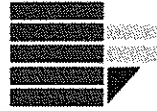


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XXIV CICLO

TESI DI DOTTORATO

**A roadmap or a vision?
a metaphor analysis of political discourse on peace in the
Middle East**

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*To Beatrice,
my light at the end of the tunnel*

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Abstract

There have been a number of studies of the metaphors used to talk about war or terrorism, but very little has been published on the metaphors used to describe peace. To this end, this study explores how the three main actors in the Roadmap peace process (Bush, Sharon, Abbas) conceptualize peace/the peace process through metaphorical expressions.

This involves both a linguistic identification and conceptual analysis of the following elements: contextual and basic meanings, metaphor keywords, source domains, and conceptual metaphors. The interpretation and explanation of all these elements is provided within the socio-political context, allowing for a more precise analysis of metaphorical expressions within real data.

The corpus is based on political speeches given in the timeframe 2002-2005, by American President George W. Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, all regarding the peace process and which are often referred to as 'peace speeches'.

Four main research questions guide the present study. The first asks which metaphorical expressions are used by Bush, Sharon, and Abbas when referring to peace/the peace process. The second considers how these metaphors conceptualize peace and in turn how the politicians frame peace/the peace process in their political discourse. The third question asks if metaphor frequency varies based on the events surrounding the peace process. Finally, the fourth question considers the similarities and/or differences in the use of the metaphorical language used by the three politicians and if this could be linked to their ideology.

The corpus data is analyzed using a combination of different methods in order to answer the above research questions. The tools are mainly Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), the MIPVU procedure (Steen et al. 2010), and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004).

The results show that a total of 587 metaphor keywords were identified in the corpus, which were categorized into 10 source domains. The categories are MOVEMENT/JOURNEY, PERSONIFICATION, FINANCE, BUILDING, DESTRUCTION/DEATH, CONFLICT, LIGHT/FIRE, PLANT, GAME and RELIGION. Having identified the metaphor keywords and source domains, 44 conceptual metaphors were formulated.

This study also investigated possible event and culture variation in metaphor use. The variation can be explained by the different functions each metaphor serves. Some metaphors remain constant, and can be linked to an overall conceptualization of peace. On the other hand, those that vary can be considered topic-triggered, and linked to an experience of peace.

Overall, there are very few metaphors for peace unique to the three politicians. The only differences observed lie not in which metaphors are used, but in what aspects of peace or the peace process they are used to highlight.

1 Introduction

Metaphors can kill, but can they also bring peace? Since Lakoff presented a paper on the metaphors used to justify the war in the Persian Gulf (1991) there have been a number of studies of the metaphors used to talk about war or terrorism (e.g. Voss et al. 1992; Pancake 1993; Rohrer 1995; Sandikcioglu 2000; Lakoff 2001; Hellin Garcia 2008; Steuter and Willis 2008), but very little has been published on the metaphors used to describe peace. As Bridgeman (2000: 2) argues, despite the value which is given to peace in political rhetoric, “it has not proven to be a particularly well-studied subject among researchers”. Moreover, as has been claimed by a vast number of scholars, in order to comprehend the complex nature of metaphors and the use that is made of them in language and discourse, it is necessary to investigate metaphors in the context where they occur. One way to study language in use is to consider the discourse of politicians. According to Kövecses (2010: 68), political metaphors are “widely disseminated in the media and by politicians themselves...they impose a particular order or pattern on political activities. They not only make sense of these activities but also structure them in imperceptible ways”. This study is designed therefore to analyse the use of metaphors for peace in American, Israeli and Palestinian political discourse on the Middle East peace process.

I confine my study to the peace process that has come to be known as the ‘Middle East Roadmap’. I have decided to focus the analysis on this particular peace process since a metaphor itself has been used to name it. As Semino (2008: 117) argues:

particular metaphors can be used both to 'name' and 'frame' particular initiatives, with which they become inextricably associated...once a particular metaphor occupies a prominent position in the public domain, it can be alluded to and exploited in different ways by different participants in political debates.

Research shows that the use of metaphor in framing political discussion has become a major linguistic device, and a tool used by politicians (Hellin Garcia 2008). Studies in this field clearly show that metaphors are indispensable in political discourse as they are used to frame political arguments.

The corpus under analysis includes speeches, statements and an exchange of letters. The speeches include those given by American President George W. Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, all regarding the peace process, and which are often referred to as 'peace speeches', over a time span of four years (2002-2005).

The study is divided into three main parts: the first systematically identifies the metaphors that are applied to the target domain PEACE / PEACE PROCESS; the second quantitatively analyses the number of metaphors in the corpus and groups them according to source domain; and the third qualitatively examines how the features of the target domain influence the type of selected source domains chosen to conceptualise it, and, how the metaphors in the different sub-corpora focus on certain features of the peace process as opposed to others. Steen (2007:286) argues that linguists dealing with metaphor in usage often make a functional separation between identifying the linguistic forms of metaphor and its conceptual structures, honoring the fundamental differences between these areas of research. To this end, four main research questions guide this study:

1. What are the metaphorical expressions used by George W. Bush, Ariel Sharon, and Mahmoud Abbas when referring to peace/the peace process?
 - 1a. What metaphor keywords are identified in their political discourse?
2. How do these metaphors conceptualize peace?
 - 2a. What are the source domains and conceptual metaphors used to frame peace/the peace process?
3. Do the frequencies of the metaphor types change depending on the events surrounding the peace process?
4. What are the similarities and/or differences in the use of metaphors by the three politicians?
 - 4a. What does their metaphorical language reveal about their political ideology?

The analysis and comparison of the metaphors used will allow us to show how the same peace process may be differently conceptualised at different points of time and by different parties on account of different socio-political factors and/or ideologies.

A systematic study of the metaphors for peace in this political discourse reveals the use of a broad range of metaphors, each conceptualising peace in a different way. However, as argued by Bridgeman (2000), assembling lists of interesting expressions in the speeches does not add much to discussions of metaphor or of peace. An intuition that metaphor occurrence in peace discourse is frequent and diverse is not of any particular use without empirical support and valid generalisations about which metaphors are preferred and why they are chosen instead of others (Bridgeman 2000).

To answer the above research questions this study will use Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as a framework for the analysis and will follow the MIPVU procedure and a Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). Conceptual Metaphor Theory was proposed by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Lakoff and Johnson indicate that the metaphors we use in our daily lives reflect our way of understanding the world. Although their theory refers mainly to metaphors in everyday life, subsequent studies show that their cognitive theory is applicable to the study of metaphor in political discourse as well. This theory will be further discussed in detail in section 2.2. The MIPVU procedure is a set of instructions for the identification of metaphor. Its starting point was the MIP procedure (Pragglejaz 2007) and was improved and refined by a group of researchers at the VU University Amsterdam (Steen et al. 2010). The procedure will be fully explained in section 2.4.3. Critical Metaphor Analysis was proposed by Charteris-Black (2004) as a methodology for metaphor. It consists of three steps: metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation, and metaphor explanation. CMA will also be discussed in detail in section 2.4.4.

The remainder of the study is organised as follows. Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature focussing primarily on three crucial areas: metaphor, politics, and peace. Chapter 3 provides the political background of the Roadmap peace process to better understand the context in which the metaphors are employed. Chapter 4 provides a discussion of the four research questions that structure the study, details of the corpus, and the methodological framework used for metaphor analysis. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the analysis and results of the first research question regarding metaphor identification and metaphor keywords. Chapter 6 is a discussion of the results of the second research question which focuses on metaphor

source domains and conceptual metaphors, while Chapter 7 examines the final two research questions concerning metaphor variation. Chapter 8 presents the conclusions of the study along with the limitations and implications for future research.

2 Metaphor, Politics, and Peace

This chapter presents the relevant theoretical background and begins by offering a definition of metaphor on which this study is based. The following sections discuss the main elements of the cognitive, semantic and pragmatic perspectives that guide this study. They are based on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which is the cognitive perspective, on the MIPVU procedure (Steen et al. 2010) which provides the semantic perspective, and on Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), which offers the pragmatic perspective. The chapter subsequently focuses on the role of metaphors in political discourse and ends by giving an overview of current research on peace discourse.

2.1 Defining metaphor

The history of metaphor goes back to the time of Aristotle who, as cited in Charteris-Black (2005: 14), defined metaphor as "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else". The etymological origin of the word metaphor is from the Greek *metapherein*, where *meta* = over/across and *pherein* = carry/bear, where the notion of metaphor is of a transfer, especially of the sense of one word to a different word. Charteris-Black (2005: 14) states that the notion of movement is very important in metaphor since "it is the possibility of movement and change that creates the potential for metaphor to evoke emotional responses".

Charteris-Black (2004: 20) argues that a definition of metaphor should incorporate the following dimensions: a linguistic, a pragmatic, and a cognitive orientation. These three dimensions are interconnected and they all help to convey the metaphoric meaning. Thus, Charteris-Black (2004: 23-24) indicates that metaphor has three roles: semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic. He believes that the semantic role is to create new meanings for words, the cognitive role will help to understand on the basis of analogy, and the pragmatic role will intend to provide evaluation about speaker's intention.

Charteris-Black (2004: 21) defines a metaphor as “a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension.” *Semantic tension* refers to the contrast that results due to the mapping of one domain onto another that is entirely different from the former domain. Similarly, Deignan (2005: 34) offers the following definition of linguistic metaphor:

A metaphor is a word or expression that is used to talk about an entity or quality other than that referred to by its core, or most basic meaning. This non-core use expresses a perceived relationship with the core meaning of the word, and in many cases between two semantic fields.

Steen (2002: 20) indicates that the most widely acceptable definition currently available is the one that refers to a set of correspondences between two conceptual domains, which can be represented as a list of entailments, according to Lakoff (1993), or as a structure mapping according to Gentner (1983, 1989).

This study will consider the above definitions of metaphor along with Lakoff and Johnson's notion of conceptual metaphor which will be addressed in the following section.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory was proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). Lakoff and Johnson's approach challenged traditional views of metaphor as a strictly linguistic phenomenon. The cognitive linguistics approach to metaphor theory rebuts the idea that metaphors are simply poetic devices. According to Lakoff and Johnson, conceptual metaphors are not to be considered merely figures of speech, considering that they are not a matter of language but of thought. They are the means of conceptualising one mental domain in terms of another.

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish...metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought or action. [...] We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3).

Lakoff and Johnson argue that abstract concepts are largely discussed via metaphor. This allows us to understand abstract notions, such as peace, through concrete ideas. Lakoff and Johnson argue that "we tend to structure the less concrete and inherently vaguer concepts in terms of more concrete concepts, which are more clearly delineated in our experience" (1980: 112). The concept that becomes

understood (the more abstract or unfamiliar concept) is the TARGET domain. The other concept, which somehow facilitates understanding or discussion of the target is the SOURCE domain (the more concrete or familiar concept). Conceptual metaphor theory sees the connections between concept areas in terms of correspondences or mappings between elements within source and target domains. Usually the mapping of source domain elements to the target domain is represented as TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN (Lakoff 1993: 207). In the example LOVE IS A JOURNEY, where JOURNEY is our SOURCE domain and LOVE our TARGET domain, we use the knowledge we have of the concept journey in order to understand and describe the concept love. The final goal, therefore, is to talk about love. The mapping from source domain to target domain is the following:

The lovers correspond to travellers

The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle

The state of being in the relationship corresponds to the physical closeness of being in the vehicle

The lovers' common goals correspond to their common destinations on the journey

Difficulties correspond to impediments to travel

(Lakoff 1993: 207)

These set of correspondences become apparent in such metaphorical expressions as those below.

Look *how far we've come*.

We're *at a crossroads*.

We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.

We can't *turn back now*.

I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.

Where are we?

We're *stuck*.

It's been a *long, bumpy road*.

This relationship is a *dead-end street*.

We're just *spinning our wheels*.

Our marriage is *on the rocks*.

We've gotten *off the track*.

The relationship is *foundering*.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 44-45)

What is quite interesting about a cognitive approach to metaphor is the idea that metaphor can limit understanding even when it is employed to enhance it (Bridgeman 2000: 23). This notion of metaphor limiting understanding is especially important in discussions of peace and negotiations. In order to explore the limiting potential of metaphor entailments, Lakoff and Johnson propose new metaphors that have different sets of entailments, for example, LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART. These metaphors are contrasted with our usual understandings of LOVE IS A JOURNEY or LOVE IS MADNESS. Lakoff and Johnson consider the extent to which by limiting understanding, metaphor can have an effect on participant action. Specifically, they point out that:

metaphors can thus be appropriate because they sanction actions, justify inferences, and help us set goals. For example, certain actions, inferences, and goals are dictated by the LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART metaphor but not by the LOVE IS MADNESS metaphor. If love is madness, I do not concentrate on what I have to do to maintain it. But if it is work, then it requires activity, and if it is a work of art, it requires a very special kind of activity, and if it is collaborative, then it is even further restricted and specified (1980: 142).

Bridgeman (2000: 25) argues that it is not hard to imagine the possible outcome for a relationship between two individuals when one individual has the understanding that LOVE IS MADNESS and the other individual has the understanding that LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have identified three types of conceptual metaphors: structural, orientational, and ontological. The first type of metaphor is the structural metaphor which, according to Lakoff and Johnson are “cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another” (1980: 14). Source domains supply frameworks for target domains. They determine the ways in which we think and talk about the entities and activities to which the target domains refer. They also determine the ways in which we behave or carry out activities, as in the case of ARGUMENT IS WAR.

He attacked every weak point in my argument.

I demolished his argument.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

He *shot down* all of my arguments.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4)

Lakoff and Johnson argue that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (1980: 5).

An orientational metaphor “organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another” (1980: 14). They have to do with an orientational or spatial concept, such as up/down, in/out, front/back, on/off, deep/shallow, and central/peripheral. Two examples of this kind are HAPPY IS UP/SAD IS DOWN (I’m feeling *up*. That

boosted my spirits/He's really *low* these days. My spirits *sank*.) and MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN (My income *rose* this year/If you're too hot, turn the heat *down*).

Ontological metaphors allow us to conceptualise things, experiences and processes, no matter how vague or abstract they may be, as if they have definite physical properties. As Lakoff and Johnson state:

Understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them – and, by this means, reason about them (1980: 25).

An example of an ontological metaphor is INFLATION IS AN ENTITY:

Inflation is lowering our standards of living.

If there's much *more inflation*, we'll never survive.

We need to *combat inflation*.

Inflation is backing us into a corner.

Inflation makes me sick.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 26)

Viewing inflation as an entity allows us to refer to it, quantify it, identify a particular aspect of it and by doing so, helps us to understand it.

When referring to the selective mapping of source domain features onto target domains, conceptual metaphor theory refers to highlighting. On the other hand, the suppression of other features is termed hiding (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10). Frequently more than one metaphor is used for the same concept. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002) argue that the purpose of using different metaphors is to account for the different aspects of the same concept. As an example,

both studies explore highlighting and multiple mapping in relation to the concept ARGUMENT. In addition to the domain WAR, they examine AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY (*so far, we haven't covered much ground, we will proceed in a step-by-step fashion*), AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER (*your argument won't hold water, your argument doesn't have much content*), and AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING (*if you don't support your argument with solid facts, the whole thing will collapse, we've got the framework for a solid argument*). The metaphors are not in conflict with each other, but each foregrounds different correspondences between sources and targets. They argue that the JOURNEY metaphor highlights the progress, direction, or goal (destination) of an argument and the process by which the goal is achieved or reached. The CONTAINER metaphor is principally used to portray the content of the argument and its shape or form, the WAR metaphor instead highlights conflict and the control of the argument and the fact of winning or losing. Finally the BUILDING metaphor involves the construction, structure and strength of an argument.

Lakoff and Johnson argue:

Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience. A given metaphor may be the only way to highlight and coherently organize exactly those aspects of our experience. Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such action will, of course, fit the metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 156).

A common example of this phenomenon is the use of WAR metaphors to justify actions or policies, given the urgency of a situation once it is conceptualised as war (Bridgeman 2000: 7). Lakoff and Johnson use the Carter administration's energy policy in their discussion of this. "The WAR metaphor highlighted certain realities

and hid others. The metaphor was not merely a way of viewing reality, it constituted a license for policy change and political and economic action” (1980: 156). Deignan (2005) explains that according to Lakoff and Johnson, one inference that was suggested but not made explicit by the conceptual metaphor THE SEARCH FOR ENERGY IS WAR was the existence of a hostile foreign enemy. Lakoff and Johnson claim that by creating such inferences, the WAR metaphor influenced the thought and behaviour of politicians and the public, and that a different metaphor might have created different inferences and therefore led to different courses of action. Bridgeman argues that this potential power of metaphor makes it an important feature for study, particularly with regard to metaphors used in policy discussions (2000: 7).

2.3 Conventional and novel metaphor

According to Kövecses (2010: 33), a major way in which metaphors can be classified is their degree of conventionality. Deignan (2005: 40) argues that the boundary between novel (which she refers to as innovative) and conventionalized metaphors is fuzzy. Firstly because all conventional linguistic metaphors must have been innovative at some point and secondly because there is likely to be some disagreement about the newness of particular linguistic expressions amongst individual speakers.

Deignan (ibid: 40) argues however, that corpus analysis aides in deciding on cases of novel metaphor, as these linguistic expressions are infrequent in the analysis of concordance lines. She suggests that any sense of a word that is found less than once in every thousand citations of that word can be considered novel.

Conventionalised metaphors are less easy to recognise as they are “well established and deeply entrenched in the usage of a linguistic community” (Kövecses 2010: 34). Charteris-Black defines a conventional metaphor as one that is “frequently used and is taken up in a language community, thereby reducing our awareness of its semantic tension” (2004: 21). Therefore, many scholars (e.g. Charteris-Black 2004; Pragglejaz Group 2007) argue that in order to identify conventional metaphors, the metaphorical sense is dependent on the core or basic sense by corpus linguistic and/or semantic criteria.

As Deignan (2005: 15) points out, despite the fact that linguistic metaphors are evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphors, there are two reasons why conventional linguistic metaphors attracted very little attention in the past. The first reason being that the focus was mainly on poetic metaphor in literature, where conventionalised metaphors are considered dead and therefore, of little significance. The second reason was simply that speakers were not aware of the metaphorical nature of these expressions.

Since Lakoff and Johnson (1980), other scholars have led to an interest in investigating conventionalised metaphors. Conventional metaphors have turned out to be a useful tool in exploring the social and ideological settings of a certain type of discourse. It is for this reason that the primary focus of this work will be on the conventional metaphors found in the corpus, however, novel metaphors will also be considered where relevant.

2.4 Identifying and Analysing Metaphor

According to Steen (1997: 58), conceptual metaphor theory lacks an explicit procedure of how to analyse metaphors in real discourse, and how we get from the linguistic metaphor to the conceptual metaphor. What follows are methods for metaphor identification and analysis which are considered relevant to the present study.

2.4.1 Steen's Five Step Procedure

Steen proposes a five step procedure for the identification of metaphor in discourse (Steen 1999, 2009, 2011). Before describing his procedure, he feels the need to point out that he is dealing with metaphor analysis and not metaphor understanding:

Metaphor analysis is a task for the linguist who wishes to describe and explain the structure and function of language. Metaphor understanding is a cognitive process which is the object of investigation of psycholinguists and discourse psychologists who are conducting behavioral research (Steen 1999: 59).

The procedure he proposes for conceptual metaphor identification is made up of the following steps:

- (1) identification of metaphor-related words
- (2) identification of metaphor-related propositions
- (3) identification of open metaphorical comparison
- (4) identification of analogical structure
- (5) identification of cross-domain mapping

(Steen 2009)

The first step involves the identification of metaphor-related words in the text. Metaphor-related words are defined as those words which indicate the source domain of a metaphor. Steen (2009) explains that in traditional terminology, it is the focus (Black 1962) or vehicle (Richards 1936) of the metaphor. When step 1 identifies metaphor-related words, it identifies terms which express the focus, vehicle, or source domain of the metaphor. It does so by finding those words which are somehow indirect or incongruous in context (e.g. Cameron 2003; Charteris-Black 2004). Take for example the sentence ‘Lakoff attacked Glucksberg’ (Steen 2011). Step 1 identifies the word *attack* as a potential expression of an underlying metaphorical mapping. Metaphor-related words are seen as *potential* expressions of underlying metaphorical mappings. The mapping does not have to be specified for the word to be identified as metaphorical. The way in which such linguistic metaphor identification can be carried out has been systematically researched, modeled and tested by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), Steen (2007) and Steen et al. (2010), and which will be explained in detail in the following sections.

Step 2 involves the transformation of the linguistic expressions into conceptual structures in the form of a series of propositions. Non-metaphor related words are indexed as evoking target-domain concepts whereas metaphor-related words are indexed as evoking source-domain concepts. A proposition may be said to be related to metaphor if it has at least one concept that is indexed for belonging to some source domain. Looking again at our sentence above, the propositions are the following:

P1 (ATTACK_s LAKOFF_t GLUCKSBERG_t)

Attack, which in step 1 was considered to be a metaphor related word, has been indexed as belonging to a source domain.

Step 3 transforms the single, complete proposition derived in step 2 into an open comparison between two incomplete propositions which each pertain to another domain.

SIM { □ F , x , y

[F (LAKOFF, GLUCKSBERG)]t

[ATTACK (x , y)]s}

This can be done because the whole procedure assumes, with most cognitive linguists, that there is some form of similarity or correspondence between the two conceptual domains that frame the two sets of concepts involved in steps 1 and 2.

Step 4 involves completing the open comparison generated in step 3 by inserting new concepts in each of the two frames.

SIM

[CRITICIZE (LAKOFF, GLUCKSBERG)]t

[ATTACK (ATTACKER, ATTACKED)]s}

In this example, there is an academic context in which Lakoff does something to Glucksberg which may be compared with attacking, and conventionally this will be interpreted as strongly criticizing, thus giving us an interpretation for the open slot F . On the other hand, the action of attacking entails two open slots a and b and these can be filled by an attacker and an attacked.

Step 5 turns the analogy produced in step 4 into a mapping structure between two separate domains. It explicates what has remained implicit in step 4, the precise correspondences between the separate elements in each of the conceptual domains. Step 5 can also add further correspondences which have remained in the background of the analogy until now.

TARGET < SOURCE DOMAIN

CRITICIZE < ATTACK

LAKOFF < ATTACKER

GLUCKSBERG < ATTACKED

Possible inferences:

ARGUMENTS < WEAPONS

Steen (2011: 96-97) posits that the most likely label of the cross-domain mapping found in this utterance would be CRITICISM IS ATTACK, whereas ARGUMENT IS WAR is a more general label which is clearly based on a more encompassing set of data coming from many different uses of many different terms.

2.4.2 Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

According to the Pragglejaz Group (2007) the main difficulty with metaphor identification is that researchers often hold opposing views in their intuitions about what constitutes a metaphoric word or phrase. “The lack of agreed criteria for metaphor identification complicates any evaluation of theoretical claims about the frequency of metaphor, its organization in discourse, and possible relations between metaphoric language and metaphoric thought” (ibid: 2). The Pragglejaz Group’s procedure focuses on words, or lexical units, in discourse with the aim of establishing whether its use in the particular context can be described as metaphorical. This procedure therefore provides an operational way of finding all conventional metaphor in actual usage (Steen 2007). The MIP is presented as follows (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3):

1. Read the entire text/discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text/discourse.
 - 3a. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
 - b. For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
 - more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste;
 - related to bodily action;
 - more precise (as opposed to vague);
 - historically older.
 - c. If the lexical unit has a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

MIPVU follows up on this procedure and Charteris-Black (2004: 37) has independently used the same rationale in his metaphor identification step (cited in Steen 2007). Both these procedures will be explained in sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4.1.

Consider the following sentence used as an example by the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 5-6):

For years, Sonia Gandhi has struggled to convince Indians that she is fit to wear the mantle of the political dynasty into which she married, let alone to become premier.

- *Step 3a Contextual meaning* In this context, “struggled” indicates effort, difficulty and lack of success in achieving a goal, namely changing other people’s negative views and attitudes.

- *Step 3b Basic meaning* The basic meaning of the verb *to struggle* is to use one’s physical strength against someone or something, as in *She picked up the child, but he struggled and kicked*. The evidence cited in the etymological dictionary consulted also suggests that this meaning is historically prior.

- *Step 3c Contextual meaning vs. basic meaning* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparison with it: We can understand abstract effort, difficulty, opposition and conflict in terms of physical effort, difficulty, opposition and conflict.

- *Step 4 Metaphorically used or not?* Yes, the contextual sense of *to struggle* is distinct from the basic sense of *to struggle* but it can be understood by comparison to the basic sense.

To struggle is a metaphorically used word in this sentence.

According to the Pragglejaz Group, the procedure may be viewed as providing a reliable research method for determining whether words in contexts convey metaphorical meaning. The Pragglejaz approach does not aim to identify the precise nature of the underlying conceptual mappings themselves. It identifies the linguistic forms of metaphor, not its conceptual structures. To determine which conceptual domains these words belong to constitutes a research question of its own (Steen 2007: 286). Other linguists dealing with metaphor in usage have also made a methodological separation between identifying the linguistic forms of metaphor as

opposed to specifying its conceptual structures. Charteris-Black (2004), for example, makes a distinction between metaphor identification, pertaining to identifying potentially metaphorically used words, on the one hand, and metaphor interpretation and explanation on the other, which refers to the assignment of metaphorically used words to conceptual metaphors. These three steps will be explained in detail in section 2.4.4.

The linguistic analysis of finding potentially metaphorically used words therefore does not bar making connections with the area of conceptual metaphor analysis in usage. The Pragglejazz method was in fact meant to prepare for examining that connection. And its temporary independence from the area of conceptual analysis was meant to increase its autonomous validity for serving as better input to conceptual analysis.

2.4.3 MIPVU Procedure

Steen et al. (2010) applied the MIP procedure to a substantial amount of discourse data including four registers and in two languages. The application of the MIP led to refinements and additions to the procedure which was called MIPVU. The major changes between the two methods are the more refined steps of the guidelines of MIPVU as well as the approach to lexical units. Furthermore, a more detailed classification of so-called metaphor related words is possible with MIPVU.

The goal of finding metaphor in discourse can therefore be achieved in a systematic and exhaustive fashion by adhering to a precise set of guidelines which make up the MIPVU procedure (Steen et al. 2010: 25). The following are the core steps of MIPVU which will subsequently be described in more detail:

1. Read the text to get a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units.
3. Establish the contextual meaning with help of dictionaries.
4. Establish a more basic meaning with help of dictionaries
 - concrete, body-related, precise

basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

5. Relation by some form of similarity.
6. Decide if they are sufficiently distinct.
7. If yes, mark as metaphor related.

As stated above, after reading the text for general understanding, the first step is to identify the lexical units. Then, the main line of research is to find the contextual meaning of the lexical unit. The contextual meaning is then compared to a more basic meaning of the lexical unit. This is done with the help of dictionaries. The contextual meaning of a lexical unit is the meaning it has in the situation in which it is used (Steen et al. 2010: 33). It will most likely be found in a general user's dictionary as it will probably be conventionalised. A more basic meaning of a lexical unit is defined as a more concrete, specific, and human-oriented sense in contemporary language use (Steen et al 2010: 35).

After this, it should be examined if the two meanings can be contrasted and compared. When deciding about sufficient distinctness, the MIPVU guidelines state that when a lexical unit has more than one separate numbered sense description within its grammatical category, these senses are regarded as sufficiently distinct; when a lexical unit has only one numbered sense description within its grammatical

category, this counts as the basic sense and any difference with the contextual sense of the item under investigation will count as sufficient distinctness. When this is the case, then the lexical unit can be marked as a metaphor related word.

The categorisation can result in three possible ways. Firstly, there are the metaphor related words (MRW) (Steen et al. 2010: 33). Then, there are the doubtful metaphor related words that are called: When In Doubt Leave It In (WIDLII) (ibid.: 34). The third group contains the not metaphor related words (NMRW). Since not all of the cases are easily solved and identified, additional and more precise codes can be added.

The most basic and most used code is for metaphor-related words is *indirect*. It means that there is an indirect use of metaphor present. The opposite would be *direct*. These uses of metaphor are also called simile and often appear in combination with words such as *like* and *as*. In the case of suspected personification, the code *possible personification* is added. Furthermore, there are the codes *implicit* and *MFlag*, to mark the implicit use of metaphor and lexical units that refer to a metaphorically used word. Exceptional cases that are, for certain reasons, not analysable, are marked as *DFMA*, which means Discarded From Metaphor Analysis. For a more detailed description of these codes, see Steen et al. 2010.

Following the guidelines of the MIPVU, which indicate that the focus is on the general, contemporary speaker and user of English and his or her possible interpretation of metaphors (Steen et al. 2010: 7), the Macmillan dictionary, the Longman dictionary and the OED are used with a strong priority for the Macmillan dictionary since it is contemporary and corpus-based (ibid.: 7). The OED is applied as a help in case the other dictionaries cannot give enough information. Since the

OED is not a corpus based dictionary, it does not fully count as a good basis for the analysis and results that derive from this dictionary get the special mark *oed* (Steen et al.). With this code, the lexical units can be accepted as part of the analysis and need not be left out. In those cases that have no matching meaning in the dictionary, as mentioned above, an interpretation of a meaning is written down. Often these are novel uses of the words or new word formations. The finally identified lexical units get the mark *int*.

2.4.4 Critical Metaphor Analysis

Charteris-Black (2004) proposes an approach to metaphor analysis called Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) which is based on discourse analysis. The purpose of CMA is to identify the covert (possibly unconscious) intentions of language users (2004: 34). This approach gives insights into the beliefs, attitudes, and feelings of the discourse community in which they are found (ibid: 13). CMA is an approach to analyse metaphors in the context in which they occur and consists of three stages: identification, interpretation and explanation of metaphors.

CMA is a corpus-based analysis that includes both qualitative and quantitative modes of analysis. Charteris-Black (2004: 34) argues that both approaches are necessary for the investigation of metaphor because qualitative analysis provides what will be counted as a metaphor. It also allows the interpretation of the pragmatic meaning of a metaphor (ibid: 32). Quantitative analysis is needed since it indicates the frequency of conceptual metaphors and source domains. This information will be relevant for my analysis since the frequency of certain conceptual metaphors and

certain domains may provide relevant information of how and why politicians conceptualise peace and the peace process in a certain way and not in another.

As an introduction to his Critical Metaphor Analysis approach, Charteris-Black mentions the work of Cameron and Low (1999: 88) who describe three stages in the methodology of metaphor analysis:

1. Collecting examples of linguistic metaphors about the topic,
2. Generalising from them the conceptual metaphors they exemplify.
3. Using the results to suggest understanding of thought patterns which construct or constrain people's beliefs and actions.

Charteris-Black (2004: 34) indicates that these three stages are very similar to Fairclough's (1995: 6) three stages of identification, interpretation and explanation which are, in turn, based on Halliday's (1985) functional linguistics and encompass the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis. Firstly, in metaphor identification, it is important to identify the ideational meaning of the metaphor. Charteris-Black (2004: 35) explains that ideational meaning refers to whether the metaphors are present in a text, and then determining if there is a tension between the literal source domain and the metaphoric target domain. Secondly, metaphor interpretation is related to interpersonal meaning. Charteris-Black (ibid: 35) describes that interpersonal meaning is the identification of the type of social relations that are constructed through the metaphors being used. Thirdly, metaphor explanation is concerned with textual meaning. Charteris-Black (ibid: 35) explains that this is the way that the metaphors are interrelated and become coherent with the situation in which they occur. These three stages are explained in detail in the following sections.

2.4.4.1 Metaphor identification

Charteris-Black (2004: 35) describes that the process of metaphor identification can be divided into two stages. The first stage involves a close reading of the corpus with the aim of identifying candidate metaphors. Words that are commonly used metaphorically are referred to as metaphor keywords. The second stage consists of qualitatively examining the corpus in order to determine if the keyword has a metaphorical or literal meaning.

In the metaphor identification process, it is important to identify both the metaphorical expressions in the corpus and the metaphor keyword of each expression. Charteris-Black (2004: 35) defines metaphor keywords as “words that are commonly used with a metaphoric sense”. The metaphor keywords help to provide the source domain that the metaphors belong to. The different source domains identified in the corpus will then help us to interpret and explain why the various politicians choose these source domains, as opposed to others, to conceptualise peace and the peace process in this way.

2.4.4.2 Metaphor interpretation

Charteris-Black (2004: 37) states that interpretation involves establishing a relationship between metaphors and their cognitive and pragmatic factors. It involves the identification of conceptual metaphors and considers how metaphor choices help to construct socially relevant representations (ibid: 38). Therefore, once all the metaphorical expressions are identified, it is then possible to identify the conceptual metaphor of each metaphorical expression.

Charteris-Black (2004) uses the example of George W. Bush's metaphor *fight a crusade against terror*. Having identified the metaphor keyword (*crusade*), he identifies the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION. Charteris-Black argues that "in order to make a claim for a conceptual metaphor there is necessarily a need for other linguistic forms that are motivated by this same idea" (2004: 38). Charteris-Black sees evidence of POLITICS IS RELIGION for instance, in Bush's choice of the phrase 'axis of evil'. Therefore, the RELIGION domain is worth considering when analysing Bush's political discourse.

2.4.4.3 Metaphor explanation

The last stage, the explanation of metaphor, is based on the explanation of the ideological and rhetorical motivations of the metaphor in the context in which it is used (Charteris-Black 2004: 39). Along with the explanation of the metaphor, the explanation of the source domain will be provided in order to make connections among the different source domains.

The element of subjectivity in the stages of interpretation and explanation can be considerably reduced by using a corpus approach to metaphor analysis in that many instances supporting the identified conceptual metaphor need to be found and by taking into consideration the context in which the metaphor occurs.

2.5 Metaphor in Politics

This section will focus on the role of metaphor in politics. As stated by Semino (2008: 85), the domain of 'politics' is not easy to define or delimit (see Chilton 2004 for an overview of different definitions). Charteris-Black (2005: 15) suggests that

political discourse can be classified in terms of text and the authors of these texts and can generally be classified into three types: (1) those that focus on press articles, written by journalists and other press and media professionals; (2) those that focus on speeches, statements, press conferences and political debates prepared by politicians and their political advisers; and (3) those that focus on creative works authored by fictional writers. For the purposes of this study, political discourse includes specific individuals (politicians), a particular genre (political speeches and statements), and a specific discourse (to do with the Middle East peace process). Charteris-Black (2004: 87) reminds us that:

Political speeches are a very distinct type of political discourse because their purpose is to offer an idealised ‘vision’ of the social world; therefore, metaphor choice is likely to be overt and conscious as the chosen metaphors are intended to communicate this vision.

Kövecses (2002: 62) indicates that “politics in general is rife with conceptual metaphors” and its importance has been claimed by many researchers. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 159) state that metaphors play a central role in constructing social and political reality. Moreover, metaphor is a convenient and natural way through which political leaders communicate their beliefs, identity, and ideology (Hellin 2009). Therefore, the politician makes a conscious choice in selecting metaphors to express his/her political agenda. Furthermore, Charteris-Black argues that the choice of metaphors used by a politician determines leadership style because “like the choice of clothes by an individual, it is a way of appealing to others to share a virtuous social identity” (2005: 198).

2.5.1 Metaphor in political discourse

Metaphors have been studied in political discourse from different perspectives. Some studies (Mussolf 2000, 2001, 2003) have examined how the same metaphor has changed over time according to the goal of the speaker in specific discourse contexts. Mussolf has investigated in detail the role of metaphor in the reporting of political issues in the British and the German press. In one of his studies Mussolf (2003) identifies how the same metaphor of a two-speed Europe can be positively evaluated by the German press while negatively evaluated in the British press.

Other studies have examined the use of metaphors in various types of political discourse. This includes political speeches (Chew 2000), press reports (Pancake 1993; Thornborrow 1993; Mussolf 1998; Santa Ana 1999; Zinken 2003), and also studies which include data from a number of types of political discourse. For example, Chilton and Ilyin (1993) use data from European political discourse. Their study of Russian, German and French public statements of political leaders focuses on how the metaphor of 'the common European house' changes when it passes between linguistic and political cultures. Straehle et al. (1999) carry out an analysis on data which comes from political speeches and presidency conclusions in the European Union.

Further studies have concentrated on the study of metaphors within a political party. Charteris-Black (2004) studies the metaphors used in the 1997 manifesto by the British New Labour Party along with New Labour speeches. He analyzed the most common metaphors, and found that there were metaphors drawing on the source domain of religion and that these constituted what he refers to as a new 'ethical' political discourse.

Studies which have followed a similar line have analyzed the metaphorical language used by a particular political leader. Semino and Masci's (1996) analysis shows how Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi developed a populist rhetoric in which extensive use is made of metaphors drawn from the source domain of FOOTBALL. Other studies include Aponte-Moreno (2008) who examines Hugo Chavez's choice of metaphors in trying to construct and legitimize his Bolivian Revolution, focusing on metaphors drawn from the target domains of NATION, REVOLUTION, and OPPOSITION. Hellin Garcia (2009) investigates the metaphorical conceptualisation of terrorism by president José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. Hellin examines in particular, how terrorism is conceptualised via FIGHT metaphors. Berho (2005) examines Peron's use of the metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION in his political discourse.

An important contribution to the studies in this field was Charteris-Black's 2005 study in which he examined the role of metaphor in the rhetoric of major British and American political leaders such as Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King, Margaret Thatcher, Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, and George W. Bush. He explored the use of metaphor in developing persuasive political arguments, and its relation to ideology and myth. An important finding was that metaphor is especially effective when combined with the semantic relation of contrast, or when combined with other metaphors which draw on two or more source domains (Charteris-Black 2005: 197).

Other studies have analyzed the metaphors used to conceptualize a particular situation. For example, Rohrer (1995) analyzes metaphors by President Bush to conceptualize the Persian Gulf War in the pre-war period of August 1990 to January 1991. Rohrer (1995) analyzed the analogical reasoning behind the metaphors used by Bush to refer to the Iraqi invasion. Bush mainly used the conceptual metaphor

NATION IS A PERSON to describe the Gulf Crisis. Rohrer mentions that President Bush's metaphors were widely accepted by the American public and this was a decisive factor in gathering support for the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Thus, Bush argued for the Iraq invasion with metaphors that were chosen specifically to gain acceptance and support from the general public.

It can be said that metaphors are related to the event and adjusted to the purpose and area in which the speech is delivered. Therefore, it is relevant to know the context, the purpose and beliefs of the speaker to be able to locate and interpret the metaphors. On the other hand, the speaker makes an active choice of words and a decision whether to use metaphors or not in order to make a point more vivid or persuasive (Charteris-Black 2004: 17). Metaphors can be used to make abstract political issues more accessible to the potential receiver of the political message by emphasising or softening certain aspects. They can be used to convey the problem as well as implying a solution in the same metaphor. The interpretation of the message can be influenced by the speaker's values but its interpretation by the receiver is also subject to the different way people categorise, understand and receive certain issues (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 163).

2.5.2 Metaphor and framing

Goffman (1974: 10-11), one of the first researchers to work with the concept of *frame* in a sociological perspective, refers to the concept as a way in which the individual organizes his experience in everyday life. Frames are considered to be cognitive structures which represent the way we perceive reality and we use them unconsciously when we communicate. For example, Goffman mentions that sporting

events and political disputes are framed as competitions. Competitions are an event that individuals may experience in their everyday lives. Therefore, a known frame like *competition* can be applied to understand another event like *political dispute*.

It is important to explicate how metaphor is intertwined with the notion of framing. Metaphors are important in politics because they are used to *frame* political debate. Semino (2008) argues that the choice of one metaphor rather than another has consequences for how a particular issue is 'framed' or structured. Politicians use frames when reporting political issues because frames simplify complex information in a way that it becomes more accessible to the general public.

Entman (1993: 51) posits that framing offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text. He indicates that framing essentially involves *selection* and *salience* (ibid: 52). Framing involves the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communicating text. This is done in such a way so as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the issue described.

Typically frames diagnose, evaluate and prescribe. Entman (1993) provides an example of the Cold War frame that dominated the US news of foreign affairs. The Cold War frame highlighted civil wars, for example, as problems and communist rebels were identified as the source of these problems. The frame offered atheistic aggression as moral judgments and US support for the other side as the solution.

Entman (1993: 52) posits that "Frames, then, *define problems* -determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; *diagnose causes*- identify the forces creating the problem;

make moral judgments-evaluate causal agents and their effects; and *suggest remedies-offer* and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects”.

Chilton (1996) also shows in detail how the choice of particular metaphors contributed to shape the dominant view of international politics in the USA and its allied countries during the period of the Cold War. Although, as Chilton (1996: 58, 329) points out, it cannot normally be claimed that metaphorical choices directly cause actions and events, ‘the way people conceptualize and communicate is an intrinsic part of policy and action’ (Chilton 1996: 320), and, metaphor is an important element both in conceptualization and communication.

The potential consequences of the ‘framing’ of particular events (including via the choice of metaphor) is made particularly strongly by Lakoff (2001), in his discussion of the American administration’s reaction to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001:

The administration’s framings and reframings and its search for metaphors should be noted. The initial framing was as a ‘crime’ with ‘victims’ and ‘perpetrators’ to be ‘brought to justice’ and ‘punished’. The crime frame entails law, courts, lawyers, trials, sentencing, appeals, and so on. It was hours before ‘crime changed to ‘war’ with ‘casualties’, ‘enemies’, ‘military action’, ‘war powers’, and so on (Lakoff 2001).

Lakoff (2004: xv) argues that frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. They shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions. The speaker transmits certain ideas that reflect his belief system and ideology. Lakoff (2004: 4) further points out that in order to express certain ideas with a specific frame, the speaker consciously highlights some aspects while omitting others. For example, Lakoff (2003) analyzed

the underlying conceptual system of the frame used by President Bush to justify the first Gulf War on moral grounds. Bush outlined in his speech, what Lakoff (2003: 4) refers to as a “fairy tale structure”, where there is a villain, a hero, and a victim that metaphorically symbolizes Iraq/Saddam Hussein, US, and Kuwait respectively. Within the fairy tale structure, President George Walker Bush justified the need to go to war by using a *rescue* scenario. This means, US (the hero) rescued Kuwait (the victim) from the cruel immoral hands of the villain (Iraq/Saddam Hussein). Lakoff (2003) pointed out that framing the war as a moral justification was the only way by which Americans would accept the war.

The choice of one metaphor rather than another therefore, has consequences for how a particular issue is framed or structured, which aspects are foregrounded and which backgrounded, what inferences are facilitated, what evaluative and emotional associations triggered, what courses of action appear to be possible and so on (Fairclough 1992; van Teeffelen 1994; Allbritton 1995; Deignan 2000; Nerlich and Halliday 2007).

In this section, I discussed the importance of framing in relation to metaphor. The next section addresses the significance of ideology with regards to metaphor in politics.

2.5.3 Metaphor and ideology

Metaphor is not only connected to framing but also to ideology, making the three concepts interrelated. Lau and Schlesinger (2005: 78) indicate that frames have been one way of exploring ideology. Conceptual metaphors can also be seen as an

important part of the shared set of beliefs, or ‘ideology’, that characterise a particular social group:

Both in its neutral and its ‘loaded’ senses, ideology is a system of beliefs and values based on a set of cognitive models, i.e. mental representations – partly linguistic, partly non-linguistic – of recurrent phenomena and their interpretations in culture and society (Dirven, Frank and Pütz 2003: 1-2).

Hodge and Kress define ideology as:

a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view. Ideology is thus a subsuming category which includes sciences and metaphysics, as well as political ideologies of various kinds, without implying anything about their status and reliability as guides to reality (Hodge and Kress 1993: 6).

We can therefore see ideology as “a comprehensive and coherent social perception of the world” (Hodge and Kress *ibid*: 15).

Charteris-Black’s view of ideology fits in with that of Hodge and Kress. His definition (2005: 21) is that of a belief system through which a particular social group creates the meanings that justify its existence to itself [...]. Charteris-Black argues that metaphor is a very important linguistic and cognitive resource employed by political leaders for achieving this goal.

Van Dijk (1990: 29) indicates that metaphor, among other rhetoric figures, is related to social beliefs: “the semantic operations of rhetoric, like hyperbole, irony and metaphor, among others, are closely related to underlying models and social beliefs”.

The interdisciplinary aspect of metaphor, especially in relation to politics, has contributed to an increase in the number of studies on the ideological function of metaphor (Dirven, Hawkins & Sandikcioglu 2001; Lakoff 2003, 2005; Mussolf

2003; Rohrer 1995; Rohrer, Adamson, Johnson & Lam 1995; Sandikcioglu 2000; White & Herrera 2003; Wolf & Polzenhagen 2003).

2.6 Metaphor in Peace Discourse

Despite the value accorded to peace in political rhetoric, it has not proven to be a particularly well-studied subject among researchers with very little being published on the language of peace (Bridgeman 2000). Wenden (1995) argues that part of this neglect is conceptual, the notion of 'peace' has still not been adequately conceptualised. Wenden offers a review of attempts to define peace since the early 1940s, noting that "peace researchers ...have found it easier to define peace in terms of what it is not rather than what it is" (1995: 3). The traditional concept that dominated Western political and media discourses for centuries was, and still is, that peace is the absence of war. In fact, most chapters in the well-known book entitled *Language and Peace* discuss war and conflict situations (Schäffner and Wenden 1995). Bridgeman (2000: 4) argues that even in the field of diplomacy, where language is recognized as a crucial feature of interaction almost no research exists on the discourse of peace, particularly as regards metaphors for peace. The need to examine the key role of peace discourse and its lexicon is crucial when peace has not been achieved and peace negotiations have repeatedly failed (Wenden 2003: 171).

Compared to the vast amount of literature pertaining to war in the Middle East, the subject of peace has achieved a relatively narrow niche which has gradually broadened in the last three decades (Reznik 2002). Within this field, many studies focus on political and psychological aspects of the peace process (Inbar 2000; Barak 2005; Maney et al.; 2006) as well as on the short- and long-run socio-political

outcomes of peacemaking (Arian 1995; Reznik et al. 1996). Intense debate surrounds the issue of peace education (Bar-Tal 1998; Yablon 2007) and peace journalism (Mandelzisz 2003; Shinar 2000, 2004). During the last decade, the issue of reconciliation has motivated new research (Maoz 2000; Shamir and Shikaki 2002; Bar-Siman-Tov 2004).

However, discursive and linguistic analysis of the concept of peace remains relatively marginal within the literature. The majority of current studies focus on Middle East peace from three perspectives. The first concerns research on peace narratives (Biton and Salomon 2006; Hermann 2001; Salomon 2004; Yadgar 2003, 2006). The second perspective refers to research on peace and media frames (Shinar 2000, 2004). The third perspective, which is where the present research fits in, deals with peace metaphors (Bridgeman 2000; Yadgar 2003; Gavriely-Nuri 2010).

Therefore, while work is being done on the language of peace, there have not been many systematic studies of the contemporary metaphors for peace. Nor, as Bridgeman (2000: 50) argues, is there a systematic study available of the language used in promoting or covering the peace process. The studies which exist on foreign policy discourse in general, or of Middle East coverage in specific, tend to focus on a small sample or even only one or two metaphors instead of the entire range existent in the discourse.

It is for this reason that this study aims at analysing all the metaphors used by Bush, Sharon, and Abbas in their speeches regarding, (and promoting?), the Roadmap peace process.

3 Political Background

When dealing with a topic as lengthy and broad as conflict and peace in the Middle East, it is always difficult to know where to start, and any attempt to explain the situation is apt to be incomplete (Bridgeman 2000: 56). I have decided to begin with the 9/11 attacks and the Bush administration's view on foreign policy in the Middle East and end with Sharon's unilateral disengagement in 2005. To include every event or decision would be to write a history of the Middle East peace process which is beyond the scope of the current project. It is important however, to examine the basic context of the events and to discuss the political ideology of the politicians, in order to better understand the context and the interpretation of metaphors from their political discourses. This chapter will therefore describe the case study by tracing the political background.

3.1 From 9/11 to Bush's Vision: September 2001-June 2002

On entering the Oval Office, Bush had already decided that there was little point in wasting time or resources on the peace process. His predecessor's attempt at brokering an Israeli-Palestinian agreement had come to an end and a new, hard-line prime minister was overwhelmingly elected in Israel. Bush was willing to give Sharon the benefit of the doubt and thought that an aggressive Israeli policy might dispel existing tensions (Quandt 2005: 390). The main personalities in Bush's

administration had also tried from the start to deprioritize the Israeli-Arab conflict in US foreign policy. Bush's instincts and strong pro-Israel orientation only became stronger after 9/11 (Miller 2008). The priorities of President Bush and his national security team dramatically changed after the 9/11 attacks. George W. Bush now presented himself as a war president, who was going to lead the country to war against terrorism, not a peacetime leader (Miller 2008: 335). The worldview through which all US foreign policy would now be perceived was fundamentally determined by 9/11. It soon emerged though, that the US Middle Eastern policy after 9/11 could not be detached from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Quandt 2005: 393). The question is how exactly did the Israeli-Palestinian conflict fit into the post-9/11 worldview of the Bush administration?

Overall, US policy was revamped to give priority to the global war on terror declared by Bush. The Middle East took shape as a main battle arena, significantly affecting US policy for the region. The United States reviewed its relations with Arab regimes, as well as its approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Although the adverse effects of continuing violence between the two sides were noted by US spokespeople, Washington clearly regarded other issues on the new America agenda as more important, reinforcing support for disengagement from Arab-Israeli issues (Meital 2006: 130-131). Powell made the point well in saying that the attacks changed the whole frame of reference in that "we now, within a week, are engaged in a global war against terrorists, all terrorists... Hamas is a terrorist; Arafat's a terrorist. And if there's any doubt in our mind, Sharon will remind us on a regular basis that he is" (Miller 2008:335). The paradigm comprised the creation of a standard of moral clarity and consistency with respect to terror and those states sponsoring it (Miller 2008).

The administration accorded like-minded democracies such as Israel, which was engaged in similar struggles against terror and extremism. When it came to fighting terror, seeking peace, and promoting democracy, Israel was on the right side of the line. Arafat and the others had chosen the wrong side (Miller 2008: 335-336).

Still, by the fall of 2001 the White House had realized that mobilizing coalitions to fight the war against terror might be easier if the United States signaled interest in Arab-Israeli peacemaking (Miller 2008: 336). US leaders found themselves increasingly preoccupied with the Middle East from which they had previously sought to distance themselves (Meital 2006: 131). Some of its most vital allies, particularly Tony Blair, king Abdullah of Jordan and crown prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, cared a great deal. Powell persuaded the president to include a reference to Palestinian statehood in his annual UN General Assembly speech (Miller 2008: 336). It was for this reason that in November 2001, Bush put forth the first version of his vision of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace. This was the first time that an American president had so forthrightly spoken of a Palestinian state (Quandt 2005: 395).

In his State of the Union address at the end of January 2002, Bush delivered his “axis of evil” speech in which he identified North Korea, Iran, and Iraq as regimes that threatened world peace with their WMD programs and ties to terrorists. Although no mention was made of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, two Palestinian groups – Hamas and Islamic Jihad – were named for their involvement with terrorism. It was clear from his speech that the president was reaffirming his “with us or against us” view of the world. Radical Islamic and Arab regimes and groups were being warned that they might be viewed as legitimate targets in the American-led war on terror (Quandt 2005: 396).

As the Israeli-Palestinian conflict intensified in a spiral of violence during the early months of 2002, pressure mounted on the Bush administration to do something. Therefore, on April 4, 2002 the president delivered a strong statement (see Appendix A) urging Palestinians to stop terror and calling on Israelis to halt their incursions and stop settlements.

3.2 Roadmap: June 2002- 2005

By June the president was all the more under pressure to do something about the Israeli-Palestinian crisis. The decision that the American administration had taken long ago to accord Arab-Israeli diplomacy a low priority did not mean they could avoid it entirely. Somehow the internal consensus had to be reconciled with the external pressures from those who cared about the conflict. “And as the Iraq issue loomed larger in the administration’s calculations, the president needed to find a way to satisfy his allies, reframe the issue, and park it somewhere so that it would not complicate the Iraq strategy” (Miller 2008: 346).

Since the Bush administration did not seem in favour of a serious diplomatic initiative, which appeared in line with their behaviour thus far, words would have to do, “when all else fails, the pressure mounts to give a speech” (Miller 2008: 346). Given the administration’s mindset, there was a certain logic behind a speech. A speech was necessary to articulate what America stood for when it came to the Arab-Israeli issue, reflecting the “just leave me alone” attitude that had come to embody much of the president’s reaction to this issue (Miller 2008: 346). Tony Blair, the Europeans, the UN, and the Arab allies had been insisting from the start that the president do something about the Arab-Israeli peace process. “If a way could be

found to craft a speech that people would like but at the same time shift the obligation of responsibility onto others, primarily the Palestinians, to act, then the administration might have a compelling argument to make to counter the incessant calls for Washington's engagement" (Miller 2008: 347). In this sense, calling for a Palestinian state but challenging the Palestinians to create a new leadership to run it appeared to be the best possible plan of action.

Therefore, on June 24, 2002 in a major speech in the White House Rose Garden (see Appendix B), President Bush presented his vision of an Israeli-Palestinian peace, calling for an end to terrorism, new Palestinian leadership, and support for Palestinian statehood. Bush, in fact, was asking the Palestinian people to abandon Arafat's leadership, embrace a new leadership, and institute significant reforms (Quandt 2005; Miller 2008). In short, if the Palestinians reformed, then a Palestinian state would be possible. Unlike most speeches or statements on the Arab-Israeli issue during the past twenty years, this one was a true departure in American policy. It was not some passing statement that the administration intended to walk away from (Miller 2008: 348).

The Israelis seem to have had significant input in shaping the speech. Sharon himself could not have written a more congenial text. Speaking with one voice, Sharon and Bush claimed that there could be no progress in the peace process until the terror stopped (Quandt 2005; Meital 2006; Miller 2008). The United States and Israel were now fully aligned as allies in the war on terror, and Arafat was henceforth "little more than a junior member of the axis of evil" in the view of President Bush (Quandt 2005: 398).

The United States was worried about the worsening situation in the Palestine but supported Israel's right to defend itself against the murderous terror directed at its citizens. The Bush administration expected Sharon's government to embrace a political program rather than make do with military action alone. Public opinion polls showed that most Israelis supported a political settlement and even the establishment of a Palestinian state. Most of the public also judged correctly that the degenerating economic situation was due to the confrontation with the Palestinians and the lack of political prospects. Given these circumstances, Sharon adopted a new approach resting on the Bush vision as a reasonable program to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation. The "new Sharon" was marketed intensively by the Israeli media and portrayed as moderate and ready to reach a political settlement with the Palestinians under their new leadership (Meital 2006: 159). He and his aides carefully formulated the address he gave on December 4, 2002 at the Herzliya conference (see Appendix H) which became his professed political platform. Choosing his words with care, Sharon formulated a shrewd political statement about the Palestinian state and its characteristics. "A slow but sure change marked the rhetoric of Israel's hawkish prime minister" (Meital 2006: 159).

Powell wanted to revive a framework for Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking, consistent with Bush's emphasis on reform in the Palestinian Authority. To give this effort as much international backing as possible, Powell wanted the United States to work with the UN, the European Union, and Russia. As a result, the so-called Quartet was created with the goal of developing a "Roadmap" to carry out the two-state vision articulated in Bush's speech of June 2002 (Quandt 2005: 400). The Quartet spent about half a year drafting ideas and testing the reactions of the adversaries (Meital 2006: 163).

On March 14, 2003 President Bush gave a statement (see Appendix C) in which he announced that once the Palestinian Authority had created the new position of Prime Minister, then he would be ready to launch the Roadmap.

Just as the Americans were preparing to launch military operations against Iraq, the Palestinians announced the creation of a new Prime Minister, and named as its first incumbent the moderate elder statesman Mahmud Abbas. Finally the much-sought move to reform Palestinian political life seemed to be taking place (Quandt 2005: 401).

April 29, 2003 saw the formation of Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas's government. In his inaugural speech (see Appendix P), Abbas promised to fight corruption and violence, paving the way for publication of the Middle East peace Roadmap which the Quartet officially presented to the both the Israelis and Palestinians on April 30 (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008). The two sides were asked by the Quartet to submit their reactions to the plan. Israelis and Palestinians had quite different views of the Roadmap, although neither wanted to be seen as rejecting it. Israel's acceptance was conditioned by fourteen reservations, insisted upon by the cabinet. The Palestinians also had reservations, though these were not expressed in such a formal manner (Meital 2006: 165).

For Bush, who was enjoying wide support for the assumed victory in Iraq, the Roadmap was a way of showing that he could be a leader in both war and peace (Quandt 2005: 403). In the wake of what appeared to be at the time a successful outcome in Iraq, and giving in to expectations from the Europeans and Arabs, the President met with Abbas and Sharon in Aqaba in June (see Appendices D, I, Q). Abbas pledged to use peaceful means to attain Palestinian goals and Sharon agreed to

remove unauthorized “outposts” and to support a Palestinian state with “territorial contiguity”. The Arab leaders announced their support for the Roadmap and promised to work on cutting off funding to terrorist groups (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008; Meital 2006).

Bush emerged from the summit meeting with a positive impression of the new Palestinian leader and a determination to move things forward. The Roadmap however, was in trouble almost immediately, because the cease-fire that seemed to be its prerequisite never took hold. On the Palestinian side, there were extremists who wanted it to fail and so had no incentive to cooperate with Abbas. On the Israeli side, it was almost impossible for Sharon to hold back his own hardliners in the face of continuing threats from Palestinian militants (Quandt 2005: 403).

On June 10, 2003, the Israelis tried to assassinate a top leader of Hamas. The next day a bomb went off in central Jerusalem, killing fifteen Israelis. Efforts to put together a truce among Palestinian factions continued and on June 29, 2003, after months of teetering talks a tentative *hudna* (an Arabic and Islamic term meaning a pause in fighting that could lead to peace) was declared (Quandt 2005; Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008).

For the first time ever, on July 1, 2003 in Jerusalem, peace talks were opened by Sharon and Abbas. They both agreed in saying that the violence had gone on too long and that they were committed to the US-led Roadmap for peace.

Israel, however, was not willing to suspend its policy of targeted assassinations. Almost inevitably, another massive Hamas bombing followed in Jerusalem on August 19, 2003 killing twenty-three people and signaling the beginning of the end

of the cease-fire efforts, of the Abbas regime, and of the Roadmap (Quandt 2005: 404).

Abbas did not have much of a popular base of support, and he would need to have results to show to the skeptics. What was essential for him was the release of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails, a real halt to settlements, and the beginning of withdrawal of Israeli forces from Palestinian towns and cities. All of these were called for in the Roadmap, but were conditioned by steps the Palestinians had been asked to take in the security arena and that they were having a hard time carrying out. Abbas' task was not made any easier by the fact that Arafat had not given him full authority over the security forces (Quandt 2005: 404).

Therefore, on September 6, 2003 Abbas resigned as Prime Minister, mentioning lack of support from Arafat, the United States, and Israel. Palestinian Legislative Council speaker Ahmed Qureia was subsequently appointed Palestinian Prime Minister. September 9 saw terror attacks in Jerusalem and Tzrifin which caused an end to the *hudna* and to the chances of renewing the peace process (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008).

Israel continued with the notion of "no partner" and Prime Minister Sharon resolved to promote a plan of unilateral disengagement that was to bring about a dramatic change in the confrontation with the Palestinians (Meital 2006: 175). On December 18, 2003 Sharon presented his Unilateral Disengagement Plan of Gaza at the Herzliya Conference (see Appendix K).

By January 2004, the Roadmap was described by many as dead. The Bush administration would continue to talk about the two-state vision, but would be open

to Sharon's proceeding with his new idea of unilateral disengagement, so long as this did not openly contradict the Bush vision (Quandt 2005: 404-405).

In April 2004, President Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Sharon exchanged letters regarding expectations as to the outcome of the final status negotiations (see Appendices E, L). Bush offered support for Sharon's disengagement plan and declared that Israel would neither have to return to the 1967 lines nor have to take back Palestinian refugees (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008). As in the letter, so in the meeting between them at the White House (see Appendices F, M), Bush showered praise on Sharon's bold leadership.

Just as Bush was declaring victory in the American Presidential elections in November 2004, which would lead to his second term in office, it became clear that Palestinian leader Arafat was gravely ill (Quandt 2005: 407). On November 11, 2004 Arafat died in a Paris hospital. Arafat's death again "reshuffled the cards of the conflict". (Meital 2006: 197). For more than four years, Israel and the United States had claimed that there was "no partner". Now, Abbas took over as PLO chairman and Rawhi Fattouh became interim PA president (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008). Arafat's passing coincided with a strong call from Bush's closest foreign ally, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, to treat the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the top priority in his second term (Quandt 2005: 408).

At the end of his first term, however, it was striking that there had been no successful effort to revive peace diplomacy; not a single negotiated agreement between the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict was reached in this four-year period. Instead, American policy, except for some rhetorical flourishes in favour of a

Palestinian state, had shifted to an unprecedented degree of support for a Likud-led Israeli government (Quandt 2005: 408).

On January 9, 2005, Mahmoud Abbas won the Palestinian elections and became Palestinian Authority president (see Appendix R). For the last several years the Bush administration had been looking to marginalize Arafat and create a new leadership with responsible moderates. Now both opportunities had arrived, but instead of working hard to empower Abbas and push a political process, the administration allowed the situation to drift (Miller 2008: 354-355).

On February 8, 2005 the leaders of Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority met in Sharm el-Sheikh for a summit meeting at which they declared their continuing support for the Roadmap (see Appendices N, S). Statements by leaders, primarily by Abbas, conveyed a real commitment to ending the acts of hostility and pursuing the peace process (Meital 2006: 203). Sharon and Abbas agreed to end violence and military operations and Israel agreed to withdraw from Palestinian cities (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008).

On May 26, 2005 President Bush held a joint press conference with Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas in the Rose Garden (see Appendices G, T) in which Bush asserted that “changes to the 1949 armistice lines must be mutually agreed to” (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008).

From 17 to 23 August 2005 Israel unilaterally withdrew from all Gaza settlements and four small West Bank settlements, however on August 29 Sharon announced no further unilateral or coordinated disengagements. All future steps would now fall under the rubric of the Roadmap (Kurtzer and Lasensky 2008) as stated in his

address to the United Nations General Assembly on September 15, 2005 (see Appendix O).

Never persuaded that the Israeli-Palestinian issue was a top priority or worth any real political investment, the US administration could not even follow up seriously on its own initiatives. The roadmap quietly expired and the president's two-state vision became a talking point (Miller 2008: 354).

4 Methodology

This chapter will discuss the research questions and the methodological framework used to analyse the metaphors. I will refer to the corpus which was compiled for the research, focusing on the process of data selection and collection steps. I will then give an overview of the distribution of speeches in the corpus. The corpus data will be analysed following the MIPVU procedure (Steen et al. 2010) and Charteris-Black's approach to metaphor analysis which were both described in the previous chapter.

4.1 Research Questions

Four main research questions guide the study of the peace process presented here.

1. *What are the metaphorical expressions used by George W. Bush, Ariel Sharon, and Mahmoud Abbas when referring to peace/the peace process?*

- 1a. *What metaphor keywords are identified in their political discourse?*

In order to answer this first research question, I will refer to the MIPVU procedure which provides a method for linguistic metaphor identification. I will identify what metaphor keywords potentially conceptualize peace/the peace process. Metaphor keywords are based on the definition provided by Charteris-Black (2004).

2. *How do these metaphors conceptualize peace?*

2a. *What are the source domains and conceptual metaphors used to frame peace/the peace process?*

Hellin Garcia (2008) posits that in relation to the identification of the source domains it is important to indicate what source domains are used, what words from the semantic field are used more frequently by the politicians, and if there is a systematic use of a specific source domain(s). It is important to explain the conceptual metaphors and identify what aspects of peace / the peace process the politicians select more often to conceptualise it.

3. *Do the frequencies of the metaphor types change depending on the events surrounding the peace process?*

Bridgeman (2000:111) notes that if the metaphor types can be linked to the events, then it is possible that the nature of the events exerts some influence on the understandings of peace reflected in the metaphorical expressions. While it is not possible to provide a direct cause and effect relationship between the events and the metaphor frequencies, it is worthwhile to consider if some types of metaphors are used more frequently when speaking about certain types of events than other types of metaphor.

Given that understandings of the peace process change over time with the introduction of new factors such as additional agreements or violent events, we might expect that the language used to describe the peace process would change as well (Bridgeman 2000:62).

However, since Lakoff and Johnson argue for a fixed conceptual mapping, it is possible that there is no change in the metaphor source domains. An argument in support of this would be that *peace* is an abstract entity not specific to the case and

therefore not altered by events that are specific to this case. Thus, we can discuss peace in the same metaphors regardless of the peace process (Bridgeman 2000:63).

4. Are there similarities and/or differences in the use of metaphors by the three politicians?

4a. What does their metaphorical language reveal about their political ideology?

The first part of this question, as Charteris-Black (2004: 105) suggests, may help us to answer more general questions concerning the influence of culture on language at the level of metaphor choice. We may expect that while there may be metaphors that are common to political discourse in the English language, there may also be cultural differences between the USA, Israel and Palestine that may be reflected in different uses of metaphor. We should recall that much of the Israeli and Palestinian sub-corpora are translations into English from Hebrew and Arabic.

In order to answer the second part of the question, I will refer to the interpretation and explanation stage of Critical Metaphor Analysis by taking into account the context in which the metaphorical expressions occur. Thus building the connection with the their political ideologies.

4.2 The corpus

The corpus under investigation here is a specialized corpus of political speeches dealing with the Middle East Roadmap peace process. In order to construct this corpus, I collected speeches and statements given by American President George W. Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas during the first four years of the Middle East Roadmap peace process (2002-2005). This includes a total of approximately 30,000 words

comprising the twenty speeches related to peace/the peace process shown in Appendices A-T. A detailed description of the corpus as a whole can be found in Table 1 below which shows the date range of the speeches, the number of speeches, and the number of words per politician.

<i>Sources</i>			
<i>Political speeches</i>	<i>Date range</i>	<i>Number of speeches / % of corpus</i>	<i>Number of words / %</i>
<i>George W. Bush</i>	2002- 2005	7 (35%)	9,669 (32%)
<i>Ariel Sharon</i>	2002-2005	8 (40%)	9,873 (33%)
<i>Mahmoud Abbas</i>	2003-2005	5 (25%)	10,535 (35%)
Total		20 (100%)	30,077 (100%)

Table 4.1 Data on the corpus

The corpus has been divided into sub-corpora, each politician considered to be a sub-corpus, with the speeches chronologically ordered by date. Tables 2, 3, and 4 show the speeches given by each politician, the date and the number of words per speech.

Bush Speeches	Date	# of words
Bush Rose Garden statement	April 4, 2002	1,659
Bush Rose Garden speech	June 24, 2002	1,868
Bush statement	March 14, 2003	512
Bush Aqaba address	June 3, 2003	869
Bush letter to Sharon	April 14, 2004	993
Bush remarks	April 14, 2004	1,807
Bush news conference	May 26, 2005	1,961

Table 4.2 Bush sub-corpus

Sharon Speeches	Date	# of words
Sharon Herzliya	December 4, 2002	2,244
Sharon Aqaba address	June 4, 2003	450
Sharon statement	July 1, 2003	626
Sharon Herzliya	December 18, 2003	2,210
Sharon letter to Bush	April 14, 2004	898
Sharon remarks	April 14, 2004	717
Sharon Sharm address	February 8, 2005	1,032
Sharon UN General Assembly	September 15, 2005	1,696

Table 4.3 Sharon sub-corpus

Abbas Speeches	Date	# of words
Abbas inaugural speech	April 29, 2003	4,759
Abbas Aqaba address	June 4, 2003	730
Abbas inaugural speech	January 15, 2005	2,959
Abbas Sharm address	February 8, 2005	885
Abbas news conference	May 26, 2005	1,202

Table 4.4 Abbas sub-corpus

Since this research focuses on how peace/the peace process is conceptualized by Bush, Sharon, and Abbas, only the parts of the political speeches that mention aspects related to peace/the peace process were selected from the corpus. The extracted portions were identified manually. Once the parts related to peace/the peace process were selected, the metaphorical instances in these portions were identified following the MIPVU procedure (Steen et al. 2010) and then analyzed following Charteris-Black's (2004) metaphor explanation and metaphor interpretation steps. I initially identified a total of 587 metaphor keywords in the

corpus, which I categorized into 10 source domains. I subsequently formulated 44 conceptual metaphors.

What will be argued is that a metaphor analysis of the different speeches may reveal a different use of metaphorical expressions. Only in the analysis which follows will we be able to reveal evidence of such differences or similarities.

4.3 Procedure and tools

The first part of the method of analysis in this study follows the MIPVU procedure which was described in detail in the previous chapter, i.e., metaphor identification. As previously described, the MIPVU procedure is ideal for a linguistic metaphor analysis, therefore, the guidelines have been strictly followed. The only exception is that the MIPVU procedure is intended to be conducted in a group, with the idea that difficult cases can be discussed. Since this is not possible in the frame of this dissertation, reasons for choices of meanings and interpretations are written out if needed in the Appendices which spell out the steps of the procedure.

The *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* was the main tool used for making decisions about lexical units, contextual meanings, basic meanings, and distinctness of contextual and basic meanings (Steen et al. 2010:185). The reasons for using this type of dictionary, and Macmillan in particular, are that they are recent and corpus-based (Pragglejaz Group 2007). As described in the instructions for the procedure in Chapter 2, a second dictionary was also used in order to have a second opinion about specific types of problems. This was the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* was also referred to at times,

usually to achieve a deeper understanding of the semantic structure of a lexical unit. Only in one instance was the *OED* in fact used to make a final decision.

In the identification step, it is important to identify what counts as a metaphor related word and what does not. The issue here is identifying the literal or metaphorical meaning in the metaphors. This is done by looking at the contextual meaning and a more basic meaning of the lexical unit. I will provide an example with the following expression: *we mourn the damage done to the hope of peace*. If we take the lexical unit *mourn*, the contextual meaning is ‘to feel very sad because something no longer exists or is no longer as good as it used to be’; while a more basic meaning is ‘to feel very sad and to miss someone after they have died’. By comparing and contrasting the two meanings we can classify *mourn* as a metaphor related word. The same can be said for the lexical unit *damage*. The contextual meaning is ‘negative effect(s) on someone or something’. A more basic meaning is ‘physical harm caused to something so that it is broken, spoiled, or injured’. The contextual meaning can be understood through the more concrete, visible basic meaning.

In this first step, it will be necessary to identify both the metaphorical instances in the corpus and the metaphor keyword(s) of each one. In the previous example, *we mourn the damage done to the hope of peace*, we can identify the following metaphorical instances: 1. *we mourn the damage done to the hope of peace*; 2. *the damage done to the hope of peace*

Because of the length of some clauses, I will mention only the part of the metaphorical instance that concerns this analysis. The above example presents the verb *mourn*, the nucleus and the keyword, modified by a noun phrase [*the damage*],

which is also a metaphorical keyword. The metaphor keyword will help to provide the source domain that the metaphor belongs to. In categorizing metaphors we must also consider the fact that some metaphors may belong to more than one source domain. The different source domains found in the corpus will help us to interpret and explain why Bush, Sharon, and Abbas choose these source domains, and not others, to conceptualize peace in this way and its effect.

It is also important to mention that some metaphor keywords belong to two different word classes, like *damage* and *to damage*. I will count them as two different metaphor keywords because I want to draw a distinction between word classes in my qualitative analysis. It is also essential in the identification stage when deciding on contextual and basic meanings to compare the same part of speech (Steen et al. 2010). However, when a verb is mentioned in different verbal tenses, it will still be considered as the same metaphor keyword.

The next step consists of interpreting the identified metaphors by finding conceptual metaphors that underlie them. This stage involves analysing metaphors by source domains. Once all the metaphorical instances have been identified (Step 1), and the metaphor keyword highlighted, the source domain is listed for each reference. For example, in the case of the metaphorical instance *we mourn the damage done to the hope of peace*, *mourn* is listed as the metaphor keyword, the source domain listed as DEATH and the conceptual metaphor as PEACE IS A VICTIM. The contextual meaning allows the reader to interpret the meaning of *mourn* in reference to peace, and establish a connection between the literal meaning of *mourn* and the contextual meaning in which it occurs. In this case, Bush compares peace with the victims that Israelis, Palestinians, and the world are mourning for. Here peace is personified, we mourn the damage done to it, just as we mourn for those

who have been killed. Charteris-Black (2004:37) suggests that interpretation involves a relationship between metaphors and cognitive and pragmatic factors. Therefore, interpretation will also include the social, historical, and geopolitical context in which the metaphor occurs.

The last step consists of explaining the findings. This is carried out by taking into consideration the political contexts of the texts being analysed. The purpose here is to determine the relationship between the findings and the contexts in an attempt to uncover the ideological motivations behind the choice of metaphors. It will be important here to make connections among the different source domains and the aspects which are highlighted and, as a consequence, hidden. The investigation of the three politicians' ideology will be crucial for this step since an explanation of the metaphor would be impossible without taking into account the political ideological context.

The main steps in the procedure can be summarized as follows: first I identify metaphorical expressions that are related to peace/the peace process and subsequently identify the metaphor keywords in each expression. The metaphor keyword will then reveal the source domain of the metaphor and main concept in which peace/the peace process is conceptualized, allowing us to formulate the conceptual metaphors and possibly the conceptual key. This can be exemplified as follows:

Metaphorical expressions (*lay the foundations of future peace, build the road to those goals*) \Rightarrow Metaphor keyword (*lay, foundation, build, road*) \Rightarrow Source domain (BUILDING) \Rightarrow Conceptual metaphors (PEACE IS A BUILDING, PEACE IS A ROAD) \Rightarrow Conceptual key (PEACE IS A CONSTRUCTION PROJECT).

The methodology presented here builds on Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the MIPVU procedure and Critical Metaphor Analysis. This study aims to apply these approaches together for the analysis of metaphorical expressions that conceptualize peace/the peace process.

5 Metaphor Identification and Keywords

This chapter presents the data analysis using the MIPVU procedure, a precise and detailed method to analyze metaphor in discourse. In the following section examples for all the steps involved in the metaphor identification procedure will be provided. The detailed and complete analysis is attached in appendices A1 to T1, since it is too extensive to be added to this chapter. The metaphor keywords found in the data will then be presented.

5.1 Metaphor identification

Research Question 1 asked what metaphorical expressions were used by Bush, Sharon and Abbas when referring to peace /the peace process and aspects of it. In order to objectively identify metaphor related words, the MIPVU procedure was followed. Below are some examples of the steps in the procedure.

5.1.1 Identifying metaphorical expressions

In this section I will demonstrate the application of the MIPVU procedure to the use of the word *path* in *set out on a new path*, which is a fairly straightforward and uncontroversial example. Having read the entire speech (step 1), I concluded that it is concerned with President Bush calling for Palestinian reform, the abandonment of Arafat's leadership and the end of terrorism. I then considered the noun *path* as a

single lexical unit (step 2), and established its contextual meaning, which is ‘the way that someone takes to achieve something’ (step 3). I then considered the issue of whether the noun has a more basic meaning in other contexts, and decided that this is the case (step 4). In the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (2002) this meaning is ‘a way from one place to another that people can walk along’. The basic meaning is more concrete than the contextual meaning (a physical entity vs. an approach), as well as more closely related to bodily action (walking). Having identified a different basic meaning, I observed that it contrasts with the contextual meaning (a physical entity one walks along contrasts significantly with the way someone does something), and that the contextual meaning can be understood in comparison with the basic meaning: the way to achieving something can be understood in terms of walking along a path towards a destination (steps 5 and 6). As a consequence, I concluded that *path* is a metaphorically used word in Bush’s June 24, 2002 speech (step 7). As Semino (2008) points out, this conclusion does not mean that it can be claimed that the speaker and/or audience will consciously recognize the word as metaphorical, or process it via a cross-domain mapping. It simply means that this particular use can be analysed as metaphorical in contrast with other current uses, and that it therefore has the *potential* to be recognized and processed as metaphorical. Even though the MIPVU procedure does not explicitly refer to any specific theory of metaphor, step 3 can be rephrased in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). This will be treated as a separate research question and discussed in the following chapter, however, a brief description of the above example can be given here. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning correspond to elements of different conceptual domains: in this case, the basic meaning of *path* can be seen as an element of the JOURNEY conceptual domain,

while the contextual meaning can be seen as an element of the PEACE PROCESS conceptual domain. Moreover, the contextual meaning can be understood in terms of a cross-domain mapping from JOURNEY to the PEACE PROCESS, whereby people involved in the process correspond to the travellers, and what those people do to try to achieve peace correspond to their journey along the path. The fact that the contextual meaning also appears in the dictionary confirms the conventionality of this metaphorical expression, which, together with similar conventional uses of journey vocabulary, provides evidence for the conceptual metaphor THE PEACE PROCESS IS A JOURNEY, which stems from the more conventional conceptual metaphor A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION.

Semino (2008: 14) posits that most people would *intuitively* agree that the use of words such as *path* is metaphorical. Semino argues that we all rely on our intuitions in analysing data, and I too intuitively identified ‘path’ as metaphorically used before putting the noun through the MIPVU procedure. However, intuitions are not necessarily explicit and systematic, and tend to vary from individual to individual. Since metaphoricity is a matter of degree, and that the boundary between metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions is fuzzy, such a procedure forces the researcher to be as explicit, precise and consistent as possible, and to use sources other than their intuitions to deal with problematic and borderline cases. The following sections illustrate how some of these cases have been dealt with.

5.1.2 Establishing contextual meanings – novel metaphors

There are some novel metaphors which can be located as lexical items in the dictionary, but whose novel contextual meaning has not made its way there (yet) (Krennmayr 2011: 69). Only once a metaphor becomes frequently used by a speech community does its metaphoricity become conventionalized to the point that, to the everyday speaker, it seems like a familiar expression (Croft & Cruse, 2004: 105). Consider the lexical unit *dam* in the following excerpt from Prime Minister Sharon's Sharm Address:

(1) Together we can build a *dam* against the radical forces of yesterday which threaten to carry us all into a whirlpool of blood and hatred. (Sharon Feb. 8, 2005)

The contextual meaning of *dam* is a union of people working together to stop opposing parties and is thus metaphorically used in this context. This meaning is not listed in the dictionaries, however, suggesting novel language use since we can contrast it to the basic meaning 'a wall built across a river to stop water from flowing, especially in order to create a lake or help to produce electric power'. The lexical unit *dam*, was therefore marked *int*, for interpretation and coded as a metaphor related word.

5.1.3 Establishing more basic meanings

The overwhelming majority of cases can be resolved by using the Macmillan dictionary, and the Longman dictionary when needed. However, for rare cases, analysts may still disagree on a unit's basic meaning after lengthy discussion and consulting both dictionaries (Krennmayr 2011: 74). For these cases, one recourse is

to check the OED in order to achieve better understanding of the historical development of the word. Let us consider *seek* in the following sentence:

(2) The Jewish people *seek* peace. (Sharon Dec. 4, 2002)

Consulting both Macmillan and Longman we note that the contextual meaning is ‘to try to ask for, achieve or get something’. It was however difficult to decide on a more basic meaning of the word based on the other listed definitions. The OED was consulted and the contextual meaning was the same as above, ‘attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something’. A more basic meaning was also identified, ‘go to (a place) / attempt to find something’. It was decided then, to mark the lexical unit *seek* as MRW with the code *oed*.

5.1.4 Deciding about sufficient distinctness

As previously stated, metaphorical meanings depend on a contrast between a contextual meaning and a more basic meaning (Steen et al. 2010: 37). Let us consider the following use of *destruction*:

(3) All who care about the Palestinian people should join in condemning and acting against groups like Al-Aqsa, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, and all groups which opposed the peace process and seek the *destruction* of Israel. (Bush Apr. 4 2002)

The contextual meaning of *destruction* (‘the action or process of causing so much damage to something that it no longer exists’) is clear. For a lexical unit to be considered metaphor related or not, it must be compared and contrasted to a more basic meaning. Both Macmillan and Longman offer only one definition of *destruction*, the same as the contextual one above. The guidelines of MIPVU indicate

that when a lexical unit has only one numbered sense description then this counts as the basic sense. Therefore there is not enough difference between the contextual meaning of *destruction* in this context and the basic meaning to be counted as sufficiently distinct and for *destruction* to be considered a metaphor related word. Since the procedure offers a third tool for consultation, it was at this point that the OED was used to confirm the decision to code destruction as a NMRW. The OED does offer an additional definition of *destruction*, ‘the action or process of killing or being killed’. The more basic meaning however, cannot be seen as potentially participating in another semantic or conceptual domain, therefore not sufficiently distinct.

5.1.5 Other findings

5.1.5.1 Problematic cases

Several problematic cases regarding expressions can be found in the speeches. Let us consider, for example, the expression *make progress* in the following sentence:

- (4) As we *make progress* toward security and in accordance with the roadmap ...
(Bush May 26, 2005)

Here the verb *make* is used to mean something different from what may be regarded as the most basic meaning of the verb, which the Macmillan dictionary defines as: ‘to create or produce something by working’. Semino (2008: 14) reminds us that the problem with ‘make’ is that it belongs to a group of highly delexicalized English verbs that have lost much of their semantic content, and that can be used to indicate action in a very general, abstract sense. Other such verbs are ‘take’ and ‘get’ for

example. Semino argues, therefore, that it is debatable whether the contextual meaning of *make* in extract (4) can be established clearly enough to identify a contrast with the basic meaning. One could decide therefore that, delexicalized verbs lack enough contextual meaning to be analysed for metaphoricity. On the other hand, it could be argued that in *make progress*, *make* has the contextual meaning of achieving something. A contrast could then be identified with the basic meaning of the verb, and decide that achieving something is understood by comparison with the physical action of creating an object. It is important to remember that according to the MIPVU procedure, basic meanings do not have to be the most frequent meanings of lexical units, as in the case above. Hence, the use of the verb in extract (4) was marked as MRW, despite the fact that some scholars might consider it as weakly metaphorical (Cameron 2003: 72-3; Pragglejaz Group 2007: 29; Semino 2008: 14).

The noun *progress* in *make progress* in extract (4) exemplifies a different kind of borderline case. The contextual meaning here is to do with positive change, and particularly with persuading others to make decisions on the peace process that would positively affect the condition of Israel and Palestine. This corresponds to the main current meaning of the word, which the Macmillan dictionary expresses as ‘the process of developing or improving’. If we regard this as the basic meaning of *progress*, the use of the noun here would not be metaphorical. However, the MIPVU spells out that it is the more concrete, physical meaning that is the more basic sense and not the most frequent. The Macmillan dictionary does include this description of ‘forward movement’. By taking this meaning as the basic meaning of the word, *progress* would count as a metaphor-related word. Semino (2008: 15) argues that the borderline status of *progress* in terms of metaphoricity is due to the fact that the

basic, nonmetaphorical meaning is becoming obsolete, with a consequent loss of the contrast between metaphorical and nonmetaphorical uses in present-day English.

5.1.5.2 Prepositions

To fully apply MIPVU to a text, all lexical units, including the prepositions, need to be analyzed and identified. Amongst all the prepositions, *toward(s)* is the most noteworthy one. *Toward* is a frequently encountered preposition in the speeches that is always metaphor related. The basic meaning is ‘used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking’. The contextual meaning, no matter which verb or noun it is employed with (*move, lead, progress, work, steps, road map*) is ‘used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result’. The results are always *a peaceful solution, goals, agreement, peace*.

(5) This road map will set forth a sequence of steps *toward* the goals I set out on June 24th, 2002, goals shared by all the parties. (Bush Mar. 14, 2003)

5.1.5.3 Personification

The analyzed speeches contain numerous possible personifications. One of them is part of the following sentence:

(6) Israel’s *hand* has always been *extended* in peace to all Arab states and to our Palestinian neighbors. (Sharon July 1, 2003)

Extend a hand is an idiom, which has a figurative meaning, captured by the second meaning in the Macmillan Dictionary: wanting to have good relations. When doing

an analysis of the basic meaning of the components of a phrase, it can be argued that the basic meanings are involved as parts in the figurative meaning as a whole, instead of contrasted and understood by resemblance. The idiomatic expression as a whole is a metonymic derivation of the basic meanings of the parts. As a figurative expression, it is not applied to people but to an abstract referent, the state of Israel, which is understood as a person. Therefore, the whole expression, and its parts, are also metaphorically used. Moreover, while being a figurative (albeit metonymic) expression, it is not applied to people, in which case it would be just metonymic, but to an abstract referent, the state of Israel, which makes it also metaphorical.

5.1.5.4 Other forms of cross-domain mapping

Next to indirect metaphorically used lexical units, several other forms of cross domain mapping can be found in any kind of language. Directness, implicitness, signals of potential cross domain mappings and deliberateness are aspects that are also part of figurative language. Potential markers are *like, as, more, less, more/less ... than* or more complex conception markers which include *regard as, conceive of, see as, imagine, think, talk, behave as if* and so on. All of these lexical units are coded with 'MFlag' as in the following sentence:

(7) But democracy is *like* a coin; it has two sides. (Abbas May 26, 2005)

This was the only instance in the corpus which was given the 'MFlag' code.

5.2 Identification of metaphor keywords

This section answers the second part of Research Question 1 by discussing the metaphor keywords found in the data. It is essential to explain the importance of

metaphor keywords in order to analyze metaphorical expressions. Following Charteris-Black's definition of metaphor keyword, the metaphor keyword in each metaphorical instance was identified in order to obtain the source domain the metaphor belongs to. A total of 587 metaphor keywords were identified. Metaphor keywords corresponding to each source domain are discussed in further detail in the following chapter. Metaphor keywords were divided according to their word class, whether they were nouns, verbs, prepositions, adverbs or adjectives. The metaphor keywords tend to involve mostly nouns (293). Examples of metaphorically used verbs total 242. Metaphorical use of prepositions is 41, and adverbs total 21. Metaphorically used adjectives are also found, although infrequent (8 instances).

Some instances of metaphor keyword are easier to identify than others. As is the case of the metaphorical expression:



(8) *to lay* the *foundations* of future **peace**

Peace is described metaphorically as a future building whose foundations need to be laid. This metaphorical instance includes two metaphor keywords, *to lay* and *foundations*. They are both keywords because their contextual meanings reveal that they are being used metaphorically. To carefully plan and prepare the peace process in order for it to succeed and lead to peace is metaphorically represented by preparing the part of a structure of a building that is below the ground and which will support the rest of it.

We must also address cases such as *support for peace* and *that supports peace*. The question that arises here is whether we should consider the noun *support* and the verb *to support* as the same metaphor keyword or as a different one. My decision

was based on the following: they are two lexemes that share the same lemma. Therefore, when quantifying metaphor keywords, I will draw the distinction between lexeme instances and lemmas. The reason for doing this is that the quantification of lexemes will allow us to distinguish between the different word classes (noun, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions).

Another issue that arises is how we should treat metaphorical keywords in embedded metaphorical expressions. The corpus shows cases such as (9) *We have reached a hopeful moment for progress toward the vision of Middle Eastern peace*. It includes 3 metaphorical expressions:


(9) *We have **reached** a hopeful moment for progress toward the vision of Middle Eastern peace*


(10) ***progress toward** the vision of Middle Eastern peace*


(11) *the **vision** of Middle Eastern peace*

In order to identify metaphor keywords, we have to consider each metaphor instance separately. For example, in *We have reached a hopeful moment for progress toward the vision of Middle Eastern peace*, the metaphor keyword is *reach*; in *progress toward the vision of Middle Eastern peace*, the metaphor keywords are *progress* and *toward*, and in *the vision of Middle Eastern peace*, the metaphor keyword is *vision*. Thus, in this example four metaphor keywords can be identified as: *reach*, *progress*, *toward* and *vision*.

The following sections illustrate the metaphor keywords identified in the metaphorical expressions used by Bush, Sharon, and Abbas. These keywords will be classified according to source domain in the following chapter.

5.2.1 Metaphor keywords in Bush

After a close reading and analysis of the speeches, which total 9,669 words, 246 metaphor keywords were identified in Bush's discourse. Therefore, one metaphor keyword occurs on average every 39 words. The counting procedure employed includes the actual instances (tokens) of metaphor. Since Bush (as do Sharon and Abbas) re-uses evocative metaphors such as *living side by side*, *way*, *step*, *roadmap*, *vision* etc., the number of metaphor types would be less than this. Thus, the metaphor keywords include 118 nouns, 93 verbs, 22 prepositions, 10 adverbs, and 3 adjectives as can be seen in Table 5.1 below¹.

<i>Word class</i>				
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Preposition</i>	<i>Adverb</i>	<i>Adjective</i>
-	to die (1)	-	-	-
-	to mourn (1)	-	-	-
damage (1)	-	-	-	-
neighbour (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to build (1)	-	-	-
-	to make (2)	-	-	-
-	to live (9)	-	-	-
side by side (6)	-	-	-	-
-	to undermine (1)	-	-	-
-	to blow up (1)	-	-	-
-	to oppose (1)	-	-	-
-	to seek (5)	-	-	-
-	to search (1)	-	-	-
avenue (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to lay (3)	-	-	-
foundation (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to step (2)	-	-	-
-	-	-	back (2)	-
-	-	-	forward (4)	-
-	to build (5)	-	-	-
road (1)	-	-	-	-

¹ The metaphor keywords presented in the table follow the order in which they were identified in the corpus.

progress (11)	-	-	-	-
vision (14)	-	-	-	-
step (15)	-	-	-	-
-	to lead (4)	-	-	-
-	to break free (1)	-	-	-
-	to come (4)	-	-	-
benefit (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to hold (2)	-	-	-
hostage (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to kill (1)	-	-	-
way (6)	-	-	-	-
-	to break (1)	-	-	-
-	to set out (1)	-	-	-
path (4)	-	-	-	-
-	to overcome (1)	-	-	-
darkness (1)	-	-	-	-
light (1)	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	born (1)
support (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to move (6)	-	-	-
-	-	toward (19)	-	-
-	to support (4)	-	-	-
-	to stop (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	quickly (3)	-
-	to reach (3)	-	-	-
offer (1)	-	-	-	-
partner (4)	-	-	-	-
pawn (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to blossom (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	rocky (1)
soil (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to take (7)	-	-	-
roadmap (19)	-	-	-	-
-	to set forth (2)	-	-	-
-	to advance (1)	-	-	-
-	-	beyond (2)	-	-
destination (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to bring (4)	-	-	-
-	to benefit (1)	-	-	-
obstacle (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to found (1)	-	-	-
journey (2)	-	-	-	-
key (1)	-	-	-	-
route (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to get (2)	-	-	-
-	to mark (1)	-	-	-
contribution (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to embrace (2)	-	-	-
-	to open (2)	-	-	-
door (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to accelerate (1)	-	-	-
-	to start (2)	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	stuck (1)
-	to step up (2)	-	-	-
-	to tilt (1)	-	-	-
-	to return (1)	-	-	-
-	-	on (1)	-	-
-	-	-	ahead (1)	-

Table 5.1 Metaphor keywords in Bush per word class

5.2.2 Metaphor keywords in Sharon

A total of 198 metaphor keywords were identified in Sharon’s political discourse – or one every 50 words – which is a little less frequent than in the Bush sub-corpus. The metaphor keywords identified in Sharon’s speeches include 98 nouns, 81 verbs, 12 prepositions, 6 adverbs, and 1 adjective.

<i>Word class</i>				
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Preposition</i>	<i>Adverb</i>	<i>Adjective</i>
progress (11)	-	-	-	-
concession (5)	-	-	-	-
-	to seek (7)	-	-	-
-	to live (7)	-	-	-
footsteps (1)	-	-	-	-
partner (5)	-	-	-	-
-	to make (2)	-	-	-
-	to advance (8)	-	-	-
-	-	toward (12)	-	-
-	to foster (1)	-	-	-
competition (1)	-	-	-	-
path (10)	-	-	-	-
-	to bring (about) (1)	-	-	-
acceleration (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to lead to (6)	-	-	-
-	to go (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	forward (5)	-
direction (1)	-	-	-	-
step by step (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to reach (3)	-	-	-
vision (6)	-	-	-	-
side by side (6)	-	-	-	-
-	to renew (2)	-	-	-
step (11)	-	-	-	-
roadmap (11)	-	-	-	-
neighbour (3)	-	-	-	-
-	to promote (1)	-	-	-
(within) reach (1)	-	-	-	-
duty (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to extend (your) hand (1)	-	-	-
-	to pursue (1)	-	-	-
price (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to collapse (1)	-	-	-
-	to derail (1)	-	-	-
-	to move (4)	-	-	-
-	to take (8)	-	-	-
-	to proceed (1)	-	-	-
-	to sabotage (1)	-	-	-
relations (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to abandon (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	speedily (1)	-
-	to return (to) (1)	-	-	-
-	to drag (your) feet (1)	-	-	-
-	to lead astray (1)	-	-	-

obstacle (2)	-	-	-	-
-	to open (2)	-	-	-
window (3)	-	-	-	-
-	to set forth (1)	-	-	-
avenue (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to anchor (1)	-	-	-
-	to bring (1)	-	-	-
-	to break off (1)	-	-	-
-	to start on (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	fragile (1)
-	to close (1)	-	-	-
-	to win (1)	-	-	-
-	to murder (1)	-	-	-
-	to build (2)	-	-	-
foundation (1)	-	-	-	-
starting point (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to pave (1)	-	-	-
way (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to overcome (1)	-	-	-
-	to stand (1)	-	-	-
-	to oppose (1)	-	-	-
-	to join hands (1)	-	-	-
dam (1)	-	-	-	-
whirlpool (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to ignite (1)	-	-	-
ray (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to embark (1)	-	-	-
-	to guide (1)	-	-	-
horizon (1)	-	-	-	-
value (1)	-	-	-	-

Table 5.2 Metaphor keywords in Sharon per word class

5.2.3 Metaphor keywords in Abbas

A close analysis of the Abbas sub-corpus revealed a total of 161 metaphor keywords or one metaphor every 65 words including 77 nouns, 68 verbs, 7 prepositions, 5 adverbs, and 4 adjectives. This is less frequent than both Bush and Sharon, however it should be noted that two of Abbas's speeches are inaugural addresses which include references to many other events besides the peace process, therefore if taking into account only the parts referring to the peace process the frequency could possibly be higher. In this study, however, I took into account the total number of words in the speeches and not only of the parts referring to peace or the peace process.

<i>Word class</i>				
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Preposition</i>	<i>Adverb</i>	<i>Adjective</i>
partner (3)	-	-	-	-
-	to build (2)	-	-	-
-	to support (3)	-	-	-
-	to adopt (1)	-	-	-
benefit (1)	-	-	-	-
roadmap (15)	-	-	-	-
blueprint (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to reach (4)	-	-	-
-	to negotiate (2)	-	-	-
obstacle (3)	-	-	-	-
-	to destroy (5)	-	-	-
-	to live (5)	-	-	-
-	to extend (your) hand (3)	-	-	-
-	to welcome (2)	-	-	-
path (7)	-	-	-	-
-	to maintain (1)	-	-	-
maker (1)	-	-	-	-
journey (1)	-	-	-	-
vision (4)	-	-	-	-
side by side (5)	-	-	-	-
-	to seek (2)	-	-	-
quest (1)	-	-	-	-
step (4)	-	-	-	-
neighbour (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to advance (2)	-	-	-
-	to plant (1)	-	-	-
seed (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to continue on (2)	-	-	-
-	-	towards (4)	-	-
-	-	to (3)	-	-
-	to make (1)	-	-	-
-	to turn (1)	-	-	-
page (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to play (3)	-	-	-
role (3)	-	-	-	-
labyrinth (1)	-	-	-	-
progress (3)	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	stuck (1)
maze (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to delay (1)	-	-	-
-	to give (1)	-	-	-
-	to sabotage (2)	-	-	-
-	to relaunch (1)	-	-	-
player (1)	-	-	-	-
beacon (1)	-	-	-	-
light (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to shine (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	bright (1)
-	to derail (1)	-	-	-
way (1)	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	forward (1)
-	to strangle (1)	-	-	-
road (1)	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	ahead (1)	-
-	to take (1)	-	-	-
hurdle (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to restore (1)	-	-	-
momentum (1)	-	-	-	-

bridge (1)	-	-	-	-
gap (2)	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	newborn (1)
-	to resume (2)	-	-	-
acceleration (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to revive (2)	-	-	-
track (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to win (1)	-	-	-
-	to support (1)	-	-	-
-	to reopen (1)	-	-	-
window (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to maintain (1)	-	-	-
-	to preserve (1)	-	-	-
-	to flourish (1)	-	-	-
-	to undermine (1)	-	-	-
enemy (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to move (4)	-	-	-
-	to accelerate (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	forward (3)	-
-	to get (1)	-	-	-
coin (3)	-	-	-	-
march (1)	-	-	-	-
-	to go (1)	-	-	-
-	-	-	back (1)	-

Table 5.3 Metaphor keywords in Abbas per word class

The following chapter moves from a linguistic metaphor analysis to a conceptual metaphor analysis by categorizing the identified keywords according to source domain and attempts at extrapolating the relevant conceptual metaphors.

6 Metaphor Source Domains and Conceptual Metaphors

As was discussed in Chapter Two, conceptual metaphors consist of a source domain and a target domain, as well as a set of mappings between them. This chapter describes the metaphor source domains found in the discourse of peace and the peace process based on the metaphor keywords identified in Chapter Five. It then goes on to illustrate the conceptual metaphors drawn from the various source domains.

6.1 Categorizing source domains

Generally, metaphor keywords are easy to identify but may be difficult to group under a source domain. The source domain identification process is not a clear cut process since a keyword may belong to different semantic fields. Previous research tends to show clear examples, generally decontextualized ones (Lakoff 1980, 1993; Goatly 2007). However, real data reveals that the decisions for the researcher are not that clear since many examples are on the boundary of two source domains. The discourse context plays an important role, first in the identification process, since the contextual meaning decides if the word is metaphorical or not. This is relevant since the same word may appear sometimes being used metaphorically and others literally (as in the case of *mourn*). Second, it also decides to which source domain the metaphor keyword belongs in case it belongs to different ones. This is, for instance, the case of *partner*, does it belong to the source domain of JOURNEY or of FINANCE?

When used in the same context as *value*, for example, it was decided to include it in the source domain of FINANCE, meaning one of the owners in a business. When, on the other hand, it is used in the same context as *reach, destination, step by step, way, forward*, it was decided to consider its meaning as ‘someone you do a particular activity with’, which in this case is going on a journey.

Another issue to consider is what criteria should be used in order to name a source domain. Labelling a source domain is not always easy since the metaphor keywords included in it may be applied to more than one situation. Sometimes the source domain may be easier to label because the meaning of a prototypical or central concept may be more recognizable in people's minds. However, some metaphor keywords can be less central, and may suggest more than one meaning, and therefore can be interpreted as belonging to different source domains. Thus, identifying a single general source domain that includes all the metaphor keywords is not a clear task. It thus seems that the more prototypical the terms are, the easier it is to name the source domain. However, since not all metaphor keywords that belong to a particular source domain are directly related or prototypical of its semantic field, the question of how to name the domain remains (Hellin Garcia 2008). For example, some authors may refer to metaphors in a source domain as CONFLICT metaphors, WAR metaphors or FIGHT metaphors. The same can be said in the case of this particular study where it has been decided to name a source domain MOVEMENT/JOURNEY and another DESTRUCTION/DEATH, but to name another GAME, even when deciding to include in it metaphorical expressions that were related to sport. The decisions for doing so will be explained in the following sections which provide a description of each source domain.

Research question 2 asked what source domains and conceptual metaphors are used to frame peace / the peace process. The identification and analysis of the source domains that conceptualize peace will lead us to identify what typical social values are related or attached to each source domain. Given Lakoff's (1999) claim that the event structure metaphor is universal, that time is commonly understood as space and that progress toward a goal is commonly expressed as movement toward a destination, it was hypothesized that PEACE / THE PEACE PROCESS IS A JOURNEY would be a common metaphor across the discourse. Many of the metaphor types mentioned in Lakoff and Johnson (JOURNEY, BUILDING, GAME, etc.) appear in the political speeches referring to the Middle East Road Map peace process. These metaphors include references to peace as something yet to be reached or created. Other instances describe peace as something already existing but which can only be obtained either in exchange for something else or by winning it. Peace is also personified and there are references to the different phases of its life.

As hypothesized, PEACE/THE PEACE PROCESS IS A JOURNEY was the most common metaphor in the corpus. In the rest of this chapter, I will present the findings for each of the source domains, sequenced in order of their frequency. In each case, I will offer a brief description of the category and examples of some of its prototypical expressions, followed by a mapping of the metaphor.

6.2 Analysis and discussion of source domains and conceptual metaphors

A close analysis of the data reveals that there are a total of 10 source domains that conceptualize the same target domain (peace/the peace process, and aspects of it) which are common to all three politicians and another two source domains which are

unique to Abbas. The former are the following: MOVEMENT/JOURNEY, PERSONIFICATION, FINANCE, BUILDING, DESTRUCTION/DEATH, CONFLICT, LIGHT/FIRE, PLANT, GAME, and RELIGION. While the latter are the source domains of FILM, and BOOK and will be discussed only in reference to Abbas. The data show that some source domains include a larger variety of metaphor keywords than others. In fact, there are some source domains like RELIGION that include only one type of metaphor keyword; some source domains like GAME, and LIGHT/FIRE, contain a total of two metaphor keywords each. This sharply contrasts with other source domains that include a large number of metaphor keywords. This is the case with the source domains of MOVEMENT/JOURNEY, PERSONIFICATION, and BUILDING.

Once the metaphorical expressions, metaphor keywords, and source domains were identified, the next step was the identification of the corresponding conceptual metaphors.

The following sections will discuss each of the source domains identified, and will illustrate the main conceptual metaphors from each source domain.

6.2.1 The source domain of JOURNEY/ MOVEMENT

Journey metaphors were originally documented in cognitive linguistics by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Lakoff (1993) proposed PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION. JOURNEY metaphors can be traced back to the PATH image schema, which is based on our physical experience of motion in space (Semino 2008: 92). This image schema provides a way of metaphorically constructing goals as destinations, ways of reaching goals as movement forwards, problems as obstacles to movement, and success or failure as reaching, or failing to

reach, a destination. Charteris-Black (2004) and Semino (2008) suggest that social purposes can be viewed as destinations, so that actions aimed at the achievement of goals are constructed in terms of travel or movement forward. Moreover, Semino (2008: 109) points out that “political negotiations, in particular, are one of the many types of purposeful activities that are conventionally constructed as journeys.”

As previously mentioned, MOVEMENT/JOURNEY was the most common source domain for metaphor in the corpus with a total of 62 linguistic forms, including all 5 word classes. Typical linguistic forms were: *obstacle, track, toward, path, step, derail, forward, back, road, progress, to lead, toward, to set forth, route, to advance, to continue on, destination, direction, and roadmap*. This is not surprising since the peace process is a scheduled event and involves work towards a goal.

Mainly in these references, the peace process is a vehicle or journey, while the participants in the peace process are the travellers.

(12) There can be no peace for either side in the Middle East unless there is freedom for both. **Reaching** that **destination** will not be easy, but we can see the **way forward**. Now the parties must **take** that **way, step by step**, and America will be the active **partner** of every party that **seeks** true peace. (Bush

While peace is usually referred to as the aspired destination which people *seek, search for, try to reach, to get to, to go to* and even *to lead to*, it is also at times the vehicle. Below Sharon refers to terrorist groups as those wanting to derail the vehicle ‘peace’. What is interesting is that he does not refer specifically to peace, but to a ‘possibility’, which brings to the surface the doubts he has in the peace process.

(13) There are still many who seek to **derail** any possibility of peace and tranquillity. (Sharon July 2003)

There are very few references to a specific vehicle in the JOURNEY metaphor in this corpus. In Bridgeman's (2002) analysis of the US press coverage of the Oslo peace accords, the most common reference to a specific vehicle is a reference to a train, and the most common reference to a specific path is to a track. In corpus under analysis here, there are only two references to a train (getting back on track and being derailed). There are, however, many references to *roads, avenues, paths, routes*, and *people taking steps towards peace*. One could argue that this is an extended metaphor of the main metaphorical concept in this corpus: *roadmap*. There are frequent impediments to travel and the journey ahead is long and difficult, however, there seems to be no other choice.

(14) Prime Minister Abbas recognizes that terrorist crimes are a dangerous *obstacle* to the independent state his people *seek*. (Bush June 2003)

(15) The *journey* we are taking is difficult, but there is no other choice. (Bush June 2003)

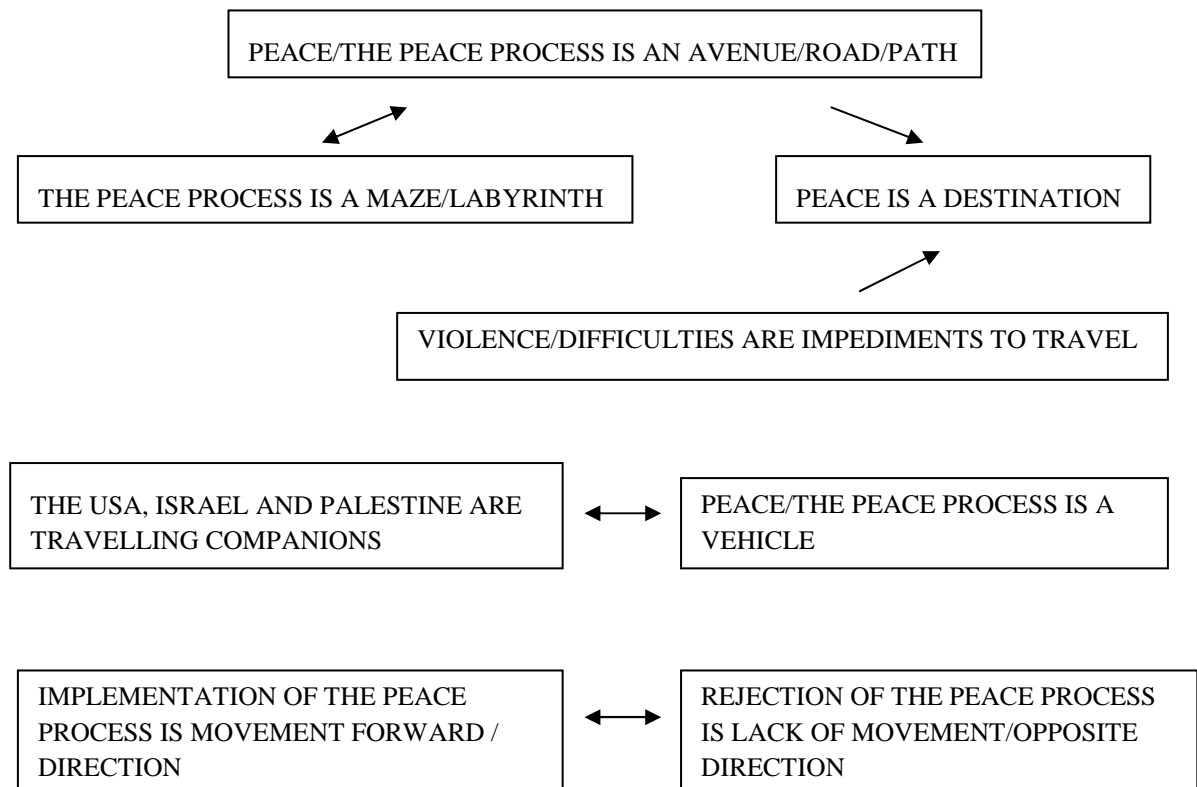
(16) It is true that this is not a shining *path* which will *lead* us *to* instant, magical solutions, but I am certain that only by *going forward* in this *direction, step by step*, will we be able to achieve security for the Israeli people, and *reach* the peace we all yearn for. (Sharon Dec. 2002)

Whatever the difficulties, and even when it has been decided to take another way towards the destination, the parties/travellers should try to return to the roadmap which points the way back to the right path.

(17) Secretary Rice will consult with Israelis and Palestinians on the disengagement, their shared commitments, and the *way back* on the *roadmap*. (Bush May 26, 2005)

(18) As we work to make the disengagement succeed, we must not lose sight of the *path ahead*. (Bush May 26, 2005)

As regards motion, it is represented through horizontal movement, *forward* and *back*. Forward movement goes *toward, beyond, and ahead*. It moves *quickly* and *speedily*, however at times *acceleration* is necessary, as there are *delays* and vehicles *get stuck*. From the metaphorical expressions and metaphor keywords identified, I postulate the following conceptual metaphors:



Based on the above conceptualizations of peace and the peace process, I propose as a conceptual key: PEACE/THE PEACE PROCESS IS A JOURNEY. It was hypothesized from the start that this would be the overarching metaphor.

6.2.2 *The source domain PERSONIFICATION*

Within Conceptual Metaphor Theory, personification is primarily treated as an ‘ontological’ metaphor, whereby non-human, often abstract entities are talked about in terms of human actions and characteristics (Semino 2008). Personification is a common figure in the oratory of all three politicians which make up the corpus under analysis. It is a highly emotive figure of speech because it seeks to represent abstract entities as people. It is a linguistic figure in which an abstract and inanimate entity is described or referred to using a word or phrase that in other contexts would be used to describe a person. We may therefore think of ‘person’ as the source domain. Examples from the corpus include:

(19) Generations of Jews were taught to seek, aspire to and *pursue peace*.
(Sharon July 1, 2003)

(20) This is a very *fragile opportunity*, that the extremists will want to exploit.
(Sharon Feb. 8, 2005)

(21) Our people *welcome peace, security and prosperity* to all. (Abbas Apr. 29, 2003)

(22) And will save no effort whatever to protect this *newborn opportunity of peace*, that is provided through what we have already declared here today.
(Abbas Feb. 8, 2005)

In political discourse, personification is also widely used, particularly in relation to entities and institutions such as nation states (e.g. Lakoff 1991; Rohrer 1991). The A NATION IS A PERSON metaphor is indispensable to understanding the process of negotiation in international peacemaking (Rohrer 1991: 167).

(23) Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a *Palestinian state* can be *born*. (Bush June 24, 2002)

(24) The heart of this vision is the responsibility of all parties – of **Israel**, of the **Palestinian people**, of the **Arab states** – to *fight* terror, to *embrace* democracy and reform, and to *take* the necessary *steps* for peace. (Bush

(25) Today, it is up to the **world to give** our people hope ... (Abbas Jan. 15, 2005)

According to Charteris-Black (2005: 41), personification is persuasive because it evokes our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about people and applies them to our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about abstract political entities. Typically, the ideological basis for using personification is either to arouse empathy for a social group, ideology or belief evaluated as heroic, or to arouse opposition towards a social group, ideology or belief that is evaluated as villainous.

A typical example of positive evaluation is when ‘Israel’ or ‘us’ is described as if it were a friendly neighbour:

(26) **Israel** seeks peace with all its Arab *neighbours*. (Sharon June 4, 2003)

(27) I am confident that they will find in **Israel** a *neighbour* and a people committed to comprehensive peace and prosperity for all the peoples of the region. (Sharon

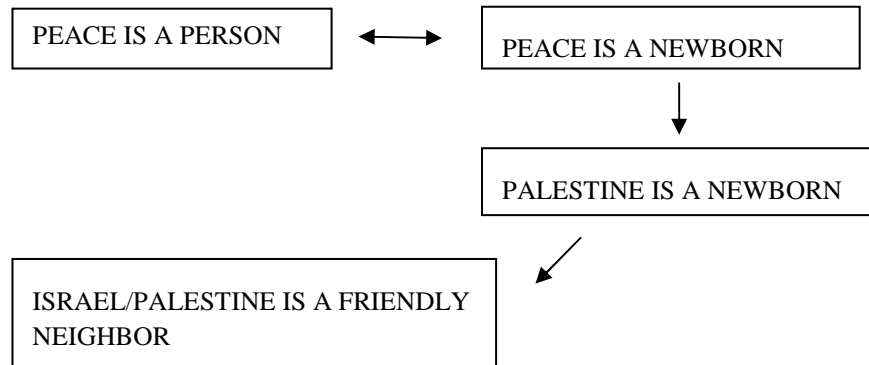
(28) **Israel’s hand** has always been *extended* in peace *to* all **Arab states** and to our **Palestinian neighbours**. (Sharon July 1, 2003)

(29) Having reached the conclusion that, for the time being, there exists no **Palestinian partner with whom to advance** peacefully ... (Sharon Apr. 14, 2004)

(30) **We** are *extending* our *hands to* the **Israeli people** in good intention. (Abbas May 26, 2005)

(31) ... two states, **Israel** and **Palestine**, *living side by side*, in peace and security. (Bush Apr. 4, 2002)

The overarching conceptual metaphor here is A NATION IS A PERSON, which is not strictly a peace metaphor. However, looking closely at the uses of personification in the data, there is evidence of the following concepts:



6.2.3 The source domain of FINANCE

Metaphors from the domain of finance are indicated by words such as *price*, *benefit*, *to offer*, *contribution*, *concession*, *partnership*, *to promote*, and *value*, and imply a basic conceptualisation of the relation between individuals and between nations as based on monetary transactions. Charteris-Black (2005: 184) argues that they are rooted in an underlying concept MORAL ACTIONS ARE FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS.

In the FINANCE metaphor, the peace process is a business deal. Participants in the deal are owners and brokers of the commodity peace, which is regarded as a valuable resource to be bought or traded in exchange for land, money, etc.

(32) Therefore, even if the *price* is painful, even if we are required to make painful compromises, I will be willing to make them for the sake of true peace ... (Sharon July 1, 2003)

(33) The decision to disengage was very difficult for me, and involves a heavy personal *price*. (Sharon Sept. 15, 2005)

(34) Peace is a supreme *value* in the Jewish legacy, and is the desired goal of our policy. (Sharon Sept. 15, 2005)

The FINANCE metaphor in the discourse of this particular peace process includes instances that could be interpreted as referring to a business arrangement that involves working around a contract, the Roadmap. The contract must convince all members involved in the business transaction, who must agree to the terms and there must be no breaches in the contract.

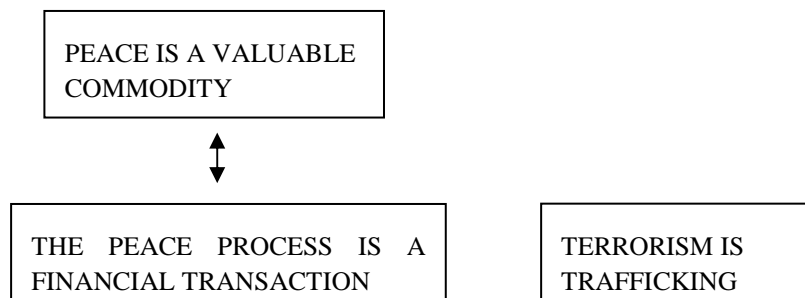
(35) This can be achieved through an urgent work of restoring the spirit of partnership and reciprocity and to avoid unilateral steps. (Abbas Feb. 8, 2005)

There are also instances of illegal business transactions which are carried out outside the official business deal.

(36)The Palestinian Authority has **rejected** your *offer* at hand, and **trafficked** with **terrorists**. (Bush June 2002)

The implications of a business metaphor for ownership of an abstraction have been noted by Chilton and Schaffner (cited in Bridgeman 2000). In their discussion, the market discourse of politics leads to an understanding of policies as commodities and thus property.

The underlying conceptual metaphors that can be drawn from these metaphorical expressions are:





PARTICIPANTS IN THE PEACE
PROCESS ARE BUSINESS PARTNERS

6.2.4 The source domain of BUILDING

PEACE IS A BUILDING can be added to a number of BUILDING metaphors identified by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) including THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING. BUILDING metaphors are typically examples of reification, as is the case here with peace. Such metaphors convey a positive evaluation of an activity because its outcome is valuable.

As suggested by Charteris-Black (2004: 95), BUILDING metaphors make an interesting comparison with JOURNEY metaphors since they are conceptually related. Both building and travelling involve progression towards a predetermined goal. Charteris-Black notes that they both involve covering a surface: journeys go along a horizontal path while buildings follow a vertical one.

Both journey and building metaphors can, however, be used in the same metaphorical expression as the one that follows:

(37) The Disengagement Plan can *pave* the *way* to implementation of the Roadmap ... (Sharon Feb. 8, 2005)

What is being built here is the road that will lead the way to peace.

In the BUILDING metaphor, the peace process and peace are sometimes used interchangeably. Both peace and the peace process can be a construction project or can be the structure itself.

Charteris-Black (2004: 71) argues that metaphors from this source domain carry a strong positive connotation because they express aspiration towards desired social goals. Since instant outcomes are not expected, there may be a need for patience and effort. Such highlighting of progress towards long-term social goals is evident in the use of *foundation* metaphors which invariably imply a positive evaluation of whatever follows.

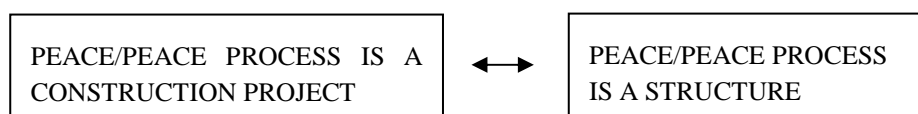
(38) An opportunity *to lay* the *foundations* of **future peace**, a test to show who is serious about peace and who is not. (Bush June 24, 2002)

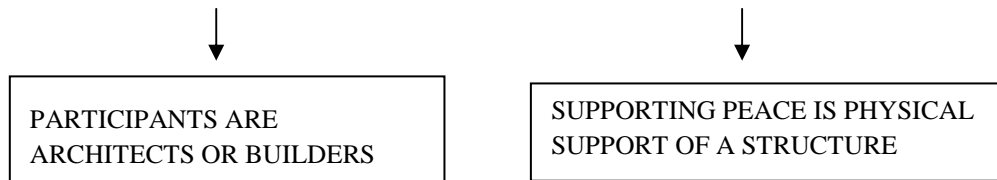
When a negative evaluation is conveyed by a building metaphor it is with the use of *collapse* or *undermine*. In the first case, the discourse describes what we can see when it is already too late to do anything in order to save the building/peace. On the other hand, while to undermine is ‘to dig under something, especially so that it becomes weaker’ therefore, preventing or obstructing us from achieving goals, it is still something that can be done to save the structure.

Regarding the need to maintain the building, there are instances of *to support*, *to maintain*, *to restore*, and *to preserve*.

What is interesting about the use of building terms is that they are always rather vague and imprecise in terms of actual reference. It seems at times as if ‘laying the foundations’ simply refers to positively evaluated intentions rather than actual political achievements.

From the analysis of metaphor keywords, I identified the following conceptual metaphors:





6.2.5 The source domain of DESTRUCTION and DEATH

Destruction metaphors employ verbs that entail some degree of sudden movement or force and/or will cause material damage over time. Charteris-Black (2005: 125) posits that the purpose of such metaphors is to convey a negative evaluation of a particular type of abstract social phenomenon or entity. These metaphors imply a mental schema in which various social processes that erode social cohesion are negatively evaluated because they entail serious material damage. These metaphors are often verbs, either in active or passive mood.

References to destruction and death in this corpus regarding the peace process illustrate that what is being destroyed or killed is the opportunity for future peace.

(39) ... the future itself is *dying*. (Bush April 4, 2002)

(40) ... we *mourn* the *damage* done to the hope of peace ... (Bush April 4, 2002)

(41) ... suicide bombing missions could well *blow up* the best and only hope for a Palestinian state. (Bush Apr. 4, 2002)

(42) The forces of extremism and terror are attempting *to kill* progress and peace by killing the innocent. (Bush June 24, 2002)

(43) We began the implementation of the Roadmap at Aqaba, but terrorist organizations joined with Yasser Arafat and *sabotaged* the process with a series of the most brutal terror attacks we have ever known. (Sharon Dec. 18, 2003)

(44) We must all announce here today that violence will not win, that violence will not be allowed to *murder* hope. (Sharon Feb. 2005)

Both for Bush and for Sharon what is being negatively evaluated is extremism, terrorism and the forces that bring these about.

Abbas, on the other hand, blames the destruction of any chance for peace on the Israeli settlement expansion and security wall, and insists that without the removal of these obstacles, peace will not be possible.

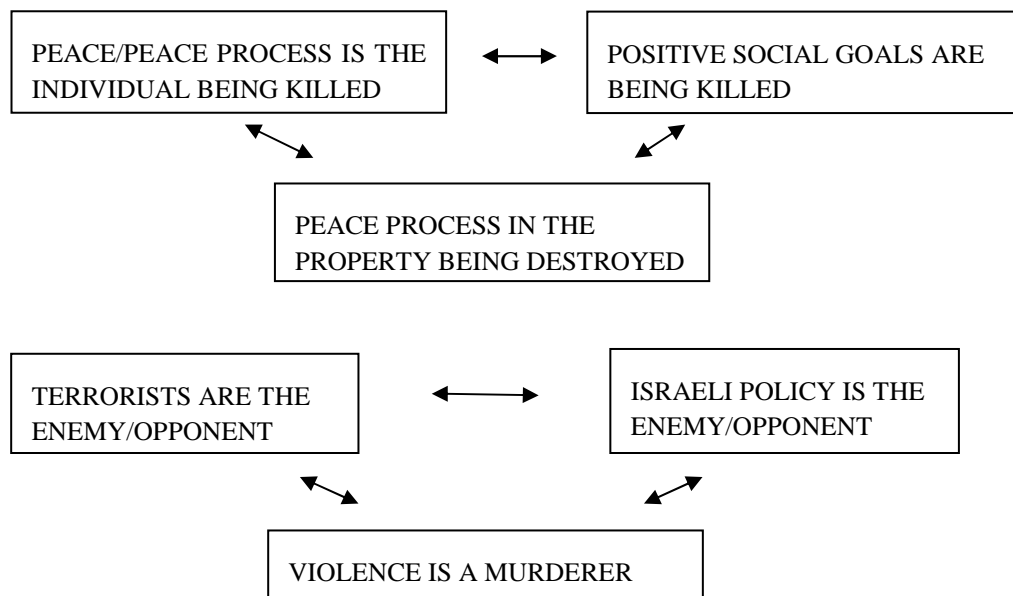
(45) Settlement expansion in and around Jerusalem, with its accompanying house demolitions, confiscation of land and property, will only lead to inflaming the conflict and *destroying* any chance for peace. (Abbas April 29, 2003)

(46) The removal of the wall will be among the first issues that our government will address because, without its removal, Israel will effectively *destroy* the Roadmap and any other peace initiative. (Abbas April 29, 2003)

Abbas also refers to occupation in terms of a murderer who is strangling the Palestinians:

(47) ... the occupation is still *strangling* us, and there are those who wish the failure of our experience. (Abbas Jan. 15, 2005)

The possible conceptual metaphors that can be extrapolated from the discourse are:



6.2.6 *The source domain of CONFLICT*

Metaphors from this source domain include words such as *to oppose*, *to break free*, *to hold hostage*, *to overcome*, *to win*, and *enemy*. As Charteris-Black (2004: 69) suggests, conflict metaphors are employed because they underline the personal sacrifice and physical struggle that is necessary to achieve social goals such as peace. Firstly there is a threat to peace which leads to the identification of an enemy.

(48) All who care about the Palestinian people should join in condemning and acting against groups like Al-Aqsa, Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and all groups which *opposed* the peace process and seek the destruction of Israel. (Bush Apr. 4, 2002)

(49) The hatred of a few *holds* the hopes of many *hostage*. (Bush June 24, 2002)

Terrorist groups are the most frequent reference to enemy in the corpus, referred to by Bush and Sharon, but also mentioned once by Abbas when referring to internal chaos.

Abbas makes an interesting reference to enemy in the following expression:

(50) Time is becoming our greatest *enemy*. (Abbas May 26, 2005)

Here Abbas is suggesting that much time has been wasted in implementing the Roadmap peace initiative which has led to a *feeling of frustration and despair and the loss of hope*. The underlying message here could be that the enemy, Israel, is responsible for this.

Supporters of peace are then called to action in order to protect and defend peace or the peace process. Charteris-Black (2004: 69) analyses conflict metaphors by dividing them into three sub-categories: metaphors of defence, metaphors of attack and metaphors of struggle. The classification is based on the semantic orientation of

the metaphor keyword. The three metaphor keywords identified in the corpus can be said to belong to the ‘struggle’ sub-category.

(51) Peace is possible when we *break free* of old patterns and habits of hatred.

(Bush Apr. 4 2002)

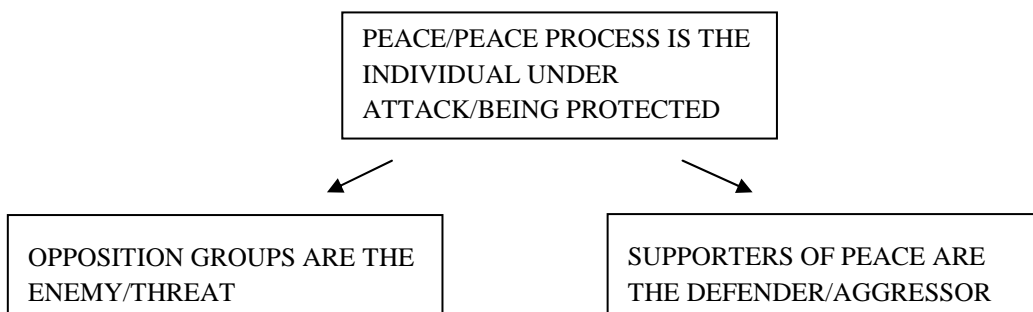
The action includes escaping from someone who is trying to hold you in order to then fight for peace.

(52) Yet, at this critical moment, if all parties will break with the past and set out on a new path, we can *overcome* the **darkness** with the light of hope. (Bush June 24, 2002)

The implied action here is to fight and win against someone or something. This someone/something is represented by the metaphor keyword darkness which refers to lack of hope.

(53) we must all announce here today that violence will not *win*, that violence will not be allowed to murder hope. (Sharon Feb. 8, 2005)

The conceptual metaphors that have been identified are:



6.2.7 The source domain of LIGHT and FIRE

LIGHT and FIRE metaphors have been grouped together as they are used in similar ways to express usually positive meanings. The source domain of light has

traditionally been linked with the target domain of understanding. As Charteris-Black (2005: 100) points out, it is not surprising that metaphors of LIGHT are pervasive in political speeches as they are rooted in an established conceptual metaphor SEEING IS UNDERSTANDING. It is also likely that spiritual notions will be evoked because light is also linked with hope – which is an important notion in religious discourse. It is not surprising then, that Bush refers to hope several times in his famous June 2002 Rose Garden speech, and ends with a reference to the Bible: “*The Bible says, ‘I have set before you life and death; therefore, choose life.’ The time has arrived for everyone in this conflict to choose peace, and hope, and life.*”

Metaphors that are based on the conceptual metaphor HOPE IS LIGHT invariably imply a positive evaluation.

(54) if all parties will break with the past and set out on a new path, we can overcome the *darkness* with the *light* of **hope**. (Bush June 24, 2002)

Light is often contrasted with darkness which is associated with ignorance, failure to understand, and evil. It is Bush’s intention here to depict extremism and terror, death and fear, as darkness.

(55) The forces of extremism and terror are attempting to kill progress and peace by killing the innocent. And this casts a *dark shadow* over an entire region. (Bush June 24, 2002)

As claimed by Charteris-Black (2004) LIGHT and DARKNESS provide prototype poles for creating contrasts between spiritual or moral notions of goodness and evil.

What is also significant in terms of the creation of coherence in the speeches is that light metaphors frequently interact with other resonant source domains.

Metaphorical instance (54) above for example shows the combination of LIGHT, CONFLICT, and JOURNEY metaphors by using the metaphor keywords *set out*, *path*, *overcome*, *darkness*, and *light*.

Light is always positive because of its polarity with darkness. There are other circumstances in which FIRE metaphors can also be used for positive evaluation. For example,

(56) Together, we can promote relations between us and **ignite** a **ray** of **hope** for all the people in the Middle East. (Sharon Feb. 8, 2005)

Fire metaphors are also positive when they highlight the quality of fire to produce light, as in metaphorical senses of *beacon*.

(57) For decades, Palestinians have been a **beacon** of creativity and achievement, a **light** that has **shone** with talent and skill over the whole world. (Abbas Jan. 15, 2005)

President Abbas is positively evaluating the Palestinians both on an external and internal level. He is trying to convince the world and Palestinians themselves, that they can be *a democratic example to be followed, and a basis for a **bright** outlook for our future generations.*

The concepts that emerge from these metaphorical expressions are:



6.2.8 The source domain of PLANT

Metaphors from the domain of plants are a small but interesting group. *Flourish*, for instance, usually implies a strong positive evaluation as it identifies those social entities that are highly valued by the speaker, as we can see from the agent of *flourish* (in bold) in the following example:

(58) We stress that **democracy** cannot *flourish* under occupation and in the absence of freedom. (Abbas May 26, 2005)

Democracy is indeed a positive social goal valued by all three politicians. Abbas stresses here that like a plant, it cannot *flourish* if it is in the dark and without water ('under occupation' and 'absence of freedom').

Other metaphor keywords used by Abbas are *to plant* and *seed*, which refer to the early stages of the process.

(59) It is he who *planted* the first *seed* of this democratic process, ... (Abbas Jan. 15, 2005)

This metaphorical expression was identified in Abbas' Inauguration speech in 2005. He often refers to this 'democratic achievement' and 'democratic process' which will flourish. In the above example he is referring to Yasser Arafat, as the first Palestinian who planted this democratic seed.

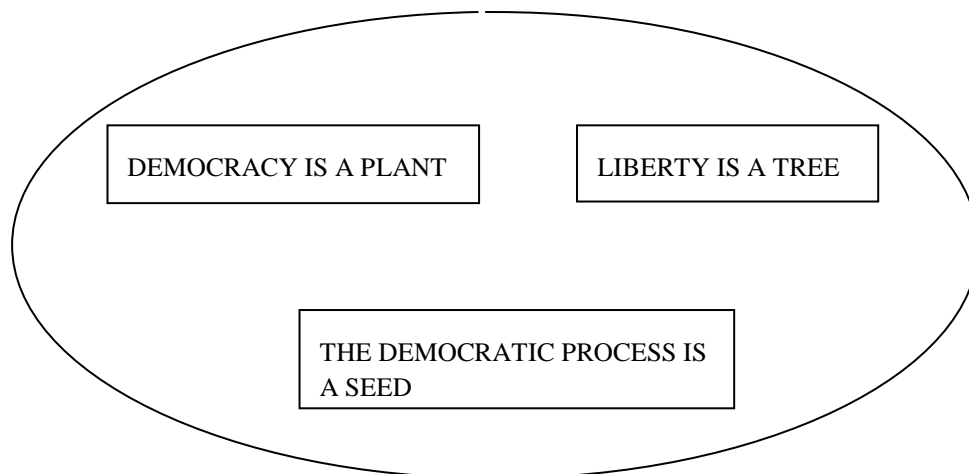
George Bush also makes use of the PLANT source domain in his June 24, 2002 speech, in which he makes reference to an independent Palestinian state.

(60) If liberty can *blossom* in the *rocky soil* of the West Bank and Gaza, it will inspire millions of men and women around the globe who are equally weary of

poverty and oppression, equally entitled to the benefits of democratic government. (Bush June 24, 2002)

Liberty is represented as a tree which will blossom and produce flowers. This tree will blossom despite the earth in which it was planted, it will grow through the soil covered with rocks. That is, despite the problematic situation in the West Bank and Gaza, if Israelis and Palestinians work together, a Palestinian state will develop and become successful, leading to peace in the region.

The conceptual metaphors drawn from this small category are the following:



6.2.9 The source domain of GAME

Discussions of politics, and of negotiations in particular, often include game metaphors because of the emphasis on strategy and on gains and losses (Bridgeman 2002). The GAME metaphor is a common metaphor in war discourse, so it is not particularly surprising to find it in peace discourse as well. While some studies differentiate between the sports and games categories, in this study I have decided to

keep sports and game lexemes together under the GAME domain since the conceptual links between sports and games are so tight. Koller (2004: 68) suggests that “sports rather foreground the competitive contest aspect whereas games highlight a collaborative fun aspect.” However, Eubanks (cited in Koller 2004: 68) argues that “game metaphors have a hologramic quality” in that they can either be attenuated to display the notion of peaceful leisure activity or intensified to approximate the WAR metaphor, and gives chess as an example of a belligerent game, “itself a war metaphor”.

In this corpus, we find an example of a metaphor taken from the game of chess:

(61) For decades you have been treated as *pawns* in the Middle East conflict.
(Bush June 24, 2002)

The Palestinians are seen as having been used by others more powerful than them in order to achieve an aim. Just like a *pawn*, they are the weakest piece in the game. Any piece directly in front of a pawn, friend or foe, blocks its advance.

In this respect, Abbas refers to the *US as the main player in this context* (Abbas Jan. 15, 2005).

In his exploration of GAME metaphors, Steen (1999: 96) lists some of the elements of the game metaphor as game, players, referee, object played with, stakes, stages of the game, rules, and the tradition of the game. Bridgeman (2002) argues that we cannot clearly map the game metaphor in the discourse of the Middle East peace process. Even if we take only the simplest of game elements – players, rules and prize – we can see that the game metaphor in this discourse is particularly complex. As Bridgeman (2002) suggests, perhaps the complexity of the game metaphor

indicates a lack of one common game across the discourse. Bush refers to the peace process as a game of chess, whereas Abbas refers to it as an obstacle race:

(62) In this path, and in the face of every *hurdle* and difficulty, I will remain strong ... (Abbas Jan. 15, 2005)

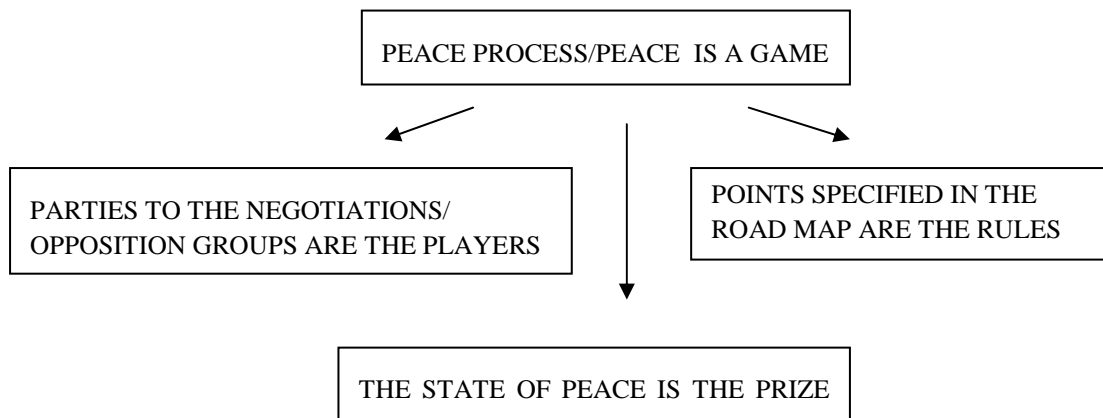
In the GAME metaphor, peace is presumed to be the prize. Here, however, Prime Minister Sharon says that there is no competition, the prize is for all.

(63) We all want **peace**. It is not a *competition* over who wants **peace** more. (Sharon Dec. 2002)

Abbas, when referring to the prize, claims that it has been won by all:

(64) A new opportunity of peace is won today in the city of peace. (Abbas Feb. 8, 2005)

The source domain of GAME gives way to the following conceptual metaphors:



6.2.10 *The source domain of RELIGION*

There was evidence of only one metaphor keyword from the domain of religion: *vision*. Although *hope* is linked to religious discourse, it was not counted as a metaphor related word during the linguistic metaphor analysis.

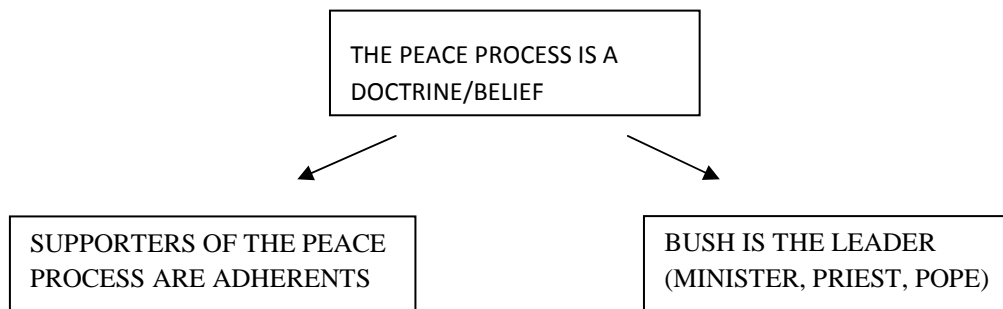
An important objective for political leadership is to create a perception that the speaker is to be trusted because they have a plan for a future that is inherently good; in this respect, Charteris-Black (2005) notes that a common choice of metaphor is that of *vision*. He argues that the use of *vision* is based on the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 48). The politician understands there to be a selfless goal and directs his/her policies towards the achievement of said goal. In this case, the politician is George Bush, whose objective is peace and intends to achieve it through the implementation of the Roadmap. This is comparable to spiritual progress because it claims that the objective is to make the world a better place to live in and is, as Charteris-Black (2004: 79) has argued, evidence of a conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION. Charteris-Black reminds us that “religious belief has always been an acceptable pretext for political action in American politics” (2005: 136).

References to *vision* by all three politicians refer to George Bush’s *vision of the state of Palestine and the state of Israel living side by side in peace*.

(65) Israel, like others, has lent its strong support for President Bush’s *vision*, expressed on June 24, 2002, of two states – Israel and a Palestinian state – living side by side in peace and security. (Sharon June 4, 2003)

(66) These discussions afford us with the opportunity to emphasize the central and essential role played by you, Mr. President, and by your administration in supporting and advancing the peace process toward the realization of your *vision* ... (Abbas May 26, 2005)

Conceptual metaphors based on religious metaphors could be represented by the following:



6.2.11 Summary of source domains and conceptual metaphors

This section illustrated the source domains used by Bush, Sharon and Abbas to frame aspects of peace. I identified 10 main source domains which are common to the three politicians: MOVEMENT/JOURNEY, PERSONIFICATION, BUILDING, FINANCE, DESTRUCTION/DEATH, CONFLICT, LIGHT/FIRE, PLANT, GAME, and RELIGION. Some source domains include few metaphor keywords, whereas others have a wide range of metaphor keywords. I also observed that the categorization of some metaphor keywords as belonging to one source domain was not always straightforward, since some metaphor keywords seemed to be more central to the domain than others. In these cases, the contextual meaning was essential in deciding to which source domain the metaphor keyword belonged to. Moreover, I illustrated that within the same metaphorical expression, different source domains may coexist together to build a complex representation of peace/peace process.

Each source domain helps to provide a perspective of peace/peace process and aspects related to it. In this regard, conceptual metaphors show how source domains help to construe and frame the issue from different concepts (Hellin Garcia 2008: 246). In this respect, the domain of MOVEMENT/JOURNEY reveals that PEACE IS A

JOURNEY, and that by following the roadmap, THE PEACE PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARD, however by not following the roadmap, THE PEACE PROCESS IS MOVEMENT BACKWARDS/LACK OF MOVEMENT. The domain of PERSONIFICATION shows that NATIONS ARE PEOPLE, and in particular, ISRAEL/PALESTINE ARE FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS, or they are trying to convince each other that this is so. The source domain of FINANCE presents the PARTICIPANTS IN THE PEACE PROCESS ARE BUSINESS PARTNERS and that PEACE IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY with a huge price tag. The BUILDING domain implies that PEACE (PROCESS) IS A CONSTRUCTION PROJECT and that the PARTICIPANTS ARE THE ARCHITECTS OR BUILDERS. The DESTRUCTION/DEATH domain reveals that PEACE/PEACE PROCESS IS THE INDIVIDUAL BEING KILLED and that either TERRORISTS ARE THE ENEMY/OPPONENT or ISRAELI POLICY IS THE ENEMY/OPPONENT. The CONFLICT source domain indicates that PEACE/PEACE PROCESS IS THE INDIVIDUAL UNDER ATTACK/BEING PROTECTED, that OPPOSITION GROUPS ARE THE ENEMY/THREAT, and that SUPPORTERS OF PEACE ARE THE DEFENDER/AGGRESSOR. The LIGHT/FIRE domain reveals that all parties believe that HOPE IS LIGHT and TERRORISM/EXTREMISM IS DARKNESS. The PLANT source domain implies that DEMOCRACY IS A PLANT that can flourish and blossom in any type of soil. The GAME domain shows that THE PEACE PROCESS IS A GAME, which all players wish to win, despite the difficulty. Finally, the RELIGION domain reveals that SUPPORTERS OF THE PEACE PROCESS ARE ADHERENTS to the peace process, and that GEORGE BUSH IS THE LEADER (MINISTER, PRIEST, POPE). The conceptual metaphors frame and evaluate the different elements of peace/the peace process through various source domains to construe a general conceptualization of peace.

7 Metaphor Variation

7.1 Metaphor event variation

Do the frequencies of metaphor types change depending on the year/event? This question seeks to find the motivating factors underlying the use of metaphor in the discourse. Bridgeman (2000: 111) notes that if the metaphor types can be linked to the events, then it is possible that the nature of the events exerts some influence on the understandings of peace reflected in the metaphorical expressions. While it is not possible to provide a direct cause and effect relationship between the events covered and the metaphor frequencies, it is worthwhile to consider if some types of metaphors are used more frequently to cover certain types of events than other types of metaphor.

Given that understandings of the peace process change over time with the introduction of new factors such as additional agreements or violent events, we might expect that the language used to describe the peace process would change as well (Bridgeman 2000: 62). Thus, a possible hypothesis could be that the metaphor frequencies will change depending on the event covered.

However, since Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue for a fixed conceptual mapping, a possible null hypothesis could be that there is no change in the metaphor source domains. An argument in support of this null hypothesis would be that *peace* is an abstract entity not specific to the case and therefore not altered by events that are

specific to this case. Thus, we can discuss peace in the same metaphors regardless of the peace process (Bridgeman 2000: 63).

A possible compromise can be found between the two hypotheses by saying that some of the metaphor source domain frequencies will change while some may remain relatively constant.

This variation could be explained by the different functions each serves, that is, those that remain constant could be linked to an overall conceptualisation of peace and those that vary could be linked to an experience of peace.

The following section will examine if, for example, more CONFLICT or DESTRUCTION/DEATH metaphors are used during periods of violent events, or if, for instance, BUILDING metaphors predominate in discussions of the settlements. This variation indicates a possibility that metaphors are chosen to reflect actual experiences of the peace process, rather than an entirely fixed conceptual mapping.

7.1.1 George W. Bush

When analyzing Bush’s metaphors for peace and the peace process in his speeches which were given from 2002 to 2005, it is clear that most of his metaphors were MOVEMENT/JOURNEY metaphors (63%). This source domain remains the most frequent in all of his speeches. He also consistently uses metaphors from the source domain of PERSONIFICATION, BUILDING, and RELIGION. The source domain of FINANCE is also quite frequent. These findings are illustrated in the following table.

	April 4/02	June 24/02	March 14/03	June 3/03	April 14/04	April 14/04	May 26/05	Total
MOVEMENT and JOURNEY	11	15	31	19	17	25	28	146

PERSONIFICATION	3	3	3	4	2	4	2	21
FINANCE	1	3	1	1	2	1		9
BUILDING	5	6	2	2	3	3	2	23
DESTRUCTION and DEATH	5	2						7
CONFLICT	2	3						5
LIGHT and FIRE		2						2
PLANT		3						3
GAME	1	1						2
RELIGION	1	2	1	2	5	3	1	15
Total	29	40	38	28	29	36	33	233

Table 7.1 Metaphor variation in Bush

What appears interesting from the analysis is the use of other source domains in the first two speeches. Here we find metaphorical instances of DESTRUCTION/DEATH, CONFLICT, and GAME.

The choice of metaphor from the source domain of DEATH and DESTRUCTION here are considered to be ‘topic-triggered’ (Koller 2004), that is, when an aspect of the topic under discussion inspires the choice of the metaphorical source domain via the metaphorical expressions used in the text.

(67) suicide bombing missions could well *blow up* the best and only **hope** for a Palestinian state.

(68) We *mourn* the **dead**, and we *mourn* the **damage done** to the hope of peace, the hope of Israel’s and the Israelis’ desire for a Jewish state at peace with its neighbors: the hope of the Palestinian people to build their own independent state.

The above extract is taken from Bush’s April 4, 2002 speech which was given during a period of increased violence. Sharon had decided to intensify military operations, to begin a major offensive to reoccupy most of the West Bank and to crush the intifada. At the same time a Palestinian suicide bomber killed twenty-nine Israelis,

which led to Israel responding with a brutal siege of the town of Jenin (Quandt 2005: 397).

What we have here is a literal-metaphorical opposition. The metaphorical and basic meanings of *mourn* have been evoked simultaneously in the same stretch of text.

The June 24, 2002 Rose Garden speech introduces another two source domains, LIGHT/FIRE, and PLANT. In this speech, Bush announces his *vision*, which we have previously linked to the source domain of RELIGION. It comes as no surprise that he now introduces *the light of hope*.

(69) Yet, at this critical moment, if all parties will break with the past and set out on a new path, we can overcome the darkness with the *light* of **hope**. (Bush June 24, 2002)

As was stated in section 6.2.8, Bush's reason for using PLANT metaphors is to show a correspondence between the sequence of events that lead to a successful outcome in the natural world and in the world of politics, if the Palestinians reform and follow the steps which he has outlined preciously in the speech in which these metaphors occur.

(70) If **liberty** can *blossom* in the *rocky soil* of the West Bank and Gaza, it will inspire millions of men and women around the globe who are equally weary of poverty and oppression, equally entitled to the benefits of democratic government. (Bush June 24, 2002)

7.1.2 Ariel Sharon

When analyzing Sharon's metaphors for peace and the peace process in the speeches given from 2002 to 2005, the findings are that most of his metaphors were MOVEMENT/JOURNEY (64%). He also used PERSONIFICATION metaphors and almost an equal distribution of FINANCE and BUILDING metaphors. These findings are illustrated table 7.2 below.

	Dec. 4/02	June 4/03	July 1/03	Dec. 18/03	Apr. 14/04	Apr. 14/04	Feb. 8/05	Sept. 15/05	Total
MOVEMENT and JOURNEY	21	5	10	44	14	3	16	9	122
PERSONIFICATION	2	4	5	4	3		7	1	26
FINANCE	4	2	3					5	14
BUILDING	2	1			1		7	2	13
DESTRUCTION and DEATH			1	1			1		3
CONFLICT							3		3
LIGHT and FIRE PLANT							2		2
GAME	1								1
RELIGION		3	1			2	1		7
Total	30	15	20	49	18	5	37	17	191

Table 7.2 Metaphor variation Sharon

As for variation, what stands out in Sharon's speeches is the incredible amount of MOVEMENT/JOURNEY metaphors (both in number and in percentage) identified in his December 2003 Herzliya speech in which Sharon presented his Unilateral Disengagement Plan of Gaza. Sharon starts off by saying stressing the steps Israel will take in order to advance the process, emphasizing that they are unilateral since the Palestinians refuse to follow the roadmap. Sharon claims that he is not abandoning the roadmap, but explains that there is another path which leads to the destination.

(71) I attach supreme importance to **taking** all **steps**, which will enable **progress toward** resolution of the conflict with the Palestinians.

(72) Israel is **taking** and will continue to **take steps** to significantly improve the living conditions of the Palestinian population ...

(73) Israel will make every effort to **advance** the process.

(74) The unilateral **steps** that Israel will **take** ...

(75) will not prevent the possibility of **returning to** the implementation of the **Roadmap** and **reaching** an agreed settlement ...

(76) The Disengagement Plan will be realized only in the event that the Palestinians continue to **drag** their **feet** and postpone the implementation of the **Roadmap** ...

(77) Let us not be **led astray**.

(78) Any **path** will be complicated, strewn with **obstacles** ...

(79) ... united in the power of our faith, we will be able to succeed in any **path** we choose.

The speech with the widest variety of source domains is Sharon's Sharm address in which he declares his continuing support for the Roadmap, agrees with Abbas to end violence and military operations and agrees to withdraw from Palestinian cities. It is for these reasons that he uses expressions such as *break off from the path of blood*, and *violence will not win, violence will not be allowed to murder hope*.

(80) The Disengagement plan can **pave** the **way** ...

(81) Together, we can promote relations between us and **ignite** a first **ray** of hope for all the people in the Middle East.

7.1.3 Mahmoud Abbas

In the analysis of Abbas's metaphors for peace and the peace process in his speeches which were given from 2003 to 2005, the top source domains are the same as those found in Bush and Sharon. Most of his metaphors were MOVEMENT/JOURNEY, with the percentage being lower than in the other two politicians (50%). Abbas also used PERSONIFICATION, FINANCE and BUILDING metaphors quite frequently. These findings are illustrated in the following table.

	Apr. 29/03	June 4/03	Jan. 15/05	Feb. 8/05	May 26/05	Total
MOVEMENT and JOURNEY	9	6	32	9	23	79
PERSONIFICATION	5	3	5	2	6	21
FINANCE	2	1	4	1	5	13
BUILDING	6		2	2	5	15
DESTRUCTION and DEATH	5		3		1	9
CONFLICT					1	1
LIGHT and FIRE			4			4
PLANT			2		1	3
GAME			2	1		3
RELIGION		1			3	4
FILM			2		4	6
BOOK			1			1
Total	27	11	57	15	49	159

Table 7.3 Metaphor variation Abbas

The most frequently used metaphors are present throughout all the speeches, with some variation occurring in the May 2005 news conference at the White House with President Bush. It is one of the two speeches in which Abbas makes reference to Bush's *vision*. The speech with the greatest variation however, is Abbas' January 2005 Inauguration speech. It has the highest percentage of MOVEMENT/JOURNEY metaphors not only because Abbas refers to movement towards peace, but more specifically advancing the democratic process which will lead to an independent

Palestinian state and therefore, a peaceful solution with Israel. It is in this speech that Abbas uses LIGHT/FIRE and PLANT metaphors which positively evaluate Palestine and democracy, as was previously discussed in sections 6.2.7 and 6.2.8. In this speech Abbas also speaks of the Israeli-Palestinian issue as a book or story:

(82) Peace can only be achieved by working together to reach a permanent status solution that deals with all of the outstanding issues, and which *turns* a new *page* on the basis of two neighboring states.

7.2 Metaphor culture variation

What are the similarities and/or differences in the use of metaphors by the different politicians from the three cultures? As stated previously, this question may help us to answer questions regarding ideological and cultural influence on metaphor choice. What is clear by looking at metaphor source domains is that all three politicians strongly favour MOVEMENT/JOURNEY metaphors. The difference lies in the metaphor keywords used and in the conceptual metaphors that can be formulated.

7.2.1 Bush and Abbas: an avenue or a maze?

The metaphors in Bush's peace discourse reveal the 'just leave me alone' attitude that had come to embody his reaction to the Israeli-Palestinian issue, and which was in accordance with most of his neo-conservative administration. In April 2002 Bush announced his *vision* of the future, and he has been quoted as having said: "I gave them a vision, what do the Palestinians want from me now?" (Miller 2008: 351). What Bush subsequently did do, as previously stated, was design a *roadmap* which would shift the obligation of responsibility onto others, primarily the Palestinians, to

act. Reaching the destination ‘peace’ was in the hands of the Israelis and the Palestinians.

(83) Peace with Israel is the only *avenue* to prosperity and success for a new Palestinian state ... (Bush Apr. 4, 2002)

(84) So I challenge Israel to *take* concrete *steps* to support the emergence of a viable, credible Palestinian state ... (Bush June 24, 2002)

Abbas also uses MOVEMENT/JOURNEY metaphors in his response to Bush. However, whereas Bush and Sharon use the same keywords (it has been thought that the two politicians often speak with one voice), Abbas’s metaphor keywords are unique to his discourse:

(86) You must ensure that we do not *re-enter* the *labyrinth* of preconditions that preclude *progress* in implementation. You must ensure that we do not *get stuck* in the *maze* of long-term partial or interim solutions designed to *delay reaching* a just and comprehensive solution. (Abbas Jan. 15, 2005)

Progress does not solely depend on the Palestinians, indeed it is Bush and the Quartet who have laid out the roadmap, and it is up to them to ensure that no mazes or labyrinths are put in the way of progress towards the destination of a peaceful solution.

7.2.2 Sharon and Abbas: extending hands or no partner?

Gavriely-Nuri (2010) analyses the use of the mythic Israeli metaphor *extend a hand in peace*, and groups the use of the metaphor by Israeli leaders into four models: the European, the Sabra, the Peacemaker, and the Postmodern. According to Gavriely-Nuri, Ariel Sharon fits into the Sabra model. Sabra is the generic local term referring to native-born Israelis who were born between 1930–1960. The Sabra is

ideologically motivated, his goal is to protect Israel's existential presence. The Sabra believes in his own power and personal ability to change reality without external help. The Sabra model reflects a unilateral use of the metaphor. It demonstrates no need of a partner for peace, of someone to accept the extended hand. The expression *there is no partner (for peace)* (in Hebrew: *Ein im mi la'asot shalom*, literally: '*There's no one with whom to make peace*'), is another mythic metaphor from the Israeli peace discourse, re-emphasizing the moral asymmetry.

Although Gavriely-Nuri places Sharon's use of the metaphor in the Sabra model, I argue that his discourse also has characteristics of the Postmodern model. While serving many purposes, the main objective of the metaphor's postmodern use is the construction of the Israeli speaker's positive self-image as a peace seeker by demonstrating sensitivity to the positive social value: yearning for peace.

(86) Israel is a *peace-seeking* nation, Israel's *hand has always been extended in peace* to all Arab states and to our Palestinian neighbours. (Sharon July 1, 2003)

(87) Our desire for peace is strong enough to ensure that we will achieve it, only if our neighbours are genuine *partners*. (Sharon July 1, 2003)

(88) Having reached the conclusion that, for the time being, there exists no Palestinian *partner* with whom to *advance* peacefully *toward* a settlement and since the current impasse is unhelpful to the achievement of our shared goals, I have decided to initiate a gradual disengagement... (Sharon Dec. 18, 2003)

Israeli peace metaphors emphasize the perceived asymmetry between the opponents ('us and them'). This has accompanied the Israeli peace discourse since its beginning and peaked in Israel's unilateral disengagement.

The Postmodern model has, in effect, transformed the metaphor into a device belonging to the world of public relations. The concept 'peace' has been emptied of content; it has become illusory, something that neither the user nor the listener believes is possible to achieve and used for purposes of prestige (Gavriely-Nuri 2010).

In order to receive support, both Israel and Palestine try to convince the international community that they are pursuing peace as their ultimate goal. Abbas, like the Palestinian leader before him, recognizes the metaphor's potential for rehabilitating a problematic international image. The use of the metaphor in Palestinian discourse is that of the leader depicting himself and the Palestinians as victims of an endless conflict and the Israelis as opponents who stubbornly refuse to make peace.

(89) Our *hand* is *extended towards* an Israeli *partner* for *making* peace.

(90) But *partnership* is not through words but rather deed.

(91) As we *extend* our *hand* to you in peace, we reiterate that peace cannot be possible with the continuation of settlement activity.

Overall, there are very few metaphors for peace unique to the three politicians. The only differences observed lie not in which metaphors are used, but in what aspects of peace or the peace process they are used to highlight. PEACE IS A JOURNEY and THE PEACE PROCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARD are the most common peace metaphors in the speeches of all three politicians, which suggest that it is central to how politicians understand peace. The only metaphor used to about the same extent is the A NATION IS A PERSON metaphor, which is not strictly a peace metaphor, but

leads to the formulation of ISRAEL/PALESTINE IS A FRIENDLY NEIGHBOR, or
ISRAEL/PALESTINE IS A PARTNER.

8 Conclusions

8.1 Summary of the study

This chapter summarizes the results of the study which includes the identification of the following elements: the identification of metaphorical expressions, the metaphor keywords, the source domains, and the conceptual metaphors. I also refer to the interpretation and explanation of these elements within the discourse. Finally, I present some reflection on the limitations and implications for future research.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study first proposed analyzing how Bush, Sharon, and Abbas conceptualize peace/the peace process and aspects related to it through metaphorical language. By doing so, this study also aimed to explore how they framed peace/the peace process through metaphor and what, if anything, the metaphorical language revealed about the three politician's political ideology.

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, Conceptual Metaphor Theory provided a definition for what a conceptual metaphor is, while Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis proposed a three step procedure to analyze metaphor within discourse: metaphor identification, interpretation, and explanation. Although Lakoff and Johnson, and Charteris-Black have made a substantial contribution to metaphor studies, they fail to address some unsolved issues regarding the metaphor identification process within discourse. It was for this reason that this study chose to

adopt the MIPVU metaphor identification procedure which allows for a more objective and reliable method.

The corpus consisted of 20 political speeches by George W. Bush, Ariel Sharon, and Mahmoud Abbas from 2002 to 2005. Only the parts of the political speeches related to aspects of peace/the peace process were analyzed. The complete corpus included 587 different metaphor keywords which were categorized according to word class: 322 nouns, 251 verbs, 73 prepositions, 22 adverbs, and 13 adjectives were identified.

Regarding the identification of metaphor keywords, nouns and verbs have the tendency to be more easily identifiable compared to adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions. In this respect, the steps in the MIPVU procedure helped to decide not only if a term was metaphorical or not, but also to which source domain it belonged to.

As far as the categorization is concerned, it was not always easy to categorize a metaphor keyword as belonging to one source domain or another. A reason for this is that a particular metaphor keyword may be more central to a category than others.

The results show that a total of 587 metaphor keywords were identified in the corpus, which were categorized into 10 source domains. The categories are MOVEMENT/JOURNEY, PERSONIFICATION, FINANCE, BUILDING, DESTRUCTION/DEATH, CONFLICT, LIGHT/FIRE, PLANT, GAME and RELIGION. Having identified the metaphor keywords and source domains, 44 conceptual metaphors were formulated.

This study also investigated possible event and culture variation in metaphor use. The variation can be explained by the different functions each metaphor serves.

Some metaphors remain constant, and can be linked to an overall conceptualization of peace. On the other hand, those that vary can be considered topic-triggered, and linked to an experience of peace.

Overall, there are very few metaphors for peace unique to the three politicians. The only differences observed lie not in which metaphors are used, but in what aspects of peace or the peace process they are used to highlight.

8.2 Reflections

8.2.1 Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of this study is that it analyzed only political speeches. Having previously conducted a small-scale study on the newspaper coverage of the peace process, findings showed the use of the same source domains but a much larger range of metaphor keywords. A comparison of how the peace process is viewed by the politicians, but also by the journalists, who often use their same metaphors, could reveal interesting results.

Another limitation to this study regards metaphor identification. Although the steps in the MIPVU procedure make it possible for a researcher to clearly identify a linguistic metaphor, the procedure calls for more than one researcher to carry out the analysis. There were some problematic cases in this corpus that would have benefited from a second reviewer. The same should be said about the categorization of the identified metaphor keywords. The steps of classifying according to source domain and extrapolating possible conceptual metaphors is even more subjective task.

8.2.2 Pedagogical Implications

There are several implications arising out of this study for students of English as a Foreign language, particularly students of Political Science and tertiary students learning for academic purposes. Using Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis to identify underlying conceptual metaphors and the way they are represented in a text linguistically can provide an organizational framework and shed light on the choice of lexical items that at first glance may seem almost random. An understanding, for example, of how many linguistic metaphors can arise out of the conceptual metaphor PEACE IS A JOURNEY can perform at least three functions. Firstly, it allows a learner to see the underlying connections between the various linguistic expressions employed, thus helping provide a deeper understanding of the text and adding the perception of coherence. Secondly, it facilitates an insight into the underlying ideology and less overt aspects of the text. Thirdly, it can give cross-cultural insights into the conceptual metaphors shared by people of a similar culture or society. For example, an awareness of the uses of the metaphor '*we extend our hand in peace*' and the manner in which they may be differently employed by writers of different political ideologies and/or cultures will encourage deeper insights into a text, allowing students to bring a critical mind to readings and aiding both comprehension and production skills.

8.3 Suggestions for Further Research

Issues that were not taken into consideration were the role of deliberate metaphor and conscious versus unconscious metaphor comprehension.

Metaphor researchers have drawn attention to the unconscious conceptual and especially framing effects of metaphor on discourse processing, presumably influencing our knowledge and attitudes in important areas of experience like politics, business, and health, but they have not carried out the required discourse-psychological research to support their claims with behavioral evidence. Text comprehension researchers have shown how frames and scenarios in fact do influence text comprehension and resulting knowledge and attitudes in for instance the media, education, and literature, but they have not extended their interest to the role of metaphorical frames and scenarios.

Appendix A: Bush Rose Garden Speech - April 4, 2002

President Bush: Good morning. During the course of one week, the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated dramatically. Last Wednesday, my Special Envoy, Anthony Zinni, reported to me that we were on the verge of a cease-fire agreement that would have spared Palestinian and Israeli lives.

That hope fell away when a terrorist attacked a group of innocent people in a Netanya hotel, killing many men and women in what is a mounting toll of terror.

In the days since, the world has watched with growing concern the horror of bombings and burials and the stark picture of tanks in the street. Across the world, people are grieving for Israelis and Palestinians who have lost their lives.

When an 18-year-old Palestinian girl is induced to blow herself up, and in the process kills a 17-year-old Israeli girl, the future, itself, is dying -- the future of the Palestinian people and the future of the Israeli people. We mourn the dead, and we mourn the damage done to the hope of peace, the hope of Israel's and the Israelis' desire for a Jewish state at peace with its neighbors; the hope of the Palestinian people to build their own independent state.

Terror must be stopped. No nation can negotiate with terrorists. For there is no way to make peace with those whose only goal is death.

This could be a hopeful moment in the Middle East. The proposal of Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, supported by the Arab League, has put a number of countries in the Arab world closer than ever to recognizing Israel's right to exist. The United States is on record supporting the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people for a Palestinian state.

Israel has recognized the goal of a Palestinian state. The outlines of a just settlement are clear: two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side, in peace and security.

This can be a time for hope. But it calls for leadership, not for terror. Since September the 11th, I've delivered this message: everyone must choose; you're either with the civilized world, or you're with the terrorists. All in the Middle East also must choose and must move decisively in word and deed against terrorist acts.

The Chairman of the Palestinian Authority has not consistently opposed or confronted terrorists. At Oslo and elsewhere, Chairman Arafat renounced terror as an instrument of his cause, and he agreed to control it. He's not done so.

The situation in which he finds himself today is largely of his own making. He's missed his opportunities, and thereby betrayed the hopes of the people he's supposed to lead. Given his failure, the Israeli government feels it must strike at terrorist networks that are killing its citizens.

Yet, Israel must understand that its response to these recent attacks is only a temporary measure. All parties have their own responsibilities. And all parties owe it to their own people to act.

We all know today's situation runs the risk of aggravating long-term bitterness and undermining relationships that are critical to any hope of peace. I call on the Palestinian people, the Palestinian Authority and our friends in the Arab world to join us in delivering a clear message to terrorists: blowing yourself up does not help the Palestinian cause. To the contrary, suicide bombing missions could well blow up the best and only hope for a Palestinian state.

All states must keep their promise, made in a vote in the United Nations to actively oppose terror in all its forms. No nation can pick and choose its terrorist friends. I call on the Palestinian Authority and all governments in the region to do everything in their power to stop terrorist activities, to disrupt terrorist financing, and to stop inciting violence by glorifying terror in state-owned media, or telling suicide bombers they are martyrs. They're not martyrs. They're murderers. And they undermine the cause of the Palestinian people.

Those governments, like Iraq, that reward parents for the sacrifice of their children are guilty of soliciting murder of the worst kind. All who care about the Palestinian people should join in condemning and acting against groups like Al-Aqsa, Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad,

and all groups which opposed the peace process and seek the destruction of Israel. The recent Arab League support of Crown Prince Abdullah's initiative for peace is promising, is hopeful, because it acknowledges Israel's right to exist. And it raises the hope of sustained, constructive Arab involvement in the search for peace. This builds on a tradition of visionary leadership, begun by President Sadat and King Hussein, and carried forward by President Mubarak and King Abdullah.

Now, other Arab states must rise to this occasion and accept Israel as a nation and as a neighbor. Peace with Israel is the only avenue to prosperity and success for a new Palestinian state. The Palestinian people deserve peace and an opportunity to better their lives. They need their closest neighbor, Israel, to be an economic partner, not a mortal enemy. They deserve a government that respects human rights and a government that focuses on their needs -- education and health care -- rather than feeding their resentments.

It is not enough for Arab nations to defend the Palestinian cause. They must truly help the Palestinian people by seeking peace and fighting terror and promoting development.

Israel faces hard choices of its own. Its government has supported the creation of a Palestinian state that is not a haven for terrorism. Yet, Israel also must recognize that such a state needs to be politically and economically viable.

Consistent with the Mitchell plan, Israeli settlement activity in occupied territories must stop. And the occupation must end through withdrawal to secure and recognize boundaries consistent with United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338. Ultimately, this approach should be the basis of agreements between Israel and Syria and Israel and Lebanon.

Israel should also show a respect, a respect for and concern about the dignity of the Palestinian people who are and will be their neighbors. It is crucial to distinguish between the terrorists and ordinary Palestinians seeking to provide for their own families.

The Israeli government should be compassionate at checkpoints and border crossings, sparing innocent Palestinians daily humiliation. Israel should take immediate action to ease closures and allow peaceful people to go back to work.

Israel is facing a terrible and serious challenge. For seven days, it has acted to root out terrorist nests. America recognizes Israel's right to defend itself from terror. Yet, to lay the foundations of future peace, I ask Israel to halt incursions into Palestinian-controlled areas and begin the withdrawal from those cities it has recently occupied.

I speak as a committed friend of Israel. I speak out of a concern for its long-term security, a security that will come with a genuine peace. As Israel steps back, responsible Palestinian leaders and Israel's Arab neighbors must step forward and show the world that they are truly on the side of peace. The choice and the burden will be theirs.

The world expects an immediate cease-fire, immediate resumption of security cooperation with Israel against terrorism. An immediate order to crack down on terrorist networks. I expect better leadership, and I expect results.

These are the elements of peace in the Middle East. And now, we must build the road to those goals. Decades of bitter experience teach a clear lesson: progress is impossible when nations emphasize their grievances and ignore their opportunities. Storms of violence cannot go on. Enough is enough.

And to those who would try to use the current crisis as an opportunity to widen the conflict, stay out. Iran's arms shipments and support for terror fuel the fire of conflict in the Middle East. And it must stop. Syria has spoken out against al Qaeda. We expect it to act against Hamas and Hezbollah, as well. It's time for Iran to focus on meeting its own people's aspirations for freedom and for Syria to decide which side of the war against terror it is on.

The world finds itself at a critical moment. This is a conflict that can widen or an opportunity we can seize. And so I've decided to send Secretary of State Powell to the region next week to seek broad international support for the vision I've outlined today. As a step in this process, he will work to implement United Nations Resolution 1402, an immediate and meaningful cease-fire, an end to terror and violence and incitement; withdrawal of Israeli

troops from Palestinian cities, including Ramallah; implementation of the already agreed upon Tenet and Mitchell plans, which will lead to a political settlement.

I have no illusions. We have no illusions about the difficulty of the issues that lie ahead. Yet, our nation's resolve is strong. America is committed to ending this conflict and beginning an era of peace.

We know this is possible, because in our lifetimes we have seen an end to conflicts that no one thought could end. We've seen fierce enemies let go of long histories of strife and anger. America itself counts former adversaries as trusted friends: Germany and Japan and now Russia.

Conflict is not inevitable. Distrust need not be permanent. Peace is possible when we break free of old patterns and habits of hatred. The violence and grief that troubled the Holy Land have been among the great tragedies of our time. The Middle East has often been left behind in the political and economic advancement of the world. That is the history of the region. But it need not and must not be its fate.

The Middle East could write a new story of trade and development and democracy. And we stand ready to help. Yet, this progress can only come in an atmosphere of peace. And the United States will work for all the children of Abraham to know the benefits of peace.

Thank you very much.

Appendix A1: MIPVU analysis of Bush Rose Garden Speech – April 4, 2002

1 *the future itself is **dying***

- a LU die (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to disappear, or to stop existing
 - b) Macmillan1: to stop being alive
 - c) Yes. The basic meaning is more human-oriented.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *We **mourn** the dead, and we **mourn** the **damage** done to the **hope** of peace, the **hope** of Israel's and the Israelis' **desire** for a Jewish state at peace with its **neighbors**: the **hope** of the Palestinian people to **build** their own independent state.*

- a LU mourn (v)
 - a) Longman 1: to feel very sad and to miss someone after they have died
 - b) Longman 1: to feel very sad and to miss someone after they have died
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **MRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- b LU mourn (v)
 - a) Longman 2: to feel very sad because something no longer exists or is no longer as good as it used to be
 - b) Longman 1: to feel very sad and to miss someone after they have died
 - c) Yes. The basic meaning is more human-oriented
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU damage (n)
 - a) Macmillan 3: negative effects on someone or something
 - b) Macmillan 1: physical harm caused to something so that it is broken, spoiled, or injured
 - c) Yes. The basic meaning is more concrete than the contextual meaning, because it is visible.
 - d) Yes. The contextual meaning can be understood through the more concrete basic meaning.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU hope (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the feeling or belief that something you want to happen is likely to happen
 - b) Macmillan 1: the feeling or belief that something you want to happen is likely to happen
 - c) -
 - d) -

- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**
- e LU desire (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**
- f LU neighbor (n)
- a) Macmillan 2 someone or something that is close to a particular person, place, or thing
- b) Macmillan 1 someone who lives near you
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- g LU build (v)
- a) Macmillan 2 : to develop something
- b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 3 *For there is no way to **make** peace with those whose only goal is death.*
- a LU make (v)
- a) Macmillan phrases (peace): to end an argument with someone and stop feeling angry towards them
- b) Macmillan 1: to create or produce something by working
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 4 *The outlines of a just settlement are clear: two states, Israel and Palestine, **living side by side**, in peace and security.*
- a LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
- b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- b LU side by side (n + prep + n)

- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

5 *We all know today's situation runs the risk of aggravating long-term bitterness and **undermining** relationships that are critical to any hope of peace.*

- a LU undermine (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to make something or someone become gradually less effective, confident, or successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to dig under something, especially so that it becomes weaker
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *To the contrary, suicide bombing missions could well **blow up** the best and only hope for a Palestinian state.*

- a LU blow up (v)
 - a) Macmillan 7 plans do not happen as you expected and cause a lot of problems
 - b) Macmillan 1 if something blows up, or if someone blows something up, it explodes and is destroyed
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

7 *All who care about the Palestinian people should join in condemning and acting against groups like Al-Aqsa, Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and all groups which **opposed** the peace process and **seek the destruction** of Israel.*

- a LU oppose (v)
 - a) Longman 1 to disagree with something such as a plan or idea and try to prevent it from happening or succeeding
 - b) Longman 2: to fight or compete against another person or group in a battle, competition, or election
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU seek (v)
 - a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something

- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

- c LU destruction (n)
- a) *oed*: the action or process of causing so much damage to something that it no longer exists
 - b) *oed*: the action or process of killing or being killed
 - c) No.
 - d) No.
 - e) **NMRW**

9 *And it raises the hope of sustained, constructive Arab involvement in the **search** for peace.*

10

- a LU search (v)
- a) Longman 4: an attempt to find an explanation or solution
 - b) Longman 1: an attempt to find someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

9 *Peace with Israel is the only **avenue** to prosperity and success for a new Palestinian state.*

- a LU avenue (n)
- a) Macmillan 2 :one of the methods you can use to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a wide straight road, especially one with trees on each side
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

10 *They must truly help the Palestinian people by **seeking** peace and fighting terror and promoting development.*

- a LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *Yet, to **lay** the **foundations** of **future** peace, I ask Israel to halt incursions into Palestinian-controlled areas and begin the withdrawal from those cities it has recently occupied.*

- a LU lay (v)

- a) Macmillan 4: to carefully plan and prepare something that will be needed in the future to achieve an aim
 - b) Macmillan 1a. to put something such as pipes, wires, or a carpet into the correct position in the ground or on the floor, so that they are ready to be used
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU foundation (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: the most basic part of something from which the rest of it develops
 - b) Macmillan 1: the part of a structure of a building that is below the ground and supports the rest of it
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU future (adj)
- a) Macmillan 1: expected to exist or happen during the time following the present time
 - b) Macmillan 1: expected to exist or happen during the time following the present time
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

12 *As Israel **steps back**, responsible Palestinian leaders and Israel's Arab neighbors must **step forward** and show the world that they are truly on the **side** of peace.*

- a LU step back (v + adv)
- a) Macmillan: to stop for a moment in order to consider something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move by putting one foot down in front of or behind the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU step forward (v + adv)
- a) to offer help to someone who needs it
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move by putting one foot down in front of or behind the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU side (n)
- a) Macmillan 5: if you are on someone's side, you support them in an argument or a fight
 - b) Macmillan 1: a particular area of something such as a building, street, or town
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *And now, we must **build** the **road** to those goals.*

- a LU build (v)
- a) Macmillan 2 : to develop something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU road (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a particular process or course of action
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way that leads from one place to another, especially one with a hard surface that cars and other vehicles can use
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 ***progress** is impossible when nations emphasize their grievances and ignore their opportunities.*

- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

15 *And so I've decided to send Secretary of State Powell to the region next week to seek broad international support for the **vision** I've outlined today.*

- a LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

16 *As a **step** in this process, he will work to implement United Nations Resolution 1402, an immediate and meaningful cease-fire, an end to terror and violence and incitement; withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestinian cities, including Ramallah; implementation of the already agreed upon Tenet and Mitchell plans, which will **lead** to a political settlement.*

a LU step (n)

a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim

b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

b LU lead to (v)

a) Macmillan 1: (phrasal verb) to begin a process that causes something to happen

b) Macmillan 1c: if something such as a road, river, or door leads in a particular direction or to a particular place, or if it leads you there, it goes in that direction or to that place

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

17 *America is **committed** to ending this conflict and beginning an era of peace.*

a LU committed (adj)

a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it

b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it

c) -

d) -

e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

18 *Peace is possible when we **break free** of old patterns and habits of hatred.*

a LU break free (v)

a) Macmillan 2: to escape from an unpleasant person or situation that controls your life

b) Macmillan 1: to escape from someone who is trying to hold you

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

19 *Yet, this progress can only **come** in an atmosphere of peace.*

- a LU come (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to reach a particular state
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move or travel to the place where you are
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

20 *And the United States will work for all the children of Abraham to know the **benefits** of peace.*

- a LU benefit (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: an advantage you get from a situation
 - b) Macmillan 3: extra money or other advantages that you get in addition to your salary from your employer as part of your job
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix B: Bush Rose Garden Speech - June 24, 2002

President Bush: For too long, the citizens of the Middle East have lived in the midst of death and fear. The hatred of a few holds the hopes of many hostage. The forces of extremism and terror are attempting to kill progress and peace by killing the innocent. And this casts a dark shadow over an entire region. For the sake of all humanity, things must change in the Middle East.

It is untenable for Israeli citizens to live in terror. It is untenable for Palestinians to live in squalor and occupation. And the current situation offers no prospect that life will improve. Israeli citizens will continue to be victimized by terrorists, and so Israel will continue to defend herself.

In the situation the Palestinian people will grow more and more miserable. My vision is two states, living side by side in peace and security. There is simply no way to achieve that peace until all parties fight terror. Yet, at this critical moment, if all parties will break with the past and set out on a new path, we can overcome the darkness with the light of hope. Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be born.

I call on the Palestinian people to elect new leaders, leaders not compromised by terror. I call upon them to build a practicing democracy, based on tolerance and liberty. If the Palestinian people actively pursue these goals, America and the world will actively support their efforts. If the Palestinian people meet these goals, they will be able to reach agreement with Israel and Egypt and Jordan on security and other arrangements for independence.

And when the Palestinian people have new leaders, new institutions and new security arrangements with their neighbors, the United States of America will support the creation of a Palestinian state whose borders and certain aspects of its sovereignty will be provisional until resolved as part of a final settlement in the Middle East.

In the work ahead, we all have responsibilities. The Palestinian people are gifted and capable, and I am confident they can achieve a new birth for their nation. A Palestinian state will never be created by terror -- it will be built through reform. And reform must be more than cosmetic change, or veiled attempt to preserve the status quo. True reform will require entirely new political and economic institutions, based on democracy, market economics and action against terrorism.

Today, the elected Palestinian legislature has no authority, and power is concentrated in the hands of an unaccountable few. A Palestinian state can only serve its citizens with a new constitution which separates the powers of government. The Palestinian parliament should have the full authority of a legislative body. Local officials and government ministers need authority of their own and the independence to govern effectively.

The United States, along with the European Union and Arab states, will work with Palestinian leaders to create a new constitutional framework, and a working democracy for the Palestinian people. And the United States, along with others in the international community will help the Palestinians organize and monitor fair, multi-party local elections by the end of the year, with national elections to follow.

Today, the Palestinian people live in economic stagnation, made worse by official corruption. A Palestinian state will require a vibrant economy, where honest enterprise is encouraged by honest government. The United States, the international donor community and the World Bank stand ready to work with Palestinians on a major project of economic reform and development. The United States, the EU, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund are willing to oversee reforms in Palestinian finances, encouraging transparency and independent auditing.

And the United States, along with our partners in the developed world, will increase our humanitarian assistance to relieve Palestinian suffering. Today, the Palestinian people lack effective courts of law and have no means to defend and vindicate their rights. A Palestinian state will require a system of reliable justice to punish those who prey on the innocent. The United States and members of the international community stand ready to work with

Palestinian leaders to establish finance -- establish finance and monitor a truly independent judiciary.

Today, Palestinian authorities are encouraging, not opposing, terrorism. This is unacceptable. And the United States will not support the establishment of a Palestinian state until its leaders engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure. This will require an externally supervised effort to rebuild and reform the Palestinian security services. The security system must have clear lines of authority and accountability and a unified chain of command.

America is pursuing this reform along with key regional states. The world is prepared to help, yet ultimately these steps toward statehood depend on the Palestinian people and their leaders. If they energetically take the path of reform, the rewards can come quickly. If Palestinians embrace democracy, confront corruption and firmly reject terror, they can count on American support for the creation of a provisional state of Palestine.

With a dedicated effort, this state could rise rapidly, as it comes to terms with Israel, Egypt and Jordan on practical issues, such as security. The final borders, the capital and other aspects of this state's sovereignty will be negotiated between the parties, as part of a final settlement. Arab states have offered their help in this process, and their help is needed.

I've said in the past that nations are either with us or against us in the war on terror. To be counted on the side of peace, nations must act. Every leader actually committed to peace will end incitement to violence in official media, and publicly denounce homicide bombings. Every nation actually committed to peace will stop the flow of money, equipment and recruits to terrorist groups seeking the destruction of Israel -- including Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah. Every nation actually committed to peace must block the shipment of Iranian supplies to these groups, and oppose regimes that promote terror, like Iraq. And Syria must choose the right side in the war on terror by closing terrorist camps and expelling terrorist organizations.

Leaders who want to be included in the peace process must show by their deeds an undivided support for peace. And as we move toward a peaceful solution, Arab states will be expected to build closer ties of diplomacy and commerce with Israel, leading to full normalization of relations between Israel and the entire Arab world. Israel also has a large stake in the success of a democratic Palestine. Permanent occupation threatens Israel's identity and democracy. A stable, peaceful Palestinian state is necessary to achieve the security that Israel longs for. So I challenge Israel to take concrete steps to support the emergence of a viable, credible Palestinian state.

As we make progress towards security, Israel forces need to withdraw fully to positions they held prior to September 28, 2000. And consistent with the recommendations of the Mitchell Committee, Israeli settlement activity in the occupied territories must stop.

The Palestinian economy must be allowed to develop. As violence subsides, freedom of movement should be restored, permitting innocent Palestinians to resume work and normal life. Palestinian legislators and officials, humanitarian and international workers, must be allowed to go about the business of building a better future. And Israel should release frozen Palestinian revenues into honest, accountable hands.

I've asked Secretary Powell to work intensively with Middle Eastern and international leaders to realize the vision of a Palestinian state, focusing them on a comprehensive plan to support Palestinian reform and institution-building.

Ultimately, Israelis and Palestinians must address the core issues that divide them if there is to be a real peace, resolving all claims and ending the conflict between them. This means that the Israeli occupation that began in 1967 will be ended through a settlement negotiated between the parties, based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, with Israeli withdrawal to secure and recognize borders.

We must also resolve questions concerning Jerusalem, the plight and future of Palestinian refugees, and a final peace between Israel and Lebanon, and Israel and a Syria that supports peace and fights terror.

All who are familiar with the history of the Middle East realize that there may be setbacks in this process. Trained and determined killers, as we have seen, want to stop it. Yet the Egyptian and Jordanian peace treaties with Israel remind us that with determined and responsible leadership progress can come quickly.

As new Palestinian institutions and new leaders emerge, demonstrating real performance on security and reform, I expect Israel to respond and work toward a final status agreement. With intensive effort by all, this agreement could be reached within three years from now. And I and my country will actively lead toward that goal.

I can understand the deep anger and anguish of the Israeli people. You've lived too long with fear and funerals, having to avoid markets and public transportation, and forced to put armed guards in kindergarten classrooms. The Palestinian Authority has rejected your offer at hand, and trafficked with terrorists. You have a right to a normal life; you have a right to security; and I deeply believe that you need a reformed, responsible Palestinian partner to achieve that security.

I can understand the deep anger and despair of the Palestinian people. For decades you've been treated as pawns in the Middle East conflict. Your interests have been held hostage to a comprehensive peace agreement that never seems to come, as your lives get worse year by year. You deserve democracy and the rule of law. You deserve an open society and a thriving economy. You deserve a life of hope for your children. An end to occupation and a peaceful democratic Palestinian state may seem distant, but America and our partners throughout the world stand ready to help, help you make them possible as soon as possible.

If liberty can blossom in the rocky soil of the West Bank and Gaza, it will inspire millions of men and women around the globe who are equally weary of poverty and oppression, equally entitled to the benefits of democratic government.

I have a hope for the people of Muslim countries. Your commitments to morality, and learning, and tolerance led to great historical achievements. And those values are alive in the Islamic world today. You have a rich culture, and you share the aspirations of men and women in every culture. Prosperity and freedom and dignity are not just American hopes, or Western hopes. They are universal, human hopes. And even in the violence and turmoil of the Middle East, America believes those hopes have the power to transform lives and nations.

This moment is both an opportunity and a test for all parties in the Middle East: an opportunity to lay the foundations for future peace; a test to show who is serious about peace and who is not. The choice here is stark and simple. The Bible says, "I have set before you life and death; therefore, choose life." The time has arrived for everyone in this conflict to choose peace, and hope, and life.

Thank you very much.

Appendix B1: MIPVU analysis of Bush Rose Garden Speech – June 24, 2002

1 *The hatred of a few **holds** the hopes of many **hostage**.*

- a LU hold hostage (v + n)
 - a) Longman 2: to be influenced and controlled by something, so that you are not free to do what you want
 - b) Longman 1: someone who is kept as a prisoner by an enemy so that the other side will do what the enemy demands
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *The forces of extremism and terror are attempting to **kill** **progress** and peace by killing the innocent.*

- a LU kill (v)
 - a) Macmillan 4: to stop something from continuing
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make a person or other living thing die
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU progress (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

3 *My **vision** is two states, **living side by side** in peace and security.*

- a LU vision (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU live (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- c LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

4 *There is simply no **way** to **achieve** that peace until all parties fight terror.*

- a LU way (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
 - b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

5 *Yet, at this critical moment, if all parties will **break** with the past and **set out** on a new **path**, we can **overcome** the **darkness** with the **light** of hope.*

- a LU break (v)
- a) Macmillan 7: to stop a bad situation from continuing
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make something separate into two or more pieces, for example by hitting or dropping it
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU set out (v)
- a) Macmillan 4: to start doing or working on something in order to achieve an aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: to start a journey
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU path (n)
 a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- d LU overcome (v)
 a) Longman 1: to successfully control a feeling or problem that prevents you from achieving something
 b) Longman 4: to fight and win against someone or something
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- e LU darkness (n)
 a) Macmillan 4: sadness, or lack of hope
 b) Macmillan 1: the lack of light, especially because it is night
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- f LU light (n)
 a) something that makes you think that a difficult situation will improve
 b) Macmillan 1: brightness from the sun or from a light, which allows you to see things
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- 6 *Peace requires a new and different Palestinian leadership, so that a Palestinian state can be **born**.*
- a LU born (adj)
 a) Macmillan 3: if a new organization, idea etc is born, it begins to exist
 b) Macmillan 1: when a baby is born, it comes out of its mother's body and starts its life. The time when you are born is your birth, and a mother gives birth to a baby
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- 7 *To be counted on the **side** of peace, nations must act.*
- a LU side (n)
 a) Macmillan 5: if you are on someone's side, you support them in an argument or a fight

- b) Macmillan 1: a particular area of something such as a building, street, or town
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

8 *Every leader actually **committed** to peace will end incitement to violence in official media, and publicly denounce homicide bombings.*

- a LU committed (adj)
 - a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

9 *Every nation actually **committed** to peace will stop the flow of money, equipment and recruits to terrorist groups seeking the destruction of Israel – including Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah.*

- a LU committed (adj)
 - a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

10 *Every nation actually **committed** to peace must block the shipment of Iranian supplies to these groups, and oppose regimes that promote terror, like Iraq.*

- a LU committed (adj)
 - a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

11 *Leaders who want to be included in the peace process must show by their deeds an undivided **support** for peace.*

- a LU support (n)

- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
- b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

12 *And as we **move toward** a peaceful solution, Arab states will be expected to **build** closer ties of diplomacy and commerce with Israel, **leading to** full normalization of relations between Israel and the entire Arab world.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU toward (adv)
 - a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU build (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU lead to (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to begin a process that causes something to happen
 - b) Macmillan 1c: if something such as a road, river, or door leads in a particular direction or to a particular place, or if it leads you there, it goes in that direction or to that place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *So I challenge Israel to take concrete **steps** to **support** the emergence of a viable, credible Palestinian state.*

- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 *I've asked Secretary of State Powell to work intensively with Middle Eastern and international leaders to realize the **vision** of a Palestinian state, focusing them on a comprehensive plan to support Palestinian reform and institution-building.*

- a LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

15 *Ultimately, Israelis and Palestinians must address the core issues that divide them if there is to be a **real** peace, resolving all claims and ending the conflict between them.*

- a LU real (adj)
- a) Macmillan 5: important or impressive enough to be worth considering or worrying about
 - b) Macmillan 1: existing in the physical world, not just in someone's imagination or in stories
 - c) No.
 - d) No.
 - e) **NMRW**

16 *We must also resolve questions concerning Jerusalem, the plight and future of Palestinian refugees, and a **final** peace between Israel and Lebanon, and Israel and a Syria that **supports** peace and fights terror.*

- a LU final (adj)
- a) Macmillan 1: existing as the result of a long process
 - b) Macmillan 1: existing as the result of a long process
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (conceptual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

17 *All who are familiar with the history of the Middle East realize that there may be **setbacks** in this process.*

- a LU setback (n)
- a) Macmillan: a problem that delays or that stops progress or makes a situation worse
 - b) Macmillan: a problem that delays or that stops progress or makes a situation worse
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (conceptual and basic meaning are the same)**

18 *Trained and determined killers, as we have seen, want to **stop** it.*

- a LU stop (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to prevent someone from doing something
 - b) Macmillan 3: to no longer move
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

19 *Yet the Egyptian and Jordanian peace treaties with Israel remind us that with determined and responsible leadership progress can **come quickly**.*

- a LU come (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to reach a particular state
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move or travel to the place where you are

- c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU quickly (adv)
a) Macmillan 2: after only a short time
b) Macmillan 1: at a fast speed
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 20 *With intensive effort by all, this agreement could be **reached** within three years from now.*
- a LU reach (v)
a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 21 *And I and my country will actively **lead toward** that goal.*
- a LU lead (v)
a) Macmillan 3: to be in control of an organization, group of people, or activity
b) Macmillan 1: to walk, drive, fly, sail etc in front of a group of people, vehicles, planes, ships etc
1a: to show someone the way to a place by going there with them
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU toward (prep)
a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 22 *The Palestinian Authority has rejected your **offer at hand**, and trafficked with terrorists.*
- a LU offer (n)
a) Longman 1: a statement saying that you are willing to do something for someone or give them something

- b) Longman 2: an amount of money that you are willing to pay for something
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- b LU at hand
 a) Macmillan (phrase): close to you and easy to reach
 b) Macmillan (phrase): close to you and easy to reach
 c) -
 d) -
 e) **NMRW**
- 23 *and I deeply believe that you need a reformed, responsible Palestinian **partner** to achieve that security.*
- a LU partner (n)
 a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
 Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
 Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- 24 *For decades you have been treated as **pawns** in the Middle East conflict.*
- a LU pawn (n)
 a) Macmillan 2: a person who is being used by someone who is more powerful to help them achieve an aim
 b) Macmillan 1: one of the eight small pieces that each player has in a game of chess
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- 25 *Your interests have been **held hostage** to a comprehensive peace agreement that never seems to **come**, as your lives get worse year by year.*
- a LU hold hostage (v + n)
 a) Longman 2: to be influenced and controlled by something, so that you are not free to do what you want
 b) Longman 1: someone who is kept as a prisoner by an enemy so that the other side will do what the enemy demands
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.

- e) **MRW**
- b LU come (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to reach a particular state
- b) Macmillan 1: to move or travel to the place where you are
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 26 *If liberty can **blossom** in the **rocky soil** of the West Bank and Gaza, it will inspire millions of men and women around the globe who are equally weary of poverty and oppression, equally entitled to the **benefits** of democratic government.*
- a LU blossom (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to develop and become more successful
- b) Macmillan 2: if a tree blossoms, it produces flowers
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU rocky (adj)
- a) Macmillan 2: a rocky relationship, situation, or period of time is one in which there are a lot of problems
- b) Macmillan 1: covered with rocks, or made of rock
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- c LU soil (n)
- a) Longman 2: in the West Bank and Gaza
- b) Longman 1: the top layer of the earth in which plants grow
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- d LU benefit (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: an advantage you get from a situation
- b) Macmillan 3: extra money or other advantages that you get in addition to your salary from your employer as part of your job
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 27 *This moment is both an opportunity and a **test** for all parties in the Middle East: an opportunity to **lay the foundations** for **future** peace, a **test** to show who is serious about peace and who is not.*
- a LU test (n)

- a) Macmillan 4: a difficult situation that shows what qualities someone or something has
 - b) Macmillan 1: a set of written or spoken questions used for finding out how much someone knows about a subject.
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU lay (v)
- a) Macmillan 4: to carefully plan and prepare something that will be needed in the future to achieve an aim
 - b) Macmillan 1a. to put something such as pipes, wires, or a carpet into the correct position in the ground or on the floor, so that they are ready to be used
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU foundation (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: the most basic part of something from which the rest of it develops
 - b) Macmillan 1: the part of a structure of a building that is below the ground and supports the rest of it
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU future (adj)
- a) Macmillan 1: expected to exist or happen during the time following the present time
 - b) Macmillan 1: expected to exist or happen during the time following the present time
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- 28 *The time has arrived for everyone in this conflict to **choose** peace, and hope, and life.*
- a LU choose (v)
- a) Macmillan: to decide which you want from a number of people or things
 - b) Macmillan: to decide which you want from a number of people or things
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

Appendix C: Bush's remarks on the Middle East - March 14, 2003

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. We have reached a hopeful moment for progress toward the vision of Middle Eastern peace that I outlined last June. I spoke of a day when two states, Israel and Palestine, will live side by side in peace and security. I called upon all parties in the Middle East to abandon old hatreds and to meet their responsibilities for peace.

The Palestinian state must be a reformed and peaceful and democratic state that abandons forever the use of terror. The government of Israel, as the terror threat is removed and security improves, must take concrete steps to support the emergence of a viable and credible Palestinian state, and to work as quickly as possible toward a final status agreement. As progress is made toward peace, settlement activity in the occupied territories must end. And the Arab states must oppose terrorism, support the emergence of a peaceful and democratic Palestine, and state clearly that they will live in peace with Israel. This moment offers a new opportunity to meet these objectives. After its recent elections, the nation of Israel has a new government. And the Palestinian Authority has created the new position of Prime Minister. Israeli and Palestinian leaders and other governments in the region now have a chance to move forward with determination and with good faith.

To be a credible and responsible partner, the new Palestinian Prime Minister must hold a position of real authority. We expect that such a Palestinian Prime Minister will be confirmed soon. Immediately upon confirmation, the road map for peace will be given to the Palestinians and the Israelis. This road map will set forth a sequence of steps toward the goals I set out on June 24th, 2002, goals shared by all the parties.

The United States has developed this plan over the last several months in close cooperation with Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations. Once this road map is delivered, we will expect and welcome contributions from Israel and the Palestinians to this document that will advance true peace. We will urge them to discuss the road map with one another. The time has come to move beyond entrenched positions and to take concrete actions to achieve peace.

America is committed, and I am personally committed, to implementing our road map toward peace. Our efforts are guided by clear principles: We believe that all people in the Middle East -- Arab and Israeli alike -- deserve to live in dignity, under free and honest governments. We believe that people who live in freedom are more likely to reject bitterness, blind hatred and terror; and are far more likely to turn their energy toward reconciliation, reform and development.

There can be no peace for either side in the Middle East unless there is freedom for both. Reaching that destination will not be easy, but we can see the way forward. Now the parties must take that way, step by step, and America will be the active partner of every party that seeks true peace.

Thank you very much.

Appendix C1: MIPVU analysis of Bush's remarks on the Middle East - March 14, 2003

- 1 *We have **reached** a hopeful moment for **progress toward** the vision of Middle Eastern peace that I outlined last June.*
- a LU reach (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
 - b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 2 *I spoke of a day when two states, Israel and Palestine, will **live side by side** in peace and security.*
- a LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- b LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 3 *I called upon all parties in the Middle East to abandon old hatreds and to meet their responsibilities for peace.*
- a LU responsibility (n)
- a) Longman 4: something that you ought to do because it is morally or socially right
 - b) Longman 3: something that you must do as part of your job or duty
 - c) No.
 - d) No.
 - e) **NMRW**
- 4 *The government of Israel, as the terror threat is removed and security improves, must **take** concrete **steps** to **support** the emergence of a viable and credible Palestinian state, and to work as **quickly** as possible **toward** a final status agreement.*
- a LU take (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU quickly (adv)
- a) Macmillan 2: after only a short time
 - b) Macmillan 1: at a fast speed
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- e LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 5 *As **progress** is made **toward** peace, settlement activity in the occupied territories must end.*
- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 6 *And the Arab states must oppose terrorism, **support** the emergence of a peaceful and democratic Palestine, and state clearly that they will **live** in peace with Israel.*
- a LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU live (v)

- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
- b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW (possible personification)**

7 *Israeli and Palestinian leaders and other governments in the region now have a chance to **move forward** with determination and with good faith.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU forward (adv)
 - a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

8 *To be a credible and responsible **partner**, the new Palestinian Prime Minister must hold a position of real authority.*

- a LU partner (n)
 - a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
 - Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
 - Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

9 *Immediately upon confirmation, the **road map** for peace will be given to the Palestinians and the Israelis.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

10 *This road map will **set forth** a sequence of **steps toward** the goals I set out on June 24th, 2002, goals shared by all the parties.*

- a LU set forth (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to explain or describe something in a clear and detailed way, especially in writing
 - b) Macmillan 1: to start a journey, especially one that is long or difficult
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU toward (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *Once this **road map** is delivered, we will expect and welcome contributions from Israel and the Palestinians to this document that will **advance** true peace.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU advance (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

12 *We will urge them to discuss the **road map** with one another.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *The time has come to **move beyond** entrenched positions and to take concrete actions to achieve peace.*

- a LU move (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU beyond (prep)
- a) Macmillan 2: outside the range or limits of a subject, quality, or activity
 - b) Macmillan 1: past a place or outside an area
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 *America is **committed**, and I am personally **committed** to **implementing** our **road map toward** peace.*

- a LU committed (adj)
- a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**
- b LU implement (v)
- a) Macmillan :to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used
 - b) Macmillan: to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used

- c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- c LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 16 ***Reaching that destination will not be easy, but we can see the way forward.***
- a LU reach (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
 - b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU destination (n)
- a) (int) objective
 - b) Macmillan: the place where someone or something is going
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU way (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
 - b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU forward (adj)
 - a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

17 *Now the parties must **take that way, step by step**, and America will be the active **partner** of every party that **seeks** true peace.*

- a LU take (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU way (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
 - b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU step by step (n + prep + n)
 - a) Macmillan: moving slowly from one stage or level to the next
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU partner (n)
 - a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
 - Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
 - Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- e LU seek (v)
 - a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something

- b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

Appendix D: Bush Aqaba Statement – June 4, 2003

US PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH: King Abdullah, thank you for hosting this event. Her Majesty, thank you for your hospitality. It is fitting that we gather today in Jordan. King Abdullah is a leader on behalf of peace and is carrying forward the tradition of his father, King Hussein.

I'm pleased to be here with Prime Minister Sharon. The friendship between our countries began at the time of Israel's creation. Today, America is strongly committed, and I am strongly committed, to Israel's security as a vibrant Jewish state.

I'm also pleased to be with Prime Minister Abbas. He represents the cause of freedom and statehood for the Palestinian people. I strongly support that cause, as well. Each of us is here because we understand that all people have the right to live in peace. We believe that with hard work and good faith and courage, it is possible to bring peace to the Middle East. And today we mark important progress toward that goal.

Great and hopeful change is coming to the Middle East. In Iraq, a dictator who funded terror and sowed conflict has been removed, and a more just and democratic society is emerging. Prime Minister Abbas now leads the Palestinian Cabinet. By his strong leadership, by building the institutions of Palestinian democracy and by rejecting terror, he is serving the deepest hopes of his people.

All here today now share a goal: the Holy Land must be shared between the state of Palestine and the state of Israel, living at peace with each other and with every nation of the Middle East.

All sides will benefit from this achievement and all sides have responsibilities to meet. As the road map accepted by the party makes clear, both must make tangible immediate steps toward this two-state vision.

I welcome Prime Minister Sharon's pledge to improve the humanitarian situation in the Palestinian areas and to begin removing unauthorized outposts immediately. I appreciate his gestures of reconciliation on behalf of prisoners and their families, and his frank statements about the need for the territorial contiguity.

As I said yesterday, the issue of settlements must be addressed for peace to be achieved. In addition, Prime Minister Sharon has stated that no unilateral actions by either side can or should prejudice the outcome of future negotiations. The Prime Minister also recognizes that it is in Israel's own interest for Palestinians to govern themselves in their own state. These are meaningful signs of respect for the rights of the Palestinians and their hopes for a viable, democratic, peaceful, Palestinian state.

Prime Minister Abbas recognizes that terrorist crimes are a dangerous obstacle to the independent state his people seek. He agrees that the process for achieving that state is through peaceful negotiations. He has pledged to consolidate Palestinian institutions, including the security forces and to make them more accountable and more democratic. He has promised his full efforts and resources to end the armed intifada. He has promised to work without compromise for a complete end of violence and terror. In all these efforts, the Prime Minister is demonstrating his leadership and commitment to building a better future for the Palestinian people.

Both Prime Ministers here agree that progress toward peace also requires an end to violence and the elimination of all forms of hatred and prejudice and official incitement - in school books, in broadcasts, and in the words used by political leaders. Both leaders understand that a future of peace cannot be founded on hatred and falsehood and bitterness.

Yet, these two leaders cannot bring about peace if they must act alone. True peace requires the support of other nations in the region. Yesterday, in Sharm el-Sheikh, we made a strong beginning. Arab leaders stated that they share our goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, and living side-by-side in peace and in security. And they have promised to cut off assistance and the flow of money and weapons to terrorist groups, and to help Prime Minister Abbas rid Palestinian areas of terrorism.

All sides have made important commitments, and the United States will strive to see these commitments fulfilled. My government will provide training and support for a new, restructured Palestinian security service. And we'll place a mission on the ground, led by Ambassador John Wolf. This mission will be charged with helping the parties to move towards peace, monitoring their progress and stating clearly who was fulfilling their responsibilities. And we expect both parties to keep their promises.

I've also asked Secretary of State Colin Powell, and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice to make this cause a matter of the highest priority. Secretary Powell and Dr. Rice, as my personal representative, will work closely with the parties, helping them move toward true peace as quickly as possible.

The journey we're taking is difficult, but there is no other choice. No leader of conscience can accept more months and years of humiliation, killing and mourning. And these leaders of conscience have made their declarations today in the cause of peace.

The United States is committed to that cause. If all sides fulfill their obligation, I know that peace can finally come.

Thank you very much, and may God bless our work.

Appendix D1: MIPVU analysis of Bush Aqaba Statement – June 4, 2003

- 1 *Each of us is here because we understand that all people have the right to **live** in peace.*
- a LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- 2 *We believe that with hard work and good faith and courage, it is possible to **bring** peace to the Middle East.*
- a LU bring (v)
- a) Macmillan 4: to be the cause of a state, situation, or feeling
 - b) Macmillan 1: to take someone or something from one place and have them with you when you arrive somewhere else
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 3 *And today we mark important **progress toward** that goal.*
- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 4 *All here today now share a goal: the Holy Land must be shared between the state of Palestine and the state of Israel, **living** at peace with each other and with every nation of the Middle East.*
- a LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place

- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW (possible personification)**

5 *All sides will **benefit** from this achievement and all sides have responsibilities to meet.*

- a LU benefit (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: an advantage you get from a situation
 - b) Macmillan 3: extra money or other advantages that you get in addition to your salary from your employer as part of your job
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *As the **road map** accepted by the parties makes clear, both must make tangible immediate **steps toward** this two-state **vision**.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU toward (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU vision (n)

- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
- b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 7 *As I said yesterday, the issue of settlements must be addressed for peace to be **achieved**.*
- a LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **NMRW**
- 8 *Prime Minister Abbas recognizes that terrorist crimes are a dangerous **obstacle** to the independent state his people **seek**.*
- a LU obstacle (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a difficulty or problem that prevents you from achieving something
- b) Macmillan 2: an object that you must remove or go around in order to move forward
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
- b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 9 *Both Prime Ministers here agree that **progress toward** peace also requires an end to violence and the elimination of all forms of hatred and prejudice and official incitement – in school books, in broadcasts, and in the words used by political leaders.*
- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
- b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
- c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 7 *Both leaders understand that a **future** of peace cannot be **founded** on hatred and falsehood and bitterness.*
- a LU future (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: expected to exist or happen during the time following the present time
 - b) Macmillan 1: expected to exist or happen during the time following the present time
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**
- b LU found (v)
- a) Longman 2a: to be the main idea, belief etc that something else develops from [= be based on something]
 - b) Longman 2b: to be the solid layer of cement, stones etc that a building is built on
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 8 *Yet, these two leaders cannot **bring** about peace if they must act alone.*
- a LU bring (v)
- a) Macmillan 4: to be the cause of a state, situation, or feeling
 - b) Macmillan 1: to take someone or something from one place and have them with you when you arrive somewhere else
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 9 *True peace requires the **support** of other nations in the region.*
- a LU support (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful

- b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

10 *Arab leaders stated that they share our goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, and living side-by-side in peace and in security.*

- a LU live (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- b LU side by side (n + prep + n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *This mission will be charged with helping the parties to move towards peace, monitoring their progress and stating clearly who was fulfilling their responsibilities.*

- a LU mission (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: an important piece of work that a person or group of people has to do for a government or large organization, especially one that involves travel
 - b) Macmillan 5: the activity of people who are sent to a place by a religious organization to teach people there about a particular religion
 - c)
 - d)
 - e) **NMRW**

- b LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU towards (prep)

- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

12 *Secretary Powell and Dr. Rice, as my personal representative, will work closely with the parties, helping them **move toward** true peace as **quickly** as possible.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU toward (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU quickly (adv)
 - a) Macmillan 2: after only a short time
 - b) Macmillan 1: at a fast speed
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *The **journey** we are **taking** is difficult, but there is no other choice.*

- a LU journey (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a process of changing and developing over a period of time
 - b) Macmillan 1: an occasion when you travel from one place to another, especially when there is a long distance between the places
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU take (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another

- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

14 *And these leaders of conscience have made their declarations today in the **cause** of peace.*

- a LU cause (n)
 - a) Macmillan 3: an aim, idea, or organization that you support or work for, for example in politics
 - b) Macmillan 3a: an organization, plan, or activity that you are willing to support because it provides help or benefit to people who need it
 - c) No.
 - d) No.
 - e) **NMRW**

15 *If all sides fulfill their obligation, I know that peace can finally **come**.*

- a LU come (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to reach a particular state
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move or travel to the place where you are
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix E: Letter from US President George W. Bush to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon – April 14, 2004

His Excellency
Ariel Sharon
Prime Minister of Israel

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter setting out your disengagement plan.

The United States remains hopeful and determined to find a way forward toward a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. I remain committed to my June 24, 2002 vision of two states living side by side in peace and security as the key to peace, and to the roadmap as the route to get there.

We welcome the disengagement plan you have prepared, under which Israel would withdraw certain military installations and all settlements from Gaza, and withdraw certain military installations and settlements in the West Bank. These steps described in the plan will mark real progress toward realizing my June 24, 2002 vision, and make a real contribution towards peace. We also understand that, in this context, Israel believes it is important to bring new opportunities to the Negev and the Galilee. We are hopeful that steps pursuant to this plan, consistent with my vision, will remind all states and parties of their own obligations under the roadmap.

The United States appreciates the risks such an undertaking represents. I therefore want to reassure you on several points.

First, the United States remains committed to my vision and to its implementation as described in the roadmap. The United States will do its utmost to prevent any attempt by anyone to impose any other plan. Under the roadmap, Palestinians must undertake an immediate cessation of armed activity and all acts of violence against Israelis anywhere, and all official Palestinian institutions must end incitement against Israel. The Palestinian leadership must act decisively against terror, including sustained, targeted, and effective operations to stop terrorism and dismantle terrorist capabilities and infrastructure. Palestinians must undertake a comprehensive and fundamental political reform that includes a strong parliamentary democracy and an empowered prime minister.

Second, there will be no security for Israelis or Palestinians until they and all states, in the region and beyond, join together to fight terrorism and dismantle terrorist organizations. The United States reiterates its steadfast commitment to Israel's security, including secure, defensible borders, and to preserve and strengthen Israel's capability to deter and defend itself, by itself, against any threat or possible combination of threats.

Third, Israel will retain its right to defend itself against terrorism, including to take actions against terrorist organizations. The United States will lead efforts, working together with Jordan, Egypt, and others in the international community, to build the capacity and will of Palestinian institutions to fight terrorism, dismantle terrorist organizations, and prevent the areas from which Israel has withdrawn from posing a threat that would have to be addressed by any other means. The United States understands that after Israel withdraws from Gaza and/or parts of the West Bank, and pending agreements on other arrangements, existing arrangements regarding control of airspace, territorial waters, and land passages of the West Bank and Gaza will continue.

The United States is strongly committed to Israel's security and well-being as a Jewish state. It seems clear that an agreed, just, fair and realistic framework for a solution to the Palestinian refugee issue as part of any final status agreement will need to be found through the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the settling of Palestinian refugees there, rather than in Israel.

As part of a final peace settlement, Israel must have secure and recognized borders, which should emerge from negotiations between the parties in accordance with UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338. In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli

populations centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities.

I know that, as you state in your letter, you are aware that certain responsibilities face the State of Israel. Among these, your government has stated that the barrier being erected by Israel should be a security rather than political barrier, should be temporary rather than permanent, and therefore not prejudice any final status issues including final borders, and its route should take into account, consistent with security needs, its impact on Palestinians not engaged in terrorist activities.

As you know, the United States supports the establishment of a Palestinian state that is viable, contiguous, sovereign, and independent, so that the Palestinian people can build their own future in accordance with my vision set forth in June 2002 and with the path set forth in the roadmap. The United States will join with others in the international community to foster the development of democratic political institutions and new leadership committed to those institutions, the reconstruction of civic institutions, the growth of a free and prosperous economy, and the building of capable security institutions dedicated to maintaining law and order and dismantling terrorist organizations.

A peace settlement negotiated between Israelis and Palestinians would be a great boon not only to those peoples but to the peoples of the entire region. Accordingly, the United States believes that all states in the region have special responsibilities: to support the building of the institutions of a Palestinian state; to fight terrorism, and cut off all forms of assistance to individuals and groups engaged in terrorism; and to begin now to move toward more normal relations with the State of Israel. These actions would be true contributions to building peace in the region.

Mr. Prime Minister, you have described a bold and historic initiative that can make an important contribution to peace. I commend your efforts and your courageous decision which I support. As a close friend and ally, the United States intends to work closely with you to help make it a success.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

Appendix E1: MIPVU analysis of Letter from US President George W. Bush to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon – April 14, 2004

1 *The United States remains hopeful and determined to find a way forward toward a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute.*

- a LU way (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
 - b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU forward (adj)
 - a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU toward (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *I remain committed to my June 24, 2002 vision of two states living side by side in peace and security as the key to peace, and to the roadmap as the route to get there.*

- a LU vision (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU live (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- c
- LU side by side (n + prep + n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d
- LU key (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: the thing that will do most to help you to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a small piece of metal used for opening or locking a door or a container, or for starting the engine of a vehicle
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- e
- LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- f
- LU route (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a way of doing something that produces a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way that buses, trains, ships, or planes travel regularly
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- g
- LU get (v)
 - a) Macmillan 5: to progress to a particular point when you are doing something
 - b) Macmillan 4b: to arrive at a place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

3 *These **steps** described in the plan will **mark** real **progress toward** realizing my June 24, 2002 **vision**, and make a real **contribution towards** peace.*

- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU mark (v)
- a) Macmillan 5: to show that something is happening
 - b) Macmillan 4: to show the position of something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- e LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- f LU contribution (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: something that you do that helps to achieve something or to make it successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: an amount of money or something else of value that you give in order to achieve something or to help make it successful
 - c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- g LU towards (prep)
a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 4 *We are hopeful that **steps pursuant** to this plan, consistent with my **vision**, will remind all states and parties of their own obligations under the **roadmap**.*
- a LU step (n)
a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU pursuant (adj)
a) in agreement with or according to a particular rule or law
b) in agreement with or according to a particular rule or law
c) -
d) -
e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- c LU vision (n)
a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- d LU roadmap (n)
a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
c) Yes.
d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

5 *First, the United States remains **committed** to my **vision** and to its implementation as described in the **roadmap**.*

- a LU committed (adj)
- a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *As you know, the United States supports the establishment of a Palestinian state that is viable, contiguous, sovereign, and independent, so that the Palestinian people can **build** their own future in accordance with my **vision** set forth in June 2002 and with the **path set forth** in the **roadmap**.*

- a LU build (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU path (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU set forth (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to explain or describe something in a clear and detailed way, especially in writing
 - b) Macmillan 1: to start a journey, especially one that is long or difficult
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- e LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

7 *These actions would be true contributions to **building** peace in the region.*

- a LU build (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

8 *Mr. Prime Minister, you have described a bold and historic initiative that can make an important **contribution** to peace.*

- a LU contribution (n)

- a) Macmillan 1: something that you do that helps to achieve something or to make it successful
- b) Macmillan 2: an amount of money or something else of value that you give in order to achieve something or to help make it successful
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

Appendix F: Remarks by President Bush during press conference with Prime Minister Sharon - April 14, 2004

BUSH: I'm pleased to welcome Prime Minister Sharon back to the White House. For more than 50 years, Israel has been a vital ally and a true friend of America. I've been proud to call the prime minister my friend. I really appreciate our discussions today. The policy of the United States is to help bring peace to the Middle East and to bring hope to the people of that region. On June 24th, 2002, I laid out a vision to make this goal a reality. We then drafted the road map as the route to get us there. The heart of this vision is the responsibility of all parties -- of Israel, of the Palestinian people, of the Arab states -- to fight terror, to embrace democracy and reform, and to take the necessary steps for peace. Today, the prime minister told me of his decision to take such a step.

Israel plans to remove certain military installations and all settlements from Gaza and certain military installations and settlements from the West Bank. These are historic and courageous actions. If all parties choose to embrace this moment they can open the door to progress and put an end to one of the world's longest-running conflicts. Success will require the active efforts of many nations. Two days ago I held important discussions with President Mubarak of Egypt and I will soon meet with King Abdullah of Jordan. We're consulting closely with other key leaders in the region, in Europe and with our quartet partners: the E.U., Russia and the United Nations. These steps can open the door to progress toward a peaceful, democratic, viable Palestinian state. Working together we can help build democratic Palestinian institution as well as strong capabilities dedicated to fighting terror so that the Palestinian people can meet their obligations under the road map on the path to peace. This opportunity holds great promise for the Palestinian people to build a modern economy that will lift millions out of poverty, create the institutions and habits of liberty, and renounce the terror and violence that impede their aspirations and take a terrible toll on innocent life.

The Palestinian people must insist on change and on a leadership that is committed to reform and progress and peace. We will help, but the most difficult work is theirs. The United States is strongly committed and I am strongly committed to the security of Israel as a vibrant Jewish state. I reiterate our steadfast commitment to Israel's security and to preserving and strengthening Israel's self-defense capability, including its right to defend itself against terror. The barrier being erected by Israel as a part of that security effort should, as your government has stated, be a security rather than political barrier. It should be temporary rather than permanent, and therefore not prejudice any final status issues, including final borders. And this route should take into account, consistent with security needs, its impact on Palestinians not engaged in terrorist activities. In an exchange of letters today and in a statement I will release later today, I'm repeating to the prime minister my commitment to Israel's security. The United States will not prejudice the outcome of final status negotiations and matters for the parties. But the realities on the ground and in the region have changed greatly over the last several decades, and any final settlement must take into account those realities and be agreeable to the parties.

The goal of two independent states has repeatedly been recognized in international resolutions and agreements, and it remains a key to resolving this conflict. The United States is strongly committed to Israel's security and well-being as a Jewish state. It seems clear that an agreed, just, fair and realistic framework for a solution to the Palestinian refugee issue as part of any final status agreement will need to be found through the establishment of a Palestinian state and the settling of Palestinian refugees there rather than Israel. As part of a final peace settlement, Israel must have secure and recognized borders which should emerge from negotiations between the parties in accordance with U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli population centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will

be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities. I commend Prime Minister Sharon for his bold and courageous decision to withdraw from Gaza and parts of the West Bank. I call on the Palestinians and their Arab neighbors to match that boldness and that courage. All of us must show the wisdom and the will to bring lasting peace to that region. Mr. Prime Minister, welcome to the White House.

BUSH: Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister. Good job, good job. I will answer two questions a side, starting with the American side. The prime minister will call on somebody from the Israeli press at the appropriate moment.

If there will be any.

BUSH: There may not be any questions from the Israeli press, is that what you're saying? It's not the case from the American press.

QUESTION: Mr. President, I'd like to go back to your opening statement and ask you: Does the United States recognize Israel's right to retain some Jewish settlements in the West Bank? And if so, how does that fit with the U.S. policy that settlements are an obstacle to peace?

BUSH: First let us recognize that the prime minister has made the decision to dismantle some settlements. In other words, he is beginning to implement a vision that allows for contiguous territory so that a Palestinian state can emerge. And this is an important step today. It's accelerates the process. See, I view it as creating an opportunity, an opportunity for those of us who believe that a Palestinian state should emerge -- a peaceful Palestinian state -- to work to put a framework for such a state to exist so that the institutions of such state are bigger than the people. See when you have a government where the person is bigger than the institutions, that government will inevitably fail. It's when the institutions are bigger than the people that you're able to have continuity, and people's hopes and aspirations realized, and peace. It is very important for a Palestinian state to emerge -- in which we have confidence, in which any prime minister of Israel has confidence, in which the United States has confidence, that will be a peaceful partner.

And so what the prime minister has done is he started the process of removing settlements from the West Bank. Your question to me is about the final status agreements. I said that the conditions on the ground have changed over time, and obviously that must be recognized during any final status negotiations. You know, I look forward to the moment when we are actually discussing final status negotiations. There's a lot of work to be done prior to getting there. And what the prime minister has done has started the process. And now it's up for responsible Palestinians, caring Europeans, Americans, the United Nations to step in and help develop such a state that will be a peaceful state, one in which money will actually end up helping the people of the Palestinian -- Palestinians to be able to grow their businesses and grow their -- find wealth for their families. And then we can worry about the final status negotiations. In other words, there's a lot of work to do. What the prime minister has done is started the work, and we're prepared to help with the work.

QUESTION: Sharon's political future depends largely on the Americans quid pro quo. So still, I'm asking on this issue. Could you clarify the ambiguity surrounding a few key issues as the settlements, for example -- in your eyes, Ariel (ph) is going to be on the Israeli side of the fence? I wanted to ask about the right of return, but your answer was quite clear there that (SPEAKING IN ARABIC).

BUSH: Let me say this to you: His future doesn't depend upon me. His future depends upon his capacity to convince the Israeli people he's doing the right thing, and I think he is. He's a bold leader. That's what people want. They want leadership. There was a process that got stuck and the prime minister steps up and leads. And I'm confident the Israeli people appreciate that kind of leadership. You can answer the question if you care to, but I don't buy the premise that what I say helps him get elected. What he says helps him get elected. It's his vision of Israel that the people of Israel will be looking toward.

QUESTION: Former President Jimmy Carter said last week that he feels U.S.-Middle East policy is tilted too much toward Israel. Is that a fair criticism?

BUSH: U.S.-Middle East policy is tilted toward peace. And the best way to achieve peace is to fight terror. And I'm the first American president ever to have articulated the creation of a Palestinian state. The reason I did so is because I believe a Palestinian state, when properly done, will provide enough hope for people and provide a peaceful avenue for those who aspire for a better future. And I also believe it's in Israel's interest that there be a Palestinian state which develops in a peaceful way. And every statement I've said, I said all parties must assume responsibilities. Palestinians have got to assume the responsibility of fighting off terror. If they want a state which provides a hopeful future for their people, they must fight terror. They must be resolute in the fighting of terror. Israel has responsibilities. Today the prime minister stepped up to those responsibilities. He started a process that I believe can be a hopeful process. The Arab world has got responsibilities to help not only fight terror, but to provide hope for a peaceful Palestinian people. Those are responsibilities. America is assuming responsibilities, and my position on Middle Eastern peace is quite clear. A final question from the Israeli press?

QUESTION: (SPEAKING IN HEBREW?) And, Mr. President, if I might, what you said about the Palestinian refugee mean that you deny unconditionally that what's called the right of return of Palestinian refugee to the state of Israel?

BUSH: My statement -- refer back to my statement that I said. And also look at the letter that I sent the prime minister. It'll clarify my position on the issue.

Appendix F1: MIPVU analysis of remarks by President Bush during press conference with Prime Minister Sharon - April 14, 2004

1 *The policy of the United States is to help **bring** peace to the Middle East and to **bring** hope to the people of that region.*

- a LU bring (v)
 - a) Macmillan 4: to be the cause of a state, situation, or feeling
 - b) Macmillan 1: to take someone or something from one place and have them with you when you arrive somewhere else
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *On June 24th, 2002, I laid out a **vision** to make this goal a reality.*

- a LU vision (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

3 *We then drafted the **road map** as the **route** to get us there.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU route (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a way of doing something that produces a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way that buses, trains, ships, or planes travel regularly
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

4 *The **heart** of this **vision** is the responsibility of all parties – of Israel, of the Palestinian people, of the Arab states – to fight terror, to **embrace** democracy and reform, and to **take** the necessary **steps** for peace.*

- a LU heart (n)
 a) Macmillan 5: the most important or basic part of something
 b) Macmillan 1: the organ in your chest that makes blood flow around your body
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- b LU vision (n)
 a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- c LU embrace (v)
 a) Macmillan 2: to completely accept something such as a new belief, idea, or way of life
 b) Macmillan 1: to put your arms around someone in order to show love or friendship
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- d LU take (v)
 a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- e LU step (n)
 a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**

5 *Today, the prime minister told me of his decision to **take** such a **step**.*

- a LU take (v)
 a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 6 *If all parties choose to **embrace** this moment they can **open** the **door** to **progress** and put an end to one of the world's longest-running conflicts.*
- a LU embrace (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to completely accept something such as a new belief, idea, or way of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to put your arms around someone in order to show love or friendship
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU open (v)
- a) Macmillan 6: to begin something such as a discussion or trial
 - b) Macmillan 2: to move a door or window into a position that allows people or things to pass through
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU door (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: an opportunity to do something, or a possibility that something will happen
 - b) Macmillan 1: a large flat object that you open when you want to enter or leave a building, room, vehicle
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

7 *These **steps** can **open** the **door** to **progress toward** a peaceful, democratic, viable Palestinian state.*

- a LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU open (v)
 - a) Macmillan 6: to begin something such as a discussion or trial
 - b) Macmillan 2: to move a door or window into a position that allows people or things to pass through
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU door (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: an opportunity to do something, or a possibility that something will happen
 - b) Macmillan 1: a large flat object that you open when you want to enter or leave a building, room, vehicle
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU progress (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

8 *Working together we can help **build** democratic Palestinian institutions as well as strong capabilities dedicated to fighting terror so that the Palestinian people can meet their obligations under the **road map** on the **path** to peace.*

- a LU build (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU roadmap (n)
 a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- c LU on (prep)
 a)
 b) Macmillan 4: in a particular place
 c)
 d)
 e) **MRW**
- d LU path (n)
 a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- e LU to (prep)
 a)
 b) Macmillan 2: going somewhere
 c)
 d)
 e) **MRW**

9 *The Palestinian people must insist on change and on a leadership that is committed to reform and **progress** and peace.*

- a LU progress (n)
 a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**

10 *All of us must show the wisdom and the will to **bring** lasting peace to that region.*

- a LU bring (v)
 a) Macmillan 4: to be the cause of a state, situation, or feeling
 b) Macmillan 1: to take someone or something from one place and have them with you when you arrive somewhere else
 c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

11 *In other words, he is beginning to implement a **vision** that allows for contiguous territory so that a Palestinian state can emerge.*

- a LU vision (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

12 *And this is an important **step** today.*

- a LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *It **accelerates** the process.*

- a LU accelerate (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to make something happen at a faster rate
 - b) Macmillan 2: if a vehicle accelerates, it moves faster
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 *It is very important for a Palestinian state to emerge – in which we have confidence, in which any prime minister of Israel has confidence, in which the United States has confidence, that will be a peaceful **partner**.*

- a LU partner (n)
 - a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business

Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:

- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

15 *There's a lot of work to be done prior to **getting** there.*

- a LU get (v)
 - a) Macmillan 5: to progress to a particular point when you are doing something
 - b) Macmillan 4b: to arrive at a place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

16 *And what the prime minister has done has **started** the process.*

- a LU start (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to begin to happen or take place
 - b) Macmillan 3: to begin a journey
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

17 *There was a process that **got stuck** and the prime minister **steps up** and **leads**.*

- a LU stuck (adj)
 - a) Macmillan 2: unable to solve a problem and continue working
 - b) Macmillan 1: caught or held in a position so that you cannot move
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU step up (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to increase something
 - b) Macmillan 2: to move forwards to a place where an official event is happening
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU lead (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to be in control of an organization, group of people, or activity
 - b) Macmillan 1: to walk, drive, fly, sail etc in front of a group of people, vehicles, planes, ships etc
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

18 *U.S.-Middle East policy is **tilted toward** peace.*

a LU tilt (v)

- a) Macmillan 2: to influence a situation in a particular way, or to be influenced in a particular way
- b) Macmillan 1: if something tilts, it moves so that one side is lower than the other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

b LU toward (prep)

- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

19 *And the best way to **achieve** peace is to fight terror.*

a LU achieve (v)

- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **NMRW**

20 *The reason I did so is because I believe a Palestinian state, when properly done, will provide enough hope for people and provide a peaceful **avenue** for those who aspire for a better future.*

a LU avenue (n)

- a) Macmillan 2 :one of the methods you can use to achieve something
- b) Macmillan 1: a wide straight road, especially one with trees on each side
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

Appendix G: President Bush's News Conference With President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority - May 26, 2005

President Bush: Thank you. Mr. President, it is my honor to welcome the democratically elected leader of the Palestinian people to the White House.

We meet at a time when a great achievement of history is within reach, the creation of a peaceful, democratic Palestinian state. President Abbas is seeking that goal by rejecting violence and working for democratic reform. I believe the Palestinian people are fully capable of justly governing themselves in peace with their neighbors. I believe the interests of the Israeli people would be served by a peaceful Palestinian state. And I believe that now is the time for all parties of this conflict to move beyond old grievances and act forcefully in the cause of peace.

President Abbas's election 4 months ago was a tribute to the power and appeal of democracy and an inspiration to the people across the region. Palestinians voted against violence and for sovereignty, because only the defeat of violence will lead to sovereignty.

Mr. President, the United States and the international community applaud your rejection of terrorism. All who engage in terror are the enemies of a Palestinian state and must be held to account. We will stand with you, Mr. President, as you combat corruption, reform the Palestinian security services and your justice system, and revive your economy. Mr. President, you have made a new start on a difficult journey requiring courage and leadership each day, and we will take that journey together.

As we work for peace, other countries must step up to their responsibilities. Arab States must take concrete measures to create a regional environment conducive to peace. They must offer financial assistance to support the peaceful efforts of President Abbas, his Government, and the Palestinian people. And they must refuse to assist or harbor terrorists.

Israel must continue to take steps toward a peaceful future and work with the Palestinian leadership to improve the daily lives of Palestinians, especially their humanitarian situation. Israel should not undertake any activity that contravenes roadmap obligations or prejudice final status negotiations with regard to Gaza, the West Bank, and Jerusalem.

Therefore, Israel must remove unauthorized outposts and stop settlement expansion. The barrier being erected by Israel as a part of its security effort must be a security, rather than political, barrier. And its route should take into account, consistent with security needs, its impact on Palestinians not engaged in terrorist activities. As we make progress toward security and in accordance with the roadmap, Israeli forces should withdraw to their positions on September the 28th, 2000.

Any final status agreement must be reached between the two parties, and changes to the 1949 Armistice Lines must be mutually agreed to. A viable two-state solution must ensure contiguity on the West Bank, and a state of scattered territories will not work. There must also be meaningful linkages between the West Bank and Gaza. This is the position of the United States today; it will be the position of the United States at the time of final status negotiations.

The imminent Israeli disengagement from Gaza, parts of the West Bank, presents an opportunity to lay the groundwork for a return to the roadmap. All parties have a responsibility to make this hopeful moment in the region a new and peaceful beginning. That is why I assigned General Kip Ward, who is with us today, to support your efforts, Mr. President, to reform the Palestinian security services and to coordinate the efforts of the international community to make that crucial task a success. The United States also strongly supports the mission of the Quartet's special envoy, Jim Wolfensohn, to make sure that the Gaza disengagement brings Palestinians a better life.

To help ensure that the Gaza disengagement is a success, the United States will provide to the Palestinian Authority \$50 million to be used for new housing and infrastructure projects in the Gaza. These funds will be used to improve the quality of life of the Palestinians living in Gaza, where poverty and unemployment are very high. I've also asked Secretary Rice to travel to Jerusalem and Ramallah before the beginning of the Israeli withdrawal. Secretary

Rice will consult with Israelis and Palestinians on the disengagement, their shared commitments, and the way back on the roadmap.

As we work to make the disengagement succeed, we must not lose sight of the path ahead. The United States remains committed to the roadmap as the only way to realize the vision of two democratic states living side by side in peace and security. It is through the roadmap that the parties can achieve a final permanent status agreement through direct negotiations.

The people of the Middle East have endured a long period of challenge, and now we have reached a moment of hope. Leaders from around the world have made a moral commitment: We will not stand by as another generation in the Holy Land grows up in an atmosphere of violence and hopelessness. With concrete actions by the United States, the Palestinians, Israel, and other nations, we can transform this opportunity into real momentum.

Mr. President, we will work with you to help realize the dream of a free and democratic Palestine, to bring greater freedom, security, and prosperity to all peoples in the region, and to achieve the lasting peace we all seek.

Welcome back to the White House.

.....

President Bush. I believe that—and I know the President is committed to democracy. After all, he ran on a platform that said, "Vote for me. I'm for peace, and I believe in democracy." That's what he told the Palestinian people when he ran, and he won with 62 percent of the vote, I think it was. So in other words, he's committed. That's what he said he was going to do, and he's now fulfilling it.

Our position on Hamas is very clear. It's a well-known position, and it hasn't changed about Hamas. Hamas is a terrorist group. It's on a terrorist list for a reason. As the elections go forward, of course, we want everybody to participate in the vote. There is something healthy about people campaigning, saying, "This is what I'm for." The President ran on a peace platform. You know, maybe somebody will run on a war platform. You know, "Vote for me. I promise violence." I don't think they're going to get elected, because I think Palestinian moms want their children to grow up in peace just like American moms want their children to grow up in peace. As a matter of fact, I think the people that campaign for peace will win. The goal of a—is, of course, a Palestinian state based upon rule of law, and you cannot have a democracy based upon rule of law if you have armed bands of people who will use their weapons to try to achieve a political outcome. We discussed this with the President. He can give you his own views. I will just tell you, he is—he believes strongly in democracy and understands that aspect of democracy.

And so I'm—I think there's something healing about asking people to vote. And hopefully, as more people participate and more people see progress on the ground in terms of real, tangible benefits when it comes to democracy like being able to make a living or being able to send your child to a school that works or being able to get good quality health care, that more and more people will reject the notion that the only—a state based upon violence is a positive state.

.....

President Bush. Well, I told you what my position was. And it's exactly what I said when I was in Crawford, by the way, when Prime Minister Sharon was there as well. I mean, when you say you're going to accept the roadmap, you accept the roadmap, and part of the obligations of the roadmap is not the expansion of settlements. And we continue to remind our friends the Israelis about their obligations under the roadmap, just like we remind President Abbas about the obligations under the roadmap that the Palestinians have accepted. So nothing has changed.

.....

President Bush. I also embraced President Mubarak's first steps and said that those first steps must include people's ability to have access to TV and candidates ought to be allowed to run freely in an election and that there ought to be international monitors. That's—and the idea of people expressing themselves in opposition to the government and getting a beating, is not our view of how a democracy ought to work. It's not the way that you have free elections. People ought to be allowed to express themselves, and I'm hopeful that the President will have open elections that everybody can have trust in.

.....

President Bush. Actually, my answer kind of ties into the question you asked the President. You know, one of the things when you are in the position I'm in, I'm able to observe attitudes and opinions. And clearly there's a lot of mistrust, and you can understand why. There's been war, violence, bloodshed. The only way to achieve all the objectives is for there to be a democracy living side by side with a democracy. And the best way to see—to solve problems that seem insoluble now is for there to be a society which evolves based upon democratic principles.

And so there's going to be a lot of issues that come up as this process evolves that are going to be difficult issues. But as more people trust each other, then those issues become easier to solve. And so one of my cautions to both sides in this very important problem is to make sure that we stay focused on getting things right initially, and what needs to happen is that Palestinians, with the world's help, fill the void created by the withdraw from Gaza with a society which is hopeful. And that means people can find work, and people can send their kids to school, the health care system functions well.

I told the President, there's a lot of international help that will be available, particularly as his Government earns the trust of the donors. And the best way to earn the trust of the donors is to work to develop this—to take advantage of this opportunity and develop a state. Israel has obligations to help. You noticed, in my statement I said "help improve the humanitarian situation on the ground." And America wants to help.

Now as a democracy evolves and people see that this is a Government fully capable of sustaining democratic institutions and adhering to rule of law and transparency and puts strong anticorruption devices in place, answers to the will of the people, that it becomes easier to deal with issues such as airspace. The West Bank will become an easier issue for everybody to meet obligations. We've got a fantastic opportunity now.

When I—I told the President, there's no doubt in my mind we can succeed. President Abbas is a man of courage. Part of the success is going to require courageous decision by the President. And I take great faith in not only his personal character but the fact that he campaigned on a platform of peace. He said, "Vote for me. I am for peace." And the Palestinians voted overwhelmingly to support him.

And so there will be a series of issues that come up—you know, how do we deal with this issue, or how do you deal with that issue—all of which will become easier to deal with as the Government succeeds in Gaza. And the United States stands with the Government to help them succeed.

Appendix G1: MIPVU analysis of President Bush’s News Conference with President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority – May 26, 2005

1 *And I believe that now is the time for all parties of this conflict to **move beyond** old grievances and act forcefully in the **cause** of peace.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU beyond (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 2: outside the range or limits of a subject, quality, or activity
 - b) Macmillan 1: past a place or outside an area
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU cause (n)
 - a) Macmillan 3: an aim, idea, or organization that you support or work for, for example in politics
 - b)
 - c)
 - d)
 - e) **NMRW**

2 *Mr. President, you have made a new **start** on a difficult **journey** requiring courage and leadership each day, and we will **take** that **journey** together.*

- a LU start (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to begin to happen or take place
 - b) Macmillan 3: to begin a journey
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU journey (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a process of changing and developing over a period of time
 - b) Macmillan 1: an occasion when you travel from one place to another, especially when there is a long distance between the places
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU take (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

3 *As we work for peace, other countries must **step up** to their responsibilities.*

- a LU step up (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to increase something
 - b) Macmillan 2: to move forwards to a place where an official event is happening
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

4 *Israel must continue to **take steps toward** a peaceful future and work with the Palestinian leadership to improve the daily lives of Palestinians, especially their humanitarian situation.*

- a LU take (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU toward (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

5 *As we **make progress toward** security and in accordance with the roadmap, Israeli forces should withdraw to their positions on September the 28th, 2000.*

- a LU make (v)
- Macmillan phrases (peace): to end an argument with someone and stop feeling angry towards them
 - Macmillan 1: to create or produce something by working
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- b LU progress (n)
- Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- c LU toward (prep)
- Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- 6 *The imminent Israeli disengagement from Gaza, parts of the West Bank, presents an opportunity to lay the **groundwork** for a **return** to the **roadmap**.*
- a LU lay (v)
- Macmillan 4: to carefully plan and prepare something that will be needed in the future to achieve an aim
 - Macmillan 1a. to put something such as pipes, wires, or a carpet into the correct position in the ground or on the floor, so that they are ready to be used
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- b LU groundwork (n)
- Macmillan: work that you do in order to prepare for something
 - Macmillan: work that you do in order to prepare for something
 -
 -
 - NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- c LU return
- Macmillan 3: (return to) to go back to an activity after an interruption

- b) Macmillan 1: to go back to a place where you were earlier, or to come back from a place where you have just been
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 7 *Secretary Rice will consult with Israelis and Palestinians on the disengagement, their shared commitments, and the **way back on the roadmap**.*
- a LU way (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
 - b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU back (adv)
- a)
 - b) Macmillan 3: returning to a place or position
 - c)
 - d)
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU on (prep)
- a)
 - b) Macmillan 4: in a particular place
 - c)
 - d)
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

8 *As we work to make the disengagement succeed, we must not lose sight of the **path ahead**.*

a LU path (n)

- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
- b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

b LU ahead (adv)

- a) Macmillan 2: used when saying what will happen in the future
- b) Macmillan 1a: used for saying that something is in front of you, in the direction you are going or looking
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

9 *The United States remains committed to the **roadmap** as the only **way** to realize the **vision** of two democratic states **living side by side** in peace and security.*

a LU roadmap (n)

- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

b LU way (n)

- a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
- b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

c LU vision (n)

- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
- b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.

- e) **MRW**
- d LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
- b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- e LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 10 *It is through the **roadmap** that the parties can achieve a final permanent status agreement through direct negotiations.*
- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 11 *Mr. President, we will work with you to help realize the dream of a free and democratic Palestine, to bring greater freedom, security, and prosperity to all peoples in the region, and to achieve the **lasting** peace we all **seek**.*
- a LU lasting (adj)
- a) Macmillan: continuing to exist or have an effect for a long time
- b) Macmillan: continuing to exist or have an effect for a long time
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- b LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
- b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

12 *I mean, when you say you're going to accept the **roadmap**, you accept the **roadmap**, and part of the obligations of the **roadmap** is not the expansion of settlements.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *And we continue to remind our friends the Israelis about their obligations under the **roadmap**, just like we remind President Abbas about the obligations under the **roadmap** that the Palestinians have accepted.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix H: Speech by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the Herzliya Conference Institute of Policy and Strategy - December 4, 2002

Twenty-seven months ago the Palestinian Authority commenced a campaign of terror against the State of Israel. Since then, we have been confronting a ferocious battle against a culture of bloodshed and murder, which has targeted Jews and Israelis everywhere. This campaign of terror was not coincidental; it was meticulously planned and prepared by the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority who misconstrued the high regard for human life in Israeli society as a way to compel us to capitulate to terrorism and coerce us into additional political concessions, concession with nothing in return.

The past two years have been a difficult and painful test for Israel's national strength. The callousness and brutality of the terrorists was aimed - first and foremost - at undermining the sense of justness of the people of Zion. This is not the place to ask what led the PA Chairman to question the inner strength and determination which has always characterized the citizens of Israel, but it is clear that the terror has not defeated and will never defeat the State of Israel. They tried to break our spirit - and failed. This failure has resulted in scathing Palestinian criticism of Arafat, his path of terrorism and ongoing strategy of violence against Israel.

Today, most of the weight of the global leadership is in the United States. From the first days of the establishment of the State of Israel, our bond with the United States has been a supreme strategic asset. My Government has further consolidated our relations with the United States and formed a special closeness with the U.S. Administration and Congress. These special relations, the understanding of Israel's needs, and the cooperation with President Bush and his administration are unprecedented. Israel has in the United States true friends who genuinely and honestly care for our security.

Our political understandings with the United States and the Administration's understanding of our security needs have provided us with the required leeway in our ongoing war on terrorism. The war on terror has been accompanied by exorbitant costs and harsh financial damage, and I hope and believe that in the coming months we will receive special aid, to support us in our economic campaign.

On June 24th this year, President Bush presented his plan for a true solution to our conflict with the Palestinians. The peace plan outlined in the President's speech is a reasonable, pragmatic and practicable one, which offers a real opportunity to achieve an agreement. We have accepted in principle the President's plan and the sequence presented therein. Our agreements with the Palestinians are based on the lessons the Americans learned from the Clinton-Barak plan, and my experience as one who has, for many years, participated in the security and political campaign in the Palestinian arena.

After concerted efforts, the U.S. Administration has understood and agreed that the only way to achieve a true peace agreement with the Palestinians is progress in phases, with the first phase being a complete cessation of terror. President Bush's speech is a fatal blow to Arafat's policy of terrorism and serves as proof of the failure of his attempt to achieve political gains by means of violence and terrorism. Only after a cessation of terror - and this is already agreed by most world leaders - will the commencement of peace negotiations between the parties be possible.

The American plan defines the parties' progress according to phases. The transition from one phase to the next will not be on the basis of a pre-determined timetable - which would have resulted in a build-up of heavy pressure on Israel towards the end of one phase and approaching the next phase. Rather, progress is determined on the basis of performance - only once a specific phase has been implemented, will progress into the next phase be possible.

On the basis of lessons learned from past agreements, it is clear to all that Israel can no longer be expected to make political concessions until there is proven calm and Palestinian governmental reforms.

In this context, it is important to remember that political concessions which will be made in the future - as those made in the past - are irreversible.

Even the current security reality, with the IDF operating freely inside Palestinian cities, arises from security needs and has not changed the political situation of two years ago. Israel will not re-control territories from which it withdrew as a result of political agreements. Therefore, the achievement of true and genuine coexistence must be a pre-condition to any discussion on political arrangements.

The Jewish people seek peace. Israel's desire is to live in security and in true and genuine coexistence, based, first and foremost, on the recognition of our natural and historic right to exist as a Jewish state in the land of Israel, while maintaining genuine peace.

The achievement of true coexistence must be carried out, first and foremost, by the replacement of the Palestinian leadership which has lied and disappointed, with different leadership which can - and more importantly - is willing to achieve real peace with the State of Israel. Unfortunately, there remain a few in Israel who believe that Arafat is still relevant. However, the U.S. Administration - with the world following in its footsteps - has already accepted our unequivocal position that no progress will be possible with Arafat as the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority. This man is not - and never will be - a partner to peace. He does not want peace.

The reconstruction of a Palestinian government should commence with governmental reforms which will ultimately lead to the establishment of a new, honest and peace-seeking administration, the removal of Arafat from his command of power and sources of financing, and from the decision-making process, and his relegation to a symbolic role.

In concordance with the sequence presented by President Bush, a Chief Executive Officer for Reforms will be appointed to the Palestinian Authority, and will constitute the head of the executive authority and the source of administrative authority. The provisional Palestinian government will administer a more efficient governmental system, fight the prevailing corruption in the PA and adhere to regulations of proper management. That government will lead a comprehensive process of reforms, maintain coexistence and prepare the general elections.

The elections in the Palestinian Authority should be held only at the conclusion of the reform process and after proper governmental regulations have been internalized. The goal is that these will be true elections - free, liberated and democratic.

Parallel with, and perhaps even prior to the governmental reforms, a security reform will be carried out, consisting of three principle parts:

Dismantling all existing security (/terrorist) bodies, the majority of which are, in fact, involved in terror; these organizations, which are directly subordinate to Arafat, are essentially corrupt, and responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Israelis. These bodies will be replaced by two or three new organizations which will consist of a police force and security services; these new organizations will have a uniform command, which will be responsible for dismantling the current complex web of militias and armed gangs.

A Minister of the Interior will be appointed, and will be responsible for collecting illegal weapons and transferring them to a third party which will remove them from the PA territories and destroy them, and outlawing terrorist organizations.

In addition, cooperation on security issues between the PA and Israel will be renewed immediately.

The security reform must accompany a sincere and real effort to stop terrorism, while applying the "chain of preventive measures" outlined by the Americans: intelligence gathering, arrest, interrogation, prosecution and punishment.

Another important matter is the international demand for honest, effective, non-corrupt and transparent administration of the PA financial system; it is of great importance that the PA manage its financial affairs in concordance with the rules of proper government which will obligate the Palestinian Authority, inter alia, to produce a detailed budget, under a budgetary control system. This budgetary auditing system will ensure a balance between income and expenditure, and will verify that budget spending only serves appropriate economic purposes

for the benefit and welfare of the Palestinian people. Such a supervising mechanism will also prevent the transfer of money for the financing of organizations or individuals involved in terror.

Taking the financial system out of Arafat's hands, and appointing a strong Minister of Finance with authority, constitutes an important factor for stopping the terrorist system operated by the Palestinian Authority. We are hopeful that the newly appointed PA Minister of Finance will operate a body to oversee and handle foreign aid funds received by the PA, and channel those funds to clearly defined projects which will benefit the Palestinian people and which are not contaminated by terror and corruption.

Peace and coexistence cannot be achieved without reform in the fields of education, media and information; the virulent incitement mechanism instigated by the PA against Israel must be stopped immediately; there can be no peace while the Palestinian education system instills in their young generation a culture of hatred, violence and terror.

Today, there is an increasing understanding in the world that stopping the phenomenon of suicide terrorism is dependent on: the cessation of incitement, ending the religious ratification of terrorism by radical elements in the Muslim world - with the encouragement and support of various Arab states.

The Palestinian justice system and law-enforcement must also undergo significant reforms. It is unheard of that in a law-abiding country, one hour after being arrested for theft, a suspect is sentenced and hanged, while on the other hand those involved in terror enter and leave prison in the "revolving door" principle. As long as those who commit crimes against the State of Israel are not severely punished, no progress will be made in President Bush's sequence.

The two sides will advance to the next phase of President Bush's sequence when a new, different, responsible and non-corrupt Palestinian leadership emerges. Terror will cease, and the Palestinian leadership will not allow it to be renewed. Civil and economic cooperation will be established. Incitement will be stopped and education towards peace will be fostered. At the same time, Israel will act to lift military pressure, create territorial continuity between Palestinian population centers, and ease daily life for the Palestinian population.

The second phase of President Bush's sequence proposes the establishment of a Palestinian state with borders yet to be finalized, and which will overlap with territories A and B, except for essential security zones. This Palestinian state will be completely demilitarized. It will be allowed to maintain lightly armed police and interior forces to ensure civil order. Israel will continue to control all entries and exits to the Palestinian state, will command its airspace, and not allow it to form alliances with Israel's enemies.

As I have promised in the past, President Bush's sequence will be discussed and approved by the National Unity Government which I intend to establish after the elections, and I will do my utmost to establish as broad a National Unity Government as possible.

In the final phase of President Bush's sequence negotiations will be opened to determine the final status of the Palestinian state and fix its permanent borders. As I emphasized, no progress will be made from one phase to the next until such time as quiet has been restored, Palestinian rule has undergone fundamental changes, and coexistence is ensured.

We all want peace. It is not a competition over who wants peace more. We also know that entering into political negotiations for peace is the true path which will bring about acceleration of economic growth and prosperity. I have said it before, and will say it again today: Israel is prepared to make painful concessions for a true peace. However, the government under my leadership will not be seduced into believing false promises which will endanger the security of the State of Israel.

My ideological and political path is well-known to you from the many functions I was privileged to fill during my decades of public service. These decisions are not easy for me, and I cannot deny that I have doubts, reservations and fears; however, I have come to the conclusion that in the present regional and international reality Israel must act with courage to accept the political plan which I described. There are risks involved, but also enormous opportunities.

I know that there are many who will attack the political outline I have just detailed. During the last few years many of us were tempted to believe in lightning-quick solutions which would lead to the security and peace we have longed for, and that this long-lasting conflict between our two peoples could be solved by the "blade of a sword" - I am familiar with these voices from both sides of the political spectrum.

Regrettably, this is not the way things are. These methods have failed - the solution to the conflict must be gradual and controlled. We must, in all stages, act with prudence and determination, exercise judgement, and make very sure that all commitments and agreements are implemented by both sides.

It is true that this is not a shining path which will lead us to instant, magical solutions, but I am certain that only by going forward in this direction, step by step, will we be able to achieve security for the Israeli people, and reach the peace we all yearn for.

Thank you, and happy holiday.

(2,244 words)

H1: MIPVU analysis of speech by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the Herzliya Conference – December 2, 2002

1 *After concerted efforts, the U.S. Administration has understood and agreed that the only way to **achieve** a true peace agreement with the Palestinians is **progress** in phases, with the first phase being a complete cessation of terror.*

- a LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *The American plan defines the parties' **progress** according to phases.*

- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

3 *On the basis of lessons learned from past agreements, it is clear to all that Israel can no longer be expected to make political **concessions** until there is proven calm and Palestinian governmental reforms.*

- a LU concession (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: something you give or allow to someone in order to reach an agreement
 - b) Macmillan 3: a reduction in the price of something for some groups of people such as students
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

4 *In this context, it is important to remember that political **concessions** which will be made in the future – as those made in the past – are irreversible.*

- a LU concession (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: something you give or allow to someone in order to reach an agreement
 - b) Macmillan 3: a reduction in the price of something for some groups of people such as students
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

5 *The Jewish people **seek** peace.*

- a LU seek (v)
 - a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *Israel's desire is to **live** in security and in true and genuine coexistence, based, first and foremost, on the recognition of our natural and historic right to exist as a Jewish state in the land of Israel, while maintaining **genuine** peace.*

- a LU live (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- b LU genuine (adj)
 - a) Macmillan 1: real, rather than pretended or false
 - b) Macmillan 1: real, rather than pretended or false
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

7 *However, the U.S. Administration – with the world following in its **footsteps** – has already accepted our unequivocal position that no **progress** will be possible with Arafat as the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority.*

- a LU footsteps (n)
 - a) Macmillan (phrases): to do the same work or achieve the same success as someone else before you
 - b) Macmillan: the sound that your feet make when you are walking

- c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- b LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 8 *This man is not – and never will be – a **partner** to peace.*
- a LU partner (n)
- a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 9 *He does not **want** peace.*
- a LU want (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 10 *The reconstruction of a Palestinian government should commence with governmental reforms which will ultimately lead to the establishment of a new, honest and **peace-seeking** administration, the removal of Arafat from his command of power and sources of financing, and from the decision-making process, and his relegation to a symbolic role.*
- a LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *Peace and coexistence cannot be **achieved** without reform in the fields of education, media and information; the virulent incitement mechanism instigated by the PA against Israel must be stopped immediately; there can be no peace while the Palestinian education system instills in their young generation a culture of hatred, violence and terror.*

- a LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **NMRW**

12 *As long as those who commit crimes against the State of Israel are not severely punished, no **progress** will be **made** in President Bush's **sequence**.*

- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU make (v)
- a) Macmillan phrases (peace): to end an argument with someone and stop feeling angry towards them
 - b) Macmillan 1: to create or produce something by working
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU sequence (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - b) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**

13 *The two sides will **advance to** the next **phase** of President Bush's **sequence** when a new, different, responsible and non-corrupt Palestinian leadership emerges.*

- a LU advance (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed

- b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU phase (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a particular period of time during the development of something
 - b) Macmillan 2: a shape of the moon or a planet as we see it from the Earth that changes according to a regular pattern at different times in the month
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU sequence (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - b) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**

14 *Incitement will be stopped and education **towards** peace will be **fostered**.*

- a LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU foster (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to help something to develop over a period of time
 - b) Macmillan 2: to look after a child as part of your family for a period of time because the child's parents cannot look after them
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

15 *As I emphasized, no **progress** will be **made** from one phase to the next until such time as quiet has been restored, Palestinian rule has undergone fundamental changes, and coexistence is ensured.*

- a LU progress (n)

- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
- b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

- b LU make (v)
 - a) Macmillan phrases (peace): to end an argument with someone and stop feeling angry towards them
 - b) Macmillan 1: to create or produce something by working
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

16 *We all **want** peace.*

- a LU want (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

17 *It is not a **competition** over who **wants** peace more.*

- a LU competition (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1a: the activities of people who are trying to get something that other people also want
 - b) Macmillan 2: an organized event in which people try to win prizes by being better than other people
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU want (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

18 *We also know that entering into political negotiations for peace is the true **path** which will **bring about acceleration** of economic growth and prosperity.*

- a LU path (n)
 - a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along

- c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU bring about (v)
- a) Macmillan (phrasal verb): to make something happen, especially to cause changes in a situation
 - b) Macmillan 1: to take someone or something from one place and have them with you when you arrive somewhere else
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU acceleration (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: an increase in the rate at which something happens, changes, or grows
 - b) Macmillan 2: the power of a vehicle to increase its speed
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 19 *I have said it before, and will say it again today: Israel is prepared to make painful **concessions** for a true peace.*
- a LU concession (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: something you give or allow to someone in order to reach an agreement
 - b) Macmillan 3: a reduction in the price of something for some groups of people such as students
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 20 *During the last few years many of us were tempted to believe in lightning-quick solutions which would **lead to** the security and peace we have longed for, and that this long-lasting conflict between our two peoples could be solved by the “blade of a sword” – I am familiar with these voices from both sides of the political spectrum.*
- a LU lead to (v)
- a) Macmillan 1 (phrasal verb): to begin a process that causes something to happen
 - b)
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

21 *It is true that this is not a **shining path** which will **lead us to** instant, magical solutions, but I am certain that only by **going forward** in this **direction**, **step by step**, will we be able to **achieve** security for the Israeli people, and **reach** the peace we all **yearn** for.*

- a LU shining (adj)
a) Macmillan: someone or something that has very impressive qualities
b) Macmillan: someone or something that has very impressive qualities
c) -
d) -
e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- b LU path (n)
a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- c LU lead to (v)
a) Macmillan 1 (phrasal verb): to begin a process that causes something to happen
b) Macmillan 1a: to show someone the way to a place by going there with them
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- d LU go (v)
a)
b) Macmillan 1: to move or travel to a place that is away from where you are now
c)
d)
e)
- e LU forward (adv)
a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
a. moving in the direction in front of you
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- f LU direction (n)
a) Macmillan 3: the general development or progress of someone or something
b) Macmillan 1: the path that someone or something moves along when going towards a place
c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- g LU step by step (n + prep + n)
a) Macmillan: moving slowly from one stage or level to the next
b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- h LU achieve (v)
a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **NMRW**
- i LU reach (v)
a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- j LU yearn (v)
a) Macmillan: to want something a lot, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
b) Macmillan: to want something a lot, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
c) -
d) -
e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

Appendix I: Statement by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon after the Aqaba Summit meeting - June 4, 2003

I would like to thank His Majesty King Abdullah for arranging this meeting, and express Israel's appreciation to President Bush for coming here to be with Prime Minister Abbas and me. Thank you.

As the Prime Minister of Israel, the land which is the cradle of the Jewish people, my paramount responsibility is the security of the people of Israel and of the State of Israel. There can be no compromise with terror and Israel, together with all free nations, will continue fighting terrorism until its final defeat.

Ultimately, permanent security requires peace and permanent peace can only be obtained through security, and there is now hope of a new opportunity for peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Israel, like others, has lent its strong support for President Bush's vision, expressed on June 24, 2002, of two states - Israel and a Palestinian state - living side by side in peace and security. The Government and people of Israel welcome the opportunity to renew direct negotiations according to the steps of the roadmap as adopted by the Israeli government to achieve this vision.

It is in Israel's interest not to govern the Palestinians but for the Palestinians to govern themselves in their own state. A democratic Palestinian state fully at peace with Israel will promote the long-term security and well-being of Israel as a Jewish state.

There can be no peace, however, without the abandonment and elimination of terrorism, violence, and incitement. We will work alongside the Palestinians and other states to fight terrorism, violence and incitement of all kinds. As all parties perform their obligations, we will seek to restore normal Palestinian life, improve the humanitarian situation, rebuild trust, and promote progress toward the President's vision. We will act in a manner that respects the dignity as well as the human rights of all people.

We can also reassure our Palestinian partners that we understand the importance of territorial contiguity in the West Bank, for a viable, Palestinian state. Israeli policy in the territories that are subject to direct negotiations with the Palestinians will reflect this fact.

We accept the principle that no unilateral actions by any party can prejudice the outcome of our negotiations.

In regard to the unauthorized outposts, I want to reiterate that Israel is a society governed by the rule of law. Thus, we will immediately begin to remove unauthorized outposts.

Israel seeks peace with all its Arab neighbors. Israel is prepared to negotiate in good faith wherever there are partners. As normal relations are established, I am confident that they will find in Israel a neighbor and a people committed to comprehensive peace and prosperity for all the peoples of the region.

Thank you all.

(450 words)

I1: MIPVU analysis of statement by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon after the Aqaba Summit meeting – June 4, 2003

1 *Ultimately, permanent security requires peace and permanent peace can only be **obtained** through security, and there is now hope of a new opportunity for peace between Israelis and Palestinians.*

- a LU obtain (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to get something that you want or need, especially by going through a process that is difficult
 - b) Macmillan 1: to get something that you want or need, especially by going through a process that is difficult
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

2 *Israel, like others, has lent its strong support for President Bush's **vision**, expressed on June 24, 2002, of two states – Israel and a Palestinian state – **living side by side** in peace and security.*

- a LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- c LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- 3 *The Government and people of Israel welcome the opportunity to **renew** direct negotiations according to the **steps** of the **roadmap** as adopted by the Israeli government to **achieve** this **vision**.*
- a LU renew (v)
- Macmillan 3: to do something again after a pause, usually with more energy or emphasis than before
 - Macmillan 4: to replace something that is old or damaged
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- b LU step (n)
- Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- c LU roadmap (n)
- Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- d LU achieve (v)
- Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 -
 -
 - NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- e LU vision (n)
- Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**

4 *As all parties perform their obligations, we will seek to restore normal Palestinian life, improve the humanitarian situation, rebuild trust, and promote **progress toward** the President's **vision**.*

- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

5 *We can also reassure our Palestinian **partners** that we understand the importance of territorial contiguity in the West Bank, for a viable, Palestinian state.*

- a LU partner (n)
- a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *Israel **seeks** peace withal its Arab **neighbors**.*

- a LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something

- b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU neighbor (n)
- a) Macmillan 2 someone or something that is close to a particular person, place, or thing
 - b) Macmillan 1 someone who lives near you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 7 *Israel is prepared to negotiate in good faith wherever there are **partners**.*
- a LU partner (n)
- a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 8 *As normal relations are established, I am confident that they will find in Israel a **neighbor** and a people **committed** to comprehensive peace and prosperity for all the peoples of the region.*
- a LU neighbor (n)
- a) Macmillan 2 someone or something that is close to a particular person, place, or thing
 - b) Macmillan 1 someone who lives near you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU committed (adj)
- a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

Appendix J: Statement by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at meeting with Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas - Jerusalem, July 1, 2003

I warmly welcome Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, and his Cabinet ministers who are with us here today. I have no doubt that the message projected from here today to the people of Israel, the Palestinian people and the entire world, is one of hope and optimism. I begin by expressing my greetings and appreciation, on behalf of the Government of Israel and on my own behalf, to the President of the United States, George Bush, for his true and genuine efforts to promote the peace process between ourselves and our Palestinian neighbors. I also wish to convey our appreciation and gratitude to U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and his team, as well as National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and her team, for their invaluable contribution to this process.

Prime Minister Abbas,

Today we are facing a new opportunity. The opportunity for a better future for both nations, a future of hope and prospects, which seems to be - perhaps now more than ever - within reach. I have said it before and repeated it when I formed my Government: I will make every effort to achieve a political settlement which will lead to calm and - with God's help - to peace. This is the mission that I have taken upon myself. It is my duty.

Israel is a peace-seeking nation. Israel's hand has always been extended in peace to all Arab states and to our Palestinian neighbors. The yearning for peace by Jews in the land of Israel and the entire world, finds expression in every aspect of our lives: the Bible, our prayers, literature and poetry - all enunciate peace. Generations of Jews were taught to seek, aspire to and pursue peace. Therefore, even if the price is painful, even if we are required to make painful compromises, I will be willing to make them for the sake of true peace - a peace for generations, the peace that we all yearn for.

However, we must never forget that coupled with the hopes and prospects, there are numerous risks. There are still many who would like to see the process - any process - collapse. There are still many who seek to derail any possibility of peace and tranquility. There are still those: terrorists, their abettors, dispatchers, those who finance them and those who encourage them, through virulent incitement, all with only one purpose in mind - to murder innocent people.

As Prime Minister of Israel, my primary responsibility is to ensure the security of the citizens and State of Israel. There will be no compromise with terror. And Israel, together with the nations of the Free World, will continue fighting terrorism until it is completely defeated. There can be no peace with terrorism!!!

Prime Minister Abbas,

We will soon begin our meeting in my Bureau (our third in recent weeks), in which we will certainly discuss ways to move forward - the steps you are taking and the steps we will take to combat terror - all in order to advance the process. But let me first reiterate these words from my address to the Knesset on April 8, 2003, when I called on the Palestinians as follows:

"On behalf of the people of Israel, I tell you: we have no quarrel with you. We have no desire to control you or to dictate your fate. We want to live side by side with you in peace, as good neighbors, helping and respecting each other."

It was our wish then, and it is still our wish now.

We were determined to achieve this then, and we are still determined to achieve it now.

We desired peace then, and we still want it now.

And with God's help, we will achieve it.

(626 words)

J1: MIPVU analysis of statement by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at meeting with Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas – July 1, 2003

1 *I begin by expressing my greetings and appreciation, on behalf of the Government of Israel and on my own behalf, to the President of the United States, George Bush, for his true and genuine efforts to **promote** the peace process between ourselves and our Palestinian neighbors.*

- a LU promote (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to support or encourage something
 - b) Macmillan 3: to attract people's attention to a product or event, for example by advertising
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *The opportunity for a better future for nations, a future of hope and prospects, which seems to be – perhaps now more than ever – **within reach**.*

- a LU within reach (n)
- a) Macmillan: used for saying that someone can have or do something because they have enough money or skill
 - b) Macmillan 1: the distance within which you can touch something or pick it up by stretching out your hand, arm, leg etc
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

3 *I have said it before and repeated it when I formed my Government: I will make every effort to **achieve** a political settlement which will **lead to** calm and – with God's help – to peace.*

- a LU achieve (n)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU lead to (v)
- a) Macmillan 1 (phrasal verb): to begin a process that causes something to happen
 - b) Macmillan 1a: to show someone the way to a place by going there with them
 - c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

4 *This is the **mission** that I have taken upon myself.*

- a LU mission (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: an important piece of work that a person or group of people has to do for a government or large organization, especially one that involves travel
 - b) Macmillan 5: the activity of people who are sent to a place by a religious organization to teach people there about a particular religion
 - c)
 - d)
 - e) **MRW**

5 *It is my **duty**.*

- a LU duty (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: a legal or moral obligation
 - b) Macmillan 2: a tax that you must pay on something that you buy, or on something that you bring into one country from another country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *Israel is a **peace-seeking** nation.*

- a LU seek (v)
 - a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

7 *Israel's **hand** has always been **extended** in peace to all Arab states and to our Palestinian neighbors.*

- a LU extend (your) hand (v + n)
 - a) Macmillan: to say that you want to try to have good relations with someone
 - b) Macmillan: to hold out your hand to someone so they can shake it as a greeting
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

8 *The yearning for peace by Jews in the land of Israel and the entire world, finds expression in every aspect of our lives: the Bible, our prayers, literature and poetry – all enunciate peace.*

- a LU yearning (n)
- a) Macmillan: a strong feeling that you get when you want something very much, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
 - b) Macmillan: a strong feeling that you get when you want something very much, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

9 *Generations of Jews were taught to seek, aspire to and pursue peace.*

- a LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU aspire (v)
- a) to want to achieve something or to be successful, especially in your career
 - b) to want to achieve something or to be successful, especially in your career
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- c LU pursue (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to try to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 3: to chase someone or something in order to catch them
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

10 *Therefore, even if the price is painful, even if we are required to make painful compromises, I will be willing to make them for the sake of true peace – a peace for generations, the peace that we all yearn for.*

- a LU price (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: the disadvantages or bad experiences that are a necessary part of achieving something that you want
 - b) Macmillan 1: the amount of money that you have to pay in order to buy something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

- e) **MRW**
- b LU compromise (n)
- a) a way of solving a problem or ending an argument in which both people or groups accept that they cannot have everything they want
- b) a way of solving a problem or ending an argument in which both people or groups accept that they cannot have everything they want
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- c LU yearn (v)
- a) Macmillan: to want something a lot, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
- b) Macmillan: to want something a lot, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 11 *There are still many who would like to see the process – any process – **collapse**.*
- a LU collapse (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to suddenly fail or stop existing
- b) Macmillan 1: if a building or other structure collapses, it suddenly falls down
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 12 *There are still many who **seek to derail** any possibility of peace and tranquility.*
- a LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
- b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU derail (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to prevent something from continuing in the way that it was planned
- b) Macmillan 1: to make a train come off its rails
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

13 *We will soon begin our meeting in my Bureau, in which we will certainly discuss ways to **move forward** – the **steps** you are **taking** and the **steps** we will **take** to combat terror – all in order to **advance** the process.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU forward (adv)
 - a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU take (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- e LU advance (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 *We want to **live side by side** with you in peace, as good **neighbors**, helping and respecting each other.*

- a LU live (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life

- b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- b LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU neighbor (n)
- a) Macmillan 2 someone or something that is close to a particular person, place, or thing
 - b) Macmillan 1 someone who lives near you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

15 *It was our **wish** then, and it is still our **wish** now.*

- a LU wish (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a feeling that you want something or want to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a feeling that you want something or want to do something
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

16 *We were determined to **achieve** this then, and we are still determined to **achieve** it now.*

- a LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort

- b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

17 *We **desired** peace then, and we still **want** it now.*

- a LU desire (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to want something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to want something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU want (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to feel that you would like to have, keep, or do something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

18 *And with God's help, we will **achieve** it.*

- a LU achieve (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

Appendix K: Address by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the Fourth Herzliya Conference - December 18, 2003

Good Evening,

I congratulate the organizers of this conference for the important and interesting gathering which you have held here. During the past three days, you have been discussing Israel's situation. I, as Prime Minister, am responsible for the planning and implementation of the measures which will shape Israel's character during the next few years.

We are all entrusted with the duty of shaping the face of the Jewish and democratic State of Israel a state where there is an equal distribution of the burden, as well as the acceptance of rights and shouldering of duties by all sectors, through different forms of national service. A state where there is a good and efficient education system which educates a young generation imbued with values and national pride, which is capable of confronting the challenges of the modern world. A country whose economy is adapted to the advanced global market of the 21st century, where the product per capita crosses the \$20,000 line and is equal to that of most developed European countries. An immigrant-absorbing state which constitutes a national and spiritual center for all Jews of the world and is a source of attraction for thousands of immigrants each year. Aliyah is the central goal of the State of Israel.

This is the country we wish to shape. This is the country where our children will want to live.

I know that there is sometimes a tendency to narrow all of Israel's problems down to the political sphere, believing that once a solution is found to Israel's problems with its neighbors, particularly the Palestinians, the other issues on the agenda will miraculously resolve themselves. I do not believe so. We are facing additional challenges, which must be addressed: the economy, educating the young generation, immigrant absorption, enhancement of social cohesion and the improvement of relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel.

Like all Israeli citizens, I yearn for peace. I attach supreme importance to taking all steps, which will enable progress toward resolution of the conflict with the Palestinians. However, in light of the other challenges we are faced with, if the Palestinians do not make a similar effort toward a solution of the conflict I do not intend to wait for them indefinitely.

Seven months ago, my Government approved the Roadmap to peace, based on President George Bush's June 2002 speech. This is a balanced program for phased progress toward peace, to which both Israel and the Palestinians committed themselves. A full and genuine implementation of the program is the best way to achieve true peace. The Roadmap is the only political plan accepted by Israel, the Palestinians, the Americans and a majority of the international community. We are willing to proceed toward its implementation: two states Israel and a Palestinian State living side by side in tranquility, security and peace.

The Roadmap is a clear and reasonable plan, and it is therefore possible and imperative to implement it. The concept behind this plan is that only security will lead to peace. And in that sequence. Without the achievement of full security within the framework of which terror organizations will be dismantled it will not be possible to achieve genuine peace, a peace for generations. This is the essence of the Roadmap. The opposite perception, according to which the very signing of a peace agreement will produce security out of thin air, has already been tried in the past and failed miserably. And such will be the fate of any other plan which promotes this concept. These plans deceive the public and create false hope. There will be no peace before the eradication of terror.

The government under my leadership will not compromise on the realization of all phases of the Roadmap. It is incumbent upon the Palestinians to uproot the terrorist groups and to create a law-abiding society, which fights against violence and incitement. Peace and terror cannot coexist. The world is currently united in its unequivocal demand from the Palestinians to act toward the cessation of terrorism and the implementation of reforms. Only a transformation of the Palestinian Authority into a different authority will enable progress in

the political process. The Palestinians must fulfill their obligations. A full and complete implementation will at the end of the process lead to peace and tranquility.

We began the implementation of the Roadmap at Aqaba, but the terrorist organizations joined with Yasser Arafat and sabotaged the process with a series of the most brutal terror attacks we have ever known.

Concurrent with the demand from the Palestinians to eliminate the terror organizations, Israel is taking and will continue to take steps to significantly improve the living conditions of the Palestinian population: Israel will remove closures and curfews and reduce the number of roadblocks; we will improve freedom of movement for the Palestinian population, including the passage of people and goods; we will increase the hours of operation at international border crossings; we will enable a large number of Palestinian merchants to conduct regular and normal economic and trade relations with their Israeli counterparts, etc. All these measures are aimed at enabling better and freer movement for the Palestinian population not involved in terror.

In addition, subject to security coordination, we will transfer Palestinian towns to Palestinian security responsibility.

Israel will make every effort to assist the Palestinians and to advance the process.

Israel will fulfil the commitments taken upon itself. I have committed to the President of the United States that Israel will dismantle unauthorized outposts. It is my intention to implement this commitment. The State of Israel is governed by law, and the issue of the outposts is no exception. I understand the sensitivity; we will try to do this in the least painful way possible, but the unauthorized outposts will be dismantled. Period.

Israel will meet all its obligations with regard to construction in the settlements. There will be no construction beyond the existing construction line, no expropriation of land for construction, no special economic incentives and no construction of new settlements.

I take this opportunity to appeal to the Palestinians and repeat, as I said at Aqaba: it is not in our interest to govern you. We would like you to govern yourselves in your own country. A democratic Palestinian state with territorial contiguity in Judea and Samaria and economic viability, which would conduct normal relations of tranquility, security and peace with Israel. Abandon the path of terror and let us together stop the bloodshed. Let us move forward together towards peace.

We wish to speedily advance implementation of the Roadmap towards quiet and a genuine peace. We hope that the Palestinian Authority will carry out its part. However, if in a few months the Palestinians still continue to disregard their part in implementing the Roadmap then Israel will initiate the unilateral security step of disengagement from the Palestinians.

The purpose of the Disengagement Plan is to reduce terror as much as possible, and grant Israeli citizens the maximum level of security. The process of disengagement will lead to an improvement in the quality of life, and will help strengthen the Israeli economy. The unilateral steps which Israel will take in the framework of the Disengagement Plan will be fully coordinated with the United States. We must not harm our strategic coordination with the United States. These steps will increase security for the residents of Israel and relieve the pressure on the IDF and security forces in fulfilling the difficult tasks they are faced with. The Disengagement Plan is meant to grant maximum security and minimize friction between Israelis and Palestinians.

We are interested in conducting direct negotiations, but do not intend to hold Israeli society hostage in the hands of the Palestinians. I have already said we will not wait for them indefinitely.

The Disengagement Plan will include the redeployment of IDF forces along new security lines and a change in the deployment of settlements, which will reduce as much as possible the number of Israelis located in the heart of the Palestinian population. We will draw provisional security lines and the IDF will be deployed along them. Security will be provided by IDF deployment, the security fence and other physical obstacles. The Disengagement Plan will reduce friction between us and the Palestinians.

This reduction of friction will require the extremely difficult step of changing the deployment of some of the settlements. I would like to repeat what I have said in the past: In the framework of a future agreement, Israel will not remain in all the places where it is today. The relocation of settlements will be made, first and foremost, in order to draw the most efficient security line possible, thereby creating this disengagement between Israel and the Palestinians. This security line will not constitute the permanent border of the State of Israel, however, as long as implementation of the Roadmap is not resumed, the IDF will be deployed along that line. Settlements which will be relocated are those, which will not be included in the territory of the State of Israel in the framework of any possible future permanent agreement. At the same time, in the framework of the Disengagement Plan, Israel will strengthen its control over those same areas in the Land of Israel which will constitute an inseparable part of the State of Israel in any future agreement. I know you would like to hear names, but we should leave something for later.

Israel will greatly accelerate the construction of the security fence. Today we can already see it taking shape. The rapid completion of the security fence will enable the IDF to remove roadblocks and ease the daily lives of the Palestinian population not involved in terror.

In order to enable the Palestinians to develop their economic and trade sectors, and to ensure that they will not be exclusively dependent on Israel, we will consider, in the framework of the Disengagement Plan, enabling in coordination with Jordan and Egypt the freer passage of people and goods through international border crossings, while taking the necessary security precautions.

I would like to emphasize: the Disengagement Plan is a security measure and not a political one. The steps which will be taken will not change the political reality between Israel and the Palestinians, and will not prevent the possibility of returning to the implementation of the Roadmap and reaching an agreed settlement.

The Disengagement Plan does not prevent the implementation of the Roadmap. Rather, it is a step Israel will take in the absence of any other option, in order to improve its security. The Disengagement Plan will be realized only in the event that the Palestinians continue to drag their feet and postpone implementation of the Roadmap.

Obviously, through the Disengagement Plan the Palestinians will receive much less than they would have received through direct negotiations as set out in the Roadmap.

According to circumstances, it is possible that parts of the Disengagement Plan that are supposed to provide maximum security to the citizens of Israel will be undertaken while also attempting to implement the Roadmap.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

My life experience has taught me that for peace, as well as for war, we must have broad consensus. We must preserve our unity, even in the midst of a difficult, internal debate.

In the past three years, the Palestinian terrorist organizations have put us to a difficult test. Their plan to break the spirit of Israeli society has not succeeded. The citizens of Israel have managed to step into the breach, support each other, lend a helping hand, volunteer and contribute.

I believe that this path of unity must be continued today. Whether we will be able to advance the Roadmap, or will have to implement the Disengagement Plan, experience has taught us that, together, through broad national consensus, we can do great things.

Let us not be led astray. Any path will be complicated, strewn with obstacles, and obligate us to act with discretion and responsibility. I am confident that, just as we have managed to overcome the challenges of the past, we will stand together and succeed today.

We will always be guided by the words of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, who said, on the day after the Declaration of Independence:

"These days, our purpose is only to build the State of Israel with love and faith, in Jewish brotherhood, and to defend it with all our spirit, and as long as necessary. We are still in the midst of a difficult battle, one that has two fronts: political and military. Let us not embellish our deeds and, of course, our words, with grandiose names. We must remain humble. We

achieved what we have achieved by standing on the shoulders of previous generations, and we accomplished what we have accomplished by preserving our precious legacy, the legacy of a small nation which has endured suffering and tribulations, but which is, nevertheless, great and eternal in spirit, vision, faith and virtue."

I am also a great believer in the resilience of this small, brave nation, which has endured suffering and tribulations. I am confident that, united in the power of our faith, we will be able to succeed in any path we choose.

Thank you very much, and happy Hannukah.

K1: MIPVU analysis of address by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the Fourth Herzliya Conference – December 18, 2003

1 *Like all Israeli citizens, I yearn for peace.*

- a LU yearn (v)
- a) Macmillan: to want something a lot, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
 - b) Macmillan: to want something a lot, especially something that you know you may not be able to have
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

2 *I attach supreme importance to **taking** all steps, which will enable **progress toward** resolution of the conflict with the Palestinians.*

- a LU take (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- 3 *Seven months ago, my Government approved the **Roadmap** to peace, based on President George Bush's June 2002 speech.*
- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 4 *This is a balanced program for phased **progress toward** peace, to which both Israel and the Palestinians **committed** themselves.*
- a LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
- b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- c LU committed (adj)
- a) loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
- b) loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 5 *A full and genuine implementation of the program is the best way to **achieve** true peace.*
- a LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- c) -
- d) -

e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

6 *We are willing to **proceed toward** its implementation: two states Israel and a Palestinian State **living side by side in tranquility, security and peace.***

- a LU proceed (v)
- a) Macmillan 4: to make progress by moving to the next stage in a series of actions or events
 - b) Macmillan 2: to go in a particular direction
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- d LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

7 *The concept behind this plan is that only security will **lead to** peace.*

- a LU lead to (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: (phrasal verb) to begin a process that causes something to happen
 - b) Macmillan 1c: if something such as a road, river, or door leads in a particular direction or to a particular place, or if it leads you there, it goes in that direction or to that place

- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

8 *Without the achievement of full security within the framework of which terror organizations will be dismantled it will not be possible to **achieve** genuine peace, a peace for generations.*

- a LU achieve (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

9 *There will be no peace before the **eradication** of terror.*

- a LU eradication (n)
 - a) Macmillan: to get rid of something completely, especially something bad
 - b) Macmillan: to get rid of something completely, especially something bad
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

10 *Peace and terror cannot **coexist**.*

- a LU coexist (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to live or exist at the same time or in the same place
 - b) Macmillan: to live or exist at the same time or in the same place
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

11 *Only a transformation of the Palestinian Authority into a different authority will enable **progress** in the political process.*

- a LU progress (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

12 *A full and complete implementation will at the end of the process **lead to** peace and tranquility.*

- a LU lead to (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: (phrasal verb) to begin a process that causes something to happen
 - b) Macmillan 1c: if something such as a road, river, or door leads in a particular direction or to a particular place, or if it leads you there, it goes in that direction or to that place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *We began the implementation of the **Roadmap** at Aqaba, but terrorist organizations joined with Yasser Arafat and **sabotaged** the process with a series of the most brutal terror attacks we have ever known.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU sabotage (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: things that are done to stop someone from achieving something or to prevent a plan or process from being successful
 - b) Macmillan 1: deliberate damage that is done to the property of an enemy or opponent
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 *Concurrent with the demand from the Palestinians to eliminate the terror organizations, Israel is **taking** and will continue to **take steps** to significantly improve the living conditions of the Palestinian population*

- a LU take (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim

- b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

15 *Israel will make every effort to assist the Palestinians and to **advance** the process.*

- a LU advance (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

16 *A democratic Palestinian state with territorial contiguity in Judea and Samaria and economic viability, which would conduct normal **relations** of tranquility, security and peace with Israel.*

- a LU relations (n)
 - a) 1: the relationship between countries, people, or organizations
 - b) Macmillan 3: a member of your family
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

17 ***Abandon** the **path** of terror and let us together stop the bloodshed.*

- a LU abandon (v)
 - a) Macmillan 6: to stop believing or supporting an idea
 - b) Macmillan 2: to leave a place, especially because it is difficult or dangerous to stay there
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU path (n)
 - a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

18 *Let us **move forward** together **towards** peace.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way

- b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- b LU forward (adv)
 a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 a. moving in the direction in front of you
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- c LU towards (prep)
 a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- 19 *We wish to **speedily advance** implementation of the **Roadmap** towards quiet and genuine peace.*
- a LU speedily (adv)
 a) Longman 1: happening or done quickly or without delay
 b) Longman 2: a speedy car, boat etc goes fast
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- b LU advance (v)
 a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- c LU roadmap (n)
 a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.

- e) **MRW**
- d LU towards (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 20 *The unilateral **steps** which Israel will **take** in the framework of the Disengagement Plan will be fully coordinated with the United States.*
- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
- b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU take (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
- b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 21 *These **steps** will increase security for the residents of Israel and relieve the pressure on the IDF and security forces in fulfilling the difficult tasks they are faced with.*
- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
- b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 22 *The **steps** which will be **taken** will not change the political reality between Israel and the Palestinians, and will not prevent the possibility of **returning to** the implementation of the **Roadmap** and **reaching** an agreed settlement.*
- a LU step (n)

- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU take (v -passive)
- a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU return to (v)
- a) Macmillan 3 (phrasal verb) :to go back to an activity after an interruption
 - b) Macmillan 1: to go back to a place where you were earlier, or to come back from a place where you have just been
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- e LU reach (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
 - b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

23 *The Disengagement Plan does not **prevent** the implementation of the **Roadmap**.*

- a LU prevent (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to stop something from happening
- b) Macmillan 2: to stop someone from doing something
- c) No.
- d) No.
- e) **NMRW**

- b LU roadmap (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

24 *Rather, it is a **step** Israel will **take** in the absence of any other option, in order to improve its security.*

- a LU step (n)
 - a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU take (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

25 *The Disengagement Plan will be realized only in the event that the Palestinians continue to **drag their feet** and **postpone** implementation of the **Roadmap**.*

- a LU drag (your) feet (v + n)
 - a) Macmillan (phrase): to do something very slowly because you do not really want to do it
 - b) Macmillan 1a: to pull part of your body along the ground because you are injured
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- b LU postpone (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to decide that something will not be done at the time when it was planned for, but at a later time
 - b) Macmillan: to decide that something will not be done at the time when it was planned for, but at a later time
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- c LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

26 *My life experience has taught me that for peace, as well as for war, we must have broad **consensus**.*

- a LU consensus (n)
- a) Macmillan: agreement among all the people involved
 - b) Macmillan: agreement among all the people involved
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

27 *Whether we will be able to **advance** the **Roadmap**, or will have to implement the **Disengagement Plan**, experience has taught us that, together, through broad national consensus, we can do great things.*

- a LU advance (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

28 *Let us not be **led astray**.*

- a LU lead astray (v + adv)
- a) Macmillan (phrase): to make someone behave badly
 - b) Macmillan (phrase): to become lost or go to the wrong place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

29 *Any **path** will be complicated, strewn with **obstacles**, and obligate us to act with discretion and responsibility.*

- a LU path (n)
 - a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU obstacle (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: a difficulty or problem that prevents you from achieving something
 - b) Macmillan 2: an object that you must remove or go around in order to move forward
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

30 *I am confident that, united in the power of our faith, we will be able to succeed in any **path** we choose.*

- a LU path (n)
 - a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix L: Letter from Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to US President George W. Bush – April 2004

Dear Mr. President,

The vision that you articulated in your 24 June 2002 address constitutes one of the most significant contributions toward ensuring a bright future for the Middle East. Accordingly, the State of Israel has accepted the Roadmap, as adopted by our government. For the first time, a practical and just formula was presented for the achievement of peace, opening a genuine window of opportunity for progress toward a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, involving two states living side-by-side in peace and security.

This formula sets forth the correct sequence and principles for the attainment of peace. Its full implementation represents the sole means to make genuine progress. As you have stated, a Palestinian state will never be created by terror, and Palestinians must engage in a sustained fight against the terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure. Moreover, there must be serious efforts to institute true reform and real democracy and liberty, including new leaders not compromised by terror. We are committed to this formula as the only avenue through which an agreement can be reached. We believe that this formula is the only viable one.

The Palestinian Authority under its current leadership has taken no action to meet its responsibilities under the Roadmap. Terror has not ceased, reform of the Palestinian security services has not been undertaken, and real institutional reforms have not taken place. The State of Israel continues to pay the heavy cost of constant terror. Israel must preserve its capability to protect itself and deter its enemies, and we thus retain our right to defend ourselves against terrorism and to take actions against terrorist organizations.

Having reached the conclusion that, for the time being, there exists no Palestinian partner with whom to advance peacefully toward a settlement and since the current impasse is unhelpful to the achievement of our shared goals, I have decided to initiate a process of gradual disengagement with the hope of reducing friction between Israelis and Palestinians. The Disengagement Plan is designed to improve security for Israel and stabilize our political and economic situation. It will enable us to deploy our forces more effectively until such time that conditions in the Palestinian Authority allow for the full implementation of the Roadmap to resume.

I attach, for your review, the main principles of the Disengagement Plan. This initiative, which we are not undertaking under the roadmap, represents an independent Israeli plan, yet is not inconsistent with the roadmap. According to this plan, the State of Israel intends to relocate military installations and all Israeli villages and towns in the Gaza Strip, as well as other military installations and a small number of villages in Samaria.

In this context, we also plan to accelerate construction of the Security Fence, whose completion is essential in order to ensure the security of the citizens of Israel. The fence is a security rather than political barrier, temporary rather than permanent, and therefore will not prejudice any final status issues including final borders. The route of the Fence, as approved by our Government's decisions, will take into account, consistent with security needs, its impact on Palestinians not engaged in terrorist activities.

Upon my return from Washington, I expect to submit this Plan for the approval of the Cabinet and the Knesset, and I firmly believe that it will win such approval.

The Disengagement Plan will create a new and better reality for the State of Israel, enhance its security and economy, and strengthen the fortitude of its people. In this context, I believe it is important to bring new opportunities to the Negev and the Galilee. Additionally, the Plan will entail a series of measures with the inherent potential to improve the lot of the Palestinian Authority, providing that it demonstrates the wisdom to take advantage of this opportunity. The execution of the Disengagement Plan holds the prospect of stimulating positive changes within the Palestinian Authority that might create the necessary conditions for the resumption of direct negotiations.

We view the achievement of a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians as our central focus and are committed to realizing this objective. Progress toward this goal must be anchored exclusively in the Roadmap and we will oppose any other plan.

In this regard, we are fully aware of the responsibilities facing the State of Israel. These include limitations on the growth of settlements; removal of unauthorized outposts; and steps to increase, to the extent permitted by security needs, freedom of movement for Palestinians not engaged in terrorism. Under separate cover we are sending to you a full description of the steps the State of Israel is taking to meet all its responsibilities.

The government of Israel supports the United States efforts to reform the Palestinian security services to meet their roadmap obligations to fight terror. Israel also supports the American's efforts, working with the International Community, to promote the reform process, build institutions and improve the economy of the Palestinian Authority and to enhance the welfare of its people, in the hope that a new Palestinian leadership will prove able to fulfill its obligations under the roadmap.

I want to again express my appreciation for your courageous leadership in the war against global terror, your important initiative to revitalize the Middle East as a more fitting home for its people and, primarily, your personal friendship and profound support for the State of Israel.

Sincerely,
Ariel Sharon

(898 words)

L1: MIPVU analysis of letter from Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to US President George W. Bush – April 2004

- 1 *For the first time, a practical and just **formula** was presented for the **achievement** of peace, **opening** a genuine **window** of opportunity for **progress toward** a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, involving two states **living side-by-side** in peace and security.*
- a LU formula (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a plan or method for dealing with a problem or for achieving a result
- b) Macmillan 2: (maths) a group of letters or numbers that represents a rule in science or mathematics
 Macmillan 3: a list of the exact amounts of the ingredients that are used for making something
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU achievement (n)
- a) Macmillan: a particular thing that you have achieved
- b) Macmillan: a particular thing that you have achieved
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- c LU open
- a) Macmillan: to make it possible for something to happen
- b) Macmillan 2: to move a door or window into a position that allows people or things to pass through
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- d LU window
- a) Macmillan: an opportunity to do something that will only be available to you for a short time
- b) Macmillan 1: a frame in a wall with glass in it that lets light and air into a room and lets you see what is outside
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- e LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
- b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
- c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- f LU toward (prep)
a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- g LU live (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- h LU side by side (n + prep + n)
a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 2 *This formula sets forth the correct sequence and principles for the attainment of peace.*
- a LU formula (n)
a) Macmillan 1: a plan or method for dealing with a problem or for achieving a result
b) Macmillan 2: (maths) a group of letters or numbers that represents a rule in science or mathematics
Macmillan 3: a list of the exact amounts of the ingredients that are used for making something
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU set forth (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to explain or describe something in a clear and detailed way, especially in writing
b) Macmillan 1: to start a journey, especially one that is long or difficult

- c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU sequence (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - b) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- 3 *We are **committed** to this **formula** as the only **avenue** through which an agreement can be **reached**.*
- a LU committed (adj)
- a) loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU formula (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a plan or method for dealing with a problem or for achieving a result
 - b) Macmillan 2: (maths) a group of letters or numbers that represents a rule in science or mathematics
Macmillan 3: a list of the exact amounts of the ingredients that are used for making something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU avenue (n)
- a) Macmillan 2 :one of the methods you can use to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a wide straight road, especially one with trees on each side
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU reach (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
 - b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

4 *We believe that this **formula** is the only viable one.*

a LU formula (n)

a) Macmillan 1: a plan or method for dealing with a problem or for achieving a result

b) Macmillan 2: (maths) a group of letters or numbers that represents a rule in science or mathematics

Macmillan 3: a list of the exact amounts of the ingredients that are used for making something

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

5 *Having reached the conclusion that, for the time being, there exists no Palestinian **partner** with whom to **advance** peacefully **toward** a settlement and since the current **impasse** is unhelpful to the **achievement** of our shared goals, I have decided to **initiate** a process of gradual disengagement with the hope of reducing friction between Israelis and Palestinians.*

a LU partner (n)

a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:

b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship

Longman 2: one of the owners of a business

Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

b LU advance (v)

a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed

b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

c LU toward (prep)

a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result

b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

- e) **MRW**
- d LU impasse (n)
 a) Macmillan: a situation in which progress is not possible because none of the people involved are willing to change their opinion or decision
 b) Macmillan: a situation in which progress is not possible because none of the people involved are willing to change their opinion or decision
 c) -
 d) -
 e) **NMRW**
- e LU achievement (n)
 a) Macmillan: a particular thing that you have achieved
 b) Macmillan: a particular thing that you have achieved
 c) -
 d) -
 e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- f LU initiate (v)
 a) Macmillan 1: to make something start
 b) Macmillan 1: to make something start
 c) -
 d) -
 e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 6 *Progress toward this goal must be anchored exclusively in the Roadmap and we will oppose any other plan.*
- a LU progress (n)
 a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- b LU toward (prep)
 a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- c LU anchor (v)
 a) Longman 3: to be strongly connected with a particular system, way of life etc.

- b) Longman 1: to lower the anchor on a ship or boat to hold it in one place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 7 *Under separate cover we are sending to you a full description of the **steps** the State of Israel is **taking** to meet all its responsibilities.*
- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU take (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix M: Remarks by Prime Minister Sharon - April 14, 2004

Sharon: Thank you. I want to thank you, Mr. President, for your warm welcome and your strong support and friendship for the state of Israel. I came to you from a peace-seeking country. Despite the repeated terror attacks against us, the people of Israel continue to wish for the achievement of a viable peace in accordance with our Jewish tradition, as outlined by Israel's prophets. Our people desire to be known for its achievement in the fields of culture, science and technology, rather than in the battlefield. We are committed to make any effort to develop our country and society for our own benefit and for the benefit of the peoples of the region. In our meeting today, I presented to you the outlines of my disengagement plan. It will improve Israel's security and economy, and reduce friction and tension between Israelis and Palestinians. My plan will create a new and better reality for the state of Israel. And it also has the potential to create the right conditions to resume negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

I was encouraged by your positive response and your support for my plan. In that context, you handed me a letter that includes very important statement regarding Israel security and its well-being as a Jewish state. You have proven, Mr. President, your ongoing, deep, and sincere friendship for the state of Israel and to the Jewish people. I believe that my plan can be an important contribution to advancing your vision, which is the only viable way to achieve peace and security in the Middle East. I wish to end with a personal note. I, myself have been fighting terror for many years, and understand the threats and cost of terrorism. In all these years, I have never met a leader as committed as you are, Mr. President, to the struggle for freedom and the need to confront terrorism wherever it exists. I want to express my appreciation to you for your courageous leadership in the war against global terror, and your commitment and vision to bring peace to the Middle East. Thank you, Mr. President.

Sharon: First I'll answer in Hebrew. (SPEAKING IN HEBREW) The question was, did I make a risky decision? So my answer is that when the issue is the security of the state of Israel, which I am fully responsible for, and political and economic future of the state of Israel, I believe that personal issues like personal security is not to be taken into consideration. That's not the issue. And I would say that what I have learned from my visit here that the plan is an engagement plan, contributes to the security of Israel, contributes to the political situation of Israel and the world, and helps our economy. Therefore I think that those questions of personal risk has not been taken into consideration. We have to look into the interest of the state of Israel.

Sharon: (SPEAKING IN HEBREW) I mentioned first that I got from you, Mr. President, a letter, and I sent you a letter. And in these letters all those issues, all those details are very clearly described in those letters. And I suggested also on your behalf that they read the letters.

Sharon: That's the first thing. I was asked by the Israeli media if I would say the things they held here or we discussed here or have been concluded here will provide me a weapon against my colleagues in the government or the members of my party in Israel. So my answer was that I was never looking for weapons to use against my colleagues in the government or against members of my party. I agree that I've been using weapons for many years, being a soldier for many years, against the enemies of the state of Israel, and I never hesitated, and I will not hesitate also in the future to use weapons if it will be needed in order to defend the citizens of Israel: their life, their normal life, their development and so on. And therefore I said that I don't need for that. I believe that our discussions today are providing

the needed security and hope for the future of the state of Israel, and the future, I would say, of the region.

(717 words)

Appendix M1: MIPVU analysis of remarks by Prime Minister Sharon - April 14, 2004

1 *I come to you from a peace-seeking country.*

- a LU seek (v)
 - a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *Despite the repeated terror attacks against us, the people of Israel continue to wish for the **achievement** of a viable peace in accordance with our Jewish tradition, as outlined by Israel's prophets.*

- a LU achievement (n)
 - a) a particular thing that you have achieved
 - b) a particular thing that you have achieved
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

3 *I believe that my plan can be an important contribution to **advancing** your **vision**, which is the only viable way to **achieve** peace and security in the Middle East.*

- a LU advance (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU vision (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU achieve (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -

e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

4 *I want to express my appreciation to you for your courageous leadership in the war against global terror, and your commitment and **vision** to **bring** peace to the Middle East.*

a LU vision (n)

a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business

b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

b LU bring (v)

a) Macmillan 4: to be the cause of a state, situation, or feeling

b) Macmillan 1: to take someone or something from one place and have them with you when you arrive somewhere else

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

Appendix N: Sharon's Sharm Address - February 8, 2005

Good afternoon.

I would like to thank you, the President of Egypt, Mr. Hosni Mubarak, on your welcome initiative and the kind hospitality for this important summit. We all hope and pray that this day will be remembered as the day on which the process began to move forward towards completion, towards the goal of a tranquil, dignified and peaceful life for all the peoples of the Middle East.

I also wish to convey special congratulations to Your Majesty, King Abdullah, on the birth of your son Hashem and on the occasion of your birthday. May you live a long life filled with joy, and be able to lead your people to tranquility and prosperity, and hopefully we can, together, strengthen the relations between us.

Congratulations are also due to you, the Chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Mr. Mahmoud Abbas, on your impressive victory in the Palestinian Authority elections. Your victory and the path on which you wish to lead your people can mark a direction of real change to your people, which will affect the entire region. I hope that you will be able to lead your people on the path of democracy and maintenance of law and order, until the establishment of an independent and democratic Palestinian state.

2005 began as a year of great opportunity for all the peoples of the region, first and foremost for Israelis and Palestinians. We must all ensure that this opportunity is not missed.

We have an opportunity to break off from the path of blood which has been forced on us over the past four years. We have an opportunity to start on a new path. For the first time in a long time, there exists in our region hope for a better future for our children and grandchildren.

We must move forward cautiously. This is a very fragile opportunity, that the extremists will want to exploit. They want to close the window of opportunity for us and allow our two peoples to drown in their blood.

If we do not act now - they may be successful in their scheme.

There is only one answer to them: we must all announce here today that violence will not win, that violence will not be allowed to murder hope. We must all make a commitment not to agree for a temporary solution, not to allow violence to raise its head, but to act together, determinedly, to dismantle the terrorist infrastructure, to disarm and subdue it once and for all. Only by crushing terror and violence will we build peace.

I have no intention of missing this opportunity - because we must not let the new spirit, which grants our peoples hope, pass us by and leave us empty-handed.

That is why we have acted quickly and with determination, with an understanding of the needs of the Palestinian side. Over the past few days, we reached a number of understandings with our Palestinian colleagues, which will enable us to grant both peoples tranquility and security for the near future. Today, in my meeting with Chairman Abbas, we agreed that all Palestinians will stop all acts of violence against all Israelis everywhere and parallelly, Israel will cease all its military activity against all Palestinians anywhere. We hope that today we are starting a new period of tranquility and hope. Furthermore, we agreed on a process of transferring security responsibility for Palestinian areas. I informed Chairman Abbas of our intention to take a series of confidence-building measures: soon we will release hundreds of Palestinian prisoners, and also establish a joint committee to explore future release of prisoners.

We wish to conduct genuine and honest dialogue in order to transform these first steps into a sound basis for the foundation of our relations.

I am determined to carry out the Disengagement Plan which I initiated. The Disengagement Plan was initiated by a unilateral decision. Now, if new change does emerge on the Palestinian side, the disengagement can bring hope and become the new starting point for a coordinated, successful process.

The Disengagement Plan can pave the way to implementation of the Roadmap, to which we are committed and which we want to implement. We are prepared to actively fulfill all our obligations, and expect the other side to carry out all its obligations.

Only actions and not words - this is the only way to attain the vision of two states living side-by-side in peace and tranquility.

With your permission, I wish to address the citizens of both peoples:

To our Palestinian neighbors, I assure you that we have a genuine intention to respect your right to live independently and in dignity. I have already said that Israel has no desire to continue to govern over you and control your fate. We in Israel have had to painfully wake up from our dreams, and we are determined to overcome all the obstacles which might stand in our path in order to realize the new chance which has been created.

You too must prove that you have the strength and the courage to compromise, abandon unrealistic dreams, subdue the forces which oppose peace and live in peace and mutual respect side-by-side with us.

To the citizens of Israel, I say: we have passed difficult years, faced the most painful experiences and overcame them. The future lies before us. We are required to take difficult and controversial steps, but we must not miss the opportunity to try to achieve what we have wished for, for so many years: security, tranquility and peace.

And one final call to our hosts and to the Arab leaders of the region: come let us join hands and create a new atmosphere of openness and tolerance in our region. Together we can build a dam against the radical forces of yesterday which threaten to carry us all into a whirlpool of blood and hatred. Together, we can promote relations between us and ignite a first ray of hope for all the people of the Middle East. Together, we can ensure our people's lives of freedom and stability, prosperity and peace.

May we all be found deserving of this great opportunity which we have been granted.

(1,032 words)

N1: MIPVU analysis of Sharon's Sharm Address – February 8, 2005

- 1 *We all hope and pray that this day will be remembered as the day on which the process began to **move forward towards** completion, **towards** the goal of a tranquil, dignified and peaceful life for all the peoples of the Middle East.*
- a LU move (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU forward (adv)
- a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU towards (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 2 *We have an opportunity to **break off** from the **path** of blood which has been forced on us over the past four years.*
- a LU break off (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to end a relationship or a discussion
 - b) Macmillan 3: if you break a piece off something, you remove it from the main part
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU path (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

3 *We have an opportunity to **start on** a new **path**.*

a LU start on (v)

a) Macmillan 1 (phrasal verb): to begin working on something or dealing with something

b) Macmillan 3: to begin a journey

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

b LU path (n)

a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something

b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

4 *We must **move forward** cautiously.*

a LU move (v)

a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way

b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

b LU forward (adv)

a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state

b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
a. moving in the direction in front of you

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

5 *This is a very **fragile** opportunity, that the extremists will want to exploit.*

a LU fragile (adj)

a) Longman 2: a fragile situation is one that is weak or uncertain, and likely to become worse under pressure

b) Longman 3: a weak physical condition because of illness

c) Yes.

d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

6 *They want to **close** the **window** of opportunity for us and allow our two peoples to drown in their blood.*

- a LU close (v)
- a) Macmillan 4: if something such as a discussion, activity, or event closes, or if you close it, it ends
 - b) Macmillan 1: if you close something, or if it closes, it moves to cover an open area
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU window (n)
- a) Macmillan: an opportunity to do something that will only be available to you for a short time
 - b) Macmillan 1: a frame in a wall with glass in it that lets light and air into a room and lets you see what is outside
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

7 *we must all announce here today that violence will not **win**, that violence will not be allowed to **murder** hope.*

- a LU win (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to succeed in getting something that you want because of hard work or ability
 - b) Macmillan 1a. to achieve victory in a war, battle, or argument
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU murder (v)
- a) (int): stop the chance of something happening
 - b) Macmillan: the crime of killing someone deliberately
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

8 *Only by crushing terror and violence will we **build** peace.*

- a LU build (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- 9 *We wish to conduct genuine and honest dialogue in order to transform these first **steps** into a sound **basis** for the **foundation** of our relations.*
- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
- b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU basis (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: the important ideas, facts, or actions from which something can develop
- b) Macmillan 2: the important ideas, facts, or actions from which something can develop
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW**
- c LU foundation (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: the most basic part of something from which the rest of it develops
- b) Macmillan 1: the part of a structure of a building that is below the ground and supports the rest of it
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 10 *Now, if new change does not emerge on the Palestinian side, the disengagement can bring hope and become the new **starting point** for a coordinated, successful process.*
- a LU starting point (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: something that you use as the first stage in a discussion, learning process, or other activity
- b) Macmillan 1: a place where a journey begins
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 11 *The Disengagement Plan can **pave the way to implementation** of the **Roadmap**, to which we are **committed** and which we want to **implement**.*
- a LU pave (v)
- a) Longman 2: to make a later event or development possible by producing the right conditions

- b) Longman 1: to cover a path, road, area etc with a hard level surface such as blocks of stone or concrete
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU way (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
- b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- c LU implementation (n)
- a) Macmillan: the process of implementing something
- b) Macmillan: the process of implementing something
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- d LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- e LU committed (adj)
- a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
- b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- f LU implement (v)
- a) Macmillan: to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used
- b) Macmillan: to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

12 *Only actions and not words – this is the only way to attain the **vision** of two states living side-by-side in peace and tranquility.*

- a LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- c LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *We in Israel have had to painfully wake up from our dreams, and we are determined to **overcome** all the **obstacles** which might **stand** in our **path** in order to realize the new chance which has been created.*

- a LU overcome (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to succeed in dealing with or controlling a problem
 - b) Macmillan 3: to defeat someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU obstacle (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a difficulty or problem that prevents you from achieving something
 - b) Macmillan 2: an object that you must remove or go around in order to move forward
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

- e) **MRW**
- c LU stand (v)
 a) Macmillan: to try to stop someone from doing something
 b) Macmillan 4: if an object or building stands somewhere, it is in a particular position
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- d LU path (n)
 a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- 14 *You too must prove that you have the strength and the courage to compromise, abandon unrealistic dreams, subdue the forces which **oppose** peace and **live** in peace and mutual respect **side-by-side** with us.*
- a LU oppose (v)
 a) Longman 1: to disagree with something such as a plan or idea and try to prevent it from happening or succeeding
 b) Longman 2: to fight or compete against another person or group in a battle, competition, or election:
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- b LU live (v)
 a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- c LU side by side (n + prep + n)
 a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**

15 *We are required to **take** difficult and controversial **steps**, but we must not miss the opportunity to try to **achieve** what we have wished for, for so many years: security, tranquility and peace.*

- a LU take (v)
a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU step (n)
a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- c LU achieve (v)
a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
c) -
d) -
e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

16 *And one final call to our hosts and to the Arab leaders of the region: come let us **join hands** and create a new atmosphere of openness and tolerance in our region.*

- a LU join hands (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to work together with another organization, country etc in order to help and support each other
b) Macmillan 1: to hold someone else's hand in your hand
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**

17 *Together we can **build** a **dam** against the radical forces of yesterday which threaten to carry us all into a **whirlpool** of blood and hatred.*

- a LU build (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
c) Yes.
d) Yes.

- e) **MRW**
- b LU dam (n)
 - a) (int):
 - b) Macmillan 1: a wall built across a river to stop the water from flowing, especially in order to create a lake or to help to produce electric power
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU whirlpool (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: a situation in which you lose control of what is happening, usually in an unpleasant way
 - b) Macmillan 1: a strong movement in a river or stream that makes the water move round and pulls things under
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

18 *Together, we can promote relations between us and **ignite** a first **ray** of hope for all the people of the Middle East.*

- a LU ignite (v)
 - a) Macmillan 4: to make something exciting, or to become exciting
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make something start to burn
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU ray (n)
 - a) Macmillan: something that makes you feel slightly happier or more hopeful in a difficult situation
 - b) Macmillan 1: an amount of light or heat from the sun
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix O: Address by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the General Assembly of the United Nations - 15 Sep 2005

My friends and colleagues, heads and representatives of the UN member states,
I arrived here from Jerusalem, the capital of the Jewish people for over 3,000 years and the undivided and eternal capital of the State of Israel.

At the outset, I would like to express the profound feelings of empathy of the people of Israel for the American nation, and our sincere condolences to the families who lost their loved ones. I wish to encourage my friend, President George Bush, and the American people, in their determined efforts to assist the victims of the hurricane and rebuild the ruins after the destruction. The State of Israel, which the United States stood beside at times of trial, is ready to extend any assistance at its disposal in this immense humanitarian mission.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I stand before you at the gate of nations as a Jew and as a citizen of the democratic, free, and sovereign State of Israel, a proud representative of an ancient people, whose numbers are few, but whose contribution to civilization and to the values of ethics, justice, and faith, surrounds the world and encompasses history. The Jewish people has a long memory, the memory which united the exiles of Israel for thousands of years: a memory which has its origin in God's commandment to our forefather Abraham: "Go forth!" and continued with the receiving of the Torah at the foot of Mount Sinai and the wanderings of the children of Israel in the desert, led by Moses on their journey to the promised land, the Land of Israel.

I was born in the Land of Israel, the son of pioneers - people who tilled the land and sought no fights - who did not come to Israel to dispossess its residents. If the circumstances had not demanded it, I would not have become a soldier, but rather a farmer and agriculturist. My first love was, and remains, manual labor; sowing and harvesting, the pastures, the flock and the cattle.

I, as someone whose path of life led him to be a fighter and commander in all Israel's wars, reach out today to our Palestinian neighbors in a call for reconciliation and compromise to end the bloody conflict, and embark on the path which leads to peace and understanding between our peoples. I view this as my calling and my primary mission for the coming years.

The Land of Israel is precious to me, precious to us, the Jewish people, more than anything. Relinquishing any part of our forefathers' legacy is heartbreaking, as difficult as the parting of the Red Sea. Every inch of land, every hill and valley, every stream and rock, is saturated with Jewish history, replete with memories. The continuity of Jewish presence in the Land of Israel never ceased. Even those of us who were exiled from our land, against their will, to the ends of the earth - their souls, for all generations, remained connected to their homeland, by thousands of hidden threads of yearning and love, expressed three times a day in prayer and songs of longing.

The Land of Israel is the open Bible, the written testimony, the identity and right of the Jewish people. Under its skies, the prophets of Israel expressed their claims for social justice, and their eternal vision for alliances between peoples, in a world which would know no more war. Its cities, villages, vistas, ridges, deserts, and plains preserve as loyal witnesses its ancient Hebrew names. Page after page, our unique land is unfurled, and at its heart is united Jerusalem, the city of the Temple upon Mount Moriah, the axis of the life of the Jewish people throughout all generations, and the seat of its yearnings and prayers for 3,000 years. The city to which we pledged an eternal vow of faithfulness, which forever beats in every Jewish heart: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning!"

I say these things to you because they are the essence of my Jewish consciousness, and of my belief in the eternal and unimpeachable right of the people of Israel to the Land of Israel. However, I say this here also to emphasize the immensity of the pain I feel deep in my heart at the recognition that we have to make concessions for the sake of peace between us and our Palestinian neighbors.

The right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel does not mean disregarding the rights of others in the land. The Palestinians will always be our neighbors. We respect them, and have no aspirations to rule over them. They are also entitled to freedom and to a national, sovereign existence in a state of their own.

This week, the last Israeli soldier left the Gaza Strip, and military law there was ended. The State of Israel proved that it is ready to make painful concessions in order to resolve the conflict with the Palestinians. The decision to disengage was very difficult for me, and involves a heavy personal price. However, it is the absolute recognition that it is the right path for the future of Israel that guided me. Israeli society is undergoing a difficult crisis as a result of the Disengagement, and now needs to heal the rifts.

Now it is the Palestinians' turn to prove their desire for peace. The end of Israeli control over and responsibility for the Gaza Strip allows the Palestinians, if they so wish, to develop their economy and build a peace-seeking society, which is developed, free, law-abiding, and transparent, and which adheres to democratic principles. The most important test the Palestinian leadership will face is in fulfilling their commitment to put an end to terrorism and its infrastructures, eliminate the anarchic regime of armed gangs, and cease the incitement and indoctrination of hatred towards Israel and the Jews.

Until they do so - Israel will know how to defend itself from the horrors of terrorism. This is why we built the security fence, and we will continue to build it until it is completed, as would any other country defending its citizens. The security fence prevents terrorists and murderers from arriving in city centers on a daily basis and targeting citizens on their way to work, children on their way to school, and families sitting together in restaurants. This fence is vitally indispensable. This fence saves lives!

The successful implementation of the Disengagement Plan opens up a window of opportunity for advancing toward peace, in accordance with the sequence of the Roadmap. The State of Israel is committed to the Roadmap and to the implementation of the Sharm e-Sheikh understandings. And I hope that it will be possible, through them, to renew the political process.

I am among those who believe that it is possible to reach a fair compromise and coexistence in good neighborly relations between Jews and Arabs. However, I must emphasize one fact: There will be no compromise on the right of the State of Israel to exist as a Jewish state, with defensible borders, in full security and without threats and terrorism.

I call on the Palestinian leadership to show determination and leadership, and to eliminate terrorism, violence, and the culture of hatred from our relations. I am certain that it is in our power to present our peoples with a new and promising horizon, a horizon of hope.

Distinguished representatives,

As I mentioned, the Jewish people has a long memory. We remember events that took place thousands of years ago, and certainly remember events that took place in this hall during the last 60 years. The Jewish people remembers the dramatic vote in the UN General Assembly on November 29, 1947, when representatives of the nations recognized our right to national revival in our historic homeland. However, we also remember dozens of harsh and unjust decisions made by the United Nations over the years. And we know that, even today, there are those who sit here as representatives of a country whose leadership calls to wipe Israel off the face of the earth - and no one speaks out.

The attempts of that country to arm itself with nuclear weapons must disturb the sleep of anyone who desires peace and stability in the Middle East and the entire world. The combination of murky fundamentalism and support of terrorist organizations creates a serious threat that every member nation in the UN must stand against.

I hope that the comprehensive reforms which the United Nations is undergoing in its 60th anniversary year will include a fundamental change and improvement in the approach of the United Nations, its organizations and institutions, toward the State of Israel.

My fellow colleagues and representatives,

Peace is a supreme value in the Jewish legacy, and is the desired goal of our policy. After the long journey of wanderings and the hardships of the Jewish people; after the Holocaust

which obliterated one third of our people; after the long and arduous struggle for revival; after more than 57 consecutive years of war and terrorism which did not stop the development of the State of Israel; after all this - our heart's desire was and remains to achieve peace with our neighbors. Our desire for peace is strong enough to ensure that we will achieve it, only if our neighbors are genuine partners in this longed-for goal. If we succeed in working together, we can transform our plot of land, which is dear to both peoples, from a land of contention to a land of peace – for our children and grandchildren.

In a few days' time on the Hebrew calendar, the New Year will begin, the 5,766th year since the Creation. According to Jewish belief, the fates of people and nations are determined at the New Year by the Creator - to be spared or to be doomed. May the Holy One, blessed be He, determine that this year, our fate and the fate of our neighbors is peace, mutual respect, and good neighborly relations.

From this distinguished podium, on behalf of the people of Israel, I wish all the people of the world a good New Year.

(1,696 words)

Appendix O1: MIPVU analysis of address by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at the General Assembly of the United Nations - 15 Sep 2005

1 *I, as someone whose path of life led him to be a fighter and commander in all Israel's wars, reach out today to our Palestinian neighbors in a call for reconciliation and compromise to end the bloody conflict, and **embark** on the **path** which **leads to** peace and understanding between our peoples.*

- a LU embark (v)
- a) Longman: to start something, especially something new, difficult, or exciting
 - b) Longman: to go onto a ship or a plane, or to put or take something onto a ship or
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU path (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU lead to (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: (phrasal verb) to begin a process that causes something to happen
 - b) Macmillan 1c: if something such as a road, river, or door leads in a particular direction or to a particular place, or if it leads you there, it goes in that direction or to that place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *However, I say this here also to emphasize the immensity of the pain I feel deep in my heart at the recognition that we have to make **concessions** for the sake of peace between us and our Palestinian neighbors.*

- a LU concession (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: something you give or allow to someone in order to reach an agreement
 - b) Macmillan 3: a reduction in the price of something for some groups of people such as students
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

3 *The State of Israel proved that it is ready to make painful **concessions** in order to resolve the conflict with the Palestinians.*

- a LU concession (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: something you give or allow to someone in order to reach an agreement
 - b) Macmillan 3: a reduction in the price of something for some groups of people such as students
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

4 *The decision to disengage was very difficult for me, and involves a heavy personal **price**.*

- a LU price (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: the disadvantages or bad experiences that are a necessary part of achieving something that you want
 - b) Macmillan 1: the amount of money that you have to pay in order to buy something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

5 *However, it is the absolute recognition that it is the right **path** for the future of Israel that **guided** me.*

- a LU path (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU guide (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to help someone to make decisions or judgments about something
 - b) Macmillan 1: to show someone which direction they should walk or travel in by going with them
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *Now it is the Palestinians' turn to prove their **desire** for peace.*

- a LU desire (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something

- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

7 *The successful **implementation** of the Disengagement Plan **opens** up a **window** of opportunity for **advancing toward** peace, in accordance with the **sequence** of the **Roadmap**.*

- a LU implementation (n)
 - a) Macmillan: the process of implementing something
 - b) Macmillan: the process of implementing something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU open (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to make it possible for something to happen
 - b) Macmillan 2: to move a door or window into a position that allows people or things to pass through
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU window (n)
 - a) Macmillan: an opportunity to do something that will only be available to you for a short time
 - b) Macmillan 1: a frame in a wall with glass in it that lets light and air into a room and lets you see what is outside
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU advance (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- e LU toward (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- f LU sequence (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - b) Macmillan 1: a set of related things that happen or are arranged in a particular order
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- g LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 8 *The State of Israel is **committed** to the **Roadmap** and to the implementation of the Sharm el-Sheikh understands.*
- a LU committed (adj)
- a) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - b) Macmillan: loyal to a belief, organization, or group, and willing to work hard for it
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- b LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 9 *And I hope that it will be possible, through them, to **renew** the political process.*
- a LU renew (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to do something again after a pause, usually with more energy or emphasis than before
 - b) Macmillan 4: to replace something that is old or damaged
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

10 *I am certain that it is in our power to present our peoples with a new and promising **horizon**, a **horizon** of hope.*

- a LU horizon (n)
 - a) Macmillan: in the near future
 - b) Macmillan 1: the line in the distance where the sky seems
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *Peace is a supreme **value** in the Jewish legacy, and is the desired goal of our policy.*

- a LU value (n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: the degree to which someone or something is important or useful
 - b) Macmillan 1: the amount that something is worth, measured especially in money
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

12 *After the long journey of wanderings and the hardships of the Jewish people; after the Holocaust which obliterated one third of our people; after the long and arduous struggle for revival; after more than 57 consecutive years of war and terrorism which did not stop the development of the State of Israel; after all this – our heart’s desire was and remains to **achieve** peace with our neighbors.*

- a LU achieve (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

13 *Our **desire** for peace is strong enough to ensure that we will **achieve** it, only if our neighbors are genuine **partners** in this longed-for goal.*

- a LU desire (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- c LU partner (n)
- a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix P: Mahmoud Abbas Inaugural Speech – April 29, 2003

In the name of Allah the most Merciful, the Compassionate
(And He says: Do. For Allah will see the results of your work and so will his Prophet and believers) [Excerpt from Qur'an]

Brother and life-long comrade, President Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, President of the National Authority
Brother Saleem Al-Za'noun, Chair of the National Council,
Brother Ahmad Qurei', Speaker of the Legislative Council,
Ladies and gentlemen, members of the Council
Brothers and sisters, Members of the diplomatic community and distinguished guests,

May Peace and the Mercy of Allah be upon you.

I am filled with confidence and pride as I stand here before our elected Legislative Council, one of the expressions of the sovereignty of our people, and the constitutional reference for the government, and whose elected members are an integral part of our National Council that guards our political organization, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I begin my speech by expressing all respect and esteem to the Palestinian people in every city, village and refugee camp in our homeland and in the Diaspora, to our resilient and struggling people of whom we are proud. We cherish this unlimited pride that has extended across several generations. This pride is exemplified in the hundreds of thousands of martyrs, injured and detainees who protect our national identity in spite of all attempts to destroy and annul our rights. We have preserved our inalienable rights and established our National Authority as an imperative step towards the establishment of our forthcoming independent state, with Jerusalem as its capital.

Our people, who have been steadfast throughout the past two and a half years during the courageous uprising against Israel's aggression, despite the killing and destruction in Jenin and its heroic camp, in Nablus, Tulkarm, Qalqilya, Hebron and all of our resistant cities, villages and camps in the West Bank and in Rafah, Khan Yunis, Dayr al-Balah, Gaza City, Beit Hanoun, Jabalya and in every part of our steadfast Strip. I specifically want to honor the families who have lost their loved ones, those who have suffered injuries, Palestinian political prisoners and those who have personally suffered. Palestinian accomplishments will always be indebted to the sacrifices of these heroes and to their families, people and homeland.

We are a highly-distinguished people and our energy has grown - in the eyes of the whole world - to be worthy of a genuine state that enjoys sovereignty like all other peoples and states: a modern and democratic state that will constitute a safe home to all Palestinians and an effective partner in building and supporting security and stability in the region. I believe that part of the responsibilities of the government should be to build the pillars of this state including the preparation for presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections, based on the Elections Law which we hope will be passed soon by your distinguished Council.

Mr. President,
Brothers and Sisters,

The root of our suffering and the source of our pain is the occupation and its detestable oppressive policies. We all commit to ending the occupation in all of its shapes and forms. This requires that we direct our main efforts to internal housekeeping while being committed to the provisions of the Basic Law adopted by the Palestinian Legislative Council and ratified by President Yasser Arafat. The government commits itself to abiding by the Law and enforcing it on all Palestinian institutions in order to ensure that in a short time there will be no violations of the Law and no signs of chaos or ambiguity in society. We will

implement our Basic Law in a manner proving that we merit a state and will abide by its constitution. Our government will not allow for any violation of this Law.

The government is certain that internal organization cannot be achieved without a collective commitment to the principle of the rule of law. The rule of law will be meaningless without an independent, effective and impartial judiciary, and efficient legal institutions with a Ministry of Justice that supports the independence of the judiciary and an enforcement mechanism capable of implementing such provisions. The government promises to work side by side with the President and the Legislative Council to restructure the Higher Judiciary Council in accordance with the provisions of the Law and the Independence of the Judiciary. It also promises to improve the courts. It is committed to helping the courts overcome their gaps and perform their duties in the best manner. The government commits itself to work on the preparation of draft laws and regulations to complete the National Authority's body of laws. The judicial system is the real face of any society and the most accurate indicator of its civilization, progress and development. Accordingly, the government shall pay special attention to the judiciary.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen

The government will concentrate on the question of security. Our understanding of security is the security of Palestinian citizens in their homeland. We seek the security of the homeland for all sectors of society. Based on this understanding, the government endeavors to develop the security organs and apparatuses according to law. It will allocate special attention to the professional qualifications of the leaders and members of such security organs. It will show tolerate no breach of discipline or violations of the law. The government will not allow - to the contrary it will strictly prevent- interference by the security forces in the lives, affairs and business of citizens unless within the limits permitted by the law. In this respect, the government will build upon the achievements of the previous government regarding the organization and responsibilities of the security apparatuses. These security arrangements give the Minister of the Interior wide jurisdiction, and provide him with the ability to control the internal situation and improve security performance.

The government understands that citizens' feeling of safety and security is the most important pillar of national resistance and is the most important requirement for growth and progress in all aspects of life for both individuals and the community. Therefore, the unauthorized possession of weapons, with its direct threat to the security of the population, is a major concern that will be relentlessly addressed. We aim to ensure that only legitimate weapons are used to preserve public order and implement the law. There will be no other decision-making authority except for the legitimate one - the Palestinian Authority. On this land and for this people, there is only one authority, one law, and one democratic and national decision that applies to us all.

It should be understood here that the rights of citizens to freely express themselves will not be jeopardized by any person or under any pretense or justification. Palestinians may hold any political views, and exercise such rights and freedoms in accordance with the law.

The government is aware of the importance of political opposition and is fully aware of the right of the opposition to strive to achieve power. In order to foster this, we call upon the opposition factions and forces to develop their institutions, frameworks and dialogues and to halt any incitement and negative campaigning. We call upon the opposition to make use of both the free press and the law to exercise its voice and to present its viewpoints. We also call on all sectors of Palestinian society to utilize the Political Party Law to revive internal political debate and enhance its effectiveness. I reconfirm here that our government will stand for pluralism within the framework of national unity in accordance with the law, but pluralism does not extend to security.

Within this framework, we will develop the most effective means of reaching an internal understanding aimed at ensuring the rights of all forces, parties and factions to exist and

work. Here, I call upon all of you to partake in the election of representative institutions, particularly given that we have chosen elections as a non-revocable means to formulate and activate these organs.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen Members of the PLC,

The government understands the magnitude of our suffering and economic difficulties as a result of the continuation and escalation of Israeli measures. This suffering has led to an increase in poverty and unemployment rates with a major deterioration in economic indicators. This is a result of the enormous destruction of our infrastructure, our private property and sources of livelihood caused by the occupation. Palestinian citizens seek a glimmer of hope to eradicate their suffering and its destructive impact on their lives. The government pledges to address this economic situation by taking timely measures, within its capacities, to improve the living conditions mainly of the unemployed and other people living in extreme hardship until passage of the Social Security Law. The government will also work to restore the infrastructure that has been destroyed by the occupation. Within this framework, the government promises to launch an international effort to seek rehabilitation for the economic destruction caused by Israel's oppression, invasions, and killings.

The government will work to prepare a comprehensive national development plan (that includes Jerusalem) in which we will devote sufficient attention to the service and economic sectors and will provide necessary health, educational, cultural, media and agricultural services to citizen. The plan will be carried out in a professional and transparent manner. In this context, the government is keen to continue working with the private sector in order to enact and enforce legislation and regulations that will strengthen the market economy and develop the national economy and provide protection to investments and investors.

Moreover, the government will devote itself to the situation of Palestinian women, who constitute half of our population, and who play a major and effective role in our lives. We will also continue to work on the protection of the rights of children and families and develop the youth sector to ensure a better future for our people.

As regards the financial issue, the government will continue its efforts to implement the new fiscal policy and all the measures and arrangements as they were submitted to you by the Minister of Finance through the Budget Law. The fiscal policy reasserts our commitment to regulate the investments of the Palestinian Authority. These investments will be fully placed under the government's supervision and control so that all resources of the Palestinian Authority will be unified in the Ministry of Finance in accordance with international best practices in the administration of public funds.

The government will not allow - and will devise strict regulations to combat - abuse of personal positions in the exercise of trade and investment.

Public funds belong to the citizens and to the nation. Preserving public funds is a national and moral duty that will be exercised through institutions, laws, transparency and continuous supervision. In this context, the government will prosecute persons accused of corruption and embezzlement based on concrete evidence and pursuant to due process. The government is fully prepared to receive any complaints and supporting evidence in this regard, and to refer these to the competent authorities.

The government is fully aware of the problems facing our administrative structure and understands that it is necessary to quickly remedy this problem. It will continue to implement and develop its reform plan - in particular the reform plan adopted by the Legislative Council through a joint committee between the Council, the government and in cooperation with all relevant parties including civil society. The government will build the Ministerial Cabinet with professionalism and work ethics that will improve the work of all Executive Authority institutions in order to serve the public interest. One of the most important steps in this regard is the implementation of the financial and administrative components of the Civil Service Law. We will ensure that all civil servants (who number

more than 120,000) are given guarantees for their present and future so that they have sufficient pension salaries upon the termination of their employment, in accordance with a comprehensive pension system that we hope to finalize in the coming few months.

The government will not allow for any sign of chaos, waste or duplication in our administrative structure and will therefore continue our efforts to restructure government ministries, institutions and agencies by merging and abolishing such organs as needed to allow them to best perform their tasks in serving the state and its citizens. All of this will be framed within a modern and comprehensive administrative law that the government will work to formulate in order to organize all aspects of the Executive Authority.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen, members of the PLC

You may have noticed that I intentionally began this statement with the government's vision of the internal situation and the areas of major concern.

This is a message that we are conveying to Palestinian citizens who seek wide-scale reforms in all aspects of their lives and related to their rights.

However, the internal situation cannot be separated from the painful and political reality in which we live and encounter: the deplorable occupation and its accompanying colonization and oppressive policies that have caused us tremendous pain and suffering.

Once again, I reiterate that the military and colonizing occupation with its practices that include assassinations, detentions, checkpoints, sieges, demolition of homes and properties is the root of our suffering, has deepened our suffering and is the main source of our problems. The occupation impedes our growth and therefore ending the occupation in all of its forms and from all of the territories occupied since 1967, including our eternal capital Jerusalem, is our national priority that requires solidarity and unity among all Palestinian forces under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole representative of our people authorized by the major Palestinian institutions, foremost among which are the National and Central Council, to negotiate and conclude agreements on behalf of the Palestinian people.

The government, which is part of our national political system, the PLO, is fully committed to the programs and decisions of our National and Central Councils on political and strategic levels.

We should translate our decades and generations of popular and revolutionary struggles into political achievements that will bring us closer to our goal of establishing our independent state (with Jerusalem as its capital) and resolving the question of our refugees on the basis of international law.

Based on our realistic and practical understanding of the contents, mechanisms and goals of our national struggle, our people fought with honor and undertook political initiatives with consciousness and seriousness.

Every means of struggle has its time, mechanisms and calculated return. Based on this, our people, through its legitimate leadership, has presented successive serious peace initiatives and has not hesitated to adopt peace as our strategic, irrevocable choice. The peace process has gone through essential failings and major deteriorations, to the point that we have now reached the most difficult stage of this bloody and escalating conflict. While we should learn from the lessons of the past, what we are living under does not cause us to lose hope in the benefits of peace, or to turn our backs on Arab and international initiatives that aim to achieve peace.

Before us, we have the Arab peace initiative that came out of the Summit in Beirut. This has formed a national consensus on the need to end the Arab-Israeli conflict peacefully and in accordance with international law. This initiative will ensure that our region goes from one of conflict to that of stability and normalized relations between all states. We also have before us the Roadmap as an international blueprint to aim to reach a permanent solution to the Palestinian question. The government is committed to the Palestinian leadership's

official approval of this plan reached after an in-depth and thorough review of it. Nonetheless, I would like to mention a few points in this regard:

Israel is attempting to alter the Roadmap as we know it by entering into complicated negotiations and by outlining its own understanding of the clauses of this plan and its means of engaging in the plan.

Our engagement in this Roadmap will not be affected by Israel's attempts and we will not negotiate the Roadmap. The Roadmap must be implemented not negotiated. Therefore, the government supports the Palestinian leadership in asserting its refusal of the so-called Israeli amendments and calls upon the Quartet - author of this plan - to announce the Roadmap as we know it, as soon as possible and to guarantee and verify the implementation of each phase with an effective and guaranteed enforcement and monitoring mechanisms.

In this context, the government reconfirms the Palestinian commitment to the implementation of all of our obligations within the framework of this plan, whether it be on political or security levels. It is quite natural that we require Israel to fulfill its mutual obligations.

Yet, what we have outlined will be meaningless if Israel's policy of imposing facts on the ground continues. Settlements, which violate international law, continue to be the major threat to the creation of a Palestinian state with genuine sovereignty. Thus, settlements are the primary obstacle to any peace process.

Settlement expansion in and around Jerusalem, with its accompanying house demolitions, confiscation of land and property, (in addition to the economic, social, administrative and cultural strangulation in the lives of Palestinians and Israel's attempt to impose a permanent solution for this Holy City by means other than negotiations) will only lead to inflaming the conflict and destroying any chance for peace.

The construction of the so-called "separation" wall is a dangerous continuation of the colonization project. In addition to the confiscation of Palestinian citizens' lands and the cutting off of their sources of livelihood, the wall is an Israeli measure that is designed to annex large areas of land, to confiscate underground water, isolate our cities and villages and to encircle the city of Jerusalem. This is another attempt to destroy any chance for peace and destroy any possibility to reach a permanent and accepted solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The removal of the wall will be among the first issues that our government will address because, without its removal, Israel will effectively destroy the Roadmap and any other peace initiative.

Here, I would like to address the Israeli people and the Israeli government frankly and directly.

We want a lasting peace with you achieved through negotiations and on the basis of international law, to implement Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as well as signed agreements.

We denounce terrorism by any party and in all its shapes and forms both because of our religious and moral traditions and because we are convinced that such methods do not lend support to a just cause like ours, but rather destroy it. These methods do not achieve peace, to which we aspire.

We understand peace as a message of conscience and behavior based on mutual desire and recognition of rights with the goal of living in peace and security on the basis of equality.

As we extend our hand to you in peace, we reiterate that peace cannot be possible with the continuation of settlement activity. Peace will not be possible with the expropriation and annexation of land. The choice is yours: peace without settlements or a continuation of the occupation, subjugation, hatred and conflict.

To be clear, the Palestinian people will not accept anything less than the exercise of our right to self-determination and the establishment of our independent, sovereign state with Jerusalem as its capital; a genuine, contiguous state without any settlements, on all of the territories occupied in 1967.

I am quite certain that you realize the importance of the question of refugees, not only in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but also on Arab and regional levels as we are speaking of

millions of Palestinian refugees around the world. Because you realize the importance of this issue, you placed it on the timetable of the permanent status negotiations.

Thus, a just, agreed upon, fair and acceptable solution to the refugee problem consistent with international law (particularly UN Resolution 194) will be the basis of peace and coexistence.

These are the fundamentals of any solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and this will not be changed.

To the Arab population inside Israel, our people and our loved ones: I extend to you appreciation and respect for your continuous support to us in the Occupied Territories. I am certain that you will continue to play a positive role in Israeli politics, media and popular civic organization to strengthen and establish an Israeli public opinion that shares our commitment to a just political solution to the Palestinian-Israel conflict and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

We do not ignore the sufferings of Jews throughout history. And in exchange, we hope that the Israelis will not turn their back to the sufferings of the Palestinians, which include displacement, occupation, colonization and continuous oppression of the Palestinians.

To the Israeli government, which advised us that we learn the lessons of Iraq, I say.

The Palestinian people are the ones who choose their leadership. The leadership decides its politics according to independent Palestinian choice. Our legitimacy is derived from the will of the people, which is embodied in national organizations.

Those who need to learn the lessons of war and its calamities are those who still believe that military might is capable of imposing political solutions and that implicit and explicit threats are capable of dissuading people from demanding their rights. I repeat, there is no military solution to our conflict. Our people do not accept threats and will not succumb to them. On the contrary, there is no alternative to a just and comprehensive political solution. Our people welcome peace, security and prosperity to all. We welcome a peace that guarantees Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab Territories in accordance with international law.

We have heard a lot of your desire for peace, but what we have witnessed from you is siege, assassinations, invasions, destruction and a continuation of settlements. We hope that your desire for peace will be translated into action.

Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our hearts are filled with grief and pain because of what happened to our people in Iraq who throughout history have sacrificed for the Palestinian people. We hope for stability for our brothers and sisters in Iraq. We hope that the foreign occupation of their land will end. We hope that the reconstruction of their land will begin in the near future under an Iraqi government that represents the will of the Iraqi people and speaks on its behalf.

We understand what happened in Iraq is an expression of a new and straightforward policy vis-à-vis the Middle East, led unilaterally, to redraw the borders of the political map of the whole region. It is naïve to assume that Palestine will not be affected by these turbulent developments, as it is only natural to feel concern for the impact and repercussions of the situation in Iraq on the Palestinian people and our cause.

We do not want to address this serious shift in policy with slogans and ardent mottos, but rather with sound logic and an understanding of our national aspirations in order to avoid losses or reduce the amount of such loss and to provide practical and realistic methods to achieve our goals.

Sisters and Brothers

The path of negotiations is our choice and the resumption of negotiations with Israel - under the much-appreciated auspices and sponsorship of the Quartet, and in close coordination with our brothers in Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia - is a constant Palestinian demand.

All through the long negotiation process, there were criticisms of our performance in negotiations. However such criticisms do not nullify the fact that we have a rich accumulated experience from which we should benefit.

Therefore, our government will work side by side with the PLO Executive Committee and its Higher Negotiations Committee, under the direction of President Yasser Arafat, President of State and Palestinian Authority, Chairman of the PLO in order to restructure our negotiations framework and to allow the negotiations team to dedicate itself to this important, sensitive and vital task.

I thank our Arab brothers for their continued and constant support to our people and cause and confirm the government's commitment to the concerns of the Arab states and to the Charter of the Arab League and its decisions. We will continue to coordinate and cooperate with our brothers to consolidate Arab consensus.

The government will remain keen on developing our strategic relations with the rest of our friends in the world whom we thank for their support and who share our commitment to balanced international relations based on compliance with international law and UN resolutions. We also call upon the Security Council to fulfill its obligations in maintaining security and peace in our region and to ensuring the implementation of its resolutions in a fair and consistent manner, while also working to protect our people and to help us achieve independence and freedom.

Mr. President
Sisters and Brothers

I am embarking on a new mission in my political career by fulfilling a newly-created role in Palestine. I heard and read much speculation about the aim of this position. Allow me to clarify.

The post of the Prime Minister (and regardless of the person in the post), along with the Ministerial Cabinet, the legislative Council and all of the institutions of the National Authority are an integral part of the Palestinian political system, the framework of which is the PLO. It is a constitutional position approved by all of our national institutions. In its essence, it is a serious attempt to improve the performance of our National Authority and prepare for the construction of our state including the preparation for upcoming elections - after the removal of obstacles put forth by the occupation - to establish a democratic political system. It is a position from which I will implement my government's program using all the constitutional powers vested in this post.

I wish to end my speech with a word to my brother and companion, elected President Yasser Arafat.

The government, Mr. President, is your government and the siege on you is symbolic of the resistance, pride and esteem of our great people. We will not, from this moment forth, cease our serious and assiduous work to end this unacceptable situation. The President of this people, leader of its struggle and maker of peace on its behalf has the right to regain his natural right to freedom and mobility without restrictions.

We know Mr. President that you have always prided yourself on sharing your people's suffering. Thus, the government, under your leadership, will not spare any effort to work to release all of our detainees, honorable heroes detained by the occupation - whose number has exceeded 10,000 - including members of the Executive Committee of the PLO, Tayseer Khaled and Abdul Rahim Malowah, as well as member of the Central Council Rakad Salem and members of the legislative Council Marwan Barghouti and Hussam Khader and the longest-detained Palestinian, Ahmad Jubarah (Abu Sukkar).

All of us in Palestine and everywhere . regardless of our positions do not have different stances . if we have different titles, we do not have different commitments and if we have different missions, we do not have different goals.

Sisters and Brothers, Members of the Council

Before I present to you the members of my Cabinet, I would like to share with you frankly the considerations that were in my mind as I was forming the government.

The formation before you is a result of the Palestinian political reality, with all its positive and negative aspects. I know that there are many objections regarding names and portfolios, and regarding political representation, professional abilities, and so on and so forth. However, this formation is what I believe in after my extensive consultations and after taking into account our domestic politics which are known to you all.

I seek your confidence, support and cooperation because this plan requires all of our efforts. The credibility of the government will be based on the effectiveness of its performance. Therefore, just as I ask for your confidence, I call upon you to use your powers in monitoring and holding the government accountable to the fullest extent, even to the extent. These are tenets of the parliamentary life we have chosen. Let us move forward on these bases.

May Peace and the Mercy of Allah be upon you.

(4,759 words)

P1: MIPVU analysis of Mahmoud Abbas Inaugural Speech – April 29, 2005

- 1 *a modern and democratic state that will constitute a safe home to all Palestinians and an effective **partner** in **building** and **supporting** security and stability in the region.*
- a LU partner (n)
- a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
- b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU build (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
- b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- c LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
- b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 2 *Based on this, our people, through its legitimate leadership, has presented successive serious peace initiatives and has not hesitated to **adopt** peace as our strategic, irrevocable choice.*
- a LU adopt (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to decide to start using a particular idea, plan, or method
- b) Macmillan 2: to take someone else's child into your family and legally make him or her your own child
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

- 3 *The peace process has gone through essential failings and major **deteriorations**, to the point that we have now reached the most difficult stage of this bloody and escalating conflict.*
- a LU deterioration (n)
- a) Macmillan: to become worse
- b) Macmillan: to become worse
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**
- 4 *While we should learn from the lessons of the past, what we are living under does not cause us to lose hope in the **benefits** of peace, or to turn our backs on Arab and international initiatives that aim to **achieve** peace.*
- a LU benefit (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: an advantage you get from a situation
- b) Macmillan 3: extra money or other advantages that you get in addition to your salary from your employer as part of your job
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW**
- 5 *We also have before us the **Roadmap** as an international **blueprint** to aims to **reach** a permanent solution to the Palestinian question.*
- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU blueprint (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a detailed plan for doing something new, or something that is a model for how something should be done

- b) Macmillan 2: a drawing that shows how to build something such as a building or a machine, often printed with white lines on blue paper
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU reach (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
 - b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 6 *Israel is attempting to **alter** the **Roadmap** as we know it by entering into complicated negotiations and by outlining its own understanding of the clauses of this plan and its means of engaging in the plan.*
- a LU alter (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to make something or someone different
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make something or someone different
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- b LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 7 *Our engagement in this **Roadmap** will not be affected by Israel's attempts and we will not **negotiate** the **Roadmap**.*
- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU negotiate (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to try to reach an agreement by discussing something in a formal way, especially in a business or political situation
 - b) Macmillan 2: to successfully travel on a road or path that is difficult to travel on or travel through
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

8 *The **Roadmap** must be **implemented** not **negotiated**.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

9 *Thus, settlements are the primary **obstacle** to any peace process.*

- a LU obstacle (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a difficulty or problem that prevents you from achieving something
 - b) Macmillan 2: an object that you must remove or go around in order to move forward
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

10 *Settlement expansion in and around Jerusalem, with its accompanying house demolitions, confiscation of land and property, will only lead to inflaming the conflict and **destroying** any chance for peace.*

- a LU destroy (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to damage something so severely that it no longer exists or can never return to its normal state
 - b) Macmillan 2: to officially kill an animal because it is dangerous or very ill
Macmillan 4: to defeat an enemy or opponent completely
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *This is another attempt to **destroy** any chance for peace and **destroy** any possibility to reach a permanent and accepted solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.*

- a LU destroy (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to damage something so severely that it no longer exists or can never return to its normal state
 - b) Macmillan 2: to officially kill an animal because it is dangerous or very ill
Macmillan 4: to defeat an enemy or opponent completely
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

12 *The removal of the wall will be among the first issues that our government will address because, without its removal, Israel will effectively **destroy** the Roadmap and any other peace initiative.*

- a LU destroy (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to damage something so severely that it no longer exists or can never return to its normal state
 - b) Macmillan 2: to officially kill an animal because it is dangerous or very ill
Macmillan 4: to defeat an enemy or opponent completely
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *We want a **lasting** peace with you achieved through negotiations and on the basis of international law, to implement Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as well as signed agreements.*

- a LU lasting (adj)
- a) Macmillan: continuing to exist or have an effect for a long time
 - b) Macmillan: continuing to exist or have an effect for a long time
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

14 *We denounce terrorism by any party and in all its shapes and forms both because of our religious and moral traditions and because we are convinced that such methods do not lend **support** to a just **cause** like ours, but rather **destroy** it.*

- a LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU destroy (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to damage something so severely that it no longer exists or can never return to its normal state
 - b) Macmillan 2: to officially kill an animal because it is dangerous or very ill
Macmillan 4: to defeat an enemy or opponent completely
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

15 *These methods do not **achieve** peace, to which we **aspire**.*

- a LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU aspire (v)
- a) to want to achieve something or to be successful, especially in your career
 - b) to want to achieve something or to be successful, especially in your career
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**

16 *We understand peace as a message of conscience and behavior based on mutual desire and recognition of rights with the goal of **living** in peace and security on the basis of equality.*

- a LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

17 *As we **extend** our **hand** to you in peace, we reiterate that peace cannot be possible with the continuation of settlement activity.*

- a LU extend (your) hand (v + n)
- a) Macmillan: to say that you want to try to have good relations with someone
 - b) Macmillan: to hold out your hand to someone so they can shake it as a greeting
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW (possible personification)**

18 *These are the **fundamentals** of any solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and this will not be changed.*

- a LU fundamentals (n)
- a) the most basic and important aspects of something
 - b) the most basic and important aspects of something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**

19 *Our people **welcome** peace, security and prosperity to all.*

- a LU welcome (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to say that you approve of something that has happened or that you are pleased about it
 - b) Macmillan 1: to greet someone in a polite and friendly way when they have come to see you or to help you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

20 *We **welcome** a peace that guarantees Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab Territories in accordance with international law.*

- a LU welcome (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to say that you approve of something that has happened or that you are pleased about it
 - b) Macmillan 1: to greet someone in a polite and friendly way when they have come to see you or to help you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

21 *We have heard a lot of your **desire** for peace, but what we have witnessed from you is siege, assassinations, invasions, destruction and a continuation of settlements.*

- a LU desire (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**

- 22 *We hope that your **desire** for peace will be **translated** into action.*
- a LU desire (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a strong feeling of wanting to have or to do something
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**
- b LU translate (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to change something into a different form, or to express something in a different way
- b) Macmillan 1: to change spoken or written words into another language
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 23 *The **path** of negotiations is our choice and the **resumption** of negotiations with Israel – under the much-appreciated auspices and sponsorship of the Quartet, and in close coordination with our brothers in Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia – is a constant Palestinian demand.*
- a LU path (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
- b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU resumption (n)
- a) Macmillan: the start of something again after a temporary stop
- b) Macmillan: the start of something again after a temporary stop
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 24 *We also call upon the Security Council to fulfill its obligations in **maintaining** security and peace in our region and to ensuring the implementation of its resolutions in a fair and consistent manner, while also working to protect our people and to help us achieve independence and freedom.*
- a LU maintain (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to make something stay the same
- b) Macmillan 2: to make regular repairs to a building, road, vehicle etc so that it stays in good condition
- c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

25 *The President of this people, leader of its struggle and **maker** of peace on its behalf has the right to regain his natural right to freedom and mobility without restrictions.*

- a LU maker (n)
 - a) Macmillan (phrase): people who make decisions/policies etc
 - b) Macmillan: a person, company, or machine that creates or produces something, especially goods for sale
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix Q: Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas Aqaba Statement – June 4, 2003

I would like to thank King Abdullah for hosting our meeting here today. I would like also to thank President Mubarak and King Abdullah, King Hamad, and Crown Prince Abdallah who met in Egypt yesterday. I thank them for their statements supporting our efforts. I also would like to thank the Israeli Prime Minister Sharon for joining us here in Jordan. And many thanks, especially, to President Bush, who took the longest journey for peace of all of us.

As we all realize, this is an important moment. A new opportunity for peace exists, an opportunity based upon President Bush's vision and the Quartet's road map, which we have accepted without any reservations.

Our goal is two states, Israel and Palestine, living side-by-side, in peace and security. The process is the one of direct negotiations to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and to resolve all the permanent status issues, and end the occupation that began in 1967, under which Palestinians have suffered so much.

At the same time, we do not ignore the suffering of the Jews throughout history. It is time to bring all this suffering to an end.

Just as Israel must meet its responsibilities, we, the Palestinians, will fulfill our obligations for this endeavor to succeed. We are ready to do our part.

Let me be very clear: There will be no military solution to this conflict, so we repeat our renunciation, a renunciation of terror against the Israelis wherever they might be. Such methods are inconsistent with our religious and moral traditions and are dangerous obstacles to the achievement of an independent, sovereign state we seek. These methods also conflict with the kinds of state we wish to build, based on human rights and the rule of law.

We will exert all of our efforts, using all our resources to end the militarization of the intifada, and we will succeed. The armed intifada must end, and we must use and resort to peaceful means in our quest to end the occupation and the suffering of Palestinians and Israelis. And to establish the Palestinian state, we emphasize our determination to implement our pledges which we have made for our people and the international community. And that is a rule of law, single political authority, weapons only in the hands of those who are in charge with upholding the law and order, and political diversity within the framework of democracy.

Our goal is clear and we will implement it firmly and without compromise: a complete end to violence and terrorism. And we will be full partners in the international war against occupation and terrorism. And we will call upon our partners in this war to prevent financial and military assistance to those who oppose this position. We do this as a part of our commitment to the interest of the Palestinian people, and as members of the large family of humanity.

We will also act vigorously against incitement and violence and hatred, whatever their form or forum may be. We will take measures to ensure that there is no incitement - from Palestinian institutions. We must also reactivate and invigorate the U.S.-Palestinian-Israeli Anti-Incitement Committee. We will continue our work to establish the rule of law and to consolidate government authority in accountable Palestinian institutions. We seek to build the kind of democratic state that will be a qualitative addition to the international community.

All the PA security forces will be part of these efforts, and will work together toward the achievement of these goals. Our national future is at stake, and no one will be allowed to jeopardize it.

We are committed to these steps because they are in our national interest. In order to succeed, there must be a clear improvement in the lives of Palestinians. Palestinians must live in dignity. Palestinians must be able to move, go to their jobs and schools, visit their families, and conduct a normal life. Palestinians must not be afraid for their lives, property, or livelihood.

We welcome and stress the need for the assistance of the international community and, in particular, the Arab states, to help us. And we also welcome and stress the need for a U.S.-led monitoring mechanism.

Together, we can achieve the goal of an independent Palestinian state, sovereign, viable, in the framework of good neighbors with all states in the region, including Israel. Thank you very much.

(730 words)

Appendix Q1: MIPVU analysis of Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas Aqaba Statement – June 4, 2003

- 1 *And many thanks, especially, to President Bush, who took the longest **journey** for peace of all of us.*
- a LU journey (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: an occasion when you travel from one place to another, especially when there is a long distance between the places
- b) Macmillan 1: an occasion when you travel from one place to another, especially when there is a long distance between the places
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 2 *A new opportunity for peace exists, an opportunity based upon President Bush's **vision** and the **Quartet's road map**, which we have accepted without any reservations.*
- a LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
- b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 3 *Our goal is two states, Israel and Palestine, **living side-by-side**, in peace and security.*
- a LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
- b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- b LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

4 *Just as Israel must **meet** its responsibilities, we, the Palestinians, will fulfill our obligations for this **endeavor** to succeed.*

- a LU meet (v)
- a) Macmillan 5a: to do what you planned or promised to do
- b)
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

- b LU endeavor (n)
- a) Macmillan : an effort to do something, especially something new or difficult
- b) Macmillan: an effort to do something, especially something new or difficult
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

5 *Such methods are inconsistent with our religious and moral traditions and are dangerous **obstacles** to the achievement of an independent, sovereign state we **seek**.*

- a LU obstacle (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a difficulty or problem that prevents you from achieving something
- b) Macmillan 2: an object that you must remove or go around in order to move forward
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

- b LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
- b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

6 *The armed intifada must end, and we must use and resort to peaceful means in our **quest** to end the occupation and the suffering of Palestinians and Israelis.*

- a LU quest (n)
- Longman 1: a long search for something that is difficult to find
 - Longman 2: trying to find or get something
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- 7 *And we will be full **partners** in the international war against occupation and terrorism.*
- a LU partner (n)
- Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- 8 *We are **committed** to these **steps** because they are in our national interest.*
- a LU step (n)
- Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**
- 9 *Together, we can achieve the goal of an independent Palestinian state, sovereign, viable, in the framework of good **neighbors** with all states in the region, including Israel.*
- a LU neighbor (n)
- Macmillan 2 someone or something that is close to a particular person, place, or thing
 - Macmillan 1 someone who lives near you
 - Yes.
 - Yes.
 - MRW**

Appendix R: Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas Inauguration speech – January 15, 2005

In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

"Say 'O' my Lord! Let my entry be by the Gate of Truth and Honour, and likewise my exit by the Gate of Truth and Honour, and grant me from Thee an authority to aid (me)!"

As I address you today, I am full of pride over the Palestinian people's exceptional democratic achievement. Our people have stood in the face of the occupation to say - first and foremost to ourselves but also to the whole world - that no matter how great the challenges may be, we will not give up on our national project... That no matter how many obstacles may stand in our way, we will not be deterred from advancing our democratic process. The winner in these elections is the great Palestinian people who have created this democratic epic and who will safeguard it.

I dedicate this victory in the name of our whole people to the soul and memory of our eternal leader, the symbol of our cause, Yasser Arafat. It was he who planted the first seed of this democratic process, it was he who held its banner high, and it was he who consolidated its traditions.

Our respect and gratitude go to your noble soul, Abu Ammar, on this day of Palestinian democracy.

This is historic day in our national process, and I say to all our people who voted: you have kept the flame of democracy alive, and all my thanks and gratitude go to you. I pledge to exert all of my efforts to implement the program according to which I was elected, and to continue on the path towards achieving our national goals.

My thanks and appreciation also go to all those who worked to make the election campaign a success, my brothers in the FATAH movement all over Palestine, and to all political forces, organizations, institutions, movements and individuals who spared no effort to defend our national democratic program. This program now has the widest public support.

To all the other candidates, I say: we highly appreciate your efforts in making the democratic process a success. You have my pledge to encourage and guarantee the active role of all of our political forces and strands, and to protect the freedom of expression in accordance with the law.

For even if our opinions may differ, we share one national cause, and even if our judgments may diverge, we defend one goal. We will make sure that we work together to achieve the national goals to which we all aspire.

Today, the results of the elections are final, and our great people have passed this important test. I stand before you as the President and representative of the whole Palestinian people to say: we will continue consolidating national unity. We will deepen dialogue with all the active forces in our nation, and we will remain devoted to strengthening the unity of our society and institutions. We will also continue on the path of Yasser Arafat to achieve just peace – the peace of the brave for which he had always worked, and to which he dedicated all his life and efforts.

I would like to thank the management and team of my campaign for their great efforts. I also extend my appreciation and commendation to the Central Elections Committee, its president, members and the thousands of teachers and workers (in the campaign) who played an outstanding role to guarantee the success and fairness of the elections. I also extend my appreciations to the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian security services for their role: they have worked efficiently under extremely difficult circumstances to ensure that the elections are fair and free.

I would like to thank the governments, international organizations, international figures, and monitors who oversaw the elections process and who helped in achieving our goals for consolidating democracy in Palestine.

I would also like to thank my dear brother Rawhi Fattouh, who played an efficient and capable role as the President of the Palestinian National Authority during the period of

transition. He created an exemplary environment for conducting the elections, and he enabled our national institutions to play their role and carry out their duties.

I would like to thank the Government, headed by my brother Abu Ala', and the PLC for all of their efforts during the period of transition, and for the spirit of cooperation and joint action in the face of demanding conditions.

And I salute all of our people, particularly the residents of Jerusalem - the capital of our independent state. You have proven to the whole world your national commitment, determination to move forward, and commitment to our national goals and democratic choice.

Your turnout exceeded all expectations, and you overcame difficulties, obstacles, and hardships.

- The people have spoken for the end of occupation and the democratic choice - for the continuation and consolidation of development and reform in all its forms,

- The people have voted for the rule of law, order, pluralism, the peaceful transfer of authority, and equality for all,

- The people have chosen just peace, ending the occupation, and coexistence based on equality and international legitimacy.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year is the year of Palestinian elections - presidential, legislative, and municipal elections.

Let us muster our national efforts to further extend the election process to all civil organizations, trade unions, and political forces and factions so as to rejuvenate our domestic political life.

The greatest challenge before us, and the fundamental task facing us is national liberation.

The task of ending the occupation, establishing the Palestinian state on the 1967 borders, with Jerusalem as its capital, and reaching a just and agreed solution to the refugee problem on the basis of international legitimacy (resolutions), first and foremost (the UN General Assembly) resolution 194 (of 1949) and the Beirut Arab Summit Resolution (in 2002).

To achieve these national goals, we will remain committed to the PLO's strategic choice: the choice of achieving just peace and our national goals through negotiations. The path to these goals is what we and the world have agreed upon in the Road Map. We have repeatedly stated that we are committed to our responsibilities in the Road Map. We will implement our obligations as a matter of Palestinian national interest. In return, Israel has to implement its obligations.

In the last few days, a number of incidents took place. We condemn these actions, whether by the Israeli occupation forces or the reactions of some Palestinian factions. This does not help bring about the calm needed to enable a credible, serious peace process. We are seeking a mutual ceasefire to end this vicious circle.

Our hand is extended towards an Israeli partner for making peace. But partnership is not through words but rather deeds. It is through ending assassinations, the siege on our towns, arrests, land confiscations, settlement activity and the separation wall. Partnership cannot be achieved by dictation, and peace cannot be reached by partial or interim solutions. Peace can only be achieved by working together to reach a permanent status solution that deals with all of the outstanding issues, and which turns a new page on the basis of two neighboring states. I would like to stress here that we are fully prepared to resume permanent status negotiations, and that we are politically ready to reach a comprehensive agreement over all of the issues.

From this forum, and on this day, I say to the Israeli leadership and to the Israeli people: we are two peoples destined to live side by side, and to share this land between us. The only alternative to peace is the continuation of the occupation and the conflict. Let us start implementing the Road Map, and - in parallel - let us start discussing the permanent status issues so that we can end, once and for all, the conflict between us.

From this forum, I call upon all concerned international actors, particularly the Quartet, to play a direct role in guaranteeing the implementation of the Road Map. You must ensure that

we do not re-enter the labyrinth of preconditions that preclude progress in implementation. You must ensure that we do not get stuck in the maze of long-term partial or interim solutions designed to delay reaching a just and comprehensive solution.

As we at the Palestinian Authority express our readiness to implement all of our Road Map obligations, we expect all other parties to implement theirs. It is not reasonable that only we are required to take action while settlements continue, or while the Wall expands within Palestinian land to separate Palestinian from Palestinian, and to destroy the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of our people, or while closures, the siege, arrests, and other violations continue against our people, spreading despair, frustration, and loss of hope.

Today, it is up to the world to give our people hope, and it is up to the world not to repeat the same mistakes that sabotaged many initiatives and positive efforts in the past. In particular, I direct this call to all of the leaders of the Quartet members, and to all those committed to relaunching the peace process, and particularly to the US as the main player in this context.

Welcoming Palestinian democracy and supporting it is important, but this support will remain deficient if it is not shored up with efforts to end all aspects of the occupation so that this democracy may continue and thrive.

I also call upon the international community to take the necessary measures to implement the decision of the International Court of Justice, this decision that condemned the racist separation wall as illegal and called for its removal.

Brothers and Sisters,

Palestinians at the Homeland and in the Diaspora,

Ending the occupation was and will remain at the top of our national Palestinian agenda, but it is not the only priority. I can find no justification for ignoring the rest of our national issues under the pretext that we are an occupied people. The same proud Palestinian spirit that has struggled to ensure recognition of our just cause must guide us in dealing with our domestic agenda.

For decades, Palestinians have been a beacon of creativity and achievement, a light that has shone with talent and skill over the whole world. It is our duty to continue faithfully working in the same spirit and with the same determination to build an enlightened, civilized society that will be - both in its official and civil parts - a democratic example to be followed, and a basis for a bright outlook for our future generations.

I believe that we all agree that the first step towards building our society lies in establishing the rule of law. Only then will our people enjoy safety and security, only then will we be able to truly develop our institutions of governance and our political system, and only then will we achieve development and economic prosperity and make progress in social, cultural, and other fields.

The rule of law is embodied in one authority and one legal weapon in the hands of this authority, within the framework of political pluralism and the peaceful periodic transfer of authority. We all have the right to differ, and we all have the right to present our case to the people through the ballot box, but no-one has the right to by-pass the will of the people or to take law into their own hand in the service of their own agenda. Let law and democracy remain the only method of dealing with all aspects of our domestic concerns.

We have started the process of reform, and we will - God willing - continue. Reforming and developing the judiciary, security and government agencies, and continuing the development of our financial and economic system, and establishing a new mechanism for cooperation between the public and private sectors are prerequisites for enabling the National Authority to play its role in serving the Palestinian people. But more than that, they are also a duty so as to establish the foundations of the Palestinian state to which we aspire. It is our duty, whether in the Authority, opposition, or civil society not to allow the occupation to derail us from this path, or internal chaos to sabotage this process.

We will work to establish close cooperation between the various institutions of the Palestinian Authority - the legislative, judicial and executive authorities - while respecting their separation and distinct role in accordance with the Basic Law. This should become the

solid foundation and the established tradition of our political life, so as to develop our political system and to preserve its vitality.

We will exert all of our efforts to revitalize the PLO institutions and to activate its national role as the sole legitimate representative of our people. This will intensify our efforts to serve our people in the Diaspora. The PLO must assume its leading role in supporting the National Authority, in emphasizing the unity of Palestinian decision, and in protecting the National Program of 1988 and the Palestinian Declaration of Independence.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The way forward will not be easy. Our goals will not be achieved with dreams or miracles, but with constant tireless work. The challenges ahead are grave: the occupation is still strangling us, and there are those who wish the failure of our experience. But those who hope for it to succeed and flourishing, both among our people and our friends throughout the world, are the overwhelming majority. The road ahead is long, but it is a road that we will take and a challenge that we will accept. The alternative is stagnation and regression, and this is an alternative that we will never accept.

It was a great opportunity that women used their right to participate in local and presidential elections. This is an important step on the path of ensuring equality for women, including the right to assume leading positions in the Authority and in society.

The late Abu Ammar has left us a legacy that lights our path and shows us the way. His legacy will always be present to remind us that no matter how great the challenges may be, or how intricate the conspiracies may become, the will of the people, unwavering determination, and tireless work will lead to our goals. In the midst of our struggle for liberation and statebuilding, there is no place for despair or lethargy.

Today, I address the families of our revered martyrs to assure you that we will remain faithful to their memory and committed to protecting the future of their children. We will continue to care for the injured and the handicapped, and all of those affected by the violations of the occupation, whether home demolitions, the destruction of agricultural facilities, and all other forms of collective punishment.

I also address my brothers the prisoners and detainees to assure them that their cause will remain at the forefront of our efforts and will figure high on all levels. Opening the path of freedom before them is a noble purpose that we will do our utmost to achieve. We will also protect our fugitives and deportees, and we will absorb them and guarantee their future.

I have been throughout my field visits to the refugee camps here in the homeland and in Syria, Lebanon, and the Arab World. I have met our people who have entrusted us with their national aspirations and daily concerns. These will remain a central part of our own concerns.

While we reject involuntary settlement outside the homeland, we must guarantee that our people - wherever they are - enjoy the best standards of living, through cooperation with our brothers in the host countries.

In this path, and in the face of every hurdle and difficulty, I will remain strong in the knowledge of the trust that you have bestowed upon me, steadfast in my unshakable belief in the maturity of the Palestinian people, in all of its sectors and segments, and with all of its diverse opinions and positions. I will draw my strength first and foremost from my faith in God, and from my belief in the justice of cause and the unwavering dedication of our historic leader Yasser Arafat second, and from your trust. I pledge today to do all that I can, and to exert all of my efforts and energies to put an end to the suffering of our great people.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Arab states and their leaders who have assured us of their continued support for our people and National Authority at this time where their brotherly help is most needed.

I would also like to express my gratitude for the support for the world leaders, leaders of European states, the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and Islamic, Asian, African, Latin American and Non-Aligned states, as well as to the Secretary-General of the UN and the various Arab, Islamic and international organizations.

It is the time for work, so let us start it string and unified for the sake of our people, our youth and future generations, and for the sake of freedom, independence, reform, and democratic development.

On this occasion, I fully place confidence in brother Ahmed Qurie, the Prime Minister, and I ask him to highly concern himself with the issue of f security, municipal and legislative elections and reforms. We will also deliberate the idea of government reconstitution in accordance with the Basic Law.

"O' Lord! (they say) Let not our hearts deviate now after Thou hast guided us, but grant us mercy from Thee: For Thou art the Grantor of bounties without measure"

(2,959 words)

Appendix R1: MIPVU analysis of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas Inauguration speech – January 15, 2005

1 *That no matter how many **obstacles** may stand in our way, we will not be **deterred** from **advancing** our democratic process.*

- a LU obstacle (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: a difficulty or problem that prevents you from achieving something
 - b) Macmillan 2: an object that you must remove or go around in order to move forward
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU deter (v)
- a) Macmillan: to make someone decide not to do something
 - b) Macmillan: to make someone decide not to do something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- c LU advance (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to progress and become better or more developed
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *It is he who **planted** the first **seed** of this democratic process, it was he who held its banner high, and it was he who consolidated its traditions.*

- a LU plant (v)
- a) Macmillan 6: if you plant an idea in someone's mind, you introduce it so that they begin to think about it
 - b) Macmillan 1: to put trees, plants, or seeds in soil or the ground so that they will grow there
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU seed (n)
- a) Macmillan: to do something that makes a process or feeling start to develop
 - b) Macmillan 1: a small hard part produced by a plant that can grow into a new plant of the same type
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.

e) **MRW**

3 *I pledge to exert all of my efforts to implement the program according to which I was elected, and to **continue on the path towards achieving** our national goals.*

a LU continue on (v)

- a) Macmillan 1: to keep doing something without stopping
- b) Macmillan 3: to walk or travel further in the same direction
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

b LU path (n)

- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
- b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

c LU towards (prep)

- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
- b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

d LU achieve (v)

- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

4 *We will also **continue on the path** of Yasser Arafat to **achieve just** peace – the peace of the brave for which he had always worked, and to which he dedicated all his life and efforts.*

a LU continue on (v)

- a) Macmillan 1: to keep doing something without stopping
- b) Macmillan 3: to walk or travel further in the same direction
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

- b LU path (n)
 a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- c LU achieve (v)
 a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 c) -
 d) -
 e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 5 *The people have chosen **just** peace, ending the occupation, and coexistence based on equality and international legitimacy.*
- a LU just (adj)
 a) Macmillan 1: if a situation is just, everyone is treated equally and in a reasonable way
 b) Macmillan 2: a just reward or punishment is one that is deserved
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**
- 6 *the choice of **achieving just** peace and our national goals through negotiations.*
- a LU achieve (v)
 a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 c) -
 d) -
 e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- 7 *The **path to** these goals is what we and the world have agreed upon in the **Road Map**.*
- a LU path (n)
 a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 c) Yes.
 d) Yes.
 e) **MRW**

- b LU to (prep)
- a) Macmillan 19: used for showing that something is an important or necessary part of something else
 - b) Macmillan 2a: used for saying the place where someone or something goes
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

8 *We have repeatedly stated that we are **committed** to our responsibilities in the **Road Map**.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

10 *We are **seeking** a mutual ceasefire to end this vicious circle.*

- a LU seek (v)
- a) *oed*: attempt or desire to obtain or to achieve something
 - b) *oed*: go to (a place) / attempt to find something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *Our **hand** is **extended towards** an Israeli **partner** for **making** peace.*

- a LU extend (your) hand (v + n)
- a) Macmillan: to say that you want to try to have good relations with someone
 - b) Macmillan: to hold out your hand to someone so they can shake it as a greeting
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- b LU towards (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU partner (n)
- a) Longman 4: a country or organization that another country or organization has an agreement with:
 - b) Longman 1: one of two people who are married, or who live together and have a sexual relationship
Longman 2: one of the owners of a business
Longman 3: someone you do a particular activity with, for example dancing or playing a game against two other people:
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU make (v)
- a) Macmillan phrases (peace): to end an argument with someone and stop feeling angry towards them
 - b) Macmillan 1: to create or produce something by working
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

12 *But **partnership** is not through words but rather deeds.*

- a LU partnership (n)
- a) Longman 3: a relationship between two people, organizations, or countries
 - b) Longman 1: the state of being a partner in business
 - c)
 - d)
 - e)

13 ***Partnership** cannot be achieved by dictation, and peace cannot be **reached** by partial or interim solutions.*

- a LU partnership (n)
- a) Longman 3: a relationship between two people, organizations, or countries
 - b) Longman 1: the state of being a partner in business
 - c)
 - d)
 - e)

- b LU reach (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
 - b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 *Peace can only be **achieved** by working together to **reach** a permanent status solution that deals with all of the outstanding issues, and which **turns** a new **page** on the basis of two neighboring states.*

- a LU achieve (v)
 - a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

- b LU reach (v)
 - a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
 - b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU turn (v)
 - a) (int): to change the way you behave
 - b) Macmillan 4: if you turn the page of a book or magazine, you move it in order to read a different page
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU page (n)
 - a) Macmillan: an important period or occasion in the history of something such as a country
 - b) Macmillan 1: one side of a sheet of paper in a book, newspaper, or magazine
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

15 *we are two peoples destined to **live side by side**, and to share this land between us.*

- a LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- b LU side by side (n + prep + n)
- a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 16 *Let us start by **implementing** the **Road Map**, and – in parallel – let us start discussing the permanent status issues so that we can end, once and for all, the conflict between us.*
- a LU implement (v)
- a) to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used
 - b) to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- b LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 17 *From this forum, I call upon all concerned international actors, particularly the Quartet, to **play** a direct **role** in guaranteeing the **implementation** of the **Road Map**.*
- a LU play (v)
- a) Macmillan: to be involved in something, especially in a way that is important
 - b) Macmillan 3: to have a particular part in a play or film
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU role (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the purpose or influence of someone or something in a particular situation
 - b) Macmillan 2: the character played by a particular actor in a film, play etc
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU implementation (n)
- a) the process of implementing something
 - b) the process of implementing something
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- d LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 18 *You must ensure that we do not **re-enter** the **labyrinth** of preconditions that **preclude progress** in implementation.*
- a LU re-enter (v)
- a) Macmillan: to return to something such as a place or activity
 - b) Macmillan: to return to something such as a place or activity
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- b LU labyrinth (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a system or process that has a of very complicated details
 - b) Macmillan 1: a place where there are a lot of paths or passages and you can easily become lost
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU preclude (v)
- a) Macmillan: if one thing precludes another, the first thing prevents the second one from happening
 - b) Macmillan: if one thing precludes another, the first thing prevents the second one from happening
 - c) -

- d) -
e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- d LU progress (n)
a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 19 *You must ensure that we do not **get stuck** in the **maze** of long-term partial or interim solutions designed to **delay reaching** a just and comprehensive solution.*
- a LU stuck (adj)
a) Macmillan 2: unable to solve a problem and continue working
b) Macmillan 1: caught or held in a position so that you cannot move
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU maze (n)
a) Macmillan 3: a set of closely connected but complicated rules, issues, ideas etc
b) Macmillan 1:
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- c LU delay (v)
a) Macmillan 3: to deliberately take a long time to do something
b) Macmillan 2: to make someone or something late or slow them down
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- d LU reach (v)
a) Macmillan 3: to achieve something after discussing it or thinking about it for a long time
b) Macmillan 1: to arrive somewhere
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 20 *As we at the Palestinian Authority express our readiness to **implement** all of our **Road Map** obligations, we expect all other parties to **implement** theirs.*

- a LU implement (v)
- a) to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used
 - b) to make something such as an idea, plan, system, or law start to work and be used
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- b LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 21 *Today, it is up to the world to **give** our people hope, and it is up to the world not to repeat the same mistakes that **sabotaged** many initiatives and positive efforts in the past.*
- a LU give (v)
- a) Macmillan 4: to cause a general result or effect
 - b) Macmillan 1: to put something in someone's hand, or to pass something to someone
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU sabotage (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: things that are done to stop someone from achieving something or to prevent a plan or process from being successful
 - b) Macmillan 1: deliberate damage that is done to the property of an enemy or opponent
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 22 *In particular, I direct this call to all of the leaders of the Quartet members, and to all those committed to **relaunching** the peace process, and particularly to the US as the main **player** in this context.*
- a LU relaunch (v)
- a) (int) to restart a major activity or project
 - b) Macmillan: a new attempt to sell a product, especially in a slightly different way
 - c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU player (n)
a) Macmillan 3: a person or organization that influences a situation, especially in business or politics
b) Macmillan 1: someone who plays a particular game or sport
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 23 *For decades, Palestinians have been a **beacon** of creativity and achievement, a **light** that has **shone** with talent and skill over the whole world.*
- a LU beacon (n)
a) Macmillan 2: someone or something that encourages people and gives them a good example to follow
b) Macmillan 1: a bright light or fire that shines in the dark and is used as a signal to warn people against danger or to show them the way somewhere
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU light (n)
a)
b) Macmillan 2: a piece of electrical equipment that produces brightness
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- c LU shine (v)
a) Macmillan 5: to show that you have a lot of skill when you do something
b) Macmillan 4: to make the light from a torch or other light shine in a particular direction
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 24 *It is our duty to continue faithfully working in the same spirit and with the same determination to **build** an enlightened, civilized society that will be – both in its official and civil parts – a democratic example to be followed, and a basis for a **bright** outlook for our future generations.*
- a LU build (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to develop something
b) Macmillan 1: to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together
c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU bright (adj)
a) Macmillan 5: likely to be successful
b) Macmillan 1: bright colours are strong but not dark
Macmillan 2: full of strong shining light
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 25 *It is our duty, whether in the Authority, opposition, or civil society not to allow the occupation to **derail** us from this **path**, or internal chaos to **sabotage** this process.*
- a LU derail (v)
a) Macmillan 2 : to prevent something from continuing in the way that it was planned
b) Macmillan 1 : to make a train come off its rails
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU path (n)
a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- c LU sabotage (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to deliberately stop someone from achieving something, or to deliberately prevent a plan or process from being successful
b) Macmillan 1: to deliberately damage or destroy the property of an enemy or opponent
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 26 *The **way forward** will not be easy.*
- a LU way (n)
a) Macmillan 1: a method for doing something
b) Macmillan 3: the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**

- b LU forward (adj)
- a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 27 *The challenges ahead are grave: the occupation is still **strangling** us, and there are those who wish the failure of our experience.*
- a LU strangle (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to stop the development of something, especially an economy
 - b) Macmillan 1: to kill a person or an animal by squeezing their throat so that they cannot breathe
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 28 *The **road ahead** is long, but it is a **road** that we will **take** and a challenge that we will accept.*
- a LU road (n)
- a) Longman 5: to choose a particular course of action
 - b) Longman 1: a specially prepared hard surface for cars, buses, bicycles etc to travel on
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU ahead (adv)
- a) Macmillan 2: used when saying what will happen in the future
 - b) Macmillan 1: in front of someone
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU take (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to perform a particular action or series of actions
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move something or someone from one place to another
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 29 *In this **path**, and in the face of every **hurdle** and difficulty, I will remain strong in the knowledge of the trust that you have bestowed upon me, steadfast in my unshakable belief in the maturity of the Palestinian people, in all of its sectors and segments, and with all of its diverse opinions and positions.*

- a LU path (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU hurdle (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: one of several problems that you must solve before you can do something successfully
 - b) Macmillan 1: an upright frame that a person or horse must jump over during a race
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

Appendix S: Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas' Sharm speech – February 8, 2005

In the name of God, His Excellency Mr. President Hosni Mubarak, his Majesty King Abdullah the Second, Mr. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, dear ladies and gentlemen, I first would like to start to express my gratitude and appreciation to President Mubarak and to the Arab Republic of Egypt for hosting this meeting as a continuity of the Egyptian effective role in sponsoring the peace process in our region.

I also thank His Majesty King Abdullah for his effort and the efforts of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, in this regard. And I would like to congratulate His Majesty and Her Majesty Queen Rania with a newborn prince, Hashim, and also congratulate him on his birthday.

We have agreed with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to cease all acts of violence against the Israelis and against the Palestinians wherever they are. Tranquility and quiet that will be witnessed and in our land, starting today, is the beginning for a new era. The beginning of peace and hope, what announced today in addition to being the implementation of the first article of the road map that was established by the quartet. It is also a step -- and a basic step, an important step that provides a new opportunity for restoring the peace process and its momentum and so that the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples restore hope and confidence in the possibility for achieving peace.

I believe that we all understand our big responsibilities and joint responsibilities to consolidate (ph) this opportunity and to development. This can be achieved through an urgent work of restoring the spirit of partnership and reciprocity and to avoid unilateral steps. And we have, starting this very moment, to protect what we have already announced, to provide the suitable mechanisms toward implementation. What we agree on today is just the beginning of a process of bridging the gap and difference among all of us.

We differ on several issues. And this may include settlement, the release of prisoners, the wall closing institutions in Jerusalem. We will not be able to solve all of these issues today, but our positions towards these issues are clear and firm. Intensifying our efforts will lead us to implementing another obligation on the road map, which is resuming the negotiations of the final status in order to end the Israeli occupation that started in 1967, of the Palestinian territory and solving all of the issues pertaining to the final status, Jerusalem, refugees, settlements and other issues which were kept for the final status and negotiations according to the terms of reference in the road map, mentioned in the road map.

Mr. President, His Majesty, Mr. Prime Minister, just less than one month ago the Palestinian people went to the ballot boxes for the presidential elections, which were held after the departure of President Yasser Arafat. In this remarkable democratic practice, the Palestinian people embodied through this elections their setting to the just peace that will put an end to dictates of war, violence and occupation. Peace that means the establishment of a Palestinian state, or the state of -- the democratic state of independent Palestine along the State of Israel, as mentioned in the road map plan.

Here in the city of Sharm el-Sheikh, the city of peace, renew on behalf of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and the Palestinian Authority, our adherence to the terms of reference of the peace process and to the resolutions of international legitimacy and all the resolutions endorsed by the PLO, the Palestinian government, and the government of Israel, and the road map as well.

And also I assert our interest in respecting all our obligations and implementing all our commitments. And will save no effort whatever to protect this newborn opportunity of peace, that is provided through what we have already declared here today. We hope that our brothers in the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, we hope that they will continue their good efforts as well as we hope that the quartet, the international quartet, will resume its responsibilities to achieve acceleration of progress on the Palestinian/Israeli with reviving a peace process, as well, on the Syrian and Lebanese track as -- tracks as one.

It is high time that the Palestinian people restore their freedom and independence. It is high time that the decades, the long decades of suffering and pain would stop. It is high time that our people enjoy peace and their right to live a normal life, just like all other peoples in the world under the sovereignty of law, under one authority and one weapon and with political plurality (ph).

We look forward to that day and hoping it will come as soon as possible in order that the language of negotiations will replace the language of bullets and cannons and in which neighborhood and livelihood will prevail instead of the war; and in order to provide our grandsons and our future generations, Palestinian and Israelis, a different tomorrow, a promising tomorrow.

This is a new opportunity. A new opportunity of peace is won today in the city of peace. Let us all pledge to protect this opportunity in order to see that the wish of peace becomes a true and daily fact in this region.

Thank you very much.

(885 words)

Appendix S1: MIPVU analysis of Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas' Sharm speech – February 8, 2005

1 *It is also a **step** – and a basic **step**, an important **step** that provides a new opportunity for **restoring** the peace process and its **momentum** and so that the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples **restore** hope and confidence in the possibility for **achieving** peace.*

- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU restore (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to cause a particular situation to exist again, especially a positive one
 - b) Macmillan 3: to clean and repair something old and dirty or damaged so that it looks the same as it did originally
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU momentum (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: progress or development that is becoming faster or stronger
 - b) Macmillan 2: the speed with which a moving object keeps moving or moves faster
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

2 *This can be achieved through an urgent work of restoring the spirit of **partnership** and reciprocity and to avoid unilateral **steps**.*

- a LU partnership (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a relationship between two or more people, groups, or countries involved in an activity together
 - b) Macmillan 1: the position of being one of two or more people who own a company as partners
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 3 *And we have, starting this very moment, to **protect** what we have already announced, to provide the suitable mechanisms toward implementation.*
- a LU protect (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to keep someone or something safe from harm, injury, damage, or loss
 - b) Macmillan 1: to keep someone or something safe from harm, injury, damage, or loss
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- 4 *What we agree on today is just the beginning of a process of **bridging the gap** and difference among all of us.*
- a LU bridge (v)
- a) Longman 1: to reduce or get rid of the difference between two things
 - b) Longman 2: to build or form a bridge over something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU gap (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: a large difference between things or groups
 - b) Macmillan 1: a space or opening in the middle of something or between things
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

5 *Intensifying our efforts will lead us to implementing another obligation on the **road map**, which is resuming the negotiations of the final status in order to end the Israeli occupation that started in 1967, of the Palestinian territory and solving all of the issues pertaining to the final status and negotiations according to the terms of reference in the road map, mentioned in the road map.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

6 *In this remarkable democratic practice, the Palestinian people embodied through this elections their setting to the **just** peace that will put an end to dictates of war, violence and occupation.*

- a LU just (adj)
- a) Macmillan 1: if a situation is just, everyone is treated equally and in a reasonable way
 - b) Macmillan 2: a just reward or punishment is one that is deserved
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

7 *Here in the city of Sharm el-Sheikh, the city of peace, I renew on behalf of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and the Palestinian Authority, our adherence to the terms of reference of the peace process and to the resolutions of international legitimacy and all the resolutions endorsed by the PLO, the Palestinian government, and the government of Israel, and the **road map** as well.*

- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

8 *And will save no effort whatever to **protect** this **newborn** opportunity of peace, that is provided through what we have already declared here today.*

- a LU protect (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to keep someone or something safe from harm, injury, damage, or loss
 - b) Macmillan 1: to keep someone or something safe from harm, injury, damage, or loss

- c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW**
- b LU newborn (adj)
- a) Macmillan 2: something that is newborn has only existed for a short time
 - b) Macmillan 1: recently born
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 9 *We hope that our brothers in the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, we hope that they will continue their good efforts as well as we hope that the quartet, the international quartet, will **resume** its responsibilities to **achieve acceleration of progress** on the Palestinian/Israeli with **reviving** a peace process, as well, on the Syrian and Lebanese **track** as – **tracks** as one.*
- a LU resume (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to start something again after stopping temporarily
 - b) Macmillan 2: to go back and sit or stand in the place where you were sitting or standing previously
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**
- c LU acceleration (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: an increase in the rate at which something happens, changes, or grows
 - b) Macmillan 2: the power of a vehicle to increase its speed
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU progress (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
 - b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- e LU revive (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to become, or to make something become, active, successful, or popular again
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make someone become conscious or alive again
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- f LU track (n)
- a) Macmillan 5a: a way of achieving something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a path or road with a rough surface
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

10 *We look forward to that day and hoping it will come as soon as possible in order that the **language** of negotiations will replace the **language** of bullets and cannons and in which neighborhood and livelihood will prevail instead of the war; and in order to provide our grandsons and our future generations, Palestinians and Israelis, a different tomorrow, a promising tomorrow.*

- a LU language (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: signs, symbols, sounds, and other methods of communicating information, feelings, or ideas
 - b) Macmillan 1: the method of human communication using spoken or written words
 - c)
 - d)
 - e)

11 *A new opportunity of peace is **won** today in the city of peace.*

- a LU win (v)
- a) Macmillan 3: to succeed in getting something that you want because of hard work or ability
 - b) Macmillan 2: to get something as a prize for defeating other people or because you are lucky
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

12 *Let us all pledge to **protect** this opportunity in order to see that the wish of peace becomes a true and daily fact in this region.*

- a LU protect (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to keep someone or something safe from harm, injury, damage, or loss

- b) Macmillan 1: to keep someone or something safe from harm, injury, damage, or loss
- c) -
- d) -
- e) **NMRW**

Appendix T: President Mahmoud Abbas' News Conference With President Bush – May 26, 2005

President Abbas: Thank you very much, Mr. President. I'd like to thank you for this warm welcome and express my view in order to strengthen the relationship between Palestine and the United States. The Palestinian people share with the American people the same values of peace, freedom, and democracy. We are confident that the two peoples will benefit from continuing and developing this relationship.

Today we have conducted very intensive and constructive discussions with you, Mr. President, and with your senior administration officials. We discussed ways to support the opportunities to revive and resume the peace process in the Middle East. These discussions afford us with the opportunity to emphasize the central and essential role played by you, Mr. President, and by your administration in supporting and advancing the peace process toward the realization of your vision of ending the Israeli occupation that started in 1967 and the establishment of a democratic, free, and independent Palestine to live side by side with the State of Israel, in order to create a better future for the peoples of the region. We have reiterated again to you, Mr. President, our strong commitment to the peace option, and through negotiations, we can achieve—the two sides can achieve their objectives.

We also discussed the efforts that have been undertaken by the Palestinian Authority throughout the past few months to bring about calm. These efforts have brought about the reduction of violence to the lowest level in 4 years and once again reopened the window of hope for progress toward peace. We emphasized our determination to maintain and preserve this calm. The Palestinian Authority exerts a great deal of efforts in reforming our security organizations, and the truth is, our efforts are fully supported by our own people who repeatedly reaffirmed their commitment to peace and negotiations.

In our talks, we also discussed the ongoing democratic process in Palestine. This process has successfully presented, through the Presidential elections and the local and municipal elections, that the Palestinians have succeeded in carrying out transparent and fair elections under very difficult circumstances, another example of the capability of our people and their ability to build an independent democratic state once we achieve our freedom and our independence.

We expect that our people will be helped and supported to make their democratic experiment a successful one. We look forward to the free movement and the freedom of movement and the removal of Israeli roadblock and checkpoints and the Israeli withdrawal to positions prior to September 28th, 2000, and as well as implementing the various understanding that we have reached with the Israeli Government in Sharm al-Sheikh. We stress that democracy cannot flourish under occupation and in the absence of freedom.

In this regard, we expressed our deep concern over the continuous Israeli settlement activities and the construction of the wall on our land, particularly in the area of Jerusalem. These settlement activities, in addition to undermining President Bush's vision in establishing a Palestinian and contiguous state, that it is a viable state that can live side by side by the State of Israel, also contributes to the feeling of frustration and despair and the loss of hope. Stopping this is one of the requirements of the road-map. Time is becoming our greatest enemy. We should end this conflict before it is too late.

We are extending our hands to the Israeli people in good intention. We are saying that peace and dialog and the recognition of the other side's rights is what will create a good neighborhood and achieve security and prosperity for our people and the peoples in the region.

We have assured the President that the Palestinian Authority is ready to coordinate with the Israeli side in order to ensure the success of its withdrawal from Gaza and the West Bank upon the Israeli evacuation. We see this evacuation as a part of ending the occupation, and it should not be at the expense of the West Bank. We must then immediately move to permanent status negotiations to deal with the issues of Al-Quds—East Jerusalem—as a capital of the future state of Palestine, the issues of refugees, settlements, borders, security,

and water, on the basis of President Bush's vision and on the basis of U.N. resolutions and the basis of the Arab Initiative.

It is time for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to end—right now. It is the time for our people, after many decades of suffering and dispossessions, to enjoy living in freedom and independence on their own land. And we should accelerate the freedom of our prisoners in order to be a part of peacemaking.

Mr. President, we end our discussions in Washington, and we are more determined to move forward in the path of freedom, reform, and democracy. We depart Washington; we are more confident about the role that you will play and the role that your administration will play in order to move the process forward and achieve lasting peace.

Mr. President, at the end, I would like to thank you very much for your hospitality and expressing the American—and demonstrating the American support to the Palestinian administration and the Palestinian people. We continue to look forward to work with you ahead in order to achieve our common objectives of peace, security, and democracy and freedom.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

.....

President Abbas: Regarding the issue of settlements and the wall, our position is very clear from the beginning. When we talk about two states, we are talking about a Palestinian state within the boundaries of 1967. That means that those boundaries, in our views, should go back to the Palestinian people. This is what the roadmap states, and this is what is in various U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Also President Bush talked about ending the occupation that started in 1967. In our views, the wall—there is no justification for the wall, and it is illegitimate, as well as settlements. It is illegitimate and should not allow. We heard from the President that these activities should stop. I believe this is an important step in order to get to the permanent status negotiations. During the permanent status negotiations, we will put all these issues on the table. And we express our views that does not contradict international legitimacy.

.....

President Abbas: Thank you. Regarding the democracy and freedom, I am saying that when we have chosen democracy as a way of life, this was not an adventure. This was a determination and a strategy that democracy is the only way to move forward and for life among different nations. But democracy is like a coin; it has two sides. On one side it's democracy; on the other side of the coin is freedom.

It's true, now we lack freedom, and we are in dire need to have freedom. We do not live in freedom in our homeland. This will weaken the hope to continue this democracy and will weaken the democratic march. But we will not go back. Our strategy is clear, and we are determined to achieve our freedom in order to complete and achieve both sides of the coin, and we can live a normal life.

(1,202 words)

Appendix T1: MIPVU analysis of President Mahmoud Abbas' News Conference With President Bush – May 26, 2005

1 *We discussed ways to **support** the opportunities to **revive** and **resume** the peace process in the Middle East.*

- a LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU revive (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to become, or to make something become, active, successful, or popular again
 - b) Macmillan 1: to make someone become conscious or alive again
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU resume (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to start something again after stopping temporarily
 - b) Macmillan 2: to go back and sit or stand in the place where you were sitting or standing previously
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

2 *These discussions afford us with the opportunity to emphasize the central and essential **role played** by you, Mr. President, and by your administration in **supporting** and **advancing** the peace process **toward** the realization of your **vision** of ending the Israeli occupation that started in 1967 and the establishment of a democratic, free, and independent Palestine to **live side by side** with the State of Israel, in order to create a better future for the peoples of the region.*

- a LU role (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the purpose or influence of someone or something in a particular situation
 - b) Macmillan 2: the character played by a particular actor in a film, play etc
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU play (v)
- a) Macmillan: to be involved in something, especially in a way that is important
 - b) Macmillan 3: to have a particular part in a play or film
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU support (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to approve of an idea or of a person or organization and help them to be successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to hold the weight of someone or of something such as a building or structure so that they do not move or fall
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- d LU advance (v)
- a) Macmillan 2a: to help something progress and become more developed or successful
 - b) Macmillan 1: to move forward and towards someone or something
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- e LU toward (prep)
- a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- f LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- g LU live (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
e) **MRW (possible personification)**
- h LU side by side (n + prep + n)
a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 3 *We have reiterated again to you, Mr. President, our strong **commitment** to the peace option, and through negotiations, we can achieve – the two sides can achieve their objectives.*
- a LU commitment (n)
a) Macmillan 2: a promise to do something
b) Macmillan 5: the use of money, people, or time for a particular purpose
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 4 *These efforts have brought about the reduction of violence to the lowest level in 4 years and once again **reopened** the **window** of hope for **progress toward** peace.*
- a LU reopen (v)
a) Macmillan 1: if a process reopens, or if someone reopens it, it begins again after a pause
b) Macmillan 2a: if a border or road reopens, or if someone reopens it, you can cross it or travel on it again after it was closed for a period of time
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU window (n)
a) Macmillan: an opportunity to do something that will only be available to you for a short time
b) Macmillan 1: a frame in a wall with glass in it that lets light and air into a room and lets you see what is outside
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- c LU progress (n)
a) Macmillan 1: the process of developing or improving
b) Macmillan 2: forward movement
c) Yes.

- d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- d LU toward (prep)
a) Macmillan 3: used for showing how a process is developing in a way that will produce a particular result
b) Macmillan 1: used for saying in which direction someone or something is going, facing, or looking
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 5 *We emphasized our determination to **maintain** and **preserve** this calm.*
- a LU maintain (v)
a) Macmillan 1 : to make something stay the same
b) Macmillan 2 : to make regular repairs to a building, road, vehicle etc so that it stays in good condition
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- b LU preserve (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to keep an idea, quality, or situation from changing or being lost
b) Macmillan 1: to take care of a place or building in order to prevent it from being harmed or destroyed
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 6 *The Palestinian Authority exerts a great deal of efforts in reforming our security organizations, and the truth is, our efforts are fully supported by our own people who repeatedly reaffirmed their **commitment** to peace and negotiations.*
- a LU commitment (n)
a) Macmillan 2: a promise to do something
b) Macmillan 5: the use of money, people, or time for a particular purpose
c) Yes.
d) Yes.
e) **MRW**
- 7 *We stress that democracy cannot **flourish** under occupation and in the absence of freedom.*
- a LU flourish (v)
a) Macmillan 2: to be very successful

- b) Macmillan 1: to grow well and be healthy
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

8 *These settlement activities, in addition to **undermining** President Bush's **vision** in establishing a Palestinian and contiguous state, that it is a viable state that can **live side by side** by the State of Israel, also contributes to the feeling of frustration and despair and the loss of hope.*

- a LU undermine (v)
 - a) Macmillan 1: to make something or someone become gradually less effective, confident, or successful
 - b) Macmillan 2: to dig under something, especially so that it becomes weaker
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU vision (n)
 - a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU live (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to have a particular kind of life
 - b) Macmillan 1: to have your home in a particular place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

- d LU side by side (n + prep + n)
 - a) Macmillan 2: used for talking about two or more groups that live or work next to each other although they are very different
 - b) Macmillan 1: used for saying that two things or people are directly next to each other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

9 *Stopping this is one of the requirements of the **roadmap**.*

- a LU roadmap (n)

- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
- b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**

10 *Time is becoming our greatest **enemy**.*

- a LU enemy (n)
 - a) Longman 4: something that people think is harmful or damaging
 - b) Longman 2: someone who opposes or competes against you.
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

11 *We are **extending** our **hands** to the Israeli people in good intention.*

- a LU extend (your) hand (v + n)
 - a) Macmillan: to say that you want to try to have good relations with someone
 - b) Macmillan: to hold out your hand to someone so they can shake it as a greeting
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW (possible personification)**

12 *We are saying that peace and dialog and the recognition of the other side's rights is what will create a good **neighborhood** and achieve security and prosperity for our people and the peoples in the region.*

- a LU neighborhood (n)
 - a) (int)
 - b) Macmillan: a particular area of a city or town
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

13 *We must then **move to** permanent status negotiations to deal with the issues of Al-Quds – East Jerusalem – as a capital of the future state of Palestine, the issues of refugees, settlements, borders, security, and water, on the **basis** of President Bush's **vision** and on the basis of U.N. resolutions and the basis of the Arab initiative.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position

- c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU to (prep)
- a) Macmillan 19: used for showing that something is an important or necessary part of something else
 - b) Macmillan 2a: used for saying the place where someone or something goes
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU vision (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the ability to think about and plan for the future, using intelligence and imagination, especially in politics and business
 - b) Macmillan 3: a person or image that appears to someone, for example in a dream or a religious experience
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

14 *And we should **accelerate** the freedom of our prisoners in order to be part of **peacemaking**.*

- a LU accelerate (v)
- a) Macmillan 1: to happen or make something happen at a faster rate
 - b) Macmillan 2: if a vehicle accelerates, it moves faster
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU peacemaking (v)
- a) Longman (adaptation of peacemaker): trying to persuade other people or countries to stop fighting
 - b) Longman (adaptation of peacemaker): trying to persuade other people or countries to stop fighting
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meanings are the same)**

15 *Mr. President, we end our discussions in Washington, and we are more determined to **move forward** in the **path** of freedom, reform, and democracy.*

- a LU move (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position

- c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU forward (adv)
- a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU path (n)
- a) Macmillan 3: the way that someone takes to achieve something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a way from one place to another that people can walk along
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 16 *We depart Washington; we are more confident about the **role** that you will **play** and the **role** that your administration will **play** in order to **move** the process **forward** and **achieve lasting peace**.*
- a LU role (n)
- a) Macmillan 1: the purpose or influence of someone or something in a particular situation
 - b) Macmillan 2: the character played by a particular actor in a film, play etc
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU play (v)
- a) Macmillan: to be involved in something, especially in a way that is important
 - b) Macmillan 3: to have a particular part in a play or film
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- c LU move (v)
- a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- d LU forward (adv)
- a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- e LU achieve (v)
- a) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - b) Macmillan: to succeed in doing or having what you planned or intended, usually after a lot of effort
 - c) -
 - d) -
 - e) **NMRW (contextual and basic meaning are the same)**
- 17 *This is what the **roadmap** states, and this is what is in various U.N. Security Council resolutions.*
- a LU roadmap (n)
- a) Macmillan 2: a plan or set of instructions that makes it easier for someone to do something
 - b) Macmillan 1: a map that shows all the main roads and motorways in a region or country
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- 18 *I believe this is an important **step** in order to **get to** the permanent status negotiations.*
- a LU step (n)
- a) Macmillan 4: one of a series of actions that you do in order to achieve a particular aim
 - b) Macmillan 1: a short movement made by putting one foot in front of the other
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**
- b LU get (v)
- a) Macmillan 5: to progress to a particular point when you are doing something
 - b) Macmillan 4: to move to or from a position or place
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- c LU to (prep)
 - a) Macmillan 19: used for showing that something is an important or necessary part of something else
 - b) Macmillan 2a: used for saying the place where someone or something goes
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

19 *This was a determination and a strategy that democracy is the only way to **move forward** and for life among different nations.*

- a LU move (v)
 - a) Macmillan 2: to progress or develop in a particular way
 - b) Macmillan 1: to change position, or to make someone or something change position
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

- b LU forward (adv)
 - a) Macmillan 3: towards the future or a better state
 - b) Macmillan 1: in the direction in front of you
 - a. moving in the direction in front of you
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes.
 - e) **MRW**

20 *But democracy is like a **coin**; it has two sides.*

- a LU coin (n)
 - a) Macmillan: two different aspects of the same situation
 - b) Macmillan: a flat round piece of metal with special designs on it, used as money. A piece of money made from paper is called a banknote or a note.
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes
 - e) **MRW**

21 *On one side it's democracy; on the other side of the **coin** is freedom.*

- a LU coin (n)
 - a) Macmillan: two different aspects of the same situation
 - b) Macmillan: a flat round piece of metal with special designs on it, used as money. A piece of money made from paper is called a banknote or a note.
 - c) Yes.
 - d) Yes
 - e) **MRW**

- 22 *This will weaken the hope to continue this democracy and will weaken the democratic **march**.*
- a LU march (n)
- a) Longman 5: the way that things happen or change over time and cannot be stopped
- b) Longman 1: an organized event in which many people walk together to express their ideas or protest about something
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 23 *But we will not go back.*
- a LU go (v)
- a) Macmillan 5: to change to another condition
- b) Macmillan 1: to move or travel to a place that is away from where you are now
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- b LU back (adv)
- a) Macmillan 3a: returning to an earlier state or position
- b) Macmillan 1: in the direction that is behind you
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes.
- e) **MRW**
- 24 *Our strategy is clear, and we are determined to achieve our freedom in order to complete and achieve both sides of the **coin**, and we can live a normal life.*
- a LU coin (n)
- a) Macmillan: two different aspects of the same situation
- b) Macmillan: a flat round piece of metal with special designs on it, used as money. A piece of money made from paper is called a banknote or a note.
- c) Yes.
- d) Yes
- e) **MRW**

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