

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide a brief overview of the research topic. To accomplish this aim, the chapter initially tries to provide the context of the study and the statement of the problem. Elaborating on the aims of the study, the chapter then presents the research questions which are followed by significance of the study.

#### **Research Background**

Based on the notion that different speech communities have different ways of organizing ideas in writing reflecting their cultural thought patterns, Contrastive Rhetoric Theory argues that these differences may cause failure of communication for language learners (Kachru, 1995). Of course, the interrelationship between language and culture is not a new notion and it can be traced down to the ideas put forward by Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf.

Dissatisfied with the work of earlier linguists who tended to impose on Native American Languages grammatical descriptions based on the categories suitable for their own Indo-European language, Boas (1858-1942) argued that a linguist's task is to discover for each language under study its own particular grammatical structures, developing descriptive categories appropriate to it (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996).

Boas's main contribution to the idea of connection between language and culture was the idea that the way languages classify the world is arbitrary, and each language has its own way of building up vocabulary that divides the world and establishes categories of experience.

Later on Boas's students namely Edward Sapir (1881-1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941) made an important contribution not only to American Linguistics but to the study of language in general (Duranti, 1997). Their studies on American Indian Languages and the relationship between language, thought and culture resulted in a hypothesis named Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis which later on formed the "theoretical foundation for Contrastive Rhetoric" (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p. 15).

The hypothesis consists of two interrelated parts: Linguistic Relativity claiming that languages which differ radically in their vocabulary and structure express different cultural meanings, and Linguistic determinism which, in its strong version, assumes that patterns of thought and perceptions of reality are determined by one's native language. (Johnson & Johnson, 1999)

According to this hypothesis "one's native language influences and controls thought consequently barring second language acquisition" (Connor, 1999, p. 29). In other words, "the way in which we conceptualize the world depends on the particular language we speak" (Finch, 2005, p. 229).

Although the strong version of the hypothesis, the idea that language controls both thought and perception, has been questioned, the weak version of it has recently gained plausibility as the result of the research conducted by Hunt and Agnoli (1991). They argue that in the process of translation there is a loss involved. That is, "an utterance which is completely natural in one language may be completely unmanageable in another. This supports the weaker version of the Whorfian hypothesis "that language influences thought" (Connor, 1999, p. 29).

Being influenced by the hypothesis, the American applied linguist, Robert Kaplan (1966) initiated a study aiming to prove that language and writing are both cultural

phenomena. He studied the expository essays of some ESL students to find out their preferred rhetorical patterns. Based on the results of the study, he graphically classified the emergent patterns as linear, parallel, indirect and digressive. Kaplan elaborated that “each language and each culture has a paragraph order unique to itself, and that part of the learning of a particular language is the mastering of its logical system.” (1966, p. 20). He coined the phrase “contrastive rhetoric” to describe the differences he had seen, and he began to encourage instructors to use this research in their classroom (Purves, 1988).

This study, in fact, helped Contrastive Rhetoric to establish itself as a new field of study in the 1960s aiming to respond “to the needs of American colleges and universities facing an increased number of international and immigrant students who needed to acquire the discourse conventions of English academic writing” (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p. 11).

Some researchers, such as Zamal (1997), Leki, (1997), Matsuda (1997), Mohan and Au-Yeung (1985), and Silva (1991), however, criticized the early findings of contrastive rhetoric on the grounds that it is deterministic and prescriptive in approach. Matsuda for example, emphasized that there are many factors besides the writer’s own native culture that may influence the rhetorical structures of a text. It is also argued that the development of a paragraph may vary from writer to writer within the same culture, the idea which is not apparently compatible with the findings of Kaplan (Braddock, 1974).

Despite these criticisms, many contrastive rhetoricians such as Fakhri (2004), Hinds (1987), Hirose (2003), Indrasutra (1988), McCagg (1996), and Purves (1986) presented more detailed descriptions of the rhetorical patterns in different languages based on their empirical studies. The results of a study conducted by Fakhri (2004), for example, supported Kaplan’s claim about the commonality of parallelism in semitic languages.

Initial cross-cultural studies of contrastive rhetoric covered the expository essays of ESL students trying to identify writing problems caused mainly by their L1 rhetorical strategies. Later on, with the further expansion of the field, not only ESL essays, but also other modes of writing such as research reports, abstracts, journal articles, business letters and proposals were studied (Connor, 1999). A cross-cultural analysis of job applications conducted by Connor, Davis and De Rycker in 1995 is an example of this kind of study.

The inclusion of generic specific studies in contrastive rhetoric, as a direct result of genre studies, resulted in studying new types of writing that had not been studied before. Thus, studying the newspaper as a kind of professional genre established itself as a new inquiry in contrastive rhetoric studies.

In line with this trend, a number of studies focused on newspaper editorials. Dantas-Whitney (1989) conducted a textual comparison of the editorials published in Brazilian, Portuguese and English. Trikkonen-Condit and Lieflander-Koistinen (1989) studied editorials in Finnish, English and German to compare the placement of the main claim. Bolivar (1994) conducted a macro-structure analysis of 23 editorials culled from *The Guardian*. A similar study was conducted in Persian editorials by Riazi and Assar in 2001 and Ansary (2004). They collected their sample of 60 editorials written in Farsi from 6 Persian newspapers. The aim of the study was to find out if the editorials shared the same macro-structures. Ansary (2004) compared English newspaper editorials in three different contexts namely The Washington Post, The Pakistan Today and The Iran Daily. The study focused on the generic structures and cohesive devices of the editorials. Business editorials were studied by Katajamak and Koskela (2006).

Thus, the above-mentioned description of the rhetorical studies show that most initial studies on contrastive rhetoric focused on the studying of ESL essays. Later on and

in line with studies in genre, the field witnessed a few studies on the other forms of writing such as newspaper editorials. However, most of these studies focused solely on the macro structures of the editorials, and few studies have attempted in a rigorous way to conduct a comparative study across Persian and English editorials in terms of both their schematic structures and persuasive strategies.

We believe that conducting a study focusing on both the schematic structures and the persuasive and argumentative strategies of editorials would be of importance. Further clarification of schematic structures of editorials and finding the probable consistency or inconsistency between the findings of the present research with those of previous ones is of value in that “a pre-knowledge of formal and content schemata can facilitate not only the learning of generic conventions and rhetorical action but also the linguistic resources to realize them” (Bhatia, 1993, p. 147).

Furthermore, as an example of persuasive and argumentative writing, editorials represent a rich source of strategies for persuasion and argumentation in a particular language; some of them might be stemming from the social norms and values that are specific to a certain culture. Thus, besides enhancing our cross-cultural understanding, exploring and comparing these strategies across the two languages would provide us with valuable and interesting pedagogical implications on teaching these kinds of texts.

### **Context of the Study**

As the present study intends to compare the editorials culled from the two leading newspapers namely *Tehran Times*, an Iranian newspaper and *The New York Times*, an American one, it is of importance to present a brief and general introduction to these newspapers.

*Tehran Times* is considered Iran's first English daily newspaper. According to the official site of the newspaper ([http://www.tehrantimes.com/Index\\_info.asp?I=A](http://www.tehrantimes.com/Index_info.asp?I=A)):

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, there was a need for an international media outlet to export the ideas of the revolution.... The daily's general policy was based on the statement: 'Tehran Times is not the newspaper of the government; it must be a loud voice of the Islamic Revolution and the loudspeaker of the oppressed people of the world.'

In line with its general policy, Tehran Times besides covering domestic, political, social, foreign, and sports news and commentaries, contains special reports on cultural and religious issues, Islamic celebrations and religious occasions. Moreover, to make the content more interesting and colorful, it usually contains additional reports elaborating on Iran's tourist attractions, women's issues, children's issues, and the Internet.

As a reliable source of information and news on the country's current events, Tehran Times is used by hundreds of foreign media outlets and envoys from different countries based in Tehran.

The paper also claims to have an educational function. It is regarded as a type of standard English by the students studying English as a foreign language. The official site of this newspaper is said to be the most frequently visited website with over 10,000 visitors each day.

On Monday 30th of June 2008, an informal interview was conducted with the head of Tehran Times' editorial section and some editorial writers in the main office of the newspaper located in Ostad Nejatollahi Street at Bimeh Alley, Tehran.

Based on the comments expressed by the head of the editorial department, Tehran Times is affiliated to the Islamic Propagation Organization that is run under the supervision of the leader, Ayatollah Khamene-e. The views expressed through the newspaper do not necessarily reflect the views of the government. The main aims of the newspaper are:

- Valuing international laws
- Valuing humanity
- Acting as the voice of the oppressed people of the world

Thus, the head of the editorial section holds that anyone who cares about the above-mentioned tenets may have his or her voice in the newspaper editorials. Perhaps it is exactly for this very reason that there are some American and English writers whose writings sometimes appear in Tehran Times editorials.

There are 8 in-house editorial writers in the editorial department. Most of them write the editorials in Persian; these editorials are then translated into English by 6 translators who have bachelor degrees in Teaching English or English Literature. The translated editorials are then edited by the main columnist. Most of the editorial writers have degrees in fields unrelated to English at all. For example, a few of the editorial writers have degrees in Political Science. The average age of the writers is 43.

The main columnist of the newspaper is an Islamic political activist who has spent 37 years in the USA. Besides writing editorials, he has the responsibility of editing all editorials before publication.

The other editorial writer is a 55 year - old columnist who has worked for many years in Lebanon and Syria as the manager of the Iranian news agency. He writes mostly in Arabic and Persian. The English version of his editorials covering the issues related to the Arabs and Middle East countries appear much more frequently in Tehran Times than the other writers'. Still another editorial writer aged 43 has a first degree in English and has been working in Tehran Times for 13 years. He writes his editorials in English that are then edited by the main columnist as mentioned above. The general manager and the head of the editorial section of the newspaper also write editorials on political issues originally in Persian that are then translated into English.

The other newspaper, *The New York Times*, is a daily newspaper published in New York City and distributed internationally. It is owned by The New York Times Company, which publishes 15 other newspapers, including the *International Herald Tribune* and *The Boston Globe*. It is the largest metropolitan newspaper in the United States. It is often regarded as a national newspaper of record, meaning that it is frequently relied upon as the authoritative reference for modern events.

Founded in 1851, the newspaper has won 98 Pulitzer Prizes, more than any other newspaper. The newspaper's title, like other similarly-named publications, is often abbreviated to *The Times*. Its motto, always printed in the upper left-hand corner of the front page, reads: "All the news that's fit to print."

In 1971, the *Times* made history by printing the *Pentagon Papers*, a top-secret assessment of American involvement in Vietnam. The U.S. Supreme Court supported the newspaper's right to publish the documents. Known as the "Gray Lady" for its sober tone,



the *Times* is printed at plants across America, giving it a national circulation. The official site of The New York Times (<http://www.nytc.com/press/ethics.html#intro>) comments on the purpose of the newspaper as:

The Core Purpose of The New York Times Company is to enhance society by creating, collecting and distributing high-quality news, information and entertainment. The central place of its news and editorial units in fulfilling that promise is underscored by the No. 1 statement in company's Core Values: Content of the highest quality and integrity which is the basis for its reputation and the means by which it fulfills the public trust and its customers' expectations.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Most languages differ in phonological, morphological and grammatical features. Based on this fact, for many years, language educators focused on these issues hoping that the students would be able to use language effectively if they are armed with these features. Teachers "spent so much time and effort on syntactic phenomena within individual sentences, while overlooking the fundamental questions of text strategy and information flow" (Enkvist, 1997, p. 199).

Later on it was emphasized by contrastive rhetoric "that discourse is not simply a collection of correct syntactic structures, but rather represents a complex multifacial, multidimensional set" (Kaplan, 2001, p. ix). It was further found out that rhetorical patterns and strategies, as a sub-component of this complex set, are socially constructed and transmitted. As an essential part of language, these rhetorical structures and strategies might differ between languages and cultures.

In particular, one of the factors, among the others, which indicates this complex nature of discourse, is the manner in which ideas are presented and organized in a piece of text. In other words, different languages may use different conventions for creating a written text. Getting general knowledge of these written conventions in each language will provide a framework for analyzing the text arrangement. These conventions at the same time will reveal the cultural preferences in organization of thought.

Inappropriate use of these conventions, however, is sometimes the source of problems in creating a written text. The rich inventory of writing conventions and “discourse elements that EFL learners bring with them from their first language and from their prior education will color their writing” (Kaplan, 2001, p. xv).

Of course, as long as EFL students are within the cultural framework of their audience, there would be no problems in understanding the written text by the audience, but “when the cultural frame, as well as the language structure, differs between the writer and the audience, the interaction between reader and text and the conceptualization of the notions conveyed, may be skewed” (Bliss, 2001, pp. 15-16).

The use of these L1 writing conventions in a different language results in a written text full of discrete bits of information that seem disconnected and even unrelated to the topic in the eyes of a native speaker (Bliss, 2001). EFL writers, as a result, find their written work either not understood or not accepted.

Thus, how writers in two different languages achieve their social purposes, persuasion in the case of this present study, and how they manipulate the topics and their readers’ understanding by using different linguistic devices are issues that need to be explored. Elaborating on the contrasting writing patterns between different languages, Connor (1999) comments:

The awareness of differences in reader expectations about how texts are organized, how explicitly a request is made, and so on, is crucial for a non-native writer. Lack of awareness of such cross-cultural differences in text characteristics and reader expectations is believed to be the main cause preventing non-native writers' success in the international communities.

(p.169)

### **Objectives of the Study**

The aim of this study is to investigate the writing strategies that Persian and English newspaper editorials tend to employ. More specifically, the study will examine editorials of The New York Times and Tehran Times. The study will initially examine the schematic superstructures of the editorials across the two languages. The term “schematic superstructures” in this study refers to conventional frames and schemata that are employed in organizing the content.

The study also sets out to explore the kinds of rhetorical structures each editorial has resorted to in its effort to reinforce its preferred attitude in the two languages. Functionally, these rhetorical structures are used “to emphasize or draw attention to especial aspects of meaning of a text, and hence often are used as a part of strategies of persuasion” (T. V. van Dijk, personal communication, May 17, 2008).

### **Research Questions**

As a “genre-specific study in contrastive rhetoric” (Connor, xxxx, p. 126), and based on the above mentioned aims and objectives, the present study is aimed at conducting a comparative rhetorical analysis of selected Persian and English editorials.

Thus, the central research question of the present study is:

What discourse strategies do the editorials in the American newspaper, *The New York Times*, and the Iranian English newspaper, *Tehran Times*, employ to propagate their preferred attitudes?

To answer the central question mentioned above the following sub-questions are to be asked:

- a) How are the schematic structures of the editorials realized in the two newspapers?
- b) What types of rhetorical structures do editorials in The New York Times and Tehran Times employ to express their preferred attitudes?

### **Significance of the Study**

For a number of reasons, studying newspaper editorials, as a discourse genre, is of special importance in contrastive rhetoric and EFL studies. First of all they are persuasive and argumentative in nature. That is, unlike news reports, editorials are written in an effort “to influence the social cognition of their readers”, “try to reproduce their own (group) attitudes and ideologies among the public at large” (van Dijk, 1992, p. 243). They are at the same time supposed to present evaluations and comments about the news events.

Of course some professional genres might have universally accepted conventions especially in terms of their overall structures. However, when it comes to using the strategies of persuasion and argumentation in a genre like newspaper editorial one should not dismiss the role of socio-cultural factors that might influence it. So, any effort to explore the cross-cultural realizations of these strategies in the two languages would contribute to the field.

Secondly, certain characteristics of newspapers such as having a wide variety of sub-genres, the standard language use and their fresh and current content have encouraged

the use of newspaper language as input to language teaching materials. According to Bhatia:

A genre-based flexible language curriculum can facilitate language learning within, across and beyond the confines of a curriculum, which will allow more freedom to the participants in the teaching and learning process. This can be effectively realized by using a daily newspaper, which is easily available and also contains a wide variety of genres and sub-genres that can enrich the linguistics repertoire of any language learner. (1993, p. 157)

Specifically, “editorials perhaps more than any other type of writing reflect national styles regarding moods of persuasion” (Connor, 1999, p. 143). In other words, they set the standard for written persuasion in a language. Being so, they can be used as a resource to write academic argumentative and persuasive essays.

Exploring the structures, strategies and social functions of the editorials would be of great importance in shedding light on this type of public discourse enabling the editorial writers to produce a kind of persuasive writing that is really organized, informative and persuasive in the eyes of targeted readers.

Furthermore, “exploring both theoretical and practical rhetorical strategies for patterning can help our university students develop logical connections that enable them to produce the types of prose required by the academy” (Bliss, 2001, p.16).

Bronia (2005) has shown that editorials overlap significantly with the argumentative essays of the students in the educational settings in terms of their purpose, schematic structures and some lexico-grammatical features. Even in terms of schematic structures “editorials have a lot in common with what we are very likely to find in many

academic essays” (Bhatia, 1993, p. 165). So, as a public discourse, editorials can influence the students’ academic writing.

Through designing interesting classroom activities based on editorials, it is possible to provide students with knowledge on the logic of the ideas and the organization as well as development of the arguments in the editorials. This would in turn change the students into critical readers and writers who are able to read between the lines of a newspaper and to critique stories for structure, content and meaning.

However, using the newspaper and its sub-genres as an input in the EFL classes without initial focusing on their generic distinctive features such as communicative purpose, schematic structures and the syntactic patterns may be counterproductive. To Bhatia:

Genre specificity, thus, within the pages of newspaper is so significant that any attempt to use newspaper language without being aware of it can become misleading. In other words, if the learner is not made sensitive to genre distinctions, then the very strength of newspaper language can become its weakness. (1993, p. 161).

So, any study that attempts to provide EFL students with generic characteristics of the editorials will make them ready to make use of newspaper editorials in the classrooms.

Considering the above-mentioned functions of the newspaper editorials, one is expected to find considerable literature on their role. However, it seems that this kind of discourse has been taken for granted as ordinary discourse that is too obvious to be discussed seriously in academic settings.

Thus, the findings of the present comparative research would contribute to further broadening of the field of contrastive rhetoric analysis by investigating not only schematic

structures of the editorials, but also their persuasive strategies in two languages. The findings of the present study would at the same time equip the EFL teachers and students with the required knowledge about the discourse conventions in a certain sub-genre namely newspaper editorials.

### **Definition of Key Terms**

The present study has made use of some terms that need to be clarified initially.

*Editorial:* An article in a newspaper that gives the opinion of the editor or publisher on a topic or item of news.

*The schematic structures:* The conventional frames and schemata that are employed to organize the content. These schemata are used to describe the overall form of discourse

*The rhetorical structures:* The rhetorical structures are rhetorical devices that are functionally used “to emphasize or draw attention to especial aspects of meaning of a text, and hence often are used as a part of strategies of persuasion” (T. V. van Dijk, personal communication, May 17, 2008).

## CHAPTER TWO

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Rhetorical patterns of written texts have been studied for many years as an aspect of cultural differences (Kubota & Lehner, 2004). On the other hand, it is widely accepted that *contrastive rhetoric*, the subject matter of the present study, has been anchored theoretically in the theory of *linguistic relativity*, the mild version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Connor, 1999; Kaplan, 1988).

Thus, this chapter initially intends to provide the theoretical framework of the study. Initially, the weak version of the Whorfian Hypothesis would be discussed. As “culture” is of great importance in this theory, the chapter will consider different definitions of culture, trying to get closer to the one that is much more acceptable in contrastive rhetoric studies. After presenting the theory of linguistic relativity, the relationship between language and culture will be explored.

Contrastive rhetoric analysis as a field of study is also discussed, presenting the definition and ideas of its initiator, Kaplan. A critical review of contrastive rhetoric is also presented in the chapter. Due to its contribution to the development of contrastive rhetoric studies, text linguistics is discussed followed by the review of some studies on contrastive rhetorical analysis. After presenting some trends in ESL writing, the chapter reviews some Iranian studies on rhetorical analysis as well.

Reviewing the new developments in the field of contrastive rhetoric, we will consider generic specific studies focusing on editorials as an argumentative genre. After elaborating on the three terms namely *opinion*, *attitude* and *ideology*, we will also discuss



the role of editorials in presenting their intended opinions. A review of the studies conducted on editorials will be presented as well.

## **Culture**

The term culture is a highly complex and general term and different scholars based on their field of study have attributed different meanings to the term. It is so general that Brislin (1993) has defined culture as an “amorphous” and “ambivalent” concept (p. 26). Stern (1981) believes that the problem of definition has been the source of difficulty. He further argues that the area of what constitutes “culture” is poorly defined and courses offered in universities on culture and civilization generally lack a foundation in theory and research.

For Seelye (1984), culture is a broad concept that embraces all aspects of human life from “folktales” to “carved whales” (p. 26). This somehow anthropological definition of culture includes the patterns of life, the “do’s” and “don’ts” of personal behavior, and all the points of interaction between the individual and society (Hadley, 2003). From this anthropological point of view, culture includes values, beliefs and customs of a distinct group of people, whether they are at national or regional level. Based on this point of view, culture is composed of traditional values that have built up over a long period of time. Oswalt (1986) points out that:

In anthropology a culture is the learned and shared behavior patterns characteristic of a group of people. Your culture is learned from relatives and the other members of your community as well as from various material forms such as books and television programs. You are not born with culture but with the ability to acquire it by such means as observation, imitation and trial and error. ( p. 25)

From a sociological point of view, on the other hand, culture is a combination of values, institutional and structural arrangements, political and historical norms that all help to make society. Hinkel (2001) speaks of *visible* and *invisible* cultures (p. 444). For him, a layman definition of the term consisting of history, geography, styles of dress, customs, festivals and other traditions is a visible culture for the simple reason that they can be easily perceived and explained. The kind of culture that refers to socio-cultural norms, world views, beliefs, assumptions and value systems that find their way into the different aspects of life is called invisible culture. In other words, invisible culture applies to socio-cultural beliefs and assumptions that most people are not even aware of and thus cannot be examined intellectually.

Still a common view of culture stated by Duranti (1997) is that of something learned, transmitted, passed down from one generation to the next through human action often in the form of face to face interaction, and of course through linguistic communication. This view of culture tends to clarify why children grow up to follow the cultural patterns of the people who raised them.

Both Hudson (1993) and Connor (1999), as a widely accepted definition of the culture that includes a set of patterns shared by a given community, refer to a classical definition of culture put forward by cultural anthropologist and linguist Ward Goodenough. He writes:

As I see, a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members... Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: Knowledge, in a most general ... sense of the term.

(1964, p. 36)

For Modernists who perceive the world as a changing environment where traditional values are regularly swept away, culture has a complex meaning. In this sense it is a combination of older and newer values that are constantly changing.

Generally speaking, all the above-mentioned definitions that have been considered by far can be classified under a general term as *received views of culture* (Atkinson, 1991).

Atkinson argues:

By *received view*, I'm referring to a notion of culture(s) that sees them in their most typical form as geographically (and quite often nationally) distinct entities, as relatively unchanging and homogeneous, and as all-encompassing systems of rules or norms that substantially determine personal behavior. (p. 626)

It seems that contrastive rhetoric has initially taken this received view of culture, viewing ESL students as members of separate, identifiable cultural groups (Connor, 2002). This received view of culture has been criticized by the proponents of Postmodernism who have tried to present a radically different notion of culture, trying to even avoid the term "culture" in favor of *identity* and *discourse*. They argue that the traditional views of culture have a tendency to reduce individuals to their cultural types.

As a reflection of this notion, Ingold (1994) claims that there are not clearly-cut bound and mutually exclusive bodies of thought and custom shared by all its members. Being so passionate about this new notion of culture, he further claims:

The idea that humanity as all can be parceled up into a multiple of discrete cultural capsules, each the potential object of disinterested anthropological scrutiny, has been laid to rest at the same time as we have come to recognize the fact of the interconnectedness of the world's peoples, not just in the era of modern transport and communication, but throughout history. The isolated culture has been revealed

as a figment of the Western anthropological imagination. It might be more realistic, then to say that people live culturally rather than that they live in cultures. (Ingold, 1994 p. 330)

The natural import of the comments as Ingold's may suggest that the notion of culture has to be either substantially revised or it might have no place in any field. However, in our rapidly changing world, new notions of culture have to be presented, trying to create a balance between the received view of culture that emphasizes cultural stability, continuity, and homogeneity with that of the Postmodernist view emphasizing heterogeneity and fragmentation.

Thus, as we can see, the term culture has been defined differently by different scholars. One can see that, in one way or another, all these different interpretations of culture share some concepts like community, patterns, manner, and norms in common. And in most cases they should not be viewed as oppositional and mutually exclusive. So, based on specific orientation, one can purposefully prefer one definition over the other.

Meanwhile, as Connor (2002) has indicated, researchers in contrastive rhetoric have emphasized the explicit teaching of cultural differences for “acculturating the EFL writers to the target discourse community” (p. 499). She argues that researchers in contrastive rhetoric, in spite of their ‘received’ definition of culture, have not tried to attribute language differences to the interference from the national culture. She also argues that factors such as first language, national culture, educational background, disciplinary culture, genre characteristics and mismatched expectations between readers and writers can be potentially a source of L2 differences.

Kramsch (1998) associated culture with “membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and a common system of standard for

perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting” (p.127). This definition seems to be closer to the notion of language, however, regarding the purpose of the present study which is linked to culture and language, we adhere to the definition put forward by Kelly and Tomic (2001) who defined culture as “ a system of behavior embracing, among other things, values and attitudes, modes of thinking and feeling, and non-verbal behavior, all of which come into play in the act of communication” (p. 3).

One important attraction of taking this definition is its closeness to the notion of language and communication. Based on this definition, one can see that communication is influenced by the culture, yet it can influence the culture too. Thus, our understanding of culture in this paper is something that is of a dynamic nature. It can potentially shape our lives, and at the same time we, as human beings have the capability of changing it.

The implication of such an understanding of culture when teaching writing skills to EFL learners is employing a dynamic view of writing itself. That is, writing is a cultural practice both influenced by the world around it and at the same time changing the world (Ruanni, 2006).

### **Linguistic Relativity**

As was mentioned above, contrastive rhetoric has been anchored in linguistic relativity, the mild version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The hypothesis in turn is deeply rooted in the early studies of Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf. In an attempt to have a general picture of the theory, this section aims to review the main ideas of these scholars.

*Franz Boas (1858-1942)*

Franz Boas was a German-American anthropologist and a pioneer of modern anthropology who has been called “Father of American Anthropology”. Like many such pioneers, he trained in other disciplines; he received his doctorate in physics, and his post-doctoral work in geography. He is famed for applying the scientific method to the study of human culture and societies.

Of course before Boas, many linguists had tried to record the American Indian languages before they disappeared as the Indians became more and more strongly influenced by white American society. These linguists, mostly from Europe, had tended to impose on Native American languages grammatical descriptions based on the categories appropriate for their own Indo-European Language. However, Boas criticized this practice arguing that it is the linguist’s task to discover for each language under study its own particular grammatical structure developing descriptive categories appropriate to it (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996).

As one of the founders of American anthropology, Boas was interested in studying language by his experience among the Eskimos and Kwakiutl Indians. He argued that one could not understand another culture unless he had direct access to its language. Later on, his views of the necessity of language for human thought and hence for human culture became a basic thesis of American cultural anthropology. In fact, in terms of methodology this view of the role of language in culture meant that the linguistic system should be studied as a guide to cultural systems.

Concerned with the rapid disappearance of Native American languages and cultures, Boas tried to preserve them by documenting them while there were still people who spoke the languages fluently and could describe their cultural tradition. This kind of

documentation became a landmark of what became linguistic anthropology (Duranti, 1997). He insisted in the description of verbatim native accounts of ceremonies and other aspects of their cultural heritage. This is the same logic that is used today in providing detailed transcription of verbal interaction. As Agar (1994) put it:

In those days, he (Boas) carried the burden of now-outdated notion of science. He aspired to be the value free recorder of objective facts, facts just flying around waiting to be picked up with the right methods. (1994, p.49)

In the process of transcribing native texts and translating them, Boas noticed how different languages classified the world and human experiences in different ways. This observation was, in fact, the foundation of *cultural relativism* - the theory that cultures should be studied on their own terms and beliefs, and that attitudes and norms of one language should not be considered in the description of the other cultures (Richards et al., 1990).

Boas's main contribution was the idea that the way languages classify the world is arbitrary and each language has its own way of building up vocabulary that divides up the world and establishes categories of experience.

*Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941)*

Boas's interest in American Indian Languages was transmitted to his students, one of whom Edward Sapir went on to make important contributions not only to American linguistics but to the study of language in general (Duranti, 1997). Gumperz and Levinson (1996) have argued that versions of Linguistic relativity have been ascribed to various scholars of earlier times like Roger Bacon (1220-1292) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835); however, the most outstanding version of the idea is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis.

This hypothesis was introduced by Benjamin Lee Whorf, a fire insurance investigator studying linguistics at MIT as an avocation, under the guidance of Sapir.

Sapir's experience of the American – Indian languages and culture convinced him that there was a direct link between language and thought. Mandelbaum quotes Sapir as saying:

Human beings do not live in the objective world of social activity alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the “real world” is to a large extent built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached. (1949, p. 69)

Whorf enrolled in Sapir's course on American-Indian linguistics at Yale University in 1931, and in 1932, Sapir obtained a grant for Whorf to carry out field work among the Hopi Indians. Of course, Whorf's ideas of linguistic relativity did not emerge in a full-fledged form until he analyzed the Hopi Indian language. In his analysis, he considered language as classificatory, isolating and organizing elements of experiences. He also demonstrated how specific, often minor, differences in such classifications could cumulatively generate quite common, often major underlying differences in the fundamental approach to a linguistic representation of reality.



Thus, classification provides the beginning of the differences between languages; each language adopts different devices morphologically, syntactically, and lexically to make its own rules and then creates different linguistic realities with these rules. Whorf argued that because language is socially transmitted but remains unconscious while a speaker uses it, the use of language reflects its social nature. For this reason speakers of a language are so strongly bound by this social background agreement that even when they are exposed to another language, they are still inclined to analyze it in terms of their native language.

The Whorfian hypothesis contends that the thoughts of human beings are influenced by the language they speak. Known as the relativistic relationship of language and thought, this hypothesis argues that people from different cultures and languages think differently. But a question of how much people's thought patterns are influenced by language generated much discussion, ultimately yielding two versions, "the stronger one" and "the weaker one." The stronger version, called linguistic determinism, holds that language not only shapes the way people think but also completely determines their thought patterns. The weaker version, called linguistic relativity, holds that people's thoughts are influenced by everyday language. Agar elaborates on linguistic relativity in this way:

Language is not a prison; it's a room you're comfortable with, that you know how to move around in. ... But familiarity doesn't mean you can't ever exist in another room; it does mean it'll take a while to figure it out, because it is not what you're used to. (1994, p. 70)

Initially, the Whorfian hypothesis, both the strong and weak versions, was criticized on the grounds that there were many bilinguals who were able to switch between two

languages without any problems (Fishman, 1977). Others like Steven Pinker (1994) have argued that the hypothesis is vague. However, the hypothesis, the weak version, has recently gained plausibility mostly due to the careful studies of Hunt and Agnoli (1991).

Connor comments that:

According to Hunt and Agnoli, every language is translatable, but there is often a loss involved – an utterance that is completely natural in one language may be completely unmanageable in another. This supports the weaker version of the Whorfian hypothesis that language influences thought. (1999 p. 29)

Thus, as Tannen (2006) has noticed too, our native language provides us with special ways of representing the world that come to seem natural to us. However, later on, it pulls us up short and makes us realize that there are other ways of conceptualizing the world. In other words, a language frames the way we see the world.

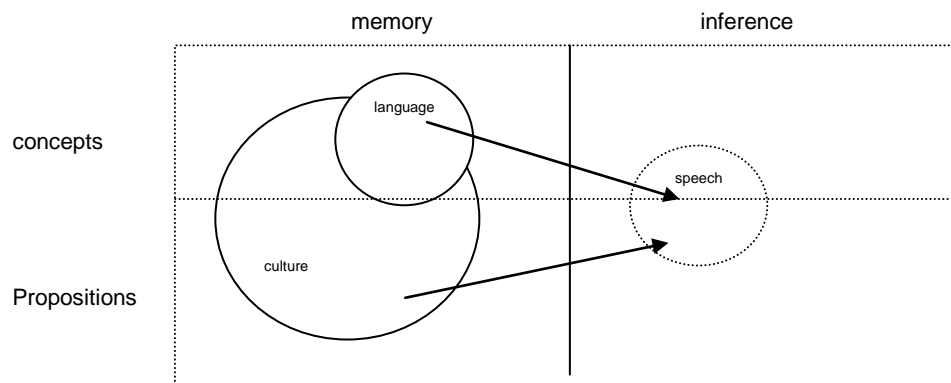
The weak version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, as has been discussed by Fotos (2001), has significant implications for intercultural communication. If a concept exists in one language but cannot be expressed easily in another, this difference may have an impact on the ease of cross-cultural communication involving the concept.

### **Language and Culture**

Facilitating communication among people who do not share the same culture and language has been one of the most challenging issues in the field of language studies (Kramsch, 2002). Considering the practical needs of the present world growing out of ever-increasing international communication, we need studies on how people understand each other across different cultures. This kind of understanding will not be possible unless the relationship between language and culture is defined.

For Nault (2006) language and culture represent “two sides of the same coin” (p. 314). In fact, as was mentioned before, the manner in which individuals express and interpret messages in their own and other languages is heavily influenced by their cultural backgrounds.

Most of the language is contained within culture so it can be claimed that language is an important aspect of culture. In fact, it can be claimed that the relationship between the two is that of part to whole .Figure 2.1 illustrates the relation schematically.



*Figure 2.1.* The relationship between thought, culture, language and speech.

Elaborating on Figure 2.1, Hudson explains:

The area of overlap between language and culture consists of all parts of language which are learned from other people. However, we must allow some aspects not to be learned in this way .... At least some of the concepts attached to words as their meanings are presumably of this kind... To the extent that there are aspects of language which are not learned from other people, language is not wholly contained within culture. (1993, pp. 83-84)

So, as discussed in the preceding section on the Whorfian Hypothesis, once one is fully socialized in a certain culture, it is difficult to escape from the habitual boundary of

one's own culture. Cultural experience works to a considerable degree on the individual's consciousness and unconsciousness as thinking resources. The conciseness and clearness of thought of a people depend to a great extent upon their language and language originates from its culture and/or vice versa. Culture is an integral part of the interaction between language and thought. Cultural patterns, customs, and ways of life are expressed in language; culture-specific world-views are also reflected in language (Brown, 1986).

In fact, to emphasize the inseparability of language and culture, Agar (1994) has referred to them collectively using a single term "*languaculture*" (p. 54). It helps to have a single word because the phrase language and culture creates a notion of two separate entities. The term languaculture implies that language and culture are inseparable, because language is composed of linguistic elements that vary by culture. People use a range of linguistic elements to convey meaning, but the appropriate ways to use these elements vary from culture to culture.

Prior text knowledge of the meaning of the words and their meaning loads would reveal a few of the many ways that culture and language are inseparable. Cross-cultural communication can provide insight into how language works to create meaning and how language shapes the way a speaker perceives and orders the world. One way in which language is inseparable from culture is that much of the meaning we obtain from a piece of discourse "comes from how those pieces of discourse have been used in the past which is called prior text" (Tannen, 2006, p. 368). For instance, a viewer who has never seen a western movie would miss many layers of the meaning of the Cowboy that is so obvious to the viewer who has seen it before. To show the importance of the memories of the prior text knowledge, Tannen has mentioned the following sentences a (translated literally into English) and b from two languages: Burmese and English.

- a) Have you eaten? (Burmese)
- b) How are you? (English)

It is most probable that both English and Burmese speakers would take the literal meaning of the sentences *a* and *b* even in their social contexts. The reason they may not realize that sentences *a* and *b* are used for greeting purposes is that they lack the prior text knowledge that the native speakers of the two languages have. So, it is the prior text or lack of it that is the biggest issue when people communicate cross-culturally. This knowledge, in fact, reveals the inseparability of language from culture (Tannen, 2006).

Thus learning of culture as an integral part of language should be emphasized. In fact, it crucially influences the values of the community, everyday interaction and language use as a whole (Hymes, 1996).

As for language and thought, up to now there are four major views of the relationship between language and thought (Fotos, 2001). Based on their theoretical stand ranging from structuralism to socialism, each of these views has its own interpretation of the relationship between language and thought.

One view is derived from the attempts of structuralist linguists influenced by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. This, as we discussed in the preceding section, refers to the assertion that the speakers of different languages have differing cognitive systems, and that these different systems influence the ways in which the speakers think about the world (Sternberg, 1999). Most simply, language shapes thought. Often referred to as linguistic determinism, it states that people's thoughts are determined by the categories made available by their language.

The child psychologist, Piaget, has put forward a second view which is cognitive. He assumes that cognitive development is a prerequisite for linguistic development. In

other words, cognitive development in infants precedes language. More specifically, before infants can learn language forms they must go through definite cognitive processes where the acquisition of each stage in the process is a necessary requirement for the acquisition of a subsequent stage such as an understanding that objects have a permanent existence (Piaget, 1967).

The third view is that of Chomsky (1995) and Pinker (1994). Taking a rationalist approach, they argued that language is an innate ability and it is not dependent on other cognitive processes. Observing that all human children with normal faculties successfully acquire their language despite the improvised input, Chomsky reasoned that humans were biologically endowed with an innate language faculty to acquire language in infancy, when they are not capable of complex thought. So, instinctively, they learn language without too much exposure to a variety of language forms.

The fourth view which is in fact another version of the view that language development is dependent on cognitive development (which is Piaget's view) can be found in the work of Vygotsky (1986), the Russian psychologist (Johnson & Johnson, 1999). He emphasized the social interaction in the process of language development. According to Driscoll (2000) Vygotsky came to the conclusion that biological and cultural development do not occur in isolation. Instead social and cultural factors should mediate the development of human intellectual capabilities. To Vygotsky, thought and language were initially separate but became interdependent during acts of communication since meaning was created through interaction.

It should be asserted that the relationship between language and thought is a complex one and each view discussed briefly here plays an important role in clarifying the relationship between thought and language.

## **Rhetoric Analysis**

Composing is a kind of thinking, and as we discussed before, ways of thinking are largely determined by cultural elements such as the major philosophies, religion, and the mode of education valued in any particular culture (Rodby, 1992). So, if language influences and is influenced by its culture, its rhetoric writing style preferences would be culturally embedded as well. In other words, the formation of rhetoric and composition cannot be studied separately from the culture from which it emerges.

### *Definition of Rhetoric*

In studying rhetoric analysis, the issue of what is understood by the term *rhetoric* needs initially to be clarified. Traditionally, rhetoric has been defined as the ancient art of argumentation and discourse (Wheeler, 2003). It comes from the Greek word *rhetor*. It is also defined as a speaker skilled in addressing the law courts and large gatherings of people in order to persuade (Appleford, 2003; Jankiewicz, 2005). Rhetoric originates from the theory or the study of how, by means of what linguistic devices, a speaker or writer might best achieve the aim of persuasion. From the time of Aristotle the concept of rhetoric has always been connected with aspects of discourse that are intended to persuade (Connor, 1999).

Rhetoric originated from the functional organization of verbal discourse, and its object is eloquence defined as effective speech designed to influence and to convince others. It operates on the basis of logical and aesthetic modes to affect interaction in both an emotional and rational way. Rhetoric is the study of effective speaking and writing. It is a form of speaking which has the intention of making an impact upon, persuading, or influencing a public audience. Rhetoric in this sense implies a negative attitude as it

suggests a skilful orator who aims at winning the argument without having any concern for truth. So in the past the term rhetoric had negative connotations (Conner, 1999).

### *New Definition of Rhetoric*

A less traditional definition, however, has considered it in a more positive way and referred to rhetoric as a study “which typically focuses on how to express oneself correctly and effectively in relation to the topic of writing or speech, the audience, and the purpose of communication” (Richards et al., 1990, p. 245). It is defined by Leech (1983) as “the effective use of language in communication (p. 15). Language users usually acquire this ability according to certain conventions, many of which have to do with their cultural heritage of society rather than the structure of the language (Heath, 1983).

Writing in this sense is more than a skill to be learned through memorization. Rather, it is a process of shaping meaning and is therefore most likely to be influenced by the culture. McDaniel comments:

Every language-culture has its preferred ways of constructing discourse, that is, of organizing, expressing, and connecting thoughts, out of all the conceivable devices. Cultures will demonstrate different attitudes and values in establishing their preferences; some devices will overlap between cultures, some will be unique. All writers, then, use systems for structuring discourse that suits their sense of logic for the occasion. (1994, p. 30)

From this point of view a number of scholars have conducted studies under the title of *contrastive rhetoric analysis* focusing on rhetoric and the analysis of written text to get a deeper understanding of how they are structured. More specifically, contrastive rhetoric is an area of research in applied linguistics that tries to identify composition problems encountered by second language writers and by referring to the rhetorical strategies of the



first language, it attempts to explain them (Connor, 1999). This area of study pays special attention to the role of transfer from native language to the target language.

Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005) have defined contrastive rhetoric as a discipline which “seeks to describe the typical rhetoric structures in the writing of different languages with a view to showing how they differ and thus how the rhetorical structure of writing in the L1 influences the L2 writer” (p. 53).

Contrastive rhetoric analysis, according to Flowerdew (2002), attempts to study the preferred expectations about how information is organized in different languages and cultures with the aim of using the results in the practical writing classes and the development of pedagogic material as well.

### *Kaplan*

American applied linguist Robert Kaplan (1966) was the first scholar who initiated a study to show that both language and writing are cultural phenomena. He tried to illustrate the fact that, in the process of writing, the rhetorical patterns of the first language would likely be transferred to the students’ ESL writings. Of course the issue of transfer was not a new issue by itself, that is, it had already been studied in behaviorism (Johnson & Johnson, 1999). Based on this school, first/native habits influenced the acquisition of the second or foreign language habits at syntactic and phonological levels.

However, Kaplan was the first scholar who emphasized the interference in rhetorical strategies, differences in organizing the discourse in different languages and coined the term “contrastive rhetoric” (Noor, 2001, p. 256).

Being influenced by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, in his seminal article, *Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education* (1966), Kaplan studied the expository essays of ESL students to find out their rhetorical patterns. The study was based on his holistic

analysis of 500 international students' English essays. After analyzing the essays, he graphically classified the emerged patterns as: linear development of English language, the parallel development of Semitic languages, the indirect development of the oriental languages and the digressive patterns of Roman and Russian languages. These five divergent patterns, referred to as “doodles” (Kaplan, 1987, p. 10), were attributed to the native cultures of the writers.

In other words, Kaplan argued that the thought pattern in English language is linear, that is “an English expository paragraph usually begins with a topic statement, and then, by a series of subdivisions of that topic statement, each supported by examples and illustrations, [the writer] proceeds to develop that central idea...” (Kaplan, 1966, p. 13). In Arabic Language, as an example of Semitic languages, the development of the paragraph is based on “parallel construction”, that is, it tends to rely on coordinate constructions (use of and, therefore, but). In Chinese language, as an example of Oriental languages, the paragraph development is indirect. “A subject is not discussed directly but is approached from a variety of indirectly related views” (Conner, 1999 p. 15). Roman and Russian languages were considered digressive as most of the information loaded in the paragraph was unnecessary or irrelevant to the topic.

Based on his findings, Kaplan commented that “each language and each culture has a paragraph order unique to itself and that part of the learning of a particular language is the mastering of its logical system” (1966, p. 20).

Considering Kaplan's finding, it seems logical to accept that different cultures would orient their discourse in different ways, as described above. Even different discourse community within a single language such as constituted by different academic disciplines, have different writing conventions and norms: Preferred length of sentences, choice of

vocabulary, acceptability of using first person, extent of using passive voice, degree to which writers are permitted to interpret, amount of metaphorical language accepted. Thus, if different discourse communities employ differing rhetoric, and if there is transfer of skills and strategies from first language to second language, then contrastive rhetoric studies can reveal the shape of those rhetorical skills and strategies in writers from different cultures.

Kaplan's study is of great importance for a number of reasons. First of all, he was the first one who argued against the linguistic theory that was prevalent in 1950 and 1960, the theory that considered the sentence as the basic unit of syntax. This theory, he argued, resulted in a sentence-based analysis of linguistics. Alternatively, Kaplan considered the paragraph as the unit of analysis (Kaplan, 1972). Specifically, studies on the logical development of paragraphs became widespread thereafter.

Secondly, Kaplan introduced a kind of text-analysis based on "discourse blocks" and "discourse units" (Connor, 1999, p. 32). That is, he analyzed the texts by referring to their central and supporting ideas. In fact, he was encouraged to look at the EFL students' writing from a different prospective.

Thirdly, Kaplan established contrastive rhetoric as a new discipline in linguistics that examines differences in languages at the discourse levels. Kaplan, in fact, termed it "contrastive rhetoric", using "contrastive" in response to the contemporary interest in text linguistics, discussed above, and "rhetoric" to describe the fact that this notion was culturally embedded (Kaplan, 1988).

The initial purpose of contrastive rhetoric was pedagogical. It aimed at meeting the needs of teaching international students learning to write academic English compositions.

For this reason, there are some classroom procedures associated with contrastive rhetoric analysis (Kaplan, 1966). Teachers may scramble a normal paragraph into numbered sentences and ask students to rearrange the sentences in away that appears to them as a normal paragraph. At the end, the students should be presented with the original version of the paragraph. The other type of task is to give the students a topic sentence and ask them to list and group relevant topics and supporting sentences in an outline form and then use the outlines to write their compositions.

Kaplan's ideas have been criticized by some opposing pedagogical researchers and on the other hand, some other researchers have provided some evidence of rhetorical differences rooted in culture establishing a foundation for the cultural aspect as a basis of contrastive rhetoric. The following section presents a critical review of contrastive rhetoric.

#### *Contrastive Rhetoric Analysis*

Kaplan's 1966 study integrated the study of language and its uses as reflections of culture. Furthermore, it helped to extend the scope of linguistic studies beyond words and sentences into the structure of discourse. However, some scholars by referring to the study as "Traditional" contrastive rhetoric, tried to criticize it (Conner, 1999, p. 18).

It has been argued that Kaplan's conception of culture consisted of a closed system that considered "culture as based largely on distinct geographical and national entities which are presented as relatively unchanging and homogeneous" (Connor, 2002, p. 503).

While attempting to construct a "dynamic model" of contrastive writing theory, Matsuda (1997) emphasizes the complexity of culture, asserting that there are many other factors, besides the writers' own native culture, influencing the rhetorical structure of a piece of writing. In other words, factors such as shared knowledge between writer and reader, discourse community, and personal experience of the writer can be named as

factors that may affect the writing. In the same vein, Atkinson (2002) declares that it is contrary to common available evidence to relate all rhetorical differences to the single national style of writing.

The idea that all writers in English develop their paragraphs in a linear way (one of the findings of Kaplan's 1966 study), was not compatible with the subsequent findings of Braddock (1974). Analyzing 25 essays written by professional writers in five American journals, he came to the conclusion that development of the paragraphs varied from writer to writer. Specifically, only 13% of the paragraphs had begun with a topic sentence and 3% ended with a topic sentence. This suggested that it was not possible to generalize Kaplan's claim about paragraph development.

Other researchers, namely Mohan and Winnie (1985), conducted a study on the English writings of foreign students who were in their developmental process of learning. They analyzed the 3700 essays of the students who were busy studying in two different grades, Grade 8 and 12. They found that in terms of paragraph organization, Grade 12 students were significantly superior to grade 8 students. So they came to the conclusion that one cannot really deduce the paragraph structure in a language from ESL students' writings.

Using students' L2 texts for eliciting information on their L1 rhetoric pattern was another source of criticism. As it is clear, many external factors like students' personal experiences, their L2 proficiencies, and different instructional methods that they have already gone through may have a role in their L2 writing.

Traditional contrastive rhetoric has also been criticized "for being too ethnocentric and privileging the writing of native English speakers" (Connor, 1999, p. 16). It has been argued that the traditional study has indirectly "reinforced an image of superiority of

English rhetoric and a deterministic view of second language (particularly English learners as individuals who inevitably transfer rhetorical patterns of their L1 in L2 writing)” and “has tended to construct static, homogeneous ... images of the rhetorical patterns of various written languages” (Kubota & Lehner, 2004, p. 15).

Reinforcing the voice of criticism, Silva (1991) argues that “from the perspective of this version of current-traditional rhetoric, writing is basically a matter of arrangement, of fitting sentences and the paragraphs into prescribed patterns. Learning to write, then, involves becoming skilled in identifying, internalizing, and executing these patterns”. (p. 14) It has also been argued that these activities which are, in fact, the classroom implications of the theory, discourage creative thinking of the students reducing the writing task into a filling- in activity.

In a critical article, Matsuda (1997) has evaluated contrastive rhetoric. In an effort to develop a model of L2 writing that can help teachers place insights from contrastive rhetoric studies into teaching ESL writing, Matsuda has discussed a “static theory of L2 writing” (p. 47) .

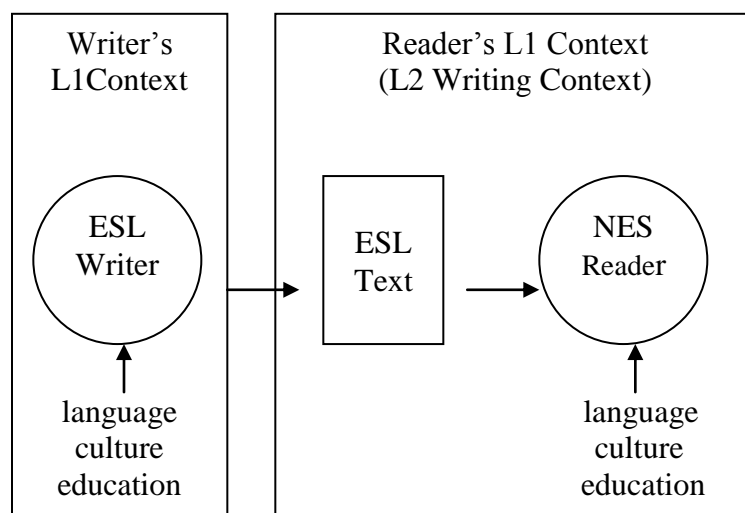


Figure 2.2. A static theory of writing. Source: Matsuda, 1997.

Holding a mechanistic view of the writer, this theory views the writer as a writing machine that is supposed to create a text by reproducing the patterns supplied by his linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds. In this model, the other potential factors that might influence the writing have been ignored. The major problem with this model, Matsuda argues, is its assumption about the context of writing. That is, “in static model of L2 writing, the writer’s and the reader’s backgrounds- linguistic, cultural and educational- are the only elements that constitute the context of writing” (p. 50). It has been argued that, in general, the model has the following problems:

- 1) It has ignored the writer’s autonomy.
- 2) It advocates a prescriptive methodology.
- 3) It has equated textual features with the writer’s linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

All these negative features have caused some teachers to dismiss the contrastive rhetoric-based teaching of writing. However, Matsuda, by making use of insights generated by rhetoric studies, presents an alternative model of writing (Figure 2.3) labeled as a “dynamic model”. (p. 52)

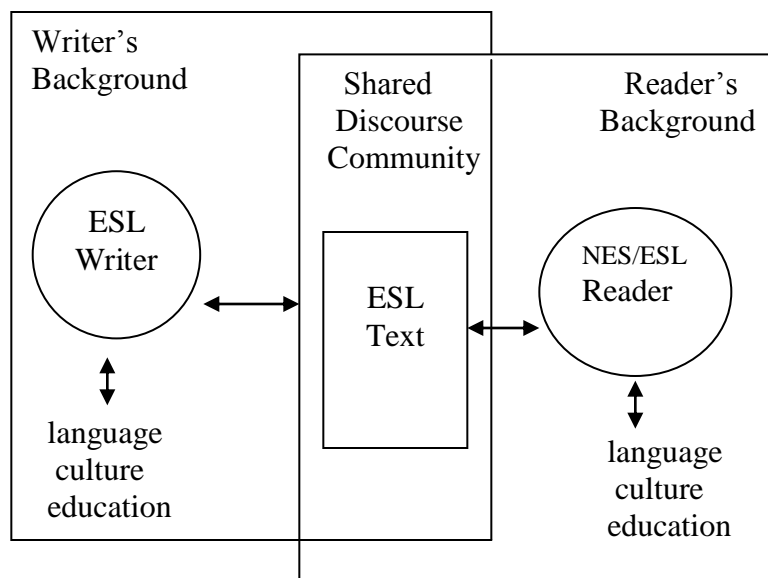


Figure 2.3 A Dynamic theory of writing. Matsuda, 1997

The three key features of this model are: a) writer's and reader's backgrounds, b) shared discourse community, and c) interaction of the elements that have important roles in the model. The background feature not only includes linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds, but also includes many other aspects like variations within the writer's native language and knowledge of the subject matter. The shared discourse, "the agreed set of mechanism of intercommunication among the members" (Swales, 1990, p. 26) is actually knowledge shared by writer and reader that affects the text. The interaction feature, on the other hand, shows the interrelationship among the elements of the model that transforms the writer's and reader's backgrounds.

Based on contrastive rhetoric studies, this dynamic model voids the problems that we noticed in the static model. As one can see, the textual organization has been treated in the model as well.

As a reaction to the early criticism on contrastive rhetoric studies, Kaplan in his later publication was modest enough to admit that he had "made the case too strong". He then clarified that all forms [of rhetoric patterns] were possible in every language, however each language had "certain clear preferences" (Kaplan, 1987, p. 10).

With reference to the classroom application of contrastive rhetoric, specifically to the ideas criticizing the theory for reducing the writing activity to identifying the paragraphs and patterns, we must remind that for advanced students having the awareness on building grammatical sentences--though it is one of the basic steps in writing--is not enough for good writing. There is more to writing. Raising students' awareness of rhetorical organization of the languages would enable them to put and arrange their flow of thought in the form of grammatical sentences into patterns that are acceptable in the target



language. So, the mentioned classroom procedures are in fact the means for raising that kind of awareness.

Meanwhile, regarding the views of Kubota and Lehner, we may argue that to some extent they are correct in viewing language and culture as dynamic; however, language and culture cannot be greatly changed in a short period of time. In fact, the rhetorical tastes and thought patterns that may have been developed over the country's long history and have rooted in the culture resist being easily changed into new types of rhetoric. Maybe it is for this reason that "despite many past attacks on contrastive rhetoric, the time has not yet come to dismiss it as a viable theory of second language writing" (Connor, 1999, p.18). Even Matsuda after his careful evaluation of early contrastive rhetoric, comments that:

The study of organization in written discourse has been and will continue to be an important part of L2 writing research. Pedagogical implications of contrastive rhetoric studies should not be dismissed because of the problems with the early attempts to apply the findings of contrastive rhetoric research. Because textual organization is one of the areas with which ESL students have most difficulties, it needs to be taught in ESL writing classrooms, but it needs to be taught in ways that are informed by an appropriate theory of L2 writing. (Matsuda, 1997, p. 58)

Reflecting a paradigm shift in traditional contrastive rhetoric analysis, Connor (1999) has mentioned two forces, "internal" and "external" (p. 18), that have caused contrastive rhetoric to change its perspective from purely structural descriptions to the one that takes into account cognitive and socio-cultural variables as well.

The internal forces came from criticism of contrastive rhetoric, briefly mentioned above, made the study to take into account the processes and contexts of the writing and move beyond traditional linguistic parameters. External forces, on the other hand included

the new development in discourse analysis and changing focus in first language composition research that together played an important role in broadening the scope of rhetorical and discursal studies. However, as Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005) have pointed out, contrastive analysis “survived these criticisms ...by broadening its frame of reference to include text linguistics, genre analysis and cultural theories of writing” (p. 53).

To sum up this critical review, the present study has taken contrastive rhetoric as its explanatory framework for two important reasons. First, it has considered ‘culture’ and ‘writing’ as intertwined. That is, students’ writings can be partly influenced by their cultural backgrounds. Second, my own experience as a teacher of EFL writing along with some empirical studies have demonstrated the acceptability of claims made by contrastive rhetoricians, persuading me to reflect Matsuda’s words:

The accumulating evidence from contrastive rhetoric research warrants the view that linguistics, cultural and educational backgrounds have some influence on the organizational structures of ESL text, although they are by no means the only factors. (Matsuda, 1997, p. 48)

In fact, one can trace the continuing influence of contrastive rhetoric analysis that are reflected in the literature, and using Silva’s own words “one could make a strong case for the notion that the current –traditional approach [ contrastive rhetoric ] - is still dominant in ESL writing materials and classroom practices today” (1991, p. 15).

### **Text Linguistics**

According to Kaplan, developments in text linguistics and text analysis have exercised a great impact on the evolution of research tools in contrastive rhetoric (Kaplan, 1988). Due to this importance it is worth reviewing the field of text linguistics.

As a reaction to the traditional syntactic and morphological description of the texts that was prevalent in 1970 and 1980, text linguistics suggested a different approach towards text analysis. The term text linguistics “refers practically to any analysis of text as long as the primary interest is relationship beyond the sentences” (Bulow-Moller, 1989, p. 9). It, in fact, deals with the way the parts of a text are organized and related to one another to form a meaningful whole (Richard et al., 1990).

The term text, also, is used to refer to language beyond the sentence, that is, the study of any utterance or set of utterances as part of context. So, text linguistics goes behind the notion of language as an abstract system to examine language in social context. In this approach both language receivers and producers are addressed (Carter & Nunnan, 2001).

Conner has defined text-linguistics as a discipline which “is concerned with the process that readers and writers go through in their attempts to comprehend and produce texts” (1999, p. 19). This definition is comprehensive enough to be considered in the rhetoric analysis as it encompasses both the writer and the reader.

The Prague school of linguistics and systemic linguistics has had a great impact on text linguistics (Connor, 1999; Carter & Nunnan, 2001). The Prague school contributed to text linguistics by focusing on how the construction of individual sentences in terms of theme /rheme helped to produce longer patterns of information in extended texts. Using this notion, many subsequent studies attempted to analyze texts to explore the distribution of information in sentences in terms of topic-comment, given-new or theme-rheme.

The introduction of Systemic Linguistics by Halliday and Hassan (1976) shifted the attention further away from sentence-based analysis of the language. Halliday considered language as having three functions:

- a) ideational function that refers to using language to refer to real or imagined persons, things, actions and so forth.
- b) interpersonal function that refers to signaling the writer's attitude and establishing relationship between people.
- c) textual function that refers to creating cohesion in a text.

Textual function deals with surface linguistic ties in text including:

- a) references (how pronouns are used)
- b) substitution and ellipses (how grammatical forms are reduced)
- c) conjunctions (how use of conjunctions creates relationship between sentences)
- d) lexical links (how choice of words contributes to establish cohesion)

Subsequent text analyses have been affected by the textual function of the language due to the fact that it was somehow easy for the researchers to “quantify cohesion between sentences using the above-mentioned Halliday and Hassan’s taxonomy” (Connor, 1999, p. 82).

Discourse analysis, defined as a “study of relationship between language and the context in which it is used” (McCarthy, 1997, p. 5), has been named as the other major school of thought in text linguistics. It has contributed to the development of text linguistics in a number of ways. The ideas put forward by scholars such as Harris (1952), Hymes (1996) and Halliday (1973) emphasizing the link between the text and its social context have been used in text linguistics .

In fact, discourse analysis by describing the “language above the sentence and an interest in the contexts and cultural influences which effect language in use” (McCarthy, 1997, p. 7) provided the backdrop for further study in different fields including text linguistics and rhetoric analysis as well.

Several text linguistic studies have contrasted various coherence and discourse patterns in different languages. Hinds's work (1987) which will be discussed later in this chapter, is perhaps the most influential in this area. He asserted that Japanese is a reader-responsible language as opposed to English which is a writer responsible language. He further claimed that Japanese are expected to think for themselves, drawing their own conclusions. In English, however, it is usually the writer's responsibility to convince readers by explicitly presenting the idea in a way that they will be able to follow.

In general, these three schools of thought namely the Prague school, Systemic linguistics and discourse analysis tried to study language beyond the sentence and emphasized text as an intermediary between sender and receiver. Thus, they provided the needed theories and tools for text linguistics.

### **Studies on Contrastive Rhetoric Analysis**

As was mentioned above, in spite of the criticisms, many contrastive rhetoricians continued to follow Kaplan's research method, producing more and more detailed descriptions of the rhetorical patterns in different languages. In the following section, we attempt to go through the main studies on contrastive rhetoric.

Purves (1986) was one of the few scholars who analyzed L1 writing styles from different countries. He administered a general topic "My native town" to secondary school students in Australia, England, Finland, The Ivory Coast, Italy, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, Nigeria, Scotland, Thailand, and the US. The non-English essays were all translated into English, keeping the style and the flavor of the original. He analyzed the essays in terms of:

- a) personal versus impersonal
- b) ornamental versus plain

- c) abstract versus concrete
- d) single versus multiple focus
- e) propositional strategy versus appositional

The results of the study indicated that there were both striking similarities and differences between countries. Australian writing, for example, was highly personal, figurative, single and propositional. However, Finnish writing was impersonal, plain, multiple and appositional. Purves further concluded that the differences were the results of conventions followed in school. Yet, he warned that the results of the study could not be generalized because the participant students were in the process of learning to write.

As an example of contrastive text linguistics, Hinds (1987) followed Kaplan's study on East Asian writing style to analyze the texts in terms of unity. He investigated the notion of reader-responsibility in contrast to writer-responsibility and put forward a new kind of language typology. By analyzing a Japanese text taken from a Japanese daily newspaper, Hinds claimed that English uses a writer-responsible-rhetoric, that is, it is the duty of the writer to make a text as clear as possible, while the Japanese made use of a reader-responsible rhetoric, that is, it is the reader who should try to understand the exact intended meaning of the text. In other words, he argued further, English readers expect the writers to present the "transition statements" and "the needed landmarks" (Hinds, 1987, p. 146) within the text. In Japanese text these elements are not used, and the reader is responsible for establishing a connection between any parts of the text as a whole.

According to Hinds, there are four stages in Japanese essays. The first stage, *Ki*, introduces the topic and begins the argument; the second stage, *Shoo*, develops the argument; the third one, *Ten*, where the development is finished, turns the development to

a subtopic which is not directly related to the main topic introduced initially and the last stage, *Ketsu*, brings together all the information.

Drawing on Kaplan's 1966 study, Hinds commented that, as an implication of his study, because of the possibility of transfer of native rhetorical patterns, it is necessary for language teachers to teach ESL or EFL students that "the writing process in English involves a different assumption from the one they are accustomed to working with" (Hinds, 1987, p. 152). Thus, ESL/EFL students have to change their organizational patterns in order to meet the expectations of the English audience.

However, McCagg (1996) examined both the Japanese and English versions of the same newspaper column that Hinds had used as the basis for his argument in his article. He came to the conclusion that:

"As long as the writer and reader share the same set of cultural beliefs, life experiences, as well as similar conceptual and linguistic abilities, comprehension of Japanese message in general does not require any greater cognitive effort on the part of the reader than understanding English messages does" (p. 239).

He further argued that audiences in every language were expected to contribute to the communicative act based on their shared cultural experiences.

It is worth mentioning that these two different interpretations of the same phenomenon, in fact, manifest the interaction of many factors that are inherent in the rich fabric of contrastive rhetoric.

Based on the idea, initially put forward by Kaplan (1966) and later verified by Hinds (1987), that subjects were better able to comprehend and recall information when the rhetorical structure of a discourse was compatible with those of the subjects, Eggington (1987) conducted a preliminary investigation to find out if Koreans regarded the English

linear structure as being unclear in the same way English speakers would regard the non-linear structure of Korean.

The researcher collected a corpus of eight samples of academic Korean writing. Four of the samples followed the preferred non-linear style of Korean, while the remaining four followed the linear pattern of English. The content of the samples were controlled to be as comparable as possible. He then asked fourteen Korean students who had been in the US for less than six months, to rank the samples from easiest to the most difficult to read. It was predicted that the samples following the preferred Korean discourse patterns (samples 1, 3, 4, 6) would be ranked easier to read than those that followed the English-influenced linear rhetoric pattern (samples 2, 5, 7 and 8).

The result indicated that samples (1, 3, 4, 6) were judged as being easier to read and samples (2, 5, 7, 8) as being more difficult to read. Although Egginton himself regarded the study as “rather crude” (p. 161), the results of the study triggered further research in the field.

Indrasutra (1988) conducted a research study on the writing of 30 American high school students and 30 Thai high school students on the same topic. The results of the study indicated that Thai students focused on mental status more than American students did. The study claimed that this focusing was the result of Buddhist training that the Thai students had undergone before. The American students, however, were less influenced by religious beliefs and used writing as an instrument to present a story to capture the readers’ interest. This study indicated that young people in different societies had different outlooks.

Focusing on similarities and differences between students’ L1 and L2 writing, Hirose (2003) conducted a study aiming at a with-in subject comparison of Japanese L1 and L2 writing in terms of organizational patterns in argumentative writing. One of the



results of the study indicated that the majority of the students employed deductive type of organizational patterns in both L1 and L2. This finding seems to contradict the early studies (Hinds, 1987) which supported the inductive writing of Japanese students.

Regarding Arabic rhetoric, Fakhri (2004) in a qualitative study tried to investigate rhetorical properties of Arabic research articles using Swale's model 'Create A Research Space', CARS. This model attempts to capture the main rhetorical patterns which are used in organizing the "introduction" part in research articles (Swales, 1990).

As for data, the study used 28 introductions of research articles published in a highly referred journal issued in Morocco. Results of the study indicated that: a) overall organization of introduction parts in Arabic articles was at variance with those of the CARS model. That is, not all authors tried to justify their research and created a research space for their studies. The reason for this diversity is claimed to be the academic background of the authors (They were educated either in Arab or western universities), b) not all Arabic articles reviewed the previous research except for 1, 2 or 3 citations. To account for this absence of evaluation of previous researches, Fakhri attributed it to the unacceptability of argumentative style and self promotion in the culture, c) likewise, in most of the introductions, not explicit statements about the structure of the article were given, reinforcing the idea that Arabic language is a "reader responsible language".

However, the presence of some of these statements in a few articles made the researcher claim that Arabic language was neither a reader responsible nor writer responsible but it is of hybrid nature, d) repetition and flowery expression is a common characteristic of Arabic prose.

The findings of Fakhri's study to some extent supported Kaplan's claim about the commonality of parallelism in semitic languages, however, it did not support the previous

studies claiming the reader responsibility of Arabic. Likewise, the study supports Koch's (1983) claim that argumentation in Arabic was done by repetition and paraphrasing of the arguments.

Fakhri's study is of importance in that it not only described some of the organizational patterns of Arabic articles, but also accounted for the possible cultural origins of such rhetoric as well.

Thatcher (2004) opened a new area in contrastive analysis by pushing contrastive rhetoric analysis and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis even further. She suggests that too much emphasis on the verbal medium as an evidence for cultural and rhetorical patterns would narrow the scope of the field. Besides language, she claims, the communication media such as email and hypertexts can affect writers' rhetorical patterns. In other words, emails and hypertexts may reinforce certain communication possibilities and corresponding rhetorical and cultural patterns.

This view seems to open a new challenge for rhetoricians, as they might have to conduct new studies to understand how writing is treated in other media and cultures across the world.

Bojana Petric (2005) conducted a study to assess the role of contrastive rhetoric in writing pedagogy. Specifically, the aim of the study was assessing the extent to which the students acquired culturally based elements of writing as a result of a writing course which explicitly addressed cultural differences. The course was attended by a group of nineteen students from the Russian Federation at an English medium university in central Europe.

As for the method, the study used a variation of the single group pretest /post test method. The students took a test of writing ability on the first day of their study period.

This was followed by a short writing course taught inclusively over six days. The students then completed a writing assignment of the same type as a test.

The results of the study suggested that although contrastive rhetoric findings about the native patterns may provide an indication of general tendencies, they should not be understood as a strong predictor of students' writing behavior in English. For its research question namely: "To what extent the dominant patterns of the native language interferes with the learning of a different patterns?" the study found little evidence that the dominant native patterns stood in the way of learning a new writing pattern.

The clear implication of this study was that the students need to be provided with a range of samples of a genre or its characteristic elements, so that they can acquire a repertoire of linguistic and rhetorical devices from which they can choose.

### **Iranian Studies on Contrastive Rhetoric**

Contrastive rhetoric studies in comparison with the other fields of TESOL have locally enjoyed less attention. However, the present review of literature revealed some studies that have, in one way or another, made rhetoric as one of the research issues. Going through these local studies, one can see that only certain rhetoric topics have been addressed by the papers including studies on: rhetorical organizations of one of Iran's famous poets, Khayyam, use of metadiscourse in Persian/English master theses, rhetorical features in advertising headlines and meta discourse in English/Persian research articles. In chronological order, this section reviews these studies and their findings.

Yarmohammadi (1995) investigated the rhetorical organization of the Robaiyat (quatrains) of Khayyam, one of the most famous Persian poets of the middle ages, and tried

to compare it with its English translation by Fitzgerald. He came to the conclusion that the rhetorical pattern of all Khayyam's Robaiyat included three components, namely, "description," "recommendation," and "reasoning" which can be used as a criterion to distinguish between the real Khayyam's Robaiyat and those erroneously attributed to him.

Based on his analysis, Yarmohammadi argued that the reason for Fitzgerald's successful translation of Khayyam's Robaiyat is that he managed to reconstruct the same rhetorical patterns in English and then applied appropriate sentence structures and lexis.

A contrastive study on the use of metadiscourse was done by Marandi (2003). The study investigated the use of metadiscourse in Persian/English master's theses among three groups namely native speakers of Persian (Iranian), non-native speakers of English (Iranian) and native speakers of English. Drawing on a revised taxonomy of metadiscourse put forward by Crismore, Markkanen and Steffensen (1993), the study compared only two sections of the theses, introductions and discussions, to find out the amount and types of different metadiscourse used throughout the sections.

Based on the results of the study, each one of these groups used metadiscourses such as connectives, *hedges*, *attributors* and *persona markers* in different ways. She further made conclusion that native speakers of Persian used *connectives* much more frequently than native speakers of English. Nonnative speakers of English used fewer *connectives* in their introduction than in discussion.

In a study, Khodabandeh (2007 b) investigated the application of rhetorical features in advertising headlines of English and Persian languages to uncover the extent of compatibility of the two languages in these domains. To carry out the comparison between

the advertisements, she randomly selected a sample of 100 English and 100 Persian display ads from among a larger corpus of 300 English and 300 Persian ads. The Persian corpus was selected from an Iranian news site called Hamshahri, and English corpus from the site called Herald Times.

The data analysis was conducted in three stages. In the first stage, a detailed description of the advertising headlines at rhetorical features was done to see the similarities and differences between the two languages in these domains. In the second stage, the stylistic features of slogans were analyzed within and across the two languages and in the third level, the discourse features of advertisement of the two languages were taken into consideration.

Results of this study showed that the difference between the English and Persian advertisements was in the frequency of some rhetorical figures, that is, “some rhetorical figures had a higher frequency in one language but not in the other” (p. 60). These differences further revealed that each language preferred specific devices. This preference, she claimed, might be due to various factors such as cultural or personal differences.

Zarei and Mansoori (2007) in a study investigated the use of metadiscourse resources in English and Persian research articles. In fact they performed an inter/intra-lingual contrastive analysis between the two languages. They used a corpus consisting of 19 articles (9 English and 10 Persian articles). Drawing on the model of metadiscourse suggested by Hyland and Tse (2004), they analyzed some particular parts of the articles namely abstract, introduction, methodology, discussion and conclusion. Specifically, they tried to find out how metadiscourse resources are used and dispersed in the two languages.

The results of the study revealed that Persian writers of research articles relatively preferred to outperform their English counterparts by using more metadiscourse elements. They claimed that the differences distinguished Persian writers as using *overt* acts of communication from English writers who resort to the *covert* acts of expression. Furthermore, they argued that in comparison with Persian, English academic genres were reader responsible. They stated:

Thus, one important implication of the present study for prospective writers can be the fact that English academic genre represents a so-called writer-oriented, or viewed from the opposite angle, reader responsible genre in comparison with Persian. Of course, it is very important to notice that writer or reader responsibility is a relative feature. In other words, a language may be writer responsible in comparison with one language and reader responsible in comparison with another language. (2007, p. 34)

It should be mentioned that the study focused on the quantitative analysis of metadiscourse differences between the two languages. In other words, the author did not aim at further investigation of the exact socio-cultural factors which might have underlined the observed differences.

### **Trends in EFL/ESL Writing**

Understanding current research and practice in EFL/ESL writing requires some historical review so that we can get a clear picture of the issue. So, in this section we attempt to review the major trends in teaching the writing skill.

In the 1960s, composition teaching was dominated by the controlled composition model. This model presented “a view of writing that grew out of the combination of

structural linguistics and behavioral psychology” (Matsuda & Silva, 2001, pp. xiv-xv). In this model, writing was not a genuine task as it was meant to serve as a reinforcement of language rules, a sign of structuralism. In the same way, the writing task was tightly controlled to reduce all the possibility of error, a sign of behaviorism.

A controlled composition model at its best form resulted in compositions that were considered incoherent and disorganized despite being grammatically correct. Kaplan(1966) , for the first time , declared that the disorganization of the ESL texts was the result of different ways of organizing thought which was rooted in ESL writers’ linguistics and cultural backgrounds. So, Kaplan put forward a new typology for textual progression with different cultures. This new findings of Kaplan (1972, 1987, 1988), initiated a new area of cross-cultural study known as contrastive rhetoric analysis.

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed the introduction of a new emphasis on composition writing and instruction. In a new effort to examine how writing is actually produced, Janet Emig pioneered the technique of “think aloud procedure for collecting information about students’ writing processes” (Kroll, 2001, p. 220). The application of this technique in composition writing research exercised an influential effect on ESL/EFL composition.

In 1978 Zamal argued that instead of asking how to teach composition, we should try to consider what writing is and what is involved in it. Thus, the application of think aloud protocols together with the insights put forward by scholars such as Zamal paved the way for a new approach toward teaching and investigation of composition called the process approach.

This process-oriented approach coincided with two other new trends namely Text linguistics and Discourse analysis in the 1980s. These two trends, in fact, provided the

theoretical and methodological foundations for describing and analyzing ESL texts. They also contributed to the further development of contrastive rhetoric set by Kaplan's 1966 study.

The process approach, however, is now used as an umbrella term covering many types of writing courses and research studies. The key feature of the term is the idea that writers should get engaged in writing tasks rather than being made to do some fill-in-the-blank types of activities.

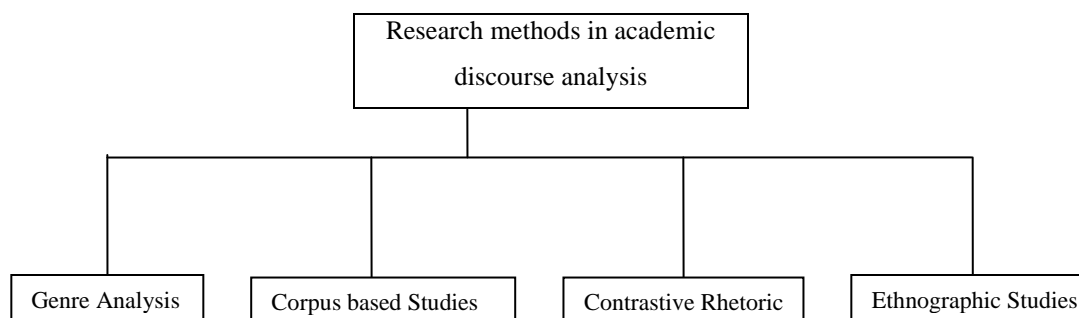
ESL writing education and research were developed and influenced by studies on L1 composition studies (Reid, 2001). It was thought that the ESL writing process and product follow similar patterns. However, in the early 1980s, it was declared that in spite of some similarity between L1 and ESL writing, there are some differences that had to be addressed in providing a comprehensive ESL writing education model (Silva, 1993).

Underlying many of these differences "are studies in contrastive rhetoric that demonstrate ways that writers from different cultures use culturally appropriate writing conventions" (Reid, 2001, p. 30). Accordingly, thereafter, researchers focused on the differences rather than the similarities between L1 and ESL writing. Thus, in the 1980s ESL writing established itself as an independent field.

The increased number of ESL/EFL students in different academic settings shifted the view of writing as "a remedial with the goal of preparing ESL writers for free composition" into writing "academic tasks across disciplines" (Matsuda & Silva, 2001, p. xviii). So, English for Special Purposes established itself as a major field focusing on the reader and writing context. This new field also extended the areas of contrastive rhetoric to cover academic writing focusing on context, audience and rhetoric of specific genres in different fields of study.



In line with these changes in writing, Flowerdew (2002) has divided research in academic English into four methodological categories graphically presented in the following diagram.



*Figure 2.4.* Methodological categories of research in Academic English.

Each of these different methodological categories provides the researchers with different pieces of information. Through genre analysis, one can obtain narrow and deep descriptions of a certain discourse. Corpus based studies, on the other hand, makes it possible for the researcher to conduct an accurate analysis of a large data base. Contrastive rhetoric analysis, as we discussed before, is aimed at presenting the accepted and preferred expectations about how information is arranged and organized in different languages. Finally, ethnographic studies consider text as a feature of a social situation in which it takes place (Flowerdew, 2002).

### **Contrastive Rhetoric: Towards Genre Specific Studies**

As mentioned earlier, contrastive rhetoric initially aimed at identifying ESL students' problems in their compositions "by referring to the rhetorical strategies of the first language" (Conner, 1998). Specifically, it tried to examine the differences and similarities in ESL writing across different cultures.

Contrastive rhetoric, then, expanded its domain to include further areas of inquiry. In addition to students' writing, other modes of writing such as writing of research reports, abstracts, journal articles, grant proposals and business letters were studied (Connor, 1999). Connor in a review of studies in contrastive rhetoric has indicated that "the findings of contrastive rhetoric studies are viewed in three domains: student writing at the primary, secondary and college level; academic writing; and professional writing, a category that includes political writing" (Ibid., p. 126).

Thus, the genre-specific studies have an important status in rhetorical studies. To mention just a few outstanding studies of this kind, we may refer to the analysis of genre in a professional setting by Bhatia (1993), cross-cultural analysis of job application by Connor, Davis, and De Rycker (1995), and the cross-cultural study of business letters in English, French and Japanese conducted by Jenkins and Hinds (1987).

In line with these new developments in contrastive rhetoric analysis, studying newspaper editorials, as a kind of professional and specific genre, has opened a new area of inquiry for research studies. Of course, one may cast doubt on the pedagogical values of studying editorials arguing that neither EFL nor ESL students are expected to write editorials.

However, as Connor has indicated, the research in this area is of importance "because editorials perhaps more than any other type of writing reflect national styles regarding modes of persuasion" (Connor, 1999, p. 143). Moreover, editorials can be considered as a kind of public discourse influencing the academic writing of the students. Compared to other somehow flexible and varied academic writings, editorials are also expected to represent a widely accepted standard of form which is less varied.

Furthermore, editorials, as a kind of newspaper genre, can be used as a resource to write academic genre. Bronia (2005) conducted research aiming to show how explicit analysis of newspaper genre can be used to develop genre knowledge which can be transferred to other genres.

He analyzed two texts seen as typical representations of these genres, school writing and newspaper editorials. One of the texts was an authentic editorial published in Hong Kong and the other was a school argumentative essay written by a student. By doing a contextual and linguistic analysis (based on Tribble, 2002), he demonstrated the following similarities between the two genres:

- 1) Purpose: both genres are used to express opinions, to evaluate, and to make recommendations.
- 2) Schematic structure: both genres begin with an introduction followed by arguments and end with a conclusion.
- 3) Participants: both genres use general participants, such as “most local schools” or “most parents”.
- 4) Non-attributed opinion interwoven with facts: both genres are subjective.
- 5) Dominance of interpersonal meaning: both genres have a large number of linguistic features for realizing interpersonal meaning.
- 6) Connectives for reasoning: both genres use connectives for reasoning.

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that editorials overlap significantly with the argumentative essays of the students in the educational settings in terms of their purpose, schematic structures and some lexico-grammatical features.

Thus, apart from its pedagogical benefits, the systematic cross-cultural study of this genre, editorials, is potentially a promising field of study enabling us to get acquainted with

different ways and strategies that editorials employ to persuade readers to accept their intended opinions.

### *Newspaper Editorials as an Argumentative Genre*

Newspapers are of importance in our daily life in that they provide the basis of most of our social and political knowledge. They include different pieces of information each one having its own stylistic characteristics.

Bell (1991) has classified the newspaper texts into three major categories, namely service information, opinion and news. The service information category includes lists such as sport results, television programs, share prices and weather forecasts. Opinions are texts presenting a certain idea while news texts give accounts of news events.

Obviously, news or news reports are the predominant text type in newspaper discourse and they occupy a substantial space in the newspapers. This kind of news text has been studied by Fowler (1991).

Editorials as a type of media discourse belong to the large class of opinion discourse (van Dijk, 1995). They are different from the news in that they are supposed to present evaluations and comments about the news events already reported in the newspaper. As a professional writing, editorials are of argumentative and persuasive nature. That is, their main objective is to influence the readers to accept the editorial intended interpretation of certain issues.

Unlike service information news, opinion discourse is not a list of expressions of underlying opinions; rather such expressions should be structured in specific ways, normally in a form of argumentative writing.

van Eemeren et al. (1996) have commented that argumentation is “ a verbal and social activity of reason aiming at increasing (or decreasing) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint for the listener or reader, by putting forward a constellation of propositions intended to justify (or refute) the stand point before a rational judge” (p. 5).

As Richardson (2007) has indicated, the above mentioned comment on argumentation suggests that argumentative discourse displays a number of characteristics. First, it is an activity enabling language users to do certain things by using language such as conveying their point of view or refuting that of others. Second, it is a social activity contributing to the communication process in society. Third, argumentation is a joint process between participants who both produce and consume argumentation.

According to Hatch (2000), argumentative writing “has often been defined as the process of supporting or weakening another statement whose validity is questionable or contentious” (p. 185). He presents a classical description of argumentative writing as:

- introduction
- explanation of the case under consideration
- outline of the argument
- proof
- refutation
- conclusion

Hatch also cites Maccoun (1983) who identified seven organizational patterns for argumentative discourse.

In the first pattern called ‘zig-zag’, the arguer, after presenting a premise, provides a number of points for or against it. If the arguer is a proponent of the premise, the pattern will be ‘pro-con-pro-con-pro’; otherwise it would have a ‘con-pro-con-pro-con’ pattern. In

the second pattern the arguer presents the problem along with the previously proposed solution followed by refutation of the proposal. Another solution is presented as an alternative. Through the third argumentative pattern, the arguer simply presents a point of view without acknowledging any refutation. In an eclectic approach, the fourth pattern, the arguer only dissects the point of view choosing to reject some points, accept another or combines them. The fifth pattern involves the arguer in presenting the opponent's argument first followed by his or her own argument. Markers such as 'A common perception...' or 'Conventional wisdom ...' are used to refer to the opponent's argument.

The sixth pattern involves the questioning, but not direct refutation of the opposition's argument. The seventh pattern that Maccoun (1983) found in her review of articles and news reports was an argumentative pattern in which two points of view are expressed, while one is favored; both are within the same general point of view. In other words, the arguer presents a point of view, and then offers disagreement within the same point of view and then an alternative view as an improvement on the original, not a replacement, is given.

Although there are some general characteristics of the argumentative genre, as mentioned before, their realization in different languages may not be the same. Hatch (2000) indicates that:

This may be due, in part, to cultural differences in values placed on different patterns of argumentation. For example, some cultures develop arguments through repetition. The beauty of an argument is judged on how these repetitions are accomplished. In American culture, such arguments are not highly valued. In some cultures, it is considered a great mistake to recognize the arguments of the other side. In American culture, all arguments are to be

raised and disposed of by counterarguments. In some cultures, it is a weakness not to completely destroy an opponent's arguments; in others, it is acceptable to see some merit in the argument of one's opponent. Finally, in some language groups, subtlety is the key to argumentation. (p. 187)

So, all this implies that editorials as a kind of argumentative genre may be developed through different patterns based, in part, on the language. That is, rhetorically, languages may have different pattern preferences realized in the editorials.

Elaborating on the importance of this argumentative genre, editorials, van Dijk indicates that:

They [editorials] are probably the widest circulated opinion discourse of society, whether or not all readers of the newspaper read them daily. Their influence may not so much be based on massive popular influence, as rather on their influence on elites. We may assume, for instance, that members of the parliament or congress, cabinet ministers, corporate managers and other leaders follow the opinions of the most respected newspapers. (van Dijk, 1996, p. 18 )

van Dijk (1992) has indicated the following roles for editorials:

- a) They intend to influence the social conditions of the readers
- b) Through influencing the readers' conditions they aim to reproduce their own attitudes and ideologies
- c) They want to address, directly or indirectly , the news actors as well
- d) They act politically as an implementation of power.

Thus, editorials can be considered as a discourse genre which represents a leading position in political communication. Although editorials may be written by a single writer,

the opinion they are representing is “generally institutional” (van Dijk, 1995). In other words, a writer somehow reflects and supports the voice, ideology and opinion of the newspaper and the publication.

### *Opinion, Attitude, Ideology*

As discussed before, editorials are a kind of media discourse belonging to a large class of opinion discourse. So, initially defining the term ‘opinion’ would assist us in exploring the nature of the editorials.

van Dijk has tried to illuminate the term as it is used in editorials. For him, opinion is a type of belief that, based on social and cultural grounds, has an evaluative dimension. In other words, opinions imply that something is good or bad, right or wrong. That is, they can be distinguished from “knowledge” by the presence of evaluative predicates. So, it can be concluded that “as soon as a belief presupposes norms and values, we shall here call it an opinion” (van Dijk, 1995).

Opinions are usually personal; however, if they are socially shared with others, we may refer to them as “attitudes”. So, there is a distinction between “specific, personal evaluative opinions and a social general abstract evaluative belief shared by members of a group” (van Dijk, 1995). In other words, attitudes, as a form of social representation, are about groups’ “basic convictions, axiomatic belief system” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 16).

Although the term ideology “is an essentially contestable concept and, as such, it makes little point to describe what it ‘really’ means” (Richardson, 2007, p. 32), it has been defined as “an abstract system of evaluative beliefs, typically shared by social groups, that underlies the attitudes of a group” (van Dijk, 1996). Ideologies are generally expected to represent the major interests of a group. In fact, it is assumed that “ideologies form the



‘bases’ of the belief system or social representation of specific group” (van Dijk, 2001, p. 12)

Having briefly clarified the terms opinion, attitude and ideology, the next issue for elaboration is the way of presenting opinions in the editorials.

### *Opinion in Editorials*

Identification of opinions in an argumentative genre such as the newspaper editorial is not as straightforward as it might appear. So, it is necessary to discuss how opinions are expressed and persuasively communicated throughout the editorials. As mentioned earlier, editorials are of a persuasive nature aiming to persuade readers to undertake a certain type of action, or to change their attitudes toward the topic being discussed. Because of its central role in editorials, the term “persuasion” needs to be defined first.

In an effort to present a definition of the term persuasion, O’Keefe (1999) has identified six features present in the act of persuasion. The first feature is the notion of success which is associated with the term. That is, when someone persuades another, it is implied that a successful attempt of influencing has been done. Second, persuasion is a goal-oriented act. Third, there is a sense of intentionality in the act of persuasion. Fourth, the persuadee has some measure of freedom, that is, free choice, free will, and volunteer action otherwise, it cannot be considered as a genuine act of persuasion. Fifth, the effects of persuasion are mostly achieved by means of communication especially through the medium of language. And finally, persuasion involves a change of mental state of the persuadee.

Based on the above-mentioned features, O’Keefe has defined persuasion as “a successful intentional effort at influencing another’s mental state through communication

in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom” (O’Keefe, 1990, p.17).

Perloff (1993) has put forward a definition of the term “persuasion” which may serve the purpose of this study. To him:

Persuasion is an activity or process in which the communicator attempts to induce a change in the belief, attitude, or behavior of another person or group of persons through the transmission of a message in a context in which the persuadee has some degree of free choice. (1993, p. 14)

Persuasion is, in fact, “one of the most important means of creating and affecting choices in both public and private life. It marks *media communication*, workplace interaction, and family relations. Persuasion is a natural and unavoidable part of our human condition” (1987, p. 2, emphasis added).

Indicating that “at the heart of rhetorical argumentation is the mode of persuasion”, Richardson (2007, p. 159) mentions three kinds of strategy that an arguer may employ in persuading the audience.

The first mode of persuasion is named as *ethos*. Through this mode an audience can be persuaded by the character of the arguer. For example, the audience may be convinced through the good and positive character of the arguer. By appealing to this mode of persuasion, the writer tries to associate himself or herself with some other authorities on the subject.

The second mode of persuasion is referred to as *pathos* which is the use of the emotions in presenting the argument. Through moving the “audience from one emotional state to another” the arguer aims to put the audience in a frame of mind that makes them more receptive to what the arguer wants them to believe” (Richardson, 2007, p. 160). By

using examples and certain language forms, the writers aim to stir up feelings of compassion, fear or anger in the audience.

The third persuasion strategy is termed as *logos* which refers to the structure of the argument. Deductive and inductive are two important ways of structuring an argument. This may, also, refer to making use of the facts and figures, the testimony of experts, and other well-documented information in the text.

Thus, as a step in rhetorical analysis it is of importance to determine what persuasive appeals (Logos, Pathos, Ethos) the editorials are employing.

### *Studies on Editorials*

One of the initial studies on editorials is that of Dantas-Whitney and Grabe (1989). The aim of this study was a textual comparison of the editorials published in three languages namely Brazilian, Portuguese and English. One dimension of the study was the ‘presentation of the information’ which included six text features such as *use of nominalization, preposition, third person singular, pronouns and locative verbs*.

Based on the results of the study, the English editorials used more formal styles than the Portuguese editorials. English editorials also used more nominalization and prepositions. Portuguese editorials, on the other hand, used more personal aspects of the text such as third-person singular and pronouns and locative verbs.

Trikkonen-Condit and Lieflander-Koistine (1989) conducted a cross-cultural study of editorials in Finnish, English and German newspapers. The aim of the study was to compare the strength and placement of the main claim or argument of the editorials.

The result of the study indicated that Finnish editorials were different from those of others in that they did not always argue the point of view preferring to provide the readers

with required information. The stated policy of the newspaper was to build consensus rather than division. Furthermore, the German editorials placed the argument statement at the beginning of the editorials more often than the English newspapers did. Finnish editorials on the other hand did not always argue a point or a view.

Bolivar (1994) analyzed the structure of 23 editorials from *The Guardian* published during the first three months of 1981. Based on the analysis, she introduced a “minimal unit of interaction”, called ‘Triad’, which consisted of three distinct elements namely *Lead*, *Follow* and *Valuate*. She further added that each of these elements serves a “distinction function in the discourse: the Lead introduces the about-ness and the posture, the Follow responds and the Valuate closes the cycle with an evaluation” (1994, p: 293). The Triad, she argued, may have more than three turns provided that the sequence of the Lead and Follow is repeated before concluding with the closing Valuate.

Applying the Triad model to the analysis of the editorials, Bolivar put forward a typical macro-structure for the editorials. This macro-structure is composed of three movements as follow:

- Movement A: refers to the actual world, a world that is or was.
- Movement B: refers to the world of possibilities or the world that might be.
- Movement C: refers to the world that should be, and in fact a major evaluation that refers back to the movements B and A (1994, p. 283)

Considering the institutional function of the editorials, van Dijk (1995) expects the following schematic categories for the editorials:

1. Summary of the events.
2. Evaluation of the event – especially of actions and actors.
3. Pragmatic conclusion (Recommendation, advice, warning).

Compared with the model put forward by Bolivar, discussed above, van Dijk's approaches to the schematic categories is socially oriented. According to him:

We may also expect that the first part (summarizing the event) will be more or less factual, although the description of the event may itself take place in partly evaluative terms (as in 'Terrorists yesterday bombed...'). The second evaluation part, will focus on the opinions of the newspaper, and will involve values and underlying ideologies. The third, pragmatic part, about what should/could (not) be done is action oriented, and therefore based on the norms (van Dijk, 1995).

Riazi and Assar (2001) studied Persian editorials to find out their preferred rhetorical patterns. As for the data, they used six daily published Persian newspapers. A sample of 60 editorials, 10 for each newspaper, was selected to be analyzed using a two-level analysis namely *rhetorical* and *syntactic*.

Based on the results of the study, they claimed that Persian editorials tend to follow a three-turn rhetoric pattern, *Triad*, composed of *Lead*, *Follow* and *Valuate*, each having a particular function. More specifically, *Lead* usually expressed through interrogative sentences, has the function of initiating and presenting the topic, *Follow* expressed usually through passive sentences has the function of elaborating the topic and the last one, *Valuate*, has the function of evaluating the two previous turns. As a further elaboration on the results of the study, Riazi (2003) argued that:

Each turn is characterized by specific sentence types. For example, it was found that "Leads" were mostly expressed in interrogatives; "Follows" mostly used passive structures; and "Valuates" used conditional and copulas. The usage of special syntactic structures for specific turns can be justified partly in light of the discoursal function, attributed to each structure and reported in

previous studies. Interrogative sentences, for example, are used with the goal of eliciting information or presenting some new topic for discussion. Since the main function of L turn is to introduce the aboutness of the Triad and a subject, therefore, it seems quite reasonable to have interrogatives mostly in L turns. On the other hand, the correspondence of passive structures and F turns might be due to the fact that passives provide elaboration of the events. (2003, p. 2)

Ansary and Babaii (2004) studied English Newspapers editorials to find out actual rhetorical patterns of text development in English editorials. As for data, they used a corpus of 30 English editorials culled from the daily electronic version of The Washington Times.

After analyzing the data, they identified four obligatory structural or rhetorical elements: Run on Headline (RH), Addressing an Issue (AI), Argumentation (A) and Articulating a position (AP). These elements in Ansary and Babaii's study appeared in the following order in the editorials: RH^AI^A^AP.

They named this arrangement of the rhetorical elements as a "generic prototypical pattern of text development for editorials or what Halliday and Hasan (1989) refer to as the Generic Structure Potential (GSP) of a genre" (Ansary & Babaii, 2004). Note that the caret sign (^) indicated the sequence. Of course, besides these obligatory elements, they identified some optional elements referred to as:

- background Information (BI) that either proceeded AI or followed it.
- Initiation of the Argument (IA) which had the function of helping the writer to start off the argument.
- Closure of the Argument (CA) used to round off the argument.

Although analyzing the macro structures of editorials is an invaluable way of looking at a text, Ansary's and Babaii's study, as they themselves argued, could have gained much more validity if had interviewed the writers of the editorials as well.

Ansary (2004) also, in a separate study, analyzed newspaper editorials culled from three English newspapers published in three different socio-cultural environments by native speakers of English (*The Washington Times*), and non-native speakers (*The Iran News*, and *Pakistan Today*). One of the aims of the study was to examine whether there was statistically any significant macro-structural variation from one culture to another culture within the same genre, newspaper editorials.

Results of his rhetorical analysis of texts indicated that in terms of rhetorical elements of the structure, mentioned in Ansary and Babaii (2004), there was statistically no significant difference between English newspaper editorials written by non-native editorial writers in whatever socio-cultural context they are produced. In other words, the analytical results of the study indicated that editorial texts produced by non-native speakers of English enjoyed the same rhetorical elements. That is, an unmarked English newspaper editorial, published either in Iran or Pakistan or the USA, typically consists of four obligatory structural elements (Headlines, Addressing the issue, Argumentation, and articulating the Position) and two optional elements: Providing Background Information and Closing Remarks).

It can be argued that the study is far from enough to develop a sound cross-cultural analysis. The fact is that it has not taken into account the possibility that those who are employed in newspapers as columnists may be quite fluent in English rhetoric due to their academic studies of the English language

Dayang (2004) examined the discourse structure of newspaper editorials in Philippine English in terms of their macrostructure and their lexico-grammatical features. As for data, he used three leading English language newspapers. The study revealed certain characteristics of Philippine English editorials. Firstly, the editorials can be described in terms of claim and data and the interspersed of these macro-propositions in the editorial texts. Secondly, the lexico-grammatical features ascribed to the macro-propositions include attitudinal adjectives and adverbs, conditional clauses, and so forth.

Katajamaki and Koskela (2006) studied the rhetorical structure of editorials in English, Swedish and Finnish business newspapers. The aim of the study was first to find out if there was a typical rhetorical structure for the editorials in business newspapers irrespective of national and cultural features. Secondly, they aimed at describing the possible differences. Thirdly, they wanted to find out the factors connected with the content of the text.

The researchers used a modification of van Dijk's model of rhetorical structure. The model consisted of three sections as follows:

- 1) The introduction section dealing with the event or a critical state of affairs.
- 2) The intermediate section (dealing with the consequences of the event and the analysis) divided into two stages: intermediate stage and solution stage.
- 3) Coda divided into two stages: Conclusion and Moral.

Based on the results of the study, the researchers concluded that most of the editorials followed the proposed model proving that (they claimed) the editorial in general is a unified genre irrespective of the type of the journalism in which it occurs. They indicated that there was variation in two stages of rhetorical structures of the editorials namely the solution and the moral stage. According to the study, the Swedish newspapers



had the longest editorial presenting a solution and a moral more often than the other two newspapers. In general, the study concluded that editorials in business newspapers seldom presented any solution for the critical issues as the topics were either too abstract or the solution was too obvious to be repeated.

To discuss the usefulness of demarcation of genre and micro-genre in contrastive rhetoric and its importance in the study of newspaper commentaries, Wang (2006) conducted a study on Chinese and Australian newspaper commentaries on the events of 11 September. The results of the study indicated that generally the Chinese writers tended to employ the micro-genre of “media explanatory exposition” more often than other micro-genre. The study also found that Chinese writers tended to show diversity and individual characteristics in terms of rhetorical structures. The Australian writers, on the other hand, tended to use the “media argumentative exposition” as the dominant micro-genre, and in terms of rhetorical structures they tended to be convergent and follow certain stable patterns.

### **Editorials and Language Teaching**

Nowadays a greater number of English language newspapers are accessible worldwide mainly due to the World Wide Web. They are considered the most up-to-date inexpensive text-book available to the students in bridging the gap between general academic subjects and the real world.

Language educators have the option of bringing these newspapers into their classrooms making them an integral part of the classes. In fact, the use of newspapers as a teaching device has been based on the current research findings in reading and writing.

One such example is a two-year study at the University of Stockholm conducted by Edfeldt (1990). The study evaluated the effectiveness of using newspapers as a teaching medium. About 300 students used the newspapers as their only reading texts for 2 years aiming at developing their reading skills. Based on the results of the study, the experimental group in this analytic reading program saw dramatically better reading scores than some 7,500 students in the conventional reading program.

Due to their unique characteristics in presenting authentic and real material, expressing prevalent cultural issues and their flexibility in teaching language, newspapers can be used as an instructional material in language classes.

To prepare students for the opportunities outside of the classroom, teachers are recommended to make use of authentic materials (Hadley, 2003; Nunan, 1999; Tomlinson, 2002). Of course the concept of authenticity is a relative issue and “in a sense as soon as you take language out of the context for which it was created it becomes deauthenticated” (Nunan, 1999, p. 212).

Yet, authentic materials are considered here as the “‘found’ materials originally written for some other purpose than language teaching” (Hall, 2001, p. 229). In other words, they “are written basically for communicative purposes” (Edfeldt, 1990, p. 21).

It is believed that real forms of language such as newspapers and magazines “will acquaint the students more directly with real language than will any set of contrived classroom materials used alone” (Hadley, 2003, p. 82). Pemagbi (1995) argues that many aspects of language and communication skills can be taught through newspapers. Feature articles and gossip columns, for example, can be used to present the formal and informal use of the English Language respectively. Still, letters to the editors may be used to illustrate the good features of letter writing.

Teaching cultural issues can be facilitated through the newspapers than any other instructional materials in EFL classes (Belge & Slowik, (1988). Newspapers, in fact, express the culture of a community and almost any feature of it can be used to teach about the culture (Rafael, 1995). Advertisements, for example, can be used to point out the kind of housing, clothing and food preferred by speakers of the target language.

The newspaper as an educational tool both to complement and supplement traditional classroom texts can also be used to conduct a number of different classroom activities. Assigning the students to clip an article from a paper and report it to the classroom in speech classes, or giving them the lead paragraph about a picture and getting them to write the second paragraph with added details in writing class are among the possible activities that can be performed through newspapers.

Much has been said and written in general on the utility of newspapers, but one principal feature which has been less exposed to teachers is the use of newspaper editorials in the classrooms. The formal use of the language in the editorial is one possible reason for this lack of attention to them.

Having a social and philosophical commitment to the ideology of the publisher and to the interest of the readership (Rafael, 1995) has made them adopt an argumentative and persuasive nature. Moreover in an effort to influence their readers they resort to as many rhetorical devices as possible, making the texts appear somehow unsuitable for use in the classroom. However, these very characteristics- being persuasive and argumentative- make these editorial pages suitable enough to be used in EFL classes.

### **Summary**

This dip into the accessible literature points to a few indisputable facts. First, contrastive rhetoric analysis has become an established area of research widening its scope

of research into new areas such as research articles in different disciplines, mass media, hypertext and emails. Second, the issue of ESL writing has been one of the most-frequently-addressed topics in most of the contrastive rhetoric studies focusing mainly on East Asian countries such as Japan and China. Third, the limited number of Iranian contrastive rhetoric studies, however, indicates that this field of study has just started entering Iranian academic settings. Fourth, a number of studies have focused on exploring the rhetorical patterns in newspaper editorials; these studies usually focused on presenting a structural account of the editorials.

Acknowledging the importance of these studies in both extending the domain of rhetoric studies and shedding light on this aspect of editorials, we feel that taking a discourse analytical approach in studying editorials would be equally illuminating. Editorials, in our point of view, are different from the other ordinary types of discourse in society and culture.

Thus, considering the prominent function of editorials in the expression and construction of public opinion, the present study intends to explore the ways these functions are practically realized cross-culturally. At the same time the study tries to explore the ways newspaper editorials can be used as a teaching device in classes. It is hoped that the study will contribute to broadening further the field of Contrastive Rhetoric and English Language Teaching.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

It has been argued that “editorials have socio-cultural and interactional functions” (van Dijk, 1992, p. 243). The persuasive function is of primary importance in the editorials. They intend to influence the social cognition of their readers. On the other hand, they enforce their own points of views among the readers. Not only do they try to persuade their readers, but directly or indirectly they try to address the influential news actors as well. Specifically, editorials try to achieve this through either evaluating the actions of the actors or recommending alternative courses of action, making the reader a mere observer of the scene (van Dijk, 1992).

This chapter includes the research question and sub-questions, research design of the study, data collection, data analysis, operational definitions of categories, and a brief discussion on content analysis, discourse analysis, reliability and validity.

#### **Research Questions**

As a “genre-specific study in contrastive rhetoric” (Connor, p. 126), the present study is aimed at conducting a comparative rhetorical analysis of selected Persian and English editorials.

Thus, the central research question of the present study is:

What discourse strategies do the editorials in the American newspaper, *The New York Times* (henceforth NYT), and the Iranian English newspaper, *Tehran Times* (TT), employ to propagate their preferred attitudes?

To answer the above mentioned central question the following sub-questions are to be asked:

- a) How are the schematic structures of the editorials realized in the two newspapers?
- b) What types of rhetorical structures do editorials in the NYT and TT employ to express their preferred attitudes?

The “*schematic structures*” referred to in the sub-question **a** are in fact the kinds of conventional frames and schemata the editorials employ to organize the content. According to van Dijk (1985), “schemata are used to describe the overall form of a discourse” (p. 69). In other words, schematic structures are “conventional categories which define the functions of the respective parts of the text” (van Dijk, 1995).

As for the second sub-question **b**, we aimed to explore the special rhetorical structures employed in the editorials. These structures “function to emphasize or draw attention to special aspects of the meaning of a text, and hence often are used as a part of strategies of persuasion” (T. A. van Dijk, personal communication, May 17, 2008).

## **Research Design**

Qualitative research methodology has been employed in the present study due to the nature of the study and certain characteristics that are associated with qualitative research methods. Working with texts, dealing with the natural setting of the phenomenon, viewing the social phenomenon from an insider’s perspective, focusing on a smaller sample of participants and having an interpretive nature are the major characteristics of this method (Dornyei, 2007). Furthermore to describe and analyze the data, the study will use Rhetorical analysis, Discourse analysis and Content analysis.

One of the main characteristics of this research method is that it usually works with various types of texts such as field notes, journals and documents with the aim of capturing rich and complex details of the research phenomenon.

Secondly, in an effort to describe the phenomenon as it occurs naturally, this method tries to preserve the natural setting avoiding manipulating the situation under study. Selinger and Shohamy (1990) elaborated on this issue as follows:

Qualitative methods originally developed from the methodologies of field anthropologists and sociologists concerned with studying human behavior within the context in which that behavior would occur naturally and in which the role of the researcher would not affect the normal behavior of the subjects. (Selinger & Shohamy, 1990, p. 118)

Thirdly, the qualitative research method tries to view social phenomenon from “the perspective of insiders” (Dornyei, 2007, p. 38). That is, it is concerned with feelings of the individual with the aim of understanding the participants’ view of the situation being studied. In the same vein, Punch (2005) has indicated that the basic characteristic of qualitative research is the idea that human behavior is based on meaning which people attribute to and bring to a situation.

Fourthly, qualitative studies make use of smaller samples of participants trying to get as much information as possible about the phenomenon.

Finally, being interpretive is the last characteristic of this research method. This means that the results of the study can be the product of the researcher’s subjective interpretation of the data.

Thus, considering both the above-mentioned characteristics of the qualitative studies and the subject-matter of the present study, which is comparing the rhetorical

features of newspaper editorials in English and Persian, it is quite logical to employ this method in this study.

### **Data Collection**

Due to the discovery-oriented character of qualitative enquiry, sampling in a qualitative study can be potentially “bulky and messy” (Dornyei, 2007, p. 125). This bulkiness and messiness of data is usually a reflection of the complexity of the natural setting that our data concerns (Dornyei, 2007). However, as Richards (2005) has indicated, this bulkiness of data may result in the lack of any planned data reduction.

Thus, the main goal of sampling in a qualitative study is to find cases “that can provide rich and varied insights about the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we can learn” (Dornyei, 2007, p. 126).

The present study has employed nonrandom sampling. This kind of sampling includes systematic sampling which is the choice of *n*th individual or item in a population list, convenience sampling which is the selection of individual or cases that happen to be available for study and purposive sampling in which the researcher selects cases based on his knowledge of population (Mackey & Gass, 2005).

The main reason for this kind of sampling is the fact that firstly, sometimes editorials in TT were exact duplication of opinions originally reported and published by other international news agencies such as the French News Agency .On the other hand in some editions the editorial writers were not Iranian at all but their opinions appeared in the newspaper editorial section, “Opinion”. As an example, we may refer to Yvonne Ridley, a British journalist whose article titled *Muslim sisters stand up for their rights* appeared in the newspaper on April 26, 2008, and Gwynne Dyer, a Canadian freelance journalist,



whose article titled *Cluster bomb ban* was published in the editorial column of Tehran Times on June 1, 2008.

Thus, in adopting a nonrandom purposeful sampling, the present study selected 40 editorials [20 culled from the electronic version of the Iranian English newspaper, Tehran Times at <http://www.tehrantimes.com/>, and 20 editorials culled from the electronic version of the English daily newspaper, New York Times at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/18/opinion/> out of a large pool of editorials which were published daily over a specific span of time (the second half of 2008)]. As the length of some of the editorials would be longer because of covering weekly events, we tried to select a smaller and more manageable text corpus.

Tehran Times is Iran's leading international daily. According to the official newspaper web site, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, there was a need for an international media outlet to export the ideas of the revolution. Tehran Times covers domestic, political, social, foreign, and sports news and also includes commentary.

Because of its accepted duties, Tehran Times makes a special effort to publish reports on cultural and religious issues. For Islamic celebrations and religious occasions, the culture and arts page is dedicated to the event. To make the content more colorful, additional stories on Iran's tourist attractions, women's issues, children's issues, and the Internet are also included and those interested can read them on special pages every week. Tehran Times has become a reliable news source for hundreds of foreign media outlets as well as envoys from different countries based in Tehran, who read it to learn about the country's current events.

The New York Times is a daily newspaper published in New York City and distributed internationally. It is owned by The New York Times Company, which publishes 15 other newspapers, including the *International Herald Tribune* and *The Boston Globe*. It is the largest metropolitan newspaper in the United States and is often regarded as a national newspaper of record, meaning that it is frequently relied upon as the authoritative reference for modern events. Founded in 1851, the newspaper has won 98 Pulitzer Prizes, more than any other newspaper. The newspaper's title, like other similarly-named publications, is often abbreviated to *The Times*. Its motto, always printed in the upper left-hand corner of the front page, is: "All the news that's fit to print."

### **Data Analysis**

In the present study, an editorial is considered a kind of newspaper discourse "that gives the opinion of the editor or publisher on a topic or item of news" (Sinclair, 1995). The structure of editorials is different from that of news reports to which they refer (van Dijk, 1988). Specifically, editorials usually have:

- a fixed place in the paper
- a special type or page layout
- a typical header

As for the first sub-question, we tried to identify the schematic structures of the editorials based on the theoretical classification proposed by van Dijk (1985, 1992, 1995). The question has been based on the speculation that firstly each discourse type may have certain frames to express the content, and secondly the schemata of a certain genre might be realized differently in different languages. Thus, using a suggested schematic

structure of editorials (Table 3.1), the present study aimed to find out if editorials in two languages fit or do not fit the proposed structure in terms of their schemata.

Table 3.1

*Schematic Structure of Editorials (Based on van Dijk, 1992, 1995)*

TEXT PART	FUNCTION
Definition	Summarizing the event
Evaluation	Providing the evaluation of the event
	Giving recommendation
Conclusion	Giving advice
	Giving warning

For the second sub-question, a textual analysis will be carried out based on the framework proposed by Richardson (2007) as presented below:

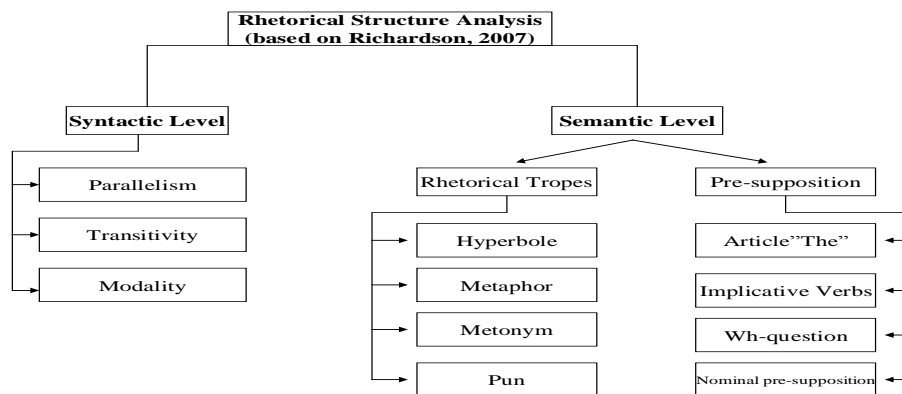


Figure 3.1 Rhetorical structure analysis (Based on Richardson, 2007).

The textual analysis was carried out based on certain syntactic and semantic categories in relation to actual newspaper discourse. As Figure 3.1 suggested, at the

syntactic level we dealt with categories like parallelism, transitivity and modality that are defined as:

- Parallelism: Similarity of structure in a pair or series of related words, phrases, or clauses.
- Modality: The speaker's attitude towards, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence.

In a semantic analysis, on the other hand, we dealt with a different set of categories under two general terms namely *Rhetorical Tropes* and *Pre-supposition*. The categories have been defined as below:

- Hyperbole: figure of speech in which exaggeration is used for emphasis or effect, as in *I could sleep for a year*.
- Metaphor: A figure of speech in which a word or phrase that ordinarily designates one thing is used to designate another, thus making an implicit comparison, as in *a sea of troubles*.
- Metonym: A figure of speech in which a word or phrase or object is substituted for another from a semantically related field of reference as in *A man was killed by an Israeli bulldozer*.
- Pun: The humorous use of words that involve a word or phrase that has more than one possible meaning as in *a Major success*, which appeared in a newspaper headline referring to the then Prime Minister of the UK , John Major, in 1990.

Of course there are many kinds of rhetorical tropes; however, initially we will focus on the above mentioned ones that we feel are useful for the analysis of editorials. Furthermore, we will take into account any other kind of tropes if they emerged during the analysis.

Under the term *Presupposition* we focused on the following categories:

- Use of the article *The*: “*The problem of inflation....*” (Presupposing that there is a problem of inflation by using the article *the*)
- Use of implicative verbs (verbs that entail their complement): *John managed to open the door*. The word *managed* presupposes that *John tried to open the door*.
- Use of *Wh-questions*: *Who is responsible for the poor state of the National Health Service?* This question presupposes that there is someone responsible for the poor state of the National Health Service.
- Use of *Nominal Presupposition*: *The Country faces new problems*. The word *new* that qualifies the word *problems* presupposes that the country has experienced old problems as well.

The following Table represented the overall view of the study:

Table 3.2  
*Overview of the Study*

Research Sub-question	Analysis	Category	Classification Model
a)Schematic structures	-Content analysis - Move analysis	- Organization of editorials	van Dijk (1992,1995) Bolivar(1994)
b)Rhetorical structures	-Discourse analysis. Content analysis	- Syntactic - Semantics	Richardson (2007)

Thus, as Table 3.2 suggests, the present study made use of three kinds of data analysis tools. Content and move analysis were employed to figure out the schematic structures and moves. Discourse and content analysis were employed for identifying the syntactic and rhetorical structures employed in the selected editorials of the two newspapers.

### *Content Analysis*

Content analysis is a technique for analyzing the content of all kinds of written or recorded material or the spoken discourse. Written material may include the content of newspapers, magazines, books, official documents, advertisements- anything that is written.

Although it originated from quantitative analytical methods, content analysis has recently become associated with qualitative research, taking the term of “qualitative content analysis” (Dornyei, 2008, p. 245).

In content analysis, instead of direct observation of people’s behavior or asking them to respond to scales or conducting an interview, the researcher tries to focus on the communication form that people have produced (Kerlinger, 1973).

In fact the interpretive analysis of the underlying deeper meaning of the data is one of the main concerns of qualitative content analysis. Thus, as a method of measuring the content of communication, this type of analysis has been used in the studies of media message to examine the beliefs and interests of editors and publishing organizations and even the cultural patterns of societies (Flournoy, 1992). So, the present study has employed content analysis for answering the research questions.

The following procedures are usually taken in content analysis:

1. Formulating a research question and getting started;
2. Conceptualizing the problem and operationalizing variables;
3. Deciding on the unit of analysis;
4. Developing a set of categories for coding the content of the material being analyzed;

5. Coding the materials;
6. Analyzing the coded content; and
7. Interpreting the results, drawing conclusions, and writing the report.

Although it has been mentioned that “qualitative categories used in content analysis are not predetermined but are derived inductively from the data analyzed” (Dornyei, 2008, p. 245), in the present study we have used predetermined categories or a template of codes (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). This kind of template would help to carry out the initial coding in a focused and time-efficient manner (Dornyei, 2008).

To make the analysis more qualitative, it is possible to revise or fine-tune the predetermined categories in the process of analyzing. In this way, the categories will be tightened up to the point that would increase mutual exclusivity of them (Weber, 1990).

### *Discourse Analysis*

Content analysis has been traditionally used as a research tool in media research, helping the researchers “capture a sense of patterns or frequencies of meaning across a large sample of text and to achieve this initial task it is still a useful method to use” (Richardson, 2007, p. 21). However, there are some aspects or shadows of meaning that cannot be captured through content analysis.

The emergent trend in media studies is heading towards a more interpretive and contextualized approach of both data collection and data analysis. Discourse analysis is an example of such an approach. This approach in mass media research has now become more or less accepted as an alternative or addition to classical content analysis (Krippendorff, 1980).

Of course the term “discourse” is an umbrella term and we can hardly find a definition covering all its potential uses. Richardson argues that “[t]he terms ‘discourse’ and ‘discourse analysis’ (DA) are vigorously contested concepts whose definition, it often seems are beyond the scope of discourse studies. Methodologically, theoretically and analytically, the field of DA is extremely diverse” (Richardson, 2007 p. 21).

However, the definition put forward by McHoul is relevant to the present study. For him “‘discourse’, used as a mass noun, means roughly the same as ‘language use’ or ‘language-in-use.’ As a count noun (‘a discourse’), it means a relatively discrete subject of a whole language, used for specific social and institutional purposes” (1994, p. 940)

So, this meaning of discourse is intended in this study as what we intend to study is not the discourse in general but a certain institutional discourse that is media discourse.

Emerging as a new transdisciplinary field of study between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s in such disciplines as linguistics, semiotics, anthropology and sociology, discourse analysis deals with the study or relationship between language and its context in use.

Historically the following scholars contributed to the development of this new field (McCarthy, 2006).

- Zellig Harris (1952) by emphasizing the link between text and its social situation
- Dell Hymes (1964) by providing a social perspective to the study of speech
- Austin (1962), Searle (1969), and Grice (1975) by putting forward speech act theory and conversational maxims.
- M. A. K. Halliday (1973) by emphasizing the social function of language.
- Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) by developing a model for the description of teacher-pupil talk.



- Goffman (1979), Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson (1974) by clarifying conversational norms, turn-taking and other aspects of spoken interaction.
- van Dijk (1978) by developing critical discourse analysis

By emphasizing the conventions of language use that are defined as rules governing “the use of sentences with their literal meaning for certain purposes” (Morgan, 1978, p. 261), discourse analysis tries to articulate the connection between the structure and function of language in use.

The present study also tried to make use of discourse analysis as a tool for analyzing attitudes of the writers towards the subject discussed in the editorials. Although initially we tried to quantify the kinds of rhetorical structures used in editorials, commenting on the implied meanings of the words and phrases used in Iranian English editorials was considered as well. As van Dijk (1991) indicates:

Much of the information of a text is not explicitly expressed, but left implicit. Words, clauses, and other textual expressions may imply concepts or propositions which may be inferred on the basis of background knowledge. This feature of discourse and communication has important ideological dimensions. The analysis of ‘unsaid’ is sometimes more revealing than the study of what is actually expressed in the text (p. 113-114).

Thus the use of discourse analysis in the present study will help us shed light on this ‘unsaid’ aspect of editorials.

### *Genre Analysis*

Genre analysis as a sub-discipline in applied linguistics emerged in 1980s and blossomed in the 1990s. A genre is a highly structured and conventionalized discourse

which occurs among the members of a community. For Swales (1990), genre constitutes “a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre”(p. 58). For Bhatia, genre analysis “refers to the study of naturally occurring written discourse focusing, in particular, on analysis beyond the sentence level.” (Bhatia, 2004, p.3)

In an effort to elaborate on the possible overlap of the two terms discourse analysis discussed above, and the genre analysis, Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998) argue that:

Any study of language or, more specifically, text at a level above that of sentence is a discourse study. This may involve the study of cohesive links between sentences, of paragraphs, or the structure of the whole text. The results of this type of analysis make statements about how texts -any text-work. This is applied discourse analysis. Where, however, the focus of text analysis is on the regularities of structures that distinguish one type of text from another, this is genre analysis and the results focus on the differences between text types, or genres. (p. 87)

What is of great importance in genre analysis is the identification of the communicative purpose or purposes of the texts or genres under investigation and the use of language in institutionalized settings controlled by communicative conventions existing in and created by a group of participants in a defined discourse community.

Central to the analysis of a certain genre is the identification of the moves in a text based on the conventions set by the discourse community. In other words, in genre studies the researcher proceeds with identifying the moves that have been employed by the writers for organizing the information throughout the text.

To account for the main structural organization of introduction section in academic journals, Swales developed a model termed as Create a Research Space (CARS) and empirically applied it in studying of the introduction section of the academic papers in various academic disciplines in English as well as other languages. The model comprised of three obligatory moves namely: establishing a territory (move 1), establishing a niche (move 2) and occupying the niche (move 3). Swales' model "can be considered one of the strongest descriptions of text structure to date" (Anthony, 1999, p. 39) as it has been applied in many other studies with great success thereafter.

Undoubtedly, genre studies would be of high relevance to media discourse in general and the present research study in particular as newspaper editorials are written for a certain communicative purpose within a discourse community. Thus, for the purpose of the schematic analysis of newspaper editorials, research question No. 1, it would be of importance to notice the realization of the moves within these structures.

### **Reliability and Validity**

Reliability and validity are considered to be the two most important criteria for assuring the quality of data collection and analysis (Seliger & Shohamy, 1990). Yet, the concept of quality in qualitative studies "is less straightforward to define than quality in quantitative research" (Dornyei, 2008, p. 54). As we discussed already (Re. Research Design), qualitative studies are inherently subjective, interpretive as well as time and context bound. That is, in a qualitative study 'truth' is relative and 'facts' depend upon individual perceptions and understanding (Morse & Richard, 2002).

Based on this reason "several researchers have argued that qualitative research requires its own procedures for attaining validity that are different from those used in

quantitative approaches” (Dornyei, 2008, p. 55). Thick description of targeted phenomenon and an iterative process of going back and forth between the data and analysis have been mentioned as the built-in criteria for getting valid results (Dornyei, 2008).

In an effort to care for reliability which “provides the researchers with the information if the data collection procedure is consistent and accurate” (Seliger & Shohamy, 1990, p. 185), this study tried to make use of pre-established classification procedures by referring to the classification models put forward by Richardson (2007) and van Dijk (1992,1995) . It is, in fact, believed that a reliable classification procedure in the sense of being consistent would make the inference from the text valid (Weber, 1990). In most cases, “reliability problems usually grow out of the ambiguity of word meaning, category definitions or the coding rules” (Ibid, 1990, p. 15).

Validity has been defined as “drawing meaningful and justifiable inferences from scores about a sample or population” (Cresswell, 2008, p. 600) and is of importance in research studies. Validation of the inference made on the basis of data demands the use of multiple sources of information. In qualitative studies, this validation is done through triangulation (Erlandson et al., 1993).

Triangulation has been traditionally seen as one of the most efficient ways of reducing the chance of systematic bias in a qualitative study because if we come to the same conclusion about a phenomenon using different data collection/analysis method or a different participant sample, the convergence offers strong validity evidence (Dornyei, 2007, p. 61)

To validate the inferences made as a result of the present study, we tried to survey the other newspaper editorials as well. Obviously, finding evidence from other sources supporting the study’s result will ensure that the study is both accurate and credible.

## **Summary**

Throughout this chapter, we tried to present a detailed description of the research methodology that will be employed in the present study. The research question and sub-questions along with the research design are introduced. Reviewing the data collection and data analysis procedures, we discussed, though briefly, content analysis and discourse analysis, the two areas that would help us in collecting and analyzing the data. The issue of reliability and validity has also been discussed in the chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

Considering the relevant literature and the chosen methodology covered in chapters 2 and 3 respectively, the present chapter presents the findings from the analysis of the selected editorials of The New York Times and Tehran Times. Addressing the research questions, the chapter initially analyzes and discusses the schematic structures of the editorials. Editorials' texts and their headlines then are textually analyzed and discussed in terms of categories such as modality, presupposition, and emerging rhetorical structures.

#### **The Schematic Structures of the Editorials**

This section aimed at analyzing 20 editorials from The New York Times and Tehran Times newspapers a copy of which were included in the Appendix A and B respectively. It is worth noting that unlike the other genres such as Academic articles in which one can find different sections and subsections identified by definite titles and sub-titles, the identification of different schematic parts in the editorials, however, is not usually as straightforward as one might assume.

To solve the problem of identification of the schematic structures, *Triad* was taken as the unit of analysis in the selected editorials. A Triad according to Bolivar(1994) typically is composed of three *turns* namely *Lead* (L) which has the function of introducing the topic of the Triad; *Follow* (F) which keeps the same topic in the Triad and evaluates the preceding piece of information and finally *Valuate* (V) which has the function of closing the unit (Bolivar,1994, p. 280).

Thus, bearing in mind the first sub-question which is concerned with the analysis of rhetorical characteristics of schematic superstructures of the editorial, the first Triad in the

selected editorials was taken as *The Introduction* section of the editorials. In the same way, the final Triad was taken as *The Ending* section and the in-between Triads were considered to form *The Body* section of the editorials.

It is worth mentioning that unlike the headlines in news articles, editorial headlines have not been treated in previous studies. In fact, in the structural theory of editorials proposed by van Dijk there were only three schematic categories namely *Summary of the event*, *Evaluation of the event* and *Pragmatic Conclusion* (van Dijk, 1996). In the same way, they were not included in the structural frame of editorials put forward by Bhatia. This might be accounted for by the fact that as headlines potentially might be as brief as one single word with the function of representing the focal point of the editorial, they were not included within the schematic categories of editorials. However, the present study emphasized the importance of the headlines in contributing to the persuasive aspect of the editorials that would be treated in answering the second research question.

The different sections in the selected editorials of the two newspapers were analyzed and discussed separately. A general conclusion of the findings was presented at end of discussion.

### **The First Schematic Structure: Introduction**

In the first phase of the analysis, the study focused quite intentionally on the first part of the editorial. As shown in the Table 4.1, different researchers have used different terminologies for referring to the first part of the editorials.

Table 4.1

<i>Definitions of the Initial Part of Newspaper Editorials</i>				
Researcher	MacDougall (1973)	Stonecipher (1979)	Bhatia (1993)	Van Dijk (1996)
Definition	Subject/News Peg	Introduction	Case	Summary

As the term “Introduction” is an inclusive term potentially including the other definitions and considering the fact that it has already been used by researchers in studies of other genres such as journal articles, the term was also used here to refer to the first part of the editorials

*“Introduction” Section in Editorials of The New York Times*

The analysis of the first part of the editorials, INTRODUCTION, revealed that it basically consisted of two “moves.” The first move is referred to in this paper as the “orientation move” (OR), and the other as the “criticism” move referred here as (CR).

The Orientation move appeared in 15 of the analyzed data (75%). It usually tended to provide the required setting and initiate the topic. Its major function was to “*orient*” the reader much like a “peg” for attracting the readers’ attention to the subject. The “criticism” move on the other hand revealed the editorial’s criticism. It was through this move that the editorial writer revealed the criticism.

This function (OR) might be realized through different rhetorical strategies. *Summarizing* the previous news events was one of them. For example, consider the following excerpts showing the orientation move taken from The New York Times editorials.

- Declarative sentence:
  - 1) Good intentions wither fast, especially when it comes to helping the world’s poor.  
(Ref. 2.1 NYT)



- 2) We could not agree more strongly with President Bush that this country must do everything it can to keep weapons of mass destruction out of terrorists' hands.

(Ref. 7. NYT)

- Rhetoric question

- 3) Does this sound familiar? (17. NYT)

- Summary of the event:

- 4) This week's summit meeting of major industrialized nations in Japan yielded two important firsts on global warming. For once, the Bush administration was not in full foot-dragging mode, joining in a pledge to halve global greenhouse gases by mid-century.

And the big emerging nations, including China and India, agreed to long-range (if unspecified) cuts in emissions. (12. NYT)

Thus, although all the abovementioned sentences had different rhetorical characteristics, they were all used to communicate one single function that was "orienting" the reader.

Referring to the terminology used by Bolivar (1994), the orientation move was realized through an initial sentence LEAD /L/ that might be followed by one or more FOLLOW /F/ sentence(s) presenting further information on the Lead. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt which realizes the (OR) move by just one Lead /L/ sentence:

Table 4.2

*Schematic Representation of (OR) Move with a Lead (Ref.7. NYT)*

Schematic structure	Moves	Turn	Sentences
INTRODUCTION	Orientation (OR)	L	1 We could not agree more strongly with President Bush that this country must do everything it can to keep weapons of mass destruction out of terrorists' hands.

Sometimes, however, the move was realized through a Lead /L/ followed by a number of other Follow /F/ turns. Table 4.3 illustrates the point.

Table 4.3

*Schematic Representation of (OR) Move with Follow Turns (Ref.10.1 NYT)*

Schematic structure	Moves	Turns	Sentences
INTRODUCTION	(OR)	L	1 This is where things stand nearly three weeks after Russia invaded Georgia and radically upended ties with the West
		F	2 Russian troops still occupy key areas, including the port of Poti
		F	3 Moscow has recognized the independence of Georgia's two breakaway regions
		F	4 Georgia's president, Mikheil Saakashvili, is still talking tough even though his army is routed and his country shattered
		F	5 And if that isn't unnerving enough, President Bush has decided to dispatch Vice President Dick Cheney, that master of diplomacy, to the region
		F	6 Awash in oil wealth and giddy after crushing tiny Georgia, Russia's leaders are striking back at real and imagined humiliations

As these two Tables suggest, the number of turns in (OR) moves ranged from one Lead /L/ to one lead plus many /F/ turns. Altogether, this move was identified in 40 analyzed editorials through 804 words.

The analysis of the data also revealed that almost all the (OR) moves had been initiated by an evaluative statement rather than by a factual descriptive one. Consider the following excerpts as the examples of the case.

- 5) Ehud Olmert, Israel's *soon to be ex-prime minister*, voiced some *startling truths* this week. (Ref.1 NYT)
- 6) *We have long felt* that Mohamed ElBaradei and his United Nations nuclear inspectors were *too patient* with *Iran's cat-and-mouse games and constant evasions*. (Ref. 3 NYT)

The italicized words and phrases have nothing to do with the factual descriptions of the events. Instead, they represented and communicated the editorial writer(s)'s attitude toward the events.

Based on the analysis, it was found that another move namely "criticism" (CR) usually followed the first move. In other words, after engaging the readers with the topic through the orientation move (OR), the editorial writers tried to assert their criticism. This move was initiated through a "Valuate" sentence /V/ which was usually a general assertion of criticism. It might be followed by one or more follow up Valuate sentences with the aim of further developing the criticism.

The move can be initiated through different rhetorical strategies serving the same function that is "Criticism". The following excerpts are examples illustrating the point.

- A general declarative statement of criticism:
- 7) President Bush's decision to authorize Special Operations forces in Afghanistan to go after militants in Pakistan's lawless border region was a desperation move.  
(Ref. 4 NYT)
- Conditional sentence
- 8) If this truly reflects his thinking — and he has said it often — why does the United States government get only a "C" grade from a respected, bipartisan group of

national security experts for its efforts to prevent nuclear, chemical and biological terrorism? (Ref. 7 NYT)

- 9) America is fast losing the battle for hearts and minds, and unless the Pentagon comes up with a better strategy, the United States and its allies may well lose the war. (Ref. 8 NYT)

- A “dummy” it

- 10) It’s frustrating that Mr. Olmert, who is stepping down as prime minister after being accused of corruption, waited so long to say these things. (Ref. 1 NYT)

Moreover, this move (CR) usually appeared in the editorials without a previous signal.

However, analysis of the data revealed that 6 editorials (30%) out of 20 did signal the move through using certain discourse markers such as *but*, *sadly*, *unfortunately*. The following excerpts are examples of the point.

- 11) *But* a new scandal involving contaminated baby formula is a frightening reminder that China still is not doing enough to ensure the safety of its products — and a reminder that American importers and regulators cannot let down their guard. (Ref. 5 NYT)
- 12) *Sadly*, Mr. Bush’s ideas amounted to the same old stuff, gussied up to look new. (Ref.13 NYT)
- 13) *But* President Robert Mugabe has already stolen the vote. (Ref. 14 NYT)
- 14) *Unfortunately*, the evolving deals could well rekindle understandable suspicions in the Arab world about oil being America’s real reason for invading Iraq and fan even more distrust and resentment among Iraq’s competing religious and ethnic factions. (Ref.15 NYT)

In terms of the number of turns, this move can be realized through one or more /V/ sentences. Table 4.4 illustrates the maximum turns that have been employed in one of the NYT editorials.

Table 4.4

*Schematic Representation of (CR) Move with the Highest Number of Valuate Sentences (Ref. 12 NYT)*

Schematic structure	Moves	Turns	Sentences
INTRODUCTION	Criticism (CR)	V	1 For all that good news, summits are usually about vague promises and good intentions, and this one was no different.
			2 The final agreement establishes no interim goals that would require prompt and meaningful investments in cleaner energy.
			3 Many scientists believe that cuts of at least 25 percent in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 are necessary to prevent emissions from reaching a point of no return.
			4 And as the South Africans dyspeptically but accurately observed, without short-term targets the long-term goal is an empty slogan.
			5 Nor should anyone put too much store in the promises from the emerging countries.

As the Table suggests, the (CR) move in this editorial were realized through five Valuate sentences.

It is worth noting that out of 20 editorials analyzed in this study, 5 of them (25%) initiated the introduction by asserting the criticism (CR) rather than presenting the orientation move.

Table 4.5

*Schematic Representation of Editorial Initiated with (CR) Move (Ref. NYT 9)*

Schematic structure	Moves	Turns	Sentences
INTRODUCTION	Criticism (CR)	L	1 President Bush is nothing if not consistent.
		F	2 In a speech on Tuesday, he made it clear that he has no plan at all for ending the war in Iraq and no serious plan for winning the war in Afghanistan.
			3 Mr. Bush wants to have it both ways — claiming success in tamping down violence in Iraq and yet refusing to make the hard choices that would flow from that.

The editorial writer here in this editorial started its INTRODUCTION section with the (CR) move. The criticism was asserted through /L1/ and elaborated on by other /F/ turns.

Thus, the analysis of the INTRODUCTION section of the selected editorials (N=20) of the NYT revealed some key points. First, a two-part structure was detectable in the first schematic structure of the editorials. The first part labeled as Orientation move (OR) – realized through a /L/ sentence that might be followed by /F/ sentences\_ had the function of orienting the reader with the topic and the second part labeled as Criticism move (CR) – realized through one or more /V/ sentences- had the function of expressing and asserting the Criticism (CR).

Second, each of these moves was realized through using different rhetorical strategies serving the single function of the move. In other words, the function of “Orientation” was realized through using rhetorical strategies such as “declarative sentence”, “rhetorical question” and “summary of the event”. In the same way, the function of the second move was realized in different ways. Initiating this move by using a general declarative statement of criticism, a rhetorical question, a conditional sentence or a dummy “it” were found to be the possible realization of the move.

Third, considering the commonly believed idea that the orientation move is supposed to be more or less factual than evaluative (van Dijk, 1996), the move, however, in the analyzed editorials was found to be highly evaluative.

Fourth, in a few cases, the assertion of the criticism in (CR) move was signaled through using certain discourse markers such as “but”, “sadly” and “unfortunately”. However, in most cases the criticism was communicated without any pre-signaling the move.

*“Introduction” Section in the Editorials of Tehran Times*

The analysis of 20 selected editorials from Tehran Times (see Appendix B) revealed that the two-part structure- (OR) and (CR) moves- was also evident in the first schematic structure of the editorials, INTRODUCTION.

The first move (OR) in this section of the editorials was initiated differently through using different rhetorical strategies serving the main function of the move which was orienting the readers with the topic. The following excerpts illustrate the main strategies used for the orientation purpose.

- Declarative sentence (Evaluative)
  - 15) The government’s decision to resume granting loans will surely increase the already high liquidity, which has been cited as the main cause of Iran’s high inflation. (Ref. 12 TT)
  - 16) Western countries, particularly the United States, claim Israel is the only “democratic” country in the Middle East and the only one observing “human rights”. (Ref. 20 TT)
  - 17) Both Russia and Georgia claim the current conflict started after the other side violated a ceasefire in South Ossetia. (Ref. 2 TT)
- Declarative sentence (Less evaluative)
  - 18) The top U.S. officials in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, the commander of U.S. troops in the country, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker, told Senate committees on April 8 that Iranian agents and weapons were fueling the ongoing strife there and that further U.S. troop withdrawals would have to wait. (Ref.17 TT)
- Affirmative sentence
  - 19) The 118-member Non-Aligned Movement re-endorsed Iran’s right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy at a ministerial conference in Tehran on Wednesday. (Ref. 3 TT)

As the above-mentioned excerpts suggest, most of the lead sentences (85%) initiating the (OR) move were highly evaluative rather than informative. The following excerpt presented a clear instance of the point.

- 20) Earlier this month, that part of humanity that respects its own freedom and dignity was a witness to an impending conclusion of a unilateral ‘security’ agreement between the U.S., the sole author of this forced concession, and the Iraqi government. (Ref. 9 TT)

Only two editorials (10%) initiated the move with somehow less evaluative assertions (cf. Ref.17 TT).

In most cases these (L) sentences were usually elaborated on through one or more follow-up turns /F/ which were presenting further details about the Lead /L/ sentences. Table 4.6 represents the shortest size of the (OR) move in terms of the number of the sentences identified in the data.

Table 4.6

<i>The (OR) Move with Only One Lead Turn (Ref.2.1 TT)</i>			
Schematic structure	Moves	Turns	Sentences
INTRODUCTON	Orientation (OR)	L	1. Both Russia and Georgia claim the current conflict started after the other side violated a ceasefire in South Ossetia.

Thus, the schematic structure of the above-mentioned move can be presented as: (OR)[L]. As Table 4.6 reads, this order-(OR)[L]- communicates the first move , orientation , through only one sentence. However, Table 4.7 represents the longest (OR) move in the analyzed editorials. That is, the lead sentence /L/ was elaborated on through four /F/ sentences namely /F2/, /F3/, /F4/ and /F5/.



Table 4.7  
*The (OR) Move with More Than One Turn (Ref.10 TT)*

Schematic structure	Moves	Turns	Sentences
INTRODUCTION	Orientation (OR)	L	1. U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's unannounced trip to Lebanon and her talks with the leaders of the March 14 group can only mean that the United States is attempting to undermine the Doha agreement.
		F	2. The Lebanese media described Rice's visit as a trip "for sedition" and said that it was meant to strengthen the March 14 group and weaken the March 8 group.
		F	3. Reports suggest that the U.S. secretary of state handed new Lebanese President Michel Suleiman the names of five political figures to be given key ministerial posts in the cabinet of Prime Minister Fouad Siniora.
		F	4. And indeed, it does seem that Rice is trying to ensure that pro-U.S. figures are placed in key ministries before the final configuration of the new cabinet is agreed upon.
		F	5. Moreover, in her meeting with the leaders of the March 14 group, Rice emphasized the necessity of implementing UN Resolution 1701 and disarming Lebanon's Islamic resistance, even though the Doha agreement does not call for disarmament.

Similarly, the schematic structure of the above-mentioned move can be presented as: (OR)[L>F>F>F>F]. All in all, the (OR) moves in the selected Tehran Times editorials were expressed through using 1198 words.

It is interesting to note that in the analyzed data three of the editorials out of 20 initiated the first schematic structure, INTRODUCTION, through (CR) move rather than (OR) move. The following Table exemplifies the point.

Table 4.8

<i>Introduction Initiated Only Through (CR) Move (Ref. 13.1 TT)</i>				
Schematic structure	Moves	Turns	Sentences	
INTRODUCTION	Criticism (CR)	L	1.	Runaway inflation has unnerved minds and made the poor poorer and the rich richer.
		V	2.	In fact, the administration's well-intentioned but incompetently executed plan to introduce an economic policy to increase the purchasing power of the poor and the lower middle class has had the opposite result.

As Table 4.8 suggests the editorial writer(s) initiated the criticism without providing the needed background about the topic. This might suggest that the (OR) move under certain circumstances could be treated as an optional move.

In general switching from (OR) move to (CR) was not signaled throughout the text. However, in the analyzed data, only 7 editorials (35%) out of 20 signaled the move change through using certain discourse markers such as “But”, “Although” and “However”. The following excerpts exemplify the point.

- 21) *But* where is Mr. Brown's evidence that backs up his accusation that Iran is producing nuclear weapons? (Ref.1 1 TT)
- 22) *However*, to deceive the world about the nature of Iran's nuclear program, some Western officials and media outlets lace their statements with phrases like the “international community is united” or “concerned” about Iran's nuclear program and the “international community demands” Iran halt its uranium enrichment program. (Ref. 3 TT)
- 23) *Though* no judgment should be made until the veracity of such a claim is established, the fact that the wages of Oil Ministry staff have been much higher than employees in other sectors for many years is not only “unacceptable” it is also “unjustified”. (Ref. 15 TT)

Lead sentence in the (CR) move was then usually further developed through /F/ turns. As it is evident in the Table 4.8, the lead sentence /L/ potentially may be elaborated on through using /F/ turns or be evaluated by Valuate sentence(s).

In general, after being engaged with the topic through the (OR) move, the readers were exposed to the assertion of criticism through the other move which was (CR). This move was realized by a Lead sentence /L/ which might be followed by a few follow-up turns, /F/. In the analyzed data, some certain rhetorical strategies were used to communicate the criticism. The following excerpts, taken from the analyzed editorials, exemplify the basic rhetorical strategies employed in the editorials.

- Interrogative statement:

- 24) But where is Mr. Brown's evidence that backs up his accusation that Iran is producing nuclear weapons? (Ref. 1 TT)
- 25) All this is clearly meant to undermine relations between Iran and Iraq, but what are the United States' ulterior motives? (Ref. 17 TT)

- Statement of negation:

- 26) But whoever is responsible for the clashes, it is never acceptable to kill innocent civilians. (Ref. 2 TT)
- 27) Though no judgment should be made until the veracity of such a claim is established, the fact that the wages of Oil Ministry staff have been much higher than employees in other sectors for many years is not only *unacceptable* it is also *unjustified*. (Ref. 15 TT)

- General declarative statement of criticism:

- 28) The U.S. move showed its utter disregard for the Doha agreement and proved that the United States and certain Arab countries do not want to see the Lebanon crisis resolved based on the blueprint mapped out at the Doha meeting. (Ref. 5 TT)

- 29) Runaway inflation has unnerved minds and made the poor poorer and the rich richer. (Ref. 3 TT)

It was also found that that out of 20 editorials analyzed in this study, 3 of them (15%) initiated the introduction by asserting the criticism (CR) rather than presenting the orientation move.

In summary, the analysis of Tehran Times selected editorials revealed that a two-part structure- (OR) and (CR) moves- was used in the introduction section of the editorials.

The moves started with a /L/ sentence and in the most cases were followed by a few /F/ turns. The moves also were initiated through different rhetorical strategies. The (OR) moves in the analyzed editorials were communicated through 1198 words. To switch from (OR) move to (CR) in some cases the editorial writer(s) used certain discourse markers such as *But*, *However* and *Though*.

## Discussion

The analysis of the selected editorials in The New York Times and Tehran Times revealed some important key characteristics of the first schematic superstructure of the editorials of criticism in The New York Times and Tehran Times. This section tries to compare the findings and discuss the results so that we might have a better understanding of the introductory section of the editorials in the two newspapers.

The analysis revealed that through the first schematic structure in the editorials of criticism, INTRODUCTION, the editorial writers tried to set the scene and take a stance on a controversial issue. This section was composed of two distinctive sub-sections or MOVES which may correspond to *Case* move proposed by Bhatia (1993). These moves were labeled as ORIENTATION, (**OR**), and CRITICISM, (**CR**). Although the editorials were representative of two different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the two-move structure was evident in the two sets of data. (See Table 4.9)

Table 4.9

*Comparative Schematic Representation of Introduction Section in NYT & TT Editorials*

Schematic structure	NYT Text	Moves	T.T. Text	Schematic structure
INTRODUCTION	White House aides had billed President Bush's Rose Garden speech last week as a major turning point at which the president would unveil an ambitious set of proposals to address the problem of global warming — a late-breaking act of atonement, as it were, for seven years of doing nothing.	(OR)	Both Russia and Georgia claim the current conflict started after the other side violated a ceasefire in South Ossetia.	INTRODUCTION
	Sadly, Mr. Bush's ideas amounted to the same old stuff, gussied up to look new. Instead of trying to make up for years of denial and neglect, his speech seemed cynically designed to prevent others from showing the leadership he refuses to provide — to derail Congress from imposing a price on emissions of carbon dioxide and the states from regulating emissions on their own.	(CR)	But whoever is responsible for the clashes, it is never acceptable to kill innocent civilians. Moreover, the fighting could even lead to a wider war between Russia and Georgia. What is the sin of civilians that they should fall victim to the ambitions of Ossetian separatists or Georgian or Russian leaders? Should civilian neighborhoods become battlegrounds in the conflict between Georgia, which enjoys Western support, and Russia, which is angry over NATO's encroachment into its sphere of influence?	

The analysis revealed that each move - (OR) and (CR) - had a certain communicative intention contributing to the overall intention of the editorials. In both newspapers the first move (OR) had the function of engaging the readers with the topic and the second move (CR) had the function of asserting the criticism.

Referring to the unit of analysis put forward by Bolivar (1994), it can be said that in the analyzed data the (OR) move was realized through a /L/ turn that in some cases was followed by one or more /F/ turns. The (CR) move, on the other hand, was realized through /V/ turns. In other words, the criticism was carried out by using a Triad of /LFV/ sequence. Table 4.10 represents the Introduction section of editorial (Ref. TT 1) based on the units of analysis proposed by Bolivar (1994).

Table 4.10

*Introduction Section of Editorial Based on Bolivar's Model of Analysis*

Schematic structure	Moves	Turns	sentences
INTRODUCTION	(OR)	L	1. British Prime Minister Gordon Brown's flattering speech to the Israeli parliament on Monday was a follow-up of his predecessor's foreign policy, which was based on deception.
		F	2. He said Britain is determined to prevent Iran from developing nuclear arms.
			3. "Our country will continue to lead, with the U.S. and our European partners in our determination to prevent an Iranian nuclear weapons program," BBC quoted Brown as telling the Knesset.
	(CR)	V	4. But where is Mr. Brown's evidence that backs up his accusation that Iran is producing nuclear weapons?
			5. Brown should not lie about Iran's nuclear program to butter up hardliners in the Knesset, like his predecessor Tony Blair did with his allegations that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction

As Table 4.10 suggests, a Triad of Lead, Follow and Valuate (LFV) was employed to communicate the (OR) and (CR) moves.

Moreover, it was also revealed that each of these functions was realized through different rhetorical strategies. For instance, the first move in the first schematic structure not only might be initiated by presenting summary of the news events as suggested by van Dijk (1996), but also it might be started by giving a declarative and evaluative sentences, a rhetorical question and other rhetorical strategies (cf.4.1.1, 4.1.2). This suggests that to refer to the first schematic structure of newspaper editorials the term INTRODUCTION is much more inclusive than the other terms.

The occurrence of a two-move structure both in NYT and TT editorials confirms Bhatia's assertion put forward in 1993. Elaborating on the structural interpretation of text genre, he asserted that "specialist writers seem to be fairly consistent in the way they organize their overall message in a particular genre, and the analysis of structural organization of the genre reveals preferred ways of communicating intention in specific areas of inquiry" (Bhatia, 1993, p. 29).

This two-part structure also revealed the idea that specialist writers in cross-cultural settings would also share somehow the basic organization structure provided that they are acting within the same domain of genre. Although the precondition of "acting within the same genre" would not guarantee using the same preferred structures cross-culturally, the present ever-increasing advancement in media technology is making the specialist writers to get closer to each other at least when it comes to making use of the basic structural preferences.

However, based on the analysis of the data, it became clear that there were certain differences between the editorials in terms of, the degree of being evaluative, the frequency of using certain rhetorical strategies, the amount of information loaded in the first move and move initiation.

Taking evaluation "as the conveying of the writer's view of the status of the information in her text" (Thompson & Ye, 1991, p. 367), the analysis of the data revealed that the /L/ sentences in the first move (OR) were evaluative. However, two of Tehran Times' editorials (15%) initiated the (OR) move in a less evaluative ways while all the lead sentences in The New York Times (100%) were evaluative. This partially confirms van Dijk's assertion about the first part of the editorials. According to him "the first part

(summarizing the event) will be more or less factual, although the description of the events may itself take place in partly evaluative terms (Van Dijk, 1996).

This at the same time suggested that Introduction section in Tehran Times' editorials was less evaluative than that of The New York Times'. That is, the writer refrained from imposing his own point of view on the text. The following excerpts (No. 30 and 31) illustrate the difference.

The (OR) move in T.T.

30) *The top U.S. officials in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, the commander of U.S. troops in the country, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker, told Senate committees on April 8 that Iranian agents and weapons were fueling the ongoing strife there and that further U.S. troop withdrawals would have to wait.*

*Petraeus recommended that troop withdrawals from Iraq be paused for 45 days after July when U.S. forces in Iraq will be reduced to 140,000 and U.S. President George W. Bush accepted this recommendation on April 10, saying Petraeus will "have all the time he needs."*

*Iran, Petraeus told the Senate Armed Services Committee, has "fueled the recent violence in a particularly damaging way through its lethal support of the special groups."*

(Ref. 17.1 T.T.)

The (OR) move in NYT

31) *Ehud Olmert, Israel's soon to be ex-prime minister voiced some startling truths this week.*

*He said that in exchange for peace, Israel should withdraw from "almost all" of the West Bank and share its capital city, Jerusalem, with the Palestinians.*

*He also said that as part of a negotiated peace deal with Syria, Israel should be ready to give up the Golan Heights.*

(Ref.1.1 NYT)

As it is evident in excerpt no. 30, (taken from Tehran Time Editorial) the editorial quotes Gen. Petraeus without including its evaluative attitude toward the claims except for the word *top*. By using the reporting verb *told* the editorial tried to be somehow objective in his reporting. However, in the excerpt no. 31 (taken from The New York Times Editorial) one can see the evaluative attitude of the writer manifested in the reporting verb "voiced" and the phrase "startling truth".



The analyzed data revealed that the criticism move in 3 (15%) of the editorials in Tehran Times were realized through interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions. Compared with the absence of any question of this type in the (CR) move of the NYT, it is possible to assert that Tehran Times editorial writers are more assertive in criticism than NYT. So, by posing an interrogative statement at the beginning of the (CR) move, they aimed at engaging the readers in active interaction with themselves without much delay.

Basically, the two moves were initiated sequentially, that is, after the (OR) moves came (CR) yet, according to the findings 5 (25%) of the NYT editorials initiated the (CR) move without going through the (OR) move while only 3 (15%) of Tehran Times' editorials skipped the (OR) move. Generally, the skipping of the (OR) move can be attributed to a number of factors. First of all, it seemed the editorial writers – especially in NYT- presupposed the idea that the readers had already got the required information; so there was no need to further repeat it. For this reason, they went directly to the (CR) move skipping the (OR) move. Excerpt no. 32, for instance, shows that many propositions like “There are many disagreement between Russia and Georgia.” Russia’s actions are unpredictable” and “People are not careful about the events.” have been asserted without being further elaborated on in the move.

- 32) Russia is playing a game of cat-and-mouse with neighboring Georgia that, if everyone is not a lot more careful, could quickly turn deadly. (Ref.19 NYT)

Secondly, referring to the idea of “reader responsibility “ and “writer responsibility” put forward by Hinds (1987), one might account for the lack of the (OR) move in some NYT editorials by suggesting that NYT used a more reader responsible rhetoric than Tehran Times.

Thirdly, it seemed that whenever the topic of criticism was very prevalent and obvious, editorials tended to skip the (OR) move. Consider the excerpt no. 33 taken from Tehran Times.

- 33) Runaway inflation has unnerved minds and made the poor poorer and the rich richer. (Ref. 13 TT)

One might argue that as the problem of inflation throughout the country was so obvious – most of the people are living in the country and so they are already experiencing its consequences- that there was no need to provide the background information of the issue through using an (OR) move.

Finally, it appeared that if the criticism was harsh, the editorials would tend to initiate the issue by (CR) itself rather than by an (OR) move. Excerpt no. 34 exemplifies the point.

- 34) There are so many reasons not to trust Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's dictatorial president. (Ref. 6 NYT)

### **The Second Schematic Structure: Body**

The second schematic structure of the editorial has already been referred to as *The Reaction* by Mac Dougall (1973). Stonecipher (1979) has used the term *Body* to refer to the section. The term *Evaluation* has been used by van Dijk (1996). In line with selecting the term Introduction to refer to the first schematic structure of the selected editorials, the present study used the term *The Body* to refer to the section.

Generally, all these different terminologies seemed to suggest that the second structure of the editorials represented the evaluation and development of the related events. The “Development” taken as the third move in editorial of criticism was realized through presenting one or more subtopics aiming at elaborating the main topic of the editorial.

As mentioned in the initial section of the present chapter, *Triad* is the unit of analysis employed in the analysis of the second schematic structure of the selected editorials. Thus, as we took the first Triad in the selected editorials as the first discourse block – *The Introduction*, the Triads between *The Introduction* and *The Ending* sections were considered to form *The Body* section of the editorials.

*“Body” Section in Editorials of The New York Times*

The Body section of the selected editorials was longer and structurally more complex than the first section, Introduction. Altogether, 76 Triads were identified in The Body section of the selected editorials. In 44 cases the Triad boundary overlapped with a paragraph unit marked by original space and indentation in the editorials. That is, a single paragraph contained the respective turns. Excerpt 33 represents the overlap of the Triad unit with that of the original paragraph as it appeared in the editorial.

- 33) L: We have similar concerns about Pakistan. F: This week, helicopter-borne American Special Operations forces attacked Qaeda militants in a Pakistani village near the Afghan border. V: At least one civilian, a child, was killed and possibly more in what may be the start of a new American offensive. (Ref. NYT 8)

In some editorials, however, a single Triad covered two paragraphs. The excerpt no. 34 exemplifies the point.

- 34) L: Given Russia’s oil wealth and nuclear arsenal, the West’s leverage is limited, but not inconsequential. F: Russia still wants respect, economic deals and a seat at the table, including membership in the World Trade Organization and a new political and economic cooperation deal with the European Union. Moscow is also eager to complete a civilian nuclear cooperation deal with the United States that could be worth billions.
- V: There can be no business as usual until Russian troops are out of Georgia, fighting has ended and all sides have agreed on a plan for calming the tensions in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. At a minimum, that means international mediation, more autonomy for both regions and the stationing of truly neutral international peacekeepers — not Russian troops. (Ref. NYT 11)

Leads were found to be declarative sentences realized through either a short evaluative sentence (as the one in excerpt no. 34) or structurally compound or complex statements. Excerpt no. 35 is an example of a compound sentence acting as a lead turn.

- 35) L: The current crisis began last week when Mr. Siniora's government — which unites large sections of the Sunni, Druse and Maronite communities — tried to shut down a telecommunications and surveillance network run by the militant group Hezbollah. (Ref. NYT 18)

As apparent in excerpt 34, Lead turn can be followed by one or more follow /F/

sentences. In the editorials which were analyzed 38 of the leads (50%) were followed by the /F/ turns. However, 38 of the leads (50%) skipped this turn and were followed by Valuate /V/ turns forming a Triad pattern of LV. Excerpts no. 36 and 37 represented the point.

- 36) L: Georgia also charged that a Russian MIG-29 fighter jet shot down one of its unmanned reconnaissance drones over Abkhazia. V: Moscow denied it. (Ref. NYT 19)

- 37) L: Government officials say they aim to increase production from 2.5 million barrels of oil a day to 3 million barrels. V: That is a minor increase in global terms, but with oil at \$140 a barrel, it is good news for Iraqis, who need the money to rebuild their war-torn country. (Ref. NYT 15)

Apart from these two types of Triad patterns with three and two turns, LFV and LV, there were four Triads with unusual patterns such as LFLV, LFLFV and LFLFLV. Table 4.11 represented the Triad patterns identified in The Body section of the selected editorials.

Table 4.11

*Triad patterns in the Body section of the selected NYT editorials*

Triad Pattern	F	(%)
LV	38	50
LFV	34	44.73
LFLV	2	2.63
LFLFV	1	1.31
LFLFLV	1	1.31

As Table 4.11 indicates LV and LFV were the most preferred ways of communicating the information throughout The Body section of the editorials while LFLV, LFLFV and LFLFLV were the least preferred patterns.

Meanwhile, in the data analyzed, seven of the Leads were initiated with the first person plural pronoun *We* and one of them commenced with the word “us”. The following excerpts present instances of such leads.

- 38) *We* certainly share his alarm and his clear frustration that the Pakistanis are doing too little to defeat the extremists or stop their attacks into Afghanistan.  
(Ref. NYT 4)
- 39) *We* have similar concerns about Pakistan. (Ref. NYT 8)
- 40) *We* cannot blame Baghdad for wanting to get on with exploiting the country's lucrative oil deposits, especially when Kurds in northern Iraq are rapidly signing contracts to develop oil fields in their own semiautonomous region.  
(Ref. NYT 15)
- 41) Let *us* be clear, there are no good military options. (Ref. NYT 3)

The above-mentioned excerpts indicated that some editorials in The New York Times explicitly displayed the *voice* of the writer or the newspaper by using the pronouns.

After presenting the sub-topics through a Lead turn and developing it through possible /F/ turn(s), the Triad was terminated by a Valuate /V/ sentence(s). As these turns “were responsible for closing the smallest unit of interaction with an opinion” (Bolivar, 1994 p: 291), they were found to be highly evaluative in the selected editorials.

Referring to the classification of the Valuate turns put forward by Bolivar, most of Valuates in the analyzed data were found to be of Concluder type. That is, in a form of informative comments or logical conclusions, they had the function of either offering new information or concluding the sub-topic based on the preceding turns in the Triad. The following excerpts exemplify some of the concluder Valuates.

- 42) V: The result is that while the two men have been negotiating since the American-led Annapolis peace conference last fall, very little progress has been made. [Conclusion](Ref. NYT 1)
- 43) V: This means, of course, that after seven years of letting emissions grow, he would allow them to continue to grow for another 17 years — and would come nowhere near the swift reductions in emissions that scientists believe are necessary to prevent the worst consequences of climate change. [Comments] (Ref. NYT 13)
- 44) V: That is a minor increase in global terms, but with oil at \$140 a barrel, it is good news for Iraqis, who need the money to rebuild their war-torn country. [Comments](Ref. NYT 15)

As the above-mentioned excerpts suggested, Valuate no.42 had the function of concluding the Triad while Valuate no. 43 and 44 offered new pieces of information based on the preceding turns in the Triad.

Some of the Valuate turns, on the other hand, were found to be of the Directive type. Unlike the concluder Valuates, the main function of these Directive Valuates was to indicate that an action should be taken. As suggested by Bolivar, these Valuates, based on their various degree of explicitness, can be grouped into Direct or Indirect directives. The following excerpts represent Valuate turns with the function of expressing directions.

- 45) V: For that, Europe and the United States must agree quickly on a more persuasive set of punishments and incentives. [Direct] (Ref. NYT 3)
- 46) V: The United States, Zimbabwe's African neighbors and the rest of the international community must immediately press for a postponement of the balloting. [Direct] (Ref. NYT 14)
- 47) V: That means the next president — whether it is Mr. McCain or Barack Obama — will have to quickly come up with a plan for a safe and responsible exit. [Indirect] (Ref. NYT 9)
- 48) V: NATO needs to step up its military efforts, and with other states build up Afghanistan's security forces, administrative capacity and rural development. [Indirect] (Ref. NYT 8)

Table no. 4.12 illustrates the types of the Valuate turns identified in The Body section of the selected editorials.

Table 4.12  
*Types of the Identified Valuates in the Body Section of NYT Editorials*

Valuates							
Concluder		Prophecy		Directive			
				Direct		Indirect	
F	(%)	F	(%)	F	(%)	F	(%)
78	74.28	0	0	17	16.19	10	9.52

As the Table 4.12 indicates most of the Triads in The Body section of the editorials closed the discourse unit with Concluder Valuates while only 27 Directive Valuates were used to terminate the Triads.

It should be added that the predominant rhetorical form of Valuate turns was declarative sentences, that is, a *sentence* in the form of a statement (in contrast to a *command*, a *question*). However, in one of the Triads two of the Valuate turns in the analyzed editorials were found to be in the form of rhetorical questions. Excerpt no 49 represents the point.

- 49) **V:** But is that the best we can expect, four more years of a Putin-like Kremlin that uses its full powers to quash all serious political opposition, intimidate neighboring states and encourage a macho confrontation with the West? (Ref. NYT 20)

Is Medvedev, who agreed in advance to make Mr. Putin prime minister, merely Mr. Putin's clone or will he prove to be his own man, as did Mr. Putin when he succeeded Boris Yeltsin? (Ref. NYT 20)

Generally, the analysis revealed that in the editorials grammatical and lexical clues were less obvious among the Triads and even turns within a Triad. That is, one needed to make use of his own understanding of the text itself to follow the topic. In other words, what bound the Triads and the turns in editorials were the series of sentences that tended to develop the main idea already expressed in the Introduction section of the editorials of

criticism. However, some Valuate turns were signaled through discourse markers such as *But*, and *Although*. The following excerpts are instances of the point.

- 50) V: *But* at least the biggest emitters seem willing to sit down in the same room. (Ref. NYT 12)
- 51) V: *But* the assault on Georgia is also clearly intended to bully Ukraine into dropping its NATO bid and frighten any other neighbor or former satellite that might balk at following Moscow's line. (Ref. NYT 11)
- 52) V: *Although* a discredited messenger, Mr. Olmert still deserves credit for putting the most sensitive issues on the table and identifying the only viable formula for a peace agreement. (Ref. NYT 1)

In general, the analysis of the selected editorials in The Body section revealed that the editorial writers tended to communicate their ideas through three-part structures – *LFV* (*Triad*) - which in most cases overlapped with the paragraph units. The leads were declarative sentences of various lengths which presented the subtopics. In some cases, they were initiated with a third person plural pronoun which indicated the voice of the editorial writers. Most of the Leads were further developed by Follow /F/ sentences. The discourse units – *Triads*- were terminated mainly through *Concluder* or *Directive* Valuates. The coherence was also established through sentences which were related to the main topic of the editorials.

#### *“Body” Section in Editorials of Tehran Times*

The Body section in the analyzed editorials contained 53 Triads in either its typical form (LFV) or other deviant forms such as LV, LFLFV. The analysis revealed that there was a mismatch between Triad boundary and paragraph unit. That is, a single unit of discourse- Triad- was realized through more than one paragraph marked by original space and indentation in the editorial. Excerpt no. 53 illustrates the point.



53) **L:** In January, when a U.S. Navy vessel and Iranian speedboats were involved in an incident in the Strait of Hormuz, Iran said that there was nothing unusual about the episode since the Iranian sailors were just conducting a routine procedure.

**F:** But the U. S. called it a “provocative” action and the U.S. propaganda machine did its best to show that it was “a pretty aggressive” incident.

**F:** After that incident, Bush claimed in Abu Dhabi that Iran is threatening the security of the world and that the U.S. and Arab allies must join together to confront the danger “before it’s too late”.

**V:** These tactics are just one part of a larger U.S. plan meant to show that Iran remains a threat, despite the U.S. National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) report of December 2007, which said Iran has no nuclear weapons program. (Ref. TT 17)

As excerpt no. 53 indicated, the unit of discourse contained four paragraphs, each one having a certain function such as Lead, Follow and Valuate. It is worth noting that only in 7 cases, a Triad – either in its complete or deviant form- was expressed through one paragraph. Excerpt no. 54 is an example of such exceptional cases.

54) **L:** This agreement imposes capitulation on Iraq for decades to come. **F:** It is revealing that the details of the ‘agreement’ have not been made public or grasped by the people of Iraq, who will have very little say in the matter and that is why the package is being furiously pushed through the Iraqi Parliament before its terms are thoroughly exposed. **F:** This so-called ‘security agreement’ could more correctly be called ‘The Legitimization of America’s Occupation of Iraq’. According to some reliable Iraqi sources, the agreement does not assure Iraq’s independence, national integrity, and national sovereignty as an inalienable right. (Ref. TT 9)

However, in general, the sub-topics presented in The Body section of the editorials were developed through more than one paragraph.

As mentioned before, a Lead turn was followed by one or more follow (F) sentences. In the analyzed editorials, 49 of the leads (72.05%) were followed by the F turns. However, 19 of the Leads (27.94%) skipped this turn and were followed by Valuate (V) turn forming a deviant Triad pattern of LV. Excerpts no.55 and 56 represent the point respectively.

- 55) L: Sudan's vigilance about the Western and Zionist plots prompted the extra-regional powers to employ a variety of methods to isolate the Khartoum government.

F: Foreign powers put pressure on Sudan to allow the UN and the African Union to deploy peacekeeping forces in Darfur, ostensibly to protect the residents.

V: To show its goodwill, Sudan finally agreed to allow foreign troops to enter its soil. However, the West, and particularly the United States, has been undermining the government's efforts to rebuild the areas devastated by the war. (Ref. TT 4)

- 56) L: Meanwhile, in talks with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Tehran in early June, Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei made his rejection of this proposed 'security pact' clear by stating that "occupiers who interfere in Iraq's affairs through their military and security might" are the main cause of Iraq's problems and are the "...main obstacle in the way of the Iraqi nation's progress and prosperity."

V: Clearly, there is no doubt that the continued aggression of U.S. forces in Iraq should not be tolerated by the Iranian people. (Ref. TT 9)

In addition to the frequent patterns of LFV and LV, there were few other deviant patterns. Table no. 4.13 presents the Triad patterns identified in the selected editorials.

Table 4.13  
*Triad Patterns in the Body Section of TT Editorials*

Triad Pattern	F	(%)
LV	19	36.53
LFV	27	51.92
LFLFV	6	11.53

As Table 4.13 indicates, LFV was the most dominant pattern while LFLFV was the least preferred pattern in The Body section of Tehran Times' editorials.

The Lead turns were found to be declarative and evaluative sentences with the function of introducing the subtopics of the editorials. In terms of the length, some of the Leads were found to be stated through long compound sentences (cf. Excerpt no. 56) and few of them were found to be relatively short sentences. In only 5 cases, interrogative and rhetorical questions were used to introduce the sub-topics. Excerpts no. 57 and 58 are examples of such cases.

- 57) What is the sin of civilians that they should fall victim to the ambitions of Ossetian separatists or Georgian or Russian leaders? (Ref. TT 2)
- 58) Does Israel want to boost the morale of its military, which was called the “mightiest” in the Middle East, or is it preparing for a new war against Hezbollah or Syria? (Ref. TT 19)

The subtopics introduced by the Lead turns were in most cases followed by /F/ turns, providing further information on the subtopics. The writer’s own evaluation of the sub-topics was expressed through Valuate turns.

The analysis revealed that the editorial writers in most cases used these final turns in The Body section of the editorials for concluding or presenting their own comments on the subtopics. Excerpt no. 59 is a Triad with a commenting Valuate.

- 59) L: A draft of this ‘agreement’ emerged for the first time in 2006.

F: It was meant to serve as a legal document legitimizing the crimes committed by individual U.S. servicemen and contract mercenaries (Blackwater comes to mind) against Iraqi citizens with no involvement in the national conflict.

V: The document deprives the Iraqi state apparatus of the right to arrest or prosecute any American involved in service to the occupation, even when he or she commits crimes not related to the U.S. war effort. (Ref. TT 9)

As it is evident in the above excerpt, the writer concluded the subtopic, the agreement between the US and Iraqi government, by providing the reader with his own further comments on the agreement.

In some limited cases, however, the writers used these final turns, Valuates, for giving Directions. In other words, instead of presenting their own comments, they preferred to inform the readers of the actions to be taken by the news actors. The following Triad, excerpt no. 60, is an example of the point.

60) L: The Zionist regime and the Jewish lobby have launched an intensive media campaign against Iran which is meant to raise doubts about the peaceful nature of Tehran's nuclear program, despite the fact that Iran has proved that it does not have a nuclear weapons program through its constructive cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

F: Meanwhile, the U.S. and France, two allies of the Zionist regime, have been signing multibillion-dollar agreements with certain regional countries over the past year for the construction of nuclear facilities, but these two countries have been pressuring Iran to halt its uranium enrichment program.

V: The international community should respond to Shaul Mofaz's blatant military threats against Iran, which fly in the face of international law. (Ref. TT 11)

The Valuate in the above-mentioned Triad besides presenting the writer's comments expressed in phrase "which fly in the face of international law" revealed also a directive suggestion requiring the international community to respond to Shaul Mofaz's remarks against Iran. Table no. 4.14 represents the different types of Valuates identified in The Body section of the editorials.

Table 4.14  
*Types of the Identified "Valuates" in The Body Section of TT Editorials*

Valuates					
Concluder	Prophecy	directive			
		Direct		Indirect	
F (%)	F (%)	F (%)		F (%)	
59 88.05	0 0	8 11.94		0 0	

As the Table indicates, most of the Valuates in The Body section of the editorials (88.05%) were used to conclude or present the writers' comments on the subtopics while only 11.94% of them were used to put forward directive suggestions.

It is worth noting that a limited number of the Valuate turns (15) were signaled by discourse markers such as *However, But, Unfortunately, Yet, Thus, Hence* and *Nevertheless*. But, as discussed before, the grammatical and lexical clues were less obvious among the Triads and turns within a Triad.

In general, the analysis of The Body section of the selected editorials in Tehran Times revealed that the subtopics were introduced by Triads. LFV and LV were the most frequent patterns of the Triads. There was a mismatch between the paragraph units and Triad units, and in most cases Triads were developed through more than one paragraph. The Leads had the function of initiating the subtopics and were usually followed by the /F/ turns. Through the Valuate turns, the editorial writers evaluated the subtopic either by offering their own comments or proposing directive suggestions.

### *Discussion*

The analysis of The Body section of the collected editorials in both Tehran Times and The New York Times newspapers revealed that developing the main topic of the editorial was the only move in this section that corresponded to the Argument move already proposed by Bhatia (1993). This move was realized through presenting, developing and evaluating sub-topics forming a typical sequence of LFV –Triad- or any deviant form of it such as LV, LFLFV.

In both newspapers there was a mismatch between Triad boundaries and paragraph boundaries. Considering the number of the Triads overlapped with paragraph units (NYT:

44, TT: 7) it can be suggested that the degree of this mismatch was greater in Tehran Times' editorials than those of The New York Times. This possibly indicated that writers in the NYT, to some extent, try to initiate, develop and conclude each subtopic through one single paragraph while the writers in TT prefer to extend the subtopic to more than one paragraph.

Moreover, in both papers the Triad patterns of LFV and LV were the dominant pattern of sub-topics (cf. 4.2.1, 4.2.2). That is, the sub-topic was introduced by a Lead sentence which in some cases was followed by one or more Follow sentences. The Valuate turns then terminated the sub-topics.

However, there were some differences in the way the newspapers organized the sub-topics in The Body section of the editorials. Considering the total number of the words used to express the sub-topics in The Body section of the both papers (NYT: 5952, TT: 5781) and the total number of sub-topics (NYT: 77, TT: 53), one can argue that NYT editorials included more sub-topics than the editorials in TT. In the same way, one might argue that the average number of words per subtopic in Tehran Times (109 words) is greater than the number used in NYT subtopics (77 words). This might signify the idea that while the editorial writers in Tehran Times avoided presenting and discussing many subtopics in each editorial, they tended to elaborate on the limited number of the subtopics much more comprehensively than the editorial writers in New York Times did. In other words, compared with TT, the subtopics in NYT, although outnumbering the subtopics in TT, were not fully developed.

Due to this reason the sub-topics in Tehran Times editorials were fully elaborated on and in most cases, as we noticed before, turns were developed through separate paragraphs. Full development of the limited number of the subtopics in TT editorials might

be attributed to the kind of readership in the newspaper. That is, readers in TT editorials expect to be provided with enough information on the subtopics which may signify the writer responsible rhetoric of TT editorials. Excerpt no. 61 is an example of a subtopic (Triad) where the turns have been developed through separate paragraphs.

- 61) L: Shrugging off warnings by a few lawmakers that the approval of expansionary national budget bills would lead to high inflation, the majority of MPs voted in favor of the bills and consequent amendments to withdraw money from the Foreign Exchange Reserve Fund to compensate for budget deficits and to finance new projects.

F: Most legislators were unaware of the inflationary consequences of such bills and even boasted about the close cooperation between the Majlis and the administration.

V: But now, after nearly three years of trial and error, Majlis Speaker Gholam-Ali Haddad-Adel says, “We should be careful and acknowledge the absolute principles of economics in approving laws” on the national budget and for withdrawals of funds from the Foreign Exchange Reserve Fund and use the “results of the past two to three years as a guiding light for the future.” (Ref. TT 13)

On the other hand, a greater number of subtopics in NYT (77) revealed other rhetorical differences between the two newspapers. That is, a greater number of subtopics in The Body section of the NYT editorials might suggest that the writers feel a greater need to provide more support to their main topic.

Although some of the subtopics in both newspapers (TT: 36%, NYT 50%) are introduced into the editorials without presenting the follow-up information (LV pattern), the reason for skipping the F turns seems to be different in the two newspapers.

In Tehran Times’ editorials, Leads in LV patterns tended to be bulky usually consisting of long compound or complex sentences expressed in one single paragraph. Excerpt no. 62 exemplifies the point.

- 62 L: Meanwhile, in talks with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Tehran in early June, Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei made his rejection of this proposed ‘security pact’ clear by stating that “occupiers who interfere in Iraq’s affairs through their military and security might” are the main cause of Iraq’s

problems and are the “...main obstacle in the way of the Iraqi nation’s progress and prosperity.”

V: Clearly, there is no doubt that the continued aggression of U.S. forces in Iraq should not be tolerated by the Iranian people. (Ref. TT 9)

As shown in the excerpt, the Lead sentence not only presented the subtopic but also elaborated on it within the very Lead sentence through using “that-clause” and other clauses introduced by the conjunction “and”. Thus, jumping from initiation of the topic /L/ to conclusion /V/ might be ascribed to the inclusion of the needed background information, /F/, within the lead sentence. Otherwise, it might have been possible for the editorial writer, by minor syntactical changes, to break the long Lead sentence into two parts and make the above subtopic appear as below:

- L:     Meanwhile, in talks with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Tehran in early June, Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei made his rejection of this proposed ‘security pact’ clear.
- F:     He stated that “occupiers who interfere in Iraq’s affairs through their military and security might” are the main causes of Iraq’s problems and are the “...main obstacle in the way of the Iraqi nation’s progress and prosperity.”
- V:     Clearly, there is no doubt that the continued aggression of U.S. forces in Iraq should not be tolerated by the Iranian people.

Yet, jumping from initiation to conclusion and skipping the /F/ turn in The New York Times’ editorials in most cases seemed to stem either from the presupposition of the information related to the presented subtopic or the writers’ eagerness to refrain from delaying of revealing their opinion on the sub-topic. To do so, after initiating the topic through a lead sentence, they presented their comments on the subtopic. Excerpt no 63 is an example of such cases.

- 63)    L: He (Pakistan’s new president, Asif Ali Zardari) is an undeniably flawed leader, with little political experience and a history tainted by charges of corruption.



V: But he deserves a chance, and American support, to fulfill his promises to bolster democracy, clean up Pakistan's intelligence services and work with the United States to defeat terrorism. (Ref. NYT 4)

As is evident in the above-mentioned excerpt, the Lead introduced Asif Ali Zardari, Pakistan's new president, as a flawed leader without elaborating on his political experiences and charges of corruption. It is as if these pieces of information have been taken for granted on the assumption that the readers were already familiar with them. So, the editorial writer skipped the /F/ turn and terminated the subtopic by an evaluative remark, /V/, which represented his own opinion on the sub-topic.

Moreover, the analysis of The Body section of the editorials in both newspapers indicated that there is a difference between the two papers in terms of using the first person plural pronoun, "We", as an indication of the "voice" of the paper. As we discussed before (cf. 4.2.1), this pronoun was observable in most of the editorials in NYT. However, there was a lack of using this pronoun in the editorials of Tehran Times. The following excerpts taken from NYT editorials are all instances of the case in point.

- 64) *We* fear that a rising number of civilian casualties, on both sides of the border, is driving more people into the hands of the repressive Taliban and other extremist groups. (Ref. NYT 4)
- 65) *We* are less certain, especially after an aide to Mr. Mugabe announced that certain aspects of the agreement would not go into effect until next month. (Ref. NYT 6)
- 66) *We* know some in the Kremlin don't care if ties with the West are broken. . (Ref. NYT 10)
- 67) *We've* been here before with Mr. Bush. (Ref. NYT 13)
- 68) *We* fear it will take more than words to save Zimbabwe. (Ref. NYT 14)
- 69) The International Olympic Committee has long prohibited political activities at Olympic venues, and *we* respect the goal of trying to put aside divisions while celebrating a common humanity. (Ref. NYT 16)
- 70) But is that the best *we* can expect, four more years of a Putin-like Kremlin that uses its full powers to quash all serious political opposition, intimidate neighboring states and encourage a macho confrontation with the West? (Ref. NYT 20)

Considering the lack of use of the pronoun in “We” in The Body section of Tehran Times’ editorials, one might argue that NYT editorials sometimes by using “We” tried to establish a kind of solidarity between the writers and the readers. They also tried to bring a certain authority to the paper in the editorials. In fact, by using the first person plural pronoun, the editorials were putting the credibility of the paper on the line (Rolnicki, Tate, Taylor, 2007). Meanwhile, by using the pronoun, NYT editorials tried to signal explicitly to the readers that they switched from fact-based reporting to purely opinion writing.

However, the lack of this pronoun in Tehran Times editorials might suggest that the writers tended to appear as objective as possible even in expressing their opinions. It also seemed that using the pronoun *We* made them look too personal and subjective.

Considering the role of Valuate turns in both terminating the subtopics and revealing the opinion of the editorial writer it is of importance to discuss how these turns were realized in The Body section of the two newspaper editorials.

The analysis of the Valuate turns revealed that the turns had been mainly used to either state the general comments of the editorial writers or conclude the information already presented in the Lead and Follow turns of the relevant subtopics. Specifically, 73.33% of the Valuates in NYT and 88.05% of the Valuates in TT editorials were of the concluder type, trying to conclude the subtopics or comment on them. These figures indicated that the editorial writers in the two newspapers generally tended to state their comments through Valuate turns.

However, the two newspapers were found to be different in using the Valuate turns for suggesting a desirable course of action, Directives. That is, while in The New York Times editorials 25.95% of the total Valuates were of the directive type (16.34% Direct directives, 9.61% Indirect directives), in Tehran Times’ editorial only 11.94% of the

Valuates were found to be of Direct directive type. This might suggest that NYT editorial writers in The Body section tended to be more “directive” than those of TT. This might also suggest that whenever editorial writers in TT want to make a suggestion they prefer to do it directly rather than indirectly. This directness can be attributed to tendency of the editorial writers in using assertive rhetoric.

### **The Third Schematic Structure: Ending**

Having discussed the first and the second schematic structures of the editorials namely *The Introduction* and *The Body*, the present section intends to explore the third schematic structure of the editorials in both The New York Times and Tehran Times editorials of criticism. The third schematic structure of the editorial has already been referred to as *The Reasons* by Mac Dougall (1973), *Conclusion* by Stonecipher (1979) and *Pragmatic Conclusion* by Van Dijk (1996). In line with the terminology used to refer to the first two sections, the term *The Ending* was used here to refer to the last schematic structure throughout the paper.

As mentioned before, the identification of *The Ending* section in the editorials was not usually as straightforward as one might assume since some writers tended to state their concluding remarks through more than one paragraph. Thus, the last Triad in the editorials was chosen as the *The Ending* section of the editorials. The following excerpt, for example, is the last Triad taken from one of The New York Times editorials.

- 71) *L*: With its rich agricultural land and abundant mineral resources, Zimbabwe should be thriving. *F*: Instead, Mr. Mugabe has turned it into a land of famine and desperation, with an annual inflation rate estimated to be 11 million percent. *V*: These man-made disasters cannot be reversed overnight and without substantial help. The United States, Europe and others should be getting ready to provide

technical support and aid. But first, they must make sure that this agreement is real and not just another trick by Mr. Mugabe to stay in power. (Ref. NYT 6)

As is evident, the Triad is composed of three Turns, which aimed at terminating the topic of the editorial

*“Ending” Section in Editorials of The New York Times*

The analysis of *The Ending* section of the selected editorials in The New York Times revealed that through this section editorial writers aimed at ending up the editorials by drawing conclusions based on the content presented through the two preceding structures namely *The Introduction* and *The Body*. *The Conclusion* which can be termed as the last *move* in the editorials was developed through the components of the Triads namely Lead, Follow and Valuate.

Leads in most cases were expressed through declarative sentences which either indirectly quoting the news actors or presenting evaluative and informative comments on the news events. Excerpts no. 72 and 73 exemplify the points respectively.

- 72) Speaking to the United Nations this week, the secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, warned that the world is facing a “development crisis,” and he expressed his fear that wealthy nations would now fall even further behind in their commitments. (Ref. NYT.2)
- 73) Also troubling is that the deals were made even though Iraq's parliament has failed to adopt oil and revenue sharing laws - critical political benchmarks set by the Bush administration. (Ref. NYT.15)

The quotation and the evaluative comments appeared to set the scene for subsequent evaluation of the news events by the editorial writer. Some editorials, on the other hand, initiated The Ending section through using Directive statements, the kind of statements asking for actions to be taken. The following excerpts exemplify the point.

- 74) Pakistan’s army, with intelligence help and carefully monitored financial support, should do most of the fighting. (Ref. NYT.8)
- 75) NATO needs to work with both sides to defuse the growing crisis. (Ref. NYT.19)

Table 4.15 tabulates the different types of the leads used in The Ending section of the selected editorials.

Table 4.15

*Leads in the Ending Section of NYT Editorials*

Type of the Lead	Sub-category	f	%
Declarative	Indirect quotation	2	10
	Informative comment	12	60
	Directive statements	6	30

As Table 4.15 suggests *Declarative statement* is the common form of the Leads employed in the last Triads of the editorials, while *Directive statements* form only 30% percent of the leads.

After elaborating on the Leads through *Follow* turns, the editorial writers used the *Value* turns to terminate the topic. Some writers, for example, tried to conclude the editorials by expressing their *determination* and *prediction*. Excerpts no. 76-79 are examples of the case.

- 76) It is unlikely that she will show any candor while she tries to put together a coalition government. (Ref. NYT 1)
- 77) But without such an effort, we are certain that Tehran will keep pressing ahead, while the voices in the United States and Israel arguing for military action will only get louder. (Ref. NYT 3)
- 78) It will be a painful process to learn how so many people were abused and how America's most basic values were betrayed. (Ref. NYT 17)
- 79) It will take toughness and subtlety to ensure they do not lock into a permanent confrontation — not more bluster from anyone. (Ref. NYT 10)

Four of the selected editorials used the *Value* turns in this section to express their hopes on the news events. Excerpts no. 80 and 81 exemplify the point.

- 80) We hope he returns Russia to a democratic path and ensures that he is not just a footnote to Putin's place in history. (Ref. NYT 20)

- 81) And we hope she is willing to do what is needed to build a lasting peace.  
(Ref. NYT 1)

Instead of expressing hopes, most of the editorial writers realized the conclusion move through using Valuates of informative comments. The following excerpts are sample informative comments used in the selected editorials.

- 82) The Bush administration has made Mr. Putin's job even easier, feeding nationalist resentments with its relentless drive for missile defense. (Ref. NYT 11)
- 83) There's an inherent contradiction between China's desire to invite the world to the Olympics and its effort to deny those visitors — and its own people — the most basic freedoms. (Ref. NYT 16)
- 84) These man-made disasters cannot be reversed overnight and without substantial help. (Ref. NYT 6)
- 85) This president has no intention of addressing climate change. (Ref. NYT 6)

As is evident in the above-mentioned excerpts, through these informative comments the editorial writers only summarized and evaluated the information already presented in The Introduction and The Body sections.

The move (Conclusion) was also realized in The Ending section of some editorials through Directive Valuates. These Valuate turns had either “the function of proposing or suggesting a ‘desirable’ course of action” (Bolivar, 1993, p: 292) or expressing the “necessity” of a certain action. Excerpt no. 86 and 87, for example, represent the Directives with the function of suggesting a desirable course of action.

- 86) Congress can do its part by approving a \$7.5 billion aid package, intended to strengthen Pakistan's democratic institutions and its counterinsurgency capabilities.  
(Ref. NYT 4)
- 87) They can start by sending envoys to meet with Mr. Medvedev and make clear that they, and the rest of NATO, are committed to Georgia's security and independence — and will be watching closely to see how he handles this first crisis. (Ref. NYT 19)

Some editorials in The Ending section contained Valuate turns used for expressing necessity. The forms of modals used for expressing necessity in the editorials included *must*, *need*, *should* and *have to*. The following excerpts are examples of the turns.

- 88) Mr. Bush will need to do a lot more if he wants to help salvage the Cedar Revolution.(Ref. NYT 18)
- 89) The United States, Europe and others should be getting ready to provide technical support and aid. (Ref. NYT 6)

Meanwhile, some Valuate turns in The Ending section were used to express warning and fear. Excerpts no. 90 and 91 are examples of this type.

- 90) We fear that Admiral Mullen is right: there isn't much time left — on either side of the border. (Ref. NYT 4)
- 91) While this time the tainted product was not imported into this country, the episode carries a serious warning for all Americans. (Ref. NYT 5)

Expressing regret (excerpt no. 92) was the other strategy identified in the Valuate turns in The Ending section of the editorials.

- 92) But seven years after 9/11, we hoped that the government would earn more than a "C" on its ability to protect Americans from potentially catastrophic attacks. (Ref. NYT 7)
- Generally, the strategies that NYT editorial writers employed in the Valuate turns

of the last Triads can be tabulated as follows.

Table 4.16  
*Rhetorical Strategies Employed in the Valuate Turns of NYT Editorials*

Rhetorical Strategies		f	%
Stating Directives	Suggestions	5	9.80
	Necessity	14	27.45
Stating Informative Comments		17	33.33
Stating Hopes		4	7.84
Stating Prediction		6	11.76
Stating Warning & Fear		4	7.84
Stating Regret		1	1.96

As Table 4.16 indicates, the predominant rhetorical strategy employed in The Valuate turns of the selected editorials was of a Directive kind (37.25%) while Stating Regret was the least preferred strategy (1.96%).

It is worth noting that editorial writers used more than one of the mentioned strategies in final Valuate turns. In other words, the conclusion was realized through making use of different strategies. Excerpt no. 93 is an example Valuate turns of The Ending section in one of the selected editorials in which more than one strategy has been employed.

- 93) [Necessity] Any revised plan must do a lot more to avoid civilian casualties and support, rather than undermine, Pakistan's civilian leaders. [Suggestion] Congress can do its part by approving a \$7.5 billion aid package, intended to strengthen Pakistan's democratic institutions and its counterinsurgency capabilities. [Necessity] The Pentagon also needs to quickly come up with a better strategy in Afghanistan. [Comments] Commanders warn that Mr. Bush's promise to send 4,500 additional troops falls far short. [Warning and Fear] We fear that Admiral Mullen is right: there isn't much time left — on either side of the border. (Ref. NYT 4)

Meanwhile, the *voice* of the newspaper was much louder in The Ending section than the other sections in the editorials. This is evidenced by the frequent use of the pronoun *We*.

- 94) And we hope she is willing to do what is needed to build a lasting peace. (Ref. NYT 1)
- 95) But without such an effort, *we* are certain that Tehran will keep pressing ahead, while the voices in the United States and Israel arguing for military action will only get louder. (Ref. NYT 3)
- 96) Even the biggest and supposed best can fail to meet safety standards that *we* take for granted. (Ref. NYT 5)
- 97) *We* hope he returns Russia to a democratic path and ensures that he is not just a footnote to Putin's place in history. (Ref. NYT 20)



In brief, editorial writers in The New York Times tended to employ different rhetorical strategies in The Ending section of the editorials. These included statements of directives, informative comments, hopes, prediction, warning and fear, and regret.

*“Ending” Section in Editorials of Tehran Times*

Most of the Leads in the last Triad of the selected editorials were found to be Declarative statements. They were realized as *Informative comments*, *Directive statements* and *Direct quotation* of the news actors.

The editorial writers through *Informative comments* not only evaluated the preceding subtopics but also introduced the last subtopic of the editorial. Excerpt no. 98 can be considered as an example of the point.

- 98) L: ICC officials are allowing the U.S. to use the organization as a tool for the implementation of its policies, and thus the ICC has no authority to issue an arrest warrant for the Sudanese president. (Ref. TT 4)

As is evident in the above-mentioned excerpt, the Lead initially concluded and evaluated the preceding turns on ICC decision on issuing an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, and then it tried to open a new subtopic which was questioning the legitimacy of the court for issuing the warrant.

A *Directive statement* was found to be a Lead for one of the Triads in *The Ending* section of the editorials. Excerpt no. 99 represents the case.

- 99) To thwart the U.S. plot, Iran *should* step up its foreign policy activities in order to boost its relations with all friendly countries, especially European Union members. (Ref. TT 17)

Direct quotation from the related news actors and Rhetorical question were the other forms of the Leads appeared in the *The Ending* section of the editorials. Excerpts no. 100 and 101 present the cases.

- 100) Brown added, “The people of Israel have a right to live freely and to live in security.” (Ref. TT 1)

- 101) Israel occupied Lebanese territory for over 20 years and Israel launched a massive air and ground attack on the tiny Lebanese state in 2006, in which it suffered a massive setback, so do the Zionists want to try their luck again? (Ref. TT 19)

Table 4.17 tabulates the types of the Leads identified in the Ending section of TT selected editorials.

Table 4.17

*Leads in the Ending Section of TT Editorials*

Type of the Lead	Sub-category	f	%
Declarative	Direct quotation	1	5
	Informative comment	17	85
	Directive statements	1	5
Rhetorical question		1	5

As the Table suggests, *Informative comment* was the most preferred strategy for initiating the last topic of the editorials in Tehran Times selected editorials

Meanwhile, 35 Valuate turns were identified in *The Ending* section of the selected editorials. In most cases there was a one-to-one correlation between the turn and its rhetorical strategy. That is, each turn was realized through one single rhetorical strategy. However, in 7 cases (out of the total number of the Valuate turns 35) the Valuate included more than one strategy. Excerpt no. 102 and 103 are examples of the case.

- 102) When major powers that regard themselves as the guardians of international peace quibble over the wording of a call for a ceasefire while civilians are dying, it makes us wonder if we have really entered a more civilized era. (Ref. TT 2)
- 103) It will be impossible to establish security in the country unless the occupiers unconditionally withdraw from Iraqi territory, responsibility for national security is handed over to the Iraqi government, and a national dialogue between the government and various political groups is initiated. (Ref. TT 16)

As is evident, the Valuate sentence in excerpt 102 included only one rhetorical strategy which is stating *informative comments*. That is the, editorial writer aimed only at

presenting his evaluative summary of the events. The Valuate in excerpt no. 103, however, included more than one rhetorical strategy. That is, the initial part of the turn - *It will be impossible to establish security in the country*- states “prediction” while the second part of it- *unless the occupiers unconditionally withdraw from Iraqi territory, responsibility for national security is handed over to the Iraqi government, and a national dialogue between the government and various political groups is initiated*- states “suggestion”. Calculating in this way- single Valuate turns with all its rhetorical strategies- 47 rhetorical strategies were identified in the Ending section of the editorials.

The predominant rhetorical strategy employed in *The Ending* section was stating *informative comments*, reflecting the writers’ evaluative summary of the news events already discussed in the preceding sections of the editorials. In fact, out of 20 (the total number of the selected editorials), a significant number of them -8 (40%) - editorials - had employed only *informative comments* in their conclusion move. Excerpt no. 104 exemplifies the point.

- 104) Most Arab leaders have refrained from condemning the Zionist regime’s crimes out of fear that such action would harm their relations with the United States, and they are well aware that Washington wants them to have close ties with Israel. (Ref. TT 18)

As the above-mentioned excerpt indicated, the writer ended the editorial with an *informative comment* about the Arab leaders who had not condemned Israel’s actions in the Gaza Strip in 2006. It is worth noting that 40% of the editorials used only informative comments in *The Ending* section.

*Predicting* the future events was another rhetorical strategy employed in this section. In most cases, through this strategy the editorial writer aimed at not only making the prediction but also enforcing an implied *suggestion* or a statement of *necessity*. Excerpts no. 105 and 106 clarify the point.

- 105) If the president's new economic team ignores the views of experts, the economy will experience more inflation, and the administration will find itself even farther away from its original goal of increasing the purchasing power of people with lower incomes. (Ref. TT 12)
- 106) It will be impossible to establish security in the country unless the occupiers unconditionally withdraw from Iraqi territory, responsibility for national security is handed over to the Iraqi government, and a national dialogue between the government and various political groups is initiated. (Ref. TT 16)

As one can see in the excerpt no. 105, through using a conditional sentence, not only the writer made an implied statement of necessity -*The president (should) consider the views of experts-*, but also he predicted that by ignoring the action of necessity "*the economy will experience more inflation*" and the government will find itself "*further away*" from its stated goals.

Similarly, as the excerpt no 106 indicated, the editorial writer initially made a prediction ("*It will be impossible to establish security in the country*") and then presented a statement of necessity -The "*occupiers (should) unconditionally withdraw from Iraqi territory*". It is worth noting that 9 (25.71%) of the Valuate turns were developed in this way, that is, making prediction with an implied statement of *necessity*.

Only in one of the Valuate turns was the prediction of the future events accompanied by an *informative comment* rather than the statement of *necessity* or *suggestion*. Excerpt no. 107 indicates the point.

- 107) There is no doubt that every nation has the right to live in peace, but the blind support for Tel Aviv provided by Brown and his ilk will just embolden Israeli leaders to continue their occupation policy, which will never provide security for Israeli citizens. (Ref. TT 1)

As is evident in the excerpt, the initial part of the Valuate turn *There is no doubt that every nation has the right to live in peace* was an *informative comment* on the preceding part of the editorial. The second part of it *the blind support for Tel Aviv provided by Brown and his ilk will just embolden Israeli leaders to continue their occupation policy*,

*which will never provide security for Israeli citizens* can be considered as *statement of prediction*.

Meanwhile, three of the Valuate turns exemplified by excerpt no. 108 stated sole *prediction*. That is, the *prediction* was not accompanied by any other rhetorical strategy.

- 108) Any detour from this path would set the country back years, diminish its international status, and harm Turkish citizens' sense of national pride. (Ref. TT 7)

Stating *necessity* was the other rhetorical strategy employed in *The Ending* section of the editorials. The use of *should* was the predominant indicator of this strategy. Excerpt no. 109 is an example of the case.

- 109) Taking Iran's military might and the new geopolitical situation into consideration, Zionist officials should reassess their policy and realize that Israel can no longer attain its goals thorough military actions. (Ref. TT 11)

Based on the preceding sections in the editorial, some of the turns in *The Ending* section offered suggestions.

- 110) The only reasonable course of action is to allow Turkey to proceed along the path of democratization. (Ref. TT 7)

In general, the strategies that TT editorial writers employed in *The Ending* section of the selected editorials can be tabulated as follows.

Table 4.18

*Rhetorical Strategies Employed in The Ending Section of TT Editorials*

Rhetorical Strategies		f	%
Stating Directives	Suggestions	2	5.71
	Necessity	3	8.57
Presenting informative comments		16	45.71
Stating prediction	Prediction-suggestion	9	25.71
	Prediction-comment	1	2.85
	Sole prediction	3	8.57
Presenting rhetorical question		1	2.85

As the Table indicated presenting *informative comments* and *stating predictions* were the two dominant strategies that were employed in *The Ending* section of the selected editorials.

In general, the analysis of *The Ending* section of the selected editorials in Tehran Times newspaper indicated that the newspaper employed different rhetorical strategies to realize the last move – *Conclusion*. Presenting informative comments, stating directives and predictions were revealed to be the main strategies.

### *Discussion*

The analysis of *The Ending* section of the selected editorials in both papers revealed that the last move, *Conclusion*, was realized through different rhetorical strategies.

As for topic initiation in the last Triads, although both newspapers used *informative comment* as the main form of the topic initiation (TT: 85%, NYT: 60%), the papers differed in employing *Directive sentences* as the Leads. In other words, while only one (5%) of the Leads in TT was of Directive type, in the NYT editorials the number increased to 6 (30%). This might suggest that the NYT editorial writes compared to those of TT tended to use the *The Ending* section of the editorials for presenting their Directive suggestions.

Moreover, the analysis of the Valuate turns in *The Ending* section of the selected editorials revealed certain characteristics of these turns. Frequent use of informative comments (NYT: 33%, TT: 45%) indicated that *Stating informative comments* was the predominant rhetorical strategy in both papers. However, the papers differed in the way the strategy was used. In other words, none of the editorials in The New York Times was terminated by *informative comments* alone unless it was followed by other rhetorical strategies such as making *prediction* and stating the *necessity*.

Considering the fact that 40% of the editorials in Tehran Times was terminated by only offering *informative comments* in *The Ending section*, one might suggest that editorial writers in Tehran Times newspaper tended to realize the last move, *The conclusion*, through mainly informative comments. In other words, their tendency toward *interpreting* the news events rather than providing the readers with practical solutions and suggestions encouraged them to make use of informative comments in *The Ending* section of the editorials. Sociolinguistically, this might be ascribed to the value of interpretation in a theocratic country like Iran. Interpretation of religious texts is of high value and only certain scholars are entitled to do it. It is one of the common ways of communicating religious values to the common people. This characteristic might have found its way to the editorials of Tehran Times.

Unlike The Valuate turns of *The Ending* section of editorials in Tehran Times, the dominant rhetorical strategy in The New York Times was found to be presenting *Directives*. In fact, 37.25% of the turns in *The Ending* section were found to either offer *suggestions* or express *necessity* often realized through “must”, “can” and ‘should’. This can be ascribed to the socio-political power of the press in the developed world. In other words, backed up by detailed information acquired from primary news sources and their reliance on the effectiveness of media, in general, made them find themselves in a position to have an authoritative tone in the last part of the editorials of criticism.

The two newspapers used *making predictions* as one of the rhetorical strategies for realizing the last move. The number of predictive turns (N. 13) employed in Tehran Times compared to that of The New York Times (N.6) suggested that the second commonly used strategy employed in the final section of Tehran Times editorials was *making predictions*

which in most cases was realized through conditional sentences. It can be suggested that the conditional sentences served to offer a rationale for the prediction.

Meanwhile, the same difference in terms of using the first person plural pronoun-*We*- (cf. 4.2.3) did exist in *The Ending* section of the two papers. In other words, the closer they got to the end of the editorials, the more often the editorial writers in The New York Times tended to use the pronoun. The use of this pronoun in *The Ending* section of the editorials (NYT: N. 9 times, TT: N. 2) seemed to be contrary to the idea that journalists in general and editorial writers in particular should try to refrain from being subjective. van Ginneken (1998) comments on the use of such words as:

Words such as we, us, our and they, them, theirs regularly recur in newspaper texts. Each and every time such a word is used, humanity is implicitly chopped in half. ... Sometimes it means: we First Worlders, as distinguished from those Second and Third Worlders. Sometimes it means: we journalists and/ or academics, as distinguished from others and non-professionals. Sometimes it means: we, the writer and the reader, as distinguished from outsiders not sharing the text. But it is important to note that the use of such terms (explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously) constantly defines and redefines the world, often in highly ideological ways. (pp.154, 155)

In the light of the above-mentioned comment on the use of the words like *We* and *Us*, it can be said that through the word *We* the editorial writers in The New York Times tended not only to establish a kind of solidarity between the paper and the readers (the writer and the reader), but also increased the authoritative tone of the paper. The rare use of



this word in Tehran Times editorials, however, might suggest that the writers tried to convey an impression of objectivity throughout the editorial.

### **Conclusion**

The analysis of the selected editorials in The New York Times and Tehran Times revealed some important key characteristics of different schematic structures of the editorials of criticism in The New York Times and Tehran Times.

With reference to the first schematic structure, *The Introduction*, the findings of this study revealed that in the editorials of criticism of both newspapers, the first schematic superstructure of editorials of criticism - *The Introduction*- was composed of two distinctive sub-sections or MOVES, viz “orientation” and “criticism” with the former being optional, based on factors such as readers’ presumed background knowledge, prevalence of the topic of criticism and the harshness of the criticism.

However, there were certain differences between the editorials in terms of some rhetorical conventions. The use of interrogative and rhetorical questions in the (CR) move of Tehran Times editorials, for example, suggested that the editorials were more assertive in their criticisms than the writer(s) in The New York Times.

Communicating the (OR) move through evaluative words and phrases also made the NYT editorials appear more evaluative than those in TT. Besides, frequent skipping of the (OR) move and the amount of information loaded in it suggested that NYT editorial writers tended to use “reader responsible” rhetoric - the distinction made by Hinds (1987).

The analysis of The Body section of the editorials in the two newspapers indicated that developing the main topic of the paper was the only move in this section of the

editorials. It was also found that there were some similarities and differences in the way the main topic of the editorials were developed through the section.

In an effort to develop the main topic of the editorials, the two newspapers mainly used LFV and LV patterns for presenting the subtopics. However, NYT editorial writers compared with TT writers included more subtopics in the editorials, suggesting that the writers felt a greater need to provide more support to their main topics. Turns in TT editorials, yet, were found to be fully developed, compensating for the limited number of the Triads per editorials.

By frequent use of the first person plural pronoun, “We”, NYT writers tried to bring a certain authority and credibility to the paper, while TT editorial writers refrained from using the pronoun possibly for establishing a sense of objectivity in the paper.

The papers terminated the subtopics mainly through Valuate turns, representing the writers’ concluding remarks and evaluative comments on the relevant subtopics. However, NYT editorial writers compared with TT writers used these Valuate turns for proposing directive suggestions.

With reference to the last schematic structure of the editorials, *The Ending*, the study revealed that in the *Conclusion* move the two newspapers employed certain rhetorical strategies. Frequent use of *informative comments* and *predictive statements* were found to be the predominant strategies in *The Ending* section of Tehran Times editorials that might be ascribed to the influence of certain cultural characteristics of the society on the language use specifically the notion of “interpretation”.

Expressing *suggestion* and *necessity* through directive statements were found to be the common rhetoric strategy employed in *The Ending* section of the selected editorials in The New York Times. The use of this strategy accompanied by the first person plural

pronoun- *We*- can be attributed to the issue of *Power*. That is, enjoying economical and political superiorities, the press, in general, finds itself in a position to identify the necessities and present the suggestions.

In general, due to the inclusion of different rhetorical strategies, *The Ending* sections of The New York Times editorial appeared to be much more argumentative than those in Tehran Times. The analysis of the selected editorials in the two papers, on the other hand, indicated that the editorial writers not only tended to support their argument by factual information, usually presented through the first and second schematic structures – *The Introduction* and *The Body* - but also they aimed at providing suitable rhetorical strategies to serve the factual information through the last schematic structure of the editorials, *the Ending*.

### **Textual Analysis of Editorials**

To address the second research question of the study which focused on identifying the possible rhetorical structures employed in the editorials of The New York Times and Tehran Times, a textual analysis of the editorials in the two newspapers was carried out in terms of certain concepts and notions such as Modality, Presupposition and of course certain Rhetorical structures emerged in the process of analysis as described in the preceding chapter.

### **Textual Analysis of Headlines**

Due to the unique features of the Headlines such as encapsulating the content of the editorials and arousing the readers' curiosity (Reah, 2002), and also their important role in

monitoring readers' attention, perception and reading process (van Dijk, 1988), the study initially focused on this aspect of the editorials.

#### *Headlines in NYT*

Headlines in The New York Times can be structurally classified as either Verbal or Non-verbal. Verbal headlines are those that contain a verbal clause. According to Quirk et al, (1985), there are three main types of verbal clauses namely "finite clause", "nonfinite clause" and "verbless clause" (Quirk et al, p: 992). The verb in a finite clause is finite, that is, it carries tense i.e. *Bush claimed Victory*. On the other hand, a verb in a nonfinite clause is infinite, that is, it does not carry the tense and it takes either a *to*-infinitive, a bare infinitive, an *-ed* form, or an *-ing* form i. e. *Failing the World's Poor*. A verbless clause does not contain a verb at all, but it "is capable of being analyzed into clause elements" (Quirk et al, p: 992). That is, a form of copula can be inserted in the clause i.e. *Lebanon at the Edge*. In the present study, however, the verbless clauses have been classified as non-verbal headlines.

Non-verbal headlines are those that contain a noun or a nominal phrase. Due to the importance of modification of nouns in headlines which "add 'descriptive' information to the head, often restricting the reference of the head" (Quirk et al. 1985 p: 65), they can be classified as non-modified, pre-modified, post-modified, pre & post-modified nouns.

Table 4.19 illustrates the classification of the headlines in the selected editorials of the New York Times.

Table 4.19  
*Classification of NYT Headlines*

Verbal				Non-verbal							
Finite		Nonfinite		Pre-modified		Post-modified		Pre & Post modified		Non-modified	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	5	4	20	4	20	2	10	8	40	1	5

As Table 4.19 suggests, 75 % of the headlines were of the non-verbal kind while only 25% of them were of the verbal type. On the other hand, most of the non-verbal headlines were modified.

*Presupposition in NYT Headlines.* Textual analysis of the headlines in the selected editorials revealed that the editorial writers in an attempt to persuade their readers tried to employ different textual strategies. *Presupposition* was found to be one of these strategies that editorial writers tried to employ in the headlines. Presupposition “is any proposition whose truth is accepted by the speaker ..., but not asserted by the utterance”. Linguistically, they are marked through using certain grammatical structures and lexical items. Presupposition is of special importance in editorials as “they allow speakers or writers to make claims without actually asserting them, and, moreover, take specific beliefs for granted although they might not be” (van Dijke, 1995 p. 273).

Textual analysis of the headlines in the selected editorials revealed that the editorial writers in an attempt to persuade their readers tried to employ this linguistic device.

The kinds of presupposition employed in NYT headlines include: existential, lexical, nominalization and iterative verb. Table no. 4.20 tabulates the kinds of presuppositions employed in NYT headlines.

Table 4.20

*The Types of Presuppositions in NYT Headlines*

No.	Type	Example	Presupposition
1	Existential	<i>Mr. Olmert's Belated Truths</i> (Ref. NYT 1)	>> The truths should have been revealed before.
2	Implicative verb	<i>Remember Iran?</i> (Ref. NYT 3)	>> Iran has been forgotten.
3	Existential	<i>China's Baby Formula Scandal</i> (Ref. NYT 5)	>> There is a public outrage in China
4	Lexical	<i>Dealing With Mr. Mugabe</i> (Ref. NYT 6)	>> Mr. Mugabe is a problem.
5	Lexical	<i>Still No Exit</i> (Ref. NYT 9)	>> It was expected to exit.
6	Lexical	<i>Stuck in Gerogia</i> (Ref. .NYT 10)	>> There is a difficult situation in Georgia.
7	Existential	<i>Russia's War of Ambition</i> (Ref. NYT 11)	>> Russia has planed to initiate war of ambition
8	Nominalization	<i>Good Intentions, Vague Promises</i> (Ref. NYT 12)	>> The promises are vague
8	Nominalization	<i>Empty Promises on Warming</i> (Ref. NYT13)	>> The promises are empty
9	Existential	<i>Zimbabwe's Stolen Election</i> (Ref. NYT 14)	>> The election has been stolen
10	Lexical	<i>Lebanon at the Edge</i> (Ref. NYT 18)	>> Lebanon is in a difficult position
11	Existential	<i>Putin's Mini-Me (or Not?)</i> (Ref. NYT 20)	>> Putin has a Mini-Me.

As the Table indicates existential presupposition is the common presupposition employed in NYT headlines. Through this kind pf presupposition, the writers presupposed a negative attribute for *Others* and positive ones for *Us*. Attributions such as *stolen election*, *belated truth* and *war of ambition* are examples of the point. Lexical presupposition was the other kind presupposition employed in the headlines. Through

certain lexical items or loaded words- words that have strong positive or negative connotations beyond their ordinary definition, the writers tried to presuppose their intended propositions. The lexical items such as *dealing*, *still* in headlines no. 4 and 5, for example, presuppose respectively that *Mr. Mugabe is a serious problem* and *The American forces were expected to leave the country but they did not*. Through nominalization, not only the writers did try to make the headlines concise, but also they took for granted certain propositions which were not openly stated in the editorials. The phrase *empty promises* in the headline no. 8, for example, presupposed that *The promises were empty*.

*Parallelism in NYT Headlines.* Moreover to add balance and rhyming and also further clarity to the headlines, editorial writers in some cases opted for *Parallelism*, using the same pattern of words and structures. The following excerpts are examples of the case.

1) *Georgia, NATO and Mr. Medvedev* (Ref. NYT 19)

2) *Good Intentions, Vague Promises* (Ref. NYT 12)

Parallelism in the first headline has been achieved through using the same class of the words, nouns. Noun phrases, on the other hand, have been used in the second headline for parallelism.

*Alliteration in NYT Headlines.* Similarly, in the following headlines the editorial writer preferred to use *Alliteration* - repetition of the initial consonants- and *consonance* - repetition of the final consonants- respectively to give balance and rhyming to the headlines.

*Caught in the Cross-Fire* (Ref. NYT 8)

*Not Safe Enough* (Ref. NYT 7)

*Metonymy in NYT headlines.* Another instance of figurative language used in the headlines of the selected editorials was *Metonymy*. It is a figure of speech in which one

word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated. The use of this rhetoric device can be identified in the following headlines of NYT.

- 1) *China's Baby Formula Scandal* (Ref. NYT 5)
- 2) *Russia's War of Ambition* (Ref. NYT 11)
- 3) *Lebanon at the Edge* (Ref. NYT 18)
- 4) *China's List of Olympic Don'ts* (Ref. NYT 16)

The metonymic use of the countries in NYT headlines can be presents as below:

CHINA→ Institution (A company)  
RUSSIA → Institution (Government)  
LEBANON →Status (Political)  
CHINA → Institution (Olympic committee)

In the above-mentioned non-verbal headlines, it is clear that editorial writers intended to refer to a company in China, Leaders in Russia, Political situation of Lebanon and Chinese government respectively. However, in an effort to impose their own attitude, the editorial writers employed metonymy to generalize the issue i.e. *scandal, war, to be at edge* and *Olympic don'ts* to the respective countries.

*Pun in NYT Headlines.* *Pun* was found to be among of the rhetorical devices employed in the following headline.

*Putin's Mini-Me (or Not?)* (Ref. NYT 20)

To elaborate on the above-mentioned headline, it is necessary to mention that the editorial writer's main argument in the respective editorial was to represent Russian president, Medvedev, as a puppet played by Valadimir Putin, the present Prime minister of Russia. To do so, the writer has used the word “Me” as a pun in the headline as the word “Me” suggests two distinct meaning .That is “Me” as referring to Putin and the second as referring to Medvedev. Note that the word Medvdev starts with “Me”.



*Testimonial in NYT Headlines.* *Testimonial*, using the words of a famous or influential person, was found to be one of the devices employed for persuading the editorial readers. The following headline exemplifies the point.

*What the F.B.I. Agents Saw* (Ref. NYT 17)

The main argument of the editorial headlined by the above mentioned phrase was to inform the American people, through descriptive scenes, of what was happening in the interrogation centers in American military prisons. To influence the readers, the editorial used the phrase “*the F.B. I. agents*” to further endorse its own description.

*Quotation out of context in NYT Headlines.* Quoting out of context, removing the most important quotes from the context, editorial, was another device for persuasion. As an example, this persuasion device was realized in the following non-verbal headline.

*‘Running Out of Time’* (Ref. NYT 4)

The headline reflects the growing concern about the failure of the American forces in Afghanistan. It is, in fact, a quoted phrase from the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Mike Mullen, which summarizes the main point of the editorial.

*Rhetorical question in NYT Headlines.* Rhetorical questions were used as a persuasive device in the following headlines.

*Remember Iran?* (Ref. NYT 3)

*Putin’s Mini- Me (or Not?)* (Ref. NYT 20)

The questions were asked for emphasis and provocation purposes. For example, the first yes-no question has nothing to do with whether we remember Iran or not. The question, however, was intended to emphasize the necessity of remembering Iran otherwise negative consequences would be faced.

Thus, as the above-mentioned description suggested, editorial headlines not only informed the readers of the topic but also reflected the editorial writers' subjective point of view as well. The analysis of the headlines revealed that editorial writers, in an effort to persuade their readers, try to employ different textual strategies.

All in all, *presupposition*, *metonymy* and certain *rhetorical devices* are the commonly used textual strategies in the editorial headlines. Less frequent rhetorical devices include the use of *rhetorical questions*, *parallelism*, *testimonials*, *puns*, *assonance*, *alliteration*, *consonance* and *quoting out of context*.

#### *Headlines in TT*

The verbal/non-verbal dichotomy can also be applied for structural classification of the headlines in the selected editorials of criticism in Tehran Times newspaper. Based on this dichotomy, Table 4.21 represents the types of the headlines in selected TT editorials.

Table 4.21

<i>Classification of TT Headlines</i>											
Verbal						Non-verbal					
Finite		Nonfinite		Pre-modified		Post-modified		Pre & Post modified		Non-modified	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
9	45	3	15	5	25	1	5	2	10	0	0

As the Table indicates, 60 % of the headlines in the selected Tehran Times editorials are of the verbal type while 40 % of them are non-verbal. Meanwhile, most of the non-verbal headlines are either pre-modified or post-modified.

*Presupposition in TT Headlines.* The analysis of the headlines revealed the frequent use of *presupposition* as a textual strategy for persuasion purpose. The following Table tabulates kinds of presupposition employed in the headlines of TT.

Table 4.22

*The types of Presuppositions in TT Headlines*

No.	Type	Example	Presupposition
1	Lexical & Existential	<i>Brown <u>mimicking</u> predecessor's <u>duplicity</u></i> (Ref. TT 1)	>> <i>Brown is an imitator</i> >> There is duplicity
2	Existential	<i>Rice's <u>ulterior</u> motives</i> (Ref. TT 10)	>> <i>Rice has ulterior</i>
3	Nominal	<i><u>Provocative</u> war games</i> (Ref. TT 19)	>> These war games are provocative
4	Implicative verb	<i><u>End</u> discrimination in wages</i> (Ref. TT 15)	>> <i>There is discrimination</i>
5	Nominal	<i>U.S. <u>dissension plot unfolds</u> in Iraq</i> (Ref. TT 16)	>> <i>US has secret plans</i>
6	Existential	<i>Israel's <u>pipe dreams</u></i> (Ref. TT 11)	>> Israel has pipe dreams
7	Existential	<i>Israel's <u>hit-and-run war crimes</u></i> (Ref. TT 18)	>> Israel has crimes

As Table 4.22 suggests the presuppositions have been established through existential, nominal, and implicative verb. The word “mimicking”, for example, in the first headline suggested “imitation” and the possessive construction “s” presupposes the existence of “ulterior motives of Rice”. In the third and fifth headlines, “provocative war games” and “the secret plans of the US” have been presupposed respectively through nominalization. The use of the implicative verb, *End*, in the fourth headline, presupposes the existence of “wage discrimination” throughout the country. Similarly, the fifth headline implied the “secret evil plans of the US in Iraq”. The sixth and seventh headlines presupposed the existence of Israel’s “pipe dreams” and “war crimes”.

*Allusion in TT Headlines.* The editorial writers in Tehran Times used *allusion*, indirect reference to a person, place or event, as a persuasive device in the following headlines.

1) *Is the Caucasus becoming more Balkanized than the Balkans?* (Ref. TT 2)

2) *U.S. colonialism in Iraq* (Ref. TT 9)

3) *Israel's pipe dreams* (Ref. TT 11)

The word *Balkans* in the first headline was supposed to remind the editorial readers of the different wars happening in some southeastern European countries in Balkan Peninsula during 1990s. In the same way, the word *colonialism* in the second headline was supposed to remind the readers of a policy based on exercising power over a dependent area and people for exploitation of their natural resources and creation of new markets for the colonizer which was practiced by some European countries in the years 1500 – 1900. The allusion in the third headline can be elaborated on by referring to Ahmad Chalabi, an Iraqi politician, who promised to reopen an old British build pipeline from Kirkuk in Northern Iraq to Israeli port Haifa. As a reaction to this promise Israeli then minister of infrastructure said that “the pipe line would be a dream”. Moreover, the phrase, pipe dream, has an additional connotative meaning suggesting a fantastic hope that usually comes from smoking a pipe of opium and thus is regarded as an unreal aspiration.

The use of allusion in the above-mentioned headlines was significant in that it can please the editorial readers by reminding them of pertaining events and concepts such as *Colonialism*, *Balkans* and *Pipe dreams* with which they were familiar, allowing them to be persuaded.

*Metonymy in TT headlines.* Also, referring to some certain news events, in some cases the editorial writers in TT used *metonymy* as a rhetoric device. This device has been employed in the following headlines.

1) *Iran is not North Korea* (Ref. TT 8)

2) *U.S. hypocritically using ICC to pressure Sudan* (Ref. TT 4)

3) *U.S. meddling in formation of Lebanese cabinet* (Ref. TT 5)

- 4) Israel's hit-and-run war crimes (Ref. TT 18)
- 5) U.S colonialism in Iraq (Ref. TT 9)
- 6) Israel's pipe dreams (Ref. TT 11)
- 7) Israel snubs Hamas ceasefire proposal (Ref. TT 14)
- 8) US dissension plot unfolds in Iraq (Ref. TT 16)

The main argument in the editorial entitled *Iran is not North Korea* was to compare the Iranian nuclear program to that of North Korea. So, to refer to these programs the editorial writer preferred to use the name of the countries. Similarly, the main arguments entitled by the second and third headlines was to criticize the American authorities for using judges in International Criminal Court (ICC) to put pressure on Omar Hassan al-bashir, the Sudanese president, and the American administration for meddling in Lebanon's affairs. Also, the main argument in the fourth headline is to blame Israeli's army and military authorities for starting assaults against Gaza Strip.

This metonymic use of the countries name in TT headlines can be stated as follows:

IRAN→ Nuclear program  
 NORTH KOREA→ Nuclear program  
 US→ Institution (Government)  
 SUDAN→ Institution (Government)  
 US→ Institution (Government)  
 ISRAEL→ Institution (Army)  
 US→ Institution (Government)  
 ISRAEL→ Institution (government)  
 ISRAEL → Institution (government)  
 US→ Institution (Government)  
 ISRAEL → Institution (Army)

*Neologism in TT Headlines.* The use of *neologism*, “a recently created (or coined) word or an existing word or phrase that has been assigned a new meaning” (Richardson, 2007, p: 69) was apparent in the editorial headlines. The following headlines exemplify the point.

- 1) *Is the Caucasus becoming more Balkanized than the Balkans?* (Ref. TT 2)
- 2) *The Iranophobia plan* (Ref. TT 17)

As evident in the above-mentioned headlines, the editorial writers created neologisms through the addition of suffix /ize/ and blending two existing words. The use of neologism not only reflects the editorial writer's skill in the creative use of language, but also helps him to make an association between two concepts. Excerpt no. 2 might serve as an example of this point. By blending the two words *Iran* and *Phobia*, the editorial writer has tried to associate "fearing Iran" with an "illness" that should be treated.

*Antithesis in TT Headlines.* To make the headlines more provocative, some editorial writers used *antithesis* which can be defined as close juxtaposition and intentional contrast of two terms or ideas in the headlines. Antithesis establishes a clear, contrasting relationship between two ideas by joining them together or juxtaposing them, often in parallel structure. This rhetoric device can be noticed in the following editorial headlines.

- 1) *The G8 ate while we went hungry* (Ref. TT 6)
- 2) *Turkey's "deep state" runs into shallow water* (Ref. TT 7)

The use of antithesis was also of significance in editorials in that it made relatively fine distinctions which might be otherwise overlooked by casual editorial readers.

*Rhetorical questions in TT Headlines.* In two of the following headlines, editorial writers employed *rhetorical questions*.

- 1) *Is more inflation on the horizon?* (Ref. TT 2)
- 2) *Is the Caucasus becoming more Balkanized than the Balkans?* (Ref. TT 12)

The above rhetorical questions used for effect, emphasis, or provocation purposes as considering the ever-increasing inflation rate throughout the country and the serious

political unrest in Balkan Peninsula, the answer to the following question is obvious enough.

*Irony in TT Headlines.* Irony, stating the opposite of an intended meaning in order to mock a person, situation, was found to be one of the rhetorical devices employed in the following TT headline.

*The only upholder of human rights in the Mideast!* (Ref. TT 20)

The main argument of the editorial entitled by the above-mentioned headline was to criticize western countries for naming Israel as the only democratic country in the Middle East. To express his disapproval of the western countries' view, the editorial writer used a sarcastic headline. Even an exclamation mark (!) has been used in the headline to help the readers to grasp the sarcasm and irony.

Thus, as the above-mentioned description and analysis revealed, the editorial writers in an effort to persuade the readers tried to make use of different persuasive and rhetorical strategies. In general, *presupposition*, *metonymy* and *allusion* were found to be the commonly used textual strategies.

### *Discussion*

The analysis of the headlines in the selected editorials of the two newspapers revealed a difference between the two sets of headlines. Most of the headlines in The New York Times (75%) were of non-verbal type while only 40% of them were of this type in Tehran Times editorials. In other words, the proportion of verbal headlines in the NYT (20%) was significantly lower than that in TT (60%). Moreover, in terms of the length of the headlines, both verbal and non-verbal headlines in the NYT were written through short phrases whereas TT headlines were in the form of comparatively long phrases and

sentences. Calculated in terms of the average number of words per headlines, the figures obtained were 3.7 and 5.4 words for the NYT and TT respectively. In other words, based on this structural analysis, the NYT headlines were found to be short and punchy while those of TT were found to be mostly composed of full sentences which made them less striking and less persuasive than the headlines in the NYT.

These findings did not confirm the findings of the study conducted by Khodabandeh (2007) who claimed , as a result of her study, that the proportion of verbal headlines were considerably higher in English headlines ( 94.82%) than in the Persian ones (24.27%). However, as there was no indication of the specific newspaper sub-genre in her study, it can be at least concluded that headlines in different newspaper sub-genres might be structurally realized through different textual strategies.

The analysis of the selected headlines in terms of presupposition revealed some similarities and differences between the headlines of the two papers. In general, the writers in the two papers presupposed certain propositions through certain types of presuppositions namely: existential, lexical, nominalization and implicative verbs. The papers preferred existential presupposition triggered by *possessive construction* such as *Rice's ulterior motives* and *Israel's war crimes*. Nominal presuppositions in the headlines were triggered by *noun phrases* such as *Empty promises*. Implicative verbs were found to be the least employed presupposition types in the two sets of the headlines. The commonality of using just these certain types of presupposition in the headlines of the two newspapers might suggest that writers opt for common types of presupposition in spite of their different linguistic backgrounds. Moreover, limited use of the *implicative verbs* and the other types of the presupposition such as “factive”, “nonfactive” and “structural presuppositions”



(Yule, 1996, pp: 27-29), might reveal a specific characteristic of the newspaper genre specifically the editorial headlines.

Tehran Times headlines compared to those of the New York Times contained more existential presuppositions. The NYT headlines, on the other hand, contained more lexical presuppositions.

Referring to the metonymy the study revealed that through using metonymy, the editorial writers in the two newspapers tended to keep and background the main news actors and events such as the US authorities, Omar al-bashir, Israeli army officers and nuclear program in the semantic field. In other words, writers used the metonymic concept of names of countries to refer to either responsible institutions or the status (social, economical, political) of the countries. Analysis of the data revealed that writers in TT employed this type of metonymic reference (COUNTRY FOR INSTITUTION AND STATUS) in the headlines much more frequently than those in NYT. Considering the fact that “metonymy is not merely a reference device” but “it also serves the function of providing understanding”(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 34), the frequent use of this type of reference might be attributed to Iran’s government long-lasting problems with the governments of the two countries namely the US and Israel. Names of these two countries have been thematized so that it can influence the readers’ understanding making them to perceive every single event as something caused by the whole country and not by the single institution within the country.

In general, analysis of headlines in terms of this rhetoric device, metonymy, indicated the importance of the device in newspaper genre in general and headlines in particular.

The analysis of the headlines in the selected editorials of The New York Times and Tehran Times, also, revealed that the headlines not only introduced the topic of the editorials but also presented the subjective attitude of the writers (newspapers) towards the topic. Richardson (2007) has referred to this aspect of the headlines as a “double function”. According to him:

Headlines perform a double function: a semantic function, regarding the referential text, and the pragmatic function regarding the reader (the receiver) to whom the text is addressed. The two functions are simultaneous, in as much as the headlines acts to alert the reader (receiver) to the nature or the content of the text. (p. 197)

This subjective presentation of the news events and the news actors was carried out through employing certain textual and persuasion strategies. The analysis revealed that certain textual strategies such as *presupposition*, *rhetorical question* and *metonymy* were the most frequently employed strategies in the headlines. Both NYT and TT used metonymy, for example, to refer to actions taken by a country or its government. The following Table represents the types of the rhetorical devices employed in the headlines.

*Table 4. 23 Frequency of Rhetorical Devices Employed in NYT and TT Headlines*

Rhetorical Devices	Headlines in NYT	Headlines in TT
Allusion	-	***
Neologism	-	**
Rhetorical question	**	**
Metonymy	****	*****
Antithesis	-	**
Parallelism	**	*
Alliteration	*	*
Consonance	*	*
Irony	-	*
Quoting out of context	*	-
Testimonial	*	-
Pun	*	-

\* Frequency

As Table 4.23 suggests, Metonymy, Rhetorical questions and Parallelism are the favored devices employed in the headlines of NYT. Editorial writers in TT, however, favored Metonymy, Allusion, Neologism, Antithesis and Rhetorical questions. While, the less frequent devices include: Testimonials, Puns, Assonance, Alliteration, Consonance and Quoting out of context. Employing different sets of rhetorical devices in the two newspapers might be attributed to the certain culture the writers belong to.

The analysis in general revealed that the editorial writers in both newspapers aimed at not only informing the readers of the topic of the editorial but also expressing the preferred ideology of the papers which was accomplished through employing certain persuasive and rhetorical devices.

### **Textual Analysis of Editorial Texts**

After textual analysis of the Headlines through the preceding section, the present section aimed at analyzing the editorial Texts in terms of certain pre-specified concepts such as modality, presupposition, rhetorical devices and also categories emerging during the analysis.

#### *Modality*

As a regular feature of opinionated genre of journalism (Richardson, 2007), modality refers to “the grammar of explicit comment, the means by which people express their degree of commitment to the truth of the propositions they utter, and their views on the desirability or otherwise of the status of affairs referred” (Fowler, 1986, pp. 131-132). In this sense, modality is a means of indicating a writer’s ideological point of view. In other words, through modality newspaper editorial writers try to reveal their values and attitudes towards the text.

Modality in the selected editorial of NYT was expressed through using different textual strategies such as modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, evaluative adjectives, reporting verbs and generic phrases.

The following excerpts include modality expressed through modal verbs.

- 111) The United States, Zimbabwe's African neighbors and the rest of the international community must immediately press for a postponement of the balloting. (Ref. NYT 14)
- 112) Otherwise, oil will just become one more centripetal force pulling the country apart. (Ref. NYT 15)
- 113) Pakistan's army, with intelligence help and carefully monitored financial support, should do most of the fighting. (Ref. NYT 8)
- 114) If an American raid captured or killed a top Qaeda or Taliban operative, the backlash might be worth it. (Ref. NYT 4)
- 115) In a democratic Zimbabwe, or in an Africa that insisted on respect for democratic elections, Mr. Tsvangirai would be president and Mr. Mugabe would be gone. (Ref. NYT 6)
- 116) Recognizing these enclaves could inspire a host of rebellions around and inside Russia. (Ref. NYT 10)
- 117) Flush with its military gains, Hezbollah may demand more than Mr. Siniora can grant without forfeiting all legitimacy. (Ref. NYT 18)

In the above mentioned excerpts, the editorial writers not only reported the information but also provided their own attitude towards the events through using certain modal auxiliaries. In excerpt no. 111 and 113 the editorial writers included their own ideas that certain courses of action, *pressing for a postponement of the balloting* and *doing most of the fighting*, should be taken through using the auxiliary modal *must* and *should*. In 112 and 115 the editorial writers expressed their own prediction of future events. In the same way, the editorial writers in excerpts no. 114, 116 and 117 expressed the evidentiality,

different realms of possibility through auxiliary modals *might*, *could* and *can*. The distribution of modality through auxiliary modals has been tabulated in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24

*Modality Through Modal Auxiliaries in NYT Editorials*

Auxiliary Modals		N	%
Prediction	will, would	88	51.46
Possibility	can, could, may, might	41	23.97
Necessity	must, should	42	24.56

As Table 4.24 suggests, 51.46 % of the modals were used to express the prediction of the events by editorial writers in NYT and the rest either expressed possibility or necessity. This might signify the idea that prediction of the future events can be regarded as an important feature of this genre in NYT which is textually realized through two modal auxiliaries namely *will* and *would*.

Modality in some cases was expressed through modal adverbs. The following excerpts represent the point.

- 118) We certainly share his alarm and his clear frustration that the Pakistanis are doing too little to defeat the extremists or stop their attacks into Afghanistan. (Ref.NYT4)
- 119) That is, undoubtedly, why Mr. Tsvangirai accepted it, despite Mr. Mugabe's history of bad faith. (Ref. NYT 6)

The degree of evidentiality has been indicated through certain adverbs in the above mentioned excerpts. The other adverbs of this kind used in the editorials included *unlikely*,

*less likely, undeniably, apparently, clearly, truly, accurately, unacceptably, grandly, surely, and genuinely.*

Besides using the adverbs to express evidentiality, editorial writers employed some highly evaluative adverbs and adjective as another textual strategy to express their own attitude towards the desirability or otherwise of the state of affairs referred to in the editorials. Excerpts no. 120 and 121 present the point.

- 120) Instead of defending Zimbabwe's people and their right to democratic change, he [South Africa's president] has shamefully chosen to protect Mr. Mugabe. (Ref. NYT 14)
- 121) Georgia's president, Mikheil Saakashvili, foolishly and tragically baited the Russians — or even more foolishly fell into Moscow's trap — when he sent his army into the separatist enclave of South Ossetia last week. (Ref. NYT 11)

The above-mentioned excerpts indicated that the editorial writers not only presented some factual information on the South African president's decision and events in Georgia but also expressed their own evaluation of the events through evaluative adverbs namely *shamefully, foolishly, tragically* and *more foolishly*. The other evaluative adverbs used in the editorials are *woefully, substantially, seriously, painfully, deadly, badly, dyspeptically, sadly, cynically, chiefly, not surprisingly, unfortunately, frighteningly, ruthlessly, efficiently, uncritically, rapidly* and *understandably*.

Furthermore, phrases such as *lawless border, credible investigation, sufficient urgency, manmade disasters, dictatorial president, devious maneuver* and *brutalized citizens* can be named as examples of evaluative adjectives used in the editorials, expressing the writers' attitudes and values towards the issues referred to in the editorials.

In the analyzed data modality was also found to be expressed through certain reporting verbs such as *claim*, *voice*, *warn*, *declare*, *admit*, *speculate*, *hope*, *doubt*, *concede*, *predict*, *announce* and *charge*. The following excerpts exemplify the point.

- 122) Moscow claims it is merely defending the rights of ethnic minorities in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which have been trying to break from Georgia since the early 1990s. (Ref. NYT 11)
- 123) We doubt that they [Russians] will be eager to return to the grim days of Soviet isolation. (Ref. NYT 11)

The use of these reporting verbs is of significance as they reflected editorial writers' opinion and attitude towards the truth value of the reported content, that is, the extent to which they consider a proposition as true or false.

Moreover, the analysis revealed that in eleven cases the editorial writers expressed modality through verbs such as *seem*, *appear*, and *believe*, which can be referred to as “knowledge verbs” (Fowler, 1986). The following excerpts are instances of this kind of modality.

- 124) Prime Minister Vladimir Putin ... appears determined to reimpose by force and intimidation as much of the old Soviet sphere of influence as he can get away with. (Ref. NYT 11)
- 125) All of this [withdrawal of American troops from Iraq] seems to be driven more by what is happening in American battleground states than any battleground in Iraq. (Ref. NYT 9)

The use of such knowledge verbs is also important in editorials as they are often “associated with some (often indirect) expression of how accountable a writer is for knowledge content” (Malmström, 2007, p. 36).

The most obvious and straightforward strategy for expressing modality in the editorials was found to be the employment of certain generic phrases. In 21 cases the

editorial writers revealed their own opinion towards the propositions through this kind of modality as exemplified in the following excerpts.

- 126) *It is increasingly clear that* at least one major dairy company, the Sanlu Group, knew about the problem for months .... (Ref. NYT 5)
- 127) *There were no surprises* in Sunday's balloting. (Ref. NYT 20)

Throughout the selected editorials the following generic phrases of modality have been used.

Table 4.25

*Generic Phrases Expressing Modality in NYT Editorials*

Editorial No.	Generic Phrase of Modality
1	<i>It is frustrating that ...</i> <i>It is tragic that ...</i> <i>It is unlikely that ...</i>
3	<i>Let us be clear ...</i> <i>In direct defiance of ...</i> <i>That is looking less likely ...</i> <i>We are certain ...</i>
4	<i>We fear that ...</i> <i>We fear that ...</i>
5	<i>It is conceivable that ...</i>
6	<i>We are less certain ...</i>
10	<i>It is unnerving enough ...</i>
11	<i>There is no imaginable excuse ...</i>
13	<i>It is hard to ...</i>
14	<i>It was unclear ...</i> <i>We fear that ...</i>

In general, NYT editorial writers employed several linguistic strategies to realize modality throughout the selected editorials of criticism. To express their attitude towards the truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence (evidentiality) and also their evaluative opinion about the described event, they employed modal auxiliaries, adverbs and adjectives, certain reporting verbs and verbs of knowledge and generic phrases.



Editorial writers in TT have expressed modality, their own attitude towards the situation, news event, through different linguistic devices. Auxiliary modals were found to be one of the common devices to express modality. The following excerpts show how modality was realized through using modal auxiliary verbs.

- 128) Mr. Brown should not lie about Iran's nuclear program to butter up hardliners in the Knesset. (Ref. TT 1)
- 129) It will be impossible to establish security in the country unless the occupiers unconditionally withdraw from Iraqi territory.... (Ref. TT 16)
- 130) Any detour from this path would set the country back years ... (Ref. TT 7)
- 131) Israel can no longer attain its goals through military action. (Ref. TT 11)
- 132) Arab allies must join together to confront the danger before it is too late. (Ref. TT 17)
- 133) Cars are being fed with agricultural products that could be used for food ... (Ref. TT 6)

Referring to the above-mentioned excerpts, one might see that the modal auxiliary verbs *should*, *must* in excerpt no. 128 and 132 have been used as a way of expressing necessity. Modals in excerpts no. 129 and 130 *will* and *would*, on the other hand, have been used to express *Prediction*. *Possibility* has been implied through the use of *could* in the last excerpt. Table no. 4.26 represents expressing modality through modal auxiliary verbs.

Table 4.26  
*Modality Through Modal Auxiliary Verbs in TT Editorials*

Auxiliary Modals		N	%
Prediction	will, would	41	48.23
Possibility	can, could	15	17.64
Necessity	must, should	29	34.11

As Table 4.26 indicates, 48.23% of the modal auxiliaries were used to imply prediction of the future news events and 34.11% were used for necessity. Only 17.64% have been used as indication of possibility.

Writers' attitude towards news events were also revealed through evaluative adverbs and adjectives. The following excerpts are examples of the case.

- 134) Fossil fuel reserves will surely be depleted in the not-too-distant future.  
(Ref. TT 6)
- 135) Western media outlets are illogically comparing Iran's nuclear program to North Korea's. (Ref. TT 8)

The adverbs of this kind included most likely, ostensibly, however, unfortunately, probably, clearly, nevertheless, increasingly, insidiously, apparently, never, savagely, in-fact, mainly, correctly, nevertheless, indeed.

Phrases such as enslaving order, cruel occupation, false allegation, lasting prosperity, rampant inflation, and occupying forces can be named as instances of using evaluative adjectives expressing the writers' attitudes.

Moreover, the predominant reporting verb in the editorials was found to be the verb *say*; however, in only four cases, the editorial writers' attitudes were revealed through the two other reporting verbs such as *claim* and *admit*.

Editorial writers in some cases (N=16) expressed modality through certain generic phrases. The following excerpt exemplifies the point.

- 136) It could safely be said with a high degree of certainty that, for a long time, the U.S. has not been a country that is able to convince other nations to follow its path to peace ... (Ref. TT 9)

Table 4.27 represents the generic phrases identified in Tehran Times selected editorials.

Table 4.27

*Generic Phrases Expressing Modality in TT*

Editorial No.	Generic Phrase of Modality
1	<i>It seems that ...</i>
	<i>There is no doubt that...</i>
2	<i>It is never acceptable ...</i>
	<i>It makes us wonder</i>
5	<i>Doubts have now arisen ...</i>
6	<i>It is clear that ...</i>
	<i>There are several doubts as to ...</i>
7	<i>These actions run contrary to ...</i>
9	<i>There is no doubt ...</i>
	<i>It could safely be said with high degree of certainty ...</i>
11	<i>It is obvious that ...</i>
15	<i>It is natural that ...</i>
16	<i>It is apparently obvious of the fact that...</i>
17	<i>I appears that ...</i>
19	<i>There is no doubt that ...</i>
	<i>There is no doubt that</i>

*Presupposition*

Presupposition defined as “assumptions that are ‘built in’ to an utterance, rather than directly stated” (Reah, 2002, p. 106) is of importance in editorial texts as the choice the editorial writers make in expressing the information in an explicit or implicit way is usually effected by certain ideology they stick to. It is also a powerful way to influence the readers as the editorial readers usually tend to not examine the truth value of the hidden or indirectly expressed information. Thus, editorial writers tend to employ this textual strategy to convey their intended meaning without of course directly asserting it.

The analysis of the selected editorials of the NYT revealed that presupposition, indicated by (>>) was realized through certain different linguistic structures described below.

However, the analysis focused only on those propositions that are controversial in terms of truth value.

*Presupposition through Nominalization.* Nominalization was found to be one of the linguistic structures the editorial writers employed to trigger presupposition. A certain *claim* expressed through the predicate of a declarative sentence like *The report was painful* is potentially open to challenge but when the same claim is embedded in a noun phrase like: *They were described in a painful report by the justice ...*, it would seem to be an established fact. The following excerpts are examples of presupposition triggered by nominalization in NYT.

<u>Noun phrase</u>		<u>Presupposed meaning</u>
A desperate move	>>	The move is desperate
A real danger	>>	The danger is real
The repressive Taliban	>>	Taliban is repressive
Rising number of civilian casualties (Ref. NYT 4)	>>	The number of civilian casualties is rising

Presupposition through nominalization was evident in the editorials of Tehran Times too. The following excerpts are examples of the cases.

<u>Noun phrase</u>		<u>Presupposed meaning</u>
The legitimate president of Sudan	>>	The president of Sudan is legitimate
Arms shipment to Darfur	>>	Someone has sent arms to Darfur
Interference by certain neighbors	>>	Certain neighbors are interfering

Nominalization is said to be a linguistic device that is used to establish cohesion and facilitates reference to previously mentioned concepts (Bhatia, 1993). However, in the editorials it was employed as a persuasive device aiming at promoting a certain kind of ideology through indirect assertion of the propositions.

*Existential presupposition.* In the present study those linguistic constructions that are associated with “a presupposition of existence” (Yule, 2000, p. 27) is referred to as Existential presupposition. This kind of presupposition was realized through *possessive* constructions. Although they are a part of nominalization process, for the sake of clarity they are presented separately here. The following excerpts exemplify this kind of presupposition identified in the selected editorials of The New York Times.

<u>Existential phrase</u>		<u>Presupposed meaning</u>
Zimbabwe’s brutalized citizens	>>	Zimbabwe’s citizens are brutalized
Mr. Mugabe’s history of bad faith (Ref. NYT 4)	>>	Mr. Mugabe has a history of bad faith
Mr. Bush’s disastrous war (Ref. NYT9)	>>	Mr. Bush has started a disastrous war.
His administration’s inhuman policy (Ref. NYT17)	>>	He has inhuman policy in his administration

The following excerpts exemplify the existential presupposition in the editorials of Tehran Times.

<u>Existential phrase</u>		<u>Presupposed meaning</u>
Brown’s flattering speech (Ref. TT 1)	>>	Brown delivered a flattering speech
Iran’s peaceful nuclear activities (Ref. TT 2)	>>	Iran’s nuclear activities are peaceful
His economic corruption scandal (Ref. TT 10)	>>	Olmert has an economic corruption record
Israel’s massacre of Palestinians (Ref. TT 20)	>>	Israel has massacred Palestinians

*Factive and Non-factive presupposition.* The presupposed information after certain verbs can be categorized as either factive or non-factive (Yule, 2000). The difference between factive and non-factive lies in their semantic properties. That is, the “truth” of the sentential complement is presupposed in factive verbs but it is not presupposed in non-

factive one (de Cuba, 2007). For example, the following excerpt represents the factive presupposition.

- 137) It is frustrating that Mr. Olmert ... waited so long to say these things.  
(Ref. NYT1)

As evident in the excerpt, the phrase *that Mr. Olmert waited ...so long to say these things* has been presupposed to be an established fact through the phrase *It is frustrating*.

However, the truth of proposition expressed in that-clause of the following excerpt has not been presupposed.

- 138) We *hope* she is willing to do what is needed to build a lasting peace. (Ref. NYT1)

Unlike the case in 137, the nonfactual verb, *hope*, in the above-mentioned excerpt in fact does not presuppose the truth of the proposition expressed through the underlined sentence.

In the New York Times editorials the factual presuppositions were triggered through the following verbs and phrases.

*It is frustrating that ... , It is tragic that .... , it is a frightening reminder that ..., it is conceivable that ..., It is increasingly clear that ..., he made clear that ..., he grasped the idea that ..., acknowledge, declare, know, prove, admit, share, warn, insist, regret, remind, and indicate*

The following excerpts exemplify how the factive presupposition were expressed in the editorials.

- 139) Wealthy countries *acknowledged* that poverty can be a fertile ground for terrorism and pledged to open their markets to exports from the world's poorest nations. (Ref. NYT2)  
>> (Poverty can be a fertile ground for terrorism ...)
- 140) Finally, late Monday, the United Nations Security Council issued its first condemnation of the violence sweeping Zimbabwe, *regretting* that the campaign of violence and the restrictions on the political opposition have made it impossible for a free and fair election to take place on 27 June. (Ref. NYT 14)

>> (The campaign of violence and the restrictions on the political opposition have made it impossible for a free and fair election to take place on 27 June.)

The non-factive presuppositions in The New York Times editorials were triggered through the following verbs and phrases.

*It is unlikely that ..., he dropped hints that ..., he dismissed the idea that ..., he made it less likely that..., hope, say, warn, fear, declare, persuade, speculate, tell, agree, seem, claim, believe, declare, predict, charge*

The following excerpts indicate how the editorial writers in the NYT employed non-factive presupposition in the selected editorials.

141) Moscow *claims* it is merely defending the rights of ethnic minorities in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. (Ref. NYT 11)

>> The presupposition expressed through the underlined phrase (*That Moscow is merely defending the rights of ethnic minorities in South Ossetia and Abkhazia*) is assumed not to be necessarily true.

142) But no one *believes* that industry will invest in those new technologies until existing ways of producing energy become too expensive. (Ref. NYT 13)

>> The presupposition expressed through the underlined phrase (*Industry will invest in those new technologies until existing ways of producing energy become too expensive*) is not necessarily true.

The factual presuppositions were realized in the selected editorials of Tehran Times through the following verbs and phrases.

*It was not first time that ..., there is no doubt ..., forget, warn, prove, express regret, realize, to be aware*

The following excerpts reveal how factual presupposition has been expressed throughout Tehran Times editorials.

143) Surely, under such circumstances, the leaders of Hamas and Fatah have *realized* that Palestinians have no choice but to rely on themselves. (Ref. TT 10)

>> (Palestinians have no choice but to rely on themselves)

- 144) U.S. officials have *admitted* that the Islamic Republic's power has risen in the Middle East region to the point where it cannot be threatened easily by military strikes or economic sanctions. (Ref. TT 10)

>> (the Islamic Republic's power has risen in the Middle East region)

The non-factive presuppositions in Tehran Times editorials were triggered through the following verbs and phrases.

*It is said that ..., it is believed that ..., there is no doubt that..., say, quote, vow, claim, tell, believe, state, proclaim, mean, suggest, show, announce, report, recommend*

The following excerpts indicate how the editorial writers in Tehran Times employed non-factive presuppositions in the selected editorials.

- 145) Both Russia and Georgia *claim* the current conflict started after the other side violated a ceasefire in South Ossetia. (Ref. TT 2)

<< The presupposition expressed through the underlined phrase (the current conflict started after the other side violated a ceasefire in South Ossetia) is not necessarily true.

- 146) It is *believed* that Rice only traveled to the region to show that the U.S. supports the Israeli prime minister's policies. (Ref. TT 10)

<< The presupposition expressed through the underlined phrase (Rice only traveled to the region to show that the U.S. supports the Israeli prime minister's policies) is not necessarily true.

*Counter-factive presupposition.* Moreover, editorial writers in some cases used linguistic structures such as some conditional sentences and certain phrases like *Instead of...* or *Until there is ...* which were found to be semantically reflecting a kind of counter-factive (contrary to the fact) presupposition. The following excerpts from The New York Times editorials represent the point.

- 147) *If Russia and China block action at the Security Council*, Europe and Washington will have to act without them. (Ref. NYT 3)

>> (Russia and China have NOT blocked action at the Security Council now)



- 148) *Until there is a clearly free and fair second round of the presidential election*, the only legitimate basis for a government of Zimbabwe is the outcome of the 29 March 2008 election. (Ref. NYT 14)

>> (There is NOT a clearly free and fair second round of the presidential election)

Counter-factive presupposition was also evident in the selected editorials of Tehran Times. The following excerpts represent this kind of presupposition in the paper.

- 149) *If the Westerners really believe in ‘one person, one vote’ democracy*, they should extend it to ‘one country, one vote’ for the dispute about Iran’s nuclear program... (Ref. TT 3)

>> The westerners do not really believe in *one person, one vote’ democracy*.

- 150) *If liquidity was a panacea*, there would be no need for the new Central Bank governor .... (Ref. TT 12)

>> Liquidity was not a panacea.

*Presupposition through Adverbial/Relative clauses.* Adverbial and Relative clauses were found to trigger the presupposition in the selected editorials. The following excerpts exemplify how presuppositions have been realized through the adverbial clauses in the selected editorials of both The New York Times and Tehran Times.

- 151) *While Mr. Bush and his party’s nominee, John McCain, both want to stay the course until some undefined “victory” is achieved*, American voters have run out of patience. (Ref. NYT 9)

>> Mr. Bush and his party’s nominee, John McCain, both want to stay the course until some undefined “victory” is achieved.

- 152) Israel has not been able to wipe out the Palestinians *after decades of slaughter and suppression*. (Ref. TT 1)

>> Israel has slaughtered and suppressed the Palestinians for decades.

In the same way excerpts no. 153 and 154 represent the instances of presupposition through relative clause.

- 153) But Tehran’s scientists are getting ever closer to mastering the skills *that are the hardest part of building a nuclear weapon*. (Ref. NYT 3)

>> Skills are the hardest part of building a nuclear weapon.

- 154) Iraq's Arab neighbors, *which are seeking to weaken the Maliki government*, are playing a significant role in this process. (Ref. TT 16)

>> Arab neighbors are seeking to waken the Maliki government.

*Presupposition through "Parenthetical" and "Prepositional" and "Given"*

*clauses.* Triggering presupposition through parenthetical phrases was found to be one of the common ways of expressing presupposition in the selected editorials in the two papers as exemplified through the following excerpts.

- 155) Putin ruthlessly and efficiently engineered the selection — *none dare call it an election in any credible democratic sense* — of his successor. (Ref. NYT 20)

>> None dare call it an election in any credible democratic sense.

- 156) More than one million Israeli citizens were driven out of their homes, *a defeat whose repercussions are still being felt*. (Ref. TT 19)

>> It is a defeat for Israel that more than one million Israeli were driven out of their houses.

Some Prepositional phrases exemplified through the following excerpts were used to trigger presupposition in the two papers.

- 157) *Instead of defending Zimbabwe's people and their right to democratic change*, he (South African's president) has shamefully chosen to protect Mr. Mugabe. (Ref. NYT 14)

>> South African's president did not defend Zimbabwe's people and their right to democratic change.

- 158) Iraqi government forces tried to disarm the followers of Moqtada al-Sadr in Basra, *without taking heed of their influential role in maintaining security in Baghdad's Sadr City district*. (Ref. TT 16)

>> Followers of Moqtada al-Sadr have an influential role in maintaining security in Sadr City.

*Given phrases*, although limited in number, were used in the editorials as a way of triggering presupposition as presented below.

- 159) *Given Russia's oil wealth and nuclear arsenal*, the West's leverage is limited, but not inconsequential. (Ref. NYT 11)

>> Russia has oil wealth and nuclear arsenal.

- 160) *Given that North Korea has made this decision to serve its own national interests*, the same approach cannot be used for other countries. (Ref. TT 8)

>> North Korea has made this decision to serve its own national interests.

*Presupposition through lexical and Iterative verbs.* Editorial writers also used certain verbs such as *begin*, *refuse*, *rekindle*, *reenter*, *establish*, *again*, *continue* and *cool* as source of presupposition. The following sentences present examples of this category.

- 161) He must tell his aides to *cool* the rhetoric and begin a high-level dialogue with Georgia. (Ref. NYT 19)

>> The rhetoric was hot and unfriendly.

- 162) Unfortunately, the evolving deals could well *rekindle* understandable suspicions in the Arab world .... (Ref. NYT 15)

>> There was already suspicious in the Arab world.

- 163) The 118-member Non-Aligned Movement *re-endorsed* Iran's right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy at a ministerial conference in Tehran on Wednesday. (Ref. TT 3)

>> Non-Aligned Movement has already endorsed Iran's right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

*Presupposition through "Even".* Editorial writers in some cases employed the word *even* to trigger presupposition. Excerpt no. 164 and 165 are examples of the point.

- 164) But Mr. Olmert was never willing to take *even* the tactical steps needed to improve the lives of ordinary Palestinians. (Ref. NYT 1)

>> Mr. Olmert had not taken any action at all towards improving the lives of ordinary Palestinians.

- 165) Iran is conducting its nuclear program under the full supervision of the UN nuclear watchdog and has *even* allowed the media to make videos of its nuclear facilities. (Ref. NYT 1)

>> The media is not usually allowed to make videos of nuclear facilities, but Iran has allowed them to do so.

*Interrogative presupposition.* Interrogative forms have been used in the editorials as a further source of presupposition. This kind of presupposition called as *structural presupposition* presupposes that the information embedded in the question itself is necessarily true (Yule, 2000, p. 28). The following excerpt clarifies the point.

166) *And how would Mr. Bush reach his own inadequate goals.* (Ref. NYT 13)  
 >> Mr. Bush has set inadequate goals.

167) *Should civilian neighborhoods become battlegrounds in the conflict between Georgia?* (Ref. TT 2)  
 >> Civilian neighborhoods have become battlegrounds in the conflict.

As the excerpts revealed, editorial writers in both The NYT and TT employed different linguistic structures and certain words to presuppose their own intended meaning.

Table No. 4.28 and 4.29 tabulate these structures.

Table No. 4.28

*The Presupposition Triggers Identified in NYT Editorials*

Editorial No.	Factual verbs	Structural verbs	Non-factual verbs	Iterative verbs	Prepositions	Counter-factual	Lexical	Given	Existential	Even	Relative Clause	Adverbial clause	Parenthesis	Nominalization
1	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	1	3
2	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	1	3	-
3	4	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	2	1	4	-
4	3	-	5	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	1	2	5
5	4	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	3	8
6	-	-	3	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	4
7	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1
8	-	-	3	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	6
9	1	-	5	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	2	3	1	5
10	1	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	1	3	1
11	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	3	2	5	-
12	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	4	3
13	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	4	2
14	2	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	4	-
15	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	6	2	3	2
16	1	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	2	4	2
17	1	-	5	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	6	2	4	3
18	-	-	2	1	2	2	-	2	1	-	1	-	3	-
19	2	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	3	1	-	2	2	-
20	1	1	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>43</b>

As Table No. 4.28 indicates, Non-factual presupposition (N=58) and Parenthetical presupposition were the most dominant ways for the editorial writers to trigger their presupposed propositions. Presupposition through Nominalization (N=43) and Relative clauses (N=42) were the next preferred ways of revealing presupposition. Existential presupposition (N= 28) and presupposition through Adverbial clauses (N= 22) were also the next preferred ways of expressing presupposition.

Comparing the frequency of Non-factive verbs such as *claim*, *say*, *predict*, and *think* with that of Factive verbs (N= 29) such as *acknowledge*, *prove*, *demonstrate*, and *realize*, one might suggest that editorial writers tended to presuppose Non-factive propositions rather than Factive ones. This might be ascribed to editorial writers' intention for adding a sense of *uncertainty* or *neutrality* towards the presuppositions within the texts. Employing certain words like *even* (N=10), Iterative words (N= 6) such as *rekindle* and grammatical structures such as Interrogatives (N= 4) and Prepositional phrases (N= 10) for triggering presupposition revealed the importance of these textual strategies in enabling the writers to make claims without actually asserting them directly in the editorial texts.

The different ways of triggering presupposition in the selected editorials of Tehran Times have been tabulated in Table 4.29

Table No. 4.29

*Presupposition Triggers Identified in TT Editorials*

Editorial No.	Factual verbs	Structural presupposition	Non-factual verbs	Iterative verbs	Prepositions	Counter-factual	Lexical	Given	Existential	Even	Relative Clause	Adverbial clause	Parenthesis	Nominalization
1	2	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	2	2	1
2	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	2	-	2
3	1	-	3	1	-	2	-	-	9	1	-	1	-	5
4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	-	4	2	-	7
5	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	3	5	-	3
6	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	2
7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	7	5	-	2
8	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	4	2	-	2
9	-	-	4	2	2	2	-	-	2	1	5	2	-	7
10	1	-	6	1	2	1	-	-	4	-	1	4	-	1
11	2	-	4	-	3	1	-	-	5	-	4	4	-	2
12	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	2
13	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	3	-	2
14	1	-	3	-	1	1	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	1
15	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	1
16	2	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	4	-	4	2	1	3
17	1	1	6	-	1	2	-	-	2	-	3	3	-	1
18	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	3
19	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-
20	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>47</b>

As Table 4.29 indicates, Relative clauses (N = 62), Non-factual verbs (N = 52), Nominalization (M = 47), Adverbial clauses (N = 46) and Existential presupposition (N= 43) were the most frequently-employed ways for triggering presupposition in Tehran Times. Also, presupposition through Factual verbs (N =18), Counter factual verbs (N= 18) and prepositional phrases (N= 14) were among the preferred ways of triggering presupposition. The least preferred ways of revealing presupposition were Given statements (N = 1), Lexical presupposition (N = 4), Iterative verbs (N = 5) and Structural presupposition (N= 5).

## *Rhetorical Devices*

Rhetorical devices are of special importance in editorials in that they aim at persuading the readers to accept only a certain version of the news events which is in line with the ideology of the paper (van Dijk, 1992). The present section, thus, tries to find out the extent of employing these devices in the editorial texts.

*Parallelism in NYT.* Parallelism defined as “a rhetorical scheme in which a set of words in successive phrases, clauses or sentences have the same or very similar grammatical structure” (Richardson, 2007, p. 241) is often used to build force through repetition. This section aims at studying this syntactic feature of editorials to find out the extent the editorial writers employed this rhetorical device to give force to the arguments through the editorials.

The analysis of this aspect of the editorial revealed that the editorial writers of The New York Times did establish parallelism in the selected editorials through *parallel sentence/phrase structures, parallel verb structures and parallel adverbs and adjectives.*

Parallel sentence structures with a verb and a direct object can be noticed in the following excerpt.

- 168) *He* (Ehud Olmert) *said that* in exchange for peace, Israel should withdraw from almost all of the West Bank and share its capital city .... *He also said* that as part of a negotiated peace deal with Syria .... (Ref. NYT 1)

Employing parallel generic phrases was found to be used in the editorials to establish parallelism as presented below.

- 169) *It's frustrating that* Mr. Olmert ... *And it is tragic that* he ... (Ref. NYT 1)
- 170) *But we hope that* she takes Mr. Olmert's truths to heart. *And we hope (that)* she is willing to do what is needed to build a lasting peace. (Ref. NYT 1)

Parallel sentence structure with relative clauses is evident in the following excerpt.

- 171) Companies *that buy goods from Chinese suppliers*, and government regulators *who oversee import safety*, must be vigilant in policing Chinese companies. (Ref. NYT 1)

In addition to using the parallel sentence structures and generic phrases presented above, the editorial writers tried to establish parallelism through parallel verbs. Use of parallel passive voice, parallel directive and predictive modals verbs was identified in the selected editorials as instances of such parallelism.

The following excerpts exemplify the parallel verb structures with passive voice.

- 172) Since the first balloting in March, at least 85 people *have been killed*, thousands *(have been) beaten* — some with iron bars — and thousands *(have been) driven* from their homes. Mr. Tsvangirai *was detained* five times and his party's chief strategist *is being held* on specious treason charges. (Ref. NYT 14)
- 173) Muslim men *are stripped* ... and *(are) sexually humiliated*. A prisoner *is made* to wear a dog's collar ..., another *is hooded* with women's underwear. Others *are shackled* in stress positions for hours, *(are) held* in isolation for months, and *(are) threatened* with attack dogs. (Ref. NYT 17)

The following excerpts (174, 175, 176) represent instances of parallel directive modal verbs.

- 174) Washington *must* finally persuade Pakistan's leaders.... And Pakistan's leaders *must* persuade their citizens. (Ref. NYT 4)
- 175) Washington *must* speed destruction of its chemical weapons stockpile and *(must)* improve security at chemical plants. (Ref. NYT 7)
- 176) They *should* reconsider their recent threat ... and *(should)* make a serious effort to lower tensions .... The United Nations Security Council *should* also consider replacing Russian peacekeepers .... (Ref. NYT 19)

The following excerpts exemplify the parallel predictive modals employed in the editorials.

- 177) In a democratic Zimbabwe ... Mr. Tsvangirai *would be* president and Mr. Mugabe *would be* gone. (Ref. NYT 6)
- 178) Some reports say that Mr. Mugabe *will keep* control over the army, while Mr. Tsvangirai *will control* the police. (Ref. NYT 6)



Parallel gerund verbs were also found to be employed in some editorials as represented below.

- 179) There are, of course, many fraught issues to solve: *drawing* permanent boundaries ...; *finding* a way for both states to claim Jerusalem as their capital; and *compensating* and *resettling* Palestinian refugees in the new Palestinian state. (Ref. NYT 1)
- 180) NATO commanders are also *trying* to coordinate operations more closely with the Afghan military, *giving* it a bigger role in *planning* operations and conducting searches. (Ref. NYT 8)

Editorial writers in some cases also established parallelism through employing parallel adjectives (181, 182, and 183) and adverbs (183,184,185 and 186) as shown in the following excerpts.

- 181) ... Russia is still a *poorly developed*, *corrupt* and *fragile state*. (Ref. NYT 10)
- 182) *So great* is the demand for oil today, and *so great* the concern over rising prices ... (Ref. NYT 15)
- 183) ... Iraq's *religious* and *ethnic* factions. (Ref. NYT 15)
- 184) Georgia's president... *foolishly* and *tragically* baited the Russians — or even more *foolishly* fell into Moscow's trap.... (Ref. NYT 11)
- 185) And as the South Africans *dyspeptically* but *accurately* observed ... (Ref. NYT 12)
- 186) Mr. Putin *ruthlessly* and *efficiently* engineered the selection ... (Ref. NYT 20)

The above-mentioned excerpts show how the editorial writers have established parallelism within the sentences through using consecutive adjectives such as *poorly developed*, *corrupt* and *fragile* in excerpt 181 and consecutive adverbs such as *dyspeptically*, and *accurately* in excerpt 185.

Table 4.30 represents the kinds of parallel structures employed in the selected editorials of NYT.

Table 4.30

*Classification of Parallel Structures in NYT Editorials*

Type		f	%
Parallel Clauses & Phrases	That-clauses (as direct object)	2	7.69
	Generic phrases	2	7.69
	Relative clauses	1	3.84
	Parallel Noun phrases	3	11.53
Parallel Verbs	Passive	2	7.69
	Modal	4	15.38
	Gerund	5	19.23
Parallel Adjective & Adverbs		7	26.92

As Table 4.30 suggests, editorial writers in the NYT established parallelism in the editorials by employing parallel clauses and phrases, verbs, parallel adjectives and adverbs. Establishing parallelism through parallel verbs was found to be the dominant means of parallelism in the NYT editorials. *Parallel adjective and adverbs* along with *Parallel clauses and phrases* were used equally in the data.

Of course, the present study did not focus on the parallelism achieved through parallel verb tense such as *diluted / added* in a sentence like *Milk dealers eager to cut costs diluted their milk with water, then added the melamine to inflate the protein readings ....* Neither did the study focus on parallel noun phrases joined by the conjunctive *and* in phrases like *extreme heat and cold*, and *distrust and resentment*.

The main reason for such deliberate ignoring of tense agreement is based on the idea that tense agreement to some extent results from the grammatical constraints of the language that a writer has to consider; otherwise the sentences would be considered as

ungrammatical. In other words, unlike the other parallel structures, caring for tense agreement is not a matter of writers' *choice* but *obligation*. In the same way, some noun phrases are of collocational nature such as *denial and neglect* or *heat and cold* in which there is no choice for the second noun, it just follows the initial noun as a collocation.

All in all, through establishing parallelism editorial writers in the NYT tried to control argument effectively, giving the editorial a strong and emphatic tone.

*Parallelism in TT.* Parallelism, as a rhetorical scheme has been employed in the editorials of Tehran Times through employing parallel relative clauses, that-clauses (as direct object), verbs and adjectives, noun phrases and questions.

The following excerpts exemplify the employment of parallel relative clauses, that-clauses as the direct object and noun phrases as the subject of the sentence respectively.

- 187) These moves are undermining the democratization process in a country *which is seeking to join the European Union and which the West regards as a model of democracy for Muslim states* .... (Ref. TT 7)
- 188) Zionist officials apparently believe *that the proposal is a sign of the weakness of the jihadi movements, and especially Hamas, and that the Israeli army should take advantage of the group's compromised situation and destroy Hamas*. (Ref. TT 14)
- 189) *The top U.S. officials in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, the commander of U.S. troops in the country, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker, told Senate committees on April 8 that* ....(Ref. TT 17)

Parallel verb structures were identified as gerund, modal verbs, and passive structures. Excerpt no. 190 presents an example of the gerund parallelism employed in the editorial.

- 190) *Directing* liquidity toward production activities, *increasing* privatization of state-run companies, *decreasing* government expenditures, and *encouraging* the central bank to adopt a deflationary monetary policy — which it has recently put into practice -- are some of the proposals that have been made. (Ref. TT 13)

Modal verb parallelism with either *directive* (should) or *predictive* (will, would) function usually occurred at the ending section of the editorials. Excerpt no. 191 and 192 are examples of this kind of parallelism.

- 191) There *will be* a new crisis in Lebanon and we *will be* back to square one.  
(Ref. TT 5)
- 192) They *should* try to integrate the country into the community of democratic states and *should* not violate the human rights and hinder the education of female university students .... (Ref. TT 7)

Excerpt no. 193 represents the employment of a passive parallelism in the data.

- 193) Responsibility for national security *is handed* over to the Iraqi government, and a national dialogue between the government and various political groups *is initiated*.  
(Ref. TT 16)

Moreover, parallel adjectives and parallel questions have also been used in the data. The following excerpt is an example of adjective parallelism.

- 194) Runaway inflation has unnerved minds and made *the poor poorer* and *the rich richer*. (Ref. TT 13)

The employment of question parallelism in the selected editorials has been exemplified through the following excerpts.

- 195) *What* is the sin of civilians that they should fall victim to the ambitions of Ossetian separatists or Georgian or Russian leaders? *Should* civilian neighborhoods become battlegrounds in the conflict between .... (Ref. TT 2)
- 196) *Does* Israel want to boost the morale of its military, which was called the “mightiest” in the Middle East, or *is* it preparing for a new war against Hezbollah or Syria? (Ref. TT 19)

Parallel noun phrases and parallel prepositional phrases were also identified in the data. They have been exemplified through the following excerpts respectively.

- 197) There is already *a rivalry between Ukraine and Russia, enmity between Armenia and the Azerbaijan Republic* over Nagorno Karabakh, and *a seemingly interminable war in Chechnya*. (Ref. TT 2)

- 198) Iranian officials should seize the opportunity to show the world the country's true face *by inviting the leaders of important countries to visit the Islamic Republic* and also *traveling to their countries*. (Ref. TT 17)

An instance of Comparative parallelism through *the more ... the more* structure was also identified in the data that is presented through the following excerpt.

- 199) *The more* Iran constructively interacts with other countries in the political, cultural, and economic spheres, *the more* its status will rise in the international arena, and the Iranophobia plan will fall flat. (Ref. TT 17)

Table 4.31 tabulates the different kinds of the parallel structures employed in the selected editorials of Tehran Times.

Table 4.31

*Classification of Parallel Structures in TT Editorials*

Type		f	%
Parallelism	Verb Parallelism	Gerund	3 8.10
		Infinitive	3 8.10
		Passive voice	2 5.40
		Modal verb	6 16.21
	Noun phrase	Noun phrase	7 18.91
		Relative clause	3 8.10
	Parallel clauses & phrases	That-clause (Direct object)	5 13.51
		Prepositional phrase	2 5.40
	Question parallelism		3 8.10
	Comparative parallelism		1 2.70
	Adjective Parallelism		2 5.40

As Table 4.31 suggests, editorial writers in Tehran Times tried to establish parallelism throughout the editorial texts mainly through clause/phrase parallelism (45.94

%), and verb parallelism (37.83%). Question parallelism (8.10%) and adjective parallelism (5.40%) did play a role in establishing parallelism in the selected editorials.

*Expletives in NYT.* The predominately used rhetorical device employed in the editorials of NYT is found to be the use of *expletives*, a single word or short phrase usually interrupting normal syntax of the text. The following words and phrases are presented as examples of the case.

Expletive phrases: *It is unlikely, We hope, It is frustrating, It is tragic, Let us be clear, In direct defiance of, We are certain, We fear that, It is increasingly clear that, At a minimum, Not surprisingly, No one believes that.*

Expletive words: *chiefly, of course, shamefully, certainly, unfortunately, effectively, accurately, efficiently, pragmatically, truly, substantially, undeniably, undoubtedly, clearly*

The rhetorical effect of using these words and phrases was to either lend emphasis to the words immediately proximate to the expletive words or phrase or to maintain the continuity of the thought. The following couple of sentences, if compared, represent the effectiveness of using the expletives.

The United States is at the bottom of the list, spending 0.16 percent of its income on development assistance.

200) The United States is, *shamefully*, at the bottom of the list, spending 0.16 percent of its income on development assistance. (Ref. NYT 2)

Table 4.32 represents the expletives employed in the selected editorials in The New York Times.

Table 4.32

*Expletives Employed in NYT Editorials*

Ed. No.	Expletives	frequency
1	It is frustrating, it is tragic, also, publicly, the result, of course, never, sufficiently, it is unlikely, we hope, we hope	11
2	Less likely, woefully, shamefully, desperately, such as	5
3	Even, also, substantially, in direct defiance of, lets be clear, we are certain	6
4	Solely, certainly, we fear that, also, also, undeniably,	6
5	It is increasingly clear that, even	2
6	Undoubtedly, also,	2
7	Even, clearly, we hope that	3
8	We hope	1
9	Finally, after	1
10	Eagerly, also, more sensibly, certainly,	4
11	Foolishly, tragically, alternately, after, merely, clearly, at a minimum	7
12	For once, unfortunately, finally	3
13	Sadly, chiefly, of course, grandly, not surprisingly	5
14	Finally, also, shamefully	3
15	Unfortunately, certainly, also, other wise	4
16	Effectively	1
17	Certainly, accurately	2
18	Unfortunately, finally	2
19	First, certainly, also	3
20	Ruthlessly, efficiently, truly, pragmatically, we hope	5
Total cases of expletives		76

*Expletives in TT.* Expletives in Tehran Times editorials were realized through both certain words and phrases with the aim of lending emphasis to the proposition communicated through the text. The following excerpts exemplify the use of expletive words in the selected editorials.

- 201) *Clearly*, there is no doubt that the continued aggression of U.S. forces in Iraq should not be tolerated by the Iranian people. (Ref. TT 9)
- 202) *However*, some economic experts dispute the figure and say inflation is even higher than the central bank's estimates. (Ref. TT 13)

Examples of the expletive words used in the editorials are: *in fact, also, even really, however, moreover, in addition, of course, even though, although, surely, clearly.*

Instances of expletives in phrasal level included phrases such as *on the other hand*, *despite the fact*, *it could be safely said that*, *first of all*, *it appears that*, and *there is no doubt*. The following Table represents the expletives used in the selected editorials of Tehran Times.

Table 4. 33  
*Expletives Employed in TT Editorials*

Ed. No.	Expletives	frequency
1	In fact, on the other hand, moreover, actually, also, also, even	7
2	Moreover, unfortunately, really, also, , even	5
3	Even, however	2
4	Thus, however, ostensibly, however, thus, in fact	6
5	Despite the fact, although, however	3
6	Instead, in fact, however, for example, meanwhile	5
7	Also	1
8	Illogically, even though, meanwhile, on the other hand, unlike Iran, although, unfortunately, even	8
9	Furthermore, meanwhile, clearly, at the same time, also, even, once again, meanwhile, it could be safely said	9
10	And in deed, moreover, even though, once again, clearly, ostensibly, surely.	7
11	In addition, meanwhile, although, also, even	5
13	In fact, in addition, however, for example, however, however, however, even, even	9
14	It seems that, on the other hand, surely, even	4
15	In addition, moreover, also, however, even though, also, even	6
16	Moreover, although, even though	3
17	However, first of all, secondly, thirdly, it appears that, thus, in addition, moreover, also	9
18	Thus, however, on the other hand, yet, also, also,	7
19	There is no doubt, there is no doubt, even though	3
20	Of course, also, even	3
Total cases of expletives		102

As the Table indicates, editorial writers in Tehran Times newspaper, except in editorial no12, employed the expletives as a rhetorical device in editorials to lend emphasis to the words on either side of the expletives.



*Personification in NYT.* Personification, representing concepts and inanimate objects as having human attributes, has been employed (N= 13) in the selected editorials.

The following excerpts exemplify the use of this rhetorical device in the editorials.

- 203) ... *the episode carries* a serious warning for all Americans. (Ref. NYT 5)
- 204) But its *ambitions go* far beyond that. (Ref. NYT 11)
- 205) Fully *freezing the expansion* of Jewish settlements and sufficiently *reducing the roadblocks* in the West Bank that *are strangling* the Palestinian economy. (Ref. NYT 11)
- 206) *The study said* F.B.I. agents reported this illegal behavior to Washington. (Ref. NYT17)
- 207) *The report says* there is no comprehensive strategy that links all programs intended to stop the spread of such weapons .... (Ref. NYT7)
- 208) *The report also said* that Iran had substantially improved its ability to produce nuclear fuel ... (Ref. NYT 3)
- 209) *The deal affirms* the principles of free speech and multiparty democracy... (Ref. NYT 6)
- 210) *It (the deal) appears to declare* Mr. Mugabe's disastrous land reform untouchable. (Ref. NYT 6)
- 211) On nuclear weapons, *the report gives* the government a "C." (Ref. NYT 7)
- 212) *The report gives* the highest marks — "B-minus" — for efforts to combat chemical weapons ... (Ref. NYT 7)
- 213) *The report shows* what happens when an American president, his secretary of defense ... corrupt American law ... (Ref. NYT 17)
- 214) *It (the study) certainly never told* Congress or the American people. (Ref. NYT 17)

As evident in the above-mentioned excerpts, the editorial writers have tried to make phrases such as *The study*, *The Report* and concepts such as *episode*, *ambition* and *expansion*, clearer and more real through defining them in terms of human everyday actions like going, carrying, strangling and saying. In other words, through humanizing the

objects and abstract concepts, the editorial writers have intended to make the readers understand them in a certain way.

At the same time, as one might see in excerpt no. 206 and 207, by thematizing *The study* and *The report* the editorial writers might have tried to make readers focus on certain aspects of the issue being discussed. In other words, the phrase *The study* also suggested how important the study- and not the one who actually did the study- was. Comparatively, excerpt no. 206 meant something different from “Lee Hamilton said F.B.I. agent that ...”

*Personification in TT.* Personification as a way of comprehending phenomenon in the world in terms of human qualities has been used in Tehran Times editorials. The following personification cases (N= 17) have been identified in the selected editorials of the paper.

- 215) *The agreement imposes* capitulation on Iraq for decades to come. (Ref. TT 9)
- 216) *The agreement does not assure* Iraq’s independence ... (Ref. TT 9)
- 217) *The document deprives* the Iraqi state apparatus of the right to arrest or prosecute any American involved in service to the occupation ... (Ref. TT 9)
- 218) *The Lebanese media described* Rice’s visit as a trip for sedition ... (Ref. TT 10)
- 219) *Reports suggest* that the US secretary of state handed new Lebanese President the names of five political figures ... (Ref. TT 10)
- 220) *Rice’s visit* to occupied Palestine ... *shows* that once again Washington is seeking to increase tension ... (Ref. TT 10)
- 221) The US secretary of state’s *trip* to occupied Palestine *came* just after Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert’s cabinet announced ... (Ref. TT 10)
- 222) *Rice’s trip* ... greatly *disappointed* Palestinian authorities leaders ... (Ref. TT 10)
- 223) *(The trip) made them feel* the United States is not interested in ending the crisis in the Middle East ... (Ref. TT 10)
- 224) *The silence* of the UN Security Council ... *has emboldened* the leaders of Zionist regime ... (Ref. TT 11)

- 225) (*The silence has*) given them the impression that they have been *carte blanche* to resort to military action ... (Ref. TT 11)
- 226) The Iranian *economy is suffering* from structural and managerial problems. (Ref. TT 12)
- 227) The *economy will experience* more inflation ... (Ref. TT 12)
- 228) Runaway *inflation has unnerved minds* and *made* the poor poorer and the rich richer. (Ref. TT 13)
- 229) The unconfirmed *reports came* as deputy oil Minister ... claimed that the President has ordered that ... (Ref. TT 15)
- 230) The Majlis *Bill states* that those who work under such conditions should receive additional hardship wages. (Ref. TT 15)
- 231) The portentous *silence* of Arab leaders in the face of Israel's continuous attacks *has encouraged* the Zionists ... (Ref. TT 18)

As is evident, each of the above-mentioned excerpts indicated nonhuman things such as *agreement, document, media, reports, visit, silence, economy, inflation, reports,* and *Bill* have been described as human. In fact, viewing these abstract notions in human terms added “an explanatory power of the only sort that makes sense to most people” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 34).

*Metaphor in NYT.* Resorting to metaphors, “comparison between two dissimilar notions where one notion is to be understood in terms of the other notion” (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005, p. 313) was another persuasive device employed in the editorials. The identified metaphorical expressions (N= 12) in the selected editorials are represented in the following examples.

- 232) The richest nations *are falling far behind on their aid commitments*. (Ref. NYT 2)
- 233) Wealthy nations would now *fall even further behind in their commitments*. (Ref. NYT 2)
- 234) Many countries *tie too many strings to their largess*. (Ref. NYT 2)

- 235) ... poverty can be *a fertile ground for terrorism*. (Ref. NYT 2)
- 236) An official close to the agency told The Times: “We seem to be at a *dead end*.” (Ref. NYT 3)
- 237) But if there is any chance of permanently *rooting out extremists* from the tribal areas, that will have to be done by Pakistan’s military. (Ref. NYT 4)
- 238) Mr. Mugabe has turned it [Zimbabwe] into *a land of famine and destruction*. (Ref. NYT 6)
- 239) Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin, *the dark hand behind Russia’s aggression*, blustered this week that Russia would be better off if it didn’t join the World Trade Organization. (Ref. NYT 10)
- 240) Moscow’s decision to recognize South Ossetia and Abkhazia will only harden battle lines and *sow further regional instability*. (Ref. NYT 10)
- 241) Georgia’s president, Mikheil Saakashvili, foolishly and tragically *baited the Russians*. (Ref. NYT 19)
- 242) Mr. Putin helped stabilize Russia and *reaped the benefits* of its surging oil... (Ref. NYT 20)

In terms of “topic” and “vehicle” analysis (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005), the above-mentioned metaphoric phrases can be represented as:

Table 4.34

*Analysis of Linguistic Metaphors in NYT Editorials*

Topic	Vehicle
Helping the poor	Moving on a road
Helping the poor	Moving on a road
Refusing to help	Tying strings
Poverty	Fertile ground
Talks	Moving on a road with a dead end
Extremists	Wild grass
Zimbabwe	Land of famine
Putin	Dark hand
Moscow’s decision	Sowing seeds
Russia’s action	Baiting
Putin’s making use of opportunity	Reaping the benefits

These metaphors indeed had been employed in the editorials to make the less familiar nouns and abstract notions such as *poverty*, *Zimbabwe*, *Putin* and *extremists* seem

concrete and more familiar to the readers. They, at the same, served as a tool for representing a special world view, namely, *extremists* as *wild grass*, or *Putin* as a *dark hand* to the readers. As Table 4.34 indicates, the prominent conceptual metaphors used in the NYT editorials were *Road* and *Farm Land*.

*Metaphor in TT editorial.* Editorial writers in Tehran Times employed different metaphors and similes throughout the selected editorials aiming at giving the editorial readers a new understanding of the news events. The identified metaphors are presented through the following excerpts.

- 243) If in Brown's view "liberty" means occupying other nations' lands and *creating a hell on earth* for their indigenous people ... (Ref. TT 1)
- 244) ... Israel would "disappear from *the page of time* ..." (Ref. TT 1)
- 245) They (The US and Britain) *torpedoed all agreements* reached at the conference. (Ref. TT 4)
- 246) Britain and the United states *fanned the flames of war* in southern and western Sudan... (Ref. TT 4)
- 247) Occupiers ...are the main *obstacles in the way* of Iraqi nation's progress and prosperity. (Ref. TT9)
- 248) North Korea destroyed the cooling tower before *the eyes of the world*. (Ref. TT 8)
- 249) The US is the permanent *hangman of the modern history*. (Ref. TT9)
- 250) *The sorcerer* in the White House is orchestrating another fabrication. (Ref. TT9)
- 251) With the US bogged down in the *Iraqi quagmire*, it is obvious that .... (Ref. TT11)
- 252) Prices have increased unbelievably, imposing an *unbearable burden* on people with limited means. (Ref. TT13)
- 253) Oil prices of the past few years were converted into Rials and *injected to the economy*. (Ref. TT13)
- 254) It (Washington) can *kill three birds with one stone*. (Ref. TT17)
- 255) Argument *does not hold water*.

Table 4.35 represents the analysis of the above-mentioned metaphorical expressions in terms of “Topic” and “Vehicle” (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005).

Table 4.35

*Linguistic Metaphors in TT Editorials*

Topic	Vehicle
Liberty	Creating a hell on the earth
The world	Page of Time
Neutralizing agreements	Torpedoing agreements
Causing further problems	Fanning the flames of the war
Occupiers	Obstacles
People’ view	Eyes of the world
The US	Permanent hangman
The US	The sorcerer
Iraq	Quagmire
Higher prices	Unbearable burden
Economy	Unhealthy person
Washington’s intention	Killing three birds with one stone*
Argument	Empty bucket*

\* Colloquial metaphor

The analysis revealed that the prominent conceptual metaphors employed in the editorials of Tehran Times are *Fire* and *Fear*.

In addition to metaphor, editorial writer in four cases employed another rhetorical device namely *Simile* which is a comparison between two different things that resemble each other in at least one way. It is in fact a device of explanation in editorials, comparing an unfamiliar thing to some familiar things (an object, event, process, etc.) known to editorial readers. The following excerpts represent the identified similes in the selected editorials of Tehran Times.

- 256) But *burning crops to run cars is like throwing salt on the wounds of the millions of people\_who go to bed hungry every night*. (Ref. TT 6)
- 257) Furthermore, the agreement would probably be exploited to serve as a basis for using *Iraq’s territory as a launch pad* for more wars against regional countries. (Ref. TT 9)

- 258) The U.S., by attempting to depict Iran as a serious threat in the Persian Gulf region, is making every effort to define *the agreement* between Washington and Baghdad *as a means* to maintain *Iraq's security as a shield against* Iranian interference in Iraq and the region. (Ref. TT 9)
- 259) (We should) use *the results of the past two to three years as a guiding light* for the future. (Ref. TT 13)

As one can see, similes have been used as a device for providing the readers with further explanation by comparing an unfamiliar thing such as *burning crops* to some familiar thing such as *throwing salt on the wounds* which is known to the readers.

*Appositive and Parenthesis in NYT.* In an effort to provide the readers with additional information on the topic, the editorial writers tried to employ the rhetorical device of *appositive*, words or phrases having the same reference. Excerpts 260 and 261 exemplify the appositives (N=17) employed in the editorials.

- 260) Witnesses are to include John C. Yoo, who wrote the infamous torture memos, and the committee has subpoenaed David Addington, *Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff*. (Ref. NYT 17)
- 261) President Bush has decided to dispatch Vice President Dick Cheney, *that master of diplomacy*, to the region. (Ref. NYT 10)

As the above-mentioned excerpts suggest, appositive phrases have been possibly employed either to simply define the preceding nouns or providing further evaluative comments on the nouns they modified.

In addition to appositive phrases, the editorial in 82 cases employed a rhetorical device of *parenthesis*, word, phrase, or whole sentence inserted as an aside in the middle of another sentence, to provide the readers with further information. The following excerpts are examples of the point.

- 262) Hezbollah — *which enjoys broad backing from the Shiites, Lebanon's largest and poorest community, as well as Iran and Syria* — fought back. (Ref. NYT 18)
- 263) France and Germany, *which argued for putting off Georgia's membership*, have a special responsibility. (Ref. NYT 19)

264) One hundred thousand Lebanese (*out of fewer than four million*), died in the last civil war. (Ref. NYT 18)

As the excerpts suggested, this rhetorical device was realized by dashes,

parentheses or commas in the editorials. Through the device the editorial writers not only provided the readers with further contexts, but they tried to create an effect of extemporaneity and immediacy throughout the editorials, making the readers perceive the text as a natural piece of discourse rather than an evaluative one.

*Appositive and Parenthesis in TT.* Editorial writers in Tehran Times employed Appositive and Parenthesis as two rhetorical devices to provide the readers with further information. The following excerpt is an example of Appositive used in the paper.

265) Meanwhile, the U.S. and France, *two allies of the Zionist regime*, have been signing multibillion-dollar agreements with certain regional countries. (Ref. TT17)

In addition to the employment of the Appositive (N= 4), editorial writers used parenthetical information throughout the selected editorials. The following excerpts represent the point.

266) If the opposition forces are not just jealous of the AKP's achievements and are really progressive, *as they claim to be*, they should try to integrate ... (Ref. TT 7)

267) the Iranian president that quoted him as saying that Israel should "be wiped off the map" - *he actually said Israel would "disappear from the page of time"* - does not convince people ... (Ref. TT 1)

Being realized (N= 27) through either a couple of dashes, commas or brackets, the parenthetical information were used to communicate a sense of freshness of the ideas to the editorial readers.

*Rhetorical questions in NYT.* In an effort to express implicitly their own opinion, the editorial writers in five cases employed rhetorical questions, questions asked for a purpose other than to obtain the information the question asks, throughout the selected



editorials. The following questions, for example, display the use of this rhetorical device in the editorials.

- 268) If this truly reflects his thinking — and he has said it often — *why does the United States government get only a “C” grade from a respected, bipartisan group of national security experts for its efforts to prevent nuclear, chemical and biological terrorism?* (Ref. NYT 7)
- 269) *And how would Mr. Bush reach his own inadequate goals?* (Ref. NYT 13)
- 270) *Does this sound familiar?* (Ref. NYT 17)
- 271) *Is Medvedev, who agreed in advance to make Mr. Putin prime minister, merely Mr. Putin’s clone?* (Ref. NYT 20)
- 272) *Will he (Medvedev) prove to be his own man, as did Mr. Putin when he succeeded Boris Yeltsin?* (Ref. NYT 20)

The excerpt no. 268 can be considered as a provocative question aiming at focusing reader attention on the issue questioned, namely, *The United States always gets ‘C’ grade for its efforts to prevent terrorism*. The excerpt no. 269, 271 and 272 might function as negative declarative sentences like: *Mr. Bush would not reach his own inadequate goals*, expressing the true opinion of the editorial writers. These rhetorical questions, in other words, served as a subtle way of imprinting editorial writers’ ideas that might not be effective if asserted directly.

Excerpt no. 270 is indeed the first and starting sentence of the editorial followed by description of the cruelties committed by the American interrogators. Through this initiating question the editorial writer tried to give the readers the role of *judge*, making them to come logically to an intended conclusion without being affected by the evaluative nature of the question.

*Rhetorical questions in TT.* Rhetorical questions (N= 8) have been employed in the selected editorials of Tehran Times for their persuasive effects. The following rhetorical questions have been identified in the editorials.

- 273) *But where is Mr. Brown's evidence that backs up his accusation that Iran is producing nuclear weapons?* (Ref. TT 1)
- 274) *What is the sin of civilians that they should fall victim to the ambitions of Ossetian separatists or Georgian or Russian leaders?* (Ref. TT 2)
- 275) *Should civilian neighborhoods become battlegrounds in the conflict between Georgia, which enjoys Western support, and Russia, which is angry over NATO's encroachment into its sphere of influence?* (Ref. TT 2)
- 276) *When legitimate governments kill civilians, how can they condemn terrorists for indiscriminately massacring of civilians?* (Ref. TT 2)
- 277) *But what countries are mainly responsible for climate change? Are poor countries in Africa and Latin America responsible?* (Ref. TT 6)
- 278) *All this is clearly meant to undermine relations between Iran and Iraq, but what are the United States' ulterior motives?* (Ref. TT 17)
- 279) *Does Israel want to boost the morale of its military, which was called the "mightiest" in the Middle East, or is it preparing for a new war against Hezbollah or Syria?* (Ref. TT 19)
- 280) *Israel occupied Lebanese territory for over 20 years and Israel launched a massive air and ground attack on the tiny Lebanese state in 2006, in which it suffered a massive setback, so do the Zionists want to try their luck again?* (Ref. TT 19)

As one might notice, the above-mentioned questions cannot be regarded as genuine requests for information. The excerpt no. 273, for example, can be considered having a negative declarative sentence like: *Mr. Brown doesn't have evidence that backs up his accusation that Iran is producing nuclear weapons.*

On the other hand, editorial writers in some cases intended to presuppose certain propositions through the questions. Excerpt no. 278, for instance, presupposes that *the United States has some ulterior motives.*

In some questions the editorial writers seem to imply that the answer is too obvious to require a reply. In excerpt no. 277, for example, it is quite obvious that nobody can name any African poor country as responsible for world climate change. Thus, questions like these were employed in the editorials for their persuasive effects.

*Metonymy in NYT*. The most frequently-employed rhetorical device in the editorial was found to be the use of metonymy which can be defined as “using one entity to refer to another that is related to it” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 35). Metonymy originally has a referential function allowing the editorial writers to use one identity for representing another.

Based on the classification of metonymy put forward by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the identified metonymic concepts in the selected editorials (N=194) were classified into two different categories namely “Places for institutions” (66.66%), and “Institutions for people responsible” (33.33%).

Instance of metonyms classified under PLACES FOR INSTITUTION appear in the following excerpts:

- 281) Still, the negotiating process pursued by *Baghdad* is flawed and troubling. (Ref. NYT 15)
- 282) But *Washington* must speed destruction of its chemical weapons stockpile and improve security at chemical plants. (Ref. NYT 7)

The following excerpts exemplify the metonymic concepts classified under the term *Institution for People Responsible*.

- 283) An official close to the agency told *The Times*: “We seem to be at a dead end”. (Ref. NYT 3)
- 284) *Hezbollah* ... fought back. (Ref. NYT18)

As the above-mentioned excerpts on metonymy suggested, the metonymic concepts not only served as a referential device but also tried to make the editorial readers focus on certain aspects of the issue being discussed. For example, the phrases *The Times* (excerpt no. 283) and *Hezbollah* (excerpt no. 284) suggested the importance of the institution the reporter works for and the army the militiamen fight for. The analysis of the metonymy

also revealed that editorial writers did not use metonymies randomly; rather they aimed at suggesting their preferred opinion in a subtle way.

*Metonymy in TT.* Editorial writers in Tehran Times employed Metonymy as the most frequently-used rhetorical device throughout the selected editorials. Based on the classification refereed to in 4.8.7.1, the identified metonymic words and phrases were sorted out into “Place for institution” (N= 176) and *Institutions for People Responsible* (N= 96). The following two excerpts represent instances of metonymy indicating *Place for Institution*.

285) The neocolonialist powers found a pretext to pressure *Khartoum*. (Ref. TT 4)

286) Although *Pyongyang* acknowledged that its nuclear activities have had military applications in the past, Western media outlets are illogically comparing Iran’s nuclear program to North Korea’s. (Ref. TT 8)

As evident in the excerpts the metonymic words *Khartoum* and *Pyongyang* refer to the administrations in Sudan and North Korea respectively.

Also, under the category of *Institutions for People Responsible*, the following excerpts are presented as examples of the point.

287) Al-Bashir is the president of Sudan, who acts based on his legal duties, and *the ICC* (*International Criminal Court*) has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of his country. (Ref. TT 4)

288) Moreover, *the parliament* should pass laws to increase investment security and facilitate foreign investment to boost the economy. (Ref. TT 17)

The metonymic expressions, *ICC* and *the parliament* refer to the judges and parliament members respectively.

*Irony.* Irony, the use of words to express something other than and especially the opposite of the literal meaning, though in limited cases, has been employed in the selected editorials presented below.

- 289) If in Brown's view "liberty" means occupying other nations' lands and creating a hell on earth for their indigenous people, then Brown should be rewarded for such a *noble idea*. (Ref. TT 1)
- 290) Israel's observation of human rights is as strong as its *love for peace*. (Ref. TT 20)
- 291) Israel showed the world its *respect for human rights* over the past few days as its troops killed over 100 civilians in the Gaza strip. (Ref. TT 20)
- 292) Brown also vowed to stand by Israel in its *fight for liberty*. (Ref. TT 1)

As the above-mentioned excerpts suggested, there was a discrepancy between the phrase *noble idea* and the phrase *idea of occupying other nations' lands*. In the same way, excerpt no. 290 implied a discrepancy between Israel's records of human rights and its *strong love for peace*.

All in all, the analysis of the selected editorials in the NYT indicated that the editorial writers tried to employ different rhetorical devices in the editorials so that they can reinforce their intended opinions. The most common rhetorical devices were identified as Expletives, Personification, Metaphor, Parenthesis, Appositive, Rhetorical questions and Metonymy. The editorial writers in Tehran Times also employed different rhetorical devices to communicate their intended meaning. The identified rhetorical devices included Parallelism, Expletives, Personification, Metaphor, Parenthesis and Appositive, Rhetorical questions, Irony and Metonymy.

## **Discussion**

The analysis of the selected editorials in both The New York Times and Tehran Times indicated that editorial writers not only aimed at reporting and giving information on news events but also tried to provide the readers with their own judgments and comments through mainly Modality. Modality was realized in the two papers through modal auxiliary verbs, adverbs and adjectives, certain reporting verbs and some generic expressions.

A comparison of the two papers in terms of employing auxiliary modal verbs suggested that both of the newspapers preferred mainly predictive auxiliary modals such as *will* or *would* to the other kinds of modals (cf. Tables 4.24, 4.26). But the higher number of the predictive modals in NYT (N= 88) suggested the idea that identifying what would happen in the future was the main concern of the editorial writers in NYT. On the other hand, comparing the modals of necessity in the two papers (TT 34.11%, NYT 24.56%) suggested that editorial writers in Tehran Times were occupied with what should be done.

In general expressing modality mainly through modal auxiliary verbs confirmed the findings of the study conducted by Morley (2004) who acknowledged the greater importance of modals in editorials compared with news reports.

More frequent use of generic phrases like *That is looking less likely ...* for expressing modality in both newspapers (cf. Tables no. 4.25, 4.27) revealed that editorial writers inclined to thematize modality possibly to increase its persuasive effect.

Textual analysis of the selected editorials in the two newspapers revealed that the editorial writers tried to persuade their readers through the process of presupposition. That is, they tried to embed implicit claims within the explicit meaning of the editorial texts. The analysis indicated that the editorial writers triggered their intended presuppositions through certain linguistic structures tabulated in Tables 4.28 and 4.29.

The most frequently employed linguistic means and structures for triggering presupposition in the editorials of NYT were found to be Non-factive presupposition, presupposition through parenthesis and presupposition through Nominalization while editorial writers in Tehran Times preferred to mark the presupposition mainly through Relative clause, Non-factive verbs and Nominalization. The common preference of triggering presuppositions through Nominalization and Non-factive verbs in the editorials

of the two newspapers might suggest the importance of these two linguistic means in marking the presupposition in Newspaper genre in general and editorials in particular. Of course, nominal expressions are associated with other different professional genres such as scientific writing in which nominalization is used to mainly “facilitate concise reference” to new concepts (Bhatia, 1993, p. 153). However, the analysis of the selected editorials revealed that Nominalization in newspaper genre and specifically in editorials was mainly employed to convert a certain *claim* (which is usually expressed through a *subject – predicate structure*) into a supposedly shared-knowledge to both prevent the possible challenges towards the original claim and enhance text coherence. The comparison of a *claim* with a piece of “shared-knowledge” might help clarify the point.

Claim: *The power-sharing agreement has been defined vaguely.*

Shared-knowledge: *A vaguely defined power- sharing agreement ...* (Ref. NYT 6)

As evident in the above examples the proposition in the claim sentence is potentially open to challenge; however, the same proposition being embedded in the subject position has been changed into a shared- knowledge, presupposition, in the second sentence. That is, the claim has been changed into a fact needing no challenge.

Furthermore, the commonality of employing *non-factive* presupposition in newspaper genre might be ascribed to editorial writers’ intention to add a sense of *uncertainty* towards the presuppositions as the status of the news events and the news actors might be subject to further changes in the course of time.

The noticeable difference between the papers in terms of the linguistic structures triggering presuppositions was found to be in the extent of making presuppositions through Relative clause and Parenthesis. Based on the analysis, the second most frequently used linguistic structure for making presupposition in NYT was found to be Parenthesis. In other

words, editorial writers tended to take for granted some claims within the parenthetical information which added a sense of freshness and immediacy to the text. Editorial writers in TT, however, in most cases preferred to make presupposition through Relative clause structures.

The other difference between the two newspapers was found to be the extent of employing Existential presupposition triggered through possessive construction. Editorial writers in TT made twice as much of this kind of presupposition than those in NYT. Through this kind of linguistic structures the editorial writers in both newspapers presupposed negative attributions of *Others* and positive ones of *Themselves*. Excerpts A and B exemplify the point.

A: *Negative Attribution: Zionist regime's plot in Africa* >>(The Zionist regime has plots in Africa.)

B: *Positive Attribution: Iran's peaceful nuclear activities* >>(Iran has peaceful nuclear activities)

As one can see, excerpts A presupposed a negative attribution (plot in Africa) of Others (Israel) and B a positive presupposition of Themselves (Iran).

The least frequently employed triggers of presupposition in NYT included *structural, iterative words, lexical and given statements* while in TT it included *given statements, lexical, iterative words and structural* presuppositions. In general, the analysis of the selected editorials in the two newspapers in terms of presupposition triggers indicated that one of the generic specific characteristics of newspaper genre is triggering presupposition mainly through non-factive verbs, nominalization, adverbial and relative clauses. Furthermore, referring to the study of Reah (2002) in which he identified only a limited number of presupposition markers namely *implicative verbs, definite and possessive articles and Wh-questions*, the present analysis indicated that in the context of



the newspaper editorials the editorial writers might resort to other linguistic structures such as *prepositional phrases*, *relative and adverbial clauses*, and other less frequently employed devices identified in Tables 4.28 and 4.29.

Analyzing the selected editorials in both newspapers in terms of rhetorical structures, revealed that editorial writers in an effort to persuade the readers did employ certain rhetorical structures such as *Parallelism*, *Expletives*, *Personification*, *Metaphor*, *Appositive* and *Parenthesis*, *Rhetorical questions*, *Metonymy* and *Irony*.

The analysis of the editorials in terms of employing parallelism indicated that both newspapers tried to establish parallelism through different certain linguistic structures (cf. Tables 4.30 & 4.31). *Verb parallelisms* along with *clause/phrase parallelism* were commonly employed in the editorials of both newspapers. However, the analysis indicated that editorial writers in NYT preferred to employ verb parallelism as the dominant way of establishing parallelism in the editorials while those in TT employed clause/phrase parallelism. Furthermore, instances of *parallel questions* and *parallel prepositional phrases* were identified only in TT editorials. All in all, through establishing parallelism editorial writers in the NYT and TT tried to control argument effectively, making the editorial look strong and emphatic.

By using *expletives*, single words or short phrases usually interrupting the normal syntax of text, the two newspapers tried to reinforce their own intended interpretation of the news events. The more frequent use of the expletive words phrases in editorials of TT (Table 4.33) reflected the desire of the editorial writers in TT to make their statements more emphatic.

In an effort to ease the editorial readers' understanding of news events, editorial writers in the two newspapers employed the rhetorical device of *personification* which is

representing concepts and inanimate objects as having human attributes. In other words, by recasting potentially difficult ideas in human terms, editorial writers tried to help their readers to grasp concepts and ideas more easily. The analysis indicated that this device was much more favored by TT editorial writers.

Moreover, to further manipulate the readers' understanding of the news events, editorial writers employed the other rhetorical device namely *metaphor* that reflected the opinions of the editorial writers rather than the reality of the news events. Analysis of the identified metaphors indicated that the prominent conceptual metaphors employed in NYT were in most cases associated with the concepts of *Road* and *Farm* land while those of TT were associated with *Fire* and *Fear* (Tables 4.33 & 4.34).

As for the two other rhetorical devices namely *parenthesis* and *appositive*, the analysis revealed that NYT editorial writers had a greater tendency towards providing the readers with further contextual information embedded in the editorials in the form of parenthetical or appositive phrases which gave the editorials a sense of freshness and immediacy.

Furthermore, employing *rhetorical questions* was evident in the two newspapers. The analysis indicated that editorial writers in TT did employ this persuasive device more frequently than those in NYT.

Based on the analysis, the most frequently employed rhetorical device in the two newspapers was found to be *metonymy* that enabled the editorial writers to use one identity to represent another. In most cases, the editorial writers used the geographical names such as Baghdad for referring to the institution, the government. On the other hand, they used the names of the institutions for referring to the people who had the authority such as *The court* for *Judges in the court*.

Finally, the analysis revealed that editorial writers in TT favored ironic language as the other way of persuading the editorial readers. The absence of this rhetorical device in the editorials of NYT might indicate the preference of the NYT writers in refraining from indirect approach to the news events.

All in all, the analysis indicated that the editorial writers in the two newspapers did try to present the news events in a way to both attract readers' attention and at the same time influence their view of news events and the news actors. To accomplish this goal they resorted to certain textual strategies such as Presupposition, Modality, and also certain rhetorical devices such as Parallelism, Expletives, Personification, Metaphors, Appositives and Parenthesis, Rhetorical questions, Metonymy and Irony. Although the editorial writers in the two newspapers employed the mentioned devices in the editorials of criticism, they were not consistent in the extent of using the devices. That is, editorial writers in one newspaper tended to employ certain textual strategies such as Parenthesis or Irony much more frequently than those in the other newspaper which might be attributed to unique sociolinguistic features of the two languages.

On the other hand, the common textual strategies employed in the two newspapers, in spite of the different sociolinguistic features of the two languages, indicated the close association of specific textual features with newspaper genre in general and editorials of criticism in particular.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

This concluding chapter initially summarizes the major findings of the study. Referring to each research question, it tries to highlight the similarities and differences between the selected editorials in the two papers. Next the pedagogical implications of the findings to language teaching will be discussed. The chapter, then, concludes with the limitations of the study and suggestions for further studies.

#### **Summary of the Findings**

Employing qualitative research methodology, the present study adapted a nonrandom purposeful sampling through which 40 editorials (20 culled from the electronic version of Iranian English newspaper, Tehran Times, and 20 editorials from the electronic version the English newspaper, The New York Times) were selected and analyzed.

The analysis of the selected editorials in The New York Times and Tehran Times revealed some important quantitative/qualitative similarities and differences between the selected editorials in terms of the schematic structures and textual/rhetorical devices employed in both the headlines and the editorials' main texts.

Referring to the first research question on the schematic structures of the editorials in the two newspapers, the study revealed that the editorial writers in the two newspapers organized the content through three basic schematic structures namely *The Introduction*, *The Body* and *The Ending*. Each of these schematic structures in the papers then followed certain *moves*. Two distinct moves, *Orientation* (OR) and *Criticism* (CR) were identified in the first schematic structure. *Developing* and *Conclusion* were identified as the other moves

employed in the second and the third schematic structures respectively. The occurrence of the same schematic structures and the same moves in the editorials of the two papers revealed that specialist writers in cross-cultural settings were consistent in the way they organized their overall messages in a certain genre, editorials of criticism.

However, the following differences were identified in the first schematic structure of the selected editorials between the two papers.

- The (OR) move in the editorials of the NYT were found to be much more evaluative than those of TT. That is, to orient their readers with the topic, the editorial writers in the NYT used more evaluative words and phrases.
- The editorial writers in the NYT used a *reader responsible* rhetoric. That is, they communicated little amount of information through the (OR) move and even skipped the move much more frequently than TT editorial writers.

With reference to the second schematic structure, The Body, the two papers developed the topics using either *Lead-Follow-Valuate* (LFV) or *Lead-Valuate* (LV) patterns. However, both papers were found to be inconsistent in treating the respective move, *Developing*, in this section. The following points were identified as the major differences between the two papers.

- *Turns*- Lead, Follow, Valuate- were found to be comparatively fully developed in the editorials of TT while they comprised short sentences in those of the NYT's.
- NYT editorial writers included more subtopics in the editorials providing more support for the editorials' main topic.

- Editorial writers in the NYT used the first person plural, *We*, in this section of the editorials that might be attributed to their desire to give a sense of authority and credibility to the paper.
- NYT editorial writers used the valuate turns in this section mainly for giving *directive suggestions* rather than *comments*.

Through the third schematic section of the editorials, The Ending, the editorial writers in the two papers tried to conclude the topic using certain rhetorical strategies. The *Conclusion* move in this section of the editorials was realized differently in the two papers. The following features were identified as the main differences between the two papers.

- The editorial writers in TT concluded the topic through mainly employing *informative comments* and *predictive statements*. This revealed the writers' desire to *interpret* and *comment* on the news events which might be culturally attributed to the importance of *interpretation* in society.
- The conclusion move in the NYT editorials was realized through expressing *necessity* and making *suggestions*. This might be culturally attributed to the influential role of the media that has enabled them to identify the necessities and put forward the suggestions.

The following table represents the major similarities and differences between the two sets of editorials.

**Table 5.1**

The Identified Major Similarities and Differences Between the Two Sets of Editorials

Schematic structures	Similarities	Differences	Cultural notes
Introduction	Following the same moves (OR) and (CR).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tehran Times (TT) editorials were found to be less evaluative than those of The New York Times (NYT).</li> <li>Most of the (CR) moves in TT are realized through rhetorical questions.</li> <li>More frequent skipping of the (OR) move in NYT.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Using less evaluative tone in TT editorials might be attributed to writers' desire to appear more objective in giving the news accounts.</li> <li>Using rhetorical questions in (CR) might be attributed to the writers' tendency in engaging the readers in the topic.</li> <li>Frequent skipping of the (OR) move is attributable to the reader-oriented nature of the NYT editorials.</li> </ul>
The Body	Following the same move (Developing the topic).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Each subtopic in NYT editorials is initiated, developed and concluded through one paragraph while it takes more than one paragraph in TT.</li> <li>The use of first person pronoun "we" in NYT editorials.</li> <li>More subtopics are presented in NYT.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It might be inferred that a paragraph in NYT editorials includes only one single idea while it takes more than one in TT.</li> <li>Establishing a kind of solidarity with the readers</li> <li>Presenting more subtopics in NYT editorials might be attributed to the writers' tendency in approaching the main topic from different points of view.</li> </ul>
The Ending	Following the same move (Concluding the topic).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>TT editorials tend to conclude the main topic through mainly informative comments.</li> <li>The use of first person pronoun "we" in NYT</li> <li>NYT editorials tend to conclude the main topic through directive sentences</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Giving informative comments on the news events in TT editorials might be attributed to the writers' main objective which is "interpreting" the news events.</li> <li>The use of the pronoun is attributable to NYT editorial writers' intention to give a sense of authority to the text in the Ending section of the editorials.</li> <li>Using directive sentences in the Ending section of the editorials in NYT might be attributed to the writers' desire to persuade their readers to take an "action" towards the news events.</li> </ul>

As the Table suggests, in general, the socio-cultural differences are unlikely to affect the basic schematic structures of the editorials. However, they might have implications for realization of certain rhetorical patterns such as employing evaluative rhetoric, directive statements, rhetorical questions and other patterns.

As for the second research question of the study on the types of rhetorical and textual features of the selected editorials in the two papers, the study identified the main rhetorical and textual features of the editorials focusing on both the editorial headlines and their main texts.

The analysis of the headlines in the selected editorials of The New York Times and Tehran Times revealed that the headlines in the two newspapers not only introduced the topic of the editorials but also presented the subjective attitude of the writers (newspapers) towards the topic. In other words, while informing the readers of the editorial topic, the editorial writers in the two papers tried to express the preferred ideology of their papers through the headlines. Textual strategies such as *presupposition* and *metonymy* were found to be the main features employed by the two papers in their headlines.

However, the headlines in the two papers were found to differ in terms of using certain rhetorical strategies and their types and length. The identified differences can be described through the following points.

- Editorial writers in NYT employed, in headlines, rhetorical strategies such as *parallelism*, *pun*, *alliteration* and *assonance* that made them appear comparatively more figurative.
- Editorial writers in TT, on the other hand, used other effective rhetorical devices such as *antithesis*, *allusion*, *neologism* and *irony* in the headlines.



- Most of the headlines in the NYT (75%) were of the non-verbal type while in TT only 40% were of this type.
- Both verbal and non-verbal headlines in the NYT were written through short phrases while those in TT were in the form of long phrases and full sentences.

A comparative analysis of the editorials' main text in the two papers also revealed their textual and rhetorical characteristics. The main differences between the two papers in terms of the linguistic concepts such as *modality*, *presupposition* and also certain rhetorical devices are listed as follows:

- To express their commitment to the truth of the propositions or the desirability of the status of an incident, NYT editorial writers employed a higher number of predicative modals (N=88) than those of TT (N=41). This might be attributed to the desire of the NYT editorial writers to identify what would happen in the future.
- The NYT editorial writers triggered presupposition mainly through *nominalization*, *parenthetical information* and *non-factive verbs*. Those of TT, on the other hand, employed *relative clauses*, *non-factive verbs* and *nominalization*.
- Editorial writers in TT made twice as much of *existential* presupposition than those in the NYT. In this way, they tried to presuppose negative attributions of *Others* and positive ones of *Themselves*.

Furthermore, in an effort to persuade their readers, editorial writers in the two papers employed certain rhetorical devices. Parallelism, Expletives, Personification, Metaphor, Appositive and Parenthesis, Rhetorical questions, Metonymy and Irony were

found to be the frequent rhetorical devices employed in the editorials. In terms of these rhetorical devices, the following points were identified as the main differences between the two sets of the editorials in the two papers.

- The editorial writers in NYT employed *verb parallelism* as the dominant way of establishing parallelism in the editorials while those in TT used *clause/phrase parallelism*.
- The editorial writers in TT employed *expletives* (N=102) more frequently than those in NYT (N=76). This might reflect the desire of the editorial writers in TT to make their statements more emphatic.
- Comparatively, editorial writers in TT more frequently tried to recast their ideas in human terms, *personification*, helping their readers to grasp the concepts more easily.
- The prominent conceptual metaphors employed in NYT were in most cases associated with the concept of *road* and *farmland*. Those of TT, on the other hand, were associated with *fire* and *fear*.
- The editorial writers in NYT revealed a greater tendency towards using parenthetical information (*parenthesis, appositive*) giving a sense of freshness and immediacy to the editorial texts.
- The editorial writers in TT employed *ironic* language as a further persuasive rhetorical device in the editorials.

To sum up, the study revealed that the editorials in the two papers were similar in having the same schematic structures and moves. However they were found to be different in terms of realizing the moves. Furthermore, the editorial writers in the two papers,

through the headlines and main texts, tried to influence their readers' understanding of the news events by employing certain textual and rhetorical devices.

### **Implications for language teaching and media literacy**

Genre-specific studies have broadened the scope of contrastive rhetoric analysis. In an effort to describe the complexities of the factors which might potentially affect the writing process, contrastive analysis has moved beyond only establishing distinctions among pieces of ESL writing in terms of categories such as *deductive-inductive* or *linear-nonlinear* (Connor, 2008). This shift from ESL writing to other specific genres has been taken as a useful change in contrastive analysis in that it has enabled “a more focused analysis by offering comprehensive systems of categorizing texts based on their communicative purpose” (Connor, 1999, p. 149).

Theoretically, the findings of the present comparative research on editorials of criticism might contribute to further broadening of contrastive rhetoric analysis in two ways. Firstly, in line with the general shift away from ESL writing to professional genres, the present research focused on a sub-genre-- editorials of criticism-- within the general genre of newspapers. The study has tried to describe the prototypes of editorials of criticism which might be considered as further broadening the scope of contrastive rhetoric studies. This might suggest the potential richness of contrastive rhetoric analysis in analyzing many sub-genres within a specific genre.

Secondly, the study indicated that even some abstract issues such as *persuasion* can be investigated within the framework of contrastive rhetoric. In fact, as Kubota (2010) indicates:

Contrastive rhetoric offers many implications for cross-cultural teaching, especially questions with regard to how culture and language are conceptualized, how politics and ideologies are involved in writing instruction and what role research plays in relation to linguistics and cultural shifts. Inquires into cultural and linguistic differences significantly influence our world views, which support or challenge the status quo of power relations among cultures and languages. (p. 283-284)

The findings of the study revealed some commonalities and differences between the two newspapers in using language for persuasion purposes.

Furthermore, there are “pedagogical values in sensitizing students to the rhetorical effects and, and to the rhetorical structures that tend to recur in genre-specific texts” (Swales, 1999, p. 213). Knowledge of the rhetorical and schematic divisions of a certain genre such as newspaper editorials and function of those divisions within the editorials would enhance ESL/EFL student reading and writing skills.

In fact, from a pedagogical point of view, the interface between the linguistic analysis of newspaper editorials, as an example of media discourse, and the teaching of English as a foreign or second language would be a relevant issue if one considers the growing number of students majoring in English language studies in Iranian universities. These students can profit from a comparative study of English-Persian editorials since it may enhance their rhetorical awareness in media discourse.

In fact, certain characteristics of newspapers, such as having a wide variety of sub-genres, the standard language use and their fresh and current content have encouraged the use of newspaper language as input to language teaching materials.

Considering the fact that “linguistic awareness can be more effectively developed with purposeful language practice and critical analysis of a genre” (Bronia, 2005, p. 79),

the findings of the present study can provide the EFL teachers and students with the required knowledge about the discourse conventions in a certain sub-genre, namely newspaper editorials, making them ready to use the newspaper editorials in the classrooms.

Specifically, newspaper editorials can be employed in teaching courses dealing with reading, academic writing and journalism. According to Bhatia:

A genre-based flexible language curriculum can facilitate language learning within, across and beyond the confines of a curriculum, which will allow more freedom to the participants in the teaching and learning process. This can be effectively realized by using a daily newspaper, which is easily available and also contains a wide variety of genres and sub-genres that can enrich the linguistics repertoire of any language learner. (1993, p. 157)

Through designing interesting classroom activities based on editorials, it is possible to provide the students with the logic of the ideas and the organization and development of the arguments in the editorials. This would in turn transform the students into critical readers who are able to read between the lines of a newspaper and to critique stories for structure, content and meaning.

However, using the newspaper and its sub-genres as an input in EFL classes without initial focusing on their generic distinctive features such as communicative purpose, schematic structures and the syntactic patterns may be counterproductive. As Bhatia remarked:

Genre specificity, thus, within the pages of newspaper is so significant that any attempt to use newspaper language without being aware of it can become misleading. In other words, if the learner is not made sensitive to genre distinctions,

then the very strength of newspaper language can become its weakness.

(1993, p. 161)

Thus, any study that attempts to provide EFL students with generic characteristics of the editorials will make them ready to make use of newspaper editorials in the classrooms.

Emphasizing the importance of more critical awareness toward the analysis of language, Wallace (1992) has argued that readers would not be successful in their reading unless they are involved in challenging the ideological assumptions and propositional knowledge which are usually presented as “obvious” in written texts (1992, p. 61).

Hence, in order for teachers to raise the critical consciousness of their students in EFL classes, the teachers should try to develop a general understanding of:

- The schematic structures of the editorials.
- The importance of “textual analysis” of the newspaper editorials.
- The role of editorials in the newspaper genre.
- The relationship between “ideology” and “power” as represented in the newspaper editorials.

The findings of the present study can at the same time equip EFL teachers and students with the required knowledge about the discourse conventions in a certain sub-genre, namely newspaper editorials.

In light of the findings of the present research, the teachers may familiarize the EFL learners with different schematic structures of the editorials namely, The Introduction, The Body and The Ending. This can be done by grouping the students and providing each group with two different newspaper editorials. The groups then can be asked to go through the

editorials trying to divide them into different sections. Later, they may focus on how the writers have initiated, developed and concluded the topic in the identified sections in terms of the rhetorical moves, such as Orientation, Criticism, Development and Concluding that are all discussed in the preceding chapter. The groups then may discuss the possible similarities and differences in rhetorical strategies used for realization of the moves.

Such a pre-knowledge of the formal schemata would facilitate the reading processes and in fact “failure to sensitize language users to the various genre distinctions might result in ineffective teaching and learning” (Bhatia, 1993, p. 173).

On the other hand, as Bronia (2005) has pointed out, editorials overlap significantly with the argumentative essays of the students in the educational settings in terms of their purpose, schematic structures and some lexico-grammatical features. Even in terms of schematic structures, “editorials have a lot in common with what we are very likely to find in many academic essays” (Bhatia, 1993, p. 165).

Editorials as a kind of public discourse can influence the academic writing of the students so they can be used as a resource to help students write their academic argumentative and persuasive essays. Specifically, the kind of textual analysis of the editorials which focused on the descriptive analysis of the formal features of the editorials’ headlines and their main texts in the two sets of the data can be used by teachers in teaching academic writing courses. The features tabulated through Tables 4.21 to 4.35 can be practically used in the classroom to help students to develop their own argumentative essays in a more logical and persuasive way.

Furthermore, as “editorials perhaps more than any other types of writing reflect national styles regarding moods of persuasion” (Connor, 1999, p. 143), they set the standard for written persuasion in a language. That said, “exploring both theoretical and

practical rhetorical strategies for patterning can help our university students develop logical connections that enable them to produce the types of prose required by the academy” (Bliss, 2001, p. 16).

Exploring the structures, strategies and social functions of the editorials, on the other hand, would be of great importance in ESP courses especially for journalism students. Although the field of language education is usually regarded a less-relevant discipline to journalism, it can offer valuable insights to journalism in educational settings. In other words, by keeping pace with the new developments in language education, media literacy can enrich its potentialities in writing, reporting and analyzing the media discourse.

That said, the findings of the present research can be incorporated in the media literacy and journalism classes. Specifically, newspaper editorials can be used as sources for creative reading and writing in media literacy and ESP courses.

As an example of the case, students of journalism, by referring to the rhetorical structures clarified in chapter 4, can practice and improve the use of persuasive techniques that are usually employed in newspaper editorials.

Critical reading of media discourse in ESP courses can also be practiced in this way. Finding the presupposed propositions and discerning modality, discussed in chapter 4, for example, are kinds of activities that can be practically done in media literacy and ESP classes.

The findings of the comparative textual analysis of the headlines of the editorials and their main texts (findings of the second research question), for example, would not only help the ESP teachers to shed light on this type of public discourse but would also enable students of journalism, specifically the prospective



editorial writers, to produce a kind of persuasive writing that is really organized, informative and persuasive in the eyes of targeted readers.

Thus, besides broadening the scope of the field of contrastive rhetoric, the findings of the present research study indicated that editorials can be utilized in teaching reading newspaper texts and writing courses at the tertiary level. Students of ESP courses especially those of media literacy and journalism might benefit from the findings of the study as well.

### **Limitations and Delimitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research**

The present study is undoubtedly limited in scope as it has focused only on the schematic structures and textual analysis of editorials of *criticism*. The findings of this study cannot then be generalized to the other newspaper sub-genres. As mentioned in the previous sections, editorials of *criticism* are just one type of newspaper editorials. Thus, the other promising areas for future studies might include comparative studies of the other kinds of editorials such as editorials of *praise*, *defense*, *endorsement*, *appeal* and *entertainment* in different settings. Studies of this kind would enhance the field of “inter-cultural rhetoric analysis” (Connor, 2008) by revealing discourse conventions employed in different sub-genres of the newspaper editorials cross-culturally.

Secondly, the data for the present study has been taken from two newspapers only. Expanding the data through referring to the other leading newspapers in the two languages would enhance the validity of the findings of the present study.

Thirdly, admitting the importance of critical discourse analysis in shedding light on media discourse, the present study, due to some sociopolitical issues, mainly focused on the textual analysis of the selected editorials in the two newspapers. Undoubtedly, a critical

discourse analysis of newspaper editorials aiming at exploring how the same news event has been treated by different editorial writers in different newspapers- in a certain span of time- would shed further light on media discourse.

In spite of all these limitations, the present study, however, hopes that providing the EFL practitioners with knowledge of the schematic structures and the kind of textual strategies employed in the editorials of the two newspapers would help them to integrate the newspaper editorials into their language curriculum, making a bridge between the classroom and language in use.

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## APPENDIX A

### THE NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS

#### Editorial (1)

##### Mr. Olmert's Belated Truths

Ehud Olmert, Israel's soon to be ex-prime minister, voiced some startling truths this week. He said that in exchange for peace, Israel should withdraw from "almost all" of the West Bank and share its capital city, Jerusalem, with the Palestinians. He also said that as part of a negotiated peace deal with Syria, Israel should be ready to give up the Golan Heights. It's frustrating that Mr. Olmert, who is stepping down as prime minister after being accused of corruption, waited so long to say these things. And it is tragic that he did not do more to act on those beliefs when he had real power.

His statements in a farewell interview with the newspaper Yediot Ahronoth were unlike anything any Israeli political leader had dared to say — at least publicly — before. He also dismissed as "megalomania" any suggestion that Israel should act by itself to destroy Iran's nuclear program.

There always has been far too wide a gap between Mr. Olmert's belief that Israel's security and demographic survival depends on a two-state solution and what he has been willing to do to get such a deal. The Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, also has not shown nearly enough political courage. The result is that while the two men have been negotiating since the American-led Annapolis peace conference last fall, very little progress has been made.

There are, of course, many fraught issues to solve: drawing permanent boundaries that give Israel defensible frontiers and the Palestinians an economically viable state; finding a way for both states to claim Jerusalem as their capital; and compensating and resettling Palestinian refugees in the new Palestinian state.

But Mr. Olmert was never willing to take even the tactical steps needed to improve the lives of ordinary Palestinians and give them a real stake in peace: fully freezing the expansion of Jewish settlements and sufficiently reducing the roadblocks in the West Bank that are strangling the Palestinian economy. Although a discredited messenger, Mr. Olmert still deserves credit for putting the most sensitive issues on the table and identifying the only viable formula for a peace agreement.

Tzipi Livni, Mr. Olmert's designated successor, has been Israel's chief negotiator for the past year. It is unlikely that she will show any candor while she tries to put together a coalition government. But we hope that she takes Mr. Olmert's truths to heart. And we hope she is willing to do what is needed to build a lasting peace.

## Editorial (2)

### Failing the World's Poor

Good intentions wither fast, especially when it comes to helping the world's poor.

At the turn of the millennium, world leaders committed to cutting extreme global poverty in half and to achieving deep reductions in malnutrition and child mortality rates. They followed that up in 2005 with a pledge to increase development assistance to \$130 billion a year by 2010 (about \$151 billion in today's money).

That was then. Today, even as soaring energy and food prices exacerbate the suffering of the world's poor, the richest nations are falling far behind on their aid commitments — and behind their past giving.

The current financial turmoil could make it even less likely that the wealthy nations will fulfill their promises to the poorest of the poor. Without that money, many of the development goals announced with such fanfare will go unmet.

Aid from the world's developed countries fell by almost 13 percent between 2005 and 2007 — to under \$104 billion, after inflation. The aggregate aid budget of the most developed nations amounts to 0.28 percent of their gross national income, woefully below the target of 0.7 percent agreed to by world leaders in 2002 .

Only Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Denmark meet the target.

Canada's overseas aid amounts to 0.28 percent of its income. Japan's is 0.17 percent. The United States, shamefully, is at the bottom of the list, spending 0.16 percent of its income on development assistance.

Many countries tie too many strings to their largess — such as requirements to buy supplies from donor countries. (Aid flows are often swayed by domestic politics in the donor nations, making them unpredictable and difficult to manage by receiving nations.)

Aid isn't the only area where the developed world is failing. After the 2001 terrorist attacks, wealthy countries acknowledged that poverty can be a fertile ground for terrorism and pledged to open their markets to exports from the world's poorest nations. Those promises collapsed along with global trade talks this year.

The world's poor still desperately needs the help. According to a new World Bank study, 1.4 billion people lived in extreme poverty in 2005. Twenty-seven percent of children under 5 in the developing world were underweight. Their mortality rate was 83 per 1,000 live births, about 14 times the rate in rich nations. And whatever gains have been made against the most abject poverty, they risk being undone by the rising price of food.

Speaking to the United Nations this week, the secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, warned that the world is facing a "development crisis," and he expressed his fear that wealthy nations would now fall even further behind in their commitments. We share that fear.

### Editorial (3)

#### Remember Iran?

We have long felt that Mohamed ElBaradei and his United Nations nuclear inspectors were too patient with Iran's cat-and-mouse games and constant evasions.

Even their patience is running out. In a report last week, the International Atomic Energy Agency declared that it had reached an impasse over Tehran's refusal to answer questions about its past nuclear activities. (An official close to the agency told *The Times*: "We seem to be at a dead end.") The report also said that Iran had substantially improved its ability to produce nuclear fuel in direct defiance of a Security Council ban.

We know that the United States and its allies are grappling with a lot right now, including a financial meltdown and a resurgent Russia. But Tehran's scientists are getting ever closer to mastering the skills that are the hardest part of building a nuclear weapon. This is not a problem that can be shunted off to the next president.

Let us be clear, there are no good military options. A sustained bombing campaign would kill a large number of civilians, provoke a furious backlash in the Islamic world and still might not cripple Iran's program.

What is needed is a game-changing diplomatic initiative. For that, Europe and the United States must agree quickly on a more persuasive set of punishments and incentives.

That means far tougher restrictions on trade and investment in Iran — if Russia and China block action at the Security Council, Europe and Washington will have to act without them — and far more generous diplomatic incentives, including a credible American offer of improved relations and security guarantees if Tehran abandons its nuclear ambitions.

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice had hoped to salvage at least part of President Bush's legacy, and her own, by brokering an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal before Mr. Bush leaves office. That's looking ever less likely. Ms. Rice could still make history if she got on a plane to Tehran to deliver an offer of a grand bargain.

She could prove that she was serious by proposing to immediately open an American interests section in Tehran — an idea her aides floated a few months ago that seems to have disappeared.

We don't know if any mix of sanctions and rewards can persuade Iran's leaders to abandon their nuclear program. But without such an effort, we are certain that Tehran will keep pressing ahead, while the voices in the United States and Israel arguing for military action will only get louder.

‘Running Out of Time’

Pakistan’s military is threatening to shoot American troops if they launch another raid into Pakistan’s territory. Whether the threat is real or meant solely for domestic consumption, there is a real danger of miscalculation that would be catastrophic for both countries.

President Bush’s decision to authorize Special Operations forces in Afghanistan to go after militants in Pakistan’s lawless border region was a desperation move. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Mike Mullen, admitted earlier this month that America and its allies were “running out of time” to save Afghanistan.

We certainly share his alarm and his clear frustration that the Pakistanis are doing too little to defeat the extremists or stop their attacks into Afghanistan. But Mr. Bush and his aides should be just as alarmed about Pakistan’s unraveling — Saturday’s horrific bombing at Islamabad’s Marriott Hotel is only the latest sign — and working a lot harder to come up with a policy that bolsters Pakistan’s fragile civilian government while enlisting its full support in the fight against extremists.

If an American raid captured or killed a top Qaeda or Taliban operative, the backlash might be worth it. But if there is any chance of permanently rooting out extremists from the tribal areas, that will have to be done by Pakistan’s military, backed up with sustained programs for economic and political development.

For that, Washington must finally persuade Pakistan’s leaders that this is not just America’s fight but essential to their own security and survival as a democracy. And Pakistan’s leaders must persuade their citizens.

We fear that a rising number of civilian casualties, on both sides of the border, is driving more people into the hands of the repressive Taliban and other extremist groups. These attacks are also making Pakistan’s new president, Asif Ali Zardari, look weak and irrelevant.

He is an undeniably flawed leader, with little political experience and a history tainted by charges of corruption. But he deserves a chance, and American support, to fulfill his promises to bolster democracy, clean up Pakistan’s intelligence services and work with the United States to defeat terrorism.

Mr. Zardari made a start, inviting President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan to his inauguration. In a speech to Parliament on Saturday — hours before the bombing — he said his government would not allow terrorists to launch attacks on any neighbor from Pakistani soil, nor would it tolerate further American military incursions. Admiral Mullen made a fence-mending trip to Pakistan last week and Pentagon officials say they are reviewing the overall strategy. Any revised plan must do a lot more to avoid civilian casualties and support, rather than undermine, Pakistan’s civilian leaders. Congress can do its part by approving a \$7.5 billion aid package, intended to strengthen Pakistan’s democratic institutions and its counterinsurgency capabilities.

The Pentagon also needs to quickly come up with a better strategy in Afghanistan. Commanders warn that Mr. Bush’s promise to send 4,500 additional troops falls far short. We fear that Admiral Mullen is right: there isn’t much time left — on either side of the border.

### China's Baby Formula Scandal

We had been assured by Chinese authorities that their regulators and manufacturers were cracking down on the negligent procedures and criminal acts that have produced lead-laced toys and poisoned pet food, toothpaste and other dangerous goods. But a new scandal involving contaminated baby formula is a frightening reminder that China still is not doing enough to ensure the safety of its products — and a reminder that American importers and regulators cannot let down their guard.

The tainted milk powder has killed several babies in China and injured more than 6,000 others, many with kidney stones or kidney failure. This is an unconscionable toll and a shameful betrayal of families who relied on their government and corporate leaders to protect them.

The powdered formula has not been approved for import into the United States, so it poses no major threat here. But it is conceivable that limited amounts could have found their way into specialty markets.

The formula contains a dangerous chemical additive known as melamine — the same additive that sickened thousands of American dogs and cats last year. The best guess is that milk dealers eager to cut costs diluted their milk with water, then added the melamine to inflate the protein readings on a common industrial test.

It is increasingly clear that at least one major dairy company, the Sanlu Group, knew about the problem for months, and city officials in the company's hometown knew about the problem for weeks and did nothing to warn the public or force a widespread recall. Critics speculate that local officials may have feared that any publicity would tarnish the Olympics. Only last week did the central government begin a vigorous response.

Since then, authorities have announced a well-publicized recall, arrested a number of suspects and fired several local officials, including the mayor. Regulators have revoked exemptions that previously allowed many top companies to police themselves. China alerted the World Health Organization to the contamination, a welcome contrast to its past inclination to hush problems up.

Investigators have now found melamine in infant milk powder produced by more than 20 companies, including some of China's biggest dairy companies, and in other dairy products, suggesting a much wider problem.

While this time the tainted product was not imported into this country, the episode carries a serious warning for all Americans. Companies that buy goods from Chinese suppliers, and government regulators who oversee import safety, must be vigilant in policing Chinese companies. Even the biggest and supposed best can fail to meet safety standards that we take for granted.

## Editorial (6)

### Dealing With Mr. Mugabe

There are so many reasons not to trust Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's dictatorial president. But the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai — the man who would have won the presidency in a fair election — has decided to take a chance by agreeing this week to a vaguely defined power-sharing agreement.

With luck, and continued international pressure, the agreement could be the start of an extended transition to democracy and economic revival for Zimbabwe's brutalized citizens. That is, undoubtedly, why Mr. Tsvangirai accepted it, despite Mr. Mugabe's history of bad faith.

Washington and the European Union are right to keep their sanctions in place until it becomes clearer whether this agreement can produce real change or is just another devious maneuver.

Mr. Tsvangirai told a radio interviewer on Wednesday that he was "quite certain" about his rival's commitment to the deal. We are less certain, especially after an aide to Mr. Mugabe announced that certain aspects of the agreement would not go into effect until next month. In a democratic Zimbabwe, or in an Africa that insisted on respect for democratic elections, Mr. Tsvangirai would be president and Mr. Mugabe would be gone. Instead, Mr. Mugabe will remain president, with Mr. Tsvangirai becoming prime minister.

Mr. Mugabe's party will hold 15 ministries, Mr. Tsvangirai's 13, and a splinter opposition party 3. The deal is very precise on these numbers, but not on how the powers of the president and the prime minister will be apportioned. Both will exercise "executive power." The crucial question is how much power Mr. Mugabe will retain to intimidate opponents and veto economic reforms. The deal affirms the principles of free speech and multiparty democracy, but it also appears to declare Mr. Mugabe's disastrous land reform untouchable. Some reports say that Mr. Mugabe will keep control over the army, while Mr. Tsvangirai will control the police. The army must be kept out of domestic politics.

With its rich agricultural land and abundant mineral resources, Zimbabwe should be thriving. Instead, Mr. Mugabe has turned it into a land of famine and desperation, with an annual inflation rate estimated to be 11 million percent. These man-made disasters cannot be reversed overnight and without substantial help.

The United States, Europe and others should be getting ready to provide technical support and aid. But first, they must make sure that this agreement is real and not just another trick by Mr. Mugabe to stay in power.

### Not Safe Enough

We could not agree more strongly with President Bush that this country must do everything it can to keep weapons of mass destruction out of terrorists' hands.

If this truly reflects his thinking — and he has said it often — why does the United States government get only a “C” grade from a respected, bipartisan group of national security experts for its efforts to prevent nuclear, chemical and biological terrorism? The new report says the Bush administration has failed to demonstrate sufficient urgency, focus or follow-through.

In 2005, a group headed by former Representative Lee Hamilton and former Gov. Thomas Kean of New Jersey — the chairmen of the 9/11 Commission — gave the government a “D” for its efforts to prevent the spread of weapons and protect the homeland. Now, a successor group headed by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Kean plus former Senator Warren Rudman finds the country's efforts still dangerously weak.

The report says there is no comprehensive strategy that links all programs intended to stop the spread of such weapons and sets priorities for funding. The authors warn that the administration's mistrust of international institutions and treaties has seriously harmed its ability to work with other countries to curb such threats.

Efforts to prevent biological terrorism get the lowest rating — “C-minus.” Even inside the United States, authorities do not know the number and location of an expanding array of laboratories doing research with potentially dangerous viruses. Clearly, an accurate census of such facilities is imperative. On nuclear weapons, the report gives the government a “C.” Washington has done much to improve security at Russian nuclear sites, but there is still no overall government plan to secure all dangerous nuclear material around the world.

The report gives the highest marks — “B-minus” — for efforts to combat chemical weapons, noting that effective controls for chemical warfare agents have been put in place. But Washington must speed destruction of its chemical weapons stockpile and improve security at chemical plants.

The administration is credited with some important successes, notably persuading Libya to abandon its weapons programs and ensuring that 90 percent of all ship cargo is now screened before it enters the country. But seven years after 9/11, we hoped that the government would earn more than a “C” on its ability to protect Americans from potentially catastrophic attacks. The next president will have to do better.



### Caught in the Cross-Fire

Civilians in Afghanistan are paying a deadly price in the war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. America is fast losing the battle for hearts and minds, and unless the Pentagon comes up with a better strategy, the United States and its allies may well lose the war. According to Human Rights Watch, at least 540 Afghan civilians died in fighting related to the conflict in the first seven months of this year. It says the Taliban were responsible for 367 of those deaths; 119 Afghans died in United States and NATO airstrikes, while 54 died in other American and NATO attacks.

The group's numbers for American and NATO-caused civilian deaths were much higher last year — 434 deaths, including 321 from airstrikes — but the 2008 figures are still unacceptably high. And they do not count an airstrike last month in which Afghan officials charge that 95 people died. Washington disputes that number, and there needs to be a credible investigation.

Afghans once looked on American troops as their liberators, but far too many have come to see them as enemies. Add to that the corruption and incompetence of the government of Afghanistan's American-backed president, Hamid Karzai, and we fear Afghans are being driven back into the hands of the repressive Taliban.

There are too few American and NATO troops in Afghanistan to wage this fight on the ground. So the war against an increasingly powerful Taliban is often fought from the sky. Bombs dropped in populated areas increase the chances of deadly mistakes. In 2007, under pressure from Mr. Karzai, NATO made changes in targeting tactics, including delaying attacks in areas where civilians might be harmed. This has had some impact but obviously not enough.

Defense Secretary Robert Gates wants to send 4,500 more American ground troops to Afghanistan — if they can be spared from the war in Iraq. But American commanders in Afghanistan have been pleading for months for about three times that number. NATO needs to step up its military efforts, and with other states build up Afghanistan's security forces, administrative capacity and rural development.

NATO commanders are also trying to coordinate operations more closely with the Afghan military, giving it a bigger role in planning operations and conducting searches. These changes are welcome but long overdue.

We have similar concerns about Pakistan. This week, helicopter-borne American Special Operations forces attacked Qaeda militants in a Pakistani village near the Afghan border. At least one civilian, a child, was killed and possibly more in what may be the start of a new American offensive.

Pakistan's political situation is extremely fragile, and anti-American sentiment there is fierce. Sending more American troops and planes into Pakistan's lawless border regions might be worth the backlash if the mission apprehended a top Qaeda operative. That apparently did not happen this week.

Pakistan's army, with intelligence help and carefully monitored financial support, should do most of the fighting. Asif Ali Zardari, expected to be Pakistan's new president, has promised to work to defeat the Taliban and ensure that the country is not used for terrorist attacks. We hope he delivers.

Still No Exit

President Bush is nothing if not consistent. In a speech on Tuesday, he made it clear that he has no plan at all for ending the war in Iraq and no serious plan for winning the war in Afghanistan.

Mr. Bush wants to have it both ways — claiming success in tamping down violence in Iraq and yet refusing to make the hard choices that would flow from that.

Speaking at the National Defense University, he said he would withdraw only 8,000 more troops from Iraq by the time he leaves office. That would leave 138,000 troops behind — more than were deployed in Iraq before his January 2007 “surge.”

All of this seems to be driven more by what is happening in American battleground states than any battleground in Iraq.

While Mr. Bush and his party’s nominee, John McCain, both want to stay the course until some undefined “victory” is achieved, American voters have run out of patience. Mr. Bush and his advisers are clearly hoping that this token withdrawal will be enough to keep Iraq out of the news and out of the election debate. (Ironically, Mr. McCain who doesn’t want to withdraw any troops at all, had no choice but to declare his support for the president’s plan.)

Iraq’s leaders have also run out of patience, and they are pushing to have American troops out by 2011. That means the next president — whether it is Mr. McCain or Barack Obama — will have to quickly come up with a plan for a safe and responsible exit.

Like Mr. Bush, Iraq’s leaders want to have it both ways. They want to talk about an American withdrawal, but they are still refusing to make the tough political compromises that are their only hope for keeping things under control once the Americans are gone.

All of these months later, and Iraq’s Parliament has still not adopted an oil revenue-sharing law or a law establishing the rules for provincial elections.

So long as an American president refuses to start seriously planning for a withdrawal, Iraq’s leader will continue on this way.

Mr. Bush was right on one point Tuesday when he said that “Afghanistan’s success is critical to the security of America.”

What he didn’t say is that Washington is in real danger of losing the war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda — the war Mr. Bush shortchanged again and again for his misadventure in Iraq.

American commanders in Afghanistan need a lot more help than the 4,500 additional troops Mr. Bush has now pledged to send there.

Mr. Obama has offered a sensible blueprint for quickly drawing down American troops in Iraq and bolstering the fight in Afghanistan. After a befuddling silence, Mr. McCain on Tuesday finally agreed that more troops are needed in Afghanistan. What Mr. McCain has yet to explain is where those troops will come from.

Mr. Bush’s disastrous war in Iraq has so overtaxed American forces that the math is painfully simple: Until there is a real drawdown from Iraq, there will not be enough troops to win in Afghanistan.

### Stuck in Georgia

This is where things stand nearly three weeks after Russia invaded Georgia and radically upended ties with the West: Russian troops still occupy key areas, including the port of Poti; Moscow has recognized the independence of Georgia's two breakaway regions; Georgia's president, Mikheil Saakashvili, is still talking tough even though his army is routed and his country shattered.

And if that isn't unnerving enough, President Bush has decided to dispatch Vice President Dick Cheney, that master of diplomacy, to the region.

Awash in oil wealth and giddy after crushing tiny Georgia, Russia's leaders are striking back at real and imagined humiliations. The West's failure to fully marshal its leverage is painful to watch. But Russia also has a lot to lose. Moscow's decision to recognize South Ossetia and Abkhazia will only harden battle lines and sow further regional instability. Recognizing these enclaves could inspire a host of rebellions around and inside Russia: Transnistria from Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan and the oil-rich province of Tatarstan from Russia. If Moscow has forgotten its horrifying war to suppress the Chechens, we have not.

We know some in the Kremlin don't care if ties with the West are broken. Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, the dark hand behind Russia's aggression, blustered this week that Russia would be better off if it didn't join the World Trade Organization.

While many Russians are cheering him now, we doubt that they will be eager to return to the grim days of Soviet isolation. For all its oil wealth, Russia is still a poorly developed, corrupt and fragile state. It is not in its long-term economic and security interest to divorce from the international mainstream.

The Bush administration deserves considerable blame for letting this crisis get so far out of hand. Since the invasion, it has deftly bolstered Georgia, using military transports to deliver humanitarian aid. It gets mixed marks for its response to Russia. The White House eagerly used the crisis to seal a missile defense deal with Poland — adding to Mr. Putin's list of resentments. It also, more sensibly, suspended military cooperation and a civilian nuclear deal worth billions to Moscow, but left the door open for reviving both.

We do not know what Mr. Cheney will say when he visits Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Italy next week. The last thing the world needs now is him inciting more resentments and anxieties. Georgia's president certainly seems to have learned nothing from the last few weeks, telling *The Times* that he would continue his campaign to reassert Georgian control over South Ossetia and Abkhazia. He seemed to think that Washington would back him up.

A blustering visit from Mr. Cheney would also make it far easier for the Europeans to avoid doing what they need to do: send their own clear message to Moscow that there will be no business as usual. That does not mean completely isolating Russia. But when the Europeans meet next week, they should agree to put on hold a trade and security deal with Moscow so long as it continues to occupy Georgia and threaten its neighbors.

Ties between Russia and the West are now the worst in a generation. It will take toughness and subtlety to ensure they do not lock into a permanent confrontation — not more bluster from anyone.

Russia's War of Ambition

No one is blameless in the dangerous game that has erupted into deadly war in the Caucasus. Georgia's president, Mikheil Saakashvili, foolishly and tragically baited the Russians — or even more foolishly fell into Moscow's trap — when he sent his army into the separatist enclave of South Ossetia last week. The Bush administration has alternately egged on Mr. Saakashvili (although apparently not this time) and looked the other way as the Kremlin has bullied and blackmailed its neighbors and its own people.

There is no imaginable excuse for Russia's invasion of Georgia. After pounding both civilian and military targets with strategic bombers and missiles, Russian armored vehicles rolled into Georgia on Monday, raising fears of an all-out assault on the capital and Mr. Saakashvili's democratically elected government.

Moscow claims it is merely defending the rights of ethnic minorities in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which have been trying to break from Georgia since the early 1990s. But its ambitions go far beyond that.

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin (who has shouldered aside Russia's new president, Dmitri Medvedev, to run the war) appears determined to reimpose by force and intimidation as much of the old Soviet sphere of influence as he can get away with.

Mr. Saakashvili — with his pro-Western ambitions and desire to join NATO — has particularly drawn Mr. Putin's ire. But the assault on Georgia is also clearly intended to bully Ukraine into dropping its NATO bid and frighten any other neighbor or former satellite that might balk at following Moscow's line.

The United States and its European allies must tell Mr. Putin in the clearest possible terms that such aggression will not be tolerated. And that there will be no redidivision of Europe.

Given Russia's oil wealth and nuclear arsenal, the West's leverage is limited, but not inconsequential. Russia still wants respect, economic deals and a seat at the table, including membership in the World Trade Organization and a new political and economic cooperation deal with the European Union. Moscow is also eager to complete a civilian nuclear cooperation deal with the United States that could be worth billions.

There can be no business as usual until Russian troops are out of Georgia, fighting has ended and all sides have agreed on a plan for calming the tensions in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. At a minimum, that means international mediation, more autonomy for both regions and the stationing of truly neutral international peacekeepers — not Russian troops.

Mr. Saakashvili will have to abandon his ambitions to reassert control over the two regions.

Because of his miscalculation, his army has been routed and his country badly damaged.

The United States and Europe also need to take a hard look at their relationship with Russia going forward. Neither has protested loudly or persuasively enough as Mr. Putin has used Russia's oil and gas wealth to blackmail its neighbors, throttled Russia's free press and harassed and imprisoned opponents.

The Bush administration has made Mr. Putin's job even easier, feeding nationalist resentments with its relentless drive for missile defense. The Europeans, who are far too dependent on Russian gas supplies, have deluded themselves into believing that they alone will be safe from Moscow's bullying.

The West wants and needs Russia as a full responsible partner. For that, Russia needs to behave responsibly. And the United States and Europe must make clear that anything less is unacceptable.

Good Intentions, Vague Promises

This week's summit meeting of major industrialized nations in Japan yielded two important firsts on global warming. For once, the Bush administration was not in full foot-dragging mode, joining in a pledge to halve global greenhouse gases by midcentury. And the big emerging nations, including China and India, agreed to long-range (if unspecified) cuts in emissions.

For all that good news, summits are usually about vague promises and good intentions, and this one was no different. The final agreement establishes no interim goals that would require prompt and meaningful investments in cleaner energy. Many scientists believe that cuts of at least 25 percent in greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 are necessary to prevent emissions from reaching a point of no return. And as the South Africans dyspeptically but accurately observed, without short-term targets the long-term goal is an empty slogan.

Nor should anyone put too much store in the promises from the emerging countries.

China and the others made it clear that mature industrial economies like the United States and Europe — whose per capita emissions greatly exceed those of the developing world and who have contributed the most to the man-made emissions already in the atmosphere — must do most of the heavy lifting. They also warned that they could not move forward without significant capital investment from the West.

This was tough talk but, as the industrialized nations conceded, not without a certain historical justice. Unfortunately, without the full participation of China, India, Brazil and other fast-growing economies, there is no hope of stopping and reversing global warming. China may have already passed the United States as the world's biggest emitter of greenhouse gases. And according to some calculations, the world's rich countries could shut down their carbon dioxide emissions entirely and still not keep atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases from reaching unacceptably dangerous levels.

Last December, the world's nations, large and small, agreed in Bali to negotiate a new and comprehensive global treaty by the end of 2009 to replace the Kyoto Protocol. As the Japan summit suggests, this will not be easy. But at least the biggest emitters seem willing to sit down in the same room.

The United States must finally step forward. Much has been made of President Bush's plodding evolution on climate change — from denial to acceptance to, finally, vague pledges to help — but the truth is, the Bush years have been wasted years.

Until the United States is willing to make an unambiguous commitment to reducing America's emissions, with clear targets and timetables, the rest of the world will keep finding excuses not to do the same. The next president and the next Congress must provide that leadership.

### Empty Promises on Warming

White House aides had billed President Bush's Rose Garden speech last week as a major turning point at which the president would unveil an ambitious set of proposals to address the problem of global warming — a late-breaking act of atonement, as it were, for seven years of doing nothing.

Sadly, Mr. Bush's ideas amounted to the same old stuff, gussied up to look new. Instead of trying to make up for years of denial and neglect, his speech seemed cynically designed to prevent others from showing the leadership he refuses to provide — to derail Congress from imposing a price on emissions of carbon dioxide and the states from regulating emissions on their own.

Mr. Bush's main proposal was to halt the growth of emissions in the United States, chiefly from power plants, by 2025. This means, of course, that after seven years of letting emissions grow, he would allow them to continue to grow for another 17 years — and would come nowhere near the swift reductions in emissions that scientists believe are necessary to prevent the worst consequences of climate change.

We've been here before with Mr. Bush. A few years ago he grandly offered to reduce "carbon intensity." The idea then was that carbon emissions could rise so long as they rose more slowly than economic growth. The president has never quite grasped the idea that the only way to reverse the process and prevent serious damage is actually to reduce emissions. And how would Mr. Bush reach his own inadequate goals? Not surprisingly, there was no mention of government intervention. Mr. Bush argued that industry would do what it hasn't done until now and voluntarily reduce emissions on a broad scale. He insisted that new technology, developed with public and private financing, would make that possible.

No one who cares about this problem disputes the need for major investments in cleaner ways of producing energy from existing sources like coal, in alternative energy sources like wind power and in carbon-free technologies that are now little more than dreams. But no one believes that industry will invest in those new technologies until existing ways of producing energy become too expensive. For that to happen, government will need to put a price on carbon emissions through a mandatory cap or carbon taxes, or some combination of both.

Mr. Bush again resisted that central truth and reaffirmed his opposition to both taxes and the mandatory caps that lie at the heart of a bipartisan Senate bill sponsored by Senators John Warner and Joseph Lieberman. And not only did he oppose new laws, but he also criticized states and the courts for invoking old ones, like the Clean Air Act.

Only a few months ago Mr. Bush pledged to obey a Supreme Court ruling that the act required the Environmental Protection Agency to regulate greenhouse gases. Now he warns that obeying the law could cause a "regulatory train wreck."

It is hard to find anything redeeming in this speech, though it contains two obvious truths: This president has no intention of addressing climate change. The next president will have no choice but to do better.

### Zimbabwe's Stolen Election

Zimbabwe's presidential runoff election is still scheduled for Friday. But President Robert Mugabe has already stolen the vote.

For months, Mr. Mugabe's henchmen have brutalized opposition politicians and voters who dared to imagine an end to the dictatorship. On Sunday, Morgan Tsvangirai — the opposition leader and winner of the first round — withdrew from the runoff. That night, he also took refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Zimbabwe's capital while police raided his party headquarters.

This cannot continue. The United States, Zimbabwe's African neighbors and the rest of the international community must immediately press for a postponement of the balloting.

And since Mr. Mugabe appears to have lost all sense — he has now declared that only God, not the voters, can remove him from office — they must pressure the generals who enable his reign of terror to abandon Mr. Mugabe.

Since the first balloting in March, at least 85 people have been killed, thousands beaten — some with iron bars — and thousands driven from their homes. Mr. Tsvangirai was detained five times and his party's chief strategist is being held on specious treason charges.

Western and African leaders have done little but wring their hands. Finally, late Monday, the United Nations Security Council issued its first condemnation of the violence sweeping Zimbabwe, regretting that the “campaign of violence and the restrictions on the political opposition have made it impossible for a free and fair election to take place on 27 June.”

It was unclear if the council retained an important acknowledgment that was in an early draft: “Until there is a clearly free and fair second round of the presidential election, the only legitimate basis for a government of Zimbabwe is the outcome of the 29 March 2008 election” — which Mr. Tsvangirai won.

We fear it will take more than words to save Zimbabwe. The international community must back that up with serious punishments for Mr. Mugabe's generals and cronies. Mr. Mugabe bought their loyalty with land and other government largess. Only very personal punishments — freezing their foreign bank accounts and denying visas — will make them recalculate their self-interest.

We are also waiting for South Africa's president, Thabo Mbeki, to act. Instead of defending Zimbabwe's people and their right to democratic change, he has shamefully chosen to protect Mr. Mugabe.

The United States, Europe and African governments must all make clear that if the runoff election is not delayed — so that Mr. Tsvangirai can campaign without the threat of violence — they will no longer recognize Mr. Mugabe or his government and will use all their powers to punish and isolate them.

### Iraq Oil Rush

So great is the demand for oil today -- and so great the concern over rising prices -- that it would be tempting to uncritically embrace plans by major Western oil companies to return to Iraq.

Unfortunately, the evolving deals could well rekindle understandable suspicions in the Arab world about oil being America's real reason for invading Iraq and fan even more distrust and resentment among Iraq's competing religious and ethnic factions.

As reported by Andrew Kramer in *The Times*, Exxon Mobil, Shell, Total and BP -- original partners in the Iraq Petroleum Company -- are in the final stages of discussions that will let them formally re-enter Iraq's oil market, which expelled them 36 years ago. The contracts also include Chevron.

Iraq can certainly use the modern technology and skills these oil giants offer. Although Iraq's oil reserves are among the world's largest, years of United Nations sanctions and war have badly eroded the industry. Government officials say they aim to increase production from 2.5 million barrels of oil a day to 3 million barrels. That is a minor increase in global terms, but with oil at \$140 a barrel, it is good news for Iraqis, who need the money to rebuild their war-torn country.

We cannot blame Baghdad for wanting to get on with exploiting the country's lucrative oil deposits, especially when Kurds in northern Iraq are rapidly signing contracts to develop oil fields in their own semiautonomous region. Still, the negotiating process pursued by Baghdad is flawed and troubling.

The contracts are being let without competitive bidding to companies that since the American invasion have been quietly advising Iraq's oil ministry how to increase production. While the contracts are limited to refurbishing equipment and technical support and last only two years, they would give these companies an inside track on vastly more lucrative long-term deals.

Given that corruption is an acknowledged problem in Iraq's government, the contracts would have more legitimacy if the bidding were open to all and the process more transparent. Iraqis must apply that standard when they let contracts for long-term oil field development.

Also troubling is that the deals were made even though Iraq's parliament has failed to adopt oil and revenue sharing laws -- critical political benchmarks set by the Bush administration. That is evidence of continued deep divisions in Iraq over whether oil should be controlled by central or regional government, whether international oil companies should be involved in development and how the profits should be distributed.

The United States and the oil companies must encourage Iraqi officials to make the political compromises needed to establish in law the rules for managing Iraq's abundant natural resources with as much transparency as possible. Otherwise, oil will just become one more centripetal force pulling the country apart.



China's List of Olympic Don'ts

Now that the shock of the earthquake (which they could not control) in Sichuan Province has dissipated somewhat, China's leaders are focusing again on something that they think they can control: people. Sports fans attending the 2008 Olympics in Beijing will have a long list of rules to carry in their pockets along with their tickets.

On its Web site last week, the Chinese Olympic organizing committee listed a set of restrictions for the 500,000 overseas visitors expected in August. Olympic spectators are being told not to bring in "anything detrimental" to China, including printed materials, photos, records or movies. Religious or political banners or slogans are banned. So are rallies, demonstrations and marches — unless approved by authorities in advance. It also says that visitors with mental illnesses and sexually transmitted diseases will be barred from the country.

We shudder at how those judgments — many of them highly subjective or intrusive — will be made.

The International Olympic Committee has long prohibited political activities at Olympic venues, and we respect the goal of trying to put aside divisions while celebrating a common humanity. But Beijing is using those restrictions for its own authoritarian ends.

To win the right to host the Games, China promised to improve its human-rights record. It keeps moving mostly in the opposite direction. In recent days, authorities effectively disbarred two prominent human-rights lawyers who volunteered to defend Tibetans charged in violent anti-China protests. They also broke up a gathering of 100 parents who were peacefully protesting shoddy school construction and the deaths of their children in the May 12 earthquake.

And while authorities initially relaxed restrictions on journalists and aid workers after the earthquake, they have again tightened up. Local journalists have been discouraged from covering the parents' protests, and international television networks have complained that security requirements will limit coverage of the Olympics.

There's an inherent contradiction between China's desire to invite the world to the Olympics and its effort to deny those visitors — and its own people — the most basic freedoms. Last week, an I.O.C. official said he is convinced the Games would be a "force for good" in China. The committee and Western governments need to remind Beijing that the world is watching, and so far the picture isn't good.

## Editorial (17)

### What the F.B.I. Agents Saw

Does this sound familiar? Muslim men are stripped in front of female guards and sexually humiliated. A prisoner is made to wear a dog's collar and leash, another is hooded with women's underwear. Others are shackled in stress positions for hours, held in isolation for months, and threatened with attack dogs.

You might think we are talking about that one cell block in Abu Ghraib, where President Bush wants the world to believe a few rogue soldiers dreamed up a sadistic nightmare. These atrocities were committed in the interrogation centers in American military prisons in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. And they were not revealed by Red Cross officials, human rights activists, Democrats in Congress or others the administration writes off as soft-on-terror.

They were described in a painful report by the Justice Department's inspector general, based on the accounts of hundreds of F.B.I. agents who saw American interrogators repeatedly mistreat prisoners in ways that the agents considered violations of American law and the Geneva Conventions. According to the report, some of the agents began keeping a "war crimes file" — until they were ordered to stop.

These were not random acts. It is clear from the inspector general's report that this was organized behavior by both civilian and military interrogators following the specific orders of top officials. The report shows what happens when an American president, his secretary of defense, his Justice Department and other top officials corrupt American law to rationalize and authorize the abuse, humiliation and torture of prisoners:

— Four F.B.I. agents saw an interrogator cuff two detainees and force water down their throats.

— Prisoners at Guantánamo were shackled hand-to-foot for prolonged periods and subjected to extreme heat and cold.

— At least one detainee at Guantánamo was kept in an isolation cell for at least two months, a practice the military considers to be torture when applied to American soldiers.

The study said F.B.I. agents reported this illegal behavior to Washington. They were told not to take part, but the bureau appears to have done nothing to end the abuse. It certainly never told Congress or the American people. The inspector general said the agents' concerns were conveyed to the National Security Council, but he found no evidence that it acted on them.

Mr. Bush claims harsh interrogations produced invaluable intelligence, but the F.B.I. agents said the abuse was ineffective. They also predicted, accurately, that it would be impossible to prosecute abused prisoners.

For years, Mr. Bush has refused to tell the truth about his administration's inhuman policy on prisoners, and the Republican-controlled Congress eagerly acquiesced to his stonewalling. Now, the Democrats in charge of Congress must press for full disclosure.

Representative John Conyers, who leads the House Judiciary Committee, said he would focus on the F.B.I. report at upcoming hearings. Witnesses are to include John C. Yoo, who wrote the infamous torture memos, and the committee has subpoenaed David Addington, Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff. Mr. Conyers also wants to question F.B.I. Director Robert Mueller and Attorney General Michael Mukasey, both of whom should be subpoenaed if they do not come voluntarily.

That is just the first step toward uncovering the extent of President Bush's disregard for the law and the Geneva Conventions. It will be a painful process to learn how so many people were abused and how America's most basic values were betrayed. But it is the only way to get this country back to being a defender, not a violator, of human rights.

Lebanon at the Edge

President Bush claims Lebanon's 2005 "Cedar Revolution" — which ended 30 years of Syrian military occupation — as a triumph of his policy of democracy promotion. Given Lebanon's history, that was always naïve. Lebanon is now in deep trouble, and Mr. Bush, who will be meeting Prime Minister Fouad Siniora in Egypt on Sunday, has no real plan to help overcome the crisis.

Some calm has returned to Beirut in recent days, but the country remains frighteningly close to another civil war. One hundred thousand Lebanese (out of fewer than four million), died in the last civil war. Responsible Lebanese leaders — Maronite, Sunni, Shiite and Druze — must do everything they can to find a peaceful exit, and the United States must do a lot more to help.

The current crisis began last week when Mr. Siniora's government — which unites large sections of the Sunni, Druze and Maronite communities — tried to shut down a telecommunications and surveillance network run by the militant group Hezbollah. That would have been a welcome reassertion of governmental authority, except that the government does not have the political and military clout to pull it off.

Hezbollah — which enjoys broad backing from the Shiites, Lebanon's largest and poorest community, as well as Iran and Syria — fought back. With the Lebanese Army standing aside, Hezbollah pushed pro-government militias out of most areas of Muslim west Beirut and other parts of the country.

The government, unfortunately, had little choice but to yield on the telecommunications issue. Flush with its military gains, Hezbollah may demand more than Mr. Siniora can grant without forfeiting all legitimacy. What is needed now is a compromise, which only the Lebanese Army — the one institution that represents all of Lebanon's factions — seems in a position to broker.

A settlement needs to address a host of divisive issues, including the stalemate over Lebanon's vacant presidency. It must restore a measure of the government's lost authority. And to keep Hezbollah in line, the deal should be guaranteed by Iran and Syria.

Mr. Bush's idea for helping Lebanon is to give more aid to the Lebanese Army. The army needs more firepower, but that alone will not make it any more eager to take on Hezbollah. The army has finally said that it will do whatever is necessary to restore and maintain order.

If Mr. Bush really wants to help Mr. Siniora he will need to talk with Hezbollah's masters in Syria and Iran: about the risks they court by promoting instability in Lebanon and the rewards they might reap in return for a more constructive approach. Mr. Bush's stubborn refusal to negotiate with either Syria or Iran has weakened American influence throughout the region. Lebanon's situation is dire. Mr. Bush will need to do a lot more if he wants to help salvage the Cedar Revolution

## Editorial (19)

### Georgia, NATO and Mr. Medvedev

Russia is playing a game of cat-and-mouse with neighboring Georgia that, if everyone is not a lot more careful, could quickly turn deadly.

The Kremlin has never been happy with Georgia's pro-Western preferences and was infuriated by its push for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Because of Moscow's fierce objections, the Atlantic alliance decided last month to postpone membership talks with Georgia. Instead of calming down, Moscow saw that as confirmation that its bullying and threats work — and decided to bully and threaten even more.

First, Russia announced plans to strengthen ties with two pro-Russian breakaway regions in Georgia — Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Last week, it sent hundreds of extra “peacekeepers” to Abkhazia. Russian officials said the troops are needed to protect the province from a Georgian invasion, and it insisted that the contingent would remain within the 3,000-troop limit allowed under a 1994 United Nations-brokered cease-fire. The deployment almost certainly violated the peacekeeping mandate because it was done without Georgia's approval.

Georgia also charged that a Russian MIG-29 fighter jet shot down one of its unmanned reconnaissance drones over Abkhazia. Moscow denied it.

Russia's next president, Dmitri Medvedev, who will be sworn in on Wednesday, needs to move quickly to calm things down. He must tell his aides to cool the rhetoric and begin a high-level dialogue with Georgia. There are questions about whether Mr. Medvedev will be his own man or just a creature of President Vladimir Putin, and this would be a way to prove his independence.

Georgia's leaders must also resist being baited into a fight by Moscow. That will surely doom their dream of NATO membership. They should reconsider their recent threat to block Russia's membership in the World Trade Organization and make a serious effort to lower tensions with Abkhazia by offering economic development and political autonomy. The United Nations Security Council should also consider replacing Russian peacekeepers in Abkhazia with genuinely independent troops.

NATO needs to work with both sides to defuse the growing crisis. France and Germany, which argued for putting off Georgia's membership, have a special responsibility. They can start by sending envoys to meet with Mr. Medvedev and make clear that they, and the rest of NATO, are committed to Georgia's security and independence — and will be watching closely to see how he handles this first crisis.

Putin's Mini-Me (or Not?)

And so it came to pass as Vladimir Putin decreed: Dmitri Medvedev will be Russia's next president. There were no surprises in Sunday's balloting. After eight years as Russia's head of state, Mr. Putin ruthlessly and efficiently engineered the selection — none dare call it an election in any credible democratic sense — of his successor, who won slightly more than 70 percent of the vote.

Mr. Medvedev owes his career to Mr. Putin and promoted his candidacy as one that will ensure continuance of the former Soviet spy master's agenda. But is that the best we can expect, four more years of a Putin-like Kremlin that uses its full powers to quash all serious political opposition, intimidate neighboring states and encourage a macho confrontation with the West? Is Medvedev, who agreed in advance to make Mr. Putin prime minister, merely Mr. Putin's clone or will he prove to be his own man, as did Mr. Putin when he succeeded Boris Yeltsin?

During the controlled process that passes for a political campaign in Russia, Mr. Medvedev dropped tantalizing hints that he might not be in complete lock step with his patron. He indicated that he might not be as strident toward the West and might have some reform tendencies, vowing to crack down on corruption and promote the rule of law.

We hope those are truly his instincts and that Mr. Medvedev nurtures them as he matures in office and operates — increasingly independently — from Mr. Putin. Early signs are troubling. Hours after the election, Russia reduced gas supplies to Western-inclined Ukraine. Mr. Medvedev heads Gazprom, Russia's gas monopoly.

The United States and its allies need Russia as a partner to address many international challenges, including Iran, Kosovo and arms control. They must deal pragmatically with the realities of Russian power, as the administrations of Richard Nixon and George H.W. Bush once did. But they cannot pretend that Mr. Putin and his allies operate from democratic intentions. They must push for more open elections and political and journalistic freedoms. America and its partners should deliver that message strongly at this year's Group of 8 meeting of industrialized nations.

After years of post-cold war decline, Russians understandably want their leaders to reassert a world role and take firm charge of the country's many problems. Mr. Putin helped stabilize Russia and reaped the benefits of its surging oil and gas wealth, but he went overboard in reverting to a corrosive authoritarianism. Mr. Medvedev takes office in May as daunting new challenges — including rising inflation, slow economic growth and a health care system in shambles — must be addressed. We hope he returns Russia to a democratic path and ensures that he is not just a footnote to Putin's place in history.

## APPENDIX B

### TEHRAN TIMES EDITORIALS

#### Editorial (1)

##### Brown mimicking predecessor's duplicity

British Prime Minister Gordon Brown's flattering speech to the Israeli parliament on Monday was a follow-up of his predecessor's foreign policy, which was based on deception.

He said Britain is determined to prevent Iran from developing nuclear arms.

"Our country will continue to lead, with the U.S. and our European partners in our determination to prevent an Iranian nuclear weapons program," BBC quoted Brown as telling the Knesset.

But where is Mr. Brown's evidence that backs up his accusation that Iran is producing nuclear weapons?

Brown should not lie about Iran's nuclear program to butter up hardliners in the Knesset, like his predecessor Tony Blair did with his allegations that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction.

It seems that Mr. Brown is daydreaming, lost in the 19th and early 20th centuries when British colonialism was at its height. He has forgotten that he is speaking at a time when everything, including Iran's nuclear program, cannot be hidden from public view.

In fact, it is the Brown government that is trying to develop a new generation of nuclear weapons. Its ally -- Israel -- has also refused to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and has stockpiled nuclear warheads.

On the other hand, Iran is conducting its nuclear program under the full supervision of the UN nuclear watchdog and has even allowed the media to make videos of its nuclear facilities and report on its nuclear program.

Addressing the Israeli parliament, Brown also vowed to stand by Israel in its "fight for liberty".

If in Brown's view "liberty" means occupying other nations' lands and creating a hell on earth for their indigenous people, then Brown should be rewarded for such a "noble idea".

Moreover, deliberately alluding to a wrong translation of a statement by the Iranian president that quoted him as saying that Israel should "be wiped off the map" -- he actually said Israel would "disappear from the page of time" -- does not convince people grounded in reality because no nation can be wiped off the earth just as Israel has not been able to wipe out the Palestinians after decades of slaughters and suppression.

Brown added, "The people of Israel have a right to live freely and to live in security."

There is no doubt that every nation has the right to live in peace, but the blind support for Tel Aviv provided by Brown and his ilk will just embolden Israeli leaders to continue their occupation policy, which will never provide security for Israeli citizens.

## Editorial (2)

### Is the Caucasus becoming more Balkanized than the Balkans?

Both Russia and Georgia claim the current conflict started after the other side violated a ceasefire in South Ossetia.

But whoever is responsible for the clashes, it is never acceptable to kill innocent civilians. Moreover, the fighting could even lead to a wider war between Russia and Georgia. What is the sin of civilians that they should fall victim to the ambitions of Ossetian separatists or Georgian or Russian leaders? Should civilian neighborhoods become battlegrounds in the conflict between Georgia, which enjoys Western support, and Russia, which is angry over NATO's encroachment into its sphere of influence?

The escalation of the situation in Ossetia comes as a shock in a volatile region where there is already a rivalry between Ukraine and Russia, enmity between Armenia and the Azerbaijan Republic over Nagorno Karabakh, and a seemingly interminable war in Chechnya.

With so many ethnic groups in the region, serious efforts must be made to ensure that the Caucasus does not become more Balkanized than the Balkan region itself.

The news of civilian deaths at the hands of governments is a disgrace for the two countries. When legitimate governments kill civilians, how can they condemn terrorists for indiscriminately massacring of civilians?

Unfortunately, the UN Security Council failed on Friday evening to agree on the wording of a statement calling for a ceasefire.

The UK, the U.S., and France are pinpointing what they say is Russia's aggression as the key factor in the slide toward war, while Moscow insists Georgia is to blame.

When major powers that regard themselves as the guardians of international peace quibble over the wording of a call for a ceasefire while civilians are dying, it makes us wonder if we have really entered a more civilized era.

NAM is the international community

The 118-member Non-Aligned Movement re-endorsed Iran's right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy at a ministerial conference in Tehran on Wednesday.

It was not the first time that NAM has expressed support for Iran's nuclear program. In a similar statement issued in Malaysia in May 2006, NAM supported Iran's right to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and said all countries should have this right.

However, to deceive the world about the nature of Iran's nuclear program, some Western officials and media outlets lace their statements with phrases like the "international community is united" or "concerned" about Iran's nuclear program and the "international community demands" Iran halt its uranium enrichment program.

"It's going to be very clear to them (Iranians) that the international community and P5-plus-1 are completely united," Condoleezza Rice told reporters on July 17. At a State Department press conference with British Foreign Secretary David Miliband on May 21, Rice also said, "Iran is an issue on which the international community is united in confronting Iran..."

European Union foreign policy chief Javier Solana and other EU officials have made similar remarks.

Such officials must believe their countries are the "entire international community" to make such arrogant statements.

If the Westerners really believe in 'one person, one vote' democracy, they should extend it to 'one country, one vote' for the dispute about Iran's nuclear program to see how many more votes Iran would receive in an environment free of any pressure from Western countries.

Even certain key members of the European Union, like Spain and Italy under former prime minister Romano Prodi, did not express opposition to Iran's nuclear activities.

If Russia and China were not permanent members of the UN Security Council, they most likely would not have joined the U.S., Britain and France in approving sanctions resolutions against Iran.

The distortion of the facts about Iran's nuclear program is another example of a neocolonialist disinformation campaign.

To portray the West's nuclear standoff with Iran as an "international standoff" is an insult to people's intelligence when they see that a majority of the world's countries support Iran's right to have a civilian nuclear program and that the IAEA has never detected any diversion to weaponization in Iran's nuclear program.



U.S. hypocritically using ICC to pressure Sudan

The U.S. State Department has asked the International Criminal Court at The Hague to issue an arrest warrant for Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, which, if issued, would set a dangerous legal precedent for international relations since it would be the first time the ICC tried a sitting head of state.

ICC Chief Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo is set to ask the court to issue a warrant for the Sudanese president's arrest on Monday based on the allegation that he is guilty of war crimes in Darfur.

Al-Bashir is the president of Sudan, who acts based on his legal duties, and the ICC has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of his country.

The Darfur conflict became a hot issue for the Sudanese government in 2003 due to certain regional and international developments.

The Darfur residents had lived peacefully under the central government for many decades and never thought about seceding from Sudan, but interference by certain neighbors and extra-regional powers like the U.S. and Britain ignited a fire in western Sudan.

The ethnic diversity of western Sudan provided fertile ground for the creation of a very volatile situation, and thus the neocolonialist powers found a pretext to pressure Khartoum.

Arms shipments to Darfur by Britain and the United States, which were made to spark a civil war, created a very complex situation for the central government, and Khartoum invited the Arab League and the African Union to various conferences to find a solution to the Darfur crisis.

However, since the U.S. and Britain have been pursuing a partition policy in regard to Sudan, they torpedoed all agreements reached at the conferences.

The conflict in the Darfur region has halted all Sudan's development projects and created a severe economic downturn in the country, despite its great potential, especially in the agricultural sector. Britain and the United States fanned the flames of war in southern and western Sudan with the goal of eventually partitioning the country into three states to facilitate the Zionist regime's efforts to establish a presence in the Upper Nile region and Ethiopia.

The Sudanese government had long warned about the Zionist regime's plots in Africa, and especially in Ethiopia.

Sudan's vigilance about the Western and Zionist plots prompted the extra-regional powers to employ a variety of methods to isolate the Khartoum government.

Foreign powers put pressure on Sudan to allow the UN and the African Union to deploy peacekeeping forces in Darfur, ostensibly to protect the residents.

To show its goodwill, Sudan finally agreed to allow foreign troops to enter its soil. However, the West, and particularly the United States, has been undermining the government's efforts to rebuild the areas devastated by the war.

And now Washington has begun pressuring the ICC to issue an arrest warrant for the legitimate president of Sudan.

Since the court is only authorized to investigate war crimes, it should try war criminals like U.S. President George W. Bush, former British prime minister Tony Blair, and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert for the war crimes they have committed in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, and Lebanon. ICC officials are allowing the U.S. to use the organization as a tool for the implementation of its policies, and thus the ICC has no authority to issue an arrest warrant for the Sudanese president. In fact, the United States never signed the treaty which established the International Criminal Court and has warned that it will take action against any country that tries to extradite a U.S. citizen to the ICC, which shows the hypocrisy of the latest U.S. moves.

U.S. meddling in formation of Lebanese cabinet

At the last moment, when Lebanese groups were about to reach an agreement on the makeup of a unity cabinet, the U.S. Embassy in Beirut protested openly at the way ministerial posts were being divided between the March 14 and the March 8 groups and thus delayed the formation of the new government.

This intervention has stoked up the tension between the two centers of power in Lebanon and encouraged the March 14 group to ask for more ministerial posts.

The U.S. move showed its utter disregard for the Doha agreement and proved that the United States and certain Arab countries do not want to see the Lebanon crisis resolved based on the blueprint mapped out at the Doha meeting.

Certain Lebanese politicians have been optimistic about the possibility of forming a unity cabinet, but doubts have now arisen, despite the efforts of designated prime minister Fouad Siniora to hammer out a deal acceptable to all political players in the Lebanese political arena.

The ambitious demands of the March 14 group, which wants to control the key finance, foreign, interior, justice, and transport ministry portfolios, have created obstacles undermining Siniora's plan to promptly form a cabinet.

Despite the fact that the Doha agreement outlined the roadmap for establishing a unity cabinet and led to the election of a new Lebanese president, over six weeks have passed since the deal was made and the members of the new cabinet have still not been selected.

In their meeting with Siniora, the leaders of the March 8 group, including Michel Aoun, the chairman of the Free Patriotic Movement, insisted on the need to implement the Doha agreement, which shows that the opposition wants to resolve the Lebanon crisis as soon as possible.

But since the United States and some Arab leaders don't want to see the political crisis resolved, they have set certain conditions, such as including their people in the new cabinet, and thus have tied the hands of the prime minister, who must select people who will be acceptable for all political factions.

Hezbollah and its allies are not very concerned about the precise makeup of the cabinet but believe that the nation can only be united and the cabinet can only be successful if ministerial posts are given to people who are acceptable and cooperative.

At the Doha meeting, 16 ministries were allocated to the March 14 group, 11 to the opposition, and 3 to the president. Yet, the March 14 faction is now demanding that unacceptable and uncooperative figures be appointed to the cabinet as their precondition for joining the new government, with the aim of creating headaches for the Islamic resistance movement.

Although it's difficult to predict the exact date the new cabinet will be formed, the prime minister's discussions with the leaders of the two major groups have improved the political climate and it seems that the March 8 group has no objection to the makeup of the new cabinet, whose ministers will soon be announced.

However, if the U.S. keeps meddling in the efforts to establish a new Lebanese cabinet and the March 14 group does not back down from its demand for more key ministries and halt its efforts to monopolize political power, there will be a new crisis in Lebanon and we will be back to square one.

## The G8 ate while we went hungry

The Group of Eight leaders are meeting in Japan at a time when the world is experiencing the jolt of a food crisis and questions are being raised about food security.

All this is happening as the UN has set the goal of cutting global poverty in half by 2015. The food crisis has been exacerbated by the fact that many countries, the United States in particular, have turned to biofuel to reduce dependence on oil due to soaring fossil fuel prices.

But burning crops to run cars is like throwing salt on the wounds of the millions of people who go to bed hungry every night.

The industrialized countries and large emerging economies are responsible for high oil prices and it is immoral for them to feed cars with crops.

Instead, they should invest heavily in alternative sources of energy since fossil fuel reserves will surely be depleted in the not-too-distant future.

And this is not the end of the story.

It is clear that food and global warming are interconnected. Yvo de Boer, executive secretary of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, has warned that ignoring the issue “will get you into deeper trouble down the road.”

But what countries are mainly responsible for climate change? Are poor countries in Africa and Latin America responsible?

In fact, the G8 members (the United States, Russia, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Canada) along with the G5 (China, India, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa), and South Korea and Australia, whose leaders have gathered at the Hokkaido Toyako Summit, account for most of the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions that cause global warming.

However, with drought affecting many parts of the world and storms wreaking havoc in many countries, there are still serious doubts as to whether the G8 countries are willing to meet the commitment they made last year in Heiligendamm, Germany to halve global greenhouse gas emissions from current levels by 2050.

For example, U.S. President George W. Bush, whose country accounts for more than 20 percent of the world's CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, told reporters ahead of the summit that China and India should share the same goal in setting long-term CO<sub>2</sub> reduction targets.

Meanwhile, food riots are breaking out in some countries and the situation is reaching crisis proportions.

But will the G8 Summit address the problem of food security for the people of the Global South as our planet is becoming hotter and cars are being fed with agricultural products that could be used for food, while human beings go hungry.

Turkey's "deep state" runs into shallow water

After revoking a law allowing female students to wear headscarves on university campuses last month, Turkey's Constitutional Court is now examining a case which could ban the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) on charges that it is undermining the country's secular system.

On Thursday, the AKP presented its final defense to the Constitutional Court before the 11 judges who are to determine the verdict.

These moves are undermining the democratization process in a country which is seeking to join the European Union and which the West regards as a model of democracy for Muslim states in general and Middle Eastern countries in particular.

These actions also run contrary to the aspirations of the Turkish people, who overwhelmingly voted for the AKP in two successive elections in 2002 and 2007, despite the fact that in last year's election the opposition launched a massive propaganda campaign against the AKP which accused it of attempting to undermine the secular system.

Under the AKP, Turkey has made great strides both at home and abroad. The AKP has brought economic prosperity, reduced unemployment, tamed inflation, provided more political freedom, and, more importantly, established political stability after years of tumultuous political uncertainty.

It has brought Turkey closer to European Union accession and raised the country's profile in the international arena by adopting a more independent foreign policy and assuming the role of troubleshooter in the Middle East conflict through its mediation in talks between Syria and Israel.

If the opposition forces are not just jealous of the AKP's achievements and are really progressive, as they claim to be, they should try to integrate the country into the community of democratic states and should not violate the human rights and hinder the education of female university students who have voluntarily decided to wear the headscarf.

The opposition should wait and try their luck in the next election since their efforts to turn the clock back will get them nowhere. The only reasonable course of action is to allow Turkey to proceed along the path of democratization. Any detour from this path would set the country back years, diminish its international status, and harm Turkish citizens' sense of national pride.

North Korea's recent decision to destroy a cooling tower at the Yongbyon nuclear plant, which is located 103 kilometers north of Pyongyang, gave the U.S. media a pretext to step up its propaganda campaign against Iran's peaceful nuclear activities.

Although Pyongyang acknowledged that its nuclear activities have had military applications in the past, Western media outlets are illogically comparing Iran's nuclear program to North Korea's. The demolition of a part of the North Korean nuclear facility, which was a result of the efforts of the West's anti-Pyongyang lobby, has been in the headlines for the past couple of days.

Even though North Korea destroyed the cooling tower before the eyes of the world, the United States is still expressing concern and has called on Pyongyang to destroy all its nuclear facilities. Given that North Korea has made this decision to serve its own national interests, the same approach cannot be used for other countries.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is determined to access nuclear technology to meet its need for energy, not to produce nuclear weapons.

Tehran's nuclear activities are being conducted within the framework of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and its additional protocol and safeguards agreement. In addition, the International Atomic Energy Agency has repeatedly confirmed the peaceful nature of Iran's program during its numerous inspections of the country's nuclear facilities.

Iran and North Korea are very different from the geopolitical standpoint.

North Korea can follow South Korea's model and can adopt the policies necessary to reduce foreign pressure.

Meanwhile, the media of the United States and the other 5+1 group countries (Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and China) will find they have made a big mistake if they try to use the North Korean prescription for Iran.

The Islamic Republic is a signatory to the NPT but North Korea withdrew from the treaty in 2003 and did not allow IAEA inspectors to visit its nuclear facilities from 2002 to 2007.

On the other hand, the UN nuclear watchdog has conducted over 4000 man-hours of inspections of Iranian nuclear installations over the past five years.

Pyongyang had a clandestine nuclear program, unlike Iran, which never conducted such activities and has even allowed foreign reporters to make videos of its nuclear facilities and report on its nuclear program.

Western media outlets have intensified their propaganda campaign against the Islamic Republic, although Tehran has repeatedly stated that it will never bow to the pressure to relinquish its inalienable right to access civilian nuclear energy.

Unfortunately, the Western media, which are being fed information by the think tanks of the Zionist lobby, are conducting a psychological operation against Iran but turning a blind eye to the threat posed by the Zionist regime's nuclear arsenal.

The Zionist regime, which has a stockpile of 250 nuclear warheads, is threatening the Middle East's security, but the Western media and the IAEA are ignoring this fact.

Iran will not fall into the trap that is being set. Iranian officials are carefully monitoring the West's new propaganda campaign, which intends to draw a comparison between Iran and North Korea, and believe it is part of a new plot to increase pressure on Iran and undermine its national interests.

Earlier this month, that part of humanity that respects its own freedom and dignity was a witness to an impending conclusion of a unilateral 'security' agreement between the U.S., the sole author of this forced concession, and the Iraqi government.

The one-sided accord is an example of colonial rule and a pseudo-legal foundation for the extension of the violent U.S. occupation of that country. By means of this so-called treaty, with no time and space limitations, George W. Bush's Washington intends to disguise its ugly and brutal treatment of the people of Iraq with a veneer of legality, such that in the eyes of the least-informed American people, and some of the European members of the UN Security Council, the presence of the U.S. military machine in Iraq and the Persian Gulf region would not be construed as an indefinite continuation of the U.S. military occupation. Furthermore, the agreement would probably be exploited to serve as a basis for using Iraq's territory as a launch pad for more wars against regional countries.

Meanwhile, in talks with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Tehran in early June, Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei made his rejection of this proposed 'security pact' clear by stating that "occupiers who interfere in Iraq's affairs through their military and security might" are the main cause of Iraq's problems and are the "...main obstacle in the way of the Iraqi nation's progress and prosperity."

Clearly, there is no doubt that the continued aggression of U.S. forces in Iraq should not be tolerated by the Iranian people.

Some years ago, when the early draft version of today's pact was in its infancy, the nationalist forces and religious leaders of Iraq were led to believe that signing the agreement would sooner or later lead to U.S. troop withdrawal and Iraq's independence. But today that presumption has been turned on its head and it has become transparent to everyone that the U.S. objective is to pull the noose tight and attain the position of the permanent hangman of modern history. Today some Iraqi officials are trying to convince the Iraqi and Arab popular masses that the agreement will result in the invalidation of paragraph seven of the UN resolution on Iraq that made the U.S. the guarantor of Iraq's security until the end of this year.

At the same time as this hoax is being pushed, the U.S., by attempting to depict Iran as a serious threat in the Persian Gulf region, is making every effort to define the agreement between Washington and Baghdad as a means to maintain Iraq's security as a shield against Iranian interference in Iraq and the region. What hypocrisy: the invader of Iraq and Afghanistan claims to be an agent of peace and security!

This agreement imposes capitulation on Iraq for decades to come. It is revealing that the details of the 'agreement' have not been made public or grasped by the people of Iraq, who will have very little say in the matter and that is why the package is being furiously pushed through the Iraqi Parliament before its terms are thoroughly exposed. This so-called 'security agreement' could more correctly be called 'The Legitimization of America's Occupation of Iraq'. According to some reliable Iraqi sources, the agreement does not assure Iraq's independence, national integrity, and national sovereignty as an inalienable right.

The empire also has to deal with its own American public, which is war-weary and demanding an end to the occupation. The intent of the Bush administration is to blur the differences between the Democratic and Republican candidates on the question of

immediate troop withdrawal. Should the White House be able to impose such an enslaving order on the people of Iraq, the chance of Senator McCain's election improves, while the lot of Senator Barack Obama plummets. It seems tricky George has a card up his sleeve for stealing yet another election.

Once again, the sorcerer in the White House is orchestrating another fabrication. If the current administration can pull this off, they intend to proclaim to the American people that the Iraqi people have agreed to the continuation of the U.S. occupation of their country and "want us to stay to protect them."

On the other side of this cruel and long occupation stands a fighting force, led by Moqtada al-Sadr, who announced and called for widespread demonstrations against the disreputable and colonial infliction. Responding to the call on Friday, June 1, 2008, hundreds of thousands of indignant and offended Iraqis poured into the streets of all major cities and their reaction was a clear refutation of George W. Bush's plot: they burned American flags in the hundreds.

Should this Washington document between the invader and the invaded succeed, it would be a clear violation of the national sovereignty of Iraq, to say the least. Meanwhile, the U.S. will continue to plunder Iraq's natural resources and subject its labor force to the most dehumanizing exploitation and degradation.

The patriotic forces, first and foremost the laboring people's movement, led by Moqtada al-Sadr, along with other nationalist organizations, have expressed their outrage over such an agreement, which would capitulate their country's independence to an occupying power. Nevertheless, some Iraqi officials speak in favor of signing the agreement. A draft of this 'agreement' emerged for the first time in 2006. It was meant to serve as a legal document legitimizing the crimes committed by individual U.S. servicemen and contract mercenaries (Blackwater comes to mind) against Iraqi citizens with no involvement in the national conflict. The document deprives the Iraqi state apparatus of the right to arrest or prosecute any American involved in service to the occupation, even when he or she commits crimes not related to the U.S. war effort. In the last quarter of 2007, the Bush administration once again brought the issue of the 'agreement' forward for discussion in the Iraqi Parliament. It could safely be said with a high degree of certainty that, for a long time, the U.S. has not been a country that is able to convince other nations to follow its path to peace, democracy and lasting prosperity, the way it has been showcased by an army of advertisers promoting the old cliché of American exceptionalism. In the minds of the overwhelming majority of humanity, including the nations of Western Europe that the U.S. has for almost a century taken for granted, the U.S. socioeconomic system has increasingly become a symbol of violence and fraud. The history of the last half century in particular brilliantly shows that the U.S. has been synonymous with wars, killings, palace coups, threats of annihilation, strangulating sanctions, and false allegations about many countries and nations on earth. Iraq and Afghanistan are only the latest examples.

U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's unannounced trip to Lebanon and her talks with the leaders of the March 14 group can only mean that the United States is attempting to undermine the Doha agreement.

The Lebanese media described Rice's visit as a trip "for sedition" and said that it was meant to strengthen the March 14 group and weaken the March 8 group.

Reports suggest that the U.S. secretary of state handed new Lebanese President Michel Suleiman the names of five political figures to be given key ministerial posts in the cabinet of Prime Minister Fouad Siniora.

And indeed, it does seem that Rice is trying to ensure that pro-U.S. figures are placed in key ministries before the final configuration of the new cabinet is agreed upon.

Moreover, in her meeting with the leaders of the March 14 group, Rice emphasized the necessity of implementing UN Resolution 1701 and disarming Lebanon's Islamic resistance, even though the Doha agreement does not call for disarmament.

Rice's visit to occupied Palestine and Lebanon shows that once again Washington is seeking to increase tension in the region and create a chasm between the political groups in Lebanon and Palestine in order to make up for the fact that it lost face in the region after Israel was defeated in the 33-day war.

The U.S. secretary of state's trip to occupied Palestine came just after Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's cabinet announced it would be implementing its decision to build 2100 new Jewish settlements in East Beit-ul-Moqaddas (East Jerusalem) and the West Bank.

The construction of the new settlements is part of the project to Judaize Palestine through gradually expanding Jewish housing units and expelling the Palestinians who live in the territories occupied in 1948.

The project was made public when U.S. President George W. Bush visited occupied Palestine in May on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Zionist regime and he openly declared his support for the plan at the time.

And now, with Olmert in trouble due to his economic corruption scandal, it is believed that Rice only traveled to the region to show that the U.S. supports the Israeli prime minister's policies.

Rice was clearly trying to convince the Zionist lobby to support Republican candidate John McCain in the U.S. presidential election, and her trip to occupied Palestine was only meant for domestic consumption as part of the campaign process.

In her visit, Rice was ostensibly trying to promote the peace process but offered no solutions to the problem of the besieged Gaza Strip residents and only expressed regret over the continuation of settlement construction.

The U.S. secretary of state's 17th trip to occupied Palestine since 2005 did not benefit the Palestinians at all but only served Olmert's interests since it helped his efforts to reduce the political pressure being imposed on him by his opponents in the Labor, Kadima, and Likud parties.

Rice's trip, which may be her last visit to the region, greatly disappointed Palestinian Authority leaders because it made them feel the United States is not interested in ending the crises in the Middle East and U.S. officials are only concerned about maintaining the Zionist regime's security. Surely, under such circumstances, the leaders of Hamas and Fatah have realized that Palestinians have no choice but to rely on themselves. And their recent effort to resolve their differences is a sign of this new approach.

If Palestinian leaders stop relying on the West's deceptive proposals and begin utilizing their own potential, their hand will be strengthened at the negotiating table and their national unity will be enhanced, which will help them respond to the Zionist regime's pressure and threats.



Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Shaul Mofaz's recent threats to bomb Iranian nuclear facilities show that the Zionist regime is still the main threat to regional peace and security. In a recent interview with Yediot Ahronot, Mofaz claimed that the economic sanctions imposed on Iran are not effective enough and that the Islamic Republic's nuclear activities should be halted through aerial bombardment.

The threat is quite hypocritical, since the Zionist regime itself has a stockpile of over 250 nuclear warheads.

In addition, the Israeli nuclear weapons program's 11 facilities produce about 30 tons of nuclear waste annually, a situation which could lead to an environmental catastrophe in the region.

And the Zionist regime refuses to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, despite the insistence by all Muslim states that it do so.

With a green light from the United States, Israeli warplanes bombed Iraq's Osirak nuclear facility in 1981 and bombed a former military base in Syria last September.

And now, the silence of the UN Security Council and the international community has emboldened the leaders of the Zionist regime to continue issuing threats and given them the impression that they have even been given carte blanche to resort to military action to attain their nefarious goals.

The Zionist regime and the Jewish lobby have launched an intensive media campaign against Iran which is meant to raise doubts about the peaceful nature of Tehran's nuclear program, despite the fact that Iran has proved that it does not have a nuclear weapons program through its constructive cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Meanwhile, the U.S. and France, two allies of the Zionist regime, have been signing multibillion-dollar agreements with certain regional countries over the past year for the construction of nuclear facilities, but these two countries have been pressuring Iran to halt its uranium enrichment program.

The international community should respond to Shaul Mofaz's blatant military threats against Iran, which fly in the face of international law.

The Zionist regime, which has violated established international law by occupying other countries' territory, should also be held accountable for its military threats against independent countries.

Although these threats clearly show that Israel is still raising tension in the region, the Zionist regime is in no position to take military action against Iran or any other regional country.

Israel's defeat in the 33-day war against Lebanon in 2006 shattered the Zionist military's myth of invincibility and shifted the balance of power in the region. In light of all this, and with the U.S. bogged down in the Iraq quagmire, it is obvious that the Zionist regime will collapse if it tries to overplay its hand through an act of military adventurism.

Taking Iran's military might and the new geopolitical situation into consideration, Zionist officials should reassess their policy and realize that Israel can no longer attain its goals thorough military action

The government's decision to resume granting loans will surely increase the already high liquidity, which has been cited as the main cause of Iran's high inflation.

The decision was made after Central Bank Governor Tahmasb Mazaheri was forced to resign because he was not able to convince the administration's economic team to review their decision to withdraw more money from the Forex Fund to provide loans.

Mazaheri warned that withdrawing more money from the Forex Fund would lead to another increase in annual budget expenses and additional pressure on banks to provide more loans than they can afford, which will exhaust their reserves again.

A return to the failed expansionary monetary policy is not advisable, especially since the country is still experiencing its adverse effects.

If liquidity, which has increased by over 100 percent in the past three years, was a panacea, there would be no need for the new Central Bank governor to now call for the withdrawal of 15 billion dollars from the Forex Fund to provide money to banks so they can make more loans.

This process has only made the Iranian economy more dependent on oil revenues, which will seriously damage the economy, especially now that oil prices have fallen sharply.

According to official statistics, during the current Iranian calendar year (ends March 20, 2009), government expenditures are projected to be almost equal to the foreign exchange revenues from oil sales.

Economists say that greater liquidity does not lead to greater production or the creation of jobs.

The Iranian economy is suffering from structural and managerial problems. In a healthy economy, the revenues gained from economic activities should automatically produce an increase in production activities, but nowadays many of Iran's state-run companies do not expand their activities until they receive more oil money.

If the president's new economic team ignores the views of experts, the economy will experience more inflation, and the administration will find itself even farther away from its original goal of increasing the purchasing power of people with lower incomes.

Poverty and the law of unintended consequences

Runaway inflation has unnerved minds and made the poor poorer and the rich richer. In fact, the administration's well-intentioned but incompetently executed plan to introduce an economic policy to increase the purchasing power of the poor and the lower middle class has had the opposite result.

The Central Bank of Iran announced that inflation had hit 18.4 percent at the end of the last Iranian calendar year (March 2007-March 2008). In addition, the central bank recently said that during the Iranian calendar month of Farvardin (March 20-April 19) inflation was 24.2 percent higher than it was in the same month last year.

However, some economic experts dispute the figure and say inflation is even higher than the central bank's estimates.

For example, house and rental prices have increased unbelievably, imposing an unbearable burden on people with limited means.

Now the administration and Majlis are accusing each other of being responsible for the rampant inflation. However, an unbiased examination of the matter shows that the administration and Majlis are both responsible for the current situation to varying degrees.

Shrugging off warnings by a few lawmakers that the approval of expansionary national budget bills would lead to high inflation, the majority of MPs voted in favor of the bills and consequent amendments to withdraw money from the Foreign Exchange Reserve Fund to compensate for budget deficits and to finance new projects.

Most legislators were unaware of the inflationary consequences of such bills and even boasted about the close cooperation between the Majlis and the administration.

But now, after nearly three years of trial and error, Majlis Speaker Gholam-Ali Haddad-Adel says, "We should be careful and acknowledge the absolute principles of economics in approving laws" on the national budget and for withdrawals of funds from the Foreign Exchange Reserve Fund and use the "results of the past two to three years as a guiding light for the future."

However, now it has become clear to all that massive liquidity and constant rises in government expenditures are the driving forces behind inflation.

All this occurred because the billions of dollars that poured into Iran's coffers due to the unprecedented oil prices of the past few years were converted into rials and injected into the economy.

To create more jobs, the banks started providing easy loans, but the money was channeled into speculative real estate and commercial activities rather than production activities, which drove prices up.

Now, after so much trial and error, every government body is making suggestions about how to control inflation.

Directing liquidity toward production activities, increasing privatization of state-run companies, decreasing government expenditures, and encouraging the central bank to adopt a deflationary monetary policy — which it has recently put into practice -- are some of the proposals that have been made.

However, the result has been that the poor have become poorer and the rich richer. According to the latest reports, 35 percent of Iranians are living below the poverty line.

It has been estimated that 29.4 percent of Iranians were living below the poverty line in 2004, 31.9 percent in 2005, 33.6 percent in 2006, and 35 percent in 2007, which is an unacceptable increase in the number of families who have been added to the sea of poor people.

Israel snubs Hamas ceasefire proposal

Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak's insistence on continuing the confrontation with Hamas and his rejection of the recent ceasefire proposal prove that the Zionist regime is still following a warmongering policy and wants to continue massacring the innocent people of Gaza.

Through Egyptian mediation, 11 Palestinian factions recently arrived at an agreement to establish a ceasefire with Israel, but it seems the Zionist regime is opposed to any plan that could bring about the establishment of peace in occupied Palestine.

Zionist officials apparently believe that the proposal is a sign of the weakness of the jihadi movements, and especially Hamas, and that the Israeli army should take advantage of the group's compromised situation and destroy Hamas.

Israel has imposed an economic siege on Gaza for over ten months and is implementing its expansionist plans in the region through the recent brutal attacks on the city.

The Zionist regime is attempting to give the impression that it seeks peace by sending peace proposals to Syria, while at the same time it is trying to alter the demography of Palestine through the bombardments of Gaza.

It seems that Israel plans to escalate its air strikes in order to force the residents of the Gaza Strip to migrate to the West Bank and Rafah, Egypt so that the Palestinian Authority government can gain control of all the territories occupied in 1967.

In their new plan, the Zionists intend to expel the Palestinians who live in the territories occupied in 1948 as part of the project to Judaize Palestine.

The current global political climate, the silence of international organizations, and the presidential election campaign in the United States have made Israel even more determined to implement such plans.

The Democratic and Republican presidential candidates' competition for the support of the Zionist lobby gives Zionist regime officials the opportunity to demand more ransom for their backing.

Israeli officials are currently pursuing a carrot-and-stick policy in the region. On the one hand, they claim to be prepared to negotiate with Syria, but on the other hand, they refuse to accept the Palestinian groups' ceasefire proposal.

Surely, if the Zionist regime continues committing war crimes in Palestine, the jihadi movements will adopt the measures necessary to save the lives of the Gazans, and this will cause an escalation of the violence in the occupied territories.

It has been reported that the Oil Ministry wants its employees to be exempted from the much-awaited Majlis bill which requires all employees of government ministries, organizations, and companies to be paid equally.

The unconfirmed reports came as Deputy Oil Minister Ali Kordan claimed that the president has ordered that wages for Oil Ministry employees should be paid based on the current regulations, which provide a special exemption for them.

Though no judgment should be made until the veracity of such a claim is established, the fact that the wages of Oil Ministry staff have been much higher than employees in other sectors for many years is not only “unacceptable” it is also “unjustified”.

In addition, Kordan has asked for a 20 percent wage increase for Oil Ministry employees, a figure higher than the sum approved by parliament for the current Iranian calendar year of 1387, which began on March 20.

Moreover, when the Majlis was studying the bill on equal payment for state employees, Oil Ministry officials even put a great deal of pressure on lawmakers to provide the ministry an exemption.

Some oil and gas industry staff work in difficult conditions, such as the extreme heat of certain regions of southern Iran, and it is natural that they should be paid more. The Majlis bill also states that those who work under such conditions should receive additional hardship wages.

However, providing higher salaries to Oil Ministry staff who work under the same conditions as employees in other jobs would give the appearance of “discrimination” between government employees.

The Majlis approved the equal payment law six months ago, but the administration has refused to implement it, even though they know that this is sure to be interpreted as a continuation of the discrimination in payment, which contradicts the slogans about justice so often voiced by the administration and parliament.

Any higher wages should be based on employees’ skills and seniority.

If Oil Ministry employees are paid more than others, it would give the impression that some individuals are entitled to a greater share of oil revenues just because they work for the Oil Ministry.

U.S. dissension plot unfolds in Iraq

The conflict pitting Moqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army against U.S. and Iraqi government forces shows that the occupiers seek to create a new crisis for the government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki by turning the Shias against each other.

The clashes began about a month ago when, provoked by the U.S. occupiers, Iraqi government forces tried to disarm the followers of Moqtada al-Sadr in Basra, without taking heed of their influential role in maintaining security in Baghdad's Sadr City district, Karbala, Najaf, and southern Iraq.

The Iraqi government is insisting that the Mahdi Army disarm while at the same time the United States has trained and armed thousands of forces of the Awakening Councils in western Iraq.

These forces, which are remnants of Iraq's Baathist regime and former agents of Al-Qaeda, adopted the suspect tactics of cutting relations with all terrorist groups and engaging in political-military activities.

The sudden appearance of the Awakening Councils in the political-military arena indicates that efforts are being made to recreate the situation that existed before the fall of the Baath regime on April 9, 2003, when most Iraqis were excluded from the circles of power.

The U.S. occupying forces' strategy of strengthening one group and disarming another shows that they are trying to instigate a clash between the Shia militia and the Iraqi government so that the other group can insidiously come to power.

Iraq's Arab neighbors, which are seeking to weaken the Maliki government, are playing a significant role in this process. But their implicit condition for helping establish security in Iraq is that the clock be turned back to the Baathist era before 2003, when the decision-making process was in the hands of a small minority.

Moreover, disregarding the consequences of following the dangerous plans of the United States and certain Arab countries that are under U.S. pressure, the Iraqi government is trying to disarm the Mahdi Army, even though the group has a strong popular base in the poor neighborhoods of Iraq.

The occupying forces also believe that disarming the Mahdi Army will eventually reduce Iran's alleged political influence over the country, apparently oblivious of the fact that Iran's strong ties with the Iraqi nation are based on religious affinities.

Although the occupying forces' moves to redesign the political and social structure of Iraq are in line with the objectives of regional Arab regimes, the U.S. will never attain its goal in Iraq through force.

It will be impossible to establish security in the country unless the occupiers unconditionally withdraw from Iraqi territory, responsibility for national security is handed over to the Iraqi government, and a national dialogue between the government and various political groups is initiated.

### The Iranophobia plan

The top U.S. officials in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, the commander of U.S. troops in the country, and U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker, told Senate committees on April 8 that Iranian agents and weapons were fueling the ongoing strife there and that further U.S. troop withdrawals would have to wait.

Petraeus recommended that troop withdrawals from Iraq be paused for 45 days after July when U.S. forces in Iraq will be reduced to 140,000 and U.S. President George W. Bush accepted this recommendation on April 10, saying Petraeus will “have all the time he needs.”

Iran, Petraeus told the Senate Armed Services Committee, has “fueled the recent violence in a particularly damaging way through its lethal support of the special groups.”

All this is clearly meant to undermine relations between Iran and Iraq, but what are the United States’ ulterior motives?

On close inspection, one notices that U.S. officials are repeatedly making statements like: these “special groups” are “funded, trained, armed and directed by Iran...” or “It was these groups that launched Iranian rockets and mortar rounds at Iraq’s seat of government (the Green Zone)... causing loss of innocent life and fear in the capital.”

There is not very much talk of Al-Qaeda anymore, as if the terrorist arch-villains have lost their cachet and another boogeyman needs to be created.

In January, when a U.S. Navy vessel and Iranian speedboats were involved in an incident in the Strait of Hormuz, Iran said that there was nothing unusual about the episode since the Iranian sailors were just conducting a routine procedure.

But the U. S. called it a “provocative” action and the U.S. propaganda machine did its best to show that it was “a pretty aggressive” incident.

After that incident, Bush claimed in Abu Dhabi that Iran is threatening the security of the world and that the U.S. and Arab allies must join together to confront the danger “before it’s too late”.

These tactics are just one part of a larger U.S. plan meant to show that Iran remains a threat, despite the U.S. National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) report of December 2007, which said Iran has no nuclear weapons program.

U.S. officials have admitted that the Islamic Republic’s power has risen in the Middle East region to the point where it cannot be threatened easily by military strikes or economic sanctions.

Hence, they have turned to more Machiavellian maneuvers to give the impression that Iran is a dangerous threat that should be reined in.

Along these lines, the U.S. has devised an Iranophobia plan to frighten other countries, especially Iran’s neighbors.

However, Iran’s Arab neighbors have come to the conclusion that they should engage Iran in a peaceful manner in order to avoid discord in the region.

If Washington manages to convince Iran’s oil-rich Arab neighbors that the Islamic Republic poses “a threat to world peace”, it can kill three birds with one stone.

First of all, it would be able to strike lucrative arms deals with these Arab countries to recover the petrodollars which are currently flowing into their coffers due to record oil prices.

Secondly, it would provide a good pretext for the United States to maintain a military presence in the region since the argument that U.S. troops are fighting Al-Qaeda and other

terrorists does not hold water any more.

Thirdly, it could compel Iran to enter into an arms race with its neighbors in the volatile region.

It appears that Washington's Iranophobia plan is being implemented to trick Tehran into ruining its national economy through exorbitant military expenditures that would bankrupt the country, which is the same strategy they used to undermine the Soviet Union.

Thus, Iranians should be aware of the traps that are being set.

To thwart the U.S. plot, Iran should step up its foreign policy activities in order to boost its relations with all friendly countries, especially European Union members.

At this critical juncture, Iranian officials should seize the opportunity to show the world the country's true face by inviting the leaders of important countries to visit the Islamic Republic and also traveling to their countries.

Iran can also attract tourists from around the world by investing in the tourism sector and

eliminating unnecessary restrictions.

In addition, the Iranian government should make efforts to raise the standard of living so its enemies have fewer pretexts to criticize the country.

Moreover, the parliament should pass laws to increase investment security and facilitate foreign investment to boost the economy.

By doing all this, Iran could show the world that it is not the hostile country the U.S. is trying to depict it as.

The more Iran constructively interacts with other countries in the political, cultural, and economic spheres, the more its status will rise in the international arena, and the Iranophobia plan will fall flat.



The Zionist regime's army started a new round of assaults against the Gaza Strip on Friday, killing and wounding several Palestinians, while the international community, and most conspicuously Arab leaders, remained silent.

The occupiers of the Palestinian territories savagely attacked the Gaza strip after a five-day war games exercise but immediately pulled back afterwards.

Since the Israeli army did not gain sufficient preparedness through the war games, Zionist officials are trying to compensate by implementing a strategy of quick attack and withdrawal.

The Gaza Strip poses less of a security threat than other regions close to Israel, such as Lebanon and Syria, and thus it is viewed as the best place for the army to test its capabilities.

Continuous attacks on the Gaza Strip exacerbate the dispute among Palestinians over whether to call a truce with the Zionist regime, which is favorable for Israel.

Since the extraordinary Palestinian attack on the Nahal Oz crossing in the northeastern Gaza Strip, Israeli army commanders have felt the pressure of public opinion.

In the operation, members of various Palestinian movements broke the siege of Gaza, entered the occupied region of Nahal Oz, and killed two Israelis.

In response, the Zionist army has decided to massacre Palestinian civilians in order to regain public approval and eliminate the pressure caused by their military blunder.

The Zionist regime is also trying to discourage Gaza Strip residents about the future to turn them against the Islamic resistance movement Hamas.

The Israeli army is aware that occupying the region or staying in the Gaza Strip for a long time would be a security nightmare, thus, in order to avoid casualties from rockets launched by the Palestinian resistance forces or martyrdom-seeking operations, they withdrew from the Gaza Strip after the assault.

In the Israeli army commanders' viewpoint, this tactic puts pressure on the resistance movement and also prevents instigation of a protracted war with Hamas. In order to avoid such a war, Israel agreed to withdraw from the Gaza Strip in August 2005 after 38 years of occupation.

Zionist officials are preparing to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the occupation of Palestine, or, as they put it, the 60th anniversary of the establishment of Israel. Some world leaders, like U.S. President George W. Bush and French President Nicolas Sarkozy, plan to attend the event, so they are trying to prevent actions which would influence world public opinion.

However, it seems that Tel Aviv is uncertain about how it should respond to the Palestinian resistance.

On the one hand, the Zionist regime wants to keep the atmosphere calm for the celebration so that it can invite its special guests, but on the other hand it is under public pressure over its inability to keep the Palestinian forces in check.

The confusion has increased in recent years as Israel was forced to pull out from the Gaza Strip in 2005 and did not accomplish its goal in the 2006 Lebanon war.

Yet, the portentous silence of Arab leaders in the face of Israel's continuous attacks on the Palestinians has only encouraged the Zionists to commit more war crimes.

Most Arab leaders have refrained from condemning the Zionist regime's crimes out of fear that such action would harm their relations with the United States, and they are well aware that Washington wants them to have close ties with Israel.

Provocative war games

Israel has launched a provocative five-day war games exercise near its borders with Lebanon and Syria. There is no doubt that the war games are a consequence of the war of summer 2006, in which the Israeli army suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Hezbollah resistance forces and more than one million Israeli citizens were driven out of their homes, a defeat whose repercussions are still being felt.

This move is very suspicious, especially the decision to conduct simulated air attacks on cities. Does Israel want to boost the morale of its military, which was called the “mightiest” in the Middle East, or is it preparing for a new war against Hezbollah or Syria?

“Israel is preparing for a war,” Israeli Knesset member Tulb Al Sane’e told the UAE’s Gulf News. “The military leaders aim to restore respect for the Israeli army.”

“There is no doubt that these drills come in preparation for something huge. No one knows what the nature of this thing is, but the Israeli army has been training around the clock to significantly improve its attack and defense techniques for the near future,” Alun Bin Ami, a military analyst for Israel’s Channel 10, told Gulf News.

Israel occupied Lebanese territory for over 20 years and Israel launched a massive air and ground attack on the tiny Lebanese state in 2006, in which it suffered a massive setback, so do the Zionists want to try their luck again?

Even though the Israeli prime minister has said there is no reason for Lebanon to interpret the war games as a prelude to war, this move has raised suspicions in regional countries, which are well aware of the evil nature of the Zionist regime.

The only upholder of human rights in the Mideast!

Western countries, particularly the United States, claim Israel is the only “democratic” country in the Middle East and the only one observing “human rights”.

Israel showed the world its “respect” for human rights over the past few days as its troops killed over 100 civilians in the Gaza Strip, including four young boys who were playing football and an infant.

Israel’s observation of human rights is as strong as its “love” for peace.

Immediately after the Annapolis conference last November, Israel ordered the construction of more settlements in the West Bank, and while President George W. Bush was still in the Middle East, the Zionist regime started bombing Gaza. After a few days, all food, medicine, and electricity supplies to Gaza were cut -- after Bush gave Israel the green light, according to many analysts.

Israel’s deputy “defense” minister warned on Friday that the Palestinians would bring on themselves a “bigger shoah” -- using the Hebrew word usually reserved for the Holocaust. Jews -- of all people -- should not be using the word holocaust in their threats.

Israelis, who are always saying that they have been the victim of a holocaust, who are still receiving reparations from Germany after six decades, and who have made it a taboo to question the magnitude of the Holocaust -- punishable by the law in some countries -- are now threatening the Palestinians with a holocaust.

Of course, conscientious people know that the Palestinians have been the victims of ethnic cleansing and racial persecution for 60 years, which is a much longer time than the Jews suffered during World War II.

Israel’s massacre of the Palestinians can be regarded as a present to Condoleezza Rice, who was visiting the region. Rice has also said Israel has the right to “defend” itself and her country calls it the only country in the Middle East which is democratic and observes human rights.

This Orwellian doublespeak is outrageous, but the fact that most of the world seems to be practicing doublethink in order to believe it is even more outrageous.