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解析同性戀：台灣網路新聞中的詞彙搭配與
社會態度

Analyzing Homosexuality: Lexical collocations and
social attitudes in Taiwan's Internet News

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摘要

隨著同志議題越來越受到重視，人們對同志文化(Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) 的社會態度近年來也有改變的趨勢。本研究以社會語言學角度探討同志的表徵。本研究討論在臺灣網路新聞媒體中三個關鍵詞彙：同志、同性戀、同婚，如何在網路新聞中被討論與呈現，並以三個層面來分析：詞彙搭配、新聞標題、新聞內文。研究方法使用數位典藏國家型科技計畫的斷詞工具和自建語料庫軟體 (AntConc tool) 取得中文斷詞結果(Segmentation) 與關鍵詞上下文語境 (Concordance)。研究結果顯示顯著的語義特徵。同志、同婚、同性戀的詞彙搭配有三個語意範疇的共通性：法律涵義與政治運動(Legal Implication and Political Movement)、立場顯示 (Stance Showing)、關係與身份標籤 (Relationship and Identity Label)。同志與同性戀的詞彙搭配語意範疇極為相似包含：破壞性行為 (Destructive Behavior)、以及負面情緒 (Negative Emotion)。所收集的網路新聞語料中可發現三個重要主題：平等與平權(Equality and Sameness)、家庭角色 (The Role of Family)、社會破壞力 (Destruction to Society)。整體而言，負面涵義詞彙與正面涵義詞彙皆在語料中出現，但負面涵義比正面涵義的詞彙表現顯著。本研究的試圖探討同志在新聞網路媒體中的描繪與語意功能上的表徵。藉由分析新聞內文中語言的使用、社會態度和語境結構，確實幫助我們了解大眾對於同志的感知、意義與評價。

關鍵詞：網路新聞、同性戀、詞彙搭配、語意範疇、社會態度、同志

ABSTRACT

As concerns about homosexuality are becoming more prominent, social attitudes toward lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people (LGBT) have changed lately. This study attempts to investigate the representation of homosexuality from a linguistic perspective. We examine three key terms *tongzhi* 'homosexual', *tongxianlian* 'gay' and *tonghun* 'same-sex marriage' from news reports in Taiwan's Internet news by studying how homosexuality is represented and described in terms of lexical collocations, headlines and news content. Making use of the tools *National Digital Archives Program* and *AntConc (3.4.4w)*, we are able to retrieve word segmentation and concordance. Our collocates analysis suggests significant semantic features. The result shows that word neighboring *tongzhi*, *tongxinglian* and *tonghun* share three semantic categories: (i) legal implication and political movement; (ii) stance showing; (iii) relationship and identity label. Collocates of *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* are more similar so the semantic categories overlap with each other heavily, pertaining to destructive behavior and negative emotion. We identify three major themes in homosexuality related discourses, including equality and sameness, the role of family and destruction to society. Overall, our investigation shows that positive and negative attitudes both play a role in online news; they either promote tolerance and equality or are against homosexuality. However, the result shows negative references are more prevalent than positive ones.

The current study carries important implications for the linguistic representation of homosexuality, and analyzing discourses help to explore the intimate association between public perception toward homosexuality and meanings and values through language use.

Keywords: homosexuality, Internet news, lexical collocations, semantic categories, social attitudes, *tongzhi*



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不敢相信我可以完成一本論文坐在書桌前完成最後的謝辭，在寫論文當下我面臨了許多挑戰與困難，好幾次起了放棄的念頭但在眾多朋友師長的鼓勵下讓我學習到了如何解決困難面對挑戰。在這過程當中我接受了許多人的幫助，我真的非常感恩，在完成畢業論文的同時我內心是激動與喜悅。完成論文是對自己的一種負責的態度，研究的過程充滿喜怒哀樂但是我做到了！

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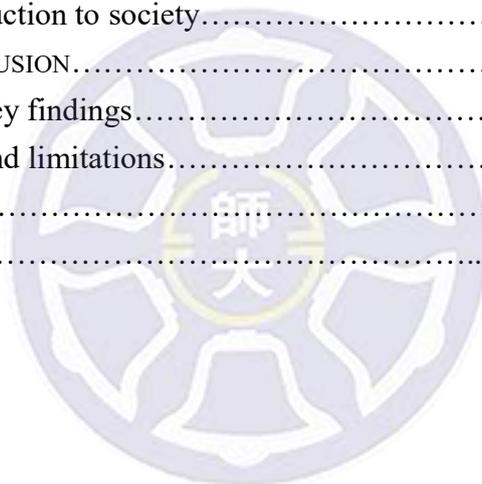
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation

In the twenty-first century, many nations began legalizing same-sex marriages. Along with the legalization of same-sex marriage, attitudes toward homosexuality in many nations have changed (Hooghe and Meeusen 2013). Awareness to protect the rights and civil liberties of homosexuals has also increased in Asia. Some Asian countries such as Nepal, Vietnam, Thailand and Japan have even considered legalizing same-sex marriages (Misra 2009). Among those Asian countries, as reported by CNN, Taiwan is likely to become one of the first Asian countries to legalize same-sex marriage. According to the Taiwan Social Change Survey, the public's attitude toward homosexuality has become positive recently. As shown in figure 1.1, Taiwan has made the most progress in higher tolerance of homosexuality from 1995-2012 when compared to China, Japan and Korea in the World Values Survey. By comparing waves (wave 3: 1995-1998; wave 6:2010-2012) of data between 1995 and 2012, Taiwanese have developed more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality. The findings show that overall social tolerance

has increased.

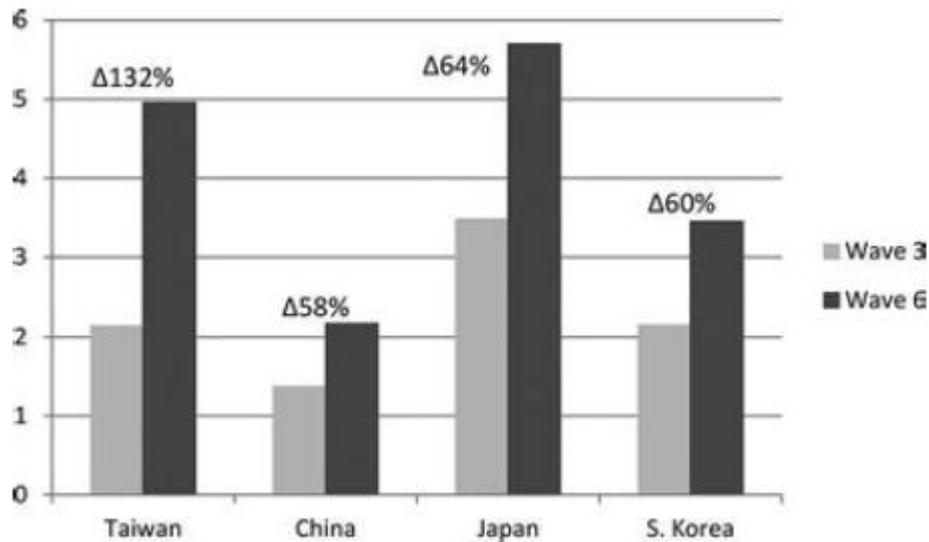


Figure 1.1. Changes in homosexuality¹

In the following we provide some of the historical background about homosexuality in Taiwan. Before the gay right movement started growing in the 1990s, little attention was given to the issue of homosexual civil rights in Taiwan. However, same-sex marriage has been an issue since the 2000s. The legal movement for gay rights began in 2001. Initially, in 2003 the Executive Yuan proposed the idea of legalization of same-sex marriage under the Human Rights Basic Law, but it was rejected due to the opposition of legislators. President *Ma Ying-jeou* 馬英九 showed respect to LGBT groups, and he announced that public

¹ Mean scores and percent changes on the 10-point tolerance measure for whether homosexuality is justified in the World Values Survey between wave 3 and wave 6. Adapted from World Values Survey <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp> wave:3 (1995-1998); wave 6 (2010-2012)

support was necessary before the law could be approved. In 2013, the chairman of the Democratic Progressive Party, *Su Zhen-chang* 蘇貞昌 supported same-sex marriage, but different opinions about homosexuality-related issue in the party blocked the approval of the legalization of same-sex marriage. On October 24, 2015, Taipei City held a joint wedding ceremony which allowed same-sex couples to participate for the first time. Mayor *Ke Wen-zhe* 柯文哲 hosted the event. On 28 October, the Taichung City Government stated that same-sex couples would be allowed to join the next year's mass wedding ceremony. Despite these divisions, in November 2015, *Tsai Ing-wen* 蔡英文 declared her positive position on same-sex marriage. Finally in October 2016, the legislator, *Yu Mei-nu* 尤美女 proposed a new amendment to the Civil Code. In November 2016, drafts amendments to Taiwan's Civil Code which would legalize same-sex marriage and adoption passed the first reading in the Legislative Yuan. Afterwards, on 3rd December, tens of thousands of people protested in Taipei. A week later, on 10 December, nearly 250,000 supporters who attended carried placards calling on the government to legalize same-sex marriage immediately. The supporters have taken to the streets of Taiwan's capital, Taipei, to demonstrate in front of the Taipei Presidential Office, expressing their desire to legalize same-sex marriage. On 26 December 2016, the Legislature's Judiciary and Organic Laws and Statutes Committee finished and

passed the same-sex marriage bills. The legal movement for gay rights began to gain momentum. On 24 May 2017, Taiwan's top judges ruled in favor of same-sex marriage, paving the way for it to become the first place in Asia to legalize same-sex unions. The top court ruled that the current law preventing members of the same-sex from marrying violated their right to equality and the laws preventing were unconstitutional. It gave the Legislative Yuan two years to amend existing laws and to pass new ones.

Changes of trends towards positive attitudes regarding LGBT civil rights and regulations symbolize that people's attitudes nowadays have become more liberal. Now with public and political progress of same-sex marriage, the proposal to legalize the bill is still ongoing in Taiwan. To this end, the present study is designed to target exploration of social attitudes toward homosexuality in Internet news. We choose news related to homosexuality on the Internet media as our database for analysis, including collocations and pragmatic meanings. We compile a corpus of online-news texts from a selection of four reliable Internet media databases. Our corpus consists of 100 texts that contain references to homosexuality. Along with detailed descriptions of how journalists report people's stances, we are able to present word choices and claims about homosexuality clearly.

1.2 News discourse

Although homosexuality has been an issue in Taiwan, linguistic use and how it is evaluated have rarely been the focus. Our focus is on social attitudes toward homosexuality currently in the news media. In our study, we focus on references in news only, which is a subset of discourse about the media. Undoubtedly, news is the site when language or media language is discussed. It is not only convenient but also appropriate to confine our study to the scope of online news texts. News discourse is what Lippi-Green (1997:55) calls “the ordering of social groups in terms of who has authority to determine how language is best used.” The Internet news provides the most representative sample of the kind of public opinions of media types as Paffey (2012) stated. News media can be considered such an institution because media’s propose is to provide a public information service, its well established position in influencing and reflecting public opinion and its tradition of particular practices, coverage and format. If ideology is present in language, then the influential position of information to inform and influence readers is an interesting vehicle of ideological transmission (van Dijk 1998). As Fairclough (1995) described:

Media discourse should be regarded as the site of complex and often contradictory processes, including ideological processes. Media texts do indeed function

ideologically in social control commodities in a competitive market, and they are part of the business of entering people, and designed to keep people politically and socially informed, and they are cultural artefacts in their own right, informed by particular aesthetics, and they are at the same time caught up in- reflecting and contributing to – shifting cultural values and identities.

(Fairclough 1995:47)

This idea is similar to Fowler's (1991) idea that the scale of production and dissemination of newspaper discourse, along with economic and political stances, and positions and opinions of each paper are what give the press an important role as a site of ideological diffusion (Fowler 1991). Journalists choose what is important to write and they also choose how the articles should be displayed in terms of editing and arrange them under which news items should be put in front. Linguistic devices such as word choices, framing, depiction, and writing strategies are also made for readers and editors to read and generate, which are what Fairclough considers the shifting cultural values and identities.

According to Richardson (2007:7), "Journalists exist to enable citizens to better understand their lives and their positions in the world and in favor of idealist vision." With a view to assisting citizens to understand their lives, it is common for news media to emphasize perspectives of what their citizens' lives are like, and should be like: the reproduction of the model citizen or reader. The relation between readers and news

agency firms the agency as an institution. It can be considered as institutional ideologies. As van Dijk argues, “The ideologies and opinions of news are not personal but social, institutional or political.” (van Dijk 1998:22).

Fairclough (1995) indicates that there are other organizations, economic, political and cultural- that already own authority in their fields and that practice some level of control over media output through their access of its production. The ideologies are hidden and transformed. In sum, news discourse which is categorized as a subset of media discourse includes two major points:

- a. It is firmly rooted in the linguistic choices made by the writers and the decision of writing materials
- b. The process is natural and there are various styles, characteristics and different techniques adopted by writers

Fairclough (1995:40)

The features of news discourse often obstruct certain focus and the opinions being showed by individual press agency, thus realizing a stronger influence as an objective and vision. In our opinion, the news discourse is a fairly fruitful and crucial area for producing and spreading different ideologies, and especially the ideologies and representations of the world.

1.3 Research questions and organization of present study

The primary goal of this present study is to explore the social attitudes of the public by conducting a corpus-based study and to uncover the evaluations of homosexuality behind various texts. We investigate data regarding homosexuality which cannot be seen easily without the assistance of a corpus analysis. The present study strives to interpret the data which are generated between 2016 and 2017 and the potential motivating factors for producing the texts. The present study offers collocation and lexical co-occurrences for understanding ideology, cultural meanings, and social representations in a community. What keywords are used more frequently than others? What do they represent? In this respect, the following research questions are addressed:

1. What are the collocations and lexical co-occurrences of the three key terminologies, *tongzhi* 同志 ‘homosexual’, *tongxinglian* 同性戀 ‘gay’, and *tonghun* 同婚 ‘same-sex marriage’?
2. Are there any semantic differences between collocates of *tongzhi* 同志 ‘homosexual’, *tongxinglian* 同性戀 ‘gay’, and *tonghun* 同婚 ‘same-sex marriage’?
3. How do headlines and news texts represent homosexuality in online news

media?

The study involves collocations of significant keywords and we labeled them as negative, positive or neutral. The present study also involves a particular construction used to discuss homosexuality or against claims of homosexual on each side of position. In addition to this, we expand qualitative analysis on the data and provide relevant examples in the collected corpus. Studying across a lot of data, we examine assessments and evaluative descriptions. The study also considers how the different evaluations form and how the press delivers this issue. We begin by offering a brief review of same-sex marriage in Taiwan throughout the time, which helps understand the rights and representations of homosexuals which are dependent on public discourse. Media representations refer to the varying ways in which the media depicts or portrays the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community. To address this issue, we examine public discourses in relation to homosexuality. Chapter 2 introduces relevant research in the field of gender and language, recent work in media and language ideologies, and research using corpus linguistic techniques. Chapter 3 discusses the selection of materials, data construction and steps of dealing with the collected data. Chapter 4 presents the results and discussion, including the language usage, linguistic patterns, and collocational analysis to detect dominant

media discourses. In the last chapter, we summarize our observations and identify further issues for possible research.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender and sexuality is the locus of the present study, so the chapter covers general theories and theoretical notions in relation to gender and sexuality. First, we set out to review studies about language, gender and sexuality, which is followed by language ideologies and media discourse. Afterwards, we also review studies on language and gender using corpus approaches.

2.1 Language, gender, and sexuality

The field of language and gender was established in the 1970s; a lot has been discussed and written about the topic from a range of theoretical perspectives. Before that, there was occasional scholarly interest in this topic, but those studies were limited to describing women's way of using language as morally correct or identifying gender-specific varieties. The field of language and gender began to flourish with Lakoff (1975), when she published an influential book *Language and Woman's Place*. Lakoff argued that women have a different way of speaking from men, which reflects and produces women's subordinate position in society. According to Lakoff, women's language is full of particular language devices. For example, they tend to reduce the force or

intensity of things unpleasant and with hedges such as *sort of*, *I think*, or with unimportant qualifiers such as *really happy*, *beautiful*. This kind of language renders women's language tentative, powerless and trivial. Language becomes a tool of oppression. Her work aroused people's interest and brought about a series of research and debate. Many later studies aim at putting Lakoff's linguistic claims to the empirical test. In the following section, 2.1.1 first introduces the concept of language, gender and sexuality, which is then followed by debates about whether Lakoff's claims are related to- difference or dominance, which is reviewed in 2.1.2. In the following section, 2.1.1 sets out to offer the background of gender and sex, focusing on gender and sex respectively. We discuss gender as socially constructed and the product of social practice, and we also discuss the relation between gender and biology. Section 2.1.2 introduces major theoretical models to gender variation in language. In 2.1.3, apart from traditional approaches, more recent research has been carried out by trying ways of going beyond a strictly binary thinking of linguistic gender construction and by providing critical analyses of gender discourses and practices.

2.1.1 Sex and gender

It is important to state at the very beginning gender is understood to be and is distinct from sex. The distinction between sex and gender has been one of the

foundations of feminist thought. The following pairs of definitions are one typical view:

Sex and gender serve a useful analytic purpose in contrasting a set of biological facts with a set of cultural facts. Were I to be scrupulous in my use of terms, I would use the term sex only when I was speaking of biological differences between males and females. When I use gender, I was referring to the social, cultural, psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences....[G]ender designates a set of categories to which we can give the same label crosslinguistically or crossculturally because they have some connection to sex differences.

(Shapiro 1981:449)

The distinction between sex and gender seems to be two slightly different views which argue that differences and inequalities between males and females are due to sex or biology, as in the following.

In all primate societies the division of labor by gender creates a highly stable social system the dominant males controlling territorial boundaries and maintaining among lesser males by containing and preventing their aggression, the females tending the young and forming alliances with other females. Human primates follow this same pattern so remarkably that it is not difficult to argue for biological bases for the type of social order that channels aggression to guard the territory which in turn maintains an equitable environment for the young.

Sperling (1991:208)

Some scholars argue that sex-gender models like Shapiro's are questionable both in the idea of gender and sex because Shapiro implies there are two genders based on two sexes. Linda Nicholson (1994) claims that it overstates similarity within each category and understates similarity across categories. Shapiro's opinions are usually followed by physical anthropologists and biologists and provide a notion of the biological and how it is associated with social environment. Much recent work in sociolinguistics adopts other approach. Scholars with this view look at the social construction of sex and gender (Cameron 2006). The quote below is a good example.

Gender ought to be conceived merely as the cultural inscription of meaning one pre-given sex...gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which "sexed nature" or a "natural sex" is produced and established as "prediscursive" prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts.

Bulter (1990:7)

Gender is not something we are born with, and not something we have but something we do (West and Zimmerman 1987)- something we perform (Bulter 1990). Gender doesn't just exist, but it continually produces and reproduces and changes through people's acts when they project their own identities. Gender concerns social behavior,

and it is strongly associated with the social decisions made under the consideration of sex and language plays an important role in establishing these decisions. Gender is something we learn, because we acquire social characteristics and engage in behaviors. Simone de Beauvoir (1952) believed that we gradually become masculine or feminine and we behave in gendered ways for a host of reasons. Gender is not binary, because we are a combination of many characteristics. We act out gender roles from a continuum of masculine and feminine characteristics and we are therefore gendered, and we are involved in a process of our own gendering and the gendering of others throughout lives. In the field of gender and language use, this performance is referred to as doing gender (Bergvall, 1999; Bulter 1990).

In contrast, sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential; gender is the social elaboration of biological sex (Eckert and McConnell-Genet 2003). Gender performances are not universal, but gender as a social construct is a universal factor influencing the way people live and understand each other. The extent to which behavior is biologically determined or learned through social experiences is tricky and unclear. Some gender roles are quite straightforward. For example, women bear children and they are in the position of a mother. While others are not sex-based, for example both men and women can soothe children and be in a position of fosters. Butler (1990) considers that both sex and gender as socially

constructed. Thus the definition of the biological categories and people's understanding of each other is ultimately social. Butler defines gender as a phenomenon brought into being when it is performed. She stated, "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of a substance, of natural kind of being (Butler 1990: 43-4). Thus, gender is not something you have once and for all in life, but a growing realization by repeating your acts. As Fausto-Sterling (2000:3) summarizes, "Labeling someone a man or a woman is a social decision. We may use scientific knowledge to help us to make the decision, but only our beliefs about gender- not science can define our sex. Furthermore, our beliefs about gender affect what kinds of knowledge scientists produce about sex in the first place."

Some scholars have questioned the distinction between gender and sex, particularly in growing literature on sexual desire and sexuality identities. Researchers tend to question the idea of gender as a simple binary difference. Earlier work focused mainly on the expression of sexuality through specific lexical items (Rodgers 1972). Cameron (2005), Bucholtz and Hall (2004) have discussed the role of language and sexuality, which are clearly linked. Gender itself is no longer taken to be fixed and unchangeable. Thus, there is a shift of research, from research that concentrates on the linguistic realization of gender differences to diversity. The idea has been developed

into queer theory and feminist theory (e.g. Livia and Hall, 1997), and it is in large part for that reason that the word sexuality appears. The idea of gender as performative is increasingly visible for people whose gender identities are not determined by the sex of their bodies at birth or by their early socialization. Those people can be like transgendered and transsexual people, individuals who alternate between different gendered positions, or people who decline to be defined as either men or women but claim to be something in between (Cameron 2005). This view of gender is tightly locked with factors such as sexual orientation. Fuss (1989:202) stated that “What is risky is giving up the security- and the fantasy-of occupying a single subject position.” Fuss argued that it is impossible to justify the category’s boundaries as not all women share the same characteristic nor do they share a single experience. As she said, “Can we ever speak ... simply of the female...or the male as if these categories were not transgressed already, not already constituted by other axes of difference such as class, culture, nationality, ethnicity? (Fuss1989:133). Bucholtz and Hall (2004) note how these theories have provided useful approaches for studying power relations surrounding sexuality and gender respectively.

Our research focuses on gender, sex and sexuality as a social construction. Although we recognize that biology imposes certain physiological constraints on most males and females, we treat these differences as socially constructed. In the following section, we

present different approaches and models to language and gender, and provide studies of language and gender in contexts.

2.1.2 Theoretical models: dominance, difference and performance

It is important to be aware that there are ways to define, analyze and interpret language use in alignment with gender. The first is the theory of dominance approach. This point of view understands any gender differences in language. When Lakoff (1975) published her influential account of women's language, she established a set of basic observations about the language of women. She understood any gender differences in language use is a result of women being dominated by men in various interactions.

Women's speech seems in general to contain more instances of 'well', 'you know', 'kind' and so forth: words that convey the sense that the speaker is uncertain about what she is saying.

(Lakoff 1975:53)

Lakoff claimed that typical linguistic features were in women's speech and that they indicated insecurity in many women. She believed that women were vulnerable to such ways because of their uncertainty and in order to subordinate themselves to others. Lakoff's idea aroused many possible interpretations of women's language and patterns.

Spender (1980) criticized Lakoff's view of women as deficient. She suggested that it had been men who dominated women as part of a male-dominance system so that women were not flawed as much as they were dominated. She also suspected the subordinated role of women. Researchers did not deny the existence of dominance and oppression in male-female relationships but became unhappy about the negative description of women, since Lakoff (1975) described women's language as weak, timid, and powerless and women were presented as losers and victims.

Fishman (1980) agreed with both Lakoff and Spender. She conducted a research on conversations among heterosexual couples in romantic relationship, and she suggested that women asked more questions and did the most conversation work. She regarded these orientations as being due to women's lower position in society rather than any natural incompetence with language or socialized patterns. Women in Fishman's study were able to deal with language well but they made specific linguistic choices which reflected a lack of power. They remained impotent in order to be in harmony with men, which is another example of dominance. Fishman also suggested that conversations between the sexes sometimes fail because of how men hold onto their role of centrality. Men do not have to provide much concentration in their conversations with women because they have success outside the relationship that they find meaningful to them such as status (Fishman 1980).

In contrast, research which takes a difference perspective considers the differences between men's and women's linguistic usage as a result of the different sub-cultures in which women and men are socialized. Tannen (1998) found the use of the term 'speech style' more helpful than the terms 'women's language' or 'men's language'. According to Tannen, the socialization process begins at an early stage of development. Children participate in gender-specific subcultures with distinct gender style. Therefore, the concept of men and women are not helpful in identifying gendered language patterns, because children are also gendered in their language use from an early age. There are pressures on girls to be gentle and boys to be brave. Maltz and Borker's (1983) *A Cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication* found some of linguistic choices work to disadvantage girls in certain ways and to disadvantage boys in other ways, but some do not. Girls seem to be more cooperative playing with dolls, while boys to be more independent playing sports. Girls may habitually use a conversational style of solidarity, while boys may tend to adopt styles based on competition. Both styles of speaking can be beneficial to both groups. The patterns and tendencies are complex and fluid so that generalizations are unhelpful. Maltz and Borker (1982) presented a synthesis of work on gender and language. They claimed that the difficulties found in cross-sex communication are the result of cultural difference.

Tannen (1991, 1995, 1998) has suggested that men and women speak in particular

ways because they have been formed by gender cultures into specific roles and thus most comfortable in them. Tannen view masculine and feminine language as a series of contrasts in conversational style: rapport vs report; status vs support; independence vs intimacy; advice vs understanding; information vs feeling; orders vs proposals; conflict vs compromise. According to Tannen both men and women are more comfortable with these highly gendered roles and keep applying these strategies to support gender roles.

Particularly, the notion that male-female miscommunication became evident when Tannen's bestselling books '*That's Not What I Meant*' and '*You Just Don't Understand*' published in 1986 and 1992. Tannen made gender differences in languages a topic for discussion in homes over the English-speaking world. Those books tried to explain why men and women so often miscommunicate with each other when they talk. The problem Tannen identified is that each sex interprets the other's verbal expressions differently. An example in Tannen's book deals with Eve, who underwent breast operation and worried that the scars made her unattractive. Eve's husband was the one who suggested Eve could have plastic surgery. Eve was upset and her husband was hurt and puzzled. Tannen explained it as a clash of male and female norms. Women bring up troubles wanting sympathy and reassurance while men bring up troubles in expectation that someone will provide a solution. Tannen further argues that neither Eve nor her husband was aware of violating the other's norms, which results in quarrel. Tannen's overall

message is that both styles are valid. They are simply different. Tannen argues that we should admit gender differences without making value judgments. Women and men belong to different to sub-cultures; interactional problems between men and women are examples of cross-cultural miscommunication. Parallel to cross-cultural miscommunication, mixed-sex interaction could be explained as being subject to misunderstandings between members of different sub-cultures that had developed gender-typical ways of communicating through socialization in same-sex groups. The difference approach received some critical reviews. Tromel-Ploetz (1991) claimed that Tannen has taken the difference too far. Dominance and power have disappeared from the analysis. Thus, it has been accused that it tends to neglect gendered power structure.

Another point of view by Uchida (1992) is the fact that dominance and difference are often tightly interwoven. In many settings, gender differences may even be used to authorize male domination. Cameron (1995) has suggested that women have various and complex intentions for using uncertain or passive forms of speech while Cotates (1996) has suggested that there is a function at work in the use of certain language strategies, in other words, to include other speakers and to keep the conversation rolling and to not run out of things to say. This can be seen as move to make peace between dominance and difference approaches.

Many scholars who are exploring gender and language today would agree that things said in conversations depend on many variables. Holme's (2003) work on women and men in the workplace closely interlaced intention to language use, including what is said and how it is understood. Her work also considers politeness as being in line with gender. Women are more polite than men, but politeness is also influenced by life experiences and socialization rather than gender. Holmes and Sara Mills (2003b) suggested that the component of power is the heart of relationships and thus having a better understanding of power is important in gaining insights into language patterns and tendencies. Other linguists like Bergvall (1999) have wondered if these discussions on masculine and feminine tendencies are necessary, because the focus itself on gender differences may support the view that such differences exist.

2.1.3 Language, gender and sexuality studies

Many scholars have striven to question gender itself, usually by examining the close relationship between gender and sexuality. Sexuality is generally considered as a form of identity, especially with respect to sexual orientation and as a set of representative practices, especially with sexual activity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). Such theories come from a queer perspective. They challenge binary and normative concepts based on gender. Challenges to sex norms lead to a series of studies in the 1990s and

2000s which focused on various kinds of sex and gender relations. The *hijras* in India (Hall 2002) refers to a group of people who do not fit into gender-binary categories. They are people who were assigned male at birth and they are officially recognized as third gender by the government, being neither completely male nor female. The *hijras* cannot construct their identities through gender binarism. *Hijras* make creative use of the Hindi grammatical gender system, which they use not just to index themselves as female but also to convey certain attitudes. For example, they use masculine grammatical gender to express dissatisfaction with other *hijras* (Hall 2002). Hall's work with Indian *hijras* highlights the process of socialization into gender. In another study, investigating *yan daudu* (i.e., men who act like women) in Nigeria, Gaudio (2009) suggests that even in an Islamic society, Nigerian men talk like women and they often have men as sexual partners. The group violates norms of gender and sexuality. Cameron's (1997) study of men who are college students watching a basketball game, and gossiping about other men who they label "gay", shows how men construct themselves as heterosexual by criticizing other men.

Studies on groups, individuals or strategies help understand how gender is learned and performed. There is a close relationship between sexuality and gender and any other social identities, which is worth exploring (Sedgwick 1990). Barrett's (1994) research of the linguistic strategies adopted by African American drag queens shows how they

appropriate stereotypes of white women in order to criticize white stereotypes about black men. McElhinny's (2003) work on women working in a traditional workplace shows some common concepts of what it means to be a woman and what it means to be a man. Inoue's (2006) work on Japanese women's language (JWL) emphasizes the co-construction of gender, class and national identity. Inoue shows how JWL was aggressively constructed during the nineteenth century. JWL's composition serves as a modern nation-state to resist the Western colonial invasions. Weidman (2006) states that in postcolonial India, Carnatic classical music is now considered as a symbol of uncolonized Indian specialty. Her work displays how the devaluation of music functions as a symbol of women in the colonial period and is interlaced with the internalization of music and expression within the body.

Still other works on language and gender attempt to explore history and social change. For instance, Ahearn (2001) analyzes the modern discourses in Nepal. Gal (1997) presents transformations after 1989 in east and east central Europe. Inoue (2006) investigates neoliberal transformations in the Japanese workplace. Kuipers (1998) explores transformations on masculinity and ritual speech after the Dutch colonial period in Sumba. Kulick (1992) demonstrates the language shift and modernization in Papua New Guinea. Yang's (2007) work on neo liberal reconstructs gender in socialist China.

2.1.4 Language and sexuality studies

This section offers relevant review on the interaction between language and sexuality, which is also the core part of the present study. We can start by understanding the role of desire from an academic perspective. Researchers have shown intimate detail that desire play a role in sexuality studies and more precisely how sexuality impacts our language use and behavior. Cameron and Kulick (2003) adopt a postmodern approach and argue that desire should play a central role in trying to understand human behavior. Because “desire encompasses more than just the preference for partners of the same or the other sex: it also deals with non-international, non-conscious and non-rational dimensions of human sexual life. The unconscious and irrational aspects of sexuality may not be manifested on the surface of people’s behavior in the same way that their behavior displays the sexual identities they have consciously chosen (“gay,” “lesbian,” “straight”) (2003:140).

Research on language and sexuality has been done to address another aspect. The aspect of how language is used in discussions about gender. That is, how ideologies about gender, sex categories, sexuality are produced and reproduced through language and language use. Wong and Zhang’s (2000) study provides examples of activists’ stylized use of *tongzhi*. The study explores the word *tongzhi* in *G&L Magazine*,

published in Taiwan. This magazine focuses on sexual minorities in Hong Kong, Taiwan and overseas. It covers topics such as fashion, fitness, local and foreign news of interest to Chinese sexual minorities. The magazine's target is to support and to encourage gays and lesbians in Taiwan and Hong Kong and to promote the movement for equality. The study focuses on two linguistic resources: lexical and discourse features. *G&L Magazine* focuses on resources related to Western gay and lesbian cultures, women's movement, Chinese revolutionist discourse and Chinese kinship system in order to create a style that distinguish themselves from other communities. This style creates an imagined community that shapes the ideologies of equal rights for gays and lesbians for gender equality, resistance, self-respect and solidarity. These expressions include combat, struggle and encouragement such as *zhandou* 戰鬥 'combat', *zuozhan* 作戰 'fight', *nul* 努力 'strive', *fendou* 奮鬥 'struggle', *wuchi* 武器 'weapon', *da fangong* 大反攻 'fierce counterattack'. These expressions often appear with exclamation marks as slogans. Through the use of *tongzhi*, activists invoke the voice of *tongzhi*. They are united by the shared belief and promotion of equal rights for Chinese sexual minorities. Activists call on Chinese sexual minorities and create liberty, solidarity and intimacy. Cameron (2008) makes the important point that we do not define ideologies as 'beliefs' but as 'representations'. In other words, gender ideologies are not distinct from truths about gender. This distinction also focuses on the

social aspect of ideologies. Discourses about gender and sexuality influence and shape how we think about sex categories.

Wong's (2005) research focuses on the reappropriation of *tongzhi* by a mainstream newspaper in Hong Kong. This study examines the struggle over the meaning of *tongzhi*. The analysis is based on 126 articles about lesbians, gay men and other sexual minorities published between November 1998 and December 2000 in ODN. Wong argues that *tongzhi* is not a positive term, and the term *tongxinlian* 'homosexual' often appears in the news of medical and legal content. *Tongzhi* often appears in highly sensationalized news stories, such as murder, fights, gay sex clubs and domestic disputes of gay couples. The use of *tongzhi* becomes the tool for journalists to make fun of same-sex desire. In this way, they can increase the entertainment value of the news story. In ODN, *tongzhi* does not represent sexual minorities or lesbian and gay people in general, but lesbian and gay people who participate in illegal, immoral, and improper behavior. Among words that refer to sexual minorities, Wong (2008) conducted a research on the semantic change of the word *tongzhi* by investigating the word embedded in everyday discourse. Wong participated in the activities of several *tongzhi* organization. The author directly interviews and observes to collect data on activists' use of *tongzhi* as well as similar labels such as *gay* and *tongxinglian* 'homosexual'. Focusing on the semantic change of *tongzhi* from comrade to sexual minorities, Wong

argues that the semantic change of social labels is motivated by speakers' desire to take different stances and to project different personae. The study reveals a discrepancy between activist's explicit and implicit motivations. Most activists emphasize the positive references of *tongzhi*, because of the activists' desire to present themselves as members of the *tongzhi* movement. However, Wong would hesitate to claim that there is activists' explicit motivation since there is no need to identify themselves in Chinese societies. Sometimes, using *tongzhi* as one of linguistic devices to construct a public persona is implicit motivation. *Tongzhi* activists present themselves as members of *tongzhi* movement when interacting with outsiders.

There are also studies outside of Asia, conducted in countries such as Africa, the United States, Latvia and Poland, exploring homosexuality within various discourses. Tetty's (2016) study reports about homosexuality in Ghanaian media. Tetty collects news story and editorial published in various online Ghanaian media and portals. Ghanaian media plays a significant part in framing and setting the agenda for public discourse on homosexuality. They do this through regarding homosexuality as a threat to the social order. Media reports brought visibility to the issue but created the moral panic towards homosexuality. Tetty argues that the media stimulates homophobia and heterosexism although they claim they support human rights and democratic citizenship. The ideology is embedded within particular sociocultural system. As the case in the

study, the panic in Ghana is strengthened by the authorities who have access and control over the media.

Trammell (2015) investigates first-person testimonials written by gay and lesbian Christians in the newsmagazine *Christianity Today* between 2000 and 2010. Trammell identifies the common and dominant theses on how homosexual Christians negotiate their faith with their sexualities. *Christianity Today* testimonies frame the gay Christian experience as painful and embarrassing. The writers consider homosexuality as a condition that they would not choose for themselves, and it leads to shame, hurt and emotional trauma. Trammell suggests that a person can be both gay and Christian as long as that person recognizes his or her sexuality as a condition of sinful pain. In other words, *Christianity Today* testimonies frame homosexuality as a spiritual problem. The main reason they consider homosexuality bad is because it doesn't align with evangelicalism. The magazine also encourages homosexual Christians to define their sexualities and experiences on their own terms. *Christianity Today* offers a powerful medium and an outlet for Christian's voices.

Chojnicka (2015) investigates the discourse of gender dissidents using the example of Latvian and Polish LGBT and feminist blogs. The analysis suggests differences between the condition of movements in Latvia and Poland. In Latvia, the

presence of LGBT is weak, and it is rarely seen. There are no blogs talking about same-sex parenting. The blogs focus on describing suffering and loneliness. On the contrary, there is less sarcastic radical discourse in Poland. Chjnicka concludes that the LGBT and feminist movements have a stronger position in Poland than in Latvia.

We learn from the above review that sexuality creates a comprehensive picture in sociolinguistics field. The studies include many aspects, from the general notion of sexuality to how sex categories, sexuality and language use interact with each other in various styles of forms such as magazines, newspaper and blogs. The above studies reveal that sexuality has researched so far and they allow us to pinpoint exactly how sexuality affects various media discourses.

2. 2 Gender and language ideologies in the media discourse

This section provides language use within media and investigates how language is used to create convincing content as well as a tool to advance popular ways of thinking. This section also covers ideologies in the press, some debates concerning language and identities, contact and code-switching in broadcast media and youth, gender and cyber-identities in computer-mediated communication. This field is across a range of socio-cultural, geographical and media-technological contexts. Many media themes and images reflect the power relation in society.

2.2.1 Language as ideologies

Over the past few decades, researchers have been exploring the notion of language ideology and have aimed to unlock the mechanism of language in context of social processes. Language ideology is to explore ‘the mediating links between social forms and forms of talk.’ (Kroskrity 1999:21, Woolard 1998:3) More precisely, the aim of studies about linguistic ideology is to show how linguistic phenomena are invested with meanings and values through the production, reproduction and contestation of conventional indexical ties. As Woolard notes: (i) perceived features, genres, styles or varieties of language and (ii) broader cultural representations of their alleged speakers in terms of nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, aesthetics, morality and so on (Woolard 1998:27)

At this point, it is important to understand how such very cognitive patterns end up in people’s heads, and end up there as collective phenomena (Blommaert 2005). In other words, we want to get information or understand *social mechanisms* through which particular ideas or beliefs about linguistic practices are produced, circulated or challenged. Telecommunication technology like newspapers, telephones, televisions, computers, and tablets have become increasingly noticeable in modern society when individuals engage in daily interaction, thereby gaining experiences of themselves and

a range of different realities, including linguistic reality (Coupland 2007). Critical discourse analyst Cameron (2007) has demonstrated how the media are in relations of power and ideology given that ‘the representation of any issue for a mass audience has implications for the way it is understood’. Similarly, the power of language ideologies cannot be solely situated in the media in general or more precisely, in their symbols as part of the production processes supporting media texts (Johnson and Ensslin 2007b). Woolard (1998) considered the media as ‘institutions of power’. In a word, the power of the media is a complex phenomenon that requires a great deal of detail and social deconstruction.

2.2.2 Gender identity and the mass media

Gauntlett (2002) identified several themes related to gender identity and media, including the fluidity of our gender identities over time, the decline of the depiction of traditional gender roles, and the idea of gender role models. These alternative ideas and images have created a space for a diversity of identities but they also bring with them new demands and requirements. Levy (2005) identified the ‘raunch’ culture and had a newfound understanding of today’s young women. She explores ‘misogyny’ (a man who hates women or believes that men are much better than women) by women who not only participate in this culture but also encourage their own unfair use. Mary Pipher

(1994) identified in the 1990s how young girls absorb society's messages about appearance in particular. She criticizes advertisers who push the image of attractive women to impossible standards. This focus leads young women to believe that they are only valuable if their body parts look a particular way.

However, Gauntlett (2002) considers gender role models in the media as cultural navigation points for individual members of society. In his opinion, the discourses of feminine power related to sexuality and gender roles are today's most leading expressions in the mainstream media. The media demonstrate a huge number of messages about identity and acceptable forms of self-expression, gender sexuality and lifestyle. He depicts masculinity, femininity and to an extent, sexuality in a variety of media (men's and women's magazines, television, film, popular music and self-help books) to explore how these representations influence gender identity. Even if many media sources remain traditional notions of femininity and benefit from it, the participation and choice that women themselves cannot be ignored. For example women like the products and choose to buy what they want (Caldas-Coulthand 1996).

2.2.3 Gender and Language use in the media

The power of the media in language ideological processes lies to a considerable extent in their practices as gatekeepers in the control of 'expert system' (Giddens 1991).

In other words, the media, forced by particular economic and political rules, open up *discursive spaces*, and as a result, give a public voice to a variety of social actors who compete with each other in claiming regarding what counts as *legitimate knowledge* in the domain of language (Blommaert 1999). As van Dijk (1993) mentioned, individuals with high social, cultural and symbolic capital always have greater opportunity to access the processes of media production (Blommaert 2005). Similarly, the emergence of communicative web 2.0 technologies (e.g. YouTube, Facebook, Twitter) has paved the way for a range of discursive spaces to individuals and groups who may not have had conventional access to public media.

Clearly, all media producers have the power to rescale social, cultural, and symbolic capital and as a result reshuffle authority and knowledge on issues, especially in the very act of choosing, citing and styling (Coupland 2007). The media are designed to the production of newsworthiness in the name of information and entertainment and public knowledge under specific economic and political conditions (Richardson 2007). It is obvious that media professions have a range of interest in constructing and obscuring the boundaries between categories ‘expert/lay’, ‘information/entertainment’, ‘ordinary/celebrity’ and ‘public/private’ (Fairclough 1995).”

Litosseliti’s (2006) works presented comes from an investigation of gender and

language use in the media. There are magazines and television programming targeted at women. Litosseliti (2006) lists several UK women's magazine connecting with the audience. Below are the use of language used on the covers of magazines.

Cosmopolitan: the world's no1 magazine for young women

She: For women who know they want

B: Everything you want

Woman's own: for the way you live your life and the way you'd like to

Minx: For girls with a lust for life

Executive woman: For women who really do mean business

Wench: Where women are, where they are going, and where they should be already

Company: For your freedom years

Litosseliti underscores the use of personal pronouns as a common feature which builds a relationship between the producer and the audience. The use of personal phrases (e.g. 'most of us', or 'we') makes connections with a reader leading solidarity. As Mary Talbot (1995) called this solitary, a *synthetic sisterhood*. As a result, this created structure of a feminine community is located in an ideal setting where economic or social differences are not made explicit. Any women can imagine herself as part of the sisterhood promoted.

Talbot (1995) criticizes the invention of a consumer femininity in particular because of the representation of women as helpless and foolish consumers. Some researchers see the various discourses used in advertising suggest that the language of advertising more often makes women in the personal consumer position (the shopper position). However, the language makes men as independent individuals, as Myers (1998) noted, “Ladies, look for...” while “Men, insist on...” Gender research works on a level of presumption about desire and sexuality. As in the previous section stated, the feminist discourses of dominance are suitable for the rise of the male experience. Michelle Lazar (2005) refers to this tendency as a discourse of ‘popular post-feminism’ or a ‘global neo-liberal discourse of post feminism’.

It is doubtful that news producers and journalists are immune to all distorted gender images. Sara Mills (2003b) explores how the news media texts are written and how different standards impact what is presented, how and by whom. Mills depicts a series of reasons for the selection of chief news items, proposing that male television newscasters are regarded as more dominant while female more often show soft human stories instead of harsh news.

Some studies provide the relationship between media representations of language issues and societal understanding. Paffey (2010) investigates mainstream newspaper

discourse, and the emphasis is on the context of Spain. Paffey represents how Spanish is constructed in marketing. The author depicts the dialectic interaction between mainstream Spanish newspaper and the prominent Real Academia Espanola in establishing the power of the government.

2.2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

Informed by the spirit of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), we follow the general idea of CDA because it enables us to conduct an in-depth analysis in terms of mass media and underlying meanings, namely, content in the news report in my present study. Analysts have often studied societal discourses by focusing on mass media. CDA has been playing a key role in the reproduction of dominant knowledge, ideologies in society and the main access through which the elite exercise their own power (van Dijk, 1993a, 2005). According to van Dijk (1993b), social media involves social cognition. Social cognition constitutes the connection between discourse and action, thus illustrating how discourses transform social practice. In this respect, social recognition links dominance and discourse. It influences how individuals interpret the word and react to the interpretation.

The core of CDA is to critically analyze forms of text. CDA is interested in describing, explaining and analyzing the ways dominant discourses influence socially

shared knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. As van Dijk (1993b:249) notes, “It is a study of the relations between discourse, power dominance, social inequality” and it focuses “ on the role of discourse in the reproduction and challenge of dominance.” This approach reflects the realities of the social world and helps to compose reality (Phillips and Jorgensen 2002). CDA aims to link transparent discourse role in social life and there are three levels of analysis: text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice (Fairclough 1995). CDA helps understand the texts are socially constitutive and socially shaped Fairclough & Wodak (1997). Furthermore, CDA claims that power relationship are constructed and maintained in discourse and it is important to understand the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk (van Dijk 2001)

In this sense, we can “organize the multitude of beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong” with CDA (van Dijk 1998: 8). CDA is particularly useful to systematically link properties of discourse interactions and texts with features of their social and cultural circumstances (Fairclough 1999).

2.2.5 Summary

The media serves as both a mirror and a tool of gender stereotyping; therefore it is worth considering the power relation and manipulation. Conventional kinds of feminine and masculine appearance are shaped by the mass media to promote various ideas.

Understanding the strategies on the part of media becomes an important goal in order to get the main idea of the relationships between language ideologies and media discourse. In other words, in spite of the particular theoretical approaches, studies on language ideologies and media discourse cannot be restricted to be purely linguistics. A serious examination is necessary to obtain the complexity of language ideologies rooted in media contexts.

2.3 Gender, Language and corpus approaches

To explore the issue of language and gender, corpus linguistics approaches are applied extensively in recent research. McEnery and Hardie (2012:1) define corpus linguistics as “ a group of methods for studying language....dealing with some set of machine-readable texts...or corpus which is usually of a size which defies analysis by hand and eye alone within any reasonable timeframe...corpora are invariably exploited using tools which allow users to search through them rapidly and reliably.”

Corpus approaches are fairly popular among language and gender research. Some researchers conduct their analysis by hand and eye only, but more and more papers have analyzed data by using corpus methods in their research. They incorporate a mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches to certain degrees. In this section, I will offer brief summaries of each paper and discuss how they show the application of corpus

approaches to gender and language research.

2.3.1 Johnson and Ensslin (2007)

This paper explores the way in which language is represented in relation to gender in two British newspapers, The Times and The Guardian. They collected a corpus of British broadsheet news articles including references to language in order to reveal gender and language ideologies. Paying attention to terms ‘his language’ and ‘her language’, they compare the context in which males and females were written about in relation to their linguistic features. They adopted the quantitative and qualitative analysis of a corpus within news texts, including 96 instances of the specific terms, *his language* or *her language*. As for numbers of tokens, their analysis reveals obvious male dominance. ‘His language’ appears more than three times as much as ‘her language’. A qualitative analysis demonstrated that male uses of language tended to be positive evaluation, such as aesthetically pleasing, association with ‘plain-talking or taboo breaking. On the other hand, female language use was less likely to be positive.

2.3.2 Charteris-Black and Seale (2009)

Charteris-Black and Seale (2009) dealt with a corpus of 1000+ interviews with people who had experienced a health or illness condition. They put emphasis on gendered strategies that people used when talking about their health condition. They

used an online semantic software which assigned semantic codes to each word in the compiling data and then to identify which concepts used most in frequency. When the male and female talk were compared together, men tended to use words like ‘problem’, ‘difficult’, and ‘burden’ more often than women. Such words were labeled as the semantic group called ‘difficulty’. Qualitative analysis of context suggested that male were prone to hide their illness by expressing their feelings as a problem which required a solution. They didn’t use expressions that need to be lived.

2.3.3 Holmgreene (2009)

Holmgreene coped with a qualitative analysis of a corpus of group interviews. The experiments were carried out in a Danish Bank. Different from previous research, she aimed to focus on gendered use of metaphors. The metaphors were identified manually. She used two corpora of the Danish language: Korpus 90 and Korpus 200. In the two corpora, they included 50+ million words in Danish. Massive metaphorical expressions were found in her data. She searched pieces of evidence to support her hypothesis. For example, the term ‘udenom’(go around) was used by a male group participant when talking about overlooking a woman of child-bearing age. She found identical metaphorical pattern in the corpora, showing that this was a fairly fixed metaphor. However, another metaphor referred to chickens was used by a male participant to say

women are brainless, foolish and constantly chattering. This metaphor was not found in the corpus, so the findings suggested that it may have emerged in the discursive event for the respondent to ascribe a role of superiority and inferiority to men and women respectively (Holmgreen 2009).

2.3.4 Baker (2010)

Baker used four related corpora of written British English to find out the frequency of sexist and non-sexist language over time. Male pronouns had reduced since the 1960s, while female pronouns had somewhat increased. Similar patterns were found for gendered nouns such as 'men' and 'women'. In addition, stereotypical terms like 'police officer' and 'he' or 'she' had been acquired since the 1990s. Baker(2010) noted that the term 'Mr.' had declined drastically since 1930s, and he assumed that the unequal address system should be distributed to its abandonment rather than the emergence of 'Ms.' Adjectival collocates of the terms 'men' and 'women' were also examined, suggesting that some negative stereotypes seemed to be declining. In the corpus, terms of attractiveness for women were constantly increasing. Therefore, a complicated situation of British social practices with sexist language is being established. Linguistic representations and biases continue.

2.3.5 King (2011)

King compiled a corpus of online chat room interactions collected from a gay men's website. King edited a frequency word list for each chat room along with the number of occurrences and then he grouped them into categories based on their function and semantic features. King (2011) associated aspects of camp performance with an expression of in group solidarity and identity, and then he concluded several categories of language usage, containing Camp Names, use of French, gender inversions and reappropriations. Showing a concordance table of the frequently used phrase 'in here', he implied that how numerous participants evoke the sense of being inside a three-dimensional space while using the chat room. King states that chat rooms offer a virtual space and that participants are required to engage in acts of shared imagination.

2.3.6 Summary

These researches show a variety of approaches that corpora can be used to do gender and language research. Charteris-Black and Seale (2009) and King (2011) both investigated language usage of particular group. Corpus approaches permit researchers to point out tendency and patterns within very large collections of spoken interview and online data. Without corpus approaches, the task would have been lengthy and impossible. It would be error-prone if it had been conducted by hand. King adopts corpus techniques to focus on one group, and on the other hand Charteris-Black and

Seale focus on a comparison between male vs. female. Both researches indicate that corpus analysis offer varied perspectives about the interaction between language use and identity. John and Ensslin (2007) and Baker (2010) investigated representation of gender. Baker (2010) focused on comparing change over time by addressing whether the larger amount of attention given to males in written British English had declined over the 20th century. John and Ensslin (2007) paid a careful attention to study both in terms of corpus and terms searched on his/her language, looking for evidence for quantitative and qualitative male bias. Finally, Holmgreene (2009) is interesting because it uses corpus analysis in a study which observes gender usage and gender representation. Corpus approaches take advantage of frequency lists, concordance analysis, collocates, keywords, semantic labelling, practices of reference corpora to confirm representation of gender and qualitative examination of texts.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents our collection of linguistic data used in the research, and the detailed steps of data analysis. We collect the online news from four news websites, group them into different semantic categories and then analyze them in context. Section 3.1 offers an overview of keyword selections and definitions employed, particularly on the criteria and reasons. Section 3.2 provides a description of data collection. We first focus on how the material was compiled, the token distribution of keywords and then the size of the corpus under investigation. Section 3.3 includes the procedure and details of data analysis.

3.1. Keywords selection and definitions

In an effort to identify the most effective terminology as our researching keywords, the examination of labels for gay and lesbian is quite important. Traditional terms for homosexuality included *duanxiu zhi pi* 斷袖之癖 ‘the passion of the cut sleeve’, *fentao* 分桃 ‘the divided peach’.² There are terms

² An example of *fentao* appears in a 6th-century poem by Liu Xiaozhuo: She dawdles, not daring to move closer, afraid he might compare her with leftover peach.

include *nan feng* 男風 'male trend', *xianghuo xiongdi* 香火兄弟 'allied brothers', *longyang pi* 龍陽癖 'the passion of Longyang'.³ Modern terms for homosexuals are *tongxinlian* 同性戀. *Tongzhi* 同志 is also commonly used in LGBT community, sometimes along with *nu tongzhi* 女同志 'lesbian', *nan tongzhi*. 男同志 'gay'. There are also slang terms like *boli* 玻璃 'crystal or glass', which are not so common. To determine effective keywords to be used in our thesis, we pick words that are related to homosexuality and search them on *Google* for their frequency. The reason we choose *Google Search* is because Google is the most-used search engine on the *World Wide Web*, handling more than three billion searches each day.

Table 3.1

Top key terminology

Key terms	Gloss	Rank	Occurrence
同志	<i>tongzhi</i>	1	78,800,000
同婚	same-sex marriage	2	19,000,000
同性戀	homosexual	3	8,300,000
女同志	lesbian	4	8,170,000
男同志	gay	5	6,350,000
出櫃	coming out	6	3,220,000
反同	anti-gay	7	3,050,000
同性伴侶	same-sex partner	8	2,580,000
女同性戀	lesbian	9	2,530,000
男同性戀	gay	10	1,270,000

³ It refers to a homoerotic anecdote about Lord Long Yang in the Warring States period.

Table 3.1 shows the key terms related to homosexuality commonly used in society. The most frequently occurring word is *tongzhi*, and the result indicates that this is the most popular contemporary Chinese word for lesbians, bisexuals and gay people. Furthermore, we also investigate those popular terms on *Google Trends* to see how often they are searched on *Google*. *Google Trends* is a public web facility of *Google Inc.*, based on *Google Search*, that shows how often a particular search-term is entered relative to the total search-volume across various regions of the world. We restrict the country to Taiwan. The time period is between 2016 March to 2017 March and the data type is news only. Figure 3.1 displays the result which we retrieved from *Google Trends*. The horizontal axis of the main graph represents time (2016-2017), and the vertical is how often a term is searched for relative to the total number of searches in Taiwan news. *Tongzhi* was particularly high during the time between 2016 December 4-December 10, since many events occurred in this month. The second highest point appears in November. *Tongzhi* rises from 2016 September, and comes to the peak in December. Overall, the figure shows *tongzhi* 同志, *tonghun* 同婚 'same-sex marriage' and *tongxinglian* 同性戀 'homosexuals' are the top three searched terms.

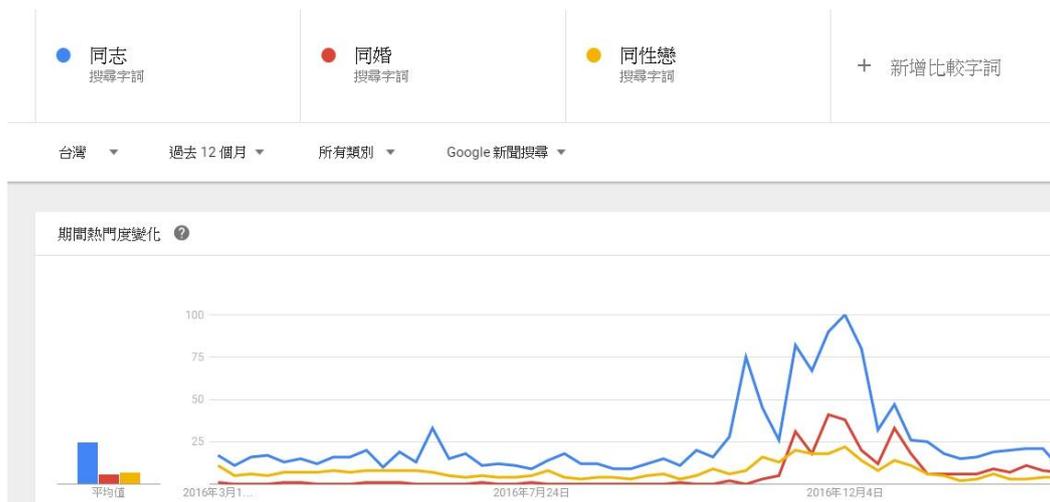


Figure 3.1
Search Popularity of Key Terms on *Google Trends*

In ancient China, same-sex activities are portrayed in indirect expressions like *daunxiu* 斷袖 is a representation of cut-sleeve, *fentao* 分桃 as shared peach, *pi* 癖 as favorite. Same-sex activities are considered an abnormal tendency, so those expressions decode the desire as a mental disorder. Namely, in the eyes of the general public, same-sex desire was seen as a disease rather than a social identity. When gay and lesbian movements began in the 1980s, the terms gay and lesbian were added to the lexicon of our language, and were viewed as social identities. Many people started challenging the belief that same-sex desire was a disease, so new identities related to same-sex interest have been recognized. *Tongzhi* are more willing to identify themselves as gay or lesbian than they used to be. Furthermore, through political movements, terms such as “gay movement”, and “gay rights” have emerged. *Tongzhi* is a term which originated in the early

Qing Dynasty, and it was defined as people with the same ethics and ideals.

According to the dictionary of Ministry Education, the term is defined in several ways: (1) people who share the same ambition, interest and idea, as recorded in *houhanshu* 後漢書 'History of the Latter-Han Dynasty' and *honloumong* 紅樓夢 'The Dream of Red Chamber'. (2) people in the same political party. (3) a general label for non- heterosexuals. After *Sun Yat-sen* used the term to address his followers in the last sentence in his will, *geming shanwei chengong, tongzhi rengsu nuli* 革命尚未成功，同志仍須努力 "The revolution hasn't been successful yet. Comrades should keep striving for it," *tongzhi* started to be associated with political discourse. After 1949, with the founding of the People's Republic of China, *tongzhi* became a new address term to signal differences in social status. In the Culture Revolution (1966-1976), *tongzhi* became more widely used among the masses. Due to its historical background, *tongzhi* can be referred to as comrades as well (Fang and Heng 1983). As previous discussed, the term *tongzhi* has emerged for a long time. People nowadays are raising concerns about homosexuality, same-sex relationship. Although the relations of same-sex can be seen in history, same-sex desire became taboo in Asian society. As time changes, *tongzhi* had a gradual shift in meaning to refer to lesbians, gay men and other sexual minorities. The first use of this usage can be traced back to Mike Lin, a

movie critic, who first started using the term in his articles. Initially, he used it to refer to his lesbian friends. The innovation of this word is originally used as a secret code, which allows those with same-sex desire to discuss it within their conversations. In this way, straight people are not aware of what they are talking about (Wong 2005). From then on, people started using this term commonly and its use also spread to public domain.

Gay rights activists campaigned for their rights in Hong Kong in the early 1990s, and the novel meaning of *tongzhi* is clearly stated in a definition provided by a booklet published by *Chi Heng Foundation*, which is an influential Hong Kong organization whose goal is to eliminate discrimination against sexual minorities. In the booklet, they claimed that this label *tongzhi* has been appropriated to refer to homosexuals, bisexuals, trans-genders, trans-sexual and other sexual minorities, and this term also offers a simpler and more direct way to talk about those of non-normative sexual orientations. The use of *tongzhi* is used to emphasize the culture specificity of same-sex desire in Chinese society. *Tongzhi* becomes a label for self-identification. This term is widely accepted by the community for its positive cultural references, gender neutrality, desexualization of the stigma of homosexuality, politics beyond the homo-hetero duality and use as an indigenous cultural identity (Chou 2000). Subsequently, a famous director *Edward Lam* 林奕

華 in Hong Kong held the first Hong Kong Gay and Lesbian Festival.⁴ He borrowed the slogan from *Sun Yat-sen*, using it in the title of the film festival. *Tongzhi* here makes a connection to the public, which carries a meaning that encourages *tongzhi* to stand out and speak out loud for themselves. In the following years, *tongzhi* has become a term that is not only used in Honk Kong but is also popular in Taiwan and other Asian countries. Extensive application emerges, in other words; nowadays *tongzhi* can broadly refer to all non-heterosexuals, including lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender, which commonly abbreviate as LGBT, known as *tongzhi wenhua* 同志文化 'tongzhi culture'.

Another important factor to use *tongzhi* as one of the target keywords is that some of those who with the same-sex desire find *tongzhi* too academic, formal and official. Wong (2008) in his research interviewed some friends of his, and in interviews, they often used *tongzhi* at the superordinate level to refer to sexual minorities in general, but when they were chatting, they didn't use *tongzhi* in casual conversations. Likewise, they also claim it is too distant and detached when chatting with friends. If one is in a meeting, one tends to use *tongzhi* when talking

⁴ 香港同志影展, known in Chinese as Hong Kong *Tongzhi* Film Festival, is an annual LGBT film festival held each September in Hong Kong. It is reputedly the oldest LGBT film festival in Asia, having been founded in 1989

to the media or when they are talking to outsiders. Wong's research provides me some insights into the reasons why we use the salient keyword *tongzhi* to conduct the thesis. The second keyword is *tonghun* 同婚, which is discussed in the first chapter. The Chinese term *tongxinglian* 同性戀 is originated from Japanese *same-sex love* 同性愛 (どうせいあい). In Chinese, the term can be understood as *tongxinglianai* 同性戀愛, meaning the affection between same-sex couples. *Tongxinglian* 同性戀 is also a morphemic translation of the English translation of the English word *homosexual* (Wong 2005)

3.2 Data collection

This present study combines corpus linguistic methods and qualitative analysis in order to explore the connotations of homosexuality in the main stream media discourse. A number of scholars have recently adopted corpus linguistics methodology, and the impact of this has been attested by the growing numbers of studies that adopt the complementary methodologies (Baker *et al.* 2008). As Hunston (2002) indicated, corpus analysis of collocation can be especially valuable, and repeated collocations reflect social meanings which can even be in direct opposition to what is claimed. Likewise, Romaine (2001:153-176) claims that “connotations of words do not raise from words themselves but from how they are used in context”. That is, the meanings of words are constructed and

maintained by patterns of collocations. In sum, the crucial features of connotations project cultural belief and therefore utilizing repeated collocation patterns in language use regenerates and reproduces ideologies, which reveal social stances underlying in the context. Furthermore, Baker (2008) also mentioned collocation is an important vehicle for the discursive presentation of social groups.

Informed by a study *台灣新聞媒體可信度研究報告* 'News credibility in Taiwan' (2015) carried out by *Taiwan Media Watch* (台灣媒體觀察教育基金會), we choose top four Internet main stream media, considering their reliability. The study measures the performance of Taiwanese news organizations in terms of their credibility. The journalists are asked to evaluate the various news organizations with a set of questions. Figure 3.2 summarizes the reliability of Internet media in Taiwan. According to the figure, average score is around 6.38. *CNA NEWS* is high above the average score, which is 7.85. The second place is *UDN NEWS*, third is *APPLE DAILY* and then *STORM MEDIA*. In the next part, we will briefly introduce the four Internet media in our data.

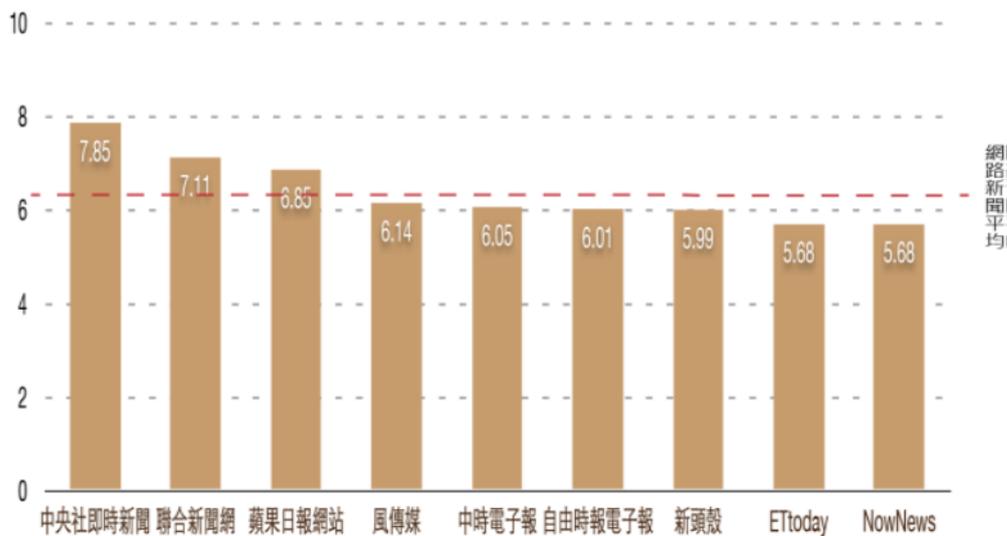


Figure 3.2

Reliability of Internet Media in Taiwan

Adopted from News Credibility in Taiwan

According to the four Internet media official websites, *CNA NEWS*⁵, *UDN.COM*⁶, *APPLE DAILY NEWS*⁷ and *STORM MEDIA*⁸, the information is shown as follows.

- a. *中央即時新聞 (CNA NEWS)*: The Central News Agency is a news agency operated by Taiwan. CNA sends out news in Chinese, English, French, Spanish and Japanese, and it has overseas branches in 35 countries and news agencies around the world.
- b. *聯合新聞網 (UDN.COM)*: It is the third biggest newspaper in Taiwan, and is regarded as taking an editorial line that supports the KMT. In terms of style

⁵ <http://www.cna.com.tw/about/info.aspx>

⁶ <https://udn.com/news/index>

⁷ <http://www.appledaily.com.tw/>

⁸ <http://www.storm.mg/>

and standards, UDN is considered one of the most literary news agencies in Taiwan.

c. 蘋果日報 (*APPLE DAILY TAIWAN*): It is a newspaper in Taiwan and owned by Hong Kong. The group is famous for making animated news stories on scandals and crimes, as well as on pop culture.

d. 風傳媒 (*STORM MEDIA*): Taiwan's leading online media publications. It claims to have 4.6 million monthly unique visitors. It is a relatively new organization in the news industry, and it is also an independent media without any certain political stance, focusing on international and multi-cultural visions.

We selected 100 news texts concerning homosexuality from four online news databases; the news items were collected using the newspaper's searchable online archive. The period was from 2016-2017, because we would like to examine social attitudes in contemporary society in Taiwan. The construction of the database is based on the top five keywords as shown in table 3.1 from the previous section, *tongzhi*, *tonghun*, *tongxinglian*, *nu tongzhi* and *nan tongzhi*.

Table 3.2 lists the data distribution of all the reported news we have collected by the five key terms. The number presents times that the words appear in the created corpus. It can be readily seen that *tongzhi* accounts the most in the news

items, which appears 584 times. Then the following is *tongxinglian* and *tonghun* 189 times for *tongxinglian* and 137 times for *tonghun*. Basically, *nu tongzhi* devoted more space to the news items than *nan tongzhi* did. But the *APPLE DAILY* had more occurrences of *nan tongzhi* than *nu tongzhi*. In addition, in terms of the Internet media, Storm Media contained the most keyword occurrences, 370 times which accounted for 39% of the total occurrences. *CNA NEWS* and *UDN NEWS* are similar in their keywords occurrences. It seems that *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* play crucial roles in the Internet media.

Table 3.2
Distribution of five keywords in four main Internet media

	<i>CNA</i>		<i>UDN NEWS</i>		<i>APPLE DAILY</i>		<i>STORM MEDIA</i>		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N ⁹	%
<i>tongzhi</i>	134	57%	131	70%	71	47%	248	67%	584	62%
<i>tonghun</i>	32	13%	26	14%	39	26%	40	10.8%	137	14.5%
<i>tongxinglian</i>	61	26%	31	16%	30	20%	67	18%	189	20%
<i>nu tongzhi</i>	8	4%	0	0%	3	2%	14	3.8%	25	2.6%
<i>nan tonzhi</i>	0	0%	0	0%	7	5%	1	0.4%	8	0.9%
Total	235	25%	188	20%	150	16%	370	39%	943	

⁹ The occurrence for each keyword

As shown in table 3.3, we compiled important events chronologically with the number of news posts for each month from the data collected. The time period of these events are overlapped with the data we have collected. November and December, 2016 contain more news items than other months, and this can be attributed to the starting point of these events, the concert *ai zui da, chishi women dou yiyang! 愛最大·其實我們都一樣! 婚姻平權公益演唱* 'Love Is King: It Makes Us All Equal!' which was held by ten singers supporting *tongzhi* on 1st August 2016 at Taipei Arena. After the concert, a series of events occur and were reported, resulting in 11 major events. In October 2016, several legislators announced that they had proposed a new amendment to the Civil Code which would legalize same-sex marriage in Taiwan. November 2016, the committee discussed the proposals twice respectively. On 3rd December, opponents of same-sex marriage demonstrated in Taipei, Taichung and Kaohsiung. Then on 10th December, the following week, more than 250000 supporters of same-sex marriage gathered around the Presidential office, calling for the government to legalize same-sex marriage immediately. Soon on 26th December the Legislature's Judiciary and Organic Laws and Statues Committee completed and passed the same-sex marriage bills.

Table3.3

Number of posts each month and important events

Year	Month	Date	News Event	Number of posts
2016	05			2
	06			2
	07			2
	08	08.01	愛最大演唱會	3
	09			0
	10	10	尤美女委員及許毓仁等提出新的同性 婚姻草案	10
		10.08	金鐘獎李天柱事件	
		10.16	畢安生墜樓	
		10.25	同志遊行「一起 FUN 出來——打破 『假友善』，你我撐自在」	
	11	11.17	立院同性婚姻法案的初審，護家盟包 圍立院	23
		11.24	立法院修法一次公聽會	
		11.26	高雄同志大遊行	
		11.28	立法院修法二次公聽會	
	12	12.03	下一代幸福聯盟反同遊行	28
	12.10	「讓生命不再逝去，為婚姻平權站出 來」音樂會		
	12.26	婚姻平權修法初審通過		
2017	01			15
	02			15
Total				100

Figure 3.3 presents the distribution of the news item in the created collection in terms of months. More news items occurred in November and December than in those of January and December. This suggests that more social movements

happened in November and December (see figure 3.3). In addition, October occupies 10 pieces of news items, and the proposal of same-sex marriage also occurred in this month. The rest of news items are scattered in May, June, July and August.

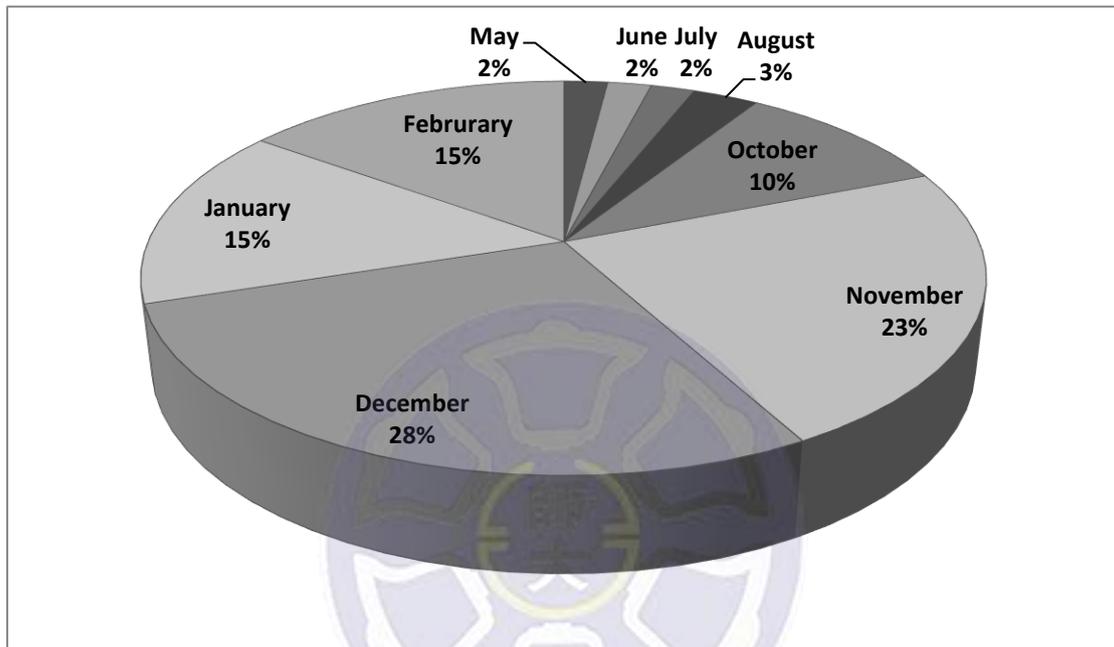


Figure 3.3
Percentage of news items from 2016.05-2017.02

The number of words per post in each Internet media is shown in table 3.4. The minimum, maximum, sum and average of words per post in each Internet media are also calculated. The smallest number of words in each news item appear in *APPLE DAILY*, and as a whole, *CNA NEWS* occupies the smallest space in the corpus. On the other hand, *STORM MEDIA* carries the largest number of words in the all data. Particularly, the news items in *STORM MEDIA* contain editorials.

Compared to news report, editorials is far lengthier than news reports. The number of words of the news items fall between 223 words to 3,617 words and the average is 977 words, a quite suitable length for investigating articles in the mass media. Turning to the category of the news items, they are composed of breaking news, politics, entertainment, life, policy, society and some editorials.

Table 3.4
Number of words in the four Internet media

	<i>CNA NEWS</i>	<i>UDN NEWS</i>	<i>APPLE DAILY</i>	<i>STORM MEDIA</i>
MIN.	281	340	223	293
MAX.	1,463	2938	2381	3617
AVERAGE	736	940	863	1367
SUM	18,656	23,568	21,627	34,163

Having specified the type and details of the data collection and steps, the next task in the present study is to analyze the data more carefully. This corpus consists of 100 texts on the Internet media in the period between May 2016 and February 2017 that were selected by four representative terms, a critical time for the development of same-sex marriage in Taiwan. To understand the image of *tongzhi* in contemporary society, it is significant to figure out how *tongzhi* is described and what happens following the occurrence in each sentence.

3.3 Data analysis

Analysis was carried out in four stages: information retrieval to build the study database, word segmentation and figuring out the concordance by *AntConc* (3.4.4w) tool, indexing of news posts with assessments, collocational and textual content analysis, as shown in figure 3.4.

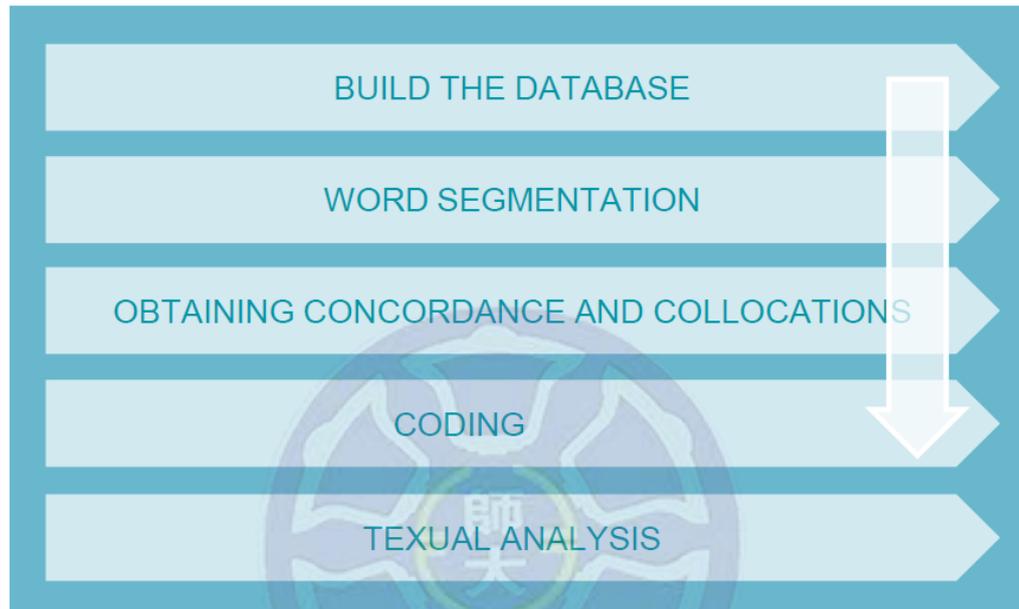


Figure 3.4
Research Methodology Flowchart

Information retrieval to build the study database

Initially, we searched these keywords on the four online database of news (*CNA NEWS, UDN NEWS, APPLE DAILY, STORM MEDIA*). Retrieval of news was done by full-text search in the online database using the five key words, including headlines, articles, opinion columns, feature articles, breaking news and special-topic news. *Tongzhi, tonghun, tongxinglian* were the main keywords, because *nantongzhi, nuntongzhi* are the words belonging to *tongzhi*. All news posts contained these five keywords were collected, and they were carefully examined by

relevance, time period (from 2016-2017) and were deleted if the news posts overlapped. The total occurrence of keywords is 943. The number of news posts is 100. Furthermore, manual content analysis was done to check that all items sampled were relevant and to identify what appeared to be recurring thematic and formal patterns for more detailed analysis. We created a corpus by selecting posts containing at least one keyword associated with homosexuality (*tongzhi* 同志, *tonghun* 同婚, *tongxinglian* 同性戀, *nan tongzhi* 男同志, *nu tongzhi* 女同志). We compiled 100 pieces of news posts (25 for each digital Internet media) together with the five keywords and manually scanning and eliminating irrelevant items.

Word segmentation by *National Digital Archives Program* and obtaining concordance by *AntConc* tool

Before we put our data into *AntConc* tool to carry out a corpus linguistic analysis, language processing software has to understand the words in a text so that the text can be processed. Chinese sentences contain no boundaries, unlike the writing systems of languages such as English that use spaces to separate words. Therefore, a typical segmentation system is necessary to prevent word ambiguity.

台灣(Nc) 社會(Na) 中(Ng) 仍(D) 充斥(VH) 著(Di) 「(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 為(P) 你(Nh) 好(VH) 」(PARENTHESISCATEGORY)
用來(VL) 包裹(Na) 隱形(VH) 的(DE) 歧視(VJ) ,(COMMACATEGORY)
例如(P) 「(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 我(Nh) 不(D) 反對(VE) 同性戀(Na) ,(COMMACATEGORY)
我(Nh) 的(DE) 孩子(Na) 不(D) 是(SHI) 就(D) 好(VH) 」(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 、(PAUSECATEGORY) 「(PARENTHESISCATEGORY)
但(Cbb) 我(Nh) 不能(D) 接受(VC) 娘炮腔(VH) 」(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 等(Cab) 。(PERIODCATEGORY)
同志(Na) 遊行(VA) 熱鬧(VH) 登場(VA) 新聞(Na) 圖輯(Na) 主辦(VC) 單位(Na) 整理(VC) 9(Neu) 大(VH) 假(VH) 友善(VH) 在(P)
遊行(VA) 路線(Na) 上(Ncd) 設置(VC) 大型(A) 舉(VC) 牌(Na) ,(COMMACATEGORY)
邀請(VC) 參與(VC) 者(Na) 一同(D) 合照(VA) ,(COMMACATEGORY)
象徵(Na) 「(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 照(VC) 」(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 出假(Na) 友善(VH) 。(PERIODCATEGORY)
完成(VC) 步驟(Na) 者(Na) 可以(D) 換得(VC) 限量(VH) 彩虹(Na) 絲帶(Na) ,(COMMACATEGORY)
象徵(VK) 玩出(VC) 屬於(VJ) 自己(Nh) 生命(Na) 的(DE) 意義(Na) 與(Caa) 美麗(VH) 。(PERIODCATEGORY)
除此之外(Dk) ,(COMMACATEGORY)
今年(Nd) 遊行(VA) 還(D) 有(V_2) 集體(A) 創作(Na) 活動(Na) ,(COMMACATEGORY)
邀請(VC) 民眾(Na) 一同(D) 「(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 撐開(VC) 」(PARENTHESISCATEGORY) 彩虹(Na) 六(Neu) 色(Nf) 小紙傘(N

Figure 3.5

A snapshot of word segmentation

A process of segmentation was done by *Language and Knowledge Processing Group, Institute of Information Science, Academia Sinica* (<http://ckipsvr.iis.sinica.edu.tw/>), which was ranked first for traditional Chinese word segmentation evaluation at the First International Chinese Word Segmentation Bakeoff held by ACL SIGHAN. This process helps calculate the frequency of the occurrence of the selected data and control the distance (30 words) from the central key words. Figure 3.5 shows a snapshot of a part of word segmentation with tags of part of speech for each word. The word segmentation process is based on the lexicon, morphological rules for quantifier words and reduplicated words.

After retrieving the database by using the keywords, we obtain some information in the context with those keywords. As our purpose is to find the frequency of words in the database where they were used to define homosexuality, all possible

occurrences and collocations of five key words are investigated. This present study focuses on the analysis of content words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives. However, it does not mean other word classes like conjunctions or determiners cannot carry ideological weight in the discourse. As studies within the field of *Critical Discourse Analysis*(CDA) traditions have shown, all levels of linguistic analysis is ideologically relevant, since there is no necessary connection between linguistic form and ideological stance (Fairclough 1995). Ideologies are built upon interaction and co-presence of elements at different levels of linguistic analysis, from vocabulary and grammar to cohesion and text structure (Fairclough 1992).

The data were then investigated more systematically using *AntConc* tool, a software corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis. We take advantage of the concordance tool. It is important to choose the appropriate definition of the term deciding what count as collocation. Most commonly, collocation is defined as “the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other within a text” (Sinclair 1991:170). Collocation refers to the characteristic co-occurrence patterns of words (McEnery et al 2006). In a broad sense, collocations draw on Firthian’s (1957:11) early definition of collocation as “the company a word keeps”. Other researchers like Harris (2006) see collocations as sequences of adjacent words. Hunston (2002:68) states, “to be biased in the ways they co-occur”.

Huston further describes collocation more specifically as the statistical tendency of the co-occurrence of words. Statistical significance tests help measurements be more reliable (Hunston 2002). On the other hand, researchers have pointed out that complex statistical analysis is not necessary. Stubbs (1995) justifies this point by showing the list of collocates for the node *cause- accident, alarm, concern, confusion, damage, harm*. There are no positive examples and only a few neutral examples. The pattern is clear without statistical manipulation. In such techniques named *collocation-via-concordance* or *hand-and-eye* techniques (McEnery and Hardie 2012), examples and recurrent patterns are identified by a researcher who scans the individual concordance lines.

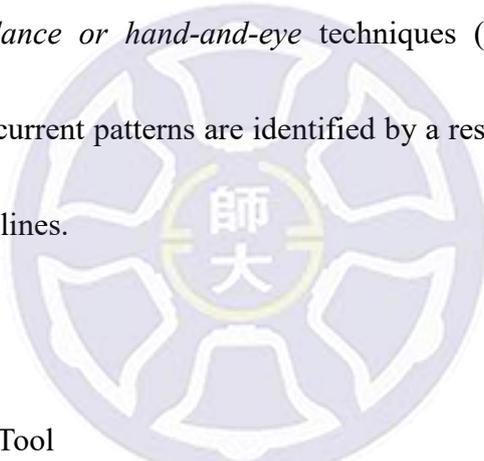
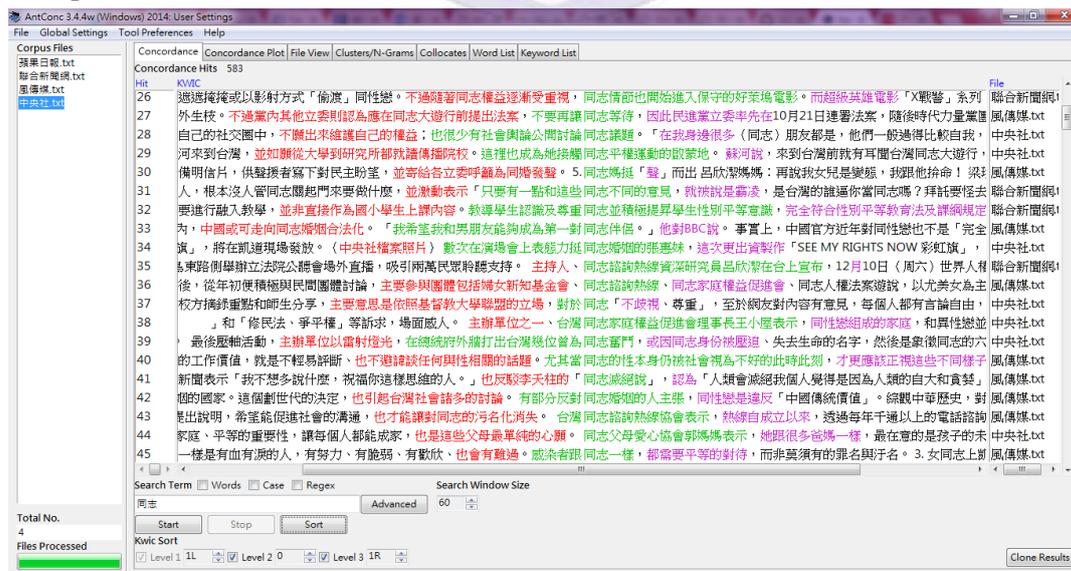


Figure 3.5
A snapshot of *AntConc* Tool



The present analysis follows *collocation-via-concordance* methods. As can be seen in figure 3.6, this tool shows search results of keywords in context. This function enables us to see how words are commonly used in a corpus under investigation. The number of text characters to be outputted on either side of the search term, 30 characters. We arrange keyword in context into different colors, sorting the concordance lines at three different colors. 1L are words to the left of target words (purple) and 1R are words to the right of the target words (red). By doing so, we can see the concordance results more clearly. The tool allows us to investigate the frequency in the corpus of the patterns or features for us to analyze, to examine these items in context by viewing their concordances and to identify significant keywords and frozen phrases by comparing their frequency and the words precede or follow them. Collocates are defined as words occurring close to one another. Only collocates occurring within the same sentence are considered, because words in separate sentences are not so closely related.

Indexing of collocates with assessments

The stage of analysis includes two steps: first analyzing collocations then providing evaluation. The first step, we use two analytical concepts: *semantic preference* and *semantic prosody*. The five keywords were searched in the corpus respectively to obtain concordances analyzed in order to better understand the semantic preference

and semantic prosody associated with the keywords. Semantic preference is the semantic environment in which a lexical item is typically used. It refers to the distinct tendency for a node word to co-occur with a class of words which share the same feature (Stubbs 2001). Semantic prosody expresses the attitudinal, often pragmatic, meaning a lexical item (Sinclair 2004), which involves a further level of abstraction, referring to the semantic coloring a number of semantic preferences build up over wider stretches of text (Partington 2004). The two concepts often interact with each other. Semantic prosody is often implicit, less clear-cut and at least sometimes deniable and dictates the general environment which constrains the preferential choices of the node item (Stubbs 2001), while semantic preference contributes powerfully to building semantic prosody (Partington 2004). Using semantic preferences and prosodies as analytical concepts, both the social domains and the evaluative connotations associated with particular words can be identified (Mautner 2007).

These concordances were divided into groups according to semantic features. Concordances (tables which show all of the occurrences of keywords in the immediate context in which they occur) were then used to explore collocational relationships. Often, concordance lines needed to be expanded in order to access more context, which at times involved the reading of an entire piece of news.

Collocational analysis allows us to identify situations which are frequently associated with a common set of words.

The second step focused on assessments of homosexuality. Different stances emerged in debates about this controversial issue. Across the data corpus, people would locate themselves in certain stances. To account for different stances toward homosexuality, we would demonstrate them with examples in context. Studying examples of positive, negative and neutral assessments, the research subsequently shows that how the Internet media claim or deny the existence of homosexuality. Each assessment stands as a visible mark of the discursive, rhetorical and performative work (Travers-Scott 2010). Analysis of collocates were divided into three categories: negative assessments, positive assessments, and neutral statements. The label collocates as negative, positive or neutral by observation in their context. For example, if one claims disliking *tongzhi*, then *dislike* can be treated as the expression of an essential negative attitude. If one claims approving homosexuals, then *approve* can be treated as the expression of positive attitude. If a social movement such as *parade* is held, then *parade* is treated as a neutral event. In this way, words become vectors for the transmission of underlying ‘cognition’ and ‘experience’. (Attenborough and Stokoe 2012). Actions like assessments are constructed to “display an orientation and sensitivity to their intended recipients” (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:727).

Because the authors of the assessments know that assessments are read not just for what they say about the *object* being assessed (in this case, the news posts), but for what they reveal about the *subject* doing the assessing (the journalists themselves). Authors and recipients constantly negotiate the ‘subject-side’ of publicly accessible assessments (Edward 2005).

Analysis of textual content

The general idea of analytical method of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) is followed in this study. In the past two decades, CDA has made a significant contribution to illuminating the relationship between language and ideology (Fairclough 1995, Fowler 1991, van Dijk 1998a). We believe that language is a reality-creating social practice, and “anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position” (Fowler 1991:10). CDA emphasizes the need to critically examine the role of news language. Continued from the preceding stages, because collocation analysis is not sufficient to get better understanding of the whole picture, we go through 100 pieces of news content and their headlines in terms of their main themes and sentence construction from a linguistic perspective. By reading through 100 pieces of news posts, the study examines evaluative descriptions and selects extracts from the data for qualitative analysis. As for headlines, we list headline tables. Out of 100 headlines, some major

characteristics are identified. For example, the value of equality is described in an imperative form or direct quotes with exclamation marks. Of course, the unrelated or trivial data were crossed out, and we found out that over 80% of the news touch upon the theme concerning equality and sameness, the role of family and destruction to society such as illness, abnormality, crime.

3.4 Summary

The present study uses corpus linguistic techniques such as coding, frequency counting, and attempts to explore, both quantitatively and qualitatively, how social attitudes toward homosexuality is encoded by the linguistic resources such as lexical choices and evaluation across contemporary Internet media. We aim to investigate the occurrence of words which represent the concept of *homosexuality* in society. To study the specific usage of individual words in the Internet media, we made use of *AntConc Tool*, which helped elaborate concordances and lists that exhibited all of the occurrences of a particular keyword in selected text. In addition, it showed where the word appeared in each text and linked the sentences to the text where they appeared. This contextualized analysis of the lexicon thus helped refine the quantitative analysis of the vocabulary in the news discourse and derived the conclusion with regard to ideology. The public attitude of the news in the Internet media, informed CDA is not always apparent but hidden in the subtle

choice of linguistic forms. Since the language within Internet media has become such an important source that we have begun to explore by examining the linguistic category in a critical way, the ideological nature of news discourse can be unlocked.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, we attempt to provide collocates distribution related to homosexual showing an inherent tendency. After a general collocate description (section 4.1), we start to label them with different stances, positive, negative and neutral and to group them according to their semantic features (section 4.2). The analysis looks into a broad context level when we examine the news headlines and the content. Furthermore, we identify major themes and linguistic strategies applied in the text (section 4.3).

4.1 General distribution of collocates

To understand the specifics of individual key terms in the Internet media, we made use of *Antconc* as a tool to compile a table for each term. *AntConc* elaborates concordances, exhibits the occurrences of a particular word in our selected data. In addition, it also shows the sentence where the word appears in each case, and links the sentences to the text where they appear. An overall collocation analysis was performed for 5 keywords with the window span limited to 30 characters on the either side of the keyword. In this process, the nearest content words within the same sentence are selected as collocations. The result of the collocates help refine the quantitative analysis of the key term of the Internet media and get insights with regard to ideology. In the

findings discussed below, we first present the results in general distribution and then proceed to a discussion of the collates of *tongzhi*, *tongxinglian* 同性戀 ‘homosexuals’ and *tonghun* 同婚 ‘same-sex marriage’, *nu tongzhi* 女同志 ‘lesbisan’, *nan tongzhi* 男同志 ‘gay’ respectively. However, the keywords *nan tongzhi* and *nu tongzhi* only yielded collocates that only occur once or twice. In this respect, the obtained results cannot serve as representative collocates, and therefore we decided not to discuss collocates for *nan tongzhi* and *nu tongzhi* in this section but discuss their textual analysis in section 4.3.

4.1.1 The collocates of *tongzhi*

The most frequent collates of *tongzhi*, up to the most frequent 10, identified with the use of *AntConc*, are shown in Table 4.1. The investigation started with an examination of a set of words co-occurring with *tongzhi* within a span of 30 characters on either side of it in one sentence. We would further focus specifically on content words, and this decision was motivated by the need to eliminate the less telling function words such as *zai* 在 ‘at’, *shi* 是 ‘is’. Ten high frequency collocates for *tongzhi* are identified in table 4.1.

Table 4.1

The collocates of *tongzhi* (top 10 content words)

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence ¹⁰
1	遊行	parade	54
2	婚姻	marriage	41
3	專法	specific law	40
	挺	support	40
4	朋友	friend	32
	台灣	Taiwan	32
5	諮詢熱線	hotline	27
6	女	female	25
7	權益	privilege	20
	反對	oppose	20
8	活動	activity	19
9	支持	support	18
10	中國	China	17

We can see that, among the top 10 significant collocates of *tongzhi*, most of them are related to events about homosexuality, particularly related to political and legal movements such as *youxing* 遊行 'parade', *hunyin* 婚姻 'marriage', *huodong* 活動 'activity', *zhuangfa* 專法 'specific law', *rexian* 熱線 'hotline', *quanyi* 權益 'right'. These collates also include verbs in news reporting like verbs of opposing voices such as *fandui* 反對 'oppose' and verbs of supporting voices such as *zhichi* 支持 and *ting* 挺, meaning support. Collocates are also found referring to countries such as China and Taiwan. As in Huashan Zhou (1995)'s *tongzhi* theory, he claims that the study of sexuality and sexuality based social movements in China have made great contribution

¹⁰ The number of times the word collocates with the search term

to the popularization of *tongzhi* in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Similarly, in Sang's (1999) study of the relationship between activism and the women's movement in Taiwan, she suggests that *tongzhi* refer to people with same-sex desire and elements of choice and political activism and sexual identity.

4.1.2 The collocates of *tongxinglian*

The most frequent collocates of *tongxinglian* up to most frequent 10 are identified in table 4.2. *zhe* 者 'a person' is especially high on the list. This result conforms with Wong's (2005) study. Wong believes that the term of reference for sexual minorities has always been an important issue, so Wong explores labels that were commonly used in main stream newspaper, Oriental Daily News. According to Wong, *tongxinglian zhe* is another common term of reference for lesbian and gay men in ODN news. This is a word which comes from English word *homosexual*. This label specifies that sexual orientation is a concept imported from the West. Like its English counterpart, *tonxinglian zhe* is a medical term. In Hong Kong, it is the official term for the public domain, such as the government or medical reports, to refer to those with same-sex desire. Other significant categories are verbs of reporting and the events related to homosexuals. Reporting verbs like verbs of supporting voices *zhichi* 支持 'support', *jieshou* 接受 'accept', *rentong* 認同 'approve' and verbs of opposing voices like

fandui 反對 'oppose', *chishi* 歧視 'discriminate'. It is notable that the frequency of *zhixh* 支持 'support' and *fandui* 反對 'oppose' is the same (25); the frequency of *discriminate* 歧視 and *approve* 認同 is the same (16). Events and issues related to *tongzhi* are like *jiaoyu* 教育 'education', *jiating* 家庭 'family', *jiehun* 結婚 'get married', *quanli* 權利 'right'. These terms appear in articles of political news, and legal news. In addition, instead of addressing husband and wife or boyfriend and girlfriend, journalists use *banlu* 伴侶 'partner' as a neutral address term to avoid gender reference.

Table 4.2
The collocates of *tongxinglian* (top 10 content words)

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	者	a person	32
2	反對	against	25
	支持	for	25
3	異性戀	heterosexuality	20
4	伴侶	partner	19
5	歧視	discriminate	16
	認同	approve	16
6	教育	education	10
7	接受	accept	9
	家庭	family	9
8	美國	America	8
	造成	cause	8
9	權利	rights	7
	結婚	get married	7
10	抱不平	to feel angry about unjust things that are done to others	1

4.1.3 The collocates of *tonghun*

The most frequent collocates of *tonghun* are shown in table 4.3. Verbs in reporting voices are high on the list, such as *fan* 反 'oppose', *ting* 挺 'stand behind'. Different stakeholders or parties involved in the event are like *tuanti* 團體 'group', *yiti* 議題 'issue'. Collocates related to the legal implication of the bill are also included such as *hefa* 合法 'legalization', *xiufa* 修法 'amend the law', *an* 案 'case', *rufa* 入法 'legitimate', *renquan* 人權 'rights'.

Table 4.3
The collocates of *tonghun* (top 7)

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	反	anti	15
2	挺	stand behind	10
3	團體	group	9
4	議題	issue	6
5	合法	legalize	6
	修法	amend the law	5
6	反對	oppose	5
	案	case	5
	者	a person	4
7	遭到	suffer	3
	批評	criticize	3
	入法	legitimate	3
	人權	human rights	3

4.2 Assessment of collocations

Detailed concordance analysis of the collocations has revealed significant semantic preferences and semantic fields. The result shows attitudes and actions toward

the idea of *tongzhi*. The concept of semantic preferences and semantic prosodies are quite important. In order to shed light on the use of *tongzhi*, we have employed the two concepts to obtain the evaluative meaning. Semantic preference refers to the habitual collocation of lexical items with linguistic expressions that belong to certain semantic fields. Lexical items co-occur with what can be called negative or positive. As Huston (1995:37) claimed, “co-occur typically with other words that belong to a particular semantic set, collocating with items which share a semantic feature.” To consider the meaning of *yixinglian* ‘heterosexual’ itself, it seems to be a neutral one, which refers to a kind of sexual orientation. However, when we examine it under collocations, for example *baquan* 霸權 ‘hegemony’, *chianjian fan* 強姦犯 ‘rapist’, *yixinglian* 異性戀 ‘heterosexual’ develops an unfavorable and unpleasant meaning. The examined expression is a result of co-occurrence items, and an item with collocates has been seen as a coloring of the item itself (Louw 1993: 159). It is argued that the items gain negative associations and evaluative meanings from negative collocations. In other words, the neutral words themselves carry implied meanings and connotations (Hunston 1995: 137). The collocates in these semantic domains express different attitudinal meanings and semantic preferences. According to Stubbs (2002), there are semantic relations between node and collates, and among the collocates themselves. The collocational meanings result from the interaction between a given node word and

its collocates, and they are referred to as semantic prosody. The function of semantic prosody is to identify a speaker's attitude or evaluation. In this study, we treat the negative, positive, neutral assessments as semantic prosodies, and they correspond to Partington's (2004) unfavourable, favourable, neutral prosodies. Semantic preference is conceived as semantic environment. In the following section 4.2.1 explores contexts in which assessment is negative. 4.2.2 explores contexts in which assessment is positive. 4.2.3 explores neutral statements. This reveals that semantic category can reflect the main concerns, attitudes and events regarding important social implications. The Internet media reflect certain topics and the creation of particular ideologies.

4.2.1 Negative assessment

Negative collocates are indicative of the activities they are engaged in, their roles in these activities and journalists' stances. An uncomfortable, unpleasant, unfavorable affective meaning is judged as negative. Table 4.3 shows the main negative collocates of *tongzhi*. High frequency of *fandu* 反對 'oppose' suggests the negative attitude toward *tongzhi*. In this case, *fandui tongzhi zhuanfa* 反對同志專法 'oppose' *tongzhi* specific law', *fandui tongzhi tongzhi hunin* 反對同志婚姻 'oppose same-sex marriage', *fandui tongzhi banlu* 反對同志伴侶 'oppose same-sex partner' contribute a large part in this category. The second one is *bu yinggai* 不應該 'should not', which denotes that

things are not proper, reasonable to do. This word co-occurs with examples like *buyinggai gen wo you yiyangde quanli* 不應該跟我有一樣的權利 ‘shouldn’t have the same right as me’, *buyinggai rang wo buzhidao zenme jiao xiaohai* 不應該讓我不知道怎麼教小孩 ‘they shouldn’t cause such a problem that we have difficulty educating children’, *buyinggai lingyang xiaohai rang xiaohai meiyou tongnian* 不應該領養小孩讓小孩沒有童年 ‘they shouldn’t adopt children because the children won’t have happy childhoods’, *buyinggai ba xingbing dou bingdu chuanran gei wo* 不應該把性病多p 病毒傳染給我 ‘they shouldn’t infect me with sexual transmitted diseases, have multiple sexual partners and viruses’.

Table 4.4
Frequency of the negative collocates of *tongzhi*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	反對	oppose	20
2	不應該	should not	12
3	歧視	discriminate	10
	恐	afraid	10
4	反	anti-	9
5	特別*	special	7
6	感染	infect	6
7	隱藏	conceal	5
8	躲	hide	4
	害	harm	4
	恨	hate	4
	荒謬	absurd	4
9	非	not	3
	人獸交	bestiality	3
	外籍*	foreign	3

10	抹黑	smear	2
	偷渡	muggle	2
	不滿	dissatisfy	2
	損	damage	2
	性解放	sexual liberation	2
	拜會*	pay an official visit	2

*the collocate is neutral itself but negative under the context

Negative emotion toward *tongzhi* include *chishi* 歧視 'discriminate', *kong* 恐 'afraid', *fan* 反 'oppose', *hen* 恨 'hatred' and *buman* 不滿 'dissatisfy'. The list contains a sizeable proportion of negative emotion words about anger, fear and anxiety. Negative emotions are unpleasant to experience and can trigger distinct automatic nervous responses, including escape and attack (Lindquist, Barrett, Bliss-Moreau, & Russell, 2006). Collocates such as *ganran* 感染 'infect', *yinczng* 隱藏 'conceal', *duo* 躲 'hide', *mouhei* 抹黑 'smear', *toudu* 偷渡 'smuggle' involve events which involves illegal actions, infectious diseases, untrue stories, and hidden secrets.

Negative assessments are found to be associated with *waiji* 外籍 'foreign'. This word co-occurs with *tongzhi* who are *aizi ganran zhe* 愛滋感染者 'tongzhi who are infected with AIDS'. This finding suggests that people are worrying if same-sex marriage is legalized, many *tongzhi* who are infected with AIDS will take the advantage of receiving treatment in Taiwan for free. Homosexuality is linked more often with other identities, particularly those who belong to minority status. They are seen as

problematic identities in some way. *Aizi ganran zhe* and *waiji* suggest a minority or stigmatized status. Baker (2005) pointed out that a set of common collocates refers to ethnicity is shared, such as *asylum seekers*, *Arabs*, *Asians*, *blacks*, and *Jews*.

One interesting finding is that journalists often play on words such as *tebie* 特別 ‘special’ and *baihui* 拜會 ‘pay an official visit’. The two collocates seem to be neutral without considering the context. However, it is obviously negative when we examine the context carefully. For example, *ba tongzhi dangzuo tebie de ren* 把同志當作特別的人 ‘consider *tongzhi* as special people’, *tongzhi tuanti baihui zhenfu* 同志團拜會政府 ‘*tongzhi* organization pays an official visit to the government’. As in Wong (2005), he points out that editors and journalists describe activists in a sensational way. Likewise, in the present study, *tongzhi* is often a target for entertainment.

Table 4.5
Frequency of the negative collocates of *tongxinglian*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	反對	against	25
2	歧視	discriminate	16
3	病	illness	11
4	痛苦	pain	4
	亂	disorder	4
	變態	pervert	4
	攻擊	attack	4
5	拒絕	reject	3
	傳染	infect	3
	罪	crime	3
	不自然	unnatural	3

	批	criticize	3
	否(定、決)	deny	3
	違反	violate	3
6	反感	dislike	2
	傷害	hurt	2
	欠	owe	2
	遮掩	cover	2
	對抗	confront	2
	噁	disgust	2
	剝奪	deprive	2

Table 4.5 shows the negative collocates of *tongxinglian*. According to the table, the most common negative collocate is *fandui*, which accounts for over one third of negative collates in this category, which shows disapproval of homosexuality. This very high percentage of disagreement indicates that lots of people adopt strong stances against homosexuality. Such words like *fandui* 反對, *chishi* 歧視, *pi* 批, *jujue* 拒絕, *fangan* 反感, *fou* 否 are words for something that one can do or say. Sometimes this involves specific kind of message. For example, *fandui*, ‘oppose’, you have to say something like *I think homosexuals should not adopt children*. This class of words is known as speech-act words (Searle 1975). Analysts agree that the impact of an act comes from the fact that there are intentions, assumptions and feelings involved along with the act of expressions. For example, *fandui tongxinglian xingwei* 反對同性戀行為 ‘oppose the act of homosexuals’, *fandui tongxinglian rufa* 反對同性戀入法 ‘oppose the legalization of homosexuals’.

Another notable result is that *tongxinglian* is often associated with misbehavior which is considered abnormal or unacceptable. It is frequently used in Chinese websites and even in mainstream Hong Kong newspapers. This term of reference has for the most part replaced such insulting remarks such as *xing biantai* 'perverts' (Wong 2005). It is also worthwhile to notice that *tongxinglian* is always associated with *bing* 'illness', and *chuanran* 'infect'. In addition, Wong (2005) examined 126 articles, 50 use the term *tongxinglian* to refer to same-sex desire. These articles are categorized into five categories, and 44% of the articles are categorized into the medical news category, especially about AIDS. A small part of usage is contributed to crime reports, which accounts for 12% in the 50 articles. Homosexuality is often thought of as illness and crime, which is in line with my data. *Tongxinglian* can be seen as a notion of crime (e.g. suicide, murder, burglary). In this sense, *tongxinglian* are usually cast in a negative light, being considered as diseases and crime. For example, the news reported *ba tongxinglian dang cheng bing dang cheng zui* 把同性戀當成病當成罪 'to consider homosexuals as diseases and crime', *tongxinglian hui chuanran* 同性戀會傳染 'homosexuality can infect people'. By the same token, Baker (2005) found that the most common collocates are related to criminal identities in the British tabloid press, a discourse that revolves around terms such as *drug users*, and *prostitutes*.

Table 4.6

Frequency of the negative collocates of *tonghun*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	反	anti	15
2	反對	oppose	5
3	害	hurt	4
4	遭到	suffer	3
	批評	criticize	3
5	錯誤	mistake	2
	抗議	protest	2
	罷免	recall	2
	抗爭	fight	2

Table 4.6 shows the distribution of negative collocates of *tonghun*. Slightly more than half of the collocates carry the meaning involved disapproval and disagreement such as *fan* 反 ‘anti’, *fandui* 反對 ‘oppose’. Moreover, the association of *tonghun* with political movement is clearly shown when the term collocates with words such as *kangyi* 抗議 ‘protest’, *bamian* 罷免 ‘recall’, *kangzheng* 抗爭 ‘fight’. This typical revolutionary word creates a discourse of resistance. These features include examples like *zaodao tonghun jia zhang kangyi* 遭到同婚家長抗議 ‘Parents of gay and lesbian children protested against same-sex marriage’, *zhichi tonghun zao bamian* 支持同婚遭罷免 ‘calling for a recall of the people who support same-sex marriage’ and *tonghun kangzheng* 同婚抗爭 ‘the fight for same-sex marriage’. This result is like the result in Wong (2005) to a certain extent. Wong argues that Chinese revolutionaries are clearly invoked when the term is used with expressions of combat and struggle (*chandou* 戰

鬥 'fight', *wuchi* 武器 'weapon', *fangong* 反攻 'counterattack') to express encouragement by the producers and readers in *G&L Magazine*. However, in our study, those revolutionary expressions show stiff resistance to same-sex marriage and we can sense protesters' strong opposition and refusal. They are overwhelmingly opposed to proposals in a new bill on same-sex marriage, which would permit *tongzhi* couples to marry.

4.2.1 Positive assessment

A pleasant and favorable affective meaning is labelled as positive. As can be seen in table 4.7, *ting* 挺 'stand behind' compose over 57 percent of positive collocates of *tongzhi*. Originally, *ting* means to keep straight in a vertical position or to keep somebody's back straight. *Ting* has developed its figurative meaning, suggesting I am standing by you, or I am with you. In a similar way, two slogans are used by supporters of same-sex marriage: *xiangting wei pingquan, quanmin cheng tongzhi* 相挺為平權，全民撐同志 “ and *dapou jiyoshan, ni wo cheng zizai* 打破假友善，你我撐自在 'honor diversity, like you mean it'. The goal is to break through fake friendliness, hidden discrimination and other barriers and to avoid becoming a part of discrimination. As long as we are part of society, social issues are immediately relevant to us. The organization, Taiwan LGBT Pride Parade hoped to bring attention to the invisible discrimination and fake friendliness which *tongzhi* often experience. Of these two

slogans, the former means that the citizens support gender equality and stand by *tongzhi*, and the latter means to break through *fake friendliness*, frequently co-occur with words which serves to strengthen the tone, such as *liting* 力挺 'stand behind', *xiangting* 相挺 'back up', *tingshen* 挺身 'come forward for somebody'. Moreover, *tingtong* 挺同 'stand behind *tongzhi*' seems to form a fixed expression, which can be seen as a common abbreviation of *tingtongzhi* 挺同志 'stand behind *tongzhi*' or *tingtonghun* 挺同婚 'stand behind same-sex marriage, occurring 76 times. *Zhichi* 支持 'support' and *fasheng* 發聲 'voice' occur next more often, being referenced 18 and 6 times respectively. *Fasheng* typically refers to vocal exercises, but in the cases presented in the study are linked to vocalization of position and they usually appear to be very vocal in their support of *tongzhi*. The places where the supporters always vocalize their thoughts are *lianshu* 臉書 'facebook', *shequn meiti* 社群媒體 'social media' and *yianchanghui* 演唱會 'concert'. Therefore, comments about homosexuality are often made on Facebook, social media and concerts

Table 4.7
Frequency of the positive collocates of *tongzhi*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	挺	stand behind	40
2	支持	support	18
3	發聲	voice	6
4	幸福	happiness	4
5	不避諱	Not avoid to	2

Table 4.8

Frequency of the positive collocates of *tongxinglian*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	支持	support	9
2	認同	approve	5
3	抱不平	to feel angry about an injustice which is done to others	1 1 1

Table 4.8 provides the positive collocates of *tongxinglian*. Acceptance of *tongxinglian* is described in words such as *zhichi* 支持 'support' and *rentong* 認同 'approve'.

Zhichi collocate strongly with romantic relationship such as *aiching* 愛情 'love', *xiangai* 相愛 'love each other' or with words related to same-sex marriage like *hunin pingquan* 婚姻平權 'marriage equality', *banlu fa* 伴侶法 'partnership law', *hunin fa* 婚姻法 'marriage law', *quanyi* 權益 'rights'. The phrase *zhichi tongxinlian* 支持同性戀 'support homosexual' is frequently abbreviated as *zhichi tongxin* 支持同性. For example, *zhichi tongxing aiching* 支持同性愛情 'support love of homosexuals', *zhichi tongxing xiangai* 支持同性相愛 'support that homosexuals love each other' and *zhichi tongxing quanyi* 支持同性權益 'support the rights of homosexuals'. These phrases suggest that activists launched desperate appeals to the public to grant same-sex couples equal rights.

Table 4.9

Frequency of the positive collocates of *tonghun*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
------	------------	-------	------------

1	挺	stand behind	10
2	支持	support	6
3	讚	praise	2
4	接受	accept	1
	漲	rise	1
	好處	advantage	1
	成功	success	1
	獲得	obtain	1
	發聲	voice	1

Table 4.9 shows the positive collocates of *tonghun*. This set of concordance is more concerned with their identities and the events involved in *tongzhi* rights movement. The first one *ting* relates to the identity and position of a person or a group, such as *renshi* 人士 ‘people’, *tuanti* 團體 ‘group’, *jihui* 集會 ‘rally’, *zhenying* 陣營 ‘camp’, *zhe* 者 ‘person’, *qunzhong* 群眾 ‘the masses’. This set of collocates reveals that people who support same-sex marriage are generally believed to be functioned as a unified group rather than as individuals. Several particular places are mentioned and they are often *kaidagelan dada(kaidao)* 凱達格蘭大道(凱道) ‘Kaida Gran Avenue’, *chingdaodonglu* 青島東路 ‘Qingdao East Road’, *lifayua* 立法院 ‘Legislative Yuan’, *jizhehui* 記者會 ‘press conference’, *renailu* 仁愛路 ‘Renai Road’. Another positive collocate is *zhichi*, which is one of positive collocates for *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* as well. It strongly collocates with words that link to the names and the procedures of legalization such as *bamian* 罷免 ‘recall’, *shenglang* 聲浪 ‘clamor’, *lianshu* 連署 ‘petition’, *banlu fa* 伴侶法 ‘partnership law’, *hefa* 合法 ‘legalization’, *xiufa* 修法

‘amend the law’, *minfa* 民法 ‘Civil Code’. These words link *tonghun* to a conceptualization of a series of campaigns for *tongzhi* rights, being continually urging the legal reform.

4.2.3 Neutral statement

Positive and negative collates are kinds of semantic preference. This relates with different degrees of semantic meaning in general. That is to say, “the co-occurrence of an item is seen as a colouring of the item itself.” (Louw 1993:159). The neutral words carry implied meanings and connotations (Hunston 1995). But sometimes, positive, negative and semantic collocations all take place together. A collocate can show both positive and negative features, and therefore getting into a different semantic category. Some typical examples are discussed in the previous study (Stubbs 2001). For example, for words *break out*, *cause*, *completely*, *utterly*, *totally* exhibit negative feature. *Entirely* often displays semantic fields like absence, a change of state or independency. As Hunston and Francis (2000: 137) claimed, “co-occurrence typically with other words that belong to a certain semantic set”. In fact, the identification of positive or negative is problematic. Some words are not very clearly negative, positively or easily to identify. Some words are evaluated negatively in some cases but they may also be evaluated positively in other cases. So we have this category, neutral collocates. The denotation

of these neutral collocates might be dependent on the ideology as revealed from the whole text.

Table 4.10
Frequency of the neutral collocates of *tongzhi*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	遊行	parade	54
2	婚姻	marriage	41
3	專法	specific law	40
4	朋友	friend	32
	台灣	Taiwan	32
5	諮詢熱線	hotline	27
6	女	female	25
7	權益	privilege	20
8	活動	activity	19
9	中國	China	17
10	家庭	family	16
11	伴侶	partner	13
	運動	activity	13
12	很多	many	12
13	結婚	get married	11
	團體	group	11
	認為	consider	11
14	北市	Taipei city	10
	爭取	fight for	10
15	網站	Website	9
	交友	make friends	9
	異性戀	heterosexuality	9
	發現	find	9
16	聯盟	League	8
	出櫃	coming out	8
	男	male	8
	歌	songs	8
17	讓	let	7
	法律	law	7
	燈號	light signals	6

	正常	normal	6
	愛滋	AIDS	6
18	身份	identity	6
	保障	protect	6
	分享	share	6
	彩虹旗	rainbow flag	6
	引起	lead to	6
19	來台	come to Taiwan	5
	開始	begin	5
	言論	opinions	5
	高雄	Kaohsiung	5
	議題	Issue	5
	問題	problem	5
	變成	become	5
	協助	assist	5
20	形式	form	4
	情	affection	4
	找	find	4
	免費	free	4

The first important observation is that neutral collocates could be classified into four main categories, namely: movement, identity, problem and acts. Our observation is that the top one collocate is *youxing* 遊行 ‘parade’, which is considered in the category of movement, particularly concerning with the parade route, the form of parade and stances on the issues of parade. *Youxing* is accompanied by quantification, number and scale such as *wanren* 萬人 ‘tens of thousands of people’, *renshu* 人數 ‘the number of people’, *guimou* 規模 ‘scale’. *Youxing* strongly collocates with the act or process of the parade such as, *juban* 舉辦 ‘hold’, *canyu* 參與 ‘take part in’, *jihui* 集會 *faan* 法案 ‘bill’, *dengchang* 登場 ‘debut’. Those collocates also suggest the stance on the

legality of same-sex marriage, taking both positive and negative stances like *fandui* 反對 *zema* 責罵 'blame', *buliang yingxiang* 不良影響 'bad effects' or *ting* 挺 'stand behind', *xingfen* 興奮 'excited', *jiachi* 加持 'blessing'. The term *tongzhi* is found to co-occur with *yiti* 議題, *faxian* 發現 'find', *xiezhu* 協助 'assist', *wenti* 問題 'problem', *yingchi* 引起 'lead to', *zhengzhang* 正常 'normal'. These collocates indicate that *tongzhi* is a difficult situation that needs attention and needs to be dealt with or solved.

Another category of collocate is *tongzhi* identity, such as *chugui* 出櫃 'come out', *pengyou* 朋友 'friend', *rentong* 認同 'approve', *nu* 女 'female', *nan* 男 'male', *shenfeng* 身分 'identity', *banlu* 伴侶 'partner'. As table 4.10 shows, *nu tongzhi* tend to occur more than *nan tongzhi*. This phenomenon is more marked for the word *nu tongzhi*. When we spot *tongzhi*, what pops into our mind is a male *tongzhi* rather than a female *tongzhi*. So it is specifically noted that the reference of a female *tongzhi* is always accompanied by *nu*. The male characteristic is the default nature of *tongzhi*, which is a more common and more regular form.

The third category *problem* includes words like *faxian* 發現, 'find' *yingchi* 引起 'lead to', *wenti* 問題 'problem'. These collocates are based around the concept of a problem, something that is difficult to deal with and something that is the source of trouble or worry. With respect to the uses of collocates, in a metaphorical sense, *tongzhi* results in the meaning of a problem. *Tongzhi* is a situation causes difficulties and not

easy to overcome. The last category *acts* includes *chugui* 出櫃 ‘come out’, *jaoyou* 交友 ‘make friends’, *xingshi jiehun* 形式結婚 ‘marriage of convenience’. These lexical items are linked to activity which are external or internal acts. *Chugui* 出櫃 is defined as being an internal part of one’s identity. *jaoyou* 交友, *xingxhi jiehun* 形式結婚 are external behavior.

Table 4.11
Frequency of the neutral collocates of *tongxinlian*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	者	a person	32
2	異性戀	heterosexuality	20
3	伴侶	partner	19
4	教育	education	10
5	接受	accept	9
	家庭	family	9
6	美國	America	8
	造成	cause	8
7	權利	rights	7
	結婚	get married	7
8	平等	equal	6
	民法	Civil Code	6
	保障	protect	6
	變成	become	6
	尊重	respect	6
	中國	China	6
9	國家	nation	5
	修法	amend the law	5
	傾向	tend to	5
	女	female	5
	男	male	5
	給	give	5
	認為	consider	5
	成為	become	5
10	議題	issue	4

不同	different	4
問題	problem	4

The neutral collocates of *tongxinglian* are based around words related to identity, comparison and policy. *Tongxinglian* strongly collocates with *zhe*. This is a common way to speak of homosexuals. Interestingly, *tongxinglian* and *yixinglian* ‘heterosexual’ tend to occur together when making a comparison between these two types of sexual orientation or the relation between them. It also includes collocates like *jiaoyu* 教育 ‘education’, *quanli* 權利 ‘right’, *jiehun* 結婚 ‘get married’, *minfa* 民法 ‘Civil Code’, *xiufa* 修法 ‘amend the law’, *baozhang* 保障 ‘protect’ and *pingdeng* 平等 ‘equal’ because the current laws are in violation of homosexual rights. Therefore, the discussion about those relevant policies nowadays has been turned into a heated debate in the Internet news.

Table 4.12
Frequency of the neutral collocates of *tonghun*

Rank	Collocates	Gloss	Occurrence
1	團體	group	9
2	合法	legitimate	6
	議題	issue	6
3	案	case	5
			5
	修法	amend the law	5
4	者	a person	4
5	入法	legitimate	3
	人權	human rights	3

6	民眾	people	2
			2
	活動	activity	2
	訴求	appeal	2
	法制化	legalization	2
	資訊	information	2
	作公投	referendum	2
	舉例	for example	2
	本身	itself	2
	說	say	2
	網友	netizen	2

When we consider the nature of the word *tongxing hunin* ‘same-sex marriage’, it obviously links to *tongzhi* rights movement and changes in the concept of marriage. Therefore, the collocates of *tonghun* particularly associate with same-sex marriage movement. The legal recognition of same-sex couples is the shift in the concept of marriage from a male-dominant society for the purpose of reproduction to a relationship based on equality, affection and love of two people for each other. Two thematic groups can be identified under the *tongzhi* movement, including the people or organization involved in the movement and their identities, the procedure and implications of the bill. Same-sex relationship are not considered as equal to heterosexual relationship, so *tonghun tuanti* ‘same-sex marriage group’ is used to collocate with words to express their attitude toward it, such as *biaoda* 表達 ‘express’, *renwei* 認為 ‘consider’, *haozhao* 號召 ‘call’, *pengji* 抨擊 ‘attack’, *fabiao* 發表 ‘present’, *kending* 肯定 ‘approve’, *rijie* 理解 ‘understand’, *hubiemiao* 互別苗頭 ‘to decide the winner’,

tongyi 同意 ‘agree’, *fachi* 發起, *danxing* 擔心, *zhichi* 支持 ‘support’. As shown in table 4.12, this set of collocates reveals that concept of *tonghun* has been changing and it reflects a clash between opposite social values. Same-sex marriage is a milestone for *tongzhi* couples. A central point of debate about *tonghun* is still going on. In the fight for gender equality, a number of recent laws have moved toward equalization of *tongzhi*.

4.2.4 Discussion

The research suggests that positive, negative and neutral assessments contribute to the result, insofar as we can summarize some of main points from the data. We concentrate on the lexical (collocates) level, making use of the number of tokens. ‘Repeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal and idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community. A word, phrase or construction may trigger a cultural stereotype’ (Stubbs, 2001: 215). The collocates in our data can be categorized in ten groups: (1) verbs in stance showing, including opposing and supporting (*fandui*, *ting*); (2) relating to the legalization, implications of the Bill and political movement (*xiufa*, *renquan*); (3) relating to the people or stakeholders involved in the bill and their identities (*tongzhi*, *tongxinlian*); (4) referring to relationships and labelling (*jiaren*, *banlu*); (5) relating to negative emotional states (*hen*); (6) relating to illness (*aizi*); (7) relating to events and issues (*jiaoyu*); relating to

abnormal and immoral status or relating to incidents involved illegal acts or secrets , such as (8) illegal action (*yingzang*) , (9) misbehavior (*biantai*) and (10) problem (*faxian*).

Table 4.13

Shared collocational groups across three terms¹¹

	<i>tongzhi</i>	<i>tongxinglian</i>	<i>tonghun</i>
Legal implication and political movement	49%(186/379)	8% (18/229)	39% (37/96)
Stance showing	12% (45/379)	35% (80/229)	36%(35/96)
Relationship and label	22% (83/379)	31% (71/229)	5% (5/96)
Illegal action	3% (11/379)	2% (5/229)	
Illness	3% (11/379)	6% (14/229)	

As shown in table 4.13, the upper part of the table displays the most frequent collocates that are shared by the three key words. The lower part points towards overlap in use. The table lists shared and overlap of collocates with their individual percentage, including words that occur at least two times. Functional words like conjunctions or articles have been left out from the discussion; as mentioned before, due to the scope of our present study. The shared collocates are very often easy to read. The news is

¹¹ Most common and shared semantic groups of words coordinated with the target keywords and overlap in two semantic groups of words coordinated with the target keywords

written for readers with common vocabulary and straightforward statements. This has something to do with the property of news. Particularly, as Wong (2005) indicates that news about *tongzhi* is frequently reported for entertainment and sensation. As shown in the table, an overlap of intended collocates is likely to be predicted. Even though the most frequent collocates overlap with each other, the individual collocate inclines to be classified into different semantic categories. The shared collocates reflect urgent appeals to the government, asking for legalization of same-sex marriage. Taking a closer glimpse into the shared collocates, we see they contain *legal implication and political movement, stance showing and relationship and label*. At a broad level, the shared collocates are found to strongly collocate with words like *youxing, zhe, fan*. These categories are commonly expressed in a way which typically references the opinion and the process of movement. Among the most frequent collocates of *stance showing*, they look somewhat negative. In *tongzhi, tongxinglian* and *tonghun*, the negative stance showing collocates are significantly more than positive stance showing collocates. Compared with *tongxinglian* and *tonghun*, stance showing collocates for *tongzhi* are generally unfavorable. Unlike *tongxinglian* and *tonghun*, the occurrence of positive stance showing collocates still account for a small proportion (e.g., *zhichi, ting*). *Stance showing* includes collocates which are shared among these three key words. We have already marked them in boldfaced type (e.g., *fandui, hai* and *zhe*). Furthermore,

in *relationship and label*, the most common label is *tonzhi pengyou*, which forges intimate relationship with *tongzhi* that bridges the gap between speakers and *tongzhi*. Another vital shared collocate is *zhe*, which serves as an official term of reference for the general public (Wong 2005).

Obviously, *tongzhi* is closely bound up with *tongxinglian*. Therefore, they share a lot of overlapping collocates. We could expect *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* are similar in numerous ways but different from *tonghun*. Notice that there is no overlapping collocate merely between either *tonxinglilan* and *tonghun* or *tongzhi* and *tonghun*. We then look at the overlap only between *tongxinglian* and *tongzhi*. As can be seen, the concept of crime and illness are heavily drawn on both of them. Types of illegal actions and sickness are direct associations for *tongzhi* and *tongxinlian* (e.g., *zui* and *aizi*). These collocates contribute to convey a distinct impression that *tongzhi* and *tonxinglian* are unacceptable, not allowed and not approved of. They are considered to be negative categories and plenty of examples are listed.

Table 4.14

Semantic groups of words coordinated with the target keywords

<i>tongzhi</i>	Negative emotion 4% (15/379)	Problem 5% (19/379)
<i>tongxinglian</i>	Misbehavior 6% (14/229)	Events and related issues 11% (25/229)
<i>tonghun</i>	Different stakeholders and	

**people involved in the
movement**
20% (19/96)



From all this, it can be seen that *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* in general are not pleasant ideas. They are firmly denied, and they have stirred people toward feeling a sense of disapproval toward supporters of this idea. There is a strong social stigma attached to *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian*. Collocates revolve around negative emotion and behavior and their most frequent lexical collocates are *kong*, *faxian*, *jiaoyu*, *jiating*. A common strategy is to quantify homosexuality in terms of dehumanization or metaphors for problems, such as *biantai*, *luan*, *faxian*.

4.3 Textual analysis

Collocation analysis is not enough to examine or demonstrate the reasons why such linguistic patterns were discovered. The previous section does not take social, political, historical background into consideration. In order to perform an in-depth analysis, the following analysis will be considered in a wider context, from headlines to the data of collected news. We chose to follow the general idea of critical discourse analysis, and this research attempts to understand the relationship between media texts and public opinions. This includes taking into account the motivation of a text, the time period and a reporter's perspective.

4.3.1 Headlines

Headlines are composed of a line of words in larger letters as the title of each news post. Headlines should be specific enough to deliver important and complete messages, and one can even get the gist of the whole story from a direct, brief and accurate headline. Therefore, headlines serve as an effective tool to investigate and to provide insights into the social use and significance of *tongzhi*.

The struggle against discrimination is widespread in headlines across all the data. Here we provide an analysis covering three levels, including lexical, grammatical and pragmatic aspects. First, we can take a closer look at the lexical level. A few expressions demonstrate the value of full equality with heterosexuals. Such words are like *aizuida* 愛最大 'love is the most important', *pingquan* 平權 'equality', *gongping* 公平 'fair', *hefahua* 合法化 'legalize', *aizuidanchu* 愛最單純 'love is pure', *xiangai* 想愛 'want love really much', showing great affection in same-sex relationships and *tongzhi* are trying to show that homosexuals are no different from heterosexuals. The phrases emphasize the love between same-sex couples. That is, love is the same and marriage is based on love rather than gender.

The occurrences of *tongzhi* are far more than the number of *tongxinglian* in the headlines, which we have discussed earlier before in chapter 3 (see table 3.3). *Tongzhi* is a common expression of sexual minorities which are frequently used by *tongzhi* activists and news reporters (Wang 2005). *Tongzhi* indicates a form of solidarity,

intimacy and liberty. Being affected by Chou, the use of *tongzhi* has increased popularity in academic studies and literature about same-sex intimacy. Headlines provided here are consistent with Chou (2002), who claims that *tongzhi* has begun to find favour with modern publishing. *Tongzhi* is a mark referring to sexual minorities (lesbians, bisexuals, and gay people). Some explanations are offered for the common use of *tongzhi* rather than *tongxinglian*. Because *tonxinglian* is not a term which derives from Chinese, acceptance of *tongxinglian* is imposed on people who have same-sex desire by gay culture in the West and heterosexuals. Plus, we can have considerable negative implications for *tonxinglian* when examining them in context.

Imperative forms, exclamatory style, the use of modal and direct speech are the major syntactic features in headlines. Verbs in imperative forms express the sense of extremely urgent and they are usually used for giving orders. For example, *zhichi tonghun zao bamian!* 支持同婚遭罷免 ‘calling for a recall of the people who support same-sex marriage’, ‘*ni wuhui ziyou de yiyi le!*’ 你誤會自由的意義了 ‘you misunderstand the meaning of freedom’, *zaishuo wo nuer shi biantai, wo gen ta pingming!* 再說我女兒變態我跟你拼命! ‘If you say my daughter is a pervert again, I will fight it out with you.’ Another way in which the headlines reveals their stances contributes to exclamatory claims that express surprise, emotion or pain by means of exclamations. For example, *lushi luqiuyuan banchu 9ci minfa xiuzheng gui, henhen*

dalian hujiameng! 律師呂秋遠搬出 9 次民法修正軌跡，狠狠打臉護家盟！ ‘It was a slap in the face for Family Guardian Coalition of Taiwan Religions when Attorney Lu proposed the history to the Civil code,’ *fantonghun an zhe lai!*, 反同婚暗著來 ‘to oppose same-sex marriage under the counter’, *zai nage shidai, nanren han nanren de aiching cai shi zhuliu la* 在那個時代男人和女人的愛情才是主流啦 ‘During that period of time, a love relationship between men and women is the mainstream’, *yi tan shijie 3 da tongxinglian chuantong, dang nanren koujiao caishi zhen nanren!* 一探世界 3 大同性戀傳統，當男人口交才是真男人！ ‘Explore three major traditions of gay. A man becomes a real man when he performs oral sex on his partner.’ *fantonghun an zhe lai* 反同性戀暗著來！ ‘to oppose homosexuals under the counter’. Headlines end with exclamation marks attract a great deal of public attention, appealing to the public to have empathy with *tongzhi*. This strategy is a key mechanism for understanding people who have different sexual orientations, allowing them to feel their emotions. It allows people to identify with *tongzhi*’s need and offer further assistance. In addition, modal verbs express possibility, intention or necessity. Such sentence patterns like *buzhun* 不准 ‘not allow’, *buying* 不應 ‘should not’, *bugai* 不該 ‘should not’. Table 4.15 shows five types of strategies identified with specific examples in the news data.

Table 4.15

Five types of strategies used in headlines

modal verbs	不准同	不應怕被指	同志如說	民進黨同	不該為少數
--------------------	-----	-------	------	------	-------

	志結婚 是剝奪	歧視	謊偷竊 不 該合理化	志黨工可 享婚假	性向不同的 人修民法
imperative	我們不 奇怪 請 收起異 色眼光	不歧視同性 戀傾向者 公平對待	尊重同性 戀相愛的 權利	修法禁止 性傾向扭 轉療程	
direct quotes	釋昭 慧：這 一路走 來 同志 們辛苦 了	張守一：同 性戀可以結 婚，那人跟 摩天輪能 嗎？美麗華 這麼回應....	李天柱： 同性戀將 導致人類 滅絕，是 對後代子 孫的詛咒	護家盟： 同婚合法 後孩子若 變同性戀 立委不用 負責嗎？	釋昭慧嗆反 同婚者：你 不會因准同 婚就變同性 戀 那在擔 心什麼？
value of equality	眾星力 挺同婚	女同志陸生 來台求學 為圓推廣平 權夢	台灣同性 婚拚合法	蔡依林攜 田馥甄挺 愛最大	單純的愛 艾怡良披彩 虹旗挺同志
exclamatory claims	支持同 婚遭罷 免！	再說我女兒 是變態，我 跟他拚命！	被彩虹霸 凌？你誤 會自由的 意義了！	反同婚暗 著來！	男人和男人 的愛情才是 主流啦！

4.3.2 News content analysis

After headlines analysis, we are preceding to the next stage, analysis of a wider context, news content. Examination of news data has revealed three obvious themes are categorized as equality and sameness, the role of family and destruction to society. The result is supplemented by over 80% data that touches on the three main themes we mentioned. The specific extracts which present in this section could help researchers figure out how homosexuality is represented and in what way they are exactly described in news discourse.

4.3.2.1 Equality and sameness

The discourses place the emphasis on the sameness of *tongzhi* with other people.

There are many forms of love: parent/child, siblings. *tongzhi*'s love is no different from heterosexuals'. Supporters of same-sex marriage oppose to the fact that they do not share the same right as heterosexuals. For example, heterosexuals can get married. In human society, heterosexuals have been privileged, and the discourses of equality argue that heterosexuality and homosexuality should be treated equally.

(1) 他表示，「不准同志結婚，這是剝奪，我們不應該忍受剝奪，這就是我們在這裡的原因」，全場鼓掌歡呼；就像購票進遊樂園，同志拿到不一樣的票，不能玩鬼屋，這座遊樂園是大家出錢出力蓋好，卻不能玩鬼屋，這是剝奪。蔡永康說，沒要比一般人更多的東西，是和一般人一樣，這件事沒傷害到任何人，也要同志朋友以後別再因同志的事說謝謝和對不起，權利原本就在，且沒對不起任何人

'He states, "Not allowing same-sex couples to marry, is deprivation. We should not have endured deprivation. This is the reason we are here." The crowd applauded. This is like buying tickets for an amusement park. Different tickets are issued to gay people. They do not have the right to participate in the haunted house. Everyone made a contribution to building this amusement park, yet they're not allowed in the haunted house. This is a sign of deprivation. Cai Kang-yong points out that we do not ask for much. We want what normal people want, and this does not cause harm to anyone, so I ask friends that are *tongzhi* not to say thank you or apologize for this *tongzhi* incident. Rights are there. We didn't harm others.'

CNA NEWS, 01, August, 2016

The discourse of equality revolves around (deprivation of) *human rights, tradition in society, and equality*. In (1), *Cai Kang-young* proposed the theme park metaphor.

Metaphors are commonly used to map readers' understanding, activities and reactions to a notion. From the perspective of a conceptual metaphor (Lakoff 1993), the conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand

another conceptual domain is known as the source domain. The conceptual domain that is understood in this way is the target domain. Thus, the source domain of the theme park is applied to explain the target domain of the society; and the source domain of not allowing one to enter a haunted house is used to explain the target domain of deprivation of marriage right. Lakoff (1993) proposes the Invariance Principle to account for the mapping relationships between the target and the source domains.

Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology of the source

domain, in a way that is consistent with the inherent structure of the target

domain.

(Lakoff 1993:215)

In this theme park, equal rights map onto the ticket to every ride and attraction of a theme park evenly and thoroughly. The notion of the ticket to the theme park or the right to enter a haunted house refers to the equal rights in society. As in example (1),

不准同志結婚，這是剝奪....就像購票進遊樂園，同志拿到不一樣的票，不能玩鬼

屋，這座遊樂園是大家出錢出力蓋好，卻不能玩鬼屋，這是剝奪。 Specifically,

dajia chuchianchuli gaihao 大家出錢出力蓋好 ‘everyone made a contribution to

building’ implies that anyone who enters the amusement park is mapped onto anyone

who contributes to the theme park, that is the society. Here the linguistic expressions

like *jiao xiang* 就像 ‘as’, *jiao shi* 就是 ‘as’ imply the structure mapping in analogy.

Figure 4.1 illustrates the mapping operation.

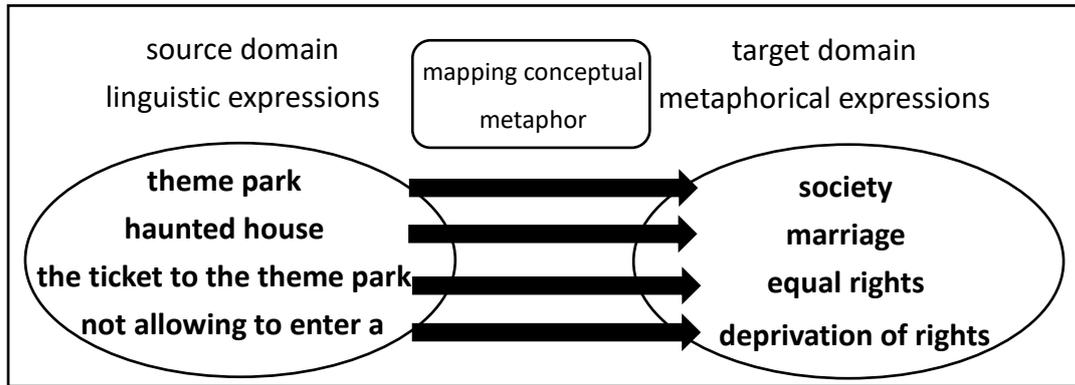


Figure 4.1

Theme park metaphor: the conceptual metaphor.

ⁱ Again, as mentioned in the previous section, strong modality and negation is widely applied (eg. 不准 *buchun* 'not allow', 不應該 *buyinggai* 'should not', 不能 *buneng* 'can't'). Take (1) for example, 不准同志結婚這是剝奪 'not allowing *tongzhi* to get married is a deprivation' repeats two times. 不應該 *buyinggai* 'should not' and 不能 *buneng* 'can't' put emphasis on the rights and sensible things to do. On the ground, Cai stresses that *tongzhi* are also a part of society, so no one can violate their rights. It is not necessary to feel sorry for everyone because this is the true essence of equality.

(2) 父母得知他出櫃時，得到的反應是「這是不是病？有沒有什麼父母可以矯正的？」還因而送他去做心理諮商。「好險心理醫生跟我談話後，跟爸媽說我很好，剛好是同志而已。」楚杰生微笑說著。而身為一個同志，學生時總是不免戰戰兢兢，楚杰生說，這種自在會隨著人長大而建立，現在的同志青少年，想必跟他當年一樣經歷許多掙扎與痛苦，「我想告訴大家要堅強、要愛自己，因為這些事沒有人可以幫你做到。不管你是女同、男同、雙性戀、跨性別、雙性人，那都是你和我身分的一部份。用中文說的話就是，人就是人，愛就是愛，就是這樣。」

‘While coming out to their parents, the reaction that they get is “Is this an illness? Is there anything that can be fixed by parents?” Parents also sent their child to the psychiatrist because of this. “Good thing, after talking to the psychiatrist, my parents were told that there was nothing wrong with me, just the fact that I am *tongzhi*.” Says Chu Jie-sheng with a smile. As being a *tongzhi* individual, I was often nervous while I was a student, Chu Jie-sheng said. This feeling will grow with that person. *Tongzhi* individuals nowadays, presumably went through the same sufferings as he did. “I want to tell everyone to be strong, love yourself, because no one can help you do this. Whether you’re lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or intersexual, everything is part of your body. To be said in Chinese, humans are humans, love is love, that’s all.”’

STORM MEDIA, 07, February 2017

Example (2) is a piece of news about Chu Jie-sheng, who shares his experience of gender and sexual identities. In the previous news text which I did not extract, it is reported that his parents were overwhelmed in dealing with his homosexuality, and they consider homosexuality to be a sin, immorality or a mental illness. When his parents got to know he is *tongzhi*, they even sent him to a treatment facility. The first line in example (2) illustrates that his parents associate *tongzhi* with illness.

In this excerpt, two linguistic strategies have been implemented to promote equality and to treat people with different sexual orientations fairly: parallel constructions and *bugua* 不管 ‘whatever’. Parallel constructions play a role in comparing relevant but different elements in a series, as can be seen in example (2) such as *yao jianchiang* 要堅強 ‘be strong’ *yao ai ziji* 要愛自己 ‘love yourself’. Another instance is *ren jiu shi ren* 人就是人 ‘People are people’, *ai jiushi ai* 愛就是愛 ‘love is love’. The reference of *ai* 愛 ‘love’ here represents that it really makes no difference between *tongzhi* and heterosexuals. Chu argues that *tongzhi* need to be loved

and cared for. The second pattern is *buguan*, which is used to emphasize that something is always true no matter what the situation is. Thus, what places after *buguan* usually featuring a broad spectrum of words. For instance *nutong* 女同 'lesbian', 男同 *nantong* 'gay', *shuangxinglian* 雙性戀 'bisexual', *kuaxingbie* 跨性別 'transgender', *shuangxing ren* 雙性人 'intersex'. Such a list and pattern occur especially when the supporters advocate equality and challenge discrimination.

(3)

- a. 我有很多同志朋友，但是他們不需要結婚，相愛就好。
'I have many gay friends, but they don't need to marry, just love.'
你也應該這樣，相愛就好。
'You should also do the same, just love.'
- b. 我有很多同志朋友，但是他們不應該跟我一樣有相同的權利。
'I have many gay friends, but they don't have the same rights like me.'
你也應該這樣，不可以有平等權。
'You should also be like this, not allowed to have equal rights'
- c. 我有很多同志朋友，但是他們應該尊重我不尊重他們的權利。
'I have many gay friends, but they have to respect me for me not respecting them.'
我想也是，當你朋友真可憐。
'I think, being your friend is a pity.'

UDN.COM, 17. November 2016

Example (3) ironically describes the current situation that people seemingly embrace *tongzhi* but actually discriminate against them. Attorney Lu Chiu Yuan, a supporter of same-sex marriage, sarcastically addressed 10 common arguments made by the opponents who claim that they are friendly to *tongzhi*. The common negative attitude against homosexuality lies in a declarative sentence in the first statement of each set of argument. This set of argument begins with a sentence *wo you hendou tongzhi pengyou*

我有很多同志朋友 ‘I have many gay friends’, and the second line dedicates to give a sarcastic response to the people who appear to support *tongzhi*. Attorney Lu develops a pattern that we should treat people as we expect to be treated. In other words, we should consider other people’s own place and extend our own feelings to others. To address some of these concerns, he created the repetition of parallel structure. As can be seen in example (3), line 1, 3 and 5 are all in a similar form expressing opinions different from Lu. These lines share a similar pattern which is “I have many gay friends but they don’t have the right...” What follows *danshi* 但是 ‘but’ draws a stark contrast between two different stances. The former sentence in line 1 seems they are friendly to *tongzhi*, but they do not put what they claimed in practice as in the following sentence shows. The second line of each set of argument formulates an unfavorable response. The parallel structure (line 2, 4, 6) dedicates to challenge the long held societal stereotype which means *tongzhi* is wholly inappropriate to marry, to have rights and to be respected. In what follows, another two examples are also connected to same-sex equality.

(4) 北投老字號的北投熱海溫泉大飯店，春節期間在臉書秀出一張男男泡湯照，被網友認為支持同志並引起網友正反意見交鋒。面對網友在臉書上正反意見熱議，北投熱海溫泉大飯店的臉書小編在臉書上回應指出：「我們秉持歡迎所有喜歡泡湯的旅客來泡湯，並沒有宣告溫泉特屬哪個族群且新春期間價格一致化並公開於官網上，所有旅客都可來體驗溫泉，無論是不同宗教、不同種族，不同身分、不同價值，我們都熱情款待所有旅人，我們相信人生而平等，人與人相遇就是緣份。」

‘A well-known hot spring hotel in Beitou, showed a photo of two men enjoying the hot spring on their Facebook fanpage during spring break. This made the people on the Net feel that this hotel was

supporting same-sex relationships, which showed positive and negative comments. By facing the positive and negative comments made by their fans, the Facebook editor of this hotel states, “We welcome any guest that likes hot springs. This isn’t for any specific group of people to come. The spring break price is all the same as posted on our official website. All kinds of guests are welcome to experience our hot springs. No matter the religion, ethnicity, status or values, we welcome all the travelers. We believe equality in life. People meet each other because of fate.”

APPLE DAILY, 31 January 2017

- (5) 那些懂你與不懂你的人，會以刻意或不經意的方式，讓你難受。這些方式，可能是眼神、言語或是行為。心理上的準備，就是請把那些人看成病人，沒有病識感的病人，他們不知道自己生病了，請你要原諒與同情他們。你沒有錯，錯的是錯待你的人與國家的法律。所以，請不要改變自己，勇敢的接受這些人的挑戰。例如：感情、打扮、婚姻、孩子、變回「正常人」等話題。
‘Those who understand and don’t understand you, will use deliberate or unintentional ways to make you feel uncomfortable. These ways, might be through their gaze, language or action. Being prepared mentally, is to see those people as patients, patients without any sickness. They aren’t aware that they are sick, please forgive and sympathize them. You didn’t do anything wrong. What is wrong are the wrong doings of the people around you and the laws of your country. Therefore, please don’t change who you are, accept the challenges from these people bravely. For example, relationships, the way you dress, marriage, children and topics of changing back to a “normal person”

APPLE DAILY, 25, January 2017

Example (4) and example (5) both support marriage equality. Example (4) is a declaration made by a hot spring hotel. Such official announcement reveals positive support for marriage equality. This official statement opposes those who attack *tongzhi* on the Net by making this official announcement on their fan page. A number of parallel structures and listing are also used. Note the use of the word *wulun* 無論 ‘no matter’. It expresses ideas that things will not change whatever the condition is or that somebody should definitely do something, and something will certainly happen. We find a listing after 無論, for example, *butong zongjiao* 不同宗教 ‘different religions’, 不同種族

butong zhongzu ‘different races’, *butong shenfeng* 不同身分 ‘different identities’、
butong jiazhi 不同價值 ‘different values’.

Example (5) also manifests a similar strategy of listings to support equal marriage rights. Several listings are used by the speaker who tend to have an intimate conversation with *tongzhi*, including *dong ni yu budong ni de* 懂你與不懂你 ‘people who know you and don’t know you’, *keyi huo bujingyide* 刻意或不經意的 ‘deliberately or indeliberately’, *yenshen yenyu huoshi xingwei* 眼神、言語或是行為 ‘eye expressions, language or acts’, *ganching dabang hunying haizu bianhui zhengchangren* 感情、打扮、婚姻、孩子、變回正常人 ‘relationship, the way you dress, marriage, children, getting back to being a normal person’. This discourse establishes an atmosphere of friendliness by using pronoun (e.g. *ni* 你 ‘you’, *tamen* 他們 ‘they’). These types of pronouns shorten the distance between the speaker and *tongzhi* since *ni* 你 ‘you’ in the context symbolizes *tongzhi* and *tamen* 他們 ‘they’ represents the people who oppose same-sex equality. The choice of pronoun plays a central role in a conversation. *ni* 你 ‘you’ builds intimacy in the conversation while *tamen* 他們 ‘they’ provokes a sense of alienation.

The above excerpt are all marked by lexical items such as *wǒ xiǎng gào sù nǐ* ‘I want to tell’, *wǒmen bǐng chí* 我們秉持 ‘we believe’, *nǐ yě yīng gāi* 你也應該 ‘you should’, *qǐng nǐ yào* 請你要 ‘please’. Such phrases point out the speaker’s

attempt to communicate information and his/her feelings to *tongzhi*. Also, these phrases display direct modalities of communication which can be applied to promote marriage equality in public.

4.3.2.2 The role of family

Another major theme concerns the relationship and interaction between members of the same family. Based on Chou (2000), *tongzhi* is a special term for Chinese culture. *Tongzhi* reflects the distinct culture of Chinese society. This term is popularized for its reference to Chinese with same-sex desire in modern times. Wong (2008) points out the underlying message in *tongzhi* lies in their sexual desire and the role of family. Gay and lesbian in western culture stress the internal part of their identity and coming out development. However, in Chinese culture, instead of promoting a positive cultural individualism, they tend to integrate *tongzhi* identity into the realm of family context. The following examples involve the family network.

(6) 出面陳情的郭媽媽說最在意的是孩子的未來和孩子的幸福，「請讓我們的孩子成家」，請不要再污衊同志，孩子只是想要結婚，「沒有要搞性解放、沒有要人獸交」，同志無所不在，請大家支持多元成家，讓社會更美好。

‘Mrs. Kuo, the mother of the child who was most concerned about her child’s future and happiness, said that, “Please help our child to start a family”, “Please stop smearing the *tongzhi* community”, “The child just wants to get married”, “This is not about sexual liberation or bestiality”. *Tongzhi* are everywhere, please support same-sex marriage, to make society a better place.’

CNA NEWS, 07 November, 2016

In Chinese tradition, one cannot be a perfect individual without family and society. In

example (6), happiness is likened to starting a family. Clearly in the excerpt, happiness is associated with marriage (note the use of words like *zaiyi* 在意 ‘care’, *xingfu* 幸福 ‘happiness’, 結婚 *jiehun* ‘getting married’). Parents in Chinese society like to show off their children in front of relatives. In that case *tongzhi* are perceived to be a deep sense of shame to the whole family system and therefore they always face the problem of their parents accepting their sexual orientation or not, and meanwhile parents fear to lose their faces. In example (6) a mother of *tongzhi* stands out against sexual discrimination. Under the influence of Chinese culture, her children can only get a sense of well-being by having a family. On this ground, traditional Chinese concepts highlight that a person’s happiness is determined by developing close ties with family.

Parallel construction is used again to add a sense of order and to arrange the argument of supporting marriage equality. A set of phrases which promote marriage equality are concerned with their needs, often using phrases which suggest their appeal to the opponents, focusing on the main subject such as *haizide weilai* 孩子的未來 ‘children’s future’, *haizide xingfu* 孩子的幸福 ‘children’s happiness’. Meanwhile parallel structure helps to construct their requests and to make the arguments clear and easy to understand, for example, *ching rang haizi chengjia* 請讓孩子成家 ‘please let my children marry’, *ching buyiao womie tongzhi* 請不要污衊同志 ‘Don’t smear *tongzhi*’, *meiyouyao gao xingjiefang* 沒有要搞性解放 ‘We don’t launch sexual

liberation' *meiyouyao renshoujiao* 沒有要人獸交 'We don't practice bestiality'. In some cases, the excerpts below suggest that in traditional views, homosexuality causes anger and pain in a family.

(7) 一再發生的悲劇並沒有讓所有的父母放棄把自己的理想框架綁在子女身上，更沒有讓所有的父母都學會愛子女原本的樣子比無視子女真正的自我更能得到幸福，會為了這些悲劇感到沉痛與悲傷的人持續痛苦，而那些人持續成為間接殺死同志的兇手

'Tragedy has occurred multiple times, but this hasn't let the parents give up their own hopes on their own children. This also hasn't let parents learn to love their child for who they really are. This is worse than ignoring the fact the child is gaining happiness by being who they truly are. People who are going through this pain and grief will continue being in pain, whilst these people are the murderers of *tongzhi*.'

STORM MEDIA, 13 December, 2016

(8) 家人的反應同樣很大。耿樂說，他的父母都在自我責備：「為甚麼你會喜歡男生？」無論他怎麼解釋，彼此的關係明顯變得很差。後來他的母親生病，耿樂則責怪自己，「這個病應該跟我出櫃有關係。」他說。當時的妻子也說，他為她的家庭帶來很大麻煩，最終兩人離婚。

'The reaction of families is still huge. Geng Le states, "his family blames themselves." "Why do you like boys?" No matter how he explains, the situation between them becomes worse. His mother becomes sick, and all Geng Le can do is to blame himself. "She got sick because I came out to her." He says. His wife also pointed out, he troubles her family, which ultimately caused them to divorce.'

STORM MEDIA, 06 FEBURARY, 2017

Example (7) and (8) further shows strong family ties. In (7), the previous news text which I did not extract, a female *tongzhi* was under intense pressure when she tried to bring her *tongzhi* identity to her parents. Due to intense pressures, she committed suicide in her room after being caught taking part in a LGBT parade. Similarly, in (8), Geng Le brought his *tongzhi* identity into the family context. Because of his coming

out, the family ties were weakened and even broke in the end. During the negotiation process, they suffered pain and struggled to gain a thorough understating from their parents. These events reflect that *tongzhi* not only want to show their sexual identity but also want to sustain a peaceful family network. However, *tongzhi* in today's society are often thought to be the cause of a deep grief, harmful illness and trouble (note the use of word *tongku* 痛苦 'pain', *beiju* 悲劇 'tragedy' 病 *bing* 'illness'). Excerpt (9) and (10) below are also related to family network, which involves family gatherings in particular.

(9) 呂秋遠：同志過年求生術

過年，對於同志來說，是個比起單身異性戀來說，更難熬的日子。奉家庭倫理的名，不得不回去，但卻也是諷刺的被家庭倫理的傳統碾過、碎過、踏過，還不准喊痛。

'Lu Chiu-yuan: Survival for Gays during New years

Celebrating New Years, to a gay person, it is harder compared to single straight people. Due to the tradition, there is no choice to go back home. Which sarcastically leads to traditional ties, crashed and stepped on, and you aren't allowed to say anything but to endure the pain.'

APPLE DAILY, 25 JANUARY, 2017

(10) 社會從來沒有尊重過筑紫的「女性」身份，明明是「老婆」與「老婆」的結合，參加親友婚禮或家族聚會時，她們也總是煩惱：究竟該如何解釋兩人的關係與性別？

SORM MEDIA, 20, OCTOBER, 2016

'Society never respects a "woman", although it's the combination of "wife" and "wife". Friends and relatives that join the ceremony are also worrying at the same time: how would you explain the relationship of these two women and their gender?'

Example (9) and (10) corroborate Chou's study. According to Chou, dining and mahjong tables are very often the scene to sustain family relationships. In this case, *tongzhi* should think about how to respond to parents' expectations and how relatives

value them at the dinner table, especially during the Chinese New Year period. This is a hard time for *tongzhi* spending time with their family, and at the same time they are struggling and questioning their sexual orientation. As Chou points out, in a familial context, by introducing his or her companion, *tongzhi* therefore erase the line between insiders and outsiders. Since there is a distinction between parents and *tongzhi*'s partner, *tongzhi* tend to integrate their partner into the family and become one of their family members. In excerpt (9), Attorney Lu uses a survival strategy as a metaphor for *tongzhi* facing awkward Chinese New Year questions at the dining table. The family gathering scene is the representation of the wild and the survival strategy is the representation of tips for handling awkward questions at family reunions. Lu proposed the survival strategy metaphor. The source domain of the survival strategy is applied to explain the target domain of the way to deal with awkward questions or verbal aggression, and the source domain of physical harm in the wild is used to explain the target domain of emotional pain. That is, verbal aggression map onto the danger in the wild and the physical harm map onto the intense emotional pain. Put another way, same-sex marriage is a betrayal of family values that threatens to weaken the core family system.

In the previous of excerpt (10) which I did not extract, *Zizhu* 紫筑, a man who consider himself a woman (transgender) got married to a woman *Weizi* 位子. As a transgender, he/she always worries about how to introduce his or her sexual orientation

and the relationship between them to relatives when being inevitably asked irritating questions during family reunions. This excerpt involves phrases such as *guonian* 過年 ‘Chinese New Year’, *jiating lunli* 家庭倫理 ‘family ethics’, *chinyou hunli* 親友婚禮 ‘friends’ and relatives’ weddings’, *jiazu juhui* 家族聚會 ‘family weddings’. In addition, the tone of voice in this example is fairly helpless about the traditional family's ethical culture e.g. *nanaode rizi* 難熬的日子 ‘a hard time’, *bei jiatinglunlide chuantong nianguo suiguo taguo hai buzhun hantong* 被家庭倫理的傳統碾過、碎過、踏過，還不准喊痛 ‘being destroyed by the ethics of a family but not allowing to cry for pain’.

Another theme relating to a disgrace to the family is because of the disapproval of homosexuality held by a majority, so the whole family loses the respect of others. This behavior not only brings shame on oneself but also on the whole family. There are widespread speculations about homosexuality. In example (11), it is pointed out that there would be more *tongxinglian* if same-sex marriage was legalized. More importantly, being *tongzhi* is totally not a matter of congratulations to their parents. Another speculation involves that legalization of gay marriage will lead to the prevalence of diseases. In the end of the context, the opponent provides a negative interrogative to express their denial, outrage or accusation.

(11) 每個家庭都有衝擊，加拿大的統計數據指出，同性婚姻合法後，同性戀家庭的數量多了五倍，如果修法通過，孩子從異性戀變成同性戀，難道不會找國家、立委算帳嗎？「如果你的孩子成為一個同性戀，你會敲鑼打鼓、張燈結綵去慶賀嗎？」

‘Conflict occurs in every family. According to statistics from Canada, after legalizing same-sex marriage, gay families have increased by five percentage. If they pass this law, children will change by being straight to gay, will they not blame the country and government? “If your child becomes gay, will you celebrate for them?”’

UDN NEWS, 25 July, 2016

(12) 一名女性因為 10 日被媒體拍到上凱道，被長久視同性戀是丟人現眼的家人逼問，被關進房間，當家人準備送飯時發現已經自殺了。而她因為生長在基督教家庭，因為「同性戀」問題生命逝世，對她的家人來說還是丟臉的，家人完全不公開告別式，連她家寵物逝世都辦的比她體面。

‘A woman was interviewed on Ketagalan Blvd. for 10 days. Due to her family’s long shameless questions towards gay people, she locked herself in her room. When her family was sending her food, only did they find out that she had committed suicide. She was born in a Christian family, because of “gay” topics had she decided to end her life. She was still an embarrassment to her family, so her family didn’t open her ceremony to the public, even when their pet died, the pet’s funeral was much honorable than hers.’

STORM MEDIA, 13 December, 2016

(13) 他本來是一名已婚警察，在外人眼中，他的前途可謂一片光明，但背後，他隱藏著自己是同志這個秘密多年。

STORM MEDIA, 06 February, 2016

‘He was a policeman that has been married for many years. To the eyes of the public, he had a bright future, but all he could do is keep the secret that he was gay for several years.’

Homosexuals as extreme social exclusion is another set of locus. A strong social stigma is attached to homosexuality, which are more concerned with family honor especially in an Asian country. The quality of worthiness and respectability affects the social status and self-evaluation of the whole family. In example (11), the conduct of family members reflects upon family’s face and the way the family perceives itself and is perceived by others. Example (12) contains an implicitly negative commentary. There is a contrast between being a heterosexual or homosexual. Such sexual orientation is described as a secret, so he should keep his relationship from others for years or he

would ruin his promising future. Similarly, example (13), same-sex marriage is fundamentally flawed and opponents made fun of homosexuals by making a rude gesture at *tongzhi* on the street. Above examples imply that homosexuals are a disgrace to the family, constructed negatively and considered stigmatized on the basis of sexual orientation.

4.3.2.3 Destruction to society

Another theme revolves around negative effects to society. *Tongzhi* is socially constructed as a deadly and destructive power. Examining through the collected news posts, we have identified two topics that are most frequently mentioned in this category: sexual deviancy and disgrace.

Sexual Deviancy

Homosexuality is described as abnormal, problematic and unacceptable because in general a marriage between a male and a female is considered a normal way of life. Example (14) and (15) clearly illustrates the situation that once marriage system is destroyed, everything will go against nature and human moral standards.

(14) 修法過程中，他們要把夫妻改為配偶，打破一夫一妻制，把男女拿掉，「同性婚姻可以人獸交、還什麼交的」

‘While amending the law, they are putting couples as partners, breaking the one man/one woman law, “same-sex marriage working with bestiality, or whatever -lity”.’

UDN NEWS, 22 December, 2016

(15) 「如果同性戀婚姻是可以的，請問媽媽跟兒子結婚會更不自然嗎？」若澳洲有人想跟摩天輪結婚、美國有人想跟汽車結婚，是不是也都可以？

‘If gay marriage is permitted, is it unnatural for sons to marry their mothers?’ Is it okay for Australians to marry Ferris wheels, alright for Americans to marry a car?’

STORM MEDIA, 01 December, 2016

While heterosexuals are expected to be typical and usual, it is not surprising to see homosexuality as abnormality. Thus, according to some of the news reports collected, some merchants start to think about using homosexuality as a selling point. Whatever books or movies, same-sex desire obviously excites people’s immense curiosity. To satisfy the desire of people, firms seek to implement this type of marketing strategy. Same-sex love features heavily in these books and films, and it is still a social taboo subject for many people. Especially in example (16) and (17), the writers’ tone insinuates their attitude toward same-sex love which is conservative and the context is full of obscure references. For instance, apart from being secretive, the film X-Men has been used a metaphor for social struggles.

(16) 以往同志情是好萊塢電影的禁忌，不少電影只能遮遮掩掩或以影射方式「偷渡」同性戀。不過隨著同志權益逐漸受重視，同志情節也開始進入保守的好萊塢電影。而超級英雄電影「X 戰警」系列，雖然不是描述同性戀者的故事，但導演布萊恩辛格在拍攝第一、二集時，卻巧妙地將「變種人」賦予同志與少數族群的隱喻。「X 戰警」變種男孩「天使」的父親以解藥想讓他變正常；「X 戰警 2」變種少年「冰人」母親問他：「你難道不能把自己當成正常人嗎？」

‘In the past, gay movies were prohibited to play in Hollywood. Many movies implied gay secretly. But after the recognition for the *tongzhi* community, movies that have gay scenes start to be accepted by conservative Hollywood movies. Super hero movies like “X men”, although it does not imply stories on gay relationship, the director, Bryan Singer, while filming episode 1 and 2, cleverly used “mutants” to represent gay or outcasted teens. In “X-men”, the father of the boy called “angel”, tried to cure his son by using antidotes to try make his son turn back to normal; in “X-men 2”, the mother asked his son “Ice”: “Can’t you turn yourself to a normal person?”’

(17) 他的第 2 部與第 3 部書籍作品講的是禁忌的愛情，以自己的姊弟戀與男男曖昧經歷為賣點

‘His second and third series of books talk about the prohibited love, using his own experience of elder sister love and the flirting experiences of same-sex relationships as his best seller.’

APPLE DAILY, February, 2017 APPLE DAILY, February, 2017

The following examples (18-21) occur frequently with sexual behavior, for instance *yuepao* 約炮 ‘ask people for sex’, *guanxi hunluan* 關係混亂 ‘messy relationship’, *dou p* 多 P ‘multiple-sex’, *buzhong* 不忠 ‘disloyalty’ *renshoujiao* 人獸交 ‘bestiality’, *gangjiao* 肛交 ‘anal sex’. Homosexuality is usually associated with sexual acts and acts of gross indecency. The language used to talk about homosexuality suggests that the act of homosexuality is unnatural and should not be permitted at all.

(18) 臺灣同志諮詢熱線協會被指為「約炮專線」

‘Taiwan *Tongzhi* Hotline Association is called “one night stand hotline”.’

SOCIAL STORM, 16 December, 2016

(19) 被反同婚的民眾，批評為變態、不正常，甚至是蟑螂。

People who are against same-sex marriage, used the terms as pervert, not normal and even as cockroaches to criticize *tongzhi*.

STORM MEDIA, 06 December, 2016

(20) 最近反同志團體一直攻擊同志就是亂倫、多 P 與不忠，彷彿同志生來就只追求性愛，當反同團體大力抨擊同志性關係混亂，追求亂倫與人獸交時，我總是很納悶這些聯想是哪裡來的？姑且不論成人電影裡的亂倫性愛，都是異性戀，可憐的人獸交也多半是「異性行為」。這種把同志化約成「只追求性，忽略愛」的攻擊，更反映出反同團體的內心世界只有性

‘Recently, anti-gay activists attack gay as being incest, multi P and disloyal. It’s like saying gays are born just for pursuing sex. As the anti-gay activists attack on the complexity of gay relationships, searching for incest and bestiality, I always wonder how these thoughts come to mind? Moreover,

no matter the incest scenes in adult movies, it was using straight couples, even the poor bestiality was a “straight act”. The attacks criticize that gay are “only pursuing sex, ignoring love”. This only emphasizes that the anti-gay activists only think about sex.’

STORM MEDIA, 27 December, 2016

(21) 反同志陣營的聲量極大，甚至能在街上高舉「同性戀合法的話，學校就會開始教肛交了」、「允許同性戀將亂無綱紀，擴散愛滋，金正日笑呵呵」上面的韓文是「同性戀 NO! 健康的韓國」

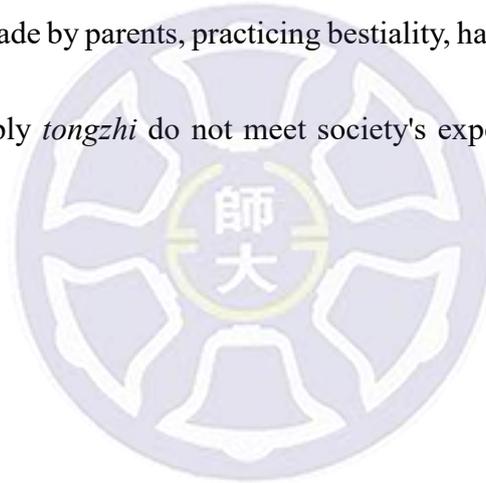
‘Groups for anti-gay activists are tremendous, even on the streets, they raise boards saying, “If gay relationships are legalized, schools will start to teach anal sex”, “Accepting gay relationships will cause chaos, spreading of AIDS, Kim Zheng-ri laughs”. On the board, has Korean letters saying “Gay NO! Healthy Korea”.’

STORM MEDIA, 21 June, 2016

Return to the central theme of this section *deviancy*. Indeed, there is always an underlying presumption that heterosexuality is the normal way of living. If people treat heterosexuality as normal then we can directly assume homosexuality is abnormal, which brings about many references to anal intercourses and sex-seekers.

In essence, the preceding analysis is identical with Chou (2002). He claims that *tongzhi* is the most popular contemporary Chinese word for lesbians, bisexuals and gay people (2002:1). However, our present study is somewhat different from Wong (2008), because *tongzhi* isn’t the preferred term of reference for those with same-sex desire. In particular, for non-activists, they avoid mentioning *tongzhi* as they do not want to bring same-sex desire into discussion. Instead, they choose to use *tongxinglian* because they consider sexual orientation as a personal matter. This result is similar to our study, which suggests *tongxinglian zhe* is the most frequent expression. The study also points

out another issue. In the case of *tongzhi*, the positive voice is more frequently seen than the negative voice because among the collocates *ting* 挺 ‘stand behind’ is more than *fan* 反 ‘oppose’. For this reason, *tongzhi* do not only refer to sexual minorities but it also symbolizes *tongzhi*’s belief, to end discrimination. To a limited degree, it highlights *tongzhi*’s need to bring their identity and consciousness into public. Another point which is worth reporting is that the news texts define *tongzhi* and *tonxinglian* as a detriment. Some particular examples are found, including being caught on the spot joining LGBT pride parade by parents, practicing bestiality, having a messy relationship. The above extracts imply *tongzhi* do not meet society's expectations, which leads to social deviance.



CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of key findings

In light of the emergence of gender diversity in recent years, the research has attempted to investigate the representation of *homosexuality* from a linguistic perspective. Three research questions are proposed in the present study. Each question will be answered respectively in the following.

1. What are the collocations and lexical co-occurrences of the key terminologies, *tongzhi*, *tongxinglian* and *tonghun*?

The result of collocations helps refine the analysis of the key terms in the Internet media and get insights with regard to ideology. According to results presented in the previous chapter, *tongzhi* tend to collocate with descriptions of events or activities. Those activities mainly comprise the pride parade but also include other kinds of events such as a demonstration against LGBT rights and a demonstration of LGBT rights opposition. Particularly, most of collocations are relevant to political and legal

movements such as 遊行 *youxing* ‘parade’(14%), 婚姻 *hunin* ‘marriage’(10.6%), 專法 *zhuafan* ‘specific law’ (10.4%) and 挺 *ting* ‘support’ (10.4%). This data is consistent with Zhou (1995), these social movements play a role in the popularization of *tongzhi* in Hong Kong and Taiwan. In other words, sexuality based events make a significant contribution to the ascendancy of *tongzhi*. The second key term *tongxinglian* tend to collocate with 者 *zhe* ‘a person’ (15%)反對, *fandui* ‘oppose’ (11.7%), 支持 *zhichi* ‘support’ (11.7%) and 異性戀 *yixinglian* ‘heterosexuality’ (9.4%). *Tongxinglian zhe* accounts for a high proportion of the total tokens since this term has become a fixed expression when referring to sexual minorities. The result conforms with Wong (2005), *tongzhi* is now commonly used as an official term to cover people with same-sex desire in public domain. The last key term *tonghun* tend to collocate with words related to attitude toward marriage equality, such as 反 *fan* ‘oppose’ (19.5%) and 挺 *ting* ‘support’ (13%), which shines a revealing light on the linguistic evidence of pro and anti same-sex marriage sentiment. The data apparently shows that positive stance is much more prevalent than negative stance. Thus, we can assume that negative attitudes toward *tongzhi* widespread in online news in this case.

2. Are there any semantic differences between collocates of *tongzhi*, *tongxinglian* and *tonghun*? If yes, what are they?

Detailed analysis of the collocations has revealed significant semantic preferences and attitudinal meanings. We categorized those collocates in terms of semantic fields. 10 semantic categories are identified, which we have discussed earlier in section 4.2. *tongzhi*, *tongxinglian* and *tonghun* share three semantic categories: (i) legal implication and political movement ;(ii) stance showing (iii) relationship and identity label like *penyou* 朋友 ‘friend’, *nu* 女 ‘female’, *zhe* 者, ‘person’ . These categories usually reflect one’s perceptions and opinions or describe the process of movement. For *tongzhi*, *tongxinglian* and *tonghun*, it is found that collocates of these three terms contain more negative than positive assessment. Among these three key terms, *tongzhi*’s collocation profile is similar to *tongxinglian* so their semantic categories of collocates overlap each other. There are so many references pertaining to destructive behavior and negative emotion (eg. 罪 *zui* ‘crime’, 愛滋 *aizi* ‘AIDS’, 恐 *kong* ‘afraid’, 變態 *biantai* ‘pervert’.), dehumanizing and attaching a strong stigma to *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian*.

3. How do headlines and news texts represent *tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* in online news media?

Informed by critical discourse analysis, we reveal competing public attitudes toward homosexuality through news representation, taking social and cultural

background into consideration. Three major themes are identified when examining collected news data: (i) equality and sameness; (ii) the role of family in homosexuality related discourses and (iii) homosexuality as sexual deviancy. The discourses about an equal relationship highlight the sameness between *tongzhi* and the larger community, showing positive support for marriage equality. In particular, the text revolves around human rights, tradition in society and equality. The second theme concerns the role of family (either providing support or causing pain to homosexual family members) in the related discourses. The data show strong family ties because Chinese cultural norms hold that one's happiness is determined by building a strong relationship with one's family. A person's behavior may extend to the whole family and even to the ancestors, which is why homosexuality is often seen as family disgrace. The last one is related to the association of homosexuality with destructive behavior and social instability. *Tongzhi*'s acts are commonly associated with sexual deviancy such as 肛交 *gangjiao* 'anal sex', 多p *doup* 'multiple-sex', 人獸交 *renshoujiao* 'bestiality'.

To sum up, grouping key terms and news texts thematically also show some predominant concepts in the study. As for same-sex related discourses, three major themes are identified. First, equality and sameness are suggested by lexical items such as *quanli, ting*. Second, the theme which revolves around the role of family is identical with Chou (2000), indicating *tongzhi* is a special term for Chinese culture. By

introducing their partner into the realm of family, family ties are strengthened. Lastly, the news texts construct *tongzhi* as a deadly power to society, and they are associated with sexual behavior, deadly sins, and fatal diseases. Overall, the news reports tend to use a more emotive form of language with patterns like parallel constructions, imperative forms and exclamatory style. In general, we found both positive and negative perspectives in the collected news data, they either argued for tolerance and equality or against homosexuality. However, the number of negative collocates are a little more than positive collocates. There is a tendency to use one trait to unite all *tongzhi* together. Take one type of sex act, anal sex for instance, not all *tongzhi* have anal sex; however, it becomes one of the main indicators of homosexuality, particularly in the last section of same-sex desire related discourses. Also, criminal acts have often been linked to anyone who suspected of owning same-sex desire as well. In a broad sense, analyzing news discourses helps to explore the immediate link between social perception and linguistic ideology. As Woolard (1998) suggests, linguistic phenomena are invested with meanings and values through varieties of languages in terms of gender and sexuality in various texts.

5.2 Implications and the limitations

Due to the awareness to protect the rights of homosexuals, a growing number of nations around the world are considering whether to grant legal recognition to same-

sex marriage. The present study is to explore the social attitudes of the public and to uncover the ideologies behind news texts. This study provides empirical evidence for how reporters express their opinions in Internet news. In addition, collocational analysis deploying the *AntConc* tool offers a more reliable and precise account towards the linguistic realizations of the three key terminologies among the collected news texts, using certain linguistic techniques such as coding, concordance and calculating the number of tokens. Through grouping collocations into different semantic categories, we can clearly examine evaluative descriptions and obtain the denotations underlying the key terms. In addition, we also look into the collocations from the aspect of assessment, including negative, positive and neutral assessment, which help obtain quantitative results and derive the conclusion with regard to ideology.

Theoretically speaking, we are inspired by the idea of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which proves a general framework for analyzing the text. Van Dijk (1998:8) notes that it is useful to organize the multitude of beliefs about what is the case (the belief of homosexuality). In addition, as Bulter (1990) and West and Zimmerman (1987) claimed, gender is something we are born with and not something we have but something we do, which reflects through people's acts and social behavior. For example, *tongzhi* want to identify themselves: 'who they really are'. However, their identity is socially constructed and socially imposed. This process involves how they act, talk and

walk, etc. In this sense, discourses about gender and sexuality influence and shape how we think about sex categories. Basically, the collected news data contain a coherent discourse of homosexuality. The content of news suggests that *tonzhi* have been driving society to ruin. It highlights a number of problems that *tongzhi* cause such as family disgrace, and deconstruction of society. *Tongzhi* are constructed as a disease, sin and crime. On the other hand, metaphors of theme park and survival strategy imply *tongzhi* want to promote marriage equality and to end discrimination.

Due to the limitation of data collection, the number of news is insufficient. Online data are available in overwhelming amounts, making it difficult to select and focus on one specific theme of discourse. Moreover, sometimes we cannot directly access the data because of permissions and ownership of the data. Therefore, collecting data acquire more access and permission to target data. Some news posts are too old to be found, so we need to gain access through NTU library or directly contact the news agency. In addition, *AntConc* tool is a basic tool for linguists to do fundamental research, so the function is quite limited. However, future research can make use of statistical software and collect massive volumes of news posts, which can offer more sufficient support for exploring the public attitude concerning homosexuality.

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APPENDIX A

Shared Collocational Groups Across 3 Terms with Examples

	<i>tongzhi</i>	<i>tongxinglian</i>	<i>tonghun</i>
Legal implication and political movement	<i>youxing</i> (54), <i>hun</i> (in) (41), <i>zhuanfa</i> (40), <i>huodong</i> (19), <i>quanyi</i> (20), <i>yundong</i> (13)	<i>mingfa</i> (6), <i>baozhang</i> (6), <i>pingdeng</i> (6)	<i>hefa</i> (6), <i>yiti</i> (6), <i>an</i> (6), <i>xiufa</i> (5), <i>rufa</i> (3), <i>renquan</i> (3), <i>fazhu</i> (2), <i>kangyi</i> (2), <i>kangzheng</i> (2), <i>suchiu</i> (2)
Stance showing	<i>Fandui</i> (20), <i>chishi</i> (10), <i>buyinggai</i> (12), <i>hai</i> (4)	<i>fandui</i> (25), <i>zhichi</i> (25), <i>chishi</i> (16), <i>jieshou</i> (9), <i>zunchong</i> (6)	<i>fan</i> (15), <i>ting</i> (10), <i>zhichi</i> (6), <i>hai</i> (4)
Relationship and label	<i>pengyou</i> (32), <i>nu</i> (25), <i>banlu</i> (13), <i>nan</i> (8), <i>aizi</i> (4), <i>ganran zhe</i> (4), <i>waiji</i> (3)	<i>Zhe</i> (32), <i>yixinglian</i> (20), <i>banlu</i> (19)	<i>zhe</i> (5)
Illegal action	<i>Yingzang</i> (5), zui (3), <i>mouhei</i> (2), <i>toudu</i> (2)	zui (3), <i>zheyien</i> (2)	
Illness	<i>Aizi</i> (7) <i>ganran</i> (6)	<i>Bing</i> (11), <i>aizi</i> (3)	

APPENDIX B

Semantic Groups of Words with the Target Keywords with Examples

<i>tongzhi</i>	Negative emotion <i>Kong</i> (10), <i>hen</i> (4), <i>buman</i> (2)	Problem <i>faxian</i> (9), <i>yingchi</i> (6), <i>wenti</i> (5)
<i>tongxinglian</i>	Misbehavior <i>xing biantai</i> (4), <i>luan</i> (4), <i>buzuran</i> (3), <i>chuanran</i> (3),	Events and related issues <i>jiaoyu</i> (10), <i>jiating</i> (9), <i>jiehun</i> (7)
<i>tonghun</i>	Different stakeholders and people involved in the movement <i>tuanti</i> (9), <i>yiti</i> (6) <i>zhenying</i> (2), <i>mingzhong</i> (2)	

APPENDIX C

Distribution of Total Number of Tokens in Each Assessment

Key term	Most frequent collocates	Total number of tokens
tongzhi	反對(20) 不應該(12) 歧視(10) 恐(10)	116
	挺(40) 支持(18) 發聲(6)	70
	遊行(54) 婚姻(41) 專法(40)	594
tongxinglian	反對(25) 歧視(16) 病(11)	103
	支持(9) 認同(5) 抱不平(1)	15
	者(32) 異性戀(20) 伴侶(19)	217
tonghun	反(15) 反對(5) 害(4)	38