

“Two-valued and Multi-valued Orientation in the American Press”

A contrastive linguistic study of American quality newspapers and tabloids

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Denne oppgaven fokuserer på språklige nyanserte og unyanserte uttryksmåter hos tabloidaviser og kvalitetsaviser i USA. Denne oppgaven har som mål å svare på følgende problemstillinger: Er språkbruken mer unyansert i amerikanske tabloidaviser enn i amerikanske kvalitetsaviser? Viser språkbruken i kvalitetsavisene en mer nyansert uttryksmåte enn språket i amerikanske tabloidaviser? For å kunne utforske måtene å uttrykke nyansert og unyanserte uttryksmåter er det blitt anvendt kategorier av verbale uttrykk. For å undersøke unyanserte uttryksmåter, inkluderer kategoriene preposisjoner, ord assosiert med essensialisme, korrelative konjunksjoner, pronomer og antonymer. Når det gjelder nyanserte uttryksmåter, inneholder kategoriene dating, kvalifiserte vilkår, persepsjon og ord forbundet med nøling. Materialet er hentet fra to amerikanske tabloidaviser og to amerikanske kvalitetsaviser. Fokuset blir holdt på dekningen av den pågående syriakonflikten i August 2013. Ifølge de oppnådde resultatene virket forskjellene relativt små, selv om språkbruken i de valgte kvalitetsavisene viste mindre tendenser til unyanserte uttryksmåter. Denne lille forskjellen kan imidlertid indikere en knapp tendens mot mer unyanserte uttryksmåter i språkbruken hos tabloidavisene. Med hensyn til nyanserte uttryksmåter viser ikke resultatene noen konkluderende bevis for at språkbruken i kvalitetsavisene viser mer nyanserte uttryksmåter. Språkbruken i tabloidavisene viser derimot betydelig bruk av unyanserte uttryksmåter.

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Abbreviations

ART= Article

CC= Correlative conjunctions

DN = The Daily News

GS = General Semantics

MVO = Multi-valued orientation

NPT = Newspaper title

NYP = The New York Post

NYT = The New York Times

TVO = Two-valued orientation

WC = Word-count

WAVE = Words associated with Essentialism

WEH = Words expressing hesitation

WP = The Washington Post

“There are two ways to slide easily through life: namely, to believe everything, or to doubt everything; both ways save us from thinking” (Alfred Korzybski 1950:4).

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Topic and aim

The general topic selected for this thesis is two-valued and multi-valued orientation in the American press. Having been introduced to the topic of language, peace and conflict at the university, I took an interest in the concepts of two-valued and multi-valued orientation. The two concepts seemed to play a significant role in how language can contribute to conflict, resolve conflict and promote peace.

The term *two-valued orientation* was taken up and elaborated by Alfred Korzybski, a scholar who developed the field of general semantics. In his major work, *Science and Sanity*, which was first published in 1933¹, he explained how language functions like a map. He argued that as maps are a simplification of territory, similarly language simplifies reality. He had great interest in humanity and put a lot of effort into finding answers to questions such as ‘what makes humans human?’ and studied the notion of time-binding, i.e., as we humans can use language and other symbols, we have the capability to chart our past and present knowledge and experiences, during the passage of time, and project it into future. He devoted the next years of his life to studying how humans bind time (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

Korzybski raised concerns regarding the long-lasting influence of Aristotelian logic on language use, which lays the foundation for two-valued orientation. Two-valued orientation is a concept, according to which, the world is comprised of opposites. This is a view that a lot of people still hold on the world and this view reveals itself through language when for instance statements such as: ‘I am right and everybody else is wrong’ are used.

After Korzybski, there have been other scholars who tried to raise our awareness regarding how language should be used to achieve cooperation and understanding rather than confrontation and conflict. Hayakawa (1990) argues that two-valued orientation increases the combativeness and diminishes the ability to evaluate the world accurately. Therefore, action resulting from two-valued orientation does not achieve the objective. Tannen (1999) portrayed how as a result of two-valued orientation an adversarial frame of mind dominates the American society. She criticizes the war like atmosphere in different aspects of the society, in particular in politics and in the media, where issues are framed in terms of two opposing sides.

¹ In this thesis the 1994 version of the book is referred to.

There are several problems pointed out regarding a two-valued approach towards language use. The primary problem is that two-valued orientation promotes the view that everything exists in opposites. To see everything in terms of only two values leads to a drastic simplification of reality. As it was mentioned earlier that language simplifies reality, it is important to point out here that the fundamental problem with two-valued orientation is that it takes the simplification of reality to an extreme. We tend to think what is not good must be bad and what is not bad must be good. Therefore, two-valued orientation restricts the choice to only 'either...or' by discarding any other alternative. In terms of a continuum, two-valued orientation is about the two extreme ends. In other words, instead of a scale of values only the absolutes are considered. Thus, it offers no flexibility, and, instead, it fosters rigidity. Since two-valued orientation gives a simple solution to evaluation, it may be easily adopted by many. Within a broader context, when communication in the society is entangled with two-valued orientation, it often leads to gridlocks and conflict.

Korzybski's efforts in bringing light to the fallacies of the language, led to laying the foundations for the concept of multi-valued orientation. The early step taken towards multi-valued orientation was the formulation of *Structural differential* by Korzybski (1994), which was pursued by Hayakawa (1990) who later developed what he called the *ladder of abstraction*. Promoting the knowledge of abstraction was aimed by Korzybski and later by other scientist to show that language does not adequately represent the non-static world we live in. Multi-valued orientation, therefore, may be considered an approach to reduce the fallacies of language and make adjustments to language so that it is more consistent with the non-verbal world (Johnson 1946). In order to this, there were suggestions put forward by some scientists in the field of General Semantics (GS).

Johnson (1946) was one of the GS scholars who emphasized the importance of *extensionalization*. A good example of extensional orientation as he argued is the language of science where one encounters less abstract words and more facts. Lee (1994) brought the misleading functions of the verb *to be* to attention and explained how these functions can be avoided. Multi-valued orientation, as Hayakawa (1990) argued, can also be regarded as the ability to see things in terms of more than two-values. In other words, in a multi-valued approach one sees solutions, decisions etc. not just in terms of right or wrong but one also sees them in terms of fairly wrong or partly right. Thus, adopting a multi-valued orientation leads to more flexibility and more constructive communication. Multi-valued orientation, therefore, better represents the complexity of the world as well as it leads to peace and cooperation rather than conflict.

Given the fact that newspapers are an important communication tool in the society and can influence public opinion, this thesis aims to investigate the concepts of two-valued and multi-valued orientation in the language of the press. As Tannen (1999) pointed out how the American society is dominated by the adversarial frame of mind, the U.S. press seemed to be an apt choice. Thus, this paper will conduct a comparative study to find out whether the language of tabloids illustrates more two-valued orientation than the language of the quality newspapers. As tabloid journalism is partially overheated and oriented towards sensationalism and scandal, it is probable that there is a difference, with regard to the expression of two-valued orientation and multi-valued orientation, between the language of tabloids and quality newspapers.

1.2 The structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into 5 chapters. After the introduction, the chapter regarding the theoretical background follows. It includes 11 main sections regarding theories and previous studies essential and relevant to understanding and investigating the topic of this thesis. The chapter includes the following sections: tabloid and quality journalism, two-valued orientation and the complexity of the world, two-valued orientation in politics, words, the verb ‘to be’, categorization, prototype and checklist theory, from essentialism to two-valued orientation, two-valued orientation in practice, multi-valued orientation and multi-valued orientation in practice. At the end of the chapter an overview of the theoretical background is also incorporated. These sections lay out the linguistic and non-linguistic components related to two-valued and multi-valued orientation. In the third chapter, after introducing the hypotheses and the research questions, the data and the method used for analyzing the data is explained. The fourth chapter presents the results in two main sections named tabloids and the quality newspapers. The fifth chapter includes the discussion of the results with regard to the hypotheses and the research questions. The fifth chapter also includes the concluding remarks where the results are summed up and the limitations of this study are explained and the additional suggestions for further research are made.

2 THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Tabloid and quality journalism

We as the readers of newspapers, tend to readily assume that the events reported in the papers are faithful descriptions of what happened ‘out there’ in the world which is beyond our direct experience. There are a lot of events which happen in different corners of the world; however, not everything that happens is reported. The events are subject to a conventional process of selection. Different newspapers report differently in terms of both content and the overall presentation of the news. The selection process and the presentation of the news are mainly influenced by political, economic and social factors. There are different points of view regarding the issue of ‘bias’ in newspapers. The attitude of some people towards it might be that in a democratic country the free press should put forwards various points of views (Fowler 1991).

The issues of bias and ideology in newspapers have been debated by many in different ways. However, what is important to point out here is the factors which give the press the importance in mediating ideology. That is the scale of publication and the success of sales and distribution. Newspapers are part of the mass media that are able to convey their message simultaneously to millions of people. Another factor is the economic and political aspect of the newspaper industry for which newspapers are very important in mediating ideas from particular perspectives. Therefore, the discourse of the press similar to all other discourses relates to its institutional and economic position (Fowler 1991).

In many Western countries there is a wide variety of newspapers with a vast circulation number and due to many encouraging factors such as having to wait in a waiting room or traveling to work on a train, reading newspapers is a popular habit. In America for instance, after the social and economic developments in nineteenth century, a new form of journalism emerged which is referred to as ‘new journalism’. An important part of new journalism’s appeal was directed towards the interest of people. In order to do this, new journalism had to become closely identified, in its rhetoric, with the interests of the ordinary working masses (Conboy 2002).

Evolved from new journalism, ‘tabloid journalism’ in America was inspired by tabloids in Great Britain. Tabloid journalism was successful not simply because of its development of technology in illustrating the news, but in how it resonated with the aspirations of ordinary people and keeping in close touch with popular ideology and emotional reactions (Conboy 2002). Tabloid journalism emphasizes the personal, the sensational and the dramatic. In

addition, street literature, oral gossip and rumor all contribute to the development of the news. Besides the supermarket tabloid press, the newsstand tabloid press, for instance, has a strong agenda of scandal, sports and entertainment. They do, however, have some elements of the news value of the serious press (Sparks & Tullach 2000).

There are criticisms aimed at tabloid journalism. For instance, among academic commentators there is agreement with critical journalists that tabloids can provide fuel for populism (Sparks & Tullach 2000). There is also the view on tabloid journalism that it lowers the standards of public discourse. These criticisms are not aimed only at tabloid press, but the word *tabloidization* is often used to describe all journalism which shows the characteristics of tabloid journalism (Örnebring & Jönsson 2007). Tabloidization implies that there is a process of change going on through which serious news media 'goes tabloid'. Other critics of tabloids claim that the aim of serious journalism is to facilitate political involvement and democratic participation, whereas tabloid journalism facilitates private enjoyment and pleasure (Sparks & Tullach 2000).

In contrast to the criticisms, there are also arguments made in favor of tabloid journalism. There are claims that tabloid journalism is a matter of rehabilitating popular taste against the disparagement of the educated and powerful. In this view, the news value and practices of the serious press reinforce the domination of a social elite and their control of legitimate meanings and interpretations (Sparks & Tullach 2000). There is also the view that tabloids as an *alternative* to the *serious press* have managed to attract the public by talking about issues that had been previously ignored (Örnebring & Jönsson 2007).

Alongside the debates about tabloid journalism, tabloids still have their mass audience. The news audience is drawn more to lively, dramatic, human interest stories than to news about political and economic issues. Quality U.S. newspapers sometimes plunge into the competition, which was demonstrated in the saturation coverage of the death of Princess Diana and the sex scandal involving President Clinton and Monika Lewinsky. Although the taste for sensational news is clear, the public is torn between that taste and the perception that the press should be more than amusing story telling (Sparks & Tullach 2000).

What differentiates quality journalism? The quality of the news and newspapers may be measured by many factors. One of the chief factors which stand for quality in reporting news is *objectivity*. For more than 150 years, journalists have asserted their ability to see the world clearly and to be *objective*. It seems that objectivity is often defined as a lack of bias and avoiding the influence of party affiliations in reporting the news and a lack of sensationalism. In journalism textbooks objectivity is strictly encouraged (Mindich 1998). There are some

main components defined as essential to objective reporting. *Detachment* as the first component requires journalists to make sure that the facts are talking and not to involve their own preconceived notions in the news. The second component, *nonpartisanship*, requires the reporters to consider and cover different sides to each story. The third component concerns the style of writing and is referred to as *inverted pyramid*. This style of writing allows the reader to access the important facts in the lead paragraph. The next component is referred to as *naive empiricism* which refers to relying on facts to report accurately the truth or the reality of the events (Mindich 1998).

Although objectivity is still considered as a significant principle of journalism, it has been challenged by criticisms aimed at it since the second half of the nineteenth century. It was argued by many that the newspapers while free to be politically oriented they can distinguish between comments, facts and conjectures. Alongside the criticism, journalism was transformed from only reporting the events into a profession. In other words, journalists' job underwent a change from *an independent interpreter of events* to *brokers* in symbols who mediated between audience and institutions. Therefore, one could argue that the political, public, institutional and economic affiliations of newspapers may interfere with objectivity (Mindich 1998).

Journalism, may it be tabloid or quality journalism, is a filter through which we get our second-hand knowledge about the events around the world. Reality, however, is a big thing and we cannot grasp it all. Therefore, we should not expect newspapers to give us the world. What they offer is not reality but what they do is mediate between *out there* and *in here*. Although objectivity does not lead to absolute accuracy in rendering reality, it is a principle through which reporting news can be brought closer to the reality of the events. Therefore, the quality of the newspaper could be measured by the extent to which they bring their reports to reality (Mindich 1998).

2.2 Two-valued orientation and the complexity of the world

‘There are always two sides to every story.’ This commonly used expression indicates the assumption that every story has only two sides, and that is permanent. Using expressions such as the one mentioned here shows that we have a tendency to think in opposites. We also assume that anything that is not right must be wrong. This bipolarity, which permeates languages, is referred to as two-valued orientation. The concept of two-valued orientation can be traced back to ancient Greece (Hayakawa 1990). Aristotle's observation of language led to the formulation of laws which continue to influence language for years to come:

Aristotle ... observed the language structure of his time. From his observations he derived his logic, what comes to be known as the “laws of thought”. His influence remains far-reaching because his work was viewed not only as descriptive of the structure of Indo-European Greek, but also as prescriptive; not only the way things ‘are’ but the way they will and should be ‘for all’ time (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011:130).

Aristotle proposed that anything must either be a particular category or class of thing or not be that thing. In other words, anything is either A or not A. This law is known as the ‘law of excluded middle’. Another law formulated by him, known as the ‘law of non-contradiction’, suggests that something cannot be both A and not A. In other words, something cannot be both a member of a category and not be a member of category (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

These laws lead to misvaluation as well as misunderstandings in language. They simplify reality by dividing the complex world we live in, into bipolar lexical items. For instance, the ‘law of excluded middle’ allows no compromise. According to this law, if a football game is ‘good’ it cannot be ‘bad’. But in reality ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are mixed and we should not force them into such simplistic categories.

The ‘law of non-contradiction’ also simplifies reality in a similar way. According to this law, nothing can be both ‘good’ and ‘bad’. However, in reality things can share both elements of ‘goodness’ and ‘badness’ (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011). As mentioned above, this type of categorizing is very simplistic and does not adequately represent the reality. These laws have laid the foundation for two-valued orientation in language, which I will discuss in more details in the later sections. Their influence on language has led to abundant two-valuedness. The following is an instance of two-valued orientation in language.

[1] Charles Lamb: There are two races of men: the borrowers and the lenders (Lee 1994:101).

Two-valued orientation exhibits strict divisions, rigid classifications and sharp distinctions. However, the world we live in is more complex and the rigid classifications cannot adequately represent this complexity. We need to see the non-verbal world as a continuum; when we strictly divide the world into twos, we are at the extreme ends of the continuum. In this world, men are not ‘absolutely’ borrowers or they are not ‘solely’ lenders; they lend or borrow to some degree. Some lend more and some lend less. By dividing the race of men into ‘the borrowers’ and ‘the lenders’, with certainty, we simplify the reality to a great degree.

Another significant instance of two-valued orientation is the ordinary logic of arithmetic. According to the logic of arithmetic, two plus two is four. This is the only right answer and any other answer is wrong. What we do here is claim the word ‘two’ and ‘two’ equal the word ‘four’. We may be certain about the answer when we apply mathematics

without any connection to tangible reality. So, up to this point the two-valued orientation is legitimate. However, in terms of the non-verbal world 'two' may refer to anything. For instance, two pens plus two trees equals neither four trees nor four pens. We cannot be certain about what these numbers and laws refer to in terms of tangible reality. Therefore, it is at very abstract levels, with almost no connection to tangible reality, that two valued orientation and certainty prevail (Janicki 2010).

Without the awareness needed to face the complexity of the world, people tend to be more responsive to a two-valued view of the world. Since the view is oversimplified, it is also easier for many to submit to it. Some seem to think that a bipolar view is the right and only view of the world. As certainty is an integral part of two-valued orientation, people who are two-value oriented often show certainty about their statements. Therefore, they are less willing to accept other views or opinions. As two-valued orientation leaves no space for a middle ground, it raises the possibility of conflict. When we read the papers, we often come across abundant instances of political conflicts. This is due to the fact that the political discourse is often two-valued. There are even bipolar political systems such as that of the U.S., where two-valued orientation often leads to conflict. In the following section I will further discuss the role of two-valued orientation in politics. There is interplay between politics and the press which makes the latter very important since it is a way by which politicians communicate policies, agendas etc. to the people of their country. The press is also a platform where criticism can be expressed about politician and their policies.

Journalism, however, plays a key role in fostering two-valued orientation. The newspaper industry feeds on two-valued orientation. Reporters of the news are used to the concept of friction, the bipolarity in language, which puts the West 'against' the East, capitalism 'against' communism, etc. (Janicki 2010). As the newspapers we read have a direct effect on the public opinion, we should be aware of what they present us with. As readers, we must realize that a black and white view of the world, which is a product of two-valued orientation, is extremely simplified and therefore far away from reality.

2.3 Two-valued orientation in politics

As mentioned in the last section, political discourse is where two valued orientation is often evident. History shows that language has been used by some politicians to fulfill their political agenda, which has often led to conflicts. There are many historical examples, where bipolar opposition has led to tragic results (Bugarski 2009).

In periods of political conflict, there is a lot of aggression and evasiveness in the discourse of the sides of the conflict. This aggression is often directed at the ‘assumed’ enemy. When defending one’s position, some politicians tend to take an evasive approach. In other words, they try to present themselves as the ‘good guys’, and the other side as the ‘bad guys’. This is referred to as ‘self-presentation’ and ‘other-presentation’, which is a significant example of two-valued orientation in political discourse (Bugarski 2009).

The abundance of two-valued discourse is especially notable in pre-war speeches and war-time propaganda. The pre-war speeches which are dominated by elements of two-valued orientation are also referred to as ‘hate speech’ (Bugarski 2009). One major example of hate speech is the bitter verbal exchange during the cold war 1947–1991. Through hate speech, in the course of the cold war, each side tried to depict the other side as the evil enemy. As polarizing is an essential element of hate speech, the subject pronouns ‘we’ and ‘they’ were sharply contrasted. For instance, in the armed conflicts, which led to the breaking up of Yugoslavia, the sides of the conflict used bipolarization to demonize each other. The Serbians referred to other Yugoslav people as ‘they’ calling them ‘terrorists’ or ‘traitors’. On the other hand, the Serbs, in a sharp contrast, referred to themselves as ‘patriots’ (Bugarski 2009). As it is evident from the example, there is a bipolar case of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ at work.

As we know, conventional war implies two armies engaged in fighting more or less, face to face, with propaganda of both parties manipulating language in comparable ways, painting a black-and-white picture which extols the good boys on our side while demonizing the bad boys on the opposite camp. Such parallelism was also true of recent warfare in former Yugoslavia (Bugarski 2009:138).

An extreme case of two-valued orientation in politics is illustrated by the actions of the National Socialist Party that formed the Nazi government in Germany. The National Socialists considered themselves as the ‘only’ party that was good for the country. They did not want any other political party to exist. They infused the German people with the idea that they are surrounded by enemies (Hayakawa 1990). The following examples are some of the two-valued orientated statements of the National Socialist Party.

[2] The Nazis said: “whoever is the enemy of National Socialist Party is the enemy of Germany” (Hayakawa 1990:115).

[3] Herr Sauckel, Nazi Governor of Thuringia said: “Discussion of matters affecting our existence and that of the nation must cease altogether. Anyone who dares to question the rightness of the National Socialist outlook will be branded as a traitor” (Hayakawa 1990:115).

There are many instances of two-valued orientation in the statements of the National Socialist party. For instance, the superiority of the Aryan race was carried away to the extent that the Nazi government ordered anybody or anything non-Aryan to be disposed of in the most brutal measures:

The official National Socialist orientation never permitted a relaxation of the two-valued conviction that nothing is too good for the “good,” and nothing is too bad for the “bad,” and *that there is no middle ground*. “Whoever is not for us is against us!” This is the cry of intolerance armed with certainty (Hayakawa 1990:117).

Not only is two-valued orientation evident in political discourse, but also the political system of a country can be extremely two-valued. One example of such political system is that of the U.S. In this political system there are only two parties that compete for presidential power. There is the ‘Republican’ party on one side and the ‘Democrats’ on the other. In this system, especially during the pre-election time, each party tries to influence the public opinion by giving speeches that contain many two-valued statements (Tannen 1999). For instance, Mr. Romney, who ran for president in 2012, in his campaign speech said the following regarding president Obama to the people of Ohio:

His campaign strategy is to smash America apart and then cobble together 51 percent of the pieces. If an American president wins that way, we all lose. But he won’t win that way. America is one Nation under God. American history has been a story of the many becoming one – uniting to preserve liberty, uniting to build the greatest economy in the world, uniting to save the world from unspeakable darkness. (Mitt Romney central, accessed 21 October 2014)

This is an attempt to defeat the opponent party by inducing people with the idea that the other party has been a failure. Voters might be aware that what they are told is not entirely true to facts. They are aware that the Republicans or Democrats both ‘partially’ fulfill their promises and that one party cannot be ‘wholly’ bad or good. However, people have gotten so used to these verbal battles in campaign debates prior to elections that they regard this two-valuedness of political debates as ‘part of the game’, which indicates that two-valued orientation is embedded in American politics (Hayakawa 1990).

American politics is partisan and oppositional by nature. Even the legislative branch is subject to bipolarization. Legislation is proposed, and it is either supported or opposed. Bills, like candidates, are either voted in or voted out. There are people in each party who believe that unless you are in the majority you have no role in the government, except to try to bring down the other party. Thus, bipolarization in the political system of the United States has

caused a lot of conflicts within the government. In a bipolar and divided political structure, agreements can barely be achieved (Tannen 1999).

Two U.S. presidents have been criticized for their call-to-arms approaches to global conflicts. One is President Franklin Roosevelt and the other George W. Bush. Despite anti-war campaigns at home, they managed to persuade the public that the war they planned to launch is legitimate. Research indicates that both presidents have used abundant polarized lexical resource, in their speeches in the period leading up to the war (Oddo 2011).

Two-valued orientation was used in the speeches of the two presidents in different ways. For instance, when representing ‘our’ violent actions, relatively positive or neutral lexical resources are selected. This way, the violence is justified and the destructions and the killings are euphemized. However, when referring to ‘their’ violent actions, more negative lexical items were used (Oddo 2011). The following instances illustrate the use of such bipolarization.

[4] President Bush: “...We are called to defend freedom” (Oddo 2011:295).

[5] President Bush: “Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity” (Oddo 2011:295).

As it is evident in examples [4] and [5], to present ‘our’ action, the word ‘defend’ was used, which invokes positive images in the public mind, while to present ‘their’ actions the word ‘attack’ is used that in a sharp contrast carries a negative charge. Therefore, by this polarization not only is the other side demonized but also in the name of ‘defending’ the country the violent killings by the U.S. army is justified.

Another way that the two presidents have used bipolarity to influence the public opinion is to mark the boundaries of ‘our side’ and ‘their side’. This sharp division can go as far as suggesting that ‘the world’ is on our side. Suggesting that everybody agrees with a decision legitimizes it. Therefore, by representing such a vast majority on ‘our side’ there is little room left for skepticism. The two-valued statement from former U.S President George Bush’s speech in 2001 after the attacks of September 11 illustrates marking the boundaries between ‘our side’ and ‘their side’.

[6] “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists” (The White House, accessed 28 November 2014).

In the following example from Roosevelt’s Navy Day radio address, the president describes the need for military action against Hitler.

[7] President Roosevelt: “The USS KEARY is not just a navy ship, she belongs to every man, woman, and child in this nation. Hitler’s torpedo was directed at every American...” (Oddo 2011:304).

By stating that the navy ship belongs to ‘every’ American, President Roosevelt expanded ‘our side’ to ‘all’ the citizens of America. In addition, he suggested that the attack was not just targeted on the ship but on ‘all Americans’ (Oddo 2011). Therefore, he left little room for skepticism why America should get involved in Second World War.

Two-valued orientation in political discourse, as illustrated by the examples in this section, has very often led to conflicts. It has simplified reality to a degree that there is only win or loss, defeat or victory in the world of politics. The abundance of two-valued orientation in politics can be best seen in bipartisan political systems such as that of the U.S. The foundation of America’s politics is two-valued; the two-party system of the U.S. politics is fraught with internal conflicts. The parties try to defeat each other in general elections. This bipolarity has led the parties to work ‘against’ each other rather than ‘with’ each other. Therefore, we realize that two-valued orientation leads to promoting war culture.

When people get used to approaching the world in an adversarial frame of mind, a war-like atmosphere becomes pervasive. In such atmosphere, anything that one wants to accomplish in everyday life is dealt with as though it were a fight. Therefore, society becomes a battle field in which everyone has to fight for their lives. This approach, however, is regarded by the society to be the best way to get things done. As a result, the best way to discuss an idea is to set up a debate; the best way to cover news is expressing polarized views and presenting them as ‘both sides’. When nearly everything is framed as a battle or a game where winning or losing is the main concern, conflict can hardly be avoided. However, we need to realize that opposition is neither the best way nor the only way to handle issues of everyday life. It only leads to more problems and conflicts (Tannen1999).

2.4 Words

In the last section I discussed how two-valued orientation in political discourse leads to conflict. As words are one of the main elements of language, they are directly involved in its two-valuedness. Therefore, in this section I will discuss misconceptions about words and how they lead to two-valued orientation.

Words may be considered as labels or forms of representation, which are intended to refer to anything that may exist or may be experienced (Lee 1994). In English we choose the

word 'apple' to refer to the fruit in the real world; in other languages people use other words to refer to this fruit such as the word 'سیب' in Farsi. Basically, objects are verbalized by giving them a name. But it is important to know that there is by no means any natural relation between the name and its referent. That is to say, the word 'apple' is not the same as the fruit itself; we can eat 'the real' apple but we cannot eat 'the word' apple (Chase 1966).

There is a distinction between the world of words and the non-verbal world. The 'real' apple we eat is an entity in the non-verbal world. The verbal world, however, is the creation of human beings. We agree what to call the objects and things around us. By giving the name 'apple' to the real fruit in the non-verbal world, the fruit is represented in the verbal world. We live in both of these worlds. But we should note that the universe of discourse is not the universe of our direct experience (Chase 1966).

The verbal world stands in relation to the non-verbal world. This means that words represent what they refer to; just like maps represent the territory. However, the maps do not show us the details of the territory. Instead, they show roads and directions. Similarly, a word does not represent all the details of its referent. For instance, the word 'apple' does not represent all the physical features of its referent. Details such as color, shape and taste, as well as many other features, which are not visible to the naked eye, are left out (Hayakawa 1990).

The process through which more and more details are left out when we give names to things in the real world is referred to as abstraction. Observation is the first step towards abstraction. However, our observations are not complete due to the limitations of our sensory organs. As a result, we are unable to grasp all that exists and our observations are an abstraction of reality (Hayakawa 1990).

To illustrate better what is meant by the process of abstraction, let us consider a cow named Bessie. The name Bessie refers to one single cow and it is already abstracted since Bessie today is different from Bessie yesterday. We know that the cow grows older every day, however, the name Bessie does not indicate this change. Looking only at the similarities between Bessie (cow1), Daisy (cow2) and Rosie (cow3), we come up with the category 'cow' which still leaves out a lot of details. Now consider the word 'livestock' which simply abstracts the features Bessie has in common with pigs, chickens, goats etc. (Hayakawa 1990:84-85).

The process of abstraction has several levels. For instance, when we compare the word 'cow' with 'livestock' it is much easier for us to find the immediate referent to 'cow' than 'livestock'. The word 'cow' is closer to reality and therefore less abstract than 'livestock'. The first level of this process is called 'event (process) level'. At this submicroscopic level everything is in constant motion. Everything is constantly changing. At this level reality is seen

as numerous electrons and protons in constant motion and change. However, this reality is not visible to the naked eye. The next level is called the 'object level'. It is at this level that we are able to perceive objects including things we touch, taste, smell etc. We are able to perceive objects as relatively stable because we abstract many physical details of the submicroscopic level. We are not able to see billions of electrons in motion when we look at a lamp (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

The next level is the level at which we deal with words, i.e., language. This time we abstract by using words to refer to the non-verbal objects. At this level, which is referred to as the 'descriptive level', words enable us to talk about the non-verbal reality. At the next level, the 'inference level', words are at a high level of abstraction. We do not talk about our direct experiences; we make inferences about things we have not experienced. For instance, 'If Jack is not here, he may be in Rome'. Our inferences are more abstract than things we talk about at the descriptive level. At the next level, 'generalization level', we reach even a higher level of abstraction, leaving out a great deal of details. We simplify reality to a great degree. For instance: 'All girls are jealous'. We should not say all girls are jealous because we do not personally know all the girls in the world. We can go higher and higher up the ladder of abstraction by making inferences about inferences and generalizations about generalizations. The more abstract words we use the further away we get from reality (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

Our lack of awareness of the process of abstraction and the relationship between the verbal and non-verbal world has led to misconceptions about words. People tend to take the words for their referents. One example is the huge debates in the media after astronomers voted that Pluto is not a planet. Whether Pluto should be considered a planet or not is simply a debate over two words. The words Planet and Pluto are just names and belong to the verbal world; what they refer to is an object in space which belongs to the non-verbal world. We use the word 'planet' to talk about the object it refers to. Whether we choose to call Pluto a planet or not does not change the status of the object in space. The debate only shows how mixing the levels of abstraction can lead to huge confusions (Janicki 2010).

The confusion caused by taking inferences for real life facts also becomes evident when people react to gossip. If upon hearing certain words the reaction is anger or excitement, approval or any undelayed and stereotyped reaction, it is due to mixing the levels of abstraction. These hasty reactions are often referred to as 'signal reaction' (Johnson 1946). There is a lot of emphasis on the importance of a delayed reaction to words. We need to take

into account that the word is not what it refers to. Therefore, one should not immediately react to words. Instead, one should delay the reaction to see what is meant exactly (Johnson 1946).

There are also misconceptions about words evident in politics. For instance, one of the important skills of a politician is considered to be giving powerful speeches which can persuade the public. Therefore, speechwriters who work for the governments spend a lot of time on their choice of words as though words have magic power. The instances mentioned indicate yet another misconception about words and the verbal world. Some think that words are a property or attribute of their referent and words and their referents have some inherent and natural connection. Some people think that there is some kind of power which exists in words. On the basis of this misconception, they think words have the power to persuade others. Nevertheless, the words do not have any power within them and it is we, who assigns power to them (Lee 1994).

Acts of superstition, such as casting spells, indicate the belief that words have magic power. Another example of believing that words have power is the way we use the word 'please'. Using this word often helps us get what we want. Banning profanities in the media is a reflection of the belief that words possess the characteristics of their referents. Using euphemisms also shows that we believe that if we change the name of something, we are able to change the thing it refers to. The instances mentioned show that some people still believe in some kind of power in words (Lee 1994). Therefore, it is quite easy to convince people or manipulate them into believing many things.

Words are the main constructs of language; therefore it is of great importance to be aware of their relationship to the non-verbal world. Having the knowledge that a word is not what it refers to helps people avoid hasty reactions to words in everyday life. On the other hand, being aware of the process of abstraction helps people to better evaluate what they read in the newspapers. In other words, they will not be caught up in the newspaper articles in which inferences and generalizations are abundant. They will not take the inferences for real life facts. Instead, they will consider if what they read is close to facts and direct experience.

The above mentioned misconceptions about words allow for the manipulation of minds. In other words, the belief that there is a natural connection between words and their referents, often leads people to react to words. For instance, when as part of a political propaganda message, the word 'traitor' is used to describe a certain group in the media and the press, the public attitude towards the group is likely to be subconsciously influenced.

One significant way through which words can be manipulating is bipolarization. As the main constructs of language, words make the verbalization of two-valued orientation possible.

For instance, languages include plenty of words that can be paired as opposites; such as ‘hard’ and ‘easy’, ‘truth’ and ‘lie’, which facilitate the verbal expression of two-valued orientation. In the following sections, the specific ways through which words give expression to two-valued orientation are further presented.

2.5 The verb ‘to be’

The verb ‘to be’ has varied usages and is very often used in English. For instance, we use this verb to form tenses in English, which allows us to talk about actions in the past or present. In example [8] the verb ‘to be’ has been used to talk about an action at the present time. In addition we can use this verb as a synonym for existence, which is illustrated by example [9].

[8] They are leaving for Paris.

[9] There are few cars in the parking lot.

However, the ‘to be’ verb is used in two ways that are false to facts. The first usage is when we use ‘to be’ as a linking verb in a sentence construction as: subject + predicator (linking verb) + subject complement (realized by a noun phrase or a nominal clause). This usage is referred to as the ‘is’ of identity (Janicki 2010).

[10] Mike is a psycho.

[11] Kate is a teacher.

The reason why this usage is false to facts has roots in Aristotelian philosophy. According to his ‘laws of thought’ a thing is what it is: A is A. For instance, ‘an apple is an apple’. This law is known as the ‘law of identity’. The verb ‘to be’ has a key role in this law. This usage of the verb ‘to be’ suggests that two things are absolutely identical. However, we know that we live in an ever-changing world in which everything is changing from one moment to the next. Therefore, two things cannot be absolutely the same. One apple is not exactly the same as another apple (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

Let us consider the referents of the words in example [10]. We can immediately say that the name ‘Mike’ refers to a person. However, what exactly does the word ‘psycho’ refer to? This is a more abstract word compared to ‘Mike’. In addition, there might be various reasons why people call this person a ‘psycho’. For instance, it could be because Mike wears a pullover in summer or because Mike talks about his imaginary friends. The territory, to which the word ‘psycho’ refers, is much bigger than the territory to which the name Mike refers. While using

the 'is' of identity suggests that these two territories are the same, in fact they are not. We can get closer to reality if we change example [10] to 'Mike is called a 'psycho' or 'some people consider Mike a psycho'. By doing so, we reveal more details and the sentence becomes less abstract.

When we use the 'is' of identity without the awareness of its implications, the attitudes of 'allness' are generated (Lee 1994). In other words, this usage of the verb 'to be' suggests totality, stability and absoluteness. In the case of example [11] the use of the 'is' of identity suggests that 'a teacher' is what Kate is, and that is 'all'. This way, many other details about Kate are disregarded. For instance, details such as her family relationships. She might also be a mother or a musician. Therefore, suggesting that 'Kate is a teacher and that is all' is false to facts. We can avoid this falsity by changing the sentence to 'Kate works as a teacher'.

The 'is' of predication is another use that is considered to be false-to-facts. That is, when we use the verb 'to be' to connect a noun and an adjective. There are two main problems with this usage of the verb 'to be'. First, it suggests that the qualities and characteristics that the adjective invokes exist in the noun (Lee 1994). In other words, one implication is that the noun inherently possesses the qualities suggested by the adjective. The following example illustrates this usage.

[12] The tee is cold.

By using the 'is' of predication in this example we suggest that 'coldness' exists in the tee.

However, coldness does not exist in the tee; we project it onto the tee. Somebody else might drink the same tee and not find it cold at all. In this regard, Korzybski argues:

If we use language of adjectives and subject-predicate forms pertaining to 'sense' impressions, we are using a language which deals with entities *inside our skin* and characteristics entirely non-existent in the outside world. Thus the events outside our skin are neither cold nor warm, green nor red, sweet nor bitter, but these characteristics are manufactured by our nervous system inside our skin ... (1994:348).

The second problem is that using the 'is' of predication suggests that everything is stable and static. However, as mentioned earlier, we live in a world that is not static. Everything is a constant process of change. Therefore, by using the 'is' of predication we only distort the reality (Lee 1994). The example below further clarifies the point:

[13] The leaf is green.

Using the 'is' of predication in this example suggests that greenness exists in the leaf, which according to the reasons mentioned above, is contrary to facts. The leaf only 'appears' green to

us. On the other hand, the same leaf might seem different to another person. The leaf does not stay the same all the time and perishes as time goes by. By using the ‘is’ of predication here, we suggest that the leaf is permanently green and this will not change.

If people are not aware of the implications discussed above, it is quite easy to influence their evaluation of what they read in the papers every day. Therefore, they are easily manipulated into believing that someone or a country ‘is’ a threat and that is a fact and it will not change. As a result, the two usages mentioned above make it easy for the papers to state their opinions as facts. They can state that one side of the conflict ‘is’ the hero and the other side ‘is’ the enemy. Such as the following statement from Senator Graham regarding Iran: “They're a cold-blooded, cruel regime that's killed American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan. They're the leading state sponsor of terrorism ... They've tried to create a nuclear program, not a peaceful nuclear power plant. They're the enemy of us” (NBC News, accessed 10 March 2015). This is evidently an instance of two-valued orientation, which makes us realize that the ‘is’ of predication and the ‘is’ of identity help construct more two-valued utterances.

The two usages of the verb ‘to be’ are for several reasons conducive to two-valued orientation. One reason is that they enable language users to use the opposing pair of adjectives and nouns to make two-valued statements which are often highly judgmental and evaluative. Another reason is that these usages suggest permanence, stability and a high degree of certainty. That is, saying ‘Jake is a dog’, suggests that Jake has ‘always’ been a dog, will ‘remain’ a dog and this is ‘absolutely’ not going to change. Therefore, there is only one possible description of Jake and any other would be wrong. These two usages of the verb ‘to be’ make it possible for language users for instance to misleadingly present themselves identical with a ‘genius’ and to suggest that somebody else is inherently and permanently ‘stupid’.

The example below illustrates the use of the ‘is’ of identity conducive to two-valued orientation.

[14] Adolf Hitler on the 4th of April in 1938 said: “Everyone in Germany is a National Socialist – the few outside the party are either lunatics or idiots” (Hayakawa 1990:115).

The ‘to be’ verb is frequently used in English. Therefore, it is necessary to have the awareness of the usages that can confuse or mislead us. Knowing the implications of using the ‘is’ of identity and the ‘is’ of predication enables us to be cautious about such usages in everyday communication. As we are aware of the predomination of the media and the press as means of communication within the society, we should also realize their role as the significant

means of influencing the public opinion. Therefore, it is necessary to have the knowledge that by using the 'is' of identity one can simplify reality to the degree that suggests two things can be absolutely identical. Moreover, if we are aware that by using the 'is' of predication one can suggest something or someone is inherently evil, we will be more cautious about this usage when reading the press.

2.6 Categorization

The significance of categorization lies in the fact that our life is to a great degree engaged in this process. Without the ability to categorize, we could not function at all, either in the physical world or in our social and intellectual lives. Our ability to understand utterances is mainly due to the fact that we are using a lot of categories. This process is automatic and unconscious. We continuously categorize people, animal, objects etc. We sometimes encounter less typical cases, which do not fit any classical categories (Lakoff 1987).

The root of the classical theory of categorization is traced back to Aristotle. He argued that categories are abstract containers with things either inside or outside that category (Lakoff 1987). From the time of Aristotle to the later work of Wittgenstein, categories were thought to be well understood. However, when we compare types of entities, we find that they differ with respect to their boundaries. Books, tables, cars and houses seem delimited objects to us. In contrast, the boundaries of entities such as valley and mist are far from clear (Ungerer & Schmid 1996).

The relationship between cognitive categories could be described as hierarchical. For instance, dogs are regarded as superordinate to terriers, and terriers are superordinate to Scotch terriers and bull terriers. Looking in the other direction, dogs are seen as subordinate to mammals and mammals as subordinate to animals. As it seems, in this structure the word 'terriers' is more specific than the word 'dogs', as is the 'dogs' compared to the word 'animals'. What this hierarchical structure relies on is class inclusion. It implies that the superordinate class includes all items on the subordinate level. Similar hierarchies exist for the man-made objects like vehicles. All in all, it seems that the whole range of concrete entities in the world can be hierarchically ordered according to the principle of class inclusion (Ungerer & Schmid 1996).

This hierarchical structure of categorization comprises three levels. The objects we see are classified at a level called the generic level or the basic level. The basic level is where we perceive the most obvious differences between the organisms and objects of the world. This level is considered important as it functions as a facilitator between the subordinate and the

superordinate categories. As it is clear from the example above, generalization proceeds upwards and specialization proceeds downward (Lakoff 1987).

It is at the generic level that the largest bundle of naturally correlated attributes (e.g. all the attributes expressing 'dogginess' or 'chariness') are available for categorization. Objects that we categorize on this level show common overall shape that unites them. It also distinguishes them from the members of other basic categories such as distinguishing dogs from elephants. Objects and organisms are also marked by the characteristics of action on this level. For instance, cats can be stroked. It is on this level that the motor movement we perform when interacting with objects can be described (Ungerer & Schmid 1996).

The superordinate level stands above the generic level in the categorization hierarchy. In order to construct categories at the superordinate level, we borrow general attributes from the basic level that are also shared by all the respective basic level categories (e.g. 'edible' and 'grows on a tree or bush', which are shared both by fruit and by apple). Unlike the categories at the generic level, superordinate categories do not share a common overall shape. For instance, to demonstrate the category 'fruit' we would have to rely on 'apple' or some other fruits, while these fruits barely have similar shapes (Ungerer & Schmid 1996).

The next lower level to the generic level is the subordinate level. Subordinate categories include more details and unlike the superordinate categories, the attributes available for direct categorization of subordinate categories are specific. They specify the category in question; they are not normally shared by other categories. For instance, jogged leaves are a characteristic property of dandelions and not part of the attribute lists of Daisy, Rose or Tulip (Ungerer & Schmid 1996).

The relationship between categorization and two-valued orientation is much evident in the classical categorization. As discussed at the beginning of this section, Aristotle's classical theory of categorization suggests that something is either inside or outside a category. This sharp categorization divides the non-verbal world into opposing poles. By categorizing based on a fashion that something is 'either' inside 'or' outside the category, bipolarization begins. Therefore, by categorizing the classical way, two-valued orientation is promoted. That is, the rigid classification does not allow for any alternatives. For instance, people who move to another country are immediately classified as immigrants by the citizen of that country. The children of the immigrant families despite having been born in the country are still, in the public opinion, considered immigrant children. Therefore, this rigid classification leads to the binary opposition 'native' versus 'immigrant'.

The hierarchical structure of categorization goes from subordinate to superordinate. As mentioned earlier, the subordinate level is more specific and more detailed; while at the superordinate level categories are very abstract and therefore far from non-verbal facts. The categories at the superordinate level are more easily generalized. Since it is easier to generalize at the superordinate level of categorization, it also makes it possible to make two-valued utterances. Therefore, talking at a very abstract level allows for more two-valued orientation. That is, if we consider different levels of categorization as a continuum, the superordinate level is at the extreme end of the continuum. Take the following example into account: 'Boys do not enjoy playing with dolls the way girls do.' In this generalized statement the category 'boys' and 'girls' which are at a superordinate level, have formed a binary apposition. Regarding the content of the statement 'boys don't enjoy playing with doll' is contrasted with 'girls enjoy playing with dolls'.

2.7 Checklist theory and Prototype

The classical theory of categorization, which is also referred to as 'the checklist theory' has long affected language. Aristotle's theory of categorization relies on the essence of a thing and its accidents. The essence is what makes a thing what it is. Accidents are incidental properties, which play no part in determining what a thing is. For instance, the essence of man is 'two-footed animal' and that a man might be white or cultural is accidental. As the example indicates, categories are defined in terms of a conjunction of necessary and sufficient features. The category 'man' requires features, 'two-footed' and 'animal' for the membership. If either of them is not exhibited by an entity, then the entity is not a member (Taylor 2003).

According to the classical theory, categories are defined in terms of a conjunction of necessary and sufficient features. This means that if an entity does not possess the necessary features of a category, it will not be considered a member of that category. As it appears, the law of the excluded middle is deeply rooted in this theory (Taylor 2003). A thing must either 'be' or 'not be'. It must either 'possess' a feature or 'not possess' it. Features are therefore a matter of all or nothing. A feature is either involved in the definition of a category or is not. An entity either possesses this feature or does not. It follows that a feature can take only one of two values (Taylor 2003).

Since possession of a feature is a matter of either –or, an entity either belongs to a category or it does not. Hence, the set of entities that belong to a category is clearly defined. A category divides the universe into two sets of entities: those that are members of the category,

and those that are not. There are no ambiguous or unclear cases, no entities which ‘in a way’ or to ‘some extent’ belong to the category (Taylor 2003).

The classical theory also suggests that all the members of a category are equal in terms of their status. There are no degrees of membership in a category. There are no entities that are better members of the category than others. Therefore, any entity which has all the defining features of a category is a full member of that category. Any entity which does not exhibit all the defining feature is not a member (Taylor 2003).

Aristotle’s theory has been widely criticized for how it has affected language and communication. If categories are defined only by properties that all members share, no members should be better examples of the category than any other members. In addition, if categories are defined only by properties inherent in the members, then they should be independent of the peculiarities of any beings doing the categorizing. For instance, it should not involve such matters as human body movement, and specific human capacities to perceive, to form mental images (Lakoff 1987).

The first major crack in the classical theory is generally acknowledged to have been noticed by Wittgenstein (Lakoff 1987). By examining the category ‘game’ he found that there is no single collection of properties that all games share. The category of game is united by what he calls ‘family resemblance’. Games, like family members, are similar to one another in a variety of ways. Therefore, it is not a single and well-defined collection of common properties that makes ‘game’ a category. We also discovered that unlike the classical theory, which promotes clear-cut boundaries, the boundaries of the category ‘game’ can actually be extended. New games can be introduced into the category if they resembled previous games in appropriate ways (Lakoff 1987).

We apprehend and learn categories holistically in the context of our interaction with the world. We do not learn them by breaking them down into their components, as classical theory suggests. Neither do we build up or assemble categories out of their defining features (Taylor 2003). Consider for instance having ‘feather’ as one feature of the category bird. In order to use the feature, we would need to know what it means to have feathers. That is, we need to know what a feather is. We also need to know how we determine whether an entity does indeed have feathers. When we subscribe to the classical category, first we need to list the necessary and sufficient conditions for membership in that category. Having done that, we need to state the necessary and sufficient conditions for each of those features and this process continues. Therefore, the theory leads us to an infinite regress.

As mentioned above that the classical theory of categorization leads to infinite regress, it makes sense to explain how the classic categorization leads to infinite regress in terms of definitions. That is, we think that we can bring more precision to language by the use of definitions. We tend to ask ‘what-is’ questions. For instance, we ask ‘what is a puppy?’. Nevertheless, Popper (1962) argues that defining a word (label) of the essence, to which the word refers, neither leads to more precision nor to the ultimate meaning of the word. Answering ‘what- is’ questions only leads to more definitions. For instance, the answer to the question ‘what is a puppy?’ would be ‘A puppy is a young dog’ which would be next followed by another ‘what –is’ question such as ‘what is young?’ Thus, more definitions would be needed to answer those questions. We might think that we are getting closer and closer to the ultimate meaning but in fact we never get there and we only make things worse by creating more and more definitions. As a result, the regression continues and we get into a vicious circle. Popper regards the definitions resulted from ‘what-is’ questions as essentialist definitions (essentialism will be further discussed in the next section).

Conforming to essentialist definitions, one reads definitions from left to right, i.e., ‘A young dog’ defines what a puppy is. However, as it was discussed in the previous paragraph this procedure does not lead anywhere. We should read definitions from right to left. That is, we should start from the definition to get to the word (label). In view of *right to left* approach, the definition would be ‘A young dog is called a puppy’ and the question would be ‘what shall we call a young dog?’. By doing so, we introduce a short label which avoids much longer labels. Nonetheless, it should not be assumed that definitions have no use at all. In fact we should not see them as ultimate and non-negotiable (Popper 1962).

The significant flaw of the classical theory is that it simplifies reality. It breaks the world down into members and non-members. However, in everyday use, there are very few concepts, if any, that can be classically categorized (Taylor 2003). “To change the very concept of categorization, is to change not only our concept of the mind, but also our understanding of the world” (Lakoff 1987:9). The world is more complicated than to be viewed just as a bipolar reality. A new theory of categorization needed to better represent the complexity of the non-verbal world.

According to the prototype theory of the concept, human categorization is essentially a matter of human experience, perception, motor activity, and culture and not the inherent features of an entity (Lakoff 1987). The various members of a prototype category do not share a common set of properties. They share attributes typically associated with the category. Some members share some of the attributes, other members share other attributes. There are no

attributes common to all the members and to them alone. Therefore, contrary to the expectations of the classical theory, categories are not structured in terms of a set of shared criteria features, but rather by a crisscrossing network of similarities (Taylor 2003).

In the prototypical approach, entities are also categorized on the basis of their attributes. However, categorizing an entity is not a question of either 'inside' or 'outside' the category, rather how closely the dimensions of the entity approximate to the optimum value. Various experiments revealed that people count certain regions of the color spectrum as 'good' even optimal examples of Red and Yellow. People also regarded certain examples of category 'cup' to be good, clear exemplars of the category. Therefore, these prototypes function as reference points for the categorization of not-so-clear instances (Taylor 2003).

Unlike in the classical view, entities in the prototypical approach can be to some degree regarded as a category member. This depends on the attributes shared with the central examples of the category. Therefore, prototype categories offer more flexibility, which is not possible in the Aristotelian categories. They allow new members based on the degree of membership (Taylor 2003).

The bipolarity of classical categories makes them highly inefficient for human cognition. Experience rarely shows a perfect correlation of attributes which classical categories require. As the central members of a prototype category do share a large number of attributes, one could say that the central members of a prototype category come close to the ideal of a classical category. At the same time, prototype categories permit membership to entities which share only a few attributes with the more central members. In this sense, prototype categories give us the best of both worlds and achieve the flexibility which the ever-changing environment demands (Taylor 2003).

The comparison made in this section between the classical and prototypical theories of categorization highlights the major differences between how one can view the world. While in the classical theory the non-typical cases cannot belong to any category, the prototypical theory offers a degree of membership. In other words, a thing can be a member of category to a degree, as long as it shares some of the attributes of the category. While the classical view is based on strict two-valuedness, the prototype view offers more flexibility. According to the classical theory, 'only' if something shares 'all' the features required for the membership of a category, it can be a member. In other words, membership according to the classical theory is either 'all' or 'nothing'. Therefore, there is a lot of 'certainty' embedded in the classical theory. That is, according to the strict divisions offered by the classical theory, where there is a choice between only two options 'to be a category member' and 'not to be a category member', one

should be able to categorize things without any hesitation about the non-typical cases. That is because the non-typical cases, according to the classical theory, are considered not to be a category member.

The prototypical theory is not connected with certainty. According to this theory, membership is considered a continuum. Thus, there can be good examples, better examples and the best examples of a category. Therefore, the prototypical theory of categorization leads us to having a better evaluation of the world. It also represents the complexity of the world better by representing the details that are disregarded in the classical view. While the bipolar view of the world that the classical approach provides is a drastic simplification of reality, the prototypical theory of categorization offers a view which is much closer to reality.

2.8 From essentialism to two-valued orientation

The term essentialism, which is derived from the word essence, refers to a set of beliefs about the world which are directly reflected in assumptions about language. The roots of this philosophical point of view can be once again traced back to Aristotle. Essentialism affects language and communication, since it is interrelated with words and meaning. Aristotle claims that when we define a word, we try to define the name of the essence of the thing to which the word refers to (Janicki, 2006).

Our definition is in turn, the description of the essence. Aristotle thought that words refer to concepts and that these concepts have some essence that allows us to distinguish one concept from another. This actually leads us to the belief that words have inherent qualities which determine their meaning. In other words, the essence is what allows us to distinguish for instance, between the concept of 'lamp' from that of 'chair' (Janicki, 2006).

Essentialism implies that words have or should have one meaning since it is the essence which determines the meaning. Therefore, the meaning can be defined in some absolute sense. This leads people to believe that there is only one absolute, right meaning for each word. Therefore, anyone else with an idea for a different meaning is perceived as lacking knowledge and being wrong. According to essentialism, there is almost no room for compromise on meaning. Essentialist notions are mostly revealed when we encounter 'what-is' questions. For instance, what is future? These questions imply the existence of inherent qualities in the words. They also lead us to believe that there is one correct answer to such questions (Janicki 2006).

Aristotle's classical theory of categorization is interrelated with essentialism. As mentioned earlier, his approach to categorization is based on the inherent features of a concept or the essence. Therefore, concepts have to be either in or outside the category. There can be no

compromise over the membership of those entities which possess some of the features. Therefore, there is no middle ground in the discussion over the membership of an entity. Similarly, according to essentialism, concepts are clear-cut, discrete and discontinuous. Essentialism also suggests that meaning exists in the words and each word has one single correct meaning (Janicki 2006). As a result, people who subscribe to essentialism tend to think that their own understanding of concepts is correct and are not open to someone else's view of the same concepts.

Essentialism leads to thinking that the ultimate, indisputable definition of a concept is somewhere to be found and someone might know it. An instance of essentialist behavior is to claim 'I am right'. Essentialism leads to imposing our views on other people sometimes covertly and sometimes overtly. You insist that you are right and that the others are wrong. This dichotomous way of looking at things promotes certainty, dislike of criticism, a sense of infallibility, conceitedness and intolerance (Janicki 2006).

Politicians are among the people who typically exhibit essentialist tendencies. They tend to express firm opinions about what is 'good' for the nation. They try to look strong by making firm decisions and showing little flexibility in changing their mind. When we investigate the world's political history, it becomes clear that in all systems, those in power tend to claim that they know what is 'true', what is 'moral' and what is 'good'. Such position is mainly based on essentialist certainty (Janicki 2006). An example of essentialism in politics is the case of the communist rule in Poland up until 1989. During this time, in the official propaganda the communists were 'absolutely right' and the anti-communists were 'absolutely wrong' (Janicki 2006).

Essentialism as a philosophical position plays a key role in adopting a bipolar world view. Based on essentialism, there is one single, absolute and right meaning for each word which is determined by the essence in the word. Such stand-point concerning language and meaning leads to two-valued orientation. If there is one 'right' meaning any other meaning is 'wrong'. Therefore, adopting essentialist philosophy leads to seeing the world in terms of black and white.

2.9 Two-valued orientation in practice

Two-valued orientation is explicitly expressed in discourse when certain lexical items are used. In this section, a list of lexical items which express two-valued orientation is presented. The list serves as the working definition of two-valued orientation which I adopt in this study. However, it is important to note that the list below is not in any sense complete. This is due to

the fact that expressing two-valued orientation is not limited to using a list of word categories since it can also be implicit and, therefore, recognized only within the context.

2.9.1 Antonyms

Antonyms refer to a pair of words, to which, opposite meanings are assigned. Antonyms are abundant in English and using them leads to expressing bipolarity, which is illustrated in the example below:

[15] Today, the void of his **absence** may be filled with the **presence** of his children.

2.9.2 Pronouns

Depending on the context, pronouns can be used to frame a two-valued statement. For example:

[16] If you choose to stay with **them** you are not allowed to come back to **us**.

Within the context of the example, the presence of the verbs ‘stay’ and ‘come back’, which have opposite meanings, leads to the expression of bipolarity via the two pronouns.

2.9.3 Prepositions

The use of following prepositions leads to bipolarity.

against, opposite, anti, between, contrary to, except, excluding, outside, Pro, versus, without.

As in the below example:

[17] It is a choice **between** good and evil.

2.9.4 Correlative Conjunctions (CC)

Using conjunctions such as: *either ...or, neither ... nor, both ... and*, which are in the form of pair of words, creates bipolar statements. For example:

[18] I will **either** lose **or** win.

2.9.5 Words associated with essentialism (WAVE)

There are also words with essentialist connotations which express a high degree of certainty, totality or absoluteness. This category of words includes adverbs such as *always, never*,

certainly, extremely, absolutely, entirely, completely. It also includes compound nouns with the word ‘every’ such as *everything, everyone* as well as the words *none* and *all*. For example:

[19] He can **never** make his own decisions.

[20] **All** his efforts were in vain.

[21] **None** of his words made sense.

2.10 Multi-valued orientation

“Except quarrels and violent controversies, the language of everyday life shows what may be termed as multi-valued orientation” (Hayakawa 1990:126). The statement by Hayakawa sharply contrasts the results of a two-value oriented approach and a multi-value oriented approach towards language use in everyday life. That is, the former often leads to tension and conflict; whereas the result from the latter is cooperation and subsequently peace. So far in the theory section the concept of two-valued orientation and how a two-value oriented approach in language use can lead to conflictual situations was discussed. In this section, on the other hand, multi-valued orientation is introduced as the better alternative to two-valued orientation in attitude and discourse.

In order to understand the concept of multi-valued orientation, which may be traced to the field of General Semantics and the works done by scholars such as Johnson (1946) and Hayakawa (1972) and some others, it may be best to present it within the context of this field. In the early sections of this chapter the influence of the Aristotelian logic on language and how this influence results in the abundance of two-valued orientation in discourse was discussed. That is, the Aristotelian logic leads us to view the ever-changing world as static and unchanging. It leads us to assume that we can know all. It leads us to think that categories exist in the world and cannot be changed. It leads us to evaluate things in terms of either /or. It leads us to a lack of awareness of our own evaluating process. The flaws of Aristotelian logic were pointed out by Korzybski who formulated GS as a methodology to embody a *Non-Aristotelian* orientation (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011). The term *Non-Aristotelian orientation* does not imply that GS is necessarily in opposition to Aristotelian logic; rather it implies that this field goes beyond Aristotelian logic. That is to say, it acknowledges the process world of constant change and its complexity (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

One of the premises of GS is as Korzybski refers to it, *time-binding* (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011). By time-binding he refers to the capability of humans to build on the knowledge of the prior generations. In other words, mankind is able to pass knowledge down to the next

generation. The knowledge which is transferred via language is far from direct experience. In addition, what is inherited from the past via language includes inferences and evaluation. In this regard, Korzybski's attempt to raise awareness about time-binding may be considered an early step towards multi-valued orientation (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

In line with time-binding Korzybski aimed to clarify how language relates to the real world by raising our consciousness about the process of abstracting, which was discussed in earlier sections. How does having this consciousness relate to multi-valued orientation? Consciousness of the process of abstracting leads to a better differentiation between the non-verbal world and the verbal world. People who have this consciousness do not see words as having a life of their own; rather as labels marking abstractions of non-verbal facts. In other words, they do not mix the levels of abstraction. They can also differentiate between descriptions and inferences and they are aware that inferential terms add judgments, evaluations and conclusions to the product of direct experience. As a result, they do not react immediately to words and instead try to trace other's inferences and evaluations to facts and non-verbal reality. By a delayed reaction one takes time to consider other possibilities to a particular statement and not solely the rightness or wrongness of it. Such an approach and attitude towards language use can be considered as an important characteristic of multi-valued orientation (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

In addition to raising our consciousness of the process of abstracting Korzybski formulated some basic premises which are essential to multi-valued orientation. (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011). The principle of *non-identity* is one of the premises. Just as identity serves as the focal point of the Aristotelian orientation, *non-identity* serves as the center of the non-Aristotelian orientation of Korzybski. Contrary to Aristotle's law of identity 'A is A', which leads to two-valued orientation, applying the principle of non-identity to language brings it closer and closer to the reality. According this principle no two individuals (objects, event, reactions etc.) are identical. Additionally, no individual is even absolutely the same with itself from one minute to the next since we live in a world that is constantly changing. Reflecting the awareness of this fact in language as well as everyday communication is as a matter of fact a multi-valued approach to language use.

Pursuant to the principle of non-identity some scholars advocated that we eliminate the 'is' of identity and the 'is' of predication altogether. In line with Janicki (2010:158-159), Bourland Jr., among those who promoted 'English without be', has coined the name 'E-Prime' for the 'beless' English. E-Prime is also considered one of the characteristic of multi-valued orientation. E-Prime discourages the use of 'to be' in sentences like 'he is a Muslim' or 'she is

sluggish'. It rather suggests using alternatives such as 'he *practices* Islam' and 'she *appears* sluggish *to me*'. By using verbs such as 'appear' and 'seem' instead of the 'to be' verb the statements get closer to facts and therefore the oversimplification resulted from using the 'to be' does not cause any misunderstandings. The usage of verbs such as 'seem' and 'appear' also suggests that the individual expressing their judgment takes responsibility for labeling something or someone as 'sluggish'.

The next principle is referred to as *non-essentialism*. In the non-essentialist view, pertaining to language use, meaning is not found in individual words. Therefore, meaning is understood to be assigned to words by people. For a non-essentialist, words do not have single, decontextualized meanings, and people may vary in their view of what individual words mean. For a non-essentialist, language is not fixed and meaning is not certain. In contrast, language is open and meaning is largely various, flexible and quite often fuzzy. Thus, a non-essentialist does not believe in the existence of ultimately correct definitions and does not argue against any definition. With the awareness that there is no ultimately correct meaning one should not categorize some definitions as absolutely right and the rest as wrong. Hence, non-essentialism leads to more flexibility and less certainty in attitude towards language use and communication in the context of everyday life. Having this perspective allows more room for hesitation and probability and is more compatible with the complexity of the world. Therefore, non-essentialism is considered to be another indication of multi-valued orientation (Janicki 2006).

Another premise of General Semantics is non-allness, which is also considered as an indication of multi-valued orientation. What non-allness refers to is that the linguistic categories and the language itself do not represent 'all' the non-verbal world and its processes. We can never, as far as we know, say 'all' about anything. Thus, we should avoid reflecting absolutism and allness in language. For instance, when solving problems, we might restrict our alternatives to *the best way* to resolve a problem. However, we should think in terms of *a better way* or *some better ways* to solve a problem. Talking about *the best way* rather than *some better ways* contains a hidden assumption of absolutism, that this is the only way, period! Additionally, one should be careful about using words such as *all*, *never*, *always* which explicitly express allness; one should rather be more precise about their evaluations. For instance, instead of saying 'he never goes to school parties' it would be closer to reality to say 'so far, I have not seen him at school parties' (S. Kodish & B.I Kodish 2011).

Another important formulation of GS is extensional orientation which is also a characteristic of multi-valued orientation. To be extensionally oriented is to bear in mind that words are meant to relate to something tangible rather than float in the air with no connection

to the non-verbal reality. Thus, an extensionally oriented person observes, questions and verifies. Extensionally oriented people have less tendency to take what is said for granted; rather they tend to ask how, who and what to go beyond the verbal world and trace it to non-verbal facts. They go to life facts prior to making statements and they go by life facts in making evaluations. They do not talk as though they know it *all*, rather when asked they reply, “Well, I wonder. Let’s see.” (Lee 1994).

By adopting a multi valued orientation, we emphasize on the existence of complexity and continuity in nature as well as in society. We indicate that it is we, the language users, who classify and categorize the non-verbal world and by doing so we cut the non-verbal world into pieces in spite of the fact that the non-verbal world is itself discontinuous and not categorized. By adopting a multi-value oriented approach to language we can eliminate obscurities resulted from the law of identity and the verb ‘to be’. Rather than only representing the similarities and discriminating *against* individuals we can represent similarities and differences and discriminate *between* individuals. Multi-valued orientation is an approach towards language use with an aim to give a *process character* to language so that it better represents the non-verbal world.

2.11 Multi-valued orientation in practice

As it was mentioned in section 2.10, multi-valued orientation in attitude and discourse can be regarded as an attempt to bring language closer to the non-verbal reality. Based on this view, there are four categories presented in this section which stem from the suggestions made in section 2.10 regarding how one can avoid two-valued orientation, bring language closer to reality, and more importantly, how one can use language in a way that best reflects the complexity of the world. Throughout this thesis the members of the categories presented below will be referred to as *indicators for multi-valued orientation*.

2.11.1 Dating

Dating is a useful device that allows us to bring our discourse closer to reality. For instance, we will be more accurate by referring to the relevant date, year or decade when talking about events. Using this device in the discourse enables reflecting the fact that everything is changing all the time and that generalizing through time leads to oversimplifications. Therefore, referring to dates in discourse indicates multi-valued orientation. The example below shows what is meant by dating.

[22] From 1961 till 1989, Berlin was divided by a wall into East and West Berlin.

2.11.2 Quantifying terms

Using quantifiers both allows us to avoid formulating our judgment and evaluation only in terms of opposing pairs and make it possible to express them in terms of a continuum. That is, instead of only ‘good’ and ‘bad’ we can say ‘very good’ or ‘fairly good’. Therefore, quantifiers also indicate multi-valued orientation in discourse. The following is a list of quantifiers that are frequently used in English:

some, much, many, a lot, a few, several, enough, plenty of, a number of, a bit of, very, quite, rather, somewhat, almost, fairly, really, pretty, a good deal of, a great deal of, kind of, sort of.

The example below illustrates the use of quantifiers:

[23] I found the information in this book **rather** confusing.

2.11.3 To-me-ness

In order to keep our discourse as close to the real world as possible, we should indicate in our discourse that characteristics such as ‘gorgeous’, ‘smart’, etc. are not to be found in things, people and activities; they should be seen as our projections onto them as evaluations. For this purpose, one can use phrases like:

it seems to me, it appears to me, it looks to me, to me

[24] **It seems to me** that the damage done to the car is beyond repair.

[25] He **appears** to be interested in acting.²

2.11.4 Words expressing hesitation (WEH)

As opposed to two-valued orientation, which implies certainty, multi-valued orientation is interrelated with hesitation. Therefore, words which express hesitation indicate multi-valued orientation in discourse. The following is a list of words expressing hesitation which are frequently used in English.

² The phrase *to me* may not always be explicitly juxtaposed together with the verbs, seem, appear and look. In cases where these verbs are used without mentioning *to me*, we cannot say it *with absolute certainty* that the person, by whom the statement is made, projects his own personal opinion. Because we cannot be entirely clear about it unless we ask the person. Nevertheless, we can assume, with a high degree of probability, that in such cases the person’s personal opinion is expressed.

Maybe, probably, possibly, perhaps, presumably, might, may, could, can, feasible, likely, plausibly

[26] There are **probably** other solutions to the problem we are currently encountered with.

2.12 An overview of the theoretical background

The sections comprising the theory chapter aimed to provide an insight into the concepts of two-valued orientation and multi-valued orientation. It is principally important to be mindful of two-valued orientation for a few reasons. Firstly, it leads to a drastic simplification of reality by dividing the non-verbal world into twos. Secondly, it is conducive to conflict. Last but not least, it offers a less complicated view of the world and appears to be abundant in language use.

Some components and properties of language facilitate the formation of the concept of two-valued orientation. Words, one of the basic fundamentals of language, can further the chances for dichotomy in language use, i.e., the insufficient awareness of the process of abstraction, which concerns the relationship between words (symbols) and the non-verbal world, can lead to making two-valued utterances. Mixing the levels of abstraction can lead to misunderstandings and hasty reactions, which often result in conflict. Two usages of ‘to be’ verb, namely the ‘is’ of identification and the ‘is’ of predication, are misleading and falsify reality. Further, Aristotle’s classical approach to categorization still influences how we categorize things, which leads to generating binary oppositions in language. This approach to categorization leads to regarding things a matter of *all* or *nothing* which fosters attitude of absoluteness and totality. The influence of the essentialist philosophical position on language has also led to misconceptions about words. According to essentialism, words have an essence and inherent qualities which define their meaning. Thus, the misconception often leads to expressing certainty about definitions. Along with outlining the fallacies and the shortcomings of language; it was also intended in the chapter to mirror the presence of two-valued orientation, in conflictual situations, in some areas of language use such as the press and politics.

Having argued in the chapter that language simplifies reality, multi-valued orientation is considered as an approach to bring language closer to non-verbal world and avoid the simplification of reality. As we live in an ever-changing world, the purpose of multi-valued orientation is to reflect this fact in language. In order to do so, GS stresses the use of extensional devices such as quantifiers. Further, it is important to be mindful of the process of abstraction, which leads to the habit of tracing verbosity to facts and non-verbal reality. As a

result, we avoid getting confused by highly abstract words and do not react hastily to them. Moreover, according to a multi-valued approach to language, categorization should not be a matter of all or nothing. We should not categorize in terms of *absolutely good* or *absolutely evil*. On the contrary, categorization should be a matter of degree. Furthermore, in a multi-valued oriented approach, one distinguishes the differences rather than focusing solely on the similarities and avoids generalizations when making evaluations. As the world is more complex than we can ever grasp it all, one should think in non-essentialist terms and hesitate before expressing certainty.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research question and hypotheses

The empirical part of the present study will focus on two-valued orientation (TVO) and multi-valued orientation (MVO) in the language of quality newspapers and tabloids in the U.S. A contrastive study will be conducted to examine the following research questions:

- a) Does the language of American tabloids illustrate more two-valued orientation than the language of American quality newspapers?
- b) Does the language of American quality newspapers illustrate more multi-valued orientation than the language of American tabloids?

For research question a) the hypothesis to be tested is the following:

Hypothesis a) *The language of quality newspapers illustrates less two-valued orientation than that of the tabloids.*

This hypothesis is motivated by the general assumption that tabloid journalism thrives on sensation and scandal and simplifies reality. When the news is sensationalized, there is a high chance that the language used illustrates two-valued orientation.

For research question b) the hypothesis to be tested is the following:

Hypothesis b) *The language of quality newspapers illustrates more multi-valued orientation than that of the tabloids.*

This hypothesis is motivated by the observation that the quality newspapers cover news more objectively.³ Unlike the language of tabloids, the language of quality newspapers is assumed not to be colloquial. Instead of big pictures the reports are extended by including sources, quotations, and facts. Thus, the language of quality newspapers is expected to illustrate more multi-valued orientation.

³ The word *objective* in this thesis is not used in the sense of non-human. Given the fact that newspapers have a political stand-point (such as liberal or conservative), which is often reflected in their reports, objectivity is used in reference to an unbiased report of the news (see also section 2.1).

3.2 Data

For this thesis, I have selected the online edition of two quality daily newspapers *The New York Times* (www.nytimes.com) and *The Washington Post* (www.washingtonpost.com). The online edition of two local daily newspapers *The New York Post* (www.nypost.com), *Daily News* (www.nydailynews.com) which have a tabloid journalistic style were also selected. According to the webpage *Alliance for Audited Media* (www.auditedmedia.com), *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have an average circulation of 1, 865,315 and 473,462, respectively. The average circulation of *The New York Post* is 500,521 and *The Daily News* has an average circulation of 516,165 (Audited media, accessed 20 October 2013).

The data pertain articles with a focus on the on-going civil war in Syria during the month of August, 2013. The reason to select this topic was that two-valued orientation is abundant in discourse ‘about’ conflict. This conflict initially started as a civil uprising and evolved from minor protests, which began as early as January 2011, into a large-scale civil war. It continues to become more and more complicated as more groups and countries begin to get involved in it. In the period of August 2013, the Syria-conflict and its media coverage reached a peak. This was due to the debate whether the U.S. should launch air strikes on Syria based on the evidence that the U.S. said shows the Syrian government has used chemical weapons against civilians.

In order to access the online archive of all four newspapers, subscriptions were required. From the archive of each newspaper the first 20 news articles, relevant to the conflict in Syria, were selected. Thus, there was an overall pool of 80 articles. The selected *New York Times*’ articles range from 369 to 1908 words. The selected Washington Post articles range from 1000 to 1300 words. However, the length of articles from *The New York Post* and *The Daily News* is shorter. The length of the selected *New York Post* articles range between 144-1351 words. The length of the selected *Daily News* articles range between 296-879 words in length. The difference in the length of the articles between the selected tabloids and quality newspapers is due to the fact that articles in tabloids are generally shorter. Therefore, selecting articles of the same length was not possible (The length difference will be returned to and further discussed in section 3.3).

3.3 Method

Sociolinguistic research projects are neither exclusively qualitative nor quantitative. Thus, a possible and rewarding approach to analyzing data in these studies is using a combination of

qualitative and quantitative methods. In mixed methods of analysis, both qualitative and quantitative methods aim to analyze the same phenomena within the same study. The purpose of mixed methods is to enable the researcher to use both of the traditional types of analysis simultaneously. The analytic strategy in mixed methods is to convert the data that are collected in one of the traditions into the other tradition. Two aspects of this sort of transformation is either converting qualitative information into numerical codes or converting quantitative data into narratives which can be analyzed qualitatively. Moreover, quantifying might include simple frequency count of certain themes, responses, behaviors, or events (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998). This study which is a sociolinguistic case study, will also engage in both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Sociolinguistic work is always ‘interpretive’, which involves interpreting numbers or verbal patterns. That is, when analyzing data, the researcher decides what a set of numbers or an event or a verbal pattern means ... As a complement to quantitative method, the qualitative method helps answer questions about how and why things happen (Johnstone 2000: 36-37).

On this basis, my analysis will also include a discussion of various examples of TVO and MVO from the selected news articles. In order to analyze the data, based on the previous studies discussed in the theoretical section, a sampling of categories was carried out, members of which are considered to be explicit expressions of two-valued orientation and multi-valued orientation (see sections 2.9 and 2.11). The category members are also referred to as *tokens* throughout this thesis. The list in section 2.9 serves as the working definition of two-valued orientation and the list in section 2.11 serves as the working definition of multi-valued orientation that I adopt in this study. Categorizing the explicit expressions of TVO and MVO helps analyze the data quantitatively as well as qualitatively, i.e., various examples of each category will be discussed consecutively.

The quantitative analysis of the data in this paper comprises several steps, which are illustrated successively, in this section.⁴ First, the TVO and MVO tokens in the articles of each newspaper are counted with regard to the categories. Then, the average TVO and MVO is calculated. The average TVO of each newspaper is calculated by dividing the total number of TVO tokens by 20, which is the total number of the selected articles from each newspaper. A similar procedure is carried out to calculate the average MVO for each newspaper. The procedure is illustrated below:

⁴ The names, numbers and figures used in this section are fictitious and were used only for the purpose of exemplifying the procedures explained in this section.

Illustration.1 Newspaper title 1 (NPT1)

Total no. Articles	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total TVO
20	23	40	21	23	33	140

$$\text{Average TVO of NPT1} = \frac{\text{Total TVO}}{\text{Total no. articles}} \rightarrow \frac{140}{20} = 7$$

In order for the results to be used for comparison, the eighty selected articles would have been needed to be equally long which was not possible for the reason mentioned in section 3.2. Thus, in the first step to normalize the length difference, the average word-count (WC) (per article) of each newspaper is calculated. The average word-count is calculated (as it is illustrated below) through dividing the overall word-count of the 20 articles by the total number of the articles. Next, the average distribution of TVO (per article) is calculated through dividing the average word-count by the average TVO (as illustrated below). The number resulting from this calculation is supposed to show how closely the words expressing TVO are distributed in an average article of each newspaper. The number will be referred to as the *average distribution* throughout this paper. The same procedure is carried out to calculate how closely words expressing MVO are distributed in an average article of each newspaper.

$$\text{Average word-count of NPT1 (per article)} = \frac{\text{Total word-count of the 20 articles of NPT1}}{\text{The total number of NPT1 articles}}$$

$$\rightarrow \frac{22196}{20} = 1109,8$$

$$\text{Average TVO distribution of NPT1 (per article)} = \frac{\text{Average WC}}{\text{Average TVO}} \rightarrow \frac{1109,8}{7} = 158,5^5$$

In the last step to normalize the length difference (as illustrated below), the average word-count of NPT2, NPT3 and NPT4 is considered equal to that of NPT1. Dividing the average word-count of NPT1 by the average distribution of TVO of each of the three other newspapers would result in new average TVOs for NPT2, NPT3 and NP4 as though the four newspapers had an equal average word-count.⁶ For the purpose of comparing MVO in the

⁵ The number indicates that in an average article of NPT1, one token of TVO occurs per 158,5 words.

⁶ The average TVO and MVO of NPT1 stays, however, the same since the average word-count of the three other newspapers change and not that of NPT1.

selected newspapers, the same procedure for the normalization of the length difference is carried out.

Illustration.2 Average TVO after normalization

	Normalized length	Average TVO after normalization
NPT 1	1109,8	7
NPT 2	1109,8	X
NPT 3	1109,8	Y
NPT 4	1109,8	Z

NPT stands for newspaper title

NPT1 average word-count = Normalized word-count for all four newspapers = 1109,8

$$X = \frac{\text{Normalized WC}}{\text{Average TVO distribution of NPT 2}}$$

By applying this procedure, the length difference will be normalized and the average TVO and MVO after normalization can be compared as if all the 80 selected articles had the same length.

4 RESULTS

The results in this section are divided into two parts regarding TVO and MVO and are presented in the following order: first the results of TVO, which are structured after the categories, are presented and various examples are discussed. Next, a comparison between the final results (after the length normalization) of TVO in the selected tabloids and quality newspapers is made. In the second part, the results regarding MVO are presented in a similar structure.

Table 4.1 Two-valued orientation

	Prepositions	WAVE	CC	Pronouns	Antonyms	Total TVO
The New York Times	108	32	5	0	26	171
The Washington Post	103	24	3	1	13	144
The New York Post	65	32	3	1	14	115
The Daily News	55	19	2	1	5	82

Note: CC= Correlative conjunctions. WAVE= Words associated with essentialism

Table 4.1 shows that in total 171 verbal expressions of TVO were found in the 20 articles from *The New York Times*. In the 20 articles of *The Washington Post* there were overall 144 verbal expressions of TVO found. The total TVO tokens found in the articles of *The New York Post* and *The Daily News* were 115 and 82, respectively.

4.1 Quality newspapers

4.1.1 Prepositions

Table 4.1 shows that in both quality newspapers there were preposition found which expressed two-valued orientation. In the 20 articles from *The New York Times* there were 108 prepositions found. The preposition ‘against’ was used in the articles of both quality newspapers with regard to the conflict, as in the example below:

- [1] Recently, Kurdish assertiveness in Syria has set off rounds of clashes, pitting Kurds **against** rebel groups that accuse them of collaborating with Mr. Assad, and **against** fighters linked to Al Qaeda who see Kurdish control as a challenge to their plan to establish an Islamic state. (NYT/art.1 2013)

Example [1] illustrates the fact that the Syrian Kurds who seek independence are also involved in the conflict. The preposition ‘against’ in the example expresses bipolarity. It shows that in this conflict the Kurds have two enemies and are fighting on two fronts. They fight the al

Qaeda linked rebels on one front and the rebels that want to overthrow Bashar al-Assad on the other front.

- [2] Senator John McCain, the Arizona Republican, has been scathing in his criticism of Mr. Obama for the **opposite** reason — that the president in his view has not taken enough action. (NYT/art.2 2013)

In the example above, using the preposition ‘opposition’ indicates two-valued orientation. That is, the preposition forms two opposing poles which are: president *has* taken enough action with regard to Syria conflict and president *has not* taken enough action.

- [3] Ms. Merkel, while condemning the chemical weapons attack in strong terms, has avoided any comment on suggestions from the Social Democrats that she mediate **between** the Russians and Americans on Syria. (NYT/art.11 2013)

In example [3] the preposition ‘between’ was used in a binary opposition where Russians and Americans seem to be put in opposition to each other.

In the 20 articles from *The Washington Post* there were overall 103 tokens found under the category *prepositions*, which expressed two-valued orientation, as in the examples below:

- [4] Those groups' involvement, Mahmoud said, can lead only to an escalation of infighting among rebel groups and to wider Western uneasiness about providing arms for the **anti**-government rebels. (WP/art.2 2013)

The example contains the preposition ‘anti’, which is used similarly to the preposition ‘against’. The phrase ‘anti-government rebels’ refers to the rebel group that fights against Bashar al-Assad’s government. Therefore, the preposition creates two sides that confront each other.

- [5] Cameron has the authority to launch strikes **with or without** the backing of Parliament. But any attempt to intervene in Syria over the objections of lawmakers would be politically risky. (WP/art.5 2013)

In example [5] the prepositions ‘with’ and ‘without’ were used in juxtaposition with ‘or’. The usage indicates bipolarity in the sense that possibilities are restricted to only two options.

- [6] Despite their support for the Syrian government, Iranian leaders repeated their long-standing public opposition to the use of chemical weapons, although they say it is still unclear whether **pro**-Assad or **opposition** forces were responsible for last week's attack. (WP/art.15 2013)

In the example above, using the preposition ‘pro’ leads to a binary opposition. That is, the words ‘pro-Assad’ and ‘opposition forces’ formed two opposite poles.

4.1.2 Words associated with essentialism (WAVE)

According to table 4.1 there were 32 WAVE found in the 20 articles from *The New York Times*. As in the examples below:

[7] But even without hard evidence tying Mr. Assad to the attack, administration officials asserted, the Syrian leader bears **ultimate** responsibility for the actions of his troops and should be held accountable. (NYT/art.10 2013)

The adjective ‘ultimate’ used in example [7] expresses a high degree of certainty, which is a characteristic of essentialism. As this example indicated, the Syrian leader is ‘absolutely’ responsible for the chemical attack. That is ‘certainly’ true and anyone with a different version of the story is wrong. Thus in the example, such a high degree of certainty illustrated two-valued orientation.

[8] The United States first confirmed in April that it believed the Syrian government had used chemical weapons, and Obama administration officials responded by signaling that they would supply the rebels with weapons. But to date, **none** have arrived, opposition officials said. (NYT/art.12 2013)

Example [8] includes the word ‘none’. Using ‘none’ in this example indicated two-valued orientation as it invokes absoluteness and entirety.

With regard to the twenty articles from *The Washington Post*, there were overall 24 WAVE found which expressed two-valued orientation, as in the following example:

[9] Secretary of State John Kerry: “President Obama believes there must be accountability for those who would use the world's most heinous weapons against the world's most vulnerable people. Nothing today is more serious, and nothing is receiving more serious scrutiny” (WP/art.3 2013).

In this example it is firmly claimed that the issue of the chemical weapons, which has not yet been determined if it was used by the Syrian government, is absolutely the only serious issue today that is receiving scrutiny. However, one knows that in reality there are many other issues in the world which are at the moment receiving attention by the U.S. or other countries.

[10] If confirmed, the attack, which U.S. officials say warrants a decisive military response from the West, would dash hopes that the world would **never** again see the large-scale

use of chemical weapons, a prospect that had appeared increasingly realistic in recent years as all but a handful of nations signed a treaty agreeing to destroy their stockpiles. (WP/art.16 2013)

In example [10], using the word ‘never’ indicated two-valued orientation as it invoked absolute certainty.

4.1.3 Correlative conjunctions (CC)

Table 4.1 shows that in the twenty articles from *The New York Times* there were overall 5 tokens of correlative conjunctions found which expressed two-valued orientation. Consider the following examples:

[11] In one of the riskiest gambles of his presidency, Mr. Obama effectively dared lawmakers to **either** stand by him **or**, as he put it, allow President Bashar al-Assad of Syria to get away with murdering children with unconventional weapons. (NYT/art.17 2013)

In example [11], president Obama’s statement is mentioned, which he made regarding consulting the congress on the issue of launching air strikes on Syria. By using the correlative conjunction ‘either... or’, president Obama is reported to have ‘only two’ options to present the law makers in the U.S. to tackle the issue of chemical weapons in Syria. One option for them is to approve president Obama’s decision to launch air strikes and the second option is ‘not’ to approve the president’s decision, which lets Bashar al-Assad’s use of chemical weapons go unpunished. The example shows bipolarity and firmly rules out the possibility of any other option to deal with the conflict.

[12] **Neither** the United States **nor** European countries yet have a “smoking gun” proving that Mr. Assad’s troops used chemical weapons in the attack, the official said. But he said intelligence agencies had amassed circumstantial evidence that some kind of chemical had been used — not the least of which was the hundreds of casualties. (NYT/art.12 2013)

Example [12] includes the use of ‘neither...nor’ which readily illustrates bipolarity. This usage indicated two-valued orientation since it restricted the countries investigating the chemical attack to only Europe and the U.S.

In the twenty articles from *The Washington Post* there were only 3 correlative conjunctions found which expressed bipolarity. The example below shows the use of CC in one of the articles from *The Washington Post*:

[13] German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle told *the Neue Osnabrucker* newspaper that Berlin's participation in a U.S.-led coalition has **neither** been asked **nor** is it being considered by us. (WP/art.10 2013)

The use of the correlative conjunction 'neither...nor', which forms a pair in the example above, illustrated bipolarity. One pole in the example is that the U.S did not ask Germany to participate in a military action and the other pole is that Germany is not considering participation in a joint military action against the Syrian government.

[14] Iran's disputed nuclear program is likely to figure in its decision about how to respond to any U.S. strike on its ally, but maybe not the way Kerry outlined, diplomats and analysts said. Retaliating **either directly or indirectly** on Assad's behalf could invite the same kind of strike **against** its nuclear facilities, Pollack said. (WP/art.13 2013)

Example [14], besides antonyms 'directly' and 'indirectly', and the preposition 'against', includes the use of 'either...or', which indicates two-valued orientation.

4.1.4 Pronouns

Table 4.1 shows that in the 20 articles from *The New York Times* there were no pronouns found which expressed two-valued orientation. However, there was only one token of pronouns found in one of *The Washington Post* articles, which expressed two-valued orientation.

[15] The more **they** start mixing it up with **us** the more the odds go up, of a unilateral American strike on Iranian facilities , Pollack said. (WP/art.13 2013)

The example quotes Kenneth Pollack, a Middle East analyst at the Brookings Institution. In the example, Mr. Pollack comments on Iran's possible retaliation in case the U.S. decides to launch air strikes on Syria. This statement is two-valued since Mr. Pollack used the pronoun 'they' in opposition to the pronoun 'us'. The pronoun 'they' refers to Iran and the pronoun 'us' is used in reference to the United States. In addition, the verb 'mix up' is used in an idiomatic sense which in the context of the example means that if Iran 'interferes' with the United States' air strike in Syria and takes a retaliatory action, it is likely that the U.S. targets Iranian facilities. Therefore, a hypothetical conflict is framed in terms of which the United States versus Iran.

4.1.5 Antonyms

In the twenty articles from *The New York Times* there were 26 tokens of antonyms illustrating two-valued orientation, as in the examples below:

[16] The war has spread and destabilized Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Turkey. The **hard-line** Nusra Front rebels have gained strength, partly because we have spurned **moderates**. (NYT/art.3 2013)

The words ‘hard-line’ and ‘moderates’, which are antonyms, describe two different rebel groups fighting in Syria. Antonyms are the most explicit expression of two-valued orientation, because they immediately indicate a negative and positive pole. In this example, the adjective ‘hardline’ is associated with concepts such as violence and extremism. In contrast, the adjective ‘moderate’ brings to mind the images of peace and justice.

[17] Mr. Obama has no hope of obtaining a mandate for a military strike in the United Nations Security Council. Russia, Syria’s longtime backer, has long opposed **military intervention** of any sort, and China, which has urged that no decision be made until the results of the investigation by United Nations inspectors are revealed, has continued to push for more **diplomacy**. (NYT/art.11 2013)

Example [17] contains the use of the antonyms ‘military intervention’ and ‘diplomacy’. The antonyms were used in relation to the U.S. approach towards the conflict in Syria. The antonyms illustrated two-valued orientation as they indicated only two options to resolve the conflict which are in opposition to each other.

In the 20 articles from *The Washington Post* there were 13 tokens of antonyms found, as in the following examples:

[18] Thought they were **bad** people, said the activist, who would give only his first name, Mahmoud, for security reasons. But after what I've seen from them, I've changed my mind. They are Islamic but they work with the Free Syrian Army. The Syrian regime portrays them as terrorists but they are **good** people. (WP/art.2 2013)

The antonyms ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are used to describe the rebel group ‘Islamic state’. The two adjectives directly frame opposite poles. Therefore, the example is considered to be two-value oriented.

[19] Chemical weapons attacks have at times elicited strong and visceral reactions from the international community. Their possible occurrence in Syria is no exception, having drawn the United States and its **allies** closer than they have ever been to intervening militarily in a messy conflict in which the West has **enemies** on both sides of the front lines. (WP/art.16 2013)

The antonym ‘allies’ was used describing the countries with which the U.S has a good mutual relationship. In contrast, the antonym ‘enemies’, describes the countries with which the west (including the U.S.) is engaged in a feud. The use of the antonyms directly framed opposite poles. Therefore, the example is considered to be two-value oriented.

4.2 Tabloids

4.2.1 Prepositions

In the 20 articles from *The New York Post* there were overall 65 tokens, which expressed two-valued orientation, as in the examples below:

[20] The ‘peace president’ is about to embark on his third military adventure, this time in Syria, **without** having learned the lessons of his botched efforts in Afghanistan and Libya. (NYP/art.19 2013)

The example is a harsh critique of president Obama’s approach towards handling the conflict in Syria. The criticism aimed at Obama’s decision to launch air strikes heightened by using the preposition ‘without’ which excludes any probability that the president might have considered the experience in Afghanistan and Libya in making his decision about the air strike on Syria. Using ‘without’ in the context of the example also invokes the bipolarity ‘with-without’ since the author of the article decisively claims that president Obama has ‘absolutely’ learned ‘nothing’ from the experience in Afghanistan and Libya. However, it is highly unlikely for the president not to draw on past experiences when making important decisions.

[21] As the Syria crisis burns hotter, President Obama has never looked so feckless. He has perfected the art of speaking reproachfully and carrying little or no stick. The grand theory of his foreign policy coming into office, that more national self-abasement would win us greater international good will and respect, has done the **opposite**. (NYP/art.20 2013)

The use of ‘opposite’ in example [21] illustrated two-valued orientation. The word ‘opposite’ was used in relation to the consequences of president Obama’s foreign policy. That is, more national self-abasement did not bring respect and good will for the U.S., but it brought the opposite which would be bad will and disrespect.

With regard to the 20 articles from *The Daily News*, there were 55 tokens found, which expressed bipolarity, as in the examples below:

[22] U.S. officials have instead focused on trying to organize a peace conference **between** the government and opposition. Obama has authorized weapons deliveries to rebel groups, but none are believed to have been sent so far. (DN/art.10 2013)

The word ‘between’ used in the example above indicated two opposite side. On one side is the Assad regime and on the opposite side are the opposition forces.

[23] Cameron's view is that it's important that when we see a crime of this sort — the use of chemical weapons **against** a regime's own people — that there needs to be a response, and that response needs to come from the international community, spokesman Christian Cubitt said. (DN/art.3 2013)

Example [23] contains the use of the preposition 'against'. The use illustrates two-valued orientation as it placed the regime in opposition to its people.

[24] The AP also reported that — **contrary** to claims by Secretary of State Kerry and Vice President Biden — U.S. intelligence in Syria is apparently not 100% sure Assad's forces were behind the gas attack. (DN/art.2 2013)

The example includes the use of the preposition 'contrary' which illustrates two-valued orientation. The preposition was used in relation to Mr. Kerry and Vice President Biden who claimed that the U.S. intelligence is *absolutely* sure that Assad forces used the chemical weapons. However, the word 'contrary', used in the example, negated that claim.

4.2.2 Words associated with essentialism (WAVE)

The Daily News articles included overall 19 tokens of words associated with essentialism. Consider the following examples:

[25] The **whole** world knows who has what amount of weapons, where these weapons are and where they go to. This is clear as day. **Everyone** knows who used the chemical weapons. (DN/art.14 2013)

Example [25] refers to the Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Bekir Bozdag. By using the words 'the whole world' Mr. Bozdag claims that 'every' single person in 'every' single country knows who has what amount of weapons. In addition, he also claims that 'everyone', meaning all the people in the world, knows who used the chemical weapons. Such certainty in knowing the truth and generalizing it to the world is a clear indication of essentialism, which leads to thinking that what was said is the ultimate truth.

[26] This is about the large-scale, indiscriminate use of weapons the civilized world long ago decided must **never** be used at all, he said at the State Department, reading a statement but declining to take questions. (DN/art.20 2013)

Example [26] includes the word 'never, which is associated with essentialism. 'Never' was used in relation to the use of chemical weapons and indicated two-valued orientation as it invoked absoluteness and entirety.

Regarding *The New York Post* there were overall 32 instances of WAVE found, as in the following examples:

[27] **Certainly** there's been **nothing** to suggest that the attack, even if verified, will lead to the military action Obama threatened one year ago, when he warned that the use of chemical weapons was a "red line . . . that would change my equation. (NYP/art.8 2013)

By using the words 'certainly' and 'nothing' in the example there is 100% certainty expressed that president Obama will 'definitely' not order military air strikes against Syria. This leads to ruling out any possibility that President Obama might actually order the air strikes.

[28] McCain said Assad sees Obama's delay 'as a green light' to commit atrocities. The word of the president of the United States can no longer be taken seriously, as it isn't throughout the **entire** region, he said. (NYP/art.5 2013)

In example [28], the word 'entire' indicated two-valued orientation as it invoked wholeness and absoluteness. 'Entire' was used in relation to the countries in the Middle East.

4.2.3 Correlative conjunctions (CC)

With regard to *The Daily News*, out of 20 articles, there were two tokens of correlative conjunctions found, as in the following example:

[29] We're going after the Syrians — **whether** the Russians like it **or** not. That was the message from President Obama, who said Wednesday the U.S. has 'concluded' that the murderous Bashar Assad regime killed hundreds of its own people in a toxic chemical weapons attack. (DN/art.11 2013)

The example above is a statement by the author of the article made in reference to the fact that the U.S. has 'concluded' that the Syrian government has used chemical weapons against civilians. The use of 'whether ...or' in the example framed two opposite poles. That is, Russia 'likes' the idea of launching air strikes versus Russia 'does not' like the idea of launching air strikes on Syria.

In the 20 articles from *The New York Post* there were in total 3 tokens of correlative conjunctions found which expressed two-valued orientation, as in the example below:

[30] UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, who is dispatching a top official to lobby Assad, said: 'I can think of no good reason why any party, **either** government **or** opposition forces – would decline this opportunity to get to the truth of the matter.' (NYP/art.6 2013)

The correlative conjunction ‘either...or’ automatically forms two poles. In example [30], there are two opposite poles framed. On one side is Bashar al-Assad’s regime and on the confronting side are the rebel groups who fight against Assad’s regime, which in the example are referred to as ‘opposition’.

[31] The looming military action has spurred debate over what the administration hopes to gain and **whether** a limited military campaign — **either** several hours **or** a couple of days — could do much to further the overall goal of ousting Assad from power **or** moving Syria toward a more democratic government. (NYP/art.15 2013)

Example [31] contains two times the use of correlative conjunctions. The use of ‘whether...or’ and ‘either...or’ indicated bipolarity. ‘Whether...or’ was used in relation to the possible outcome of a military attack by the U.S on Syria which by using the correlative conjunction was restricted to only two options, a more democratic government or ousting Assad. ‘Either...or’ was used in relation to the length of the military action in Syria restricting the choice to several hours or a couple of days.

4.2.4 Pronouns

This category of verbal expressions of TVO was the least frequent among all the five categories. In the articles of *The New York Post*, there was only one token of the pronouns found, which expressed two-valued orientation, as in the example below:

[32] What if **we** weaken the regime to the point where the fanatics rev up their jihad to drive out Christians and other minorities? ...Islamist terrorists have killed tens, if not hundreds, of thousands, of innocent Muslims. Aren’t **they** the real enemies of civilization? (NYP/art.19 2013)

In example [32], the author expresses concern that the weakening of the Syrian government will allow the growth of terrorism. The author uses the pronoun ‘we’ in a way that is vast and inclusive of ‘all’ American citizens. In contrast to the pronoun ‘we’, which remains neutral in the example, the pronoun ‘they’ is associated with the words ‘terrorists’ and ‘enemies of civilization’, which connote danger and threat. As a result, the example illustrates two-valued orientation.

In the 20 articles from *The Daily News* the following was the only occurrence of pronouns which expressed two-valued orientation.

[33] **We**’re being exterminated with poison gas while **they** drink their coffee and sit inside their hotels. (DN/art.14 2013)

The two pronouns ‘we’ and ‘they’, used in the above sentence, express bipolarity. That is, the pronoun ‘we’ is juxtaposed with words ‘exterminate’ and ‘poison gas’, which both are associated with war and hostility, while the pronoun ‘they’ is juxtaposed with ‘coffee’ and ‘hotel’, which are associated with peace and comfort.

4.2.5 Antonyms

Antonyms were the third frequent category of verbal expressions of two-valued orientation, which were recorded in the two tabloids. In the twenty articles from *The Daily News*, there were overall 5 antonyms. Consider the following examples:

[34] The Israelis also ordered a limited call-up of reserve troops as the U.S. and its **allies** edged closer to launching a military strike on Syria.[...] Still, Israel and Syria are bitter **enemies** who have fought several wars and continue to exchange gunfire from time to time in the disputed Golan Heights. (DN/art.19 2013)

In example [34], the two nouns ‘allies’ and ‘enemies’ are antonyms. The word ‘ally’ is used by politicians to refer to the countries with which their country has better ties and these countries are, therefore, considered friends. While the word ‘ally’ in the example above refers to the countries with which the U.S. has a good relationship, the word ‘enemy’ refers to both Israel and Syria since the two countries are in conflict.

[35] Surprisingly, the lack of a formal coalition and strong, organized **international** and **domestic** support might not matter that much if the operation works just as the Obama administration hopes. (DN/art.16 2013)

Example [35] contains antonyms. The words ‘international’ and ‘domestic’ were used in relation to forming a coalition by the U.S. and gaining support for a military action in Syria. The antonyms used, indicated two-valued orientation as using the words ‘international’ and ‘domestic’ formed two opposite poles.

In the twenty articles from *The New York Post*, there were overall 14 antonyms. The examples below illustrate the use of antonyms in the articles from *The New York Post*:

[36] Assad’s an odious butcher, filth on two legs. But in the world of serious strategy, you rarely get a choice between **black** and **white**. You choose between black and charcoal gray. (NYP/art.19 2013)

The antonyms ‘black’ and ‘white’ used in the example imply two-valued orientation. While the adjective ‘black’ used by the author refers to the Assad regime, the adjective ‘white’ refers to the best option that could replace Assad.

[37] If al Qaeda and local Islamists seize Damascus, what will we do? The enfeebled ‘**moderate**’ opposition we back rhetorically couldn’t dislodge **hardcore** jihadis, no matter how many weapons we sent (the jihadis would simply confiscate the gear). (NYP/art.19 2013)

In example [37] the words ‘moderate’ and ‘hardcore’ indicated two-valued orientation. The antonyms, which describe rebel groups in Syria, formed two opposite poles.

4.3 Comparison

Table 4.3.1: Average distribution of TVO

	Average word-count per article	Average TVO	Average distribution of TVO
The New York Times	1244,9	8,55	1/145,6
The Washington Post	1000,7	7,25	1/138,02
The New York Post	745,35	5,75	1/129,62
The Daily News	548,45	4,1	1/133,76

Regarding *The New York Times*, the table shows that on the average there is one verbal expression of two-valued orientation per 145,6 words. In *The Washington Post*, with an average word-count of 1000,7 and the average TVO of 7,25, there is one verbal expression of two-valued orientation per 138,02 words. In *The New York Post*, which has a significantly lower average word-count and average TVO compared to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, there is one verbal expression of two-valued orientation per 129,62 words. In *The Daily News*, which has the lowest average word-count and the average TVO, there is one verbal expression of two-valued orientation per 133,76 words.

Table 4.3.2: Average TVO after normalization of the length difference

	Average word-count	Distribution of TVO	Average TVO
The New York Times	1244,9	1/145,6	8,55
The Washington Post	1244,9	1/138,02	9,01
The New York Post	1244,9	1/129,62	9,6
The Daily News	1244,9	1/133,76	9,3

As mentioned in section 3.3, the average word-count of *The New York Times* (NPT1 in section 3.3) does not change. As a result, its average TVO, as the table shows, also stays the same. Table 4.3.2 also shows that the 20 articles from *The Washington Post* would have an average TVO of 9,01 per article if the average word-count was 1244,9. The 20 articles from *The New York Post* would have an average TVO of 9,6 if the average word-count was equal to that of *The New York Time*. The 20 articles from *The Daily News* would have an average TVO of 9,3.

A comparison between the average TVO of the two quality newspapers and the two tabloids shows a small difference. This difference shows that the average TVO of *The New York Times* is slightly below 9 and the average TVO of *The Washington Post* is 0,01 above 9. However, the average TVO of *The New York Post* and *The Daily News*, which are 9,6 and 9,3 respectively, are comparably higher than that of *The New York Time* and *The Washington Post*.

4.4 Multi-valued orientation

Table 4.4.1 Multi-valued orientation

	Dating	Quantifying Terms	To-me-ness	WEH	Total
The New York Times	123	214	34	142	513
The Washington Post	161	164	19	114	458
The Daily News	102	77	7	58	244
The New York Post	110	132	20	104	366

Note: WEH stands for words expressing hesitation

Table 4.4.1 shows there are 513 tokens of multi-valued orientation found in 20 articles of *The New York Times*. In 20 articles from *The Washington Post*, there were 458 tokens of multi-valued orientation found. The table also shows that comparably there are fewer tokens of multi-valued orientation found in the articles from *The Daily News* and *The New York Post*. There were 244 and 366 tokens found in the articles of *The Daily News* and *The New York Post* respectively. It is also evident from the table that fewer tokens were found under the category, To-me-ness.

4.4.1 Quality newspapers

4.4.1.1 Dating

There were overall 123 tokens of dating found in the 20 articles of *The New York Times*. In *The Washington Post* the number tokens found is 161, as in the following examples:

[38] The ammunition, according to its stamped markings, was made in Sudan in **2012** — after the war in Libya had ended. It was used by Soqor al-Sham, an Islamist group that recognizes the Western-supported Syrian National Coalition’s military command. (NYT/art.1 2013)

In the example above, the mention of year 2012 has brought clarity to the report. The year 2012 here, refers to the year the ammunition was made.

[39] White House officials drafted a proposed measure that tried to strike a balance between being too expansive and too restrictive, and sent it to Congress on **Saturday evening**. (NYT/art.17 2013)

In example [39], mentioning the time of the day in addition to the day of the week, ‘Saturday evening’, brings the statement to a less abstract level. Using this device (dating) led to the statement being descriptive.

[40] Security Council - where Russia and China have vetoed previous resolutions against Assad - or in a NATO operation similar to the one launched in the former Yugoslavia in **1999**, without a U.N. mandate. (WP/art.3 2013)

In example [40], the reference to the year 1999 brought the statement closer to facts.

[41] The Islamic State also coexists uneasily in many places with Jabhat al-Nusra, which it sought to absorb in **April**. Jabhat al-Nusra's leader, Abu Mohammed al-Jolani, is a Syrian who fought with al-Qaeda in Iraq, then returned in **2011** to set up a Syrian counterpart. (WP/art.3 2013)

In example [41], the dating device was used two times. The month of April is mentioned to refer to the time frame, in which The Islamic State attempted to absorb Jobhat al-Nusra. The year 2011 in the example refers to the time period, in which Abu Mohammed al-Jolani returned from Iraq to Syria. The mention of both time frames brings the statement closer to facts.

4.4.1.2 Quantifying terms

Compared to the three other categories presented in table 4.4.1, there were more tokens of category quantifying terms found. There were 214 quantifiers found in 20 articles of *The New York Times* and there were 164 quantifiers found in 20 articles from *The Washington Post*. Consider the following examples:

[42] **Most** are men in their 20s or 30s, **many** of them with gunshot wounds who presumably were involved in the fighting. But in recent weeks there have been **more** civilians with blast wounds, among them women and children who have arrived alone and traumatize. (NYT/art.2 2013)

Example [42] contains three quantifiers ‘most’, ‘many’ and ‘more’. The three quantifiers were used in reference to the number of Syrian casualties who crossed the border to Israel, where they could receive medical treatment.

[43] Yezid Sayigh, an analyst of Arab militaries at the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut, said government forces have used chemical weapons in small amounts **several** times to incapacitate fighters on front lines as it tries to take specific areas, and could have been trying to do so on a **somewhat** larger scale in last week’s attack. (NYT/art.8 2013)

There are two quantifiers ‘several’ and ‘somewhat’ used in example [43] ‘Several’ was used to refer to the number of times the chemical weapons were used. The quantifier ‘somewhat’ was used by the analyst, Yezid Sayigh, to express his evaluation of the scale of the chemical attacks.

[44] ‘There is something kind of grotesque about these weapons,’ said Jeffrey Lewis, an expert on weapons of mass destruction at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies. ‘It’s a **pretty** awful way to die, and there are long-term effects for victims, who are left with ugly health-care problems’. (WP/art.16 2013)

Example [44] cites Jeffrey Lewis, an expert on weapons of mass destruction at the James Martin Center. The quantifier ‘pretty’ was used by him to express his judgment on the extent of the damage chemical weapons can cause. By using the quantifier a more closer-to-reality judgment was expressed and the use of words associated with absoluteness and totality was avoided.

[45] Thus, he is likely at least to make a vigorous attempt to ... **some** lawmakers remain skeptical about whether further involvement in Syria’s civil war suits British national interests, especially without a U.N. mandate. (WP/art.5 2013)

Example [45] contains the quantifier ‘some’ which refers to the number of lawmakers in the British Parliament, who are skeptical of involvement in Syria. By using this quantifier it was taken to account that not *all* the lawmakers in in the British Parliament are skeptical of the issue of involvement in Syria.

4.4.1.3 To-me-ness

Tokens of to-me-ness were found in the articles of both the selected quality newspapers and the tabloids. Compared to the other categories presented in table 4.4.1, the members of this category were less frequently used. There were 34 and 19 occurrences found under this category in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* articles respectively. Consider the following examples:

[46] Analysts said the possibility that the attack was by a rogue commander **seemed** remote, as did the idea that the attack was desperate and irrational. (NYT/art.8 2013)

Example [46] contains the use of the verb ‘seem’. By using this verb in the example the analyst makes it clear that he projects the remoteness onto the possibility that the attack was by a rogue commander.

[47] Even as he now contemplates getting deeper into a war he had long resisted, Mr. Obama **appears** to be mindful that the opposition remains. (NYT/art.10 2013)

Example [47] contains the verb ‘appears’. By using this verb the writer of the example clarifies that ‘to him’ Mr. Obama appears to be mindful of the fact that there is opposition against the military involvement of the U.S. in Syria.

[48] Obama and other officials have said repeatedly that no U.S. troops would be sent to Syria. But despite Obama's year-old threat of an unspecified U.S. response if Assad crossed a "red line" by using chemical weapons, even a limited military engagement **seemed** unlikely before Wednesday's attack near Damascus. (WP/art.3 2013)

In example [48], the verb ‘seem’ was used. By using this verb the writer of the example takes responsibility that to him and not to everyone a military engagement seemed unlikely before Wednesday's attack near Damascus.

[49] But the Obama administration **appears** to be moving forward regardless with preparations to attack Syria, calling further discussion within the United Nations pointless because of long-standing opposition by Russia and China. (WP/art.4 2013)

The writer of the example [49] used the verb ‘appear’ instead of the ‘to be’ verb. Using the verb ‘appear’ reflects the awareness of the writer of the fact that the assumption that Obama administration is moving forward to attack Syria might not be true. It also clarifies that this is the writer’s personal evaluation and it does not stand for facts and others might not have the same opinion.

4.4.1.4 Words expressing hesitation (WEH)

Members of this category were found both in the selected tabloids and the quality newspapers. There were 142 words expressing hesitation found in the 20 articles from *The New York Times* and 114 words expressing hesitation were found in the 20 articles from *The Washington Post*. Consider the following examples:

[50] Among the options discussed at the White House, officials said, was a cruise missile strike, which would **probably** involve Tomahawks launched from a ship in the Mediterranean Sea, where the United States has two destroyers deployed. (NYT/art.12 2013)

In example [50], by using the word ‘probably’ the writer expresses doubt regarding the involvement of Tomahawks in a cruise missile strike by the U.S. against Syria. The fact that the writer avoided expressing a high degree of certainty about the cruise missile indicates multi-valued orientation in this example.

[51] The weapons, which fire a heat-seeking missile from a shoulder launcher, gained nonproliferation specialists’ immediate attention when they showed up in rebel videos early this year. Syria’s military was not known to stock them, and their presence in northern Syria strongly suggested that they were being brought to rebels via black markets, and **perhaps** with the consent of the authorities in Turkey. (NYT/art.1 2013)

In example [51], the use of special weapons by the rebels is discussed, which the Syrian military does not stock. In this regard, the word ‘perhaps’ was used to express hesitation whether or not Turkey authorized the transportation of the weapons to the rebels via Turkey.

[52] Dempsey said this month in an interview with ABC News that the lessons of Iraq weigh heavily on his calculations regarding Syria... he said in the Aug. 4 interview. ‘Simply the application of force rarely produces and, in fact, **maybe** never produces the outcome we seek.’ (WP/art.18 2013)

In example [52], the word ‘maybe’ was used to express doubt regarding the application of force in Syria and whether it can produce any outcome. The fact that Mr. Dempsey expresses doubt instead of certainty reflects his awareness that he cannot know all the facts about the outcomes of applying force in Syria.

[53] Now Ghaibeh says he believes that what would be best for Syria **might** be a political compromise, one that **could** even allow Assad to stay in office, though with diminished powers. (WP/art.2 2013)

In example [53], the possible solutions to the conflict in Syria are discussed by Mr. Ghaibeh. Rather than expressing absolute certainty about the solutions, he expresses doubt using the words ‘might’ and ‘could’. He proposes the solutions without claiming that they are definitely right for solving the conflict.

4.4.2 Tabloids

4.4.2.1 Dating

Examples of this category were found in the articles of both tabloids. There were 102 and 110 tokens of dating found in *The Daily News* and *The New York Post* respectively, as in the following examples:

[54] United Nations inspectors in Syria to determine whether forces have used chemical weapons in the civil war will continue their investigations until **Friday** and plan to leave by **Saturday morning**, the U.N. chief said. (DN/art.18 2013)

In example [54], two types of dating device are evident. Firstly, the weekdays ‘Saturday’ and ‘Friday’ were mentioned. Secondly, the example also contains the daytime ‘morning’. Thus, the example appears to be relatively descriptive and close to facts.

[55] Germany developed the first nerve agents before and during World War II, although the Nazis did not use them during the war. The only time nerve agents are believed to have been used on the battlefield was in the **1980s** Iraq-Iran war. (DN/art.4 2013)

In the example [55], the decade ‘1980s’ is mentioned to give more details about the use of chemical weapons in the past. By doing so, the oversimplification of the facts was avoided and therefore the example is closer to reality.

[56] Israel has provided its citizens with gear to cope with possible chemical or biological attacks since the **1991** Gulf War, when U.S.-led troops drove Iraq out of Kuwait. (NYP/art.14 2013)

Example [56] reports on the security measures Israel has been taking against possible chemical attacks. The mention of the year 1991 gives more details about the point in time when Israel first started taking the security measures.

[57] The top U.N. disarmament official arrived in Damascus on **Saturday** to seek access for inspectors to the site of the attack and the United States was realigning naval forces in the region to give President Barack Obama the option for an armed strike on Syria. (NYP/art.7 2013)

Example [57] reports on the inspection of the site of the chemical attack by the U.N. inspectors. The mention of ‘Saturday’ gives more details about the arrival of the top U.N. official in Damascus.

4.4.2.2 Quantifying terms

There were 77 occurrences of quantifying terms found in the articles of *The Daily News*. In the 20 articles from *The New York Post* there were 132 occurrences found. Consider the following examples:

[58] The rebels took over the Safir Hotel and **some** caves overlooking the town and began shelling residents below. (DN/art.13 2013)

Example [58] contains the quantifier ‘some’. The quantifier refers to the number of caves overtaken by the rebels.

[59] Numerous nightmarish videos uploaded to YouTube showed scores of dead bodies — **many** of them women, children and the elderly — bearing no visible wounds or blood. Other videos showed panicked Syrians in makeshift hospitals tending to children clinging to life and wearing oxygen masks. (DN/art.15 2013)

The use of the quantifier ‘many’ in example [59] avoided the oversimplification of the facts. That is to say, instead of saying that ‘all’ the casualties of the attack were men or women, which would happen in case of two-valued orientation, the quantifier ‘many’ was used to give an estimate of the number of the casualties.

[60] The pages are professionally managed by censors who appear to work around the clock to keep off offensive remarks. **A few** do slip past — or are allowed to remain to give the impression of tolerance. (NYP/art.1 2013)

Example [60] contains the quantifier ‘a few’. In the example Bashar al-Assad’s Instagram page discussed. The quantifier ‘a few’ was used to the number of offensive remarks on his Instagram page, which escape censors.

[61] President Obama: “sometimes what we’ve seen is that folks will call for immediate action, jumping into stuff that does not turn out well, gets us mired in **very** difficult situations, can result in us being drawn into **very** expensive, difficult, costly interventions that actually breed more resentment in the region” (NYP/art.6 2013).

Example [61] cites president Obama and contains two times the use of the quantifier ‘very’. The quantifier was used by Obama to express his judgment regarding involvement in Syria which he estimates as ‘very’ difficult and expensive.

4.4.2.3 To-me-ness

Compared to the other categories, the tokens of this category were less frequently used in the articles of the selected tabloids. There were 7 and 20 tokens of to-me-ness found in the articles of *The Daily News* and *The New York Post* respectively. Consider the following examples:

[62] President Obama's attempts to form a coalition of nations willing to attack Syria **appear** to be splintering. (DN/art.2 2013)

Example [62] contains the verb 'appear'. In the example it is reported on President Obama's efforts to form a coalition to attack Syria. Using the verb 'appear' reflects the awareness that 'splintering' is the writer's evaluation of Obama's attempts and others might not be of the same opinion.

[63] If President Obama decides to strike Syria anytime soon, it **looks** like he will be doing so without much of a formal international coalition backing the operation. (DN/art.16 2013)

Example [63] contains the verb 'look'. This verb was used to express the writer's judgment regarding President Obama's attempts to form an international coalition to strike Syria.

[64] Hagel said '**to me** it's clearer and clearer' that the Syrian government was responsible, but that the Obama administration was waiting for intelligence agencies to make that determination.' (NYP/art.17 2013)

Example [64] cites Mr. Hagel the U.S. Secretary of defense. By using the words 'to me' he specified that, to him and not everybody, it is clear that the Syrian government was responsible.

[65] On Capitol Hill, bipartisan support for a military response **appeared** to be building, with some key lawmakers calling for targeted strikes. (NYP/art.17 2013)

In example [65], it is reported on the U.S. decision to launch airstrikes on Syria. By using the verb 'appear' it was specified that the writer expressed his personal evaluation regarding the likelihood of an U.S airstrike on Syria.

4.4.2.4 Words expressing hesitation (WEH)

The members of this category were found in both selected tabloids. There were 58 and 104 tokens of WEH found in the articles of *The Daily News* and *The New York Post* respectively, as in the following examples:

[66] If U.S. intelligence knows which Syrian military unit carried out the strike, then it **might** go after individuals to demonstrate very personal consequences for utilizing chemical weapons. (DN/art.5 2013)

In example [66], it is reported on the possible measures the U.S. intelligence could take in the aftermath of the chemical attack. By using the verb ‘might’ the writer rather than expressing certainty about what the U.S. intelligence would do, speculates the possible courses of action. Therefore, the statement is considered to be multi-valued.

[67] Confirming whether chemical weapons were indeed used last week carries enormous stakes, and **could** play a huge role in determining the future course of the conflict. (DN/art.8 2013)

In example [67], the probable effects of confirming the use of chemical weapons on the course of the conflict are discussed. By using the verb ‘could’, the possibility that the confirmation plays a huge role in the conflict is speculated.

[68] Questions are already swirling about the endgame as the Obama administration prepares for a **likely** strike against Syria as punishment for an alleged chemical weapons attack in its civil war. (NYP/art.15 2013)

In example [68], it is reported on the possibility of U.S. airstrikes on Syria. The word ‘likely’ was used to indicate that there are speculations regarding the strike.

[69] The president said last year that chemical weapons use would cross a “red line” and would **probably** change his calculus in deciding on a U.S. response. (NYP/art.17 2013)

In example [69], the word ‘probably’ was used to indicate the likelihood of a change in president Obama’s decision regarding an approach to the conflict in Syria after the chemical attack.

4.5 Comparison

Table 4.5.1: Average distribution of MVO

	Average WC per article	Average MVO	The distribution of MVO
The New York Times	1244,9	25,65	1/48,53
The Washington Post	1000,7	22,9	1/43,69
The Daily News	548,45	12,2	1/44,95
The New York Post	745,35	18,3	1/40,72

Table 4.5.1 shows that *The New York Times* has the highest average MVO of 25.65 and *The Daily News* has the lowest average MVO of 12,2. *The Washington Post* and *The New York Post* have an average MVO of 22, 9 and 18, 3 respectively. The table also shows that there is relatively a small difference between the selected quality newspapers and the tabloids in the distribution of the MVO. In the 20 articles of *The New York Times* one token of MVO occurred per 48,43 words. In the 20 articles from *The Washington Post* one token of MVO occurred per 43,69 words. In the 20 articles of *The Daily News* one token of MVO occurred per 44.95 words. In the 20 articles from *The New York Post* one token of MVO occurred per 40,72 words.

Table 4.5.2 : Average MVO after normalization of the length difference

	Average WC per article	The distribution of MVO	Average MVO
The New York Times	1244,9	1/48,53	25,65
The Washington Post	1244,9	1/43,69	28,49
The Daily News	1244,9	1/44,95	27,69
The New York Post	1244,9	1/40,72	30,57

Table 4.5.2 shows the average MVO of the selected quality newspapers and tabloids after normalizing the length difference. *The New York Post* has an average MVO of 30,57 which is the highest among the four newspapers. There appears to be a small difference between the average MVO of *The Washington Post* and *The Daily News* which are 28,65 and 27,69 respectively. The table also shows that *The New York Time* has an average MVO of 25.65 which has not changed as explained in section 3.3 (see NPT1 in section 3.3).

5 DISSCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Hypothesis a)

Hypothesis a) concerns the illustration of two-valued orientation in the language of tabloids and quality newspapers.

The language of quality newspapers illustrates less two-valued orientation than that of the tabloids.

The results depicted in Table 4.1 (see page 40) did not provide conclusive evidence. This may have been due to the fact that an average news article from the two selected tabloids is generally shorter than that of the selected quality newspapers. However, the table shows that the frequency of the five categories, in the two quality newspapers and tabloids follows a similar pattern. The pattern shows that prepositions are the most frequently used verbal expressions of two-valued orientation in all four newspapers. WAVE and antonyms are the second and third most frequent category respectively. Correlative conjunctions and pronouns, on the other hand, are not frequently used in both the two tabloids and the two quality newspapers. One possible explanation for this pattern could be the number of members each category comprises. For instance, compared to the category of pronouns the category of prepositions includes more members.

The results depicted in Table 4.3.1 (see page 51) showed a slight difference in how closely the verbal expressions of TVO are distributed in the articles of each newspaper. The verbal expressions of TVO are slightly less closely distributed in the articles of the two quality newspapers than they are in the articles of the selected tabloids. In the articles of *The New York Post*, one verbal expression of TVO occurred per 129,62 words; while in the articles of *The New York Times*, one verbal expression of TVO occurred per 145,6 words. A comparison between *The Washington Post* and *The Daily News* also showed the same difference. That is, in the articles of *The Washington Post* a verbal expression of TVO occurred per 138,02 words; whereas in the articles of *The Daily News* it occurred per 133,76 words.

The content of the news articles reflected on multiple levels of the conflict. The domestic side of the conflict comprises Syrian Kurds, the Islamic state, the opposition to Bashar al-Assad's regime and multiple other rebel groups that are fighting a sectarian war in Syria. There is also the international side of the conflict including countries which see the presence of Assad's regime necessary for the region such as Russia, China and Iran and countries which say that Assad's regime has lost its legitimacy after using chemical weapons

against civilians and that he needs to be ousted. Thus, as expected, in the selected eighty articles, two-valued orientation was expressed in reports about different levels of the conflict.

In the two quality newspapers two-valued orientation was often expressed by using prepositions such as ‘against’ in example [1], from *The New York Times*, which shows the domestic level of the conflict between Kurds, Assad’s regime and the rebels who aim to overthrow Assad. The Kurds seek their own independent state in a country which they share with a number of sects who have different religious ideologies. The ambition to be independent from other sects and have a Kurdish state that is ruled ‘only’ by Kurds led to clashes between Kurds and those who prevent the Kurds from achieving independence such as Al Qaeda linked rebels and Assad’s regime. Thus, one could argue that example [1] showed a typical occurrence of two-valued orientation.

In the two selected tabloids, two-valued orientation is also often expressed by using prepositions. In example [20], from *The New York Post*, which talks about the issue of air strikes on Syria, two-valued orientation was expressed by using the preposition ‘without’. In addition, in the example one can detect that the reported information is somewhat sensationalized. The author of the example expressed his opinion about president Obama’s decision to launch air strikes on Syria by sarcastically referring to him as ‘peace president’ and juxtaposing the phrase with president’s decision to order air strikes on Syria. In addition to the war-peace binary opposition, the author used the preposition ‘without’ to firmly conclude that president Obama has not learnt anything from the past experiences.

The certainty, exhibited by using ‘without’, has roots in the law of excluded middle discussed in the theory section (see section 2.2). In terms of this law, because the president decided to order air strikes on Syria, he ‘definitely’ did not learn from the experiences in Afghanistan and Libya. That is, this law does not allow any other possibility that would be a middle ground. For this reason, the two-valued orientation expressed in example [20] is not only explicit but bipolarity is expressed also implicitly which is detectable within the context. However, in example [1], from *The New York Times*, in which bipolarity is also expressed by using a preposition, such implicit two-valued orientation was not detected.

Regarding words associated with essentialism, Table 4.1(page 40) shows that in *The Washington Post* WAWE were used more often than in the two tabloids. WAWE were used equally in *The New York Times* and *The New York Post*. However, by taking the average word-count of each newspaper, presented in Table 4.3.1(page 51), into account one can see that the tendency to use WAWE is actually clearer in the two tabloids. The average word-count of *The New York Post* and *The Daily News* is equal to approximately half of the average word-count

of the two quality newspapers (see table 4.3.1). However, the number of WAWE in *The New York Post* equals that of *The New York Times* and is higher than that of *The Washington Post*. The number of WAWE in *The Daily News* is also close to that of the two quality newspapers.

A comparison between example [27], from *The New York Post*, and example [9], from *The Washington Post* also showed a slight difference in how the two-valued orientation in the two examples is expressed. That is, example [9] only cites the secretary of state John Kerry. Thus, the example is void of comments of the author and only reports on the statement. However, in example [27], the author of the article indicated his essentialist position by using the words ‘certainly’ and ‘nothing’ and expressed his opinion on president Obamas decision to order air strikes on Syria.

Correlative conjunctions are not very often used in the two tabloids and quality newspapers. However, the results presented in table 4.1(page 40) showed that despite the length difference there is a small difference in the number of correlative conjunctions found. There were in total 8 instances found in the two quality newspapers and 5 instances in the two tabloids. In addition, the number of correlative conjunctions found in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Post* equal each other. Although the two tabloids have an average word-count, which is almost half of the average word-count of the quality newspapers, the number of correlative conjunctions used in the two tabloids is close to that of the two quality newspapers.

Correlative conjunctions invoke the law of excluded middle introduced by Aristotle. It was mentioned in the theory section that this law leads to bipolarization (see section 2.2). In example [11], from *The New York Times*, two-valued orientation, which has roots in this law, is expressed by using ‘either...or’. In this example, which comments on president Obama’s statement regarding consulting congress, the law makers are offered ‘only’ two options by the president and any alternative solution is disregarded. Similarly in example [29], from *The Daily News*, the law of excluded middle relates to the expression of bipolarity via the correlative conjunction ‘whether...or’. However, compared to example [11], from *The New York Times*, example [29] is rather sensationalized. This example is the author’s interpretation of president Obamas’ statement regarding air strikes on Syria and the disagreements with Russia on the issue. In addition, the pronoun ‘we’ was expanded and it is not clear who exactly ‘we’ refers to, to the Obama administration or to all Americans? The verb ‘go after’ was used in its idiomatic sense ‘go after with the intent to catch’. In addition, by using the plural form ‘Syrians’ it seems as though the pronoun ‘we’ is going to include ‘all’ Syrians. Similarly, the use of ‘Russians’ is also a generalization.

In both selected tabloids and quality newspapers, pronouns were the least frequent verbal expression of TVO. There were overall 3 instances recorded where pronouns were used to express bipolarity (see table 4.1). Two of the instances were recorded in the selected tabloids and one instance was found in *The Washington Post*, and there were no instances found in *The New York Times*. The use of the pronoun in example [15], from *The Washington Post*, which only cites a Middle East analyst at the Brookings institution, is a case of two-valued orientation in political discourse. In this example the boundary between ‘our side’ and ‘their side’ is marked by using the verb ‘mixing up’ followed by the verb ‘strike’ which indicates conflict. That is, if Iranians ‘cross the boundary’ and ‘interfere’ with the U.S. air strikes on Syria, they will most likely face air strikes by the U.S. on Iranian nuclear facilities.

In comparison to example [15], from *The Washington Post*, example [32], from *The New York Post* has sensationalized features. The example contains the author’s speculations on the consequences of weakening the Assad regime. In addition to using the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘they’ to express two-valued orientation, the author asked the question “aren’t they the real enemies of civilization?” This question shows once again the long lasting influence of Aristotle’s laws of thought on language. In this question, the author used ‘the is of identification’ and as discussed in section 2.5 this usage of the verb ‘to be’ simplifies reality to the point that it suggests two things are ‘absolutely’ identical. Therefore, in case of example [32], it is suggested that ‘they are absolutely the real enemies of the civilization.’ In addition using the word ‘civilization’, which is a highly abstract word, is an instance of generalization and as discussed in section 2.6 generalizing and using abstract words leads to getting further and further away from the non-verbal reality.

The antonyms are the third most frequent verbal expressions of TVO in the two tabloids and the two quality newspapers. That is plausibly due to the fact that similar to the category prepositions and WAEW, the category antonyms includes a large variety of words. As discussed in section 2.3, in a period of political conflict there is a lot of aggression in the discourse of the sides of the conflict. Each side tries to portray the other as ‘the evil enemy’ which leads to abundant two-valued orientation. For the purpose of ‘self-representation’ and ‘other representation’ antonyms were often used to express two-valued orientation. In example [18], from *The Washington Post*, a Syrian activist uses the adjectives ‘good’ and ‘bad’ to express his view on the Islamic rebels. The activist explains that he thought they were ‘bad’ people but after he met them he changed his mind and thinks that they are ‘good’ people.

In comparison to example [18], from *The Washington Post*, which quotes an activist, in example [36], from *The New York Post*, the author used antonyms to describe the two sides of

the conflict inside Syria. The author expresses concern that the rebel group, for which the U.S. provides arms, is also a threat and weakening the Assad's regime leads to strengthening terrorism. He used the adjective 'black' describing Bashar al-Assad and 'white' to refer to the best replacement of Assad regime. The example is further sensationalized by using the following sentences: "Assad is an odious butcher". This sentence contains the use of both the 'is' of identity and the 'is' of predication. By using the 'is' of identity the sentence suggest that 'Bashar al-Assad' and 'a butcher' are entirely and in any sense identical. Additionally, by using the 'is' of predication juxtaposed with the adjective 'odious', meaning hateful, it is implied that firstly, Bashar-al Assad inherently possesses the qualities of being hateful. Secondly, he has always been and will be hateful. However, as discussed in section 2.4, everything in the world we live in and everybody is in a constant process of change, and nothing is static. Example [36] contains multiple elements of two-valued orientation such as: the antonyms, the two usages of the verb 'to be', and the use the proposition 'between'. This could indicate how closely the tokens of TVO occurred in the articles of *The New York Post*.

A comparison between the four newspapers showed that the average TVO of the two quality newspapers is lower than that of the two tabloids. While The average TVO of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* is 8,55 and 9,01 respectively, the average TVO of *The New York Post* and *The Daily News* is 9,5 and 9,3 respectively. Although the difference is relatively small, it indicates that the tendency to use two-valued discourse in the two quality newspapers is slightly less than in the two selected tabloids. Therefore, in view of the results, one can say that hypothesis a) is weakly corroborated.

5.2 Hypothesis b)

Hypothesis b) concerns the illustration of multi-valued orientation in the language of quality newspapers and tabloids.

The language of quality newspapers illustrates more multi-valued orientation than that of the tabloids

The primary results of counting the MVO tokens in the overall 80 article presented in Table 4.4.1(see page 52) shows that the number of MVO tokens found under the category, quantifiers, is relatively higher compared to the other three categories presented in Table 4.4.1. There were also fewer tokens of MVO found under the category, to-me-ness. This turnout might have been affected by the size of the categories. That is to say, while the category

quantifiers comprises 25 members, the category *to-me-ness*, is made up of only 4 members. Thus, this difference may have influenced the frequency of the occurrences.

The dating device which indicated extensional orientation in the news articles was used both in the selected quality newspapers and tabloids. Tokens of dating occurred often in form of daytime, weekdays, months, years and decades. There were no significant differences noticed in using the dating device between the selected tabloids and quality newspapers. Tokens of dating occurred both in citations and in the commentaries of the author. They occurred with regard to the political meetings, the time of statements made by politicians and in reference to certain events related to the conflict. In example [39], from *The New York Times*, dating involved mentioning daytime and weekday adding more details about when the White House sent its proposed measure to the congress. Example [39] shows the typical use of dating in the articles which was considered as a multi-value oriented example. In example [56], from *The New York Post*, dating was used in the form of mentioning the year when Israel started providing its citizens with gear as safety measure against any possible chemical threat. As a result of dating, both examples appear to be relatively descriptive and to be on a low level of abstraction. The examples also accommodate more facts and less evaluative information.

Quantifiers in the news articles indicated multi-valued orientation by making the statements they were used in more extensional. Compared to the other three categories presented in Table 4.4.1 (page 52), quantifiers were used more often in both the selected tabloids and quality newspapers. This may be due to the fact that the category has many members. In other words, there are more quantifiers in English than words which can be used to express *to-me-ness*. The quantifiers were used in evaluative statements both in citations and commentaries of the journalists which avoided two-valued orientation. That is, using the quantifiers brought a scale of values to the evaluative statements in the articles and avoided the absolutes. As in example [45], from *The Washington Post* where the use of quantifier ‘some’ indicated a scale of judgment. Therefore, it was considered a multi-valued statement. Similarly, in [61], from *The New York Post*, the two times use of the quantifier ‘very’ followed by adjectives ‘expensive’ and ‘difficult’. This example, which cites president Obama, showed a multi-valued approach to the evaluation of a possible U.S. intervention in Syria. By using the quantifier ‘very’ he avoided expressing his judgment in only two-values; rather he gave it a scale of values.

Concerning the category *to-me-ness*, it is evident from table 4.4.1 that compared to the other three categories, there are fewer MVO tokens found under this category. This could be due to the fact that it is a smaller category in terms of the number of the members. This might

also indicate that in English there is a small variety of words which can in general indicate the projection of personal opinion as do the phrases like *it seems to me*. In example [46], from *The New York Times*, using the verb ‘seem’ showed the fact that ‘remote’ is the projection of the analyst’s personal opinion. Another occurrence of the token of MVO belonging to this category was in example [62], from *The Daily News*. In this example, not only did using the verb ‘appear’ specify the evaluation to the journalist himself, but also it avoided the use of the ‘to be’ verb. Using the ‘to be’ verb in example [62] instead of ‘appear’ would have implied that the splintering exists in president Obamas attempt to form a coalition.

The results also showed that the words associated with hesitation were quite frequently used in both the selected tabloids and quality newspapers. The tokens of WEH occurred with regard to the domestic and the international aspects of the developing events in Syria. The tokens of WEH were used by politicians and other groups involved in the conflict to express doubt and uncertainty regarding issues such as the side responsible for the chemical attacks and the possible U.S. intervention in Syria. Further, the frequent use of WAH showed that the language of the selected tabloids and quality newspaper illustrate noticeable non-essentialism. Example [51], from *The New York Times*, shows conjectures and speculations regarding the missiles used by rebels. By using the word ‘perhaps’ the journalist took a non-essentialist position and expressed doubt rather than certainty about how rebels gained access to the missiles. Example [67], from *The Daily News*, also exhibits non-essentialism. The use of ‘could’ in the example reflects the awareness that there is no absolutely right prediction for the role confirming the use of chemical weapons will play. Thus, using ‘could’ led to more flexibility and left more room for hesitation.

One observation made is that occasionally the tokens of MVO and TVO occurred side by side in one sentence. As in example [52] (see page 56), from *The Washington Post*, the token of MVO ‘maybe’ is juxtaposed with the word ‘never’ which is the token of TVO. It is discussed in the example whether or not the application of force in Syria by the U.S. produces reasonable outcome. “Simply the application of force rarely produces and, in fact, **maybe never** produces the outcome we seek.” This juxtaposition could indicate the intertwining of two-valued and multi-valued orientation in the context of the news articles. According to the method used in this paper for the measurement of TVO and MVO in the news articles the tokens were counted regardless of the content of the example. Nevertheless, an assessment of the content might indicate that the example is multi-valued. Thus, one could say that the segregation and measurement of MVO and TVO in news articles may be challenging and may require content analysis.

The examples discussed above appear to be in agreement with the theoretical background of this study. Nonetheless, the results showed inconclusive evidence. The result of calculating the distribution of MVO presented in Table 4.5.1 (page 60) did not show conclusive evidence that the tokens of MVO are more closely distributed in the selected quality newspapers than the tabloids. It showed, however, that the MVO tokens are almost equally distributed. Nevertheless, the calculation of average MVO after normalizing the length difference, as presented in table 4.5.2 (page 61), showed that the average MVO of *The New York Post* is higher than that of the other three newspapers. However, the average MVO of *The Washington Post* is higher than that of *The Daily News*. The turnout might result from several influencing factors. The news articles from both the selected tabloids and quality newspapers included the citation of various sources and this may have raised the chances of including more factual information such as dates, numbers etc. rather than interpretations. This might also indicate that the tabloids similar to the quality newspapers are to some extent committed to the principle of objectivity (see page 5) in their journalism. Another influencing factor might be that the tokens of MVO were counted having taken them out of the context. This might have resulted in counting the tokens even when they might not have occurred in the context of multi-valued statements. Thus, in view of the obtained results one can say that hypothesis b) is refuted.

Given the obtained results, one could say that the language of selected quality newspapers may not necessarily illustrate more multi-valued orientation than the language of the selected tabloids. As the results previously showed that language of selected tabloids illustrated a slight tendency towards two-valued orientation, one could expect to see less multi-valued orientation in the language of the tabloids. Nonetheless, the results showed that the news articles from that selected tabloids contained a noticeable number of MVO tokens. This could perhaps indicate that the language of tabloids could also illustrate significant multi-valued orientation.

5.3 Conclusion

The first hypothesis stated that the language of quality newspapers illustrates less two-valued orientation than the language of tabloids. According to the overall results obtained, the two quality newspapers studied in this paper, have an average TVO of 8.5 (*The New York Times*) and 9,01 (*The Washington Post*). However, the average TVO of the two tabloids was 9.6 (*The New York Post*) and 9.3 (*The Daily News*). This showed that the language of the two selected

quality papers illustrated slightly less two-valued orientation than the language of the two selected tabloids. Therefore, the results weekly corroborated the hypothesis.

The second hypothesis regarding multi-valued orientation in the quality newspapers and tabloids was refuted. That is, the results did not provide conclusive evidence. However, the language of the selected tabloids and quality newspapers illustrated significant multi-valued orientation. Quantifiers, dating and WEH were most frequent tokens of MVO. As mentioned in the theoretical part of this thesis, one could expect less multi-valued orientation in discourse about conflict. It was, therefore, interesting to see that the language of the selected tabloids and quality newspapers illustrated significant multi-valued orientation in spite of the topic of the articles which was *conflict*.

Regarding the limitations this study encountered, I would say there was not enough directly relevant literature available on the topic of this thesis. Nonetheless, the theory outlined the main components of two-valued and multi-valued orientation and pertaining areas of language use. There might also be other works done on the topic. However, I was not able to find any.

Concerning the data, I selected a total of 80 articles. However, a bigger sample size would probably have resulted in clearer patterns and possibly generalizable results. In addition, measuring two-valued and multi-valued orientation in the language of newspapers proved to be difficult and involved complications. I did a sampling of categories for both TVO and MVO, to help identify the occurrence of two-valued and multi-valued orientation in the news articles. Nonetheless, the measurement of the two concepts in the language seemed also to be dependent on the content. That is, the frequency of the verbal expressions of TVO and MVO was measured independent of the content. However, there might have been instances where the tokens of TVO appeared within a context where there is no two-valued orientation expressed. Therefore, I assume content analysis could probably be a proper solution to this complication.

One issue in measuring two-valued and multi-valued orientation which raised my interest was the citations in news articles. Although I did not make a distinction between two-valued and multi-valued orientation expressed by the sources cited in the articles and the commentaries of the authors of the articles, I suppose such a difference should be made in case of future analyses. That is because the commentaries reflect on the stand-point of the newspaper which could be partly influenced by factors such as political orientation of the newspaper. In addition, the two-valued and multi-valued orientation in the citations is expressed by different sources, which in my opinion should be distinguished. Thus, I believe

making this distinction could be central to conducting a more efficient measurement of MVO and TVO in the language of newspapers.

In the end, the language of the selected tabloids in spite of exhibiting significant multi-valued orientation, also exhibited a slight tendency to illustrate more two-valued orientation than the language of the selected quality newspapers. Considering the small amount of data, the tendency towards two-valued orientation may be a function of the small-sized sample of this study and should not be generalized to all American tabloids.

5.4 Self-critique and future research

The theoretical background of this study touched on relevant topics and components pertaining to the concept of two-valued and multi-valued orientation. Since the language of newspapers was aimed to be examined in this study, a section was also dedicated to the tabloid and quality journalism. Given the nature of the topic of this thesis, I am aware that a more in-depth discussion of journalism in the U.S. as well as language in the press could have been needed. Further, as there is a substantial network of relationships between the topics of the chapters, it made it necessary to mention some components in more than one section. This might give the reader the impression that they are redundant. However, they are indispensable to the overall cohesion of the theory chapter.

Regarding the data, I suppose that more articles could have been selected. A larger amount of data would probably lead to more tokens of TVO and MVO and perhaps show new patterns which were not already discussed in this thesis. However, due to the scope of this thesis and its limited time-frame, the data selected amounted to 80 articles. For further research, a larger amount of data could be selected from several more newspapers. The selection of the newspapers could also be done based on their political orientation. For instance a parallel comparison of TVO and MVO could be drawn between liberal and conservative newspapers in the U.S or in the U.K. Additionally the concept of two-valued and multi-valued orientation can be investigated in various areas of language use such as literature, media, politics education etc.

Concerning the hypotheses, I suppose that this thesis could have tested more hypotheses. That is, the existing hypotheses could have been more specifically formulated. One could consider examining specific categories of the tokens of MVO and TVO in the selected articles such as antonyms. For instance, a hypothesis regarding antonyms could test the relationship between antonyms and the use of the 'is' of identification. Moreover, other

hypotheses could also be formulated to test two-valued orientation and multi-valued orientation in the citations and commentaries in the news articles.

With regard to the occurrence of TVO and MVO, in some cases, where the tokens were closely juxtaposed, it was challenging to decide whether the example should be considered an example of two-valued orientation or multi-valued orientation. Nevertheless, I decided to analyze such examples in terms of either one of the concepts like example [52], from *The Washington Post*, which was considered an example for multi-valued orientation. The existence of such instances may also be of interest for future research. Such instances may be an indication of the fact that sometimes the line between the concept of two-valued and multi-valued orientation in language use is blurred and segregating them is challenging.

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7 Appendix

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