

Exploring Discourse on Same-sex Marriage in Taiwan: A Case Study of Near-Synonym of HOMOSEXUAL in Opposing Stances

Han-Tang Hung

Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Taiwan University
r07142007@ntu.edu.com

Shu-Kai Hsieh

Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Taiwan University
shukaihsieh@ntu.edu.tw

Abstract

This research explores the intense conflict of the legalization of same-sex marriage in Taiwan by studying how the near-synonyms denoting homosexual, 同志 *tóngzhì* and 同性戀 *tóngxìngliàn*, are used by the opposing stances. Two research questions related to lexical semantics are addressed, i.e., what the semantic difference of these two lexical items is and how these two are characteristically used by each stance. Collocational analysis with self-compiled corpora is the primary method in this study. For the first question, it is found that the meanings of the pair can be differentiated along an internal-external axis. With regards to the second one, it is discovered that, the opponents of same-sex marriage are inclined to externalize the innateness of homosexual, whereas the supporters tend to reduce the distinctiveness of homosexuality and call for the universality of human rights by the strategies of juxtaposing and compounding.

1 Introduction

Taiwan has become the first in Asia to legalize same-sex marriage. Nevertheless, intense debate on whether same-sex marriage should be legalized between the pro- and against-same-sex marriage groups has not lessened. In the debate, discourses around homosexual has been reproduced and circulated, many of which concern the consequence of same-sex marriage, such as homosexual education, civil law of adopting child

and homosexual parenting. This paper aims to address the question of the conflict between opposing stances at the level of lexical semantics. I will use 'homosexual' as a keyword and examine how the word is used in each stance on the issue with help of distributional corpus analysis. However, this issue is complicated by the fact that there are two synonymous words in Mandarin Chinese, that is *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì*, both of which are used frequently and can be used under similar register and genre. This paper addresses two research questions:

1. From their collocational behavior, what are the semantic difference between *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn*?
2. What are the characteristic usages of these two words in the opposing stances? What is the relationship between the stances and choices of words?

Below I will first introduce these two words and discuss in what sense they are near synonymous.

1.1 Origin of the two words: *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì*

In English world, the word homosexual, according to Tamagne (2004), came into existence at the end of the 19th century and was allegedly first used by the Hungarian journalist Karoly Maria Kertbeny in 1869. Before the introduction of the homosexual-heterosexual distinction, "being homosexual was not seen as a quality

of the individual but as a quality of a single act, which was equated with sodomy” (Tamagne, 2004: 7).

Concerning the word denoting homosexual in Chinese, the word *tóngxìngliàn* came earlier than *tóngzhì*. *tóngxìngliàn* came from Japanese 同性愛 *douseiai*, which was the translation of the English word *homosexual* around 1900 (Sang, 2014: 111-4). Other morphological related lexical items are *yìxìngliàn* ‘heterosexual’ and *shuāngxìngliàn* ‘bisexual’.

On the other hand, *tóngzhì* originally means ‘comrade’. This sense of *tóngzhì* is still in use, especially in the context of political parties. It is then intriguing to answer the question that how the word with political connotation obtained its meaning as the label for homosexual at that time. One commonly accepted answer is that, the meaning of homosexual was first given to *tóngzhì* by Mai-Ke Lin (林邁克) and then carried over through the influence of Hong kong directress Yi-Hua Lin (林奕華) (Ji, 2015). This standardized answer is not without problem. For example, Ji (2015) gave a more detailed historical view on how the word *tóngzhì* was appropriated and adapted into Taiwan society.

1.2 Synonymity: *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì*

Synonymy is one of paradigmatic semantic relations of two lexical items whose similarity in meaning is more striking than their difference. The issue of synonym concerns lexical choice (Glynn, 2010), meaning that given two words with synonymous meaning, our task as linguists is to ask what features determine not one word but the other one should be used in a given context.

At the first glance, the senses of the two words seem not to be synonymous but only similar. *Tóngxìngliàn* denotes a sexual orientation, whereas *tóngzhì* refers to the person who has such sexual orientation. If we use the classification of synonymy given by Cruse (2010: 142-5), synonym is said to have three sub-types: absolute-synonym, propositional-synonym and near-synonym. The absolute-synonym is primarily used as a theoretical endpoint whose exis-

tence in real language is rare, because difference in form implies difference in meaning. Therefore *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* are not of this type. Second, two words are said to be propositional-synonym if the truth value remains the same when they are used a sentence. The examples below show that *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngxìngliàn* are not of propositional-synonym.

同性戀/*同志在以前被視作一種心理疾病。
*tóngxìngliàn/*tóngzhì zàiyǐqián bèi shìzuò yīzhǒng xīnlǐjíbìng*

‘Homosexual/Gay is used to be considered as mental illness.’

The abnormality of using *tóngzhì* in this sentence lies in the fact that it does not denote the concept of a kind of sexual orientation as *tóngxìngliàn* but the person who has such sexual orientation, which suggests that these two words are far from being synonymous. Just as what Cruse has claimed, “The borderline between propositional synonymy and near synonymy is at least in principle clear ... (while) the borderline between near synonymy and non-synonymy is much less straightforward.” Although *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* are more closed to the side of non-synonym at the first glance, I am now going to argue that they are near synonym in a specific context, that is, when they are used as a compound modifier in N-N compounds such as *tóngzhì/tóngxìngliàn-hūnyīn* ‘homosexual marriage’, *tóngzhì/tóngxìngliàn-yùndòng* ‘homosexual movement’, *tóngzhì/tóngxìngliàn-jiātíng* ‘homosexual family’ and *tóngxìngliàn/tóngzhì-yìtí* ‘homosexual issue’. In these compounds, the difference of homosexual as people and homosexual as a sexual orientation between *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* no longer exists.

2 Literature review

In English world, Baker (2004) used corpus to discover that those who were in favor of the reform, which sought to lower the age of consent for homosexual intercourse, used language that framed homosexuality as an identity, whereas those who opposed the reform chose a wording that framed homosexuality as behavior. Engelhart (2012) studies three frequent adjectives de-

noting homosexuality, that is, homosexual, gay, and lesbian, in the COCA corpus with statistical methods, and discovered two results: first, gay and lesbian have similar usage, whereas homosexual reveals a distinct usage; second, homosexual and gay show a higher tendency for negative usage than lesbian.

In Chinese context, Wong and Zhang’s (2000) explored the word *tóngzhì* in G&L Magazine, a magazine focuses on sexual minorities in Hong Kong, Taiwan and overseas. They found that the word *tóngzhì* was frequently used with words such as *battle*, *war*, *fight back* and so on, to create an imagined community that shaped the ideologies of equal rights for gays and lesbians. Wong (2005) focuses on the reappropriation of *tóngzhì* in 126 articles of *Oriental Daily News*, a mainstream newspaper in Hong Kong. Wong argues that *tóngzhì* is not a positive term, and the term *tóngxìngliàn* often appears in the news of medical and legal content. Moreover, *tóngzhì* often appears in highly sensationalized news stories, such as murder, fights and domestic disputes of gay couples. He concluded that, *tóngzhì* does not represent sexual minorities in general, but lesbian and gay people who participate in improper behavior. Wong (2008) directly interviewed and collected data on activists’ use of *tóngzhì* as well as similar labels such as gay and *tóngxìngliàn*. Focusing on the semantic change of *tóngzhì* 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.

In Taiwan context, Lin (2014) examined the collocational profile of the lexical item *same-sex marriage* in newspaper media in Taiwan from a diachronic perspective, and found that the discourse around *tóngzhì* has transformed from private domain to public domain. Chen (2018) explored the linguistic representation of homosexuality, and analyzed discourses to explore public perception toward homosexuality. She found that The collocational profile of *tóngxìngliàn* overlaps with that of *tóngzhì*.

3 Methodology

3.1 Corpus collection and processing

In order to explore the language used by the opposing groups on the issue of same-sex marriage, I compiled two corpora by collecting the electronic texts from the official websites of *Happiness for the Next Generation*¹ (hereinafter referred to as OPP) and *LGBT Families Info*² (hereinafter referred to as PRO), a blog maintained by *Taiwan Alliance to Promote Civil Partnership Rights*. In terms of representativeness, these two websites were chosen for the pro and against-same-sex marriage issue because the former was the initiator of the referendum, commonly called as anti-gay referendum, held in November, 2018, while the latter was one of the main supporting organizations of gay right.

When doing contrastive study in corpus linguistics, the genre of two corpora should also be taking into consideration. The two corpora chosen are in the form of weblog, where texts are organized into articles of accessible length for general online readers.

The data were crawled from the Internet using Python 3. After preprocessed through the pipeline of removing non-Chinese characters including foreign names, URLs and passages written in English, the texts were put into Ckip-Tagger (Li et al. 2019), the word segmenter and POS tagger developed by CKIP (Chinese Knowledge and Information Processing) Lab, Academia Sinica. Having transformed the unstructured blog posts into segmented words and tagged POS, the texts were then put into Corpus Workbench (Evert and Hardie 2011), a corpus backend engine aimed at linguistic research, for corpus compilation, and CQPweb (Hardie 2012), the frontend UI capable of doing concordance, collocation and other frequency-based analysis for CWB.

Table 1 below shows the statistics of the two corpora.

¹<https://taiwanfamily.com/>

²<https://lgbtfamiliesinfo.tw/>

	OPP	PRO
article	309	514
word token	372884	374321
words per article	1206.74	728.25
word type	20020	20480
type-token ration	0.054	0.055

Table 1: Statistics of the corpora of OPP and PRO.

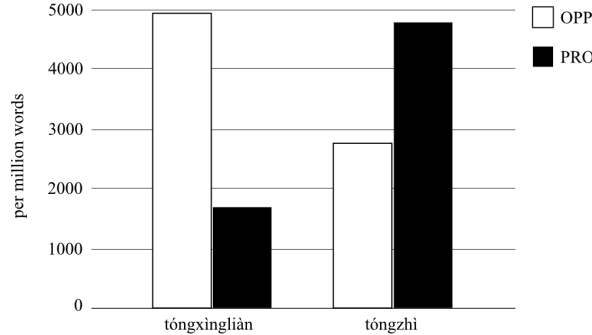


Figure 1: frequency of *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì* in each corpus

3.2 Frequency and collocational analysis

All corpus-based studies are based on the concept of frequency, from comparison of raw frequency to extracting significant collocation using statistical methods. This study follows the principle that the meaning of words is constructed and maintained by patterns of collocations. As Hunston (2002) indicated, repeated collocations reflect social meanings which can even be in direct opposition to what is claimed. Baker (2008) also mentioned that collocation is an important vehicle for the discursive presentation of social groups. Likewise, Romaine (2001: 153-176) claims that “connotations of words do not raise from words themselves but from how they are used in context”.

Figure 1 is the frequency comparison of the occurrence of *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* in each corpus. Note that the unit of frequency has been normalized to per million word.

As a preliminary impression, *tóngxìngliàn* is preferred by OPP while *tóngzhì* by PRO. The reason of this discovery will be given later when we look into how these words are used.

For the collocational analysis, Pointwise Mu-

tual Information (PMI) (Church and Hank 1990) is used as the association measure for significant collocations.

The way I approach my first research question is that if there are similar collocates in terms of semantic field in both corpora, then those words within the same semantic field will be regarded as a semantic component of the node word. For example, see Appendix B for the collocate *zuì* ‘crime’ in OPP and the collocate *chúzuìhuà* ‘decriminalization’ in PRO. Though having slightly different word form, their belonging in the semantic field of CRIME is rather self-evident. Note that here I am not searching for the semantic prosody of *tóngxìngliàn*.³ Instead, what I am concerned with is the fact that when the aspect of homosexual as a crime is being discussed, which term, *tóngzhì* or *tóngxìngliàn*, is preferred. To approach the first research question, I use the window size of $5L$ to $5R$ with the threshold of PMI value set at 3.

To approach the second research question, the method is basically similar with the one mentioned above except a slight difference where window size is now limited to +1. The reason for this is related to the fact that *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* are near synonyms only when they are used as compound modifier, as what has already been mentioned in Section 1.2.

4 Result and discussion

This section is divided into two subsections, 4.1 discusses the result for the first research question and 4.2 and 4.3 for the second one.

4.1 Similar usages of *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* in both stances

This section deals with the result concerning my first research question. Below I will first discuss the case of *tóngxìngliàn* and then the case

³That is, I am not arguing that for a given stance, *tóngxìngliàn* has a negative semantic prosody because one of its significant collocate is “crime”. Such argument is difficult to justify in that even if crime turns out to be one of homosexual’s collocate, the statement that “homosexual is a word with negative semantic prosody” is still undecidable because one needs to further examine how the words, i.e. the crime of homosexual, are used in the actual context.

of *tóngzhì*. Please refer to Appendix A and Appendix B for the complete collocation table ranked by PMI value.

The first set of collocations of *tóngxìngliàn* within the same semantic field in both corpora is related to homosexual as crime, for example, *zuì* 'crime' in OPP and *dìngzuì* 'convict', *chúzùihuà* 'decriminalization', *fēifǎ* 'illegal' and *jìnlǐng* 'prohibition' in PRO. The second set of significant collocates of *tóngxìngliàn* used by both sides are homosexual as disease, for example, *bìnghuà* 'become disease' in OPP and *juānxiě* 'blood donation' and *jǐbìng* 'disease' in PRO.

On the other hand, in the case of *tóngzhì*, the first set of collocations in both corpora is related to gay rights movement, for example, *yóuxíng* 'demonstration', *yùndòng* 'movement' and *rèxiàn* 'hotline'⁴. In Chinese, while the compound *tóngxìngliàn-dàyóuxíng* 'gay pride' is also acceptable, both stances, when mentioning the gay pride held every year, prefer using *tóngzhì-dàyóuxíng* 'gay pride'. The second set of words that collocate with *tóngzhì* in both corpora are words relating to education: *jiàoyù* 'education', *guózhōngxiǎo* 'elementary and junior high school', *zhōngxiǎoxué* 'elementary and junior high school' and *shíshī* 'to put into effect'⁵. These words appear in the context of discussing the pros and cons of the gender equality education.

From the observation given above, the difference between the near synonym pair *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì* can be summarized in Figure 2.

tóngxìngliàn can be differentiated with *tóngzhì* along an internal-external axis. From the data above we can observe that *tóngxìngliàn* is used by both stances when its aspect of disease and crime is under discussion. Moreover, its meaning as a kind of sexual orientation is also manifested by the collocate *yìxìngliàn* 'heterosexual'. All of these collocates can be seen

⁴This collocate comes from frequent mention of the name of an organization promoting gay rights called *Taiwan Tongzhi (LGBTQ+) Hotline Association*

⁵This word is mostly used in the context of putting the gender equality education into effect.

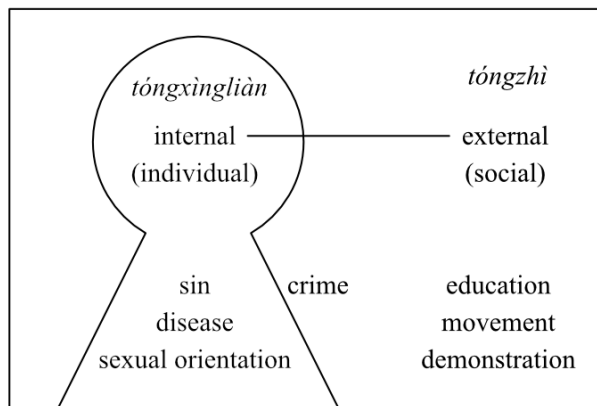


Figure 2: the difference between the near synonym pair *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì*

as related to a rather individual and internal aspect. On the other hand, *tóngzhì* has a considerably different collocational behavior in both corpora. While being synonymous to *tóngxìngliàn*, *tóngzhì* is commonly used in the external and social aspect of homosexual such as education, movement and demonstration.

4.2 Characteristic usages of *tóngxìngliàn* in each stance

Having discussed the similarity of the use of *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì* in both stances, in this section I will address the second research question concerning characteristic usages of these two terms. As what I have mentioned already, for this question to be answered, the window size of calculating collocation has been confined to $1R$ because *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì* are near synonym when serving as compound modifiers. That is to say, limiting the window size to $1R$ means that the characteristic usages to be discovered are actually characteristic compound heads modified by *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* in each corpus. Please refer to Appendix C and Appendix D for the complete collocation table ranked by PMI value. The grey background of a given collocate indicates that the collocate is considered a characteristic one, which only appears in just one corpus. I will first discuss the usage of *tóngxìngliàn*. The case of *tóngzhì* will come afterwards.

In the corpus of OPP, there are six groups

of characteristic collocates of *tóngxìngliàn*. The first is *tóngxìngliàn-xíngwéi* 'homosexual behavior'. Although the word *behavior* is a general term for nominalization of an action, when modified by the word *homosexual*, its negative connotation frequently used in the context of illegal behavior is evident.

The second is *tóngxìngliàn-wénhuà* 'homosexual culture'. In using such compound, homosexual is framed as a habit, trend and fashion. Therefore, homosexual is considered to not to be an innate sexual orientation but a conventionalized practice. Examining further into the verbs that are used with the term *homosexual culture*, verbs of higher emotional loading such as *qiǎngpò* 'to force', *yòudǎo* 'to seduce', *huóyuè* 'to be proactive', *gǔlì* 'to encourage' and *chōngmǎn* 'to be filled with' are found.

The third is *tóngxìngliàn-shēnghuó* 'homosexual life'. The use of this term implies that being homosexual is a kind of life style one can consciously choose to follow or to quit. Therefore, the sense of homosexual is no longer an inner state of a person. Instead, it is converted to visible behavior. Put it another way, for the opponent of same-sex marriage, homosexual is not something to be but something to be seen.

The fourth is *tóngxìngliàn-yùndòng* 'gay rights movement'. In the previous section, I have already shown that *yùndòng* 'movement' is a significant collocate of *tóngzhì* in both corpora. And here we found that in OPP, *tóngxìngliàn-yùndòng* is also a significant compound. This observation partly explained the fact that *tóngxìngliàn* is preferred by the opponent of same-sex marriage as mentioned in Section 3.2.

The fifth is a group of words related to labelling and categorization: *zúqún* 'group', *shèqún* 'community' and *quānzǐ* 'circle'. Although it is not uncommon in everyday life to refer to people with the same attribute as a whole individual group, using these terms often involves over-generalization and simplification. While there exists theoretically "a group" of homosexual people, each of the member has undoubtedly different life experiences and personalities. Therefore, when using terms, the di-

versity inside a group is ignored and the homogeneity is emphasized and assumed.

On the other hand, the eight significant (PMI > 3) collocates of *tóngxìngliàn* in the corpus of pro-same-sex marriage as shown in Appendix C, compared to 23 significant ones in the opposite stance, are very few. Among the five characteristic collocates, the enumeration comma (“、”)⁶ has the most frequent occurrence. As we dive into the context where *tóngxìngliàn* and the enumeration comma collocate with each other, we found that in the corpus of the supporter of same-sex marriage, *tóngxìngliàn* is significantly juxtaposed with different sexual orientations such as heterosexual, bisexual and transgender. In these cases, homosexual is seen as but one kind of sexual orientation, corresponding to its original meaning.

4.3 Characteristic usages of *tóngzhì* in each stance

In the corpus of against-same-sex marriage, there are two groups of characteristic collocates of *tóngzhì*. The first group is words related to revelry such as *hōngpā* 'home party', *sānwēnnuǎn* 'sauna' and *wǔ huì* 'dancing club'.

From these concordance lines we can clearly see that these terms are not merely mentioned for the entertainment place for the homosexual, but they are mostly linked negatively to sexual behavior.

The second set of collocation is *quānnèi* 'inside circle', which also corresponds to the result in section 4.2. This term also shows the tendency of marking the homosexual as a homogeneous group.

In the corpus of pro-same-sex marriage, there are three characteristic collocates that worth discussing, that is, *jiātíng* 'family', *hūnyīn* 'marriage' and *rénquán* 'human right'. In using the compound *tóngzhì-jiātíng* 'homosexual family', the supporter of same-sex marriage is discussing whether the children raised by homosexual parents will have different consequence compared to those raised by heterosexual parents.

⁶This punctuation is called 頓號 *dùnhào* in Chinese. It is mainly used for enumeration.

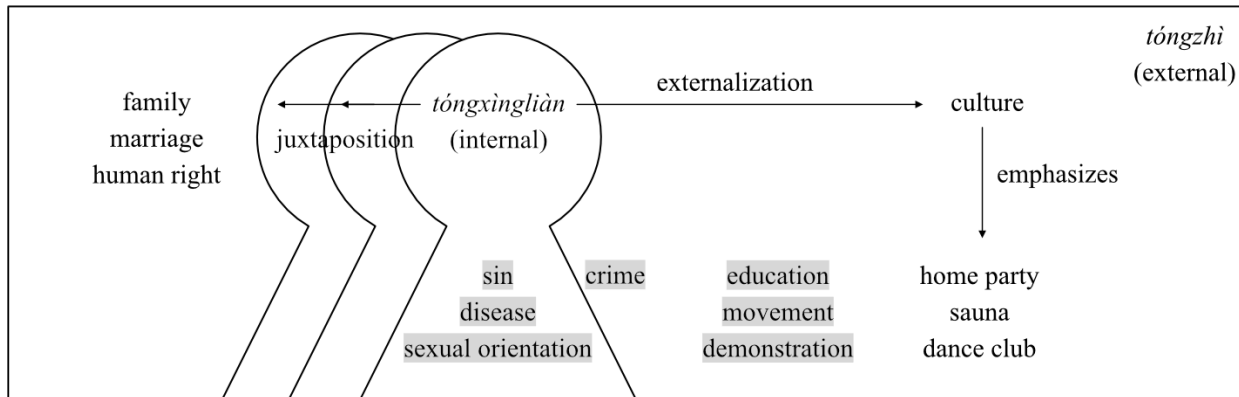


Figure 3: Summary of the finding in terms of the image of semantic field

The second one is *tóngzhì-hūnyīn* 'homosexual marriage', which is unexpected when this compound appears. At first I assumed that both sides were all discussing the issue of same-sex marriage, therefore this term should have appeared frequently in both sides and should not have significantly showed up in only one side. But it turned out that the supporters explicitly discussing the issue of same-sex marriage by using the compound, while the opponents prefer the compound *tóngxìng-hūnyīn* 'same-sex marriage' and not *tóngzhì-hūnyīn* 'homosexual marriage'. The third compound is *tóngzhì-rénquán* 'human right of the homosexual'. It shows that for the supporter, homosexual's human right is often used as a justification for same-sex marriage. The compound itself not only stands for the combination of two nouns, it also makes such concept, which is blended by the two components, to become "more real", in the sense that the status of its existence is just like a normal noun that is durable and persistent in time-space. Such effect should not be ignored. On the other hand, we see no significant mentioning of the same compound in the corpus of the opponent, because for them, although human right is a common value that should be pursued, the marriage right of the homosexual does not belong to the scope of their definition of human right. It is by this reason that the compound *human right of the homosexual* did not appear in the corpus of against-same-sex marriage.

4.4 The full picture

After examining the characteristic usages of *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* in each stance in 4.2 and 4.3, now we are finally able to think about how these distinctive collocational behavior can be mapped onto the image of semantic field concluded from my first research question (see 4.1 and Figure 2). Figure 3 is the complete image that is used to demarcate and summarize the observation.

The words in grey background are those from the first research question, i.e. the common collocates of *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn* in both corpora. The left part of Figure 3 demonstrates the usage of pro-same-sex marriage side, and the right part shows the usage of against-same-sex marriage stance.

Let's first discuss the stance against same-sex marriage. While *tóngxìngliàn* is said to denote the internal and individual aspect of homosexual, we found that in the usage of the opponent of same-sex marriage, the characteristic collocates mentioned above show the tendency of externalization. *tóngxìngliàn* is no longer just a sexual orientation that requires no visible feature. On the contrary, it becomes a kind of individual behavior that is under examination by others, a life style open to individual choice and a culture that is excessively encouraged by the activists. In particular, when using *tóngzhì*, whose usage is the emphasis on the external and social aspect of the homosexual, the so-called homosexual culture is focused on its part of rev-

elry. Such culture is chiefly depicted as indulgence in sex and drug. Furthermore, these two terms, *tóngxìngliàn* and *tóngzhì*, are both used by the opponent of same-sex marriage to label the homosexual as a whole homogeneous group.

On the other hand, in the language use of the stance of pro-same-sex marriage, we first see that the word homosexual is often juxtaposed with other sexual orientation by the enumeration comma, implying that homosexual is actually equal to the others. Moreover, in terms of the social aspect of the word *tóngzhì*, we found that words related to family and marriage are significantly used by the supporter. The human right of homosexual is also used as justification for the support of same-sex marriage.

5 Conclusion

In this research, the intense conflict of the issue of same-sex marriage in Taiwan is examined by the method of corpus linguistics and quantitative evidence. In particular, the language use of the opposing stances is studied through the pair of near synonym *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn*. Two relevant research questions related to lexical semantics are addressed, i.e., what the semantic difference of these two words is and how these two words are characteristically used by each stance. For the first research question, it is found that the semantic difference of the near synonym pair, *tóngzhì* and *tóngxìngliàn*, can be demarcated along the axis of internal/external in a semantic field. While *tóngxìngliàn* as a sexual orientation denotes the concept of an individual's inner attribute, *tóngzhì* refers to the outer behavior of those individuals. In terms of the characteristic language use in each stance, it is discovered that the opponent of same-sex marriage tend to externalize the innateness of *tóngxìngliàn*. Homosexual is then attributed to all the visible aspects, of which the indulgence to sex is emphasized. As for the supporter of same-sex marriage, homosexual is often juxtaposed with other sexual orientations, which implies that it should not be considered to be a distinctive one compared to the others. In addition, by using the strategy of compounding, the

statements they are arguing are nominalized.

In this study, we found that the boundary between semantic fields are dynamic and flexible. Especially when combined to another word to become a compound, the meaning of homosexual becomes negotiable. A compound as a nominal unit indirectly assumes the existence of the entity each stance aims to argue for, be it homosexual culture, behavior and life for the opponent of same-sex marriage or the human right of homosexual and homosexual marriage for the supporter of same-sex marriage.

It is hoped that this study has unfolded insightful aspects of the opposing stances from the perspective of lexical semantics.

References

- Baker, Paul. (2004). 'Unnatural Acts': Discourses of homosexuality within the House of Lords debates on gay male law reform. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 8(1), 88-106.
- Baker, Paul. (2006). *Public discourses of gay men*. London: Routledge.
- Chen, Yu-Qin. (2018). *Analyzing homosexuality: Lexical collocations and social attitudes in Taiwan's Internet news* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Taiwan Normal University.
- Church, Kenneth, and Patrick Hanks. (1990). Word association norms, mutual information, and lexicography. *Computational linguistics*, 16(1), 22-29.
- Cruse, Alan. (2010). *Meaning in language: An introduction to semantics and pragmatics* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Engelhart, Jasmin. (2012). *Homosexual, gay and lesbian: A corpus study on words denoting homosexuality* (Unpublished bachelor's thesis). University of Vienna.
- Evert, Stefan, and Andrew Hardie. (2011). Twenty-first century Corpus Workbench: Updating a query architecture for the new millennium. In *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics 2011 conference*.
- Glynn, Dylan. (2010). Synonymy, lexical fields, and grammatical constructions: A study in usage-based Cognitive Semantics. In Hans-Jörg Schmid and Susanne Handl (Eds.), *Cognitive Foundations of Linguistics Usage Patterns* (pp. 89-118). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hardie, Andrew. (2012). CQPweb—combining power, flexibility and usability in a corpus analysis

- tool. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 17(3), 380-409.
- Hunston, Susan. (2002). *Corpora in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ji, Da-Wei. (2015). Fānyì de gōnggòng: àizī, tóngzhì, kùér [Publicity of translation: AIDS, homosexual, and queer]. *Bulletin of Taiwanese Literature*, 20, 75-112.
- Li, Peng-Hsuan, Tsu-Jui Fu, and Wei-Yun Ma. (2019). Remediating BiLSTM-CNN Deficiency in Modeling Cross-Context for NER. *ArXiv*, abs/1908.11046.
- Lin, Yi-Xuan. (2014). *A corpus-assisted investigation to the representation of gay marriages in Taiwan's newspapers (2005-2014)* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Chengchi University.
- Romaine, Suzanne. (2001). A corpus-based view of gender in British and American English. *Gender across languages*, 1, 153-175.
- Sang, Zi-Lan. (2014). *Fúxiànzhong de nǚtóngxìngliàn: Xiàndài zhōngguó de nǚtóngxìng àiyù* [The emerging lesbian: Female same-sex desire in modern China]. Taipei, Taiwan: National Taiwan University Press.
- Tamagne, Florence. (2004). *A history of homosexuality in Europe: Berlin, London, Paris 1919-1939*. New York, NY: Algora.
- Tracy, Karen. (2016). *Discourse, Identity, and Social Change in the Marriage Equality Debates*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Wong, Andrew, and Qing Zhang. (2000). The linguistic construction of the tongzhi community. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 10(2), 248-278.
- Wong, Andrew. (2005). The reappropriation of tongzhi. *Language in Society*, 34(5), 763-793.
- Wong, Andrew. (2008). The trouble with tongzhi: The politics of labeling among gay and lesbian Hongkongers. *Pragmatics*, 18(2), 277-301.