Persuasion in Journalism: A Study of Metadiscourse in Texts by Native Speakers of English and Iranian EFL Writers

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Abstract—Metadiscourse is a set of linguistic devices used to communicate attitudes and mark the structural properties of a text. This study explored the frequency of occurrence of metadiscourse devices, and the role they play in the construction of persuasion in opinion articles written by English native speakers and Iranian EFL (English as a Foreign Language) writers. A corpus of 60 opinion articles, 30 by American writers and 30 by Iranian EFL authors, was collected and examined using Hyland's (2005) model of metadiscours. The articles were taken from newspapers and news websites in October 2014 and were published in the period from May, 2013 to October, 2014. A quantitative analysis was conducted to determine the frequency of occurrence of metadiscourse devices. The non-parametrical Mann-Whitney U test was used to see if the frequency counts in the two corpora differ statistically. Findings suggested that metadiscourse devices were present in the both groups; however, there were variations as to the number of code glosses, hedges, self-mentions and engagement markers. Genre-driven conventions, culture-driven tendencies and Iranian columnists' extend of English command were the factors affecting the choice and frequency of metadiscourse markers.

Index Terms— metadiscourse, EFL writer, persuasive writing, opinion articles

I. INTRODUCTION

In writing a persuasive text, the writer aims a message to be understood and be accepted. Constructing such a text relies on a number of factors including an awareness of audience and purpose and a mastery of necessary linguistic resources (Hyland, 2005). A persuasive text may be found in several different genres. Journalistic discourse, such as editorials and opinion articles, specifically can be characterized as being persuasive, for in such texts the writer obviously puts forward a proposition about a current issue in society, and intends the audience to agree with her/his stance. As Crismore, Markkanen and Steffensen put it: "Both professional and nonprofessional writers project themselves into texts, guiding and directing readers so that readers can better understand the content and the writer's attitudes toward the content and the readers" (1993, p. 39).

Metadiscourse is mostly considered as a set of linguistic devices used to communicate attitudes and to mark the structural properties of a piece of discourse. Therefore, it is regarded as a key element of persuasive writing. (Fuertes-Olivera, Velasco-Sacristan, Arribas-Bano & Samiengo-Fernandez 2001). Crismore et al. point out that metadiscourse plays a vital role in the creation of solidarity between the addresser and the addressee since it helps construct a coherent text and reflects the writers' "personality, credibility, considerateness of the reader, and relationship to the subject matter and to the readers" (1993, p. 40).

The theoretical basis for metadiscourse comes from the works of the modern linguist M. A. K. Halliday. Halliday (1973) discusses that there are three macro-functions for language: ideational, textual and interpersonal. "Ideational meaning" is the meaning of a writer's ideas. It is the propositional material. "Textual meaning" is the meaning that helps the reader to navigate through the text. The "interpersonal meaning" is the meaning about the relationship between the writer and the reader. The interpersonal function encompasses the relation between the addresser and the addressee in a discourse situation. According to Hyland, (2005, p. 8) "language is not simply used to convey information about the world. It also acts to present this information through the organization of the text itself." As we communicate through the text we continuously decide about the effects we wish to make on the readers by exploiting the textual and interpersonal functions of language. Metadiscourse is the actualization of these two functions. In short, metadiscourse is "discourse about discourse" (Crismore et al., 1993, p. 40). Writers achieve their communicative goals, in part by using metadiscursive strategies.

The concept of metadiscourse has been the focus of several studies on various genres of texts (e.g. Holmes, 1982, 1984; Keller, 1979; Ismail, 2012; Latawiec 2012; Hyland, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004; Hyland & Tse, 2004; Crismore et al., 1993; Abdi, 2002; Crismore & Abdollahzade, 2010). However, it has been explored in journalistic texts by only a few researchers for example (Abdollahzadeh, 2007; Dafouz, 2003; Le, 2004, Biria and Noorian, 2010). This study aims to analyze the features of this kind of text with regard to the use of metadiscourse markers in order to add to the existing information we have on the structure and mechanics of texts in different genres and how these mechanics help the

writer persuade the reader. In this research, the role of metadiscourse markers in journalistic texts, specifically opinion articles written by native speakers of English and Iranian EFL writers, and published in newspapers or news websites, were compared. The aim of this comparison mainly was to find out how metadiscourse markers help make a text more effective in terms of persuasion. Two research questions were addressed in this study:

1. To what extent are opinion articles in newspapers and news websites written by native speakers of English and Iranian L2 writers different or similar in terms of meta-discourse use?

2. What is the pragmatic role of metadiscourse markers in construction of persuasion in opinion articles of newspapers and news websites written by native speakers and Iranian L2 writers?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Metadiscourse

In the systemic-functional theory of language, Halliday (1994) differentiated between ideational, interpersonal and textual meta-functions of language. As opposed to the ideational function of language which is "the use of language to represent experience and ideas" (Hyland, 2005, p. 26), the textual and interpersonal functions of language can be fulfilled by metadiscourse. Halliday (1973) defined the textual function as "an enabling function, that of creating a text", "that enables the speaker to organize what he is saying in a way that it makes sense in the context and fulfills its function as a message" (p. 66). Respectively, the interpersonal function was theorized to incorporate "all that may be understood by the expression of our own personalities and personal feelings on the one hand, and forms of interaction and social interplay with other participants in the communication situation on the other hand" (Halliday, 1973, p. 66). Metadiscourse has been defined by several scholars. Williams (1981, p. 40) states that "metadiscourse is the language we use when, in writing about some subject matter, we incidentally refer to the act and to the context of writing about it." Vande Kopple (1985, p. 83) defines it as "discourse that people use not to expand referential material but to help their readers connect, organize, interpret, evaluate, and develop attitudes toward that material."). Hyland defines the term as: "the cover term for the self-reflective expressions used to negotiate interactional meanings in a text, asserting the writer (or speaker) to express a view point and engage with readers as members of a particular community" (2005, p. 37).

The term "metadiscourse"is too broad and includes different lexical items from various grammatical classes and even punctuation. However, many scholars consider it an umbrella term which falls into two main categories: textual metadiscourse and interpersonal metadiscourse. According to Dafouz (2008, p 97), "textual metadiscourse refers to the organization of discourse, while interpersonal metadiscourse reflects the writer's stance toward both the content in the text and the potential reader." Hyland believes that the textual function of the language in fact serves the interpersonal function, and that "textual functions cannot be seen as ends in themselves" (2005, p. 27). As by using textual resources, the writer tries to organize the text in the most reader friendly manner, the eventual purpose of textual elements in a text seems to be creating a better interpersonal relation between the writer and the reader.

The interpersonal metadiscourse acts like liaisons which connect the writer as the producer of the text, with certain attitudes and viewpoint toward what he writes, to the reader as the recipient who actively tries to decode the meaning and connect to the writer as a member of a community and also simply as a person. Vande Kopple defines interpersonal metadiscourse as the devices that "can help us express our personalities and our reactions to the propositional content of our texts and characterize the interaction we would like to have with our readers about that content" (1985, p. 87).

B. Persuasion

Numerous definitions of persuasion can be found in the literature. However, Seiter & Gass's definition seem to be more comprehensive and thorough. In their definition, Seiter & Gass state that "persuasion involves one or more persons who are engaged in the activity of creating, reinforcing, modifying or extinguishing beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations and/or behaviors within the constraints of a given communication context" (2003, p. 34). Persuasion can also be interpreted as exploiting one's available resource to change people's opinions and consequently their behavior. All the modern definitions of persuasion draw on Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*. In his book, Aristotle recognizes three means of persuasion: Ethos, Pathos and Logos. George A. Kennedy (2006, p. 15) summarized these three notions in plain language in his introduction to the translation of Aristotle's *On Rhetoric* as follows:
• Ethos: the projection of the character of the speaker as trustworthy
• Pathos: consideration of the emotions of the audience
• Logos: inductive or deductive logical argument

Aristotle's three elements of persuasion (ethos, pathos and logos) are reasonably related to the concept of metadiscourse. When metadiscourse links the elements of argument it pertains to Logos. It is related to pathos when writers use metadiscourse to show respect for the audience's opinions. Finally, metadiscourse relates to ethos when it refers to a writer's authority and competence. As Hyland (2005, p. 63) puts it, "because metadiscourse helps writers to engage their audience, signal relationships, apprise readers of varying certainty and guide their understanding of a text, metadiscourse pursues persuasive objectives."

C. Empirical Findings

In the early 1980, the concept of metadiscourse began to receive the recognition it deserved as a productive field of enquiry. Generally, work on metadiscourse includes the studies related to genre, community of discourse and contrastive rhetoric and the ones that attempt to study metadiscourse in light of pedagogic issues.

Metadiscourse has been studied in various genres of written texts such as research articles (e.g. Abdi, 2002, 2009; Faghih & Rahimpour, 2009; Hyland, 1998, 2004; Hyland & Tse, 2004; Siami & Abdi, 2012), student writing, (e.g. Crismore et al., 1993; Dastjerdi & Shirzad, 2010; Davaei & Karbalaei, 2013; Gholami. J., Rafsanjani Nejad & Looragi Pour 2014; Simin & Tavangar, 2009; Steffensen & Cheng, 1996; Taghizade & Tajabadi, 2013; Tavakoli, Bahrami & Amirian, 2012.), andpolitical speeches (Ismail, 2012), emails (Jensen, 2009), medical texts (Gholami, M., Tajalli & Shokrpour, 2014) and advertising (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001).

Despite the fact that journalistic texts are among the most common texts people read in their everyday lives, they have not received much attention by researchers interested in metadiscourse. In fact, only a few researchers have addressed metadiscourse in such texts (Abdollahzadeh, 2007; Biria & Zavari, 2014; Dafouz, 2003 and 2008; Hashemi & Golparvar, 2012; Kuhi & Mojood, 2014; Le, 2004; Noorian & Biria, 2010; Tarrayo V. N., 2014; Yazdani, Sharifi & Elyassi, 2014.)

Dafouze (2008), explored the role of metadiscourse markers in construction and attainment of persuasion by studying 40 opinion articles taken from the Spanish *El País* and the British *The Times* (20 from each newspaper). In this cross-linguistic study, using Hylands's (1998) model, she attempted to identify which metadiscourse categories stand out in this type of text and how they are distributed according to cross-cultural or cross-linguistic preference. Moreover, by using a group of informants, she tried to find out how metadiscourse operates as a means of persuasion. The results of this study indicated that in general, Spanish texts used a higher number of textual metadiscourse than English texts while with regard to interpersonal metadiscourse, Spanish texts used a lower number of metadiscourse than English texts. Also, the informants who were asked to participate in the evaluation of metadiscourse as a persuasive tool found the texts with a balanced number of metadiscourse as the most persuasive.

In a similar study, Elisabeth Le (2004), attempted to study how the French elite newspaper *Le Monde* achieves its authority and persuasiveness through its argumentative editorials. She analyzed the three metadiscourse categories of evidentials, person markers and relational markers, by using Hyland's (1998) model as her framework, in 20 editorials. By making use of both quantitative analysis and qualitative discussions, Le showed that the above mentioned three metadiscursive categories were instrumental in connection with the argumentation structure of editorials.

The present study examines the metadiscursive devices in opinion articles written by native speakers of English and Iranian EFL writers in order to find out more about the role of such devices in making the texts more natural, effective and persuasive. I aim to explore both textual and interpersonal metadiscoure resources by using Hyland's (2005) model of metadiscourse as a framework.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Corpus

The data of this research came from the opinion articles of prestigious American and Iranian newspapers and news websites. The opinion articles written by Iranians are taken from *Iran Daily and Tehran Times* and also from the news website of *Press TV*. The English opinion articles are taken from *Los Angeles Times, New York Daily News, New York Times, Washington Post*, and the news website of *CNN*. The newspapers from which the data is taken are among the most widely read in Iran and the USA. Adel (2006) believes that cultural conventions are different not only from language to language but also from a variety of a certain language to another (cited in Kuhi and Mojood, 2014). For this reason, the English articles are taken from American sources to avoid the potential effects of language variety on the findings of the study.

Sixty English texts (30 from American sources and 30 from Iranian sources) comprising 47621 words were selected. The texts derived from the Iranian sources contained a total of 23849 words, with the average length of 795 words. The texts extracted from the American sources comprised 23772 words with the average length of 792 words. The selected articles were matched for length and topic in order to ensure comparability. While the articles covered various topics, such as Iran nuclear talks, ISIL, Syria, and Israel and Palestine, the main theme was the Middle East issues in all the articles. A list of the selected opinion articles for this study appears in Appendix A.

The texts selected for this study are journalistic articles, and the reason for this choice is closely related to the great role mass media play in modern communities. Computers and the Internet have made it possible for the people to have access not only to the news about events happening even in the remotest parts of the world, but also learn about what others think of these events. Opinion articles are written to reflect the writer's stance toward the contemporary issues in a society. Connor (1996) considers opinion articles as one of the most appropriate examples of persuasive texts in all countries which can set standards for persuasive writing (as cited in Dafouz, 2008, p. 96).

B. Data Collection Procedure

In order to collect the corpus, first, a total number of 320 opinion articles from the websites of Iranian and American newspapers and news websites of CNN and Press TV were retrieved. All the articles were saved in the form of Word Office Documents in the computer. Great care was taken to make sure that each article is saved in the folder specified

for a certain source- not to mix the articles from different sources. Data collection was done in October 2014, and the collected articles were published in the period from May, 2013 to October, 2014.

In the next step, a smaller group of articles were chosen for the analysis. In order to control the several variables involved in the writing of a text, such as topic, the length of the article and the nationality (native language) of the writer, only 60 articles were chosen. With regard to the topic, care was taken to include only the articles which were written about the Middle East Issues, since it is essential that the topic variable be controlled. As many researchers have suggested (e.g. Hyland, 1999; Dafouz, 2003, 2008) the topic may affect the type, frequency and distribution of the metadiscourse markers used, and that is why the corpus could not include just any topic. The other variable which needed to be controlled was the native language of the writer. I realized that many of the articles published in Iranian newspapers and websites are written by people other than Iranians. In the same way, many of the articles published in American newspapers and websites were written by people other than English native Speakers. At the end of each opinion article, a brief biography of the article's writer is published. The information in these biographies (such as name, nationality, affiliation, and position) was of great help in selecting the articles which suited the purpose of the study. Therefore, for the English native speaker corpus only the articles were chosen which were written by Americans. In the same way, for the EFL corpus, only the articles were selected which were written by Iranian authors. Care was also taken to match the articles in the two groups, so that both groups have nearly the same number of words as well as the same average of words.

C. Data Analysis

The analysis of the selected texts was closely based on Hyland's (2005) taxonomy of interactive and interactional metadiscourse (see table 1). As metadiscourse devices usually have more than a single function, it is essential that the analysis be carried out precisely for each text manually.

TABLE 1
AN INTERPERSONAL MODEL OF METADISCOURSE (HYLAND, 2005, P. 49)

Category	Function	Examples
Interactive	Help to guide the reader through the text	Resources
Transitions	Express the relations between the main clauses	*In addition; but; thus; and*
Frame markers	Refer to discourse acts, sequences or stages	*Finally; to conclude; my purpose is*
Endophoric markers	Refer to information in other parts of the text	*Noted above; see Fig.; in section 2*
Evidentials	Refer to information in other texts	*According to X; Z states*
Code Glosses	Elaborate propositional meaning	*Namely; e.g.; such as; in other words*
Interactional	Involve the reader in the text	Resources
Hedges	Withhold commitment and open dialogue	*Might; perhaps; possible; about*
Boosters	Emphasize certainty and close dialogue	*In fact; definitely; it is clear that*
Attitude markers	Express writer's attitude towards the proposition	*Unfortunately; I agree; surprisingly*
Self-mentions	Explicit reference to the authors	*I; me; my; our; we*
Engagement markers	Explicitly build relationship with readers	*Consider; note; you can see that*

All the metadiscourse items were highlighted in the texts in coded colors in order to make counting easier. The list of metadiscoure items in Hyland (2005, Appendix, pp. 218-224) was used for this purpose. Hyland stresses that metadiscourse is a relative concept so "what might be metadiscourse in one rhetorical context may be expressing propositional material in another, and analysis must always examine each item individually to determine its function" (2005, p. 24). Therefore, the context of each item was carefully considered not to mark an item wrongly with regard to its function as propositional content or metadiscourse device. Additionally, each item was examined with regard to its category of metadiscourse. After identifying and categorizing the metadiscourse markers, a quantitative analysis was conducted to determine the frequency of occurrence of the different types of interactive and interactional metadiscourse and to find the differences between the two groups in this regard. The information gained by the quantitative analysis was crucial for marking the existence and distribution of the metadiscourse categories.

Finally, in order to see if the results gained in the frequency counts, done on the two groups of texts, differ statistically or not, the non-parametrical Mann-Whitney U Test was used. Since the corpus was rather small and the distributions of the markers were not normal, I decided to use this test. Since the contrasted texts did not have the same length, the raw figures were standardized to a common basis (markers per 1000 words), so that comparability would be possible. As Hyland (1998) notes, metadiscourse has clause-level or higher scope, therefore, standardizing the raw figures to a common basis is merely to compare the occurrence rather than the length of the metadiscourse markers.

IV. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

As the length of the opinion articles differed, the raw counts were standardized to a common basis of 1000 words to make the comparison possible. On a general level, the quantitative analysis revealed that the texts written by Americans used a higher number of interactive metadiscourse markers than did the texts by Iranians (texts by Americans, n=1100,

texts by Iranians, n=935). The raw and standardized figures for the interactive and interactional metadiscourse markers are summarized in table 2 and 3 respectively.

TABLE 2
THE TOTAL RAW NUMBERS OF INTERACTIVE METADISCOURSE MARKERS AND THEIR FREQUENCY PER 1000 WORDS

Op. Articles	Interactive Metadiscourse									No. of words
	Tran	Frame markers				End	Evi	Cod	Total	words
		Seq	Lab	Ann	Shif					
By Iranians	514	13	3	0	4	0	134	266	935	23849
Per 1000	21.55	0.54	0.12	0	0.16	0	5.61	11.15	39.20	1000
By American	552	27	1	0	5	1	81	433	1100	23772
Per 1000	23.22	1.13	0.04	0	0.21	0.04	3.40	18.21	42.27	1000
Total Raw	1066	40	4	0	9	1	215	699	2035	47621
Total per 1000	22.38	0.83	0.08	0	0.18	0.02	4.51	14.67	42.73	1000

Note. Tran=Transitions, Seq=Sequencing, Lab=Label stages, Shif=Shift Topic, End= Endophoric markers, Evi= Evidentials, Cod= Code Glosses.

TABLE 3
THE TOTAL RAW NUMBERS OF INTERACTIONAL METADISCOURSE MARKERS AND THEIR FREQUENCY PER 1000 WORDS

OP. Articles	Interactional Metadiscourse						
	Hed	Boo	Att	Self	Eng	Total	No. of words
By Iranians	214	129	91	4	78	549	23849
Per 1000	8.97	5.40	3.81	0.16	3.27	23.01	1000
By Americans	326	128	120	29	212	815	23772
Per 1000	13.71	5.38	5.04	1.21	8.91	34.28	1000
Total	540	257	211	32	290	1364	47621
Total Per 1000	11.33	5.39	4.43	0.67	6.08	28.64	1000

Note. Hed= Hedges, Boo=boosters, Att= Attitude markers, Self= Self-Mentions, Eng=Engagement Markers

Within interactive metadiscourse markers, transitions had the highest rank in both corpora with a total of 1066 markers (American texts, n=552, Iranian texts, n=514). In fact, transitions had the highest number in corpora among all the subcategories of metadiscourse.

Code glosses occupy the second rank in both groups of texts followed by evidentials as the third numerous markers. The remaining categories (i.e. frame markers including sequencing, label stages, announce goals and shift topics and endophoric markers) displayed a low frequency of occurrence in both sets of corpora. The markers which announce goals were in fact non-existent in the corpus. Also, there was only one endophoric marker in the American corpus.

Regarding the interactional metadiscourse, findings disclose that these markers are used by Americans a lot more than Iranians (texts by Americans, n=815, texts by Iranians, n=549). As it is clear from table 3, the differences in the frequency of use in the interactional metadiscourse markers are greater and more evident. As for the subcategories of interactional metadiscourse, hedges were the most frequently used category in both sets of data. Americans of course used a greater number of hedges in their articles compared to their Iranians colleagues (American texts, n=326, Iranian texts, n=214). Hedges are followed by engagement markers with 290 markers in both corpora (American texts, n=212, Iranian texts, 78). Boosters are quite numerous in the data as well with 257 markers showing very similar frequencies of occurrence (American texts, n=128, Iranian texts, n=129). Attitude markers occupy the fourth place in terms of frequency of occurrence with American writers using 120 markers and Iranians using 91 markers, giving a total of 211 markers in the corpus. Finally self-mentions display the lowest score within the interactional metadiscourse, with a total number of 32 markers of which 29 belong to American texts while only 4 belong to Iranian texts.

The findings regarding the total number of metadiscourse markers in the corpus also shed light on the frequency of occurrence of such markers. Table 4 on the next page also indicates the total raw figures of both interactive and interactional metadiscourse and their frequency in 1000 words.

As it is clear from table 4 the total number of (interactional and interactive) metadiscourse markers used in the opinion articles by Americans is higher than that of articles written by Iranians. Americans and Iranians used 1915 and 1484 metadiscourse markers respectively. On a general level, in the American corpus there was one metadiscourse marker every 12 words, while there was one marker, every 16 words in the Iranian corpus. Considering the whole corpus, there was one metadiscourse item every 14 words. The results of frequency counts in terms of percentage of markers in the corpus are summarized in a figure visually. Fig. 1 provides the evidence to claim that the two groups of texts enjoy different numbers of metadiscourse markers. American writers made use of higher numbers of both interactive and interactional metadiscourse. Hence, the sum of metadiscourse markers used by Americans was also higher. The ratio of markers to words, with 1 marker every 12 words also shows that the American corpus was denser in terms of frequency of metadiscourse occurrence.

TABLE 4
THE TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERACTIVE AND INTERACTIONAL METADICOURSE MARKERS, THEIR FREQUENCY PER 1000 WORDS,
AND THE RATIO OF METADISCOURSE MARKERS TO WORDS IN THE CORPUS.

Opinion Articles	No. of words	Total No. of Markers in corpus	Total No. of markers per 1000 words	No. of words/No. of markers
By Americans	23772	1915	80.55	12
By Iranians	23849	1484	62.22	16
Both	47621	3399	71.37	14

The opinion articles written by native speakers of English (Americans) are richer in metadiscourse use and enjoy a higher frequency of occurrence in both interactive and interactional, and as a result, in the total number of metadiscourse markers.
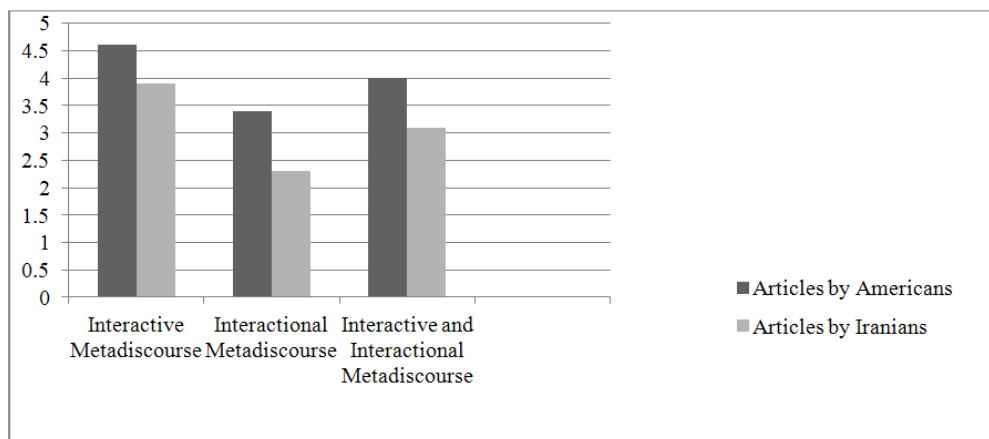

Figure 1. The Percentages of Interactional, Interactive and Sum of Both Interactive and Interactional
Metadiscourse Markers in Articles by Americans and Iranians

A. Statistical Differences between the Two Corpora

In order to find out whether or not these differences reached statistical significance across the two groups of articles, a Mann-Whitney U Test was conducted for each of the sub-categories of metadiscourse as well as for the total numbers of interactive markers, interactional markers and the sum of both of them. The results of this test are summarized in table 5 on the next page.

As implied in Table 5 the two groups of articles are significantly different in terms of some categories of metadiscourse. As mentioned earlier, the differences are significant at the 0.05 level (i.e. $P<0.05$).

As for the interactive metadiscourse, it is evident than the difference between American texts and Iranian texts is statistically significant with the alpha level of p=0.028. American texts are richer in terms of interactive metadiscourse frequency of use. With regard to the subcategories of interactive metadiscourse, code glosses display a statistically different frequency in the two sets of articles. With an alpha level of p=0.000, Americans' more use of code glosses compared to Iranians is meaningfully different. Although the number of evidential markers used in the American corpus was higher than that of Iranian corpus, the difference was not statistically significant. This is true about the remaining subcategories of interactive metadiscourse as well. Therefore, from a statistical point of view, the frequency of use of frame markers and endophoric markers did not differ from one set of data to another.

Regarding interactional metadiscourse, the findings were interesting as in most sub-categories the differences were statistically significant. As mentioned before, Americans used more interactional markers and this was proved statistically too. With an alpha level of p=0.000, the difference is evidently meaningful. Hedges which were the most frequent devices among interactional markers were used differently and with the value of p=0.027, it was proved that Americans certainly use more hedging markers than Iranians. Self-mentions were also used differently in the corpus with Americans tending to mention themselves a lot more often than Iranians. For self-mentions the obtained p value was 0.002. The last subcategory for which the obtained alpha level was lower than 0.05, was the engagement markers with a p=0.001. Engagement markers were used by American writers more frequently than their Iranian colleagues.

TABLE 5
THE RESULTS OF MANN-WHITNEY U TEST FOR THE METADISCOURSE CATEGORIES IN AMERICAN AND IRANIAN OPINION ARTICLES

Macro-Category of metadiscourse	Sub-category of Metadiscourse	Markers in Iranian Articles (1000)	Markers in American Articles (1000)	Std. Deviation	Mann-Whitney U Test Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Interactive metadiscourse	Transitions	21.55	23.22	9.74	0.734
	Sequencing	0.54	1.13	2.74	0.134
	Label Stages	0.12	0.04	0.49	0.313
	Transitions	21.55	23.22	9.74	0.734
	Sequencing	0.54	1.13	2.74	0.134
	Label Stages	0.12	0.04	0.49	0.313
	Announce goal	0	0	0.00	1.000
	Shift Topic	0.16	0.21	0.54	0.920
	Endophoric	0	0.04	0.17	0.317
	Evidentials	5.61	3.40	6.25	0.235
	Code Glosses	11.15	18.14	10.69	0.000*
	Total of Interactive	39.20	42.27	22.00	0.028*
Interactional Metadiscoure	Hedges	8.97	13.71	8.84	0.027*
	Boosters	5.40	5.38	4.34	0.652
	Attitude	3.81	5.04	3.32	0.173
	Self-mentions	0.16	1.21	1.41	0.002*
	Engagement	3.27	8.91	7.66	0.001*
	Total of Interactional	23.01	34.28	22.55	0.000*
Metadiscourse Markers	Total of Interactional and Interactive	62.22	80.55	38.72	0.002*

Note. * P<0.05

As for the total number of metadiscourse markers used in the corpus, the difference between the two corpora was significant. With a p=0.002, it was clear that American texts in general had more interactive and interactional metadiscourse devices than Iranian texts.

These findings lead to the answer of the first question this paper tries to answer about the extent to which opinion articles written by native speakers of English and Iranian L2 writers differ in terms of meta-discourse use. Texts written by native speakers of English (Americans) were statistically different from texts written by Iranians. American texts had more interactive and interactional metadiscourse markers and therefore more metadiscourse devices. Within the category of interactive metadiscourse, code glosses were used more by Americans while the other markers (transitions, frame markers, evidentials and endophoric markers) were used similarly by Americans and Iranians. Within the category of interactional markers, hedges, self-mentions, and engagement markers reached a statistical significance. They all were used more by Americans. Boosters and attitude markers were used similarly in the two corpora.

Generally, the findings of this study revealed that metadiscourse markers were present in the both sets of articles. The fact that interactional metadiscourse was used more frequently than interactive devices can be explained by taking the genre of the texts studied in this paper in to consideration. Opinion articles are written in order to discuss a current issue in the society and to attempt to persuade the reader of the stance taken by the writer toward the issue. To achieve this goal, the writer may invest more on improving the relationship between himself or herself and the reader through interactional devices in the text. Interactional metadiscourse tends to be numerous in a more conversational, informal, personal style of writing (Crismore et al., 1993, p. 64). Opinion articles, especially the ones written by Americans, enjoy this style of writing and therefore are richer in interactional metadiscourse.

B. Interactive Metadiscourse

Within the category of interactive metadiscourse, the only sub-category which was used differently by American and Iranian writers was code glosses. As seen in table 2, transitions were used almost the same in the two sets of texts. They are also the most numerous markers in the corpus. This can be interpreted as the writers' attempt to guide the readers in the intended direction and thus, achieve their anticipated persuasive goal. As Hyland (2004, p. 140) notes, transitions are devices that "represent writers' attempts to ensure readers are able to correctly recover their intentions".

Despite the fact that there was no statistical significance in the use of frame markers, a detailed look in the figures presented in table 2 reveals interesting information. Among the subcategories of frame markers, sequencing markers have the highest frequency. However, there are not as many sequencers in opinion articles as one can find in some other genres, like research articles. This finding is in line with Hempel and Degand's (2008) study of sequencers in different genres in which they point out that journalese has a freer style of writing and therefore has fewer sequencing markers than academic texts but has more markers than fiction. The markers in the both corpora that label the stages of the text or signal a shift in the topic are virtually non-existent. This scarcity of these frame markers can be explained by considering the length of an opinion article. Normally opinion articles are not longer than 2000 words. As Dafouze (2008, p. 107), observes "the prospective and retrospective functions of frame markers are not necessary in such a short length genre". Quite interestingly, there were no markers in either of the corpora for announcing the goals of the text explicitly. This can, too, be due to the short length of opinion articles.

Another non-existent sub-category in the corpus was the endophoric markers. There was none in the Iranian corpus while there was only one item in the American corpus. This finding is not totally unexpected since the role such

markers play is to refer to the other parts of the text. Thus, it is natural not to find many such markers in opinion articles considering their limitation in terms of length.

Regarding evidentials, findings of this study indicate that Iranians made use of them slightly more than Americans. Although this difference in the use did not reach statistical significance, it is curious to note that evidentials, as devices that contribute to a persuasive goal by granting credibility to the writers' propositions and arguments, are present in the both corpora. As these markers "distinguish who is responsible for a position" (Hyland, 2005, p. 51), writers of opinion columns may use them to strengthen their argument or build their arguments by comparing other people's ideas with their own or by supporting their arguments by presenting similar ideas from more authoritative figures. Thus, the presence of evidentials contributes to the overall persuasive power of the text.

Code glosses are the second frequent markers after transitions in the whole corpus. Statistically, Iranians and Americans used them differently with Americans using them almost as twice as Iranians. This finding coincides with Dafouze's (2008), study on opinion articles by British and Spanish people in which she observes that opinion columnists are aware of the wide audience they address and therefore include some explicit reading cues and more exemplifications. However, this result is contrary to what Le (2004) expected from journalistic texts. Le (2004) studied a corpus of editorials (indeed a text type very close to opinion articles), and she stated that the content of editorials can be exposed with less complexity and to a wider audience, therefore not many code glosses are needed in this type of texts (p. 690). However, a "large and not specialized audience" might be exactly why opinion articles were replete with code glosses.

With regard to the total number of interactive metadiscourse markers, a significant difference was observed between the Iranian and American texts too. Americans columnists used more interactive devices compared to their Iranian colleagues. According to Hempel and Degand, a characteristic of a good writer is "a certain degree of knowledge of what to make explicit in his/her text and what to take for granted, in order to avoid incomprehension or even wrong interpretation of what he/she intended to express" (2008, p. 678). One can conclude that interactive metadiscourse does exactly that. Generally, the role interactive metadiscourse devices play in the text is to explicitly lead the reader through the text. A wider use of such markers, then, will eventually make the text more readable. It is possible that the writer-responsible quality of English language and the fact that American writers are brought up in an educational system that dictates this through all types of texts, are reasons for the more frequent use of interactive devices in the opinion articles written by Americans. In contrast, Iranians who write in English, despite having good knowledge of the language might not be aware of this fact about English and unconsciously bring their own cultural norms in writing of texts in English instead of adapting themselves to the expectations readers of such texts have of writers.

C. Interactional Metadiscourse

Within the category of interactional metadiscourse, hedges, self-mentions and engagement markers were used differently across the two corpora. Boosters and attitude markers did not differ in terms of frequency of occurrence in the two sets of articles.

Hedges, among interactional metadiscourse, were the most frequent markers in the both corpora. Many studies have found similar results regarding the frequency of hedges among interactive resources in various genres such as research articles (Hyland, 1998, 2004; Hyland and Tse, 2004; Abdi, 2002, 2012; Blogojevic, 2004), advertisement (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001), and journalistic texts (Dafouz, 2003, 2008; Noorian and Biria, 2010; Abdollahzade, 2007; Yazdani, Sharifi and Elyasi, 2014).

As hedges are used to show the writer's uncertainty or lack of commitment toward the truth of the content of the text, it is possible that they might also indicate to the reader that the writer is polite toward them by being not too assertive and by respecting the probable opposing opinions. Holmes (1982) suggested that hedging is used as a signal for politeness and consideration for others (as cited in Crismore et al., 1993, p. 65). The findings of this study indicate that hedges were used more frequently in texts written by Americans. This might be because of American columnists' greater concern about their audience's ideas. Also, as Hyland (2005) states, hedges play a pivotal role in creating rapport between authors and their respective audience.

From another point of view, hedges can "weaken the expression" (Hyland, 2005, p. 84), and therefore they can be viewed as rather a negative point in an argument than a constructive one to strengthen it. This might be one reason why Iranian journalists did not use hedges in their texts as frequently as Americans. Iranian opinion columnists probably do not view *perhapses* and *maybes* as constructive to their persuasive goals.

Boosters stood out as the second most frequent markers among the interactional devices in the Iranian corpus after hedges, while they took the third place in the American corpus after hedges and engagement markers. Although the difference between the two sets of text was not significant in this regard, their high frequency of occurrence, especially in the Iranian texts is important. As Hyland (1999), states "boosters emphasize certainty and construct rapport by making involvement with the topic and solidarity with an audience, taking a joint position against other voices" (as cited in Hyland, 2005, p. 53). Boosters are "an intrinsic characteristic of opinion columns, since readers expect to find the writer's opinion overtly stated" (Dafouz, 2008, p. 108). Considering all this, and the fact that boosters were the second frequent markers among interactional devices in the Iranian texts, one might conclude that Iranian authors were perhaps using more boosters to show their certainty and therefore render a confident, determined and strong-minded

ethos. Iranians probably see heavy use of boosters productive in achieving persuasion. This finding is also in line with Noorian and Biria's (2010) finding about boosters.

The two texts did not display any significant difference in the use of attitude markers. Despite this, Americans used slightly more markers of attitude in their articles compared to Iranians.

Self-mentions as the fourth studied markers were used very much differently in the two corpora. Americans used a lot more self-mention markers than Iranians. According to Hyland (2005, p. 53), "the presence or the absence of explicit author presence is generally a conscious choice by writers to adopt a particular stance in relation to their argument, their community and their readers". Therefore, if a writer chooses not to explicitly refer to him or herself, it could mean that he/she does not prefer a personal rhetorical style and would not like to *mingle* too much in the text with the audience. This, I think, is a distancing strategy Iranian writers tend to use in their texts. Iranian columnists' invisibility in their texts might have another reason too. In Iranian educational system, students are taught not to mention themselves too many times in a formal style of writing, because it might be considered as an indication of being too arrogant or self-praising. As a result, writers try to shun using such markers in order not to be perceived as having a bad character and subsequently present a modest ethos to the readers. However this underuse of self-mentions can lead to a less interactional text in the eyes of readers with a different cultural background.

Engagement markers were the last outstanding display of significant difference between the two sets of texts within the interactional metadiscourse. American authors used a lot more engagement markers in their articles in comparison to Iranian writers. Engagement markers are devices to address the readers directly to focus their attention or include them as discourse participants (Hyland, 2005). These devices serve the purpose of constructing and maintaining the writer-reader relationship to a great extent. According to Hyland, engagement markers are used with the goals of "acknowledging the need to adequately meet readers' expectations of inclusion" and "pulling the audience into the discourse at critical points, predicting possible objections and guiding them to particular interpretations" (2005, p. 54). The first goal seems to be in line with the responsibility of the writers to respect their readers; however, the writers might follow a double-purpose by acting on the second goal: by pulling the readers into the discourse and including them explicitly, they can show respect to their readers and serve to make an interactional relationship while they can also manipulate the readers in taking the exact direction set out by the writer in interpreting the propositional material. This manipulation is not necessarily negative, since it is the aim of the writer of a persuasive text to convince the reader of his/her own opinions. Iranian writers' underuse of such markers then can be explained by drawing on the fact that their style of writing does not allow for a strong writer-reader interaction and that they do not consider written texts a type of discourse appropriate for making explicit and involving relations with their audience.

American texts had more interactional metadiscourse, in general, than Iranian texts. This difference was statistically significant and that goes back to American authors' interactional style of writing. This finding coincides with Noorian and Biria's (2010) results. They found a similar pattern in the use of interactional metadiscourse in their comparison of opinion articles written by American and Iranian authors.

D. Persuasion and the Presence of Metadiscourse Devices in Opinion Articles

Dafouz (2003) believes that all metadiscourse categories ultimately fulfill a persuasive aim. Each category, though, relies on a different strategy to improve the text's persuasiveness. Interactive metadiscourse, explicitly leads the reader in the surface of the text and makes the reader follow a pre-determined frame in a step by step way. Interactional metadiscourse, on the other hand, explicitly follow the aim of persuasion by giving the writer the opportunity of stating his/her opinion about the content material, involving the reader in this process and attempting to build solidarity with him/ her. When the reader feels connected to the writer in the text, reading the text becomes more like a dialog than a one-way communication. Therefore both interactive and interactional metadiscourse have persuasive powers, however in case of interactive metadiscourse, the devices are more linguistically limited while in case of interactional metadiscourse the range of expressions is wider and the writer has a broader choice (Dafouz, 2003).

An example of using metadiscourse effectively to achieve persuasion is the artful combination of hedges and boosters. Experienced writers of opinion columns make use of this strategy very often. The skillful opinion columnists combine these weakening and strengthening expressions to make their texts persuasive by forming it in a way that is neither too assertive nor too vague (Dafouz, 2003). The following extracts which show this strategy are taken from the corpus (hedges are underlined and boosters are double-underlined):

(1) American Text Article 9 *"How Putin lost his head in Crimea"*

Certainly, Putin does not fear President Obama. (Almost no one does.) But it would be good if he did.

Attitude markers explicitly express how the writer feels toward the content material of the text and thus have a great role in leading the readers to an agreement with the writer on that matter. The following examples from the American and Iranian corpora show this (attitude markers are underlined):

(1) American Text Article 14 *"Israel's fight for its very existence"*

The Israelis will degrade Hamas' military capabilities — its rocket-launching sites and its tunnels — and end for a time its ability to attack Israel. Every rocket, no matter how primitive and wobbly, is an act of war.

(2) Iranian Text Article 24 *"Truth prevails, even if the whistleblower is silenced"*

It's laughable that the United States regularly quashes, detains and condemns the whistleblowers that reveal the furtive activities of its horrendous intelligence apparatus, but never investigates the illegal restrictions imposed on the people's freedom.

In these examples, the reader can easily grasp the writer's stance toward the content material and may decide to agree with him/her. Attitude markers are strengthening expressions alongside booster (Dafouze, 2008), and a competent writer can dexterously exploit these and hedges to create his/her intended effect.

Similar to the function of attitude markers, self-mentions serve a persuasive goal as well. Note the following examples taken from the corpus (the self-mention markers are underlined):

(1) American Text   Article 29 "*Internationally, Obama must be feared as well as admired*"

Tell me something: What do you think would happen if the United States concludes that Iran has been cheating and delaying and is about to pop a fully functional nuclear weapons program? Would President Obama respond by joining Israel to bomb the Iranian nuclear facilities to smithereens, or would he stall and equivocate? My bet is the latter and also, just to double down, what I bet the Iranians are betting. They have taken the measure of Obama. He lacks menace.

(2) Iranian Text Article *26 "Unrealistic demands could scupper nuclear deal"*

As I observed while covering the discussions in the Austrian capital for the Tehran Times, diplomats from both sides were seriously engaged in the talks and seemed determined to find a way to settle the issue.

As it can be seen from these extracts, the American author has created a more personal and engaging style by explicitly writing about his own ideas. He used self-mentions three times in a paragraph and that, I believe, is a purposeful choice to make the readers concur with him.

Finally, engagement markers serve a persuasive goal by obviously engaging the readers in the discussion, creating a dialogue and meeting his/her expectations of being involved in the communication taking place through the text. Consider the examples below; taken from the corpus, (engagement markers are underlined):

(1) American Text Article 3 *"How big a nuclear arsenal do we really need?"*

Instead of blindly moving ahead with building submarines and other expensive nuclear paraphernalia, let's determine our actual needs. Let's fully examine whether modifying existing submarine designs might suffice. And while we're at it, let's talk about a range of other expensive nuclear weaponry.

(2) Iranian Text Article 5 *"Gaza genocide and Arab fratricide"*

Let's not mince words. Israelis are committing genocide in Gaza. But the United Nations is loath to use the "G" word and is using the "C" (condemn) word instead. Why? Money talks.

In both examples, the writer has predicted a role for the reader as an active participant in the process of making meaning. As for the American text, even the title of this opinion article is a rhetorical question. Rhetorical questions are devices for directly address the reader. They are either answered in the text by the writer or are used as steering devices to help the reader toward getting at an intended answer. Hence, engagement markers, especially rhetorical questions and imperatives, are efficient in persuading the reader.

In the light of the above, now I can turn to the second question of this study about the pragmatic role of metadiscoure markers in construction of persuasion. I believe, authors of opinion articles, especially gain from using metadiscourse devices since such devices pave the way for a smoother, less aggressive and more collaborative style of persuasion. While interactive markers help the writer achieve his/her persuasive goals more implicitly through textual elements, the interactional devices serve the same goal more explicitly by means of creating solidarity with the readers, responding to the reader's expectation of involvement and giving him/her the benefit of overtly stated opinions.

V. CONCLUSION, PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE STUDIES

This study was conducted with the aim of comparing the opinion articles produced by native speakers of English and EFL Iranian authors with regard to the metadiscourse devices used in them. The results of this study revealed that opinion articles enjoy a high frequency and a wide variety of metadiscourse markers. With regard to the similarities between the two corpora, both sets of texts had more interactional than interactive markers. Transition markers in the both groups had the highest frequency of occurrence among all the metadiscourse subcategories. However, within the interactional metadiscourse hedges had the highest frequency of occurrence in both groups. Also, in both groups the markers for announcing the goals of writing the text were non-existent. Within interactive metadiscourse, both Iranian and American writers used almost the same numbers of transitions, frame markers, endophoric markers, and evidentials. Within the interactional metadiscourse, boosters and attitude markers had almost the same frequency of occurrence in both sets of texts.

Concerning differences, the American corpus has more interactive, interactional and total number of metadiscourse markers. Regarding interactive metadiscourse, more similarities were noted than differences. This could suggest that Iranian EFL writers were as competent in using such devices as Americans. However, the subcategory of code glosses is worthy of note since the American writers made use of a greater number of such markers. This difference might be due to the fact that English is a writer responsible language (Hinds, 1987). Iranians' cultural background may hinder them from paying attention to this fact. Therefore, they do not recognize the need to provide the readers with much explanatory or additional information. Regarding the interactional metadiscourse, the results revealed that Americans

used a higher number of hedges, self-mentions and engagement markers in their articles. This might be because of American columnists' more relaxed, personal and less formal style of writing.

With regard to persuasive powers of metadiscourse, the results revealed that metadiscourse markers generally have this function in texts. However, each category of metadiscourse is distinguished in the way it serves this goal. Interactive metadiscourse implicitly do this through making the texts more reader-friendly while interactional metadiscourse do this by drawing on explicit statements of the writer's attitudes and addressing the reader directly.

Transferring the above-mentioned findings to pedagogical grounds, I believe they can be used in several areas. In developing material for EFL classes, the experts can select texts with high frequency of metadiscourse so that the learners will be more exposed to the correct use of such devices. Metadiscourse can also be presented as separate items to be learned in text books. This can help raise students' awareness and as a result they will probably be better readers and writers.

The findings of the study might have been influenced by a number of limitations. Since this study was done on a corpus of opinion articles, future research should extend the study of metadiscourse to other genres for example advertisements, business letters or PhD dissertations and also other sub-genres of journalistic texts. The size of the corpus can be of importance in interpreting the results as well. Studying a larger corpus can lead to more reliable findings because it may include a greater number of representative texts of the genre under study and the researcher can have a sounder judgment about the frequency of occurrence of metadiscourse devices, especially some certain metadiscourse elements which are rare and will have a frequency of occurrence approaching zero in small-sized corpora.

APPENDIX. LIST OF SELECTED OPINION ARTICLES

A. Articles Taken from Iranian Sources

1. ISIL Game in Kobani, Anbar; 18 Oct 2014, *Iran Daily*
2. Fighting ISIL: A Pretext for Shaping New Middle East; 06 Oct 2014, *Iran Daily*
3. Reasons Behind Anti-ISIL Coalition; 17 Sep 2014, *Iran Daily*
4. US Should Decide!; 19 Sep 2014, *Iran Daily*
5. Gaza Genocide and Arab Fratricide; 01 Aug 2014, *Press TV Website*
6. Gaza Massacre Israel Rerun of Nazi Genocide; 03 Aug 2014, *Press TV Website*
7. America's 'Creative' Means for Extortion; 11 Jul 2014, *Press TV Website*
8. Has America Learned Anything From Negotiating With Iran? ; 10 Jul 2014, *Press TV Website*
9. Time for FATF to Revise Policies Towards Iran; 25 Jun 2014, *Press TV Website*
10. Russia Set to Nix NATO Expansion; 15 May2013, *Tehran Times*
11. Madness of Terrorism Destroying the Legacy of Humanity; 17 Jun 2014, *Tehran Times*
12. Iran Is Committed to a Peaceful Nuclear Program; 14 Jun 2014, *Tehran Times*
13. Sanctions Exemplify Hypocrisy in West's Claim about Being Standard-bearer of Human Rights; 23 Jun 2014, *Tehran Times*
14. Iran, Orientalism and Western Illusions About Syria; 06 Apr 2014, *Tehran Times*
15. Israel's Great Defeat in Gaza; 09 Aug 2014, *Tehran Times*
16. Key Factors Driving Iraq's ISIL Crisis; 16 Jul 2014, *Tehran Times*
17. In Memoriam of the Children of Gaza; 05 Aug 2014, *Tehran Times*
18. The September 11 and the Global Security; 11 Sept 2014, *Tehran Times*
19. When the Lawless Superpower Irks its Allies; 15 Nov 2013, *Tehran Times*
20. The Oil Angle of the Nuclear Deal; 30 Nov 2013, *Tehran Times*
21. Glaring Western Hypocrisy on the Notion of Human Rights; 24 Dec 2013, *Tehran Times*
22. Former Ambassador Acknowledges Israel's State-sponsored Terrorism; 06 Jan 2014, *Tehran Times*
23. Who Appointed the U.S. to Be the World's Policeman?; 10 Jan 2014, *Tehran Times*
24. Truth Prevails, Even if the Whistleblower Is Silenced; 15 Jan 2014, *Tehran Times*
25. Iran Calls for End to Foreign Support for Extremist Groups in Syria; 17 Feb 2014, *Tehran Times*
26. Unrealistic Demands Could Scupper Nuclear Deal; 23 Jun, 2014, *Tehran Times*
27. The Super Criminal of the Century; 22 Jul 2014, *Tehran Times*
28. Israeli Strike on Gaza: Recurrence of a Costly Mistake; 12 Jul 2014, *Tehran Times*
29. Dimona: Israel's Achilles Heel; 23 Jul 2014, *Tehran Times*
30. Fighting ISIS, NATO, and Syria; 06 Oct 2014, *Tehran Times*

B. Articles Taken from American Sources

31. Iran Nuclear Solution More Important Than Deadline; 24 Oct 2014, *CNN*
32. America's Fight Against Islamic State: It's a Stalemate; 24 Oct 2014, *Los Angeles Times*
33. How Big a Nuclear Arsenal Do We Really Need?; 16 Oct 2014, *Los Angeles Times*
34. Lessons From the Rise of ISIS; 18 Jun 2014, *New York Daily News*
35. A Syria Strategy that Might Work; 25 Sep 2014, *New York Daily News*
36. Obama Promises, Putin Delivers; 22 May 2014, *New York Daily News*

37. Obama's Policy of Retreat; 29 May 2014, *New York Daily News*
38. Try Realism in the Middle East; 02 Sep 2014, *New York Daily News*
39. How Putin Lost his Head in Crimea; 03 Mar 2014, *New York Daily News*
40. The Impotence of Obama's 'Options'; 017 Feb 2014, *New York Daily News*
41. Iran and Israel, Haunted by History; 25 Nov 2013, *New York Daily News*
42. Hamas' Outrageous Holocaust Denial; 28 Apr 2014, *New York Daily News*
43. The Clearest Sign of Bias: Omitting Hamas' Goal; 06 Aug 2014, *New York Daily News*
44. Israel's Fight for its Very Existence; 21 Jul 2014, *New York Daily News*
45. Israel, Held to an Impossible Standard; 18 Aug 2014, *New York Daily News*
46. The Evil of ISIS: There is no 'Why'; 25 Aug 2014, *New York Daily News*
47. Perfect Moral Clarity in Gaza; 17 Jul 2014, *New York Daily News*
48. Don't Undermine the Iran Deal; 17 Jan 2014, *New York Times*
49. Obama Can't Go It Alone in Syria; 02 May 2013, *New York Times*
50 Israel and a Hostile World; 08 Oct 2014, *New York Times*
51. Gaza, Victim of History; 26 Aug 2014, *New York Times*
52. The Price of Pulling Back From the World; 09 Feb 2014, *New York Times*
53. Keep Negotiating on Iran's Nukes; 16 Jul 2014, *New York Times*
54. How Hamas Beat Israel in Gaza; 10 Aug 2014, *New York Times*
55. Another Step toward Nuclear Sanity in Iran; 13 Jan 2014, *New York Times*
56. Obama's Losing Bet on Iran; 15 Jan 2014, *New York Times*
57. Can Obama Be stopped or Will Iran Go Nuclear? ; 22 Oct 2014, *Washington Post*
58. We are not Going to Defeat the Islamic State This Way; 21 Oct 2014, *Washington Post*
59. Internationally, Obama Must Be Feared as Well as Admired; 13 Oct 2014, *Washington Post*
60. Another Awkward Obama-Netanyahu Meeting; 01 Oct 2014, *Washington Post*

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