Metaphor, culture and conceptual systems:

A case study of sex metaphors

in a Hong Kong Chinese newspaper

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Metaphor, culture and conceptual systems are having a tri-directional relationship with each other. Besides responding to the world views and behaviors of a culture, metaphors also influence one’s conceptual systems. It is thus possible for journalists to transport their preferable conceptual models to the readers’ minds by repeating particular metaphors in their articles. By conducting a small scale research on one of the major local newspapers in Hong Kong, i.e. Oriental daily, two Chinese culture related sex metaphors, i.e. Sex is war; Sex is eating, will be discussed in the paper showing how journalists use those metaphors affects reader’s conceptual systems and eventually influences readers’ beliefs and behaviors.
1. Introduction

The literal meaning of a word is its meaning found in a dictionary (Thornborrow and Wareing, 1998). The literal meaning of the word madness, for instance, is “a state of being insane”, as defined by the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary. Nevertheless, once the word madness is used in the context of describing love, it is no longer the literal madness as we thought, but instead it carries a figurative meaning. Being the receivers of expressions like “she is crazy about him”, people are able to understand the figurative meaning connoted by the word crazy as both the actual representation of crazy/madness and its usage for describing love share similar qualities. Here, the sentence love is madness is regarded as a metaphor.

Metaphor “is a significant part of people’s everyday conceptual systems” (Gibbs and Steen, 1999: 2, as quoted in Liu, 2002) upon which people think and act (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). That is because the metaphorical nature of concepts “would structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3). Although the conceptual systems play a significant role in defining our everyday realities, we are not normally aware of the systems (ibid.) as we may just think and act automatically along certain embedded concepts. Since the use of metaphors is popular in our daily communications, and due to the fact that metaphors both reflect and shape people’s conceptual systems (systems based on which people think and act) (Liu, 2002), people’s shared beliefs or behaviors can be revealed by carefully looking at the metaphorical linguistic expressions used in their culture.

Focusing on the use of sex metaphors in a local Chinese newspaper, this paper aims at identifying the most frequent metaphors used, examining the relationship of the sex metaphors and Chinese culture, as well as how these metaphors influence the targeted readers’ beliefs and behaviors. Before this analysis, the concept of metaphor and its relations with culture and conceptual system will be briefly discussed.

2. More about metaphors

Metaphor is a Greek word meaning “transport”. It is a linguistic process of transporting a concept from a conceptual domain, where it is usually located, to
another conceptual domain, where it is not usually found, creating correspondences in the world which did not exist before and allowing new meanings to occur (Thornborrow and Wareing, 1998). Using the mnemonics along the line of “TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN”, Lakoff (as quoted in Charteris-Black, 2004: 13, 14) suggests new meanings are achieved through a mapping from the concrete source domain to the abstract target domain in the conceptual system.

Charteris-Black (2004: 8) suggests that metaphors have roles in semantics, stylistics, and pragmatics. Semantically, metaphors extend the lexical resources of the linguistic system to adjust the change of the conceptual system. Stylistically, metaphors provide resources for conveying authorial evaluation. Pragmatically, metaphors reveal the language choices used for realizing particular intentions within a particular space and time.

3. Relationship of metaphor, culture and conceptual systems

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 22) claim that “the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture”\(^1\). Attributed to the divergences in life experience as other cultural bounded variations (Liu, 2002; Kövecses, 2006), it is expected that the choice of specific metaphors for defining the realities varies culturally\(^2\). Since successful communication requires a shared conceptual system between the speaker/writer and the listener/reader (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), it is sometimes difficult for someone who does not belong to an established community to understand a metaphor of that community (Liu, 2002; see also Lau this volume).

Take Liu’s study (2002) for example. The frequent metaphorical use of sports jargons in the American language has a close relationship with American culture. Extensive research appears to suggest that Americans are obsessed with sports. Americans inherently match and integrate sports’ spirit with their life, including politics, business, or even personal relationships. Due to its extensiveness and intensity, this kind of SPORTS metaphor has become a dominant metaphor in America. And such views

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\(^1\) Jakoff and Johnson’s (1980) claim does not mean that all values in a culture will coincide with the metaphorical system. They only claim that those deeply entrenched cultural values are consistent with the metaphorical system.

\(^2\) As shown by Kövecses (2006: 163), metaphors vary not only cross-culturally but also within cultures.
reflect and reinforce Americans’ competitive and aggressive attitudes towards the world and life.

The issue of metaphor and culture assures the chicken-egg relation of thought, language and culture of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis\(^3\) (Lan, 1994), in which the elements in the trichotomy are interrelated. Being “a theoretical statement concerning the cultural implications of linguistic difference” (Damen, 1987, as quoted in Lan, 1994), the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis comes in a strong and weak version (Kövecses, 2006):

**Linguistic determinism:** the language we use *determines* how we experience/perceive the world.

**Linguistic relativity:** the language we use *influences* how we experience/perceive the world.

Though language determinism, the stronger version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, has not been sufficiently proved, linguistic relativity has been considered as more acceptable. It is believed that language habits of a group, like the choice of metaphors in a culture, would unconsciously respond to and at the same time affect one’s world views and behaviors (or one’s conceptual systems) (Sapir, 1929, as quoted in Whorf, 2001; Lan, 1994).

4. **A case study of sex metaphors in a local newspaper**

4.1 **Source of data**

*Oriental Daily* has one of the largest market shares in the Hong Kong newspaper industry. The newspaper provides daily coverage of various kinds of news reports. There are several pages designed for male adults which provide sexual articles and obscene pictures.

Sex is perceived as a taboo in the traditional Chinese culture. Even though Hong Kong people’s attitudes towards sex have become more liberal in recent decades,

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\(^3\) The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, or simply the Whorfian hypothesis, is named after the American linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf.
many of them are still conservative about sex and not likely to talk about it publicly. In addition, as Oriental Daily like any other newspapers is under the regulation of the Control of Obscene and Indecent Articles Ordinance (enacted by Hong Kong Government in 1987), sexual topics are not described directly in the newspaper. Journalists thus would make use of metaphors and euphemistic figurative language which plays a crucial role in the manipulation of the taboo referent (Fernández, 2008) to present sex. With the understanding of the figurative meanings connoted in the metaphors used on the adult pages, readers may find some of the sex metaphors are quite indecent or obscene, which may be a bit difficult for some readers to accept.

In order to examine the relations of sex metaphors used on the adult pages and Chinese culture, as well as how these metaphors influence readers’ beliefs and behaviors, a small-scale research was done on the newspaper. In the research, 17 articles published on five different dates in February/March, 2008 were collected from the adult pages in Oriental Daily. These 17 articles were chosen as they all contain at least one sex metaphor. The contents of the articles are about sharing the experience of visiting prostitutes, introduction of prostitutes or amorous products, description of prostitution industries in different countries, question and answer section of sex problems and suggestions about sex for couples. Language used in these articles is the unofficial written form of Cantonese which resembles the spoken pronunciation of Cantonese.

4.2 Results and discussion

Of all the examples of sex metaphors identified in the 17 articles, sex is mainly presented as war and eating. The remaining examples include various metaphors with infrequent occurrences in the articles. This confirms the fact that any single idea can be explained by a number of metaphorical expressions (Charteris-Black, 2004), which allows the transfer of meaning from different source domains to a specific target domain.

Four infrequent metaphors in the articles are illustrated as examples. (Grammatical abbreviations used in the morpheme to morpheme translation: PRT = particle, CL = classifier, ASP = aspect marker, COM = complement marker.)
4.2.1 *SEX IS HUNTING*

4.2.1.1

Northern European visitors go-to *find-flowers* *hunt-beauty!*

Northern European visitors are going to *look for flowers* and *hunt beauty!*

(Mar 2, 2008 a)

4.2.1.2

See ASP they *hunt-catch* opposite sex PRT speed and focus PRT position

Let’s take a look at their speed and position of focus when they *hunt and catch* the opposite sex.

(Mar 11, 2008 d)

The *HUNTING* metaphor sees sex partners as animal or prey. It incorporates the features of hard work, which includes the efforts of seeking and getting someone to have sex (Kyratzis, 2007).

4.2.2 *SEX IS DOING A NAUGHTY THING*

4.2.2.1

I also like PRT with boyfriend *naughty* before have a tongue-fight

I also like to have a tongue-fight with my boyfriend before we have a *naughty* thing.

(Mar 2, 2008 e)

People having sex are portrayed as children who have done something naughty and not creditable. The *SEX IS DOING A NAUGHTY THING* metaphor activates readers’ innate rebellious characters to challenge the social norms.

4.2.3 *SEX IS A GAME*

4.2.3.1

Otherwise only make sex-thing become boring-*game* one CL

Otherwise sex will become a boring *game*.

(Mar 2, 2008 c)
Very often, the contents of the articles on adult pages are about sharing the experience of visiting prostitutes and introduction of prostitutes. Shaping sex as a game would arouse readers’ interest towards sex, the meaning of having fun would be transported to the sex domain. This GAME metaphor lowers readers’ senses that they may need to take the responsibility after having sex, for instance, readers may hurt their spouses’ feeling if they go visiting the prostitutes.

4.2.4 SEXUAL ENJOYMENT / SEX IS FIRE

4.2.4.1

重燃 佢地 既 性樂趣
Re-burn they PRT sex-pleasure
Re-burn their sexual enjoyment
(Mar 2, 2008 f)

喺 床上 真 係 好 難 擦 出 火花
In bed-on really is very difficult rub-COM sparks
It is really very difficult to have sparks in bed.
(Mar 2, 2008 c)

The FIRE metaphor structures sex or sexual enjoyment as fire which induces readers’ passion to have intimate relationships with others.

The subsequent section is going to put the focus on discussing two metaphors, SEX IS WAR and SEX IS EATING, as they have higher frequencies of occurrences in the articles collected. Besides identifying these two metaphors, their relationship with culture, as well as how the way they influence the readers’ minds will also be examined in detail.

4.2.5 SEX IS WAR

In the data, having sex is frequently alternated with linguistic expressions from the domain of war, such as “開戰” (morpheme to morpheme translation: start-war) and “肉搏” (meat-fight). Applying the idea of metaphor being a kind of “transport” (Thornborrow and Wareing, 1998), these expressions have been “transported” to the context of sex in the articles. Accordingly, the selection of these linguistic expressions implies a semantic conceptualization of SEX IS WAR, reflecting that sex is systematically conceptualized in terms of war or fight.
This sex-as-war metaphor can be extended by mapping the corresponding elements in both domains. Here in these articles, men and women, (generally) the two parties involving in sex, are regarded as opposing fighters. Their desires towards having sex are considered as their willpowers to fight in a war. Persons who can have long-lasting sex are fighters with endurance in fighting. Various stages in the course of sex are also regarded as individual battles, for example kissing is expressed as “舌戰” (tongue-fight). Persons who sexually dominate in bed are seen as conquerors in wars. Below are the examples of different expressions:

4.2.5.1

跟 客人 在 儲物室 既 暗角 開戰
With guest in store-room PRT ark-corner start war
Starting war with a guest in a dark corner of the store room
(Feb 17, 2008 a)

4.2.5.2

就算 肉搏 之後 仍然 難 捨 對方 既 嘴唇 啦
Even meat-fight after still difficult forget partner PRT lips PRT
Even after meat-fighting, it is still difficult to forget the partner’s lips.
(Mar 2, 2008 c)

4.2.5.3

又或者 轉換 做愛 場地 必定 令 對手 戰意 上升
Or change make-love place must make partner fight-willpower rise
It must arouse the partner’s willpower to fight if we change the places for making love.
(Mar 2, 2008 c)

4.2.5.4

有 耐戰力 者 才 會 成為 她們的心上人
Have endurance in fighting will become their lovers.
(Mar 15, 2008 a)
4.2.5.5
我 都 鐘意 嗜 同 男友 曳曳 前 嗜 個 舌戰
I also like PRT with boyfriend naughty before have a tongue-fight
I also like to have a tongue-fight with my boyfriend before we have a naughty thing. (Mar 2, 2008 e)

4.2.5.6
亦 可以 講 係 「床上霸主」
Also can tell is “bed-over-self-proclaimed-conqueror”
You can also tell [they] are the conqueror in bed. (Mar 2, 2008 c)

Chinese, especially men, are still deeply rooted in their traditional cultural belief that males should take the leading roles in the patriarchy society, while females would take the subordinate roles. Males often have the desire to dominate females as supported by some feminist theories which state that males have an innate impulse to subjugate those who are different from them, including females (Humm, 1995). War metaphors often function as masculinization device as suggested by Koller (2004) and backed up by Fleischmann and Wilson (1992, as quoted in Koller, 2004), since war is still dominated by males and so is considered as a typical male activity (ibid.). Under the influence of war metaphors on the adult pages targeting male readers, readers would subliminally conceptualize sex in terms of war, which in turn influences the shape of sex they perceive, the way they talk about and what they do about sex (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Owing to the fact that the metaphorical concept of war metaphors helps to portray a male sexual domination, readers’ senses of maleness as well as a predominantly male culture would be strengthened (Wilson, 1992, as quoted in Koller, 2004), which further evokes their masculine patterns of behavior (Kuster, 1978, as quoted in Koller, 2004). Masculine attributes like aggressiveness and competitiveness may thus be transported to the conceptual model of sex by the articles. Highlighting these attributes in a sex relationship, people may be concerned about who will be the winner as they demarcate their sex partners as their enemy (as in data 4.2.5.6 above). They may then lose sight of the cooperative and mutual aspects of having sex, and hide the loving essence of the relationship.

In comparison with the American culture, the WAR metaphors are not very typical for the sex domain; instead Americans often like to use SPORTS metaphors, like baseball and football, to talk about sexual intimacy achieved in intimate relationships (Markovits and Hellermann, 2001). BASEBALL metaphors are particularly common)
and many entries under the domain of baseball are linked to the domain of sex in the Urban Dictionary. But as mentioned in the previous section, SPORTS metaphors also highlight the aggressive and competitive attitudes as WAR metaphors do.

4.2.6 SEX IS EATING

Jameson (1986, as quoted in Lan, 1994: 79) observed that “the very rich Chinese vocabulary for sexual matters is extraordinarily intertwined with the language of eating”. His observation also coincides with the findings here. In the data of this research, the sex domain is frequently expressed through terms from the domain of eating, such as “揾食” (morpheme to morpheme translation: find-eat). By “transporting” these expressions to the context of sex in the articles, a semantic conceptualization of SEX IS EATING is implied, reflecting that sex is systematically conceptualized in terms of eating.

Sex is a comprehensive and holistic thing, the sense of taste is always involved: although persons are not literally eating, functions of the mouth and tongue overlap. Since “eating” could not be avoided in sex, it is believed that SEX IS EATING could be a metonymy which is the use of an entity to refer to another that is related to it (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Especially the examples 4.2.6.4 and 4.2.6.5 about the eating manner and the aftertaste could probably be metonymical, if, for instance, example 4.2.6.4 involves oral sex and example 4.2.6.5 implies the taste of the kiss still lingers on or the taste of oral sex. The judgment of whether SEX IS EATING is a metaphor and metonymy is difficult. It does not only depend on the context and the possibility of various sex-practices involved, but also depends on the separation of the senses. At least in Western society, smell is separated from taste, touch from hearing, etc., while, in reality, they are all interwoven. Thus, this gives rise to a fact that it is not always easy to decide whether something is a metaphor or a metonymy. Since the contexts in the articles of this research are implicit in sense, it is not easy to tell whether the examples are metaphoric or metonymic. But based on examples 4.2.6.1, 4.2.6.2, 4.2.6.3 and 4.2.6.6, they do show the sense of metaphorical usage of eating and food, so for the sake of discussion, SEX IS EATING is still considered as metaphor, at least to some extent, in this paper.

4 The Urban Dictionary is a web-based dictionary of slangs with words and definitions submitted by millions of users. Times Magazine called it one of the 50 best websites of 2008, and said that it is a good tool to know and keep up with the American street lingo. Aaron Peckham compiled two book form dictionaries with selections of definitions from the Urban Dictionary in 2005 and 2007.
This **SEX IS EATING** metaphor can be extended by mapping the corresponding elements in both domains. Here in these articles, persons who take the initiative to look for their sex partners are considered as looking for food to eat (*find-eat*), while the passive sex partners are the food which can be classified as different kinds of dishes based on the persons’ characteristics. Someone having a love affair or even having a sexual relationship with others besides his/her spouse is described as eating secretly. The manner of having sex can be regarded as the manner of eating. The feelings towards the moment of having sex are the different aftertastes after eating different foods. Anyone who is fond of sex is described as having a salty (or salty-wet) personality. Below are the examples of different expressions:

### 4.2.6.1

**今日** 她 会 **请假** 出 来 **揾食** 因为 有 **好多** **单身** 男人 喔 **呢** **啲** 日子 **会** **寂寞** 难 **耐**

Today she will ask for a leave going out to find-eat, because many single men will be fed up with loneliness.

(Feb 21, 2008 a)

### 4.2.6.2

即使 **〔她们〕** 知道 **老公** **出外** **偷食** 都 **不会** **哼** **一** **句**

Even if they know their husbands have secretly eaten something from outside, they will not say a word.

(Mar 15, 2008 d)

### 4.2.6.3

虽然 **日本** **AV** 有 **黑** **眼睛** **黄** **皮** **膚** **睇** 起 **黎** **有** **种** 投入 **感** **但** **係** **食** **慣** **日本** **菜** **間** **中** **試** **吓** **西** **餐** **轉換** **一** **下** **口味** 可以 **有** **新** **鮮** **感**

Even though Japan Adult Video have black-eye yellow-skin watch COM PAR have CL involvement-sense, but is eat-familiar *Japanese-food* sometimes try ASP Western meal change one COM oral-taste can have fresh-feeling
Even though there are black eyes and yellow skins in Japanese Adult Videos which give a sense of involvement, if [we] can try having Western meals sometimes and change [our] inclinations in taste, [we] would have a feeling of refreshing as [we] are familiar with Japanese food.

(Mar 11, 2008 a)

4.2.6.4

They though skin PRT not smooth but body-smell-assails-nostril have a CL brand-new feeling most [people] also turn-up big-thumb happy-big-chew

Even if their...skins are not smooth, but …their bodies smell good with a brand new feeling, most people would put their thumb up, and gobble down happily.

(Mar 11, 2008 a)

4.2.6.5

……and actively bring me to store-room vicinity start war now think COM also aftertaste-endless PRT

……and took the initiative to bring me near to the store room to start war, the aftertaste is still being called to the mind.

(Mar 17, 2008 a)

4.2.6.6

In fact most men are salty-wet, this is also true for women.

(Mar 11, 2008 d)

Besides the findings in the data, the metaphor of Body parts are food is also very common in Cantonese. For example, nipples as “提子” (grapes), female’s breasts as “砵仔糕” (tapioca pudding) or “木瓜” (papaya) according to their sizes, female genitals as “鮑魚” (abalone), penis as “蕉” (banana) or “腸仔” (sausage) and etc. And these kinds of food metaphor, as suggested by Lan (1994), are very often employed in the context of sex in Chinese.
Observations show that the eating metaphors (and food metaphors) occur extensively in the Chinese or Cantonese language, which proves that eating is a dominant source domain in Chinese. The reason probably has a close connection with Chinese culture. In traditional Chinese culture, eating is considered as the most important thing in life as supported by the old Chinese saying “民以食為天” (morpheme to morpheme translation: people-with-eating-as-sky) (Lan, 1994). This old saying is “directly associated with the deeply rooted Chinese philosophy or worldview of “天人合一” (morpheme to morpheme translation: sky-people-mix-one; paraphrase: mix the sky and people together and become one entity)” (Lan, 1994: 90), in which the Chinese have a high regard for the sky and want to exist together with the sky. In this sense, “民以食為天” (literal translation: people-with-eating-as-sky) could be interpreted as “to the people, food is as important as the sky”, and people need to eat for the sky if the sky and people are to be one entity (ibid.). Very often, people treat food as gift from the sky and use it as ritual sacrifice in the Chinese culture of worship, (ibid.). Thus, the Chinese would consider anything that is important as eating/food, and treasure and enjoy it as they do with eating/food. Employing eating metaphors in the context of sex of the adult pages, the concepts in the eating domain are transported to a conceptual model of sex in readers’ minds. Readers would regard sex as important as eating; and further, they might regard sex as necessary as eating for human life since according to Confucius’ (a Chinese philosopher) teachings of “食色性也” (morpheme to morpheme translation: eat-sex-nature-PRT), both having sex and having food (eating) are the natural instincts of a person.

Under the influence of the EATING metaphors on the adult pages, readers would automatically conceptualize sex in terms of eating which in turn influences the shape of sex they perceive, the way they talk about it and what they do about sex (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). As EATING metaphors highlight the treasurable, enjoyable, important, and necessary aspects of eating, readers may only focus on these aspects about sex, and may hide the loving essence of a relationship as war metaphors do.

It is noted that even though EATING metaphor is not a dominant metaphor in American English (Liu, 2002), eating metaphors are also employed by Americans in the sex domain (Fernández, 2008). This observation suggests that metaphors are often culture specific, but not necessarily cultural exclusive (Liu, 2002). Examples of eating expressions used in the sex domain in American English include hunger, craving, appetite, eating, nibbling, licking, sucking, swallowing, biting, devouring, gobbling,
stuffing, feasting, etc. Moreover, the BODY IS DESSERT/WOMEN ARE DESSERT metaphors are also used by Americans to talk about sex, such as penis as lollipop, women as cookie\(^5\), women as cheesecake (Fernández, 2008). It seems that sex is perceived as more pleasurable in the American culture (at least for males) as the “foods” in their EATING/FOOD metaphors are mainly appetizing foods like desserts or snacks, while EATING/FOOD metaphors in the Chinese culture shape sex primarily as necessity for human life.

5. Conclusion

Metaphor is a figurative usage of language which is pervasive in almost every kind of discourse in our daily life. With the central notion of transporting, meanings are transported from a concrete source domain to an abstract target domain, thereby developing a new conceptual framework that reflects a particular explanation in the particular space and time. Metaphor is important for reflecting and shaping people’s conceptual systems in terms of what people think and have thereby act. Thus, metaphorical linguistic expressions can be used as a means to study people’s conceptual system.

Focusing on the use of sex metaphors on the adult pages in Oriental Daily, this paper has identified various metaphors used to describe sex. Of all the metaphors in the data, SEX IS WAR and SEX IS EATING are the two most frequent metaphors. In examining the relationship between the two kinds of metaphors and Chinese culture, the data has proved that metaphors are culture-specific. The SEX IS WAR metaphors are related to the desire of male domination in a patriarchy society like Chinese; the SEX IS EATING metaphors are related to the traditional worldview in which both eating and sex are important and necessary in human life. More specifically, this paper has illustrated that these two kinds of metaphors have shaped people’s conceptual systems, i.e. the SEX IS WAR metaphors have transported the concept of male domination, masculine attitudes of aggressiveness and competitiveness to the sex domain, while the SEX IS EATING metaphors have transported the senses of importance and biological necessity to the sex domain. With these constant influences, people’s conceptual systems will

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\(^5\) “Words like cookie or cheesecake, says Hines (2000: 146), are included in a conceptualization equating women-as-sex-objects with desserts that “reduces women to the status of objects, with the attendant implications of powerlessness, inanimacy and procurability” (Fernández, 2008: 99). WOMEN ARE DESSERT metaphors thus portray a female subordination; in other words, they promote male domination as war metaphors do.
A case study of sex metaphors

Accordingly affect people’s beliefs and behaviors, supporting Lakoff & Johnson’s idea that receivers of a metaphor would structure, understand, perform, and talk about the target domain in terms of the source domain.

Favouring a particular metaphor in discourse, as suggested by Koller (2004: 2), “journalists can define a topic, argue for that conceptualization and persuade readers to share in their metaphor”. Seeing that male adults are the targeted readers of the adult pages in Oriental Daily, shaping sex as a normal and important necessity for human life, as well as persuading male sexual domination and aggressive competition towards sex, the journalists seem to aim to persuade the male readers to be aggressive towards the necessity of sex. Consequently, the reader’s desire for reading the adult pages will be aroused, showing that, in this case, the choice of metaphors may allow the journalists to promote the sales of the newspaper, and allowed them to further increase profit by attracting advertisements.

This paper is only based on a very small-scale research by collecting 17 articles published on five different dates on the adult pages of one local newspaper, so the findings of this paper may just partially represent the realities. Further large-scale research is needed in order to support and test the findings.

References


