have just read, and that the only additional information was the source of each of each excerpt which is typed on the top of the page. The participants were asked to write a reaction a second reaction to each one of the excerpts. In Task C, they were told that they are reading the same excerpts again and that they still have the source of each excerpt, and that they should only comment on the two underlined words for each excerpt. Finally, each participant was given the questionnaire which s/he is asked to fill out (See appendix E). The reason for putting the questionnaire at the end is to make sure that the participants do not start getting emotional about the issues and start formulating opinions prior to reading the excerpts.

The next step was coding the data from both the questionnaires and the commentaries. The researcher did the coding according to several principles. The questionnaire was coded according to having a Pro-Israeli, Pro-Palestinian, or a neutral answer for each question. For, each answer the point was given to each of the categories. If a participant got more than 3 points in a group then s/he is allocated to it, if equal then considered neutral (See appendix G).

As for the coding of the data, each T-unit was assigned one code. A T-unit is defined here as a clause. Figure (1) explains the codes used:

Pos_Pal : Positive Palestinian	Pos_Is: Positive Israeli
Neg_Pal: Negative Palestinian	Neg_Is: Negative Israeli
Neutral	

(Figure1)

The positive judgments included: overt agreement, justifications, and empathy. Negative judgments included: overt disagreement, blame, and mockery. Neutral judgments were the instances that only summarized the information in the excerpt. Example (4) is a sample coded date.

Example (4):

Wiping clean Palestinian language is a bit of an overstatement NEG_PAL, but it does get across that Israel is trying to change the nature of the Arabic language by hebraising Arabic words, which is sad NEG_IS

3.3 QUALITATIVE METHODS

The qualitative analysis uses the same written commentaries that were extracted from the participants for the quantitative analysis. They will be analyzed according to two the following two concepts:

- 1- Bourdieu's concept of inculcation into a habitus using repetitive practices (Bourdieu, 1991)
- 2- Bakhtin's concept of Double-voiced discourse which proposes that every discourse has two meanings; the literal meaning, and a reference to someone else's words (Bakhtin, 1981)

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results are presented below in three main sections which correlate with the methods that were presented in the previous section. Furthermore, each section has a discussion of its own, and the last part of this section, connects all three sections together.

4.1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The analysis of the texts aims at tracing how an ideological stance is formed about the issue. This is done through looking at three main issues. The first issue to be studied is the headlines. The importance of headlines is vividly represented by the Van Dijk (n.d., p. 84)

(i) They are first recognized as newspaper headlines and leads, and thereby establish

Or confirm the communicative context model I am reading the newspaper, involving specific interests, goals and beliefs.

(ii) They activate knowledge and beliefs about headlines and lead, e. g. as formal indicators of importance, and this importance may be taken over (or not).

(iii) Their underlying propositions activate and instantiate relevant scripts and models from memory. After activation, and given the parameters of the communicative context (time, occasion, interests, and goals), such scripts, attitudes and models provide the basis for the decision I am (not) interested in having information about this topic or issue.

(iv) They indicate or express relevant macrotopics, which may be strategically used to build the highest levels of the text base and particular situation model for this article. This provisional high level topic(s) may be used as top down monitoring device for the comprehension and organization of the rest of the text (see Kozminsky).

(v) *First paragraphs are used to build full macropropositions, to confirm (or reject) the initial macro-assumptions of the reader, and to further extend the macrostructure and the model of the text. The same happens for the further paragraphs, which provide lower level details of the global meaning.*

(vi) *The discontinuous delivery of topics in the news text can be strategically brought under control by the monitoring function of the central topics, the hierarchical structure of the themes, and the semantic categories (e. g. cause or consequence) of sub-topics. That is, a scrambled topic structure can be unscrambled again by the thematic structure.*

Thus, the headline of each article is analyzed taking into consideration the background of the source of the article, and the potential audience.

The second criterion for analysis is the organization of ideas in each article. According to Cotter news stories are organized in what is termed as *the inverted pyramid* in which the most important elements are placed highest, with news elements of lesser importance following”(2010, p.140). Thus, an analysis of the presentation of topics is studied in order to see what each article views as the important elements of the story.

The third criterion that is used is an analysis of the Semantic Macrostructures. Semantic Macrostructures are mainly “notions such as topic, theme or gist of a text, we are dealing with meaning and reference, and not, for example, with syntactic form, style or rhetorical devices. Also, we are not even talking about the (local) meaning of isolated words or sentences, but about the meaning of larger fragments of text or about whole texts. We do not assign a theme or topic to one sentence, but to larger stretches of talk or text” (Structures of news in the press, n.d., p.74). A list of salient words is compiled from the articles, and an analysis of those words taking into consideration the context that they were written in is conducted.

4.1.1 HEADLINES

Both the background of the article and the expected audience play an important role in the focus of the headline. The papers with an Arabic background present the issue as one that deserves notice, this is clear in the use of quotes around “Hebraize” in the headline for Maan news, which calls attention to this word. As for the headline of Aljazeera, it is presented as a battle and as highly critical issue through using the following words “Drop Arabic Names”, “of road signs are the latest front in Israel’s battle”, and “erase Arab heritage from much of the Holy Land”. Thus, both articles present the issue as a non-neutral one. In addition, each one of them caters for its expected audience. Maan news which has an overly Palestinian readership, does not explain much, just puts the word Hebraize seems to be enough to attract readers’ attention. As for Aljazeera, which caters for an international audience, the situation is different. This article gives more explanation of the situation in its headline, and in addition it makes sure to announce its claimed objectivity right from the beginning by writing “according to critics in both Israel and the wider Arab world”.

On the other hand, the Israeli articles have a similar situation. The effect of the background of the sources is clear in the headlines of both articles. The headline for Yediot Ahronot, is almost the same as the headline of Maan, the only difference is that there are no quotation marks around Hebraize. This makes a difference in the presentation of the topic, for here it is presented as a normal issue. This is further supported through the explanation that follows, for the explanation presents the change in road signs as a source for uniformity, the headline specifically writes as follows “to create uniform spelling of names on roadside signs so that English, Arabic names will mimic Hebrew ones”. As for the Jerusalem post, the language used also presented the change as a normal decision that is not controversial at all. This is clearly represented through the first the explanation of the change as follows “English, Arabic place names will be transliterated from Hebrew under transportation minister's proposal”. As for the effect of the expected audience, it is clearly visible in both headlines. The headline of Yediot Ahronot presents the opposition by the Arab keenest members “Arab MKs slam move: 'Yisrael Katz will come and go but Shefa - 'Amr is here to stay.' says Hadash Chairman Barakeh”. The reaction of the Arab Knesset members seems to be awaited for by the Israeli public, or at least it is something that they should be aware of. As for the Jerusalem post, the focus on the change

form English to Hebrew is important in addressing the international public, for the headline starts with “‘Yerushalayim' or 'Jerusalem'?”. Thus, this primes the influence of this change on English rather than on Arabic.

4.1.2 ORGANIZATION OF IDEAS

The presentation of ideas differs among all four articles. The following table presents the organization of ideas for each article.

Yediot Ahronot	Maan	The Jerusalem Post	Aljazeera
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The change - The project - The problem - Defense - The process - Arab opposition - Defense (counter to the opposition) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The change - Present situation - Details of the change -Arab opposition - Israeli defense - Israeli opposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Previous problem - Solution/ issue -Disclaimer -Deeper meaning (politics) - Opposition - Problem - The process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The change - Present situation - Arab opposition - Israeli political reasoning for change - Israeli "problem" reasoning for change - Israeli Opposition - The process of change - History

All of the articles start with a presentation of the change, except the Jerusalem post which starts by presenting a previous problem with road signs and how that confused people. Thus, it starts with something that is completely different, and connects it with the current issue. This seems to divert the attention from the topic at hand, and normalize the way that it is presented.

The second difference between the articles is the presentation of the Arabic opposition to the issue. In both of the Arabic articles, the presentation of the issue is fairly early on in the

article. However, in the Israeli articles, it is presented near the end. In addition, in Yediot Ahronot, there is counter for this opposition at the end of the article.

The third difference is the presentation of the Israeli opposition. This is only presented in the Arabic articles, and not mentioned at all in the Israeli articles.

The Fourth difference is that in the Israeli article the issue is presented at first as a project or a solution. That is, there is this positive aura that is transmitted through the first few paragraphs.

The last difference is that in the Arabic, there is a focus on the present day situation, and also some background information about the history of the region. This is not stressed at all in the Israeli media.

4.1.3 LEXICAL CHOICES

The lexical choices are scattered throughout the text, and they represent a condensation of the ideas of each article. The ideologically loaded lexical choices in the Arabic articles are the following:

Erase Arab Heritage, "standardized", Arab identity obscured, a policy they believe is designed to make them ever less visible, in the past avoided alienating any side, wipe clean Palestinian language from the signs.

All of the lexical choices in the Arabic media show the effect of this change on the future of the area. They show that this change is about excluding one side, the Palestinian side, from claiming the land themselves.

On the other hand, the lexical choices in the Israeli media are as follows:

Standardization, Uniform spelling, main purpose is to create uniform roadside spelling, there are many variations of places' names, too many versions, set a uniform standard, lack of uniform spelling problem for speakers of foreign languages, impairs drivers' ability to find their way, does not reflect reality of local population, Confusion, mistake, haphazard, not the same.

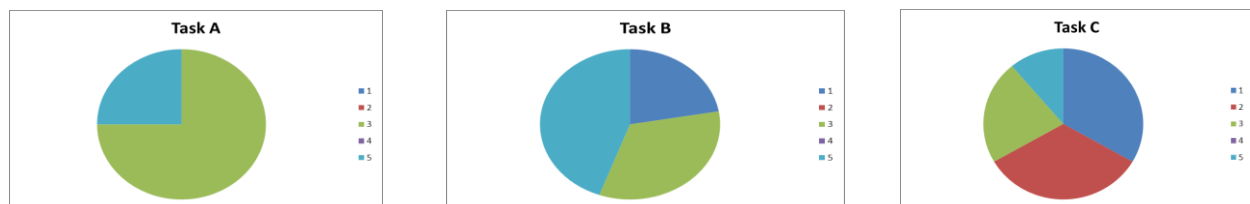
The lexical choices represent two main ideas: standardization is good, variation causes confusion. Thus, the Israeli articles present the topic as a solution for the confusion caused by various languages.

Accordingly, there is a clear contrast in the way that both sides are presenting the topic. However, the question is whether the audience picks on the main ideas of the topics and whether different ideological affiliations cause different readings of the text. The results of the second part of the study are presented in the next section.

4.2 QUANTITATIVE

The results of each participant are presented below in the form of pie charts (for the complete coded data and raw results see appendix H). The legend for the charts is the following: Dark blue – positive Palestinian, red – positive Israeli, green – negative Palestinian, purple – negative Israeli, baby blue - neutral. The results are presented in terms of the reaction to the Arabic excerpts in all three tasks, and then the reaction to the Israeli excerpts.

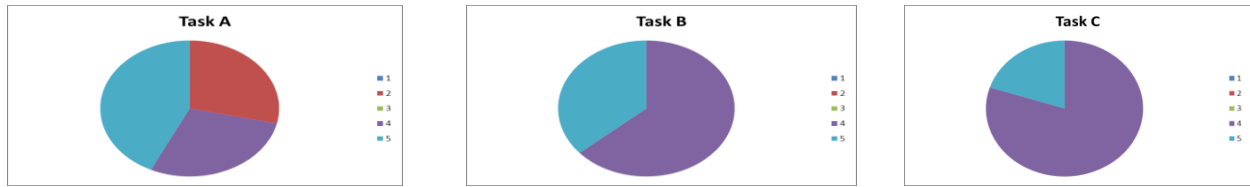
Arabic Excerpts–Pro-Israeli Participant:



(Figure 2)

Figure (2) shows that this participant had a clear rise in Neutrality in the task B, then a clear drop in it in Task C. The negative Palestinian comments dropped from task A, to B, and were the lowest in task C. However, there was a usage of positive Palestinian comments in task B, and then a rise in task C. In addition, in task C there was a usage of positive Israeli comments.

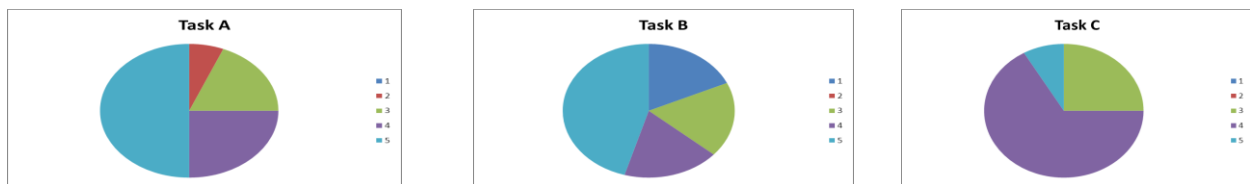
Israeli Excerpts – Pro-Israeli Participant:



(Figure 3)

Figure (3) shows that neutrality dropped through the tasks reaching its minimum for these excerpts in task C. Positive Israeli comments were only used in task A. In addition, negative Israeli comments got higher from task A, to B, and were the highest in C.

Arabic Excerpts –Neutral



(Figure 4)

Figure (4) shows how neutrality dropped by this participant somewhat in the task B, but there was a clear drop in task C. As for positive Israeli comments, they were only mentioned in task A, but ceased to be used in the following tasks. Positive Palestinian comments were only mentioned in the second task. As for the negative Palestinian comments, they were almost the same in tasks A and B, but rose clearly in task C. While the negative Israeli comments dropped a tad in task B, but were used much more in task C.

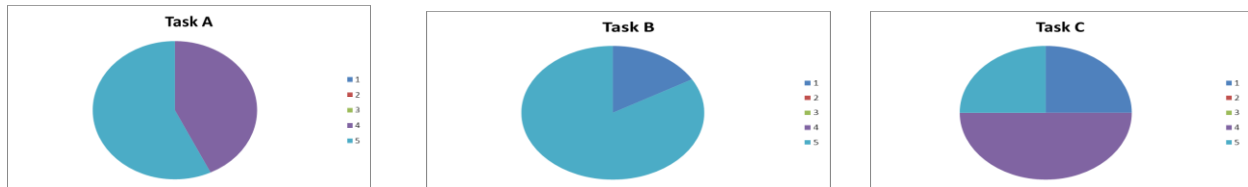
Israeli Excerpts – Neutral Participant:



(Figure 5)

Figure (5) shows that neutrality dropped just a little in task B, and then dropped clearly in task C. Pro- Israeli comments were only mentioned in task A. Furthermore, negative Israeli comments rose continually from task A, to B, to C.

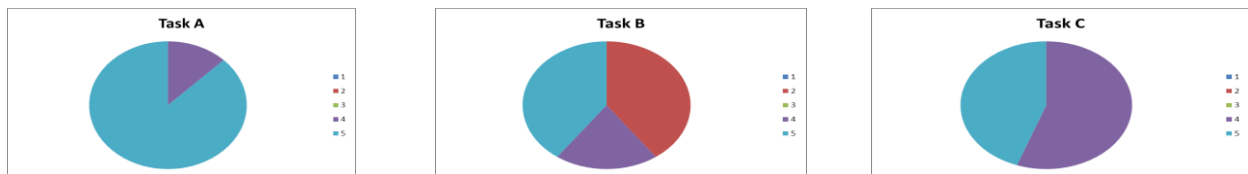
Arabic excerpts – Pro-Palestinian Participant:



(Figure 6)

Figure (6) shows that Neutrality rose in the task B, then dropped in task C. Negative Israeli comments disappeared in task B, then rose a tad in task C. As for positive Palestinian comments, they appeared in task B, and then rose a tad in task C.

Israeli Excerpts – Pro-Palestinian Participant:

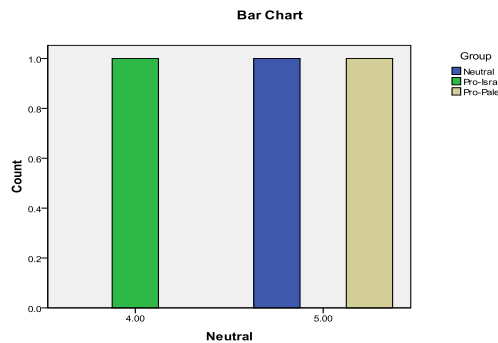


(Figure 7)

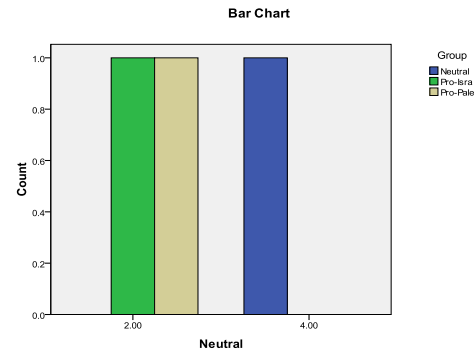
Figure (7) shows that this participant had less neutral comments in task B than in task A, and then in task C they were almost the same as task B. As for positive Israeli comments, they only appeared in task B. As for negative Israeli comments, they rose continually from task A, to B, to C.

In order to check whether there is a difference between the neutrality in Task B between the three groups a Chi –test was used. The results show that there is no statistical difference between the groups for $X^2(1) = 3.000$, $p > .05$ for both the Arabic excerpts and the Israeli excerpts. However, the results presented in the bar graphs below are indicative of the trend in the case of this study, but are by no means expandable to measure the issue on a broader scale.

Figure (8) shows the neutrality in the comments given about the Arabic excerpts, and figure (9) shows those given about the Israeli Excerpts.



(Figure 8)



(Figure 9)

The figures show that the Pro-Palestinian was the most neutral in the Arabic excerpts, and that the neutral participant was the most neutral in the Israeli excerpts. The Israeli participant was the least neutral in both cases, but more neutral in the Arabic excerpts than that Israeli ones. In addition, the pro-Palestinian was more neutral in the Arabic excerpts. The neutral participant had a similar rate of neutrality in his comments to both the Palestinian and Israeli excerpts.

4.3 QUALITATIVE

The analysis of the commentaries (Please see appendix G for complete commentaries) is organized as follows: first, the comments about the Israeli excerpts are presented first, and then the comments about the Arabic excerpts are presented; second, the analysis of each participant's commentaries are presented separately. The last paragraph of each section sums up the analyses, and further comments on them using two main concepts:

- 3- Bourdieu's concept of inculcation into a habitus using repetitive practices (Bourdieu, 1991)
- 4- Bakhtin's concept of Double-voiced discourse which proposes that every discourse has two meanings; the literal meaning, and a reference to someone else's words (Bakhtin, 1981)
- 5- Bakhtin's concept of authoritative discourse which is a powerful language that we repeat almost unconsciously and do not resist it (Bakhtin, 1981)

4.3.1 ISRAELI ARTICLES – PRO-ISRAELI PARTICIPANT

The reaction of the Pro-Israeli Participant to the Israeli sources has three main features:

- 1- Justification and praise for the Israeli source, which gets clearer when the participant is definite that the source is indeed Israeli in tasks B and C.
- 2- Acceptance and agreement with the taking the issue lightly.
- 3- Change in judgment of words as a result of noticing a positive recurrence of it in the Israeli sources.

There is a clear interpretation of sentences as praise for the Israeli choice of changing signs such as the use of “*Telling the audience they have been working for more than a year suggests to any reader that someone somewhere has put a lot of effort into it and therefore we should appreciate their work*”. In addition, there is justification for the sources presentation of the issue through “*perhaps the newspaper feels that they should not be speaking out against other Israelis in an issue that is somewhat obscure for them*”.

As for the idea of taking lightly of the issue, the participant provides that mirror the sense in both Israeli excerpts consider the issue futile, the participants react by saying that “*an issue that is somewhat obscure*”, and “*The author clearly points out the idiocy of the whole project*”.

The last element in the commentaries of the Pro-Israeli participant is the change of the judgment about a lexical choice according to noticing its usage in both excerpts. For, the participant’s reaction to the word “uniform/uniformity” was in the first excerpt that she read as follows: “*interesting that he uses the word uniform because all three languages have different alphabets so no, it will never be uniform. Also, if you change the name of something, that still doesn’t make saying “I live in Jerusalem” sound anything alike in the three languages*”. Thus, it seems like a sort of negative or at least a suspicious interpretation of the word, but it is definitely not taken in a positive way. This opinion drastically changed when the participant noticed that word again in the second pro-Israeli article. The participant in the second occurrence of the word commented positively and wrote “*interesting that both Israeli sources use this word. Maybe this is perhaps because they are both trying to hint at the connotation of peace. If everything is uniform we can all live happily ever after. Something like that*”. Thus, there was a clear shift from confusion about the word to a completely positive interpretation of the word.

The comments of this participant show a justification for what s/he has been inculcated to believe in. That is, there is support to the arguments presented in the Israeli text not on the basis of the way that the issue is presented, but rather on why it is not discussed. This shows that the participant has reached a point where there is no question of the correctness of the actions of the power that she is affiliated to. In other words, s/he has been inculcated into the habitus to the extent that even if she senses that something is missing in a discourse she attributes it to a good judgment on the part of that power. In addition, the data show a micro-sample of inculcation through repetition. For, the participant changes her mind about the meaning of a word because she notices that it was used by both Israeli articles.

4.3.2 ISRAELI ARTICLES – NEUTRAL PARTICIPANT

The commentaries of the neutral participant about the Israeli newspapers have the following features:

- 1- Noticing that the Palestinian side of the story is missing.
- 2- Noticing that it makes light of the situation.
- 3- The lexical choice of “uniform/uniformity” is mostly judged negatively.

This participant writes several strong statements which showed that s/he notices that a certain part is being hidden, here are some of the statements that s/he wrote: “*I feel like this information is definitely trying to hide a different side since it completely ignores Palestinians*”, “*Also I didn’t feel as much for the Palestinian side because it barely mentioned anything about changing of the Arabic names until the last sentence*”. The most striking phrase which shows that the participant felt that the paper was presenting the situation lightly is “*This excerpt made me laugh*”. Several other phrases comment on this lightness of presentation such as “*But it is also interesting that it tries to make the situation light, when for the Palestinians it is an insult*”. As for the comments on “Uniformity”, s/he showed a mixed understanding of it. In the text, that is when mentioned in Task A without specifically being asked to comment on that word, it was paired with peace “*will create peace and uniformity to Israel*”. The interesting issue is that the relation of this issue with peace was not mentioned in any of the excerpts. It is interesting to notice that this connection between uniformity and peace was also established by the Pro-Israeli participant. Despite this connection between uniformity and peace, the

commentaries given in Task C for both excerpts show a different perception of the word, for the participant writes “*makes the situation less heavy by brushing off the effect that it will have on the people and only point out that uniformity of road signs is a good thing for everyone*”, and “*Hebraised, uniformity dulls the colors of the varying peoples by trying to mesh all different peoples together under a common tradition*”. These readings of the word “uniformity” contrast with the first reading, for they show that the issue is represented lightly using this word, and it also shows that the usage of this word reflects a denial of diversity.

One more phrase written in the neutral participant’s commentary that is worth analyzing is “*I could connect much more with the Israeli side, since their reasoning for changing the names made sense by the way they put it*”, which basically contrasts with most of the comments that s/he mentioned. For, most of the comments showed that the participants sensed that the Israeli is not presenting the Palestinian side, and it is making light of the situation. Nevertheless, he considered the articles to make him more supportive of the Israeli than the Palestinian side.

Overall, the comments on the articles did not show any explicit hint for evidence for an effect of an authoritative voice. This is clear, for the participant seemed to provide justifications to most of his judgments, rather than writing something which seems to be merely a justification for one side over the other without any clear evidence. Thus, this person is not directly affected by an authoritative voice from either the Palestinian or the Israeli side; s/he was able to present judgments that are more objective. However, there is a trace of double –voiced discourse in his reasoning. For, he seems to be using his own experience about uniformity and standardization perhaps in the US, and thus making his judgments about the situation at hand.

4.3.3 ISRAELI ARTICLES – PRO-PALESTINIAN PARTICIPANT

The reactions of the pro-Palestinian participant to the Israeli articles are mainly characterized by considering the papers neutral. Interestingly, the answers do not change much as the participant knows more information about the text. However, there are some common features of the salient phrases:

- 1- Deliberateness of the proposal
- 2- Neglect of the Palestinian side.
- 3- A positive reading of the excerpts.

There is a phrase which suggests that the proposal is deliberate **“I’m left feeling that this is a deliberate action on the part of some members of the Israeli government with this article too”**. This might be a reflection of the common Pro-Palestinian point of view which views the actions of Israel as planned steps towards control of the land and people. This is a quite common rhetoric that is heard in the media and also by politicians.

The Participant also mentioned that s/he felt that the Palestinian side of the story was left out **“does not really address the social consequences of such an overt action as changing road signs to only reflect the Hebrew name for places”**, and **“ Uniformity for who though? The Israeli Hebrew speaking population, a majority of who are non-Arab and non-Jewish?”** I assume that there is a typo here, where the participant meant to write Arab and non –Jewish. This phrase shows an attempt to correct misperceptions about Israel. In other words, s/he was trying to correct for an underlying assumption in the paper, that this change will influence Jews and perhaps a minority of Palestinians. This type of information falls under the category of background information, which was also commented on by the participant **“It also offers the least background information and is more opinion-based”**, this shows how there is some mismatch between what this Pro-Palestinian participant expected to be the background of the paper and what might actually be considered to be suitable and sufficient background from the perception of the article. Perhaps, in the perception of the Jerusalem post, the introduction that it provided might be the background needed, which is an anecdote of the history of changing unclear signs. However, the background that this participant is hinting at relates more to the demographics of the region to explicate more about who this change will truly influence.

The most salient feature in the writing of this participant is the effect of authoritative discourse. Through looking at the double – voiced discourse in this article we can see that the second meaning of the utterance is the discourse of the authoritative voice. This is especially clear when speaking of the sense of deliberateness that the change of road signs has. For, the one of the main discourses proclaims a form of conspiracy theory from the Israelis against the Palestinians.

The analyses of the comments about the Arabic media presented are presented in the next section.

4.3.4 ARABIC ARTICLES – PRO-ISRAELI PARTICIPANT

The pro-Israeli Participant's reaction to the Arabic sources focused on the following topics:

- 1- Shrewdness.
- 2- Exaggeration.
- 3- Generation of Stereotypes.

The pro-Israeli participant read some of the information in the Palestinian sources as an act of shrewdness. S/he mentions the following comments ***“Pretty intelligent considering that is what this whole issue is really about”***, and ***“The use of “standardized” in quotes indicates an ironic tone”***. This is similar to the reaction of the Pro-Palestinian participant to the Israeli articles, for that participant sensed a sort of conspiracy; whereas, this participant viewed some information as a way of shrewdness. That is, there is a feeling that the Palestinian sources are luring people into believing their story, this is especially clear in the comment about the reference to the reason for naming the city “yafa” in Arabic which is basically because it was a Palestinian port for oranges, for the participant writes ***“the international audience would obviously know the reference and probably be unhappy”***. This comment is a clear indication of how this participant sees the reason this shrewdness of the Palestinian sources.

As for the exaggeration, the participant felt that a certain choice of words was exaggeration. This was clear in the participant's comment about the use of the term “wipe out Arab identity”, where s/he write ***“wipe clean indicates annihilation, something as a Jew we are very familiar with. I think this may be an exaggeration”***. The interesting issue is that this term, revived in the participant's memory the word that is usually used in the discourse about the strife of the Jews in Europe. However, the important issue is that the participant was not able to accept this word in the Palestinian context. Other than perhaps the differing perceptions of history that each side has, this could be understood in Bakhtin's perception were one word was fossilized into one context and it is unable to be accepted to refer to any other context. This analysis is further supported by the fact that this same participant accepts the word “Arab identity will be obscured”, for s/he writes ***“I think the last author was intending to say with the “wipe clean” statement. I agree with this statement, because with the loss of a word comes the loss of the meaning behind it”***.

Thus, in this case the participant accepted the word, although it has almost the same meaning, but in the previous case s/he rejected it because of it being similar to a word in her discourse that relates to the strife of the same people who are now through this word shown to be doing the same to another group of people.

As for, the last feature of this discourse, there is a sense that stereotypes are generated. That is clear through the comment “***the mention of Katz political party affiliation is loaded because of the stereotypes that go along with***”. This shows that the reading of this participant noticed what is known to be criticized about the Israeli government. S/he linked that any mention of the affiliations of this minister means that people will bring to mind all of the negative connotations about that party.

As was the case in the reaction of the pro-Palestinian participant to the Israeli articles, the second meaning of the double – voiced discourse showed that the authoritative discourse which asks Israelis to be careful of what Palestinians was obvious in the participant’s comments, especially in characterizing the words used in the article as shrewd. Another issue that is worth further analysis is the rejection of the word “wipe out” on the basis that it was used to represent the Jewish strife. This shows that for this participant, this word has gained a meaning that is fossilized for one type of experience. It is similar to the meaning of words in a poetic context which only have one meaning; in this case the word has gained a poetic sense in the participant’s mind and thus s/he could not accept it in a different context.

4.3.5 ARABIC ARTICLES – NEUTRAL PARTICIPANT

The reaction of this participant is clearly divided into two parts:

- 1- Rejection of the Palestinian premises - in the Maan article.
- 2- Acceptance of the Palestinian premises – in the Aljazeera article and in Task C in both articles.

The rejection is mainly based on discomfort from the harsh language and tension built by the excerpt, for s/he writes “***I definitely felt some tension in this excerpt, since there is a lot of strife between the two sides. It made me uncomfortable about the amount of dislike between the two states, and sad that the tension is so severe, the changing of road signs is used to threaten each***

other". This may be the result of the inculcation in the American habitus, which is not used to such strong feelings. However, such wording, despite the bitterness in using it, is quite normal to use by people in a conflict zone.

As for the acceptance, it was mainly for the Aljazeera article, which actually addresses an international audience rather than an Arabic audience, and thus, might be more lenient in its language. This is clearly explained by the participant, for s/he writes “. ***Despite the lack of harshness as compared with the Palestinian excerpt, I felt the most for Palestinians from this excerpt***".

The interesting issue is the effect of rhetoric on the participant. For, for him, although almost the same idea is presented in both articles the rhetoric of the Maan article had a negative effect on him. This could be due to the double-voiced discourse that he read in the article. Perhaps the strong statement made the participant view a second voice that is s/he views them as double-voiced utterances that carry a connotation of threatening. This might be because of a dialogical interpretation of the text which uses the information that that person has, and that type of discourse might have sounded similar to a threatening political discourse that s/he has read or heard before.

4.3.6 ARABIC ARTICLES – PRO-PALESTINIAN PARTICIPANT

The reaction to the pro-Palestinian participant to the Palestinian articles has the following features:

- 1- Neutrality of sources.
- 2- Historical references.

This participant saw those articles as neutral. In other words, the ideas presented in them were not considered charged in any way, which is interesting when compared to the reaction of both the Pro-Israeli and Neutral participants. The participants commented about the neutrality by writing ***“the news source is pretty neutral and unbiased in writing about the topic”***.

In addition, there is a historical reference, which is connected to the reading of the word “wipe out”. This participant writes ***“I can somewhat sense the historically based struggle of the Palestinian people in the region, especially when I see “wipe out,” which is pretty scary”***.

This participant, unlike the neutral participant, read the text as a single-voiced utterance, at least a single-voiced text from its rhetorical sense. The reason is that a pro-Palestinian is used hearing these utterances or similar utterances constantly, that is s/he is inculcated into this practice and thus the rhetorical style will not be salient to him/her. In addition, the reading of the word wipe out is accepted as a reference to the history of the Palestinian people and their exile from their land, which was not accepted by the Pro-Israeli participant.

4.4 OVERARCHING DISCUSSION

The results in the discourse analysis show that there are two main opposing themes in the Arabic versus the Israeli articles. The Arabic sources through the information hierarchy in their article and their re-iterated lexical choices, they show that the “standardization” of place names on road signs has a cultural political reason for it. They push forward the proposition that it is part of the policies for erasing any Palestinian trace that the land has, and thus erasing their right in it. On the other hand, through information included in the information included in the Israeli articles, and the repetition of the lexical choices, there is an opposing position that is argued for. The Israeli position systematically focuses on the triviality of the proposed change, and it considers it a positive change that only aims at facilitating comprehensibility.

The overall result of the experiment showed that the type of opinions provided differ according to the information that is provided in the exercise. The most surprising result was that neutrality rose in all cases in the task B, when participants were given the source for the article. However, in task C, when they were asked to comment on a certain lexical choice (which represents the main theme of the paper); their answers were the most opinionated. Accordingly, it seems that the archives and the discourses that they instigate are not retrieved through simply knowing the source, but most importantly by focusing on a specific argument. This is further supported through the qualitative analysis of the commentaries. For, the participants refer to past discourses/events, and explain how they support or reject the use of a certain Lexical choice.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This research aims at showing the interaction between the discourses presented in the media and the ingrained discourses in people's minds. The study shows that people are mostly neutral, until a specific discourse is triggered in their mind. Once, that occurs, they either oppose or support the point at hand.

Israelis and Palestinians seem to have a clear set of opposing discourses. The media seems to perpetuate one or the other, and people seem to pick one or the other depending on supra-discourses that they are continuously exposed to. The question that arises from this is how do opinions or alignments change? Is the role of the media to merely perpetuate the supra-discourses, or is there is a rhetorical tool that could be used to change or accept other opinions?

As for the limitations of this research, the results of the data show varying and often contradicting results which made it hard to provide conclusive results. This inconclusiveness of the results might be due to two main reasons:

1-The small participant pool.

2-Weaknesses in the procedures.

In order to have more indicative results further research is needed which corrects those limitations. Suggestions for future research are presented in the following paragraphs.

First, the participant pool could made be more through asking someone who is not a Palestinian, but more preferably Israeli or a known Pro-Israeli to recruit participants from either Hebrew classes or Pro-Israeli events. In addition, extra credit could be offered as a token of gratitude for participating in the study.

Second, the neutral participants should be recruited in a way that ensures that not only are the participants neutral about the issue, but that they are also not interested in it at all. The reason for this, is that the results show that although some people presented themselves as neutral, they might have interest in the issue in a way that might make them lean towards one side rather than the other. In other words, the questionnaire was unable to distinguish between various levels of

neutral participants. Thus, a different questionnaire with more detailed questions about the participants' background and knowledge about the issue needs to be implemented.

Third, the coding of the data was not systematic and clear enough despite the various attempts to make it so. The main problems of the coding were the following:

1-There was no distinction between positive/negative judgments given about the source or the political entity (Israel or Palestine).

2-The T-unit might not have been a good choice of a break for ideas. For, two clauses might have mentioned the same thing, and were coded twice.

3-Some comments could have been viewed as positive to one side, and yet could be coded as negative to the other side.

In order to solve these problems, it would be a good choice to have at least two coders to code the data (Thus, the researcher will not code). The coders will be trained to code as follows:

1-Put parentheses around every clause.

2-Merge clauses that explanations or paraphrases of each other.

3-Ignore clauses which make judgments about the texts such as: this is an interesting text.

4-If the comment overtly agrees, justifies for, or encourages the acts of one side write at the end of it: PRO- IS or PRO-PAL. If it does not fit in any of the previous categories write: NEU.

These adjustments will hopefully help in making the coding more systematic. However, the problem that will remain is the number of comments provided, for that is inconsistent. It is hard to control for that, for this is a semi-naturalistic data. However, using making the instructions more specific might help. This is important, for some participants had a lot of comments that were about the articles rather than the topic. In order to make sure that they write about the topic, the instructions could be adjusted to the following:

Please write your opinion about the topic taking into account the information provided in this excerpt.

Fourth, in order to ensure that the participants are not affected by the identity of the interviewer during the experiment, it is suggested to choose American neutral interviewers to run the experiment.

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APPENDIX A: NEWS ARTICLES

Maan (Arabic Palestinian source)

Israel's Transportation Ministry to 'Hebraize' road signs

Bethlehem - Ma'an/Agencies - Israel's transportation minister announced a plan on Monday to change English and Arabic street signs to reflect just their Hebrew names.

"This government, and certainly this minister, will not allow anyone to turn Jewish Jerusalem to Palestinian Al-Quds," said Transportation Minister Yisrael Katz, the Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper reported.

The daily Hebrew-language paper, Israel's largest, reported Monday that the plan had been in the works for the past year.

English and Arabic road signs for Israeli cities have in the past generally avoided alienating one side, in most cases calling the Palestinian capital Jerusalem in English, Al-Quds in Arabic and Yerushalayim in Hebrew, the three spellings commonly used in each respective alphabet. Some signs spell out the Hebrew version first, with the Arabic in parentheses.

But on Monday Transportation Minister Katz, a Knesset member of the Israeli right-wing Likud Party, announced that all references would soon wipe clean Palestinian language from the signs, and reflect a Hebrew-only transliteration in English and Arabic.

"The names on the signs should reflect the reality of the local population, which is exactly why Israeli signs must have Hebrew transliteration," Katz insisted.

But even if that local population is not particularly Jewish, the signs will be changed as well, according to the newspaper. It noted that for instance the sign for Nazareth, Israel's largest Palestinian city, would be changed to Natsrat in Arabic and English.

Both Palestinian and Jewish members of the Israeli Knesset voiced concern over the plan.

"Minister Katz is mistaken if he thinks that changing a few words can erase the existence of the Arab people or their connection to Israel," said MK Ahmad At-Tibi. "This is a blatant attempt at harming the Arabic language and everything it represents."

Chair of the left-wing Hadash Party Mohammad Barakeh agreed, saying, "Yisrael Katz is merely the transportation minister and it appears that the power went to his head. I hereby inform him that he cannot change the nature of a place."

Katz had said, "Almost all Israeli communities' names have previous names," given to them by the indigenous population before the establishment of an Israeli state. "Some Palestinian maps still refer to the Israeli cities by their [Arabic-language] pre-1948 names."

The minister also claimed that Palestinian citizens of Israel view Israeli cities as illegal settlements, and insisted that in response, "I will not allow that on our signs."

Nevertheless Katz alleged that changing the names in Arabic to spellings never before used would not affect the Palestinians. "We will continue to serve the Arab public and have signs in Arabic," he said, adding, "I have no problem with an Area B [joint Palestinian Authority-Israeli control] sign reading 'Nablus' in Arabic."

According to Yeshaayahu Ronen, who heads the ministry's Planning Department, the announced changes have nothing to do with politics and are simply about making things easier for "those speaking foreign languages, citizens and tourists alike."

It was not clear if his reference to citizens speaking a foreign language was about Israel's large English-language immigrant population or about Arabic, spoken by Israel's Palestinian minority and one of the country's two official languages. English is not an official language.

"Arabic is an official language of the State of Israel," said Minister of Minority Affairs Avishay

Braverman in response to the report later on Monday, voicing his opposition to the plan and adding, "Road signs are not a political issue."

"I would suggest the Minister Katz place much needed street signs in Arab communities before he changes road signs," the official added, echoing a call by the editorial board of the same paper that broke the story, which accused Katz of attempting "to rewrite history and Judaize the Land of Israel in line with the Greater Land of Israel ideology."

Aljazeera Magazine (Arabic source written to international audience)

Israel to drop Arabic names

Thousands of road signs are the latest front in Israel's battle to erase Arab heritage from much of the Holy Land, according to critics in both Israel and the wider Arab world.

Israel Katz, the transport minister, announced this week that signs on all major roads in Israel, East Jerusalem and possibly parts of the West Bank would be "standardised", converting English and Arabic place names into straight transliterations of the Hebrew name.

Currently, road signs include the place name as it is traditionally rendered in all three languages.

Under the new scheme, the Arab identity of important Palestinian communities will be obscured: Jerusalem, or "al Quds" in Arabic, will be Hebraised to "Yerushalayim"; Nazareth, or "al Nasra" in Arabic, the city of Jesus's childhood, will become "Natzrat"; and Jaffa, the port city after which Palestine's oranges were named, will be "Yafo".

Arab leaders are concerned that Mr Katz's plan offers a foretaste of the demand by Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's prime minister, that the Palestinians recognise Israel as a Jewish state.

On Wednesday, Mohammed Sabih, a senior official at the Arab League, called the initiative "racist and dangerous".

“This decision comes in the framework of a series of steps in Israel aimed at implementing the ‘Jewish State’ slogan on the ground.”

Palestinians in Israel and Jerusalem, meanwhile, have responded with alarm to a policy they believe is designed to make them ever less visible.

Ahmed Tibi, an Arab legislator in the Israeli parliament, said: “Minister Katz is mistaken if he thinks that changing a few words can erase the existence of the Arab people or their connection to Israel.”

The transport ministry has made little effort to conceal the political motivation behind its policy of Hebraising road signs.

In announcing the move on Monday, Mr Katz, a hawkish member of Likud, Mr Netanyahu’s right-wing party, said he objected to Palestinians using the names of communities that existed before Israel’s establishment in 1948.

“I will not allow that on our signs,” he said. “This government, and certainly this minister, will not allow anyone to turn Jewish Jerusalem into Palestinian al Quds.”

Other Israeli officials have played down the political significance of Mr Katz’s decision. A transport department spokesman, Yeshaayahu Ronen, said: “The lack of uniform spelling on signs has been a problem for those speaking foreign languages, citizens and tourists alike.”

“That’s ridiculous,” responded Tareq Shehadeh, head of the Nazareth Cultural and Tourism Association. “Does the ministry really think it’s helping tourists by renaming Nazareth, one of the most famous places in the world, ‘Natzrat’, a Hebrew name only Israeli Jews recognise?”

Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, said Israel had begun interfering with the Arabic on the signs for East Jerusalem as soon as it occupied the city in 1967. It invented a new word, “Urshalim”, that was supposed to be the Arabic form of the Hebrew word for Jerusalem, “Yerushalayim”.

“I was among those who intervened at the time to get the word ‘al Quds’ placed on signs, too, after ‘Urshalim’ and separated by a hyphen. But over the years ‘al Quds’ was demoted to brackets and nowadays it’s not included on new signs at all.”

He said Mr Katz’s scheme would push this process even further by requiring not only the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew word for Jerusalem, but the replication of the Hebrew spelling as well. “It’s completely chauvinistic and an insult,” he said.

Meir Margalit, a former Jerusalem councillor, said official policy was to make the Palestinian population in East Jerusalem as invisible as possible, including by ignoring their neighbourhoods on many signs.

The transport ministry’s plans for the West Bank are less clear. In his announcement Mr Katz said Palestinian-controlled areas of the territory would still be free to use proper Arabic place names. But he hinted that signs in the 60 per cent of the West Bank under Israeli military rule would be Hebraised, too.

That could mean Palestinians driving across parts of the West Bank to the Palestinian city of Nablus, for example, will have to look for the Hebrew name “Shechem” spelt out in Arabic.

Mr Benvenisti said that, after Israel’s establishment in 1948, a naming committee was given the task of erasing thousands of Arab place names, including those of hills, valleys and springs, and creating Hebrew names. The country’s first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, told the committee: “We are obliged to remove the Arabic names for reasons of state.”

In addition, the Arabic names of more than 400 Palestinian villages destroyed by Israel during and after the 1948 war were lost as Jewish communities took their place.

Israel’s surviving Palestinian minority, today one-fifth of the population, have had to battle in the courts for the inclusion of Arabic on road signs, despite Arabic being an official language.

Many signs on national highways were provided only in Hebrew and English until the courts in 1999 insisted Arabic be included. Three years later the courts ruled that Arabic must also be included on signs in cities where a significant number of Arabs live.

However, as the political climate has shifted rightward in Israel, there has been a backlash, including an unsuccessful bid by legislators to end Arabic's status as an official language last year.

Recently the Israeli media revealed that nationalist groups have been spraying over Arabic names on road signs, especially in the Jerusalem area.

Israel has also antagonised Palestinians in both Israel and the West Bank by naming roads after right-wing figures.

The main highway in the Jordan Valley, which runs through Palestinian territory but is used by Israelis to drive between northern Israel and Jerusalem, is named "Gandhi's Road" – not for the Indian spiritual leader but after the nickname of an Israeli general, Rehavam Zeevi, who called for the expulsion of Palestinians from Greater Israel.

Yediot Ahronot (Israeli news source)

Transportation Ministry to Hebraize road signs

Minister Katz concocts plan meant to create uniform spelling of names on roadside signs so that English, Arabic names will mimic Hebrew ones. Arab MKs slam move: 'Yisrael Katz will come and go but Shefa-'Amr is here to stay,' says Hadash Chairman Barakeh

Transportation Minister Yisrael Katz recently ordered a change in roadside signs across [Israel's](#) highways so that the all names appearing on them in English and Arabic would be a direct transliteration of Hebrew.

For example, the sign directing drivers to Jerusalem would read Yerushalayim, Nazareth will become Natsrat and Caesarea will become Kesariya. Arab names are to be changed accordingly.

The Transportation Ministry has been working on the project for over a year and says its main purpose is to create uniform roadside spelling for more than 2,000 names of cities, towns and villages.

Current road signs, says the ministry, reflect the vast changes and development in Israel's highways, and as such there are many variations of places' names. Caesarea, for instance, appears as Caesarea, Qesarya, Qesariyya and Ceysaria.

"The lack of uniform spelling on signs has been a problem for those speaking foreign languages, citizens and tourists alike," explains Yeshaayahu Ronen, head of the ministry's Transportation Planning Department.

"It impairs drivers' ability to find their way and we have decided to follow many other countries around the world and make the transliteration of all names correspond directly with Hebrew." Katz authorized Ronen's department to decide which signs would be replaced.

"Almost all Israeli communities' names have previous names. Some Palestinian maps still refer to the Israeli cities by their pre-1948 names, since they see them as settlements," said Katz. "I will not allow that on our signs. This government, and certainly this minister, will not allow anyone to turn Jewish Jerusalem to Palestinian al-Quds."

Katz is convinced the new style will not infringe on Arab drivers' ability to find their way. "We will continue to serve the Arab public and have signs in Arabic. I have no problem with an Area B (defined by the Oslo Accords as areas under the Palestinian Authority's civil control and Israel's security control) sign reading 'Nablus' in Arabic.

"The names on the signs should reflect the reality of the local population, which is exactly why Israeli signs must have Hebrew transliteration."

As for the cost of the new plan, the Transportation Ministry said the change will be gradual. Ministry Spokesman Avner Ovadia says that no existing sign will be changed and that the new ordinance will only affect new signs, or those replaced due to wear.

MK Tibi: Al-Quds will remain al-Quds

Arab Knesset members were infuriated by the proposal: "Al-Quds will remain al-Quds and Shfaram will remain Shefa-'Amr," said MK Ahmad Tibi ([United Arab List-Ta'al](#)).

"Minister Katz is mistaken if he thinks that changing a few words can erase the existence of the Arab people or their connection to Israel. This is a blatant attempt at harming the Arabic language and everything it represents."

[Hadaash](#) Chairman Mohammad Barakeh added that the decision was too far-reaching: "Yisrael Katz is merely the transportation minister and it appears that the power went to his head... I hereby inform him that he cannot change the nature of a place. Yisrael Katz will come and go but Shefa-'Amr is here to stay."

Minister of Minority Affairs Avishay Braverman criticized the decision as well: "Road signs are not a political issue. Arabic is an official language in the State of Israel," he said.

"I would suggest the Minister Katz place much needed street signs in Arab communities before he changes road signs."

'Criticism represents fringe minority'

"Minister Katz has decided to set a uniform standard to the 2,500 names appearing on Israel's roadside signs. According to that decision, communities' names would be spelled according to their official Israeli names," said Barak Sari, Katz's communications advisor.

"(The names of) Jewish communities, and Jerusalem first and foremost, would be written in their Hebrew names in Hebrew, English and Arabic; just as Arab communities' names, like Umm al-Fahm for example, would be written in their Arab name in all three languages.

The criticism aimed at the decision, added his statement, "Represents a fringe minority which is willing to accept attempts by anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist elements to annul Israel's identity as a Jewish and democratic state.

"Anyone willing to refer to Jerusalem as al-Quds on official State signs is collaborating with the Palestinian propaganda which does not recognize post-1948 Jewish communities and still demands they be called by their Arab names."

The Jerusalem Post (Israeli news source for International audience)

'Yerushalayim' or 'Jerusalem'? English, Arabic place names will be transliterated from Hebrew under transportation minister's proposal

There was once a road sign near the airport that had newcomers so confused it became a national joke. The sign read, "NATBAG," a transliteration of the Hebrew acronym for Ben-Gurion Airport.

Perhaps because they realized their mistake, the authorities took it down.

But now they seem to be at it again. A new initiative by Transportation Minister Yisrael Katz, seeks to introduce uniformity, as well as make a political statement, by changing the English place names on road signs to better reflect their Hebrew pronunciation.

So next time you travel along the main roads, don't be surprised if instead of signs pointing you to Jerusalem, you'll see signs saying Yerushalayim, and instead of Tiberias you'll be on your way to Tverya.

Katz, a Likud member, has found a way to instill his political views into the workings of his ministerial post, as changes will also be made to the Arabic names of places.

"If someone wants to turn Jewish Jerusalem into Palestinian 'al-Kuds,' it won't happen with the aid of road signs, not with this government and definitely not with this minister," Katz told Yediot Aharonot.

"Almost every Israeli town has a former name," Katz said. "There are Palestinian maps where

Israeli towns have Arabic names from before 1948. They refer to these places as settlements. I will not lend a hand to it on our signs."

Arab Israelis see the move as an insult to their national identity. Ra'am-Ta'al MK Ibrahim Sarsur called the move, "an act of racism, plain and simple. I can't find another term that can describe the moral deterioration of the transportation minister, and unfortunately of the other ministers of the government, too."

Sarsur said that he warned of such developments when the ministry changed all of the signs indicating the valleys on the side of the Trans-Israel Highway from their Arabic names to their Hebrew names.

"The transportation minister is attempting to paint the road signs with his ideological brush. How did we arrive at a point when a simple sign is seen as a threat to the security of the state?" he said.

Sarsur called on the prime minister to rein Katz in and tell him that he's gone too far.

"It's ridiculous, the spelling on the signs won't change our identity. For us, Jerusalem will forever be 'al- Kuds.'"

Historically, the English spelling of place names on road signs has been haphazard. Thus, a place like Caesarea can be seen spelled Ceysaria on one sign, Qesarya on another and Qesariyya on a third.

Likewise the town of Zichron Ya'acov is alternately spelled Zikron Yakov, Ziqron Ya'akov and Zikhron Ya'aqov.

Often, the names in the three languages are not the same at all. For example, the port area in southern Tel Aviv is called Yaffo in Hebrew, Jaffa in English and Yafa in Arabic.

"The lack of consistency bothers foreign-language speakers, both residents and tourists. It reduces drivers' ability to navigate to their destinations. We therefore decided to change all of the signs to reflect their Hebrew pronunciation, as is customary in other countries of the world," said the head of the Traffic Planning Department in the Transportation Ministry.

A special signs committee in the ministry sat down with experts from the Academy of the Hebrew Language to determine the standard Hebrew spelling of the place names. They then determined the correct transliteration into Latin characters and Arabic.

The changes to the signs are to take place gradually over time, with the new spelling replacing the old one only when it becomes necessary to replace the sign because of wear and tear or route changes.

When asked how the changes will help tourists, new immigrants and others who don't know Hebrew, the Transportation Ministry spokesman said, "Most of the names in Hebrew are well known. We expect people to familiarize themselves with the Hebrew names for their destinations."

A Tourism Ministry spokeswoman expressed surprise at a question about the changes, saying the ministry was not aware of them. She said the ministry could not respond until it had more information.

Caption: Photo

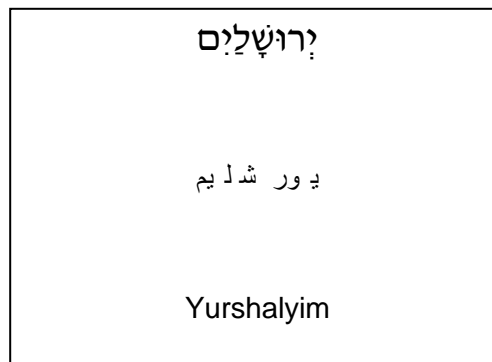
IF THIS sign was changed as per the ministry's proposal, drivers would be directed to 'Mercaz Ha'ir' and 'Ha'ir Ha'atika' - which probably won't help them find either Ariel Jerozolimski

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF THE SUGGESTION

Before Minister Katz's suggestion:



Expected to happen in accordance with minister Katz's suggestion:



APPENDIX C: THE DEFAULT TASK

Excerpt 1:

English and Arabic road signs for Israeli cities have in the past generally avoided alienating one side, in most cases calling the Palestinian capital Jerusalem in English, Al-Quds in Arabic and Yerushalayim in Hebrew, the three spellings commonly used in each respective alphabet. Some signs spell out the Hebrew version first, with the Arabic in parentheses.

But on Monday Transportation Minister Katz, a Knesset member of the Israeli right-wing Likud Party, announced that all references would soon wipe clean Palestinian language from the signs, and reflect a Hebrew-only transliteration in English and Arabic.

Excerpt 2:

Israel Katz, the transport minister, announced this week that signs on all major roads in Israel, East Jerusalem and possibly parts of the West Bank would be “standardised”, converting English and Arabic place names into straight transliterations of the Hebrew name.

Currently, road signs include the place name as it is traditionally rendered in all three languages. Under the new scheme, the Arab identity of important Palestinian communities will be obscured: Jerusalem, or “al Quds” in Arabic, will be Hebraised to “Yerushalayim”; Nazareth, or “al Nasra” in Arabic, the city of Jesus’s childhood, will become “Natzrat”; and Jaffa, the port city after which Palestine’s oranges were named, will be “Yafo”.

Excerpt 3:

Transportation Minister Yisrael Katz recently ordered a change in roadside signs across [Israel's](#) highways so that the all names appearing on them in English and Arabic would be a direct transliteration of Hebrew.

For example, the sign directing drivers to Jerusalem would read Yerushalayim, Nazareth will become Natsrat and Caesarea will become Kesariya. Arab names are to be changed accordingly.

The Transportation Ministry has been working on the project for over a year and says its main purpose is to create uniform roadside spelling for more than 2,000 names of cities, towns and villages.

Excerpt 4:

There was once a road sign near the airport that had newcomers so confused it became a national joke. The sign read, "NATBAG," a transliteration of the Hebrew acronym for Ben-Gurion Airport.

Perhaps because they realized their mistake, the authorities took it down.

But now they seem to be at it again. A new initiative by Transportation Minister Yisrael Katz, seeks to introduce uniformity, as well as make a political statement, by changing the English place names on road signs to better reflect their Hebrew pronunciation.

So next time you travel along the main roads, don't be surprised if instead of signs pointing you to Jerusalem, you'll see signs saying Yerushalayim, and instead of Tiberias you'll be on your way to Tverya.

Katz, a Likud member, has found a way to instill his political views into the workings of his ministerial post, as changes will also be made to the Arabic names of places.

APPENDIX D: THE SOURCE TASK

Excerpt 1:

Source: Maan News → Arabic Palestinian online news source.

English and Arabic road signs for Israeli cities have in the past generally avoided alienating one side, in most cases calling the Palestinian capital Jerusalem in English, Al-Quds in Arabic and Yerushalayim in Hebrew, the three spellings commonly used in each respective alphabet. Some signs spell out the Hebrew version first, with the Arabic in parentheses.

But on Monday Transportation Minister Katz, a Knesset member of the Israeli right-wing Likud Party, announced that all references would soon wipe clean Palestinian language from the signs, and reflect a Hebrew-only transliteration in English and Arabic.

Excerpt 2:

Source: Aljazeera → Arabic source to International audience. WHAT SHOULD I PUT THIS???

Israel Katz, the transport minister, announced this week that signs on all major roads in Israel, East Jerusalem and possibly parts of the West Bank would be “standardised”, converting English and Arabic place names into straight transliterations of the Hebrew name.

Currently, road signs include the place name as it is traditionally rendered in all three languages. Under the new scheme, the Arab identity of important Palestinian communities will be obscured: Jerusalem, or “al Quds” in Arabic, will be Hebraised to “Yerushalayim”; Nazareth, or “al Nasra” in Arabic, the city of Jesus’s childhood, will become “Natzrat”; and Jaffa, the port city after which Palestine’s oranges were named, will be “Yafo”.

Excerpt 3:

Source: Yediot Ahronot → Israeli source hardcopy and online newspaper.

Transportation Minister Yisrael Katz recently ordered a change in roadside signs across [Israel's](#) highways so that the all names appearing on them in English and Arabic would be a direct transliteration of Hebrew.

For example, the sign directing drivers to Jerusalem would read Yerushalayim, Nazareth will become Natsrat and Caesarea will become Kesariya. Arab names are to be changed accordingly.

The Transportation Ministry has been working on the project for over a year and says its main purpose is to create uniform roadside spelling for more than 2,000 names of cities, towns and villages.

Excerpt 4:

Source: Jerusalem Post → Israeli newspaper and online news source.

There was once a road sign near the airport that had newcomers so confused it became a national joke. The sign read, "NATBAG," a transliteration of the Hebrew acronym for Ben-Gurion Airport.

Perhaps because they realized their mistake, the authorities took it down.

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APPENDIX E: THE SOURCE-WORD TASK

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APPENDIX F: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire:

Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

Age: _____ Major and year: _____

Did you ever visit Israel? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, where did you go?

Why did you visit?

Did you ever visit Palestine? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, where did you go?

Why did you visit?

Where is Israel?

Where is Palestine?

Please rate your answers to these questions according to the Likert scale, where 1 is the lowest and 5 is the highest.

Are you Israeli?

1 2 3 4 5

Are You Palestinian?

1 2 3 4 5

What written media do you read?

APPENDIX G: PARTICIPANTS COMPLETE ANSWERS

Pro- Israeli – Yediot Ahronot:

Task A:

*The first article seems to be neutral, stating the facts of what is taking place. Only the third paragraph seems to indicate some emotion when it talks about the Transportation Ministry working for over a year. **Telling the audience they have been working for more than a year suggests to any reader that someone somewhere has put a lot of effort into it and therefore we should appreciate their work.** I do not know enough information to know if the author is for or against the changing of signs.*

Task B:

*It is interesting **that the least biased of all the articles is the one that came from an Israeli** newssource that I am going to assume is predominantly read by Israelis (not an international audience). With everything that is going on, **perhaps the newspaper feels that they should not be speaking out against other Israelis in an issue that is somewhat obscure for them.** They would rather keep their fighting words for a more important issue to them, such as fighting for the right of converted soldiers to be accepted as Jewish people.*

Task C:

Ordered a change in roadside- seems to just be telling the facts about what is going on.

*To create uniform roadside spelling- **interesting that he uses the word uniform because all three languages have different alphabets so no, it will never be uniform. Also, if you change the name of something, that still doesn't make saying "I live in Jerusalem" sound anything alike in the three languages***

Pro-Israeli - the Jerusalem post

Task A:

*This article seems to be an expression of an American. First, the people that will be most affected by the change in signs will be the American people that travel to Israel. **Second of all, the change to Arabic names is not even mentioned until the fifth paragraph.** Also, it is very obvious that this article is very against the change.*

Task B:

*Again, it is no surprise that this post is from an Israeli. I do not know if this is a native English speaker or not, but it definitely sounds like it. Not to mention as an American, this post seems to be the one I can most relate to. **The author clearly points out the idiocy of the whole project.***

Task C:

*Introduce uniformity- interesting that both Israeli sources use this word. **Maybe this is perhaps because they are both trying to hint at the connotation of peace. If everything is uniform we can all live happily ever after. Something like that...***

A way to instill his political views- shows that not all Israelis agree with this policy. His views are not the views of everyone.

Neutral – Yediot Ahronot

Task A:

*This excerpt is definitely pro-Israel, because it **makes this change in roadside names sound like a good thing. I could connect much more with the Israeli side, since their reasoning for changing the names made sense by the way they put it.** They've put a lot of time and effort in making this change, so that it **will create peace and uniformity to Israel***

Task B:

Whereas the second excerpt made this issue a light topic, this one, also pro-Israeli, makes this change seem like a good thing, something that the Israeli government is using for a

good cause. In reading this, *I feel like this information is definitely trying to hide a different side since it completely ignores Palestinians*

Task C:

1. This **makes the change seem less political and more of an improvement for people.**
2. Again, what is underlined *makes the situation less heavy by brushing off the effect that it will have on the people and only point out that uniformity of road signs is a good thing for everyone.*

Neutral - the Jerusalem post:

Task A:

This excerpt made me laugh. It was more of a making fun of Israel at first by pointing out a ‘mistake’ it made in standardizing a sign. Despite the initial humor, it does take it to a serious note when it says Israel is taking this standardization of signs to the whole country. *Also I didn’t feel as much for the Palestinian side because it barely mentioned anything about changing of the arabic names until the last sentence.*

Task B:

Now that I know this is an excerpt from an Israeli newspaper, I think it is interesting how the first few lines makes fun of its own government. It came as a surprise to me. *But it is also interesting that it tries to make the situation light, when for the Palestinians it is an insult.* Naturally, since they cannot empathize with the Palestinians, they do not see this as a big insult or deal.

Task C:

1. Again, along with *Hebraised*, *uniformity dulls the colors of the varying peoples by trying to mesh all different peoples together under a common tradition.*
2. This dude is trying to make his views clear to the country, and implement them, which naturally *causes a stirring among both his followers and enemies.*

Pro-Palestinian – Yediot Ahronot

Task A:

This article is similar to the first two articles, but provides a bit more background by saying that the Transportation Ministry have worked on this project for a year. It carries the same tone as the other two as well. **I'm left feeling that this is a deliberate action on the part of some members of the Israeli government with this article too.**

Task B:

The third article offers some background and rationale for the policy. It is also pretty neutral in its tone and **does not really address the social consequences of such an overt action as changing road signs to only reflect the Hebrew name for places.**

Task C:

1. Order points to a systematic policy that seemingly must take place in order for there to be one uniform way of spelling for roadways.
2. Points to what was mentioned above. **Uniformity for who though? The Israeli Hebrew speaking population, a majority of who are non-Arab and non-Jewish?**

Pro- Palestinian – the Jerusalem post:

Task A:

I like that the article has an amusing start. It is more direct in its tone, as in, it seems to be less neutral than the previous articles. **The author seems to suggest that the policy will turn out bad like it has in the past.**

Task B:

I would say that this is the most progressive and provocative piece out of the four articles. **It also offers the least background information and is more opinion-based.**

Task C:

1. This is similarly worded the same way as in article 3, but has a different connotation to it. It is preceded with a sentence expressing doubt.
2. **Power can bring corruption when you look at the actions of elected officials.**

Pro-Israeli – Maan:

Task A:

This article seems to be leaning more towards the Palestinian side. The use of But alone in the first sentence of the article indicates that something about to be mentioned is wrong. Also, *the mention of Katz political party affiliation is loaded because of the stereotypes that go along with this*. I believe the author is against the changing of signs.

Task B:

This article is also interesting in the fact that it is *probably a local Arab news source, and actually reads like one*. Again, the obvious opposition to Katz' actions is apparent, but I do not think this reaction is unreasonable or portrayed in an unreasonable fashion. *True news is supposed to be unbiased, but this issue is not one that can be taken neutrally*.

Task C:

Avoided alienating one side- this seems to directly address the Palestinian Israeli conflict. *Pretty intelligent considering that is what this whole issue is really about*.

Wipe clean Palestinian language- *wipe clean indicates an annihilation, something as a Jew we are very familiar with. I think this may be an exaggeration*.

Pro- Israeli - Aljazeera:

Task A:

This article seems to also be leaning towards the Palestinian side. *The use of "standardized" in quotes indicates an ironic tone*. Also, the mention of obscuring Arab

identity is pretty direct in showing the harm this new change will bring to the Arab people. The author is definitely against the changing of signs.

Task B:

Now knowing this article is an international news source, it makes sense that the author took the time to write the examples in the last paragraph of what actual names would be changed to. By making mention of the port city named after oranges, *the international audience would obviously know the reference and probably be unhappy.*

Task C:

Arab identity of important Palestinian communities will be obscured- this is a much better way of saying what *I think the last author was intending to say with the “wipe clean” statement. I agree with this statement, because with the loss of a word comes the loss of the meaning behind it.*

Will be hebraised= I didn't even know that was a verb. *Honestly, it sounds accurate because that is what Katz is doing, changing everything to Hebrew.*

Neutral – Maan:

Task A:

This excerpt is definitely pro-palestinian, calling Jerusalem the Palestinian capital, and clearly naming the political stance of Katz, the man in charge of the changes. *I definitely felt some tension in this excerpt, since there is a lot of strife between the two sides. It made me uncomfortable about the amount of dislike between the two states, and sad that the tension is so severe, the changing of road signs is used to threaten each other.*

Task B:

This excerpt doesn't surprise me that it is from a pro-palestinian source. Again, I feel a lot of anger and frustration exuding from this excerpt and the people who wrote it, *which for me doesn't give me as much empathy as before without knowing the true source. I*

can't understand the feelings on either side of the conflict, ***but it still makes me less empathetic towards either side when I read something as harsh as this.***

Task C:

1. Alienation is a strong word, and shows strong opinions. The fact that Israel is now alienating the Palestinian side, ***shows a strong opposition, and makes me turn against Israel for doing such a thing as alienating a people.***
2. Wiping clean Palestinian language is ***a bit of an overstatement, but it does get across that Israel is trying to change the nature of the arabic language by hebraising arabic words, which is sad.***

Neutral - Aljazeera:

Task A:

Well the excerpt I feel is purely informational, not opinionated. It makes light the event taking place, but takes no sides. However, I feel like it allowed me to take my own opinion on it. ***That is, I think Katz is dehumanizing the arabic or Palestinian culture by doing this. Standardization of these signs doesn't only deface Palestinians, it takes away the creative and unique expression that mankind has.***

Task B:

I can see why this excerpt is arab, since much of the excerpt is dedicated to the changing of the arabic names. So, obviously the arab world backs up their Palestinian brothers and sisters, but they aren't as harsh about it as a Palestinian would be, as it can be seen in this excerpt. ***Despite the lack of harshness as compared with the Palestinian excerpt, I felt the most for Palestinians from this excerpt.***

Task C:

1- My thoughts are: this is tragic, and Israel better understand that this will only compound the tension more.

- 2- Israel, is trying to unify the whole country under its Hebrew tradition. ***Hebraised shows that it is taking away from something else, some other culture, and try to make Palestinian culture conform***

Pro-Palestinian - Maan

Task A:

The article concisely summarizes the issue of what's taking place in the region. Mainly, the alteration of road signs to reflect a Hebrew only spelling for Jerusalem in the three distinct languages of the region. It is also interesting to note that Jerusalem is cited as the Palestinian capital.

Task B:

Know that I know that this is a Palestinian news source, I can see why Jerusalem was referred to as the capital of Palestine. In my opinion, ***the news source is pretty neutral and unbiased in writing about the topic.***

Task C:

1. Serves to show unity amongst different peoples in the region.
2. ***I can somewhat sense the historically based struggle of the Palestinian people in the region, especially when I see "wipe out," which is pretty scary.***

Pro – Palestinian- Aljazeera:

Task A:

This article makes it blatantly apparent that some members of the Israeli government are trying to forge a Hebrew specific identity in the region. This not stated in the direct language of the article, but is implied with what is taking place; the infringement on the linguistic rights of the Arab and English speaking population. ***From reading this piece, it seems as if this is a systematic plan to oust out Palestinian culture and identity from the area.***

Task B:

The second source touched more *on issues related to a broader Arab identity and brings up concerns that such a policy would bring for the Arab peoples*. It doesn't go into specifics related to the possible destruction of a distinct Palestinian identity. This can be seen as paternalistic by some.

Task C:

1. Again, more about Arab identity than a distinct Palestinian identity. *The use of obscure is worrisome because it is pointing to an end state of erasure for Palestinian culture in the region.*
2. I'm not sure if Hebraised is a word.