Animate 'It' and Genderless 'Comrade': Third Person Pronoun ta and Degrees of Belonging in Chinese LGBTQ Discourses

by

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Abstract. By examining the language use of online Chinese "Anti" and "Pro" LGBTQ communities, this study primarily investigates the role that *'ta'* plays in the construction of gender identities. Standard Chinese currently has three separate written forms for the third person: 他 ('he'), 她 ('she'), and 它 ('it') all with the same pronunciation: tʰā. In the last decade, another form of third person pronoun, non-standard genderless *'ta'* in roman alphabet*,* has emerged in Chinese social media. The usage of *'ta'* instead of Chinese characters obscures the intended referent's gender. That is, *'ta'* is the result of de-gendering the third person pronouns developed to convey specific gender. This is important to empirically examine because 1) it is an understudied language phenomenon, 2) doing so fills the gap in literature pertaining to addressee-text interaction from a discursive perspective, overcoming the hegemonic focus on first-and-second-person pronouns in discursive analyses, and 3) the specific function and referent of *'ta'* is defined through language users' unique interpretations and the discourse community of use, resulting in a 'chameleon-like' pragmatically loaded pronoun.

Co-constructed in interactions, 'gender identities' tend to be formed based on outsiders' stereotypical perceptions via a 'Conforming'-'Non-Conforming' paradigm. For those whose identities conform (i.e. cisgender heterosexuals), belonging and recognition is a priori; a man is a 'he' and a woman is a 'she.' However, how do language users, who are projected as 'Other' by the 'Conforming', negotiate their identity and the space to which they belong? That is, how does one become recognized the way one wants to be and belong in a space that one creates, rather than in the ways and spaces that outsiders create for them? The answer may lie in the linguistic creation of an in-between category, as reflected in the use of pronouns. Pronouns are a prominent linguistic resource that participates in identity construction, as reflected in the growing ways that users of various languages have begun to create and/or adopt gender-neutral third person pronouns such as 'they' and 'ze' in English and 'hen' in Swedish.

Adopting a discursive pragmatic approach, the study employs a Textual Linguistics framework, with particular attention to deictic reference chains, in conjunction with the Attitude aspect of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal and Evaluation framework. The data originates from the Anti and Pro Chinese

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LGBTQ Discourses Baidu Tieba Corpus. Baidu Tieba is the rough equivalent of Reddit in China. The corpus was compiled in 2019 and consists of texts from two Pro-LGBTQ communities and one Anti-LGBTQ community. The study exemplifies how *'ta'* can be used as a pragmatic device to navigate perspectives of (non-)belonging based on speaker stance towards issues of gender and sexuality. Neutral stance use of *'ta'*, which is most common, occurs when neither the gender nor sexual orientation of the *'ta'* referent is known and/or relevant to the communicative task, thus establishing simple non-sexual, non-political references of convenience. Conversely, both negative (i.e. exclusive language practices) and positive (i.e. inclusive language practices) stance use of *'ta'* solicit complex sexual, political references of communicative intent with implications for (non-)belonging of those who identify and/or are labelled as 'Non-Conforming'.

The qualitative analysis reveals 11 pragmatic functions of *'ta'*: four present a negative stance of Political Non-Belonging (i.e. Othering A: Refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self-ascribed identity, Othering B: Dehumanizing an LGBTQ member, Othering C: Downgrading social integrity, and Othering D: Co-constructing 'Other' identity); one presents a slightly vague negative stance of Political Non-Belonging (i.e. Indicating Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation/implicit Othering); two present a neutral/positive vs. negative stance of (A-)Political Belonging (i.e. Comprehensive Group Inclusion and LGBTQ Pronoun); two present a neutral/positive stance of Apolitical Belonging (i.e. as a General 3PP and in Unknown Circumstances); and two present a positive stance of Political Belonging (i.e. Identity Construction in Relation to 'You' and Identity Construction of the 'Self' and the 'Third Person'). Results show that *'ta'* is a metaphorical chameleon– *'ta'* is fluid in terms of deictic properties and pragmatics and it is this fluidity which allows for precise, highly context-dependent, and purposeful micro and macro usages. The chameleon like property of '*ta*' to 'blend in' to any discourse shows promise for its continued language change and grammaticalization as a new third person pronoun.

Keywords: Metapragmatics, computer mediated communication, Chinese, Othering, LGBTQ, Identity

Preface

The research in this dissertation broadly builds on the following previous works in relation to the pragmatic use of *ta* in computer mediated communication: 1) Sluchinski, K. (2017). *The ta phenomenon in Chinese social media* (unpublished Master's thesis). University of Alberta. https://doi.org/10.7939/R3P26QG1G and 2) Sluchinski, K. (2019). Genderless Narratives: The Pragmatics of ta in Chinese Social Media. In K. Martin (Ed.), *The 2019 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association: 2019 Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.11362526. A form of Section 1.2.3 of this dissertation originally appeared in Sluchinski, K. (2020). A discursive pragmatic approach to the third person pronoun *ta* in Chinese computer mediated communication. *East Asian Pragmatics*, 5(2), 247–277. https://doi.org/10.1558/eap.39165 A form of Section 2.1.2 of this dissertation is scheduled to appear in Sluchinski, K. (forthcoming). Ta as an Emergent Language Practice of Audience Design in CMC. *Narrative Inquiry*.

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1.1   Introduction

The 21st century is an era marked by an extensive and explicit interest in gender, identity, and sexuality in social media across the world, and China is no exception. Launched in China in 2012, Blued, the world's most popular gay dating app with 40 million registered users (Hong et al., 2017; Yu, 2018; Petricic, 2018), is a testament to Chinese society's investment in the gender, identity, sexuality, and social media craze of the 21st century. However, modern China is known for being closed-minded with regards to gender and sexuality (Chou, 2000; Mann, 2011; Zheng,2015). As a result, sexual minorities in mainland China are often perceived by the majority as morally corrupt and are thus condemned with derogatory terms that describe/refer to them and their behaviour. In other words, the majority uses language to give sexual minorities certain labels, i.e. identities, based on their own worldviews and stereotypes (Sablosky Elengold, 2016; Burke and LaFrance, 2015). Yet sexual minorities often oppose the way the majority crafts an identity for them and prefer to define themselves through their own language use in their own communities (Cossman, 2018). The case of *Tongzhi*, originally a communist term meaning "Comrade" without gender implication, attests to this importance of the language used to self-identify as LGBTQ in the Chinese context (Wong, 2005, 2008; Engebretsen, Schroeder & Bao, 2015; Zhang, 2017).

Within the last decade, the field of gender studies and sexuality has experienced a surge of research interest regarding *Tongzhi* as a contemporary term used to refer to homosexuals, and queer culture in China (e.g. Du, 2015; He, 2013; He, 2015; Lan, 2009; Jing et al., 2014; Zheng, 2015, 2016). Studies such as those conducted by Wong (2005; 2008), Wu (2003), and Zhang (2017) focus largely in part on the development of the term *Tongzhi* and the political and social implications of identifying as anything but heterosexual in China. In addition, studies on internet literature and fiction boasting homosexual storylines (e.g. Wu and Wang, 2016; Zhou, 2008), digital communities founded on freedom of sexual expression (e.g. Geng, 2014), and how communities and their content reflect the identities of their members are also present (e.g. Qi, 2016). Also of interest to mention are the increasing studies on sexual education and health with a heavy focus on homosexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS by males in China (e.g. Hong et al., 2017; Ma et al., 2013). However, despite the growing interest in what it means to be queer, or a *Tongzhi*, in China from historical, political, and health perspectives, there appears to

be little empirical research with regards to the language practices and linguistic resources of the queer community and/or those who support/align with them.

One prominent linguistic resource that is noted as participating in identity construction of both the self and others is that of pronouns (e.g. Morrish, 2002; Ige, 2010). This is reflected in the growing ways that users of various languages have begun to create and or adopt gender-neutral third person pronouns such as 'they' and 'ze' in English (Dembroff & Wodak, 2018), 'hen' in Swedish (Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist, 2015), and the recent emergence of *'ta'* in Chinese social media. Prior to 1904, Mandarin Chinese originally used the single character 他 (ta) to refer to the third person 'he', 'she', and 'it' in singular form, which later gave way to three separate written "standard" forms: 他 (ta 'he'), 她 (ta 'she'), and 它 (ta 'it') all with the same pronunciation[1].

In order to construct the plural form of the third person in Mandarin Chinese, the particle 们 *men* is used as a plural marker. That is, any third person pronoun form + 们 is indicative of the plural where 他 + 们 is 'they' which uses the default male pronoun causing this 'they' form to have two possible indexical group compositions: 1) all male, or 2) co-ed male and female; 她 + 们 is 'they' which exclusively refers to a group of females; and 它 + 们 is a traditionally conceptualized 'they' as a grouping of inanimate objects or animals.

Scholars have illustrated how the different historical socio-political and cultural conditions of China contributed to the gender-motivated language change in *'ta'* from 1904 to 2003 (see Chan, 2011). However, the changes associated with *'ta'* did not stop in 2003. The past decade has seen the emergence of genderless *'ta'* in computer mediated communication[2] (CMC) which is written using the Roman alphabet pronunciation, i.e. pinyin, *'ta'* instead of character orthography and has three variations (Ta, TA, and ta). The usage of *'ta'* instead of standard characters obscures the

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[1] For the purpose of facilitating understanding the way that this information had been presented could be considered as an oversimplification. For a more detailed, yet still brief, account of the historical change in singular third person pronouns and for a condensed list please see Appendix C. For a comprehensive account, see Chan (2011).

[2] CMC "is a broad field, encompassing psychological, sociological, organizational science, communication, computer science, and information science perspectives" (Fussell & Setlock, 2014:2). CMC generally refers to any communication which involves the use of computers and consequently the Internet, with social media being a primary site of research focus. Due to the proliferation of the Internet and the increasing amount of communication done on it, computer technology has extensively contributed to 21st century language change as a result of the affordances that is has introduced (i.e. non-standard spellings). The data from my study originates from the Internet which has made the emergence of *'ta'* possible as a form of language change.

intended referent's gender, simultaneously referencing "he", "she", and "it" and leaving interpretation of the gender and referent open. Just as the character forms of the third person pronoun have both a singular and plural form, so does *'ta'*. That is, in order to express an open third person pronoun category in the plural users combine *'ta'* with the plural marker 们 *men* resulting in the form ta 们. This dynamic environment showcases that language is deeply entangled with, reflects, and manifests ongoing societal changes with historical origins.

The New Culture Movement[3] was an important catalyst for social change concerning the perception of gender in China. Western-trained scholars came to regard using the character 他 (male-prominent / 'he') to refer to females as unacceptable and outdated, thus sparking the emergence of 她('she') to satisfy language users' growing desires for more inclusive language and equality in communication (e.g. Liu Bannong, 1920). Based on the historical evidence that gender distinction between male and female occurred as a result of societal change, one can hypothesize that the *ta* phenomenon is indicative of another phase in Chinese society's conceptualization of gender in the context of the 21st century where gender is no longer simply binary and sexual orientations go beyond the term "heterosexual". The *ta* phenomenon is not only significant in that it is a contemporary, representative, naturally observable example that emulates social change, but also in that it underscores the dynamicity of language. The Internet and computing technology play a crucial role in facilitating language users' ability to exploit technology to manipulate their language parameters and achieve certain interactional effects.

Although gender distinction was initially sparked by Western-educated scholars who sought to make written works more gender inclusive, the changes taking place now are a natural projection of the changing goals and values of everyday language users within Chinese CMC who see the need to further that inclusiveness while emphasizing accessibility. The essence of the *ta* phenomenon lies in the circular property that by refusing to define a specific gender, *'ta'* is at the same time inclusive of all genders that one could possibly identify with.

To date, this development has attracted only casual mentions in the scholarly literature (Zhan, 2013:36-37; Zhong, 2015:77-78) and Sluchinski (2017, 1019, 2020, 2021) is the only work

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[3] The New Culture Movement (NCM) centered around Western trained Chinese scholars advocating to make the Chinese writing system simpler in order to stimulate the circulation of knowledge among the common people and resolve illiteracy (e.g. Hummel, 1930:58-59; Chan, 2011:16, 85-89; Zürcher et al., n.d.; Britannica, 2019). It coincides with the May Fourth Movement of 1919.

focusing on it specifically. In an attempt to fill the Chinese and English literature gaps regarding the connection between language use and sexual identities/ideologies by Chinese language users, and as part of a larger investigation into the contemporary usage of the non-standard gender neutral third person pronoun *'ta'* in Chinese CMC (Sluchinski, 2017), this dissertation introduces a new dimension to the rapidly growing field of Queer and Sexuality studies in the Chinese context, and works towards bridging an essential yet much overlooked gap at the heart of sexual identity issues: language usage. It is precisely this language use that contributes to the construction of identity. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to a Literature Review (1.2) and the Research Questions (1.3).

1.2   Literature Review

Following from the Introduction above, this literature review attempts to situate the object of study, i.e. *'ta',* among the other referential forms in Chinese LGBTQ discourses, in relation to the field of gender and sexual identity. Specifically presented below are discussions on the term *Tongzhi* (defined in 1.1) in the Chinese context of homosexuality (1.2.1 and 1.2.2.), discursive pronoun research and reference in usage-based LGBTQ language research (Section 1.2.3), and current existing literature pertaining to *'ta'* (1.2.4).

1.2.1   Homosociality vs Homosexuality

In China, homosexuality has been vehemently ostracized from public discourse, a practice which Wei (2017:1668) notes has only changed recently and is the primary indicator of China's homophobia. This practice of keeping homosexuality out of the public space can be seen as an attempt to invoke the famous "out of sight, out of mind" practice, thus accounting for why so little scholarship exists on the practices of Chinese LGBTQ discourse communities in terms of language use.

Within a masculine centered world, the worldview of what it means to be 'masculine' is strongly equated with being heterosexual; Wei (2017) explains this relationship as hetero-masculinity which operates on homosociality. Homosociality can be viewed as the maintenance of appropriate relationships with other males in order to maintain the factor of masculinity; however, Wei (2017:1669) notes that this comes at the cost of framing the heterosexual identity through homophobic behaviour. The most common form of homophobia is the marginalization of sexual minorities like the LGBTQ through one of the most universal human practices: language. Wei (2017:1669) notes that homophobic language studies have begun to re-examine how the

language is used in conjunction with constructing the identity of the heterosexual as opposed to further stigmatizing homosexuality. In other words, usage of homophobic language may not be homophobic depending on the context and intent, and McCormak (2011) recounts how this shift has occurred in Western cultures with a four stage model ending in pro-gay language (Wei, 2017:1669).

Within traditional Chinese society, the concept of homosociality has played a great role in the masculine identity (Wei, 2017:1670). During Imperial times, homosociality began to emerge in literature and art as homosexual relations viewed as depicting closeness and kinship, a practice which went uncontested by Chinese society until the 1990s (Wei, 2017: 1670). During the 1990s, and under the influence of the West, Chinese society began to re-construct how homosexuality was viewed and consequently displayed in public discourse, giving rise to the modern "homosexual identity", i.e. the *Tongzhi*, in China. This creation of the *Tongzhi* as a separate identity in China under Western influence marks a kind of transgression in traditional Chinese culture (Wei, 2017:1670). Yet in recent years small indicators of reversing this transgression can be seen with the introduction of the Internet and loosened government censorship (Wei, 2017:1670); however, China still has a long way to go in terms of acceptance. It was only just this past October 2020 that China made what can be consider its first steps towards "LGBT acceptance" with the National People's Congress "publicly acknowledging petitions to legalize same-sex marriage" (Liu, 2020).

1.2.2 Tongzhi: The Genderless Comrades of Communism and Sexuality

In order to understand the term *Tongzhi* and its social and political implications, it is first necessary to briefly examine key historical events relevant to both the Mainland and Hong Kong in the context of homosexuality. *Tongzhi* was originally used as a gender-neutral term in Chinese to refer to one's "comrade" under the Communist regime. However, as mentioned above, such is no longer the case in the digital era of the 21st century.

One of the accelerators contributing to the negative inception of the concept 'homosexuality' can be attributed to the translation of the term during the Republic Era (1912-1949) and after the fall of the Qing Dynasty. In the 1930s, translators introduced the term *tongxinglian* 同性恋, literally same sex love, for 'homosexuality' (Stumph, 2018:7); the negative attitude towards to term can be seen embedded in the morphological formation and its contextual usage allowed it to be considered as a marker of mental illness, disease, and even perversion (Zheng, 2015; Stumph,

2018). While the oppression of same-sex practices and other 'taboo' sexual indecencies began during the Republican Era (1912- 1949), the Maoist Era (1949-1978) took a different approach to the issue and began the process of eradicating homosexuality form public discourse (Stumph, 2018). The reform and opening up of China in 1978, which marked the end of the Maoist Era, presented the Chinese people with renewed connections to the West and once again perceptions about gay communities gradually began to change on the parts of the people who began to advocate for freedom of expression. However, this eventually led to the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre (Stumph, 2018:8-9).

The Tiananmen Square Massacre is a well referenced historical event that marks the beginnings of many socio-political changes in the Mainland; however, the impact that the incident had in Hong Kong in terms of homosexuality is the core catalyst of the semantic appropriation for the term *Tongzhi*. Wishing to avoid the same fate of civil unrest as the Mainland, the Hong Kong government sided with the people to create a new and positive term for homosexual in 1989: *Tongzhi* (Stumph, 2018:9). Following the introduction of the semantically appropriated word for "comrade" in the Mainland, the Hong Kong government decriminalized homosexuality in 1991 (Stumph, 2018:9). In 1991, although China's law did not specifically criminalize homosexuality, same-sex intercourse fell as a criminal offense under the Hooligan Law (Stumph, 2018:9).

As a term, *Tongzhi* came to carry connotations of change, modernity, and positivity (Zheng, 2015; Engebresten, 2015; Stumph, 2018); in other words, the word had become 'socially' charged instead of politically charged in the communist sense. Such an aspect of language change has implications for the acceptance of identities and consequently a construction of space for the belonging of these identities in a Chinese context. Soon after its creation and success in Hong Kong, those in the Mainland borrowed-back the term and began to use it for themselves in hopes of promoting the same change, positivity, and modernity taking place in Hong Kong; in 1997 the Hooligan Law was abolished which represented the initial steps of modernist change for homosexuals in the Mainland. As is often the case with very traditional countries, the change in the law did not equate to a change in social perceptions and homosexuals still faced extreme discrimination. It was not until 2001 that homosexuality was removed from the list of mental illnesses in the Mainland by the government, which sparked the re-emergence of same-sex topics in public discourse foregrounded by LGBTQ communities (Stumph, 2018: 11-12).

As a noun phrase used for third person perspective reference, Tongzhi acts as a starting point to understanding how the Chinese LGBTQ community has attempted to construct their identity and how they wish to be referred to by Others, whether those Others are part of the LGBTQ community or not. This concept of identity construction via linguistic devices that function as reference is most clearly embodied in the pronominal systems of multiple languages, as the discussion below will show.

1.2.3 Pronouns and Pragmatics: The Problem

This section and its subsections present the current general scope of pragmatic pronoun[4] research, as well as the roles of pronouns in identity construction in communities. Specifically, Section 1.2.3.1 highlights the problem of a general research dominance in first-and-second-person pronouns in various languages due to the traditional Speaker-Addressee paradigm. Section 1.2.3.2 specifically introduces studies which focus on first- and second-person pronoun usage by LGBTQ individuals and communities, and what this usage conveys regarding their sexual identities. Similarly, Section 1.2.3.3 focuses on the language use of LGBTQ individuals but looks at the third person perspective (3PP) or third person pronouns. Section 1.2.3.4 focuses on the language use of non-LGBTQ individuals to refer to, i.e. label and index, LGBTQ individuals in the third person. Section 1.2.3.5. presents the interim summary.

1.2.3.1 Constructing Identity: Speaker, Addressee …Other?

One of the engrained functions of pronouns, regardless of them being first, second or third, is to index identities. Specifically, Ochs (1993:302-303) points out that "pronouns directly mark interlocutory identities such as speaker, hearer, other, speaker and hearer, speaker and other, and speaker and hearer and other." In addition to directly indexing interlocutor identities, pronouns also indirectly index social identities "because they index particular stances associated with those identities" (Ochs, 1993:303). By extension, this also includes gender and sexuality identities. The consensus across various fields regarding the role of the second person pronoun in terms of

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[4] Partee (1978/2004:110) identifies two fundamentally distinct pronoun uses: 1) use as a bound variable by logicians and 2) pragmatic use. Bound variable pronouns are 1) "restricted to occurrences in syntactic construction with their antecedents", and 2) "fully interpreted at the level of semantics". Pragmatic pronouns do not need "linguistic antecedents at all and require pragmatics as well as semantics for their interpretation" (Partee, 1978/2004:110). According to Partee (1978/2004:112-113), as a general rule, any pronoun can be used pragmatically, but a pronoun only acts as a bound variable when in the same sentence as the antecedent. Consequently, a pragmatic pronoun can refer to an individual or group as determined by "interpretation of the given 'antecedent' as the relevant linguistic context" (Partee, 1978/2004:115).

indexing the addressee in both fictional and non-fictional texts is two-fold. While this demonstrates the foundational stability of the second person pronoun's linguistic role in discourse and its functional importance for the speaker-addressee dimension, where the speaker is indexed through the first person pronoun, it also casts light on a glaring empirical research problem: a hegemonical focus on second, and consequently first, person pronouns in discourse at the expense of the third person pronoun.

Hyland (1998: 440-441) shows that metadiscourse "indicates the writer's assessment of the cognitive demands the text makes on the reader" and that "the significance of metadiscourse lies in its role in explicating a context for interpretation". Person markers, such as pronouns, have been noted for the roles they play as interpersonal metadiscourse markers (e.g. Crismore, Markkanen, & Steffensen, 1993; Hyland, 1998; Liu, 2017). While a great number of studies on personal pronouns exist (e.g. Bhat, 2004; Garcia Salido, 2018; Wales, 1996; Wang & Akitani, 2017), research focussing on the pragmatic function of personal pronouns is still underdeveloped (Gardelle & Sorlin, 2015:2). Studies which can be considered to focus on the pragmatic function of pronouns often focus on the first and second person pronoun (e.g. Deringer, Gast, Hass, & Rudolf 2015; Ishiyama, 2019; Mignot, 2015) and, or, third person reference (e.g. Alber, 2018; Obana, 2003; Watkins, 1990) and zero-anaphora (e.g. Chen, 1984; Li & Thompson, 1979) in narrative discourse. This tendency may be explained from two interconnected angles: a narrow focus on the speaker-addressee relationship and the inherent deictic properties of first and second person pronouns vs third person pronouns.

The first proposition premises that interaction takes place between speaker and addressee through text as a medium (e.g. Fludernik, 1993; Macrae, 2018). Studies which operate with this premise fail to consider the functional properties of the text and consequently its role as a participant in the interaction. In other words, studies operating with a narrow speaker-addressee paradigm (e.g. Kursell, 2010), whether they are discursive or not, do not consider the communicative interaction from the angle of text-addressee. That is, these studies lack in that they do not address the interaction, i.e. engagement, of the addressee with the text nor how this engagement is achieved.

The second proposition is made in light of the deictic property distinction made regarding first and second person pronouns vs third person pronoun forms. Specifically, scholars such as Benveniste (1966) and Lyons (1977) have argued that third-person pronouns should be excluded

from the personal pronoun category based on inherent functional differences (Gardelle & Sorlin, 2015:3). Whereas the first and second person pronouns operate as "discourse instances", Benveniste (1966) illustrates that third person pronouns are functionally used as "abbreviative substitutes" and thus argues for the third person to be considered the non-person (Gardelle & Sorlin, 2015:3). In addition, Toolan (1990:129) has noted the spatial deictic property of first and second person where first person pronouns stimulate speaker-addressee/author-reader proximity and second person pronouns decrease proximity "while third person pronoun use has something of a neutral effect, revealing little about the speaker-referent-addressee relationship" (Neary, 2010:14).

While there have been multiple studies on third person deixis in different languages (e.g. Kim, 2018; Köder, Maier, & Hendriks, 2015; Xiang, 2003; Yeh and Chen, 2001; Zhang, 2016), these studies have not been from a discourse analytical approach with a focus on third person pronoun forms. This is empirically problematic considering that "in many languages third-person reference offers a wider range of linguistic options than do first- and second-person reference" (Chafe, 1990:313) and that "when pronouns are used didactically they can indicate the extent to which the speaker is willing to demonstrate[their] sense of affiliation with objects and groups" (Morrish, 2002:187). Existing studies grounded in psychology and concerned with the cognitive aspects of referentiality in pronouns frequently cite the work of Chafe (e.g. 1974) for its contribution regarding the notion of referential choice. In the special issue on third person reference, Mithun (1990: 361-362) notes that in all languages the referential choices made by language users are interactional processes. Specifically, these interactional processes take place as a result of third person referential choices because the referent of the third person pronoun is defined in context by what it is and also by what it is not (Mithun, 1990:372).

In addition to the interactional property of the third person, scholars of Chinese discourse have noted that usage of third person pronoun "it" decreases the immediacy of the utterance (Ran, 2007), while scholars of English have noted the third person pronoun's function as "an index of linkage between [communicative partners] about a third person."(Hobson, Lee, & Hobson, 2010:654). These more recent studies echo with Chafe's (1990:316) observation that third person pronouns should be investigated as discourse phenomena which entails "giving careful, sensitive attention to their functioning in extended, naturalistic language samples." As noted by Lee and Tao (1995:5) in their study on two unusual uses of Chinese third person pronouns in Hong Lou Meng, "dominant approaches to anaphora seem to have concentrated on the structural aspects of anaphora". This is

a shortcoming which their study attempts to overcome in the written genre by adapting an inductive qualitative approach to the analysis of Mandarin Chinese third person pronoun use in context. The discussion above highlights how the first and second person pronouns are typically grouped together while the third person pronoun is often cast aside as the 'other'. This concept of 'other' and its implication for the discursive and functional study of third person pronoun use emerges when considered in conjunction with scholarship pertaining to gender and identity construction.

The field of gender and identity construction is dominated by a focus on first and second person pronouns as a result of the traditional speaker-addressee paradigm (e.g. Tsang and Wang, 2004). However, there are models which recognize the third person participant and categorize said participants as 'other', giving rise to the speaker-addressee-other paradigm (e.g. Korobov and Bamberg, 2007). Yet, while studies that operate under this paradigm acknowledge the 'other', the 'other' is still considered external to the interaction as an attribute of third person deixis which can be realized via multiple linguistic devices such as nouns, pronouns, obviative third person, and proximate third person (Goddard, 1990).Consequently, while scholars of multiple languages have begun to discursively look at third person deixis in various contexts, they have mostly targeted demonstratives(e.g. Al-Ali, 2009; Argaman, 2007; Knuf, 2003; Lakoff, 1974) and NPs (e.g. Gardelle, 2015) responsible for either spatial or temporal third person deixis in relation to the narrow focus of the speaker-addressee relationship. That is, they have not focussed on third person pronouns responsible for person deixis and gender assignment to the 'other' who is external to the narrow speaker-addressee focus.

1.2.3.2   Constructing Identity: First and Second Person Pronouns use by the Other

Perhaps one of the most researched languages which has what appears to be a gender sensitive personal pronoun system is Japanese (e.g. Miyazaki, 2004; Nishida, 2011; Sato, 2018). Japanese is known for the two distinct systems of "Women's Language" (*onna kotoba*) and "Men's Language" (*otoko kotaba*) which give rise to gender sensitive pronouns in the first person (Sato, 2018:1261). With regards to female-sensitive first person pronouns in Japanese the most well documented are *(w)atashi* and *atai*, while male-sensitive first person pronouns are mostly considered as *boku, ore*, and *washi*. In addition to the first person female-sensitive *(w)atashi*, the second person pronoun *anata* is also categorized as being female-sensitive and part of women's language (Okamoto and Smith, 2008; Sato, 2018) whereas the self-reflexive personal pronoun *jibun* is noted as being gender-neutral yet "commonly used as a first-person masculine pronoun"

(Sato, 2018:1266). Current literature regarding the discursive and pragmatic functions of the first person pronoun in Japanese and what they mean for gender identity seem to have also reflected the trend of being based on fictional text instead of "naturally" occurring language use until just recently (e.g. Kinsui, 2003; Nishida, 2011; Kinsui, 2014). This body of research is known as "role languages", i.e. the usage of certain constructed language varieties by female characters in fictional contexts. In their study, Nishida (2011) found that *boku*-girls, female fictional characters who use the male pronoun for 'I', do not use feminine-marked speech styles and are perceived as gender-neutral and non-violent (Sato, 2018:1266). This contrasts with the portrayal of another type of fictional female, the *ore*-girl, who also use male first-person pronouns but is viewed as much more aggressive (Sato, 2018:1266). In the context of natural language use of *ore* by schoolgirls, Miyazaki (2004) found that language use contributes to the formation of distinctive sub-cultures. Thus, while Nishida's (2011) study shows that fiction creators exploit personal pronoun usage and gender parings to construct group identities, Miyazaki's (2004) study also shows that first person pronouns can be used to index a strong social identity.

As one of the earliest discursive pragmatic studies of personal pronoun usage in the female Japanese LGBTQ context, Abe's (2004) study offers insight into just how complex manipulation of personal pronouns and the gender identity indexing system can be for LGBTQ individuals. Abe (2004) focuses on the linguistic practices of lesbians at lesbian bars in Tokyo and how these practices work to construct identities. One of the linguistic practices they focus on is the use of gender-sensitive first person and second person pronouns. Abe (2004:213) notes the distinct distribution of first-person pronouns in a magazine exchange between three distinct LGBTQ groups: 1) self-identified female-to-male transsexuals, 2) self-identified *onabe*, and 3) self-identified lesbians. Abe (2004:214) shows that "the transsexuals use *boku*, the *onabe* use *jibun*, and the lesbians use *watashi* almost uniformly", which emphasizes that pronoun usage is carefully selected and deployed in order to construct sexual identities. However, through their analysis of bar talk Abe (2004) further shows that first person pronoun usage varies depending on the context. That is, because identities are fluid and co-constructed so is the usage of pronouns which index the fluid identity. Abe's (2004) finding pertaining to the second person are relatively brief. They outline the presence of two second person pronouns, *anata* and *omee*, citing that *omee* is "a very casual "masculine" second-person pronoun" (Abe, 2004:215). Abe (2004:216) further notes that

in their study the speakers "manipulat[ed] the pragmatic meaning (forcefulness) attached to the term *omee*."

Studies focusing on the connection between the LGBTQ community's personal pronoun use and identity construction have also been conducted in other languages such as Hindi (Hall, 2011) and Thai (Saisuwan, 2016). Hall (2011) examines how members of a Hindi- and English-speaking support group in India identify through language use. The support group is intended for women attracted to women, implying that such a notion is based on biological sex. However, Hall (2011) witnessed two distinct identities within the support group: that of "lesbians" and that of "boys", defined as those who are biologically female yet do not believe in the existence of same-sex desire and thus have concluded they are males in a female body. Hall (2011: 395) found that these "boys" "discursively construct[ed] their masculine-based subjectivity by using grammatically masculine self-reference." In the words of Kendall and Tannen (2015:650), "Hall demonstrates that participants linguistically perform gender in relation to other social categories and that these performances depend upon class-based sexualities."

In their study of a distinctly defined LGBTQ community, *kathoey* who are male-to-female transgender individuals, in Thailand, Saisuwan, (2016) demonstrates how first person pronouns are used to construct identity online. In their study, Saisuwan (2016) notes that like with other sexual minorities, there is a lack of empirical research regarding language usage by these groups of people and that a lot of research focuses on the social phenomenon of their existence and how others perceive and treat them. Thus, Saisuwan (2016) studied the first person pronoun language use of women and Kathoey users on three different online platforms (a transgender community, a make-up community, and Thailand's largest shopping community) and then compared their language use to investigate how sexual identity is constructed through linguistic resources. The findings revealed that Kathoey were more feminine in their pronoun usage than women and that Kathoey habitually used feminine first-person pronouns to index femininity while women used them in order to take interactional stances.

1.2.3.3 Constructing Identity: Third Person Pronoun and Referential Form use by the Other

This section focuses on the language use of LGBTQ individuals, taking third person pronouns and referential forms as objects of study. Third person pronouns are but one type of referential form. A referential form can be in the first-person, second-person, or third-person and can be a pure noun

phrase (e.g. the girl), a verb phrase (e.g. 搞基 *gao-ji*[5]), or pure pronoun (e.g. she). Specifically, Morrish (2002) studies indefinite pronoun *they* (a third person pronoun) by LGBTQ teachers, Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist (2015) study gender-neutral *hen* (a third person pronoun) by the LGBTQ community, Yang (2016) studies referential forms like 同志 *Tongzhi* 'Comrade', gay, and 男同 *nantong* 'Male Homosexual' in the LGBTQ community, Wei (2017) studies referential forms like 搞基 *gao-ji* originating from the LGBTQ community, and Cui (2017) looks at discourse strategies relying on referential forms that refer to people and sexual acts in the LGBTQ community.

In their 2002 study, Morrish focusses on discourse and performativity with a Bulterian approach informed by Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962) to investigate the usage of indefinite pronoun by a lesbian teacher. Speech Act Theory is responsible for outlining what people do with language and how they do it, which is accomplished via illocutionary force (Bach and Harnish, 1979:4).One of the foundational components of Speech Act Theory in terms of what people do with language is the notion of performativity where "a performative is that discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names" (Butler, 1993:13). Identity is believed to be construed through performance, for which there are two types: discursive and embodied (Morrish, 2002:181). Whereas discursive performativity involves recognizing "the effects produced through language", embodied performativity materialises "as effects produced through the interpretation of self presentation" (Morrish, 2002:181).

Thus, the approach that Morrish takes consists of speech acts and performativity merging in to one concept (Morrish, 2002:182-183). The approach highlights the impact that the speaker-addressee-other paradigm may have for LGBTQ individuals and their language choices under specific circumstances. Specifically, Morrish (2002) draws attention to the phenomenon known as "closet strategies" which are linguistic choices, i.e. speech acts, which contribute to the concealment/disguise of the LGBTQ identity.
Concealment is where "speakers design their utterances to be impenetrable except to the addressee", whereas disguisement entails the speaker encoding the language to deceive hearers but not addressees, making them think that what they have said means one thing when in fact they mean another (184). Morrish (2002:184) notes that Leap (1996) refers to this as 'double

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[5] Term used to refer to male homosexual acts, please see below for more details.

subjectivity' which can be used to invite LGBTQ addressee "to access a contingent gay meaning". Many of these linguistic choices used to design speech acts are made in the context of what can be explained as Clark's (1992) audience design (Morrish, 2002:183). Specifically, audience design premises that enunciators purposefully design, i.e. plan, their utterances by employing specific linguistic strategies and resources based on who they presume to be their addressees, where these addressees can be both direct and indirect (i.e. overhearers such as bystanders and eavesdroppers) (Clark, 1992:201). Language users employ audience design for various reasons, a common practice of which would be speaking in code to the direct addressee so as to prevent unwelcome indirect addressees such as eavesdroppers from being able to understand or participant in the communicative exchange. Some may find Goffman's (1981) notion of participation framework relevant to the concept of audience design. Although Goffman (1981) deals with different participation roles (e.g. speaker, addressee, bystander), the notion relies on participation presence in spoken contexts, not on deixis or pronouns which is the focus of this section and study. It may appear that 'Other' in my study can be equated with 'bystander,' yet such is not the case form my approach. 'Other' is a third person participant who is absent from the scene of communication and referred to as external of the text. A 'bystander' is someone who is present, *must* be present, in the face of the communicative act but is not obligated to participate (Goffman, 1981:132). Consequently, 'bystanders' are also referred to as 'overhearers' in Goffman's terms – the same as in Clark (1992); however, as the 'Other' is not present in the context of my study, the 'Other' cannot be an 'overhearer', which then presupposes that they also cannot be a 'bystander'. As thus, Goffman's (1981) notion of participation framework is not applicable to the specific computer mediated discourse context of my study and is not incorporated. Amongst the linguistic strategies used in audience design are those involving pronouns and referred to as deictic centering and confounding.

Under deictic centering and confounding, Morrish (2002:185) discusses how LGBTQ individuals employ avoidance of pronouns which may give away their identity as a closeting strategy. However, Morrish (2002) notes that the avoidance of pronouns, i.e. non-usage, is still in a way a 'usage' that gives away the LGBTQ identity to those within the community while disguising it from those outside the community. Morrish (2002:187) discusses how LGBTQ teachers use the third person pronoun *they* to refer to other groups of LGBTQ, despite being an

LGBTQ community member, because the usage of *they* establishes distance, i.e. accomplishes deictic decentering.

Another study focussing on third person pronoun use by the Other in the LGBTQ context is that conducted by Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist (2015) in Swedish. Specifically, they detail the period of 2012-2015 with regards to the inception, usage, and reactions of the created gender-neutral third person pronoun *hen* for usage in cases where the gender is unknown/irrelevant or as a special pronoun to index those who sexually identify as being external to the traditional gender binary of male-female. The emergence of *hen* illustrates how language can "be used as a tool for establishing gender-equality and to challenge gender perceptions" (Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist, 2015:1). *Hen*, inspired by Finnish which has a genderless pronominal system, is said to have emerged as early as the 1960's in the academic setting during discussions of more rational pronoun choices (Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist, 2015:2). According to Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist, (2015:2), *hen* began to be used by LGBTQ communities in the 21st century to circumvent binary gender identity. In their study of the usage of *hen* in 2012 by the six sample groups (4 community and 2 student), Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist (2015:7) found that "being older and having a masculine gender was associated with less use than being younger and having a feminine gender", and that those who identified as LGBTQ with androgynous gender roles were more likely to use *hen* (Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist, 2015:9).

Within the Chinese context, empirical research with regards to the language practices of the "Other", i.e. the queer community and or those who support/align with them are relatively few. Exceptions to this include Yang's (2016) research on homosexual language awareness and perception, Wei's (2017; Wei and Shi, 2017) seminal contributions to our understanding of homosexually themed discourses in China, and Cui's (2017) research on gay chatroom/community discourse.

Yang (2016) recruited online participants from websites like the *Tongzhi* Tieba (a source used as one of the communities for data collection in this study, see 2.21) and the gay dating app Blued, where they disseminated surveys to be returned electronically. Yang (2016) also distributed surveys offline at random. Out of 300 surveys, Yang (2016) received 200 of them back. Yang (2016:4) surveys the Chinese terms used to refer to homosexuals/homosexuality and their individual connotations. Yang (2016) found that there are primarily three views with regards to "Gay" labels: 1) positive connotation, 2) negative connotation, and 3)neutral connotation. These

perceptions change depending on whether the term is a literary variant or a vernacular variant (Yang, 2016:4). Yang (2016) distinguishes between generic terms, male-specific terms, and female-specific terms and looks at them in terms of emotion, structure, and imagery.

Yang (2016) lists *Tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* as generic terms, 23 terms for male-specific homosexuality references, and 10 terms for female-specific homosexuality references. Of importance in Yang's (2016) study is that 68% of the participants found the term *Tongzhi* to be neutral and 72% found the term *tongxinglian* to be neutral as well. These results resonate with the positive semantic appropriation of *Tongzhi* mentioned above (1.2.2) and further evidence the importance of the term in creating spaces of belonging for the LGBTQ community. In addition, the majority of respondents (54% and 68% respectively) found both *Tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* to be vernacular terms. With regards to the male-specific terms, most derogatory/negative terms were 弯的 *wande* (78.5 %) and gay (72.5%) while most terms that contained the character 同 *tong* 'same' and 男 *nan* 'male' were largely neutral (男同 *nantong* 39% and 男男 *nannan* 39%). This trend can also be seen in the female-specific terms where terms that contained the character 同 *tong* 'same' and 女 *nü* 'female' were largely neutral (女同 *nütong* 59% and 女女 *nünü* 66.5%). However, an interesting thing to note about the female terms is that the "derogatory index" is much lower for every term; in other words, female-homosexual terminology was generally not seen as derogatory by the respondents.

In their study, Wei (2017) focusses on *gao-ji* discourse, a type of homosexually themed discourse on the Internet which appears in the corpus used in this study (see 2.3.2.3 below). Specifically, Wei (2017) focusses on the implications the discourse has when used by those who identify as *gao-ji* and by those who do not. Wei (2017) is one of the few studies that address the growing concern of how LGBTQ communities use unique discourse features to define themselves, and how these discourse features are appropriated by out-group members.

The term *gao-ji* is the Mandarin pronunciation of the Cantonese *gaau-gei* for homosexual conduct and is also the origin of the Mandarin variant *ji-you*, meaning 'gay buddy'. In the words of Wei (2017:1668), the original *gao-ji* term is "associated with strong homophobic and derogatory connotations". The inception of the Internet and SNS has allowed for popular terms like *gao-ji* and *ji-you* to rapidly spread and integrate into the discourse of today's youth (Wei, 2017:1668). Unfortunately, Wei's (2017) study does not primarily focus on the LGBTQ community who use

gao-ji discourse, but instead investigates how out-group members, i.e. heterosexual males, utilize the discourse and other "homosexually themed buzzwords" to re-negotiate and re-define close male friendships via semantic appropriation. In other words, their appropriation of the term can also be seen as a justification for their reinforcement of a heterosexual identity via traditional homosociality.

Wei (2017:1668) found that *gao-ji* discourse has two primary functions when used by heterosexual males: "expanding heteromasculine behaviors and simultaneously reiterating heteromasculine identities". While the adaptation of *gao-ji* discourse by heterosexual males can be seen as acknowledgement of the LGBTQ community, this acknowledgement does not equate to societal acceptance; after all, their usage of the discourse is semantically appropriated through a mocking-frame that is invoked within a joking-frame that positions the participants as close friends and at the same time solidifies their identity as heterosexuals. Another valuable finding of Wei's (2017) is that the perception of the discourse and term largely depend on where the participant came from in China, with those in the Cantonese regions emphasizing the derogatoriness and those in the north emphasizing the joking-frame.

Cui's (2017) work initially seems to contribute to our understanding of "Gay Discourse" on the Internet in China by examining how the homosexual community designs their language to implicitly invite sexual relations. Specifically, Cui (2017) looks at textual structure, language patterns, vocabulary, and grammar. Cui (2017) found that the specific discourse community studied used eight substitutive discourse strategies in order to disguise their discourse from out-group members, and consequently create solidarity among the in-group members. The online discourse community studied by Cui (2017) has strict regulations regarding the content users can exchange and even the language they can use in ID names in the public domain. The most important regulation was that regarding sexually explicit language; however, while this behaviour was sanctioned in the public domain, the community guidelines inversely encouraged this behaviour in the private domain. This restriction is what prompted the discourse community to adapt the eight substitutive discourse techniques mentioned above, and also attests to the "out of sight, out of mind" attitude Chinese society holds towards homosexuality.

By looking at advertisements in the community, Cui (2017) found two main types: self-advertising and partner-seeking (see 2.2.4.9 below). Discourse strategies used to disguise the explicit sexual content included abbreviations, alliterations, plays on numbers using English,

numbers as substitution for sexual acts, one's role in the acts, how to conduct the acts, and how many people should be involved in the acts. In terms of lexical substitution, this consisted of decomposing characters into radicals, pinyin, pinyin contraction, and English letters; all these discourse devices can be seen as metaphors (隐喻 *yinyu*, Cui's term). However, it seems that Cui (2017) has overlooked the possibility that these "Gay Discourse" tactics are not exclusive to the homosexual community; given the context of prohibition, it is likely that similar discourse adjustments occur in heterosexual chatrooms with similar prohibitions on sexually explicit content in the public domain. This is a problem that stems from "Gay Speak/language", a notion which has received much criticism for assuming that all language used by homosexuals MUST be a marker of their sexual identity and not a product of the contextual circumstances. In this regard, Cui's (2017) study lacks the stability and credibility seen in the studies of Wei (2017) and Wei and Shi (2017).

1.2.3.4 Constructing Identity: Third Person Pronoun and Third Person Noun Phrase use for the Other

While the previous section focused on language used by LGBTQ individuals, this section focuses on the language used by non-LGBTQ individuals to label LGBTQ individuals.

Lunsing and Maree (2004), a study in Japanese, further documents the usage of language in relation to identity construction but of LGBTQ men. In their paper they address two third person perspective noun phrases as terms used to refer to male homosexuals: *okama* and *gei*. Lunsing and Maree (2004:95) outline that the term *okama*, a type of pot, came to refer to homosexual males who were penetrated and endured the pain of said penetration out of love or for financial gain and is considered a highly derogatory term today. *Okama*, due to their position in sexual activity, are said to use stereotypical women's speech (Lunsing and Maree, 2004:95). The second term, *gei*, was created by the community themselves and paired with the first person pronoun *boku* to give a more masculine and tough image, and to use as a more positive term in connection with connotations from the Western term *gay* (Lunsing and Maree, 2004:95).

One of the most recent and comprehensive discussions addressing the usage of the third person pronoun to define, categorize, and refer to the Other is that of Dembroff and Wodak (2018). In their study, Dembroff and Wodak (2018) discuss the concept of misgendering in the third person in English from two perspectives: 1) using gender-binary pronouns to refer to genderqueer individuals, and 2) using gender-binary pronouns to refer to transgender individuals. Dembroff

and Wodak (2018) reason that regardless of the case, gender-specific pronouns should not be used to refer to anyone. Pertinent to the discussion here is their claim that "using binary gender-specific pronouns (*he* or *she*) transmits harmful essentialist beliefs about gender identity" (Dembroff and Wodak 2018, 373). Misgendering in pronouns demonstrates disrespect not only towards the social identity of the individual being referred to, but by extension also disrespects those who share said social identity (Dembroff and Wodak 2018, 375). The act of misgendering through pronoun use is seen as an act of denial regarding the sexual identity of the other (Dembroff and Wodak 2018, 376). Gendered third person pronouns are also seen as problematic because they create what Dembroff and Wodak (2018:393) refer to as "disclose or deceive dilemmas". That is, language users are forced to decide "where they must either disclose information about their sexual orientation or gender identity, or else deceive others (whether tacitly or explicitly) with respect to their sexual orientation or gender identity" (Dembroff and Wodak, 2018:392). This then begs the question of what should be used for reference instead with two popular solutions: the neologism *ze* and usage of *they* as a gender-neutral third person singular pronoun. However, Dembroff and Wodak (2018:373) note that both are met with resistance on the basis that "that ze exoticizes the individuals it refers to; and that it is ungrammatical to use they as a singular pronoun". Specifically with regards to the use of *they,* Dembroff and Wodak (2018:393) point out that the language choice to use *they* instead of a binary pronoun "will pragmatically implicate either that someone is non-binary or non-heterosexual or that they have a reason to hide their gender identity or sexual orientation. This is much like the revelation shared by Morrish (2002) regarding her own third person pronoun usage experience using *they* and *one* as closet strategies.

As Dembroff and Wodak (2018:381) note, "by identifying with a gender group, one situates oneself as being norm-receptive to the norms applying to that group, regardless of whether or not one approves of these norms". The importance of this statement comes to light when considering circumstances where individuals are forced to choose a gender identity from options that were pre-chosen for them by others such as gender selection in online profiles. Such a study was conducted by Bivens and Haimson (2016) who focussed on the pronoun choices given to, or not given to, users for their profiles on social media websites and the implications this has for identity construction. Bivens and Haimson (2016) look at the 10 most popular "English" social media platforms. They note that some such as Facebook have established custom gender fields, which allow the user to self-identify with a third person perspective label and through this identification

also allow others to identify them in a way that they want to be identified. In addition to custom fields, Facebook also has three third person pronoun selections: he, she, and them. This allows Facebook to "reinscribe gender as a three-option data classification and collection system" (Bivens and Haimson, 2016:5). On the other, some platforms such as Twitter have removed gender identification fields entirely, conversely taking away the user's ability to self-identify and convey how they want to be identified by others.

1.2.3.5   Conclusion on Pronouns and Pragmatics

The overview above reveals that there is a dominance of research in first and second person pronouns across contexts at the expense of the third person pronoun. The discussion also illustrates the pragmatic value of third person pronouns for both self and other identity construction, calling to attention the empirical research gaps with regards to third person pronoun use in general, and especially so in LGBTQ communities. Thus, the discussion has laid the foundation to illustrate the importance of empirical research with regards to genderless third person pronoun *'ta'* in LGBTQ discourses. Senden, Bäck, & Lindqvist (2015:2) noted that "no other language has so far added a third gender-neutral pronoun that actually has reached the broader population of language users". Although this statement was made four years ago, it now seems that *'ta'* may very well be the next *hen*.

1.2.4   Genderless Third Person Pronoun ta

Despite its prevalence in the digital age, the development of genderless third person pronoun *'ta'* has to date attracted only casual mentions in the scholarly literature (Zhan, 2013; Zhong, 2015) and Sluchinski (2017, 2019, 2020) is the only body of work focusing on it specifically. While both Zhan (2013) and Zhong (2015) provide a comprehensive background of historical formation to justify the emergence of *'ta'* as a non-standard spelling in reaction to gender inequality and inclusive language issues, the studies are not systematic in their approaches. While Zhan (2013) gives suitable empirical examples and dates to support most of his observations, Zhong (2015) unfortunately seems to be unaware of Zhan's (2013) research and his arguments pertaining to *'ta'* lack empirical support due to insufficient cited and empirical examples. In addition, a point not incorporated by Zhan (2013) but by Zhong (2015) is that the third person pronoun "it" 它 used to refer to inanimate objects is also interchangeable with *'ta'* . Zhong (2015: 77) states that "the formation of Ta again begs the problem that is presented by the three characters and their unequal

treatment of gender". The male-prominent character is used to refer to groups that also contain females which is problematic due to the heavy male connotation it carries; thus the usage of the male-prominent 他 as the only third person pronoun could not fulfill the realistic life demands of the people as a comprehensive gender referent (Zhong 2015: 78). Zhong (2015: 78) further summarizes that the invention of the romanized form solves the aforementioned problems in its function as a three-way simultaneous character referent. Despite their lack of systematicity, both scholars present discussions on the popularity of its usage and semantic change. Zhan (2013) and Zhong (2015) both consider *'ta'* as a neologism created to accommodate deficiencies in the Chinese third person pronoun category and serve as a referent for which users individually associate a gender.

Different from the articles by Zhan (2013) and Zhong (2015), Sluchinski (2017, 2019) are based on systematic analysis of empirical data from a discursive pragmatic approach. While building the corpus for my 2017 work, I found the earliest documented instance of *'ta'* on Sina Weibo dated January 2011. My 2017 work adopts a persuasive writing and move analysis framework to focus on the pragmatic function of *'ta'* in persuasive discourse as used by institutional accounts on Sina Weibo (the equivalent of Twitter in China). Within this context I found that *'ta'* was used as a pragmatic device to enhance reader engagement with the text to achieve specific interactional goals such as generating profit or generating interest in a service/alignment with an ideology via that engagement. My 2019 work adopts a narrative analysis framework to focus on the pragmatic function of *'ta'* in narrative discourse as used by personal accounts of famous/verified people on Sina Weibo. Within this context I reconfirmed that *'ta'* was used as a pragmatic device to enhance reader engagement with the text and achieve specific interactional functions. Within this specific context of narrative discourse, *'ta'* was used in first and third person narratives to invoke character empathy while it was used in second person narratives to evoke situational empathy.

1.3   Research Questions

The above review of literature shows that despite the growing interest in what it means to be queer, or a *Tongzhi*, in China, there appears to be little empirical research regarding the language practices of the queer Chinese community and or those who support/align with them or discriminate against them. As a result of being co-constructed in interactions, sexual identities tend to be formed based on outsiders' stereotypical perceptions. Such a tendency reveals itself in the use of pronouns, which are used to establish reference. In order to communicate we must refer to who, or what, we

want to communicate about. Reference clearly outlines the focus of the communication in context. It is through this reference to others that language users reveal their attitudes and ideologies towards those others as well as construct self and other identities (e.g. Haddington, 2006; Ochs, 1992b). Given the context of the *ta* phenomenon as understudied and the usage of *'ta'* as a genderless third person pronoun, it is of empirical significance to explore the usage of *'ta'* within gender and sexual identity contexts in conjunction with other third person referential forms.

Based on ideas of performance and speech acts, the explicit language choice to use *'ta'* in written communication instead of a standard orthography of the third person pronoun can be understood as a speech act that caters to audience design in the contexts of LGBTQ and functions to attain what is referred to as disguise by Morrish (2002) in their discussion of *they* (see 1.2.3.3 above). Under the notion of disguise, *'ta'* can work as a group specific code that deceives others, but not group members, regarding the real meaning of the utterance (Morrish, 2002:184). This deception, i.e. distortion of meaning for out-group members, simultaneously positions the user as belonging to different groups and creates opportunities for those who belong to the same group to affiliate and fortify their group membership based on their understanding of the code as a cultural metaphor. This coded discourse which functions to simultaneously construct and index the user's out group and in group membership is referred to as "double subjectivity", as discussed above (see 1.2.3.3.; Moorish, 2002:184).

This study examines genderless third person pronoun *'ta'* (a third person referential from) and other relevant co-occurring referential forms (as outlined in 1.2.3.3) in Chinese LGBTQ discourses on the Internet, which includes both Pro and Anti LGBTQ discourse. The study is concerned with the implications that these third person forms have for self and other identity construction. In order to achieve this, a series of empirical questions become relevant: 1) what third person referential forms are present in Chinese LGBTQ discourses? 2) what are the pragmatic functions of these referential forms? 3) what are the linguistic environments of these referential forms and how do they contribute to the pragmatic function(s)? and 4) How do these referential forms function to (de/re/co-) construct self and other identities as well as reveal language users' attitudes and ideologies towards those others?

Consequently, the purpose of this study is three-fold. First, the study not only focuses on the pragmatic and interactional usages of a new and understudied language phenomenon, nonstandard spelling which obscures gender, but it does so in relation to an underdeveloped research area: third

person pronouns. Second, while aiming to address the gap which exists with regards to addressee-text interaction from a discursive perspective, this study also aims to overcome the hegemonic focus on first and second person pronouns in discursive analyses. Third, by focusing on the speaker-addressee relationship in the context of LGBTQ discourses and gender identity construction in conjunction with the genderless third person pronoun, that is how these two aspects come together, the study aims to show the strengths of an inductive mixed-methods and qualitative approach in filling research gaps left by traditional approaches.

2   Methodology

Chapter 2 of this dissertation introduces all aspects related to the data collection, classification, and analysis. Internet research and ethical considerations in the Chinese context are first addressed (2.1) and are followed by the corpus constitution and data types (2.2). The analytical approach is then introduced (2.3) with illustrative examples provided for each core framework used in the study.

2.1   Internet Research and Ethical Considerations

This section maps the considerations and steps taken with regards to data collection and analysis in the study. As a virtual space that extends across boundaries, the conceptualization and contextualization of the Internet is not straightforward. This is a fact that goes uncontested regardless of the country in which it is being used and for what it is being used. However, despite the Internet being viewed as conductive of globalization and interconnectedness by the international community at large, there are still countries which view it with skepticism and as a threat to national security. One such country is China, and more specifically the PRC government of Mainland China.

2.1.1   The Chinese Internet and International Standards

After the birth of the Internet in the 1980s (see Andrews, 2013), Mainland China became notorious for its extremist Internet censorship practices and policies following the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 ("Internet in China", 2019; "Internet Censorship in China", 2019). After officially accepting the Internet in 1994 ("Internet Censorship in China", 2019), these extremist practices came to be referred to as the "Great Firewall of China" coming into the 21st century ("Great Firewall", 2019; Barme and Sang, 1997). The Great Firewall of China is part of a larger censorship and control effort over the Internet under the Golden Shield Project (*gonggongxinxi wanglouanquan linjinju* 公共信息网络安全监察局) ("Golden Shield Project", 2019) launched in 1998 by the PRC government.

Under heavy internal censorship and with restricted access to foreign websites, content, and media, users of the Internet in China under the PRC government are constantly reminded that their every digital move is under scrutiny. Thus, it is also probable that many Internet users are aware that what does get published on the Internet has, in most cases, gone through extensive censorship

vetting by the government's many censorship and detection programs. These programs are designed to eradicate even the slightest hint of what the government deems as "threatening" or "inappropriate" content.

It is within the context of the Chinese Internet, and the Internet in general, that the follow question arises: how should one approach the content produced on the Internet as a researcher? Unfortunately, the most comprehensive guidelines that Internet researches currently have to refer to are those published in 2012 by the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR). The guidelines were "designed to emphasize processes for decision-making and questions that can be applied to ever-changing technological contexts" (AoIR, 2012a:3). While the guidelines complement the growing body of literature on Internet research ethics, there seems to be a gap in the guideline and the field itself: the Internet under extreme censorship and how this influences Internet research ethics is rarely mentioned, if at all.

This gap is of extreme importance to my own study, which accesses discourse produced on a website/platform hosted in Mainland China under the ownership of the PRC government. Unlike the vast majority of existing Internet research data which is produced and collected in countries with relatively open Internet laws, my data is created in an extremely different environment which devalues freedom of speech in the name of National Sovereignty. As a result, I have struggled to reconcile the Eurocentric ethical conventions regarding Internet Research in the West, where the Internet is seen as a vehicle for freedom of expression and where the right to anonymity is emphasized, with the realistic context of the Internet, and research involving human participants in general, in Mainland China where "public discourse" is hardly public and "privacy" and "anonymity" are concepts with little legal value.

Further complicating the ethical aspect of my research is the topic of focus: LGBTQ communities, i.e. sexual identities and ideologies. The nature of these topics has traditionally made researchers in favor of soliciting informed consent; however, such studies were not conducted in the context of heavy Internet censorship by a government known in the international community for its inappropriate treatment of, and harsh views towards, sexual minorities. The fact that discourse produced by LBGT groups in China is available on the Internet at all is noteworthy. Although homosexuality was decriminalised in 1997 and the PRC government removed homosexuality from its list of mental disorders in 2001, sexual minorities still fall victim to right-infringing censorship policies by international standards. In April 2018, popular SNS platform

Sina Weibo announced that it would commence a three-month operation to "clean" the platform of crude content to comply with China Internet Law. This crude content was pointed out as consisting of pornographic implications, the promotion of bloody violence, and content related to homosexuality (Kuo, 2018). Such a move was met with backlash from many of the platform's users, some of which cited China's laws and constitution with regards to the rights of minorities. As a result of the backlash and trending hashtags in support of the gay community, Sina Weibo decided to rescind its focus on gay content several days after the announcement.

It is within this context of the Chinese Internet that my research on the discourse produced by sexually marginalized communities and those who oppose them is situated. As a result, this presents a challenge to my research for two reasons: 1) the conceptualization of the Internet as a virtual space for the freedom of speech is challenged by the PRC government's continuous efforts to re-define it as a physical space in which things can be contained and controlled; and 2) the discourse I examine is produced by "vulnerable" groups who, at one time, were considered threats by the PRC.

The issue of the PRC having control to arbitrarily decide what may or may not be considered a "threat" in what is supposed to be "public discourse", and consequently a violation of Internet Law in China, has greatly influenced how I have thought about the ethics of my study conducted on a platform hosted in Mainland China. I would like to address the concept of ethics from two broad perspectives: 1) Privacy and Anonymity, and 2) Consent. However, as the preceding text has shown and the proceeding text will show, these two concepts cannot be examined in isolation and are intricately connected.

2.1.2 Privacy, Anonymity, and Consent

The most common answer to questions regarding Internet research ethics, whether they be in terms of privacy or consent, is "it depends" (Page et al., 2014:59; AoIR, 2012a:3). As noted by many Internet research scholars (e.g. Deumert, 2014:30; Baym and boyd, 2012; Whiteman, 2012), publicly available websites and platforms can be considered as the Internet's "Grey Space". Despite the previous black and white differentiation between private and public space, this past decade has witnessed increasing calls for attention to the Grey Space. This can be seen as a recurring motif in Internet research scholarship manifesting in the "just because it's public, doesn't make it public" movement (e.g. Deumert, 2014:30; Page et al., 2014:66; Zimmer, 2010). Deumert (2014:30) notes that "privacy needs to be understood as contextual and emergent, and we need to

evaluate each case on its own merits." This need for case-by-case discretion is also highlighted by Page et al. (2014:61) who additionally suggest that ethical considerations not only extend throughout the project, but past the completion phase as well.

Deumert (2014:30) proposes what is referred to as the 'golden rule' of research ethics: "how would I feel if someone treated me in the way I am proposing to treat others"? In the context of my own research and personal Internet use it is difficult to produce a definite answer. In other words, it depends. As an Internet user, I have a very conscious and strong distinction of the public vs private space and how this relates to my privacy. I vigorously utilize as many settings as possible in order to maintain this black and white distinction. Needless to say, I am also very cautious with what I post/say online, where I post/say it, and how I act/interact with online content. I am very aware that everything I do online can leave a trace, a digital footprint that leads back to me regardless of whether I posted a comment on another's post, liked another's post, or shared another's content. Thus, when considering the major ethical question of informed consent to research what I have produced/left behind in the public space, I would not mind either way with one exception. Under no circumstances would I want, or allow, a researcher to use a photograph showing my face or content linking my name and face together.

However, those who produced the discourse which comprises the data in my corpus seem to be much bolder than I in their use of what I consider public space. This is true even when considering the fact that the users are under strict censorship. Specifically, my study examines the discourse produced in two online communities: "Pro" LGBTQ and "Anti" LGBTQ. I examine the discourse generated by these communities on the Chinese-hosted platform Baidu Tieba. Baidu Tieba is a mixed social networking/discussion forum website hosted by Baidu, a multinational technology company in China known for its specialization in Internet-related services and products. Baidu Tieba can be considered equivalent to Reddit, one of the latest victims of the Great Firewall having been blocked in August of 2018 (Jung, 2018; "Websites blocked in mainland China", 2019). Although Baidu Tieba does not have an upvote or downvote system, the website has the concepts of Moderators (*bazhu* 吧主), Assistant Moderators (*xiaobazhu* 小吧主), Image Moderators (*tupianxiaopian* 图片小编), and Voice Moderators (*yuyinxiaopian* 语音小编). The voice function was added to Baidu Tieba in 2013 ("Voice Moderators", n.d.).

Access to Baidu Tieba and the content posted there, including threads and sub-threads, is available to the public. In other words, one does not need to have a Baidu account nor Baidu Tieba

account to search and browse the Tieba, or in more contemporary Internet terms "lurk" amongst the forums. As a result, the communities established around topics on the Baidu Tieba platform can be considered 'public environments', defined as "open and available for anyone with an Internet connection" (Page et al., 2014:65). However, researchers must also consider the origin of the public discourse produced in those public environments. In other words, the Internet researcher should determine the presence of the "human subject", a practice in Internet research that Page et al. (2014:59) outline as the first.

The line between text and "human subject" on the Internet is just as blurred as the one between private and public space. All discourses, i.e. texts, are produced by humans motivated by interactional functions. Consequently, all social media discourses, to some extent, are reflections of their creators. Depending on one's approach and the type of data gathered, the role played by the "human subject" may be of great significance or of little to no significance. For more ethnographic-based approaches, the role of the "human subject" is vital and direct contact is often established for interviews and retrospective questioning that detail the person's experiences.

Of the three questions proposed by Page et al. (2014:60), the following are the most pertinent for my study:

1. How should we deal with aspects of a text that might contain details of the participant's identity (including the text content and metadata)?
2. Is informed consent required?

With regards to the first question, I have made several decisions centered on anonymizing the data. First, I have decided to apply pseudonyms to the usernames/IDs associated with the texts. Second, aside from the username/ID associated with the text and its posting time, my study does not record any other metadata regarding "identifying information" that a user has placed in their online profile. Third, in cases where users have posted images with their text of individual's who they claim are their partners or themselves, my study has decided to not reveal these images and simply store them in aggregate for context. In the event that the image is pertinent for qualitative analysis, the image will be described just enough to achieve the function of complementing the analysis. Fourth, if an accompanying image of a text is a chatroom screenshot and is necessary for, or a direct object of, qualitative analysis the study will decide on a case-by-case bases whether showing the screenshot is necessary. If deemed necessary, profile images and ID/screen names

within the screenshot will be changed or blurred. Fifth, if the text contains location information, or names, pseudonyms will be applied.

With regards to the second question, it is first necessary to partake in a discussion concerning both the ethical aspects and practical aspects surrounding informed consent in my specific research context. As Page et al. (2014:62) note, it is important for researchers to be aware of both the regulations of the country they are based in and the regulations of the country in which their data is produced. As a result, it is also important for researchers to be aware of the terms and conditions that govern the platform they are examining and the interactions taking place there. Page et al., (2014) cite the basic researcher-relevant policies of the three most popular social media platforms at the time of writing: Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook. What is common between these three is that they all contain clauses related to the researcher; they acknowledge the existence of the researcher and Internet research as a possibility. However, such is not the case with the platform I have chosen to study: Baidu Tieba.

In relation to Terms of Service (ToS), the AoIR (2012b) puts forth the following question in their Ethics Graphic regarding *Special Interest Forums* and *Social Networking* venues/contexts:

> **Q:** How do Terms of Service (TOS) articulate privacy of content and/or how it is shared with 3rd parties?

In the context of Baidu Tieba, the answer is as follows:

> **A:** Unlike Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, the ToS of Baidu Tieba do not appear to place any restrictions on the usage of information by third parties. In fact, the ToS includes a clause that specifically grants third parties the right to use content and information posted on the platform. Article 44 states that "in order to better provide Baidu game services to users, Baidu may submit user information to affiliated companies. Baidu has the right to organize, collect, analyze and utilize user information by itself or through third parties." In addition, there are also no clauses or articles directly pertaining to the research of content on the platform, which is also different from Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Specifically, Baidu states in Article 19 that "User-originated content such as uploaded text, images, videos, audio, performances, etc., or the intellectual property rights of legally authorized content published by users when using Baidu Tieba are owned by the user or the original copyright owner." They further state in Article 20 that "The user understands and agrees: In order to continuously improve the services provided by Baidu for users, Baidu and its affiliates can use the content uploaded, distributed or transmitted by users in Baidu Tieba. It may also take necessary rights protection measures for related infringements to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of users and Baidu."

This leads back to the discussion on privacy for which the AoIR (2012b) puts forth the following questions in their Ethics Graphic regarding *Special Interest Forums* and *Social Networking* venues/contexts:

> **Q:** Regardless of TOS, what are community or individual norms and/or expectations for privacy?
>
> **Q:** Does the author/subject consider personal network of connections sensitive information?

As hinted by the AoIR, Page et al. (2014:65-66) also argue that the "nature of privacy is not limited to the varying affordances of different social media sites […] it is also influenced by the perceptions held by participants." In other words, Internet researchers should look to other factors in addition to privacy settings when considering ethical material access. One such factor is known as Nissenbaum's (2011) 'contextual integrity'. Contextual integrity consists of several dimensions: 1) appropriateness of situation; 2) norms created by the purpose of interaction; 3) roles of participants (Page et al., 2014:66). Also included in the perceptions held by participants is the dimension of the audience, a direction developed by Baym and boyd (2012) in their distinction between the imagined audience and the real audience. In addition, information flow can also be considered as an aspect of privacy (Page et al., 2014:67). Information flow refers to how information, i.e. the data produced by a participant in social media, is circulated. The example introduced by Page et al., (2014:67) from Boyd and Marwick's (2012) study illustrates how some users may full-well post in a public space, yet object to the information put in that public space being taken and contextualized elsewhere in a different public space.

In the context of my data and the issues noted by Page et al. (2014), the answer to both of the questions posed by AoIR above is as follows:

> **A:** Without directly asking members of the community, i.e. individuals, it can be argued that we can only speculate as to what the norms and expectations are for privacy. That being said, these norms and expectations differ from thread to thread depending on who the thread owner is and how they initially presented their topic. A general observation of the corpus indicates that users are aware that they are posting in the public domain, and some users are more cautious with the sharing of private information.
>
> In fact, according to the ToS, sharing of private information of one's self or another on the platform is against the User Agreement as the platform is public and doing so poses a risk to those involved. Regarding this there are three typical usage patterns: 1) those seeking (sexual) relations are not shy about revealing images that they claim to be

themselves. These images are often accompanied by contact information, age, physical description etc.; 2) those who seek advice or perform story telling in the communities vary in the degree that they convey private information. Some will use pseudonyms/nicknames for those in the story (both in text and in screen shots) while others reveal full screen shots showcasing the other person's ID. The revelation or anonymization of the other's information depends on the nature of the discourse and the purpose/interactional function the poster is hoping to achieve; 3) A final participation pattern is demonstrated by users who post generic content such as news, commentaries, quizzes, etc. which do not contain other's information nor their own information.

From the participation patterns discussed above, the more concise answer to this question then is "it depends"; it depends on the discourse and the purpose. However, the bottom line is that they are posting in a public space and should be aware of this considering it is outlined in the ToS and User Agreement.

The discussion above then leads to the aspect of informed consent for which the AoIR (2012b) pose the following questions in their Ethics Graphic regarding *Special Interest Forums* and *Social Networking* venues/contexts:

Q: How is informed consent or protection of privacy achieved?

Q: Does author/participant understand and agree to interaction that may be used for research purposes?

Instead of attempting to provide a concrete answer to these questions, it is important to first explore that factors that surround them. One of the central factors motivating the ethical consideration of informed consent in the 'public' sphere is the researcher's relationship to the participants (Page et al., 2014:69). It is also important to note that the relationship between researcher and participant is not always fixed (Page et al., 2014:70). Just as the researcher-participant relationship is dynamic, so is the issue of necessity for informed consent (Page et al., 2014:72).

If the presence of a researcher is known or they directly interact with participants, then informed consent is an established prerequisite. These "visible" researchers are most often concerned with employing ethnographic methodologies to the discourse produced on the Internet and thus need to have contact with participants to answer their research questions through conducting interviews, questionnaires, etc. However, such is not the case for the "invisible", i.e. lurking, researcher.

As a concept, the practice of 'lurking' is often viewed in a negative light when it co-occurs in the research context because it implies deception, which is unacceptable in offline contexts; however, as a result of their nature, what makes interactions in online contexts normative and the practices that are acceptable amongst users is very different from those in offline contexts. As Whiteman (2012:109) points out, "lurking is a normal state of being" and thus does not necessarily equate to deception or perception of malicious conduct. Yet as Page et al. (2014:59) note, one potential source of distress for those who produce the discourse being scrutinized is the analysis of publicly available discourse without an individual's consent or knowledge.

Whether the invisible researcher progresses towards a visible researcher, and thus requires informed consent, may depend on factors such as the constraints and conventions regarding privacy in context, the practicality of trying to gain informed consent in context, potential disruptions caused by the researcher revealing themselves, regulatory constraints, whether the space is perceived as public/private by participants, methods of the study, the presence of 'sensitive' subject matter, the presence of vulnerable groups, and the type of analysis (Page et al., 2014:69,72-73).

In their Ethics Graphic regarding *Social Networking* venues/contexts the AoIR (2012b) poses the following pertinent question that relates back to the concept of informed consent and the public/private space:

> **Q**: Does research purpose and design balance possible conflicts between participant and researcher perceptions of public/private and sensitive/non-sensitive?

In addition, the following question in the *Special Interest Forums* section is also of importance:

> **Q:** How are vulnerable persons identified and protected?

It is here that I would like to introduce the current stance I have taken towards informed consent and build the argument for that approach:

Currently, the study does not intend to seek informed consent. Based on the discussion above, the study views Baidu Tieba as public domain and as such purports the view that informed consent or ethics review is not required. Such a view has been upheld by scholars like Seale (2006), Seale et al., (2006), and Harvey et al., (2007), and conversely by the publishers who published the works of said scholars (Seale, 2013:47). It has also been noted that electronic documents, i.e. text, on the web in the public domain are the objects of study and can be accessed without the researcher ever

contacting the authors; thus, the argument follows that the need for ethics review is avoided (Wilkinson and Thelwall, 2013:149).

Although the study does not seek informed consent, I have given great consideration to the aspects of anonymity, public/private, sensitive content, and vulnerable groups in context. Based on these contextual factors the study has also conceptualized measures to take on a case by case basis to ensure ethical research practices. These measures were previously illustrated above. In support of this stance, scholars have previously considered that the act of seeking informed consent itself could be a primary compromising factor and expose the identity of a user (Forte, 2013:122). It is also with this reason that I agree with Forte's (2013:122) observations that "if there appears to be a growing consensus, on this subject, it seems to be that informed consent is context dependent". However, like Wilkinson and Thelwall (2013:149), the study views the overarching issue at hand here to be one of privacy, not consent.

Based on observations of the corpus and the behaviour of online users in the context of heavy Internet censorship, I feel that as an individual and fellow user of the Internet many of the users are very reckless in the content that they post and have a lose conceptualization of the notion "sensitive information". If anything, my interpretation/sensitivity to "sensitive" content is much higher than that of those who actually produce the content. Several instances of content that I, personally, find outrageous and cannot believe got past the Great Fire Wall, the moderators, and the auto-censorship bots occur and still remain posted on the Internet. One example of said content is where one user tells, and shows pictures, of how their friend attempted suicide because they were sexually assaulted by a homosexual male and infected with AIDS as a result.

In addition, there are particularly vulnerable persons in my data because of their age: minors. Minors are self identified; however, caution must be exerted in that anyone can claim to be any age on the Internet. Despite Baidu requiring users to register with their real identification documents such as a passport, the information in the profile or posted to discussion forms (i.e. revealed in the public domain) is at the discretion of the user and not managed by Baidu. I have several texts produced by (self-proclaimed) minors in my corpus. I did not, and most likely will not, examine individual user accounts to verify self-proclaimed information but will consider it at face value. Another factor that comes into play is that at the time of posting (2 years ago), a user who claimed to be 17 and thus a minor, would no longer be a minor at the time of research/analysis (they would be 19). More caution and consideration must be taken pertaining to the content

produced by self-proclaimed minors; one initial observation I have is that these "minors" are very open in the public space with little hesitation about revealing their own private information or that of others. They seem to be very reckless in the public space and form my perspective some of their content seems to be in violation of the ToS of the platform.

This then leads to the final strain of ethical considerations concerning the dissemination and publication of social media data and potential implications under the guidance of the AoIR. In their Ethics Graphic regarding *Special Interest Forums* and *Social Networking* venues/contexts the AoIR (2012b) pose the following questions:

> **Q:** Is the data easily searchable? Does dissemination of findings protect confidentiality?
>
> **Q:** If the content of a subject's communication was ever linked to the person or become known beyond the confines of the venue being studied, would harm likely result?

The answer to the first set of questions is relatively straight forward:

> **A:** Some data is more easily searchable and retrievable than others. Deleted content cannot be searched or retrieved. Live content may still be located depending on search techniques (i.e. Boolean language, Python, etc.) and Internet cache settings of browsers and search engines. To make the live data more difficult to locate, one of the precautions taken and mentioned above is to limit the amount of original text shown in publications/dissemination of findings which also ensures anonymity.

Yet the second question, albeit very important, presents a degree of difficulty if one is searching for a definite answer:

> **A:** If the content is generic, then no. It has gone through the Great Fire Wall, the moderators, and the community evaluation to be posted, and remain posted, on the platform. However, this question does become trickier because the moderators may not all interpret the ToS in the same way and content can be modified and coded by users to avoid automatic censorship by bots. As a result, it could be possible that I have data in my corpus which actually violates the ToS of the platform in some way. In their "Post-Comment Autonomy Management Commitment" of the ToS, Baidu makes the claim that in order to comply with State Internet Information Office regulations, Baidu Tieba will make pre-alerts, refuse to post content, delete posts, issue short-term bans, and permanently close accounts of those who post content that violates the ToS. I have strong reason to believe that my corpus contains content capable of being deemed as violations of ToS at anytime. Several weeks after collecting a specific data item I attempted to view it on the platform in context; however, I found that the specific portion of text from the data I was looking for was no longer on the platform (i.e. had been removed). In this context I have no way of knowing

who or why that content was specifically and suddenly removed from the platform after having been posted for about a month. Thus, taking into consideration that in their "Post-Comment Autonomy Management Commitment" of the ToS Baidu states content regarding suspected criminal offences will be kept and forwarded to authorities/ investigative bodies from relevant government departments, it may be possible that a user could be implicated if I draw attention to content against ToS and that content is linked back to the user.

In other words, pure analysis can do no harm. However, publication/redistribution/dissemination may have an effect depending on the content and the extent to which it is modified and portrayed outside the venue. The major issue is drawing attention to content that I think may be in violation of the ToS yet is still published on the platform and available on the Internet. In these cases I plan to minimize the risks by taking the following steps on a case-by-case basis: First, unless it is pertinent to the qualitative analysis, texts which contain content that potentially violates ToS will be kept in aggregate with only quantitative results and minimal description being shared. Second, in the event that such content is necessary for the qualitative analysis only the translation will be presented in as many cases as possible. Although one could argue that only presenting the translated text takes away from the linguistic analysis, the effect is minimal considering that Chinese and English share a majority of syntactic patterns and word order and the analysis itself has been carried out on the Chinese text. In other words, I will do the analysis on the Chinese text but present only the translation. Risks are greatly minimized by only showing the translation because even if one were to take the time and attempt a back translation the odds of it being identical, or close, to the original text are very low. This approach has also been used by scholars such as Jing-Schmidt & Peng (2018).

2.2   Corpus

The following subsections aim to account for the steps taken to create and manage the study's main corpus as well as define the data categorization conventions.

2.2.1   Data Origin

The data for this study was collected from the social media platform Baidu Tieba, the equivalent of Reddit in China, in May 2019. Specifically, this study will examine publicly available discourse, i.e. collections of texts, produced by the Pro-LGBTQ discourse community and the Anti-LGBTQ discourse community that contains *'ta'*.

In order to investigate the discourse of the Pro-LGBTQ community and whether they use *'ta',* the study selected the two most popular and inclusive Pro-LGBTQ Tieba: 1) Tongzhi Ba 同志吧 *Tongzhiba* and 2) Homosexual Ba 同性恋吧 *Tongxinglainba.* The first is a Pro-LGBTQ

community which uses the now semantically appropriated communist term for comrade *Tongzhi* with 6,891,180 threads, and the second is a general Pro-LGBTQ community with 14,551,621 threads.

In order to investigate the discourse of the Anti-LGBTQ community and whether they use *'ta'*, the study will focus on one main area: Anti-LGBTQ Baidu Tieba. The study originally selected two Anti-LGBTQ Tieba: 1) Anti-LGBTQ Ba 反同恋吧 *Fantonglianba* and 2) Anti-Chinese LGBTQ Ba 中国反同吧 *Zhongguo Fantongba*. The first is a general Anti-LGBTQ community with 1,264,559 threads and the second is an Anti-LGBTQ community specifically focused on China with 37,134 threads. However, the Anti-Chinese LGBTQ Tieba only yielded one discourse containing *'ta'* which resulted in it being removed as a community and considered a special case. Specifically, the Special Case is a single thread post made in an Anti-Chinese LGBTQ community (for a more detailed explanation please refer to 2.3.2.1).

In the study, Anti-LGBTQ Ba 反同恋吧 *Fantonglianba* is referred to as Community 1 (coded as C1), Tongzhi Ba 同志吧 *Tongzhiba* is referred to as Community 2 (coded as C2), Homosexual Ba 同性恋吧 *Tongxinglainba* is referred to as Community 3 (coded as C3), and the special case from the Anti-Chinese LGBTQ Tieba is referred to as Special Case (coded as Special Case). Although C2 and C3 both belong to the Pro-LGBTQ discourse community at large, they are not the same thing nor are they the same analytical entity, as evidenced by the significant difference in their individual community names: 同志吧 *Tongzhiba* 'Comrade/Tongzhi Ba' (which emphasizes the semantic appropriation of the term, see 1.1 and 1.2.2 above) vs 同性恋吧 *Tongxinglainba* 'Homosexual Ba' (which emphasizes the homosexual community, see 1.2.2 above). As thus, C2 and C3 remain as autonomous communities of analysis throughout this dissertation.

2.2.2 Data Collection Procedure

The study used the method of sampling by phenomenon (Sluchinski, 2017) by searching for "ta" enclosed in quotation marks in the "Search *Ba* content" field in each community included in the study to gain an initial corpus of texts that used *'ta'*. As the search system in Baidu does not distinguish between case, searching "ta" produced results of texts which included all three *'ta'* variants (i.e. ta, Ta, TA) in both singular and plural form. Sampling by phenomenon is a targeted data mining approach which is often employed in studies with a specific focus, as was the case in

this study where the initial intent was to focus solely on *'ta'*. However, as will be revealed in the sections to follow, qualitative observations of the *ta*-texts revealed a very rich dataset which called for the expansion of the research scope. Specifically, rather than just focusing on *'ta'*, it became apparent that the other referential forms co-occurring in the *ta*-texts required attention as well. Thus this study came to focus more broadly on the usage of all referential forms, not just non-standard third person pronoun *'ta'*, in LGBTQ discourses. In addition, it is also important to note that due to "system maintenance" only content produced from January 2017 onwards was accessible on the platform at the time the data was collected. This was a major factor in narrowing the time period of the corpus.

Once the search results were generated within each Tieba community, each results page was saved as a PDF to preserve, to the greatest extent possible, textual layout and hyperlinks. Once the results pages were collected and stored according to their corresponding community, I then manually collected each text that appeared in the search results by clicking the embedded hyperlink which took me to the thread in which the text was produced. As with the search results page, I then downloaded PDFs of each page in each thread so that the context would be preserved and accessible in the event it would be needed for the qualitative analysis. In addition, I copy and pasted the directly relevant *ta*-text, including the poster's username, thread name, and time stamp into a word file corresponding to each community. If the post was no longer connected to the hyperlink (i.e. deleted) at the time of collection, or was *'ta'* was part of a username, then the result was omitted from the corpus. As a result, the preliminary corpus consisted of 180 *ta*-texts (texts where *'ta'* occurs) with a total of 50,903 characters and 603 *ta* tokens. 148 of these texts come from the Pro-LGBTQ communities while 40 were from the Anti-LGBTQ community. The special case from the Anti-Chinese LGBTQ community consisted of 3 *ta* tokens and a total of 7149 characters.

Table 2.1 Preliminary Corpus Composition

Community	Community Code	Texts (n)	Characters (n)
Anti-LGBTQ Ba **(反同恋吧)** Is a generally anti-oriented community	C1	40	4,801
Tongzhi Ba **(同志吧)**	C2	46	11,639

Is a pro-oriented community			
Homosexual Ba **(同性恋吧)** Is a general pro-oriented community	C3	102	37,143
Chinese Anti-LGBTQ Ba **(中国反同吧)** Is intended to be a specific Chinese anti-oriented community	Special Case	1	7,149

Once the initial corpus was created, the study then carried out a preliminary qualitative and quantitative observation of all 180 *ta*-texts to determine their data category. The data categories were determined qualitatively by examining the nature of the *ta*-texts. The nature of the *ta*-text refers to its prescriptive discourse label in the context of an SNS form such as Baidu Tieba: main thread posts, comments within thread posts, or replies to other comments within thread posts.

The preliminary observation with regards to the nature of the *ta*-texts was done by reading each *ta*-text and grouping them based on similar characteristics (i.e. the presence or absence of *'ta'* in a the main post portion of a text or comment portion of a text, see 2.2.3) in order to give rise to data categories. These distinctions in data category were vital to make at the early stages of the study to determine the focus of qualitative analysis for each text, i.e. whether the text would be considered in isolation or in a larger context. As a result, in cases where qualitative analysis of the *ta*-text in context proved necessary the corpus expanded to include the entire thread.

2.2.3 Data Categories

This section proceeds to define and describe each of the schematic components (i.e. main post, comment, +*ta* , -*ta*, +comment, -comment) which were a result of reading and comparing all 180 *ta*-texts. A main post is defined as the first thing, or succession of things, posted in a thread by the "Thread Owner" (楼主 *louzhu*; hereby referred to as T.O.) without interruptions from posts made by other users. This arrangement forms a single discursive entity (Dayter, 2015:21).The motivation behind this decision follows from observational conclusions drawn across the corpus regarding posting medium. Posts are often split by T.O.s who are using mobile mediums such as iPhone, mobile browsers, and the Tieba APP due to spatial limitations imposed by their devices. To illustrate, let us turn to the following example from a thread in the Anti LGBTQ Ba (*Fantonglian Ba*):
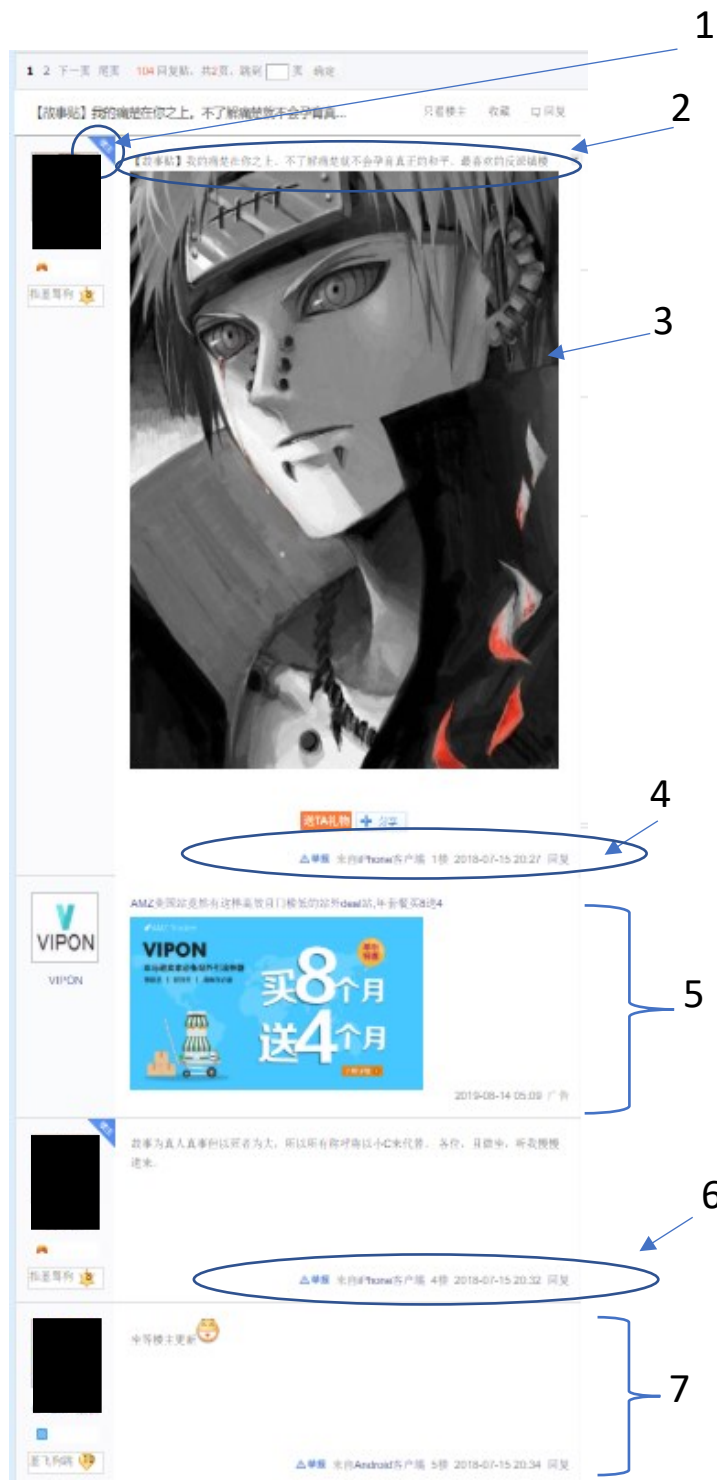
The circle labeled as 1 in the screen capture encases the blue semiotic symbol placed over the upper right corner of the T.O.'s profile picture. This semiotic symbol functions as a visual identifier that follows the Thread Owner through their digital trail in the thread. The area labeled as 2 in the screen capture encases the first instance of text written by the T.O. while 3 indicates the image they attached.

In order, the area labeled with the number 4 contains the option to report post, how the post was made, the number of the post (i.e. the level on which the post sits), the time stamp of the post, and the "reply" comment function:

⚠举报来自 iPhone 客户端 1 楼 2018-07-15 20:27 回复 Report Posted from iPhone Client Post/Level 1 2018-07-15 20:27 Reply

The area labeled as 5 is an automatically generated advertisement.

The area labeled as 6 contains the post information of the T.O.'s "reply" comment to their Post/Level 1(1 楼):

⚠举报来自 iPhone 客户端 4 楼 2018-07-15 20:27 回复 Report Posted from iPhone Client Post/Level 4 2018-07-15 20:32 Reply

From this metadata one can see that the T.O. made this post five minutes after Post/Level 1 from their iPhone and that it was assigned the order of Post/Level 4 (4 楼), potentially indicating that the user had trouble uploading the entirety of their post at one time. The area labeled as 7

shows the first interruption of T.O.'s postings, thus forcing the conclusion of what can be considered T.O.'s main post: Level 1 and Level 4.

As can be seen from the outline above, the main post does not contain *'ta'*, which would schematically be represented as [Main post - *ta*]. However, this thread was included in the corpus for this study as the data collection process detected the use of *'ta'* in the "reply" comments made within the thread started with the O.T.'s main post. This is illustrated in the screen capture below:
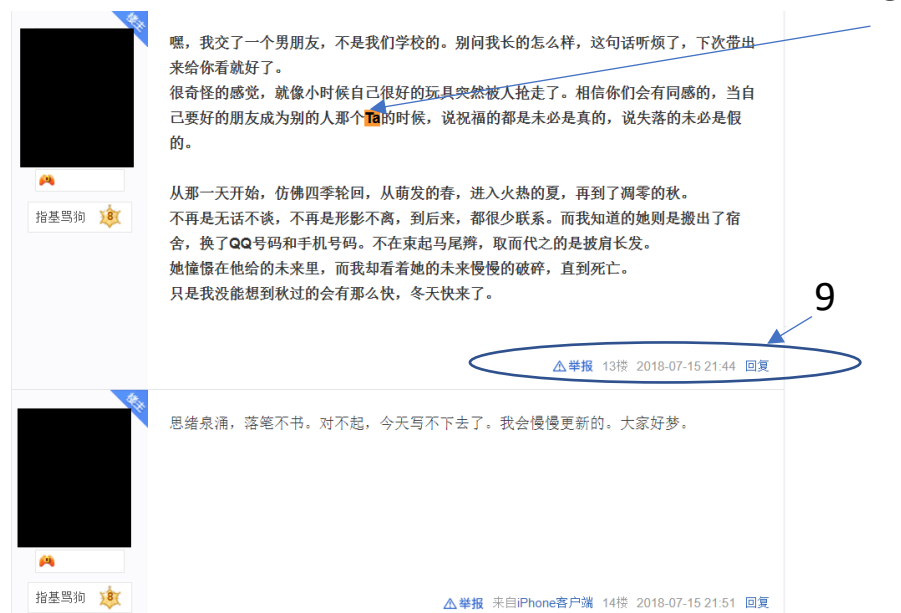
The screen capture shows the first occurrence of *'ta'* (labeled as 8) in the context of the thread. It was first used by T.O. in a post time stamped 2018-07-15 21:44, which is 1 hour and 17 minutes after Post 1, made from a computer and labeled as Post 13 of the overall thread. This usage of *'ta'* in a comment in [Main post - *ta*] conditions can then be schematically represented by [+ comment] and serve to categorize the entire thread as [Main post – *ta* + comment] . The remaining two schematizations, [Main post + *ta* - comment] and [Main post + *ta* + comment] follow the same principles based on either the presence of *'ta',* marked with a plus sign, or the absence of *'ta',* marked by a minus sign, in certain conditions. The distribution of *ta*-texts by community throughout the corpus are represented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Distribution of ta-texts in the Corpus by Community

Community Origin	Main post - *ta* + comment (n)	Main post + *ta* – comment (n)	Main post + *ta* + comment (n)
C1	21	10	1
C2	7	10	2
C3	19	52	1
Total (n)	47	72	4

As a result of the detailed preliminary qualitative and quantitative observation of all 180 *ta*-texts, the corpus was adjusted to reflect more accurate text classifications that distinguished between an isolated post (coded as IP in Table 2.3 below) and a thread (coded as T in Table 2.3 below) and the removal of results which contained *'ta'* in the usernames. The current corpus thus consists of 124 *ta*-texts (texts where *'ta'* occurs) with a total of 148,041 characters and 622 *ta* tokens. 92 of these texts come from the Pro-LGBTQ communities while 32 are from the Anti-LGBTQ community. The special case from the Anti-Chinese LGBTQ community consisted of 3 *ta* tokens and a total of 7149 characters. This is reflected in Table 2.3 below:

Table 2.3 Current Corpus Constitution

Community	Community Code	Texts (n)	Characters (n)	ta tokens (n) SG = Singular PL = Plural	Text Distribution
Anti-LGBTQ Ba (反同恋吧) anti-oriented community	C1	32	19,213	56 (SG) 9 (PL)	MP-TA+C = 16 IP 5 T MP+TA-C = 9 IP 1 T MP+TA+C = 1 T
Tongzhi Ba (同志吧) pro-oriented community	C2	19	84,618	144 (SG) 24 (PL)	MP-TA+C = 2 IP 5 T MP+TA-C = 10 IP MP+TA+C = 2 IP
Homosexual Ba (同性恋吧) pro-oriented community	C3	72	44,210	375 (SG) 14 (PL)	MP-TA+C = 19 IP MP+TA-C = 52 IP MP+TA+C = 1 T
Chinese Anti-LGBTQ Ba (中国反同吧)	Special Case (Special Case)	1	7,149	3 – not included in main corpus	MP+TA-C = 1 IP

specific Chinese anti-oriented community					

Table 2.3 above reflects the quantitative distribution of types of *ta*-texts within the corpus and reveals that the occurrence of threads is quantitatively rare, consisting of only 13 cases with more than half, i.e. 7 of them, from the Anti-LGBTQ community. These threads are extremely interesting to explore qualitatively, however, to do so would require a significant amount of time which is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

In addition, during the process of establishing the textual data categories the study also made preliminary qualitative observations. These observations indicated *'ta'* and other third person pronouns are systematically used in conjunction with specific nouns as membership categorization devices (MCD) to construct self and other identities. MCDs function to "evoke categories of people" and "link members of the category to specific activities and scenes" (Gordon, 2015:334). In the Anti-LGBTQ cases users systematically exploit noun-pronoun-verb pairings to clearly position the third person (i.e. the Other) as either a transgressive, immoral entity beyond salvation, or as a victim in need of help before it is too late. This systematic pronoun-noun pairing can also be understood in terms of Ochs' (1992b) concept of indexicality. Ochs (1992b:413-414) suggests that one of the concepts indexed by a language user's language choice is that of identity.

Thus, the scope of the study expanded from exclusively focusing on *'ta'* to also examining the usage of co-occurring third-person pronouns, with a distinction between singular (SG) and plural (PL), when relevant from an interdiscursive and macro-social point of view. As noted in the Introduction, in order to indicate plurality, the plural marker 们 *men* is used in conjunction with the pronoun (e.g. ta 们). The total token counts and distributions of all third-person pronouns throughout the corpus are reflected in Table 2.4 and Table 2.5 and provided for reference. Ideally, examining the usage of all third-person pronouns would provide for empirical comparison between *'ta'* and the stand forms; however, such is beyond the scope of a dissertation.

Table 2.4 Distribution of Third Person Pronouns in the Corpus by Community

Community Origin	*ta* SG tokens (n)	*ta* PL tokens (n)	*She* 她 SG tokens (n)	*She* 她 PL tokens (n)	*He* 他 SG tokens (n)	*He* 他 PL tokens (n)	*It* 它 SG tokens (n)	*It* 它 PL tokens (n)
C1	52	8	55	6	40	33	29	76
C2	144	24	234	27	491	138	3	1
C3	379	15	253	21	49	58	3	0
Total (n)	575	47	542	54	580	229	35	77

Table 2.5 Distribution of Third Person Pronouns in the Special Case

Community Origin	*ta* SG tokens (n)	*ta* PL tokens (n)	*She* 她 SG tokens (n)	*She* 她 PL tokens (n)	*He* 他 SG tokens (n)	*He* 他 PL tokens (n)	*It* 它 SG tokens (n)	*It* 它 PL tokens (n)
Special Case	3	-	-	4	41	5	15	35
Total (n)	3	-	-	4	41	5	15	35

The role of MCDs in the study and the approach taken towards their analysis will be detailed in 2.3.2.2 under in conjunction with an illustrative example conducted based on an analysis of the Special Case. Section 2.2.4. proceeds to introduce the discourse types that constitute the corpus.

2.2.4 Discourse Types and Texts

Through preliminary qualitative observation of the 124 *ta*-texts, a total of nine categories of discourse were consolidated. The preliminary observation was done by reading each *ta*-text and grouping them based on common discourse characteristics in order to give rise to categories. These categories are as follows:

1) Chain Post Discourse: Chain Post Discourse refers to a text that exists in multiple variations. That is, within the corpus, several texts posted by different users share the same theme (breaking up), content, syntax, and textual structure/features with varying degrees of internal variation. Swales believes that "texts are embedded in genres, which are embedded

in institutions and communities" (2014:305). Based on Swales' (1990) theory of genre, the re-occurrent posts centered around the theme of break-ups in the Pro LGBTQ community can be considered a genre within its own right. The posts are all positioned in the same discourse community and used to achieve the same communicative function of giving rhetorical advice to someone who may have broken up with their partner (this discourse is discussed in the dedicated Chapter 9).

2) Essay Discourse: Essay Discourse is a term used by the study to refer to the established discourse genre of essays, which are long argumentative or positional pieces.

3) Guidebook/Advice Discourse: Guidebook/Advice Discourse is a term used by the study to refer to discourse which gives directions/instructions(i.e. advice) on how to act or deal with a situation, of which known genre manifestations are the cook book, travel-guide, and self-help (Richardson, 2006: 35).

4) Single Statement Discourse: Single Statement Discourse is a term used by the study to refer to brief, to the point comments or remarks devoid of emotional stance and presented as absolute facts. In the literature, a statement is "an illocutionary act that has the assertive illocutionary point of saying that some state of affairs is true", or "a sentence having a form that is typically used to express such illocutionary acts (such as an English declarative sentence which has a subject followed by a verb)" (*SIL Glossary of Linguistic Terms*).

5) Information Seeking Discourse: Information Seeking Discourse is a term used by the study to refer to discourse that seeks for information to satisfy a need. These needs vary depending on the context, however in their study on youth Shenton and Dixon (2003) have noted about 10 information needs including advice, information re: spontaneous life-situations, personal information, affective support, empathetic understanding, and verification/validation. Such discourse is referred to as "everyday life information seeking" (ELIS) in the literature (e.g. Savolainen, 1995).

6) Narrative Discourse: Narrative Discourse is a term used by the study to refer to the established discourse genre of narrative which includes fiction, non-fiction, stories, small-stories, etc. (e.g. Dayter, 2015; Bamberg, 1997; Ochs and Capps, 2001). As in Sluchinski (2019:5), the study maintains the definition of narrative as "a written text that serves the communicative purpose of recounting either fictional or non-fictional events, also referred to as stories, involving characters."

7) News Discourse: News Discourse is a term used by the study to refer to the established discourse genre of news (e.g. Fruttaldo, 2017).

8) Opinion Discourse: Opinion Discourse is a term used by the study to refer to discourse with primary usage of lexical items and discourse markers of epistemic modality to convey opinion. Mullan (2011:1) categorizes opinion discourse in a similar way by examining "I think in Australian English and the corresponding expressions je pense ('I think'), je crois, ('I believe, I think'), and je trouve, ('I find, I think') in French (all as first person singular constructions only)". In addition, Mullan (2011:2) also notes the phrases "it seems that", "in my opinion", "dunno", and "indeed" as markers of epistemic modality. The presence of these discourse markers are what differentiate the Statement discourse and Opinion discourse in this study.

9) Partner Advertisement discourse: Partner Advertisement discourse is also known as Personal Advertisement discourse in the literature. "Personal advertisements have been a method used for numerous decades by both men and women to search for a desirable mate, partner, or sexual hookup" (Cheesman et al., 2012:145).

The categories and their token distribution by community are outlined in Table 2.6 and visualized in Figure 2.1 below. The most prominent discourse type overall is that of narrative (40 out of 124 texts), and there is a discourse distinction in Anti and Pro communities, highlighting that only Pro communities (C2 and C3) contain "Partner Adverts", that is discourse seeking for sexual relations and/or dates with another (Table 2.6). Another interesting point revealed in Table

2.6 ad Figure 2.1 is that of "Chain Discourse", which seems to be a feature of the C3 community and will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Table 2.6 Token Distribution of Discourse Types by Community

Community Origin	Narrative	Opinion	Guidebook /Advice	News	Statement	Essay	Partner Ad	Information Seeking	Chain Discourse
C1	6	11	4	4	4	2	-	1	-
C2	12	2	2	-	-	1	2	-	-
C3	18	4	7	1	9	-	6	6	21
Total (n)	36	17	13	5	13	3	8	7	21

Discourse Types Throughout Corpus

	C1	C2	C3
Narrative (n/36)	6	12	18
Opinion (n/17)	11	2	4
Guidebook/Advice (n/13)	4	2	7
News (n/5)	4	0	1
Statement (n/13)	4	0	9
Essay (n/3)	2	1	0
Partner Ad (n/8)	0	2	6
Information Seeking (n/7)	1	0	6
Chain Discourse (n/21)	0	0	21
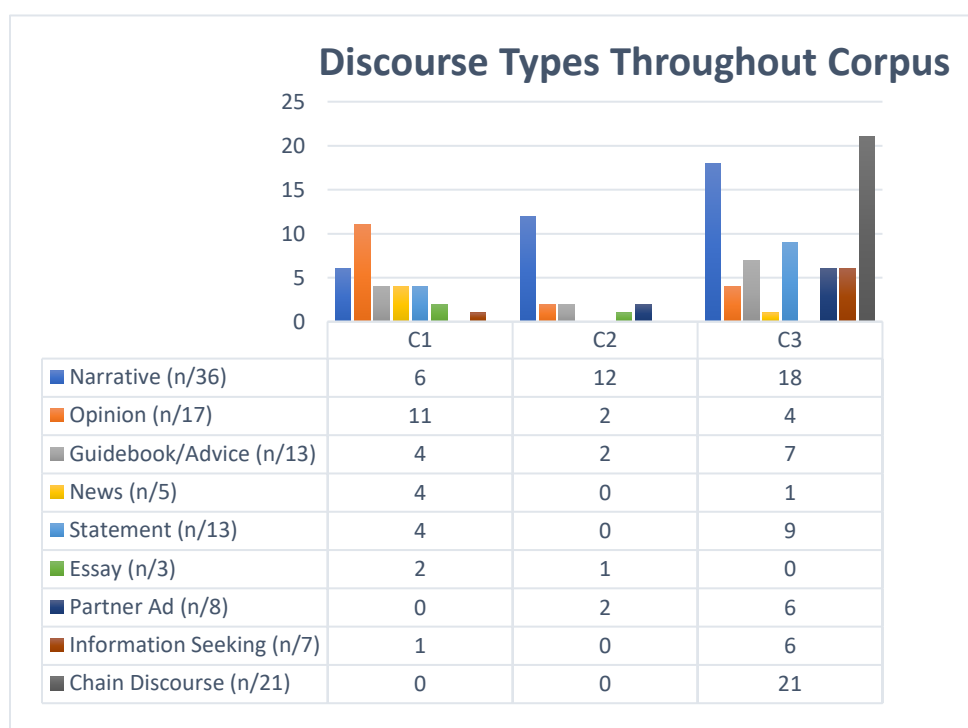
Figure 2.1 Token Distribution of Discourse Types by Community

All of the discourse type categories are defined and illustrated with an example or description following a quantitative outline of their distribution in the corpus and respective communities in the respective sub-sections to follow below.

2.2.4.1 Chain Post Discourse

Within the discourse types found in the corpus there is one classified as Chain Post Discourse, a term coined in this study. Specifically, the Chain Post Discourses are seen in C3 with a total of 21 cases. Due to the role it plays in the construction of the corpus and how *'ta'* is used, this discourse type will be briefly mentioned throughout the dissertation when relevant. Otherwise, it is presented in detail in Chapter 9 after the prior analytical chapters establish the necessary context.

2.2.4.2 Essay Discourse

Three cases of Essay Discourse were found in the corpus, two from C1 and one from C2. Essay Discourse refers to either a text that is of substantial length and is structured in an informative manner with a focus on a specific topic, or a reposting of said text type via URL. Table 2.7 details the Essay Discourse in the corpus.

Table 2.7 Essay Discourse Distribution

Data Item	Community	Thread Title	Date
Essay Discourse 1	C1	"这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流"[This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts]	2018-04-27
Essay Discourse 2	C1	"同妻相关的若干问题" [The hardships of Wives of Homosexuals]	2018-09-10
Essay Discourse 3	C2	"【交友】从王凯所谓 Gay 圈名媛的事件看互联网时代抹黑一个人的成" [[make friend] Looking at the Internet era to discredit one's success from Wang Kai's so-called Gay circle incident.]	2017-05-04

The text type of Essay Discourse 1 is a Thread as well as an example of reposting essay discourse via URL, as can be seen below:

9 回复贴，共1页

这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流 https://media.weibo.cn/article?id=2309404232252719501547

狗基跳墙 12

送TA礼物

⚠举报 来自Android客户端 1楼 2018-04-27 13:04 回复

This screenshot above illustrates the main post starting the thread "这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流" [This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts], which links to an essay which discusses sexual education and how parents control/react to their LGBTQ children. They then copy and paste the content of the essay in portions to the thread. One of such copy and pastings contain *'ta'* as shown below:
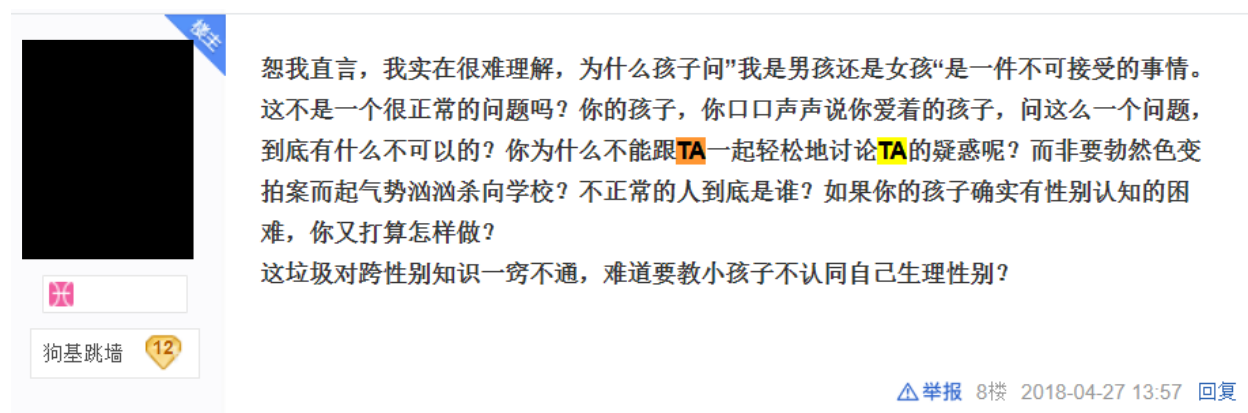
This explains why the character count is only 196 when compared to the other essay discourse character counts. That is, the post containing *'ta'* in the thread, which is part of the originally essay linked externally, is only 196 while the entire original essay is 3806 characters. This is a clear instance of intertextuality, a key component to be considered in the study and explained in 2.3.2.2.

Essay Discourse 2 is also a Thread, "同妻相关的若干问题" [The hardships of Wives of Homosexuals]. Essay Discourse 2 is an interesting example in that it mirrors the Special Case text, which will be analyzed and discussed as the illustrative example in 2.3.2. In Essay Discourse 2 the Thread Owner created a very long "main post" on the topic of wives of homosexuals (同妻 *Tongqi*). Like the Special Case, the author uses the "it" pronoun in the plural to refer to LGBTQ people as a collective. They use this over 90 times. In the text they discuss the difficulties faced by wives of homosexuals and the cases of HIV among homosexuals. They even expose an HIV Tieba where the people there have erroneous discussions of how HIV is not contagious, and one can still have a child by impregnating a woman regardless of if they have HIV. This data item is further interesting in that the text portion containing the *ta* token usage has been deleted, or more likely removed for violating TOS, from the main thread but I was still able to retrieve it from the search results which lead to this thread being included in the corpus.

Essay Discourse 3, unlike Essay Discourse 1 and Essay Discourse 2, is from a pro community and is an individual, i.e. main, post titled 【交友】从王凯所谓 Gay 圈名媛的事件看互联网时代抹黑一个人的成" [[make friend] Looking at the Internet era to discredit one's success from Wang Kai's so-called Gay circle incident.] The whole post is an essay on the topic which the title describes.

2.2.4.3 Guidebook/Advice Discourse

Thirteen cases of Guidebook/Advice Discourse were found in the corpus, four from C1, two from C2, and seven from C3. Guidebook/Advice Discourse refers to either a text that is of substantial length and is structured as an information manual with steps, or a short reply/comment in response to another user's seeking of advice. The texts usually contain suggestive markers such as the sentence final particle 吧 *ba*. Sentence final particle 吧 *ba* is used to denote commands, suppositions, and suggestions (Ross & Ma, 2006:328,351,373; Cai&Lü, 2012:56) and is also used to solicit agreement (Sun, 2006:183; Li & Thompson, 1992:257). This agreement can be sought for a stance/statement, i.e. given advice. Example 2 below (Table 2.8) illustrates a selection from a longer style of Guidebook/Advice Discourse while Example 3 (Table 2.9) illustrates a shorter style of Guidebook/Advice Discourse.

Table 2.8 Ex 2 Longer Style Guidebook/Advice Discourse

Data Item	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 6
Community	C2
Thread Title	我是异性恋，我是你的"同志" [I am a heterosexual, I am your "Tongzhi/comrade"]
Date	2018-04-15
Content for Analysis (Original)	💕以下是一份基于不同身份的"同性恋盟友"操作守则。包括一些我们平时经常会被问起的问题。如何对待身边的同性恋？看看这篇文章就知道啦。 💡 我的朋友是同志怎么办？ 如果你是异性恋者，突然有一天，你的同事、同学或朋友向你出柜，你该怎么办？ 一般而言，如果有同性恋者向你出柜，说明 ta 十分信任你，你对于 ta 非常重要，或者 ta 认为你是个靠得住的朋友。第一次遇到这样的情况，你可能会不知

	说什么是好。不要担心，因为你需要做的只是做你自己，并且坦然面对自己的感受。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	💕 The following is a code of practice for "Gay Allies" based on different identities. It includes some of the questions we usually ask. How to treat homosexuals who are around you? Read this article and you will know. 💡 My friend is a Tongzhi , what should I do? If you are a heterosexual, and suddenly one day, your colleague, classmate, or friend comes out of the closet to you, what should you do? Generally speaking, if a homosexual comes out of the closet to you that means *ta* trusts you a 110%, you are very important to *ta*, or *ta* believes that you are a very reliable friend. When you first encounter this kind of situation you probably will not know what would be good to say. You do not need worry because what you need to do is be yourself and calmly face your own feelings.

Table 2.9 Ex 3 Shorter Style Guidebook/Advice Discourse

Data Item	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 11
Community	C3
Thread Title	今天听一节课，发现一个歧视同性恋的人，该怎么办，好想给她普及普及知识 [Today in class I discovered a person who discriminates against homosexuality, what should I do, I want to open her eyes.]
Date	2018-10-28
Content for Analysis (Original)	楼主别这样，普及什么知识啊，想办法掰弯 Ta 就好了么
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Don't be like this, Thread Owner. What kind of knowledge is universal, won't finding a way to bend Ta (turn Ta "gay") suffice?

2.2.4.4 Single Statement Discourse

Thirteen cases of Single Statement Discourse were found in the corpus, four from C1 and nine from C3. Single Statement Discourse refers to either a text, which takes the form of a comment within a thread, that offers a response, i.e. gives information, in a factual manner. In the corpus, Statement Discourse can be seen taking the form of factual answers to questions (Ex 4, Table 2.10), arguments presented in a factual manner (Ex 5, Table 2.11), and explanations presented in a factual manner (Ex 6, Table 2.12).

Table 2.10 Ex 4 Single Statement Answer to Question in C1

Data Item	Single Statement Discourse 2
Community	C1
Thread Title	当一次学生把我普及下知识 [When a student takes me to the next level of knowledge]
Date	2017-4-29
Content for Analysis (Original)	

Content for Analysis (Translation)	As can be seen in the screen shot above, the text containing *ta* is a reply within a comment string. The reply is in response to the following interaction:
	
	Main Comment (User HTSS): I like Lolitas who wear white silk the most
	    Reply 1 (User GYH): I also like that, so I make my gilrfriend wear white silk
	    Reply 2 (User GYH): Young girls in white silk is actually better looking, more three-dimensional
	    Reply 3 (User HTSS): Reply to GYH(?) = The big, long legs of girls in white silk are really tempting!
	    Reply 4 (User HTSS): Reply to 9QAD9(?) = you, how can you be so gay? *
	    Reply 5 (User MZZW):Reply to HTSS (in reply 4) = Because *ta* is a gay/rotten, enter *ta*'s homepage and you everything becomes clear.
	
	* This is a joke between male friends or a jest between males; this wording is used between males while the female version is 橘里橘气; The phrase originated in 2018 from the manga / anime 《citrus～柑橘味香气～》

Table 2.11 Ex 5 Single Statement Discourse Answer to Question in C3

Data Item	Single Statement Discourse 8
Community	C3
Thread Title	双性恋。。。是病吗? [Bisexual…. Is it a disease?]
Date	2018-04-08

Content for Analysis (Original)	没毛病 不是因为喜欢一个人而同性恋 也不是因为同性恋而喜欢一个人 只是单纯喜欢上了一个人而 ta 恰好是同性
Content for Analysis (Translation)	It is not a disease. It is not because [you] like a person [you] are homosexual. Nor is it [you] like a person because [you] are homosexual. It is simply that [you] came to like a person and *ta* just happens to be the same sex.

Table 2.12 Ex 6 Single Statement Discourse Explanation in C3

Data Item	Single Statement Discourse 12
Community	C3
Thread Title	请问大家 LGBT 中为什么这么讨厌或反感双性恋呢? [Why do you hate or oppose bisexuality so much in LGBTQ?]
Date	2018-3-25
Content for Analysis (Original)	因为双性恋就算和同性在一起也不会长久。。。。即使是真爱还是会找异性的。。。。不然怎么生孩子传宗接代。。。。好像我问你,一个篮子有钻石,一个篮子有钻石和戒指,正常人都会选最好那个吧,你爱同性可是不能有孩子,你同样可以爱异性可是能有孩子,你会选哪一个。。。。 初级粉丝 1 ⚠举报 8楼 2018-02-28 20:50　收起回复 我不在乎ta是男是女,我只知道我中意ta。 2018-3-25 10:14 回复 我也说一句
Content for Analysis (Translation)	This shows that the *ta*-text is made by the T.O. in response to a Comment which replied to their Main Post question: Why do you hate or oppose bisexuality so much in LGBTQ? The explain in their reply to the comment that: I don't care whether *ta* is male or female, I only know that I fancy *ta*.

2.2.4.5 Information Seeking Discourse

Seven cases of Information Seeking Discourse were found in the corpus, one from C1 and six from C3. Information Seeking Discourse refers to a text which seeks for information. In the corpus, Information Seeking Discourse can be seen taking the form of general knowledge questions (Ex 7, Table 2.13) and requests for advice (Ex 8, Table 2.14). Example 7 above shows how the Thread Owner made a comment in their own thread and also replied to it as an after thought. Their

comment is a basic seeking for information action by explicitly requesting an answer to a specific question.

Table 2.13 Ex 7 Information Seeking Discourse General Question

Data Item	Information Seeking Discourse 1
Community	C1
Thread Title	大家好新人报道我是来学习反同知识
	[Hello Everyone, new person reporting for duty, I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ]
Date	2018-10-5
Content for Analysis (Original)	
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Question: What does *sihai zhinei zhi nima* (literally the four seas within be your mother) mean? Another question, does this sentence have the meaning of greeting *ta*'s mother?
	However, this sentence does have the meaning of greeting *ta*.

Example 8 below shows how the Thread Owner opened a thread to ask for immediate advice on how to confess to the boy they like. The seeking for information is emphasized with the title of the thread: Waiting online, for real! The title connects to the text in that the user is waiting online for an answer to their question in the body of the post, emphasized with "real" and an exclamation mark to qualify the sincerity of the situation.

Table 2.14 Ex 8 Information Seeking Discourse Advice Seeking

Data Item	Information Seeking Discourse 12
Community	C3
Thread Title	在线等,真的! [Waiting online, for real!]
Date	2018-06-11
Content for Analysis (Original)	
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Handsome guys, please answer a question for me. How to confess to the boy [one] likes? Or (how to) drop *ta* (plural) a hint that I myself am gay? One dormitory room, I only added one Weixin Friend who does not like roommates. [image of same text] Failed, will leave the position soon, still dare not confess. . . .

2.2.4.6 Narrative Discourse

Thirty-six cases of Narrative Discourse were found in the corpus, six from C1, 12 from C2, and 18 from C3. Narrative Discourse refers to a text which tells a story, or outlines a sequence of events,

in either the first, second, or third person. The person in which the story is told determines whether the narrative is then considered a Personal Narrative, a You Narrative (which has three known types: standard, hypothetical, and autotelic), or Ta-Narrative/Third Person Narrative (see Sluchinski, 2019; Sluchinski, 2020). Due to their qualitative richness, and also due to narratives being a widely recognized form of discourse, examples are not shown here but are exhibited in the analytical chapters when relevant.

2.2.4.7 News Discourse

Five cases of News Discourse were found in the corpus, four from C1 and one from C3. News Discourse refers to a text originally published as a news article online, or text taken from a news article published online and used within the community for an informative purpose. An example can be seen in Ex 9 (Table 2.15) below.

Table 2.15 Ex 9 News Discourse

Data Item	News Discourse 1
Community	C1
Thread Title	德国法院 [German Court of Law]
Date	2018-01-05
Content for Analysis (Original)	

	2/2 ⋯ **Germany's top court rules that a transsexual woman can't be registered as a mother after her frozen sperm was used to fertilise an egg**
Comments for Analysis	Here one can see that the text for the post was taken from somewhere else and pasted here as indicated by the html code [/cp]. The fact that the Weibo watermark on the accompanying images also reads "Shendu Official News" indicates the source of the news discourse.

2.2.4.8 Opinion Discourse

Seventeen cases of Opinion Discourse were found in the corpus, 11 from C1, two from C2, and four from C3. Opinion Discourse refers to a text which states the opinion of the author using identifiable language such as 想"think", 觉得 "feel", 认为"believe" etc (see Ross and Ma, 2006:340-341; Liu, 2014:145 for extensive lists). Opinion Discourse usually takes the form of a comment to participate in the larger thread discussion. Opinion Discourse is also seen in the corpus as a response to Information Seeking Discourse (Ex 12, Table 2.18), in the form of "venting"/rants that range in length (Ex 10, Table 2.16), or regarding emotional topics (Ex 11, Table 2.17).

Table 2.16 Ex 10 Opinion Discourse C1 'think'

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 2
Community	C1
Thread Title	"大家怎么看待同性恋艺术家大卫霍克尼" [How does everyone view homosexual artist David Hockney].
Date	2019-02-23
Content for Analysis (Original)	Relevant context: Main post states: "所以我想来征求下大家的想法。他到底配得上这名号么？" User CD shares as a comment: 同性恋是一回事，成就是另一回事，就像我不因歌手出轨而抵制 ta 们的歌一样，没必要因为画家是同性恋就不认可他们在艺术上的才

Content for Analysis (Translation)	Relevant context: Main post states: "So I want to solicit everyone's way of thinking (ask for everyone's opinion). Is he worthy of this name?" User CD shares as a comment: 同性恋是一回事，成就是另一回事，就像我不因歌手出轨而抵制 ta 们的歌一样，没必要因为画家是同性恋就不认可他们在艺术上的才 Homosexuality is one thing, achievement is another. Just like I don't boycott a singer's song because *ta* plural (they) "derailed", there is no need to disregard an artist's talent just because they (male default pl) are homosexual.

Table 2.17 Ex 11 Opinion Discourse C2 emotional
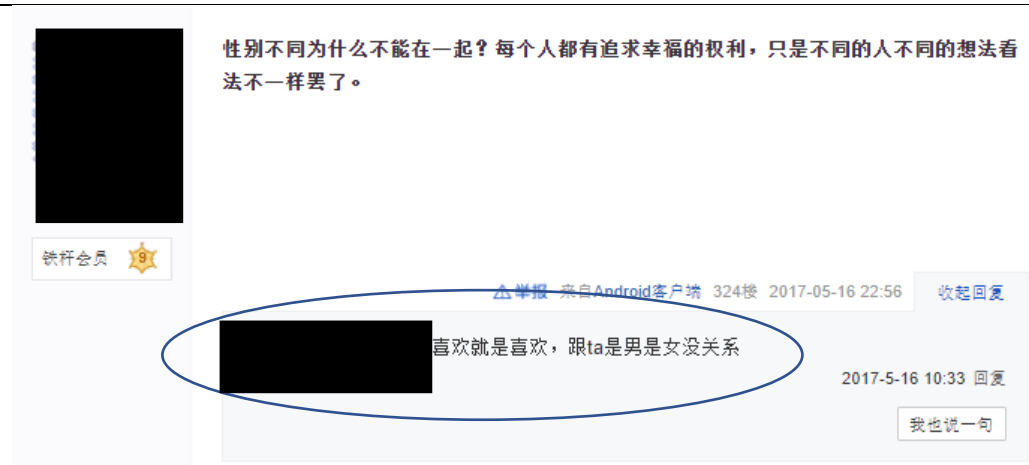
Data Item	Opinion Discourse 12
Community	C2
Thread Title	[同志吧活动]5.17"世界不再恐同日"——撑同 [Tongzhi Ba Activity – May 17 The International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia]
Date	2017-5-17
Content for Analysis (Original)	
Content for Analysis (Translation)	As can be seen here, the *ta*-text is a reply to a comment in the thread. Comment(User XZ): Why can't be together when the gender is different? Everyone has the right to pursue happiness, it is simply that the opinions of different people are different. Reply (User wan131): To like it simply to like, it has nothing to do with whether *ta* is male or female

Table 2.18 Ex 12 C3 Opinion Discourse answer

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 14
Community	C3
Thread Title	你怎样看待同性恋? [How do you view homosexuality]

Date	2019-05-13
Content for Analysis (Original)	
Content for Analysis (Translation)	As can be seen here, the *ta*-text is a reply to the main thread. Main Thread (User JWN): What do you think about homosexuality? Bl (boys love) or Baihe (girls love). Or maybe like same sex things but not homosexuality. Please post your thoughts. Comment (User MRC): Perhaps all I can say is that love is genderless. If [you] fall in love, whether *ta* is male, female, beautiful, as long as there is love then it's fine.

2.2.4.9   Partner Advertisement Discourse

Eight cases of Partner Advertisement Seeking Discourse were found in the corpus, two from C2 and six from C3. Partner Advertisment Discourse refers to a text which advertises one's self as available for sexual relations or text that describes the ideal person with which the author is looking to engage in sexual relations. Given the nature of the discourse, it is logical that such discourse does not exist in the C1 community, which is an Anti community An example is shown in Ex 13 (Table 2.19) below.

Table 2.19 Ex 13 Partner Advertisment Discourse Seeking in C3

Data Item	Partner Advertisement Discourse 4
Community	C3
Thread Title	17，可 p 可 t 大家可以互相了解了一段时间再认真考虑要不要 [17, can p(be a girl) and t(be a boy) everyone can mutually understand, after a short time you can think about if you really want it or not]

Date	2017-10-09
Content for Analysis (Original)	17，可p可t 大家可以互相了解了一段时间再认真考虑要不要开始呢 讲实话是个双 耍过女朋友也耍过男朋友只是想等命中注定那个ta 人丑话多hhh欢迎来嫌弃
Content for Analysis (Translation)	17, can p(be a girl) and t(be a boy) Everyone can mutually understand, after a short time you can think about if you really want it or not. To be honest I am Bi. I played a girlfriend role and played a boyfriend role, [now I] just want to wait for the *ta* of [my] life. People with ugly words are many, hhh[6], [you're] welcome to avoid/ignore [me].

The methods to the corpus construction, data collection, and examples of the discourse types that constitute the corpus along with definitions of the terminology used to refer to those discourses were presented in 2.2. Now, the theoretical approach taken in this study with the help of illustrative examples throughout will be addressed in 2.3.

2.3 Analytical Approach

The following subsections aim to account for the analytical approach taken in the study. Section 2.3.1 details the software and coding practices used within the software, Section 2.3.2 discusses key theoretical approaches, and Section 2.3.3 functions as an illustrative example of how the software, coding, and theoretical approaches come together to carry out the study.

2.3.1 Software and Coding

This study utilizes two variations of the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti is one of the most powerful CAQDAS tools used in qualitative studies with a large text-based corpus like my own.

This study uses both the cloud version of Atlas.ti and the desktop version in order to code pertinent tokens in relation to the larger textual structure. As each text needs to be taken on a case by case basis, the tokens for coding will vary within each text. However, the current coding approach is to code by specific token type, translation, and function. The following figures illustrate some of the coding practices in Atlas.ti Cloud for the Special Case.

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[6] This is shorthand for hehehe, which has come to mean "f*ck you" in Internet language.

Figure 2.2 demonstrates the Quotation Explorer function. The area marked with a "1" shows the total number of quotations in the text. The section marked 2 indicates that there are more codes to be presented if the bar is moved. The area marked 3 displays the codes in a bar like graph with respective numbers. From the Figure, the codes "Jilao- Canto Gay", "Male", "Wife of Homosexual", "Gaoji-Behaviour", "IT PL", "Specific You", and "Thread Owner I" can be seen. A brief explanation is offered below for each:

Jilao- Canto Gay:

- A transliteration and translation of a slang term originating from Cantonese to refer to "gays"

Male:

- Instances of third person pronoun "he" usage

Wife of Homosexual:

- Instances of the NP Wife of Homosexual (including variations)

Gaoji-Behaviour:

- A transliteration and notation of a slang term used to refer to sexual activity between two males.

IT PL:

- Instances of the third person pronoun "it" usage in the plural form

Specific You:

- Instances of second person pronoun you used as the "specific" you for direct address

Thread Owner I:

- Instances of the third person NP "Thread Owner" being used in place of first person "I" to self-refer
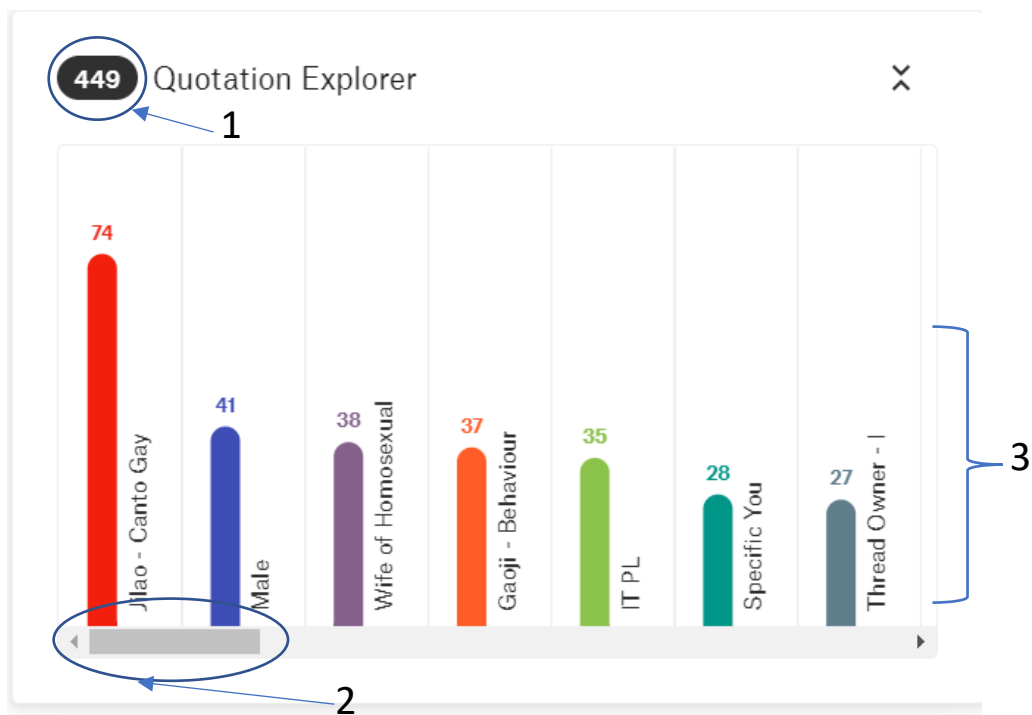
Figure 2.2 Atlas.ti Cloud Quotation Explorer Example for Special Case

The Quotation Explorer is also able to generate Excel files which display the comments attached to each code, if any, as displayed in Figure 2.3 below.

document	quotation	codes	comment
One Thread Example.docx	1. 什么是同妻？		Intertextuality ; references their post on another café (ba). About the wives of male homosexuals Intertextuality ; references their post on another café (ba). About the wives of male homosexuals
One Thread Example.docx	TA	TA	
One Thread Example.docx	TA	TA	
One Thread Example.docx	TA	TA	
One Thread Example.docx	"双性恋	Bisexual	
One Thread Example.docx	"性取向"	Sexual Orientation	
One Thread Example.docx	"性取向"	Sexual Orientation	
One Thread Example.docx	"性取向"	Sexual Orientation	
One Thread Example.docx	三观		世界观、价值观、人生观，
One Thread Example.docx	不少基佬来同妻吧误导同妻，		Many Jilao come to the Wives of Homosexual Tieba and mislead the wives of homosexuals.
One Thread Example.docx	为搞一基	Gaoji - Behaviour	

Figure 2.3 Quotation Explorer Excel Export

The coding interface for the text in Atlas.ti Cloud is introduced in Figure 2.4. In the figure, the 1 marks the text file name, 2 marks the various codes, 3 points out how to recognize an item has been coded, 4 indicates where to access the quotation explorer, 5 allows to search the text file, and 6 the document information.
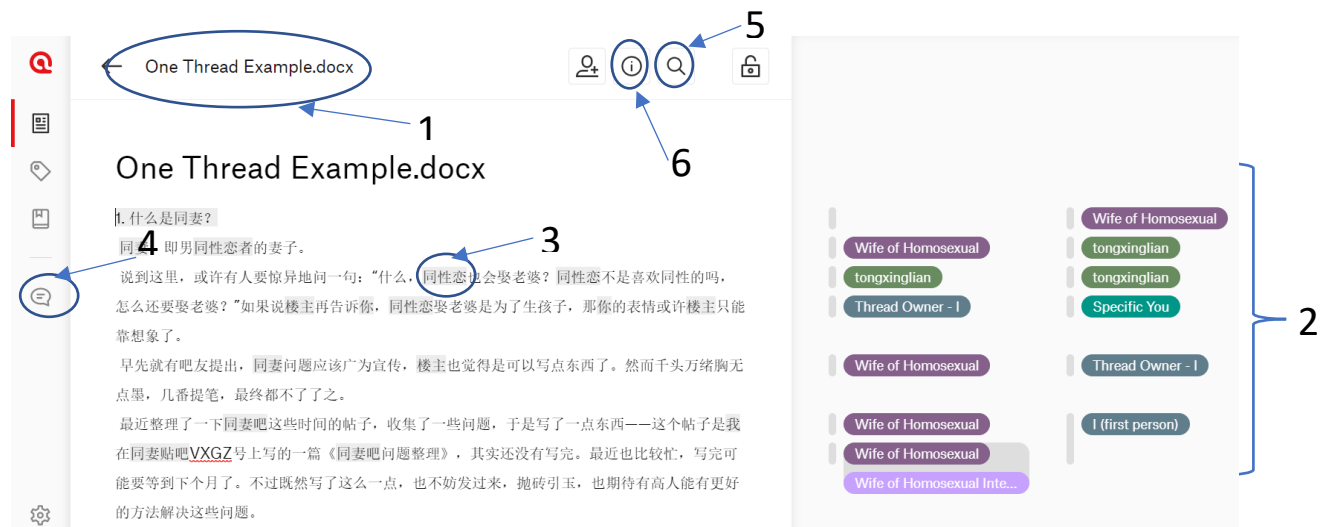
Figure 2.4 View of Atlast.ti Cloud Interface and Coding

Information provided about the document, including the creation date, last modification, total quotations, and the number of different codes accompanied by breakdowns/compositions is shown below (Figure 2.5).
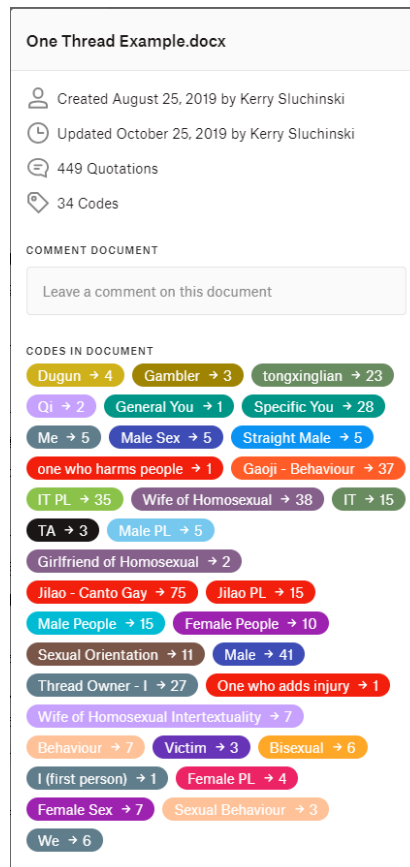
Figure 2.5 Document Information in Atlas.ti Cloud for Special Case

With the software and coding practices established, let us now turn to the theoretical approaches to be taken in the qualitative analysis of the study.

2.3.2 A Framing, Positioning, and Stance Theories Framework

The pragmatic and textual methods used in this study and described below in 2.3.2.2, i.e. intertextuality (e.g. Bakhtin, 2014) and evaluation and appraisal (e.g. Martin & White, 2005), are situated within an approach informed by discursive and social psychology (e.g. Spears, Lea, Postmes, 2001). That is, I will complement these approaches with those of membership categorization (e.g. Sacks, 1972; Haddington, 2006; Gordon, 2015; Kendall and Tannen, 2015), and indexicality (e.g. Ochs, 1992b). Complementing these pragmatic and textual methods with theories such as these that have origins in social/discursive psychology will allow the study to examine the empirical questions related to identity. That is, methods grounded in discursive psychology will allow for the analysis of the connection between language use and identity.

However, the theoretical approaches mentioned above fall within three frameworks which are often considered as loosely synonymous and or used interchangeably in more current literature: 1) stance (e.g. Biber and Finegan, 1989; Du Bois, 2001), 2) framing (e.g. Goffman, 1974), and 3) positioning(e.g. Davies and Harre, 1990).In addition, there is great variation with regards to what constitutes each of the frameworks as well as the circumstances in which they are applied. Thus, the origin, definition, and purpose of the stance, positioning, and framing used are briefly discussed below.

The concept of stance in the context of this dissertation is that of the linguistic tradition utilized by Biber and Finegan (1989:93) who define stance as "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message." In this way, it is easy to see how stance theories can be used to examine displays "of a socially recognized point of view or attitude", i.e. stances, which include epistemic attitudes and affective attitudes (Ochs, 1993:288). Stance is an important concept for the study because language users have been noted to use stance "in an attempt to construct not only their own identities but the social identities of other interlocutors" (Ochs, 1993:289). Newer research put forth by those such as Du Bois have added a more dialogical aspect to the concept of stance. Specifically, Du Bois' Dialogic Syntax has been noted to support identity construction via syntactic design of language (Haddington, 2006). Dialogic Syntax premises that "speakers often negotiate their stances by

recycling linguistic structures from a prior utterance" (Haddington, 2006:75). Dialogic Syntax examines the syntax of talk-in-interaction produced by participants with a focus on recycled linguistic features to demonstrate "how various language practices encode or index sociocultural information" (Haddington, 2006:76). Stance then takes the processes of indexicalization and conceptualizes them, which is important as these processes are responsible for connecting individual performance and social meaning. Stance therefore entails 1) evaluation of the object, 2) positioning of the subject, and 3) alignment with subjects. In addition to Dialogic Syntax is DuBois' (2007) further re-worked notion of the Stance Triangle which highlights stance taking as a single act based on the triangular relationship of alignment between subjects in relation to their evaluation and positioning of objects. Stance, which functions to invoke "presupposed systems of sociocultural value" (DuBois, 2007:173), "unfolds within a recognized framework for interpreting action" (DuBois, 2007:171) and each stance is specific in "the participants it indexes, the objects it evaluates, and the dimensions of sociocultural value it invokes" (DuBois, 2007:172).

Within the context of this study, the Stance Triangle could be incorporated in one of two ways: 1) with an implicit second subject (who/what the stancetaker is aligning with) as seen in long thread posts with a general addressee, and 2) an explicit second subject as seen in comments and replies with a directly identified addressee. In addition, use of the Stance Triangle could also highlight the dialogical nature of communication in text-based CMC which is the object of study in that it can account for both convergence and divergence in evaluative alignment, which is likely to manifest in the exchanges between Internet users. However, the Stance Triangle (in its traditional sense) is not used in this study for the following reasons: 1) a core operating mechanism in this study is the concept of (co-)reference chains[7]. Reference is a known property of cohesion with multiple types including co-reference, type-reference, logico-semantic relations, and lexical relations ("Cohesion," 2018). Notably, co-reference occurs "in chains and lexical networks in texts" and can be realized by personal or possessive pronouns, as well as person-morphology in verbs ("Cohesion," 2018). Furthermore, although reference occurs within and across grammatical domains, it can be said that reference chains become "particularly visible and important where they occur across grammatical domains, because here they are the only overt relations providing texture" ("Cohesion," 2018). Given the study's focus on third person referential forms, particularly

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[7] Federzoni, Ho-Dac, and Fabre (2021) also define (co-)reference chains as "discourse structures that group together several clauses around a common referent"

third person pronouns, and the fact that reference chains occur for both subject and object reference, choosing to focus on the data from the view of (co-)reference chains over the Stance Triangle offers a more powerful approach; 2) the Appraisal Theory(see 2.3.2.1) utilized in this study strongly complements the angle offered by focussing on (co-)reference chains. That is, Appraisal Theory sufficiently adds the social component of stance to the textual component of the (co-)reference chains; 3) not all *ta*-texts involve sustainable dialogical interaction between users, thus the Stance Triangle is not applicable as-is to the majority of the data; and 4) the exhibition of long thread posts needed to sufficiently display qualitative application of the Stance Triangle is beyond the scope of the dissertation.

From the discussion above, one can see how stance feeds into the concept of framing/positioning. The premise of Framing and Positioning theories is that both social and psychological factors play a roll in how one goes about interaction in a given context. Framing is primarily the component responsible for looking at social factors. Framing, as proposed by Goffman (1970s-80s), premises that people define situations and how they do so is through frames which consist of knowledge schema that regulate what is to be expected in a certain frame based on context (Harre and Davies, 1990:53-54). As a result, framing allows interlocutors to perform sense-making and self-making in context and is an ongoing discursive co-construction. Framing premises that people hold specific expectations regarding how an interaction should unfold and be interpreted, i.e. contextualized (Hodges, 2015:46). Specifically, framing looks at the language a person uses in interaction in order to demonstrate how that language use projects interactional intentions and how those intentions are received by others. That is, how interlocutors construct and make sense of social experience in order to demonstrate that communication is a co-constructed process dependent on social actors and context.

Positioning is the primary component responsible for looking at psychological factors in a framework that is less rigid than that proposed by Goffman. Positioning was developed by Davies and Harre (1990) and premises that people create self-identities and identities of other through interaction. Much like its objects of study, that is identities, positioning is also fluid, i.e. non-fixed, and constructed in relation to context. Specifically, positioning holds the premise that, as social creatures, humans situate themselves in conversation based on lived experiences which are then brought into our discourse and create communicative context. How we bring these experiences to our discourse is through structures that we have been previously exposed to and we adapt these

structures to fit our needs in communication. "Positioning theory provides a framework to explore selves as discursive constructions, and to investigate different aspects of identity, including the development and negotiation of these aspects" (Gordon, 2015:336).

It is within this context that both stance, which is more text-linguistically oriented, and framing, which is more socio-linguistically oriented, can be seen as tools to achieve the broader notion of positioning[8]. From the theoretical descriptions above it is clear that as a collective the theories examine the linguistic and paralinguistic features used by interlocutors in order to demonstrate how they create and negotiate meanings, relationships, and identities. From the description it may also have become apparent that as a collective these theories encase the other approaches which were mentioned in the introduction of this section, namely evaluation, intertextuality, and indexicality. As a result, the following sub-sections will introduce the remaining notions in conjunction with illustrating how they work together to achieve framing/positioning and stance.

In order to understand complex phenomena, it is essential that more than one method and methodological-theoretical approach be used, i.e. the data should be approached from multiple angles (Flick 2014:191). Within qualitative analysis this often refers to the fundamental component of triangulation. One of the basic features of triangulation is that of the combination of "different theoretical perspectives in dealing with a phenomenon" (Flick 2014:183). Specifically, the study's methodology exemplars Denzin's (2009) notion of theory triangulation which refers to the act of combining various theoretical points of view and using them to approach the data. This mixed

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[8] In the field, positioning has been conceived with respect to identities that are in-the-moment and non-fixed where as 'framing' has been conceived as an attempt on the part of a language user to create something more fixed and generalized. That is, positioning and identities have been conceptualized as non-fixed while framing has been conceptualized as fixed. I partially agree with this conceptualization while proposing that identities are both fixed and non-fixed.

If I consider positioning as facilitated by attitude (as in this study), then positioning is always fluid and not fixed because one's own position can change at anytime. However, a projected identity, that is a framed identity, of a third person is a fixed projection, which is why these frames can be rejected by others and give rise to the co-construction process.

For example, say user A uses *ta* because they do not know the third person properties of *ta*. User B assigns a female identity to *ta* by using "lesbian" and thus frames the third person as "Other". However, user A rejects this frame and continues to use *ta* instead of "she." User A's projected identity of *ta* is non-fixed (i.e. open) while User B's projected identity of *ta* is fixed (i.e. a Female homosexual).

In this sense, I think it accurate to attribute attitude, i.e. stance, to lexical items (text linguistics) and attribute framing to the socio-linguistic parameters/usage surrounding the items when relevant. It is a division of 1) what is said (fixed), and 2) what is being done with what is being said (non-fixed). The product is then a combination of the two which is non-fixed positioning.

qualitative framework will be complemented with quantitative analysis to gain a comprehensive view of the functional properties of *'ta'* and other systematic third person pronoun usage. The following subsections detail the approaches mentioned above by giving a definition and demonstrating their application based on analysis of the Special Case from the Anti-Chinese LGBTQ community.

Within this section I aim to introduce and briefly apply the main theoretical approaches which I plan to use in the analysis of my data. Specifically, I plan to apply qualitative textual analysis and pragmatic methods, such as notions of intertextuality developed by Bakhtin, Kristeva, and Barthes (e.g. Bakhtin, 2014; Hodges, 2015; Vasquez, 2015) and appraisal frameworks (e.g. Martin & White, 2005), to each text based on its discourse type. These methods will allow for a microanalysis of textual structures and linguistic units which are responsible for constructing the text which then becomes part of a discourse.

2.3.2.1   Appraisal Theory

The most developed version of Appraisal theory is that put forward by Martin & White (2005). This framework originates from Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) paradigm which operates on the assumption that all utterances have three main components of meaning. These components are referred to as metafunctions with the three of them being the textual, the ideational and the interpersonal. The textual metafunction refers to language used to create coherent texts, the ideational metafunction refers to language used to connect logic and experience, and the interpersonal metafunction refers to language used to act out interpersonal encounters (Halliday, 2003: 16-18). Specifically, Evaluation and Appraisal, as put forth by Martin and White (2005:1), aims to "develop and extend the SFL account of the interpersonal" by looking at three components which are believed to influence the enunciator's intersubjective stance: affect, modality (epistemic and evidentiality), and intensification.

Under affect, Martin and White (2005:2) expand the traditional scope by looking at attitudinal evaluations of both speaker and addressee. That is, " the means by which speakers/writers overtly encode what they present as their own attitudes but also those means by which they more indirectly activate evaluative stances and position readers/listeners to supply their own assessments" (Martin and White, 2005:2). Under modality, Martin and White (2005:2) add a dialogic dimension of speaker-addressee interaction to question "how the textual voice positions itself with respect to

other voices and other positions". Under intensification, Martin and White (2005:2) provide a framework capable of describing "how speakers/writers increase and decrease the force of their assertions and how they sharpen or blur the semantic categorisations with which they operate".

Specifically, Appraisal is placed in the language strata of discourse semantics, which is "concerned with meaning beyond the clause" (Martin and White, 2005:9), due to how attitudes come to be realized via language use. The three main ways in which attitudes are realized are across phases of discourse, ranges of grammatical categories, and grammatical metaphor (Martin and White, 2005:9-10), thus situating it in discourse semantics. As a result, Appraisal is subsequently linked to other theories and frameworks concerned with the functional meaning of language in communication such as framing and positioning. The premise of this framework is that evaluation is an aspect of rhetorical and ideological functionality and that mechanisms exist through which evaluative positioning is achieved and these mechanisms can be exploited to achieve certain functions in discourse. Appraisal theory thus examines the variation in mechanisms which attitudinal positions can be conveyed and how readers are made to be positioned in order to demonstrate how language can be used to evoke or provoke certain evaluative reactions in recipients of a message. This is accomplished by textual analysis with a focus on linguistic items and functions. Thus, as a linguistically grounded approach, appraisal and evaluation often used to heavily supplement Framing and Positioning theories which are grounded in anthropology. In their work, White (2006) combines framing and positioning, which offers an angle on co-construction, with evaluation and appraisal, which offers a solid tangible way to present the co-construction by examining linguistic units. This illustrates, and justifies, how Framing and Positioning theories and evaluation and appraisal are commonly used as complementary approaches in triangulated frameworks.

The main portion of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal and Evaluation framework that will be focused on in this study is that of **Attitude** which is composed of affect (emotion), judgement (ethics), and appreciation (aesthetics) mechanisms. Affect is comprised of resources used to construe emotional reactions, judgement is comprised of resources used to assess "behaviour according to various normative principles", and appreciation is comprised of resources used to assign value to things (Martin and White, 2005:36). The study specifically focuses on the aspect of attitude because attitudinal meanings are direct reflections of a speaker's/writer's stance (Martin and White, 2005:43) and stance is one way that one positions themselves in relation to the other.

Prior to showing an exemplar of how the framework is applied in the analysis of the examples, it is first necessary to address the appraisal coding scheme used for the analysis with supplementary details. For appraisal analysis the following components were considered: 1) Source of Evaluation (here after SOE), 2) Trigger of Evaluation (here after TOE), 3) evaluation types (affect, appreciation, and judgement), 4) whether the valuation was positive or negative, and 5) whether the evaluation was inscribed or invoked. Regarding types of evaluation, coding items were taken and adapted from Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007) as follows:

Affect:
- affect: +desire
- affect: -desire
- affect: +happiness
- affect: -happiness
- affect: +satisfaction
- affect: -satisfaction
- affect: +security
- affect: -security

Appreciation:
- appreciation: + composition [textual]
- appreciation: - composition [textual]
- appreciation: + reaction [interpersonal]
- appreciation: - reaction [interpersonal]
- appreciation: + valuation [ideational]
- appreciation: -valuation [ideational]

Judgement:
- judgement: + capacity [capable]
- judgement: - capacity [capable]
- judgement: + propriety [ethical]
- judgement: - propriety [ethical]
- judgement: + tenacity [resolute]
- judgement: - tenacity [resolute]
- judgement: + veracity [truthful]
- judgement: - veracity [truthful]
- judgement: + normality [unusual]
- judgement: - normality [unusual]

Adapted Cases:
- Null-Appraisal
- No-Appraisal: Static Description
- No-Appraisal: Static Statement

The codes under "Adapted Cases" were developed during the coding phase of the analysis. "Null Appraisal" describes cases where *ta* tokens lacked any form of evaluation, whether it be affect, appreciation, or judgement. This commonly occurred when the referent of *'ta'* was a truly external third party that was not the subject of the discourse but the object; that is, because *'ta'* was in the object position the evaluation was not projected by the users. This commonly occurred in Guidebook/Advice, Opinion, and Chain Post Discourse (unique to C3). 90 cases (C1 = 7; C2 = 25; C3 =58) occur in the entire corpus (Figure 2.6). "No-Appraisal: Static Description" describes cases where there was no sense of evaluation, but relatively objective description of an event or a person's actions. This commonly occurred in News and Narrative Discourse. 32 cases (C1 = 5; C2 = 7; C3 =20) occur in the entire corpus (Figure 2.6). "No-Appraisal: Static Statement" describes cases where there was no sense of evaluation, but statement presented as fact devoid of judgment. This commonly occurred in Statement and Narrative Discourse. 41 cases (C1 = 3 ; C2 = 12; C3 =26) occur in the entire corpus (Figure 2.6). All appraisal analyses in this dissertation follow this set coding scheme framework. The pie-chart diagram (Figure 2.6) and bar chart (Figure 2.7) both show that the two types of lack of appraisal towards *'ta'* are evenly distributed in and across each community. The larger jump in C3 regrading Null Appraisal is attributed to the Chain Post Discourse.
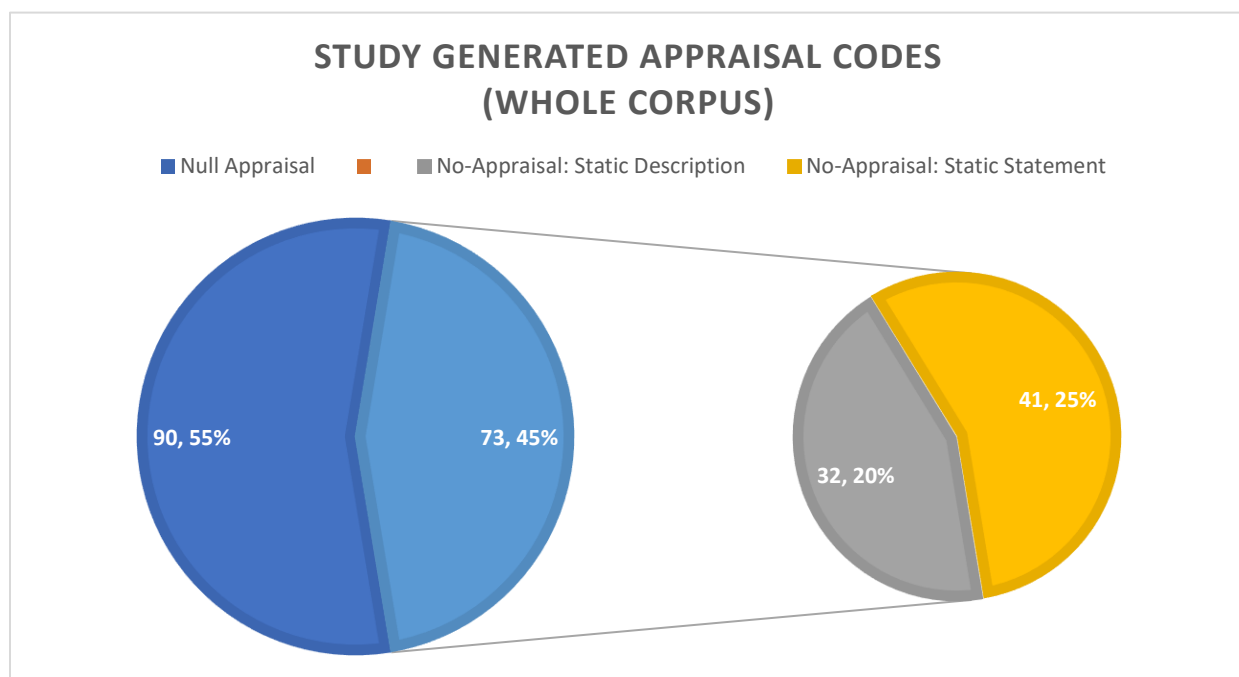
Figure 2.6 Study Generated Appraisal Codes
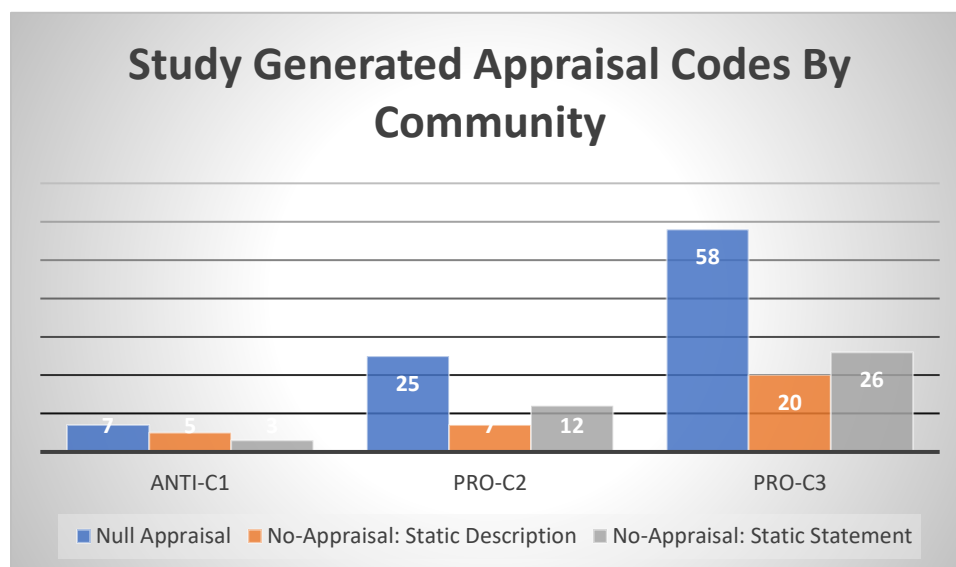
Figure 2.7 Study Generated Appraisal Codes by Community

The following example (Table 2.20) is an excerpt from the Special Case and details how Appraisal can be applied in order to examine attitudinal evaluation from the aspects of **affect** (codded in **blue** numbers), **judgement** (coded in **red** numbers), and **appreciation** (coded in **green** numbers). The Special Case is a single thread post made in an Anti-Chinese LGBTQ community. The main discourse topic of the post is "Wives of Homosexuals" and the difficulties/injustice they face as a result of having been "swindled" and deceived into marriage with a homosexual. The post is constructed in a way to portray the "Wives of Homosexuals" as victims while portraying male homosexuals as inhumane perpetrators.

Reflecting the nature of the post, the excerpt used in the example contains a lot more instances of judgement (7 coded instances) than it does of appreciation (3 coded instances) and affect (1 coded instance). It is also noteworthy that the majority of the appraisal coded in this excerpt is invoked in conjunction with interpersonal grammar and mood which result in modalisations of probability (Martin & White, 2005:54). In order to preserve the flow of logic used by the author of the post, detailed discussions of the notations will take place in numerical order. The discussion will include the noted appraisal type and whether the appraisal is 1) positive or negative, 2) inscribed or invoked, 3) the source of evaluation (SOE), i.e. appraiser/emoter, 4) what is being evaluated, i.e. trigger.

Table 2.20 Ex 14a) Special Case Appraisal Analysis

Data Item	Special Case
Community	Special Case
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis (Original)	1. 什么是同妻？ 同妻，即男同性恋者的妻子。 **1** **2** 说到这里，或许有人要惊异地问一句： **3** **4** "什么，同性恋也会娶老婆？ 同性恋不是喜欢同性的吗，**5** 怎么还要娶老婆？" **6** 如果说楼主再告诉你，同性恋娶老婆是为了生孩子， **8** **7** 那你的表情或许楼主只能靠想象了。 早先就有吧友提出，同妻问题应该广为宣传，**9** 楼主也觉得是可以写点东西了。 **10** **11** 然而千头万绪胸无点墨，几番提笔，最终都不了了之。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	1. What is a homosexual's wife (同妻 tongqi) A Tongqi is the wife of a homosexual male. **2** **1** Having said that, some people may ask with amazement: **3** **4** "What, homosexuals will also marry a wife? Don't homosexuals like the same sex? **5** How is there a need to marry a wife?" **6**

	If the Thread Owner then tells you, homosexuals marry a wife for the purpose of having children, then perhaps the Thread Owner can only rely on their imagination [to gage] your expression. **8** **7** Earlier, a Ba friend suggested that the issue of homosexual's wives should be widely publicized **9** and the Thread Owner also thought that something could be written. **10** However, it was very chaotic with many things to tackle, [the Thread Owner] took up the pen several times, [but] in the end settled the matter by leaving it hanging. **11**

Notation 1: 或许有人要惊异地问一句 'some people may ask with amazement'

Characteristics:

- Type: Judgement: + veracity

- Positive

- Inscribed via: 或许 'may'

- SOE: Author

- Trigger: the context of the moment when a person is told that a Tongqi refers to a homosexual's wife.

Notation 1 shows a positive veracity judgement, that is a judgement of probability as inscribed by 或许 'may', from the perspective of the author. This judgement is that upon being told what Tongqi is, an individual may then perform a certain action. In fact, this certain action is Notation 2 and is embedded within the frame of Notation 1 in the original Chinese language construction. However, this construction is in a different position in the English translation due to syntactic constraints.

Notation 2: 有人要惊异地问一句 'some people' + 'ask with amazement'

Characteristics:

- Type: Appreciation: - reaction

- Negative

- Inscribed via: 惊异地 'Amazedly' i.e. with amazement

- SOE: Additional Appraiser (有人 'some people')

- Trigger: the context of the moment when a person is told that a Tongqi refers to a homosexual's wife.

Notation 2 shows a negative reaction of appreciation, i.e. a negative response towards the trigger, from the perspective of an additional appraiser. The reaction is inscribed negatively by the use of the adverb 惊异地 'Amazedly' which modifies the action of 问 'ask' in response to the trigger of finding out that a Tongqi is the wife of a homosexual. This negative appreciation is then converted into a series of judgments (Notations 3-6) on behalf of the additional appraiser as the content of the question is presented within this contextual frame of "amazement".

Notation 3: 什么 'what'

Characteristics:

- Type: Judgement: - normality

- Negative

- Invoked via: 什么 'What' and surrounding context

- SOE: Additional Appraiser (有人 'some people')

- Trigger: the behaviour/concept of homosexuals having wives.

Notation 3 shows a negative judgement of normality in an invoked frame through the word 什么 'What' used as a preface to the following clause. The judgement is negative and thus framed as not-normal or logical as the lexical resource is being used to indicate confusion and disbelief towards the trigger which is the concept of a homosexual, who is supposed to be interested in the same sex according to the invoked judgement in Notation 5, having a wife.

Notation 4: 同性恋也会娶老婆？ 'homosexuals **will also** marry a wife'

Characteristics:

- Type: Judgement: - capacity

- Negative

- Invoked via: 也会 'will also' and surrounding context

- SOE: Additional Appraiser (有人 'some people')

- Trigger: the behaviour/concept of homosexuals having wives.

Notation 4 shows a negative judgement of capacity in an invoked frame through the combination of也 'too'/ 'also' and会 'will'/ 'can' in the clause. The judgement is negative because it is positioned in conjunction with Notation 3 which sets a frame of abnormality. This frame of abnormality thus transfers to the clause which contains 'will also', where 'also' indicates an external comparison to a societal standard of normalcy, i.e. heterosexual marriages, and 'will' acts as a modal to assign homosexuals the capacity to 'also' take part in this societal normalcy which is a trigger that is appraised as abnormal by the additional appraiser.

Notation 5: 同性恋不是喜欢同性的吗？'Don't homosexuals like the same sex? '

Characteristics:
- Type: Judgement: - veracity

- Negative

- Invoked via: 不是'is not' i.e. 'don't' and the rhetorical sentence structure

- SOE: Additional Appraiser (有人 'some people')

- Trigger: the behaviour/concept of homosexuals having wives.

Notation 5 shows a negative judgement of veracity, that is truthfulness and a judgement of sanction, in an invoked frame through the combination of不是 'is not' and the rhetorical structure of the question. The judgement is negative because it is positioned in conjunction with Notation 3 and 4 which carry forth the frame of abnormality which allows the question to be invoked rhetorically and consequently invoke the intended built up meaning through notations 3-5 of "male homosexuals cannot possibly have wives because they do not like women". This intended invoked meaning is further constructed in Notation 6 which is also a rhetorical question.

Notation 6: 怎么还要娶老婆？'How is there a need to marry a wife?'

Characteristics:

- Type: Judgement: - propriety

- Negative

- Invoked via: 怎么'how' + 还 'still' + 要 'need' and the rhetorical sentence structure

- SOE: Additional Appraiser (有人 'some people')

- Trigger: the behaviour/concept of homosexuals having wives.

Notation 6 shows a negative judgement of propriety, that is ethicalness and a judgement of sanction, in an invoked frame through the combination of怎么'how' + 还 'still' + 要 'need' and the rhetorical structure of the question. The judgement is negative because it also carries forth the frame of abnormality which allows the question to be invoked rhetorically in relation to the intended built up meaning through notations 3-5 of "male homosexuals cannot possibly have wives because they do not like women". Specifically, 怎么 'how' functions to question the logic, i.e. ethicalness, of the trigger which is homosexuals having wives. The negativity of this frame is reinforced by还 'still' which invokes emphasis. The combined usage of 'how' 'still' with 要 'need' invokes the negative rhetorical structure 'How is there a need' when considered with the previously built invoked meaning which implies that this need should not even exist given the appraisal that homosexuals do not like women. Notation 6 concludes the appraisal performed in the text section by the additional appraiser.

Notation 7: 那+或许楼主只能靠想象了。 'then perhaps the Thread Owner can only rely on their imagination [to gage]'

Characteristics:

- Type: Judgement: + capacity

- Positive

- Inscribed via: 或许 'perhaps' + 只能'can only'

- SOE: Author

- Trigger: The reader's facial expression in response to the author's telling that "homosexuals marry a wife for the purpose of having children"

Notation 7 primarily shows a positive capacity judgement, that is a judgement of ability as inscribed by 只能'can only', complimented by probability as inscribed by 或许 'perhaps', from the perspective of the author. This judgement is that of the author appraising their ability to gage the trigger, which would be the reader's facial expression. In fact, this trigger is Notation 8 and is embedded within the frame of Notation 7 in the original Chinese language construction. However, this construction is in a different position in the English translation due to syntactic constraints.

Notation 8: 你的表情 'your expression.'

Characteristics:

- Type: Appreciation: - reaction

- Negative

- Invoked via: 表情 'expression' + context built through Notations 3-6

- SOE: Additional Appraiser (你 'you')

- Trigger: Being told that homosexuals get wives just to reproduce

Notation 8 shows a negative reaction of appreciation, i.e. a negative response towards the trigger, from the perspective of an additional appraiser. The reaction is invoked negatively by the context of judgements invoked through Notations 3-6 from the additional appraiser perspective. Based on this and in conjunction with Notation 7 and the context of "homosexuals get wives just to reproduce", the author constructs and invokes the proposition that said expression is imagined to be a negative one along the lines of disgust. This proposition is further constructed when we move through the text to Notation 9.

Notation 9: 同妻问题应该广为宣传 'the issue of **homosexual's wives** should be widely publicized.'

Characteristics:

- Type: Judgement: + propriety

- Positive

- Inscribed via: 应该 'should' + 广为 'Widely' + 宣传 'publicized'

- SOE: Additional Appraiser (吧友 'Ba Friend')

- Trigger: That homosexuals get wives just to reproduce

Notation 9 shows a positive judgement of propriety, that is ethicalness and a judgement of sanction, in an inscribed frame through the combination of 应该 'should' + 广为 'Widely' + 宣传 'publicized'. The judgement is positive largely because of 应该 'should' which directly juxtaposes the action of what should be done against the trigger, which is the invoked action constructed across Notations 3-5 and finally appraised, i.e. judged, as unethical in Notation 6. That is, homosexuals should not be getting wives because they are homosexuals; however, they 还 'still' get wives and make them Tongqi which is a problem because it is not ethical. Thus this problem 应该 'should' be made known to the world.

Notation 10: 楼主也觉得是可以写点东西了 'the Thread Owner also thought that something could be written'

Characteristics:

- Type: Appreciation: + value
- Positive
- Invoked via: 也 'also' + 觉得 'feel' + 可以 'can'
- SOE: Author (楼主 louzhu 'I')
- Trigger: Topic of the Tongqi issue being publicized

Building off of Notation 9, Notation 10 shows a positive appreciation of value in an inscribed frame through the combination of 也 'also' + 觉得 'feely' + 可以 'can' from the author's perspective. The appraisal is primarily inscribed as a positive appreciation of value through the usage of 也 'also' which shows that the Author views the trigger as being worthy of doing. This worthiness of doing is further inscribed by 觉得 'feel'，which shows positive emotional investment, and 可以 'can' which shows positive judgment of capacity.

Notation 11: 然而千头万绪胸无点墨，几番提笔，最终都不了了之 'However, it was very chaotic with many things to tackle, [the Thread Owner] took up the pen several times, [but] in the end settled the matter by leaving it hanging.'

Characteristics:

- Type: Affect: - dis/satisfaction

- Negative

- Inscribed via: 然而 'However' + 千头万绪 'very chaotic' + 终于 'in the end' 不了了之 '…hanging'

- SOE: Author (楼主 louzhu 'I')

- Trigger: Writing about Tongqi to publicize the issue

Notation 11 is unique in that it is the first instance of affect that appears in the Special Case. This affect is one of dissatisfaction, because it is negative, and inscribed mainly via 然而 'However' which is used to juxtapose the content of the sentence with the content in Notation 10 which was the Author's initial positive judgement, i.e. evaluation, of publicizing the issue of Tongqi. Dissatisfaction is further conveyed by lexical items as the author details their failed attempt to write anything substantial about the issue as they just left the project hanging (unfinished) in the end because it was more complicated than they had originally evaluated in Notion 10.

The Appraisal analysis of the short excerpt above outlined how the three aspects of judgement, appreciation, and affect can be used to draw out how the author not only positions themselves through their own attitudinal evaluation, but also how they position others through the attribution of hypothetically constructed other attitudinal evaluations. The brief analysis here shows how the author begins to frame a context that is based on the positioning of the other. Specifically, the context is constructed via their gradual portrayal of homosexuals, specifically those who marry women for the purpose of pro-creation, as immoral perpetrators and their wives, the Tongqi, as unsuspecting and under-represented victims.

2.3.2.2 Intertextuality

Intertextuality can be defined as a conceptualization of discourse where the premise is that discourse cannot be produced in isolation and that discourses are dialogic (Hodges, 2015). As a concept, intertextuality can be traced back to the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin and his

early theory of dialogism and text in the 1929 publication "Problems of Dostoevsky's Art", which was later re-published in 1963 under the revised title of *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. From the Bakhtinian perspective, 'text' is defined as "any coherent complex of signs" (Bakhtin 1986: 103) and dialogism involves the awareness of both internal and external dialogues of the past within the world of discourse. Intertextuality allows one to emphasize the connection between discourses as a by-product of the dialogical relationship of language and social actions, i.e. the social embeddedness of language use.

A core component of intertextuality highlighted by Hodges (2015), Jones (2015), and Blommaert and Verschueren (2014) is entextualization, that is the embodiment of multilayers of discourses. Specifically, entextualization is a social process of purposefully taking pre-existing discourse fragments from one context, known as decontextualization, and inserting them into new contexts, known as recontextualization, with specific interactional purposes. The ability to decontextualize and recontextualize discourse fragments at will, resulting in a multiplicity of discourse meanings, is at the core of intertextuality and is what is referred to in Bakhtinian theory as polyphonic discourse. Example 14 (Table 2.21) below demonstrates how intertextuality (coded in purple), as outlined above, will be applied in this study.

Table 2.21 Ex 14 Special Case Excerpt 1

Data Item	Special Case
Community	**Special Case**
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis (Original)	1. 什么是同妻？ 同妻，即男同性恋者的妻子。 说到这里，或许有人要惊异地问一句："什么，同性恋也会娶老婆？同性恋不是喜欢同性的吗，怎么还要娶老婆？"如果说楼主再告诉你，同性恋娶老婆是为了生孩子，那你的表情或许楼主只能靠想象了。 早先就有吧友提出，同妻问题应该广为宣传，楼主也觉得是可以写点东西了。[…] 最近整理了一下同妻吧这些时间的帖子，收集了一些问题，于是写了一点东西——这个帖子是我在同妻贴吧 VXGZ 号上写的一篇《同妻吧问题整理》，其实还没有写完。[…]

Content for Analysis (Translation)	1. What is a **homosexual's wife** (同妻 tongqi)
	A **Tongqi** is the wife of a homosexual male.
	Having said that, some people may ask with amazement: "What, homosexuals will also marry a wife? Don't homosexuals like the same sex? How is there a need to marry a wife?" If the Thread Owner then tells you, homosexuals marry a wife for the purpose of having children, then perhaps the Thread Owner can only rely on their imagination [to gage] your expression.
	Earlier, a Ba friend suggested that the issue of **homosexual's wives** should be widely publicized and the Thread Owner also thought that something could be written.
	[…]
	[I] recently organized the posts [I] put on the **Tongqi Ba** during those times, collected some questions, and wrote some stuff - this post is a I posted in the "Wives of Homosexuals Ba" under the thread "Wives of Homosexuals Ba Problem Solving" using the account VXGZ. […]

As can be seen from this excerpt of Special Case, the post opens the topic of "Wives of Homosexuals" by asking "What is a homosexual wife (同妻 *tongqi*)"? *Tongqi* is literally "same wife" in English; however, here *tong* 同, meaning "same", is in itself intertextual as it is a reference to the same character used in other terms to refer to homosexuals and homosexuality such as 同性恋 *tongxinglian* "same sex love" and 同志 *tongzhi* Comrade in the LGBTQ sense. It is in this context that *Tongqi* comes to be a term representative of women who are married to homosexual men, i.e. "a homosexual's wife".

The "homosexual's wife" is a common phenomenon in China considering the societal views towards LGBTQ orientations and the strong cultural tradition of marriage with the purpose of carrying on family bloodlines. As a result, homosexual men in China hide their homosexuality by portraying a public heterosexual masculine identity. In order to achieve this and fulfill cultural family expectations, the typical homosexual man marries a woman and has a child with her; thus appearing to have the normative family life style which is so valued in Chinese society and carry on the family bloodline (Chou, 2000:24-25; Ren, Howe, Zhang, 2018). However, the women who marry these men are not necessarily aware of their homosexuality prior to the marriage and many women who later discover their husbands' homosexual tendencies tend to feel lost, betrayed, humiliated, and perhaps even spiteful as posts detailing first hand experiences in the "Wives of

Homosexuals Ba" reveal. These feelings of negativity are encouraged by the societal context of homophobia, traditional Confucian emphasis on filial piety, and strong social norms regarding divorce for women in China (Chou, 2000:101-106).

The term "homosexual's wife" appears 38 times in the text, and of these 7 are used as intertextual reference to another Tieba: "Wives of Homosexuals Ba" (同妻吧 *tongqiba*). This online community consists of women who have found their husbands to be engaging in sexual acts with men or have suspicions of their husband's sexual relations with other men. The community serves as a place in which these women seek advice and give support, forming a group identity based on similar personal experiences and thus strongly aligning with each other based on empathy. The importance of this intertextuality is revealed by the author who shares that what the author is now posting in the Anti-Chinese LGBTQ Ba regarding *Tongqi* and solutions to the questions they ask, the author has already posted in the "Wives of Homosexuals Ba" under the thread "Wives of Homosexuals Ba Problem Solving" using a different account. This short excerpt clearly demonstrates the definition of intertextuality given above and how entextualization is a key feature through the term *Tongqi* and the reference to the Tongqi Ba.

2.3.2.3 Membership Categorization and Indexicality

Generally speaking, membership categorization refers to the linguistic act of appending a label, i.e. assigning a word, to categorize an item/object/notion/person etc. based on a set of criteria. Labels are also referred to as categorical terms. As Haddington (2006:71) notes, the categorical terms by which language users assign to different groups are used to create membership and as such research concerning this area has been heavily influenced by Sacks'(1972) membership categorization devices (MCDs) within an approach known as Membership Categorization (Analysis), i.e. MC(A). Although almost 50 years have passed since Sacks' proposal of MCA in 1972, and as Fitzgerald (2012:306) notes, Sacks is still the 'go-to' for MCA in the 21st century where there is a "renewed interest and application of Sacks' ideas".

A preliminary analysis reveals that *'ta'* and other third person pronouns are systematically used in conjunction with specific nouns as MCDs to construct self and other identities. MCDs function to "evoke categories of people" and "link members of the category to specific activities and scenes" (Gordon, 2015:334). Specifically, the user systematically exploits noun-pronoun-verb pairings to clearly position the third person as either a transgressive, immoral entity beyond salvation, or as a victimized individual in need of help before it is too late. These two statuses of the Other are

indexed by the user's specific third person pronoun choice according to context. This systematic pronoun-noun pairing can also be understood in terms of Ochs' (1992b: 413-414) concept of indexicality which claims that one of the concepts indexed, i.e. referred to, by a language user's language choice is that of identity.

Within the Special Case, the study identified a total of 442 MCDs with three main types. The labels for these types were generated by the study based on the referential perspective in which they were used: 1) Speaker first person MCDs (e.g. "I"), 2) Addressee second person MCDs (e.g. "you"), and 3) Other third person MCDs with two sub-types types: Third Person Pronouns (e.g. "he") and Third Person Noun Phrases (e.g. "male"). Specifically, speaker first person MCDs refer to lexical items used to categorize the speaker in the first person, addressee second person MCDs refer to lexical items used to categorize the one being addressed by the discourse in the second person, and other MCDs refer to lexical items used to categorize a third entity external to the immediate speaker-addressee relationship within the text. The quantitative distribution of these MCDs within the Special Case is shown in Figure 2.8 below.
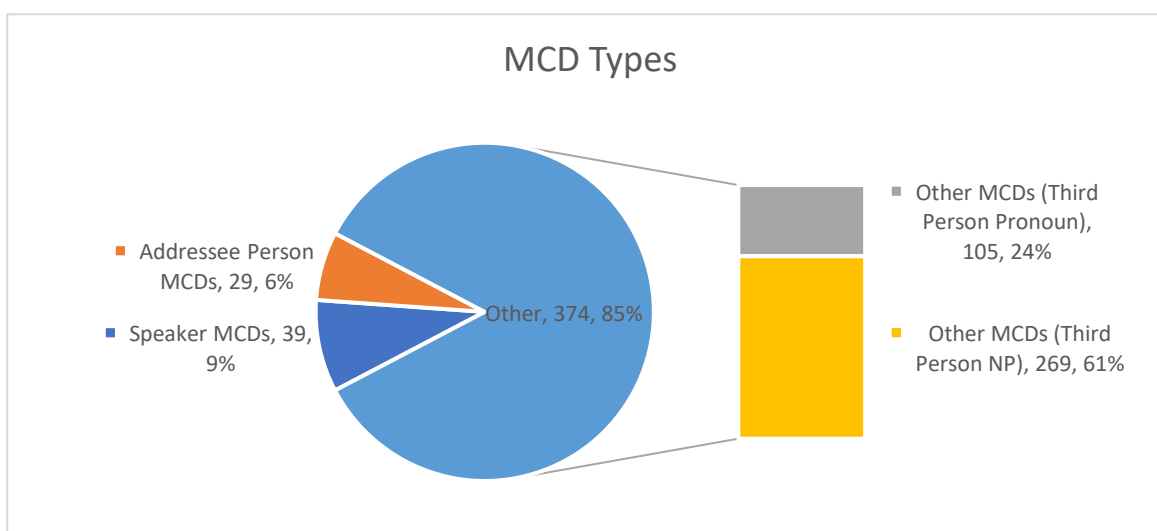
Figure 2.8 MCD Types in SC

First let us turn to examples of Speaker and Addressee MCDs, that is first and second person MCDs, within the Special Case and how they function in conjunction with intertextuality to perform framing/positioning. These two categories of MCDs function to elicit rhetorical effects and seek interlocutor alignment while emphasizing the authoritative voice of the text. Specifically, these forms are those of address as outlined below with Speaker MCDs coded in orange and Addressee MCDs coded in dark blue (Table 2.22):

Table 2.22 List of Speaker and Addressee MCDs (terms of address) in Special Case

Chinese	Pinyin	English	Word Category/Explanation	Token (n)
你	ni	Specific you	Second person pronoun	28
楼主	louzhu	Thread owner	A noun phrase used as third person deixis to reflexively refer to the author without using the first person pronoun "I"	27
我	wo	Me	First person pronoun	5
我们	women	We	Plural first person pronoun	6
我	wo	I	First person pronoun	1
你	ni	General you	Second person pronoun	1

Let us go back to Example 14 of the Special Case excerpt discussed for intertextuality, which is repeated below for convenience (Table 2.23), with a focus on speaker/addressee MCDs 你 *ni* you, 楼主 *louzhu* Thread Owner, and 我 *wo* I. In the table, intertextuality is coded in purple.

Table 2.23 Ex 14 Special Case Excerpt 1 Repeat

Data Item	Special Case
Community	Special Case
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis (Original)	1. 什么是同妻？ — 1 同妻，即男同性恋者的妻子。— 2 说到这里，或许有人要惊异地问一句："什么，同性恋也会娶老婆？同性恋不是喜欢同性的吗，怎么还要娶老婆？"如果说楼主再告诉你，同性恋娶老婆是为了生孩子，那你的表情或许楼主只能靠想象了。— 3 早先就有吧友提出，同妻问题应该广为宣传，楼主也觉得是可以写点东西了。[…] — 4 最近整理了一下同妻吧这些时间的帖子，收集了一些问题，于是写了一点东西——这个帖子是我在同妻贴吧 VXGZ 号上写的一篇《同妻吧问题整理》，其实还没有写完。[…] — 5
Content for Analysis (Translation)	1. What is a **homosexual's wife** (同妻 tongqi) — 1 A **Tongqi** is the wife of a homosexual male. — 2 Having said that, some people may ask with amazement: "What, homosexuals will also marry a wife? Don't homosexuals like the same sex? How is there a need to marry a wife?" If the **Thread Owner** then tells you, homosexuals marry a wife for the purpose of having children, then perhaps the **Thread Owner** can only rely on their imagination [to gage] **your** expression. — 3 Earlier, a Ba friend suggested that the issue of **homosexual's wives** should be widely publicized and the **Thread Owner** also thought that something could be written. […] — 4 [I] recently organized the posts [I] put on the **Tongqi Ba** during those times, collected some questions, and wrote some stuff - this post is a **I** posted in the "**Wives of Homosexuals Ba**" under the thread "**Wives of Homosexuals Ba** Problem Solving" using the account VXGZ. […] — 5

It is through these opening paragraphs and intertextuality that the author begins to position themselves to readers, i.e. addressees, as both a *Tongqi* supporter and Anti-Chinese LGBTQ and

conversely begins to frame LGBTQ individuals, specifically LGBTQ men, as undesirable others through the use of MCDs. The excerpt reveals how the author of the post uses two speaker MCDs to refer to themselves in two different contexts. The first context, marked as sections 3 and 4 in Ex 14, is that of assuming an authoritative voice in order to validate the information they present in the discourse. In these cases, instead of using "I" the author refers to themselves in the third person, i.e. Thread Owner.

The practice of referring to one's self in the third person, as done here, is known as illeism. The usage of illeism allows the author to distance themselves from the content of the speech event and to highlight the fact that they own the content, i.e. are in a position of power due to their ascribed role afforded by "Thread Owner". This distancing has been noted by scholars such as Virtanen (2015:221) and the linguist Horn (2008:176), who terms this as the dissociative third person. Furthermore, Coesemans and Cock (2017:47) note in their study of politicians on Twitter that illeism in social media can be used to display professional identity. In this case, that would be the "Thread Owner".

Thus, using "Thread Owner:" instead of "I" contributes to establishing authoritative stance and enforces that the speaker holds a position of power over the addressee. In further support of this argument is the interview given by associate clinical professor of psychology at Harvard Medical School Elsa Ronningstam in 2008 with *Esquire.* In this interview Ronningstam outlines how illeism contributes to establishing distance between speaker and addressee, and that using third person reference for the self is also a way for one to adjust to/take on a bigger role by "enlarging" oneself ("Why the F%$# Do People Refer to Themselves in the Third Person?", 2008). The authoritative position of the speaker in relation to the addressee is further enhanced by the conjoint usage of the addressee MCD "you" in section 3 of Ex 14, both tokens of which are the "specific you". The "specific you" is a type of 'you' which is designed to make the addressee feel as if that exact communicative act is personally directed at them (e.g. Landert, 2014:205; Labrador et al., 2014:40).

The second type of Speaker MCD seen in this excerpt is "I", as seen in section 5 of Ex 14. Section 5 differs from 3 and 4 in that there is a shift in positioning as a result of content. While an authoritative voice is required to give information that is to seem factual, a more immediate, i.e. personal, voice is more interactionally suitable when conveying one's affiliation. In this case, through the usage of "I" the author personally affiliates themselves with the Tongqi Ba,

highlighting their categorization as a member of the Tongqi Ba. Thus, within this excerpt the author can be seen assuming two identities which are managed through the MCDs: 1. The authoritative Thread Owner, and 2) the disgruntled Tongqi supporter. This self-positioning as a *Tongqi* supporter/advocate insinuates that *Tongqi* see themselves, or are at least seen by others, as victims at the expense of LGBTQ males who are the reason for the women coming to be branded as *Tongqi*.

With speaker/addressee MCDs introduced, let us now move to an illustrative discussion regarding Other third person MCDs and how they work together with speaker/addressee MCDs to construct, assign, and maintain positions and identity. The self-positioning of the author, the framing of *Tongqi* as victims, and the framing of LGBTQ men as others on the basis of gender and sexuality ideologies is achieved through a variety of "other" MCDs which are outlined quantitatively below (Table 2.24).

Table 2.24 List of Third Person MCDs in Special Case

Chinese	Pinyin	English	Word Category/Explanation	Token (n)
基佬	*jilao*	Cantonese slang for calling a male gay = *Jilao*	A noun phrase used as third person deixis	74
他	*ta*	He	Third person pronoun	41
同妻	*tongqi*	Homosexual's wife *Tongqi*	A noun phrase used as third person deixis	38
搞基	*gaoji*	A slang term used to refer to engagement in male homosexual behaviour/activities	V-O *It appears as a VP or NP depending on context	37
它们	*tamen*	plural "it" -> its	Plural third person pronoun	35
同性恋	*tongxinglian*	homosexual/gay/same sex love	Noun	23
它	*ta*	It	Third person pronoun	15
男人	*nanren*	Male people	A noun phrase used as third person deixis	15
基佬们	*jilaomen*	Plural form of Cantonese slang for calling a male gay = *Jilaos*	A plural noun phrase used as third person deixis	14
性取向	*xingquxiang*	Sexual Orientation	Noun phrase	11

女人	*nüren*	Female People	A noun phrase used as third person deixis	10
女性	*nüxing*	Female Sex	Noun	7
行为	*xingwei*	Behaviour	Noun	7
双性恋	*shuangxinglian*	Bisexual	Noun	6
他们	*tamen*	They (male plural)	Plural third person pronoun	5
直男	*zhinan*	Straight Male	A noun phrase used as third person deixis	5
男性	*nanxing*	Male Sex	Noun	5
她们	*tamen*	They (female plural)	Plural third person	4
毒棍	*dugun*	Dugun – drug addict	Noun	4
TA	*ta*	ta	Third person pronoun	3
性行为	*xingxingwei*	Sexual behaviour	Noun	3
受害者	*shouhaizhe*	Victim	Noun	3
赌徒	*dutu*	gambler	Noun	3
同女友	*tongnüyou*	girlfriend of homosexual *Tongnvyou*	Noun	2
加害者	*jiahaizhe*	one who adds injury	A noun phrase used as third person deixis	1
害人者	*hairenzhe*	one who harms people	A noun phrase used as third person deixis	1
其	*qi*	his / her / its / their / that / such / it (refers to sth preceding it)	Third person deixis	2

Let us once again go back to Example 14 of the Special Case excerpt discussed for intertextuality and speaker/addressee MCDs, which is repeated below for convenience, but with a focus on the other MCD 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual, which is a NP MCD coded in green.

Table 2.25 Ex 14 Special Case Excerpt 1 Repeat

Data Item	**Special Case**
Community	**Special Case**
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题
	Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04

Content for Analysis (Original)	1. 什么是同妻？ ⎤ 1 同妻，即男同性恋者的妻子。 ⎤ 2 说到这里，或许有人要惊异地问一句："什么，同性恋也会娶老婆？同性恋不是喜欢同性的吗，怎么还要娶老婆？"如果说楼主再告诉你，同性恋娶老婆是为了生孩子，那你的表情或许楼主只能靠想象了。 ⎤ 3 早先就有吧友提出，同妻问题应该广为宣传，楼主也觉得是可以写点东西了。[…] ⎤ 4 最近整理了一下同妻吧这些时间的帖子，收集了一些问题，于是写了一点东西——这个帖子是我在同妻贴吧 VXGZ 号上写的一篇《同妻吧问题整理》，其实还没有写完。[…] ⎤ 5
Content for Analysis (Translation)	1. What is a **homosexual's wife** (同妻 tongqi) ⎤ 1 A **Tongqi** is the wife of a **homosexual male**. ⎤ 2 Having said that, some people may ask with amazement: "What, **homosexuals** will also marry a wife? Don't **homosexuals** like the same sex? How is there a need to marry a wife?" If the **Thread Owner** then tells **you**, **homosexuals** marry a wife for the purpose of having children, then perhaps the **Thread Owner** can only rely on their imagination [to gage] **your** expression. ⎤ 3 Earlier, a Ba friend suggested that the issue of **homosexual's wives** should be widely publicized and the **Thread Owner** also thought that something could be written. […] ⎤ 4 [I] recently organized the posts [I] put on the **Tongqi Ba** during those times, collected some questions, and wrote some stuff - this post is a **I** posted in the "**Wives of Homosexuals Ba**" under the thread "**Wives of Homosexuals Ba** Problem Solving" using the account VXGZ.[…] ⎤ 5

The addition of the *Tongxinglian* Other MCD functions to begin framing the author's position in relation to the Other, i.e. the *Tongxinglian*. To further illustrate the use of MCDs and how they link to indexicality, let us turn to Example 15 which is the second Special Case excerpt almost immediately following the first. With Example 15, let us once again focus on the other MCD 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual alongside that of 基佬 *jilao* Jilao, which is also a NP MCD coded

in green, and 他们 *tamen* they (default male group in the plural), which is a third person pronoun

MCD coded in maroon (Table 2.26).

Table 2.26 Ex 15 Special Case Excerpt 2

Data Item	Special Case
Community	**Special Case**
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题
	Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis (Original)	[…]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[…]

In terms of public understanding, those who are classified, or self identify, as *tongxinglian* are literally taken at the face value of the term: "same love". Since **they他们 (default male plural)** love the same sex, then **[they他们 (default male plural)]** probably would not go and find someone of the opposite sex to marry.

Two consequences have arisen as a result of the face value understanding of the term: 1) the casting of blind sympathy and understanding towards *tongxinglian* **'homosexuals',** and 2) the disregard/contempt for the group of **Tongqi** who are behind the *tongxinglian* **homosexuals.**

(So, in this post the **thread owner** will use the term **"基佬 Jilao"** as a substitute for *tongxinglian* as much as possible)

1

2

3

Of great interest in terms of positioning and framing of male LGBTQ as others, the author provides a direct comment on two of the MCDs present in the text: 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual and 基佬 jilao. Specifically, in the section of the text marked 1, the author states their view that, in terms of public understanding, those who are classified, or self identify, as *tongxinglian* are literally taken at the face value of the term: "same love". That is, the author argues that since "they 他们 (male plural)" as *tongxinglain* love the same sex, then "they 他们 (male plural)"as true *tongxinglian* probably would not go and find someone of the opposite sex to marry. The usage, i.e. pairing, of the standard third person plural male pronoun with the noun *tongxinglian* instead of a nonstandard form or other third person deixis MCD reflects the authors potentially neutral position of "same love" between male *tongxinglian*.

In further discussing the term *tongxinglian* in section 2, the author states that two consequences have arisen as a result of the face value understanding of the term: 1) the casting of blind sympathy and understanding towards *tongxinglian* 'homosexuals', and 2) the disregard/contempt for the group of Tongqi who are behind the *tongxinglian* homosexuals. Through this contextual outlining of a social issue stemming from a lack of awareness of the term *tongxinglian* the author is clearly positioning themselves against a specific type of *tongxinglian* in relation to the context of issues

surrounding Tongqi. This position is made even clearer in the final section of this paragraph, section 3, where the author comments on their usage of the MCD 基佬 Jilao:

（所以楼主在这个帖子里，会尽量使用【基佬】这个词来指代同性恋。）

(So, in this post the thread owner will use the term "基佬 Jilao" as a substitute for *tongxinglian* as much as possible)

In this very blunt declaration that reveals the authors stance, the author positions themselves not necessarily against *tongxinglian* but against Jilao, a type of *tongxinglian* which marries heterosexual women simply to have a child and hide the fact that they are homosexual. The author further makes evident the difference in their stance taking towards members of the *tongxinglian* category and members of the Jilao category through further pronoun-noun-verb pairing of MCDs which achieves/leads to indexicality. In order to understand the indexical process, let us turn to a quantitative and then qualitative focus on the verb-object MCD 搞基 *Gaoji,* which is primarily a slang verb used to refer to engagement in male homosexual behaviour/activities, and the third person referents with which it is paired in the text. The concept of "verb MCD" is one that is unique to this study and derived based on Sack's (1972) rules for MCDs.

It is here that it becomes necessary to clarify the following: within this study, I am not doing MCA, but simply borrowing/adapting the concept of MCD to explain/refer to lexical items which are used to construct categories of membership with interactional purpose in discourse, where these interactional purposes fall under the framework of positioning (e.g. Haddington, 2006; Deppermann, 2013; Gordon, 2015). Unlike the traditional sense of MC, this study is not concerned with, nor does it make assumptions about, "sociocultural knowledge associated with membership categories" (Deppermann, 2013:66) nor does it consider "taken-for-granted knowledge-in-action" as being central (Fitzgerald, 2012: 305). Rather, the focus is on the sequential and systematic linguistic pairing of categorical lexical items in discourse.

Sacks (1972) outlined three essential rules for MCD: 1) The Economy Rule, 2) The Consistency Rule, and 3) the Category-Bound Activities rule. Of primary importance to the usage of third person pronouns, and the verb-object MCD, in the Special Case post of this study is the third rule: "people tie particular activities to certain categories so that an identity may be inferred from knowledge of an activity" (Sacks, 1972:333). By qualitatively examining the text, it was found that in specific conditions and contexts 搞基 *gaoji* was systematically used as a verb MCD in

conjunction with specific pronouns/nouns. From their systematic pronoun and noun pairings, it is evident that the user ascribes a certain behaviour with a certain category of people, while they ascribe the second behavior to a different category of people. Specifically, the study looked at the semantic agents of the Gaoji MCD and the lexical item paired with each that was used for third person reference. That is, the semantic agent and syntactic third person reference of *Gaoji* were analyzed as associated MCDs.

Two main Agent cases occur in the data: 1) lexicalized agent with specific MCD in the discourse, and 2) non-lexicalized agent which is inferred. Cases of lexicalized agent have an MCD listed in the column while cases of non-lexicalized agent are listed as "null". In addition, lexicalized agents can be NPs (e.g. a person) or pronouns (e.g. 'it', 'he'). As for the syntactic third person reference several cases are noticed: 1) third person pronouns, 2) null, and 3) phrase. Cases of third person pronouns occur in conjunction with lexicalized agents to refer back to the agent from a third person perspective (3PP). Cases of null third person reference occur when there is no 3PP reference made to a lexicalized agent. Cases of phrases seem to occur in conjunction with the lexical properties of *Gaoji*. That is, when *Gaoji* is used as a gerund, also referred to as a Gaoji NP, it is presented in a 3PP NP which fills the syntactic "third person referent" position and does not have a lexicalized agent. The Gaoji NP is a special phenomenon in the corpus. These findings are reflected in Figure 2.9 below:

Agent - Third Person Pairings for MCD 搞基 Gaoji

Agents of 搞基 Gaoji (n)	Null	他 He	它/它们 It SG/PL	搞基 Gaoji NP	其 it/she/he/they	基佬 Jilao
■基佬Jilao (n/10)	3	1	5		1	
■男人 male person (n/8)	8					
■直男 straight male (n/2)	2					
■not lexicalized (n/6)				5		1
■一个人 a person (n/1)	1					
■同性恋 + 双性恋 Tongxinglian and Bisexual (n/1)			1			
■他 He (n/5)	4		1			
■赌徒毒棍 Gambling/drug adict (n/1)			1			
■它 it (n/4)	4					
■对象 partner (n/1)	1					
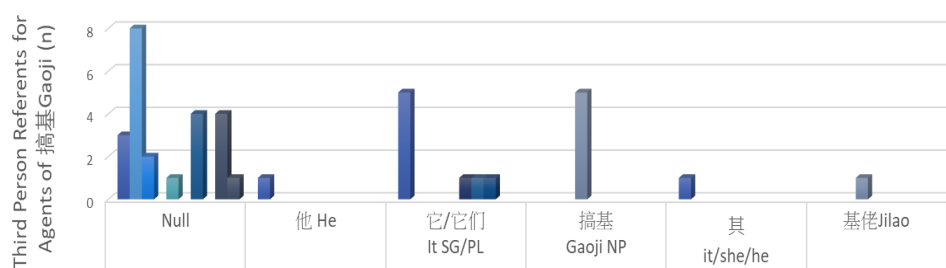
Figure 2.9 Agent Third Person Pairings for Gaoji MCD

Figure 2.9 above illustrates that the three most common Gaoji semantic agents are: 基佬 Jilao (10/39), 男人 *nanren* male person (8/39), and not lexicalized (6/39). The three most common third person referents of Gaoji agents in the Special Case are shown below in Table 2.27: null (23/39), 它/它们 it singular/plural (8/39), and the Gaoji NP (5/39).

Table 2.27 Third Person Reference for Agent MCD of 搞基 Gaoji

Chinese	Pinyin	English	Token (n)
null	----	---	23
它/它们	*ta/tamen*	It singular/plural	8
他	*ta*	he	1
搞基(行为)	*gaoji (xingwei)*	gaoji behavior/Gaoji NP	5
其	*qi*	It/he/they/she---	1
基佬	*jilao*	Jilao	1
Total			39

The following short excerpt collections (Table 2.28) from Special Case will function to demonstrate how these noun-pronoun-verb MCDs work together in the analysis to achieve positioning and construct self and other identities. Excerpts will focus on showing the reference forms, i.e. Other MCDs, connected to MCD Gaoji is the following order: 1) null reference forms, 2) "it" reference forms, 3) third person "he" reference forms, and 4) the Gaoji NP – Non-Lexicalized Agent form.

Table 2.28 Ex 16 Special Case Excerpt Collection 1 - null reference forms

Data Item	Special Case
Community	**Special Case**
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis 1	

	✦ Semantic Agent MCD ✦ Third Person Reference MCD ✦ First Person MCD Ex 1) **直男**能不能被掰弯（变成**基佬**）？ Is it possible for **straight males** to be bent (become **Jilao**)? 这个问题，**楼主**如果换一种说法，大家或许会好理解一些：**男人**能不能**搞基**？ This question, if the **Thread Owner** were to rephrase it, perhaps everyone would understand better: Is it possible or not for a **male person** to **Gaoji**?
Content for Analysis 2	Ex 2) + Ex 3) **男人**，虽然有这个条件**搞基**，**//** 但大多数**男人**都不**搞基**，这是为什么呢？ A **male person**, although there is this condition to **Gaoji** **//** yet many **male people** do not **Gaoji**. Well, why is this?
Content for Analysis 3	Prior context: the previous sentence debates "is there a strict criterion by which to easily decide if "it" is a Jilao? Ex 4) + Ex 5) **楼主**觉得是有的，那就是：如果**它 搞基**，**//** 那么**它** 必定是**基佬**。 The **Thread Owner** thinks there is [one], that is: If **IT Gaojis, //** then **IT** is definitely a **Jilao**.

The MCD usage here shows several patterns under the null condition that build to frame the LGBTQ as Others by specifically assigning them the identity of Jilao based on the author's ideologies regarding sexuality. The second half of Content for Analysis 1 sees the return of the authoritative voice with "Thread Owner" speaker MCD which is taken up to rephrase the question of whether it is possible for a straight male to be a Jilao, i.e. whether a male person has the ability to Gaoji. Here, there is no third person referent paired to the semantic agent 男人 male person of Gaoji.

The same pattern occurs in the two examples for Content for Analysis 1. In both cases we see semantic agent 男人 male person paired with MCD Gaoji, yet there is no third person reference pointing back to the semantic agent. Content for Analysis 2 is similar to that of Content for Analysis 1 in that they both question, i.e. evaluate, the ability of a 男人 male person to Gaoji. At this point the author's ideology begins to become apparent: a male is still a male until they Gaoji, because real males cannot Gaoji. This position is bluntly portrayed in the semantic agent MCD, i.e. "it" traditionally used to refer to animals and inanimate objects, and Gaoji MCD paring in

Content for Analysis 3, which is also encased in the authoritative voice. Let us further explore this phenomenon in Excerpt Collection 2 (Table 2.29).

Table 2.29 Ex 17 Special Case Excerpt Collection 2 - "it" reference forms

Data Item	Special Case
Community	Special Case
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis 1	◆ Semantic Agent MCD ◆ Third Person Reference MCD ◆ First Person MCD Ex 6) 然而**基佬**呢，**它们搞基**既没有法律上的惩戒措施, 又是身体和心理的双重刺激 [...] However, as for **Jilao,** since **IT (plural – "their") Gaoji** does not have legal disciplinary measures it is a physical and psychological stimuli [...]
Content for Analysis 2	Ex 7) **基佬**改不了，没什么"双性恋"， 别指望**基佬**能对女人有感情。 要知道，从**它们搞基** 的那一刻起， **它们**从心理到行为，都已经变态了。 **Jilao** can not change, there is no "bisexual", do not hope that **Jilao** can have feelings for female people. It must be known that, from the moment **IT (plural – "they") Gaoji,** from **IT (plural – "their")** mind to behaviour, is all perverted.

In this case, both Content for Analysis 1 and 2 show that "it" is being used to refer to the semantic agent Jilao, a term which is applied to those who have committed the action of Gaoji. The author is constructing the Jilao identity as an inhumane, i.e. animalistic other, through using the third person pronoun "it" to dehumanize the individual as a result of a specific action. This "online", that is in the moment, construction of the other identity can be clearly seen in the third excerpt collection below (Table 2.30).

Table 2.30 Ex 18 Special Case Excerpt Collection 3 - third person "he" reference forms
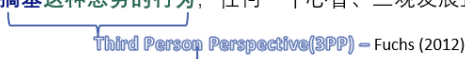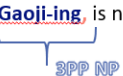
Data Item	Special Case
Community	Special Case
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis 1	

Once again the authoritative voice makes an appearance through the first person MCD. We can see here that the male third person pronoun "he" is used within a conditional clause, which is similar to Excerpt Collection 1 data as it details a hypothetical frame regarding a male who has yet to Gaoji. As "he" has yet to Gaoji, "he" is still referred to as "he". However, the complement to the clause which completes the sentence shows that with the completion of the Gaoji action, "he" is no longer "he" but a Jilao which takes the third person reference form of "it". That is, "he" is the semantic agent MCD of an individual who has yet to Gaoji, while "Jilao" comes to be the semantic agent MCD once "he" Gaojis. This example specifically illustrates how the author constructs, de-constructs, and re-constructs the identity of the other based on theoretical behaviors and circumstances that either align or defy their own ideologies regarding sexuality and sexual conduct.

Haddington (2006:86) notes that "one's category is not invoked only by the use of a NP, but categories can be invoked by pronouns and they can become transparent only after we look at how pronouns are used dialogically". This connects back to the importance of evaluation and appraisal. In order to assign a pronoun, the language user must first evaluate the other. Their evaluation, based on their own feelings and ideologies, will influence whether they chose a pronoun that matches with how the other perceives themselves or not. This is clearly seen in how the user chooses to use "it" to refer to "Jilao" in the third person. Usage of "it" evokes notions of dehumanization, disrespect, and hate; emotions which are conductive to Othering. This is further

emphasized when we examine how the author employs the Gaoji NP as an MCD, as shown in the fourth excerpt collection below (Table 2.31).

Table 2.31 Ex 19 Special Case Excerpt Collection 4 - Gaoji NP Non-Lexicalized Agent reference form

Data Item	Special Case
Community	Special Case
Thread Title	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)
Date	2018-10-04
Content for Analysis 1	✦ Agent MCD ✦ Third Person Reference MCD ✦ First Person MCD ✦ Third Person Intertextual MCD Ex 9) 所以**搞基**这种恶劣的行为，任何一个心智、三观发展正常的男人都是会拒绝和抵制甚至感觉厌恶的。 *Third Person Perspective(3PP)* = Fuchs (2012) Therefore **Gaoji, this kind of vile behaviour,** any male person with a normal mind and a mature worldview, system of values, and view of life will reject and resist or even feel disgusted.
Content for Analysis 2	Ex 10) 不少基佬来同妻吧误导同妻，说什么"**搞基并不见得**就是基佬（同性恋/gay）" 3PP NP Many Jilao come to the Tongqi Ba and mislead the Tongqi saying "**Gaoji-ing**, is not only Jilao (homosexual/gay)" 3PP NP

Both cases show a distinct Chinese syntactic structure, the topic-comment structure (Li & Thompson, 1981). This is possible because Gaoji is being used as a gerund NP form, which places it as the topic. We understand that some entity, i.e. the semantic agent, must Gaoji in order for the act of Gaoji to materialize. However, the author does not provide a lexicalized MCD for the semantic agent because Gaoji is being used in the third person perspective (3PP) which refers to the "observer perspective, referring to situations of one-way, remote observation of others or to situations of talking or thinking about absent persons" (Fuchs, 2012:4). The comment about the topic, that is the author's own opinion regarding Gaoji as a behaviour in Content for Analysis 1 and reported speech of Jilao's in the Tongqi Ba regarding Gaoji as a behaviour in Content for Analysis 2, follows in the second clause.

The approach that I have taken is very similar to that taken by Depperman (2013) in that I view membership categorization as a core element of positioning but recognize that positioning extends

much farther than lexical categories. Specifically, Depperman (2013:62) states that positioning goes beyond membership categorization " by uncovering implicit performative claims of identity", a point which I focus on highlighting in my analysis through the use of MCDs.

In Deppermann's (2013:73) analyses, Deppermann illustrates MCDs used to designate an individual as belonging to a deviation category, where this deviation is indexed as morally degenerate, based on the individual's actions. In comparison, the same can be seen occurring in the Special Case where the act of Gaoji is used to index individuals categorized as Jilao, which is a nominal categorization that can be considered a deviation category, as being morally degenerate. Deviation categories are used "to build (more or less serious) criticism in interactions" (Deppermann, 2013:73). In the words of Deppermann (2013:74), the Gaoji MCD "is occasioned both in terms of the identity-categories and of the category-bound actions ascribed to" the individual. However, as outlined in Deppermann (2013) and reflected in the data of my study, it may be necessary to distinguish between actions and action descriptions when considering verb MCDs. As illustrated by the relationship between the Gaoji MCD and its paired nominal categories, when simply discussing the act which has yet to be committed the individual still belongs to a non-deviant category and labelled as "man" and referred to as "he"; however, once the act of Gaoji has been committed, the individual is shifted into the deviant category of "Jilao" and referred to as "it". In other words, "The relationship of behavior to action and to identity categories depends on the formulation of action in terms of agency, identity-relevance and moral accountability" (Deppermann, 2013: 77).

Another point worth noting is that the notions of MCDs and MC have almost exclusively been applied to spoken data, not written data as I am doing in my study, and thus paired with CA methodology. It is here that a brief discussion of the 21st century distinction between MCA and CA is in order. Stokoe's (2012:279) work in differentiating CA from MCA is interesting in that it calls attention to a very important point: "categories and sequences have rarely been studied concurrently" where CA is notorious for its focus on sequence and MCA for its focus on categories. Although this statement is made in the context of spoken data, it is valuable to note due to the sequential patterning of nominal categories and verb MCDs, referred to as "category-tied predicates" by Stokoes, as they appear in my written discourse data. That is, my study is not only original in that it applies MCDs to asynchronous and non-conversational written discourse, but

also in that it contributes to considering the relationship between categories and sequences which, to this day, remains understudied.

Stokoe (2012:282) argues that "the appeal (and danger) of MCA is to try to unpack what is apparently unsaid by members and produce an analysis of their subtle categorization work". While this may be the case of the MCA approach, such is not the case with identifying MCDs as I do in my study. As the MCDs I use and identify in the analyses are explicit lexical items, unsaid phenomenon pertaining to membership categorization is not a factor. Both Stokoe's (2012:283) study and my own focus on "explicit and largely unambiguous uses of categories" in terms of MCDs. In other words, Stokoe's (2012:292) study and my own use MCDs as a way to a "what-the-participants-show-us" approach, which is fundamentally different from the usage in early Sacks' MCA where "categories" applied to the data are largely pre-determined.

This discussion on the application of MCDs and indexicality, i.e. gender assignment, in the context of the Special Case has produced the following five main conclusions: 1. The first person MCD Thread Owner 楼主 is used for authoritative voice; 2) The act of Gaoji is clearly linked to status as a Jilao; 3) Before 'becoming a Jilao', the agent is still considered human and male (i.e. 男人 male person); 4) When a 男人 male person 'Gaojis' they become a Jilao because of having Gaoji-ed; and 5) Once considered Jilao, the agent is dehumanized (i.e. 它 it reference is used).

This illustrative example has shown the integration of intertextuality, membership categorization and indexicality, and evaluation as complementary and supplementary approaches within the framing, position, and stance theories framework. In addition, the extensive analysis also illustrates how intertextuality, membership categorization and indexicality are complementarily situated within the framework in relation to the linguistically oriented Appraisal theory. The observation demonstrated in the brief appraisal analysis (Ex 14a) of the short extract of Ex 14 with regards to the Author framing homosexuals who get female wives, now known to be categorized as Jilaos via the MCD analysis, as being immoral and non-human is not only confirmed but also reinforced by the integration of these social-psychology grounded approaches. In addition, the author's primary usage of 'Judgement' over 'Affect' in terms of the Appraisal system is interesting to note with respect to the usage of the first person MCD Thread Owner, which is used for the authoritative voice. The brief Appraisal analysis of Ex 14a offers a more comprehensive and complementary linguistic basis for the argument that the author self-constructs their identity as being in a position of power, i.e. authority. This is possible because 'Judgement'

is reflective of social norms, i.e. societal ideology, while 'Affect' is merely reflective of the emotions and thoughts held by the individual. Thus, strategic usage of Judgment over Affect frames the content of the utterance as more general and objective because the content is being put forward under the pretense that said content is the position, i.e. evaluation, of society as a collective, which carries more authority than the utterance of a single individual.

2.4   Interim Summary

This chapter has outlined ethical considerations within the context of Internet data collection and analysis (2.1), the corpus composition and data properties (2.2), and the methodological approach adopted in this study (2.4). The next chapter introduces a classification schema, referred to as the '*Ta* Categorization Schema', that can be used to identify groupings and classifications of third person referents. In the context of the study, it is an effective classification tool in the context of gender and identity-based language changes, as it allows for comprehensive 'labelling' based on the concept of MCDs and consequently offers a stable, empirically driven coding framework suitable for both qualitative and quantitative studies.

3   Who is *ta* ? A Comparison of Pro and Anti LGBTQ Community Usage

As a preface to the qualitative analysis chapters of Pro and Anti LGBTQ discourses, this chapter functions to provide a quantitative overview of the data findings. This chapter shows who *ta* is in both Pro and Anti communities by highlighting the explicit and implicit presence and absence of third person gender and sexual orientation attributes. The phrase "who *ta* is" refers to what kind of individual is being referred to through the use of third person pronoun *ta* in a specific discourse context. The phrase is used to convey the pragmatic versatility embodied in *ta* as a non-standard third person pronoun. The phrase also highlights the role that embodied third person pronoun attributes such as gender play in interactional relevancy. That is, the phrase highlights the relevancy of these attributes for communicative interaction.

As thus, this chapter begins by introducing a '*Ta* Categorization Schema.' This schema was developed to construct categories based on the absence or presence of gender and sexual identity information of the third person referent (3.1). The introduction of the schema is then followed by a quantitative presentation that shows all three communities(C1, C2, C3; see 2.2.1 above) in the corpus (3.2) and is accompanied by a qualitative presentation (3.3) and interim summary (3.4).

3.1   Ta Categorization Schema Methodology

The *Ta* Categorization Schema was created through combining qualitative top-down and bottom-up approaches to coding frames. In qualitative data analysis, top-down approaches are theory driven while bottom-up approaches are data driven. In social psychology, particularly with regards to constructivism, top-down approaches (also known as top-down processing, theory-driven processing, hypothesis-led processing, and conceptually driven processing) are stances which emphasize "theory-driven processes in social perception" and where " schemata or hypotheses set up prior expectations which drive the search for data" (Chandler & Munday, 2020). From a structuralist cognitive perspective, bottom-up approaches (also known as bottom-up processing) are "data-driven rather than hypothesis-led [and] driven by salient sensory data that may modify one's current hypotheses or schemata, changing subsequent expectations" (Chandler & Munday, 2020).Particularly in Content Analysis, this means that in top-down approaches "categories result either from existing literature or from the research interest behind the study" while in bottom-up approaches categories are developed from the materials of study (Flick, 2014:429). The two

approaches are often taken together as top-down is necessary to build a frame according to conventions, while bottom-up is necessary to fill that frame and expand it in accordance with real language use, i.e. reality. In the context of this study, categories from existing literature are seen in the work of Yang (2016:4) who surveys the terms used to refer to homosexuals/homosexuality and their individual connotations. Yang (2016) lists *Tongzhi* and *tongxinglian* as generic terms, 23 terms for male-specific homosexuality references, and 10 terms for female-specific homosexuality references. Consequently, the *Ta* Categorization Schema refers to the by-product of the aforementioned two approaches used to determine "who *ta* is" in the data.

This dissertation focusses on Pro and Anti LGBTQ discourses, an area in which issues of gender and sexuality are placed at the forefront as evidenced in the literature review (see above 1.2), and the non-standard third person pronoun *'ta'*. As also evidenced by the literature review (see above 1.2.3), an inherent property of many third person pronouns is to embody, i.e. convey, the gender of the referent – which is a maker of personhood (e.g. Dorn (1986)). As thus, the schema construction was approached in both a top-down and bottom-up manner with relation to "who *ta* is" in certain discourse contexts based on the lexically observable presence and absence of 'third person characteristics and/or 'attributes' such as gender and sexual orientation.

Third person characteristics/attributes refer to the information regarding a third person which can be deduced from the third person lexical term[9], either a noun (e.g. homosexual) or noun phrase (e.g. Female LGBT teacher), and/or third person pronoun (e.g. *ta* , he, she) used to refer to the third person individual in the discourse. Given the context and aim of this dissertation, only third person attributes relevant to gender and sexual identity(ies) are considered as criteria in the construction of the schema[10].

Consequently, the top-down approach informing the schema stemmed from the discourse context and culture (i.e. the Chinese LGBTQ+ community and the third person nouns/noun

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[9] Lexical terms refer to "explicitly specified textual strings" (Paice, 2016).

[10] In other words, factors such as where *ta* lives, whether *ta* has a partner, whether *ta* has children, *ta*'s occupation, etc., are not relevant to "who *ta* is" as third person attributes embodied by a third person pronoun and, more often than not, such details are also not provided in the discourse as third person noun phrases that embody third person attributes. That is, these factors are 1) not relevant for one's (non-)identification as an LGBTQ+ individual/community member – (non-)LGBTQ+ identification/membership is largely based on gender and sexuality; 2) are not embodied in the indexical system of a third person pronoun which is used to establish that (non-)membership, and 3) are not available information – if a factor is not lexicalized in the text it cannot be assumed that said factor exists nor can it be applied in analysis.

phrases/terms used within) as informed by the field of Gender and Sexuality studies with regard to 'conforming' and 'non-conforming' identities. The approach was consequently used to identify those who were LGBTQ+ and non-LGBTQ+. It is within this context that the data was examined for cases where descriptions and/or terms applied to *'ta'* matched any pre-existing/pre-defined (non-) LGBTQ+ labels. That is, I first collected pre-existing terms/labels, next became familiarized with their criteria in the Chinese cultural context, and then saw whether any data in the corpus matched the terms. For example, if *'ta'* is explicitly referred to with the Third Person Perspective (3PP) Membership Categorization Device (MCD) 同性恋 *tongxinglian* 'homosexual', this indexes both the gender of *'ta'* and *ta*'s sexual orientation in the Chinese cultural context: a male who likes males. Similarly, if *'ta'* is referred to with the 3PP MCD 直男 *zhinan* 'straight male', this indexes both the gender of *'ta'* (cis[11] male) and *ta*'s sexual orientation (heterosexual). However, both of these are examples where the third person attributes are explicitly provided, i.e. lexically present and/or embodied, for both gender attribute and sexual orientation attributes – and such is not always the case. In fact, in the context of this corpus, there are more cases where only partial information regarding the third person attributes of *'ta'* is explicitly present and the consequent majority is then absent. For example, if a user claims to be a bi-sexual female and writes "I am looking for a *'ta'* to date", then a division between the absence and presence of third person gender and sexual orientation attributes becomes relevant as well as a distinction between explicit and implicit attributes. Explicit attributes refer to attributes which are explicitly lexicalized[12] in the *ta*-text as embodied by third person pronouns and other third person gender and sexual orientation attributive embodying MCDs (e.g. for a pronoun, 'she' is explicitly female while for a third person MCD 'aunt' is explicitly female). Conversely, implicit attributes refer to attributes which are implied in the *ta*-text via contextual and other discourse factors.

From the statement "I am looking for a *ta* to date", no explicit third person gender and sexual orientation attribute is assigned to '*ta*'; however, there are implicit attributes assignable through the context of the speaker being a bi-sexual female. The bi-sexual orientation of the speaker implies

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[11] Cisgender is "[a] term for when someone's gender identity/expression matches the gender they were assigned at birth" (Anti Defamation League, 2014).

[12] In this study, I am only concerned with lexicalization. Lexicalization refers specifically to the physical manifestation of a concept in the form of a word which is linked to the explicit/implicit axis used in this study. Other modes of representation (e.g. orthographical and multimodal signs) are not examined in this study.

that, in terms of gender attributes, *'ta'* can be either male or female. However, the female gender of the speaker places restrictions on the sexual orientation attribute of *'ta'* in conjunction with gender. That is, *'ta'* must be attracted to females. As a result, this *'ta'* can be implied to be a 'heterosexual male' OR 'homosexual female'. In this specific instance, and other similar cases, there is no single, pre-existing term/label to describe "who is *ta*". This consequently resulted in the inductive, bottom-up construction of categories in the schema, i.e. the second approach informing the categorization framework based on the presence or absence of third person attributes.

In addition to an implicit/explicit axis in the categorization of the schema where all/ some gender and sexual orientation third person attributes are known, there is also a generic/specific axis[13]. The 'generic' component of the axis refers to discursive contexts in which the intended third person referent of '*ta*' is not a specific entity but rather 'some entity' in general. The 'specific' component of the axis refers to discursive contexts in which the intended third person referent of '*ta*' is a specific entity that the discourse producer has in mind while forming the discourse. This generic/specific axis is relevant in the categorization of the schema where no gender and sexual orientation third person attributes are known. Let us take the 3PP 人 *ren* 'person/people' as an example. Within the statement " the best way to defame 一个人 *yigeren* 'a person' is to accuse *ta* of adultery". In this case, there is neither implicit nor explicit information about *'ta'* with regards to gender and sexual orientation. The only known factor is that *'ta'* is 'a person'; this calls to relevance a distinction between a generic and specific third person *ta* referent. In this case, *'ta'* is classified as a generic referent because "who *ta* is" is 'a person', i.e. any person that one may want to defame by accusing of adultery. However, if the statement was "the best way to defame 那个人 *nageren* 'that person' is to accuse *ta* of adultery" – then *'ta'* is no longer a generic referent but a specific referent in the mind of the speaker. However, despite this increase in specificity the gender and sexual orientation attributes of the third person, i.e. 'that person', remain unknown.

The paragraphs above have exemplified how various factors of the referent to which *'ta'* refers became relevant through the course of data observation in terms of three areas: 1) known vs unknown third person attributes, 2) explicit vs implicit presence of third person attributes, and 3) generic vs specific third person entity referent. A visualization is shown in Table 3.1 below.

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[13] The "generic / specific" axis corresponds to the "type/token" distinction

Table 3.1 Multi-Layered Ta Categorization Schema

Gender Identity	Foundational Attributes	
	Gender	Sexual Orientation
Unknown	Nature of Referent: Generic or Specific Conforming or Non-conforming, i.e. 'Other'	
Known – Ascribed	Explicit or Implicit Conforming or Non-conforming, i.e. 'Other'	

As a summary, the schema in constructed based on *'ta'* being used in two broad gender identity attributions with finer subcategories: 1) Unknown Gender Identity and 2) Ascribed Gender Identity (whether explicit or implicit). Each broad category can be further dived into respective 'Conforming[14]' (i.e. default)-'Non-Conforming[15]'('Other') paradigms based on the usage of MCDs in conjunction with appraisal. It is within these finer subcategories where *'ta'* emerges as a pragmatic device to navigate perspectives of belonging.

The first case of gender identity attributions is where gender is unknown. Unknown Gender Identity consists of two types: 1) Unknown Gender Identity, and 2) Unknown Gender Identity-Other. Unknown Gender Identity arises in a discourse context where the speaker's use of *'ta'* stems from lack of knowledge regarding the biological and social gender identity, and/or sexual orientation of the third person to which they are referring (e.g. a person). Unknown Gender Identity- Non-Conforming, i.e. Other, arises in one of three discourse contexts where the speaker's use of *'ta'* may stem from: (a) lack of knowledge regarding the biological gender identity of the third person to which they are referring but whose sexual orientation is known and classified as 'Other' (e.g. a homosexual); (b) contempt and resistance towards accepting the third person as human (particularly in Anti-LGBTQ discourse); or (c) as a potentially newly emergent fourth third person pronoun specifically for LGBTQ members (particularly in Pro-LGBTQ discourse). Each of these two subcategories have further meta categories of 'generic' (i.e. a person/ a homosexual) and 'specific' (i.e. that person/ your homosexual child).

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[14] Gender conforming, also known as gender normative, is a term which describes individuals who conform to societal expectations of their gender role in a way "consistent with what is culturally associated with a person's sex assigned at birth" (Government of Canada – Terium Plus).

[15] Gender non-conformity, also known has gender variation, refers to individuals who do not conform to societal expectations of gender roles and/or gender expression (Wylie et al., 2010) and "is the common link for LGBTI" (Sanders, 2009). Consequently, non-conforming individuals are often met with discrimination, a known practice of Othering which results in their classification as 'Other' (for more on Othering, see Kagedan (2020, esp p.2); and 4.1 of this dissertation).

The second case of gender identity attributions is where gender is ascribed. This results in a series of intricate identity construction break downs derived from gender-conforming (i.e. 'normal' or cisgender) vs gender-non-conforming (i.e. 'Other') biological gender representation of the male-female binary. That is, Male/Female-Normal (where biological gender and social gender match, i.e. a heterosexual female) and Male/Female-Other (where biological gender and social gender may, e.g. a gay man, or may not, e.g. a Ladyboy without gender affirmation surgery or a MtF transgender with the surgery, match). It is important to note here that a distinction between having had surgery or not is necessary for the categorization schema and carries explanatory power because the corpus contains specific data in this category (see 4.3.1) where the surgery is important and this importance is connected with pronoun use and expectations of identity recognition.

However, it is also important to note that the schema is not finalized, and by no means comprehensive. This means that the schema is fluid and can theoretically be de/re-constructed and applied to any qualitative third person pronoun study focussing on gender and sexual identities on the basis of presence and absence of third person characteristics. That being said, the categories of the schema shown in this chapter are only those for which data appears in the corpus. A list of omitted categorizations included in the schema but not shown because they yield no instances in the corpus can be found in Appendix A.

In sum, the schema was inductively generated through top-down and bottom-up approaches to the data with a focus on the presence and absence of third person gender and sexual orientation attributes of the *ta* referent. As a first layer to the schema, this resulted in two larger grouping classifications for the referent of *'ta'* along the presence/absence axis (see 3.1 above):

- Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *'ta'* is known
    - 177 *ta* tokens (out of 652 for the entire corpus)
- Grouping B: Zero gender information of '*ta'* is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)
    - 463 *ta* tokens (out of 652)

In addition to these two larger groupings, there are two lesser groupings originating from the bottom-up approach along the presence/absence axis:

- Grouping C: *'ta'* can be either male or female gender, status of sexual orientation information varies from being known or unknown

o 9 *ta* tokens (out of 652)

- Grouping D: Cases that do not fit in the schema

    o 3 *ta* tokens (out of 652)

A visualization of this first layer of the schema is provided in the Table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2 First Layer of Ta Categorization Schema

	n
Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *ta* is known	177
Grouping B: Zero gender information of *ta* is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)	463
Grouping C: Either Male Or Female	9
Grouping D: Cases that don't fit any category	3
Total	**652**

With the Groupings established based on the presence/absence axis, they can now be elaborated upon in a second layer along the explicit/implicit axis for Grouping A and the generic/specific axis for Grouping B:

- Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *'ta'* is known

    o 177 *ta* tokens (out of 652 for the entire corpus)

        - 73 *ta* tokens (out of 177 Group A total) are Explicit in their known third person attributes

        - 104 *ta* tokens (out of 177) are Implicit in their known third person attributes

- Grouping B: Zero gender information of *'ta'* is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)

    o 463 *ta* tokens (out of 652)

        - 50 *ta* tokens (out of 463 Group B total) are Generic in their third person referent

        - 413 *ta* tokens (out of 463) are Specific in their third person referent

A visualization of this second layer of the schema is provided in the Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3 Second Layer of Ta Categorization Schema- Number of occurrences for types of ta Referents

	Explicit	Implicit	Total
Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *ta* is known	73	104	177
	Generic	Specific	Total
Grouping B: Zero gender information of *ta* is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree	50	413	463

The schema can then be further elaborated upon at a third layer within which more detailed categorization takes place (3.3). The rest of this chapter is designed to present a quantitative lexical item overview in aggregate and by community (3.2) and then complement this with a semantically contextualized qualitative presentation by community (3.3) followed by an interim summary (3.4).

3.2   Quantitative Referent Categorization

In this section, first the quantification of third person referents is presented with all communities for Grouping A (all/some gender and sexual orientation information of *ta* is known), Grouping B (zero gender information of *ta* is known; sexual orientation information may be known to some degree), and Grouping D (cases that don't fit) are considered together (3.2.1). Then, quantitative, semantically decontextualized results of Grouping A and Grouping B are presented by community (3.2.2). Finally, the semantically contextualized third person referents of the quantitative categories under Grouping A and Grouping B are presented in a cross-community comparative fashion (3.2.3).

3.2.1   *Ta* Categorization Schema in the Context of the Entire Corpus

Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *ta* is known

As described above, Grouping A houses lexical items, i.e. third person labels, for the *ta* referent which embody all or some gender and sexual orientation information either explicitly or implicitly. Under Grouping A, there are 11 Categories based on gender and sexual orientation attributes. These categories are:

Heterosexual orientation

- A male whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 6 occurrences (4 explicit, 2 implicit) among 177 in Group A
- A female whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 2 occurrences (1 explicit; 1 implicit) among 177 in Group A

Unknown sexual orientation

- A male whose gender identity can be either Cis or Trans and whose sexual orientation can be either heterosexual or 'Other'
    - 3 occurrences (0 explicit; 3 implicit) among 177 in Group A
- A female whose gender identity can be either Cis or Trans and whose sexual orientation can be either heterosexual or 'Other'
    - 11 occurrences (10 explicit; 1 implicit) among 177 in Group A

'Other' sexual orientation

Physical gender matches social gender

- A male known to be homosexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 99 occurrences (9 explicit; 90 implicit) among 177 in Group A
- A female known to be homosexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 35 occurrences (35 explicit; 0 implicit) among 177 in Group A
- A male known to be bisexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 1 occurrence (0 explicit; 1 implicit) among 177 in Group A

Physical gender does not match social gender

- A male who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has not had gender reassignment surgery
    - 2 occurrences (2 explicit; 0 implicit) among 177 in Group A
- A male who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has had gender reassignment surgery
    - 12 occurrences (12 explicit; 0 implicit) among 177 in Group A

No indication whether physical gender matches social gender or not

- A male who is only known to be oriented towards males where it is unknown whether the physical gender matches their social gender and thus who may consider themselves as cisgender, transgender, homosexual, or bisexual
    - 5 occurrences (0 explicit; 5 implicit) among 177 in Group A
- A female who is only known to be oriented towards females where it is unknown whether the physical gender matches their social gender and thus who may consider themselves as cisgender, transgender, homosexual, or bisexual
    - 1 occurrence (0 explicit; 1 implicit) among 177 in Group A

Among the 177 cases in Group A, 104 (i.e. 59%) are implicit and 73 (i.e. 41%) are explicit.

Grouping B: Zero gender information of ta is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)

As described above, Grouping B houses lexical items, i.e. third person labels, for the *ta* referent which has zero gender information available, yet sexual orientation information may be available in some capacity. The flexible factor of sexual orientation results in a sub-division with Grouping B: Grouping B(a) where neither gender nor sexual orientation information is known and Grouping B(b) where sexual orientation information is known. As a result, the explicit/implicit axis with regards to third person attributes is not applicable. However, the generic/specific axis with regards to the referential entity is. Under Grouping B, there are three Categories based on the degree of availability regarding sexual orientation attributes considering that gender information is never available. These categories are provided as follows with their respective aggregated totals, generic totals, and specific totals:

- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender who is a heterosexual
    - 3 occurrences (1 generic; 2 specific) among 463 in Group B
- Grouping B(a): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is also unknown
    - 261 occurrences (28 generic; 233 specific) among 463 in Group B
- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is 'Other' but of an unknown type

   o 199 occurrences (21 generic; 178 specific) among 463 in Group B

Among the 463 cases in Group B, 413 (i.e. 89.2%) are specific and 50 (i.e. 10.8%) are generic.

Grouping C: *ta* can be either male or female gender, status of sexual orientation information varies between known and unknown

As described above, Grouping C houses lexical items, i.e. third person labels, for the *ta* referent which can be either male or female and whose sexual orientation information varies. As a result, neither the explicit/implicit axis with regards to third person attributes nor the generic/specific axis with regards to the referential entity is applicable. Under Grouping C, there are three Categories based on the degree of availability regarding sexual orientation attributes. These categories are provided as follows with their respective aggregated totals:

- An individual who identifies as either a male or female and who is a heterosexual that is attracted to females
  - o 2 occurrences among 9 in Group C
- An individual who identifies as either a male or female, either physically or socially, and whose sexual orientation is unknown
  - o 5 occurrences among 9 in Group C
- An individual who identifies as either a male or female and who is of 'Other' sexual orientation that is attracted to females
  - o 2 occurrences among 9 in Group C

Grouping D: Cases that don't fit

In the corpus there were three cases which did not fit in the schema due to the number of possible 'labels' which could be applied to *'ta'* . These cases will be addressed later in Section 3.3.

From the *Ta* Categorization Schema in a corpus-wide context presented above, a number of observations can be made.

1. Grouping A, i.e. when all or some form of gender and sexual orientation information is known, is much smaller (177 occurrences, 27.1% of the corpus) than Grouping B, i.e. when only sexual orientation is known (202 occurrences, 31.0% of the corpus) and

when neither gender nor sexual orientation when known (261 occurrences, 40.0% of the corpus).

2. There is a slight usage preference in the data for implicit reference when some form of gender and sexual orientation information is known (Grouping A; 104 vs 73 occurrences, 58.8% vs 41.2%).

3. There is a distinct preference for usage towards a specific referential entity rather than a generic one (Grouping B; 413 vs 50 occurrences, 89.2% vs 10.8%).

4. A unique bottom-up constructed category of either-or in terms of 'male or female' (Grouping C; 9 occurrences, 1.4% of the corpus) appears

5. A few cases fit nowhere (Grouping D; 3 occurrences, 0.5% of the corpus).

The total *ta* token referents amount to 652 tokens, and it is worth acknowledging that as this is a qualitative study several *ta* tokens have more than one plausible referential categorization.

The following section (3.2.2) provides a quantitative, semantically decontextualized exploration of the schema by community.

3.2.2   *Ta* Categorization Schema Community by Community

In this section, the data within the *Ta* Categorization Schema is presented in the order of the Anti C1 community, the Pro C2 *tongzhiba* Comrade community, and the Pro C3 *tongxinglianba* Homosexual community.

3.2.2.1   C1 Community Referents for ta

Within the C1 community, *'ta'* is found in seven of the eleven identified Group A categories (32 cases) and three of the three identified Group B categories (45 cases) for a total of 77 cases as outlined below:

Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *ta* is known

Heterosexual orientation

- A male whose physical gender matches their social gender
  - 5 occurrences (3 explicit; 2 implicit) among 32 in Group A in C1
- A female of heterosexual orientation whose physical gender matches their social gender
  - 1 occurrence (0 explicit; 1 implicit) among 32 in Group A in C1

Unknown sexual orientation

- A male whose gender identity can be either Cis or Trans and whose sexual orientation can be either heterosexual or 'Other'
    - 3 occurrences (0 explicit; 3 implicit) among 32 in Group A in C1
- A female of unknown sexual orientation whose gender identity can be either Cis or Trans and whose sexual orientation can be either heterosexual or 'Other'
    - 3 occurrences (2 explicit; 1 implicit) among 32 in Group A in C1

'Other' sexual orientation

Physical gender matches social gender

- A male known to be homosexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 6 occurrences (6 explicit; 0 implicit) among 32 in Group A in C1

No indication whether physical gender matches social gender or not

- A male who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has not had gender reassignment surgery
    - 2 occurrences (2 explicit; 0 implicit) among 32 in Group A in C1
- A male who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has had gender reassignment surgery
    - 12 occurrences (12 explicit; 0 implicit) among 32 in Group A in C1

Among the 32 cases in Group A in C1, 25 (i.e. 78%) are explicit and 7 (i.e. 22%) are implicit.

Grouping B: Zero gender information of ta is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)

- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender who is a heterosexual
    - 1 occurrence (1 generic; 0 specific) among 45 in Group B in C1
- Grouping B(a): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is also unknown
    - 35 occurrences (6 generic; 29 specific) among 45 in Group B in C1

- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is 'Other' but of an unknown type

  - 9 occurrences (4 generic; 5 specific) among 45 in Group B in C1

Among the 45 cases in Group B in C1, 34 (i.e. 75.6%) are specific and 11 (i.e. 24.4%) are generic.

From the quantitative overview of C1 community referents for *'ta'* presented above, a number of observations can be made.

1. Grouping A occurrences, i.e. when all or some form of gender and sexual orientation information is known (32 occurrences, 41.6% of the community usage), are more than those from Grouping B(b) where only sexual orientation was known (10 occurrences, 13.0% of the community usage).
2. Grouping A cases are less than those from Grouping B(a) where neither gender nor sexual orientation was known (35 occurrences, 45.4% of the community usage).
3. There is a usage preference for explicit reference when some form of gender and sexual orientation information was known (25 vs 7 occurrences, 78.1% vs 21.9%).
4. There is a usage preference towards a specific referent rather than a generic one (34 vs 11 occurrences, 75.6% vs 24.4%).

3.2.2.2   C2 Community Referents for ta

Within the C2 community, *'ta'* is found in three of the eleven identified Group A categories (53 cases) and three of the three identified Group B categories (123 cases) for a total of 176 cases as outlined below:

Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *'ta'* is known

Heterosexual orientation
- A male whose physical gender matches their social gender

  - 1 occurrence (1 explicit; 0 implicit) among 53 in Group A in C2

Other' sexual orientation

  Physical gender matches social gender
- A male known to be homosexual whose physical gender matches their social gender

- o 48 occurrences (0 explicit; 48 implicit) among 53 in Group A in C2

No indication whether physical gender matches social gender or not

- A male who is only known to be oriented towards males where it is unknown whether the physical gender matches their social gender and thus who may consider themselves as cisgender, transgender, homosexual, or bisexual
    - o 4 occurrences (0 explicit; 4 implicit) among 53 in Group A in C2

Among the 53 cases in Group A in C2, 52 (i.e. 98.1%) are implicit and 1 (i.e. 1.9%) is explicit.

Grouping B: Zero gender information of ta is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)

- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender who is a heterosexual
    - o 2 occurrences (0 generic; 2 specific) among 123 in Group B in C2
- Grouping B(a): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is also unknown
    - o 62 occurrences (5 generic; 57 specific) among 123 in Group B in C2
- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is 'Other' but of an unknown type
    - o 59 occurrences (10 generic; 49 specific) among 123 in Group B in C2

Among the 123 cases in Group B in C2, 108 (i.e. 87.8%) are specific and 15 (i.e. 12.2%) are generic.

From the quantitative overview of referent categorization in the pro C2 community presented above, a number of observations can be made.

1. Grouping A occurrences, i.e. when all or some form of gender and sexual orientation information is known (53 occurrences, 30.1% of the community usage), are less than those from Grouping B(b) where only sexual orientation was known (61 occurrences, 34.7% of the community usage).

2. Grouping A cases are also less than those from Grouping B(a) where neither gender nor sexual orientation was known (62 occurrences, 35.2% of the community usage).

3. There is a strong usage preference for implicit reference when some form of gender and sexual orientation information was known (52 vs 1 occurrences, 98.1% vs 1.9%). The strongest case of significance is homosexual male (48 occurrences, 90.6% of 53 occurrences in the type).

4. There is a usage preference towards a specific referent rather than a generic one (108 vs 15 occurrences, 87.8% vs 12.2%).

3.2.2.3   C3 Community Referents for ta

Within the C3 community, *'ta'* is found in seven of the eleven identified Group A categories (92 cases) and two of the three identified Group B categories (295 cases) for a total of 387 cases as outlined below:

Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *'ta'* is known

Heterosexual orientation
- A female whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 1 occurrence (1 explicit; 0 implicit) among 92 in Group A in C3

Unknown sexual orientation
- A female whose gender identity can be either Cis or Trans and whose sexual orientation can be either heterosexual or 'Other'
    - 8 occurrences (8 explicit; 0 implicit) among 92 in Group A in C3

'Other' sexual orientation

   Physical gender matches social gender
- A male known to be homosexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 45 occurrences (3 explicit; 42 implicit) among 92 in Group A in C3
- A female known to be homosexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 35 occurrences (35 explicit; 0 implicit) among 92 in Group A in C3
- A male known to be bisexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - 1 occurrence (0 explicit; 1 implicit) among 92 in Group A in C3

No indication whether physical gender matches social gender or not

- A male who is only known to be oriented towards males where it is unknown whether the physical gender matches their social gender and thus who may consider themselves as cisgender, transgender, homosexual, or bisexual
    - 1 occurrence (0 explicit; 1 implicit) among 92 in Group A in C3
- A female who is only known to be oriented towards females where it is unknown whether the physical gender matches their social gender and thus who may consider themselves as cisgender, transgender, homosexual, or bisexual
    - 1 occurrence (0 explicit; 1 implicit) among 92 in Group A in C3

Among the 92 cases in Group A in C3, 47 (i.e. 51.1%) are explicit and 45 (i.e. 48.9%) are implicit.

Grouping B: Zero gender information of ta is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)

- Grouping B(a): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is also unknown
    - 164 occurrences (17 generic; 147 specific) among 295 in Group B in C3
- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender whose sexual orientation is 'Other' but of an unknown type
    - 131 occurrences (7 generic; 124 specific) among 295 in Group B in C3

Among the 295 cases in Group B in C3, 271 (i.e. 91.9%) are specific and 24 (i.e. 8.1%) are generic.

In the pro C3 community, the quantitative overview of referent categorization brings attention to several distribution patterns.

1. Grouping A occurrences, i.e. when all or some form of gender and sexual orientation information is known (92 occurrences, 23.8% of the community usage), are markedly less than those from Grouping B(b) where only sexual orientation was known (131 occurrences, 33.9% of the community usage).
2. Grouping A cases are also less than those from Grouping B(a) where neither gender nor sexual orientation was known (164 occurrences, 42.4% of the community usage).

3. There is a relatively equal preference for explicit reference when some form of gender and sexual orientation information was known (45 vs 47 occurrences, 48.9% vs 51.1%), with explicit homosexual female (35 attributed to the Chain Post Discourse, 74.5% of explicit community usage, see Chapter 8) and implicit homosexual male (42 attributed to narrative accounts by homosexual male users, 92.3% of implicit community usage) being the most significant.

4. There is a usage preference towards a specific referent rather than a generic one (271 vs 24 occurrences, 91.9% vs 8.1%).

This section has presented the quantified, de-contextualized referent allocations within the *Ta* Categorization Schema for each community *ta* token and displayed this individually and in aggregate. In addition to this quantitative presentation, the following Section 3.3 presents complementary, contextualized individual and aggregate listings for each community *ta* token. This qualitative presentation functions to show the type of language used in conjunction with *'ta'* in Anti and Pro LGBTQ discourses, allowing a better understanding of who *'ta'* can be for each community.

3.3 Qualitative Presentation of Quantitative Lexical Referents

With the quantitative details of each category per community laid out above, it is now possible to introduce, in the same order, the tangible lexical referents of *'ta'* in each categorical instance. This introduction is done comparatively, that is it presents where each token came from (i.e. C1, C2, or C3), the corresponding referent, and the total number of tokens for each specific type of third person referent. This comparative presentation allows for the detection of third person referent trends as defined by discourse community stance, i.e. anti vs pro LGBTQ.

Grouping A: All/some gender and sexual orientation information of *'ta'* is known

Heterosexual orientation

- 1) A male whose physical gender matches their social gender
    - o C1 Total: 5 of 6 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - ▪ Explicit: 3 of 5 in category in C1

- 男性 *nanxing* 'Male Sex' (who watches GV[16]) (2 cases)
        - 正常男性 *zhengchangnanxing* 'Normal Male Sex' (1 case)
    - Implicit: 2 of 5 in category in C1
        - 男 *nan* 'male' (1 case)
        - 他 *ta* 'He' (1 case)
  o C2 Total: 1 of 6 Group A cases in category in corpus
    - Explicit: 1 of 1 in category in C2
        - 直男 *zhinan* 'straight male'
  o Corpus Summary: total of 6 in Group A cases in category in corpus
    - Explicit: 5 of 6 in category
    - Implicit: 1 of 6 in category

This category shows 6 instances of heterosexual male referents where 4 of 6 cases (i.e. 66.7%) are explicit and 2 of 6 cases (i.e. 33.3%) are implicit. Explicit tokens are those where the gender and sexual orientation were lexically mentioned, i.e. obvious, in the discourse (e.g. one case of 正常男性 *zhengchangnanxing* 'Normal Male Sex'). Implicit tokens are those where the gender and sexual orientation were implied through the discourse (e.g. one case of 他 *ta* 'He').

- 2) A female whose physical gender matches their social gender
  o C1 Total: 1 of 2 Group A cases in category in corpus
    - Implicit: 1 of 1 in category in C1
        - 女 nü 'Female' (1 case)
  o C3 Total: 1 of 2 Group A cases in category in corpus
    - Explicit: 1 of 1 in category in C3
        - 她 *ta* 'She'
  o Corpus Summary: total of 2 in Group A cases in category in corpus
    - Explicit: 1 of 2 in category
    - Implicit: 1 of 2 in category

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[16] ('Gay Video' 男同性恋影片 *nantongxinglian yingpian* 'Male Homosexual Video', i.e. male-male porn)

This category shows that, within the corpus, *'ta'* is used to refer to a female of heterosexual orientation and whose physical gender matches her social gender only twice. One instance is in the anti-community and implicit as linked with 女 nü 'Female' and one instance is in a pro-community and explicit in use of 她 *ta* 'She'.

Unknown sexual orientation

- 1) A male whose gender identity can be either Cis or Trans and whose sexual orientation can be either heterosexual or 'Other'
    - C1 Total: 3 of 3 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Implicit: 3 of 3 in category in C1
            - 他 *ta* 'He' (3 cases)
    - Corpus Summary: total of 3 in Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Implicit: 3 of 3 in category

This category shows that when *'ta'* is used to refer to a male of unknown sexual orientation, it only occurs three times, all in the anti-community and all implicitly through use of 他 *ta* 'He'.

- 2) A female whose gender identity can be either Cis or Trans and whose sexual orientation can be either heterosexual or 'Other'
    - C1 Total: 3 of 11 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Explicit: 2 of 3 in category in C1
            - 腐 *fu* 'Female Yaoi Lover' (two cases)
        - Implicit: 1 of 3 in category in C1
            - 白左 *baizuo* 'Leftist'(one case)
    - C3 Total: 8 of 11 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Explicit: 8 of 8 in category in C3
            - 她 *ta* 'She'
    - Corpus Summary: total of 11 in Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Explicit: 10 of 11 in category
        - Implicit: 1 of 11 in category

In contrast to cases of males with unknown sexual orientation (immediately above), *'ta'* is used more often with referents that link to females of unknown sexual orientation (i.e. 3 vs 11 cases). In addition, the lexical items used by the anti-community in this category are derogatory, i.e. 腐 *fu* 'Female Yaoi Lover'[17] (2 occurrences) and 白左 *baizuo* 'Leftist'[18] (1 occurrence), like lexical items for males of other sexual orientation to be seen. The presentation also shows explicit usage of 她 *ta* 'She' as a lexical item to link *'ta'* and the third person as a female of unknown sexual orientation (8 occurrences, 72.7% of category occurrences).

When taken together, the categories outlined thus far show that the most common way in which *'ta'* is marked for gender when not considered 'Other' is with third person pronoun 他 *ta* 'He' or 她 *ta* 'She'(13 occurrences, 59.1%). In the immediate next two categories below, we can observe that when *'ta'* is used to refer to an individual considered as 'Other' and 'Male' of unknown sexual orientation the usage is exclusive to the Anti-community (14 occurrences, 100% of category) with many cases referring to Male to Female (MtF) transgender individuals either using names (e.g. Pauline Ngarmpring[19], 3 occurrences; Jin Xing[20], 2 occurrences) or other third person perspective

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[17] 腐 *fu* is the first character of the character compound 腐女 Female Yaoi Lover, or in rarer cases 腐男 Male Yaoi Lover; both are derogatory terms for (fe)males who enjoy watching Boys Love (BL) content. By itself, 腐 means 'decay' / 'rotten'

[18] 白左 *baizuo* Baizuo (literally White Left) is an Internet neologism officially recognized as a lexical item in 2015 that derogatorily refers to Western Liberal ideologies advocated for and circulated by white people (Qu, 2017; Zhang, 2017).

The term is a political epithet which carries different shades of meaning depending on the context. One dictionary suggests the translation of 'self-righteous Western Liberal' (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.), while others claim that the transliteration Baizuo has integrated into the English lexicon. Furthermore, Baizuo is related to the term 圣母/聖母 *shengmu* (literally "holy mother", i.e. St Mary) (Zhang, 2017), a term used sarcastically with political implications and which also appears in other examples of the Anti-LGBTQ community.

Those who are labeled as Shengmu are criticized for their (political) opinions being emotionally driven or hypocritically showing selflessness and empathy. The relevance of this term for the Anti-LGBTQ community then lies within its political agenda: i.e. the belief that Baizuo's are those who "only care about topics such as immigration, minorities, LGBTQ and the environment and have no sense of real problems in the real world"(Zhang, 2017).

[19] Pauline Ngarmpring was born male and known as Pinit. Pinit was well known as a reporter, CEO, and sports promoter in the Thai football scene and transitioned from male to female in 2016 in America. See 6.3.2 below.

[20] Jin Xing is a famous yet controversial male to female transgender celebrity who is a Chinese ballerina, dancer, choreographer, television host and actress. Jin Xing formally had sex reassignment surgery in 1995. Jin Xing uses she/her pronouns. See 4.3.1 below.

lexical items such as 变性女子 *bianxing n*ü*zi* 'Transsexual Female' (5 occurrences). It is further observable that this reference usage is always explicit (14 occurrences, 100% of category).

'Other' sexual orientation: Physical gender does not match social gender

- 1) A male who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has not had gender reassignment surgery
    - C1 Total: 12 of 12 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Explicit: 12 of 12 in category in C1
            - MtF Trans Post-Surgery Variations:
                - Pauline Ngarmpring (3 cases)
                - Jin Xing (2 cases)
                - 药娘 *yaoniang* 'Transsexual' (1 case)
                - 跨性别者 *kuaixingbiezhe* 'Transgender' (1 case)
                - 变性女子 *bianxing nvzi* 'Transsexual Female' (5 cases)
    - Corpus Summary: total of 12 in Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Explicit: 12 of 12 in category

- 2) A male who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has had gender reassignment surgery
    - C1 Total: 2 of 2 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Explicit: 2 of 2 in category in C1
            - 人妖 *renyao* 'Ladyboy' (1 case)
            - 他/她 he/she (1 case)
    - Corpus Summary: total of 2 in Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Explicit: 2 of 2 in category

Contrary to above, the next two categories are discussed together to show referents of *'ta'* when *'ta'* is an 'Other' male of known sexual orientation. In this case, the most common categorization is homosexual (99 occurrences, 99% of the two labels) and there is one case of a bi-sexual referent. In the Anti community the referents are primarily derogatory (5 occurrences of 6, 83.3%) and are

variants of 基佬 *Jilao* Jilao which is a transliteration and translation of a slang term originating from Cantonese to refer to gay males (see also 2.2.3). Specifically, there are two cases of 基佬 Jilao, two cases of the short form 基 Ji, and one case of 大佬[21] Dalao which is a word play on Jilao. It is striking to note that all usage in the Anti community is explicit (6 out of 6 cases, 100%), while most usage in the Pro communities is implicit (91 out of 94 cases, 96.8%). The two categories also reveal that *'ta'* is often associated with 人 *ren* 'person' as a third person lexical item used to establish and maintain reference in the case of pro-communities (57 of 94 cases, 60.6%). It is also shown that 他 'He' is also a common third person lexical item used to establish and maintain reference in the case of pro-communities (14 out of 94 cases, 14.9%) alongside the semantically appropriated LGBTQ term 同志 *tongzhi* 'Tongzhi/Comrade' (13 of 94 cases, 13.8%).

'Other' sexual orientation: Physical gender matches social gender
- 1) A male known to be homosexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
  - C1 Total: 6 of 99 Group A cases in category in corpus
    - Explicit: 6 of 99 in category in C1
      - 基佬 Jilao Variations:
        - 基佬 Jilao (2 cases)
        - 基 Ji (2 cases)
        - 大佬 Dalao (1 case)
      - 男同性恋 *nantongxinglain* 'Male homosexual' (1 case)
  - C2 Total: 48 of 99 Group A cases in category in corpus
    - Implicit: 48 of 48 in category in C2
      - 人 *ren* 'Person' (26 cases)
      - 同志 tongzhi 'Tongzhi/Comrade' (13 cases)
      - 一个 Ta *yige* ta 'A Ta' (6 cases)
      - Ta(人 *ren*) + 对象 *duixiang* = 'Ta and ta's partner' (3 cases)
  - C3 Total: 45 of 99 Group A cases in category in corpus

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[21]大佬 Dalao is recorded as having 7 alternative meanings in the Baidu Baike (Baidu Baike, n.d.). The 7th entry describes its usage to refer to males who like to dress as females or like feminine things, similar to Jilao.

- ▪ Explicit: 3 of 45 in category in C3
  - • men – 同性恋 men-*tongxinglian* 'men homosexual' (3 cases)
- ▪ Implicit: 42 of 45 in category in C3
  - • 他 *ta* 'he' (5 cases)
  - • 蓝孩纸 *lanhaizhi* 'male boy child' (1 case)
  - • 人 *ren* 'Person' (24 cases)
  - • Ta(人 *ren*) + 对象 *duixiang* = 'Ta and ta's partner' (4 cases)
  - • 对方 *duifang* 'other party'= 同性恋者 *tongxinglianzhe* 'homosexual'= 他 *ta* 'he' (8 cases)
- ○ Corpus Summary: total of 99 in Group A cases in category in corpus
  - ▪ Explicit: 9 of 100 in category
  - ▪ Implicit: 90 of 100 in category

- • 2) A male known to be bisexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
  - ○ C3 Total: 1 of 1 Group A cases in category in corpus
    - ▪ Implicit: 1 of 1 in category in C3
      - • 他 *ta* 'he' (1 case)
  - ○ Corpus Summary: total of 1 in Group A cases in category in corpus
    - ▪ Implicit: 1 of 1 in category

In the last category (to follow) of Grouping A we see five unique cases of where the *ta* referent is an 'Other' male in physical gender but it is uncertain whether the individual's physical gender matches their social gender. Specifically, there are four different possibilities of who may fit in this category: 1) a male who considers himself cisgender and likes other males, 2) a female to male transgender whose social gender is male and who likes other males, 3) a male who considers himself cisgender and likes both males and females, and 4) a female to male transgender whose social gender is male and who likes other males and females. In other words, *'ta'* must be 'male' in either physical or social gender AND must like males. The listings highlight the four cases of

'ta' being used as 一个 ta *yige ta* 'one ta' which refers to a 暖男 *nuannan* 'Warm Guy'[22] which refers to 不 10 *bu 10* 'Not 10'[23]. It also highlights one case of *'ta'* being used to refer to a gay 蜜 *mi*'s ta, where gay 蜜 *mi* is a gay male-friend of a female.

'Other' sexual orientation: No indication whether physical gender matches social gender or not

- 1) A male who is only known to be oriented towards males where it is unknown whether the physical gender matches their social gender and thus who may consider themselves as cisgender, transgender, homosexual, or bisexual
    - C2 Total: 4 of 5 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Implicit: 4 of 4 in category in C2
            - 一个 ta *yige ta* 'one ta'; 暖男 *nuannan* 'Warm Guy'; 不 10 *bu 10* 'Not 10'
    - C3 Total: 1 of 5 Group A cases in category in corpus
        - Implicit: 1 of 1 in category in C3
            - TA – gay 蜜's Ta 'A gay buddy's Ta'

This subsection on Grouping A has presented the notable lexical items used to refer to *'ta'* or to which *'ta'* refers in each community when all or some gender and sexual orientation information is known. It shows that usage of *'ta'* in a transgender context exclusively occurs in the anti-community, the reason for which will be explored in Chapter 4. It also reveals that usage tends to be explicit, i.e. overt, in the Anti community with derogatory connotations and implicit, i.e. covert, in pro-communities with generality and vagueness (i.e. 人 *ren* 'person'). We now move on to Grouping B, where only sexual orientation is known, i.e. Grouping B(b), OR neither gender nor sexual orientation is known, i.e. Grouping B(a).

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[22] a man who is family-oriented, considerate and protective.

[23] In the male LGBTQ community, the numbers 1 and 0 have particular meanings. 1 refers to an individual being in the "male" role during sexual activity and 0 refers to an individual being in the "female" role during sexual activity (Yang, 2016:11).

Grouping B: Zero gender information of ta is known (sexual orientation information may be known to some degree)

Grouping B consists of three categories: 1) Unknown Gender Heterosexual Referents, part of Grouping B(a) (3 of 463 Group B cases); 2) Unknown Gender and Unknown Sexual Orientation Referents, part of Grouping B(b) (261 of 463 Group B cases); and 3) Unknown Gender and Other Sexual Orientation Referents, part of Grouping B(a) (199 of 463 Group B cases). The cross-community comparison will be presented in an order which follows the introduction.

- Grouping B(b): A third person of unknown gender who is a heterosexual[24]
    - C1 Total: 1 of 3 Group B cases in category in corpus
        - Generic: 1 of 1 in category in C1
            - 单身狗 *danshengou* 'Single dog' (1 case)
    - C2 total: 2 of 3 Group B cases in category in corpus
        - Specific: 2 of 2 in category in C2
            - 直人盟友 *zhiren mengyou* 'Straight Ally' (1 case)
            - 你 的 孩 子 *nidehaizi* 'Your child [who is homosexual or heterosexual]' (1 case)
    - Corpus Summary: total of 3 in Group B cases in category in corpus
        - Generic: 1 of 1 in category
        - Specific: 2 of 2 in category

In this category we see that there is 1 token instance of *'ta'* where the referent's gender is unknown but the sexual orientation is known as heterosexual. This token comes from C1 (Anti

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[24] Here, it must be emphasized again that these categorizations were made based on a qualitative, bottom-up examination of each individual *ta* occurrence by focusing on reference chains. As the qualitative analysis is to be shown in the following Chapters, only the isolated categorizations are presented. It is not possible to simply observe the sexual orientation based on the visual representation of lexical items, such as 单身狗 'Single Dog', which do not lexically embody third person gender or sexual identity attributes on their own. To theoretically extrapolate:

If 单身狗 *danshengou* 'Single dog' is used after 异性恋 *yixinglian* 'heterosexual', as is the case in this classification, then the lexical item and associated *ta* token refer to someone who is heterosexual. Conversely, if 单身狗 *danshengou* 'Single dog' were to occur after 同性恋 *tongxinglian* 'Homosexual', then the lexical item and associated *ta* token would refer to someone who is homosexual.

community) and is 单身狗 *danshengou* 'Single dog' which is anaphorically connected to 异性恋 *yixinglian* 'heterosexual' in the referential chain for *'ta'* . This token is categorized as 'Generic' because this *'ta'* does not refer to an exact, specific and single 'Single dog', but 'Single dogs' in general. This is in contrast to the 2 tokens of *'ta'* categorized as 'Specific'. The 'Specific' tokens occur in C2 (Pro community). The token 直人盟友 *zhiren mengyou* 'Straight Ally' is a specific title for the third person in the discourse who is heterosexual (i.e. straight) and decides to support LGBTQ community members. The token 你的孩子 *nidehaizi* 'Your child [who is homosexual or heterosexual]' does not refer to any child in general, but to 'your' child – hence the specificity, who may be either homosexual or heterosexual.

As discussed previously, the generic/specific axis is present in the following two Grouping B categories which, when taken together, semantically compares unknown gender third person referents of unknown sexual orientation and unknown gender third person referents of unknown other sexual orientation. These two categories are the two largest quantitative categories. However, the presentation here will differ from that of previous lists. In the presentation of these two categories, instead of allocating the tokens primarily by their communities of origin, they are listed under 'lexical themes' by variation and then community. The aim here is to highlight the concentrated usage of certain lexical items in certain discourse communities.

There are nine lexical themes [25] presented in the following order: 1) ...个人 / ta *...ge ren/ta* ...'That/the person/ta' VARIATIONS; 2) Third Person Perspective (3PP) VARIATIONS; 3) Group of Others; 4) ~友 ~*you* ~Friend VARIATIONS; 5) 孩子 *haizi* 'Child' VARIATION; 6) ~人 ~*ren* ~ 'person' VARIATION; 7) A Type of Lover; 8) Specific Names; and 9) Homosexual VARIATION. For clarity purposes, this information is presented in Table 3.4 and Table 3.5.

Table 3.4 Grouping B(a) Unknown Gender Unknown Sexual Orientation Referents

Variants held under the lexical item category
...个人/ ta ***...ge ren/ta*** **...' a person/ta'**

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[25] because of the discourse type and purpose 99% of *ta*'s refer to people (~618) while 2 refer to figurines/anime characters which are personified as people.

Generic variants held under the lexical item category ...个人/ ta: 16 of 96 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
一个人 *yigeren*	'a person'	1	1	7
人 *ren*	'person'			1
ta	[anyone's ta]			3
ta	ta			2
一个动物 *yigedongwu*	'an animal'	1		

Specific variants held under the lexical item category ...个人/ ta: 80 of 96 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
一个人 *yigeren*	'a person'			3
一个 ta *yige ta*	'A Ta'		2	
那个人 *nageren*	'That Person'		2	
那个 ta *nage ta*	' That Ta'		1	1
对的 ta *duide ta*	'right' ta			1
你的 ta *nide ta*	'Your ta'			2
我的 ta *wode ta*	'My ta'			1
ta	[for 'you']			4
ta	ta		6	55
这位 *zhewei*	'This person'	2		

Variants held under the lexical item category

Third Person Perspective (3PP)

Generic variants held under the lexical item category Third Person Perspective (3PP): 2 of 36 in lexical category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
爱豆 *aidou*	'idol'	1		
歌手 *geshou*	'singer'	1		

Specific variants held under the lexical item category Third Person Perspective (3PP):: 34 of 36 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
楼主 *louzhu*	'Thread Owner'	12		
父母 *fumu*	'Parents [of homosexuals]'		2	
恐同者 *kongtongzhe*	'homophobes'		1	
对方 *duifang*	'other party'			2
公司同事 *gongsitongshi*	'Coworker'			14

反同 *fantong*	'Against LGBTQ'			3

Variants held under the lexical item category
Group of Others [N/A]

Variants held under the lexical item category
~友 *~you* ~Friend

吧友 *bayou* 'Internet Bar Friend' Variations

Generic variants held under the lexical item category ~友: **1 of 12 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
吧友 *bayou*	'Internet Bar Friend'	1		

Specific variants held under the lexical item category ~友 : **4 of 12 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
吧友 *bayou*	'Internet Bar Friend'	1		
吧友 *bayou* = 战友 *zhanyou* = 对方 *duifang*	'Internet Bar Friend' = 'friend on the same side' = 'other party'	3		

朋友 *pengyou* 'Friend' Variations

Specific variants held under the lexical item category ~友: **7 of 12 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
朋友 *pengyou*	'Friend'		4	
朋友 *pengyou*	'Friend [who trashes LGBTQ]'		1	
自己要好的朋友 *zijiyaohaodepengyou*	'one's friend in a relationship'	1		
朋友 *pengyou* +家人 *jiaren*	'Friend and family [around you]'	1		

Variants held under the lexical item category
孩子 *haizi* 'Child'

Generic variants held under the lexical item category 孩子: **1 of 18 in lexical item category**

Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
孩子 *haizi*	'Child'	1		
Specific variants held under the lexical item category 孩子: **17 of 18 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
你...的孩子 *ni...dehaizi*	'Your..Child'	2		
我们的孩子 *womende haizi*	'Our [homosexual parents'] child'		4	
孩子 *haizi*	'Child [homosexual's parents]'		11	
Variants held under the lexical item category **~人 ~*ren* ~ 'person'**				
有/某人 *you/mouren* 'Some person' Variation				
Generic variants held under the lexical item category ~人: **6 of 23 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
有的人 *youderen*	'some people/person'		1	
有人 *youren*	'some people [who call LGBTQ biantai]'		2	
有人 *youren*	'some person/people'			1
某人 *mouren*	'some person'			2
...的人 *de ren* 'Person who 'Variation				
Specific variants held under the lexical item category ~人: **17 of 23 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
三个这样的人 *sangezheyangderen*	'Three these kind of people'		1	
一个...的人 *yige...deren*	'A ..person'			1
那个有夫之人 *nageyoufuzhiren*	'That person with a husband'			2
喜欢的人 *xihuanderen*	'person you like'			2

Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
周围的人 *zhouweideren*	'person around you'			2
在爱你的人 *ziaainideren*	'person who loves you'			1
	(someone believes they can tell who is a Jilao)	1		
过不去的人 *guobuquderen*	'a person who [you] cannot get over		1	
发表恐同言论的人 *fabiaokongtonglunderen*	'A person who spreads homophobic speech'		1	
他们(TXL)喜欢的人 *Tamenxihuanderen*	'The person they [homosexuals] like'	1		
的某个人 *mougeren*	'some person [in TXLbar]'	2		
我遇见的人 *woyujianderen*	'person/people I met [in other Internet Bar]'	2		

Variants held under the lexical item category

A Type of Lover

Generic variants held under the lexical item category A Type of Lover: 2 of 66 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
对象 *duixiang*	'partner'		1	1

Specific variants held under the lexical item category A Type of Lover: 64 of 66 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
你的爱人 *nideairen*	'Your lover'		2	
恋人 *lianren*	'Lover'		9	27
你的前任 *nideqianren* = 恋人 *lianren*	' Your Ex' = 'lover'		1	3
你的前任 *nideqianren*	' Your Ex'		5	15
你最爱的人 *nizuiaideren*	'The one you love most'			2

Variants held under the lexical item category

Specific Names				
Specific variants held under the lexical item category Specific Names: **10 of 10 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases** **n**	**C2 Cases** **n**	**C3 Cases** **n**
	(A specific username)	2		
	3 friends' names		2	
前任 3 *qianren* 3	'Ex-3'			6
Variants held under the lexical item category **Homosexual [N/A]**				

Table 3.5 Grouping B(b) Unknown Gender Other Sexual Orientation Referents

Variants held under the lexical item category **...个人/ ta** ***...ge ren/ta*** **...' a person/ta'** **[N/A]**				
Variants held under the lexical item category **Third Person Perspective (3PP) Others**				
Generic variants held under the lexical item category Third Person Perspective (3PP) Others: **3 of 6 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases** **n**	**C2 Cases** **n**	**C3 Cases** **n**
变性人 *bianxingren*	TransSexual	2		
白左 *baizuo*	Baizuo	1		
Specific variants held under the lexical item category Third Person Perspective (3PP) Others: **3 of 6 in lexical item category**				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases** **n**	**C2 Cases** **n**	**C3 Cases** **n**
Lgtb	Lgtb	1		
狗 *gou*	'dog – homosexual'	1		
对方 *duifang*	'other party'			1
Variants held under the lexical item category **Group of Others**				

Generic variants held under the lexical item category Group of Others: 4 of 5 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
白左 *baizuo* + Lgbt	'Baizuo (LGBTQ supporters) and LGBT'	1		
同性恋者或双性恋者, 同志 *tongxinglianzhe huo shuangxinglianzhe, tongzhi*	'Homosexual person or bisexual person, Tongzhi/Comrade'		3	
Specific variants held under the lexical item category Group of Others: 1 of 5 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
拉拉 *lala* 、男同 *nantong*、双性恋者 *shuangxinglianzhe* - 你的同志朋友们 *nidetongzhi pengyoumen*	'Lesbian', 'Male homosexual', 'bisexual person', 'Your Tongzhi/Comrade friends'		1	

Variants held under the lexical item category

~友 *~you* ~Friend

吧友 *bayou* 'Internet Bar Friend' Variations [N/A]

朋友 *pengyou* 'Friend' Variations

Specific variants held under the lexical item category ~友: 2 of 2 in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
你的朋友 *nidepengyou*	'Your friend [who is homosexual or bisexual]'		1	
你的朋友 *nidepengyou*	'Your friend [who is homosexual]'		1	
Variants held under the lexical item category				
孩子 *haizi* 'Child'				
Specific variants held under the lexical item category 孩子: 20 of 20 in lexical item category				

Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
你的孩子 *nidehaizi*	'Your child [who came out as homosexual]'		14	
自己的孩子 *zijidehaizi*	'One's own child [who came out as homosexual]'		2	
孩子 *haizi*	'Child [who is homosexual]'		3	
你的孩子 *nidehaizi*	'Your child [who is homosexual or heterosexual]'		1	

Variants held under the lexical item category
~人 *~ren* ~ 'person'

有/某人 *you/mouren* 'Some person' Variation [N/A]

...的人 *de ren* 'Person who 'Variation

Specific variants held under the lexical item category ~人: 2 of 2 in lexical item category

Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
[人] - *ren*	'A person who drags others down'	2		

Variants held under the lexical item category
A Type of Lover

Specific variants held under the lexical item category A Type of Lover: 1 of 1 in lexical item category

Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
你的同性恋人 *nidetongxinglianren*	'Your same sex lover'			1

Variants held under the lexical item category
Specific Names [N/A]

Variants held under the lexical item category
Homosexual

Generic variants held under the lexical item category Homosexual: 14 of 163* in lexical item category

Lexical Item Original	Lexical Item Translation	C1 Cases n	C2 Cases n	C3 Cases n
同性恋 *tongxinglian*	'Homosexual'		2	7
同性恋者 tongxinglianzhe	'Homosexual person'		5	
Specific variants held under the lexical item category Homosexual: 149* of 163* in lexical item category				
Lexical Item Original	**Lexical Item Translation**	**C1 Cases n**	**C2 Cases n**	**C3 Cases n**
同性 *tongxing*	'Same sex'	1		
同性恋者 *tongxinglianzhe*	'Homosexual Person [who comes out to you]'		25	
同性恋 *tongxinglian*	'Homosexual [who comes out to you]'		1	
		CHAIN POST DISCOURSE		
对方 *duifang* -同性恋者 *tongxinglianzhe*	'other party' – 'Homosexual' [a homosexual person opposite you]	122		

At the end of the presentation of lexical items in the two categories of Unknown Sexual Orientation and Unknown Other Sexual Orientation in Grouping B, we can come to several conclusions. First, there are overlaps in the following lexical-semantic categories/constructions: 1) 3rd Person Perspective Other Noun variations, 2) 朋友 *pengyou* 'Friend' variations, 3) 孩子 *haizi* 'Child' variations, 4) ...的人 *de ren* 'Person who ' variations, and 5) Type of Lover variations. That is, these semantic categories appear in both generic and specific environments with known and unknown sexual orientation, but never with known biological/physical gender.

Second, we find that some lexical-semantic categories are distinct to either the unknown sexual orientation environment such as 1) ...个人/ ta ...*ge ren/ta* ...'That/the person/ta' VARIATIONS; 2) 吧友 *bayou* 'Internet Bar Friend' Variations ; 3) 有/某人 *you/mouren* 'Some person' Variation; and 4) Specific Names, and to the unknown other sexual orientation environment such as 1) Group of Others; and 2) Homosexual VARIATION.

In the case of unknown sexual orientation (261 occurrences), the following are wholly distinct:

- ...个人/ta *ge ren/ta* 'That/the person/ta' variants in both generic (16 occurrences, 16.7% of type occurrences) and specific (80 occurrences, 83.3% of type occurrences) environments

- Specific Names (10 occurrences)

In the case of unknown other sexual orientation (199 occurrences), the following are wholly distinct:

- Group of Others variations in both generic (4 occurrences, 80.0% of type occurrences) and specific (1 occurrence, 20.0% of type occurrences) environments
- Homosexual variations in both generic (14 occurrences, 8.6% of type occurrences when Chain Post discourse is counted; 34.1% of type occurrences when Chain Post discourse is not counted) and specific (27+ 122 = 149, where 122 are from chain post discourse; 91.4% of type occurrences when Chain Post discourse is counted; 65.9% of type occurrences when Chain Post discourse is not counted) environments

Third, there is a preference for, and diversity of , 'specific' referents in cases of both unknown (233 of 261 occurrences, 89.3% of category occurrences) or known to some degree (178 of 199 occurrences, 89.4% of category occurrences) sexual orientation environments. It is striking to note that, despite having different token numbers in each category, this preference for 'specific' referents virtually generates an identical percentage in both environments. In addition, the community allocation of lexical items reveals that the majority of C1 (Anti community) tokens and C3 (Pro 'Homosexual' community (excluding chain post discourse)) tokens are situated in the unknown environment. In contrast, the majority of C2 (Pro 'Comrade' community) tokens are situated in the unknown other sexual orientation environment. These findings mean little when decontextualized from the qualitative portion of the study and are mentioned here for reporting purposes only. They will be addressed in the respective qualitative chapters 4-9.

Fourth, the presentation allows one to view the qualitative token skew caused by the body of chain post discourse in C3, with all tokens (122 occurrences) being specific third persons of unknown gender and other sexual orientation. If these chain post referents are not included, quantitatively or qualitatively, there is a distinct preference for use of *'ta'* as a third person of unknown gender and unknown sexual orientation (261 vs 77*, where 77 is the number left when the 122 chain post discourse tokens are removed). This is important when projected back to the other types of analyses in respect to the entire corpus, which would result in the following significant category rankings:

1. Third persons of unknown gender and unknown sexual orientation (261 of 530 occurrences, 49.2% of the entire corpus)

2. Gender always known but not necessarily SO cases (186 of 530 occurrences, 35.1% of the entire corpus)

3. Third persons of unknown gender and other sexual orientation (77* of 530 occurrences, 14.5% of the entire corpus)

4. Third persons of unknown gender and heterosexual orientation (3 of 530 occurrences, 0.6% of the entire corpus)

This significant category ranking indicates that, in general, usage of *'ta'* is one primarily of establishing simple non-sexual, non-"political"(see below, 3.4) references of convenience, regardless of community (261 occurrences, 49.2% of the entire corpus). The second generalizable usage of *'ta'* is one where the gender is known (i.e. M or F) and the sexual orientation is identified as homosexual (134 occurrences, 25.3% of the entire corpus), with most instances being implicit (90 occurrences, 67.2% of the category type). That is, the second generalizable usage of *'ta'* is as a covert reference to LGBTQ partners. The third generalizable usage of *'ta'* is as a potentially emerging LGBTQ third person pronoun to refer to individuals who identify as LGBTQ in the third person (77* occurrences, 14.5% of the entire corpus), more so specific ones (56* occurrences, 72.7% of the category type) than individuals in general (21 occurrences, 27.3% of the category type).

Grouping D: Cases that don't fit in any category

The first case *'ta'* is used to refer to the three current third person pronouns (她/他/它), in a statement along the lines of "她/他/它, who cares? They are all *ta*". The reason that this first case does not fit anywhere is because the referent is the group of pronouns, not a person. The second case *'ta'* is used to refer to a 她 'she' who is a LGBT 女老师 'female LGBT Teacher' who is also a 腐蛆 'Female Yaoi Lover'. The reason that this second case does not fit anywhere is because the gender could be cis or not (see Footnote 10), and the sexual orientation could be heterosexual or not, given that "LGBTQ" is used. However, this cannot be categorized as unknown because we know *'ta'* is LGBT female but cannot be placed into a specific type based on SO because this is

unknown. So, in this case *'ta'* is 1) female in some capacity, 2) 'Other', and 3) 'Other unknown' sexual orientation , a combination which is an anomaly and has no category.

3.4   Interim Summary

This chapter has outlined the '*Ta* Categorization Schema' that was operationalized to identify who *'ta'* could refer to as a third person. The categorization schema was presented both quantitatively and qualitatively. Taken together, the decontextualized quantitative presentation and semi-contextualized qualitative semantic presentation of *ta* reference chains show the following three functions of *'ta'* in LGBTQ discourses in order of most to least common:

1. *'ta'* is used to establish simple non-sexual, non-political references of convenience, regardless of community.
2. *'ta'* is used to establish covert reference to LGBTQ partners.
3. *'ta'* is used as a potentially emergent LGBTQ third person pronoun, regardless of community.

These three usages deduced from examining who *'ta'* is all have implications for (non-)belonging and how these spaces are constructed in terms of communicative intent, i,e, "the primary goal and intention of anyone involved in an act of communication on a given occasion, which is generally intended to be recognized by the other participants" (Chandler & Munday, 2016). The nature of the categories hints that *'ta'* can be used "politically and apolitically"; 'politicality' is a central notion that serves as a foundation for the structure of this dissertation moving forward. Specifically, the dissertation employs the notions of political and apolitical (language usage) in the context of gender politics. These conceptualizations are informed by what Celis et al., (2013:8-9) refer to as a third strand of feminism which views gender politics as how gender functions as a structure of social organization.

'Political' usage of '*ta'* is defined as when a person uses '*ta'* to achieve a gender-focused communicative purpose (such as making either a negative or positive comment/passing judgement on the third person's sexual orientation or gender attributes which construe identity). This communicative purpose involves aspects which contribute to how the identity and belonging of the third person is constructed based on their perceived 'conformity' or 'non-conformity' to the structured social organization of gender. Consequently, *ta* is often referred to with attributive identifying terms such as 'lesbian', 'homosexual', 'straight male', etc. That is,

political usage of *'ta'* is considered as instances which may be motivated by the purposeful categorization of *'ta'* according to present or absent gender and/or sexual orientation attributes, indicating the relevance of gender politics - i.e. how gender functions "as a structure of social organization" (Celis et al., 2013:8-9).

'Apolitical' usage of *ta* is defined as when a person uses *ta* to achieve an action-focused communicative purpose regardless of 'identity' (such as making either a negative or positive comment/passing judgement on the third person's behavior). The behavior can be either observed from the speaker's perspective (e.g. A sees B (the third person) curse C online) or experienced (e.g. A was cursed by B (the third person) online and is telling this to C). The communicative purpose is to relay a "story" regarding the third person, rather than to make a comment on their identity and belonging. Consequently, third person attributes of *ta* such as gender and sexual orientation are often left unspecified and *ta* is often referred to as 'person' (e.g. this person, that person, some person). That is, apolitical usage is considered as being less concerned with who *'ta'* is, i.e. the attributes that construe *ta*'s identity and belonging, and more concerned with what *'ta'* has done (or not done) in relation to the speaker. In other words, when used apolitically, *ta*'s status of belonging in terms of structured social organization is irrelevant for the speaker and their communicative purpose. Perhaps in sum, the distinction between the two is that when used politically, "who *ta* is" matters; when used apolitically, what *ta* did/does matters instead of "who *ta* is".

Thus, while this chapter has shown who *'ta'* is through the presence or absence of third person attributes, it has not addressed how *'ta'* comes into an (a-)political space of (non-)belonging. The following chapters show how the apolitical or political usage of *'ta'* and *ta*'s consequent degree of (non-)belonging is dependent on stance through usage categorizations divided by negative, positive, and neutral/positive stances.

Particularly, the following analytical chapters reveal the 11 identified pragmatic functions of *'ta'* presented and grouped in order of appearance in the dissertation: Chapter 4 collectively presents pragmatic functions 1-4 (i.e. Othering A: Refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self-ascribed identity, Othering B: Dehumanizing an LGBTQ member, Othering C: Downgrading social integrity, and Othering D: Co-constructing 'Other' identity) under Negative Stance for Political Non-Belonging; Chapter 5 presents pragmatic function 5 (i.e. Indicating Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation/implicit Othering) under Negative Stance for Political Non-Belonging;

Chapter 6 collectively presents pragmatic functions 6 and 7 (i.e. Comprehensive Group Inclusion and LGBTQ Pronoun) under Neutral/Positive vs. Negative Stance and (A-)Political Belonging; Chapter 7 collectively presents pragmatic functions 8 and 9 (i.e. as a General 3PP and in Unknown Circumstances) under Neutral/Positive Stance and Apolitical Belonging; Chapter 8 collectively presents pragmatic functions 10 and 11 (i.e. Identity Construction in Relation to 'You' and Identity Construction of the 'Self' and the 'Third Person') under Neutral/Positive Stance and Apolitical Belonging. In Chapter 9, which separately highlights results from Chain Post Discourse, i.e. a text that exists in multiple variations [26], pragmatic functions 7 (LGBTQ Pronoun) and 11 (self and third person identity construction) are also featured.

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[26] In this study, Chain Post Discourse is defined as a text that exists in multiple variations – all texts have the same theme (breaking up), content, syntax, and the same textual structure/features with degrees of internal variation (see 2.2.4 above and Chapter 9 for more).

4   Political Non-Belonging: When *ta* is the 'Other' in Anti and Pro LGBTQ Communities

Through textual structure, 3PP NP MCDs (Third Person Perspective Noun Phrase Membership Categorization Devices), (co-)reference chains, and appraisal analyses, this chapter shows how negative (i.e. exclusive language practices of 'Othering') stance use of *ta* in both Pro- and Anti-communities solicits complex sexual- political[27] references of communicative intent[28]. These references resulted in the construction of non-belonging for 1) those who identify and/or are labelled as 'Non-Conforming', and 2) those who threaten the LGBTQ community. In addition, the chapter also shows how slightly negative-neutral stance usage may also result in othering of a lesser degree and thus political non-belonging.

As thus, this chapter begins by introducing the stance usage types of *ta* that result in political non-belonging and providing their respective definitions (4.1). This is followed by an overview presentation of the data set composition for when *ta* is used for political non-belonging, highlighting the discourse types by community (4.2), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used for Othering (4.3), and interim summary (4.4).

4.1   Negative Stance and Non-Belonging

"Othering may be understood as the efforts of members of a politically dominant group to marginalize and subordinate a minority or a politically weaker group" in a given context (Kagedan, 2020:2). The concept of Othering dates back to the beginning of human existence, and finds itself manifested in the concepts of in-groups and out-groups based on human universals (including those of interaction) (Kagedan, 2020:12). Within a group, relations are typically amicable and the individuals tend to be ethnocentric. Yet when interacting with an out-group, relations are typically hostile or instrumentally motivated (Kagedan, 202:13).

Othering involves "dislike of the unlike", i.e those who do not belong due to perceived differences, and includes negative attitudes towards them (Kagedan, 2020:2), whereby negative attitudes constitute hostility. As Kagedan (2020:7) notes, "the tendency to dislike the unlike is global and timeless." As thus, Othering is not a fixed-group exclusive social practice, but a

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[27] For a full discussion, please refer to 3.4 above.

[28] "the primary goal and intention of anyone involved in an act of communication on a given occasion, which is generally intended to be recognized by the other participants" (Chandler & Munday, 2016).

prevalent phenomenon intricately linked with one's stance towards people who are perceived as different (Kagedan, 2020:11). That is, Othering can happen within groups (i.e. between individuals, or sub-groups of individuals, who share membership to the same 'in-group' or 'out-group') and between groups (i.e. between separate collective entities such as an 'in-group' and 'out-group'). Consequently, 'Othering' is a clear practice of stance by which an individual positions themselves as part of an 'in-group' and those who are outside of this group as 'Other' and thus into a space of non-belonging. In six of the seven examples in this chapter, those in the 'in-group' are 'conforming' members of the Anti-community while those who are othered are 'non-conforming' members of the Pro-communities. As will be shown in the inductive analysis (see 4.3),there are four types of Othering that result in political non-belonging: Othering A: refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self-ascribed identity, Othering B: dehumanizing an LGBTQ member, Othering C: downgrading social integrity[29], and Othering D: co-constructing 'Other' identity. These key usage types are defined below.

Othering A: Refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity

In these cases, *ta* is used as a choice which allows the user to refuse specifying a gender of the third person. This refusal thus positions that third person as 'Other' because that person does not socially belong in the either-or binary of male or female. Such usage is typically seen in the case of trans individuals. This is evidenced by the user choosing to refer to somebody consistently as *ta*, despite the knowledge that somebody uses female pronouns as a transgender woman. In addition, usage of *ta* refuses to recognize the gender identity that an LGBTQ individual wishes to ascribe to themselves in general. The Anti-LGBTQ Community conceptualizes the identity of non-conforming individuals as immoral and thus uses *ta* as a marker of refusal and social sanction to position them as Others, i.e. as not belonging anywhere.

Othering B: Dehumanizing an LGBTQ member

Usage in the Anti-LGBTQ Community has shown how *ta* is used to dehumanize/devalue those who self-express a gender non-conforming identity and/or behaviours and are consequently socially sanctioned in society. This perspective is a stance taken by the Anti-LGBTQ towards the LGBTQ based on sexual orientations/ behavioural practices engaged in by LGBTQ which Anti-

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[29] Downgrading another individual's social integrity is an act of hostility based on negative stance and therefor constitutes Othering

LGBTQ deem as immoral. These 'immoral practices' are used by Anti-LGBTQ as a justification for socially sanctioning the LGBTQ, as well as used as criterion to construct the identity of 'Other' for the LGBTQ in opposition to their Anti-LGBTQ identity. This is seen in cases of referential shift. For example, a reference shift from the use of 'she' 她 for a lesbian to *ta* which does not specific gender, or projects a negative "othered" gender not worthy of acknowledgement.

Othering C: Downgrading social integrity

Usage in the Anti-LGBTQ Community has shown how *ta* may be used in a derogatory fashion much like other third person referential forms which downgrade the social integrity of the third person based on their behaviours (e.g. FG - a Female Yaoi Lover). In these cases, such an effect is typically achieved through the construction of referential chains which are built between *ta* and other referential forms. These referential chains work to construct a solid gender identity such as 她 'she' and FG (aka Female Yaoi Lover). In other words, *ta* is selected as the third person pronoun in conjunction with other derogatory 3PP NP MCDs in order to position the third person as 'Other' and abnormal. This point is supported in the appraisal analyses.

Othering D: Co-constructing 'Other' identity

Examples have shown how *ta* can be used to co-construct the identity of an 'other' in their absence. In these cases, the gender of the specific target of a user's derogatory third person reference chain is revealed in their initial use of standard pronouns (i.e. as being female via use of pronoun 她 she).

Despite this pre-gendered context, another user may choose to use the *ta* variant. That is, user A frames the third person as 'She' while user B rejects this framing and positions the third person as '*ta*', contributing to identity construction for the third person. This is further evidence for the generalizability that, in the Anti-LGBTQ Community, usage of *ta* serves to indicate a negative stance towards the LGBTQ and project refusal to accept LGBTQ members as acceptable members of society on account of their 'deviant' behaviours and sexual orientations. In addition, *ta* can also be used as a third person pronoun to construct the identity of 'Other' for a third person on account of their behaviour which is deemed inappropriate and socially sanctioned by 'larger society'.

The following section is responsible for giving an overview of these occurrences, first in aggregate and then by individual community and by discourse type.

4.2   Data Set Compositions

Presented here is an overview of the corpus. This overview facilitates understanding with regards to the distribution of political non-belonging in the corpus (Figure 4.1). The prominent allocation of political non-belonging in the Anti-community C1 is clearly visible in Figure 4.1, illustrating that all cases, i.e. 100%,of Othering A (11 cases), Othering B (15 cases), and Othering D (5 cases) are exclusive to the C1 community. The allocation also reveals two oddities, one from each of the pro-communities, with an instance of vague gender/sexual orientation occurring in Pro-community C2 (See 5.2) and an instance of Othering C occurring in Pro-community C3 (see this chapter).
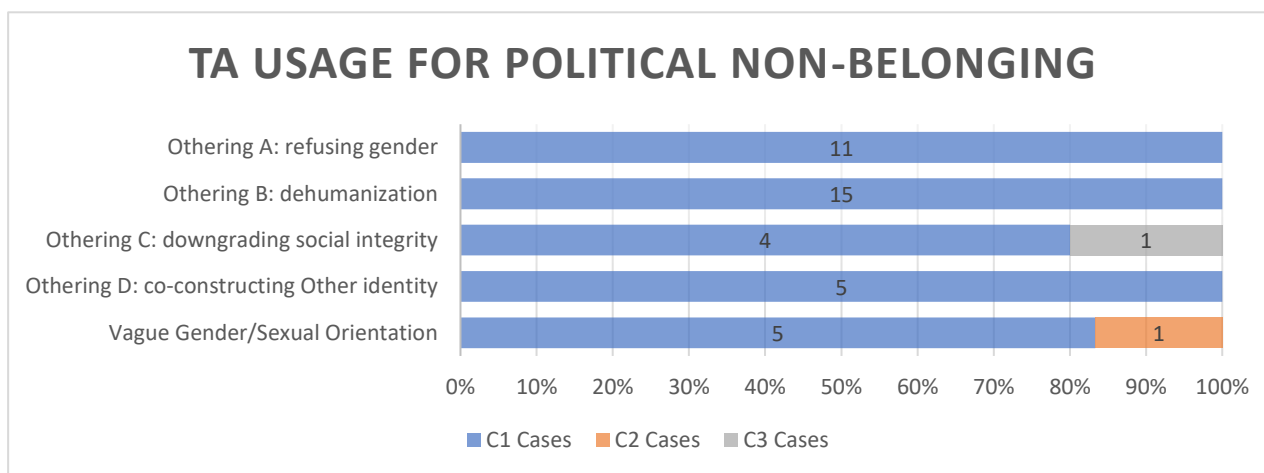
Figure 4.1 Ta Usage for Political Non-Belonging

There exist 35 cases of Othering across these four types from the Anti-community and one case of one type from the Pro-communities (Figure 4.1). With regards to usage cases of vague gender/sexual orientation, 5 cases from the Anti-community and one case from the Pro-communities[30] exist. These allocations and oddity deviations can be explained when observing a cross sectional figure of each community that is divided by discourse type. Due to the quantitative significance, let us begin with an examination of political non-belonging as it occurs per discourse type in the Anti-community C1 (Figure 4.3), prefaced by a review of C1 discourse types (Figure 4.2).

One may recall that throughout the entire corpus, nine Discourse Types were identified: 1) Chain Discourse, 2) Essay Discourse, 3) Guidebook/Advice Discourse, 4) Single Statement Discourse, 5) Information Seeking Discourse, 6) Narrative Discourse, 7) News Discourse, 8)

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[30] Due to concern of length, the respective analyses of this type will be presented in Chapter 5.

Opinion Discourse, and 9) Partner Advertisement Discourse (for definitions please refer back to Section 2.2.4). As outlined above in Section 2.2.4, Discourse Types and Texts, seven of the nine types of discourse were identified in the C1 community. The overall distribution of these types is shown in the reduplicated pie chart in Figure 4.2 below for convenience.
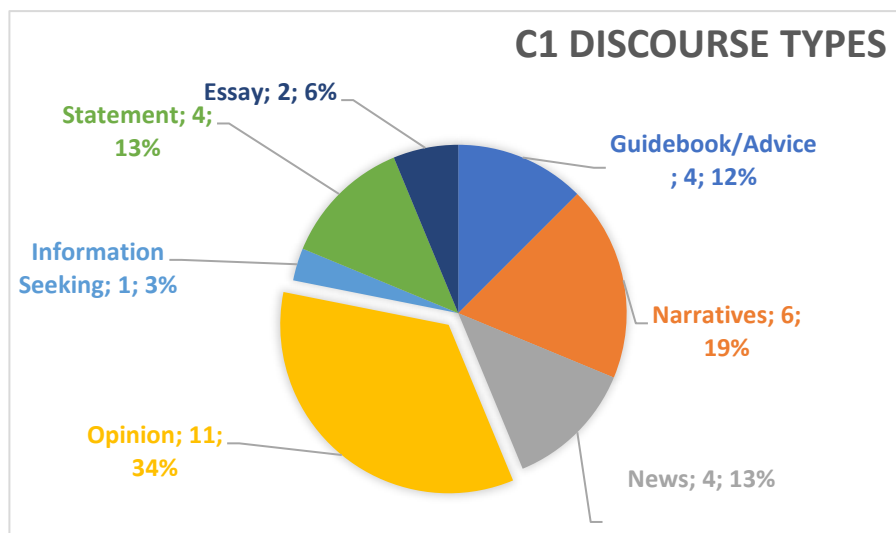
Figure 4.2 C1 Discourse Types, Reduplicated

The raw number of the seven discourse types which are present in the C1 community (n), followed by the percentage (%) that specific raw number accounts for in the community, are shown in Figure 4.2. For example, "Guidebook/Advice" discourse appears four times in the C1 community. Within this community these four instances account for 12% of the total discourse types. In order to establish the connection between discourse type and the type of *ta* usage in the Anti-Community, it is important to note the following observations from Figure 4.2:

- Partner Advertisement Discourse and Chain Post Discourse are absent. In my data, the contents of the Chain Post Discourse is a copy-paste guide on how to get your lover back.

- Opinion Discourse, which usually functions to convey one's thoughts and/or judgements regarding something, accounts for the majority of discourse.

- Narrative Discourse, which is personal accounts of experience, is the second most used discourse.

- News Discourse, a type that is intertextual as it is written by a news outlet external to the community, which is to maintain objectivity in principal, Single Statement Discourse (i.e. the statement of an observation), and Guidebook/Advice Discourse (i.e. where one user gives solicited advice or guidance to another) are all relatively equal in distribution.

In light of the observations above, the only discourse type present in C1 which does not embody *ta* usage for political non-belonging is that of News Discourse (Figure 4.3). It is also noticeable that 100% of occurrences in Essay Discourse are vague gender/sexual orientation cases, that 80% of occurrences in Single Statement Discourse (four cases) and 75% of occurrences in Opinion Discourse (six cases) are for Othering A: Denying an individual's gender, and 14 out of 15 cases (i.e. 93.3%) of Othering B: Dehumanization usage occurs in Narrative Discourse. We also see that Othering D: co-constructing identity occurs only in Information Seeking Discourse (two occurrences), Narrative Discourse (two occurrences), and Single Statement Discourse (one occurrence) while Othering C: Downgrading integrity occurs in two of three of those same environments with two occurrences each, i.e. Narrative Discourse and Information Seeking Discourse.
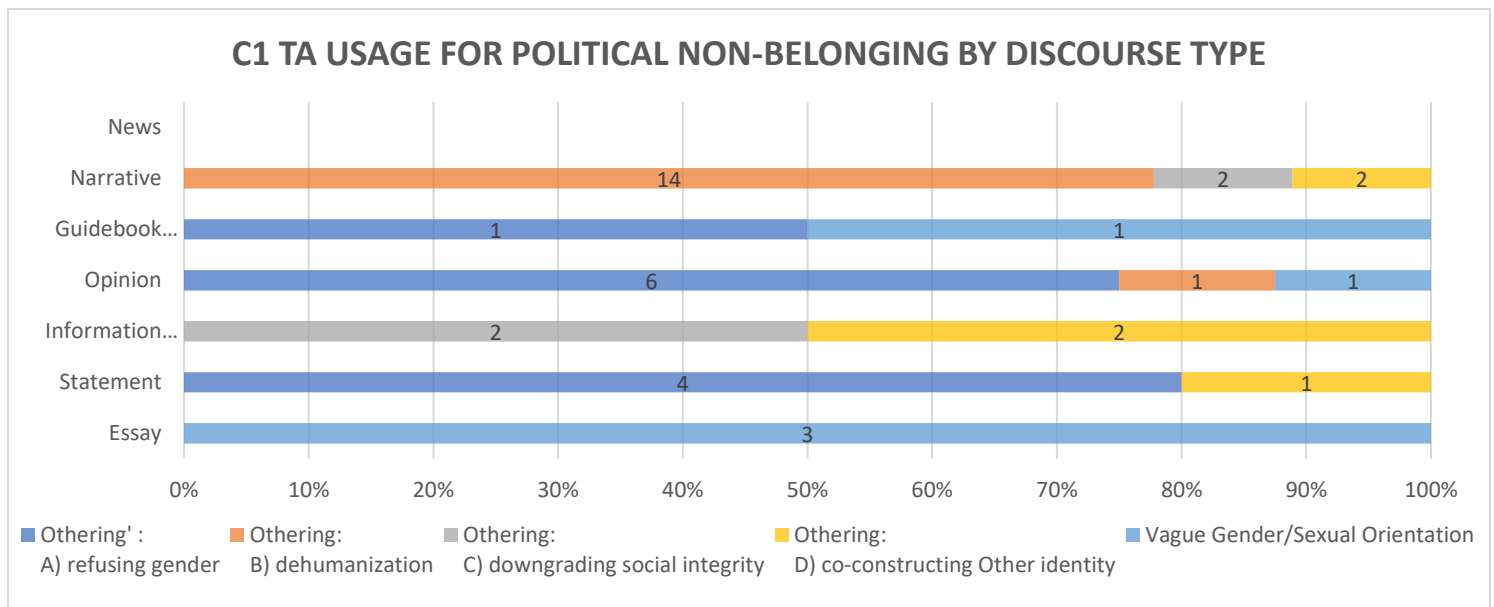
Figure 4.3 C1 Ta Usage for Political Non-Belonging by Discourse Type

Contrary to the Anti-community C1, cases in the two Pro-communities are not quantitatively presentable in the same capacity because there are only two cases. As a result, the two cases will be addressed without the assistance of a visual. In the case of C2, the Pro-community for

'Comrades', *ta* is used once in Narrative Discourse for vague gender/sexual orientation. In the case of C3, the Pro-community for 'Homosexuals', *ta* is used once in Guidebook/Advice Discourse for Othering C – downgrading integrity of the third person. The allocation and details of the seven examples[31] to be used in Section 4.3 of this chapter for analysis are outlined in Table 4.1. The examples consist of 1 to 3 of each discourse type[32] plus the two Pro cases of Othering, as outlined above in Section 4.2. These seven examples serve as illustrative representations of each usage type for political non-belonging. Two examples are from Guidebook Discourse, one from Information Seeking Discourse, three from Single Statement Discourse, three from Narrative Discourse, and two from Opinion Discourse. Examples for Othering A are presented in 4.3.1 , Othering B in 4.3.2, Othering C in 4.3.3, and Othering D in 4.3.4.

Table 4.1 Example Allocation for Political Non-Belonging

Discourse Type	*ta* Usage Type and Community	Example Amount (n)
Guidebook/Advice Discourse	• Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3[33] = Vague Gender/ Sexual Orientation (C1) [Presented in Chapter 5] • Guidebook/Advice Discourse 11 = Othering C (C3)	2
Essay Discourse	• Essay Discourse 2 = Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation (C1) [Presented in Chapter 5]	1
Single Statement Discourse	• Single Statement Discourse 1 = Othering: A + Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation (C1) • Single Statement Discourse 2 = Othering: A + Unknown (C1)	2
Narrative Discourse	• Narrative Discourse D23 = Othering B/C + 3PP (C1) • Narrative Discourse D21 = Othering D + 3PP (C1)	3

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[31] A total of 10 examples were selected to showcase political non-belonging in the dissertation. Seven of those which show usage of *ta* for Othering are presented in this Chapter while the remaining three showing usage for Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation are presented in Chapter 5 due to space concerns.

[32] With the exception of Information Seeking Discourse. This is due to there being only one example which contains all four usages seen in Figure 4.3, and this example requiring many pages of analysis to exemplify its qualitative importance. For this reason, it is unable to be directly included in the dissertation.

[33] Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 is the third instance of Guidebook/Advice Discourse. This numbering scheme applies to all chapters.

	• Narrative Discourse D16 = Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation (C2) [Presented in Chapter 5]	
Opinion Discourse	• Opinion Discourse 4 = Othering A (C1) • Opinion Discourse 10 = Othering B + Open in Relation to 'You'(C1)	2
Total		10

The following sub-sections use these examples to show how, as exhibited by the overwhelming presence of negative judgement in the attitudinal appraisal coding, third person referential chains construed through MCDs function in conjunction with stance to position *ta* as not-belonging from the perspective of the speaker. This social act of Othering via language use to project a space of non-belonging is politically motivated and often constructs complex sexual references of communicative intent.

4.3   *ta* usage for Othering

There exist 35 cases of Othering from the Anti-community and one case of one type from the Pro-communities. As mentioned previously, there are four types of Othering: Othering A: refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity (4.3.1.), Othering B: dehumanizing an LGBTQ member (4.3.2), Othering C: downgrading social integrity (4.3.3), and Othering D: co-constructing 'Other' identity(4.3.4). This section will show case three examples of Othering A, two examples of Othering B, one example of Othering C, and one example of Othering D. Each example may show one or more simultaneous othering and/or other usages, which will be addressed in the respective analyses. Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in identity construction within the respective community.

4.3.1   Refusing to Recognize an LGBTQ individual's self-ascribed identity

Example 1: Othering A in C1 – Opinion Discourse 4

Opinion Discourse 4 is an example where *ta* is used to Other the third person by refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity in the context of political non-belonging.

This example is a comment in the thread "[水一贴]金星（大爷）参演《林海雪原》惨遭群嘲"[Useless Post: Actor Jin Xing participates in Tracks in the Snow Forest and is ridiculed). In order to understand the positioning that the commenter has towards the LGBTQ and their use of *ta*, it is first necessary to introduce who Jin Xing is. Jin Xing is a famous yet controversial male to female transgender celebrity who is a Chinese ballerina, dancer, choreographer, television host and actress. Jin Xing formally had sex reassignment surgery in 1995. Jin Xing uses she/her pronouns.

The example can be broken into five sections of discourse for analysis as shown below (Table 4.2). Also, in the example and those to follow, unique superscript codes appear attached to each *ta* token. These superscript codes are applied during the coding process in Atlas.ti and are presented here in order to keep track of which *ta* token is being addressed in the analyses.

Table 4.2 Opinion Discourse 4 Example Chart

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 4
Community	C1
Thread Title	"[水一贴]金星（大爷）参演《林海雪原》惨遭群嘲" [Useless Post : Actor Jin Xing participates in Tracks in the Snow Forest and is ridiculed]
Date	2017-07-26
Content for Analysis (Original)	不是很喜欢金星 ta[14:3]主持的节目没什么水准。感觉金星也是拿喷其他明星的话题蹭热度一样。要说 我比较喜欢郭德纲和矮大紧的主持风格 比ta[14:4]厉害得多
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[I] do not really like Jin Xing. — 1 The projects that *ta*[14:3] takes charge of do not have any standards— 2 It feels like Jin Xing is also just like picking up other celebrities' topics and freeloading off short lived enthusiasm. — 3 [I] want to say, I relatively like the hosting style of Guo Degang and Ai Dajin (Gao Xiaosong). — 4 [they are] much more awesome than *ta*[14:4] — 5

In this example, two instances of *ta* occur: the first referred to as *ta*[14:3] and the second as *ta*[14:4] . The anaphoric and cataphoric relationships are presented in Table 4.3. Despite using female pronouns as a transgender woman, the user here has chosen to refer to Jin Xing consistently as *ta*, neither accepting Jin Xing's gender identity as the male gender she was assigned at birth nor as the female gender she sees herself as.

Table 4.3 Opinion Discourse 4 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[14:3]	金星 Jin Xing	ta[14:4]
ta[14:4]	ta[14:3] -> Jin Xing	--

In this case, as with other usage of *ta* in the Anti-community, the usage here corresponds with negative appraisal (Table 4.4). To briefly review, appraisal consists of the Source of Evaluation (SOE), i.e. who is doing the evaluating, the Trigger of Evaluation (TOE), i.e. the reason for the evaluation, the Embedded Evaluation in the discourse (column EE) made by the SOE because of the TOE, and whether each instance of EE is inscribed or invoked (column Inscribed/Invoked Frame).

Table 4.4 Appraisal Overview for ta[14:3]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	that *ta* (Jin Xing) takes projects without any standards	1. affect: -happiness 2. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed

In the comment, the user opens with the declaration 不是很喜欢金星 [do not really like Jin Xing] in section 1. This explicit declaration is illustrative of inscribed realis affect (affect: -happiness) which conveys unhappiness, misery, and antipathy. The user shows antipathy by expressing their dislike towards Jin Xing. A reason for the user's evaluation is given in the second section of the discourse: ta 主持的节目没什么水准 [The projects that *ta* takes charge of do not have any standards.]. The key lexical items here are 没 *mei* 'have no'+ 什么 *shenme* 'any' + 水准 *shuizhun* 'standards'. When combined, these lexical items express criticism towards Jin Xing for her actions leading to a negative judgement of propriety, i.e. how well Jin Xing conducts herself (judgement: - propriety). The evaluation by the author that Jin Xing is behaving improperly is

further perpetuated in sections 3, 4, and 5 of the discourse where the user further criticizes Jin Xing's behaviour and compares Jin Xing to two other actors/television hosts that are male. This reveals itself through the appraisal analysis of the second *ta* token, for which the overview is presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Appraisal Overview for ta[14:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	that *ta* (Jin Xing) takes projects without any standards	1. appreciation: -valuation 2. judgement: - capacity	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = invoked

In section three of the discourse, the user opens with the phrase 感觉 *ganjue* 'feel' and begins to project their continued negative evaluation of Jin Xing framed in opinion discourse. The first aspect of evaluation of ta[14:4] is in the realm of appreciation, specifically valuation which is related to cognition, i.e. our considered opinions (Martin and White, 2005:57). Through collective use of the following lexical items, the user inscribes their opinion that the other actors' hosting styles are more awesome than Jin Xing's and thus Jin Xing lacks some aspect of value (appreciation: -valuation): 比 *bi* (which is a superlative particle used for comparison and "-er than"); 厉害 *lihai* 'awesome'; 得 *de* (in this case a structural particle used after an adjective-as-main-verb to link it to the following phrase, indicating effect, degree, possibility, etc); and 多 *duo* 'many.' In other words, the user does not appreciate Jin Xing's hosting work. With the same phrase, the user also invokes a frame of negative judgement that harks back to the first instance of *ta.* However, what is criticized here is not a matter of propriety but of capacity. Through using the combination 得 *de* + 多 *duo* and 厉害 *lihai* 'awesome', the user implies that Jin Xing does not have the ability, or rather has a poor ability, to be 'awesome' like Guo Degang and Ai Dajin by positioning her below them on a scale of comparison. In addition, the user's remark in section three of the discourse that Jin Xing is 蹭 *ceng* 'freeloading' off of other celebrities' topics further invokes questions and suspicion surrounding Jin Xing's capacity as a television show host.

Overall*,* this example shows the use of *ta* by an Anti-LGBTQ individual to refer to someone who identifies as a member of the LGBTQ community. Specifically, the individual (Jin Xing) in question is a MtF transgender who was assigned male gender at birth yet had gender reassignment surgery to physically appear female. Consequently, othering is evidenced by the user choosing to

refer to Jin Xing consistently as *ta*, despite the knowledge that Jin Xing uses female pronouns as a transgender woman. This language use may display that the user neither accepts Jin Xing as the woman she transitioned into nor agrees with the male identity that she was assigned at birth. This refusal to recognize the gender identity that an LGBTQ individual wishes to ascribe to themselves is also seen in Single Statement Discourse 1 (see below) and is key for creating a space of non-belonging.

Example 2: Othering A and Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation in C1 – Single Statement Discourse 1

Single Statement Discourse 1 is an example where *ta* is used to 1) Other the third person by refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity, and 2) to project the third person as having a 'vague' gender/sexual orientation[34], in the context of political non-belonging. These are the two main usage types for political non-belonging.

This example is a comment reply on a comment in the thread "去别吧挖坟都能挖到腐男"[Go to another Thread and dig, you will find Male Yaoi Lovers]. This thread has since been hidden as the Thread Owner's (T.O.'s) user account was suspended from Baidu Tieba. For context, the main post states the following and includes screen captures from a thread titled 我真的舔了苍叶的屁股[I really licked Aoba's ass] containing pictures of a plastic Aoba figurine:
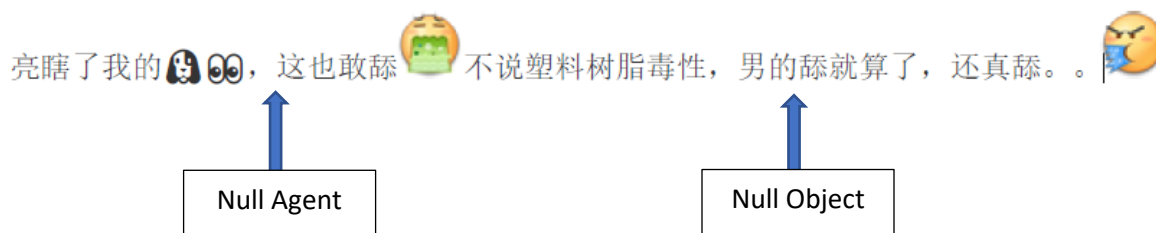
Burns my [dog emoji = 狗 *gou* dog] [eyes emoji =眼 *yan* eyes], [they] even dare to lick this [throwing up emoji] Not to mention the toxicity of plastic resin, forget licking a man's [null object], still really lick.. [spitting water emoji][35].

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[34] For more information see Chapter 5

[35] It would be interesting to examine how emojis and other non-linguistic semiotic systems are used to convey one's stance and construct identity; however, this is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

In order to understand the frame being established it is first necessary to review the following lexical items: 苍叶 *caoye* 'Aoba' and 腐男 *funan* 'Male Yaoi Lover' (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Key Lexical Items in Single Statement Discourse 1 in C1

Lexical Item	Translation	Definition/Explanation
苍叶 *caoye* (Mandarin reading） *aoba* (Japanese reading)	'Aoba'	Aoba is a Japanese anime character (あおば) from the "Dramatical Murder" franchise which consists of video games, visual novels, and anime series. The storyline is Yaoi, meaning that the theme centers around male-male relationships/love, i.e. Boys Love (BL). Aoba is at the center of the storyline.
腐男 *Funan*	Male Yaoi Lover	Originally, 腐 *fu* is compounded with 女 *nü* 'female' to derogatorily refer to women who like to watch and/or read content that portrays male-male relationships/love, i.e. Boys Love (BL). Women are the target audience for this type of content. In this case the character for female (女) is replaced with the character for male (男) to refer to men who enjoy BL content. Due to the nature of implications, it is assumed that all males who enjoy BL are homosexual and often called Jilao (as in the thread of this example).

It is within this context that a user makes the following comment as presented in the example chart (Table 4.7). The comment is accompanied by a 'tea sipping' meme conveying amusement at an unfolding situation of drama with the words "滑稽茶" *huajicha* written on the cup. Huaji is a form of comedy performance popular in Shanghai, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang[36], or can also mean 'comical/funny/amusing', while *cha* is 'tea'.

Table 4.7 Single Statement Discourse 1 Example Chart

Data Item	Single Statement Discourse 1
Community	C1
Thread Title	"去别吧挖坟都能挖到腐男"[Go to another Thread and dig, you will find Male Yaoi Lovers]
Date	2018-08-30

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[36] MDBG Chinese Dictionary. (n.d.). 滑稽. In *MDBG free online English to Chinese dictionary*.

Content for Analysis (Original)	二次元奇葩多，我还见过性取向不明性别不明的大佬，至今都不知道ta是男是女是人妖
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Excessively outlandish 2-D ACGN[37] work，I have seen Dalao[38] with unclear sexual orientation and unclear gender, to this very day I still do not know is ta a he, she, or lady boy.

Here we see one instance of *ta* embedded in the discourse with a straight anaphoric and cataphoric reference chain as depicted in Table 4.8. In this case, on the one hand, the author could be using *ta* because they do not know how to address the third person in terms of gender. On the other hand, the usage could be because the author refuses to acknowledge any gender and prefers to position the third person as Other. The usage of 大佬 Dalao attests to this frame of othering as it is being used as a derogatory term which is a word play on 基佬 Jilao. Specifically, 大佬 Dalao can have positive connotations if used to describe a 厉害的人 *lihai de ren* 'awesome/powerful/top person (i.e. big shot[39]). However, this is not how the term is being used here considering the Anti-LGBTQ context of 腐男 Male Yaoi Lover and 人妖 Lady Boy.

Table 4.8 Single Statement Discourse 1 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[18:2]	大佬 *Dalao*	男+女+人妖 *nan+ nv+renyao* man, woman, lady boy

[37] ACGN is an acronym for "Animation, Comic, Game, Novel"
[38] Dalao is a variation of Jilao (see Chapter 3 Footnote 20 for more).
[39] (see Chapter 3 Footnote 20 for more).

	Dalao (a derogatory term for male homosexuals/ LGBTQ members like Jilao)	simultaneously all in the same sentence

In fact, in addition to being word play on 基佬 Jilao, Dalao is also being used as a term to mock the LGBTQ community because the user does not believe that the LGBTQ are admirable. This lack of admiration is indicated by the accompanying meme and phrase 奇葩+多 *qipa+duo* 'exotic/weird + many' to describe the state of the 2-D character as being excessively outlandish/other worldly. This frame of othering and mockery is also conveyed through a combination of inscribed and invoked aspects of appraisal, reflected in the appraisal overview below (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Appraisal Overview for ta[18:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	seeing the gender and sexual orientation obscure Dalao	1. affect: + satisfaction 2. appreciation: + composition	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = invoked

In the clause that contains *ta* , several lexical items explicitly work together with the meme to project the user's amusement (affect: + satisfaction) with being unable to tell the gender of 2D ACGN characters like Aoba: 至今 *zhijin* 'to this day'; 都 *dou* 'entirely/all';不知道 *buzhidao* 'not know'. Here, 至今 'to this day' is used a graduation device to emphasize the extent of time that the author has been 'confused' about the gender identity of 2D characters like the Dalao to which *ta* refers. 都 'entirely' is also used to amplify the invoked feeling of cluelessness as the user has remained in a state of 'not knowing' since they experienced seeing an outlandishly designed 2D character which was to be male but appeared female in dress and mannerisms (大佬 Dalao). The explicit declaration that the user still does not know whether the 2D character they saw is a male, female, or lady boy also positively attests to an invoked appreciation of the character design embedded in the frame of amusement (appreciation: + composition). This is because the goal/objective of the BL genre is to create and portray characters that are to be perceived as androgynous; thus, given the user's perpetual state of 'confusion' about the gender of the character, the character can be said to be designed very well.

Overall, this example follows the expectation that *ta* would be assessed negatively and used in a negative fashion within the Anti-LGBTQ Community as a third person referential form directed at LGBTQ individuals. The example shows how *ta* is used in conjunction with other third person MCDs that are derogatory to the LGBTQ (e.g. Dalao and Jilao) and/or lexically ascribe gender identity (i.e. male, female, and lady boy) to refuse specifying a gender and thus position the third person as 'Other' because that person does not socially belong in the either-or binary of male or female. This usage creates a space of political non-belonging. However, the example also shows the possibility that, in the Anti-LGBTQ Community, *ta* may be used when the author/speaker is confused about the third person's gender identity and does not know how they should address the third person. That is, when the gender/sexual orientation seems 'vague.' This usage has potential implications for creating spaces of political non-belonging, as seen here, when used with negative stance and in conjunction with derogatory lexical items that hint at a possible identity assignment of 'Other' by the speaker. The usage also has implications for creating spaces of (a)political belonging when used with neutral or positive stance (see Chapter 6). The next example shows another case of Othering A in conjunction with another usage, i.e. usage for the 'Unknown' (see Chapter 7 for more details).

Example 3: Othering A and potential usage for 'Unknown' in C1 – Single Statement Discourse 2

In Single Statement Discourse 2, *ta* is used in the context of political non-belonging to 1) Other the third person by refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity, and 2) as a third person referent for 'unknown' gender/sexual orientation third persons. This example is a comment reply on a comment in the thread "当一次学生把我普及下知识"[When a student takes me to the next level of knowledge]. This thread has since been taken down as the T.O.'s user account was blocked/suspended from Baidu Tieba. For context, the main post poses the following question:

> 为何基佬喜欢穿白色袜子，内裤。然后发照片。我理解不了为何要白色的
> Why do Jilao like to wear white stockings and underwear. And then post pictures. I cannot understand why it has to be white.

It is in response to this question that a user comments "我最喜欢穿白丝的萝莉了" [I like Lolitas who wear white the most] accompanied by a 'naughty' emoji. This comment sparks conversation among several other users. A visualization of how this appears on the platform is

shown in Figure 4.4 while Table 4.10 shows the extracted text for analysis coded for interactional turns (1-6) and with anonymized usernames due to ethical considerations[40].

Figure 4.4 Single Statement Discourse 2 Visualization

The visualization above shows the interactional structure of the asynchronous conversation that takes part as triggered by the initial comment made in (1). This triggering discourse is also known as an initiating contribution (Androutsopoulos, 2014). Following the initiating contribution, we see sub-comments numbered (2.1), (2.2), (3), (5), and (6). Sub-comments (2.1) and (2.2) are from the same user and are a direct response to the initiating contribution in (1). Sub-comment (3) is a response from the user of the initiating contribution in (1) to sub-comments (2.1) and (2.2). Sub-comment (5) is a response from the user of the initiating contribution in (1) to a sub-comment which has been removed by Baidu and would have been marked (4). Sub-comment (6) is a response to sub-comment (5) directed towards the removed sub-comment (4). It is within sub-comment (6) that two tokens of *ta* occur.

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[40] All usernames, when they appear, are anonymized throughout this dissertation

Table 4.10 Single Statement Discourse 2 Example Chart

Data Item	Single Statement Discourse 2
Community	C1
Thread Title	"当一次学生把我普及下知识" [When a student takes me to the next level of knowledge]
Date	2017-04-29
Content for Analysis (Original)	**HTSS：** 1 我最喜欢穿白丝的萝莉了。 来自 Android 客户端 13 楼 2017-04-29 15:56　收起回复 2.1　GYH：我也喜欢，所以我让我女友也穿白丝 2.2　GYH：少女白丝其实更好看，更有立体感 3　　HTSS：回复 **GYH**：妹子们的长大腿穿白丝真的很诱人的! 5　　**HTSS**：回复 QA**99**：你这人，怎么 gay 里 gay 气的。 6　　MZZW：回复 QA99　　：因为 ta 就是个基/腐，点进去 ta 主页便真相大白.
Content for Analysis (Translation)	**HTSS：** 1 I like Lolitas who wear white the most Posted from Android 13 Level 2017-04-29 15:56　　Collapse Replies 2.1　**GYH**：Me too, so I make my girlfriend wear white silk too 2.2　GYH：Young girls in white silk is actually even better looking, It feels more 3D 3　　HTSS: Reply GYH :Young girls' long thighs in white silk are really very tempting! 5　　HTSS：Reply QA**99**：You，how are you so awesomely gay 6　　MZZW：Reply QA99：because *ta* is a Jilao/ Yaoi lover, when you enter *ta*'s homepage the whole truth is revealed

In order to understand the usage of *ta* in sub-comment (6), it is necessary to introduced several key terms responsible for framing the interaction (Table 4.11): gay 里 gay 气 *gay li gay qi* 'awesomely gay'(5), 基 *ji* Jilao (6), and 腐 *fu* 'Yaoi Lover' (6).

Table 4.11 Key Lexical Items in Single Statement Discourse 2 in C1

Lexical Item	Translation	Definition/Explanation
gay 里 gay 气 *gay li gay qi*	'awesomely gay'	The original version of this phrase was 橘里橘气[41] *julijuqi* from the Japanese Yuri manga series "citrus ~ 柑橘味香气 ~ " released in 2018. Yuri manga is a style which show cases female-female relationships/love (FL). In order to make the term suitable for males, the character 橘 *ju* 'Mandarin' was replaced with "gay" which almost exclusively connotates male homosexuals in China. As thus, the phrase gay 里 gay 气 came to be used among male friends on the Internet as a joke. Furthermore, gay 里 gay 气 is also a form of word play on the phrase 给力 *geili* 'awesome'(literally give power), which is also an Internet neologism.
基 *ji*	Jilao (male only)	基 is a shorthand form of 基佬, Jilao which exclusively refers to male homosexuals in a derogatory fashion.
腐 *Fu*	Yaoi Lover (male or female)	腐 is a short hand form of either 腐女 *funü* 'Female Yaoi Lover', which derogatorily refers to women who like to watch and/or read content that portrays male-male relationships/love, i.e. Boys Love (BL), or less commonly 腐男 *funan* 'Male Yaoi Lovers'.

With these key terms outlined above, an examination of the anaphoric chain of the two *ta* tokens ($ta^{20:2}$ and $ta^{20:7}$) further proves that there is a missing sub-comment (4) and that the users are making jokes at the expense of the person who wrote that sub-comment (Table 4.12). From the reference chain, the users who made sub-comments (5) and (6) are collaboratively constructing a joke around the missing user [**QA99**] of sub-comment (4). There are two possibilities as to why

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[41] Baidu Baike, (n.d). 橘里橘气

the user chose to use *ta* as the select third person pronoun to refer to the user [**QA99**] of (4). The first reason may be because the user of sub-comment (6) simply does not know the gender of the user of sub-comment (4), which is indicated by their combined usage of 基/腐 (Jilao/Yaoi Lover) where the backslash functions as an 'or'. In this case, using 'he' is not appropriate because it cannot refer inclusively to all Yaoi lovers, or to the more common 'Female Yaoi Lover', and using 'she' is not appropriate because it cannot refer to Jilaos. The second reason may be because the user of sub-comment (6) thinks badly of the user of (4) due to their perceived sexual orientation, undeserving of a "normal" pronoun and thus warranting the use of *ta*.

Table 4.12 Single Statement Discourse 2 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta$^{20:2}$	你这个人 *nizhegeren* 'you+this+CL+person' 'you' (sub-comment 5)	基/腐 Jilao/Yaoi Lover (sub-comment 6)
ta$^{20:7}$	ta$^{20:2}$-> you (QA99)	--

An appraisal analysis of the *ta* tokens can provide insight into the second possibility for the use of *ta* by the user of sub-comment (6), as represented in Table 4.13. An appraisal analysis of the first token ta$^{20:2}$ reflects that the author frames *ta* as abnormal (judgement: - normal) and as having deviant behaviour (judgement: - propriety). These two aspects of judgement are invoked by the third person noun phrase (3PP) MCDs used to refer to ta, namely Jilao and Yaoi Lover. These MCDs are used in opposition to the more neutral 3PP MCD 你这个人 'you+this+cl+person' that was used by the user in (5) to initially address and categorize ta. In the view of the author who wrote (6), ta is not simply a 'person' but a certain type of person classified using a derogatory term based on their behaviour (i.e. having relations with men (Jilao) or watching Boys Love (Yaoi Lover).

Table 4.13 Appraisal Overview for ta[20:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	*ta*'s behaviour on the discussion form which had them be called 'awesomely gay'.	1. judgement: - normal 2. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

The negative positioning of the author towards ta, and by extension LGBTQ in general, is further revealed in the appraisal surrounding ta[20:7](Table 4.14). The second token ta[20:7] appears in the second clause of sub-comment (6) which acts as a follow-up for the reason why ta is 'so awesomely gay'. Specifically, the phrase 真相大白 *zhenxiangdabai* 'the whole truth is revealed' is used as a comment for what will happen when one goes to visit ta's homepage. This implies that ta's presentation of themselves in the comment discussion may conflict with, i.e. give away, the persona they have established in their profile. Furthermore, by stating that 'the whole truth is revealed' if one looks at ta's profile', the author indicates that they themselves have looked at ta's profile which led them to the conclusion that ta is either a Jilao or Yaoi Lover. The wording of this statement is also key in projecting the author's judgment of ta as being deceptive, i.e. not truthful in their representation in the comment discussions (judgement: -veracity).

Table 4.14 Appraisal Overview for ta[20:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta's behaviour and the state of ta's profile	1. judgement: -veracity	EE1 = inscribed

That is, if the truth needs to be 'revealed', then this conversely means that the truth is being concealed. This brings the possibility that the user of sub-comment (4) could have been an LGBTQ individual who "infiltrated" the Anti-LGBTQ Community but what they said in the now removed sub-comment (4), and ultimately their profile, exposes them.

Overall, much like Single Statement Discourse 1 (see above 4.3.1), this example shows how *ta* can be used in the Anti-LGBTQ Community to refer to LGBTQ third parties in two generalizable fashions. The first is that *ta* is selected as the third person pronoun in conjunction with other derogatory 3PP NP MCDs in order to position the third person as 'Other' and abnormal. This is supported in the appraisal analysis. Such usages show implications for creating political spaces of non-belonging. The second possible generalizable use is that *ta* may be used to refer to the other

party because the language user 'does not know the gender of the third person. However, the difference in usage between simply 'not-knowing' and 'not-knowing while Othering' is crucial and shown in the options/suggestions of the third person identity that the author provides. This is indicated by providing 'gendered' either-or options, albeit derogatory, in the reference chain. Specifically in this case such options were either 基 *ji* Jilao (exclusively male gender) or 腐 *fu* Yaoi Lover (primarily of female gender). If the author truly did not know, or had not already assumed to some extent, the identity of *ta,* then they would not be able to provide such intentionally explicit, derogatory options from which one could choose to resolve the third person's identity. As thus, the example not only generates Othering A, but also politically motivated usage when the gender/sexual orientation of the third person appears 'unknown' to still cast this unknown-ness as Other and consequently project non-belonging.

The three examples in this section (4.3.1) have shown how *ta* can be used, in the context of the Anti-community, as a pragmatic resource to project a political space of non-belonging by refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity. Example 1 (Opinion Discourse 4) highlights pure Othering A of a specific, real-life individual while Example 2 (Single Statement Discourse 1) highlights how, in the context of referring to an inanimate figurine and other fictional 2-D characters, Othering A may be used in combination with "vagueness." In contrast, Example 3 (Single Statement Discourse 2) highlights how Othering A may be used in conjunction with the concept of "unknown-ness." Unlike Example 2 where the Othering is explicit, the Othering in Example 3 is potentially framed as 'innocent', even 'unintended', due to the possibility that the user may just 'not know' the third person characteristics of *ta.* This gives rise to the distinction of 'not-knowing while Othering', i.e. implicit othering, which is a result of having preconceived notions/guesses about *ta*'s third person characteristics based on assumptions. In addition, the examples have collectively shown through appraisal that *ta* is often evaluated with negative judgement in the categories of veracity, propriety, and normality, indicating that the Anti-community views those of the LGBTQ community as morally and ethically problematic. The next subsection introduces two examples of Othering B which mirror the appraisal trend in negative judgement.

4.3.2   Dehumanizing an LGBTQ member

Example 4: Othering B and Open in Relation to 'You' in C1 – Opinion Discourse 10

Opinion Discourse 10 is an example where *ta* is primarily used to Other the third person by dehumanizing an LGBTQ member. However, there is also a second usage: Open in Relation to 'You,' a usage which is one of two oddities in the context of the Anti-LGBTQ Community. The usage is an oddity because such a category sees a universal correlation with positive stance towards *ta* and is characteristic of Pro-LGBTQ Discourse. This type of occurrence in the Anti-community is explained by intertextuality. In the case of intertextuality, the Anti-community imports Pro-LGBTQ Discourse into their form for discussion as shown in the analysis here. In these cases, *ta* is a third person as defined by 'you' in the context of the Pro-LGBTQ Community. As will be revealed in the analysis, one instance of *ta* is not used for Othering B to project political non-belonging, but rather used to project (a)political belonging within the LGBTQ community where *ta*'s deictic properties are exploited to leave the possible referent Open in Relation to 'You'. This effect is achieved as a result of the discourse being quoted from positive stance LGBTQ discourse.

In this example, the T.O starts a thread titled "有些人说爱情无关性别，同性恋只是刚好喜欢上一个性别相同的而已" [Some people say love does not heed gender, homosexuals just happen to come to like a same sex [person], nothing more]. This title contrasts with the content of the main text where the T.O. proceeds to establish Opinion Discourse. The main text consists of three portions: 1) T.O.'s preface, 2) reported speech which contains a null, i.e. not lexicalized, semantic agent, and 3) T.O.'s evaluation (Figure 4.5).

某些**nc**总说"爱情无关性别，无所谓同性恋，只是喜欢上了一个人，而**ta**刚好是同性而已。"
那么问题来了。
你喜欢上异性会死吗？

Null Agent
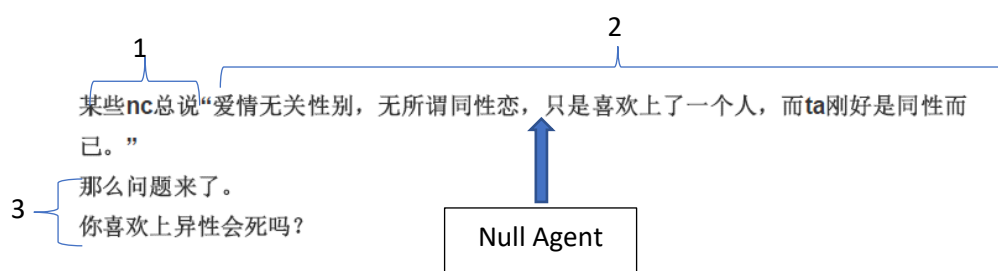
Figure 4.5 Opinion Discourse 10 Visualization

The T.O. begins to establish the Opinion Discourse through the preface and reported speech portions of the main text:

某些 nc 总说"爱情无关性别，无所谓同性恋，只是喜欢上了一个人，而 ta 刚好是同性而已。"
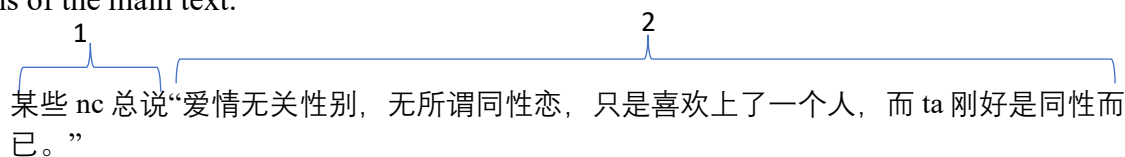
1

Some nc say "love does not heed gender, [it] doesn't deserve to be called homosexual(ity), it is just that [null agent-the one who loves the same sex, i.e. 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual] came to like a person, and ta just happens to be the same sex, nothing more."

2

In this first portion of the body of their text the poster uses several chains of other third person reference MCDs as shown in Tables 4.15 and 4.16. Three things are important to note here: 1) *ta* is used as a third person pronoun MCD in the reported speech and co-occurs with the third person NP MCDs 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) and 人 *ren* person (Table 4.15); 2) the MCD 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) is implied as the filler for the null agent role based on its explicit usage in the title[42]; and 3) third person NP MCD nc is used in the T.O.'s preface of the reported speech to categorize the people who produce it and assign ownership (Table 4.16).

Table 4.15 Opinion Discourse 10 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta	人 *ren* person	同性 *tongxing* same sex

The distinction between 3PP MCDs in the quoted speech (explicit *ta* , explicit 人, and implicit 同性恋)and the T.O.'s preface (nc) shows their position towards the subject matter. The term nc is Internet slang in the form of an orthographic deviation of 脑残 (*naocan* - literally 'brain broken') where 'n' is the first consonant of syllable *nao* and c is the first consonant of syllable *can* . This type of Internet word creation is known as stylized initials (Yang, 2007). In this context, nc can be translated as 'retard' and reveals the T.O.'s negative perception of those who produce the content in the reported speech.

These people, who are categorized as 'retards' by the T.O, are then the ones who use *ta* to refer to 人 *ren* person. In turn, this 人 *ren* person refers to the 'identity' of one who loves those of the

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[42] It is possible for any one of the following lexical items to fill the role of semantic agent in the clause: 我 *wo* I ; 我们 *women* we; 你 *ni* you; 他们 *tamen* they (male default); 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity). However, the presence of 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) in the title ([…] 同性恋只是刚好喜欢上一个 […] […]homosexuals just happen to come to like a […]) provides semantic evidence that all these lexical items refer to the same semantic identity: one who loves/likes the same sex. As thus, it is most plausible to assign the 3PP NP MCD 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) as the lexical item to refer to the semantic agent.

same sex, i.e. 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity)*,* which occupies the intended semantic agent*.* That is, there is an embedded chain of reference between *ta* – 人(同性)- 同性恋(ta-person(same-sex)-homosexual(ity)) from the smallest to largest unit of reference within the message that love has no boundaries. This embedded chain of reference then functions to project the positive stance of these 'retards' towards their community, and the ideology that it is ok to like someone of the same sex. Usage of *ta* as a gender neutral pronoun within this message, anaphorically with 人 *ren* 'person' and cataphorically with 同性 *tongxing* 'same sex', further emphasizes that 1) the LGBTQ community is welcoming and accepting of all genders and the combinations of relationships that may arise, and 2) that these ta's are respected as human beings. It is this contrast with the usage of the nc MCD that the T.O.'s opinion of LGBTQ and same-sex relations begins to be projected as negative. It is here that a brief discussion regarding cross-boundary reference chains in this example becomes relevant.

A cross-boundary reference chain refers to the implicit linkage between referential items in discourses produced by different enunciators. In this case, there are two enunciators: 1) the T.O. who owns the nc MCD, and 2) those categorized as nc by the T.O. and who own the implied 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) MCD. As shown in Table 4.16 ,the nc MCD is coded as having a dual anaphoric and cataphoric relation with the implied 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) MCD. That is, the nc MCD which is situated in the preface of reported speech owned by the T.O. cataphorically refers forward to the implied 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) MCD which is situated in the reported speech not owned by the T.O. while that same homosexual(ity) MCD anaphorically refers back to the nc MCD outside the reported speech. In the chart, this relation is marked with an asterisk(Table 4.16). This asterisk is used to draw attention to the cross-boundary reference chain because the chain only exists if one establishes the implied reference.

The 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) MCD is only linkable with the nc MCD because of how the T.O. framed the reported speech. That is, as shown from the analysis of the reported speech, it is highly unlikely that nc would be used by the LGBTQ community to refer to 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) and thus there is a lack of explicit lexical evidence to establish a connection between nc and 同性恋 *tongxinglian* from the perspective of those who produce the reported speech . However, despite its implicity, the connection between nc and 同性恋

tongxinglian homosexual(ity) is still able to be understood by readers as a result of the interactional framing established by the use of nc in the T.O.'s preface.

Table 4.16 Opinion Discourse 10 MCD Reference Chain

Third Person Perspective NP MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
NC	Null	*[Null Agent] 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity)
[Null Agent] 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity)	*NC	人 *ren* person
人 *ren* person	[Null Agent] 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity)	ta
同性 *tongxing* same sex	ta	Null

Upon completion of the reported speech, the T.O. presents a statement to preface a rhetorical question which semantically implies and solidifies their Opinion Discourse. This is shown in the second half of the main post below:

> 那么问题来了。你喜欢上异性会死吗？
> In that case, here is the question. Will you die if you come to like the opposite sex?

In this second part of the text the T.O. is seen employing the Second Person MCD 你 *ni*– 'you' where the 'you' here is neither 'specific you' with direct address of the reader nor 'standard you' with general address of a second person. Rather, in this case, the Second Person MCD 'you' is unique and categorized as 'targeted you', a term created in the course of this study. In the case of 'targeted you', the intended addressee of the discourse is a definite yet physically absent second person grounded in the mind of the language user who simultaneously occupies the position of an absent third person from the perspective of an 'overhearer' (i.e. the reader who is not the intended addressee). In this case, the intended addressee of this 'targeted you' are the members of the LGBTQ Community/individuals who come to like the same sex. That is, those who are categorized as nc by the T.O.

This construction is further supported by the pragmatics of the rhetorical question "Will you die if you come to like the opposite sex?". These pragmatics arise from the question being posted in an Anti-LGBTQ Community where the majority might engage in heterosexual (i.e. opposite

sex) relations and are obviously not dead. The rhetorical nature of the question combined with 'targeted you' project the T.O.'s opinion that 同性恋 *tongxinglian* , who are referred to as nc, won't die from trying to 'normalize' and assimilate to heterosexual values which the T.O. believes are superior to the LGBTQ values put forth in the reported speech.

Within this thread, there is one comment which contains usage of *ta* in response to the T.O.'s opinion in the main post. Specifically, the comment shows alignment with the T.O.'s opinion as the commenter makes a joke about the reported speech and precedes to conduct a parody version of the sentence. In the first part of their comment the commenter presents their joke:

> 其实这个可以把同性恋换成人兽恋……不信你试试
> In fact, you can take the *tongxinglian* homosexuality in this and change it with *renshoulian* bestiality… [if you] don't believe then you try it

The commenter can be seen 'playing' with 3PP NP MCDs to categorize LGBTQ individuals. More specifically, the commenter's joke/proposition of exchanging the MCD *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity) with *renshoulian* bestiality reveals how the commenter positions the LGBTQ as 'beasts' and dehumanizes them as an entire category. This dehumanization is solidified in the exemplar that the commenter provides to show how well their proposition works:

爱情无关种族，无所谓人兽恋，只是喜欢上了一个动物，而**ta**刚好是狗而已。

Null Agent

Figure 4.6 Opinion Discourse 10 Visualization 2

爱情无关种族，无所谓人兽恋，只是喜欢上了一个动物，而 ta 刚好是狗而已。
Love does not heed ethnicity, [it] doesn't deserve to be called bestiality, it is just that [null agent- a person who does bestiality] came to like an animal, and ta just happens to be a dog, nothing more.

In their parody of the reported speech, the commenter makes several MCD exchanges in order of appearance which contribute to the dehumanization of the LGBTQ (Table 4.17). From this, it becomes evident how the user exchanges the relatively neutral and humanized MCDs in the reported speech for negative and 'animalized' MCDs. However, it is interesting to note that the user retains usage of *ta* in the same position and also its dual anaphoric and cataphoric properties

to establish the embedded chain of reference *ta* – 动物(狗)- 人兽恋者[ta-animal(dog)- a person who does bestiality] from the smallest to largest unit of reference.

Table 4.17 Opinion Discourse 10 MCD Original and Parody Comparison

3PP MCDs used in Reported Speech Original	**3PP MCDs used in Parody of Reported Speech**
同性恋 (implied semantic agent) *tongxinglian* homosexual(ity)	人兽恋者 (implied semantic agent) *renshoulian* a person who does bestiality
人 *ren* person	动物 *dongwu* animal
ta 3PP refers to 人 *ren* person anaphorically 3PP refers to 同性 *tongxing* same-sex cataphorically	ta 3PP refers to 动物 *dongwu* animal anaphorically 3PP refers to 狗 *gou* dog cataphorically
同性 *tongxing* same-sex	狗 *gou* dog

What is notable here is the user's choice of animal: 狗[43]*gou* dog. In Chinese culture, dogs and pigs are traditionally seen as the two most lewd animals[44]. Some internet users have even noted that of all the animal-inclusive swear words, 57% contain the character for dog. Other internet users also expressed that by using the term 'dog' in an insult, it directly attacks the person's integrity and self respect because of how lowly dogs have been seen since the age of Confucius. Furthermore, some scholars have noted that the distain for being referred to as a 'dog' in Chinese also stems from how dogs are treated in China in general[45]. That is, how many dogs "are eaten and kicked around (except by pet owners and lovers)". Although the status of dogs in China is said to be improving, dogs have traditionally "been valued mainly for herding, food and guard duty (while being seen as dirty and willing to eat anything)." [46] An article from the online edition of the Los Angeles Times[47] posted in 2006 details the cultural connotations associated with the pronunciation of gou in the third tone, which could be either 狗 dog or 苟 the surname Gou. Specifically, the article details the aversion that the Gou clan developed to dogs and the embarrassment they faced

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[43] CiDianWang.(n.d.)
[44] Li (2015)
[45] Mair (2012)
[46] Magnier (2006)
[47] Magnier (2006)

as a result of their surname which was assigned to them by Emperor Shi Jingtang in the 10th century as punishment for being slighted by them.

In addition, in both the reported speech and the parody, the semantic agent for the verb phrase 喜欢上了 *xihuanshangle* 'came to like' is not lexicalized but implied. In both cases, the implied semantic agent is the same entity, yet how their identity is constructed is dependent on the embedded reference chains which reflect the language users' attitudes towards sexuality. In both cases, the null agent here is implied as LGBTQ individuals. These individuals are humanized in the reported speech and dehumanized in the parody. This difference is achieved through the paired 3PP NP MCDs. For convenience and clarity, the embedded sequences are repeated below (Table 4.18):

Table 4.18 Opinion Discourse Embedded Ta Reference Chains

Reported Speech Embedded Chain	Parody Embedded Chain
ta – 人(同性)- 同性恋	*ta* – 动物(狗)- 人兽恋者
ta-person(same-sex)-homosexual(ity)	ta-animal(dog)- a person who does bestiality

The analysis of MCDs in this thread has revealed that while members of the LGBTQ Community use humanized reference forms and gender inclusive pronouns, those in the Anti-community are opposed to these practices and view the LGBTQ negatively as Other. While the T.O. is rather subtle in conveying their stance towards the LGBTQ as one of opposition by using the 3PP NP 'nc' in conjunction with a rhetorical question, the commenter is very blunt with regards to their stance and attempt to align with the T.O.'s opinion. The commenter's stance towards LGBTQ is identifiable as one of hostility through their 'parody' speech act and exchange of humanized 3PP NP MCDs with animalized 3PP NP MCDs. That is, through their parody the commenter boldly equates homosexuals with animals who are unworthy/not traditionally referred to with gendered pronouns. The retained *ta* in the parody functions to emphasize that the commenter positions the LGBTQ as Other and as thus the LGBTQ do not deserve or warrant usage of a standard orthography pronoun. In other words, where as the LGBTQ Community use *ta* to be inclusive, the usage by the commenter in the Anti-LGBTQ Community can be seen as mockery that functions to solidify alienation of the LGBTQ as Other.

The analysis above is further supported by an Appraisal Analysis of the context in which each *ta* token is embedded. In this example *ta* occurs twice : one is contained in the reported speech of the main post made by the T.O. (here after ta[2:3])and one is in the comment reply made by the user

who initiates a joking frame (here after ta[2:4]). For context, content from Level 1 examined above is repeated below (Table 4.19) and accompanied by an Appraisal Overview for ta[2:3] (Table 4.20).

Table 4.19 Opinion Discourse 10 Example Chart

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 10
Community	C1
Thread Title	"有些人说爱情无关性别，同性恋只是刚好喜欢上一个性别相同的而已" [Some people say love does not heed gender, homosexuals just happen to come to like a same sex [person], nothing more]
Date	2017-02-12
Content for Analysis (Original)	
Content for Analysis (Translation)	

As outlined above, the *ta* token in the T.O.'s main post is projected as belonging to those who identify positively as LGBTQ. This is corroborated by the judgment of *ta* being one of positive normality from the perspective of the "nc", i.e. LGBTQ member (Table 4.20a). This judgement is inscribed via various lexical items in the reported speech (2) that serve to lessen graduation such as 只是 *zhishi* 'it is just that'、刚好 *ganghao* 'just happens'、and 而已 *eryi* 'nothing more'. The combination of these lexical items normalizes the action of liking someone who is the same sex by downplaying this same sex factor in favour of emphasizing the action of liking via negation and low emphatic hedges (e.g. Lǚ, 1999:680).

Table 4.20a Appraisal Overview for ta[2:3]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser - NC	the *ta* one likes being the same sex	judgement: + normality	EE1 = inscribed

This frame of normality (Table 4.20a) from the perspective of an 'nc' is further evident when placed in juxtaposition to appraisal analysis of portions 1 and 3 of the discourse owned by the T.O. This appraisal analysis shows the T.O.'s overarching evaluation of the 'nc' to be the exact opposite of the evaluation applied to ta[2:3] (Table 4.20b). That is, the primary evaluation seen from the T.O. is one of judgement: - normality. In this case, the TOE for the T.O. is the fact that LGBTQ people normalize their behaviour (section 2 in the discourse). Although not explicit, in discourse section 1 ("some 'nc' always say") the T.O. projects appreciation: -valuation [ideational] through an invoked image of the LGBTQ as NC. This is invoked because of the usage of NC in conjunction with 总 *zong* 'always'. This combination with 'always' gives a tone of annoyance and places emphasis on the repeated action. The T.O.'s overarching evaluation of nc as abnormal (i.e. judgement: - normality), and by extension all LGBTQ including ta[2:3], appears invoked in section 3 of the discourse ("Will you die if you come to like the opposite sex?"). While the T.O. does not explicitly mention normalcy, the inclusion of the capacity marker 会 *hui* 'will' in the rhetorical question functions to shift the categorization of LGBTQ behavior as normal into a frame of criticism.

Table 4.20b Appraisal Overview for nc

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
T.O.	That nc always try to normalize their behaviour	judgement: - normality	EE1 = invoked

That is, by asking "will you die if you come to like the opposite sex", where 'you' is a specific target you directed towards the LGBTQ third party, the T.O. implies that they will not die given that, from the T.O.'s point of view as an Anti-LGBTQ, "normal people" like the T.O. like the opposite sex and are still alive. This evaluation of the LGBTQ as being abnormal is further aligned with by the participant in the thread who uses ta[2:4] in their joking frame as a response to the rhetorical question frame (Table 4.21).

Table 4.21 Opinion Discourse 10 Example Chart 2

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 10
Community	C1
Thread Title	"有些人说爱情无关性别，同性恋只是刚好喜欢上一个性别相同的而已"

	[Some people say love does not heed gender, homosexuals just happen to come to like a same sex [person], nothing more]
Date	2017-02-12
Content for Analysis (Original)	其实这个可以把同性恋换成人兽恋……不信你试试 爱情无关种族，无所谓人兽恋，只是喜欢上了一个动物，而 ta 刚好是狗而已。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	In fact, you can take the *tongxinglian* homosexuality in this and change it with *renshoulian* bestiality… [if you] don't believe then you try it. Love does not heed ethnicity, [it] doesn't deserve to be called bestiality, it is just that [null agent- a person who does bestiality] came to like an animal, and ta just happens to be a dog, nothing more.

The appraisal analysis reveals two lines of evaluation: an inscribed judgement: + normality and an invoked judgement: - normality (Table 4.22). That is, within their joking frame the user replicates the original judgement towards ta[2:3] as projected in the reported speech from the LGBTQ's point of view (i.e. that liking the same sex is normal behaviour and not a big deal) while simultaneously negating the normalcy as framed within their own position.

Table 4.22 Appraisal Overview for ta[2:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Comment Author	*ta* has come to like an animal	1. judgement: + normality 2. judgement: - normality	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = invoked

The user explicitly replicates the inscribed (judgement: + normality) evaluation by using the same lexical items as the original to achieve lessened graduation: 只是 *zhishi* 'it is just that'; 刚好 *ganghao* 'just happens'; and 而已 *eryi* 'nothing more'. However, instead of normalizing the behaviour of liking the same sex, the user takes this behaviour and equates it to the act of bestiality which is then normalized. The evaluation of (judgement: - normality) is thus invoked by the previous context which established the joking frame alongside the fact that the behaviour being "normalized" was done so in mockery. This indicates that the user thinks the behaviour of LGBTQ people is abnormal and thus solidifies their alignment with the T.O.'s stance in positioning the LGBTQ as abnormal and Other.

Overall, this example shows how *ta* is positively used in the Pro-LGBTQ Community as an inclusive and/or genderless third person pronoun and how this positive usage, and consequently those who identify and are identified as LGBTQ members, is mocked within the Anti-LGBTQ Community. Specifically, this example is similar to Essay Discourse 2 (see 5.3) where the third person to which *ta* refers is projected as less than human/dehumanized from the perspective of an Anti-LGBTQ member. This perspective is a stance taken by the Anti-LGBTQ towards the LGBTQ based on the sexual orientations/sexual behavioural practices that LGBTQ engage. This basis is of political nature considering the Anti-LGBTQ deem these sexual orientations/sexual behavioural practices immoral and socially sanction and use them as criterion to construct the identity of 'Other' for the LGBTQ. This construction is done in opposition to themselves whom they consider 'normal' and thus shows politically motivated creation of space for non-belonging.

Example 5: Othering B and C in C1– Narrative Discourse D23

Two simultaneous Othering usages for political non-belonging occur in Narrative Discourse D23: 1) dehumanizing an LGBTQ member, and 2) downgrading the social integrity of the third person. This example is a comment in the thread "每天一贴"[A post a day]. This example is intriguing because the author claims to be a female and states that "I do not support homosexuals, but I don't hate them [either]". This comment is made in response to the main post which invites members of the Anti-community to share why they are Anti-LGBTQ ("说说大家都是为什么反同的?"); the T.O. themselves then shares that:

> 本人 wt 女友恐艾然后逛贴吧，遇到了你们这些正义人士所以反同的。
> I had sex wt* with my girlfriend , then [I] worried about [getting] AIDS so [I] went to visit the Tieba, I met you righteous people and therefore [became an] Anti-LGBTQ.

> *wt is the shorthand pinyin for 无套 *wutao* 'no condom'

With the context established above, the following example chart (Table 4.23) contains only the discourse extracted from level 10 of the thread and which is relevant for analysis. The example chart shows how the discourse produced by the user can be divided into seven distinct sections (i.e. 1-7). A detailed discussion of each section follows the chart presentation.

Table 4.23 Narrative Discourse D23 Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse D23
Community	C1

Thread Title	"每天一贴"
	[A post a day].
Date	2017-04-19
Content for Analysis (Original)	前面发的太长了，自己觉得太啰嗦，精简一下哈哈。 — 1 我是女生，我不赞同同性恋，但是我不恨他们，我比较痛恨腐蛆。 — 2 后来我特别特别恨他们就是因为很多基佬把手伸向那些小孩子。 — 3 台湾的那个我感触超深， — 4 有个 LGBT 女老师说你们不同意不要紧，反正你们的孩子都是我教的。 — 5 我操他妈，祸害下一代我他妈要撕烂她的逼!!! — 6 自作孽要死的赶紧去死， 拉下一代一起垫背的妈的我见到 TA^23:29 我绝对打死 TA^23:31! — 7 'She' Destruction 'TA'
Content for Analysis (Translation)	The front part was too long, I feel too long-winded, [I will] simplify it a bit haha. — 1 I am a female, I don't support homosexuals, but I don't hate them (male default) [either], I relatively detest Fuqu[48]。 — 2 Later on I especially especially hate them (male default) precisely because many Jilao extend hands to those children. — 3 That Taiwan one I feel super deep, — 4 There was an LGBT female teacher that said it does not matter if you (plural) do not agree, in any case I teach all of your (plural) children. — 5 WTF, damaging the next generation I want to fucking tear apart her cunt!!! — 6 One's self who commits a sin needs to die and go to hell ASAP, pulling back the next generation to serve as a sacrificial victim together fuck, [if] I see TA^23:29 I will unconditionally beat TA^23:31 to death!! — 7 'She' Destruction 'TA'

[48] Fuqu is literally 'Rotten Maggot'; it is a synonym for 腐女 *funü* 'Female Yaoi Lover' and a derogatory term for sexually deviant females.

Section 1 functions to connect to what can only be assumed to be the user's prior discourse in levels 8 and 9. This is an assumption due to the fact that at the time of data collection, levels 8 and 9 were already deleted from the thread[49]. It can be presumed that they were deleted due to violation of Terms of Service. The prior discourse in levels 8 and 9 is framed as a much longer version of the discourse to follow in level 10. In section 2 of the discourse, the user clearly states their position towards LGBT yet clarifies their 痛恨 *tenghen* 'detest/abhorrence' for a specific type of sexually deviant figure: Fuqu who are females. This topic seems to deviate from section 3 as the user switches from their commentary on Fuqu to target Jilaos and their interactions with children. In both sections 2 and 3 the user employs the default male plural 他们 *tamen* for 'they' to refer to both Fuqu groups and Jilao groups.

In section 4, the user begins to shift into a narrative account of an incident which caused them to be quite upset, as indicated by the many expletives to follow. The user frames the incident as happening in Taiwan, a country which is known to be more LGBTQ-friendly than Mainland China. In section 5, the user recounts the incident which consists of reporting the speech of a specific female LGBT teacher. The reported speech is directed at the parents of the children taught by the teacher and who are against LGBTQ. The stance of the parents as being against LGBTQ is derived from the parallel between the reported 不同意 *butongyi* 'not agree' and the author's claim of 不赞同 *buzantong* 'not support/endorse' in section 2 of their discourse. In section 6, the user takes great issue with what the 'female LGBT teacher' said, specifically using three expletives 我操他妈 *wotama* 'WTF', 他妈 *tama* 'fuck', and 逼 *bi* 'cunt' in conjunction with violent verb 撕烂 *qilan* 'tear'. It is important to note that amidst the plethora of vile language the user still employs the third person pronoun 她 'she/her' to refer to the 'female LGBT teacher'.

However, in section 7, this reference changes from defined female to open TA. This can be attributed via textual analysis to the fact that in section 6 the user destroys the sexual organ responsible for assigning a 'female' identity to the 'female LGBT teacher'. In this sense, TA is being used to refer specifically to the aforementioned LGBT teacher and dehumanize/devalue her

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[49] It is evident that they were deleted because each post is assigned a "Level Number" in synchronic sequence. That is, there cannot be a "Level 10" without there already having been a previous "Level 9" which would require a previous "Level 8" and so on.

identity based on what the user views as inappropriate behaviour and non-conformity. This is reflected in the anaphoric and cataphoric reference chain chart for the *ta* tokens (Table 4.24).

Table 4.24 Narrative Discourse D23 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
TA[23:29]	她 She **Which refers back to:** LGBT 女老师 LGBT female teacher	TA[23:31]
TA[23:31]	**TA[23:29]** **Which refers back to:** 她 She **Which refers back to:** LGBT 女老师 LGBT female teacher	----

In addition to the expletives, an appraisal analysis also reveals the user's evaluation of "TA" (Table 4.25 and Table 4.26). It can be seen that TA[23:29] and TA[23:31] share identical evaluations which is a result of them being contained in the same discourse segment. All of the evaluations of TA are portrayed as invoked due to the fact that the author does not explicitly state their emotion or judgement, yet the framing of such feelings is accomplished through the surrounding lexical items and social implications. Focusing on affect, the author portrays their unhappiness (affect: -happiness) in an initial disposition of hatred towards another, in this case TA, which is categorized as antipathy (Martin and White, 2005:49).

The lexical items which contribute to this sense of antipathy in the immediately surrounding discourse in section 7 are: 作孽 *zuonie* 'to sin'；死 *si* 'die'；赶紧 *ganjin* 'as quick as possible/without delay'；拉 *la* 'drag'；垫背 *danbei* 'made a scapegoat'；绝对 *juedui* 'unconditionally'；打死 *dasi* 'beat to death'. These same lexical items are responsible for conveying the related feeling of disgust (appreciation: -reaction). This is because the author's

reaction to LGBT who interact with children and try to make children 'accept' LGBT is negatively framed with their expletives and the claim that the author will beat such people to death. The feeling of disgust is noted to be a hybrid in terms of evaluation, construing an "attitude to something we approve or disapprove of [and] can be treated as affectual inscriptions invoking (ie implying) judgement or appreciation" (Martin and White, 2005:68). As thus, traces of judgement towards the behaviour of 'pulling back the next generation', or the words of the LGBT female teacher who is seen as pulling back the next generation with her actions, are also invoked under a frame where the behaviour is criticized and socially sanctioned for being improper (judgement: -propriety).

Table 4.25 Appraisal Overview for TA[23:29]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	words of LGBT teacher	1. affect: -happiness 2. appreciation: -reaction 3. judgement: -propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked EE3 = invoked

Table 4.26 Appraisal Overview for TA[23:31]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	words of LGBT teacher	1. affect: -happiness 2. appreciation: -reaction 3. judgement: -propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked EE3 = invoked

Overall, this example shows how *ta* can be used in conjunction with other gender specifying 3PP NP MCDs to construct the identity of the third person. In the context of the Anti-LGBTQ Community, the use of *ta* in this example shows two possible generalizations. The first is that *ta* is being used to refer to a general type of person categorized by their behaviour where that specific behaviour is not gender exclusive and can be performed by anyone. Specifically of focus here is the behaviour of attempting to normalize the idea of LGBTQ to children. The second is that *ta* is used in the Anti-LGBTQ Community to dehumanize (Othering B) and socially downgrade (Othering C) those who self-express a "gender non-conforming" identity and/or behaviours which cause them to be socially sanctioned in society, mostly by the Anti-LGBTQ. This is seen in the reference shift from the use of 'she' 她 to *ta* which does not specific gender, or projects a negative

"othered" gender not worthy of acknowledgement (cf Single Statement Discourse 1, see above 4.3.1). This later usage for othering is deliberate, and thus politically motivated and produces a space of political non-belonging.

The two examples in this section (4.3.2) have shown how *ta* can be used, in the context of the Anti-community, as a pragmatic resource to project a political space of non-belonging by dehumanizing an LGBTQ individual. In the first case, the LGBTQ individual was equated to a dog. In the second case, the LGBTQ individual's sexual organs responsible for 'gender identity' were metaphorically destroyed to strip the individual of human status. The examples have shown through appraisal that *ta* is evaluated with negative judgement in the categories of propriety and normality, indicating that the Anti-community views those of the LGBTQ Community as morally and ethically problematic. The next subsection introduces one example of Othering C, given that Narrative Discourse D23 is already an example which embodies Othering C characteristics. The singular example to follow is noteworthy as it comes from the Pro-community and illustrates how *ta* can be used across discourse community boundaries to perform the function of Othering and project political non-belonging based on negative stance.

4.3.3   Downgrading social integrity

Example 6: Othering C in C3 – Guidebook/Advice Discourse 11

From the Pro-community 'Homosexual Bar', Guidebook/Advice Discourse 11 is an example which shows how *ta* can be used to downgrade a third person's social integrity and consequently project them as Othering into a space of political non-belonging. This example is a comment in the thread "今天听一节课，发现一个歧视同性恋的人，该怎么办，好想给她普及普及知识"[I was in a class today and I found a person who discriminates against homosexuality. What should I do? I really want to open her eyes]. In order to understand the usage of *ta* in this example, it is necessary to analyze it in conjunction with the prior thread content posted by the T.O. who is seeking for advice (Table 4.27).

In this case, the thread title is also the content of the Main Post on Level 1 (marked section 1). The T.O. then follows up their question with another statement and further details of what happened in class (marked section 2). It is to this question seeking for advice in Level 1, supported by the details in Level 2, to which a user responds with the use of *ta* in a comment in Level 3 (marked section 3) (Table 4.27).

Table 4.27 Guidebook Advice Discourse 11 Example Chart

Data Item	Guidebook Advice Discourse 11
Community	C3
Thread Title	"今天听一节课，发现一个歧视同性恋的人，该怎么办，好想给她普及普及知识" [I was in a class today and I found a person who discriminates against homosexuality. What should I do? I really want to open her eyes].
Date	2018-10-28
Content for Analysis (Original)	**T.O.** 今天听一节课，发现一个歧视同性恋的人，该怎么办，好想给她普及普及知识 ⎫ 1 'She' **T.O.** 太生气了，还说什么同性在一起就是笑话 ⎫ 2 Deconstruction **QYQJ** 楼主别这样，普及什么知识啊，想办法掰弯 Ta$^{17:4}$ 就好了么 ⎫ 3 'TA'
Content for Analysis (Translation)	**T.O.** I was in a class today and I found a person who discriminates against homosexuality. ⎫ 1 'She' What should I do? I really want to open her eyes **T.O.** [I am] So angry, [null subject-she] even said something like the same sex being together is a joke ⎫ 2 Deconstruction **QYQJ** T.O., don't be like this. What knowledge boost. Isn't it fine to just think of a way to turn Ta$^{17:4}$ gay? ⎫ 3 'TA'

In this example, there is one instance of *ta* and one instance of the standard third person 她 'She'. The anaphoric reference chain shows how the T.O. projects one identity for the 'homophobe', while the commenting user takes this identity, refuses it, and alters it to serve a politically motivated interactional purpose. The chain is represented in Table 4.28. Despite using the female pronoun 她 'She' to refer to 'a person who discriminates against homosexuality', the other user clearly rejects this assignment and strips the female gender by applying *ta*. This usage of *ta* can be seen as projecting 'no gender' and an act of Othering when used in a negative stance.

Table 4.28 Guidebook Advice Discourse 11 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
她 'she'	一个歧视同性恋的人 *yige qishi tongxinglian de ren* a person who discriminates against homosexuality'	---
Ta[17:4]	她 'She' used by T.O **Which Refers to:** 一个歧视同性恋的人 *yige qishi tongxinglian de ren* a person who discriminates against homosexuality'	---

The negative stance that the commenter holds towards *ta* motivates them to deconstruct the gender of the female 'person who discriminates against homosexuality'. This is revealed in the process of how *ta* is used to downgrade her social integrity as a 'person' by taking away 'gender', which is a noted identifier of personhood (e.g. Dorn, 1986). This is done in conjunction with lexical items and rhetorical structures that paint the 'person who discriminates against homosexuality' as someone incapable of rationale conversation and a perpetuator of stereotypes (Table 4.29).

In the comment, the user opens with the advice 楼主别这样 'T.O. don't be like this' and follows up with the rhetorical, interrogative remark 普及什么知识 'what knowledge boost' marked with the emphatic particle 啊 *a* for softening the tone of an imperative or interrogative (Sun, 2006:78). The rhetorical question invokes the user's dissatisfaction towards *ta* (affect: -satisfaction) through the lexical item 什么 *shenme* 'what' and the particle 啊 *a* by implying that *ta* is not someone who can be reasoned with or given 知识 *zhishi* 'knowledge'. Furthermore, the user's sarcastic suggestion, or rather advice to the T.O., is rather than wasting time trying to educate *ta* , the T.O. might as well 就好 *jiuhao* 'just' 想办法 *xiangbanfa* 'think of a way' to 掰弯 *baiwan* 'turn gay' *ta*. The user's act of proposing to turn a homophobe gay, a common unfounded 'fear' of Anti-LGBTQ and stereotyped behaviour of the LGBTQ community, is a stance of criticism towards the way *ta* behaved and spoke about homophobes (judgement: - propriety). This sarcastic proposal further invokes a sense of disgust (affect: -happiness) towards *ta* by projecting that the reason for

suggesting such a ludicrous idea, i.e. turning a (presumed) heterosexual "gay", is to play on this unfounded stereotype as it would be more effective than trying to provide *ta* with proper 知识 *zhishi* 'knowledge' of the LGBTQ community.

Table 4.29 Appraisal Overview for Ta[17:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	that *ta* (the female person in the T.O.'s class) discriminates against homosexuals	1. affect: -happiness 2. affect: -satisfaction 3.judgement: - propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked EE3 = invoked

Overall, this example shows how *ta* can be used, regardless of discourse community, to construct a space of political non-belonging for the third person to which it refers. The example demonstrates an explicit attempt, therefore constituting its political-ness, to downgrade the societal position, i.e. human integrity, of a person as a form of Othering. In this case, the person is one who threatens the LGBTQ community, and the downgrading is done so by subtracting the gender attribute needed to constitute the 'basic' identity of a human according to legal identification documents procured at birth (i.e. birth certificates). The example has further shown how negative judgment is an indicator of the use of *ta* for constructing a space of political non-belonging. The next subsection introduces one example of Othering D, showing how interlocuters can work together to co-construct identity for the third person in their absence.

4.3.4   Co-constructing 'Other' identity

Example 7: Othering D in C1– Narrative Discourse D21

As the last example of Othering for political non-belonging, Narrative Discourse D21 shows how *ta* can be used amongst multiple turns and interlocutors to co-construct an identity for the 'Other'. This example is unique in that the T.O. is questioning their identity as an Anti-member and how this is constructed by others. The thread is titled "我们到底在别人眼中是怎样的存在"[How do we exist in the eyes of others?]. In order to create a context within which the two sub-comments are embedded, the main post and the comment within which the sub-comments are embedded need to be presented.

As the title suggests, the T.O. is seeking information for how, and possibly why, others view the Anti-LGBTQ the way they do. The Anti-LGBTQ is the membership category with which the

T.O. identifies. In the main post, the T.O. posts a screen shot[50] of a conversation observed online between a potential Anti-LGBTQ and an LGBTQ member and writes the following caption:

这是一个路人，一个并不喜欢 bl 的路人的回复。虽然我只接触到她一个，但是给了我比较深的思考。我们树立的到底是怎样的形象？

This is a passerby, a response from a passerby who does not like bl at all. Although I only contacted her this one, it gave me deeper consideration[sic]. In the end, what is the kind of image that we have established?
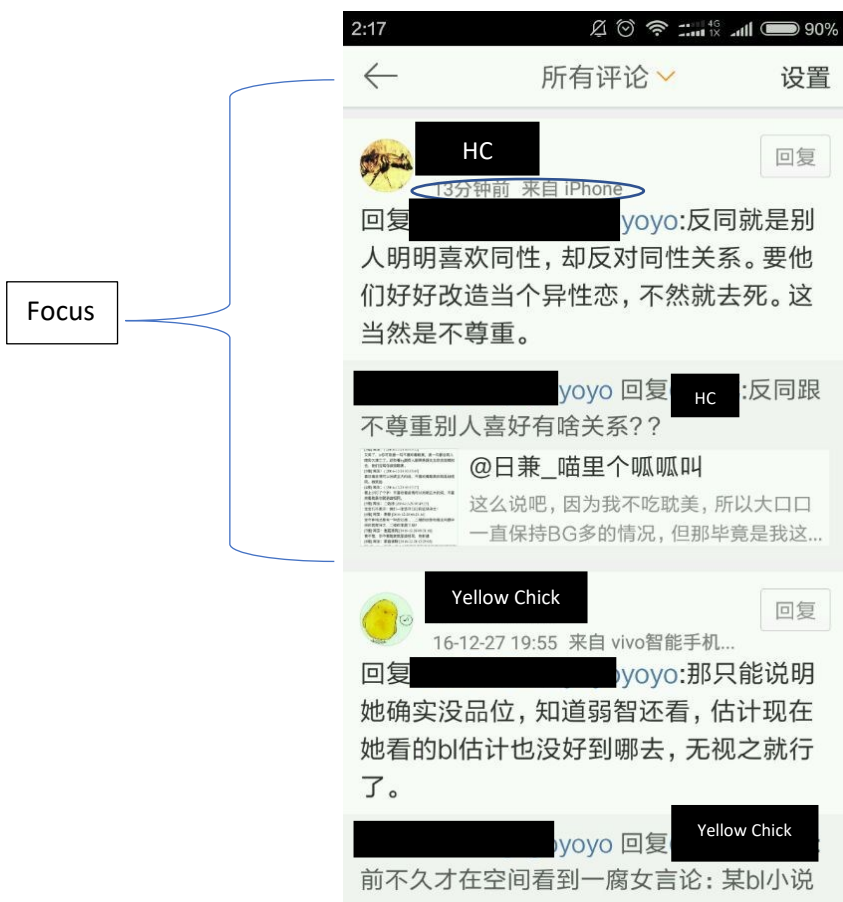
The screen shot shows the interaction of three users: 1) HC, a Pro-LGBTQ supporter, 2) YoYo, an Anti-LGBTQ, and 3) Yellow Chick, another Anti-LGBTQ. However, the object of focus in the screen shot is the comment from '13 minutes ago' (13 分钟前) where HC responds to YoYo (who may be the same person as the T.O.). YoYo asks HC what 'respect' and being 'Anti-LGBTQ' have to do with each other. In their response, HC outlines how the group they are a member of (LGBTQ)

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[50] In accordance with ethical considerations, usernames have been blacked-out and/or replaced with pseudonyms.

view the group that YoYo is a part of (Anti-LGBTQ). Specifically, HC discusses how the LGBTQ see the Antis as people who are interested in the business of others who like the same sex, implying that this has nothing to do with the Antis, and as a result Antis are against same-sex relations. HC further states that being Anti involves wanting those who like the same sex to 'change into a suitable heterosexual or go die', which is what HC and the LGBTQ as a group feel is disrespectful.

The following example chart (Table 4.30) showcases a main comment (i.e. an initiating post), which shows support and affirmation to the T.O. in that their beliefs are correct and that BL(Boys Love) is not something to be liked, and the sub-comments as reactions to the initiating post. Specifically, the initiating post is a photo of HIV/AIDS infection rates among different groups and 'facts' of how infection occurs. The photo shows that the transmission rate of infection amongst male youths from male-male relations is at 81.6%, and the photo is titled 八成源于"好基友" *bachengyuanyu haojiyou* 'Eighty Percent is From Good Gay Buddies (Gay Partners)'. The photo also indicates that the male-female infection ratio is 11:1, that is for every 11 infected males there is only 1 infected female. Furthermore, it states that 65% of HIV/AIDS cases are amongst university and high school students.

Table 4.30 Narrative Discourse D21 - Context Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse D21 - Context
Community	C1
Thread Title	"我们到底在别人眼中是怎样的存在"[How do we exist in the eyes of others?]
Date	2017-01
User	TB (T.O) and TB DOPPLE (commenter) and YHHY (sub-commenter)
Content for Analysis (Original)	**TB DOPPLE (12 楼):** 直接放图就行了 。垃圾谁不恶心　1 [Image omitted] 2 **TB:**我发的就是这张图！！！ 2017-1-1 23:45 回复 3 **TB DOPPLE**: 回复**TB :**那我很好奇他们在数据面前怎么反驳 2017-1-1 23:52 回复 4 **TB:** 回复 **TB DOPPLE**:"这数据不是你们反同者捏造的？" 2017-1-1 23:55 回复 5 **TB DOPPLE**: 回复**TB**:吧里有各大新闻的链接，可以发给他。 实在不行让她自己去hiv吧看看 2017-1-1 23:58 回复

6 **TB**: 回复 **TB DOPPLE**: "明明是你在向我论证凭什么让我自己去看"

2017-1-2 00:01 回复

7 　　　　　**TB DOPPLE**: 回复**TB**:蜜汁逻辑。我的证据你不信，
　　　　　　　　　让她自己去看她不看。咋不上天

2017-1-2 00:10 回复

8 **TB**: 回复 **TB DOPPLE**:所以呀.......我都服了

2017-1-2 00:18 回复

2.b **CBFXSC:** 回复 **TB DOPPLE:** 博士遇刁民，有理说不清😝

2017-1-2 05:10 回复

2.c

2.c **DK:** 回复**TB DOPPLE:** 当然是 你伪造的！！

2017-1-2 05:52 回复

3.b1 **YHHY**回复 **CBFXSC** ：　　　我遇见的人都特么是这逻辑，
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　说证据给ta[21:4]非要说是有偏见，
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　要ta[21:5]自己看又说不可信……
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　这种人就是潜在撑同，不要理了，
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　我遇见真正中立态度的人其中还有好
3.b2　　　　　　　　　　　几个拉拉和少数男同在我给他们看证据后
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　他们都表示接受或者很多感同身受的都有。

2017-1-5 06:45 回复

3.b2 **YHHY**回复 **YHHY**：然后还有几个愿意和我一起证明同圈肮脏的路人，
　　　　　　　　　　　　　就是不宣传在在下宣传时基本也会来捧场。
　　　　　　　　　　　　　ta[21:16]不接受你的科普干脆用这种逻辑就说明她是白左想
　　　　　　　　　　　　　法，不要紧的。

2017-1-5 21:47 回复

Content for Analysis (Translation)	**TB DOPPLE (Level 12):** Just putting the image here is enough. Garbage, who is not disgusted 　　　　　　　　[IMAGE]　　　　1 2 **TB:**What I posted is just this picture！！！ 2017-1-1 23:45 回复 3 **TB DOPPLE**: Reply **TB:** Then I am curious how they (default male) can refute 　　　　　　　　　in front of the data 2017-1-1 23:52 Reply 4 **TB**: Reply **TB DOPPLE**: "Isn't this data fabricated by you Antis?" 2017-1-1 23:55 Reply 5 **TB DOPPLE**: Reply**TB**:　　　There are major news links in the Ba, 　　　　　　　　　you can send [the links] to him. 　　　　　　　　　If that really does not work, make her go 　　　　　　　　　to the hiv Ba herself and have a look. 2017-1-1 23:58 Reply 6

6 **TB**: Reply **TB DOPPLE**:   "It is obviously you that is trying to make an argument, how dare you make me see it for myself "

2017-1-2 00:01 Reply

7 **TB DOPPLE**: Reply**TB**:   Honey Juice Logic[51]. You don't believe my evidence, make her look herself and she doesn't. how high and mighty [they] are[52]

2017-1-2 00:10 Reply

8 **TB**: Reply **TB DOPPLE**:   So.......I am speechless

2017-1-2 00:18 Reply

2.b **CBFXSC:** Reply **TB DOPPLE:**   When a superior meets the uncultured, there is no talking logic

2017-1-2 05:10 Reply

2.b

2.c **DK:** Reply**TB DOPPLE:**   Of course you forged it! !

2.c

2017-1-2 05:52 Reply

3.b1 **YHHY** Reply **CBFXSC**:   People I meet are all of this fucking[53] logic，[you] say [you will] give proof, ta[21:4] insists that there is prejudice, ta[21:5] wants to see it for [themselves] and again says [they] can't believe it……this type of person is just a secret LGBTQ supporter, do not pay attention to [them]，
Among the people I met who were genuinely neutral in attitude, there were several Lala and a few gay males who, after I showed them (male default) the evidence, they (male default) all expressed acceptance or took it as a personal favor.

2017-1-5 06:45 Reply

3.b2 **YHHY** Reply **YHHY**：

And then there are a few passers-by who are willing to prove the dirty of the homosexual group,
Even if I don't broadcast/advertise my opinion, people will still come to hear it.
ta[21:16] does not accept your straight forward science

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[51] 蜜汁逻辑 *mizhiluoji* (literally 'Honey Juice Logic'): There are several possibilities for this Internet slang term, the most common being a phonetic word play on 迷之逻辑 *mizhiluoji,* literally 'lost/crazy + of + logic' indicating that there is a lack of logic/what is being said is illogical and thus problematic[51]. As thus, it is a rude and derogatory way to refer to the "logic" of someone who the speaker thinks is stupid.

[52] 咋不上天 *zabushangtian* is a slang phrase literally meaning 'how + no +ascend to +sky'; the implications of the phrase from the perspective of the speaker is that they think the person who 咋不上天 'can do anything' , but within a frame of sarcasm. That is, the phrase is one of mockery towards the subject who thinks they are "high and mighty" when in fact the speaker thinks they are the opposite. The phrase is similar to 你太棒了 *nitaibangle* 'you are so awesome' when used in similar contexts.

[53] 特么 *teme* is a word play on the swear 他妈的 *tama* which is like "fuck"; it is stylized this way to avoid censorship.

| | | and uses this [Honey Juice] logic just proves that she is of Baizuo[54] thought. It does not matter.
2017-1-5 21:47 Reply |
| | | |

Within this example the use of third person pronouns throughout is peculiar as they oscillate between he 他 and she 她 for the same person referent. For example, in the discourse marked with the number "5", the poster starts out with referring to the subject as "他" him in the object position, yet in the following clause switches to "她" her. In the discourse marked at "7" the third person pronoun 她 her is maintained as the referential term for the person of focus. It is after this that we encounter the use of *ta* in 3.b1 and 3.b2 in the embedded sub-comments.

As can be seen in Table 4.30 and the context introduction, the topic of focus is the "Honey Juice Logic" 蜜汁逻辑 *mizhiluoji* of the female who likes bl (Boys Love/male-male behaviour). The fact that the female likes bl classifiers her as a member of Pro-LGBTQ, as supported by the statements in 3.b1 (潜在撑同 'secret LGBTQ supporter') and 3.b2 (白左想法 Baizuo thought). However, what is curious to note is the usage of the *ta* tokens and their reference chain despite the explicitness of the 'gender' of the person being discussed (Table 4.31).

In the case of the first two *ta* tokens, $ta^{21:4}$ and $ta^{21:5}$, they appear in 3.b1 where the commenter recounts situations in which they generally reference multiple third persons (i.e. 人 *ren* 'people'/ 'person') of which there have been 拉拉 Lalas (lesbians) and 男同 Male homosexuals. This warrants use of *ta* as an open third person reference marker to include as many third persons as possible, but specifically persons in the LGBTQ community. This is emphasized in how the commenter refers to an individual in that group as 这种人 'this kind of person', a specific referent signaling out a person with 'Honey Juice Logic' that does not listen to 'scientific' evidence/proof when confronted with data about male-male transmission of HIV/AIDS. The distinction between 3.b1 and 3.b2 is important in that 3.b1 is a narrative of personal experience while 3.b2 is a narrative of personal experience in the first half and the social act of 'giving advice' in the second half. It is this second half of 3.b2 which contains $ta^{21:16}$. $ta^{21:16}$ projects cataphorically to the third person pronoun 她 she and connects back to the subject at hand which is the LGBTQ member who does not listen to the scientific knowledge of the T.O. Specifically, the sub-commenter advises that the

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[54] 白左 *baizuo* is a derogatory term previously discussed to refer to those who support the LGBTQ.

T.O. need not mind a person like ta (i.e. her) who has Honey Liquid Logic and Baizuo thinking because this means that ta (i.e. she) is an LGBTQ supporter and as thus implies that the conversation will not go anywhere. The hostile attitude that the sub-commenter has towards those like ta[21:16] (i.e. she) who do not listen to science is further revealed in an appraisal analysis of the *ta* tokens.

Table 4.31 Narrative Discourse 21 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[21:4]	人 *ren* person	----
ta[21:5]	人 *ren* person	这种人 *zhezhongren* This kind of person
ta[21:16]	人 *ren* person	她 She/her

Both occurring in 3.b1 of the discourse, **ta[21:4]** and **ta[21:5]** share the same Appraisal structure (Tables 4.32 and 4.33). Both appraisals are triggered by ta and the "Honey Juice Logic" ta has. This Honey Juice Logic refers to how ta denies scientific evidence presented to them by the Antis and even denies the evidence that ta reads on their own. This behaviour, judged as abnormal (judgement: - normality) and morally problematic (judgement: -propriety), creates an invoked sense of the author's displeasure (i.e. affect: - satisfaction). The following lexical items contribute to invoking this frame: 特么 *teme* which is a word play on the swear 他妈 *tama* which is like "fuck" and is stylized this way to avoid censorship; 非要 *feiyao* 'insists' which is used to describe a behaviour that is specifically undue/uncalled for (过分 *guofen*); and 又说 *youshuo* 'once again say' which emphasizes the authors exasperation at the continued denial of ta.

Furthermore, the commenter compares what they consider as the deviant and unethical behaviour of ta after being given 'proof', i.e. the denial of facts, to the behaviour of some Lalas and male homosexuals after being given 'proof', i.e. acceptance of facts, to illustrate what is considered 'proper' and 'normal' behaviour upon being presented with facts. That is, the commenter praises the Lalas and male homosexuals who 表示接受 *biaoshijieshou* 'express

acceptance' or 感同身受 *gantongshenshou* 'took [what they had been told by the commenter] as a personal favor' because these two behaviours occur in those who are 真正中立 *zhenzheng zhongli* 'genuinely neutral'.

Table 4.32 Appraisal Overview for **ta²¹⁴**

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta being presented with evidence but refusing to acknowledge it even after seeing for themselves	1. affect: - satisfaction 2. judgement: - normality 3. judgement: -propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked EE3 = invoked

Table 4.33 Appraisal Overview for **ta²¹⁵**

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta being presented with evidence but refusing to acknowledge it even after seeing for themselves	1. affect: - satisfaction 2. judgement: - normality 3. judgement: -propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked EE3 = invoked

The last *ta* token, ta²¹:¹⁶, occurs in 3.b2 and indexes 她 she/her. In this case the sub-commenter is no longer commenting on a general individual's behaviour, but the specific individual's behaviour as reported by the T.O in the main post and the sub-comment section. As thus, the primary evaluation is on the behaviour which indicates that the sub-commenter has an alignment in stance and framing of ta as being deviant in their behaviour (judgement: -propriety) with the T.O. and the initiating post commenter. This is emphasized with the following lexical items: 不接受 *bujieshou* 'not accept' which is the deviant behaviour; 这种逻辑 *zhezhongluoji* 'this kind of logic' which refers to the derogatory "Honey Juice Logic"; 说明 *shuoming* 'proves' ; and 白左想法 *baizuoxiangfa* 'Baizuo thought' which derogatorily refers to the support of the LGBTQ community.

Table 4.34 Appraisal Overview for **ta²¹:¹⁶**

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta being presented with evidence but refusing to acknowledge it even after seeing for themselves	1. judgement: -propriety	EE1 = invoked

Overall, this example illustrates how *ta* can be used to co-construct the identity of an 'other' in their absence. Specifically, the T.O. (user TB DOPPLE) outlines how the specific target of their derogatory third person reference chains is female by using the pronoun 她 she. However, despite this context user YHHY deliberately choses to use the *ta* variant to refer to the third person female individual who was labelled as a Baizuo (LGBTQ support). This further evidences the generalizability that in the Anti-LGBTQ Community, usage of *ta* serves to indicate a negative stance towards the LGBTQ and project refusal to accept LGBTQ members as acceptable members of society on account of their 'deviant' behaviours and sexual orientations, creating a political space of non-belonging. Such use is also seen in Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 (see below 5.3), Single Statement Discourse 1 (see above 4.3.1), Opinion Discourse 4 (see above 4.3.1.), and Narrative Discourse D23 (see above 4.3.2).

4.4 Interim Summary

This Chapter presented seven examples of how *ta* is used to construct a space of political non-belonging via four types of Othering: Othering A: refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity, Othering B: dehumanizing an LGBTQ member, Othering C: downgrading social integrity, Othering D: co-constructing 'Other' identity.

Examples 1-3 of Othering A collectively show how *ta* is used as a pragmatic resource to construct political spaces of non-belonging. This is done by refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity. In Example 1, this refusal is achieved in two general ways: 1) by using *ta* instead of 她 'she' to refer to transgender actress Jin Xing, 2) by appraising Jin Xing with negative judgment in terms of her propriety and capacity, and 3) by expressing antipathy. In Example 2, where the third person of focus is a 2D androgynous Japanese Manga character, this refusal is achieved in conjunction with projecting the third person as having a 'vague' gender/sexual orientation. This portrayal is orchestrated via several components: 1) the use of derogatory third person MCDs which lexically ascribe gender identity (e.g. Jilao) paired with *ta* , 2) the use of the 'sipping tea' emoji meme, 3) word play with derogatory terns (i.e. Dalao and Jilao) to mock the LGBTQ community and third person, and 4) the use of graduation devices. In Example 3, where the focus is placed on mocking a third party Internet user, this refusal is portrayed in collaborative construction of identity. Several components play a role in the collaborative

construction: 1) usage of the compound 基/腐 (Jilao/Yaoi Lover) where the backslash equates to "or" – this usage gives an either or option for which neither 'he' nor 'she' is suitable and thus warrants *ta*, 2) the appraisal of *ta* as abnormal (judgement: - normal) and as having deviant behaviour (judgement: - propriety), 3) a shift in MCD reference from neutral 'this person' to politically loaded *ta* , and 4) the act of 'not-knowing while Othering' in terms of a third person's identity.

Examples 4-5 of Othering B collectively show how, by dehumanizing an LGBTQ individual, *ta* is used as a pragmatic resource to construct political spaces of non-belonging. In Example 4, this dehumanization is achieved through an intricate act of co-construction where several components are at play: 1) the use of reported speech from the Pro-LGBTQ Community where the usage of *ta* is positive, 2) the framing of this reported speech as negative by the Anti-community who refers to the speakers as nc ('retards'), 3) the creation of a parody of the reported speech by maintaining the same syntactic structure yet switching key MCDs (i.e. person to dog and homosexuality to bestiality), 4) the use of graduation to normalize bestiality, and 5) the usage of rhetorical questions and statements. In Example 5, where the focus is a 'female lgbt teacher', this dehumanization is achieved through a variety of textual components: 1) the symbolic destruction of the female sex organ, 2) a strong portrayal of antipathy, and 3) a shift in third person pronoun use from 她 'She' to *ta* after the female sex organ is destroyed.

Example 6 (othering C), the exception from the Pro-LGBTQ Community, shows how *ta* can be used in general to construct a space of political non-belonging by downgrading social integrity in the case of homophobes. This downgrading is achieved by taking away the basic attribute needed to constitute a human identity, i.e. gender, through several discourse features: 1) there is a shift in pronouns from 她 'She' to *ta*, 2) the usage of rhetorical structures to express dissatisfaction, 3) the portrayal of *ta* as irrational and unable to hold a conversation, and 4) the appraisal of *ta*'s behaviour as improper.

Example 7 (Othering D), which focusses on a third party Internet user as well, shows how *ta* can be used to construct a space of political non-belonging by co-constructing the identity of an 'other' in their absence. This co-construction is accomplished through the acceptance or rejection of third person attributes applied by other users in conjunction with several discourse features: 1)

usage of 她 'She' by some users and usage of 他 'he' by others, while still others use *ta,* and 2) portrayal of antipathy through negative portrayal.

While this chapter has shown when *ta* is viewed as explicitly Other in Anti- and Pro-communities, Chapter 5 will show how Othering may take place implicitly through the shifting between standard third person pronouns and *ta* usage in conjunction with (hypothetical) behaviours that have implications for political (non-)belonging in Pro- and Anti-communities.

5 Political Non-Belonging: When *ta* is 'Vague' in Anti and Pro LGBTQ Communities

Chapter 4 discussed Political Non-Belonging when *ta* is the 'Other' in Anti and Pro LGBTQ Communities. Through textual structure, 3PP NP MCDs (Third Person Perspective Noun Phrase Membership Categorization Devices), (co-)reference chains, and appraisal analyses, this chapter continues the train of analysis presented in Chapter 4. This chapter further shows how negative (i.e. exclusive language practices of 'Othering') stance use of *ta* in both pro and anti communities solicits complex sexual- political[55] references for achieving their communication goal. These references have implications for the non-belonging of those who identify and/or are labelled as 'Non-Conforming' or whose behaviour causes them to be labelled as so.

In addition, the chapter also shows how a potentially slightly negative to neutral stance usage may also result in othering of a lesser degree[56] and thus political non-belonging. As thus, this chapter begins by introducing the stance usage type of *ta* focused on in the chapter (5.1). This is followed by a brief example allocation introduction (5.2), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used for vague gender/sexual orientation (i.e. implicit Othering) (5.3.), and an interim summary (5.4).

5.1 Negative Stance and Non-Belonging

As seen in Chapter 4, negative stance is linked with political non-belonging. In addition to the explicit Othering seen in Chapter 4, the practice of using *ta* to potentially conduct implicit Othering also occurs when the third person is of a vague gender/sexual orientation. As outlined in Chapter 4, Figure 4.1, there exist six cases of such usage with five of six being in the Anti-community and one being in the Pro-community. This key usage type is defined below.

Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation

In these cases, *ta* is equated with indeterminate gender identity as ascribed by others. Indeterminacy is solved through the use of other third person referential forms such as third person

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[55] For a full discussion, please refer to 3.4 above.

[56] Othering is gradable and can be performed to various degrees depending on the explicitness, nature, and manifestation of negative attitudes/stances. Kagedan (2020:17) cites how Germany moved from low-level othering influenced by ethnocentrism under a "broadly liberal political structure" as manifested in the democratic system, to extreme othering influenced by ethnocentrism under an authoritarian and anti-democratic dictatorship as manifested in genocide. That is, over the course of history Jews in Germany were progressively framed in a negative light and as a consequence the Othering of Jews (as mediated by hostility) escalated from racial slurs to genocide. For more on Othering, see 4.1 above and Kagedan (2020).

pronouns which 1) specify gender or gender encoded 3PP NPs, and 2) build a reference chain with *ta* anaphorically and/or cataphorically throughout the stretch of discourse. That is, *ta* is used to position the third person as existing between two or more membership categories, with one often being 'socially acceptable' and another being 'deviant'. These distinctions are often made in conjunction with behaviours. For example, *ta* can simultaneously refers to an individual from either the membership category of 基佬群体 *jilaoqunti* 'Jilao collective' or the membership category of 正常男性 *zhengchangnanxing* 'Normal Male'; however, it is impossible to determine exclusive membership to either one category or the other when the behaviour (e.g. having and watching GV[57]) is not necessarily restricted to a particular sexual orientation or gender identity. In sum, this category of usage has several interesting implications for how *ta* is used as a pragmatic device to navigate (non-)belonging as depending on the stance associated with its use, both spaces of non-belong and belonging become relevant from the perspective of the Anti-LGBTQ. That is, if *ta* is projected into non-belonging then *ta* is viewed as 'non-conforming', and if *ta* is projected into belonging then *ta* is viewed as 'conforming'.

The following section is responsible for giving an overview of these occurrences, first in aggregate and then by individual community, by discourse type.

5.2 Data Set Example Overview

The full overview of *ta* used in political non-belonging was given in Chapter 4 (4.1.1). In this chapter, the three examples showcasing vague gender/sexual orientation, one from the Pro-community C2 and two from the Anti-community, will be examined (see Table 5.1). One example each of Guidebook Discourse, Essay Discourse, and Narrative Discourse is presented in 5.3.

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[57] 'Gay Video' (男同性恋影片)

Table 5.1 Example Allocation for Political Non-Belonging Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation

Discourse Type	*ta* Usage Type and Community	Example Amount (n)
Guidebook/Advice Discourse	• Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 = Vague Gender/ Sexual Orientation (C1)	1
Essay Discourse	• Essay Discourse 2 = Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation (C1)	1
Single Statement Discourse	• Single Statement Discourse1 = Othering: A + Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation (C1) [Presented in Chapter 4]	1
Narrative Discourse	• Narrative Discourse D16 = Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation (C2)	1
Total		4

The following sub-section uses these examples, with the exception of Single Statement Discourse 1 already presented in Chapter 4, to show how third person referential chains construed through MCDs function in conjunction with stance, as exhibited by the overwhelming presence of negative judgement in the attitudinal appraisal coding, to position *ta* as not-belonging from the perspective of the speaker.

5.3 *ta* usage for Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation

With regards to usage cases of vague gender/sexual orientation, five cases are from the Anti-community and one case is from the Pro communities. This section presents three examples of how *ta* is used when the third person's gender of sexual orientation is 'vague', but the user still has an idea/assumption which constitutes the construction of political non-belonging through co-occurring lexical items and stance. Two of these examples are from the Anti-community and one is from the Pro-community for 'homosexuals'. Each example may show one or more simultaneous usages, which will be addressed in the respective analyses. Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms,

4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in identity construction within the respective community.

Example 1: Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation in C2 – Narrative Discourse D16

This particular case of *ta* is one which may reflect intentionally calculated, implicit use of othering under the guise of a vague gender/sexual orientation. Indeed, from the beginning, it is very clear that the referent of *ta* is 男 *nan* 'male' and is consistently referred to with 他 'He' throughout the narrative until the second last mention of the third person. However, it is classified as an example of vague gender/sexual orientation because of how the T.O. recounts the third person's behaviours towards him. Specifically, the example is a narrative which details a falling-in-love story written by the T.O. under the title【故事】爱上一个直男，我没有错 [[Story] I fell in love with a straight guy, I did nothing wrong]. The text first begins with a "preface" in which the T.O. introduces himself:

> 我是一名刚刚升入高三的学生，很普通，但我与常人不同的，
> 就是我还有另一个身份，我是一个 gay
> *I am high school student who just entered grade 12, very normal,*
> *but I am different from normal people, that is I have another identity, I am a gay.*

In this context of the Tongzhi Ba 'Comrade Bar', the T.O. is open about his true identity as being a gay male. He also details in this preface how, because of this identity, there are many things he cannot share with others because they do not understand him. He outlines his intent of his post as one to share his story with people who will understand him. After the preface, in the narrative portions leading up to the usage of *ta*, the following key events are recounted:

- The T.O. has known 他 'him' for half a year

- The T.O. had a bad first impression of 他 'him' who was said to be a handsome transfer student

- The T.O. had no intention of getting involved with 他 'him', but it seemed that God wanted to play a joke

- 他 'him' became the T.O.'s deskmate

- The T.O. begins to think 他 'him' is handsome

- 他 'him' asks the T.O. "out" on a slip of paper – suggests requesting time off school to go to on a trip together

- The T.O. flirts with 他 'him' about the trip, asking 他 'him' to bring back something cute like the T.O. – 他 'him' laughs and agrees that the T.O. is cute.

- The T.O. tells a "les" (i.e. lesbian) friend in their class how he feels about 他 'him'

- Les asks 他 'him' what he "thinks" of the T.O., does he like the T.O.? – 他 'him' says "可以啊" 'sure/why not'

- The deskmates change and T.O. and 他 'him' talk less – 他 'him' also hangs out more with another guy whom he transferred to the school with

- The T.O. feels there is no way to approach or get close to 他 'him' because of the other friend

- One day a sensual moment occurs between the T.O. and 他 'him' in the school field – 他 'him' wrapped his hands around T.O.'s waist, pulled the T.O. closer, then pulled the T.O.'s jacket off and unbuttoned the two buttons on his T-shirt so the upper chest was exposed.

- The T.O. claims 那天运动会他给了我很多无限的遐想 (He gave me a lot of unlimited wild and fanciful thoughts at the sports meeting that day)

- The T.O. waits for 他 'him''s buddy to leave so the T.O. can take 他 'him' on a walk – they have a nice walk and when they come back the buddy is still not back yet so the T.O. feels lucky and happy.

It is after this outline where the T.O. begins to describe lunchtime at the sports day and where the text for direct analysis begins (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Narrative Discourse D16 Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse D16
Community	C2
Thread Title	"[故事】爱上一个直男，我没有错"
	[Story] I fell in love with a straight guy, I did nothing wrong
Date	2017-07-22

Content for Analysis (Original)	[...] 那天运动会他给了我很多无限的遐想。 [...] 中午吃饭时间到了，散场时他来找我，问我有钱吃饭吗？我说有。下一秒，我一回头他就不见了，边跑边说:有钱吃饭，我就放心啦。然后 ta[16:180]还是跑到了他哥们儿身边，顿时我………
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[...] He gave me a lot of unlimited wild and fanciful thoughts at the sports meeting that day. [...] It was time for lunch, after the stadium emptied he came to me and asked me if I had money to eat? I said yes. In the next second, he disappeared as soon as I turned around. While running he said: if you have money to eat, I will rest assured. Then ta[16:180] still ran to his buddy's side, and suddenly I...

It is clear that the one instance of *ta* and refers to 他 'him' who is the recipient of the T.O.'s affection, and ultimately classified as a 直男 *zhinan* 'Straight Male' (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Narrative Discourse D16 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
他 'he'	直男 *zhinan* straight male	---
ta[16:180]	他 'he' **Which Refers to:** 直男 *zhinan* straight male	---

At this point in the discourse, two questions become relevant: 1) despite the obvious identity of 'Straight Male' given to the third person with 他 'he', why has a shift to *ta* occurred?, and 2) what

is the function of this shift? When combined, a textual analysis of the narrative and an appraisal of *ta* (Table 5. 4) provide a tentative answer.

From the outlined backstory of 他 'he' behaviour towards the T.O., the narrative emerges as one of a 直男 *zhinan* 'Straight Male' flirting with a homosexual male. The T.O. himself even explicitly states that 他 'him''s behaviour, that day in particular, caused him to fantasize: 那天运动会他给了我很多无限的遐想 (He gave me a lot of unlimited wild and fanciful thoughts at the sports meeting that day). The fact that 他'him' behaves in a way that confuses the T.O. (i.e. sensual advances, teasing, flirting) is enough to warrant a 'vague' reading of his sexual orientation. In addition, the T.O. uses multiple positive lexical items of affect (e.g. 幸运 *xingyun* 'lucky', 超幸福 *chaoxingfu* 'super happy') and appreciation (e.g. 希望时间可以静止 *xiwang shijian keyi jingzhi* 'Hope time can stand still') towards 他 'him' whilst he is falling-in-love and they are together on sports day. However, a shift in narrative occurs, from positivity to negativity, when 他'him''s buddy returns – the return of the buddy prompts 他'him' to leave the T.O. at lunch time, which impacts the T.O.'s mood and stance towards 他'him' who now becomes *ta* (Table 4.37). The Appraisal Analysis reveals that the T.O. views the behaviour of 他'him' , now *ta,* leaving the T.O. for his buddy as improper (judgement: -propriety) with the lexical item 顿时 *dunshi* 'immediately/suddenly' (in negative contexts), the emphasis of 下一秒 *xiayimiao* 'one second later', 不见了 *bujianle* 'gone', and the elongated ellipsis of trailing off (.........). When taken in context with the T.O.'s previous statement of fantasizing, and feeling of jealously built in the narrative text, an implicit sense of disappointment is also hinted at. That is to say, the shift in reference from 他 to *ta* occurs in conjunction with a shift away from positive evaluation to negative evaluation.

Table 5.4 Appraisal Overview for ta[16:180]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	*ta* leaves the T.O. and goes back to his buddy	1. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = invoked

Overall, this example illustrates how *ta* can be employed in situations of unpleasantry to mark an attitudinal shift from positivity to negativity as held by the speaker. The example shows how the third person behaves in a way that can be said to 'deviate' from the norms of their ascribed gender and sexual orientation, thus confusing the T.O. In addition, the third person continuously gives 'hot and cold' signals to the T.O., seeming to care one moment and not the next, often leaving the T.O. for another "male", i.e. his "buddy". The T.O. feels disappointed by this behaviour, even upset, and implicitly commits an act of othering by shifting from normal 他 'he' to *ta* – indicating either an attack/questioning of the third person identity, or drawing a line between acceptable behaviour of males (which warrants 他) and unacceptable behaviour (which may warrant *ta*), having implications for political non-belonging.

The next example, Guidebook/Advice Discourse in C1, shows a similar case in which behaviour is a key factor in projecting implicit othering through vague gender/sexual orientation.

Example 2: Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation in C1 – Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3

This discourse is a series of 3 comments followed by a 'naughty' emoji made by a user in response to the T.O.'s seeking advice question in the thread "如何才能防止孩子被基腐文化掰弯[58]？"[How can I stop my child from being influenced by "rot" culture and turning into a homosexual]. The example chart below provides the main post (Level 1) where they seek for advice for context and the user's advice (Levels 5-7) (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Example Chart

Data Item	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3
Community	C1
Thread Title	"如何才能防止孩子被基腐文化掰弯？" (How can I stop my child from being influenced by "rot" culture and turning into a homosexual)
Date	2017-12-06
Content for Analysis (Original)	**CDXS (1 楼 Main):** 如何才能防止孩子被基腐文化掰弯? **ygdke (5,6,7 楼) Response to T.O.'s question:**

---

[58] 掰弯 *baiwan* is a term that can be used for both male and female. It refers to a straight male or female being influenced by the same sex to become 'homosexual.' That is, just like English, 掰弯 'homosexual' refers to men who like men and women who like women (Baidu Baike., n.d.)

	(5) 如果是女生，合理限制获取途径； 如果是男生，让他远离腐女。 (6) 还有，从小树立正确的性别观很重要，男女有别， 阴阳之合才是正确的。 ➡ (7) 顺便在 ta[19:8]具有一定性知识的情况下，让他看看反同恋吧 😋
Content for Analysis (Translation)	**CDXS (Level 1 Main Post):** How can [I] stop [my] child from being influenced by "rot"* culture and turning into a homosexual？ **ygdke (Level 5,6,7) Response to T.O.'s question:** (5) If [child] is a girl，reasonably limit access；if [child] is a boy, keep him away from Female Yaoi Lovers. (6) Also, it is important to establish a correct gender perspective from an early age. Men and women are different. Only the combination of yin and yang is correct. ➡ (7) When ta[19:8] has a definite gender knowledge, casually let him look at the Anti-*Tongxinglian* (homosexual) Ba 😋

This example is interesting for two main reasons: 1) various derogatory lexical items are used in reference to the LGBTQ Community, effectively portraying the position of the Anti-community, and 2) the usage of *ta* is used for a third person who is not of the LGBTQ Community and as this does not carry derogatory connotations or negative evaluation.

The first derogatory item used to establish the frame in which the user who comments using *ta* participates is 基腐文化 *jifuwenhua* "rot" culture. The importance of this word lies in its morphological components which are broken down below (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Key Lexical Items

Morpheme/ Word	Explanation
基 *ji*	基 *ji* is the first character of the character compound 基佬 Jilao, the derogatory term for male homosexuals. On its own, the morpheme 基 *ji* is slang for "gay" applicable only to males.
腐 *fu*	腐 *fu* is the first character of the character compound 腐女 Female Yaoi Lover, or in rarer cases 腐男 Male Yaoi Lover; both are derogatory terms for (fe)males who enjoy watching Boys Love (BL) content. By itself, 腐 means 'decay' / 'rotten'
文化 *wenhua*	文化 is the lexical term for 'culture'; it describes a systematic way of behaviour among a group of people.

It is within this context that I translated the phrase 基腐文化 *jifuwenhua* into "rot culture" in order to captivate the negative evaluation of social sanction against the "sexually deviant" as a group. This is further corroborated with the use of the verb 掰弯 *baiwan*, literally 'bend', which is slang for 'turning a straight person homosexual'. As thus, the T.O. seeks an answer for how to prevent 孩子 *haizi* 'child' or 'children' as a general third person perspective noun phrase (3PP NP) MCD category from being turned "homosexual" by Jilao and Yaoi Lovers. With this question the T.O. portrays this group of people as having intentionally harmful behaviours and intents towards "straight" people, more specifically vulnerable children.

It is here with the lexical item 孩子 *haizi* 'child' or 'children' 3PP NP MCD is taken up by the user providing advice in an elaborate reference chain. As visualized in Level 5 below, the 孩子 *haizi* 'child' or 'children' 3PP NP MCD is not explicitly used in the discourse of the commenter. This is due to the fact that the 孩子 *haizi* MCD is the Null Subject inferred from the context (Figure 5.1).
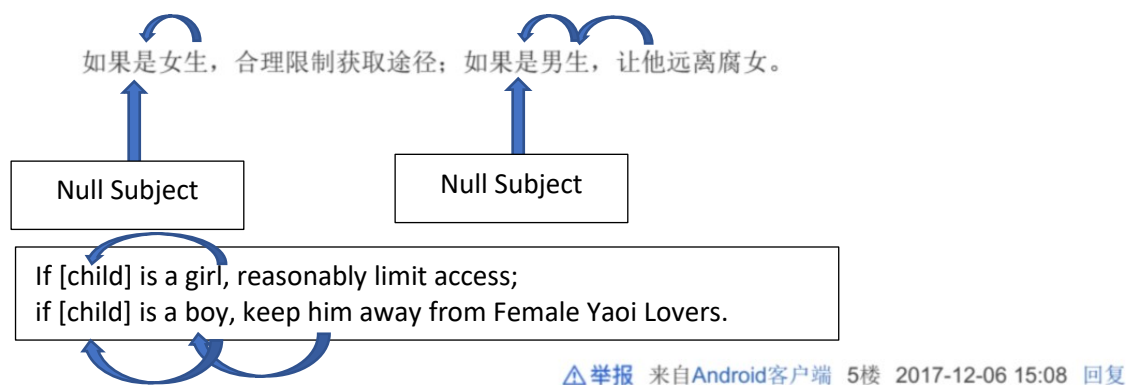
Figure 5.1 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Visualization 1

In Level 5 the user explicitly employs one third person pronoun in their discourse : 他 *ta* 'him'. This third person pronoun refers to the Null Subject 'child' under the condition that they are 男生 *nansheng* 'boy', i.e. male. That is, the reference chain established for the third person pronoun can be visualized as shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Level 5 Reference Chain

Level 5 Embedded Reference Chain
他 – 男生- 孩子
he-boy-child

In Level 7 the user introduces two more third person pronouns accompanied by the 'naughty' emoji (Figure 5.2):
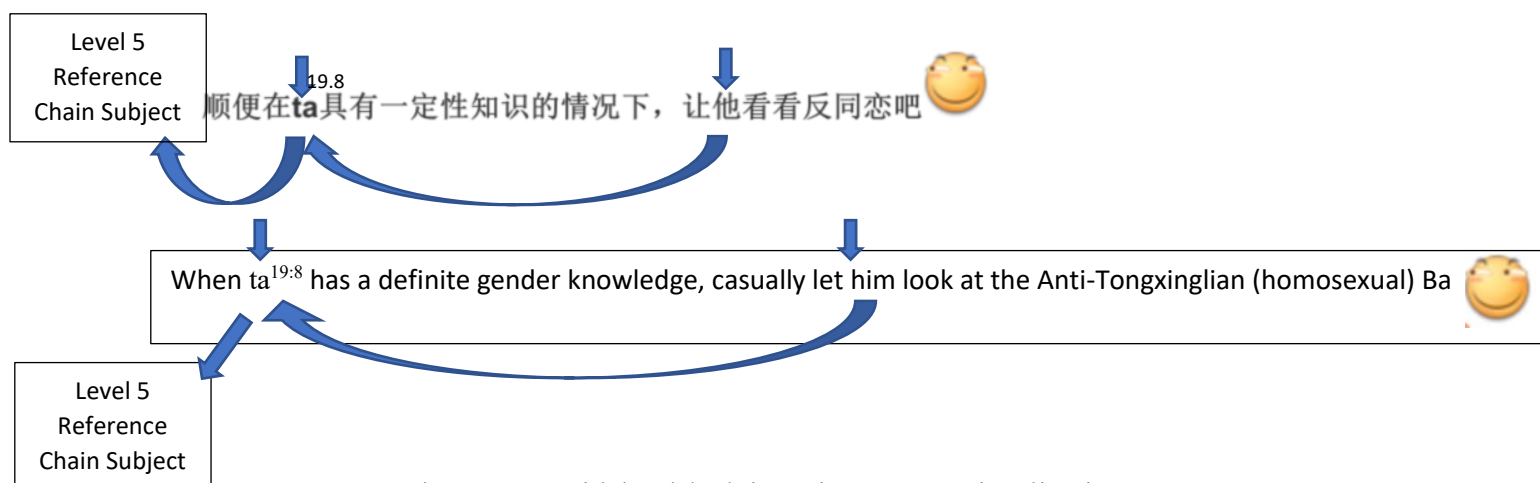
Figure 5.2 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Visualization 2

The first third person pronoun used is ta[19:8] while the second is the standard 他 'he'. As a result, the following overall reference chain, shown here anaphorically (Table 5.9) and cataphorically (Table 5.10), and Level 7 reference chain (Table 5.8) are produced through the user's advice given about how to avoid children from turning homosexual depending on their gender:

Table 5.8 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Level 7 Reference Chain

Level 7 Embedded Reference Chain
他 – ta- Level 5 Reference Chain Subject
he-ta-male child

Table 5.9 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Overall Embedded Reference Chain (Anaphoric)

Overall Embedded Reference Chain (Anaphorical Direction)
他 – ta- 他 – 男生- 孩子
he-ta-he – boy-child

Table 5.10 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 Overall Embedded Reference Chain (Cataphoric)

Overall Embedded Reference Chain (Cataphorical Direction)
孩子–男生–他 – ta– 他
child – boy - he – ta-he

The combined usage of ta[19:8] which does not specify gender and 'he' can be explained through an analysis of Level 6 and Level 7 where the subject, i.e. child, is presumed to undergo a key change in epistemic knowledge which influences their turning homosexual or not. However, prior to this analysis a quick note with regards to predictive text is needed. There is a possibility that the use of 'he' is a result of the input habit of the user based on frequency, i.e. a preference for 'he' use over 'she' use in their daily communication, and not a conscious choice. Although this is an interesting possibility, it is not relevant here and is beyond the scope of this study. The aim of this

study and its methodology is to examine the language use as it appears, not conjure possibilities as to what was meant to be used instead.

Returning to the analysis, in Level 6, the commenter mentions that 从小树立正确的性别观很重要 (it is important to establish a correct gender perspective from an early age), with the key lexical items 正确 *zhengque* 'correct' and 性别观 *xingbieguan* 'gender perspective'. Prior to this, in Level 5, the subject at an 'early age' has been predominately framed as a male child, i.e. a child with a definite gender pronoun and identity as 'straight' because they have yet to be 'turned homosexual', through the reference chain.

The importance of 'correct gender perception' education in children mentioned in Level 6 is harkened back to in Level 7 in a theoretical scenario embedded in the 在…的情况下 *zai…deqingkuangxia* 'under the condition of….'. Specifically, the user advised that once ta[19:8] (i.e. a male child) meets the conditions of having 具有一定性知识 'definite gender knowledge' because of receiving 'correct gender perception' education, then 他 he (i.e. a male child) should be shown the Anti-community. This shows that the user identifies the 'male child' as a male (他 he) only under the condition that the male child has 'definite gender knowledge' as a result of being properly educated and is thus straight and in danger of being turned homosexual. That is also to say that prior to confirming/being certain that the child is straight, the user refuses to assign a gender and instead leaves it undetermined by using *ta*. The relative neutrality towards ta[19:8] as used by the commenter further manifests in an appraisal analysis (Table 5.11).

The lexical items 具有 *juyou* 'possess' and 一定 *yiding* 'definite' which occur around the use of ta[19:8] help to build a frame of what the commenter considers to be 'normal' in terms of sexuality and gender identities and beliefs, as well as supports the ideological division of refusing to specify gender of the third person until proper education has taken place. The verb 具有 *juyou* 'possess' illustrates the status change and acquisition of knowledge that qualifies for gender assignment, while 一定 *yiding* 'definite' emphasizes the permanence of such acquisition and solidification of the acquired status. This acquired status is then potentially threatened by the "rot culture" mentioned by the T.O. As a final solution to warding off this threat, and once a male child has been properly educated, the commenter then advises that 'he' (a male child) be shown the Anti-

Tongxinglian Ba with a suggestive 'naughty' emoji which implies that giving "him" a look at the negativity towards LGBTQ will turn him away from becoming homosexual.

Table 5.11 Appraisal Overview for ta[19:8]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta (i.e. a male child) having received correct gender education	1. judgement: + normal	EE1 = inscribed

Overall, this example generally illustrates the ability of *ta* to act as either a genderless third person pronoun, or an inclusive (fe)male third person pronoun depending on the context. In this specific case, it shows how members of the Anti-community utilize *ta* to refer to an individual who has yet to acquire appropriate gender knowledge that is necessary to solidify their gender identity and sexual orientation as ascribed by others. In other words, *ta* is equated with indeterminate gender identity as ascribed by others in this example. This equation is done in a relatively neutral, if not positive way, under the discourse condition that the outcome of this indeterminacy is that it solidifies as heterosexual. The example also shows that this indeterminacy is solved through the use of other third person referential forms, such as third person pronouns which specify gender or gender encoded 3PP NPs, that build a reference chain with *ta* anaphorically and/or cataphorically throughout the stretch of discourse. The example shows how the behaviour of an individual contributes to the construction of a space for either political belonging or non-belonging as stereotyped by an outsider.

Example 3: Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation in C1 – Essay Discourse 2

In the case of Essay Discourse 2, the example analysis follows the following format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse and a review of MCDs, 2) an overall distribution of third person pronouns in the discourse, 3) a discussion of how the T.O. frames the post and their attitude towards the LGBTQ with a focus on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance the example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in identity construction.

In (2.3.2 above) the types of analysis which would be carried out in this dissertation were illustrated using the 'Special Case'. It was also noted in (2.3.2 above) that Essay Discourse 2 is a

mirror of the 'Special Case'. In the example, the user can be seen employing what Sacks (1992) refers to as *membership categorization devices* (MCD). MCDs function to "evoke categories of people" and "link members of the category to specific activities and scenes" (Gordon, 2015:334).

Specifically, the user systematically exploits noun-pronoun-verb pairings to clearly position the third person as either a transgressive, immoral entity beyond salvation, or as victimized individual in need of help before it is too late as indexed by their specific third person pronoun choice. As the content is almost identical here in this example to the Special Case, minus an added interlude regarding AIDS and HIV, the same patterns of MCD usage can be seen. In this user's post, they created a very long "main post" and the topic is the same as the other case: wives of homosexuals. "同妻相关的若干问题" (The hardships of Wives of Homosexuals. This user employs the "it" pronoun in the plural to refer to LGBTQ people as a collective. They use this over 90 times. They discuss the difficulties faced by wives of homosexuals and the cases of HIV among homosexuals. They even expose an HIV Tieba where the people there have erroneous discussions of how HIV is not contagious, and one can still have a child by impregnating a woman regardless of if they have HIV. The text portion containing the *ta* token usage is deleted from the main thread, but I still retrieved it from the search results which lead to this thread. The time stamp shows that it should be the post on "Level 5". The following example chart outlines the details of the text, and it is at this point the discussion focusses on a portion of the discourse not presented when previously discussing the Special Case. Specifically, the discussion will now turn to the author's usage of *ta* in relation to other 3PP MCDs and the Gaoji MCD. In the text, three instances of *ta* occur and the context and translation are introduced below (Table 5.12) as a preface to the anaphoric chain analysis and appraisal. The segments for analysis are marked 1-12.

Table 5.12 Essay Discourse 2 Example Chart

Data Item	Essay Discourse 2
Community	C1
Thread Title	"同妻相关的若干问题" (The hardships of Wives of Homosexuals)
Date	2018-09-10
Content of Analysis (Original)	

[…]
这类常见问题楼主共分列了六类，以上是ＶＸ上发的第一期。

今天楼主所收集整理的这些问题，也可以参考楼主今天发的另一篇文章，

有具体的事例佐证。

之前ＶＸ上发的时候还附了一篇事例贴，

但刚刚在同妻吧那边发的时候被系统吞掉了，所以这里就不发那个了！

⚠举报4楼 2018-09-10 22:56

然而当我们用这些特征去判断的时候,是不是就能百分百的肯定或者否定**TA**[4:2]了呢?不能!

因为这些特征只是一个概率性的特征,即**基佬群体**出现这些特征的可能性大于**正常男性**,

2018-09-10 22:56

但这并不表示正常男性就不可能出现这些现象。如果轻率的用其中的一两条来判断，是很容易出现误判的，而且也很容易导致草木皆兵、对所有男性都不信任的心态。

就拿一个我们常用来判断基佬的特征简单做例子说明一下吧：

比如你发现**一位男性在看GV**，

那么**他**是基佬的概率是95%，

还有5%的可能是**他**碰巧看了这个东西，

或者腐女恶搞试图"掰弯"**他**的时候给**他**发来了这个东西；

再进一步的，如果发现**他**不只看的这一部GV，

他的电脑、手机里存的都是这些东西，

那么**TA**[4:3]是基佬的可能性有99.999%，

还有0.001%的可能性是**TA**[4:4]被基佬陷害……

[…]

Content of Analysis (Translation)	
	T.O. separated these common questions into six types. The above is the first issue posted under VX [account]. Today T.O. collected these questions, and [you] can also refer to the other article published by T.O. today which is supported by specific examples. **1** Before when [I] posted under VX [I] even attached a case post, but when [I] posted it to the Tongqi Ba just now it was swallowed by the system, so I won't post that one here! However, when we use these characteristics to judge, is it or is it not that we can 100% confirm or negate TA$^{4:2}$? [We] cannot! **2** Because these characteristics are only probabilistic diagnostic property, even if the probability that these characteristics appear in the Jilao Collective is greater than that of Normal Males, But this does not mean that normal males just cannot exhibit these characteristics. If one or two of these characteristics are lightly used to judge, it is easy to misjudge, and it is **3** also easy to lead to viewing everyone as an enemy and the mentality of not trusting all men. **4** — Let's take a characteristic we often use to judge Jilao as a simple example： **5** — For example you found **a male who is watching GV**, in that case the probability he is a Jilao is 95%， **6** Still a 5% possibility is he just happened watch this stuff， **7** or a female Yaoi Lover spoof* sent him this stuff when attempting to turn him gay; **8** [let's] go one step further，if [you] find he not only watched this one GV， **9** **His** computer and cellphone storage are all [full] of these things， **10** In that case the probability **TA$^{4:3}$**is a Jilao is 99.999%， **11** Still a 0. 001%possibility is **TA$^{4:4}$** is set up by a Jilao…… **12** […]

With the immediate context outlined above, an examination of the anaphoric and cataphoric reference chains of the three *ta* tokens (TA$^{4:2}$, TA$^{4:3}$ and TA$^{4:4}$) reveals that the T.O. utilizes TA

to refer to a third person who is biologically male yet whose sexual orientation and conduct with other biological males remains vague (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13 Essay Discourse 2 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
TA[4:2]	---	基佬 Jilao AND/OR 正常男性 *zhengchang nanxing* 'Normal Male'
TA[4:3]	他 he -> 男性 (male) whose computer and phone are full of GV	--
TA[4:4]	他 he -> 男性 (male) whose computer and phone are full of GV	--

All three of the *ta* tokens trace back to 男性 *nanxing* 'male' as the highest reference chain in section 5 of the excerpt. Specifically, this 男性 *nanxing* 'male' is one whose computer and phone are full of GV ('Gay Video' 男同性恋影片) and who watch GV frequently. In the text for analysis, there are three distinct blocks with the first marked as '1', the second marked as '2', and the third comprised of sections 3-12. The first block functions to transition between the previous content and the content to follow in the third block. In the second block marked '2' the first *ta* token, TA[4:2], occurs and functions to project the content in the third block. TA[4:2] does not have a concrete anaphoric reference, however it does project forward cataphorically to reflect how the T.O. views the sexual identity of third person biological males who watch GV as vague. This is shown in how TA[4:2] simultaneously refers to an individual from either the membership category of 基佬群体 *jilaoqunti* 'Jilao collective' or the membership category of 正常男性 *zhengchangnanxing* 'Normal Male'. Specifically, towards the end of block 2 and transitioning into block three, the T.O. states that the characteristics to diagnose Jilaos that were described in the previous discourse are not limited to the Jilao Collective but can also appear in Normal Males. They then continue this

narrative by projecting two hypothetical cases, the first spanning across sections 5-8 and the second spanning across sections 9-12.

The first hypothetical case is that when you come across a male watching GV, 95% of the time he is a Jilao and 5% of the time he just happened upon the content or was trying to be converted by a female Yaoi Lover. The key here is that neither option in this first scenario is 100%. That is, the sexual preferences and orientations related to the behaviour remain unclear, and the user employs standard pronoun he 他. The 5% probability that the male who you caught watching GV is a 'normal male' is still relatively high. The percentage justifies the use of standard pronoun he 他 as opposed to the second hypothetical scenario, which is portrayed as more severe through the following lexical items/phrases and the shift in probability: 再进一步 *ziajinyibu* 'one step further' + 不只看 *buzhikan* 'not only watch' + 一部 GV *yibuGV* 'one single GV' + 都是 *doushi* 'all is (full of)'.

When combined, these devices are used to frame the contrasting contexts of an "innocent" encounter with GV (scenario 1) and a "deviant" habit of indulgence in GV (scenario 2). In scenario 1, if a male watches only one single GV 'by chance' then that male 还有 *haiyou* 'still has' a mediocre chance (i.e.5%) of being a 'normal male' and thus is referred to as he 他. In scenario 2, if that male's computer and cellphone are full of GVs then，although that male 还有 *haiyou* 'still has' a very slim chance (i.e. 0.001%) of being a 'normal male', that male is considered 99.999% a Jilao and thus warrants the use of TA as a pronoun in the derogatory sense. This usage of shifting from he 他 to TA portrays a view of homosexual men, or men who watch GV, as being less than human on account of their habitual voluntary behaviour (i.e. the watching and possession of GV). This judgment of behaviour also emerges in the appraisal analysis of the *ta* tokens and how the behaviour results in the oscillation of percentages for 'diagnosing' whether a male is a Jilao.

Appearing in section 2, TA[4:2] is embedded in two appraisal frames, the first a judgement of capability (judgement: - capacity) which is inscribed with lexical items and the second a judgement on behaviour (judgement: - propriety) which is inscribed (Table 5.14). However, TA is not the focus of the appraisal but rather used as the object in conjunction with the focus which is 我们 *women* 'We' of the Anti-LGBTQ Community. Specifically, the questioning of capability that 'We' has to judge TA is lexically expressed with 这些特征 *zhexietezheng* 'these characteristics' (which refers to the behavior that the Anti-LGBTQ feel is not normal/ethical for males to engage in, i.e.

watching GV in this case); 百分百的 *baifenbaide* '100%'; and 不能! *buneng* 'not possible' ([We] cannot!). These lexical devices project the position that the T.O. holds regarding 'diagnostic criteria': 1) it is not enough to prove or disprove that one is a Jilao and thus the male's status, and 2) how to refer to the male remains vague. In addition to the judgment on the capability of 'We' to judge Jilao using certain characteristics of behavior, there is an invoked appraisal of judgement towards whether the act of judging at all is even appropriate. That is, in this case TA is used due to the questionable capability of 'We' to determine things about TA and is also used to project a sense of the questionable status of ethical/moral transgression in another's behavior.

While the appraisal charts for the two remaining *ta* tokens show the same Embedded Evaluation (EE), it is important to note that the Trigger of Evaluation (TOE) that is shared between them differs from TA$^{4:2.}$ That is, where as the focus of evaluation is the actions of 'we', the focus of the evaluations here are now the actions of TA, the male who watches GV.

Table 5.14 Appraisal Overview for TA$^{4:2}$

Source of Evaluation (SOE)	Trigger of Evaluation (TOE)	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	using characteristics to judge TA	1. judgement: - capacity 2. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = invoked

TA$^{4:3}$ occurs in section 11 of the text and TA$^{4:4}$ occurs in section 12 of the text, the context of which is repeated below for analysis:

那么**TA$^{4:3}$**是基佬的可能性有99.999%，
In that case the probability **TA$^{4:3}$**is a Jilao is 99.999%，

> 11

还有0.001%的可能性是**TA$^{4:4}$**被基佬陷害……
Still a 0.001%possibility is **TA$^{4:4}$** is set up by a Jilao……

> 12

Sections 11 and 12 are two clauses which make a sentence. Section 11 functions to agentize TA and place them in the semantic role of an active and willing agent while section 12 functions to negate this by de-agentizing TA and placing them in the semantic role of a passive subject, i.e. a victim who is not in control.

In section 11 (Table 5.15), the lexical item 可能性 *kenengxing* 'probability' functions to frame the capability of TA to be a Jilao; however, as this is not 100% the capability comes into question and is thus inscribed as negative (judgement: - capacity). The phrase 那么 *name* 'in that case'

functions as a preface to the judgement of behaviour and social sanction, specifically the behaviour of a male having their computer and phone full of GV and watching it. The behaviour is further appraised as negative and immoral through the use of the third person other MCD 基佬 Jilao, i.e. the derogatory term for homosexual males.

Table 5.15 Appraisal Overview for TA[4:3]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	a male having a lot of gay porn and watching frequently	1. judgement: - capacity 2. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = invoked

In section 12 (Table 5.16), TA is shifted from the agent position to a passive experiential position of 'possible' victim mainly through the use of the passive 被 *bei* construction. Here, 被 *bei* is used to place a definite Jilao in the subject position as the agent which 陷害 *xianhai* 'sets TA up'/ frames TA as a Jilao for some unknown purpose. The passiveness of the construction and the verb 陷害 *xianhai* illustrate an invoked sense of males watching GV as unethical behaviour (judgement: - propriety). Much as in section 11, section 12 also exhibits questioning of TA's ability to be a Jilao (judgement: - capacity) albeit to a lesser degree of flexibility as the percentage of doubt is only 0.001%.

Table 5.16 Appraisal Overview for TA[4:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	a male having a lot of gay porn and watching frequently.	1. judgement: - capacity 2. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = invoked

Overall, this example portrays the process and criterion which the Anti-LGBTQ Community stereotypically uses to approach "diagnosing" the Jilao. The example reveals how the perception of a third person's behaviour plays a large role in the way users ascribe referential forms such as *ta* and carry-out membership categorization. The usage of *ta* in this example reveals that *ta* can be used in contexts where the third person's sexual preferences and orientation remain unclear. Specifically, *ta* is set-up to simultaneously refer to an individual from either the membership category of 基佬群体 *jilaoqunti* 'Jilao collective' or the membership category of 正常男性 *zhengchangnanxing* 'Normal Male'. It is within this context that behaviour (in this case a male

having their computer and phone full of GV and watching it) becomes a decisive factor for how the third person is categorized and in this case is exhibited through two hypothetical cases: 1) *ta* has a 5% probability of being a heterosexual GV watcher and is thus 'he', and 2) *ta* has a 0. 001% probability of being a heterosexual GV watcher and is thus 'Jilao'. These two contexts are contrasted as an "innocent" encounter with GV (scenario 1) and a "deviant" habit of indulgence in GV (scenario 2).

When the sexual preferences and orientations related to the behaviour remain unclear, as in scenario 1, the user employs standard pronoun he 他. This is due to the fact that even if one behaves in a certain way, another's perception of that behaviour cannot necessarily be taken as a 100% accurate indicator of the third person's sexual orientation because they have not admitted it or directly conveyed it themselves. This means that in the context of this example, the 'diagnostic criteria' ascribed by others is not enough to prove or disprove the third person male in question's membership or identification as a Jilao. Consequently, the male's status, and also how to refer to the male, remains vague for the language user resulting in continued use of *ta*. As thus, the example reflects how *ta* can be used when one views the sexual identity of a third person with known biological gender, and who engages in what may be classified as questionable 'Other' behaviour, as vague. This results in the construction of a political space of (non-)belonging that hinges on the behaviour of the third person.

5.4   Interim Summary

This Chapter presented three examples of how *ta* is used to construct a space of political non-belonging when projecting the third person referent's gender/sexual orientation as 'vague'. In some of these cases, this usage can be considered as an act of implicit Othering and expression of discontent. In this chapter, all three examples highlight how an individual's behaviour may be the cause of a "vague" perception regarding their sexual orientation.

Example 1 focusses on the narrative of a heterosexual, who is considered 'Other' by the speaker, hitting on a homosexual. The example highlights how *ta* can be used by the Pro-community to construct a space of political non-belonging when the third person individual is behaving in a manner that is undesirable. More specifically, the example shows how this undesirable behaviour can project the referent's gender/sexual orientation as 'vague', thus warranting the use of *ta*.

Example 2 highlights the role of behaviour in conceptualizing 'vagueness' by focussing on the importance that the Anti-community places on "proper" sex and gender education for children.

Example 2 also emphasizes the role that this knowledge plays in shaping the identity of an individual. That is, one cannot belong, and is thus 'Other', unless they possess certain knowledge and belief system regarding gender and sexuality. The example shows how *ta* is used to construct a space of political non-belonging based on one's knowledge capital.

From the Anti-community, Example 3 showcases the fine line that exists between two spaces of belonging for males who watch gay videos: political belonging and political non-belonging ('Other'). That is, Example 3 highlights the socio-cultural values associated with constructing spaces of (non-) belonging revolving around sexual desires and enactments to fulfill those aforementioned desires.

While this chapter, in conjunction with Chapter 4, has shown when *ta* is viewed as Other in Anti and Pro communities, there are other ways in which *ta* is used by both communities in conjunction with different stances to project various degrees of belonging. These degrees of belonging and their orientation, i.e. apolitical or political, are highly dependent on discourse type. The next chapter functions to show two categories of *ta* usage where *ta*'s belonging can be either political or apolitical regardless of discourse community.

6 (A-)Political Belonging: What makes *ta*'s Belonging (A-)Political?

Chapter 6 addresses (A-)Political Belonging while Chapter 5 discussed Political Non-Belonging when *ta* is 'vague' in Anti and Pro LGBTQ Communities. Through textual structure, 3PP NP MCDs (Third Person Perspective Noun Phrase Membership Categorization Devices), (co-)reference chains, and appraisal analyses, Chapter 6 addresses (A-)Political Belonging, emphasis on the (A-) component, under two circumstances: 1) as an LGBTQ Pronoun (6.3), and 2) as a third person referential form for Comprehensive Group Inclusion (6.4). This means that the usage under these circumstances can be either apolitical OR political[59] depending on the stance of the user and the stance of the reader. That is, there is a fuzzy boundary regarding the usage of *ta* under these two categories which does not exist in cases of evident Apolitical Belonging (Chapter 7) and evident Political Belonging (Chapter 8).

As thus, this chapter shows 1) how what may be perceived as neutral stance use of *ta*, primarily in News Discourse and Information Seeking Discourse, can be used to solicit apolitical references for achieving communication goals; 2) how what may be perceived as positive stance use of *ta*, primarily in Narrative Discourse, can be used to solicit complex sexual, political references for achieving communication goals in the case of inclusive language practices of solidarity; and 3) how what may be perceived as negative stance use of *ta,* primarily in the Opinion Discourse of the Anti-community C1, can be used to solicit complex sexual, political references of communicative intent with implications for belonging.

This chapter begins by introducing the fuzzy stance usage types of *ta* that result in (a-)political belonging and providing their respective definitions (6.1). This is followed by an overview presentation of the data set composition for when *ta* is used for (a-)political belonging, highlighting the potential distribution of (a-)politicalness by discourse types and by community (6.2), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used as an LGBTQ Pronoun (6.3.), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used as pronoun for Comprehensive Group Inclusion (6.4.), and interim summary (6.5).

6.1 Neutral/Positive vs. Negative Stance and (A-)Political Belonging

Two fuzzy stance usages of *ta* occur: 1) as an LGBTQ Pronoun, and 2) as a third person referential form for Comprehensive Group Inclusion. These key usage types are defined below.

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[59] For a full discussion, please refer to 3.4 above.

LGBTQ Pronoun (see 6.3)

In the cases where *ta* is used as an LGBTQ pronoun, positive usage is seen as a result of supportive or neutral discourse being imported into the Anti-community, which is often the case with news articles. These cases typically include non-binary/trans individuals as the third person where *ta* is used to refer to an LGBTQ individual in place of the traditional gender binary third person pronoun options. This usage may indicate that *ta* is a fourth type of third person pronoun used to refer to those who express non-binary gender and sexual identities. In the case of MtF transgenders, usage of *ta* covers their identity at all stages of their life, ie. from 'he' at birth, to 'he/she' pre-surgery, and 'she' post-surgery. This shows how *ta* can accompany an individual throughout their lives and resonate/allow for their constant (de/re/co)construction of identity as they see fit. That is, *ta* allows them to be identified in the way they wish to be identified by others.

Comprehensive Group Inclusion (see 6.4)

In the cases where *ta* is used for Comprehensive Group Inclusion, *ta* is typically used in conjunction with plural marker 们 *men*. Thus, it refers to a group of individuals of various gender identities and sexual orientations (LGBTQ individuals) and avoids orthographically invoked biases as using the male-prominent 他们 *tamen* would cause. In addition, *ta* is used together with the plural marker 们 *men* to refer to a gender unspecified group of people. The use here indicates that *ta* can be used as a gender inclusive pronoun in a positive fashion to refer to both male and female individuals as a collective where behaviours and occupations are not gender exclusive.

The following section is responsible for giving an overview of these occurrences in aggregate and then by discourse type within individual community. Due to the fuzzy boundary and unique characteristics when compared to other, definite stance usages (Chapters 4, 5, 7, 8), a presentation of the data categorized along apolitical and political usage types within each discourse type is included prior to showcasing the specific example allocations used in this chapter (Table 6.1). The aim of this different angle of presentation is to highlight the role that discourse type plays for embodying stance(s).

6.2 Data Set Compositions

In communities C1, C2, and C3, more instances of *ta* are used as an LGBTQ pronoun (72 cases excluding Chain Post Discourse, 237 cases including; cf Figure 6.2 vs Figure 6.1) than as a pronoun for Comprehensive Group Inclusion (24 cases; Figure 6.2).
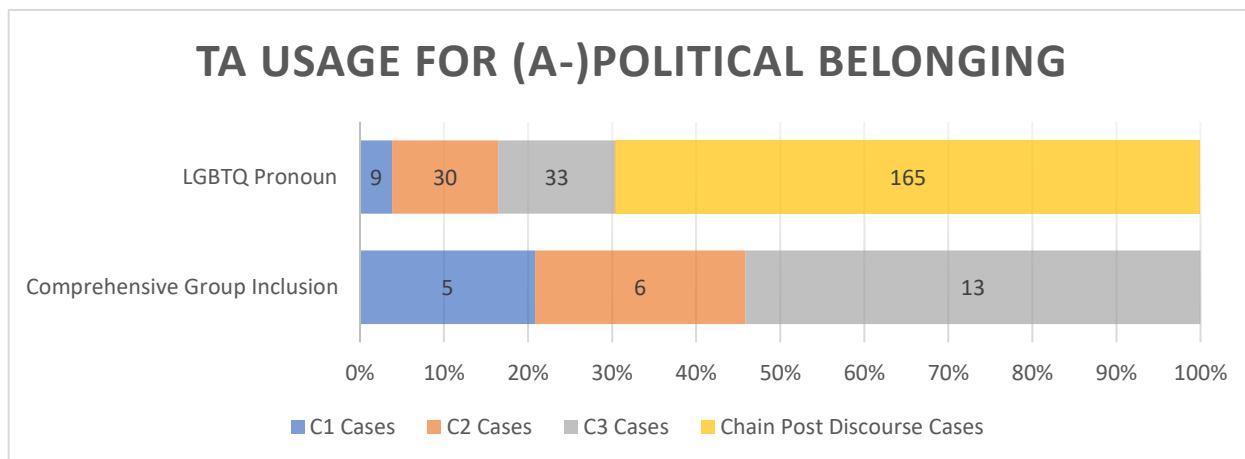
Figure 6.1 Ta usage for (a-) Political Belonging (incl Chain Post)
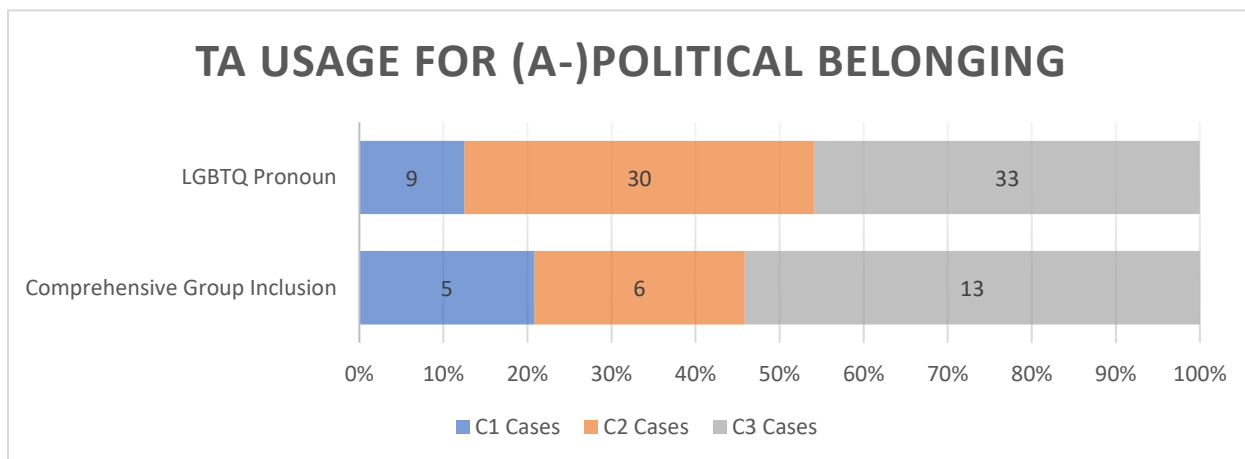
Figure 6.2 Ta usage for (a-) Political Belonging (exclude Chain Post)

These aggregated instances can be split across community and by discourse type within community. In terms of the Anti-community C1, usage of *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun is more than Comprehensive Group Inclusion and is exclusive to News Discourse (9 of 9 cases, Figure 6.3). Comprehensive Group Inclusion is primarily concentrated in Opinion Discourse (4 of 5 cases, Figure 6.3).
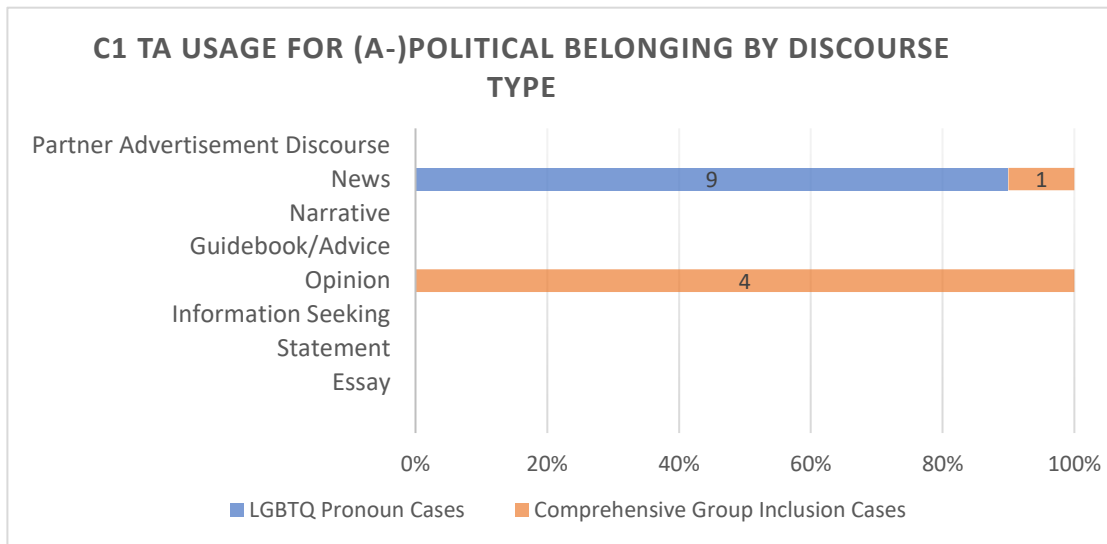
Figure 6.3 C1 Ta Usage for (A-)Political Belonging by Discourse Type

In terms of the Pro-community C2, usage of *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun is more than Comprehensive Group Inclusion and is almost exclusive to Narrative Discourse (29 of 30 cases, Figure 6.4). On the other hand, Comprehensive Group Inclusion is also primarily concentrated in Narrative Discourse (5 of 6[5+1] cases, Figure 6.4). Each occur once in Opinion Discourse.
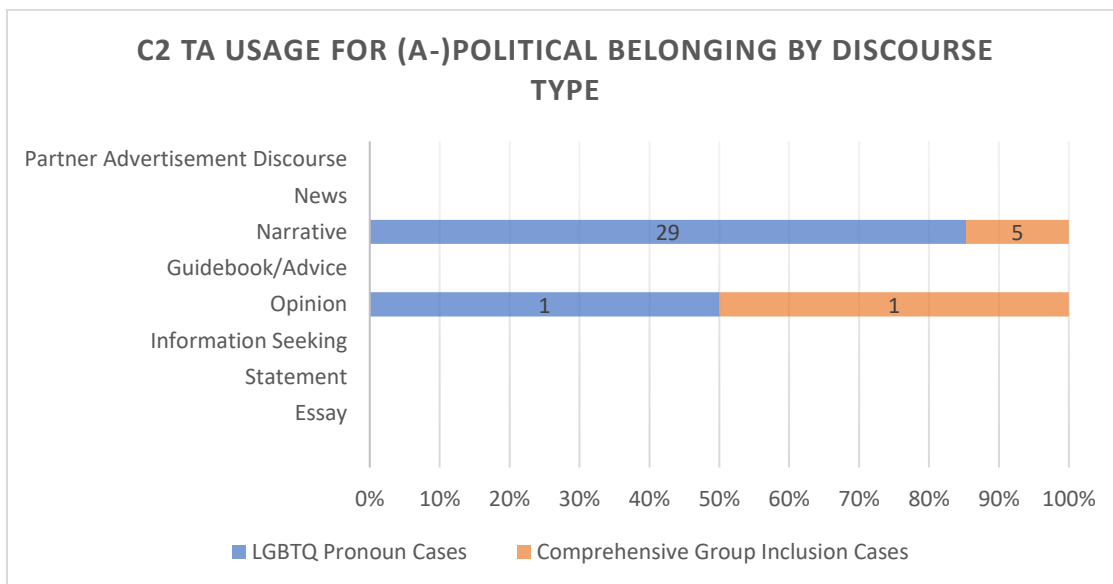
Figure 6.4 C2 Ta Usage for (A-)Political Belonging by Discourse Type

In terms of the Pro-community C3, usage of *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun and as a pronoun for Comprehensive Group Inclusion is much more diverse than the other communities. In C3, *ta* as an

LGBTQ pronoun most often occurs in Narrative Discourse (28 of 32 cases, Figure 6.5) with one occurrence in Partner Advertisement Discourse and four occurrences in Information Seeking Discourse. On the other hand, Comprehensive Group Inclusion occurs four times both in News and Narrative Discourse, one time in Partner Advertisement Discourse and Statement Discourse, and three times in Information Seeking Discourse (Figure 6.5).
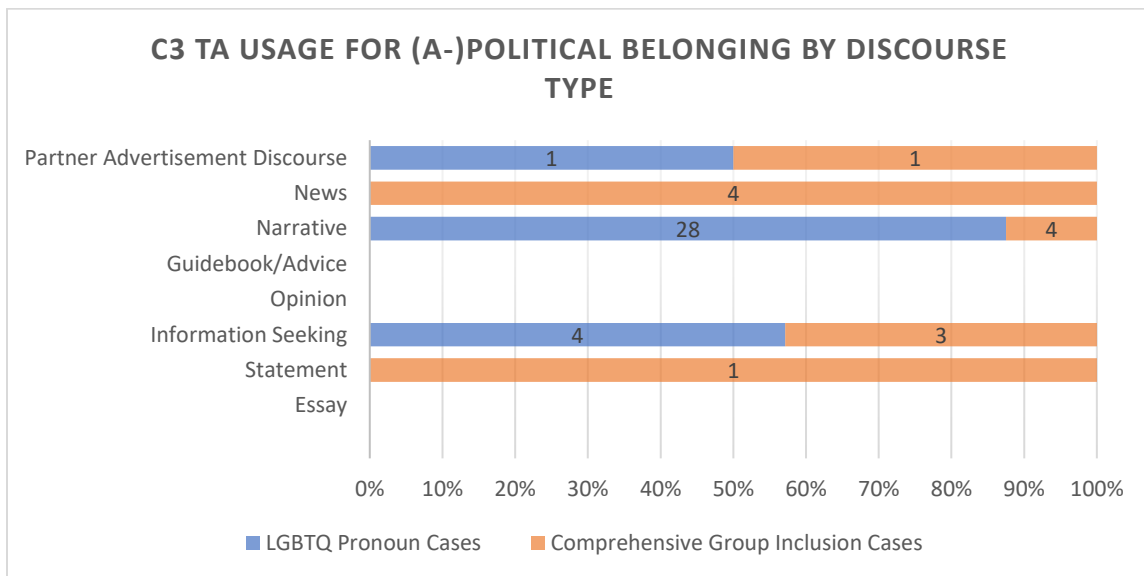
Figure 6.5 C3 Ta Usage for (A-)Political Belonging by Discourse Type

In addition to viewing the data sectionally by community and discourse type, it is also possible to view the data along an apolitical-political paradigm in aggregate by community (Figure 6.6) and by discourse type (Figure 6.7). In terms of community, Anti-community C1appears to be the most apolitical (60% of its cases) while Pro-community C2 appears to be the most political (about 90% of its cases; Figure 6.6).
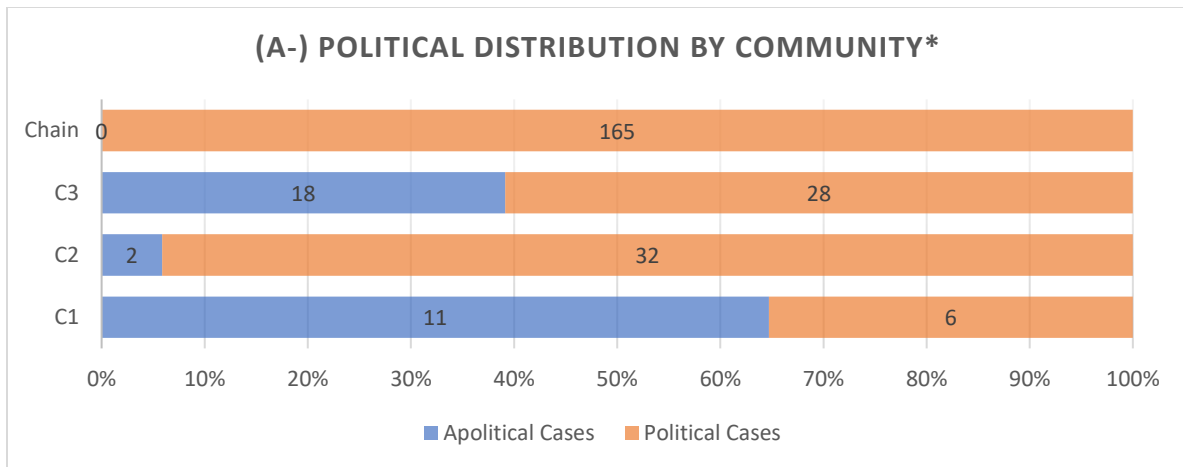
Figure 6.6 (A-) Political Distribution by Community*

In terms of discourse type, it is notable that no occurrences of *ta* are used for (a-)political belonging in Essay Discourse or Guidebook/Advice Discourse (Figure 6.7). It is also noteworthy that Partner Advertisement Discourse (two cases), Information Seeking Discourse (seven cases), and Statement Discourse (one case) are all exclusively apolitical(Figure 6.7). Furthermore, News Discourse is also notably more apolitical (11 out of 14 cases) than political (3 out of 14 cases). Narrative Discourse, owing to its personal and highly contextualized nature, is predominately political with 60 out of 66 cases and so is Opinion Discourse with 5 out of 6 cases.
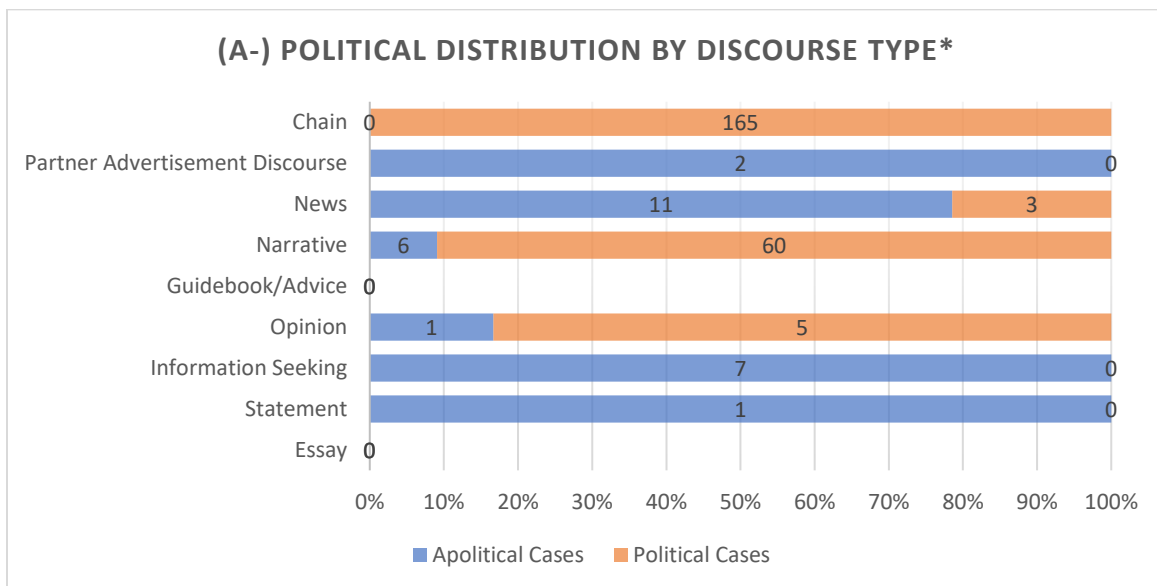
Figure 6.7 (A-) Political Distribution by Discourse Type*

This apolitical-political paradigm can then be broken down again into community and usage type. With regards to apolitical belonging of Comprehensive Group inclusion, 9 of 13 cases in Pro-C3 while two each occur in Pro-C2 and Anti-C1 (Figure 6.8). In terms of apolitical LGBTQ pronoun use, zero cases occur in Pro-C2 while six occur in Anti-C1 and nine in Pro-C3 (Figure 6.8).
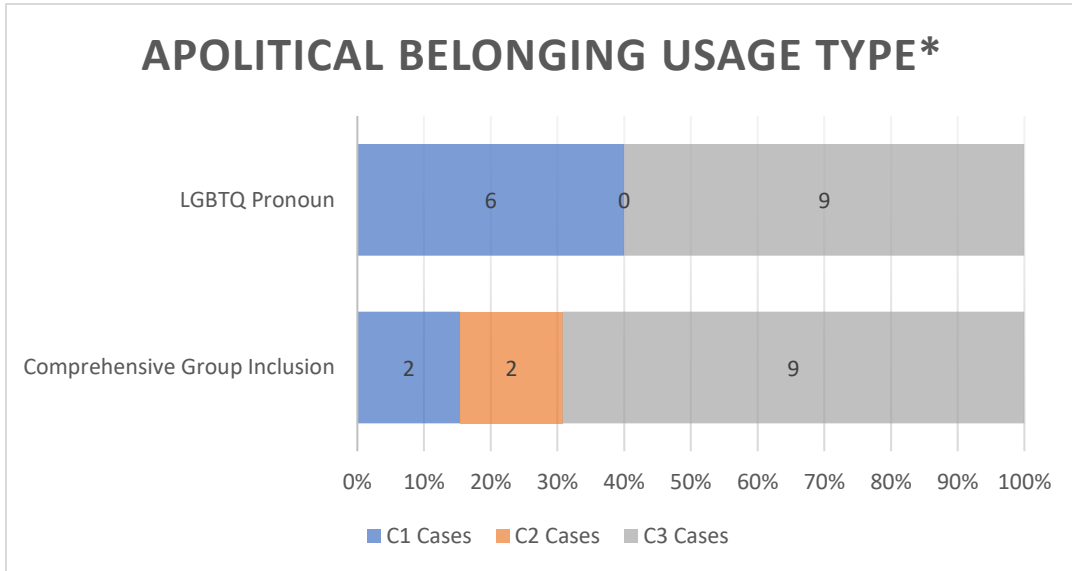
Figure 6.8 Apolitical Belonging Usage Type*

With regards to political belonging of Comprehensive Group inclusion, 4 of 10 cases occur each in Pro-C3 and Pro-C2 while 3 of 10 cases occur in Anti-C1 (Figure 6.9). In terms of political LGBTQ pronoun use, 30 cases occur in Pro-C2 while 3 occur in Anti-C1 and 24 in pro-C3 (Figure 6.9).
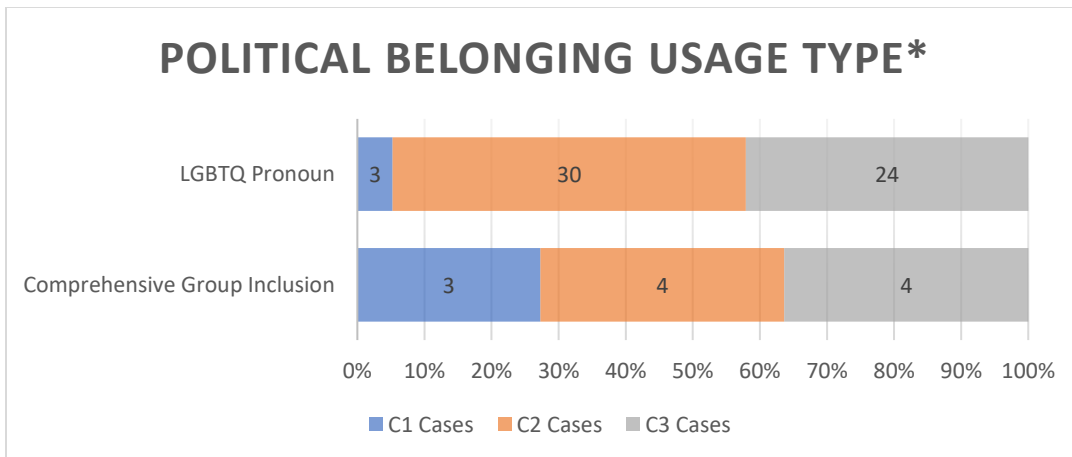
Figure 6.9 Political Belonging Usage Type*

The selection of 10 examples below presents four usages of political belonging and seven usages of apolitical belonging, with one example consisting of both (Example 2: Information Seeking Discourse 6), across all six applicable discourse types: News Discourse in 6.3.2 and 6.4.1, Partner Advertisement Discourse in 6.3.1 and 6.4.1, Single Statement Discourse in 6.4.1, Narrative Discourse in 6.3.2 and 6.4.1, Information Seeking Discourse in 6.3.1, and Opinion Discourse in 6.3.2 and 6.4.2.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3 and in this Chapter (6.2), quantitative occurrences of *ta* in Chain Post Discourse result in a skewed analysis. As thus, although presented briefly in aggregate above for context (Figure 6.1), all qualitative Chain Post Discourse data details are presented in the dedicated Chapter 9.

Table 6.1 Example Allocation for (A-)Political Belonging

Discourse Type	*ta* Usage Type and Community	Example Amount (n)
News Discourse	• News Discourse 4 = LGBTQ Pronoun (Political C1) • News Discourse 3 = Comprehensive Group (Apolitical C1)	2
Partner Advertisement Discourse	• Partner Advertisement Discourse 5= LGBTQ Pronoun (Apolitical C3) • Partner Advertisement Discourse 3= Comprehensive Group (Apolitical C3)	2
Single Statement Discourse	• Single Statement Discourse 9 = Comprehensive Group (Apolitical C3)	1
Narrative Discourse	• Narrative Discourse D49 = LGBTQ Pronoun and Comprehensive Group + Self and Third Person Identity Construction (Political C3) [NARD-D8 in C2] • Narrative Discourse D18=Comprehensive Group (Apolitical C2)	2
Information Seeking Discourse	• Information Seeking Discourse 6=LGBTQ Pronoun and Open in Relation to You (Apolitical and Political C3)	1
Opinion Discourse	• Opinion Discourse 2 = Comprehensive Group (Apolitical C1) • Opinion Discourse 17 = Comprehensive Group and LGBTQ Pronoun (Political C2)	2

Total	10

The proceeding sections of this chapter show how *ta* can be used both politically and apolitically as a specific LGBTQ pronoun, particularly to refer to transgender individuals, and as a third person referential form for Comprehensive Group Inclusion when combined with plural marker 们 *men.* News discourse often portrays a neutral, reportative factual stance regarding the subject content, and reporting on LGBTQ figures and individuals is not an exception. Consequently, much of the appraisal analysis for *ta* is coded as either No Appraisal – Static Statement or No Appraisal Static-Description (as outlined in the Methodology). When paired with neutral stance devoid of appraisal, the usage of *ta* is apolitical. However, when the appraisal analysis coding results in a positive stance, typically positive affect and/or appreciation in the attitudinal appraisal framework, that usage becomes political.

6.3   *ta* usage for LGBTQ Pronoun

Excluding the 165 Chain Post Discourse tokens, 74 cases of *ta* usage for LGBTQ Pronoun across the corpus exist. Of these 74 cases, 56 cases can be considered political usage while the remaining 18 can be considered political. This section will showcase two examples of apolitical usage (6.3.1) and two examples of political usage (6.3.2). Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance the example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of belonging within the respective community.

6.3.1   Apolitical Usage

Example 1: apolitical ta usage for LGBTQ Pronoun in C3 - Partner Advertisement Discourse 5

Partner Advertisement Discourse 5 is an example where *ta* is used as an LGBTQ pronoun to create belonging in a general sense. This example is a main post in the thread "【日常记录】找 gay 蜜" [[Daily Record] Looking for a gay male-friend]. As explained in Chapter 3, a "gay 蜜 *mi"* is a

gay male-friend of a female. The user first identifies themselves with a gendered MCD (Segment1), states the purpose of their post which is finding a gay 蜜 *mi* (Segment 2), and follows up with a comment containing *ta* in relation to the gay 蜜 *mi* that they are seeking. The text for this analysis is relatively short and outlined in Table 6.2 with the segments marked.

Table 6.2 Partner Advertisement Discourse 5 Example Chart

Data Item	Partner Advertisement Discourse 5
Community	C3
Thread Title	" 【日常记录】找 gay 蜜" [[Daily Record] Looking for a gay male-friend]
Date	2017-05-29
Content for Analysis (Original)	腐女 想找 gay 蜜 你可以和我分享你和 Ta$^{22:7}$的日常我会 嘿嘿嘿! 🤭 1　　2　　　　　　　　3
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Female Yaoi Lover — 1 wants to find gay-male friend — 2 You can share your and Ta$^{22:7}$'s daily life with me and I will heiheihei! 🤭 — 3

In this example, there is one instance of *ta* and two instances of gender marked MCDs (i.e. 腐女 *funü* 'Female Yaoi Lover' and gay 蜜 *mi* 'gay male-friend of a female'). The usage of the gender marked MCDs in this example is important to highlight as they are responsible for creating an implicit referent for *ta*. That is, the instance of *ta* in this example does not have a textual referent but a conceptual third person referent which extends beyond the text and is defined in relation to those the text is meant to address: You , i.e. gay 蜜 *mi* 'gay male-friend of a female'. This conceptual referent chain is represented in Table 6.3. The identification of the *ta* referent relies on three conceptual levels in the *ta* Categorization Schemata which revolve around the sexual orientation of a gay 蜜 *mi* 'gay male-friend of a female'. The first level is the criteria to be considered a gay 蜜 *mi* , which is that one must be considered as an 'Other' 'male' in either physical or social gender AND must like males. The second level is the possible relationship dynamic(s) of

a gay 蜜 *mi* which is (are) reflected in Table 3.12 outlining four possible identities that a gay 蜜 *mi* may have: 1) M-CisHOMO (a male who considers himself cisgender and likes other males), 2) MSG-Trans(FtM)HOMO (a female to male transgender whose social gender is male and who likes other males), 3) M-CisBI (a male who considers himself cisgender and likes both males and females), and 4) MSG-Trans(FtM)Bi (a female to male transgender whose social gender is male and who likes other males and females).The third level is the sexual orientation and identity which *ta* must embody to commit to the role of being a gay 蜜 *mi*'s *ta*, i.e. they should also be 'Other' 'male' in either physical or social gender AND must like males. However, with all the aforementioned possibilities being acknowledged, the most common interpretation would be that both a gay 蜜 *mi* and *ta* would identify as a male who considers himself cisgender and likes other males.

Table 6.3 Partner Advertisement Discourse 5 Ta Reference Conceptualization

Conceptual Level	Third Person Pronoun MCDs or 3PP MCD	Criterion
Level 1 'to be'	gay 蜜 *mi*	• 'Other' 'male' in either physical or social gender AND • must like males
Level 2 'dynamics of being'	gay 蜜 *mi*	• M-CisHOMO; OR • MSG-Trans(FtM)HOMO; OR • M-CisBI; OR • MSG-Trans(FtM)Bi
Level 3 'to be a partner'	Ta[22:7]	• 'Other' 'male' in either physical or social gender AND • must like males AND BE • M-CisHOMO; OR • MSG-Trans(FtM)HOMO; OR • M-CisBI; OR • MSG-Trans(FtM)Bi

It is at this point that the motivation of the T.O., who self identifies as a Female Yaoi Lover, becomes clear: she wishes to hear about the sex-life between the gay 蜜 *mi*'s and *ta* in order to fulfil her own fantasies/sexual desires. This explains the reason why the T,O. does not apply any appraisal towards *ta* in the text (Table 6.4), but rather just makes the simple statement that the gay

蜜 *mi* can indulge their sex-life with *ta* which will excite her, as indicated by the 嘿嘿嘿 *heiheihei* laughter accompanied by the drooling/smitten emoji.

Table 6.4 Appraisal Overview for Ta[22:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
---	No Appraisal - Static Statement	---	---

Overall, this example shows the use of *ta* in the Pro-LGBTQ community as an LGBTQ pronoun to refer to someone who is the partner of another LGBTQ individual. The example reflects how this constructs an apolitical space of belonging for the partner of an LGBTQ individual in the absence of appraisal as the main focus of this discourse is not on *ta* but a different communicative goal (in this case finding a gay 蜜 *mi* to indulge one's own desires). The next example shows how *ta* is used in the Information Seeking Discourse for apolitical belonging as an LGBTQ pronoun.

Example 2: apolitical ta usage for LGBTQ Pronoun in C3 - Information Seeking Discourse 6

Information Seeking Discourse 6 is an example where *ta* is used as an LGBTQ pronoun in both an apolitical and political sense to create a space of belonging. The characteristics of the category 'Open in Relation to You' (see Chapter 8) are responsible for this political reading and elaborated on as the analysis progresses. This example is the main post in the thread "[投票]如果你的同性恋人选择变形你还会继续和 ta 在一起吗"[Poll: if your same sex lover chose to change their sex, would you continue to be together with *ta* ?). The text for analysis is very short and is the text of the thread title. This is due to the fact that the T.O. did not post in the main body of the thread, nor was there any interaction with the thread. The example for analysis is shown below (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Information Seeking Discourse 6 Example Chart

Data Item	Information Seeking Discourse 6
Community	C3
Thread Title	"[投票]如果你的同性恋人选择变形你还会继续和 ta 在一起吗" [Poll: if your same sex lover chose to change their sex, would you continue to be together with *ta* ?]
Date	2017-03-08

Content for Analysis (Original)	【投票】如果你的同性恋人选择变形你还会继续和 ta^{43:2} 在一起吗
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Poll: if your same sex lover chose to change their sex, would you continue to be together with ta^{43:2}?

In this example, the referent to which the one instance of *ta* refers is relatively clear and presented in Table 6.6. In this case the instance of *ta* anaphorically refers back to 同性恋人 *tongxinlianren* 'same sex lover'. However, this 'same sex lover' is not just any 'same sex lover', but 你的 *nide* 'your' 'same sex lover'. In the introduction of this example it was stated that the case demonstrates both political and apolitical usage of *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun. The 'politicalness' of the interpretation rests within the added layer of third person contextualization presented by the phrase 你的 *nide* 'your'.

Table 6.6 Information Seeking Discourse 6 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta^{43:2}	同性恋人 *tongxinglianren* 'same sex lover'	---

It is within this context of how 'you' identifies, and thus how 'you' identifies *ta* , that *ta* usage can be considered as either a matter of political correctness or general, i.e. apolitical, inclusive reference to either 'male' or 'female' gendered lover. When considering the function of the text and its discourse type, i.e. seeking for information in the form of a poll, it is more probable that the T.O. of the post intended use of *ta* to be seen as generally inclusive so as to appeal to a wider audience and gain a variety of opinions regarding what is potentially their own situation. That is, the T.O. may want to know how to handle the desire of their partner to get a sex change and how this will impact their relationship. This communicative intent of the T.O. is not only seen in the discourse type but also in the appraisal analysis. (Table 6.7). The appraisal analysis reveals how the author, i.e. the T.O., feels insecure (affect: -security) and does not approve of their same sex lover's decision (judgement: - propriety).

Table 6.7 Appraisal Overview for ta[43:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	*ta* chose to have a sex change	1. affect: -security 2. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

Both of theses appraisal evaluations are invoked through the use of several lexical items such as 投票 *toupiao* 'to vote', indicating that the purpose of the post is to collect information to be used to solve a problem which the T.O. is not comfortable with (affect: -security); 如果 *ruguo* 'if' which casts a hypothetical frame that also functions to maximize the audience (i.e. it is not restricted to those only with experience), and the combination of 还 *hai* 'still' and 会 *hui* 'will' to add emphasis to the adjective 继续 *jixu* 'continue' with regards to the relationship. That is, the T.O. implies that they view their partner's choice as deviant/unacceptable (judgement: - propriety) because they are 'same sex' partners for a reason, and if they are not the 'same sex' then this threatens the dynamics and stability of the relationship. This threat to stability results in the T.O.'s doubt and loss of security expressed as 'would you still continue..'. In addition, these evaluations are also a result of the discourse type function: seeking information in the form of advice/help.

Overall, this example shows how *ta* can be used apolitically as an inclusive LGBTQ third person pronoun for a general audience. It also shows how *ta* may be used politically in conjunction with 'you' to establish more complex relationship dynamics with implications for belonging within a specific marginalized group. While Example 1 showed pure apolitical usage, Example 2 serves as a bridge to 6.3.2. which introduces political usage of *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun to create spaces of belonging.

6.3.2   Political Usage

Example 3: political ta usage for LGBTQ Pronoun in C1- News Discourse 4

News Discourse 4 is an example from the Anti-community C1 in which *ta* is used politically as an LGBTQ pronoun. This is a Main Post made under the thread heading "人妖国首次出现人妖总理候选人" (The First Time a Ladyboy runs as Prime Minister Candidate in Ladyboy Country). Like News Discourse 3, this post is a reproduction of a news article and thus displays heteroglossia

and intertextuality. In this case, the article was sourced from an online news agency that is designed for the LGBTQ community and related LGBTQ news: 同爱天空 *tongaitiankong* gaywb.com[60]. This is indicated by the watermarked pictures included in the main post, and a copy of the original article can be found hosted through the 大凤号 *dafenghao* platform as a "repost" (转发 *zhuanfa*)[61]. Specifically, the discourse discusses Pauline Ngarmpring, Thailand's first transgender prime minister candidate in 2019. Pauline Ngarmpring was assigned male at birth and known as Pinit. Pinit was well known as a reporter, CEO, and sports promoter in the Thai football scene and transitioned from male to female in 2016 in America[62][63]. Consequently, Pauline Ngarmpring now uses third person pronouns she/her. The example Table 6.8 below shows the text for analysis.

Table 6.8 News Discourse 4 Example Chart

Data Item	News Discourse 4
Community	C1
Thread Title	"人妖国首次出现人妖总理候选人" (The First Time a Ladyboy runs as Prime Minister Candidate in Ladyboy Country).
Date	2019-02-21
Content for Analysis (Original)	泰国选举委员会上周公布总理候选人名单，确认了 44 个政党提名的 68 名候选人资格，其中大众党的 Pauline Ngarmpring[1] 格外引人注意，因为 **TA[12:4]** 是泰国有史以来首位公开跨性别身份的总理候选人。 Pauline[2] 曾经是男性，原名 Pinit，有两个孩子。**TA[12:6]** 当过记者和商人，还创办了在泰国颇有影响力的国家足球队后援会。现在 **TA[12:7]** 以跨性别身份从政，想为 LGBT 人群发声。Pauline[3] 说，参选总理是为了向社会宣告"我们能做到"，"我们所有人都是平等的"。泰国大选将于 3 月 24 日举行。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Last week, the Election Commission of Thailand announced the list of prime ministerial candidates, confirming the qualifications of 68 candidates nominated by 44 political parties. Among them, Pauline Ngarmpring[1] of the Mahachon Party has particularly gained attention because **TA[12:4]** is the first prime ministerial candidate in Thailand's history to disclose a transgender identity. Pauline[2] was a male, formerly known as Pinit, and has two children. **TA[12:6]** worked as a reporter and businessman, and founded the National Football Team Support Association, which is quite influential in Thailand.

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[60] https://www.gaywb.com/portal.php?mod=list&catid=1
[61] (同爱天空 tongaitiankong , 2019)
[62] (Harmer & Vejpongsa, 2019)
[63] (Solomon, 2019)

	Now, utilizing the transgender identity in politics, **TA[12:7]** wants to speak for the LGBTQ people. Pauline[3] said that partcipating as a prime ministerial candidate was to declare to socitey that "we can do it" and "all of us are equal". The Thai election will be held on March 24.

With the context for analysis portrayed above, let us turn to a discussion of the reference chains. This example contains three *ta* tokens. The anaphoric and cataphoric relations are outlined in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9 News Discourse 4 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
TA[12:4]	Pauline Ngarmpring[1]	Pauline[2] *This case of 'Pauline' is unique because it as the time when Pauline was 'Pinit', a male identity (男性 *nanxing* 'male sex').
TA[12:6]	Pauline[2] *This case of 'Pauline' is unique because it as the time when Pauline was 'Pinit', a male identity.	**TA[12:7]**
TA[12:7]	**TA[12:6]**	Pauline[3]

In this example, the intertextuality of the news coming from a source with positive views towards the LGBTQ, gaywb.com, is important for understanding the following discussion of appraisal (Table 6.10). That the news was originally meant for the LGBTQ target audience is also a factor which contributes to the understanding of why every third person pronoun in the discourse which refers to Pauline is TA. This is because TA is simultaneously inclusive of both male and female gender identity, which is the case for transgender individuals regardless of whether they have completed transition surgery. The following appraisal analysis reveals that, contrary to News Discourse 3, the news in this example is slightly more expressive due to it being difficult to neutrally portray what is being reported/described.

Table 6.10 Appraisal Overview for TA[12:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser (News Source)	Pauline is transgender and the first political candidate to admit this publicly	1. appreciation: + valuation Overall Positive Tone	EE1 = inscribed

Several key lexical items surround **TA[12:4]** and convey the source's appreciation for Pauline in terms of Pauline's value (appreciation: + valuation) (Table 6.11). Specifically, 是 *shi* 'to be' , 有史以来 *youshiyilai* 'since the beginning in history', and 首 *shou* 'first' explicitly inscribe this appreciation by framing her action of disclosing what may be a "weakness" for her success as a politician in the election as commendable. The verb 是 *shi* 'to be' solidifies a focus on status and puts Pauline as an active agent over her decisions. The phrase 有史以来 *youshiyilai* 'since the beginning in history' serves as a graduation amplifier to 'boost' the importance of Pauline's action by engraving it in the historical context and thus directly labeling her action of coming out publicly as being historically significant for Thailand as a nation. The noun 首 *shou* 'first' then works together with the phrase 有史以来 *youshiyilai* 'since the beginning in history' to project Pauline's action as having value and being a milestone for Thailand as a nation. This appraisal of Pauline as being an individual worthy of appreciation and high in value is carried on in the next instance of TA.

Table 6.11 Appraisal Overview for TA[12:6]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser (News Source)	Pauline served in many diverse and successful occupations	1. appreciation: + valuation Overall Positive Tone	EE1 = inscribed

The appraisal evaluation of this token is further significant because it shows that regardless of Pauline's gender identity throughout the course of her life, Pauline is stilled framed as an individual worthy of appreciation for her achievements. In this case TA[12:6] refers to the male Pinit, who has served as a 记者 *jizhe* 'reporter' and 商人 *shangren* 'business person', as well as established Thailand's influential National Football Team Support Association. Linking these

accomplishments is the conjunction 还 *hai* 'still / still more / yet / even more / in addition / even / also ' which serves as graduation to place emphasis on the set of accomplishments as being above and beyond and thus worthy of appreciation (appreciation: + valuation). The final instance of TA still maintains the positive framing of Pauline as a worthy individual, yet from the aspect of tenacity in an invoked sense (appreciation: + tenacity) (Table 6.12).

Particularly, the structures 以….从 *yi ...cong* 'utilizing …. from' and 为…..发声 *wei….fasheng* 'be a voice for …' come together to frame Pauline as sacrificing her own identity as a transgender for the purpose of using it to gain political leverage and advocate for the marginalized group of LGBTQ people. The act of advocating carries connotations of hard work and a desire of not giving up on an issue that one is passionate about, i.e. tenacity. This is further revealed in Pauline's reason for running as a candidate in that she wanted to take a stand against the oppressive society and political climate by spreading the word that "we can do it", as in the LGBTQ community is just as capable as other communities, and that "all of us are equal". This evaluation of Pauline as being tenacious is invoked through the combination of these structures in the last paragraph of the discourse.

Table 6.12 Appraisal Overview for TA[12:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser (News Source)	Pauline advocates for the LGBTQ community in politics	1. appreciation: + tenacity Overall Positive Tone	EE1 = invoked

Overall, due to the nature of the discourse, the example shows a positive usage of *ta* as an inclusive/ open gender third person pronoun despite appearing in the Anti-LGBTQ community. The example illustrates how *ta* can be used to refer to an LGBTQ individual in place of the traditional gender binary third person pronoun options. In other words, this example may indicate that *ta* is a fourth type of third person pronoun used to refer to those who express non-binary gender and sexual identities because as a MtF transgender the only third person pronoun used to refer to Pauline is TA. The example also shows that by using TA, the gender of an individual is able to be continuously constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed throughout the different stages of the discourse as illustrated in the reference chains which tie TA to other 3PP MCDs that are gendered

(i.e. 男性 *nanxing* 'male'；跨性别 *kuaxingbie* 'transgender'). While Example 3 focusses on transgender LGBTQ pronoun use, the example to follow shows how *ta* may be used as to create a political space of belonging as a homosexual LGBTQ pronoun.

Example 4: political ta usage for LGBTQ Pronoun, Comprehensive Group Inclusion, and Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C3- Narrative Discourse 49

Like Opinion Discourse 17 (to follow in 6.4.2.), Narrative Discourse 49 is also an example of *ta* being used as both a Comprehensive Group pronoun and as an LGBTQ pronoun to create a political space of belonging. This example is a full narrative account of the love story between the T.O., who is presumed to be a gay male based on the context and his uploaded selfie (omitted for anonymity purposes), and a third person who is later revealed to now have a partner of their own. What is interesting about this example is that the T.O. posted it in both the Pro C2 同志 Tongzhi 'Comrade' Ba and the Pro C3 同性恋 *tongxinglian* 'Homosexual' Ba. The difference between the T.O.'s posts is that in the C3 community he adds two bathroom selfies and an anime scene in addition to his screenshots of the chat messages between himself and "TA". In this example, TA is definitely one specific person, yet is never explicitly identified in terms of gender or sexual orientation. It is implied that TA is a homosexual male given the T.O.'s own identity, the T.O.'s usage of TA to either obscure/anonymize the identity and/or as an LGBTQ pronoun, and the location of the post (i.e. two pro-LGBTQ communities where one is specifically intended for gay males 同志 Tongzhi). The two texts vary minimally in punctuation and conjunction use.

For the purpose of the analysis, the text from the C3 community will be analyzed. The text contains 28 *ta* tokens, 4 of which are in the plural with 们 *men,* and is within the thread "讲讲这两天发生的事" [Talking about what happened these past two days]. Due to privacy concerns of the T.O. and his personal story, as well as length, only several line segments which capture the dual usage of *ta* as both a Comprehensive Group pronoun and as an LGBTQ pronoun are presented for analysis (Table 6.13).

Table 6.13 Narrative Discourse 49 Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse 49
Community	C3
Thread Title	"讲讲这两天发生的事" [Talking about what happened these past two days].

Date	2018-12-13
Content for Analysis (Original)	[...] 两年前，我在网上认识了一人， [...] 昨晚夜谈，我了解到，TA^{49:8} 有对象了 [...] 我于是问 TA^{49:12}，TA 们 ^{49:26} 在一起多久了 [...]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[...] Two years ago， I met a person online， [...] Talking last night, I came to understand, TA^{49:8} had a partner [...] Thus I asked TA^{49:12}， how long had TA(they-plural)^{49:26} been together [...]

For this example, the presented line segments contain three instances of *ta* : two in the singular and one in the plural. The anaphoric/cataphoric relations are roughly outlined in the reference chain table (Table 6.14). A segment from the very first opening line introduces 一个人 *yigeren* 'a person'；一个人 *yigeren* 'a person' assumes the identity of "TA" throughout the entire narrative account, as if TA could be the third person's name. This explains the anaphoric chain consistency despite the omitted segments. That is, every TA traces back to 一个人 *yigeren* 'a person'. This is also true for TA 们 plural occurrences which also trace back to the same component: TA + 对象 *duixiang* 'partner'.

Table 6.14 Narrative Discourse 49 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	**Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)**	**Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)**
TA^{49:8}	一个人 *yigeren* 'a person'	---
TA^{49:12}	TA^{49:8} **Which refers back to** 一个人	---

	yigeren 'a person'	
TA 们(they-plural)[49:26]	TA + 对象 *duixiang* 'partner'	---

As this is a rather long narrative, the appraisal evaluations that the T.O., i.e. post author, holds towards TA vary throughout depending on the time frame and circumstance. As thus, the following three appraisal analyses might seem disjunct from one another, and in some cases evaluation may not be present at all. In the case of TA[49:8], the T.O. communicates an inscribed sense of judgement that how TA behaved was inappropriate (judgement: - propriety), especially for someone in a relationship (Table 6.15). This is evidenced in lexical items and phrases such as 了解到 *liaojiedao* 'understanding +arrive at', which describes how the T.O. came to know information that may be unpleasant, and 了 *le* the change of state particle to emphasize that the dynamic of the relationship between the T.O. and TA is different from what is was before because of 对象 *duixiang* the 'partner'.

Table 6.15 Appraisal Overview for TA[49:8]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	TA has a partner but fought and came to the T.O. for comfort	1. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = inscribed

In terms of TA[49:12], which occurs much later in the story, the T.O. does not necessarily have an opinion or evaluation to express about TA. Rather, TA just happens to be present in a situation that the T.O. describes (Table 6.16). That is, TA is not the main focus of the T.O.'s utterance which results in No Appraisal of the Static Description type (Table 6.16). That is, the T.O. describes that he asked TA something.

Table 6.16 Appraisal Overview for TA[49:12]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
---	---	No Appraisal- Static Description	---

Similarly, the T.O.'s usage of TA 们 [49:26] also occurs with No Appraisal; however, this time it is of the Static Statement type (Table 6.17). This is where the content of what the T.O asked is presented, i.e. how long they have been together.

Table 6.17 Appraisal Overview for TA 们 [49:26]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
---	---	No Appraisal- Static Statement	---

Overall, this example shows how *ta* in the singular may be used as an LGBTQ pronoun to show political belonging when the identity of *ta* is constructed in relation to the self, or politically as an LGBTQ pronoun designed to obscure identity of the third person. The example also shows how *ta* used in the plural can also politically function as a device of inclusive belonging, or as a device to obscure the collective identity of third persons, creating Comprehensive Group Inclusion.

While Example 1 highlighted the apolitical use of *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun for someone who is the partner of an LGBTQ individual, Example 2 highlighted how LGBTQ pronoun use may involve complex, political dynamics when a second person is involved. This is complemented by Example 4 which highlights how *ta* can both serve as a function of solidarity and community as an identifying pronoun or as an obscuring pronoun. Example 3 clearly showed how *ta* can be used to recognize spaces of belonging for transgender individuals in a respectful manner in the LGBTQ context. The following subsection 6.4 shifts away from *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun and towards its use for Comprehensive Group Inclusion.

6.4   *ta* usage for Comprehensive Group Inclusion

Twenty-three cases of *ta* usage for Comprehensive Group Inclusion appear across the corpus. Of these 23 cases, 10 cases can be considered political usage while the remaining 13 can be considered

apolitical. This section will showcase five examples of apolitical usage (each from a different discourse type)(6.4.1) and one example of political usage (6.4.2)[64]. Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of belonging within the respective community.

6.4.1 Apolitical Usage

Example 5: apolitical ta usage for Comprehensive Group Inclusion in C1-News Discourse 3

Like Example 1, News Discourse 3 is also from the Anti-community C1. However, instead of singular apolitical usage it showcases plural apolitical usage. This example is a Main Post made under the thread heading "台湾同志节目平权平出实话，基佬恐女仇女登峰造极"(Taiwan's Tongzhi TV Program is Equal to the Truth, Jilao are afraid of women, feel animosity towards women reaching a climax). As indicated in the title, the post discusses the Taiwanese LGBT talk show program "TA 们说" (TA plural (they) say). The discussion focusses on the purpose of the show and some of the activities that take place on it. It is also accompanied by the promotional poster, a still cut frame from one of the program's episode, and a frilled-neck lizard(伞蜥蜴 *sanxiyi*) meme[65]. What is interesting about this example is that the T.O. explicitly credits the content as coming from 三立新闻 *sanlixinwen* SET News with the phrase "来源：三立新闻" (Source: SET News) prefacing the bulk of the content. That is, the main post exhibits intertextuality with a news article released by SET news[66]. This also means that the example is one of heteroglossia, where more than one voice is present. In this case, there is the one line and credit acknowledgement made by the T.O., while the rest of the content "belongs" to the owner of the News Discourse, i.e. the SET News reporter. The explicit framing of the discourse as a piece of news discourse is also

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[64] For example allocation and typing, see Table 6.1 with a focus on Comprehensive Group
[65] The frilled-neck lizard (伞蜥蜴 *sanxiyi*) is also known as the 'Umbrella Lizard". In the program, a male homosexual describes the female's genitalia as a frilled-neck lizard (伞蜥蜴 *sanxiyi*).
[66] (SET News, 2018)

deductible from the appraisal analysis of the *ta* token and surrounding context. The first portion of the news article containing the *ta* token and the promotional poster are display in the example table below.

Table 6.18 News Discourse 3 Example Chart

Data Item	News Discourse 3
Community	C1
Thread Title	"台湾同志节目平权平出实话, 基佬恐女仇女登峰造极" (Taiwan's Tongzhi TV Program is Equal to the Truth, Jilao are afraid of women, feel animosity towards women reaching a climax)
Date	2018-05-28
Content for Analysis (Original)	面对女性身体构造，男同性恋吓到崩溃 来源：三立新闻 台湾第一个以男同性恋为主的网路节目《TA 们 [10:7] 说》，因时常探讨敏感的两性话题，受 到许多年轻朋友喜爱，在网路上拥有不小的讨论话题。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Faced with the female anatomy, male *tongxinglian* (homosexuals) are scared shitless Source: SET News Taiwan 's first online program centered on male *tongxinglian* (homosexuals), "TA[10:7] -plural (they) Say", is loved by many young people because it often invetsigates sensitive male-female gender topics. There is much talk about it on the internet.

The rest of the article proceeds to describe how male *tongxinglian* (homosexuals) are gradually exposed to the naked female body, i.e. watch a woman expose herself to them, in a private session. After she strips herself, she sits on a table and spreads her legs to give a "hands-on" biology class involving the female genetilia used for sex. With her legs open, the woman invites the male *tongxinglian* (homosexual) to come close and points out the anatomical components of the private parts area as well as explains their respective functions. After the short biology lesson, she then invites the male *tongxinglian* (homosexual) to "touch" her female genetilia. After the expereince,

each male *tongxinglian* (homosexual) is interviewed about their experience/encounter with the female body, most often for the first time.

In this example, the usage of TA in the plural clearly refers to the group of male *tongxinglian* (homosexuals) who take part in the show. Taiwan is realitively open to the LGBTQ community. This openness is refelcted in how they have titled the talk show using the open gender third person pronoun ta instead of the male prominent 他 together with the plural. What is also interesting is the appraisal analysis of *ta* which relfects the genre of news discourse.

Table 6.19 Appraisal Overview for TA 们 [10:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
---	---	No Appraisal- Static Statement	---

In this case, there is no appraisal evaluation of TA from an SOE, which is the news source. This lack of evaluation towards the subject is characteristic of 'ideal' news discourse which is meant to report on the facts objectively without emotions. This lack of evaluation is prominent across all News Discourse in the corpus, another example of which is News Discourse 4 (6.3.2).

Overall, due to the nature of the discourse, the example shows a relatively neutral to positive usage of *ta* as an inclusive/ open gender third person pronoun despite appearing in the Anti-LGBTQ community. The example illustrates how *ta* can be used in conjunction with plural marker 们*men* to refer to a group of individuals of various gender identities and sexual orientations (LGBTQ individuals) and avoid orthographically invoked biases as using the male-prominent 他们*tamen* would cause. The following Example 6 shows the plural usage in the context of Opinion Discourse.

Example 6: apolitical ta usage for Comprehensive Group Inclusion in C1-Opinion Discourse 2

Opinion Discourse 2 also originates from C1 and shows the use of *ta* for apolitical group inclusion. This example is a comment in the thread "大家怎么看待同性恋艺术家大卫霍克尼"(How does everyone view homosexual artist David Hockney). In order to understand the positioning that the commenter has towards the LGBTQ and their use of *ta*, it is first necessary to introduce who David Hockney is. David Hockney is an openly gay and famous British painter known for his contribution

to the pop art movement. David Hockney uses him/he pronouns. In current times, Hockney is known for writing a letter to the *Daily Mail* claiming that smoking increases one's immunity towards COVID-19 based on his observation that very few COVID-19 patients were smokers; a claim for which scientific evidence has been presented (Blanchard, 2020). The example can be broken into five sections of discourse for analysis (Table 6.20).

Table 6.20 Opinion Discourse 2 Example Chart

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 2
Community	C1
Thread Title	"大家怎么看待同性恋艺术家大卫霍克尼" (How does everyone view homosexual artist David Hockney).
Date	2019-02-23
Content for Analysis (Original)	
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Homosexual(ity) is one thing, — 1 success is another. — 2 Just like I do not boycott the songs of singers because ta (they plural) have extramarital affairs, — 3 just because artists are homosexual there is no need to not acknowledge — 4 their (male collective) artistic talent — 5

In this example, there is one instance of *ta* in the plural form , referred to as ta 们 [15:4]. The anaphoric and cataphoric relationships are presented in Table 6.21 below.

Table 6.21 Opinion Discourse 2 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta 们 [15:4]	歌手 *geshou* (singer as a category of singers, but specifically	---

	singers who have extramarital affairs)	

Unlike the majority of uses of *ta* in the Anti-community, this user is employing *ta* under positive conditions and takes a stance of positivity towards the LGBTQ as they do. Specifically, this stance is generally framed in the main message conveyed in their comment: one's sexuality does not correlate with their artistic talent. That is, while people like the T.O. are negatively talking about Hockney and his ability, they are doing so simply for the fact that he is 'homosexual' and not because his artwork is of poor quality. It is for this reason that the user defends David Hockney, and likewise other homosexual artists, by making an analogy to a singer of unknown gender, i.e. 'singer' as a general occupational category, having an extramarital affair. Just because one or several of these singers have an affair, does not mean that the user will disregard their artistic talents. As thus, the use of *ta* is to indicate this generality of the category 'singer' of which both males and females can be a part. This message of positivity reveals itself in the appraisal analysis within which *ta* is embedded (Table 6.22).

Table 6.22 Appraisal Overview for ta 们 [15:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author in comments	That other people are hating on Hockney because he is gay, not because his art is of poor quality.	1. appreciation: + valuation 2. judgement: + capacity	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed

Several lexical items work together to bring out this positive evaluation and position the user positively towards the LGBTQ community, or at least towards proper and improper treatment of those in the LGBTQ community such as David Hockney. Specifically, portions (1) and (2) of the discourse function to indicate that sexuality and talent are two different matters. Following this in portion (3) the author positions themselves in the center by using first person 我 *wo* 'I' and offers their behaviour as model behaviour with the structure 就像…..一样 *jiuxiang...yiyang* 'just like….the same' where 就 *jiu* is used for emphasis, 像 *xiang* is used for comparison, and 一样 *yiyang* is used to equate the item of comparison to what should be comparable (i.e. the behaviour of 'I' who does not judge the quality of people's works based on their behaviours but rather based on their talent). This behaviour of comparison is embedded in a 不因….而 *buyin ….er* 'not

because… just' (just because… don't) structure. In portion (4) the user further builds their argument and criticism towards those downgrading Hockney's work because he is homosexual emerges. Specifically, this happens with the lexical items 没必要 *meibiyao* 'have no need to' and 因为…就 *yinwei…jiu* 'because...just' (i.e. just because) where 同性恋 *tongxinglian* 'homosexual' is mentioned. What also emerges is a positive evaluation of those who may identify as LGBTQ, more specifically men, in terms of the value of their works (appreciation: + valuation) which correlates with their competency, i.e. 才华 *caihua* 'talent' (judgement: + capacity). Thus, the user finally positions themselves as an ally of David Hockney, and by extension the LGBTQ community, in portion (5) of the discourse because regardless of being homosexual or not, Hockney is talented as a painter and this is what makes the user have an appreciation for Hockney's work.

Overall, this example shows how *ta* is used together with the plural marker 们 *men* to refer to a gender unspecified group of people, in this case singers who have extramarital affairs. The use here indicates that *ta* can be used as a gender inclusive pronoun in a positive fashion to refer to both male and female individuals in a collective as the occupation of 'singer' is not limited to one gender nor is the behaviour of having an extramarital affair. This point of using *ta* together with the plural marker as an inclusive form is further supported by the overarching discourse where the author uses the gendered male-they 他们 to appropriately refer to the category 同性恋 *tongxinglian* 'homosexual' which strongly connotates male gender, but can also refer to female gender. In addition, the overall discourse structure reveals a neutral, if not positive stance, towards the LGBTQ from the point of view of the author as they claim that one should be judged based on their talent and not their sexuality, as in the case of David Hockney. Their *ta* usage exhibits how *ta* is used in contexts of apolitical reference and construction of general belonging. The next example, Example 7, shows usage of the plural specifically in the LGBTQ context yet with apolitical usage.

Example 7: apolitical ta usage Comprehensive Group Inclusion in C3-Partner Advertisement Discourse 3

Partner Advertisement Discourse 3 is another example which shows how *ta* can be used apolitically for collectives. This example is a main post in the thread "为什么 ta 们那么帅......没

人要我嘛……" [Why are ta-plural that good looking.... doesn't anyone want me.....]. The main posit contains the same text as the title, the user lamenting about how nobody seems to want them (Table 6.23). This text is then accompanied by selfies of the user with cute face filters and taken in a bathroom. The user remarks how they think that they are so ugly and thus nobody wants them. Another user comments "you're not ugly", and they have a small conversation in the comment section where the T.O. reveals their identity as 女生 *nüsheng* 'Female'.

Table 6.23 Partner Advertisement Discourse 3 Example Chart

Data Item	Partner Advertisement Discourse 3
Community	C3
Thread Title	"为什么 ta 们那么帅......没人要我嘛……" [Why are ta-plural that good looking.... doesn't anyone want me.....].
Date	2019-01-22
Content for Analysis (Original)	为什么 ta 们 32:2 那么帅...... 没人要我嘛…… [IMAGES OMITTED]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Why are ta[32:2] they (plural) that handsome.... Doesn't anyone want me…… [IMAGES OMITTED]

In this example, there is one instance of *ta* combined with the plural marker 们 *men*. It is also important to note that, as shown in Partner Advertisement Discourse 5, there is no lexical referent for *ta* but a conceptual one. In this case, *ta* with the plural marker 们 *men* conceptually refers to all individuals whom the T.O. thinks are "handsome", yet does not specify any gender or sexual orientation information. Besides identifying as a 女生 *nüsheng* 'Female', the T.O. also does not provide any information regarding her own sexual orientation. That is to say, *ta* in this example used with plural marker 们 *men* refers to a vast inclusive group of individuals for which the level one conceptual criterion is 帅 *shuai* 'handsome' (Table 6.24).

Table 6.24 Partner Advertisement Discourse 3 Ta Reference Conceptualization

Conceptual Level	Third Person Pronoun MCDs or 3PP MCD	Criterion
Level 1 'to be'	ta 们 [32:2]	帅 *shuai* 'handsome'

However, unlike Partner Advertisement Discourse 5, the user in this example applies an appraisal evaluation which is also responsible for the reference conceptualization(Table 6.25). Specifically, through the lexical items 那么 *name* 'that' and 帅 *shuai* 'handsome', the user expresses a positive reaction towards the aesthetics of a group of individuals (appreciation: +reaction).

Table 6.25 Appraisal Overview for Ta[22:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta 们 [32:2] being handsome	EE1= appreciation: +reaction	EE1=inscribed

Overall, this example shows the use of *ta* in the Pro-LGBTQ community as a group inclusive pronoun to refer to people in a collective who share a physical trait as appraised by the language user. Like Partner Advertisement Discourse 5, this example reflects how *ta* can be used to construct an apolitical space of belonging. The following example shows how the plural form can be used apolitically in the context of asynchronous communication.

Example 8: apolitical ta usage for Comprehensive Group Inclusion in C3-Single Statement Discourse 9

Single Statement Discourse 9 is an example where *ta* is used apolitically in conjunction with the plural marker 们 *men* for reference to a Comprehensive Group. This example is a comment reply on a comment in the thread "与爱为伍"[inclined to love]. In the thread, the T.O. is seeking for some kind of relationship/fling, posts selfies with cute face filters, and later posts pictures taken together with another female who appears to be her girl friend. The text for analysis occurs in Level 26[67] of the thread where a user comments "又是你" [It is you again] that sparks conversation among the user and the T.O. A visualization of how this appears on the platform is shown in Figure 6.10 while Table 6.26 shows the extracted text for analysis coded for interactional turns (1-6) and with anonymized usernames due to ethical considerations.

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[67] See 2.2.3 for the discussion on thread levels

Figure 6.10 Statement Discourse 9 Visualization

The visualization above shows the interactional structure of the asynchronous conversation that takes part as triggered by the initial comment made in (1). This triggering discourse is also known as an initiating contribution (Androutsopoulos, 2014). Following the initiating contribution, we see sub-comments numbered (2), (3), (4), (5.1), (5.2), and (6). Sub-comment (2) is from the T.O. and is a direct response to the initiating contribution in (1). Sub-comment (3) is a response from the user of the initiating contribution in (1) to sub-comment (2). Sub-comment (4) is a response from the T.O. to the sub-comment (3). Sub-comments (5.1) and (5.2) are a response to sub-comment (4) directed towards the user of (1). Sub-comment (6) is the T.O.'s last response to the other user. It is within sub-comment (6) that the *ta* token occurs.

Table 6.26 Statement Discourse 9 Example Chart

Data Item	Statement Discourse 9
Community	C3
Thread Title	"与爱为伍"
	[inclined to love].
Date	2017-07-06

Content for Analysis (Original)	USER :
	又是你　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　1
	2　　T.O. : 说的跟你见过我似的
	3　　**USER** : 回复 T.O.: 见过你几个贴子，而且都在这个吧里
	4　　T.O. : 回复 **USER** : 我就发过两个 还删了一个。…….
	5.1　**USER** : 回复 T.O. : 嗯，刚好我都看到……
	5.2　**USER** : 回复 T.O. : 不过我觉得很奇怪， 像楼主这样的萌妹子怎么 那么少人勾搭呢？
	6　　T.O. : 回复 **USER:** 要踏马知道 洒家气场太大 没人敢来 我盖的楼太高 ta 们 [12:2] 目前上不来

Content for Analysis (Translation)	USER :
	Its you again　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　1
	2　　T.O. : It's said as if you met me before
	3　　**USER** : Reply T.O.: Saw a few of your posts, 　　　　　　　　　　and they are all in this Bar
	4　　T.O. : Reply **USER** : I just posted two, even deleted one…….
	5.1　**USER** : Reply T.O. : Yeah, I just happened to see all……
	5.2　**USER** : Reply T.O. : But I think its really strange, how is it that so little people hookup[68] with this kind of cute girl[69] like T.O.
	6　　T.O. : 回复 **USER:** Like the fuck[70] I know, my[71] charisma[72] is too much. No one dares to come, the building I've built is too tall, currently ta(they plural)[12:2] can't climb up.

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[68] Baidu Baike (n.d)

[69] Baidu Baike (n.d)

[70] (dsbyan,2011); (ta 蓝了整个夏天, 2013) ; (fanrong1229, 2017)

[71] CiDianWang.(n.d.); Baidu Baike (n.d)

[72] Baidu Baike (n.d)

In order to understand the usage of *ta* in sub-comment (6), it is necessary to introduce several key terms responsible for framing the interaction (Table 6.27): 勾搭 *gouda* 'hookup' (5.2), 萌妹子 *mengmeizi* 'cute girl' (5.2), 踏马 *tima* 'fuck', 洒家 *sajia* 'I', and 气场 *qichang* 'charisma' (6) (Table 6.27).

Table 6.27 Key Lexical Items in Statement Discourse 9 in C3

Lexical Item	Translation	Definition/Explanation
勾搭 *gouda*	hookup	As in English, 勾搭 *gouda* 'hookup' describes the happening of intimacy, usually sexual, between two people. It describes a behaviour, but not necessarily the gender or sexual identity(ies) of those involved. However, one source suggests that the term particularly points to seduction between a 男 *nan* 'male' and 女 *nü* 'female'[73].
萌妹子 *mengmeizi*	cute girl	萌妹子 *mengmeizi* 'cute girl' is a term noted to apply explicitly and exclusively to females, according to Biadu Baike. There are many opinions concerning the terms origin, but it tends to refer to females who are perceived as lacking breasts, i.e. 'flat chested', but have a cute face and is heavly influenced by ACGN culture.
踏马 *tima*	fuck	踏马 *tima* is an internet slang/ word play on the explicative 他妈 *tama* 'fuck'.
洒家 *sajia*	I/me/myself	A first person pronoun said to be used by men in the Song-Yuan Dynasties Guanxi area to refer to the self instead of using 我 *wo* 'I'.
气场 *qichang*	charisma/aura	Describes the self-presence and influence that an individual has in the social sphere.

With these key terms outlined above, most gendered MCDs, an examination of the anaphoric reference chain of *ta* becomes relevant for the construction of the apolitical belonging of a group of third persons in conjunction with use of the first person (Table 6.28). In sub-comment 5.2 the user assigns a physical and social female gender to the T.O. based on her appearance with the term 萌妹子 *mengmeizi* 'cute girl'. However, the user does not necessarily make an indication or remark regarding the T.O.'s sexual orientation as they use the third person MCD 人 *ren* 'people' as a

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[73] Jiaoyu Baike (n.d.)

generic, inclusive term to refer to the small quantity who want to hookup with the T.O. despite her being attractive (in the user's opinion).

In sub-comment 6, when the T.O. responds, she initially rejects the assigned female identity given by the user through employing the first person MCD 洒家 *sajia* 'me' , intended to be used by males, in conjunction with the strong explicative 踏马 *tima* 'fuck' from the preceding clause. The usage of "male speech forms" by "female" speakers has been observed in the LGBTQ context of languages such as Thai (Saisuwan, 2016) and Japanese (Abe, 2004), and outside the LGBTQ context in Japanese (e.g. Sunaoshi, 2004; Sato, 2018), and is recognized as a characteristic of social gender performativity for pragmatic purposes. The user then refers to herself again in the first person, but this time with gender neutral 我 *wo* 'I/me' as she states 没人 *meiren* 'no one/person', the same generic third person usage seen in sub-comment 5.2, dares to approach her on account of her high-standing. It is towards the collective 没人 *meiren* 'no one/person' to which the T.O. then uses inclusive ta 们 [12:2] ta they-PLURAL to refer to a group of individuals where the primary focus and defining third person characteristic is their behaviour/quality (in this case their behaviour of not daring to approach her because she is "too good for them"). This being "too good" for ta 们 [12:2] ta they-PLURAL is conveyed in the appraisal analysis (Table 6.29).

Table 6.28 Statement Discourse 9 Ta and MCD Reference Conceptualization

Third Person Pronoun	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta 们 [12:2] ta they-PLURAL (sub-comment 6)	人 *ren* 'person' (sub-comment 6) **Which refers to:** 那么少人 *namexiaoren* 'so +few +people [who hookup with the T.O.]' (sub-comment 5.2)	---
Third Person MCDs	**Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)**	**Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)**
萌妹子 *mengmeizi* 'cute girl' (sub-comment 5.2)	楼主 *louzhu* 'T.O.' (sub-comment 5.2)	洒家 *sajia* 'me/myself/I (male)'

		(sub-comment 6)
人 *ren* 'person' (sub-comment 6)	那么少人 *namexiaoren* 'so +few +people [who hookup with the T.O.]' (sub-comment 5.2)	ta 们 [12:2] ta they-PLURAL (sub-comment 6)
First Person MCDs	**Anaphoric Implication (Link to previous item)**	**Cataphoric Implication (Link to future item)**
洒家 *sajia* 'me/myself/I (male)' (sub-comment 6)	楼主 *louzhu* 'T.O.' (sub-comment 5.2)	我 *wo* 'me/myself/I' (sub-comment 6)
我 *wo* 'me/myself/I' (sub-comment 6)	洒家 *sajia* 'me/myself/I (male)' (sub-comment 6)	----

An appraisal analysis of the *ta* token reflects that the author frames *ta* 们 as incompetent (judgement: - capacity) (Table 6.29). This aspect of judgement is inscribed by the lexical phrases 太大 *taida* 'too big'; 没人+敢 *meiren+gan* 'no one + dare' (drawing attention to lack of courage and a state of being intimidated by the T.O.'s 'too big' charisma); 太高 *taigao* 'too high/tall'; and 上不来 *shangbulai* 'climb up +cannot+come' (drawing attention to lack of ability and inferiority).

Table 6.29 Appraisal Overview for ta 们 [12:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Behaviour of group of *ta*'s in response to the author's great charisma	1. judgement: - capacity	EE1 = inscribed

Overall. this example shows how *ta* can be used in an apolitical way to create a space of belonging for a Comprehensive Group of people united by their behaviour and not their gender or sexual orientation. The continuous use of generic 人 *ren* 'person' , and the pragmatic identity maintenance that T.O. carries out by self-identifying as female, not specifying a sexual orientation, rejecting an externally assign feminized identity with masculine language, and then reverting to neutral self reference illustrates how the factor of gender and/or sexual orientation is irrelevant for

the speaker's communicative task. In this case, that task is to complain about lack of suitors, while at the same time brag about her own social status and influence. The following example sets aside the LGBTQ context and focusses on plural use in a co-ed environment.

Example 9: apolitical ta usage for Comprehensive Group Inclusion in C2-Narrative Discourse 18

Like Narrative Discourse 49, Narrative Discourse 18 is an example of a long narrative. However, contrary to Discourse 49 Discourse 18 shows the apolitical usage of *ta* for Comprehensive Group inclusion. The example is from a thread of over 250 levels that takes place over a year (i.e. 2018-03-29 to 2019-04-12) titled "记录贴，随便写写看吧。" [Record Post, just write and see]. The thread is intended to function as an online diary for the T.O. Throughout the whole narrative thread only two instances of *ta* occur and are used with plural marker 们 *men*. These usages occur in Level 110 and Level 117. Due to privacy concerns of the T.O. and their personal story, as well as length, only several line segments which capture usage of *ta* are presented for analysis (Table 6.31).

In order to make sense of the text, it is first necassary to understand the characters which appear in the story. Specifically in the first instance of *ta* used with the plural marker 们 *men*, the T.O. mentions a list of characters who have already been anonymized by the T.O. These characters, along with their 'gender' as indicated/made known in the larger narrative context are presented below (Table 6.30). All together, there are three unknown gender characters (i.e. Qing, Fang, and Zhi), two female characters (i.e. Jing and Ling) and one male character (i.e. Hua).

Table 6.30 Characters in Narrative Discourse 18

Character	Gender
清 Qing	Unknown
静 Jing	Female
玲 Ling	Female
芳 Fang	Unknown
智 Zhi	Unknown

华 Hua	Male

Table 6.31 Narrative Discourse 18 Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse 18
Community	C2
Thread Title	"记录贴，随便写写看吧" [Record Post, just write and see]
Date	2018-03
Content for Analysis (Original)	Level 110 [...] 楼主自己都不知道，但肯定是友谊做到的， 是清和静的活泼， 还是玲和芳的陪伴， 亦或是智和华的相随， 楼主不知道，楼主只能感谢 ta 们 18:2 [...] Level 117 [...] 反正楼主遇到过大概三个这样的人。。。 不过，都没有成功，心疼 ta 们 18:3 [...]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Level 110 [...] T.O. doesn't know it, but it must be done by friendship, is Qing and Jing's liveliness, or Ling and Fang's accompaniment or Zhi and Hua's following, T.O. doesn't know, T.O. can only thank ta(they-plural)18:2 [...] Level 117 [...] Anyway, T.O. has met about three such people。 。。 However, none of them succeeded, and I felt sorry for ta(they-plural)18:3 [...]

With both cases of *ta* the reference chain is relatively clear (Table 6.32). ta 们 [18:2] refers to the T.O.'s co-ed collective of friends while ta 们 [18:3] refers to 三个这样的人 *snagezheyangderen* 'three such people'.

Table 6.32 Narrative Discourse 18 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta 们 [18:2]	清 Qing 静 Jing 玲 Ling 芳 Fang 智 Zhi 华 Hua	---
ta 们 [18:3]	三个这样的人 *snagezheyangderen* 'three such people'	---

The appraisal evaluations that the T.O., i.e. author, holds towards the two groups of TA 们 vary. In the first case, the appraisal is largely positive as the author expresses their gratitude towards their friends (affect: + happiness) (Table 6.33). However, in the second case the author explicitly states their pity for the collective group in the lexical item 心疼 *xinteng* 'feel sorry for' (affect: - happiness) (Table 6.34).

Table 6.33 Appraisal Overview for ta 们 [18:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	The friends have been there for the author	1. affect: + happiness	EE1 = invoked

Table 6.34 Appraisal Overview for ta 们 [18:3]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	The three people did not succeed in gaining their parents' attention/making them proud	1. affect: - happiness	EE1 = invoked

Overall, this example shows how *ta* can be used apolitically to create spaces of belonging for co-ed groups. That is, *ta* can be used as a Comprehensive Group inclusive pronoun without political motivation.

This sub-section saw the presentation of five examples which show the use of *ta* to create apolitical belonging for inclusive groups as a plural third person pronoun. In the case of Example 5, the occurrence appears in a news report of the name of a popular Taiwanese TV program, thus there is no appraisal evaluation attached to it. Example 6 highlights how belonging does not need to be construed through gender, but can be based on behaviour. In Example 6 the user defends David Hockney, who is a well-known LGBTQ community figure, by stating that one's sexuality has nothing to do with the quality of their work. Example 7 shows how a physical trait can constitute membership to a collective. Example 8 also reveals the importance that behaviour plays in deciding the belonging to a group, in this case a group of suitors. Finally, Example 9 presents a classic illustration of simple co-ed usage to refer to a group of friends. The following example shifts the analysis from apolitical to political usage.

6.4.2   Political Usage

Example 10: political ta usage for Comprehensive Group Inclusion in C2-Opinion Discourse 17

Opinion Discourse 17 is an example where *ta* is used both as a Comprehensive Group pronoun and as an LGBTQ pronoun to create a political space of belonging. This example is an individual post on Level 10 in the thread "不敢正视同性恋，才是真的不正常" [What's really abnormal here is not daring to face the LGBTQ]. The text for analysis is short yet requires the presentation of prior text for the purpose of contextualization. The post is the T.O.'s opinion article in response to the June 30 2017 passing of China's 《网络视听节目内容审核通则》 *wangluo shiting jiemu*

neirong shenhe tongze 'General Rules of Internet Audiovisual Program Content Auditing[74]' which further imposed censorship on the LGBTQ community and LGBTQ 'issues' on the Internet. The 《通则》 *tongze 'General Rules'* are said to regulate "不得播出" "*budei bochu*" [not+must+broadcast+out] "no-broadcast" content such as content which "displays or depicts the performance of abnormal sexual relations and sexual behaviors such as incest, homosexuality, sexual perversion, sexual assault, sexual abuse, and sexual violence.[75]" The T.O. then outlines that they have two main opinion points of discussion, with the second being that some people say this is a pluralistic society; thus, [we] must tolerate 同性恋 *tongxinglian* 'same sex love'. Then, in Level 9, the T.O. goes on to state that the term 包容 *baorong* 'tolerance' is only for mistakes or crimes – homosexuality is not a mistake/something wrong, even more so it is not a crime, there is no need for "tolerance" of it. What follows this declaration is then the opinion of the T.O. regarding the LGBTQ collective in Level 10. The text for analysis, along with relevant context, with annotation is shown below (Table 6.35).

Table 6.35 Opinion Discourse 17 Example Chart

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 17
Community	C2
Thread Title	"不敢正视同性恋，才是真的不正常" [What's really abnormal here is not daring to face the LGBTQ].
Date	2017-07-02
Content for Analysis (Original)	Level 7: ②有人说，这是一个多元的社会，所以对同性恋要包容。 [image omitted]

	Level 9: ——"包容"是对于错误或者罪行而言的。同性恋本身不是错，更不是罪，不需要什么包容。 Level 10: TA 们 6:30 需要的是正常的接纳，正常的生活在这个社会，不再接受歧视的眼光和自以为是的道德指责，仅此而已
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Level 7: ② some people say this is a pluralistic society; thus, [we] must tolerate 同性恋 *tongxinglian* 'same sex love' [image omitted] Level 9: —— 包容 *baorong* 'tolerance' is only for mistakes or crimes. 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexuality itself is not a mistake/something wrong, even more so it is not a crime, there is no need for "tolerance" of it. Level 10: What TA(they-plural)6:30 need is normal acceptance, a normal life in this society, to no longer receive discriminating stares and the opinionated moral denunciation of others, just this and nothing more.

In this example, the referential group to which the one instance of *ta* refers is implied through connection to 同性恋 *tongxinlian* 'same sex love', i.e. homosexuality, as a notion (Table 6.36). That is, conceptionally *ta* used here in combination with plural marker 们 *men* functions to solicit reference to all those who identity as being romantically attracted to 'the same sex' regardless of how they may identify on the LGBTQ spectrum.

Table 6.36 Opinion Discourse 17 TA Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	**Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)**	**Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)**
TA 们 6:30	同性恋 *tongxinlian* 'same sex love' Implies 'homosexual'	---

This comprehensive group/inclusive intent of usage is further embodied in a positive framing of the pronoun for exclusive LGBTQ usage as shown in the appraisal analysis (Table 6.37). Specifically, through a variety of lexical items and framing the T.O. of the opinion piece appears to take on the role of 'advocate' for the group of LGBTQ and voice their desire for equality (affect: +desire), normalcy, and to 'belong'. This is presented in the lexical phrases 需要的是 *xuyaodeshi* 'what ...needs is' with 的是 *deshi* construction functioning to emphasize the "is" of the "need"; 接纳 *jiena* 'acceptance' which is used for group membership admittance; and 不再 *buzai* 'not again' to express the wish for discriminatory looks and unwanted opinions, i.e. practices of Othering from anti-LGBTQ, to stop.

Table 6.37 Appraisal Overview for TA 们 [6:30]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	that TA 们 are discriminated against	1. affect: +desire	EE1 = inscribed

Overall, as the one example in this sub-section, Example 10 shows how *ta* can be used politically to create a sense of comprehensive group solidarity while being used as an LGBTQ pronoun in conjunction with positive stance.

6.5   Interim Summary

This Chapter presented 10 examples of how *ta* is used to spaces of (a-)political belonging for specific groups via two fuzzy stance usages of *ta*: 1) the use of *ta* as an LGBTQ pronoun, and 2) the use of *ta* for comprehensive group inclusion.

Examples 1-4 collectively show how *ta* is used as a designated LGBTQ pronoun, with Examples 1-2 showing how *ta* is used as a pragmatic resource to construct apolitical spaces of belonging and Examples 3-4 showing political spaces of belonging. The construction of apolitical spaces is done by taking up a Neutral stance and exploiting (co-)reference chains in texts designed for a general audience. In Example 1, this apolitical construction is orchestrated around a communicative goal which does not involve the evaluation of *ta* and results in a neutral stance, i.e.

no appraisal. Specifically, the communicative goal of the author in Example 1 is to find a gay 蜜 *mi* to help them indulge in their own sexual desires. In this case *ta* is not the gay 蜜 *mi* but an absent third party who is the "gay partner" of the gay 蜜 *mi*. In Example 2, where the focus is to seek advice from a general audience, this apolitical construction is achieved in conjunction with political undertones through a hypothetical direct address frame. This frame is orchestrated via several components: 1) the use of lexical term 投票 *toupiao* 'to vote', 2) the use of the second person 你的 *nide* 'your' which allows *ta* to be defined in relation to a specific you, or in relation to a general you, 3) the use of 如果 *ruguo* 'if' to establish a hypothetical frame, 4) the use of lexical items 还 *hai* 'still' and 会 *hui* 'will' to add emphasis to the adjective 继续 *jixu* 'continue', and 4) the use of 同性恋人 *tongxinlianren* 'same sex lover' MCD which does not specify gender and is thus a general LGBTQ pronoun. The construction of political spaces is done by taking up a Positive stance and exploiting (co-)reference chains in texts designed to convey narrations of specific LGBTQ individuals who are referred to as *ta*. In Example 3, where the third person of focus is transgender Pauline, this construction is achieved through timeline coherence as reported in News Discourse reproduced in the Anti-community. Despite being found in the Anti-community, the discourse originates from outside and thus displays heteroglossia and intertextuality. This property allows the text to emit the positive stance held by the author of the news article. This positive stance, and consequent political belonging, is orchestrated via several components: 1) the consistent use of *ta* to refer to Pauline at all stages in her life, i.e. pre- and post- sex reassignment surgery, 2) continuously positive appreciation assessments in terms of valuation and tenacity, 3) usage of graduation marker 还 *hai* 'still / still more / yet / even more / in addition / even / also ' to emphasize her accomplishments, and 4) shifting MCDs paired with *ta* throughout different temporal points in the discourse (i.e. 男性 *nanxing* 'male' ; 跨性别 *kuaxingbie* 'transgender'). In Example 4, where the third person of focus is a homosexual whom had a fight with their lover and came to the author, this construction is achieved through one's own personal story and using *ta* in both the singular and plural. This political belonging is orchestrated via several components: 1) the author implying the identity of *ta* by exhibiting his own identity, 2) the dual usage of *ta* to (a) obscure/anonymize the identity and (b) act as an exclusive LGBTQ pronoun as in Example 3, 3)

the different evaluations and stances taken towards *ta* based on temporality in the narrative, and 4) only using the initial MCD 一个人 *yigeren* 'a person' and TA itself to refer to *ta*.

Examples 5-10 collectively show use of *ta* for comprehensive group inclusion in conjunction with plural marker 们 *men*. Examples 5-9 show how *ta* is used as a pragmatic resource to construct apolitical spaces of belonging and Example 10 shows political spaces of belonging. The construction of apolitical spaces is done by taking up a neutral/positive stance and exploiting (co-)reference chains in texts which discuss groups of people in general. In Example 5, which also originates from the Anti-community but is externally produced News Discourse regarding an LGBTQ talk show in Taiwan, this apolitical construction is orchestrated via several components: 1) heteroglossia and intertextuality and 2) the absence of appraisal, i.e. No Appraisal- Static Statement, as a property of News Discourse. In Example 6, where the focus of the third person plural is singers who have extramarital affairs, this apolitical construction is achieved through a fuzzy neutral/ positive stance. This stance is orchestrated via several components: 1) the pragmatic property that 'singers' can be any gender/sexual orientation, 2) positive appreciation in terms of value towards Hockney's work and judgement of his capacity, and 3) the user's explicit criticism with lexical items such as 没必要 *meibiyao* 'have no need to' and 因为…就 *yinwei…jiu* 'because...just' (i.e. just because). In Example 7, which focusses on a female user lamenting that nobody wants her, this apolitical space is created by using *ta* in partner advertisement discourse. This is achieved via several components: 1) using *ta* to refer to people in a collective who share a physical trait (i.e. 'handsome'), 2) use of *ta* to refer to a conceptual referent group and not a lexicalized one present in the discourse (see also Partner Advertisement Discourse 5), and 3) keeping the sexual orientation of the author unknown and thus the referent for 'they' open in terms of gender and sexual orientation. In Example 8, which focusses on the lack of suitors the user has despite her social status, this apolitical space of belonging to a group is achieved through the user's rejection of other ascribed gendering MCDs and enacting of self ascribed gendering MCDs in conjunction with negative stance. This projection is orchestrated via several components: 1) rejection of the MCD 萌妹子 *mengmeizi* 'cute girl' (section 5.2 of discourse), 2) usage of 踏马 *tima* 'fuck', 洒家 *sajia* 'I', and 气场 *qichang* 'charisma' (6) to give off a manly vibe, 3) emphasis of 没人 *meiren* 'no one/person' as the general group, 4) the negative judgment of this group as incompetent (judgement: - capacity), 5) and reverting to neutral self reference. In Example 9,

which focusses on plural use in a co-ed environment and not an LGBTQ environment, apolitical belonging is constructed through usage that simply groups a list of characters in a narrative. In Example 10, which focusses on definite political usage in the context of the LGBTQ, this political construction is achieved through a negative stance backed by various lexical items such as: 1) 包容 *baorong* 'tolerance' which the user asserts is only for mistakes or crimes – homosexuality is not a crime, 2) 需要的是 *xuyaodeshi* 'what ...needs is', 3) 接纳 *jiena* 'acceptance', and 4) 不再 *buzai* 'not again'. These lexical items work to allow the user to put forth an advocate frame which criticizes Anti-LGBTQ and shows adamant support for the LGBTQ as a group with a wide spectrum.

While this chapter highlights the important role that stance plays in determining the nature and degree of belonging assigned to *ta*, we are still left with several questions, one of which involves circumstances where who *ta* is just might not matter. The next chapter addresses the pragmatic and interactional functions of *ta* in contexts where third person attributes, in the opinion of the speaker, are much less relevant to their communicative purpose than the reported actions and behaviours of *ta*.

7 Apolitical Belonging: When *ta*'s third person attributes don't matter

Chapter 7 addresses Apolitical Belonging when ta's third person attributes don't matter while Chapter 6 discussed (A-)Political Belonging for which categorization heavily hinges on stance. Through textual structure, 3PP NP MCDs (Third Person Perspective Noun Phrase Membership Categorization Devices), (co-)reference chains, and appraisal analyses, this chapter addresses Apolitical Belonging under three circumstances: 1) Unknown Circumstances (7.3), 2) *ta* used as a General 3PP pronoun (7.4), and 3) *ta* used in a specific discourse types in both Unknown Circumstances and as a General 3PP pronoun (7.5).

As thus, this chapter shows 1) how neutral/positive stance use of *ta* occurs when neither the gender nor sexual orientation of the *ta* referent is known and/or relevant to the communicative task, 2) how this use consequently establishes simple non-sexual, apolitical[76] references of convenience, and 3) how there is a division between the circumstances in accordance with discourse types.

This chapter begins by introducing the stance usage types of *ta* that result in apolitical belonging and providing their respective definitions (7.1). This is followed by an overview presentation of the dataset composition for when *ta* is used for apolitical belonging, highlighting the distribution of apolitical belonging by discourse types and by community (7.2), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used as a third person pronoun in unknown circumstances (7.3), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used as pronoun for General 3PP reference (7.4), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used for both cases in certain discourse types (7.5), and interim summary (7.6).

7.1 Neutral/Positive Stance and Apolitical Belonging

Usage for apolitical belonging is the most common type throughout the whole corpus and manifests in two usage categorizations: 1) Unknown Circumstances, and 2) General 3PP. These two categorizations each have two sub categorizations: 1) General (e.g. 人 *ren* 'person/people') , and 2) Specific (e.g. 那个人 *nageren* 'that person') (see Chapter 3). These key usage types are further explained and defined below.

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[76] For a full discussion, please refer to 3.4 above.

Unknown Circumstances

In Unknown Circumstances, use of *ta* stems from lack of knowledge regarding the biological and social gender identity, and/or sexual orientation, of the third person to which a user is referring (e.g. 人 *ren* 'person/people'). That is, when third person attributes of gender and sexual orientation are unknown. In the Anti-LGBTQ Community (Chapter 4), we saw how *ta* may be used in unknown circumstances to refer to a third person when the author/speaker is confused about the third person's gender identity and simply does not know how they should address the third person (see Example 3 in Chapter 4). That is, *ta* may be used to refer to the other party because the language user simply does not know the gender of the third person. In other contexts, as will be shown in the examples of this chapter (see 7.3), usage of *ta* in this category commonly occurs when the third person attributes of *ta* do not matter.

General 3PP

In General 3PP cases, *ta* is used as a general third person perspective (3PP) referent (e.g. 有些人 *youxieren* 'some people'). Examples (see 7.4) have shown how *ta* can be used in conjunction with other gender specifying 3PP NP MCDs to construct the identity of the third person. In these cases, *ta* is used to refer to a general type of person categorized by their behaviour, or occupation, where said behaviour is not gender exclusive and can be performed by anyone. In addition, *ta* can be used with positive intentions when referring to a third person in a generalizable/universal situation. For example, "那个 *ta*" *nageta* 'That one Ta' is a set phrase which functions to simultaneously signal out THE (as in "the one") third person lover of someone while leaving the third person position open in gender identity, i.e. being of inclusive gender. In addition, *ta* is used within the Anti-LGBTQ Community when the author does not know what gender to assign to the third person (i.e. there are no options available), or when the author is referring to a gender non-restrictive occupation or behaviour which could be done by any human regardless of gender identity.

The following section is responsible for giving an overview of these occurrences in aggregate and then by discourse type within individual community. The data presentation in this chapter takes on a different form than that seen previously. This is due to the fact that the two categories occur integrated throughout the corpus and communities. Consequently, this chapter shows a presentation of the data categorized along the two usage types within each discourse type, and then

showcases the specific example allocations used in this chapter (Table 7.1). The aim of this different angle of presentation is to highlight the role that discourse type plays for embodying stance(s) in textual functions.

7.2 Data Set Compositions

Across the corpus more instances of *ta* are used in Unknown Circumstances (32 cases; Figure 7.1) than as a pronoun for General 3PP (24 cases; Figure 7.1).
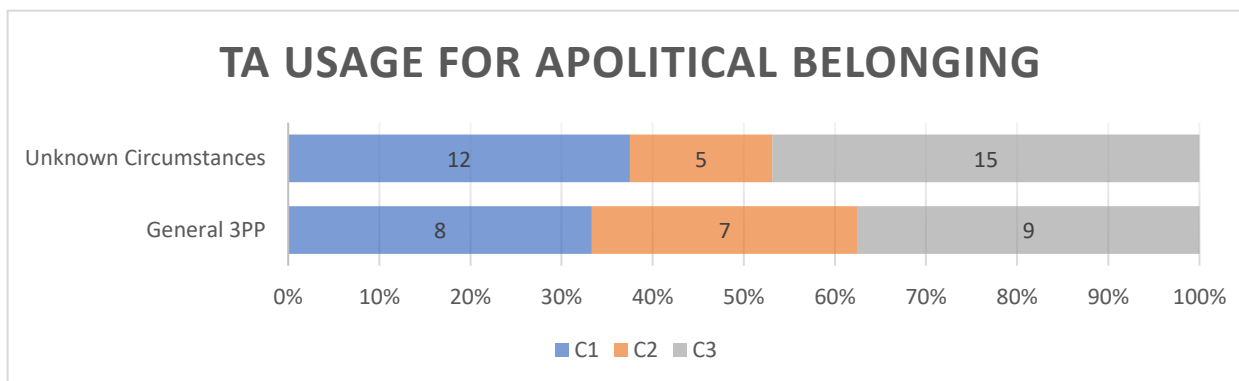
Figure 7.1 Ta usage for Apolitical Belonging

These aggregated instances can be split across community and by discourse type within community. In terms of the Anti-community C1, usage of *ta* in Unknown Circumstances is more than General 3PP (12 vs 8 cases) and is exclusive in the Information Seeking and Single Statement Discourse environments (4 of 4 cases in each, Figure 7.2). Conversely, General 3PP usage is primarily concentrated in Opinion Discourse (2 of 3 cases, Figure 7.2) and exclusive in Narrative Discourse (5 of 5 cases, Figure 7.2).
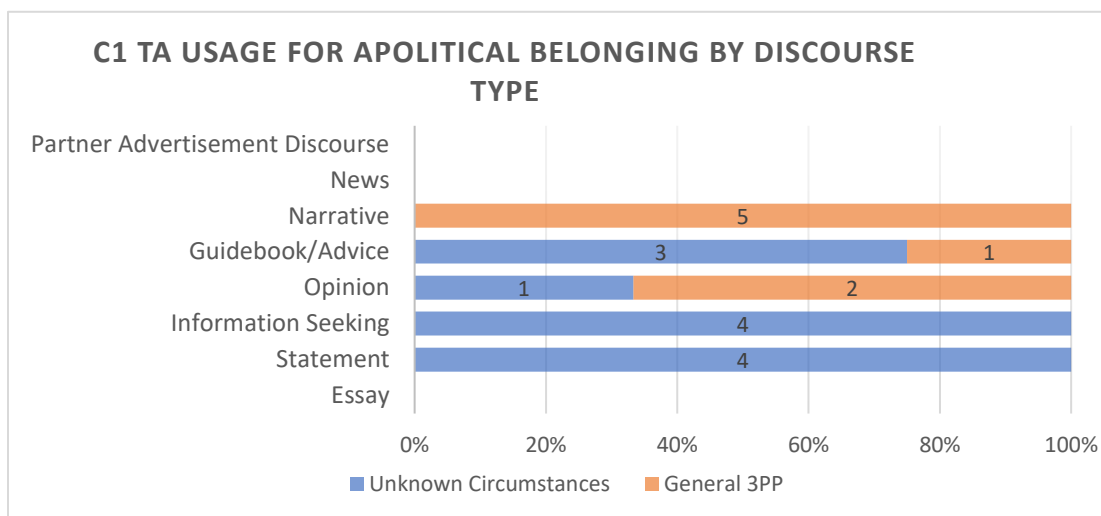
Figure 7.2 C1 Ta Usage for Apolitical Belonging by Discourse Type

In terms of the Pro-community C2, usage of *ta* as a General 3PP pronoun is more than in Unknown Circumstances (7 cases vs 5 cases), and is almost exclusive to Narrative Discourse (5 of 6 cases) while exclusive to Opinion and Essay Discourse (one occurrence each, Figure 7.3). Use in Unknown Circumstances is primarily concentrated in Guidebook/Advice Discourse (4 of 5 total Unknown Circumstances cases, Figure 7.3).
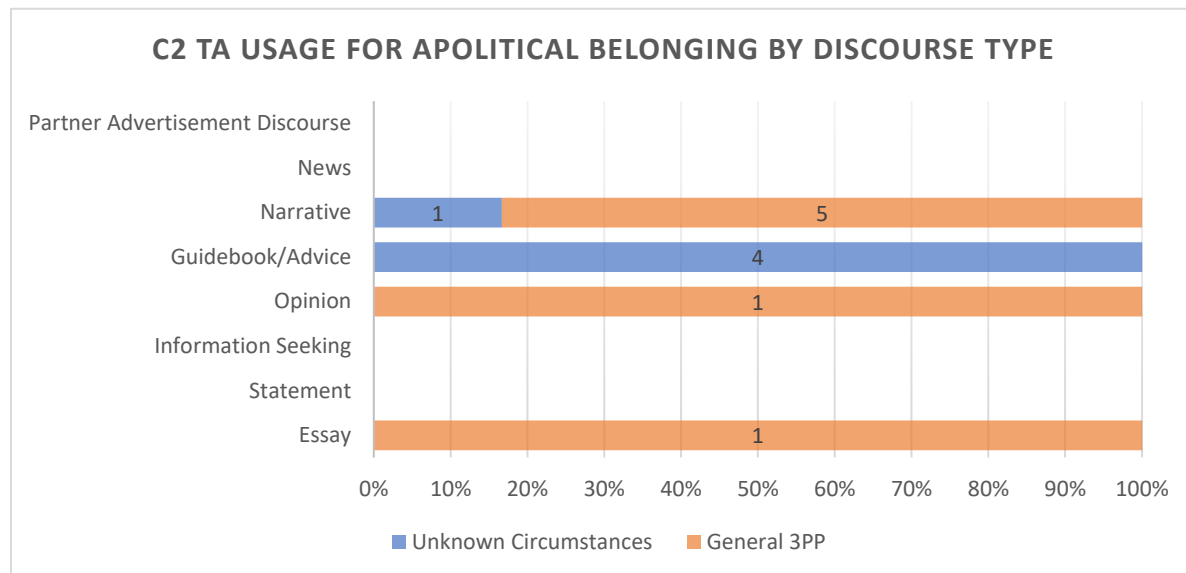
Figure 7.3 C2 Ta Usage for Apolitical Belonging by Discourse Type

In terms of the Pro- community C3, usage of *ta* in Unknown Circumstances and as a pronoun for General 3PP is much more diverse than the other communities. In C3, *ta* in Unknown Circumstances most often occurs in Narrative Discourse (12 of 15 cases, Figure 7.4) with one occurrence in Partner Advertisement Discourse, Guidebook/Advice Discourse, and Statement Discourse each. General 3PP occurs twice in Partner Advertisement Discourse, Guidebook/Advice Discourse, and exclusively in Opinion Discourse. It also occurs three times in Narrative Discourse (Figure 7.4).
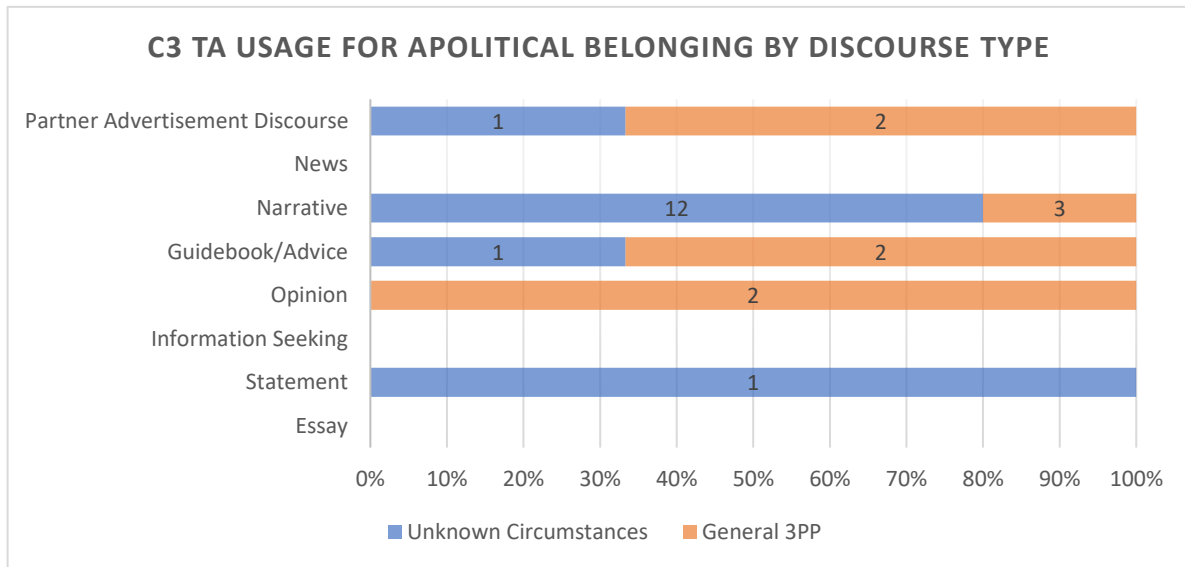
Figure 7.4 C3 Ta Usage for Apolitical Belonging by Discourse Type

In addition to viewing the data sectionally by community and discourse type, it is also possible to view the data along category paradigm in aggregate by community (Figure 7.5) and by discourse type (Figure 7.6). In terms of community, the Anti-community C1 and Pro-community C3 appear to have equal distributions of Unknown Circumstances vs General 3PP (a rough 60-40% ratio, Figure 7.5), while Pro-community C2 appears to have a higher ratio of General 3PP (58% of its cases; Figure 7.5).
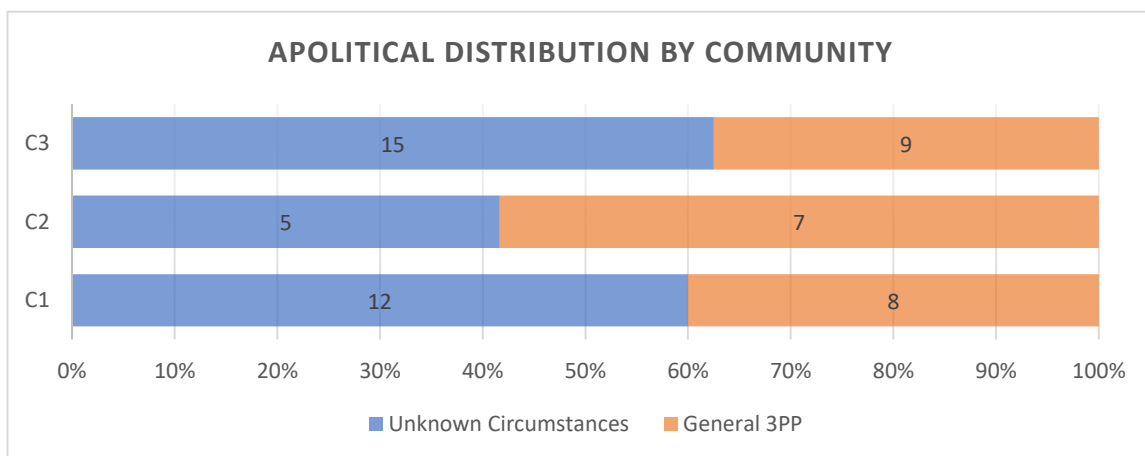
Figure 7.5 Apolitical Distribution by Community

In terms of discourse type, it is notable that there are no occurrences of *ta* being used for apolitical belonging in News Discourse (Figure 7.6). It is also noteworthy that Information Seeking and Single Statement Discourse (four and five cases respectively) are all exclusively seen in

Unknown Circumstances (Figure 7.6). It must be noted that the four instances of Information Seeking Discourse occurrences all originate from the same single text, Information Seeking Discourse 1. That is, Information Seeking Discourse 1 contains four *ta* tokens – all of which are used in an Unknown Circumstance. Furthermore, Guidebook/Advice Discourse is also notably more Unknown Circumstance usage (8 out of 11 cases) than General 3PP (3 out of 11 cases). Narrative Discourse is balanced with 13 cases of use in each type, and Partner Advertisement Discourse has two cases of General 3PP and one of Unknown Circumstances.
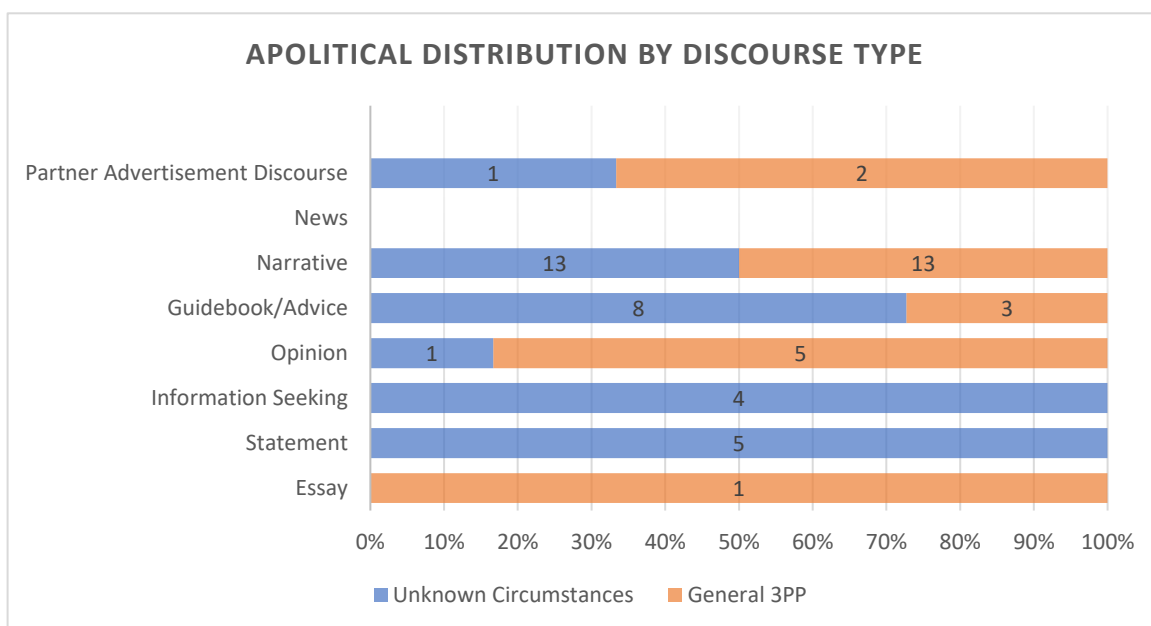
Figure 7.6 Apolitical Distribution by Discourse Type

The selection of 10 examples below is based on the distribution in discourse types seen in Figure 7.6. The example range presents a collective of five Unknown Circumstances usages and five General 3PP usages. Five of the 10 examples originate from the Anti-Community (Information Seeking Discourse 1, Statement Discourse 4, Opinion Discourse 3, Guidebook/Advice Discourse 1, and Guidebook/Advice Discourse 2), three examples are from the Pro-C2 Tongzhi Community (Narrative Discourse 4, Opinion Discourse 12, and Essay Discourse 3), and two examples are from the Pro-C3 Homosexual Community (Personal Advertisement Discourse 4, and Personal Advertisement Discourse 7). This results in a total of one Information Seeking Discourse, one Statement Discourse, one Narrative Discourse, two Opinion Discourse, one Essay Discourse, two Guidebook/Advice Discourse, and two Partner Advertisement Discourse examples (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Example Allocation for Apolitical Belonging

Discourse Type	*ta* Usage Type and Community	Example Amount (n)
Information Seeking Discourse	• Information Seeking Discourse 1 = Unknown Circumstances (C1)	1
Single Statement Discourse	• Single Statement Discourse 4 = Unknown Circumstances (C1)	1
Narrative Discourse	• Narrative Discourse 4[77] = Unknown Circumstances (C2)	1
Opinion Discourse	• Opinion Discourse 3 = General 3PP (C1) • Opinion Discourse 12 = General 3PP and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C2)	2
Essay Discourse	• Essay Discourse 3 = General 3PP (C2)	1
Guidebook/Advice Discourse	• Guidebook/Advice Discourse 1 = General 3PP (C1) • Guidebook/Advice Discourse 2 = Unknown Circumstances (C1)	2
Partner Advertisement Discourse	• Partner Advertisement Discourse 4 = Unknown Circumstances and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C3) • Partner Advertisement Discourse 7 = General 3PP and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C3)	2
Total		10

The proceeding sections show how *ta* can be used apolitically when the third person attributes do not matter/have no implication for the referent's projected space of belonging. The example presentation is presented based on a division of discourse types, where the category of Unknown Circumstances is presented first containing Information Seeking Discourse, Statement Discourse,

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[77] Narrative Discourse 4 has many *ta* tokens, one of which is illustrated here for use in Unknown Circumstances. The rest of the token usage falls under the 'Open in Relation to You' and 'Self and Third Person Identity Construction' categories explored in Chapter 8.

and Narrative Discourse (the first two of which are exclusive) (7.3). This is followed by the category of General 3PP which contains Opinion Discourse and Essay Discourse, which are also exclusive types (7.4), and a section which acknowledges how both categories can be found in the same discourse types of Guidebook/Advice Discourse and Partner Advertisement Discourse (7.5).

7.3   *ta* usage for Unknown Circumstances

Thirty-two cases of *ta* usage for Unknown Circumstances occur across the corpus. This section will showcase one example of Information Seeking Discourse (7.3.1), one example of Statement Discourse (7.3.2), and one example of Narrative Discourse (7.3.3.). Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of belonging within the respective community.

7.3.1   Information Seeking Discourse

Example 1: Apolitical ta usage for Unknown Circumstances in C1 - Information Seeking Discourse 1

Information Seeking Discourse 1 is an example of a complex thread "大家好新人报道我是来学习反同知识" [Hello Everyone, new person reporting for duty, I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ] with 3 communicative interactions of focus. The first communicative action of focus is the discourse production of the T.O. (OYLQ[78]) in monologue which occurs in the following Levels[79]: 1,4,14,17,18, 23, 24, 25, 26,38,39-48. The second communicative action is an asynchronous exchange between the T.O. and another user (DQLBJ) on Levels 20 and 21. The third communicative action is an asynchronous exchange between the T.O. and another user (**SALLY**) on Level 36. Specifically, these three interactional events were chosen because they show interaction between the T.O. who used *ta* and the formation of solidarity via language use in

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[78] In line with ethics considerations, all usernames are pseudonyms.
[79] See 2.2.3 for the discussion on thread levels

the community in relation to the initiating post in Level 1. Specifically, Communicative Action 1 and 3 show the T.O's usage of *ta* while Communicative Action 2 demonstrates group membership recognition.

The T.O. begins the thread in the initiating post on Level 1 with an introduction followed by a series of screen shots showing the T.O. trolling LGBTQ people in another Tieba community. In their introduction, the T.O. claims to be "new" and wanting to learn about Anti-LGBTQ knowledge. In response to this, a separate user posts a comment with a meme captioned 日本人彻底疯了 *ribenren chedi fengle* 'Japanese people are thoroughly crazy' on Level 5 in Communicative Action 2, as shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Information Seeking Discourse 1 Example Chart A

Data Item	Information Seeking Discourse 1 – T.O Reply to Comment- Communicative Action 2
Community	C1
Thread Title	"大家好新人报道我是来学习反同知识" [Hello Everyone, new person reporting for duty, I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ]
Date	2018-10-02 to 2018-10-05
User	SSY and OYLQ comment (楼: 5)
Content for Analysis (Original)	**(5)** 新人好. 我们才不像隔壁 5 楼 2018-10-02 16:06 OYLQ 看了😊优秀 2018-10-2 02:08
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Hello new person. We are contrarily not like the neighbours [IMAGE - Japanese people are thoroughly crazy] Level 5 2018-10-02 16:06 OYLQ : I saw 😊 Outstanding

Communicative Action 3, given below, shows the first instance in which the T.O. uses *ta* to refer to a third person entity. In particular, the third person of discussion is one of the interactants in a screenshot posted by another user in the comments of the thread on Level 36 (Table 7.3). The interactional turns are coded for ease of reference with "TOR" standing for "Thread Owner Response" and "CR" standing for "Commenter Response." The number appended after the abbreviations indicates the respective individual's response number.

Table 7.3 Information Seeking Discourse 1 Example Chart B

Data Item	Information Seeking Discourse 1 – T.O Reply to Comment- Communicative Action 3
Community	C1
Thread Title	"大家好新人报道我是来学习反同知识" (Hello Everyone, new person reporting for duty, I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ)
Date	2018-10-02 to 2018-10-05
User	**SALLY** and OYLQ comment (Level 36)
Content for Analysis (Original)	那个[user name of third person]居然回复了阁下 🤭 [omitted screen shot] 36 楼 2018-10-05 13:56 TOR1 **OYLQ**:虽然不认识 ta$^{37:2}$，但是你这样说感觉 ta$^{37:3}$ 好像很厉害的样子 😸 2018-10-5 05:19 回复 CR1 **SALLY**: 回复 **OYLQ** :这是隔壁一个想举报咱们吧，一边窥屏狗背影一边说"我素质高不和低素质恐同🐶玩"，认为 LGBT 人均高富帅的睿智竖子扶沟，在咱们吧很有名气 🤭 2018-10-5 05:21 回复 CR2 **SALLY**: 回复 **OYLQ** :估计是因为家里太穷只能接触到社会底层人士，父母又太烂了极端偏心儿子，不仅对她大打出手疯狂虐待双标，还打算让她别读书了出来工作顺便嫁出去骗老实人天价彩礼钱养儿子，所以心理扭曲成这个样子 🤭 2018-10-5 05:23 回复 TOR2 **OYLQ**: 回复 **SALLY** :66666 😹😹😹 2018-10-5 05:26 回复
Content for Analysis (Translation)	That [user name of third person] unexpectedly replied to your majesty 🤭 [omitted screen shot] Level 36 2018-10-05 13:56

TOR1

OYLQ: Although [I] don't know ta[37:2]， but seeing you talk in this way [makes me] feel that ta[37:3]seems to be one of those really awesome types 😋

2018-10-5 05:19Reply

CR1

SALLY: Reply **OYLQ** :This is one in the neighbouring Bar who wants to report our Bar， while lurking in the shadows and peeping at screens like a dog [they] say "my characteristics are high, [I] don't play well with low-rate homophobic 🐶"， wise and far sighted FG[80] and potty mouth fellows[81] believe that every LGBTQ is "Mr. Perfect" (i.e. tall, rich and handsome). very famous in our Bar 🤭

2018-10-5 05:21Reply

CR2

SALLY: Reply **OYLQ** : [I] reckon that it is because the family is too poor so can only touch people at the bottom of society， the parents are also too rotten, extreme prejudiced son, not only do they crazily abuse double standards towards her, also plans to make her not go to school and go out to work and conveniently get married off to cheat some honest person of extremely expensive betrothal gifts to raise the son, so the psychology is distorted like this 😋

2018-10-5 05:23Reply

TOR2

OYLQ: Reply **SALLY** :66666 😂😂😂

2018-10-5 05:26Reply

Turning to the analysis, within this exchange we can see that the commenter flatters the T.O. by referring to them as 阁下 *gexia* 'my majesty' and by referring to themselves as 鄙人 *biren* 'your humble servant.' This usage of old reference terms is a display of the friendship between the T.O. and the commenter within the community. This example also shows the usage of emojis, especially the naughty face emoji which has been seen in previous Anti-LGBTQ discourse examples to convey sarcasm and/or amusement. It is also interesting to note that their topic of discussion is specifically a third user, as depicted in the screenshot posted by the commenter. The reference chain for how the T.O. and commenter co-construct the identity of the third person is intricate. It stems from the T.O.'s usage of *ta* alongside their claim that they do not know this third

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[80] 扶沟 *fugou is another variation of the term* 腐狗 *fugou* 'Female Yaoi Lover' *yet more derogatory. In the case of this usage, the derogatory form will be transcribed as* 'FG'.

[81] 竖子 *shuzi* is literally 'young servant/boy/chap' but also used to cuss people who are weak and incompetent (Zdic, n.d.).

person, but from how the commenter talks of the third person the T.O. thinks that the third person must be really 厉害 *lihai* 'awesome,' a key lexical item to be explored in the appraisal discussion(Table 7.5). For the reason that the T.O. begins the reference chain on which the commenter proceeds to build the third person identity, let us first examine this *ta* token reference chain (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4 Information Seeking Discourse 1 Ta Reference Chain B

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta$^{37:2}$	A specific user: [username of third person] mentioned by the commenter in their initiating post on Level 36	ta$^{37:3}$
ta$^{37:3}$	ta$^{37:2}$ Which refers to A specific user: [username of third person] mentioned by the commenter in their initiating post on Level 36	扶沟 in the commenter's first response (CR1) *fugou* FG Used in an even more derogatory way to describe 腐女 *funǚ* Female Yaoi lovers, i.e. women who like BL content

To reiterate, this is the first time that the T.O. has heard of this specific user; as thus the T.O. likely does not have a preconceived notion of the third user's role nor how they are labelled by the Anti-Community or how they label themselves. This state of not knowing is likely to have prompted the T.O. to use the *ta* variant instead of a decisive third person pronoun. Support for this observation lies in CR1 where the commenter begins to assign a gendered identity to the third person through the use of the MCD label 扶沟 *fugou* FG which is used in an even more derogatory way to describe 腐女 *funǚ* Female Yaoi lovers, i.e. women who like BL content. The commenter explicitly assigns a third person pronoun to the third person in question in CR2 when discussing the parents of the FG: 她 she. However, prior to the introduction of the commenter's constructed identity for *ta*, the T.O. already formed their own evaluation of *ta.* The evaluation is presented in the appraisal tables for ta$^{37:2}$ (Table 7.5) and ta$^{37:3}$ (Table 7.6) below.

Both ta[37:2] and ta[37:3] are embedded in the same sentence yet are separated between clauses as indicated by the 虽然 … 但是 … *suiran…danshi…* 'Although….but…' construction. This construction is responsible for the slightly different evaluations placed on the two *ta* tokens by the T.O. In the first clause, the T.O. establishes an appreciation evaluation through the contrasting modality of 虽然 *suiran* 'although' and the lead of the second clause 但是 *danshi* 'but' where 'although' introduces the negative state of 不认识 *burenshi* 'not know' and 'but' introduces the positive state of the T.O. providing an evaluative comment on *ta* accompanied by the naughty emoji. In other words, from the first clause which incorporates ta[37:2] , the third person is evaluated as piquing interest in the T.O. which means that the third person has caught/ grabbed the T.O.s attention and thus sparked a reaction from the T.O. (appreciation: +reaction [interpersonal]).

Table 7.5 Appraisal Overview for ta[37:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
T.O.	The commenter's talk/description of *ta* and *ta*'s behaviour of replying to what the T.O. has said.	1. Appreciation: +reaction [interpersonal]	EE1 = inscribed

In the second clause there are several lexical items that work together to further sustain this positive frame of interest the T.O. has towards the third person: 感觉 *ganjue* 'feel' and 厉害 *lihai* 'awesome.' Both lexical items indicate an inscribed sense of interest which stems from satisfaction (affect: +satisfaction) (Table 7.6). In this case the use of 厉害 *lihai* is of particular interest due to its flouting of maxims and being used as sarcasm. Here, 厉害 *lihai* is used to express the T.O.'s feeling toward *ta* based on their behaviour in the screenshot. Specifically, the screenshot shows how *ta* wrote a very formal post in response to the Anti-LGBTQ post the T.O. made in the positive LGBTQ Community within which they were trolling before. In their formal response, the third user (*ta*) argues how the Antis are only anti because they are not developed enough to accept new things and/or live under rocks so they think LGBTQ is a new thing when LGBTQ has been around since history began. 厉害 *lihai* is used to show that the Anti-LGBTQ user (i.e. the T.O.) recognizes that the Pro-LGBTQ user is showing off their sophistication on the subject. In addition, the naughty emoji is further added as a type of irony to the situation to show the sarcasm and ridicule the T.O. has projected onto *ta* for being so 'awesome'. Further connotations of the word 厉害 *lihai* are

listed in the MDBG dictionary as: "difficult to deal with / difficult to endure / ferocious / radical / serious / terrible / violent / tremendous."

Table 7.6 Appraisal Overview for ta[37:3]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Article Author	The commenter's talk/description of *ta* and *ta'*s behaviour of replying to what the T.O. has said.	1. affect: +satisfaction	EE1 = inscribed

With this initial contextualization, let us now turn to the T.O.'s second usage of *ta* in Communicative Act 1 where they make a monologue comment to themselves in the thread seeking for information, yet provide partial information themselves in a sub-comment (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7 Information Seeking Discourse 1 Example Chart C

Data Item	Information Seeking Discourse 1 – T.O Monologue- Communicative Action 1
Community	C1
Thread Title	"大家好新人报道我是来学习反同知识" (Hello Everyone, new person reporting for duty, I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ)
Date	2018-10-02 to 2018-10-05
User	OYLQ **(Levels: 1,4,14,17,18, 23, 24, 25, 26,38,39-48)**
Content for Analysis (Original)	**(1)** 大家好 🙂 新人报道 🙂 我是来学习反同知识 [omitted screen shots of conversations where the T.O. comes to another Tieba community (Pro-LGBTQ) and trolls them] 1 楼 2018-10-02 16:00 [...] **(4)** 🙂 [omitted screen shots of conversations where the T.O. comes to another Tieba community (Pro-LGBTQ) and trolls them] 4 楼 2018-10-02 16:02 [omitted lines describing screenshots] [omitted screen shots of conversations where the T.O. comes to another Tieba community (Pro-LGBTQ) and trolls them] 23 楼 2018-10-03 14:28 [...] 25 楼 2018-10-03 14:34 **(26)** 从来都不反省自己，一味地责怪别人，觉得别人应该怎么怎么做，把所以问题都归咎于别人，真以为四海之类皆你妈 🤭🤭🤭

	26 楼 2018-10-03 14:39 [...] **(38)** 完了完了 😆😆😆 [omitted screen shots of the T.O. becoming banned in the Tieba community they were trolling] 38 楼 2018-10-05 19:23 **(39)** 问，四海之内皆你妈是什么意思，再问，这句话有问候 ta[37:4] 母亲的意思吗 39 楼 2018-10-05 19:24 OYLQ: 不过这句话确实有问候 ta[37:5] 的意思 🤭 **(40)** [omitted screenshots] 40 楼 2018-10-05 19:40 **(41)** 可啪 🤭 41 楼 2018-10-05 19:40 [...]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	**(1)** Hello everyone 😆 new person reporting for duty 😆 I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ [omitted screen shots of conversations where the T.O. comes to another Tieba community (Pro-LGBTQ) and trolls them] Level 1 2018-10-02 16:00 [...] **(4)** 😆 [omitted screen shots of conversations where the T.O. comes to another Tieba community (Pro-LGBTQ) and trolls them] Level 4 2018-10-02 16:02 [omitted lines describing screenshots] [omitted screen shots of conversations where the T.O. comes to another Tieba community (pro LGBTQ) and trolls them] Level 23 2018-10-03 14:28 [...] Level 25 2018-10-03 14:34 **(26)** Never reflect on one's self, blindly blame others, think that others should do this and that, blame all the problems on others, really think your mother is everywhere* 🤭🤭 🤭 Level 26 2018-10-03 14:39 [...] **(38)** done for, done for 😆😆😆

[omitted screen shots of the T.O. becoming banned in the Tieba community they were trolling]

<p align="right">Level 38 2018-10-05 19:23</p>

(39) Question, what is the meaning of 四海之内皆你妈[82] *sihaizhinei zhi nima* 'your mother is in all four seas', another question，does this sentence have the meaning of cursing the mother of ta[37:4]?

<p align="right">Level 39 2018-10-05 19:24</p>

OYLQ**:** However, this sentence definitely has the meaning of cursing ta[37:5] 🤭

(40) [omitted screenshots]

<p align="right">Level 40 2018-10-05 19:40</p>

(41) Scary 🤭

<p align="right">Level 41 2018-10-05 19:40</p>

[...]

After using *ta* as a third person pronoun for a third person unfamiliar to the T.O. in Level 36 analyzed previously, here we see the T.O. use *ta* once again under similar circumstances in Level 39. The T.O. is unsure of the identity of the third person they are interacting online with, yet have a definite third person target which is the other user who is 'pro' LGBTQ in the screenshot. Thus, the reference chain of the *ta* tokens is simple (Table 7.8).

Here it is important to note that ta[37:4] and ta[37:5] refer to the same third person and ta[37:2] and ta[37:3] from Level 36 are another separate third person. As thus the appraisal and evaluation the T.O. projects towards the *ta* here in Level 39 vastly differs from that in Level 36 and is more opinionated on account of the T.O. having direct contact with the *ta* in question. Critical to the invoked evaluation the T.O. applies to ta[37:2] and ta[37:3] is the phrase 四海之内皆你妈 *sihaizhinei zhi nima* 'your mother is in all four seas' in Level 39.

<p align="center">Table 7.8 Information Seeking Discourse 1 Ta Reference Chain C</p>

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[37:4]	Some user in the screenshots who argued with the T.O. in favour of LGBTQ.	ta[37:5]

---

[82] 四海之类/内皆你妈 is a play on 四海之内皆兄弟 'Within the four seas all men are brothers'. The phrase is originally meant to convey how everyone under the sky/on earth are meant to be like siblings. That is, they should all care for one another and respect each other. By changing the 'brothers' to 'mother' the user transforms the phrase to have a derogatory connotation given the culture of swearwords involving 'mother' in Chinese (e.g. 操你妈 *caonima* literally 'fuck your mother' but actually 'fuck you').

ta[37:5]	ta[37:4] Which refers to Some user in the screenshots who argued with the T.O. in favour of LGBTQ.	

As explained in Footnote 82, the original phrase of 四海之内皆兄弟 'Within the four seas all men are brothers' is one of positivity meant to convey how everyone under the sky/on earth should all care for one another and respect each other. However, by changing the 兄弟 *xiongdi* 'brothers' for 你妈 *nima* 'your mother' the phrase takes on a negative and disapproving connotation. In fact, the phrase 四海之内皆你妈 *sihaizhinei zhi nima* is first introduced in Level 26 where the T.O. lists the disapproved of behaviours that the Pro-LGBTQ exhibit in the neighbouring bar. Specifically,

(26) 从来都不反省自己，一味地责怪别人，觉得别人应该怎么怎么做，把所以问题都归咎于别人，真以为四海之类皆你妈🤭🤭🤭

(26) Never reflect on one's self, blindly blame others, think that others should do this and that, blame all the problems on others, really think your mother is everywhere*🤭🤭🤭

26 楼 2018-10-03 14:39

With this phrase the T.O. begins framing LGBTQ members in a negative light prior to their evaluation of a specific one, i.e. ta[37:4] and ta[37:5] . With this phrase the T.O. critiques how the LGBTQ think that all people should take care of them and care about what they (LGBTQ members) think and feel, essentially just like a mother or parent is supposed to do. The phrase occurs again in Level 39 with other lexical items that help to invoke an evaluation of *ta* , as an LGBTQ member, engaging in improper behaviour (judgement: - propriety) and the T.O.'s dissatisfaction towards this behaviour (affect: - satisfaction). Specifically, the lexical item 问候 *wenhou* which means to curse/swear at.

By seeking for information in the format of a rhetorical question in Level 39, the T.O. conversely makes a statement. That is, as the T.O. semantically asks "does this sentence have the meaning of cursing the mother of ta[37:4]" (Table 7.9) and answers "However, this sentence

definitely has the meaning of cursing ta[37:5]" (Table 7.10), they pragmatically invoke the sense of: I am not swearing at their mother but definitely swearing at them because I don't care about how they feel. That is, the T.O. who is an Anti-LGBTQ member is heavily condemning the LGBTQ user for their thoughts which are considered by the T.O. to be inappropriate, arrogant, and absurd as indicated by the description in Level 26. Furthermore, dissatisfaction of the T.O. towards *ta* is embodied in the act of swearing itself where the T.O. gets angry as a frustrated participant in an activity, and at the same time fed up as a spectator (Martin and White, 2005: 50). The following tables show the concise appraisal overview for the *ta* tokens in Level 39.

Table 7.9 Appraisal Overview for ta[37:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
TO	ta thinking that people should care about their feelings like their mother	1. judgement: - propriety 2. affect: -satisfaction	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

Table 7.10 Appraisal Overview for ta[37:5]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
TO	ta thinking that people should care about their feelings like their mother	1. affect: -satisfaction 2. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

Overall, this example shows four cases of *ta* which are all clearly used in the context of the unknown but a specific referent. That is, the language user has a specific third person in mind whom they are referring to, but they do not know specific details of that individual for certain other than the observable behaviours. This environment is what constitutes the four tokens to be primarily categorized under Unknown Circumstances and have implications for apolitical belonging in the form of general existence.

7.3.2   Statement Discourse

Example 2: Apolitical ta usage for Unknown Circumstances in C1 - Statement Discourse 4

Statement Discourse 4 is an example which shows how *ta* can be used in the Anti-Community for apolitical belonging where gender and sexual orientation are not known, but the user has a specific third person referent in mind. The example occurs on Level 33 in the thread "百合控的 ky 言论

整合" [Girlslove ky discussion compilation]. This whole thread is of screenshots between the T.O. and people arguing with them on the Internet. Only the relevant portion in which the usage of *ta* occurs is presented for analysis (Table 7.11).

Table 7.11 Statement Discourse 4 Example Chart

Data Item	Statement Discourse 4
Community	C1
Thread Title	"百合控的 ky 言论整合" [Girlslove ky discussion compilation].
Date	2019-01-26
Content for Analysis (Original)	而且这位在本贴中表示百合是百合拉拉是拉拉的观点 和 ta[26:9] 之前的说法自相矛盾 并且没有人向他介绍本吧， ta[26:11] 来本吧的原因就更加让人怀疑了。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	And this person expressed in this post the view that Baihe is Baihe[83], Lesbian is Lesbian Contradicts the statement ta[26:9] made before And no one introduced him to this Ba, the reason why ta[26:11] came to this Ba is even more suspicious.

This example shows two occurrences of *ta* which both point back to the same anaphoric head: 这位 *zhewei* 'this person' (Table 7.12). That is, *ta* is a specific individual, a user on the Internet, but a user which the T.O. knows nothing about in terms of gender or sexual orientation and such

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[83] In Chinese, there is a marked difference between 百合 *Baihe* 'Baihe' and 拉拉 *Lala* 'Lesbians'. Both terms refer to female homosexuals, however Lala (lesbians) are said to value sex/intercourse the most while Baihe are said to value love (gaoxuemei1984, 2017).; Baihe is also said to be 'girls love' and originate from ACGN, like other female LGBTQ terms (Baidu Baike, n.d.)

information is not relevant for the communicative purpose. What is relevant is the behaviour of 这位 *zhewei* 'this person' who is contradicting themselves about Baihe and Lala knowledge.

In the reference chain one can see the usage of 他 male in the middle of the two *ta* tokens. It is necessary to note two possible explanations, neither of which can be certain. The first is that it is a typo and the poster meant to use *ta*; the second is that the poster may be using the 他 male form in the default sense of non-distinguishing prior to gender distinction in the third person pronoun system.

Table 7.12 Statement Discourse 4 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta$^{26:9}$	这位 *zhewei* 'this person'	---
ta$^{26:11}$	他 male him **Which refers to** ta$^{26:9}$ **Which refers to** 这位 *zhewei* 'this person'	---

Owing to its presence in the Anti-Community, the appraisal which takes place in this example is of a negative stance. However, it is not connected with the third person's sexual orientation or gender identification but their behaviour – it is therefore not a matter of political usage and still falls within the creation of apolitical spaces of belonging. The third person characteristics are irrelevant for the communicative focus, and it is the appraisal which highlights this focus.

In the case of the first *ta* token (Table 7.13), the T.O. explicitly conveys through lexical items that they think 这位 *zhewei* 'this person' is incompetent (judgement: - capacity) and unreliable (judgement: - veracity). The lexical phrase which facilitates this is 自相矛盾 *zixiangmaodun* 'self contradictory'.

Table 7.13 Appraisal Overview for ta[26:9]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	the words ta said before compared to the words ta said just there.	1. judgement: - capacity 2. judgement: - veracity	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed

This negative evaluation of the 这位 *zhewei* 'this person's trustworthiness is further continued in the evaluation of the second *ta* token (Table 7.14). Here, the T.O. explicitly states that they 怀疑 *huaiyi* 'suspect' (judgement: - veracity) why this person has come to the Ba considering they were not introduced.

Table 7.14 Appraisal Overview for ta[26:11]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	the words ta said before compared to the words ta said just there.	1. judgement: - veracity	EE1 = inscribed

Overall, this example shows how *ta* can be used under unknown circumstances to refer to a specific individual. In this case, the gender and sexual orientation attributes were irrelevant to what the T.O. was trying to communicate: a statement regarding the third person's stupidity and the T.O. being suspicious. The following example is of Narrative Discourse but is in the context of the pro-community.

7.3.3   Narrative Discourse
Example 3: Apolitical ta usage for Unknown Circumstances in C2 – Narrative Discourse 4

Narrative Discourse 4 is an example of a narrative which details what appears to be a love story written by the T.O. (who appears to be an author) under the title " 【交友】我愿你的保安" [Make Friend [sic]: I am willing to be your security guard]. Owing to its narrative style, the text is relatively long and contains 10 *ta* tokens. However, only one of these tokens is applicable to the discussion in this chapter. Consequently, only the relevant portion will be presented and discussed (Table 7.15) while the full example is extrapolated in Chapter 8 which focusses on the category where the majority of token use occurs (i.e. Self and Third Person Identity Construction).

Table 7.15 Narrative Discourse D4-C2 Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse D4-C2
Community	C2
Thread Title	【交友】我愿你的保安 [[Make Friend [sic]] I am willing to be your security guard].
Date	2017-01-11
Content for Analysis (Original)	经过"十天的恋爱"后，Ta$^{4:10}$颓废到呼吸都会痛， 明媚的阳光总是那么刺眼，偶尔读到 〕 1
Content for Analysis (Translation)	After going through "10 days of love" , Ta$^{4:10}$was depressed to the point that even breathing hurt, bright and beautiful sunshine is always that dazzling, occasionally read that 〕 1

In the portion of discourse marked section 1, Ta$^{4:10}$ appears with no anaphoric anchor nor cataphoric anchor. This is due to the fact that Ta$^{4:10}$ is introduced as the main subject at first reference as the third person, effectively blocking the opportunity for anaphoric conditions. Here it is obvious that the author has a specific third person in mind, however either does not know the third person attributes and/or deems them unnecessary for the communicative purpose and thus casts the third person under Unknown Circumstances for the reader. The following reference chain table reflects this lack of reference (Table 7.16).

Table 7.16 Narrative Discourse 4-C2 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
Ta$^{4:10}$	--	--

The appraisal analysis (Table 7.17) also adds to the emphasis of the feelings/behaviour of the specific *ta* rather than their attributes. In this case of Ta$^{4:10}$, the author of the post is responsible for the evaluation of Ta and this evaluation is triggered by how Ta$^{4:10}$ went through a breakup after 10 days of dating. The emotion ascribed to Ta$^{4:10}$ is one of misery, as inscribed in the text through the following lexical items: 颓废 *tuifei* 'depressed'；到 *dao* 'to (the point that)'；呼吸 *huxi* 'breathing'；都 *dou* 'entirely /even'；痛 *tong* 'pain'. This set of lexical items works to paint the

affect of misery as a disposition, which is coded as unhappiness in the Appraisal framework (Martin and Rose, 2007:66).

Table 7.17 Narrative Discourse 4 C2 Discourse Section 1: Appraisal Overview for Ta $^{4:10}$

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Ta $^{4:10}$ went through a breakup after 10 days of dating	1. affect: - happiness	EE1 = inscribed

Overall, this example demonstrates how *ta* can be used in Unknown Circumstances and/or to create Unknown Circumstances with implications for apolitical belonging. The example illustrates how the third person attributes are irrelevant for the communicative task and have no bearing on WHAT is being communicated and WHY. Like Examples 1 and 2, Example 3 shows *ta* as a specific third person; however, it differs in that there is no concrete lexical reference chain and is from a positive community. Both Examples 1 and 2 originate from the Anti-Community and are used to refer to specific users on the Internet, yet Example 1 highlights the use of *ta* to refer to a user that the T.O. has no interactional history with where as in Example 2 the T.O. and *ta* are well acquainted. Together, the three examples highlight how *ta* is used for convenience, which is apolitical, when the existence of a third person is a sufficient enough entity to which behaviours can be assigned/described. The description of the specific third person's behaviour, which is not related to gender nor sexual orientation, is the common communicative goal. The next section transitions away from specific use and towards more general use in terms of general third person perspective (3PP) reference.

7.4 *ta* usage for General 3PP

Twenty-four cases of *ta* usage for General 3PP occur across the corpus. This section will showcase two examples of Opinion Discourse (7.4.1) and one example of Essay Discourse (7.4.2). Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of belonging within the respective community.

7.4.1 Opinion Discourse

Example 4: Apolitical ta usage for General 3PP in C1 – Opinion Discourse 3

Opinion Discourse 3 is a comment in the thread "这就是为什么我基本上不追星的原因"[This is precisely the reason why I do not chase stars]. The T.O. introduces their position of distrust towards stars by proclaiming that before and after fame celebrities are totally different people. They reference a specific star (TFBOYS 王源 Roy Wang) who is said to have smoked for over 2 years but is only 19 at the time of writing. It is unclear as to why such a post was made in the Anti-LGBTQ Community, however it still offers valuable insight regarding the use of *ta* by people who identify is Anti-LGBTQ through online group membership practices which form solidarity (Thomas et al., 2018:3780). The example can be broken into eight sections of discourse for analysis as shown by the color distribution below (Table 7.18).

Table 7.18 Opinion Discourse 3 Example Chart

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 3
Community	C1
Thread Title	"这就是为什么我基本上不追星的原因"
	(This is precisely the reason why I do not chase stars)
Date	2019-05-21
Content for Analysis (Original)	^1 后者，其实问题不在于人设。 ^2 有些男生并不喜欢女明星和主播，而是关注动漫， ^3 喜欢没啥黑历史的纸片人。 ^4 所以有广义上的"爱豆"， ^5 青春期到结婚前都还算是普遍的， ^6 问题是喜欢 **ta** 并没有给自己带来多大实质上的提升和人格的陶冶， ^7 反而可能误了事业和婚恋， ^8 以及损害了与现实异性社交的能力。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	It is the latter，in fact the problem does not lie within the celebrity/public figure's image in the eyes of the public (i.e. public persona). 1 There are some boys who do not like female celebrities and broadcasters at all, but are rather into animes and mangas, 2 [they] like manga characters who have no skeletons in the closet/dark past. 3 So there is "idol" in a broad sense, 4 which is still considered common from adolescence to before marriage. 5

	The problem is that liking ta does not bring [you] much improvement in terms of substance and and personal cultivation.	6
	On the contrary [one] can neglect [their] career and marriage,	7
	as well as harm [one's] ability to socialize with the opposite sex in reality.	8

In this example, the anaphoric/cataphoric relationships for the *ta* token are presented below (Table 7.19).

Table 7.19 Opinion Discourse 3 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta$^{28:7}$	爱豆 *aidou* idol	---

This usage of *ta* is another example where *ta* is used with the pure motivation of the user not knowing the specified gender of the referent (e.g. Single Statement Discourse 1 and 2 in Chapter 4) or purely wanting to outline a general group inclusive of all genders under an occupational category (e.g. Opinion Discourse 2 in Chapter 6) so that the third person may be either male or female, or even non-conforming. In this case that category is 'Idol,' which does not have a gender restriction. In addition, it is also interesting to note that this *ta* token lacks evaluative judgments from the user (Table 7.20).

This lack of evaluation on *ta* is accounted for because of the subject focus of the discourse. In this case, *ta* is purely an external third party to the discourse at hand which focuses on the behaviour of 'one,' i.e. 'you.' Specifically, the user is focussed on criticizing those who are crazy about idols to the extent that it interferes with their lives and causes grave consequences. Thus, while there is clear judgement of negative propriety and social sanction, this is not directed to *ta* who is some imagined idol but at the person who idolizes *ta* to the point that it is unhealthy.

Table 7.20 Appraisal Overview for ta[28:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta[28:7] is not judged here, rather those who obsess over idols are.	null	null

Overall, this example gives further evidence for the generalizability that *ta* is used within the Anti-LGBTQ community when the author does not know what gender to assign to the third person, or when the author is referring to a gender non-restrictive occupation or behaviour which could be done by any human regardless of gender identity (see Opinion Discourse 2 in Chapter 6). That is, *ta* can be used to refer to a general class of people, whose belonging is default and apolitical based on their existence. The next example illustrates the phenomenon in the context of the Pro-community.

Example 5: Apolitical ta usage for General 3PP and Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C2 – Opinion Discourse 12

Opinion Discourse 12 in an example from the Pro-community which showcases the use of *ta* as a General 3PP alongside Self and Third Person Identity Construction. The example is a comment on a post on Level 324 in a thread titled [同志吧活动]5.17"世界不再恐同日"——撑同 [Tongzhi Ba Activity – May 17 The International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia]. The context to which the comment was written is shown in the analysis Table 7.21.

Table 7.21 Opinion Discourse 12 Example Chart

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 12
Community	C2
Thread Title	[同志吧活动]5.17"世界不再恐同日"——撑同 (Tongzhi Ba Activity – May 17 The International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia)
Date	2017-5-17
Content for Analysis (Original)	性别不同为什么不能在一起？ 每个人都有追求幸福的权利，只是不同的人不同的想法看法不一样罢了。 324 楼 2017-05-16 22:56 **W:** 喜欢就是喜欢，跟 ta[14:2] 是男是女没关系 2017-5-17 00:33

Content for Analysis (Translation)	Why can't different sex be together? Every person has the right to pursue happiness, it is simply that different people have thoughts and outlooks that are not the same (*bailiao* - don't mind it, ok). Level 324 2017-05-16 22:56 **W:** liking is just liking, ta[14:2] being male (or) being female doesn't matter 2017-5-17 00:33

Within this context, it seems that the user of the initiating post in Level 324 [84]is of the opinion that those in the thread (Pro-LGBTQ against homophobia, transphobia, and biphobia) are against heterosexuals. However, the comment given by user (W) illustrates that they personally believe this is not the case and express an alignment of opinion with the idea put forth by the other in Level 324 via the usage of *ta* . Specifically, in Level 324 the initiating user takes the position that 每个人 *meigeren* 'every person' has the right to happiness (which is inclusive of both LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ, showing that the user views LGBTQ as human, i.e. people). This agreement is shown by (W) in the use of *ta* as a free gender third person pronoun, which is reflected in the reference table (Table 7.22).

<div align="center">Table 7.22 Opinion Discourse 12 Ta Reference Chain</div>

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	**Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)**	**Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)**
ta[14:2]	---	男 + 女 *nan +nǚ* 'male' +'female'

The cataphoric reference in this example is slightly complex due to the syntactic structure in which the two 3PP MCDs are located. Specifically, 男 + 女 *nan +nǚ* 'male' + 'female' appear in a repeated copula construction 是….是…. *shi…shi…* 'to be…to be…' followed by a negation phrase 没关系 *meiguanxi* 'doesn't matter.' As a result of this structure, *ta* can be either 男 *nan* 'male' OR 女 *nǚ* 'female' because the syntax results in simultaneous cataphoric reference to both lexical items. This dualism resonates with the previous user's statement of 每个人 *meigeren* 'every

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[84] See 2.2.3 for the discussion on thread levels

person', showing that *ta* is being used to recognize the sexuality/gender identity that one may chose themselves in an inclusive and positive manner. This positivity is reflected in the user's appraisal of *ta* which is built as a co-construction of the discourse in Level 324 (Table 7.23).

The lexical items that contribute to this evaluation on the emotional level are the explicit claim of 幸福 *xingfu* 'happiness' in Level 324 and the user's equating of 幸福 *xingfu* 'happiness' with 喜欢 *xihuan* 'to like' in their comment. Under the appraisal framework, the feeling of liking someone or something falls under affect, which is responsible for emotion, and is ascribed to the broad category of happiness. It is in this way that a positive evaluation of *ta* is formed considering that the liking of *ta* is in an effort to pursue one's own happiness (affect: +happiness) regardless of the gender of *ta* and, conversely, the gender of the one doing the liking.

Table 7.23 Appraisal Overview for ta[14:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Someone (每个人 *meigeren* 'every person' in Level 324) liking a ta	1. affect: +happiness	EE1 = inscribed

Overall, this example shows how *ta* is used as an open gender/inclusive gender pronoun for a third person individual whose gender indentity(ies) are defined in relation to the actor's own identity(ies) and orientation. In this case, the example lexically illustrates this by providing both male and female identifier options for the third person, with the only condition being that this third person is liked by another. The generalizability is a criterion for use as a General third person perspective referent. The next example shows similar results in Essay Discourse, highlighting the importance of universalizing statements in conjunction with *ta* use.

7.4.2 Essay Discourse

Example 6: Apolitical ta usage for General 3PP in C2 – Essay Discourse 3

Essay Discourse 3 is an example of a long essay posted in one Level. Throughout the entire essay there is only one case of *ta* which occurs in the middle of the essay and is used as a General 3PP (third person perspective) referent. The example is posted under the title 【交友】从王凯所谓 Gay 圈名媛的事件看互联网时代抹黑一个人的成" [make friend [sic]: Looking at the Internet

era to discredit one's success from Wang Kai's so-called Gay circle incident.]. The essay discusses the scandal that befel Chinese actor Wang Kai, known for his television role in 琅琊榜 Nirvana in Fire (2015), in 2017. The essay outlines how many explosive and scandalous articles "exposed" the past behaviour of the actor in 2013 and 2014. The author of the essay chastises this behaviour and states that the point of the essay is not to figure out whether Wang Kai is 'gay' or not, but to discuss the larger social issue of Internet slander and explosive allegations. This is the prior context relevant for understanding the excerpt for analysis (Table. 7.24).

Table 7.24 Essay Discourse 3 Example Chart

Data Item	Essay Discourse 3
Community	C2
Thread Title	【交友】从王凯所谓 Gay 圈名媛的事件看互联网时代抹黑一个人的成" [make friend [sic]: Looking at the Internet era to discredit one's success from Wang Kai's so-called Gay circle incident.].
Date	2017-05-04
Content for Analysis (Original)	[...] 在今时今日， 侮辱一个人最好的方法还是说 ta$^{10:2}$ 是鸡/鸭， 这样可以确保大多数人都能站在道德高地上对他们指指戳戳。 [...]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[...] In this day and age, The best way to insult / to humiliate / dishonor a person is still to say ta$^{10:2}$ is a Ji (prostitute)/Ya(male prostitute)[85], 这样可以确保大多数人都能站在道德高地上对他们指指戳戳。 [...]

In this example, the referent to which *ta* anaphorically refers is relatively clear: 一个人 *yigeren* 'a person'. This 'person' is in fact 'any person' and truly general as there are no third person restrictive attributes such as age, gender, sexuality, etc. In addition, the example is devoid of evaluation projected from the author onto the *ta* referent (Table 7.25). This is due to the fact that

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[85] 鸡 *ji* 'Ji' is a slang term used to refer to a female prostitute while 鸭 *ya* 'Ya' is the slang term counter part for a male prostitute (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.)

ta is simply embedded in a statement critiquing the current societal mindset. That is, *ta* is not the focus of the author's communicative act which results in No-Appraisal: Static Statement.

Table 7.25 Appraisal Overview for ta[10:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
---	No Appraisal - Static Statement	---	---

Overall, this is a cut and dry example which shows how *ta* can be used apolitically as a general third person referent in a universalizing statement. The third person characteristics of *ta* are irrelevant to the author's communicative purpose, and as thus 'existence' as human constitutes a general space of belonging for the third person. The generalizability criterion was also seen in Example 5. The next section presents examples to show how both usage types of *ta* can be found in the same discourse types: Guidebook/Advice and Partner Advertisement Discourse.

7.5   *ta* usage for Unknown Circumstances and General 3PP

This section presents examples of discourse types in which both Unknown Circumstance use and General 3PP use comparatively occur. It will showcase two examples of Guidebook/Advice Discourse (7.5.1) and two examples of Partner Advertisement Discourse (7.5.2). Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of belonging within the respective community.
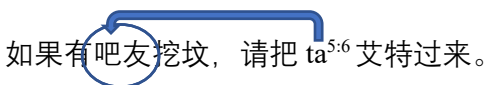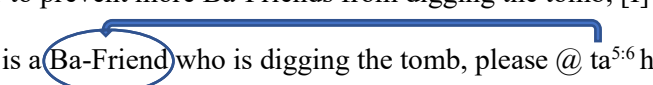
7.5.1   Guidebook/Advice Discourse

Example 7: Apolitical ta usage for General 3PP in C1 – Guidebook/Advice Discourse 1

Guidebook/Advice Discourse 1 is an example from the Anti-community which shows how *ta* is used as a General 3PP for apolitical belonging. The example is the main post of a thread titled "避

免挖坟的教程" [Teachings on How to Avoid 'Digging the Tomb'[86]]. In this post the T.O., who is also the administrator of the Community, is giving advice to other users about the Tieba settings to avoid replying to posts which are relatively old and consequently reinstating these old, perhaps now irrelevant, posts to the top of the list. The immediate text for analysis is presented in the example chart below (Table 7.26).

Table 7.26 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 1 Example Chart

Data Item	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 1
Community	C1
Thread Title	"避免挖坟的教程" [Teachings on How to Avoid 'Digging the Tomb'].
Date	2017-08-21
Content for Analysis (Original)	为了避免更多吧友挖坟，特此发个教程。 如果有吧友挖坟，请把 ta⁵:⁶ 艾特过来。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	In order to prevent more Ba-Friends from digging the tomb, [I] specially wrote this tutorial. If there is a Ba-Friend who is digging the tomb, please @ ta⁵:⁶ here.

This example shows one instance of *ta* which anaphorically, and clearly, refers to 吧友 *bayou* Ba-Friend(s). A Ba-Friend is a generic term to refer to one who partakes in the activities of a Ba Community in Baidu Tieba and is akin to 'person.' As a third person MCD, 吧友 *bayou* Ba-Friend is devoid of gender and sexual orientation attributes, that is it is a generic term. In the context here, *ta* is being used to refer to this general 'person' who is not a specific person but any individual which preforms the behaviour of 'digging the tomb' in the Tieba. Due to the nature of the discourse and the sentence structure in which *ta* is embedded, i.e. an imperative statement, the T.O. does not project an evaluation of *ta* (Table 7.27). This results in a coding of No Appraisal: Static Statement.

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[86] 挖坟 *wafen* 'Digging the Tomb' is an Internet slang term that describes the succession of an old post to the top position of post listings due to a new comment in the context of SNS like Baidu Tieba (https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E6%8C%96%E5%9D%9F/153631). In some cases this is viewed as problematic because when done intentionally it is a way to 'push down'/decrease the visibility of other users' content with which one may not agree, causing a disruption in the status quo.

Table 7.27 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:6]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
---	No Appraisal - Static Statement	---	---

Overall, this example shows how in the Anti-community *ta* may be used without emotional motivation and lack of stance as a General 3PP pronoun. The example illustrates how the third person's attributes are irrelevant for the communicative act and how belonging is conceptualized as a default 'existence' of the third person entity in a specific context as indexed by the 3PP MCD, in this case 吧友 *bayou* Ba-Friend(s). Also from the Anti-community, the next example shows the other way in which *ta* may be used apolitically in Guidebook/Advice discourse when the author has a specific third person in mind but that third person's attributes are unknown.

Example 8: Apolitical ta usage for Unknown Circumstances in C1 – Guidebook/Advice Discourse 2

Guidebook/Advice Discourse 2 is an example from the Anti-community which shows how *ta* is used to refer to a specific individual under Unknown Circumstances for apolitical belonging. The example is the main post thread titled "敬告诸君"[Ladies and Gentlemen] where the T.O. posts in multiple segments. The example involves three instances of *ta* usage , one instance on Level 8 and two instances on Level 10. Consequently, the *ta* of Level 8 and the *ta* of Level 10 are different. Like in Example 7, the advice given here centers around 'Ba etiquette', that is how to behave when using the Ba community. In this case, the T.O. is providing guidance on how to deal with conflict in the Ba. Specifically, in Level 4 the T.O. presents the following:

> 真的发生了冲突或者感觉自己受到了冒犯应该怎么办?
> 这里[USER NAME]给大家罗列几种处理方式以及主观的评价。
>
> What should I do if there is really a conflict or feel offended?
> Here [USERNAME] will give everyone a list of several treatment methods and subjective evaluations.

Following this, the T.O. lists 7 tips. However, only the relevant portions for the analysis and understanding of *ta* usage are presented (Table 7.28).

Level 10:

5 Make a fool of Internet Friend (positive connotation here) method [...]
Example Sentences: Unlimited
[...]

On the surface, did not continue to respond to ta[7:67], Ba-Friends may feel that you are

terrified (🫠).

In fact, you took a screenshot and gave it to some people, and then you vented by bashing ta[7:71] with them.

[...]

The reference chain for the *ta* tokens in the example is extrapolated below. In Level 8, ta[7:40] anaphorically refers back to a specific individual identified by a user as 这人 *zheren* 'this person'. However, the user does not make any assumption about the third person's characteristics, as these are irrelevant for the communicative purpose, and focusses on the behaviour: that this person is causing trouble. However, in their response the Admin applies a third person pronoun 他 male which may indicate that they have assumed 'this person' is a male. However, the user maintains their status of non-assumption, keeping these third person properties as Unknown Circumstances through their use of *ta* (Table 7.29). In the case of Level 10, ta[7:67] and ta[7:71] refer to the same specific individual: 网友 *wangyou* Internet-Friend. This 网友 *wangyou* Internet-Friend is specific as they are one individual causing problems for the user, but the attributes remain unknown because they are just an 'Internet', i.e. virtual, 'friend' (Table 7.29).

Table 7.29 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 2 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)
ta[7:40]	这人 *zheren* 'this person'
ta[7:67]	网友 *wangyou* 'Internet-Friend'

ta[7:71]	ta[7:67] **Which refers to** 网友 *wangyou* 'Internet-Friend'

As a result of having different referents, the appraisal analyses orientations also differ. In the case of Level 8 (Table 7.30), the T.O. projects the evaluation that they assume the user has towards *ta* based on the hypothetical conversation. However, as seen in the previous examples, the negative evaluation is not dependent on third person attributes but on general behaviour. In this case, the behaviour of talking nonsense which shows that *ta* is viewed as dishonest (judgment: - veracity). The manner in which this is done, i.e. 又 *you* 'once again,' further conveys negative evaluation by invoking a frame of annoyance (affect: -satisfaction).

Table 7.30 Appraisal Overview for ta[7:40]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser: You	ta is talking nonsense again	1. judgment: - veracity 2. affect: -satisfaction	EE1= Inscribed EE2 = Invoked

In Level 10 we also see different evaluations applied to each *ta* token. In the first occurrence, the is actually Null Appraisal as what is being evaluated is not *ta* but another individual, i.e. you (Table 7.31).

Table 7.31 Appraisal Overview for ta[7:67]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	you pretend to ignore ta	Null Appraisal of Other	----

Like the case in Level 8, the second *ta* in Level 10 has a projected evaluation. In this case, *ta* is evaluated as having improper behaviour (judgment: -propriety) and causing 'you' to feel upset (affect:-satisfaction) (Table 7.32). These are facilitated with the lexical items 吐槽 *tucao* 'to bash/bitch/complain' and 发泄 *faxie* 'to vent'.

Table 7.32 Appraisal Overview for ta[7:71]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser: You	ta has done something you do not like	1. judgment: -propriety 2. affect: -satisfaction	EE1= Invoked EE2 = Invoked

Overall, this example has showed how when the attributes of a specific third person do not matter, and have no bearing on their actions/behaviour, that *ta* is used apolitically to create belonging based on existence. The is similar to Example 7 which showed how the same is possible when the referent is a general third person. The next section introduces two examples of Partner Advertisement Discourse which is another discourse type that embodies *ta* usage for both Unknown Circumstances and as a General 3PP.

7.5.2 Partner Advertisement Discourse

Example 9: Apolitical ta usage for Unknown Circumstances + Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C3 – Partner Advertisement Discourse 4

Partner Advertisement Discourse 4 is an example in the Pro-C3 Homosexual community which shows how *ta* can first be used for unknown circumstances, i.e. when the gender and/or sexual orientation of the referent are unknown (Table 7.33). In this case, the T.O. declares themselves as Bisexual and explicitly states their ability to play either male or female roles. This indicates that the T.O. does not have any specific requirements of the partner they are seeking and are willing to go along with any relationship dynamic. However, there is one condition imposed through the usage of *ta*. Here we see a phrase which is popular throughout the LGBTQ Community and in 'lover discourse': 那个 ta 'THAT ta', i.e. THE one. As thus, the T.O. is 'ok' with any unknown variable, without prejudice, as long as *ta* is THE one.

Table 7.33 Partner Advertisement Discourse 4 Example Chart

Data Item	Partner Advertisement Discourse 4
Community	C3
Thread Title	"17，可 p 可 t 大家可以互相了解了一段时间再认真考虑要不要"

	[17, can p(be a girl) and t(be a boy) everyone can mutually understand, after a short time you can think about if you really want it or not]
Date	2017-10-09
Content for Analysis (Original)	17，可 p 可 t 大家可以互相了解了一段时间再认真考虑要不要开始呢 讲实话是个双 耍过女朋友也耍过男朋友只是想等命中注定那个 ta^{30:7} 人丑话多 hhh 欢迎来嫌弃 [Selfies Omitted]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	17, can p(be a girl) and t(be a boy)[87] Everyone can mutually understand, after a short time you can think about if you really want it or not. To be honest I am Bi. I played a girlfriend role and played a boyfriend role, [now I] just want to wait for THAT ta[30:7] of [my] life. People with ugly words are many, hhh[88], [you're] welcome to avoid/ignore [me]. [Selfies Omitted]

With *ta* being embedded in the phrase 那个 ta, there is consequently no referential chain but a conceptualized referent whose identity depends partially on that of the T.O., because she needs to evaluate *ta* as THAT *ta* , and also partially on the reader who determines whether or not they wish to assume the T.O.'s projected identity of *ta*. Further evidencing the usage of *ta* as a pronoun for an unknown 'type' of third person without prejudice, i.e. apolitically, is shown in the appraisal analysis (Table 7.34).

Lexical items such as 只是 *zhishi* 'simply' and 想 *xiang* 'want' convey the T.O.'s positivity and desire for a partner irregardless of gender dynamics (affect:+desire). In addition, the phrase 那个 *nage* THAT one projects a sense of high value bestowed upon "the one" who is able to be *ta,* indicating that the T.O. values their potential partner and relationship (appreciation: +valuation). This is further enhanced with the phrases 命中 *mingzhong* 'in life' and 注定 *zhuding* 'destined'.

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[87] "T" stands for English "Tomboy" and refers to the sexual role of male, i.e. if one can "T" then it means during intercourse they do the penetrating. "P" stands for "Pure Girl" in English and refers to the sexual role of female, i.e. if one can "P" then it means during intercourse they receive the penetration (Net990, 2018; Hotbak.Net, n.d.)

[88] This is shorthand for hehehe, which has come to mean "fuck you" in Internet language.

Table 7.34 Appraisal Overview for ta[30:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Author wants to wait for THAT ta	1. affect: + desire 2. appreciation: + valuation	EE1= Inscribed EE2 = Inscribed

Overall, this example shows how *ta* can be used in the context of partner advertisement discourse to convey apolitical belonging in unknown circumstances. The author uses *ta* to refer to a specific person, THAT *ta* for them in their love life, while not knowing any gender or sexual orientation information about that person. The next example is also one of Partner Advertisement Discourse which also includes that phrase 那个 ta THAT ta, but it shows how *ta* can be used as a General 3PP without the specificity seen in this example.

Example 10: Apolitical ta usage for General 3PP + Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C3 – Partner Advertisement Discourse 7

Partner Advertisement Discourse 7 is another example in the Pro-C3 Homosexual community, but shows how *ta* can be used as an apolitical general 3PP referential device, i.e. when the gender and/or sexual orientation of the referent is by default not relevant as embodied by the third person lexical item(Table 7.36). The example also shows how *ta* may be used as a political third person pronoun for self and third person identity construction, and occurs in the thread "真人找个恋爱对象" [Sincere person looking for a loving partner].

In this case, the T.O. declares themselves as a female, introduces her age, family, education, and work background, as well as accompanies this with a selfie. She laments how, although her job is stable, she has always found it hard to meet 对的人 *duideren* 'the right person'. It is from this point which she begins the main content describing the type of partner she is looking for (Table 7.35).

Table 7.35 Partner Advertisement Discourse 7 Example Chart

Data Item	Partner Advertisement Discourse 7
Community	C3
Thread Title	"真人找个恋爱对象" [Sincere person looking for a loving partner].
Date	2018-01-13
Content for Analysis (Original)	[...] 虽然工作逐渐稳定了下来， 但是总感觉身边很难遇到对的人。 想在网上找一 个合适的, 男女都行。 希望能跟 ta$^{28:7}$一起入睡，一起醒来，一起吃饭， 一起逛街，一起度过美好时光~ 希望你是我对的那个 ta$^{28:9}$~　　　Perspective Shift [Selfie Omitted]
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[...] Although work has gradually stablized, I always feel that it is hard to meet the right person around me.　TITLE I want to find a suitable one online, male/female both ok. Wish I can go to sleep with ta$^{28:7}$, wake up together, eat together, windowshop together, have a good time together ~ Hope you are my right THAT ta$^{28:9}$~　　Perspective Shift [Selfie Omitted]

The discourse reveals that she never explicitly states her sexual orientation, but implies herself to be bisexual through the statement 男女都行 *nannǚ douixxng* 'male, female, both ok'. After this we see the first occurrence of *ta* whose anaphoric head is 恋爱对象 *lianai duixiang* 'loving partner' in the title (Table 7.35). We see that ta$^{28:7}$ anaphorically first refers back to 男女 *nannǚ*

'male/female', then to 合适的 *heshide* 'suitable one', then to 人 *ren* 'person' which is modified by 对的 *duide* 'right', and finally back to the head 恋爱对象 *lianai duixiang* 'loving partner' (Table 7.36). It is in the generic anaphoric reference back that the case of apolitical belonging is established to the general class of human, aka 人 *ren* 'person'. However, this token also has political usage with implications for the construction of political belonging within the LGBTQ Community and in relation to self and third person identity construction, as seen in Example 9 above.

In addition, such generic reference is not the case in the second *ta* occurrence, ta[28:9], due to the perspective shift facilitated by second person deixis in the last line. By introducing 你 *ni* 'you', the author transforms the general nature of the post to one of specific address, marking *ta* as no longer General 3PP but a specific third person, soliciting the reader to engage to determine whether they want to assume the identity of 那个 *ta* THAT ta in relation to the T.O. Although the T.O. has not explicitly stated her sexual orientation, she has provided the basic criterion for one to identify as ta[28:9], and later by anaphoric connection as ta[28:7] after commitment to the role, by identifying herself as female and stating 男女都行 *nannǔ douixxng* 'male, female, both ok'. This means that the criteria to serve as *ta* is that ta must be sexually attracted to females.

Table 7.36 Partner Advertisement Discourse 7 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[28:7]	男女 *nannǔ* 'male/female' **Which refers to** 合适的 *heshide* 'suitable one' **Which refers to** 人 *ren* 'person' **Which refers to**	---

	恋爱对象 *lianai duixiang* 'loving partner'	
ta[28:9]	那个 ta[28:9] *nage ta* THAT ta **Which refers to** 你 *ni* 'You'	---

An appraisal analysis of the two *ta* tokens further reveals the author's positive stance towards both the apolitical *ta* (Table 7.37) and the political *ta* (Table 7.38). In the case of General 3PP ta[28:7], the author inscribes their positive evaluation with lexical items such as 真人 *zhenren* 'sincere person'; 找 *zhao* 'look/seek'; 对的 *duide* 'right'; and 适合的 *shihede* 'suitable one'. Combined, these lexical items clearly express a desire for *ta* (affect: +desire), which is further described by the activities she wants to do together, and the value she places on *ta* as being worthy (appreciation: + valuation).

Table 7.37 Appraisal Overview for ta[28:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Author wants a ta	1. affect: + desire 2. appreciation: + valuation	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed

The second instance of ta[28:9] sees a similar evaluation pattern (Table 7.38). The key lexical items here are 希望 *xiwang* 'wish/hope'; 对的 *duide* 'right'; and 那个 ta THAT ta.

Table 7.38 Appraisal Overview for ta[28:9]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Author desires ta	1. affect: + desire 2. appreciation: + valuation	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed

Overall, like Example 9 of the other partner advertisement discourse, this example shows how *ta* can be used as a general third person pronoun for general categorical belonging. The example

also illustrates how political belonging can come into play when the construction of identity is involved. However, Example 9 was a case of Unknown Circumstances while Example 10 showed one case of General 3PP and one case of Unknown Circumstances, i.e. when identity construction explicitly came into play.

7.6 Interim Summary

This chapter presented 10 examples of various discourse types to show how *ta* can be used apolitically in two environments to construct spaces of belonging: 1) Unknown Circumstances, and 2) General 3PP.

Examples 1-3 of Unknown Circumstances collectively show how *ta* is used as a pragmatic resource to construct apolitical spaces of belonging. This is achieved when *ta* is a specific individual who the author either has no third person attributive information about in terms of gender and sexuality, or who the author choses to not share third person attributes about to the reader. In Example 1, which is Information Seeking Discourse from the Anti-community, this construction of an apolitical space is orchestrated via several components: 1) admittance of not knowing/being familiar with the third person, 2) 虽 然 … 但 是 … *suiran…danshi…* 'Although….but…' construction to emphasize lack of knowledge and put forth an assessment based on hearsay, and 3) the focus on behaviour of *ta* (i.e. writing a formal, length post in the Ba and believing that others should care about their feelings). In Example 2, which is Single Statement Discourse from the Anti-community, this apolitical construction is achieved via several components: 1) the anaphoric head 这位 *zhewei* 'this person', 2) the anaphoric head being specific, and 3) a focus on the behaviour which triggers negative appraisal (i.e. self contradictory statements regarding Baihe and Lala knowledge). In Example 3, which is Narrative Discourse from the Pro-community, this apolitical space of belonging also revolves around a specific third person whose attributes are unknown. This is achieved via several aspects: 1) *ta* being introduced as the subject, 2) absence of anaphoric and cataphoric anchor, 3) negative evaluation is triggered by Ta's behaviour of mopping around and being heartbroken.

Examples 4-6 of General 3PP also Circumstances collectively show how *ta* is used as a pragmatic resource to construct apolitical spaces of belonging. This is achieved when *ta* is used in generic and/or universalizing contexts and statements to refer to a general classification that is construed through behaviour (i.e. 'digging the tomb', annoying a person in the Ba, etc.). Example

4, which is Opinion Discourse from the Anti-community, constructs a political space via several lexical items and discourse strategies: 1) 'Idol' as the third person anchor for *ta* , 2) referring to the gender non-restrictive occupation 'Idol' with *ta,* 3) no evaluative judgment is placed on *ta,* 4) discourse focuses on criticizing the behaviour of 'one', i.e. 'you' (i.e. destroying your life over an idol) as the communicative purpose of the text. In Example 5, which shows General 3PP alongside Self and Third Person Identity Construction, this apolitical space of belonging is achieved by using the lexical item 每个人 *meigeren* 'every person' in conjunction with 男 + 女 *nan* +*nǔ* 'male' + 'female' appear in a repeated copula construction 是….是…. *shi…shi…* 'to be…to be…' followed by a negation phrase 没关系 *meiguanxi* 'doesn't matter'. This construes universalizing statements of inclusivity. In Example 6, which discusses the scandal issue of Wang Kai, this apolitical space of belonging is construed through two main methods: 1) universal focus of 一个人 *yigeren* 'a person', and 2) No-Appraisal: Static Statement of *ta* as the specific third person is not the focus of the author's communicative purpose which is to criticize Internet slander.

In both cases outlined above, the third person attributes of *ta* do not matter for the author's communicative purpose. This is further seen in Examples 7-10 which show Guidebook/Advice Discourse and Partner Advertisement Discourse usage. Examples 7-8 are of Guidebook/Advice Discourse which show how the attributes of a specific third person do not matter and have no bearing on their actions/behaviour which are the communicative focus. Examples 9-10 are of Partner Advertisement Discourse and show how general categorical belonging is constructed through the use of *ta* as well as how *ta* can be used as a specific yet vague third person referential pronoun in unknown circumstances.

Although this chapter exemplifies the most common usage of *ta* being to construct apolitical belonging of the third person, it leaves one to consider what happens when it does matter who *ta* is. In opposition to Chapter 4 which shows how *ta* is used at the absolute negative end of the spectrum of belonging, i.e. political non-belonging, the next chapter functions to situate *ta*'s belonging from a positive stance at the opposite end of the spectrum. That is, Chapter 8 will show the usage of *ta* in Pro communities.

8   Political Belonging: How *ta* belongs in relation to You

Chapter 8 addresses Political Belonging when *ta*'s identity is constructed in relation to another while chapter 7 discussed Apolitical Belonging when ta's third person attributes don't matter. Through textual structure, 3PP NP MCDs (Third Person Perspective Noun Phrase Membership Categorization Devices), (co-)reference chains, and appraisal analyses, this chapter addresses Political Belonging under three circumstances: 1) Open in Relation to You (8.3), 2) Self and Third Person Identity Construction (8.4), and 3) *ta* used in a specific discourse types for both Open in Relation to You and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (8.5).

As thus, this chapter shows 1) how positive stance use of *ta* occurs when identity work based on gender and/or sexual orientation of the *ta* referent is relevant to the communicative task, 2) how this use consequently establishes complex sexual-political references, and 3) how there is a (blurry) division between the categories in accordance with discourse types.

This chapter proceeds to introduce the stance usage types of *ta* that result in political[89] belonging and provides their respective definitions (8.1). This is followed by an overview presentation of the dataset composition for when *ta* is used for political belonging, highlighting the distribution of political belonging by discourse types and by community (8.2), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used as a third person pronoun being Open in Relation to You (8.3), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used for Self and Third Person Identity Construction (8.4), a qualitative analysis of *ta* used for both cases in certain discourse types (8.5), and an interim summary (8.6).

8.1   Positive Stance and Political Belonging

Positive stance towards *ta* contributes to the politically[90] charged construction of a space where the gender identity and sexual orientation of *ta* is important, and these attributive factors are defined depending on 'You'. That is, who *ta* is matters in relation to who You , and in some cases 'I,' are regardless of community. Two usage categories are examined in this chapter: 1) when *ta* is left open in relation to 'you', and 2) when who *ta* is and where *ta* belongings is constructed in relation to the speaker, i.e. 'I', resulting in self and third person identity construction. The majority of cases occur in Pro Communities while two cases of oddities occur in the Anti-community due

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[89] For a full discussion, please refer to 3.4 above.
[90] For a full discussion, please refer to 3.4 above.

to intertextuality (i.e. the importation of pro-discourse for critique). As a result, many of these *ta*s are of unknown gender, but their gender identity of non-conforming, i.e. 'Other', is clear from the context, especially in narratives where the speaker is 'I' and identifies as LGBTQ. As thus, the speaker's use of *ta* may stem from (a) lack of knowledge regarding the biological gender identity of the third person to which they are referring but whose sexual orientation is known and classified as 'Other' (e.g. a homosexual), and/or (b) as a potentially newly emergent third person pronoun specifically for covert reference to LGBTQ partners. These key usage types are further explained and defined below.

Open in Relation to 'You'

When left Open in Relation to 'You', *ta* is used as a positive third person pronoun which is free in gender. The gender of this pronoun is defined in relation to the gender of the 'specific you' addressee who has a relationship/connection with '*ta*'. This often occurs in Guidebook/Advice Discourse (see 8.3.3). By using *ta* , the author offers universal advice about something for 'You' in relation to *ta* regardless of sexual orientation or gender identification because the context will be personalized by each individual reader as they internalize their role as 'you' and define *ta* in relation to that role. That is, the usage of *ta* allows the reader, i.e. 'you', to define *ta* in relation to themselves*; ta* is not only used positively as an inclusive LGBTQ third person pronoun in the community, but also by those who support the community in the form of Guidebook/Advice Discourse. The examples in this chapter (see 8.3) also show the importance that 'you' plays in the construction of *ta*'s identity(ies) when the gender category is left open/inclusive.

Self and Third Person Identity Construction

In the context of Self and Third Person Identity Construction, *ta* is used as an open gender/inclusive gender pronoun for a third person individual whose gender identity(ies) are defined in relation to the actor's (i.e. speaker's/ 'I') own identity(ies) and orientation. A common discourse type for this circumstance is Partner Advertisement Discourse (see 8.5.1) or Narrative Discourse (see 8.4.1). In the first case, an author may have clear and distinct physical requirements for *ta,* however such is not necessarily the case with regards to gender or sexual orientation. By using the *ta* variant, the author targets all those who physically meet the criterion while also allowing for those targeted to determine whether they want to play the role of *ta* in the author's described sexual scenarios which

hint at the author's own gender identity. This is also seen in examples where *ta* is used to refer to one's lover/love interest whose identity(ies) are defined in relation to 'you'. That is, *ta* is used positively as a device of inclusivity alongside the 'specific-you' which makes interlocutor's feel that they are being directly addressed. This consequently prompts the identification and identity construction of *ta* in relation to 'you', regardless of how 'you' self identify. In the context of Narrative Discourse, the *ta* variant can be used when reporting speech of another - the reteller's choice of orthographic form (*ta* over a gendered third person pronoun) plays a role in revealing their own identity constructions of those involved in the narrative. Another key trend in this area is use as an inclusive/gender open pronoun to refer to a specific third person whose identity construction depends on the identity of 'you' (i.e. 那个人 'that person').

The appraisal analyses in this chapter will show how the Source of Evaluation (SOE) plays a large role in setting-up how *ta* is to be perceived. In the context of the Pro-LGBTQ community and their discourse, much of the referents for *ta* and their contextualization relies on how a reader perceives *ta* in relation to themselves. This is because *ta* is often cast into the role of either the author's lover/partner/object of affection or that of 'you's' lover/partner/object of affection. In both cases, *ta* is typically portrayed in a loving and caring discourse environment embodied in positive affect in terms of happiness, desire, and security, and appreciation in terms of valuation.

The following section is responsible for giving an overview of these occurrences in aggregate and then by discourse type within individual community. The data presentation in this chapter takes the same form as Chapter 7 because the two categories occur integrated throughout the corpus and communities. Consequently, this chapter shows a presentation of the data categorized along the two usage types within each discourse type prior to showcasing the specific example allocations used in this chapter (Table 8.1). The aim of this different angle of presentation is to highlight the connection between discourse type, category usage, and community.

8.2   Data Set Composition

Across the corpus, more instances of *ta* used for Self and Third Person Identity Construction (192 cases excluding Chain Post Discourse, 317 cases including; cf Figure 8.2 vs Figure 8.1) occur than as a pronoun that remains Open in Relation to You (165 cases; Figure 8.2).

TA USAGE FOR POLITICAL BELONGING
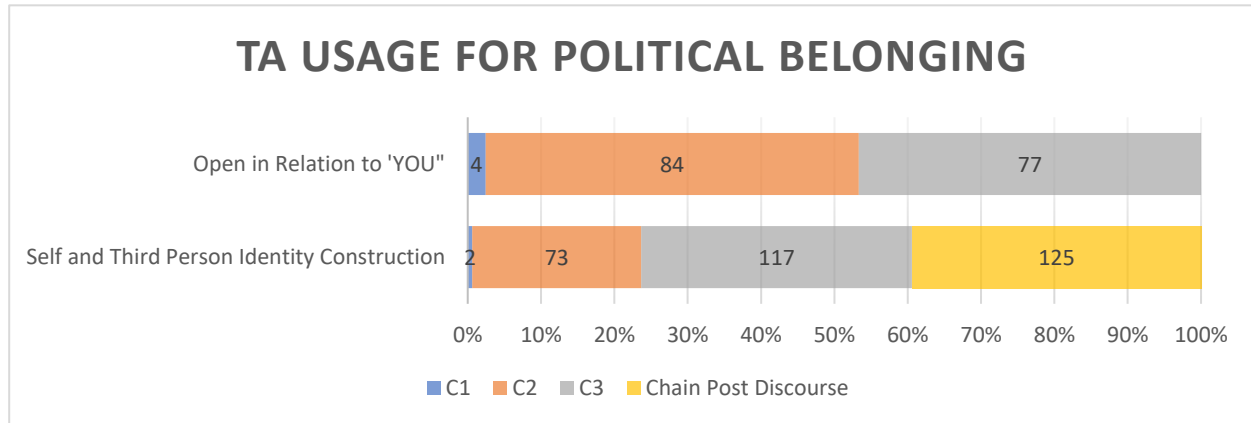
Figure 8.1 Ta usage for Political Belonging (include Chain Post)

TA USAGE FOR POLITICAL BELONGING
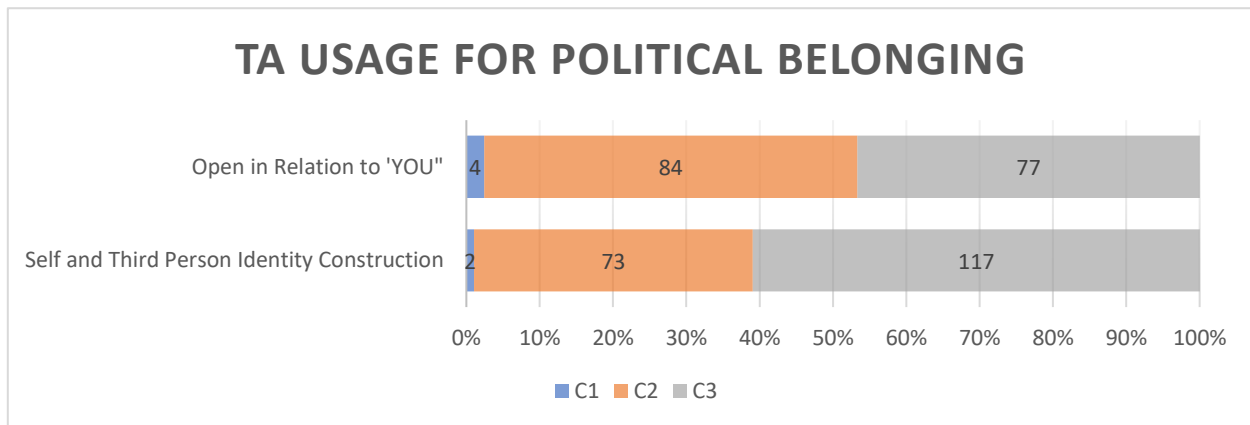
Figure 8.2 Political Belonging (exclude Chain Post)

These aggregated instances can be split across community and by discourse type within community. In terms of the Anti-community C1, both usages are relatively uncommon. The use of *ta* as being Open in Relation to You in Essay Discourse (two cases) is exclusive to one example which is intertextually from a Pro-community making it an oddity (Figure 8.3). The one case of Opinion Discourse was seen in Chapter 4, and the two instances of Self and Third Person Identity construction are also the result of oddities (Figure 8.3).
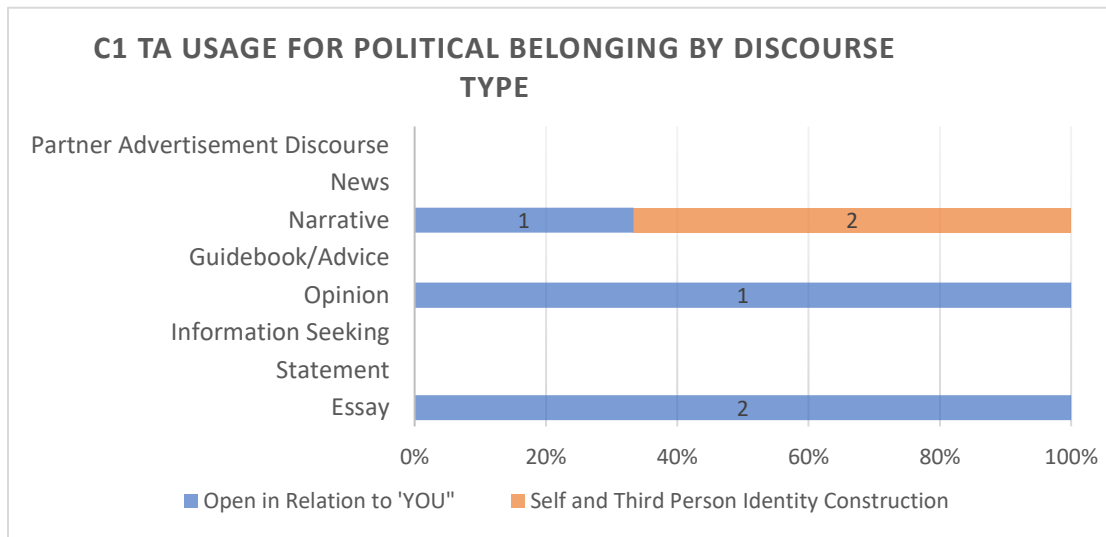
Figure 8.3 C1 Ta Usage for Political Belonging by Discourse Type

In terms of the Pro-community C2, usage of *ta* remaining Open in Relation to You is more than *ta* used for Self and Third Person Identity Construction (84 vs 73 cases) and is almost exclusive to Narrative Discourse (67 of 74 cases, Figure 8.4). Conversely, *ta* used for Self and Third Person Identity Construction is exclusive to Guidebook/Advice Discourse (73 of 73 cases, Figure 8.4). It is notable that 58 of the 73 Guidebook/Advice discourse tokens come from a single discourse example which is like a Guidebook on how to deal with LGBTQ members who 'come out' to you with a focus on friends and children. Also worth mentioning is the line of Partner Advertisement Discourse. There are two Partner Advertisement Discourse texts, one has 4 tokens of both categories while the other has one token for Identity Construction.
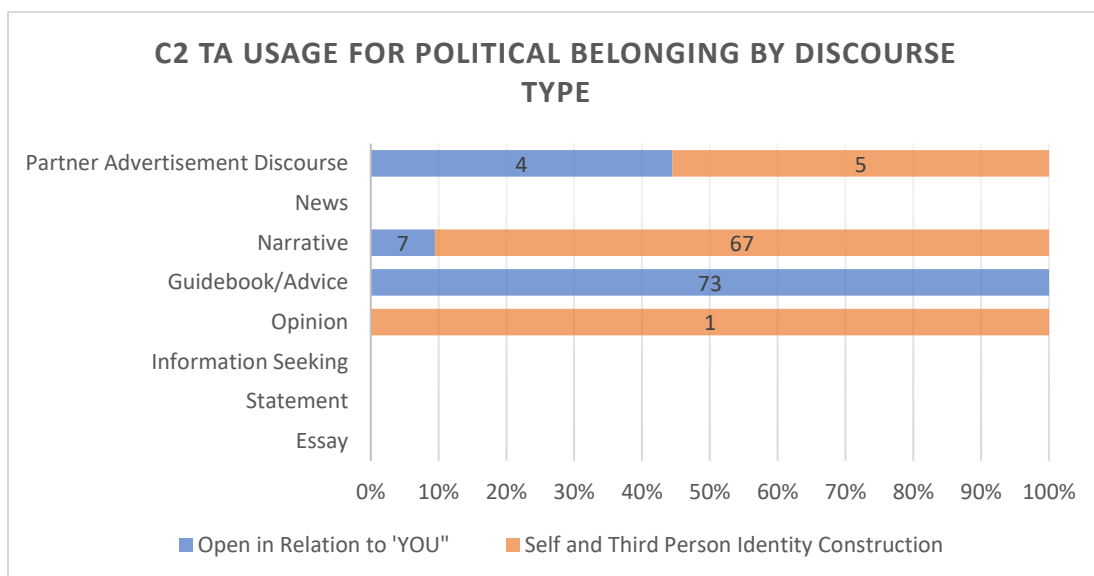
Figure 8.4 C2 Ta Usage for Political Belonging by Discourse Type

In terms of the Pro-community C3, usage of *ta* as a pronoun Open in Relation to You is much more diverse than the other communities. In C3, *ta* as a pronoun Open in Relation to You occurs exclusively in Guidebook/Advice Discourse (as in C2) and is also exclusive in Information Seeking Discourse. Yet *ta* for Identity Construction most often occurs in Narrative Discourse (107 of 120 cases, Figure 8.5) with five exclusive occurrences in Partner Advertisement Discourse, two occurrences in Opinion Discourse, and three occurrences in Statement Discourse (Figure 8.5).
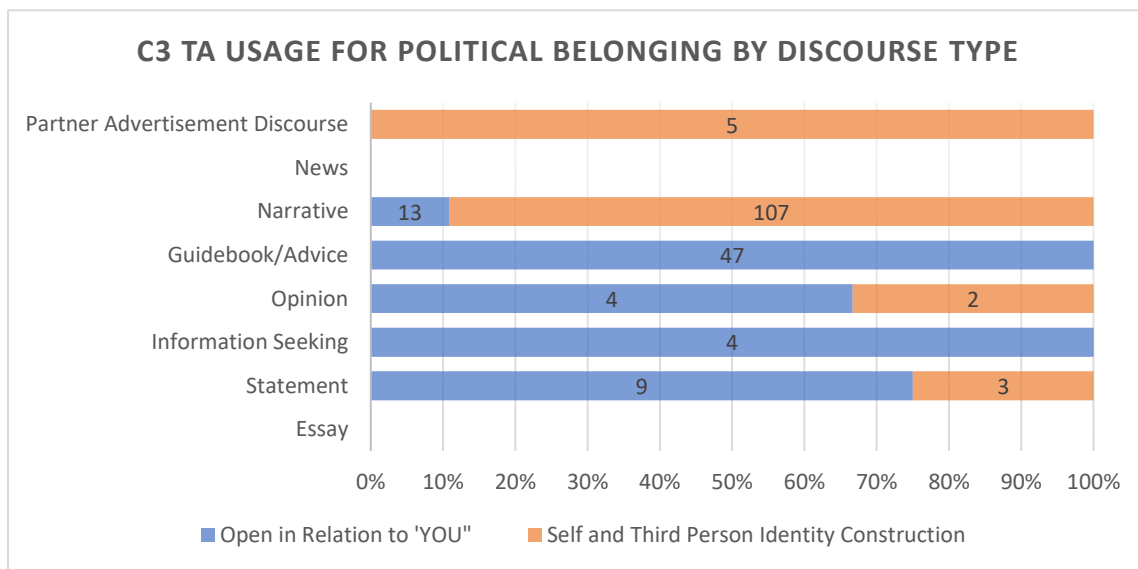
Figure 8.5 C3 Ta Usage for Political Belonging by Discourse Type

In addition to viewing the data sectionally by community and discourse type, it is also possible to view the data along category paradigm in aggregate by community (Figure 8.6) and by discourse type (Figure 8.7). In terms of community, the Anti-community C1 where the data are oddities is mostly Open in Relation to You (a rough 65-35% ration, Figure 8.6). The Pro-community C2 appears to have almost equal distribution of Open in Relation to You vs Identity Construction (a rough 55-45% ration, Figure 8.6), while Pro-community C3 appears to have a higher ratio of Identity Construction excluding Chain Post Discourse which is discussed in Chapter 9 (62% of its cases; Figure 8.6).
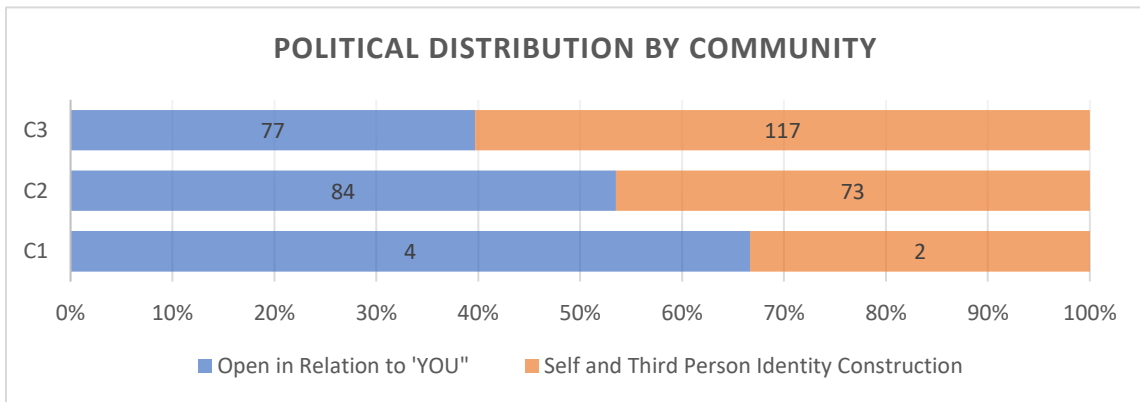
Figure 8.6 Political Distribution by Community

In terms of discourse type, it is notable that there are no occurrences of *ta* being used for political belonging in News Discourse (Figure 8.7). It is also noteworthy that Guidebook/Advice Discourse, Information Seeking, and Essay Discourse (120, 4, and 2 cases respectively) are all exclusively seen in Open in Relation to You usage (Figure 8.7). It must be noted that the two instances of Essay Discourse occurrences all originate from the same single text, Essay Discourse 1. Furthermore, Narrative Discourse is also notably more Identity Construction usage (176 out of 197 cases) than Open in Relation to You (21 out of 197 cases). Partner Advertisement Discourse is also more Identity Construction than open use with you (10 cases vs 4 cases out of 14), while three cases of Identity Construction occur in Statement and Opinion Discourse.
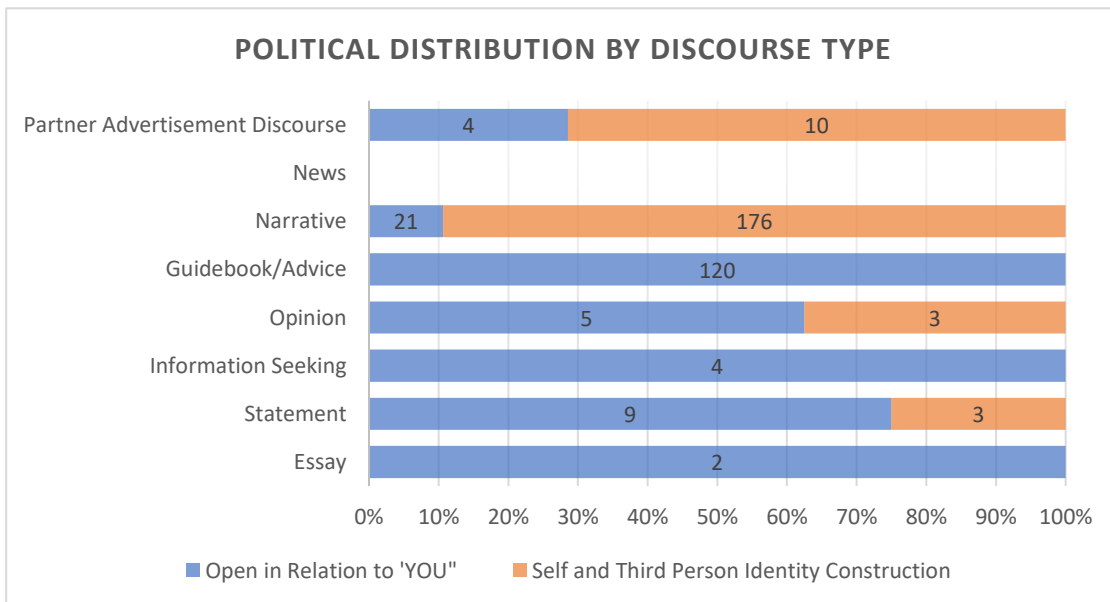
Figure 8.7 Political Distribution by Discourse Type

Several examples exhibiting features of these two categories have already been seen in previous chapters, highlighting the blurriness of these categories as well as the dynamic relation of identity(ies) and *ta* as a pragmatic device to navigate spaces of (non-)belonging.

For the category of 'Open in Relation to You' these are:

- Information Seeking Discourse 6 (Chapter 6, Example 2)[91]
- Opinion Discourse 10 (Chapter 4, Example 4)[92]

For 'Self and Third Person Identity Construction these are:

- Narrative Discourse 49 (Chapter 6, Example 4)
- Narrative Discourse 4 (Chapter 7, Example 3) [93]
- Opinion Discourse 12 (Chapter 7, Example 5)[94]
- Partner Advertisement Discourse 4 (Chapter 7, Example 9)[95]
- Partner Advertisement Discourse 7 (Chapter 7, Example 10)[96]

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[91] Information Seeking Discourse under the category of 'Open in Relation to You' all originates from the C3 community. For the purpose of this chapter, one example which represents this category exclusively (i.e. with no mixed usage) will be selected for exemplification.

[92] Opinion Discourse 10 is the only case of Opinion Discourse which occurs in the C1 community under the category of 'Open in Relation to You'. As it was already shown in Chapter 4, it is not repeated in this Chapter but incorporated into the example overview table (Table 8.1). Consequently, no Opinion Discourse example from C1 is presented in this Chapter.

[93] As was mention in the chapter, only the portion relevant to the category of discussion was analyzed. The example is presented in full in this chapter.

[94] Similar to Opinion Discourse 10, Opinion Discourse 12 is the only case of Opinion Discourse which occurs in the C2 community yet it is under the category of 'Self and Third Person Identity Construction. As it was already shown in Chapter 7, it is not repeated in this Chapter but incorporated into the example overview table (Table 8.1). Consequently, no Opinion Discourse example from C2 is presented in this Chapter.

[95] See Footnote 96

[96] Together, Partner Advertisement Discourse 4 and 7 contain 3 of the 5 *ta* occurrences of 'Self and Third Person Identity Construction' in the C3 community. As both have already been shown in Chapter 7, they are not repeated in this Chapter but incorporated into the example overview table (Table 8.1). Consequently, no Partner Advertisement Discourse example from C3 is presented in this Chapter.

With these acknowledgements above, the selection of nine examples[97] below in this chapter is based on the distribution in discourse types seen in Figure 8.7. The example range presents a collective of six Open in Relation to You usages and five Self and Third Person Identity Construction usages. Two of the examples, both of which are oddities, originate from the Anti-Community (Essay Discourse 1 and Narrative Discourse 36), three examples are from the Pro-C2 Tongzhi Community (Narrative Discourse 4, Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5, and Partner Advertisement Discourse 1), and four examples are from the Pro-C3 Homosexual Community (Information Seeking Discourse 4, Opinion Discourse 14, Statement Discourse 8, and Statement Discourse 11). This results in a total of one Information Seeking Discourse, two Statement Discourse, two Narrative Discourse, one Opinion Discourse, one Essay Discourse, one Guidebook/Advice Discourse, and one Partner Advertisement Discourse examples (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Example Allocation for Political Belonging

Discourse Type	*ta* Usage Type and Community	Example Amount (n)
Information Seeking Discourse	• Information Seeking Discourse 4 = Open in Relation to You (C3) • Information Seeking Discourse 6=LGBTQ Pronoun and Open in Relation to You (Apolitical and Political C3) [Presented in Chapter 6]	2
Single Statement Discourse	• Single Statement Discourse 8 = Open in Relation to You (C3) • Single Statement Discourse 11 = Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C3)	2
Narrative Discourse	• Narrative Discourse D17 = Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C2) • Narrative Discourse D36 = Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C1) • Narrative Discourse D49 = LGBTQ Pronoun and Comprehensive Group + Self and Third Person Identity Construction (Political C3) [NARD-D8 in C2] [Presented in Chapter 6]	3

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[97] This number excludes those entries listed which have already been presented in other chapters.

Opinion Discourse	• Opinion Discourse 14 = Open in Relation to You and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C3) • Opinion Discourse 10 = Othering B + Open in Relation to 'You'(C1) [Presented in Chapter 4] • Opinion Discourse 12 = General 3PP and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C2) [Presented in Chapter 7]	3
Essay Discourse	• Essay Discourse 1 = Open in Relation to You (C1)	1
Guidebook/Advice Discourse	• Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5 = Open in Relation to You (C2)	1
Partner Advertisement Discourse	• Partner Advertisement Discourse 1 = Open in Relation to You and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C2)[98] • Partner Advertisement Discourse 4 = Unknown Circumstances and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C3) [Presented in Chapter 7] • Partner Advertisement Discourse 7 = General 3PP and Self and Third Person Identity Construction (C3) [Presented in Chapter 7]	3
Total		15

The following sections of this chapter proceed to show how, due to its deictic properties and orthographic form, *ta* allows for personalization of its referent and discourse context with implications for the political construction of spaces of belonging and identity(ies). The example presentation is presented based on a division of discourse types, where the category of Open in Relation to You is presented first containing Essay Discourse, Information Seeking Discourse, and Guidebook/Advice Discourse (all of which are exclusive) (8.3). This is followed by the category of Self and Third Person Identity Construction which only contains Narrative Discourse as this is the main Discourse type for the usage (8.4), and a section which acknowledges how both categories

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[98] Of the two available examples in the C2 Community, this one was selected because it contains all the 4 ta tokens which occurred under Open in Relation to You and 4 out of the 5 tokens under self and third person identity constriction.

can be found in the same discourse types of Partner Advertisement Discourse, Opinion Discourse, and Statement Discourse (8.5).

8.3   *ta* usage for Open in Relation to 'You'

Across the corpus, 165 cases of *ta* being Open in Relation to 'You' occur. This section will showcase one example of Essay Discourse (8.3.1), one example of Information Seeking Discourse (8.3.2), and one example of Guidebook/Advice Discourse (8.3.3). Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of belonging and identity within the respective community.

8.3.1   Essay Discourse

Example 1: Political ta usage for Open in Relation to 'You' in C1 – Essay Discourse 1

Essay Discourse 1 is an oddity in the Anti-community which showcases how *ta* is defined in relation to you. In this thread the T.O. creates a main post "这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流"[This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts] that links to an Essay which discusses sexual education and how parents control/react to their LGBTQ children. The essay is titled 性教育之一百个为什么 *xingjiaoyu zhi yiibai weishenme* '100 whys of sexual education'. The text accompanying the link in Level 1[99] is the same as the thread title: "这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流" [This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts]. Throughout the C1 Community, this specific user tends to post either Essay Discourse or News Discourse regarding the LGBTQ Community with a marked lack of original contribution. Level 1 of the post opens with the topic of 'This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts', where the key lexical items 偷换 *touhuan*

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[99] See 2.2.3 for the discussion on thread levels

'manipulating'; 同志 *Tongzhi* 'gays'; and 一流 *yiliu* 'top class' comprise the beginnings of a frame of sarcasm and hatred towards the author of the article and consequently the LGBTQ Community.

In this case, after providing the link to the essay in question after their initial positioning preface (i.e. This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts), the T.O. copies and pastes select content of the essay into the thread in Levels 6, 7, and 8 (6 楼、7 楼、8 楼). The T.O. prefaces this copied content with remark/commentary. As a result, this example shows multiple layers of heteroglossia, that is multiple voices, with four main voices being distinguishable. The following example chart outlines the details of the text, with the **T.O.'s voice** marked in **blue**, the **author of the article's voice** marked in **purple**, the author's **quoted speech of children** marked in **green**, and the author's **quoted speech of the parents** marked in **red** (Table 8.2). Through the color coding, it becomes apparent how the T.O. begins to establish a topic-comment structure by mediating the voice of the article/essay's author and framing the content of this voice as the topic while framing their own voice as the 'response' turn, i.e. comment on the topic. Also curious to note is the use of English, which is present in the intertextual essay.

Table 8.2 Essay Discourse 1 Example Chart

Data Item	Essay Discourse 1
Community	C1
Thread Title	"这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流" [This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts]
Date	2018-04-27
Content for Analysis (Original)	Level 6: 这狗比，文章我复制一下 其中话 大家都知道了， 教你做同性恋没错，教异性恋就是强制哦 看清楚 1 T.O. 7. 性向是流动的，所以学校不能随便诱导孩子! 1.1 AA 性向如果是固定的，学校的性教育不会影响你孩子的性取向。1.2 AA 1 AA 而性向既然是流动的，你又有什么权力预设/要求你的孩子是异性恋? 1.3 AA Level 7: 最后我要回顾一下那个倡议书里的金句们： 2 AA

"How dare you take funding to destroy my child's innocence!"
"你们怎么敢拿着国家的钱毁我儿清白！"

"We demand that schools respect parents' values and parents' authority"
"学校必须尊重家长的价值观和家长的权威！"

"MY child my choice!"
"我的孩子我作主！"

1 P
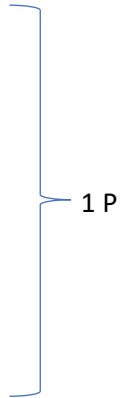
真诚地说，看到这些句子不仅毫无触动，还大声叫好的人们，
你们一个都不配为人父母。
3.1 AA

你们把孩子当财产，当昂贵的装点门面任意摆布的摆件，
当传宗接代的机器，当稳固自己地位的工具。
3.2 AA

3 AA

你们没有把他/她们当一个活生生的，有自己人生的，独立的个体。
你们糟透了！
3.3 AA
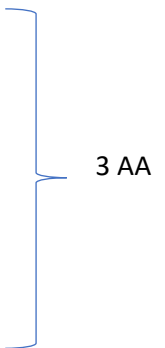
这是复制粘贴，原来教小孩肛交，让小孩不认同自己生理性别就是尊重小孩，
不是教坏小孩，我们正经教小孩性教育的就是把小孩当成繁殖工具。
管不得前段时间支持恋童癖难么多

2 T.O.

	Level 8: 恕我直言，我实在很难理解，为什么孩子问 ⎫ "我是男孩还是女孩" — 1 C ⎬ 4.1 AA 是一件不可接受的事情。 ⎭ 这不是一个很正常的问题吗？ — 4.2 AA 你的孩子，你口口声声说你爱着的孩子，⎫ 4.3 AA 问这么一个问题，到底有什么不可以的？ ⎭ 你为什么不能跟 TA$^{34:45}$ 一起轻松地讨论 TA$^{34:46}$ 的疑惑呢？ — 4.4 AA 而非要勃然色变拍案而起气势汹汹杀向学校？ — 4.5 AA 不正常的人到底是谁？ — 4.6 AA 如果你的孩子确实有性别认知的困难，你又打算怎样做？ — 4.7 AA 这垃圾对跨性别知识一窍不通，难道要教小孩子不认同自己生理性别？ — 3 T.O. 4 AA
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Level 6: This fucking idiot，I copied this article a bit, ⎫ what it says inside, everyone knows, ⎬ 1 T.O. teaches you that doing homosexual is not wrong, ⎪ Teaching heterosexuality is mandatory, look clearly ⎭ 7. Sexual orientation is fluid, so the school 1.1 AA should not encourage children as it pleases If sexual orientation is fixed, school sex education 1.2 AA will not affect your child's sexual orientation. And since sexual orientation is fluid, 1 AA what right do you have to presume / require 1.3 AA that your child is heterosexual?

Level 7:

Finally, I want to review the golden sentences in that proposal： 2 AA

"How dare you take funding to destroy my child's innocence!"
"How dare you take the State's money to destroy my child's innocence！"

"We demand that schools respect parents' values and parents' authority"
"Schools must respect parents' values and parents' authority！"

"MY child my choice!"
"My child I decide！"

1 P

Genuinely speaking， people who see these sentences
not only completely lack emotion but still applaud,
not one of you deserves to be a parent to someone.

3.1 AA

You treat children as property, as expensive ornaments
that arbitrarily decorate the facade, as machines for
lineage succession, as tools to stabilize your position.

3.2 AA

3 AA

You have not regarded he / she (them co-ed plural) as a living,
independent individuals with their own lives. You are horrible!

3.3 AA

This is copy and paste. It turns out that teaching children anal sex,
letting children disagree with their biological sex means respecting children,
not teaching children badly. What we teach children about sex education
is to use children as reproductive tools.
No wonder it was so difficult to support pedophiles some time ago.

2 T.O.

Level 8:

forgive my bluntness,

it is really difficult for me to understand, why a child asking ⎱ 4.1 AA

"Am I a boy or a girl" ⊢ 1 C

is a matter that cannot be accepted.

Is this not a very normal question? ⎱ 4.2 AA

Your child, the child you keep saying you love, ⎱ 4.3 AA

asks a question like this, what in the world is wrong with it?

Why are you not able to calmly discuss TA$^{34:45\text{'s}}$ puzzlement ⎱ 4.4 AA

together with TA$^{34:46}$?

yet insist on abruptly changing tunes at your wits end and ⎱ 4.5 AA

aggressively coming after the school?

Who in the world is the not normal person here? ⊢ 4.6 AA

If your child really does have gender recognition difficulties, ⎱ 4.7 AA

then what are you planning to do?

This trash knows nothing about transgenderism, and has to teach ⎱ 3 T.O.

children to deny their biological sex?

4 AA

Focussing on the portions of text marked for the T.O.'s voice (1 T.O., 2 T.O., and 3 T.O.), the T.O. first refers to the author in a derogatory manner using 狗比 *goubi* 'Dog Bi', where the usage of 'dog' itself is derogatory, and the phrase is a play on the derogatory explicative 傻逼 *shabi* 'fucking idiot'. Internet users have noted that *goubi* is a term used to call someone you really hate (很讨厌的人就叫狗比)[100]. The T.O. proclaims that the author of the article preaches that same-sex love is not wrong (1 T.O.), teaches children anal intercourse (2 T.O.), believes that by allowing children to deny their biological sex it is a form of respect, not unethical teaching (2 T.O.), and

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[100] (thewaterin2008, 2012)

preaches that parents who give sex-ed to their children see them as productive tools (2 T.O.). After venting/exposing the article author as being immoral in their views of supporting questioning[101] children and the LGBTQ, the T.O. remarks that the author, referred to as 垃圾 *laji* 'trash', knows nothing about transgenderism yet teaches children to deny their biological sex (3. T.O.).

With the T.O.'s position towards the author of the article, and by extension the LGBTQ Community, and the positing of the LGBTQ as Other through the topic-comment structure, let us turn to an examination of the two *ta* tokens in the T.O.'s copied portions of the article author's speech. An examination of the anaphoric and cataphoric reference chains of the two *ta* tokens (TA[34:45] and TA[34:46]) reveals that the author of the article utilizes TA to refer to the child who is questioning their gender/sexual identity (Table 8.3). That is, because the voice within which the *ta* tokens are embedded belongs to a 'supporter' of the LGBTQ Community and ideals, they are embedded in an overall invoked message of positivity and support for children facing gender confusion (medically known as gender dysphoria).

Table 8.3 Essay Discourse 1 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
TA[34:45]	你口口声声说你爱着的孩子 'the child you keep saying you love' Which refers to 你的孩子 'your child	TA[34:46]
TA[34:46]	TA[34:45] Which refers to 你口口声声说你爱着的孩子 'the child you keep saying you love' Which refers to 你的孩子 'your child	---

Although the cataphoric and anaphoric reference chains for the *ta* tokens are relatively simple, the appraisal of the tokens is more complicated. The appraisal seen in this example for the *ta* tokens

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[101] Questioning is an established term used to "describe those who are in a process of discovery and exploration about their sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, or a combination thereof." (Owen, n.d.)

occurs in similar environments across the corpus where *ta* is not the subject or immediate target of the user's speech but rather a simple descriptor/ third person object within a larger context. This environment results in null-appraisal (Table 8.4); that is, where the appraisal of the discourse is not focused on *ta* but someone else around *ta* . In this case, the article author uses the *ta* tokens in passing to refer respectfully to the gender troubled children while the target(s) of the projected talk is/are the parents of the children questioning their gender and who refuse to attend to the children's confusion.

Table 8.4 Appraisal Overview for TA[34:45] and TA[34:46]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Article Author	TA is not judged here, rather the parents who neglect the worries of their children are judged and being criticized as bad parents.	null	null

Overall, the use of *ta* in this example shows how this third person pronoun form can be used to refer to those who have fluid or undetermined gender identities. It is important to note that the SOE plays a large role in how *ta* is perceived, and in this case although the discourse is embedded in the Anti-community it originated in the Pro-community. As a result, the usage reveals that the user, in this case the SOE – author of the article/essay, does not harbour a negative evaluation to the third person which *ta* references, i.e. a child who is questioning their gender/sexual identity. In other words, this example illustrates how a language user's position towards the concept of LGBTQ is responsible for determining whether *ta* and the identity constructed through its use are framed in a positive or negative manner, further showing implications for political belonging. The next example functions to show how *ta* remains open for interpretation in the context of direct address targeting one's lover.

8.3.2   Information Seeking Discourse

Example 2: Political ta usage for Open in Relation to 'You' in C3 – Information Seeking Discourse 4

Information Seeking Discourse 4 shows how *ta* remains open for interpretation in relation to you, particularly in the context of an interrogative which invokes direct address. This is a comment by the T.O. on Level 380 in the thread "回复:[请在这里,写下你最爱人的名字]" [Write the name of

the one you love most here]. The example shows two instances of *ta* which share the same, text-external, third person conceptual referent based on co-text as defined in relation to 'you' (Table 8.5).

Table 8.5 Information Seeking Discourse 4 Example Chart

Data Item	Information Seeking Discourse 4
Community	C3
Thread Title	thread "回复:[请在这里,写下你最爱人的名字]" [Write the name of the one you love most here].
Date	2019-03-21
Content for Analysis (Original)	你敢把你最爱的人写在这里吗? 等两年，五年，十年之后。 你带 ta[10:2] 来回顾过去，还是亲手删去有 ta[10:3] 的回忆?
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Do you dare to write the person you love the most here? After 2, 5, 10 years later. Do you bring ta[10:2] to look back at the past, or delete the memories that have ta[10:3] with your own hands?

The text for analysis exhibits a clear anaphoric reference chain (Table 8.6). The anaphoric head of both *ta* tokens is 人 *ren* 'person' – a gender and sexuality devoid 3PP MCD. However, this no simple 'person' but 最爱的 *zuiaide* 'most loved' person, and what is even more is that this 'most loved person' is portrayed through direct address as every reader's, i.e. 你'you(r)'s'.

Table 8.6 Information Seeking Discourse 4 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[10:2]	你最爱的人 *nizuiaideren* 'you [sic] most love [sic] person'	

$ta^{10:3}$	$ta^{10:2}$	
	Which refers to: 你最爱的人 *nizuiaideren* 'you [sic] most love [sic] person'	

As will be seen in many of the examples in this chapter, the appraisal analysis for the two tokens is null, that is ta is not the object of evaluation but occurs alongside it (in this, and most cases, 'you'). As a result of being in the same sentence, both tokens are embedded in the same appraisal frame of 'You' (Table 8.7). That is, the author invokes a portrayal of 'You' as potentially insecure (affect: -security) in the relationship through lexical items such as 敢 *gan* 'dare' in the statement interrogative prefacing the *ta* token usage and hypothetical 还是 *haishi* 'or' which indicates uncertainty about the relationship in the projected future (judgement: -tenacity).

Table 8.7 Appraisal Overview for $ta^{10:2}$ and $ta^{10:3}$

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Null *Null = appraisal of 'you' and how 'you' is secure in the relationship or not	1. affect: -security 2. judgement: - tenacity On you	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

Overall, this example demonstrates how *ta* is left completely open in relation to who 'you' are and who 'you' decide *ta* to be. The implication this has for belonging is that it is highly political – the act of claiming one's own identity and assigning identity to others is inherently political and not without social implications. That being said, if taken out of its assumed/hypothetical LGBTQ context, this text could be meant for anyone, LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ alike, as long as they have a 'most loved person' with which to associate *ta*. The next example is also from a Pro-community and further illustrates how *ta* is used politically as being left open in relation to you and how this functions to create identity shifts with direct address.

8.3.3 Guidebook/Advice Discourse

Example 3: Political ta usage for Open in Relation to 'You' in C2–Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5

This is a main post that spans across three Levels and is called "【交友】挽回中一直徒劳无功？是这样的" [make friend [sic]: has your attempt to recover been futile? It is like this]. This example is 'tagged' in the title with 【交友】*[jiaoyou]*'[make friend [sic]]', which is a common tag for posts in the Pro-community. The example is also illustrative of Guidebook/Advice Discourse which gives the reader guidance on how to solve an issue, make a decision, or behave. In this case, the advice being given is five steps to getting back an 'ex'. In this type of discourse, which is persuasive in nature, second person pronouns also play a role in establishing a connection with the audience in relation to *ta.* It is also important to note that this discourse is the discourse taken and adapted for the LGBTQ Community in the Chain Post Discourse as will be shown in Chapter 9. The following example table presents the text for the analysis of both second- and third-person pronoun referential forms and how they work together to construct the identity and evaluation of the third person referent.

Table 8.8 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5 Example Chart

Data Item	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5
Community	C2
Thread Title	[同志吧活动]5.17"世界不再恐同日"——撑同
	[Tongzhi Ba Activity – May 17 The International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia]
Date	2017-03-13

Content for Analysis (Original)	**(1)** 挽回前任五步法 在恋人离开你 [General You] 之后，学着去挽回 ta[5:2] 并不是一件困难的事情。这段感情值得挽回吗？如果你认为这段感情值得挽回，你感觉不能失去 ta[5:3]，那么你就要让 ta[5:4] 回到你身边。你需要做恰当的事情，如果不知道怎么做，请认真阅读下文。 首先，你需要确定自己是否理性的看待和 ta[5:5] 的爱情。你要思考关于这段爱情的方方面面。 你是否认为自己错了？你是否感觉到了自己变了？ta[5:6] 是否已经和其他人在一起了？ta[5:7] 是否对你的某些表现无法接收？这些都是你需要思考的问题。 **(2)** 第二，你要考虑改变自己。也就是，如果你做的某些事情让 ta[5:8] 很受不了或者伤害了 ta[5:9]，你就应该想想该改变了。 如果你对 ta[5:10] 已经不再有吸引力，你需要做什么来让提升自己的吸引力呢？ 恋人 *lianren* 'lover' 前任 *qianren* 'ex' 第三，你需要和其他异性多交流。这听起来可能不是一个好主意，但是认真想想，每个人总是喜欢自己得不到的东西。 如果你和其他人约会，你的前任可能就会发现你变得更加有吸引力了。Ta[5:11] 很有可能会吃醋！ 这样很容易就进入了第四步：你要做 ta[5:12] 的朋友。通过这样的方法，你们两个人可以重新开始 相互了解。你向 ta[5:13] 展示自己的改变，这样就不会对双方造成任何的压力 **(3)** 最后，第五步需要让 ta[5:14] 看到你有多快乐。 让 ta[5:15] 知道，自己可以和你一起拥有这些快乐时光。 这样，ta[5:16] 就会意识到两个人所拥有的感情。

所以你看，挽回前任也没有想象中的困难，不是吗？

但是，我相信具体怎么挽回，你现在仍然迷糊，这样吧，+我唯心，我根据你的情况帮你分析一下，也能增加你挽回的几率

Content for Analysis (Translation)	**(1)** Five Steps to 'Retrieve' an Ex After a lover leaves you[General You], learning to retrieve (get back) ta[5:2] is definitely not a difficult thing. Are these feelings (between two people) worth retrieving? If you believe that these feelings are worth retrieving, you feel that you cannot lose ta[5:3], then you just need to make ta[5:4] return to your side. You must do the appropriate things, if you don't know what to do, please carefully read the text below. First, you must decide whether one's self is rationally regarding the romance with ta[5:5]. You must reflect on all aspects of this romance. Do you believe [your]self is in the wrong or not? Do you feel that [your]self has changed or not? Is ta[5:6] already together with another person or not? Is ta[5:7] unable to accept some of your behaviours or not? These are all questions you need to reflect on. **(2)** Second, you have to consider changing [your]self. That is, if something that you did makes ta[5:8] very unacceptable or hurts ta[5:9], then you should think that you should change. If you do not have a sex appeal to ta[5:10] anymore, what do you need to do to enhance [your] own sex appeal? 恋人 *lianren* 'lover' 前任 *qianren* 'ex' Third, you need to communicate more with the opposite sex. This sounds like it may not be a good idea, but think about it seriously, every person always likes the things that [them]selves cannot have. If you meet with other people, your ex may just discover that you have become even more attractive. There is a possibility that Ta[5:11] will be jealous!

This way it is very easy to enter the fourth step: you need to be ta[5:12]'s friend. Through this method, you both can start to get to know each other again. You express to ta[5:13] [your] own change, this way no pressure will not be caused on both sides.

(3)
Finally, step 5 must make ta[5:14] see how happy you are.

Let ta[5:15] know, [they them] selves can have these happy times together with you.

This way, ta[5:16] will just realize the emotions had by both people.

So, you see, getting back an ex isn't really as hard as imagined, isn't that right? However, I trust that you are still confused as to how to specifically get [them] back, then how about this, add my WeChat, I will help you analyze according to your circumstances, can also increase the probability of you getting back together.

In this example, 14 cases of the *ta* variant being used as the third person pronoun for the main third person of focus occur alongside two other 3PP NP MCDs: 前任 *qianren* 'ex' and 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'. The following cataphoric and anaphoric reference table gives a concise summary of the reference chain throughout the discourse focussing on *ta* (Table 8.9) .

Table 8.9 Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5 Ta Reference Chart

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[5:2]	恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta[5:3]	ta[5:2] Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta[5:4]	ta[5:3] Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta[5:5]	ta[5:4]	

	Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta^{5:6}	ta^{5:5} Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta^{5:7}	ta^{5:6} Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta^{5:8}	ta^{5:7} Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta^{5:9}	ta^{5:8} Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta^{5:10}	ta^{5:9} Which ultimately refers back to anaphoric head: 恋人 *lianren* 'lover'	
ta^{5:11} *It is with this 3PP NP MCD and third person pronoun paring that the identity of *ta* shifts from the primary one of 'lover', which has a positive connotation, to a more	你的前任 *nide qianren* 'your ex' Which refers to: all proceeding *ta* tokens which lead to the main	

negative identity/categorization of 'ex'.	anaphoric referent of 恋人 *lianren* 'lover' who left 'you'	
ta[5:12]	ta[5:11] Which refers to: the main anaphoric referent of 你的前任 *nide qianren* 'your ex'	
ta[5:13]	ta[5:12] Which ultimately refers back to: the main anaphoric referent of 你的前任 *nide qianren* 'your ex'	
ta[5:14]	ta[5:13] Which ultimately refers back to: the main anaphoric referent of 你的前任 *nide qianren* 'your ex'	
ta[5:15]	ta[5:14] Which ultimately refers back to: the main anaphoric referent of 你的前任 *nide qianren* 'your ex'	
ta[5:16]	ta[5:15] Which ultimately refers back to: the main anaphoric referent of 你的前任 *nide qianren* 'your ex'	前任 *qianren* 'ex'

The most interesting observation that the reference chain reveals is a distinct shift in the primary identity ascribed to *ta* . Through 2-10, the end most third person referent of the discussion is

projected as 'lover', which has a positive connotation. However, with the introduction of ta[5:11] through to ta[5:16] the primary identity associated with *ta* is no longer 'lover' but the more negative 'ex'. The surrounding lexical context also provides a build up to this gradual ascription of negative identity over positive identity and is reflected in the appraisal analysis for each *ta* token as a reader progresses through the discourse.

The first instance of third person pronoun use, ta[5:2], occurs in an invoked frame of security (affect: +security) as the author attempts to reassure 'you' and help 'you' with the issue at hand, a characteristic of guidebook/advice giving discourse (Table 8.10). Specifically, the following lexical phrases help embed *ta* within the frame: 学着 *xuezhe* 'learning' and 并不是 *bingbushi* 'not at all to be'. Within this context, the lexical items convey the emotion of encouragement, as something can be 'learned' to solve the issue at hand and doing so is 'not so hard at all'. This sense of encouragement and stability invoked, as appraised by the author, is a positive affective factor coded as security in the appraisal framework. However, the next token is appraised from the viewpoint of the reader, i.e. 'specific-you' who has been left by their lover.

Table 8.10 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	breaking up and wanting to get back with ta	1. affect: +security	EE1 = invoked

Around this *ta* token there is a clearly inscribed projection of emotion using the lexical items 不能 *buneng* 'cannot' and 失去 *shiqu* 'lose'. If one feels like they cannot lose their lover, this indicates that they have a desire to keep that lover (affect: +desire), which is in line with the purpose of this five step guide to getting back together with an ex (Table 8.11).

Table 8.11 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:3]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
additional Appraiser - You	desire not to lose ta	1. affect: +desire	EE1 = inscribed

This *ta* token is embedded in a unique lexical environment that consists of modals of obligation (e.g. 要 *yao* 'need'，让 *rang* 'let/make/allow', 需要 *xuyao* 'must/need(s)'). This is seen in the following statement:

你就要让 ta$^{5:4}$回到你身边
ni+jiu+yao+rang+ ta$^{5:4}$ *+huidao+ni+shenbian*
you+just+need+make+ ta$^{5:4}$ +return to +you+side
'you just need to make ta$^{5:4}$ return to your side.'

As Martin and White (2005: 178) note, "While such formulations are statements in terms of their grammatical structure, in terms of their speech functionality they are indirect realisations of commands – they constitute a type of demand for some action or response on the part of the addressee or some third party." Specifically, this is a command directed at the 'specific you' addressee which advises that the proper course of action, i.e. behaviour, if you cannot lose *ta* is to get *ta* back by following this guide made by the author of the discourse (judgement:+propriety) (Table 8.12).

Table 8.12 Appraisal Overview for ta$^{5:4}$

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Telling you that you must get ta back *Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta	1. judgement:+propriety On you	EE1 = inscribed

As with the previous *ta* token, ta$^{5:5}$ is also embedded in a lexical environment that consists of modals of obligation in the form of directive statements. Specifically the lexical modal 需要 *xuyao* 'need/must' is used to emphasize the behaviour of the 'specific you' addressee which the author evaluates to be 'correct' in order to obtain the goal of getting back with an ex (judgement:+propriety) (Table 8.13). That is, 'you' must decide whether 'you' are rationally regarding the romance with ta$^{5:5}$.

Table 8.13 Appraisal Overview for ta$^{5:5}$

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	whether the romance/love was real or not	1. judgement:+propriety	EE1 = inscribed

		On you	
	* Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta		

Again, when the focus of the author is the 'specific you' addressee, a characteristic of this type of discourse, *ta* is seen once again embedded in structures with modals of obligation. Specifically in this case the author uses 要 *yao* 'need' while projecting the preferred acceptable behaviour (judgement:+propriety) of 'you' needing to consider whether *ta* is with someone else or not (Table 8.14).

Table 8.14 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:6]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	whether ta is with someone else * Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta	1. judgement:+propriety On you	EE1 = inscribed

With the appraisal surrounding ta[5:7] , the focus shifts away from judging the behaviour of 'specific you' addressee to the behaviour of *ta* (inscribed) in relation to the behaviour of you (invoked). Specifically, the author uses the lexical combination of 是否 *shifou* 'whether (or not)' and 无法+接受 *wufa+jieshou* 'incapable of +accept'. This inscribed projection of questioning *ta*'s ability to accept certain behaviours of 'specific you' indicates a negative evaluation of *ta* in terms of capacity (judgement: -capacity) (Table 8.15), projecting that the author feels that *ta* probably has some behaviours of 'specific you' which *ta* indeed cannot accept and thus lead to the break-up. That is, if one must consider if the other can accept their behaviour or not, this is already indicative of an issue with that particular behaviour.

Table 8.15 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	whether ta can accept your behaviours	1. judgement: -capacity	EE1 = inscribed

The next two *ta* tokens, ta[5:8] and ta[5:9] appear in the same clause yet have different TOE, as reflected in the appraisal tables below (Table 8.16 and Table 8.17). The clausal structure and sentence structure in which these two tokens are embedded are unique in that the clause is a hypothetical if and either-or clause framed within an overarching structure of modals of obligation. This is marked by the 如果 *ruguo* 'if' …. 或 *huo* 'or'…., 就 *jiu* 'then' …应该 *yinggai* 'should' (modal of obligation) …该 *gai* 'ought to' … structural pattern which follows a simpler indirect realisation of command (i.e. you have to consider changing [your]self.). Once again, the author is ascribing the commanded appropriate action that 'specific you' should take in order to get an ex back.

Table 8.16 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:8]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	whether you did things ta can not bear * Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta	1. judgement: -propriety On you	EE1 = inscribed

Table 8.17 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:9]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	whether you hurt ta * Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta	1. judgement: -propriety On you	EE1 = inscribed

At this point of the introduction of ta[5:10] the discourse begins to show an overall shift to a frame of negative appraisal of the relationship between 'you' and *ta* . The case of this token is interesting in that the appraisal is invoked through the bigger picture created in the discourse of Step 2 and Step 3. Step 2, where *ta* appears, exhibits the if clause framed within an overarching interrogative modals of obligation structure. This is marked by 如果 *ruguo* 'if' ….需要 *xuyao* 'need' (modal of obligation) …做什么 *zuoshenme* 'do what' … structural pattern. While *ta* is the embedded in this construction, the property being judged, as is the case with other modals of obligation examples in

this text, is the competency of 'you' from the point of view of the author. Specifically, the author suggests that 'you' have lost your 吸引力 *xiyinli* 'sex appeal/attractiveness' in the eyes of *ta* , marking such an assessment with 不再有 *buzaiyou* 'not+again+ have' 'no longer have'. This loss of a previous property/ability results in the code (judgement: -capacity) seeing as *ta* is no longer attracted to 'you' because you have lost appeal (Table 8.18).

Table 8.18 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:10]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	whether you have sex appeal to ta * Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta	1. judgement: -capacity On you	EE1 = invoked

In the third step, where ta[5:11] is embedded, the author outlines behaviours which may be counterintuitive, or rather 不是一个好注意 *bushiyigehaozhuyi* 'not a good idea'. That is, the author outlines an appropriate behaviour with modal obligatory marker 需要 *xuyao* 'need' to create the directive that, and push the frame that, 'you' need to make ta[5:11] jealous, which is an adverse reaction (appreciation: -reaction) that is not happy (affect:-happiness) (Table 8.19). This is reflected in the appraisal table below, where the TOE is the behaviour of 'you' flirting/associating with straights/ people of the opposite sex.

Table 8.19 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:11]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser - ta	'you' flirting/associating with straights/ people of the opposite sex	1. appreciation: -reaction 2. affect:-happiness	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed

As a result, the SOE for this *ta* token is from the perspective of *ta* themselves as the appraiser of their own reaction and emotion. However, it is interesting to note that from the audience and author's perspective, this outcome is seen as positive as it is projected to lead to getting the ex back. This is also the point in which the shift from 'lover', where a focus is on the self reflection of 'you' and how 'you' should change 'your' behaviour in order to appease the lover who left

'you', to the 'ex', where a focus is on how 'you' can make them feel negative emotions for leaving 'you' and arouse their desire to get back with 'you'.

In the discourse discussing Step 4, there is a shift back to focussing on the judgement of 'you' and the behaviours 'you' should be doing, as indicated by the continued use of modal obligatory structures. In this case, 'you' 需要 *xuyao* 'need' to make friends with *ta* , the ex, as outlined in the TO. As with previous structures with these syntactic features, this results in an indirect realisation of command for appropriate behaviour (judgement: +propriety) (Table 8.20).

Table 8.20 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:12]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	you need to be ta's friend * Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta	1. judgement:+propriety On you	EE1 = inscribed

In addition to becoming friends with *ta* as an ex, Step 4 also outlines the benefits/reasoning behind such an act. This reasoning is provided from the position of the author and is meant to reassure 'you' that what they are suggesting is the right advice. By seeking to reassure 'you', the aim is to make 'you' feel comfortable as a result of actions done to *ta* (affect: +security) (Table 8.21). This reassurance is inscribed through a combination of lexical items and phrases such as: 重新 *chongxin* 're-/once again'; 就 *jiu* 'just (emphasizing timeliness)'; 不会 *buhui* 'will not'; 任何 *renhe* 'any'; 压力 *yali* 'pressure'. The author emphasizes that if 'you' show *ta* how 'you' have changed, then there will be no pressure and the chance to start again is presented. This creates a transition to the fifth and final step which embodies the last three *ta* tokens.

Table 8.21 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:13]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	you showing ta you changed	1. affect: +security	EE1 = inscribed

The author once again designs a structure based on modals of obligation to outline indirect realisations of commands related to the proper course of action for the behaviour of 'you' (judgement: +propriety) (Table 8.22). In this case, the author uses 让 *rang* 'let' in the advice of 'letting *ta* see how happy you are', for which the trigger is showing *ta* that you are happy.

Table 8.22 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:14]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	you showing ta you are happy * Null = TA is not judged here, rather it is a judgment on 'you' in relation to ta	1. judgement: +propriety On you	EE1 = inscribed

This behaviour then sets the precursor for what *ta* is supposed to feel as an Additional Appraiser of ta[5:15] , which is an invoked sense of desire (affect: +desire) (Table 8.23), and as an Additional Appraiser of ta[5:16], which is an invoked sense of stability/certainty (affect: +security) in getting back together with 'you' (Table 8.24).

Table 8.23 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:15]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser - ta	you being happy	1. affect: +desire	EE1 = invoked

In order to feel desire, the trigger is that 'you' must be happy, and that 'you' must 让 *rang* 'let' *ta* know that this happiness could be had together. This is lexically described through items such as 可以 *keyi* 'can'; 一起 *yiqi* 'together'; 拥有 *yongyou* 'possess'; and 快乐 *kuaile* 'happy'. Specifically, the verb 拥有 *yongyou* 'possess' is strong in graduation which invokes a sense of ownership, and ownership often stems from desire. In order to create a sense of security, the author uses modal auxiliary 会 *hui* 'will' to invoke certainty and guarantee in that *ta* will come to realize the feelings of themselves and 'you', and by doing so will recognize that you two belong together again.

Table 8.24 Appraisal Overview for ta[5:16]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser - ta	ta realizing goodness of you	1. affect: +security	EE1 = invoked

Overall, this example shows how the author uses *ta* as a positive third person pronoun which is free in gender. The gender of this pronoun is defined in relation to the gender of 'specific you' addressee who wants to get back with the lover who left them, i.e. an ex. By using *ta* , the author offers universal advice for getting back with an ex regardless of sexual orientation or gender identification because the context will be personalized by each individual reader as they internalize their role as 'you' and define *ta* in relation to that role. The next section (8.4) shifts from a focus on 'you' to 'self' and 'third person' in terms of identity construction work.

8.4   *ta* usage for Self and Third Person Identity Construction

317 cases of *ta* are used for Self and Third Person Identity Construction across the corpus. This section will showcase two examples of Narrative Discourse (8.4.1), one from the Anti-community and one from the pro-communities. Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that specific example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of belonging and identity within the respective community.

8.4.1   Narrative Discourse

Example 4: Political ta usage for Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C1 - Narrative Discourse 36

Narrative Discourse 36 is an example that focusses on third person MCD usage in a story [故事贴 *gushitie*] that is written by a user who identifies as a female minor at the time of writing. The story is titled "我的痛楚在你之上。 不了解痛楚就不会孕育真正的和平。最喜欢的反派镇楼" [My pain is on you. Without understanding the pain, there will not nurture real peace. Put my

favorite villain on top]. In the story, which shifts between first- and third-person narrative voice, the T.O. further identifies the parties involved as minors.

The main post, which turns into a community thread/discussion, tells the story of another girl known to the T.O. (who used to be a good friend) who started to self harm because she was raped by an LGBTQ male with AIDS who was her boyfriend. Upon learning that their friend (known as 'Little C') was infected with AIDS, the T.O. recounts how she reported this to the school which then resulted in her friend getting kicked out. In several areas throughout the story the T.O. shows regret for her rashness in how she judged her friend on account of having improper knowledge about AIDS and believing that just being near someone with AIDS would spread the infection. The T.O. also shared pictures of the victim's self harm and screen shots with the victim, almost as if mocking the victim, in subsequent postings to the thread. Through this the T.O. constructs the proposition that 'Little C' died from suicide, solidified in the claim that "她憧憬在他给的未来里，而我却看着她的未来慢慢的破碎，直到死亡。" ['She longed for the future he gave, but I contrarily watched her future slowly shatter until she died.'] Furthermore, the T.O. uses previous derogatory 3PP MCDs to refer to the "boyfriend" and the LGBTQ Community, also using the third person pronoun "it"它 for LGBTQ people. At the end of the story, the T.O. pastes the lyrics from 许嵩 Xu Song (aka Vae)'s 山水之间 *shanshuizhijian* 'Between the Mountains'.

A distribution of third person pronoun usage by the T.O. (Figure 8.8) reveals several quantitative points of interest, the first being that there is only one *ta* token. In addition to the singular *ta* token, attention should be drawn to the 14 它 it tokens and 44 她 she tokens.
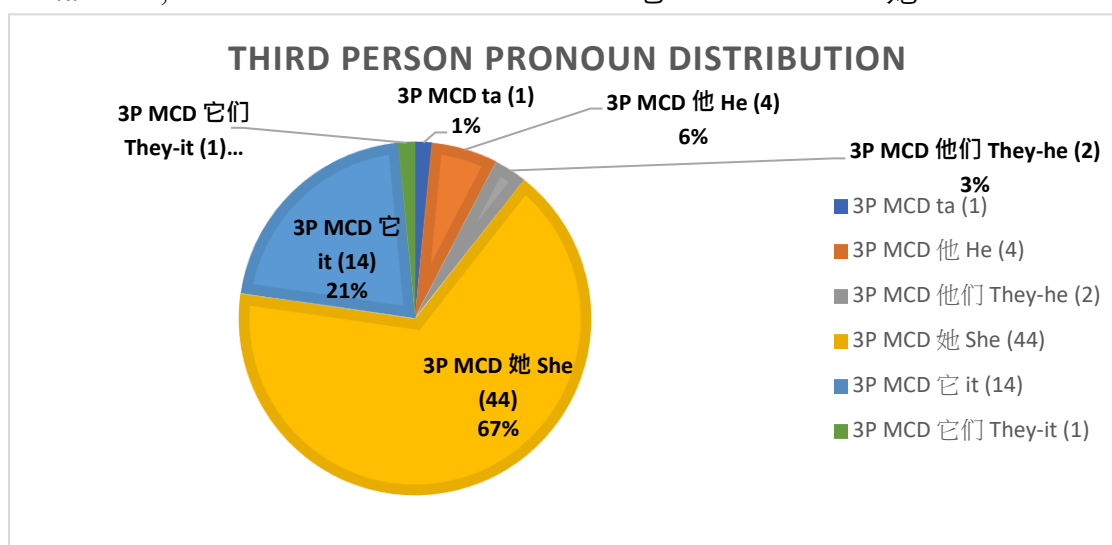
Figure 8.8 Narrative Discourse 36 Third Person Pronoun Distribution

For the purpose of analysis, only select portions of the text which reflect the qualitative significance of the T.O.'s pronoun usage in the order of occurrence within the discourse are presented.

Table 8.25 Narrative Discourse 36 Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse 36
Community	C1
Thread Title	"我的痛楚在你之上。 不了解痛楚就不会孕育真正的和平。最喜欢的反派镇楼" [My pain is on you. Without understanding the pain, there will not nurture real peace. Put my favorite villain on top].
Date	2018-07-15
Content for Analysis (Original)	[...] 我都忘记了我和小C大概是怎么认识的。 她是一个与当时格格不入但是很帅气的女孩。 [...] 11楼2018-07-15 21:00 [...] 相信你们会有同感的， 当自己要好的朋友成为别的人那个Ta$^{36:326}$的时候， 说祝福的都是未必是真的，说失落的未必是假的。 [...] 她憧憬在他给的未来里，而我却看着她的未来慢慢的破碎，直到死亡。 13楼2018-07-15 21:44 [...] 有一次，它 回来了变得易怒，脾气不好，各种发脾气。 小 C 说的时候，我估计是那个时候被感染了。 然后 它 做了一件很决绝的事情， 有一次趁着小 C 来月历，强行上了小 C。 [...] 在后来小C拿他的手机才发现的， 它 是个 双， 当然因为拿了 它的 手机， 小C还被毒打了一顿， 很严重的那种。 他 in Level 13 'He' 'Discovery' 'He' 'It' 'Discovery' 'It' [...] 42 楼 2018-07-25 00:00
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[...] I forgot how little C and I knew each other. She was a girl who did not conform to the times but was very cool/chic.

340

[…]

11楼2018-07-15 21:00

[…]
[I] believe you guys will have the same feeling,
when one's good friend becomes another person's Ta[36:326] ,
wishing happiness is not all necessarily true, saying it is a loss is not necessarily fake.
[…]

She longed for the future he gave,
but I contrarily watched her future slowly shatter until she died.

13楼2018-07-15 21:44

[…]

There was one time, it came back and became easily angered,
temperment was not good, snapped at every little thing.
When Xiao C said [that], I reckoned that it was at that time [it] got infected.

Then it did a very decisive thing,
there was one time [it] took advantage of Little C's period and forced [itself] on Little C.

[…]

Later on Little C grabbed his phone and discovered then that ,
It was a bisexual,

Of course, because of taking its mobile phone,
Little C also got a beating,
the kind that is very serious.
[...]

42 楼 2018-07-25 00:00

'He'

'Discovery'

'It'

Within this example, the use of third person pronouns throughout is systematic and reveals the positioning of the LGBTQ, especially male homo and bisexuals, as Other via 它 'it' usage and the maintenance of the victim's female identity by consistently referring to 'Little C' in the third person as 她 she. In addition, after knowing that Little C's condition was caused by her 'boyfriend', whom Little C later discovered to be bisexual (双 *shuang*) after digging through the boyfriend's phone, the T.O. stops referring to the boyfriend in third person as 他 he and shifts the pronoun usage to 它 'it', dehumanizing the bisexual (ex)boyfriend who infected Little C. This pronoun shift is in addition to the inscribed lexical phrases and items which focus on constructing the immoral character of (homosexual) males by their being bisexual and 'spreading' HIV/AIDS. The only *ta* token is embedded in a phrase which simultaneously refers to a general, yet specific type, of third person. That is, the usage of *ta* here is unique in that it is part of the set phrase "那个 *ta*" *nageta*

'That one Ta' which is socially used to simuatneously signal out THE (as in "the one") third person lover of someone while leaving the third person position open to a general third person. This is a characteristic use of *ta* in the Anti Community also seen in Narrative Discourse Analysis (anti diss pro). The following reference chain chart shows the generallity yet specificity of the third person referent for Ta[36:326] where 'one's good friend' (in this case who could be considered Little C) becomes another person's (别的人 *biederen*) "Ta", i.e. "the one" (Table 8.26).

Table 8.26 Narrative Discourse 36 Ta Reference Chart

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
Ta[36:326]	自己要好的朋友 *ziiji yaohao de pengyou* 'one's good friend'	----

As a result of the generality and the fact that *ta* is being used descriptively and not judgementally, there is also the occurrence of null-appraisal as seen in Essay Discourse 1 (this chapter) (Table 8.27).

Table 8.27 Appraisal Overview for Ta[36:326]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	Null – *ta* is just one's good friend who has become "the one" for someone else. In this context, this becoming "the one" for some one else is what leads the author/T.O. to reminisce of the friendship and how they could 'wish them happiness' but have it not necessarily be true, or tell them it is a loss and not necessarily have that be fake.' (说祝福的都是未必是真的，说失落的未必是假的。)	null	null

Overall, through the use of the single *ta* token amongst a plethora of other third person pronouns and 3PP NP MCDs, this example illustrates how *ta* can be used with positive intentions when referring to a third person in a generalizable/universal situation. Specifically, *ta* is used in the set phrase "那个 *ta*" *nageta* 'That one Ta'. This set phrase functions to simultaneously signal out THE (as in "the one") third person lover of someone while leaving the third person position open in

gender identity, i.e. being of inclusive gender. This a characteristic use of *ta* in the Anti Community as seen in Narrative Discourse D21 (see above 4.3.4), Narrative Discourse D23 (see above 4.3.2), and Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3 (see above 5.3). The "那个 *ta*" *nageta* 'That one Ta' is a common feature in the Pro-LGBTQ Community and is seen in Partner Advertisement Discourse examples (see above 7.5.2; and this chapter).

Example 5: Political ta usage for Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C2 - Narrative Discourse D17

Narrative Discourse D17 details a love story written by the T.O. under the title"喜欢上自己的同桌(Past tense)" [I liked my desk-mate]. This is a thread which was started in February 2017 and was active with the T.O. posting until May 2017. Due to the length of the thread (138 Levels), only the Levels providing the most immediate discourse context necessary for the analysis of the *ta* token use will be examined. Specifically, these are Levels 34-37. Prior to this segment of levels, the T.O. outlines how they intend to share a story with everyone of their own personal experience. They identify themselves as a high school student and share that they were transferred there against their will from another city. They recount their first day of arriving, wandering around, and finding their classroom. While recounting the story, the T.O. refers to themselves using several first person MCDs for 'I' , 我 *wo*; 本宝宝 *benbaobao*; and 楼楼 *loulou*. The T.O. then tells about the first day at the dorm where they have 2 roommates ('Roommate L' and 'Fatty').

Through third person reference MCDs the T.O. identifies 'Roommate L' as male, using 他 'he'. From this context, it is deductible that the T.O. is also male. This is because according to social customs, male and female dormitories are segregated in China. As thus, it is not feasible that males and females would be roommates. The T.O. then recounts how they bought textbooks. It is after this experience that the T.O. says they began to notice '他' 'him', which cataphorically refers 'T'. The T.O. describes a conversation the T.O. and T had because the T.O. was absent for a week because of falling ill. The rest of the narrative describes how T becomes the T.O.'s desk mate, it also tells how T keeps approaching the T.O. and making what can be misinterpreted as genuine advances, or cruel mockery. This it what prefaces the discourse which is presented in the example analysis table below and centers on an exchange between the T.O. and his desk mate 'T'.

Table 8.28 Narrative Discourse D17 Example Chart

Data Item	Narrative Discourse D17
Community	C2
Thread Title	喜欢上自己的同桌（Past tense）
	[I liked my desk-mate (Past tense)]
Date	2017-02-12 to 2017-05-11
Content for Analysis (Original)	**(34)** 记得有一次上课的时候他跟我讨论感情方面的事。 因为上午英语老师因为啥事来着被气哭了，他就跟我说 "我最见不得女孩子哭了，我以后绝对不会让我对象哭" 我当时都好无语 **Desk Mate Reported Speech (DMRS) 1** **(35)** 他还说 "我要是有对象我绝对不让别人欺负 TA[17:2]" 我说 "切~就你，你可拉倒吧人家不得让你欺负死啊" 我可是见识过他欺负人的功夫。 然后他又说 "我不会让别人欺负我媳妇的，就像任何人都不准欺负你一样，我的人只能我欺负"。 **DMRS 2** **DMRS 3** **(36)** 我当时没反应过来，脑子迟钝了一下，他在旁边哈哈大笑 "你没听懂吗？" 我说 "你不就说不让别人欺负我吗" 他说 "好吧好吧天真的孩纸，平时看你挺精明的怎么这时候又傻了" **DMRS 4** **DMRS 5** **(37)** "你才傻了呐，我脑子好使着呐" 然后我就砸了他大腿一下，继续听课了
Content for Analysis (Translation)	**(34)** [I] remember there was one time during class when he discussed emotional matters with me. Because the morning English teacher was so angry because of something that [they] cried, he said to me "What I can't stand to see the most is girl(s) cry, in the future, I will certainly never make my partner cry" **Desk Mate Reported Speech (DMRS) 1**

(35)

At the time I was entirely speechless

He even said
"If I have a partner, I will certainly never let others bully TA[17:2]"
I said
" Oh come on. you? My foot.
That person (=人家) must being bullied to death by you."
 I've seen him work hard to bully people.
And then he again said
"I will not let other people bully my wife,
just like no person is allowed to bully you the same way,
Only I can bully my people".

DMRS 2

DMRS 3

(36)

At the time I didn't give a response, brain is a little sluggish,
He laughed loudly beside me
"You didn't understand?"
I said
"Didn't you just say you won't let others bullying me"
He said
"okok innocent naïve/child, usually you are very shrewd,
and yet how is it at this time you are foolish"

DMRS 4

DMRS 5

(37)

"you're the one who is foolish， my brain is in working order"
Then I slapped his thigh and continued to listen to the class

In addition to using *ta* , the T.O. also shows other third person MCD NPs used by 'T' during their exchange. These third person forms all work together to reveal both the T.O.'s and T's attitudes towards gender, sexuality, and sexual identity in relation to social norms and each other. The key factor in this analysis is that the discourse being analyzed is the reported direct quoted speech of T as reported by the T.O., a point most relevant for the reference chain of the *ta* token (Table 8.29).

As the exchange between the two took place in speech and not text, and as we know the third person pronoun in Mandarin is pronounced the same, i.e. *ta* for both 'he' and 'she' , the T.O.'s uncertainty about T's sexual orientation is revealed when the interaction is recounted in textual form. In the speech, T uses the gender neutral term 对象 *duixiang* 'partner' and refers back to this third person with the pronoun in DMRS 2. It is interesting that at first T choses to use this gender-

neutral term instead of a gendered term, as is done cataphoricaly through 媳妇 *xifu* 'wife of a younger man' in DMRS 3. However, this gendered usage in DMRS 3 parallels that in DMRS 1 where 对象 *duixiang* 'partner' first appears in reference to 女孩子 *nühaizi* 'girl', implying that T's 对象 *duixiang* 'partner' preference is female. The issue at hand here is one where T seems to be clearly communicating, at the lexical level, that their sexual orientation as a male is straight and that they like females.

Table 8.29 Narrative Discourse D17 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
TA[17:2]	对象 *duixiang* partner	媳妇 *xifu* wife of a younger man

However, given the nature of T and the T.O.'s interactions, i.e. the flirty behaviour of T towards the T.O., the T.O. cannot pragmatically be sure this is the case. This flirty nature is also seen in the later half of DMRS 3 where the T.O. ('you') is equated to 媳妇 *xifu* 'wife of a younger man' and labeled as belonging to T via the phrase 我的人 *woderen* 'my person'. Thus, by using the gender open/inclusive *ta* form, the T.O. leaves the possibility for T's partner to be any gender and consequently for T to be any sexual orientation. In other words, as T constructs a masculine identity for himself (DMRS 1, 2, and 3) and a feminine identity for the T.O (DMRS 3, 4, and 5), the T.O. constructs a queer identity for T (DMRS 3) while resisting the feminine identity being ascribed through the circular response 你不就说不让别人欺负我吗 'Didn't you just say you won't let others bullying me' to DMRS 4, which does not acknowledge the receipt of 媳妇 *xifu* 'wife of a younger man' as equating to the identity of the T.O. in DMRS 3.

As a result of this discourse dynamic, the appraisal evaluation of the *ta* token is also unique in that despite the T.O. being responsible for the orthographical form, the evaluation is still carried out by the speaker (Additional Appraiser) which is T – the desk mate. The trigger for the evaluation is the context of discussing how one should treat a partner, as inspired by the crying English teacher that morning. The evaluation is invoked as a result of the overall context in which T takes a protective stance towards 'partner' under the conditions of 哭 *ku* 'cry', which is a negative

affective emotion caused by the 欺负 *qifu* 'bullying' of others. In T's act of declaring that he will not stand for others bullying his partner, T provides a positive affective environment of protection surrounding TA$^{17:2}$ as his partner (affect:+ security) (Table 8.30). That is, T will protect TA$^{17:2}$ so that there is no harm or worry caused to TA$^{17:2}$ and this provides TA$^{17:2}$ with an affective sense of security and reassurance.

Table 8.30 Appraisal Overview for TA$^{17:2}$

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Additional Appraiser – T	Discussing how one should treat a partner	1. affect:+ security	EE1 = invoked

Overall, this example shows how the *ta* variant can be used in narratives when reporting speech of another and the role that the reteller's choice of orthographic form plays in revealing their own identity constructions of those involved in the narrative. In this case, the T.O. constructs the sexual orientation/gender identity of the speaker as queer through their use of *ta* , despite the speaker's construction of their own identity as masculine and straight. At the same time, the T.O.'s use of the *ta* variant also reflects their own constructed identity as homosexual/gay in that they have romantic feelings for T and are uncertain of T's self ascribed sexual identity yet still hope there is an option for them to be that *ta* which is T's partner. The example illustrates how identity construction is inherently political and has implications for belonging, setting a transition to the next section which shows identity construction in relation to 'you' and the 'self'.

8.5   *ta* usage for 'You' and Identity

This section presents examples of discourse types in which *ta* is defined in relation to 'You' and used for self and third person identity construction. It will showcase one example of Partner Advertisement Discourse (8.5.1), one example of Opinion Discourse (8.5.2), and two examples of Statement Discourse (8.5.3). Each example analysis follows the following general format: 1) a short introductory brief regarding the discourse, 2) an overall example table which presents the discourse (original and translation) to be qualitatively analyzed, 3) a discussion on reference chains involving *ta* and other relevant third person referential forms, 4) the appraisal analysis of each *ta* token in the overarching discourse context, and 5) a short recap of the significance that specific

example has with regards to understanding the role of *ta* in the construction of political belonging and identity.

8.5.1   Partner Advertisement Discourse

Example 6: Political ta usage for Open in Relation to You and Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C2 - Partner Advertisement Discourse 1

Partner Advertisement Discourse 1 is an example of how each *ta* token embodies both the ability to serve as a pronoun that is open in relation to who 'you' are, but also functions to construct self and third person identity. In this example, the T.O. has titled the thread of the post " 『廣州』一個人久了想找一個 ta 我 -- --- --[102]希望" [Guangzhou: one person has wanted to find a ta for a long time. I am -- --- --. Hope ta]. What is interesting is that the title of the thread is the first line of the T.O.'s main post in Level 1. The main post is introduced in the example chart below (Table 8.31).

In this post, the T.O. is very direct and explicit in that they are looking for a sexual partner according to specifications; the T.O. knows exactly 'what' they are looking for : a *ta* which satisfies a number of criteria but whose gender is ultimately identified at the end of the description. Let us turn to the reference chart to examine how the T.O. construct the identity of the *ta* they are looking for.

Table 8.31 Partner Advertisement Discourse 1 Example Chart

Data Item	Partner Advertisement Discourse 1
Community	C2
Thread Title	" 『廣州』一個人久了想找一個 ta$^{9:6}$ 我-- --- --希望 ta$^{9:7}$" ([Guangzhou] one person has wanted to find a ta$^{9:6}$ for a long time. I am -- --- --. Hope ta$^{9:7}$)
Date	2017-12-06
Content for Analysis (Original)	『廣州』一個人久了想找一個 ta$^{9:2}$ 我-- --- -- 希望 ta$^{9:3}$ 20～25 比我高 不太胖 不用太帥也不要太醜 懂得照顧人(暖男) 哦 還有最好不要異地的

---

[102] In order to preserve anonymity, the real digit values have been replaced with dashes in both the original and translation

	還有最重要的不 10 所以攻受無所謂
Content for Analysis (Translation)	([Guangzhou] one person has wanted to find a ta[9:2] for a long time. I am -- --- --[103] Hope ta[9:3] 20 ~ 25 , taller than me, not too fat, does not need to be too handsome also no need to be too ugly, must know how to take care of people (a man who is family-oriented, considerate and protective) Oh, it is also best not to be (someone in/from) a different place Furthermore the most important is [I am] not 10[104] , so it doesn't matter whether [I] 'attack' (means penetrate) or 'receive' (get penetrated)

As can be seen in the table describing the anaphoric and cataphoric relations of each *ta* token, the final identity of *ta* is ascribed via cataphoric reference projected by ta[9:3] to specifically be a 男 *nan* 'male' who is 暖 *nuan* 'warm' (Table 8.32). With this example it is important to note that by ascribing a male identity to *ta* , the T.O. is also identifying themselves as male in relation to *ta* . This is further supported by usage of the specific male-LGBTQ group lexicon (10) which is irrelevant for those who identify as female in the LGBTQ Community. In this case, *ta* is potentially used as a free gender pronoun of positivity within the LGBTQ Community that recognizes one may not identify with the identity that others ascribe to them. This is contrary to the C1 communities where usage of *ta* was seen dehumanizing and othering the third person referent.

Table 8.32 Partner Advertisement Discourse 1 Ta Reference Chart

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	**Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)**	**Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)**
ta[9:6]	---	---
ta[9:7]	ta[9:6]	---
ta[9:2]	ta[9:7]	---
ta[9:3]	ta[9:2]	暖男 *nuanan* 'warm man' (literally)

---

[103] In the LGBTQ Community, series of numbers usually indicate the following in order: Age, height (cm), and weight (KG/Jin)

[104] In the male LGBTQ Community, the numbers 1 and 0 have particular meanings. 1 refers to an individual being in the top during sexual activity and 0 refers to an individual being in the bottom during sexual activity.

		"a man who is family-oriented, considerate and protective"

Another point of importance in this example stems from the discourse type: personal advertisement. This discourse type has a unique aspect that is reflected in the appraisal analysis of *ta*. For this example, only one appraisal chart is shown as the same analysis applies to each token (Table 8.33). As can be seen from the description provided by the T.O., they are 'thirsty' (affect: +desire) and are very picky in 'what' they are looking for in a *ta*. 'Thirsty' is a semantic appropriation of the verb used to describe someone overflowing with sexual desire. Desire is an emotion that falls under the category of 'affect' in the appraisal methodology as it portrays the T.O.'s feelings towards *ta* as an "object" by objectifying *ta*. The lexical items that explicitly inscribe this feeling are: 久了 *jiule* 'long time'; 想 *xiang* 'want'; 希望 *xiwang* 'hope'; 最重要 *zuizhongyao* 'most important'; 不 10 *bu 10* 'not 10'; 攻 *gong* 'attack'; 受 *shou* 'receive'; 無所謂 *wusuowei* 'not care'. These lexical items all contribute to the picture of the T.O. lusting for sexual interaction with a *ta* who meets all the requirements. As a result, this also projects *ta* as an object to be possessed while at the same time , yet a lesser extent, conveying that the T.O. wishes for this to be a meaningful relationship not just about intercourse via the 3PP MCD 暖男 *nuannan* 'warm man'.

Table 8.33 Appraisal Overview for ta$^{9:6}$ + ta$^{9:7}$ + ta$^{9:2}$ + ta$^{9:3}$

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
T.O	The T.O. desiring/wanting a *ta*	1. affect: +desire	EE1 = inscribed

Overall, this example shows how *ta* is used to keep the gender identity of the third person being referred to open and leave the third person free to determine whether the identity that is being constructed for them by the speaker is one the which to uptake or not. This is potentially a feature afforded by the discourse type, i.e. a personal advertisement. The T.O. clearly has distinct physical requirements for *ta,* however such is not necessarily the case with regards to gender or sexual orientation. By using the *ta* variant, the author targets all those who physically meet the criterion while also allowing for those targeted to determine whether they want to play the role of *ta* in the

T.O.'s described sexual scenarios which hint at the T.O.'s gender identity as a homosexual male (i.e. the person is open to both performing and receiving anal intercourse). The example highlights the political nature of identity construction and belonging.

8.5.2 Statement Discourse

Example 7: Political ta usage for Open in Relation to You in C3 - Statement Discourse 8

Statement Discourse 8 is an example from the Pro-community which is the core value/saying we see mocked in Chapter 4 (4.3.2) by the Anti-community, showing how *ta* remains open in relation to you. This is a comment in the thread "双性恋。。。是病吗[sad emoji]" [Bisexual…. Is it a disease?[sad emoji]], and is made as a statement in response to the title. In their statement, the user prefaces the use of *ta* by claiming that 没毛病 *meimaobing* 'have no disease'. The user then proceeds to convey their statements about sexuality and feelings of like/love, directing this statements towards the T.O. (Table 8.34).

Table 8.34 Statement Discourse 8 Example Chart

Data Item	Statement Discourse 8
Community	C3
Thread Title	"双性恋。。。是病吗[sad emoji]" [Bisexual…. Is it a disease?[sad emoji]]
Date	2018-04-08
Content for Analysis (Original)	不是因为[null agent- you implied as T.O.]喜欢一个人而同性恋 也不是因为[null agent- you T.O.]同性恋而喜欢一个人 只是[null agent- you T.O.]单纯喜欢上了一个人而 ta[7:7]恰好是同性
Content for Analysis (Translation)	It is not because of liking a person and then [null agent- you T.O.] homosexual(ity) It is also not because of homosexual(ity) and then [null agent- you T.O.] like a person It is just that [null agent-the one who loves the same sex, i.e. 同性恋 *tongxinglian* homosexual] purely came to like a person, and ta[7:7] just happens to be the same sex.

Consequently, the reference chain is also similar to that seen in Chapter 4 where *ta* remains as an open general third person pronoun linked to 人 *ren* 'person' who is defined as 同性 *tongxing* through cataphoric reference (Table 8.35).

Table 8.35 Opinion Discourse 10 MCD Reference Chain

Third Person Perspective NP and Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
人 *ren* person	---	ta[7:7]
ta[7:7]	人 *ren* person	同性 *tongxing* same sex

In the appraisal analysis we also see a positive attitude projected towards ta and the community values of inclusivity arising from the normalization and acceptance of all types of love relations (judgement: +normality) (Table 8.36).

Table 8.36 Appraisal Overview for ta[7:7]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	the *ta* one likes being the same sex	judgement: + normality	EE1 = inscribed

Overall, this example clearly illustrates how, in Statement Discourse, *ta* is used as an open, all inclusive third person pronoun to construct a political space of belonging for all in relation to a specific you. This example serves to contrast with the next which demonstrates how *ta* is used in the same discourse environment but as a means of third person identity construction in relation to the writer's self.

Example 8: Political ta usage for Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C3 – Single Statement Discourse 11

Single Statement Discourse 11 shows how *ta* is used to construct the identity of a third person in relation to the writer's self. It is a comment reply in the thread "把她掰弯。她说：我从来没想到同" [Turned her homosexual. She said: "I never thought that..."]. The T.O.'s discourse is short and is basically a claim that they have given up on their *ta* and think everything will be ok as long as *ta* is happy (Table 8.37).

Table 8.37 Single Statement Discourse 11 Example Chart

Data Item	Single Statement Discourse 11
Community	C3
Thread Title	"把她掰弯。她说：我从来没想到同" [Turned her homosexual. She said: "I never thought that..."]
Date	2017-08-28
Content for Analysis (Original)	我已经放弃了，或许有一种爱真的是放手吧，只要 ta$^{2:2}$ 幸福，我愿意独自承受这一切。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	I have already given up, maybe there is a kind of love that really means letting go, as long as ta$^{2:2}$ is happy, I am willing to bear all this alone.

In this case, we again see a lack of lexical referent for ta and instead perceive the conceptual, text-external third person. That is, *ta* is the person who was loved by the writer. The larger context of this thread is that it appears to be a place where lesbians discourse their same sex relationships and failures. This context implies that the writer, and consequently *ta* , may have the identities of lesbians. However, as the author uses the non-gender marked *ta* as opposed to 她 she like others in the thread, one cannot be certain at all how to construct the identity of *ta* nor the language user. In terms of appraisal analysis, it is not necessary for the understanding of *ta* and therefore omitted in this example.

Overall, this example shows how ambiguity caused by *ta* as a conceptual, text external third person and identity construction dependency cause conditions for political belonging. In contrast to this example, the *ta* in Example 7 above has a direct lexical item which is determined in relation to another present person (you- the T.O.).

8.5.3 Opinion Discourse

Example 9: Political ta usage for Open in Relation to You and Self and Third Person Identity Construction in C3 - Opinion Discourse 14

Opinion Discourse 14 is an example from the Pro-community which showcases one *ta* token used for both openness in relation to you, i.e. the reader, and third person identity construction. The

example is a comment in the thread "你怎样看待同性恋? "[How do you view homosexuality?]. The discourse portrays one of the re-occurring themes/values within the pro communities: that everyone is equal in the name of love (Table 8.38). The comment is made in response to the main post which asks "how do you view homosexuals, Boys Love, Baihe, or those who like the same sex things but are not homosexual. Please share your opinion."

Table 8.38 Opinion Discourse 14 Example Chart

Data Item	Opinion Discourse 14
Community	C3
Thread Title	"你怎样看待同性恋? " [How do you view homosexuality]
Date	2019-05-13
Content for Analysis (Original)	只能说 爱情无性别吧 爱上了 管 ta[18:2] 男女美丑 有爱情的样子就好
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[I] can only say, love has no gender [suggestion particle], to fall in love, to care about ta[18:2] male female beautiful ugly, it is ok just having love.

In this case there is no anaphoric lexical item in the text to which *ta* refers; however, there is a cataphoric projection to the either or option of 男女 *nannü* male/female (Table 8.39). The subject of the sentence is also not lexicalized but implied as a 'general you' which remains general until *ta* undergoes pronoun resolution by the reader, a process which consequently constructs a third person identity in relation to the specific you, i.e. the self of the reader.

Table 8.39 Opinion Discourse 14 Ta Reference Chain

Third Person Pronoun MCDs	Anaphoric Use (Reference to previous item)	Cataphoric Use (Reference to future item)
ta[18:2]	---	男女 *nannü* male/female

The appraisal evaluation which the commenter holds as their opinion towards *ta* is relatively positive and based on external factors. This is evidenced in the lexical items 爱 *ai* 'love' (affect: +happiness) and 美 *mei* 'beautiful' (appreciation: + reaction) (Table 8.40). However, there is also

a slight negative description as the possibility of *ta* being 丑 *chou* 'ugly' (appreciation: -reaction) is listed as well.

Table 8.40 Appraisal Overview for ta[18:2]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
T.O.	Conceptual general 'you' falling in love	1. affect: +happiness 2. appreciation: + reaction 3. appreciation: - reaction	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed EE3 = inscribed

Overall, this example illustrates how, even in the context of an opinion, *ta* is able to remain as an open third person pronoun defined in relation to you. The example also highlights how the construction of *ta*'s identity, in this case from suggested options such as 'male' 'female' 'beautiful' and 'ugly', depend on 'you' and 'your' construction of the self which *ta* is constructed in relation to. This constructional dependency is what defines a space of political belonging because the third person attributes are highly contextualized with meaning. Example 8 of Statement Discourse showcased ambiguity caused by *ta* as a conceptual, text external third person while Example 7 has a direct lexical item which is determined in relation to a present second person.

8.6   Interim Summary

This chapter presented nine examples of various discourse types to highlight the role that the speaker/author plays in setting interpretations and representations of *ta*. This was achieved through co-reference chains, MCDs, and attitudinal appraisal. The audience co-constructs these aspects of interpretation and representation. As a result, *ta*'s degree of belonging is placed in the hands of the audience in both cases of Political Belonging: 1) *ta* in relation to 'You', and 2) *ta* in relation to 'I', i.e. Self and Third Person Identity Construction.

Examples 1-3 of Open in Relation to 'You' collectively show how the stance towards *ta* from 'you' as portrayed in the text is a key factor that contributes to the construction of *ta* as politically belonging. In Example 1, which is Essay Discourse from the Anti-community, this construction of a political space is orchestrated via heteroglossia, intertextuality, and null appraisal. The example contains four different voices and the focus of evaluation is not *ta*, which is used to refer to a questioning child, but the parents who reprimand their questioning child(ren). By criticizing the parents and judging their behaviour as improper, the author of the Pro-LGBTQ oriented essay

shows their support for the LGBTQ Community despite the text being embedded into the Anti-Community for commentary. The political property emerges in the support of *ta* being used for those who have fluid or undetermined gender identities. In Example 2, which is Information Seeking Discourse from the Pro-community, this construction of a political space is orchestrated via several mechanisms: 1) an interrogative which invokes direct address, 2) a third person conceptual referent, 3) null appraisal, 4) negative judgement of you, and 5) the use of 人 *ren* 'person' – a gender and sexuality devoid 3PP MCD in conjunction with direct address. The political property emerges through the personalization which takes place when pragmatically associating an identity to 人 *ren* 'person' in the context of 'your most loved person'. Whether one interprets the discourse in an LGBTQ context or not is entirely up to them, furthering constructing a space of political belonging. In Example 3, which is Guidebook/Advice Discourse from the Pro-community, this construction of a political space is orchestrated via several components: 1) identity shift facilitated by 3PP NP MCDs: 前任 *qianren* 'ex' and 恋人 *lianren* 'lover', 2) direct address, 3) null appraisal, and 4) judgment of you and what you should do or what you should not have done. As in Example 2, the political space is constructed through the pragmatic personalization of 'ex' by 'you' and whether one interprets the discourse in an LGBTQ context or not is entirely up to them.

Examples 4-5 of Self and Third Person Identity Construction highlight how the author/speaker creates a space of belonging for *ta* in relation to themselves. In explicit cases the context is largely LGBTQ, whereas in implicit cases the context could be read as either LGBTQ or non-LGBTQ, depending on 'your' interpretation. In Example 4, which is Narrative Discourse from the Anti-community, this construction of a political space is orchestrated via several components: 1) intertextuality, 2) set phrase "那个 *ta*" *nageta* 'That one Ta' commonly used in the Pro-LGBTQ community to refer to a lover, 3) null appraisal, 4) a generalizable/universal situation, and 5) the phrase 自己要好的朋友 *ziiji yaohao de pengyou* 'one's good friend'. In Example 5, which is also Narrative Discourse but from the Pro-community, this construction of a political space is orchestrated via several components: 1) reported speech, 2) the shift in medium of *ta* from spoken to written discourse, 3) the T.O. rejecting the identity of 媳妇 *xifu* 'wife of a younger man' in [DMRS 3], 4) implication of the narrative's main character, T, as heterosexual via 对象 *duixiang* 'partner' creating a reference chain with 女孩子 *nühaizi* 'girl' in [DSMR1], 5) T's claim of the

T.O. as 我的人 *woderen* 'my person', and 6) T making advances on the T.O. who is homosexual. The political component of the identity construction lies in the T.O.'s choice to use *ta* instead of a gender specifying third person pronoun so that T's "partner" preference remains inclusive of the T.O. himself.

Examples 6-9 show mixed usage of *ta* as being defined in Relation to 'You' while simultaneously used in the construction of first- and third-person identity. As a result of being mixed, the examples embody many of the features identified separately above. In Example 6, which is Partner Advertisement Discourse, the political construction of belonging is achieved through the T.O. demanding that *ta* meet certain criteria n order to engage in sexual relations, while the decision of who fits the role of *ta* among readers is left to themselves. In Example 7, which is Statement Discourse from the Pro-community, the focus is whether bisexual identity is a disease. In their comment, a user states that bisexuality is not a disease and it just so happens that *ta* is the 'same sex' as 'you'. By using *ta* as an open, all inclusive third person pronoun the political space of belonging is constructed as *ta* is pragmatically personalized by the original question asker whose identity, and consequently *ta*'s identity, remain obscure from other Internet users. In Example 8, which is another case of Statement Discourse from the Pro-community, this political construction of belonging is achieved through lack of a lexical referent for *ta* and reliance on a conceptual one instead, like in Example 2. In Example 9, which is Opinion Discourse from the Pro-community, the political construction of belonging for *ta* is achieved by: 1) no anaphoric lexical item, 2) cataphoric projection to the either or option of 男女 *nannü* male/female, 3) *ta* being in the context of 爱 *ai* 'love' (affect: +happiness), 美 *mei* 'beautiful' (appreciation: + reaction), and possibily 丑 *chou* 'ugly' (appreciation: -reaction).

With the discussion above concluding the bulk of the qualitative analysis through various degrees of (non-)belonging, we now come to the final chapter of discussion. Chapter 10 focusses on a specific type of discourse, Chain Post Discourse, which is purposely manipulated into discourse to be consumed by LGBTQ members through the use of *ta* and corresponding MCDs.

9   Getting Back with *ta,* Your (Homosexual) Partner - Chain Post Discourse Discussion

With the previous qualitative Chapters 4-8 showing the use of *ta* throughout the corpus in a variety of conditions, Chapter 9 brings the qualitative analysis of this dissertation to a close with a focus on Chain Post Discourse. Through a comparative presentation of a specific form of Guidebook/Advice Discourse from 'un-manipulated' (i.e. potentially representative of a 'Conforming' relationship) and 'manipulated' (i.e. discourse manipulated to be potentially representative of a 'Non-Conforming' relationship) forms, this chapter focusses on Political Belonging in Chain Post Discourse. As thus, through the extraction of the chain post discourse from the corpus results, qualitative and quantitative, this chapter demonstrates 1) how *ta* usage is unique to the discourse and skews the results, 2) how *ta* can be exploited to transform apolitical discourse to political discourse, and 3) how this political polarization is linked to the personalization of content.

This chapter starts by re-iterating previously introduced stance usage types of *ta* that result in political belonging and providing their respective definitions (9.1). This is followed by an overview presentation of the Chain Post Discourse data set composition for when *ta* is used for political belonging (9.2), a comparative qualitative analysis of *ta* used as a third person pronoun for LGBTQ Pronoun and Identity Construction when the text is manipulated for any 'homosexual' (9.3), a 'female homosexual' (9.4), and implied 'male homosexual' (9.5), and finally an overall summary and re-iteration for corpus implications (9.6).

9.1   Positive Stance and Political Belonging

In this chapter, the discourse being taken as the focus is break-up/make-up discourse (i.e. how to get back with your ex) and was presented as Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5 from C2 in Section 8.3.3. In this text, the gender and sexual orientation of all *ta* referents remained unknown throughout, with *ta* only being identified as 恋人 *lianren* 'lover' and later 你的前任 *nideqianren* 'your ex-lover'. This text is considered 'un-manipulated' (i.e. potentially representative of a 'Conforming' relationship) and compared to several excerpts from different Chain Post Discourses to illustrate how the text has been manipulated using *ta* and other MCDs to create an explicit space of political belonging and personalize the content of break-up/make-up discourse for LGBTQ individuals (i.e. 'Non-conforming' relationships). That is, this chapter compares the 'Conforming'

version of the discourse with the *ta* modified version to illustrate this (a-)political to political shift from discourse for the universal and/or 'conforming' to the 'non-conforming'. Consequently, in each instance of Chain Post Discourse, *ta* is used simultaneously as 1) LGBTQ pronoun (see 6.3) and 2) to construct self and third person identity (see 8.4) (in this case, the identity of two homosexuals who have broken up with each other).

9.2   Data Composition and Features

As has been highlighted throughout this dissertation, all 21 cases of Chain Post Discourse occur in C3. Within these 21 cases, 165 physical tokens occur yet there are 290 *ta* token entries for analysis (as some tokens can embody more than one usage). Of the 290 token count usages, 125 were used for Self and Third Person Identity Construction and 165 used as LGBTQ pronoun (Figure 9.1). That is to say, every single token in the Chain Post Discourse can be considered an LGBTQ pronoun but this is not true for Self and Third Person Identity Construction.
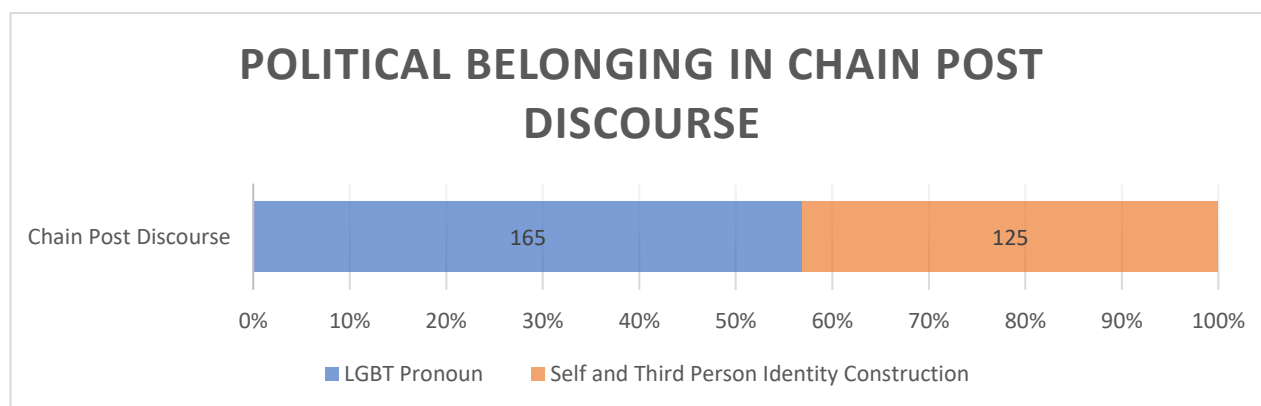
Figure 9.1 Political Belonging in Chain Post Discourse

In addition to a skew in the usage type of *ta* , the Chain Post Discourse is also responsible for a skew in the referent types of *ta* which total 165. Specifically, Chain Post Discourse is construed of three referent types throughout the corpus: 122 of the 149 specific referents of other sexual orientation (82% of the category in Grouping B[105]) are attributed to the Chain Post Discourse; 35 of 35 female of 'Other' sexual orientation known to be homosexual (100% of the category in Grouping A[106]) are attributed to the Chain Post Discourse; and 8 of 99 male of 'Other' sexual

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[105] See Table 3.5
[106] See 3.2.1 Grouping A

orientation known to be homosexual (8.1% of the category in Grouping A[107]) are attributed to the Chain Post Discourse (Figure 9.2). That is to say, even with the Chain Post Discourse usage of *ta* as a specific referent of unknown gender but known other sexual orientation is most frequent (122 of 165 cases, 74%).
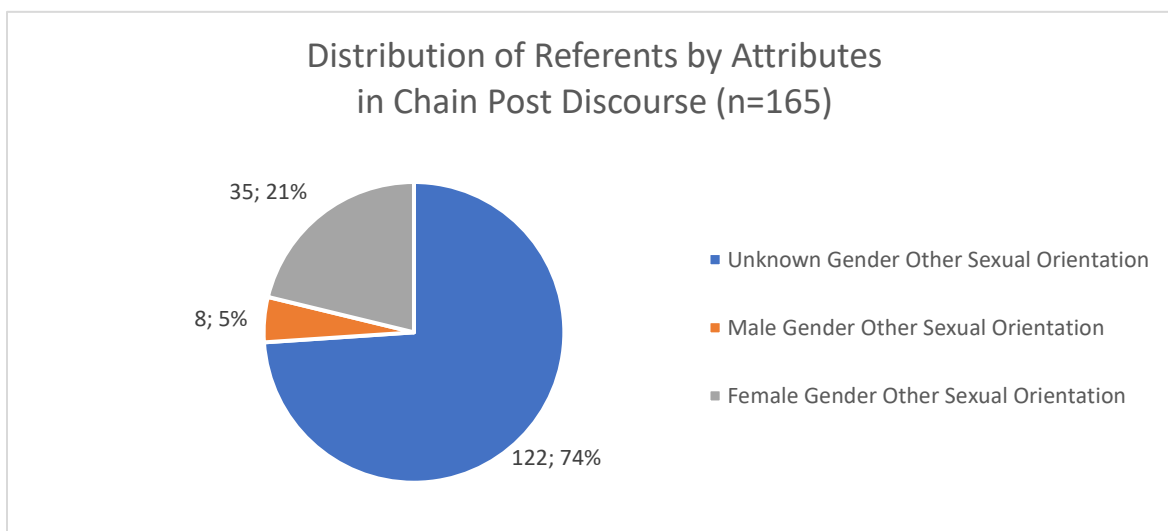
Figure 9.2 Distribution of Referents by Attributes in Chain Post Discourse

Furthermore, two main types of Chain Post Discourse occur: 1) 在现代社会 *zaixiandaishehui* [In Modern Society] with 15 cases, and 2) 在一段恋情中 *zaiyiduanlianqingzhong* [In the Moment of a Brief Romance] with 6 cases.

The first main Chain Post Discourse has 5 subtypes:
1. Standard with questionnaire (4 cases)
2. Standard without questionnaire (7 cases)
3. Non-Standard without female pronouns and questionnaire + excessive male (1 case)
4. Non-Standard without female pronouns and questionnaire (2 cases)
5. Non-Standard without female pronouns and questionnaire + less ta tokens (1 case)

For a text to be considered as Chain Post Discourse, the third person pronoun tokens were required to be almost identical and the content was to be at least 50% similar. Furthermore, the

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[107] See 3.2.1 Grouping A

'questionnaire' refers to a survey type portion of the text which aims to gather information about 'you' and *ta* to give to a 'professional' who will help 'you' get back together with *ta*. This portion of the text insists that 'you' cannot handle this alone and need (paid-for) professional service, a characteristic echoed in the Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5 in Section 8.3.3. An example is shown in translation below in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Chain Post Discourse 17 Example Chart

Data Item	Chain Post Discourse 17
Community	C3
Thread Title	我知道你害怕我们没有未来，压力太大，可是我真的爱你…
	I know that you're scared we don't have a future, that the burden is too heavy, but I really love you…
Date	2018-03-17
Content for Analysis (Translation)	Getting back together with a person is not something that will be successful by just leaving you to your devices. Making up definitely requires a process, so this is a paid service to help you get back together. If you need to recover your own feelings, need professional help, contact my Weixin (WeChat)*: bbx1234525 and provide the following detailed information: ===Making-up, leave it to us === 1. The specific age of both of you. 2. Both your occupations [student or work] 3. The economic income of both of you. 4. How did you meet, who chased who, time you got together, and time of break up. 5. What is the main reason for breaking up? 6. While you were dating, what were the things that were complained about most and the things that were mutually unsettling ? 7. What is the state/status of you two now? 8. whether it was a long-distance relationship or intercultural relationship with no friends in common. 9. whether there was a family factor or whether cheating was involved 10. whether there was any financial involvement between the two parties 11. whether you have tried to get back together yourself, and if so how long has it been, or did you look for another company/organization to do it for you and how did it go? 12. The time and content of your last interaction 13. Currently, do you both have each other's contact method? 14. Was there a break? How long?

Figure 9.3 illustrates the character distribution for each Chain Discourse to show how similar character counts were used to justify categorization of the posts into the same discourse group. Within the figure, Rose Pink, Light Pink, and Grey coloring represent the first main type of Chain Discourse: 在现代社会 *zaixiandaishehui* [In Modern Society]. Rose Pink is used to indicate texts with a standard format that include a full questionnaire. Light Pink is used to indicate texts with a

standard format that lack questionnaires. Grey is used to indicate subtypes 3-5 of the non-standard text format. The Magenta coloring represents the second main type of Chain Discourse: 在一段恋情中 *zaiyiduanlianqingzhong* [In the Moment of a Brief Romance] (Figure 9.3). Figure 9.3 shows that for the six cases of [In a Brief Romance], magenta coloured, there is minimal variation between cases and that they are about 1,200 characters each. Figure 9.3 also illustrates that the cases for [In Modern Society] the character count is typically much larger and uniform according to whether it is a standard sub type, i.e. contains a questionnaire portion (Rose Pink), or non-standard subtype which does not contain the questionnaire portion (Light Pink and Grey).
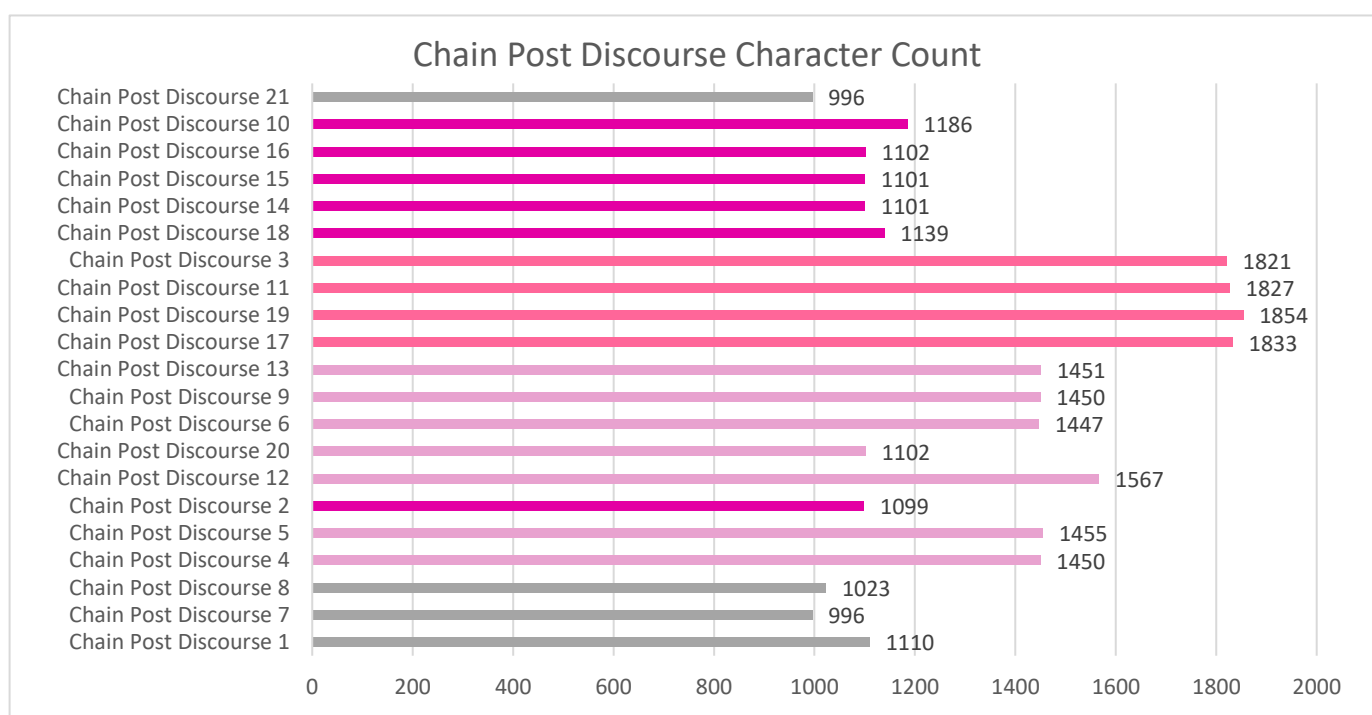
Figure 9.3 Chain Post Discourse Character Count

Figure 9.4 illustrates the pronoun token distribution for each Chain Discourse to show how similar pronoun counts were also used in conjunction with the character count to justify categorization of the posts into the same discourse group. Figure 9.4 shows that the typical pronoun distribution for the standard [In Modern Society] Chain Discourse sub-type (Rose Pink) consists of 8 *ta* third person pronouns, 14 female 她 she third person pronouns, and 2 plural(PL) male 他 he third person pronouns. Figure 9.4 also reveals that the pronoun combination for non-standard subtypes, Light Pink and Grey, are as follows: Grey consists of 8 or 5 *ta* third person pronouns, 0 female 她 she third person pronouns, and 2 plural male 他 he third person pronouns; Light Pink

consists of 8 *ta* third person pronouns, either 14 or 0 female 她 she third person pronouns, and 2 plural male 他 he third person pronouns with one exception of a case with 1 male plural and 11 male singular.
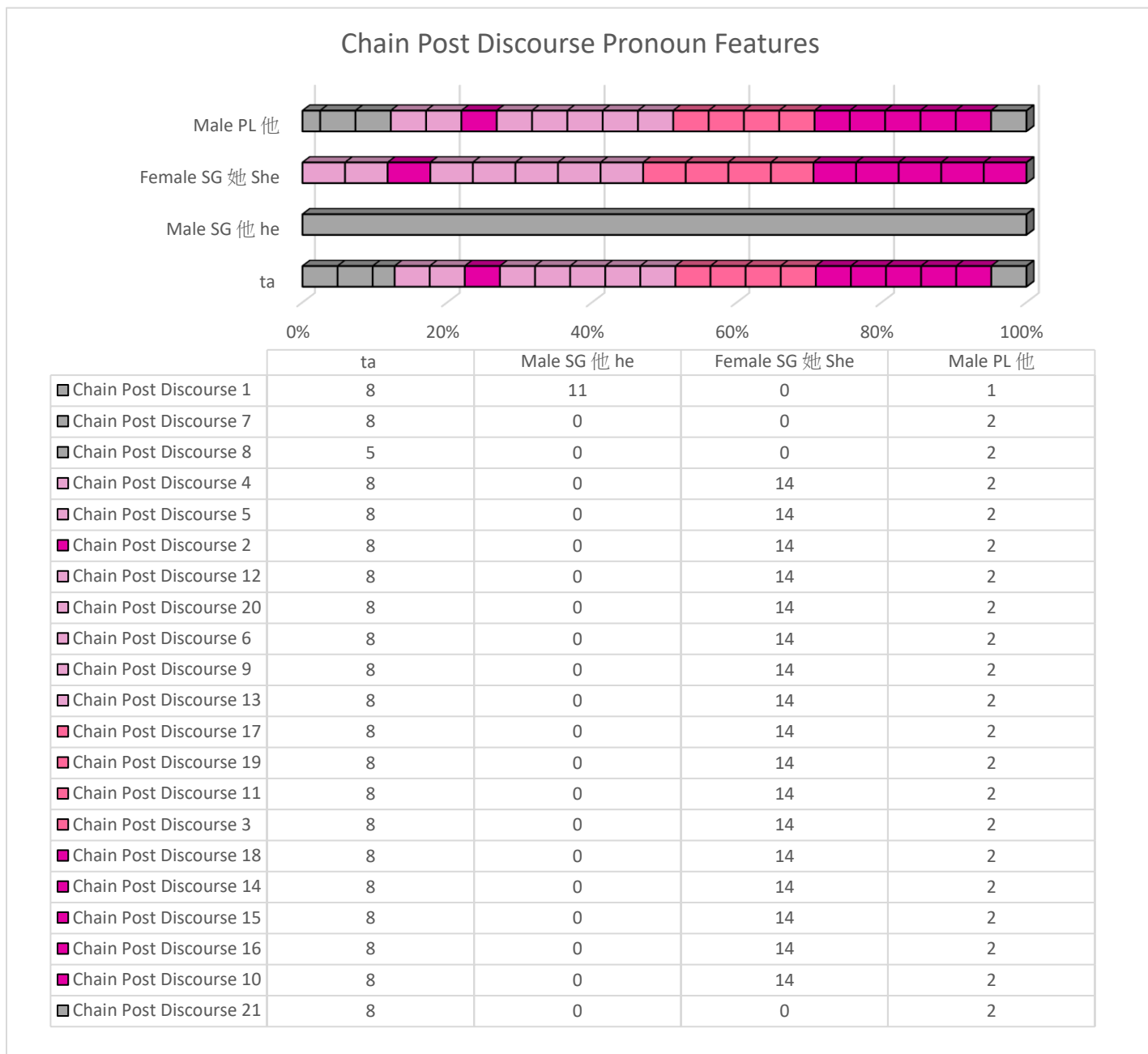
Figure 9.4 Chain Post Discourse Pronoun Features

	ta	Male SG 他 he	Female SG 她 She	Male PL 他
Chain Post Discourse 1	8	11	0	1
Chain Post Discourse 7	8	0	0	2
Chain Post Discourse 8	5	0	0	2
Chain Post Discourse 4	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 5	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 2	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 12	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 20	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 6	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 9	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 13	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 17	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 19	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 11	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 3	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 18	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 14	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 15	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 16	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 10	8	0	14	2
Chain Post Discourse 21	8	0	0	2

With the features of the Chain Post Discourse outlined above, we can now turn to the series of comparative analysis of three circumstances where the discourse as been adapted for an LGBTQ

audience: for any homosexual (Chain Post Discourse 3), any female homosexual (Chain Post Discourse 18), and any male homosexual (Chain Post Discourse 1).

9.3 Example 1: *ta* usage for LGBTQ Pronoun and Identity Construction for any 'Homosexual'

Like the discourse aimed at 'conforming' relationships in Section 8.3.3. (or universal relationships) the goal of Chain Post Discourse is to help you get back with *ta*; however, not just any *ta* but *ta* who is homosexual. While the discourse in 8.3.3. gives 5 steps of advice on how to get back together and then urges the reader to get in touch via WeChat, the discourse adapted for the LGBTQ audience focusses on internal and external factors for same-sex relationship failure and then urges the reader to get in touch via WeChat.

In this instance, discourse where *ta* can be either male or female homosexual is examined in terms of reference chains and appraisal. In this example of Chain Post Discourse 3, which is of the 在现代社会 *zaixiandaishehui* 'In Modern Society' type, there are eight occurrences of *ta* with all being used as LGBTQ pronouns and for Self and Third Person Identity Construction. Only the portion of text relevant for analysis is presented in Table 9.2 below. Prior to the text displayed, the author writes about how in modern society homosexuality is known to everyone but not accepted by everyone. The author argues that more understanding is needed. The author then writes to rhetorically ask how homosexuals should go about getting back together after breaking up, going on to introduce the external and internal factors. The writer identifies the first reason/factor being external pressure from society. The author then identifies the second reason/factor as being a problem that arose emotionally between the two which then lead to the breakup. It is in this second portion where the eight usages of *ta* occur.

Table 9.2 Chain Post Discourse 3 Example Chart

Data Item	Chain Post Discourse 3
Community	C3
Thread Title	同性恋分手后如何挽回爱情?
	How to get back love after homosexuals break-up?
Date	2019-03-10
Content for Analysis (Original)	这个内部问题就比较好解决。⎤— 1

	和异性恋不同，挽回同性，难度更大，毕竟对方在重新接受你的同时， 也意味着 TA[57:1] 需要重新回到这一个世界， 而这个世界的人毕竟还是少众，受不到身边人的支持， 甚至受到更多的是歧视以及压力。　　2 并且，TA[57:2] 还要考虑并时刻提防会不会 在不久的将来你也对 TA[57:3] 最同样的事——爱上异性而抛弃 TA[57:4]。　　3 是的，TA[57:5] 在考虑的东西，远远比你多， 这也注定了你在决定挽回的那一刻起，　　4 你的前路就注定不平坦。 同性之爱比较纯真，所以你的真诚和那颗永不背叛的心， 才能让 TA[57:6] 义无反顾地和你在一起，　　5 让 TA[57:7] 感受到你给 TA[57:8] 的安全感。 很多时候，因为害怕失去，害怕受伤，所以选择放弃，选择分手
Content for Analysis (Translation)	This internal problem is easier to solve.　　1 Unlike heterosexuality, it is more difficult to get back the same sex. After all, while the other party accepts you again, it also means that TA[57:1] needs to return to this world, and the people in this world are still very small and cannot receive the support of those around them. What is received is even more discrimination and pressure.　　2 Furthermore, TA[57:2] must also consider and always beware of whether you will do the same thing to TA[57:3] in the near future—— Fall in love with the opposite sex and abandon TA[57:4]　　3 Yes, the things that TA[57: 5] are considering are far more than what you are considering, this is also doomed from the moment you decide to get back together, your road ahead is destined to be uneven.　　4 Same-sex love is relatively innocent, so your sincerity and the heart that never betrays, Are needed to make TA[57:6] be with you without hesitation, let TA[57:7] feel the sense of security you give to TA[57:8]. Many times, because of fear of loss and injury, so choose to give up and break up.　　5

In this example, from the beginning it is outlined that *ta* is a homosexual but of unspecified gender as this depends on the gender of 'you'. This is outlined with the use of the 同性 *tongxing* 'same-sex' 3PP MCD used in juxtaposed to 异性恋 *yixinglian* 'heterosexuality' and negated with

'unlike'. This sets the discourse context of the text being crafted for, and targeted towards, the LGBTQ audience who are considered 'different' because of their 'non-conforming' relationship and the social dynamics surrounding it. Prior to the passage no other third person pronouns or genderized 3 PP MCDs are used; however, a series of female 她 'she' occurs a few lines down which are disjunct from the two reasons listed for breaking up – thus the female 她 usages are not anaphorically related to the *ta* usages for 'any' homosexual in general.

In line with the aim of the text, appraisal analysis shows *ta* being evaluated as insecure about the relationship and 'you' needing to re-assure or behave in a way which would make *ta* feel secure and satisfied in order to get back together. Consequently, several *ta* tokens share the same appraisal patterns as will be explored below. In the first case of *ta* , the author evaluates how *ta* would need to be dependable and make sacrifices to return to the LGBTQ world ('this world') (judgement: +tenacity) which invokes a sense of insecurity (affect: - security) at the same time as the world is described as being small and it is projected that by going back to you *ta* will be subject to more discrimination and negativity (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3 Appraisal Overview for ta[57:1]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta must once again return to the LGBTQ world	1. judgement: +tenacity 2. affect: - security	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

The second and third instances of *ta* are evaluated the same as they are contained in the same clause which describes how *ta* is always 'considering' many things and needs to be 'warry' of how you will behave in the future, i.e. is invoked as being in a constant state of anxiety (affect: - security; affect: -satisfaction) (Table 9.4).

Table 9.4 Appraisal Overview for TA[57:2] and TA[57:3]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta suspects you	1. affect: - security 2. affect: -satisfaction	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

The fourth instance of *ta* results in null-appraisal as the one being evaluated is you for the potential abandonment of *ta* despite *ta* returning to you, where this behavior is judged as improper (judgement: - propriety) (Table 9.5).

Table 9.5 Appraisal Overview for TA[57:4]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	None *Null = appraisal of 'you' and how 'you' abandon ta	1. judgement: - propriety	EE1 = inscribed

In the fifth occurrence of *ta* the mental state of anxiety (affect: - security; affect: -satisfaction) is still carried forward in that *ta* has many things to 'consider' and that getting back together is always 'uneven', i.e. unstable, because of this anxiety (Table 9.6).

Table 9.6 Appraisal Overview for TA[57:5]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta thinks more than you	1. affect: - security 2. affect: -satisfaction	EE1 = invoked EE2 = invoked

The sixth occurrence appears in a context where *ta* decides to be dedicated to you forever, or at least come back to the relationship, as a result of your sincerity. This is inscribed in the phrase 'without hesitation', which expresses a positive reception of the effort (appreciation: +reaction), determination (judgement: +tenacity), and outlines that *ta* sees value in the relationship (appreciation: +value) (Table 9.7).

Table 9.7 Appraisal Overview for TA[57:6]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	ta dedicated to you forever	1. judgement: +tenacity 2. appreciation: +reaction 3. appreciation: +value	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = inscribed EE3 = inscribed

The last two instances of *ta* are evaluated with the same trigger as a result of being in the same clause with a sense of security inscribed in the claim that you will make *ta* feel the sense of security (affect: +security) which implies happiness (affect: +satisfaction) back in the relationship (Table 9.8).

Table 9.8 Appraisal Overview for TA[57:7] and TA[57:8]

SOE	TOE	Embedded Evaluation (EE)	Inscribed/Invoked Frame
Author	you give ta safety	1. affect: +security 2. affect: +satisfaction	EE1 = inscribed EE2 = invoked

The text in the example presented above served to show how, in the 在现代社会 *zaixiandaishehui* 'In Modern Society' type of Chain Post Discourse, the discourse for how to get back with your ex is manipulated to target the larger LGBTQ Community in the context of 'non-conforming' relationships. The referential chain indicates 同性 *tongxing* 'same sex' as the head to which all eight *ta* tokens refer. It was also mentioned that all eight tokens occur in the textual segment which outlines the second reason for the break-up of same-sex couples. Furthermore, the appraisal analysis corroborated the main goal of the text which is advising how to get back together with *ta* and make *ta* feel that the relationship is worth giving another chance. In the next section, the example shows how the discourse can be structurally and lexically manipulated to target a certain sub-set of LGBTQ individuals: female same-sex couples.

9.4   Example 2: *ta* usage for LGBTQ Pronoun and Identity Construction for 'Female Homosexual'

The text used in this example is Chain Post Discourse 18, of the 在一段恋情中 *zaiyiduanlianqingzhong* 'In the Moment of a Brief Romance' type, which shows structural manipulation to align with the poster's person situation. In the text there are also eight *ta* tokens, however their structural location, and thus referents, differ from that of Chain Post Discourse 3 mentioned above.

In this case, the text begins with the T.O. revealing that their 亲爱的 *qinaide* 'beloved' broke-up with them, followed by lamenting on whether same-sex relationships are ever possible and if anyone knows how to get back together. It is following this segment that the T.O. then pastes a portion of the Chain Post Discourse which begins with 在一段恋情中 *zaiyiduanlianqingzhong* 'In the Moment of a Brief Romance'. The paragraph then discusses how the first thing 'you' need to do when trying to get back together with the same-sex is satisfy the other party's

needs/requirements. This paragraph is then followed by another paragraph in which three *ta* tokens appear (Table 9.9). These three tokens are used for both Self and Third Person Identity Construction as well as LGBTQ pronouns as the referent is defined in relation to the Self, i.e. 'you'. However, the third person referent to which the three tokens refers remains gender unspecified as 同性 *tongxing* 'same-sex', much like the tokens in the previous example (9.3). This paragraph outlines how, like with heterosexuals, homosexuals must find the cause of the break-up to get back together. The paragraph describes how *ta* may lie and say they have fallen in love with a straight person in order to escape the stigma and societal scorn of the LGBTQ world. So, the paragraph urges 'you' to not try and get back with *ta* so easily until 'you' are certain of the reason, and its validity, that they broke-up with 'you'.

Table 9.9 Chain Post Discourse 18 Example Chart Section 1

Data Item	Chain Post Discourse 18
Community	C3
Thread Title	好伤心 So heartbroken
Date	2018-04-28
Content for Analysis (Original)	[...] 跟异性恋一样，同性的恋爱结束也是要找准原因的。 尽管对方可能跟你说 TA[55:2] 喜欢上异性了，很多朋友因为这样就放弃治疗 [...] 而这一点往往容易被忽视，所以， 如果你还不清楚 TA[55:3] 因为什么和你分手 (或者说不确定 TA[55:4] 口中说的分手理由是不是真的)之前， 请不要轻易做出挽回举动， 这样不仅无补于事而且容易让你们双方都受到伤害
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[...] Just like with heterosexuality, the exact reason for the end of same-sex relationships must be found. Although the other person may tell you that TA[55:2] has come to like the opposite sex, many people give up "treatment" because of this [...]

	And this is often overlooked, so, If you don't know why TA[55:3] broke up with you (Or not sure if the reason for breaking up given by TA[55:4] is true), Please don't make an effort to get back together lightly, doing this way is not only useless but can also easily hurt both of you.

Following this is another paragraph which does not contain the use of *ta* but does contain 14 instances of the use of 她 'She' as it describes how 'you' should be treating 'her'. Within the paragraph, it states that 女人需要安全感，女同性恋者更是如此 ['Women need a sense of security, this is especially so for female *Tongxinglianzhe* (homosexuals)']. This paragraph then creates a new context, or context shift, away from simple 同性(恋者) *tongxing(lianzhe)* 'same-sex (people)' and towards the gender defined 女同性恋者 *nütongxinglianzhe* 'female homosexual'. This paragraph is then followed by a paragraph which contains the remaining five *ta* tokens (Table 9.10). This paragraph is the same as the text in sections 2, 3, and 4 of Table 9.2. However, due to the different textual structuring the referents of these five *ta* tokens are not gender neutral but explicitly taken as 女同性恋者 *nütongxinglianzhe* 'female homosexual'. It is for this reason also that the five tokens are only used as LGBTQ pronouns and not for identity construction. That is, in this example 5 of 8 tokens are female homosexual explicit and used as LGBTQ pronouns while 3 of 8 tokens are used as LGBTQ pronouns and for Self and Third Person Identity Construction with 'homosexual' as the third person referent.

Table 9.10 Chain Post Discourse 18 Example Chart Section 2

Data Item	Chain Post Discourse 18
Community	C3
Thread Title	好伤心 So heartbroken
Date	2018-04-28
Content for Analysis (Original)	女同性恋 in previous paragraph [...] 和异性恋不同，挽回同性，难度更大，毕竟对方在重新接受你的同时， 也意味着 TA[57:1] 需要重新回到这一个世界， 而这个世界的人毕竟还是少众，受不到身边人的支持， 甚至受到更多的是歧视以及压力。　　　　　　2

	并且，TA^{57:2} 还要考虑并时刻提防会不会 在不久的将来你也对 TA^{57:3} 最同样的事——爱上异性而抛弃 TA^{57:4} 。 } 3 是的，TA^{57:5} 在考虑的东西，远远比你多， 这也注定了你在决定挽回的那一刻起， } 4 你的前路就注定不平坦。
Content for Analysis (Translation)	女同性恋 Female Homosexual in previous paragraph [...] Unlike heterosexuality, it is more difficult to get back the same sex, After all, while the other party accepts you again, it also means that TA^{57:1} needs to return to this world, and the people in this world are still very small and cannot receive the support of those around them. } 2 What is received is even more discrimination and pressure. Furthermore, TA^{57:2} must also consider and always beware of whether you will do the same thing to TA^{57:3} in the near future—— Fall in love with the opposite sex and abandon TA^{57:4} } 3 Yes, the things that TA^{57: 5} are considering are far more than what you are considering, this is also doomed from the moment you decide to get back together, your road ahead is destined to be uneven. } 4

In this particular case, appraisal analysis of the first textual portion does not add to the discussion and is thus not presented. In addition, due to it being the same text portion as the previous example, a repeat of the appraisal analysis for the last five tokens in the second textual portion is not necessary and is thus not presented. While this example showed how the text can be manipulated to target female homosexuals, the next section demonstrates how the discourse can also subsequently be manipulated to target male homosexuals.

9.5 Example 3: *ta* usage for LGBTQ Pronoun and Identity Construction for 'Male Homosexual'

In this example of Chain Post Discourse 1, which is of the 在现代社会 *zaixiandaishehui* 'In Modern Society' type, eight occurrences of *ta* are all used as LGBTQ pronouns only. The text

starts with the statement that 爱情无国界 ' Love has no Boundaries', a subtype of the 在现代社会 *zaixiandaishehui* 'In Modern Society'. The two sentences following the statement function to state that homosexual relationships are just like heterosexual ones in terms of emotional needs, but how to get back together for homosexual couples is less talked about. This leads to the next paragraph which contains four male 他 'he' tokens. The paragraph encourages 'you' to directly communicate with the other party that you honestly want to get back together. The paragraph cautions that 'He' will not be in a state of mind open to listening to what you have to say after breaking up with you and thus will likely ignore your calls and texts etc., only thinking of your bad points and the pain you caused him. From the beginning, this paragraph establishes an implicit context of 'male homosexual' relationships through 同性 'same-sex' and pronoun use 他 'he' ; however the explicit term 男同性 *nantongxing* 'male same-sex' is never used. The paragraph following this continues this frame by describing how you should reflect on how you have treated 他 'Him' and what you will do to change or fix the problems caused by that behaviour.

Following these two paragraphs we encounter the core of the Chain Post Discourse texts which consists of the two reasons for breaking-up: the first external factors and the second internal factors. As with Chain Post Discourse 3, all eight *ta* tokens occur in the second reason for breaking-up. However, different from Chain Post Discourse 3 is that the referent of the *ta* tokens is implied to be homosexual male from the first paragraph (Table 9.11).

Table 9.11 Chain Post Discourse 1 Example Chart

Data Item	Chain Post Discourse 3
Community	C3
Thread Title	爱情无国界 [Love has no Boundaries]
Date	2017-01-07

Content for Analysis (Original)	[...] 他 'he' in previous paragraph [...] 这个内部问题就比较好解决。 — 1 和异性恋不同，挽回同性，难度更大，毕竟对方在重新接受你的同时， 也意味着 TA[57:1] 需要重新回到这一个世界， 而这个世界的人毕竟还是少众，受不到身边人的支持， 甚至受到更多的是歧视以及压力。 — 2 并且，TA[57:2] 还要考虑并时刻提防会不会 在不久的将来你也对 TA[57:3] 最同样的事——爱上异性而抛弃 TA[57:4]。 — 3 是的，TA[57:5] 在考虑的东西，远远比你多， 这也注定了你在决定挽回的那一刻起， 你的前路就注定不平坦。 — 4 同性之爱比较纯真，所以你的真诚和那颗永不背叛的心， 才能让 TA[57:6] 义无反顾地和你在一起， 让 TA[57:7] 感受到你给 TA[57:8] 的安全感。 很多时候，因为害怕失去，害怕受伤，所以选择放弃，选择分手 — 5
Content for Analysis (Translation)	[...] 他 'he' in previous paragraph [...] This internal problem is easier to solve. — 1 Unlike heterosexuality, it is more difficult to get back the same sex. After all, while the other party accepts you again, it also means that TA[57:1] needs to return to this world, and the people in this world are still very small and cannot receive the support of those around them. What is received is even more discrimination and pressure. — 2 Furthermore, TA[57:2] must also consider and always beware of whether you will do the same thing to TA[57:3] in the near future—— Fall in love with the opposite sex and abandon TA[57:4] — 3

| | Yes, the things that TA[57: 5] are considering are far more than what you are considering, this is also doomed from the moment you decide to get back together, your road ahead is destined to be uneven. | 4 |
| | Same-sex love is relatively innocent, so your sincerity and the heart that never betrays, Are needed to make TA[57:6] be with you without hesitation, let TA[57:7] feel the sense of security you give to TA[57:8]. Many times, because of fear of loss and injury, so choose to give up and break up. | 5 |

Like above, appraisal analysis does not add to the discussion and is thus not presented. This example showed how the text can be manipulated to implicitly target male homosexuals resulting in the use of *ta* being an LGBTQ pronoun.

9.6   Summary and implications for corpus

Through its categorization and third person referent chain analysis, in combination with appraisal, this chapter reinforces the use of *ta* as having high degrees of political belonging when used by the LGBTQ Community for the LGBTQ Community. This chapter shows how a specifically LGBTQ engineered text can target sub-groups within the LGBTQ Community. Example 1 showed the general targeting of 'any' LGBTQ member through the reference chain built on the use of *ta* and 3PP MCD 同性 *tongxing* 'same-sex', Example 2 showed the specific targeting of lesbians through the reference chain built on the use of *ta* and 3PP MCD 女同性恋者 *nütongxinglianzhe* 'female homosexual', and Example 3 showed the specific targeting of gay men through the reference chain built on the use of *ta* and third person pronoun 他 'he'. This chapter also explored how the specific purpose of the Chain Post Discourse has implications for the larger corpus results. That is, *ta* usage in Chain Post Discourse accounts for the majority of occurrences in: 1) the specific categories of specific referents of other sexual orientation, and 2) referents of female of 'Other' sexual orientation known to be homosexual. With Chapter 9 bringing the qualitative discussion to a close, Chapter 10 serves as the conclusion for the study in its entirety.

10   Synthesis and Conclusion

As the last chapter of the dissertation as a whole, Chapter 10 does not present a summary of each individual chapter but a synthesis of their results. This approach is taken because it allows for clarification of the micro connections between stance and discourse type and usage and community, and the overarching macro connection between discourse type and community (see 10.1). The drawing of these connections is only possible once each of the four components (i.e. stance, discourse type, usage, and community) have been sufficiently contextualized and exemplified via the qualitative analysis, as shown by the progression of the dissertation's structure. Each chapter stands alone and is representative of its assigned 'space' along the continuum of non-belonging. That is, each chapter, which illustrates pragmatic functions of '*ta*' grouped along a continuum from non-belonging (i.e. Othering) to belonging, is a unique and integral piece of a larger pragmatic puzzle. Consequently, each chapter has its own conclusion (i.e. interim summary) which specifies the focal pragmatic function(s) of each chapter, as well as the stance(s) responsible for the pragmatic function(s) with implications for degrees of belonging along the continuum.

This dissertation explored the use of genderless third person pronoun *ta*, as well as other co-occurring third person referential forms, in digital Anti and Pro LGBTQ discourses with a three-fold purpose (see 1.3 above). Specifically, this dissertation examined the use of *ta* and other third person referential forms in three communities: C1 (Anti-LGBTQ Ba 反同恋吧 *Fantonglianba*), C2 (Tongzhi Ba 同志吧 *Tongzhiba*), and C3 (LGBTQ Ba 同性恋吧 *Tongxinglainba*)(see above 2.2.1).

In line with its first purpose, the study focused on the pragmatic and interactional usages of a new and understudied language phenomenon, gender-obscuring nonstandard spelling, in relation to the underdeveloped research area of third person pronouns. In line with its second purpose, this study addresses the gap in literature pertaining to addressee-text interaction from a discursive perspective, as well as overcomes the hegemonic focus on first and second person pronouns in discursive analyses. In line with its third purpose, through its analysis of the speaker-addressee relationship in conjunction with gender identity construction, the study shows the strengths of an inductive mixed-methods and qualitative approach in filling research gaps left by traditional approaches.

The communities were analyzed using a discursive pragmatic approach based on a Framing, Positioning, and Stance Theories Framework relying on the application of Appraisal Theory, Intertextuality, Membership Categorization Devices (MCDs), and Indexicality (see above 2.3.2). This exploration was accomplished through basic quantitative and extensive qualitative means which produced what is coined in this study as the Ta Categorization Schema (see above 3.1). The Ta Categorization Schema served as the foundation for approaching the following four empirical research questions (RQs) put forth in Chapter 1:

1) What third person referential forms are present in Chinese LGBTQ discourses?
2) What are the pragmatic functions of these referential forms?
3) What are the linguistic environments of these referential forms and how do they contribute to the pragmatic function?
4) How do these referential forms function to (de/re/co-) construct self and other identities as well as reveal language users' attitudes and ideologies towards those others construct self and other identities?

The scope of these questions was restricted to focus almost exclusively on *'ta'*, with the exception of the illustration of the Special Case (see 2.3.2.3 Table 2.24), due to feasibility of a dissertation topic (see 10.2 for further discussion).

RQ1 is directly addressed in Chapter 3 as represented by the Ta Categorization Schema. The illustration The Ta Categorization Schema provides a comprehensive overview of each third person referential form that is linked to a *'ta'* token. Specifically, (Section 3.3) shows 36 unique third person referential forms linked to *'ta'* and (Table 3.4) and (Table 3.5) collectively show an additional 90 unique third person referential forms linked to *'ta'*, bringing the total to 126 unique forms. The more unique referents there are, the more complex the pragmatic properties of *'ta'* are. Resonating with the title, within the qualitative analyses in Chapters 4-9, further relevant third person referential forms are discussed in context.

RQ2 and RQ3 are addressed by the structure of this dissertation with a focus on *'ta'*. Each chapter is structured around a specific stance along two continuums: (a-)political and (non-)belonging. Through an inductive qualitative approach to the data, 11 pragmatic functions of *'ta'* emerged in this study as 'usage types': 1) Othering A: refusing gender, 2) Othering B:

dehumanization, 3) Othering C: downgrading social integrity, 4) Othering D: co-constructing Other identity, 5) Indicating Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation (implicit Othering), 6) Comprehensive Group Inclusion, 7) as an LGBTQ Pronoun, 8) as a General 3PP, 9) in Unknown Circumstances, 10) as being Open in Relation to 'You', and 11) for Self and Third Person Identity Construction.

These 11 pragmatic functions were then grouped based on similarities in the linguistic environments of *'ta'* as a referential form. The linguistic environments contributed to the pragmatic formation of stance which was a key factor in determining the degree of (non-)belonging for each *'ta'* along the (a-)political continuum. Consequently, pragmatic functions 1-4 (Othering, see Chapter 4) were collectively grouped under Negative Stance for Political Non-Belonging; pragmatic function 5 (Indicating Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation/implicit Othering, see Chapter 5) was portrayed under Negative Stance for Political Non-Belonging; pragmatic functions 6 and 7 (Comprehensive Group Inclusion and LGBTQ Pronoun, see Chapter 6) were collectively grouped under Neutral/Positive vs. Negative Stance and (A-)Political Belonging; pragmatic functions 8 and 9 (as a General 3PP and in Unknown Circumstances, see Chapter 7) were collectively grouped under Neutral/Positive Stance and Apolitical Belonging; and pragmatic functions 10 and 11 (Identity Construction in Relation to 'You' and of the 'Self' and the 'Third Person', see Chapter 8) were collectively grouped under Positive Stance and Political Belonging. Pragmatic functions 7 (LGBTQ Pronoun) and 11 (self and third person identity construction) were also featured in Chapter 9 which separately highlighted results from Chain Post Discourse, i.e. a text that exists in multiple variations [108].

RQ4 is continuously addressed in each empirical, qualitative example examined throughout this dissertation in Chapters 4-9 through textual structure, 3PP NP MCDs (Third Person Perspective Noun Phrase Membership Categorization Devices), (co-)reference chains, and appraisal analyses.

A total of 42 qualitative examples were presented in this dissertation: seven examples in Chapter 4; three examples in Chapter 5; 10 examples in Chapter 6; 10 examples in Chapter 7; nine examples in Chapter 8; and three examples in Chapter 9. Each example in this dissertation was carefully selected to highlight two aspects: 1) the connection between discourse type, a component

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[108] In this study, Chain Post Discourse is defined as a text that exists in multiple variations – all texts have the same theme (breaking up), content, syntax, and the same textual structure/features with degrees of internal variation (see 2.2.4 above and Chapter 9 for more).

of the linguistic environment, and usage type/stance; and 2) the connection between usage type/stance and Community. As the ending chapter of this study, the following sections of this conclusion function to synthesize and put into perspective these connections (10.1) and acknowledge the limitations of the study while touching upon further avenues of research (10.2).

10.1 Synthesis

A synthesis from the study results is presented below from two angles: 1) discourse distribution within usage type (10.1.1) and 2) usage type distribution within community (10.1.2). The goal in approaching the synthesis this way is to present a discussion which 1) highlights the interplay between stance and discourse type, 2) highlights the interplay between usage and community, and 3) through the highlighting of these two interchanges draws the larger connection between discourse type and community.

With a focus on discourse distribution within function type, representative charts corresponding to each chapter will be individually presented and discussed. The discussion will focus on raw numbers as well as a compositional percentage within the chapter. After examining the discourse distribution within usage type for each individual chapter, an aggregate chart of all usage types across the corpus will be presented with a focus on discourse distribution. With a focus on usage type distribution within community, representative charts corresponding to each community will be individually presented and discussed. Following the focus on usage type distribution within each individual community, an aggregate chart of all usage types across the corpus will be presented with a focus on community distribution.

10.1.1 Discourse Distribution within Usage Type

This angle allows for an examination of how stance is connected to discourse type and highlights patterns between the two components.

In Chapter 4, I examined the usages of *'ta'* when *'ta'* is the explicit 'Other' in Anti and Pro LGBTQ Communities through seven examples. This usage exhibited a negative stance used to create spaces of political non-belonging in conjunction with explicit Othering. As noted in the same chapter, there are four types of Othering and they total 36 occurrences: Othering A: refusing to recognize an LGBTQ individual's self ascribed identity (11 occurrences); Othering B: dehumanizing an LGBTQ individual (15 occurrences); Othering C: downgrading social integrity

(5 occurrences); and Othering D: co-constructing the identity of an 'other' in their absence (5 occurrences) (Figure 10.1).

The most common Discourse Type showing usage of Othering is Narrative Discourse, with 14 occurrences for Othering B, two four Othering C, and two for Othering D, a cumulative total of 18 occurrences (Figure 10.1). Next is Opinion Discourse with six occurrences used for Othering A and one for Othering B, a total of seven occurrences (Figure 10.1). This is followed by Information Seeking Discourse with two occurrences each for Othering C and Othering D, a total of four occurrences (Figure 10.1). One instance in Guidebook/Advertisement Discourse is used for Othering A and Othering C, a total of two. This distribution is significant when considered in conjunction with that of Chapter 5 (Figure 10.2), the second part addressing implicit Othering.

Chapter 5 focusses on Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation, which has six occurrences: three in Essay Discourse, and one each in Opinion, Guidebook, and Narrative Discourse. All the discourse types within which *'ta'* is embedded to pragmatically conduct Othering can be considered as interactive discourse environments where negative stances commonly emerge. No Othering work is done with *'ta'* in News or Partner Advertisement Discourse – discourse types which are typically neutral and positive in stance respectively.
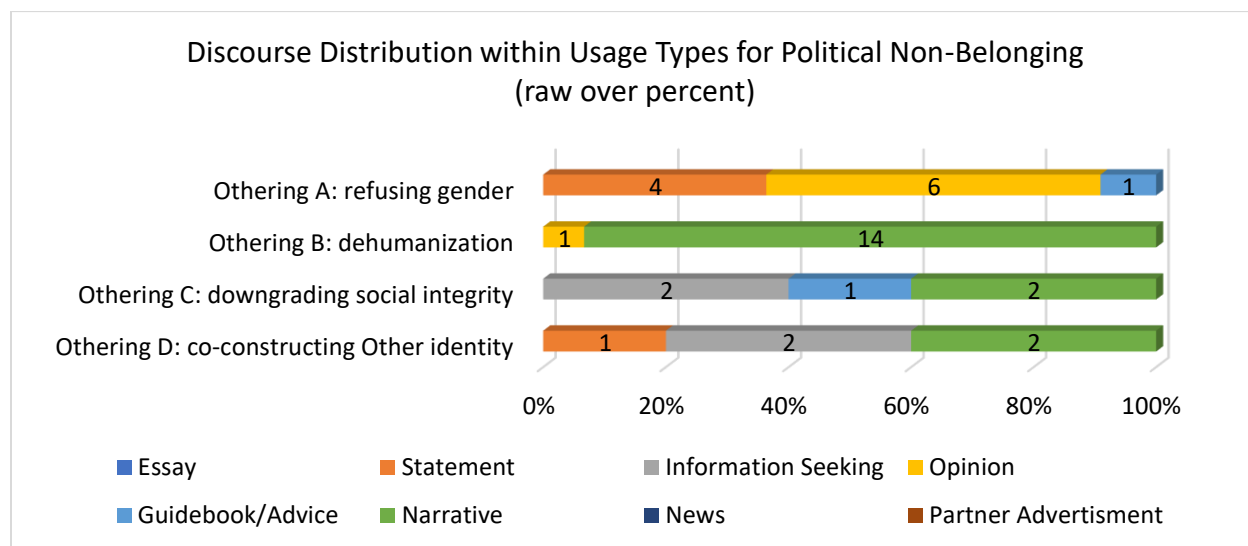
Figure 10.1 Chapter 4 Discourse Distribution within Usage Types
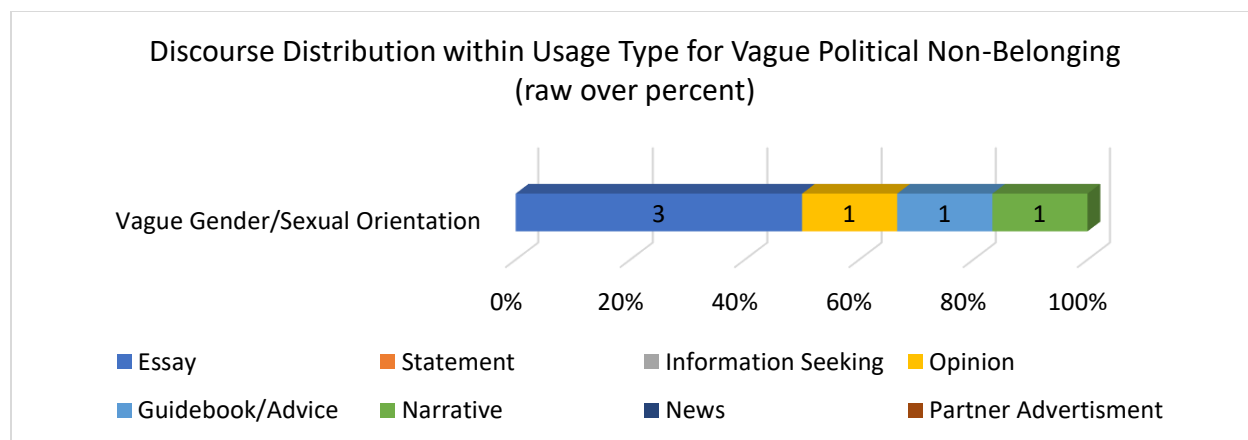
Figure 10.2 Chapter 5 Discourse Distribution within Usage Types

In Chapter 6, I examined two fuzzy usages of *'ta'* when the context determined whether belonging was apolitical or political through 10 examples from Anti and Pro communities. This usage exhibited a neutral/positive stance for apolitical belonging and negative stance used to create spaces of political belonging. As noted in the same chapter, the two types are: 1) as an LGBTQ Pronoun, and 2) as a third person referential form for Comprehensive Group Inclusion. Chapter 6 focussed on these two usages independently of the occurrences in Chain Post Discourse (Chapter 9) and the same will be done here. A total of 72 LGBTQ Pronoun usages of *'ta'* occur outside Chain Post Discourse, and 24 usages for Comprehensive group occur (Figure 10.3). This makes for a total of 96 fuzzy usages of *'ta'* when the context determined whether belonging was apolitical or political. When designed for a general audience or referring to a general third person/group, a Neutral stance and exploitation of (co-)reference chains is used to construct apolitical spaces of belonging. When targeting specific LGBTQ individuals who are referred to as *'ta'* or specific groups with the plural marker 们 *men,* a Positive stance and exploitation of (co-)reference chains is used to construct political spaces of belonging.

The most common Discourse Type showing fuzzy usage is Narrative Discourse, with 57 occurrences for LGBTQ Pronoun and nine for Group, a total of 66 occurrences (Figure 10.3). This is followed by Essay Discourse, with nine vs five occurrences, a total of 14; Information Seeking Discourse with four vs three occurrences, a total of seven; Opinion Discourse with 1 vs 5, a total of six occurrences; Partner Advertisement Discourse with one occurrence each for a total of two occurrences; and one occurrence in Statement Discourse for Group Inclusion (Figure 10.3). All the discourse types within which *'ta'* is embedded to pragmatically conduct fluid, i.e. fuzzy,

belonging can be considered as interactive discourse environments where a single, firm stance is not required. That is, there are no constructions of fuzzy belonging in Essay, Guidebook/Advertisement, nor Partner Advertisement Discourse which require clear stances.
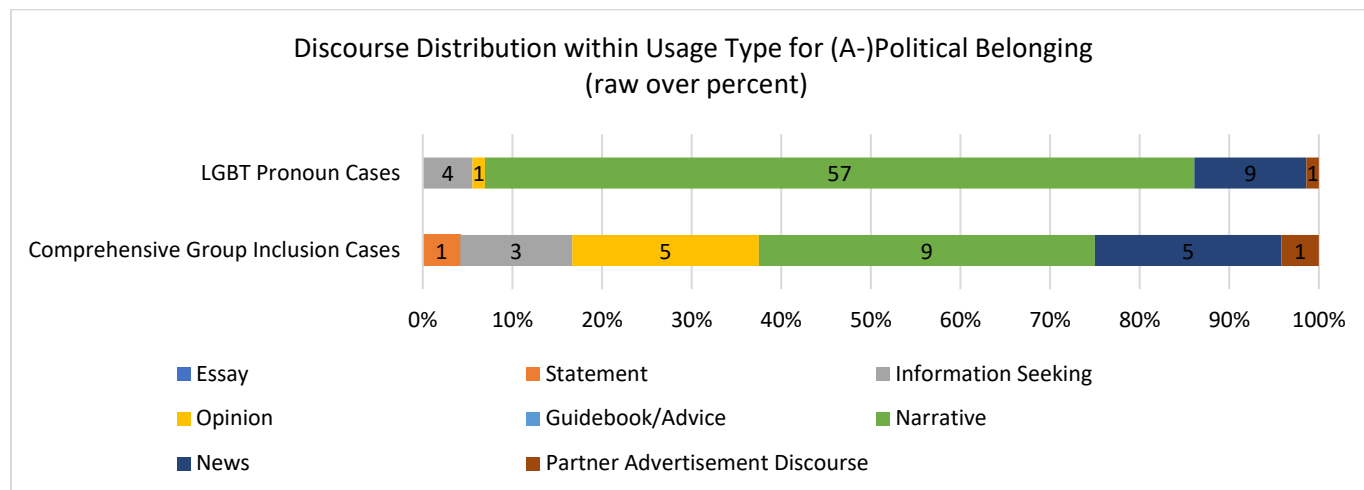
Figure 10.3 Chapter 6 Discourse Distribution within Usage Types

In Chapter 7, two usages of *'ta'* when *'ta'*'s third person attributes are irrelevant to the communicative goal, as well as the pragmatic implications of this irrelevance for apolitical belonging, were examined through 10 examples from Anti and Pro communities. This usage exhibited a neutral/positive stance for apolitical belonging, as identified in Chapter 6, with the two types being: 1) as a General 3PP form, and 2) in Unknown Circumstances. A total of 24 General 3PP usages of *'ta'* occur and a total of 32 usages in Unknown Circumstances occur (Figure 10.4). This makes for a total of 56 usages of *'ta'* when *'ta'*'s third person attributes are irrelevant to the communicative goal. The author uses *'ta'* to refer to a specific individual who the author either has no third person attributive information about in terms of gender and sexuality, or who the author choses to not share third person attributes about to the reader.

The most common Discourse Type for definite apolitical belonging is Narrative Discourse, with 13 occurrences for General 3PP and 13 for Unknown, a total of 26 occurrences (Figure 10.4). This is followed by Guidebook/Advice Discourse with 3 vs 8 occurrences, a total of 11; Opinion Discourse with 5 vs 1, a total of six occurrences; Statement Discourse with five occurrences all in Unknown Circumstances; Information Seeking Discourse with all four occurrences in Unknown Circumstances; Partner Advertisement Discourse with 2 vs 1 occurrences, a total of three; and one Essay occurrence as a General 3PP (Figure 10.4). This category is one of two of the most diverse,

with seven of the eight main discourse types occurring. This indicates the role of *'ta'* as a generic, apolitical third person referential form of convenience and as a universal third person referent. That is, *'ta'* is used in multiple environments to achieve the same purpose: filling an obligatory syntactic slot of a third person actor in communication which needs to be filled in order to facilitate the main communicative goal focussed on a topic or behaviour. The usage does not occur in News Discourse which is expected to contain facts pertaining to the who, what, when, where, how, and sometimes why, aspects of a newsworthy event.
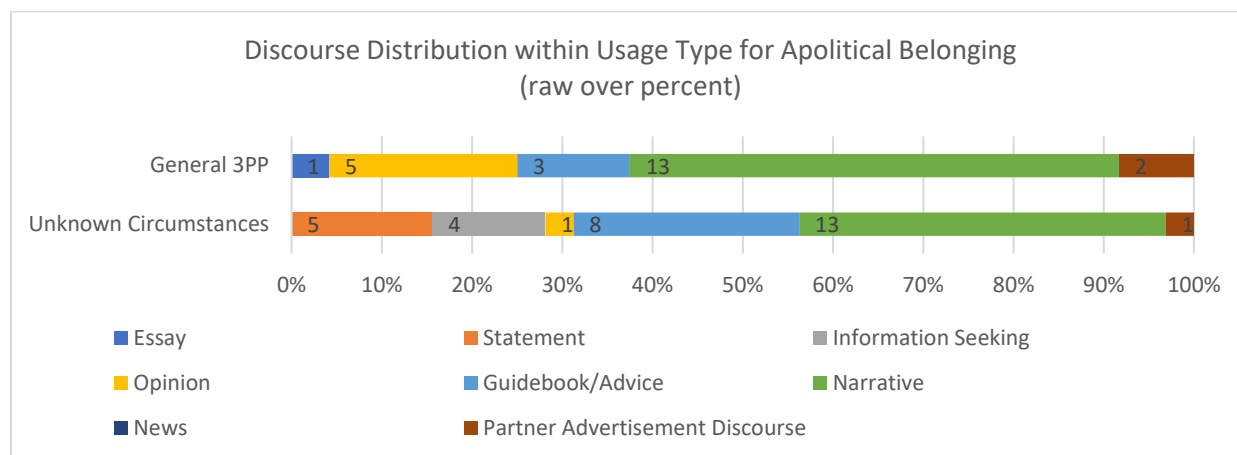
Figure 10.4 Chapter 7 Discourse Distribution within Usage Types

In Chapter 8, two usages of *'ta'* when *'ta'*'s identity construction in a space of belonging is politically at play were examined through nine examples from the Pro communities. This usage exhibited a largely positive stance with the two types: 1) when the identity of *'ta'* is left open for construction in relation to 'You', and 2) when the identity of *'ta'* is constructed in relation to the 'Self' and/or for an absent third person. Chapter 8 focussed on these usages independently of the occurrences in Chain Post Discourse (Chapter 9) and the same will be done here. A total of 165 usages of *'ta'* occur for identity construction in relation to 'You' and a total of 192 usages in relation to the 'Self' and/or for an absent third person occur (Figure 10.5). This makes for a total of 357 usages of *'ta'* when *'ta'*'s identity construction in a space of belonging is politically at play. The chapter results show how the speaker/author plays a significant roles in setting interpretations and representations of *'ta'* through co-reference chains, MCDs, and attitudinal appraisal. The audience co-constructs these aspects of interpretation and representation. Common features seen were heteroglossia, intertextuality, and null appraisal.

The most common Discourse Type for definite political belonging is Narrative Discourse, with 21 occurrences for identity construction in relation to 'You' and 176 in relation to Self and Third

Person, a total of 197 occurrences (Figure 10.5). This is followed by Guidebook/Advice Discourse with a total of 120 occurrences all for identity construction in relation to 'You'; Partner/Advertisement Discourse with 4 vs 10, a total of 14 occurrences; Statement Discourse with 9 vs 3 occurrences, a total of 12; Opinion Discourse with 5 vs 3 occurrences, a total of eight; Information Seeking Discourse with all four occurrences in open in relation to 'You'; and two Essay occurrences as open in relation to 'You' (Figure 10.5). This category is by far the most diverse, with seven of the eight main discourse types occurring. This indicates the role of *'ta'* as a politically charged third person referential form in the pragmatic process of identity construction. That is, the orthography properties of *'ta'* allow for universal, apolitical reference, which becomes pragmatically political when contextualized as a factor of identity construction. The usage does not occur in News Discourse which is unlikely to be concerned with political identity construction on account of being expected to maintain neutrality and report facts.
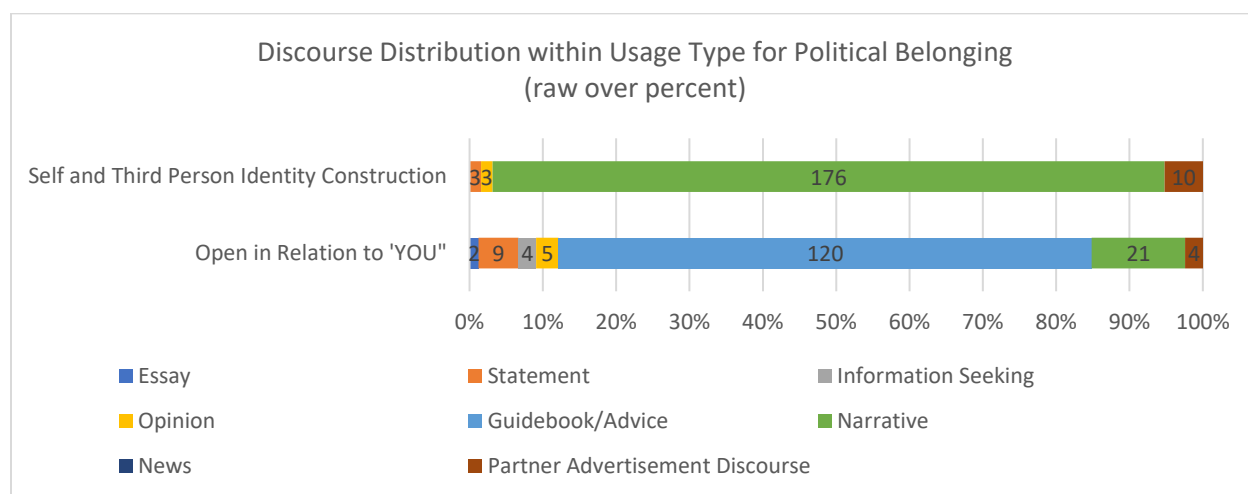
Figure 10.5 Chapter 8 Discourse Distribution within Usage Types

In Chapter 9, two usages of *'ta'* which appear in Chain Post Discourse, a category which quantitatively skews results, were examined through three progressive examples. These two usages are 1) as an LGBTQ Pronoun, and 2) for self and third person identity construction. Through each example, Chapter 9 results showed how the discourse if purposefully manipulated to be consumed by LGBTQ members through the use of *'ta'* and corresponding MCDs. With Positive stance to create spaces of political belonging, the discourse is break-up/make-up discourse (i.e. how to get back with your ex). All 21 Chain Post Discourse *ta*-texts occur in C3 and there are 5 subtypes. Each Chain Post Discourse *ta*-text has multiple *'ta'* tokens. Although a total of 165 physical tokens occur, there are 290 *'ta'* token usage entries. This is due to the fact that all instances in Chain Post

Discourse are LGBTQ pronoun usage, but all are not necessarily used for self and third person identity construction. Consequently, 165 usages for LGBTQ pronoun and 125 usages for Self and Third Person Identity Construction are seen (Figure 10.6). Through third person referent chain analysis, in combination with appraisal, Chapter 9 reinforces the use of *'ta'* as having high degrees of political belonging when used by the LGBTQ Community for the LGBTQ Community. When *'ta'* and 3PP MCD 同性 *tongxing* 'same-sex' are used in a co-reference chain, the text can target 'any' LGBTQ member. When *'ta'* and 3PP MCD 女同性恋者 *nütongxinglianzhe* 'female homosexual' are used in a co-reference chain, the text can target lesbians. When *'ta'* and third person pronoun 他 'he' are used in a co-reference chain, the text can target gay men.

Discourse Distribution within Usage Type for Chain Post Discourse (raw over percent)

Chain Post Discourse: 165 (LGBT Pronoun) | 125 (Self and Third Person Identity Construction)

□ LGBT Pronoun   □ Self and Third Person Identity Construction
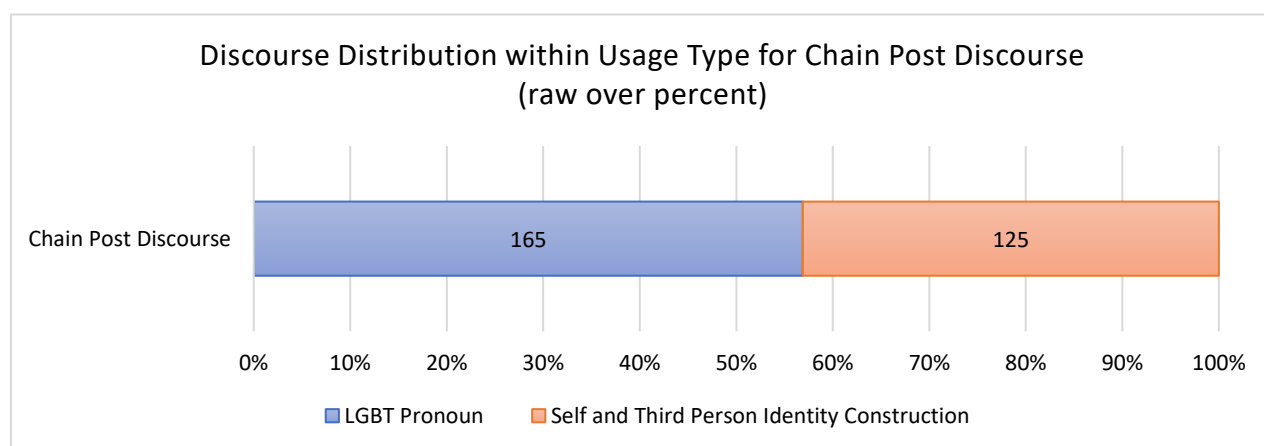
Figure 10.6 Chapter 9 Discourse Distribution within Chain Post Discourse

An aggregated overview of the discourse types by usage, including Chain Post Discourse, is shown in Figure 10.7 below. While the figure shows the percentage a Discourse Type takes within a Usage Type, the legend of the figure reflects the raw number of occurrences of Discourse Type within a Usage Type. The more colours that appear within a type, the more diverse the type is. The types are listed in the same order as presented in the dissertation, from Political Non-Belonging, i.e. Othering, to Political Belonging, i.e. exclusive Pro-LGBTQ Community usage. The two usage types where Chain Post Discourse (in brown) occurs, i.e. LGBTQ Pronoun and identity construction, standout as well as the percentage this usage takes within each type. Specifically, this usage in Chain Post Discourse for LGBTQ Pronoun accounts for about 70% of all LGBTQ pronoun usage and about 38% of all self and third person identity construction usage. Narrative Discourse (in green) is also a type that stands out across usages, a point which can be attributed to its greater number of occurrences in the corpus as well as longer text lengths (see Chapter 2).

Figure 10.7 also reflects that as the stance progresses from negative (top of figure) to positive (bottom of figure), more diversity can be seen in the discourse types within each usage.

	Self and Third Person Identity Construction	Open in Relation to 'You'	Unknown Circumstances	General 3PP	LGBTQ Pronoun	Comprehensive Group Inclusion	Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation	Othering D: co-constructing Other identity	Othering C: downgrading social integrity	Othering B: dehumaniz ation	Othering A: refusing gender
■ Essay		2		1			3				
■ Statement	3	9	5			1		1			4
■ Information Seeking		4	4		4	3		2	2		
■ Opinion	3	5	1	5	1	5	1			1	6
■ Guidebook/Advice		120	8	3			1		1		1
■ Narrative	176	21	13	13	57	9	1	2	2	14	
■ News					9	5					
■ Partner Advertisment	10	4	1	2	1	1					
■ Chain Post Discourse	125				165						

Figure 10.7 Aggregate Discourse Distribution within Usage Types

While this subsection explored the angle of discourse types within usage types, the next sub-section takes a broader approach by showing the usage type distribution by Community.

10.1.2 Usage Type Distribution within Community

This angle allows for an examination of how usage is connected to community and highlights patterns between the two components (with Chain Post Discourse omitted). When comparing the pie charts of each community, the following four points are observable:

1) The Anti-community C1 has the most diverse usage types, with at least two occurrences of every of the 11 usage types (Figure 10.8). This is in contrast to the C1 community being the least diverse in terms of discourse types. That is, the Anti-community is diverse in its usage, but has a fixed pool of discourse types that they produce and draw on;
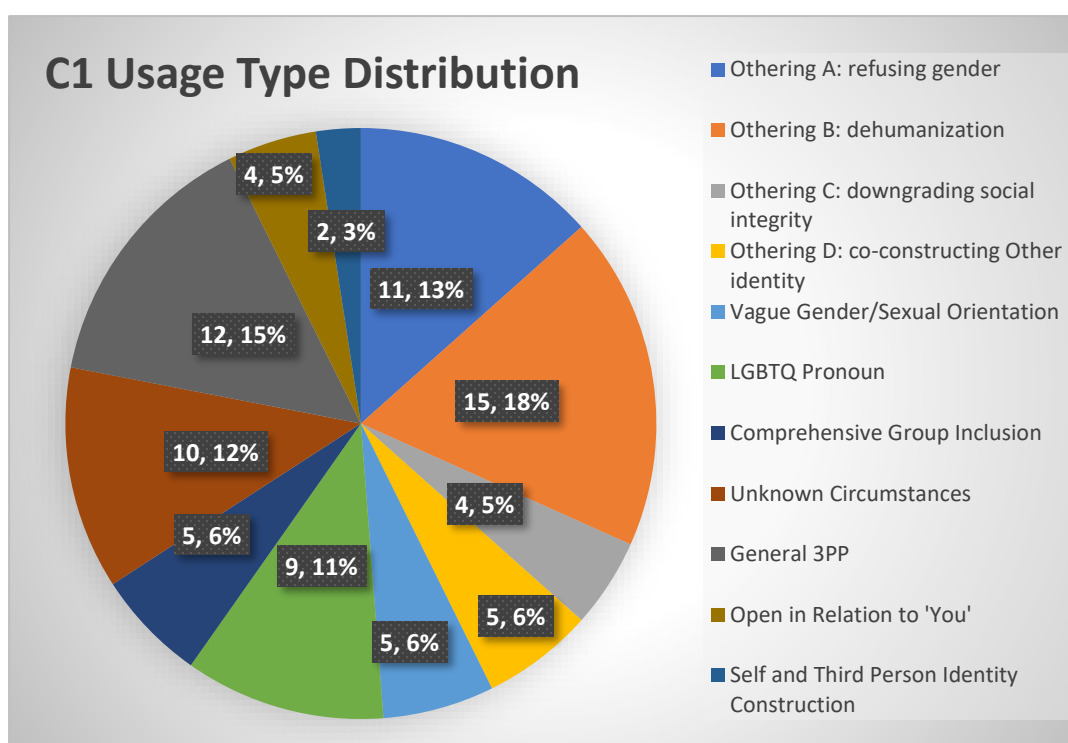
Figure 10.8 Anti-community C1 Usage Type Distribution

2) the usage type composition between Pro-community C2 (Figure 10.9) and Pro-Community C3 (Figure 10.10) are almost identical with one exception. C2 contains "Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation"(in light blue) usage while C3 instead contains "Othering C: downgrading social integrity" (in grey) usage. This is important in that it shows online communities united by similar beliefs and values also share the same language practices and stance;

3) both highly political belonging usages account for most of the composition in the Pro-communities with 41% and 35% for a total of 76% in C2 (Figure 10.9) and 29% and 44% for a total of 73% in C3 (Figure 10.10); and

4) the composition of the other usage types between C2 and C3 is also relatively equal with 15% vs 13% as an LGBTQ pronoun (in green); 3% vs 5% as Comprehensive group Inclusion (in navy); 2% vs 6% for Unknown Circumstance (in maroon); and 3% vs 3% as a General 3PP (in charcoal).
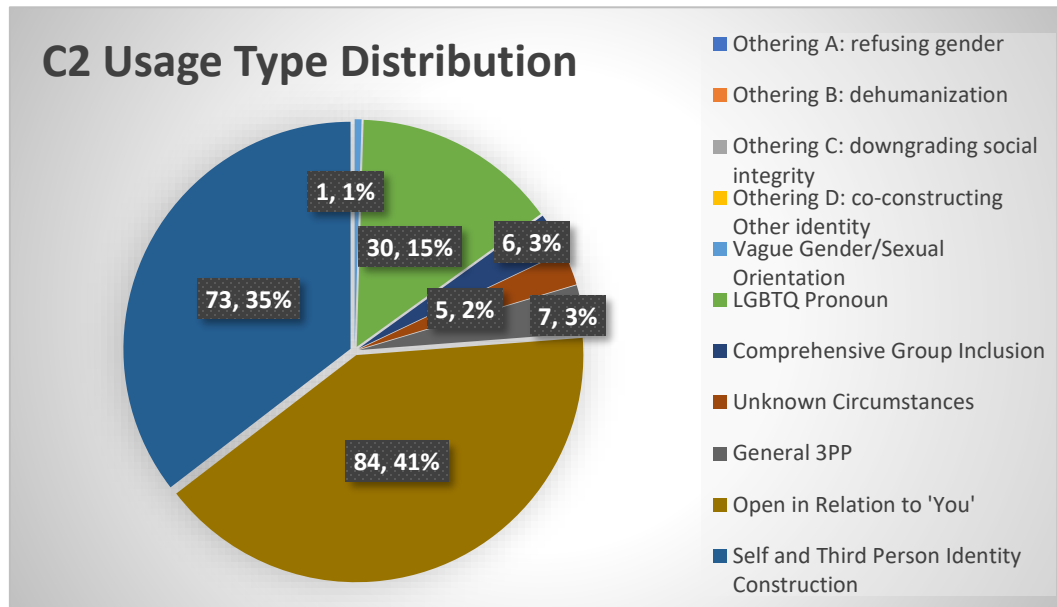
Figure 10.9 Pro-community C2 Usage Type Distribution
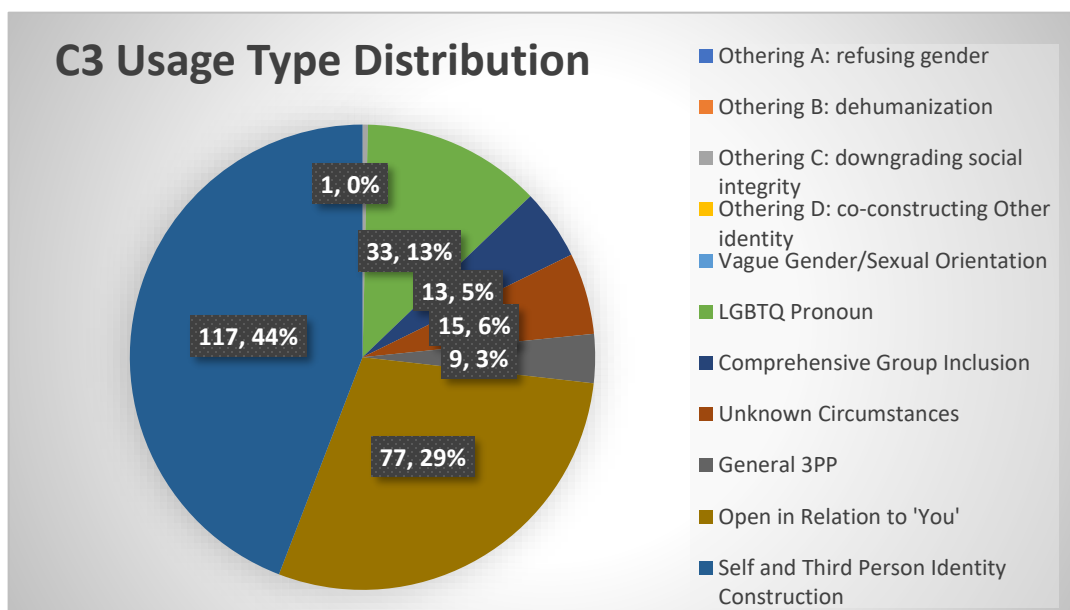
Figure 10.10 Pro-community C3 Usage Type Distribution

With the usage type distribution within each community highlighted individually, Figure 10.11 coagulates the results into one table to further put into perspective the exclusivity of some types without Chain Post Discourse. That is, Othering is almost exclusive to the Anti-community with two exceptions (see above 4.2). As with the pie chart above, Figure 10.11 also highlights how C1 contains each usage type. It is also apparent that there is a disproportion of occurrences between Anti and Pro discourse, will all Pro occurrences generally having a higher number than Anti occurrences.

USAGE TYPE BY COMMUNITY
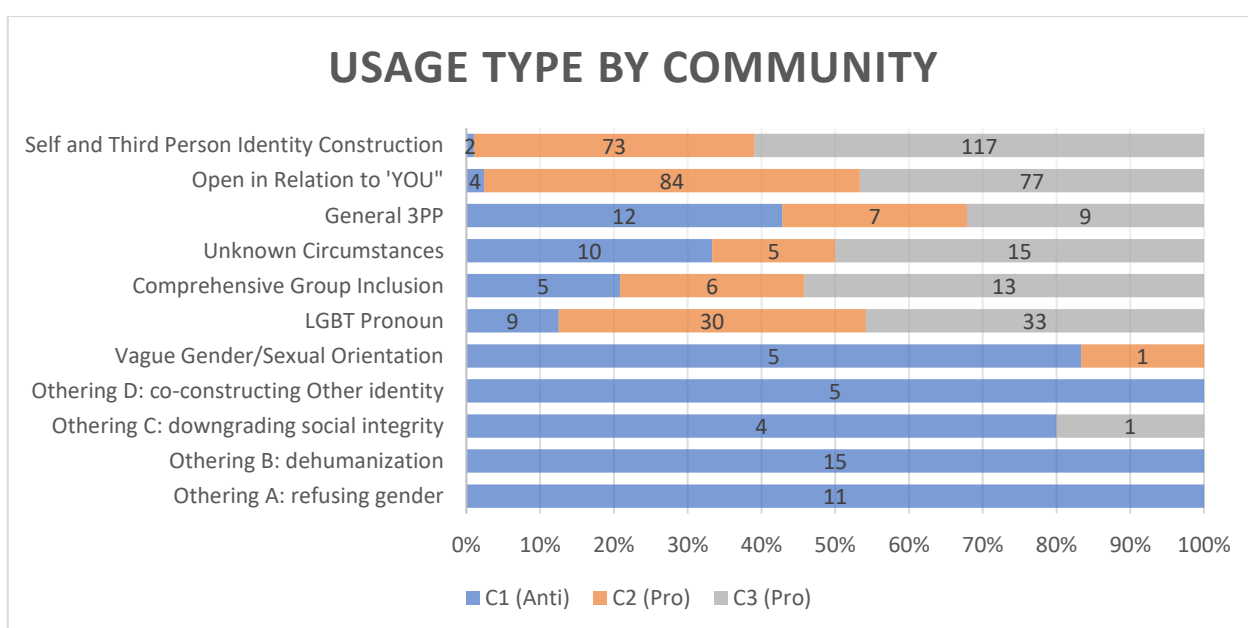
Figure 10.11 Usage Type Distribution by Community

This synthesis has summarized the project from two angles: 1) discourse distribution within usage type, and 2) usage type distribution within community. In the former portion, a discussion was carried out chapter by chapter outlining the number of examples, example types, and main purpose/finding of the chapter in relation to stance usage and the degree of *ta*'s belonging. This chapter by chapter approach was then consolidated into an aggregated figure (Figure 7) for visual summary. In the latter portion, a discussion was carried out community by community with a comparative focus. The discussion compared in-community ratios across communities, particularly the two Pro-communities, to highlight the stability of the corpus in having selected distinct, self-defined Internet communities. With the usage type angle and the community angle

outlined above, the implications that the larger connection between discourse type and community have for *'ta'* can be put into perspective.

A unifying component of communities is their collective stance towards something, while membership to a community, i.e. belonging, is governed by social norms of 'acceptability' as collectively recognized by a given community. As a member of a community, particularly language communities, individuals tend to exhibit similar stances as embodied by their language use. As a result of similar stances, individuals within a community also share similar linguistic features, of which include discourse types and usage types. The major linguistic feature of focus in this dissertation has been genderless third person pronoun *'ta'* and the exploitation of its pragmatic properties to (de-/re-/co-) construct degrees of belonging from insider and outsider perspectives.

The orthographic form is what allows *'ta'* to have an enlarged referential scope and is consequently conducive of its ability to house the (thus far) 11 identified pragmatic functions outlined in this dissertation. While *'ta'* has the innate ability to simultaneously house each of these functions, the discourse type in which *'ta'* is used acts as a containing frame which restricts the plausible end function of *'ta'* in application. That is, the innate functions of *'ta'* are morphed into applied functions when *'ta'* becomes contextualized within a discourse type. However, this is not the end of *ta*'s contextualization process and as thus a particular usage of *'ta'* cannot be identified. One step further in the contextualization process of *'ta'* is recognizing not only the discourse context of its usage, but the macro context as defined by the use of *'ta'* in a specific type of discourse by/within a specific community. It is at this macro level of community, governed by stance, that the notion of (non-)belonging is established, and the micro level of discourse type where the notion of (non-)belonging is maintained or destroyed.

A community governed largely by negative stance, i.e. the Anti-community in this dissertation, will use discourse types conducive of conveying negative positions to frame *'ta'* in a negative light and consequently restrict the innate pragmatic functions of *'ta'* to an applied function (or functions) which dictates a degree of belonging. Conversely, a community governed largely by positive stance, i.e. the Pro-communities in this dissertation, will use discourse types conducive of conveying positive positions to frame *'ta'* in a positive light and consequently restrict the innate pragmatic functions of *'ta'* to an applied function (or functions) which dictates a degree of belonging. That is, *'ta'* is a metaphorical chameleon – not only is *'ta'* fluid in terms of deictic

properties and pragmatics, but it is this fluidity which allows for precise, highly context-dependent and purposeful micro and macro usage at anytime. This chameleon like property of *'ta'* to 'blend in', i.e. belong in any discourse, shows promise for its continued language change and grammaticalization as a new third person pronoun.

Both the Anti-community LGBTQ discourse and the Pro-community LGBTQ discourse served as direct inspirations for the former part of this dissertation's title: Animate 'It' and Genderless 'Comrade'. Particularly in the Special Case, a form of Anti-LGBTQ discourse which was featured at the center of the methodology application, the usage of inanimate 它 *ta* 'it' is seen to refer to an LGBTQ member as a form of Othering in conjunction with *'ta'* to project political non-belonging. The same usage of inanimate 它 *ta* 'it' for Othering is also seen in Narrative Discourse 36 (see 8.4.1 above) from the Anti-LGBTQ community C1. This pragmatically results in animacy being ascribed to 它 *ta* 'it'; hence, Animate 'It'. In the context of Pro-community LGBTQ discourse, particularly the C2 Tongzhi Ba 同志吧 *Tongzhiba* community as represented by the Guidebook/Advice Discourse 6 excerpt (see 2.2.4.3. Table 2.8), *'ta'* is seen frequently paired with 同志 *Tongzhi* 'Comrade'. Admittedly, the term 同志 *Tongzhi* 'Comrade' is inherently unmarked for gender as a lexical item. However, once a given pronoun or gendered 3PP is paired with 同志 *Tongzhi* 'Comrade', like any other general 3PP, the gender becomes pragmatically assigned and contextualized – unless the pronoun is *'ta'*; hence, Genderless 'Comrade'. The latter portion of the title (i.e. Third Person Pronoun *ta* and Degrees of Belonging in Chinese LGBTQ Discourses) stems from the unifying features of these two 3PP MCDs: both create reference chains with *'ta'* and both have implications for degrees of belonging. While Animate 'It' represents the right wing[109] of the spectrum for political non-belonging, Genderless 'Comrade' represents belonging on a gradient from the apolitical mid-ground (recall Yang (2016)'s finding of *Tongzhi* perceived as neutral) to the political left wing. Consequently, the title itself embodies the pragmatically fluid, chameleon-like degrees of belonging attainable through the use of *'ta'*.

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[109] Rydgren (2018) notes that, in accordance with the theories of Bobbio (1996), "One common way to distinguish between "left" and "right" is to view the former as egalitarian and the latter as non-egalitarian." That is, entities or groups of individuals who "actively work against inequalities are usually placed on the left" (Rydgren, 2018), in this case the Pro-communities, while entities or groups of individuals "that view inequalities as natural, or at least accept them without active political intervention, are placed on the right" (Rydgren, 2018), in this case the Anti-community. Another characteristic of those place on the right "is their hostility to measures aimed at reducing inequalities based on ethnicity, immigration status, or even gender" (Rydgren, 2018).

With the synthesis presented above, the following section introduces some limitations of the study as well as future avenues of research for questions that remain regarding *'ta'* and its pragmatic functions.

10.2 Limitations and Future Research

At the outset of the study, the goal was to focus on more than just *'ta',* hence 'third person referential form*s*'; however, examining *'ta'* itself was almost too much for this dissertation due to its highly complex and versatile pragmatic nature. Consequently, the only other third person referential forms that appear in the examples of the dissertation are those involved in the co-reference chains for the exhibited *'ta'* tokens. That is to say, there are many other third person referential forms in Chinese LGBTQ discourses which do not co-occur with *'ta'* and as a result these third person referential forms are not represented in the dissertation. Another limitation is that the length of each *ta*-text, and consequently third person referential form usage, varies and cannot be controlled. Related to this issue is a disproportionate sourcing of Anti and Pro *ta*-texts, with the Pro-communities containing more *ta*-texts and consequently more *'ta'* tokens. Indeed, it would be a further avenue of research to take the Anti and Pro LGBTQ Baidu Tieba Discourses Corpus used in this study and conduct a corpus assisted, quantitative token survey of each third person referential form. The survey could be conducted along several comparative parameters such as : 1) Community by Community; 2) Usage Type; and 3) Discourse Type. Doing so would give a foundational overview of "third person referential form vocabulary" in Anti and Pro LGBTQ Discourses. However, a point of caution would be that these results would be decontextualized and consequently may appear to conflict with the qualitative stance-based findings put forth in this dissertation.

In addition to what may be considered a narrow focus, the study was also impacted by temporal constraints imposed by the nature of Internet data. Specifically, only data from January 2017 onwards was available for collection in May 2019, yet such was not the case in early 2019 when I began exploring digital venues for data collection. Between February 2019-May 2019, Baidu Company began restricting the servers for data storage and retrieval. Consequently, search results prior to January 2017 for *'ta'* produced nullified/blank pages with the error message: 数据加载失败，翻下一页试试哇~ [Failed to load data, try the next page~]. At the time of writing, April 2021, the servers are still restricted yet the restriction seems arbitrary. Specifically, in the case of Anti-

community C1, search results going as far back as December 2012 (the earliest recorded occurrence) are accessible while those past December 2018 are not. In the case of Pro-community C2, search results going as far back as March 2011 (the earliest recorded occurrence) to as recent as April 2020 (the most recent recorded occurrence) are accessible with periodic gaps in the years 2016, 2015, 2012. In the case of Pro-community C3, search results going as far back as August 2015 (the earliest recorded occurrence) to as recent as October 2020 (the most recent recorded occurrence) are accessible. This dynamic highlights the transient nature of Internet data collection which is an ever-lingering limitation for computer mediated discourse studies in the Public Sphere: what is available 'today' may not be available 'tomorrow', and what was not available 'yesterday' may be available 'today'.

Given the context above, and in terms of future research, the corpus could be expanded by adding more data through constant channel monitoring of Baidu Tieba. As the corpus grows, it would be possible to historically document (to some extent) the usage of *'ta'* in the communities and how it may have evolved over time. Furthermore, psycholinguistic studies could be conducted on the basis of this study with a focus on creating spaces of political non-belonging and achieving Othering. The empirical language data in this category could be experimentally manipulated and placed in a modified form of self-paced reading and/or maze-tasks (see Sluchinski & Gallant, 2020; Gallant & Libben, 2020) to further determine the deictic properties and processing behaviour of *'ta'* in negative stance and rhetorical environments. Such a study would add empirical basis for theoretical backing of the Discourse Analytical results presented in this dissertation which are derived from subjective qualitative analysis, and may also provide a more comprehensive understanding of the social practice of Othering.

Furthermore, a pressing question which is left and not able to be addressed by a purely discursive study is the degree to which *'ta'* is considered socially acceptable and/or has become grammaticalized in Mandarin Chinese as an accepted form of language change. Although I have begun to approach this aspect from a psycholinguistics perspective (Sluchinski & Gallant, 2020), there is a more powerful methodology which could prove more socially relevant and offer better insight into specific cultural and regional groups of Chinese people: Ethnography. The implementation of semi-structured interviews in a variety of cities and regions across Mainland China, as well as in expat communities abroad, regarding the use of *'ta'* would provide valuable data that could contribute to building a grammaticalization profile of the third person pronoun as

well as potentially serve as a preliminary step in the direction of examining *ta* from a language ideologies perspective. This data and approach not only complement my discursive pragmatic methodology and could corroborate the results but could also help determine *ta*'s potential emergence as a genderless pronoun of equality like *hen* and/or as a dedicated LGBTQ pronoun in specific pragmatic contexts. That is, such an approach would create opportunity for a broader sociocultural discussion with regards to the *ta* phenomenon and what it means for society.

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Appendix A: List of Omitted Categorizations Included in Ta Categorization Schema

The original coding legend for the schema is shown below:

CODE	Explanation
3PP	Third person perspective
PG	Physical/Biological Gender at Birth
Bi	Bisexual
Cis	Cis Gender
EitherOr	Either Male or Female PG
EXP	Explicit
F	Female
FtM	Female to Male
Gen	Generic
GNB	Gender non-binary
Het	Heterosexual
Homo	Homosexual
Imp	Implicit
M	Male
MtF	Male to Female
NoSurg	No Sex Reassignment Surgery
Other	Other – non-cis
SG	Social Gender/Gender Identity
SO	Sexual Orientation
Spec	Specific
Surg	Sex Reassignment Surgery
Trans	Transgender
Unkn	Unknown PG and SG

List of Omitted Categorizations Included in Ta Categorization Schema

- F-Other_SO – Bi (PG=SG)
  - A female known to be bisexual whose physical gender matches their social gender
- F-Other_ SO-UnknGNB -NoSurg (PG≠SG -NoSurg)
  - A female who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has not had gender reassignment surgery
- F-Other_ SO-UnknGNB -Surg (PG≠SG -Surg)
  - A female who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who has had gender reassignment surgery
- M-Other_ SO-UnknGNB -UnknSurg (PG≠SG -UnknSurg)
  - A male who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who is known to have had gender reassignment surgery
- F-Other_ SO-UnknGNB -UnknSurg (PG≠SG -UnknSurg)
  - A female who is only known to be non-gender binary whose physical gender does not match their social gender and who is known to have had gender reassignment surgery
- EitherOr _ SO-Het-LikesUnkn
  - Either male or female heterosexual who likes someone of an unknown gender

Appendix A: List of Omitted Categorizations Included in Ta Categorizations Schema

- EitherOr _ SO-Het-LikesM
  - Either male or female heterosexual who likes males
- Spec-EitherOr _ SO-Unkn
  - A specific male or female who is only known to be of 'Other' sexual orientation
- EitherOr _ SO-Other-LikesUnkn
  - A male or female who is only known to be of 'Other' sexual orientation and whose preferences are unknown
- EitherOr _ SO-Other-LikesM
  - A male or female who is only known to be of 'Other' sexual orientation and who likes males

Full Ta Categorization Schema in Table Format

All Community Referents for *ta* (all/ some known gender and sexual orientation info)			
Category	Explicit (n)	Implicit (n)	Total (n)
M-Het SO (PG = SG)	4	2	**6**
F-Het SO (PG = SG)	1	1	**2**
M-Unkn SO (GI = CISorTRANS; SO = HETorOTHER ;)	--	3	**3**
F-Unkn SO (GI = CISorTRANS; SO = HETorOTHER ;)	10	1	**11**
M-Other SO-Homo (PG=SG)	9	90	**99**
F-Other SO-Homo (PG=SG	35	--	**35**
M-Other SO – Bi (PG=SG)	--	1	**1**
F-Other SO – Bi (PG=SG)	--	--	--
M-Other SO-UnknGNB -NoSurg (PG≠SG -NoSurg)	2	--	**2**
F-Other SO-UnknGNB -NoSurg (PG≠SG -NoSurg)	--	--	--
M-Other SO-UnknGNB -Surg (PG≠SG -Surg)	12	--	**12**
F-Other SO-UnknGNB -Surg (PG≠SG -Surg)	--	--	--
M-Other SO-UnknGNB -UnknSurg (PG≠SG -UnknSurg)	--	--	--
F-Other SO-UnknGNB -UnknSurg (PG≠SG -UnknSurg)	--	--	--
M-Other SO -LikesM (PG ? SG) CISorTRANS-HOMOorBI	--	5	**5**
F-Other SO -LikesF (PG ? SG) CISorTRANS-HOMOorBI	--	1	**1**
Total (n)	73	104	**177**

All Community Referents for *ta* (no known gender and sexual orientation info)			
Category	General (n)	Specific (n)	Total (n)
Unkn-3PP -Het_SO	1	2	**3**
Unkn-3PP-Unkn_SO	28	233	**261**
Unkn-3PP-Other_SO	21	178	**199**
Total (n)	50	413	**463**

EitherOr - All Community Referents for *ta* (n)	
EitherOr SO-Het-LikesUnkn	---
EitherOr SO-Het-LikesF	**2**
EitherOr SO-Het-LikesM	---
Gen-EitherOr SO-Unkn	**5**

Appendix A: List of Omitted Categorizations Included in Ta Categorizations Schema

Spec-EitherOr _ SO-Unkn	---
EitherOr _ SO-Other-LikesUnkn	---
EitherOr _ SO-Other-LikesF	**2**
EitherOr _ SO-Other-LikesM	---
Total (n)	**9**
Final Aggregated Total - All Community Referents for *ta* (n)	
Some known gender and sexual orientation info	**177**
No known gender and sexual orientation info	**463**
EitherOr	**9**
Cases that don't fit	**3**
Total (n)	**652**

Appendix B: List of Examples Appearing in Dissertation

Instance	Discourse Code	Community	Title	Chapter Used	Purpose/Usage Type	Table #	Example #
1	Essay Discourse 1	C1	"这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流"(This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts)	2 and 8	Sample of Discourse Type	2.7	1
2	Essay Discourse 2	C1	"同妻相关的若干问题" (The hardships of Wives of Homosexuals)	2 and 5	Sample of Discourse Type	-	-
3	Essay Discourse 3	C2	"【交友】从王凯所谓 Gay 圈名媛的事件看互联网时代抹黑一个人的成" ([make friend] Looking at the Internet era to discredit one's success from Wang Kai's so-called Gay circle incident.	2 and 7	Sample of Discourse Type	-	-
4	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 6	C2	我是异性恋，我是你的"同志" I am a heterosexual, I am your "Tongzhi/comrade"	2	Sample of Discourse Type	2.8	2
5	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 11	C3	今天听一节课，发现一个歧视同性恋的人，该怎么办，好想给她普及普及知识 Today in class I discovered a person who discriminates against homosexuality, what should I do, I want to open her eyes.	2 and 4	Sample of Discourse Type	2.9	3
6	Single Statement Discourse 2	C1	当一次学生把我普及下知识 When a student takes me to the next level of knowledge	2 and 4	Sample of Discourse Type	2.10	4

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7	Single Statement Discourse 8	C3	双性恋。。。是病吗? Bisexual…. Is it a disease?	2 and 8	Sample of Discourse Type	2.11	5
8	Single Statement Discourse 12	C3	请问大家 LGBT 中为什么这么讨厌或反感双性恋呢? Why do you hate or oppose bisexuality so much in LGBTQ?	2	Sample of Discourse Type	2.12	6
9	Information Seeking Discourse 1	C1	大家好新人报道我是来学习反同知识 Hello Everyone, new person reporting for duty, I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ	2 and 7	Sample of Discourse Type	2.13	7
10	Information Seeking Discourse 12	C3	在线等,真的! Waiting online, for real!	2	Sample of Discourse Type	2.14	8
11	News Discourse 1	C1	德国法院 German Court of Law	2	Sample of Discourse Type	2.15	9
12	Opinion Discourse 2	C1	"大家怎么看待同性恋艺术家大卫霍克尼" (How does everyone view homosexual artist David Hockney).	2 and 6	Sample of Discourse Type	2.16	10
13	Opinion Discourse 12	C2	[同志吧活动]5.17"世界不再恐同日"——撑同 Tongzhi Ba Activity – May 17 The International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia	2 and 7	Sample of Discourse Type	2.17	11
14	Opinion Discourse 14	C3	你怎样看待同性恋? How do you view homosexuality	2 and 8	Sample of Discourse Type	2.18	12
15	Partner Advertisement Discourse 4	C3	17, 可 p 可 t 大家可以互相了解了一段时间再认真考虑要不要 17, can p(be a girl) and t(be a boy) everyone can mutually understand, after a short time you can think about if you really want it or not	2 and 7	Sample of Discourse Type	2.19	13

Appendix B: List of Examples Appearing in Dissertation

16	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.20	14a
17	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.21	14 Ex1
18	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.23	14 Ex1
19	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.25	14 Ex1
20	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.26	15 Ex2
21	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.28	16
22	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.29	17
23	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.30	18
24	Special Case	Special Case	同妻相关的若干问题 Several Issues Related to Tongqi (homosexual's wife)	2	Sample of Coding and Analysis	2.31	19

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25	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 11	C3- Political Non-Belonging	今天听一节课，发现一个歧视同性恋的人，该怎么办，好想给她普及普及知识 Today in class I discovered a person who discriminates against homosexuality, what should I do, I want to open her eyes.	4 and 2	Othering C	4.27	6
26	Single Statement Discourse 1	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	"去别吧挖坟都能挖到腐男"[Go to another Thread and dig, you will find Male Yaoi Lovers]	4	Othering A AND Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation	4.7	2
27	Single Statement Discourse 2	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	当一次学生把我普及下知识 When a student takes me to the next level of knowledge	4 and 2	Othering A AND Unknown Circumstances	4.10	3
28	Narrative Discourse D23	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	"每天一贴" [A post a day].	4	Othering B/C AND General 3PP	4.23	5
29	Narrative Discourse D21	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	"我们到底在别人眼中是怎样的存在"[How do we exist in the eyes of others?]	4	Othering D AND General 3PP	4.3	7
30	Opinion Discourse 4	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	"[水一贴]金星（大爷）参演《林海雪原》惨遭群嘲" [Useless Post : Actor Jin Xing participates in Tracks in the Snow Forest and is ridiculed]	4	Othering A	4.2	1
31	Opinion Discourse 10	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	"有些人说爱情无关性别，同性恋只是刚好喜欢上一个性别相同的而已" [Some people say love does not heed gender, homosexuals just happen to come to like a same sex [person], nothing more]	4	Othering B AND Open in Relation to 'You'	4.19; 4.21	4

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32	Narrative Discourse D16	C2 - Political Non-Belonging	"[故事]爱上一个直男，我没有错" [Story] I fell in love with a straight guy, I did nothing wrong	5	Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation	5.2	1
33	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 3	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	"如何才能防止孩子被基腐文化掰弯？" (How can I stop my child from being influenced by "rot" culture and turning into a homosexual)	5	Vague Gender/ Sexual Orientation	5.5	2
34	Essay Discourse 2	C1 - Political Non-Belonging	"同妻相关的若干问题" (The hardships of Wives of Homosexuals)	5 and 2	Vague Gender/Sexual Orientation	5.12	3
35	News Discourse 4	C1 - Political Belonging	"人妖国首次出现人妖总理候选人" (The First Time a Ladyboy runs as Prime Minister Candidate in Ladyboy Country).	6	LGBTQ Pronoun	6.8	3
36	News Discourse 3	C1 - Apolitical Belonging	"台湾同志节目平权平出实话, 基佬恐女仇女登峰造极" (Taiwan's Tongzhi TV Program is Equal to the Truth, Jilao are afraid of women, feel animosity towards women reaching a climax)	6	Comprehensive Group	6.18	5
37	Partner Advertisement Discourse 5	C3 - Apolitical Belonging	"【日常记录】找 gay 蜜" [[Daily Record] Looking for a gay male-friend]	6	LGBTQ Pronoun	6.2	1
38	Partner Advertisement Discourse 3	C3 - Apolitical Belonging	"为什么 ta 们那么帅......没人要我嘛……" [Why are ta-plural that good looking.... doesn't anyone want me.....].	6	Comprehensive Group	6.23	7
39	Single Statement Discourse 9	C3 - Apolitical Belonging	"与爱为伍" [inclined to love].	6	Comprehensive Group	6.26	8

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40	Narrative Discourse D49	C3 - Political Belonging	"讲讲这两天发生的事" [Talking about what happened these past two days].	6	LGBTQ Pronoun and Comprehensive Group AND Self and Third Person Identity Construction	6.13	4
41	Narrative Discourse D18	C2 - Apolitical Belonging	"记录贴，随便写写看吧" [Record Post, just write and see]	6	Comprehensive Group	6.31	9
42	Information Seeking Discourse 6	C3 - Political and Apolitical Belonging	"[投票]如果你的同性恋人选择变形你还会继续和 ta 在一起吗" [Poll: if your same sex lover chose to change their sex, would you continue to be together with ta ?]	6	LGBTQ Pronoun AND Open in Relation to You	6.5	2
43	Opinion Discourse 2	C1 - Apolitical Belonging	"大家怎么看待同性恋艺术家大卫霍克尼" (How does everyone view homosexual artist David Hockney).	6 and 2	Comprehensive Group	6.2	6
44	Opinion Discourse 17	C2 - Political Belonging	"不敢正视同性恋，才是真的不正常" [What's really abnormal here is not daring to face the LGBTQ].	6	Comprehensive Group AND LGBTQ Pronoun		
45	Information Seeking Discourse 1	C1 - Apolitical Belonging	大家好新人报道我是来学习反同知识 Hello Everyone, new person reporting for duty, I have come to learn the ways of ANTI LGBTQ	7 and 2	Unknown Circumstances	7.2; 7.3; 7.7	1
46	Single Statement Discourse 4	C1 - Apolitical Belonging	"百合控的 ky 言论整合" [Girlslove ky discussion compilation].	7	Unknown Circumstances	7.11	2
47	Narrative Discourse 4	C2 - Apolitical Belonging	【交友】我愿你的保安 ([Make Friend [sic]] I am willing to be your security guard).	7	Unknown Circumstances	7.15	3

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48	Opinion Discourse 3	C1 - Apolitical Belonging	"这就是为什么我基本上不追星的原因" (This is precisely the reason why I do not chase stars)	7	General 3PP	7.18	4
49	Opinion Discourse 12	C2 - Apolitical Belonging	[同志吧活动]5.17"世界不再恐同日"——撑同 Tongzhi Ba Activity – May 17 The International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia	7 and 2	General 3PP AND Self and Third Person Identity Construction	7.21	5
50	Essay Discourse 3	C2 - Apolitical Belonging	"【交友】从王凯所谓 Gay 圈名媛的事件看互联网时代抹黑一个人的成" ([make friend] Looking at the Internet era to discredit one's success from Wang Kai's so-called Gay circle incident.	7 and 2	General 3PP	7.24	6
51	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 1	C1 - Apolitical Belonging	"避免挖坟的教程" [Teachings on How to Avoid 'Digging the Tomb'].	7	General 3PP	7.26	7
52	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 2	C1 - Apolitical Belonging	"敬告诸君" [Ladies and Gentlemen]	7	Unknown Circumstances	7.28	8
53	Partner Advertisement Discourse 4	C3 - Apolitical Belonging	17，可 p 可 t 大家可以互相了解了一段时间再认真考虑要不要 17, can p(be a girl) and t(be a boy) everyone can mutually understand, after a short time you can think about if you really want it or not	7 and 2	Unknown Circumstances AND Self and Third Person Identity Construction	7.33	9
54	Partner Advertisement Discourse 7	C3 - Apolitical Belonging	"真人找个恋爱对象"[Sincere person looking for a loving partner].	7	General 3PP AND Self and Third Person Identity Construction	7.35	10

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55	Information Seeking Discourse 4	C3 - Political Belonging	thread "回复:[请在这里,写下你最爱人的名字]" [Write the name of the one you love most here].	8	Open in Relation to You	8.5	2
56	Single Statement Discourse 8	C3 - Political Belonging	双性恋。。。是病吗? Bisexual…. Is it a disease?	8 and 2	Open in Relation to You	8.34	7
57	Single Statement Discourse 11	C3 - Political Belonging	"把她掰弯。她说：我从来没想到同" [Turned her homosexual. She said: "I never thought that..."]	8	Self and Third Person Identity Construction	8.37	8
58	Narrative Discourse D17	C2 - Political Belonging	喜欢上自己的同桌（Past tense) [I liked my desk-mate (Past tense)]	8	Self and Third Person Identity Construction	8.28	5
59	Narrative Discourse D36	C1 - Political Belonging	"我的痛楚在你之上。不了解痛楚就不会孕育真正的和平。最喜欢的反派镇楼" [My pain is on you. Without understanding the pain, there will not nurture real peace. Put my favorite villain on top].	8	Self and Third Person Identity Construction	8.25	4
60	Opinion Discourse 14	C3 - Political Belonging	你怎样看待同性恋? How do you view homosexuality	8 and 2	Open in Relation to You AND Self and Third Person Identity Construction	8.38	9
61	Essay Discourse 1	C1 - Political Belonging	"这撑同者写的文章偷换概念一流"(This essay written by someone supporting Tongzhi is class at manipulating concepts)	8 and 2	Open in Relation to You	8.2	1

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62	Guidebook/Advice Discourse 5	C2 - Political Belonging	[同志吧活动]5.17"世界不再恐同日"——撑同 [Tongzhi Ba Activity – May 17 The International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia]	8		Open in Relation to You	8.8	3
63	Partner Advertisement Discourse 1	C2 - Political Belonging	『廣州』一個人久了想找一個 ta 我-- --- --希望 ta" ([Guangzhou] one person has wanted to find a ta for a long time. I am -- --- --. Hope ta)	8		Open in Relation to You AND Self and Third Person Identity Construction	8.31	6
64	Chain Post Discourse 17	C3 - Political Belonging	同性恋分手后如何挽回爱情？ How to get back love after homosexuals break-up?	9		LGBTQ Pronoun - Target 'Any' LGBTQ	9.2	1
65	Chain Post Discourse 3	C3 - Political Belonging	爱情无国界 ' Love has no Boundaries'	9		LGBTQ Pronoun - Target Gay men	9.11	3
66	Chain Post Discourse 18	C3 - Political Belonging	好伤心 So heartbroken	9		LGBTQ Pronoun - Target Lesbians	9.9	2

Appendix C: Table of Third Person Singular Pronouns (Brief ta-Focussed Historical Summary)

Character	Name	Pronunciation	Notes
它	Neuter *ta*	*ta*	Noted to be used as a neutral pronoun since *Piaotongshi* in the 14th Century (Chan, 2011:92) Noted to be prescriptively used for non-humans (Lin, 1988:10 Cited in Chan, 2011:53)
彼	N/A	*bi*	Used as a third person pronoun for subjects before the Han Dynasty (i.e., prior to 206 B.C.) (Chan, 2011:84)
之	N/A	*zhi*	Used as third person pronoun for objects before the Han Dynasty (i.e., prior to 206 B.C.) (Chan, 2011:84) Possessive particle which is the literary equivalent of 的; also used as 'him' / 'her' / 'it' (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.)
此	N/A	*ci*	Used as third person pronoun for attributes before the Han Dynasty (i.e., prior to 206 B.C.) (Chan, 2011:84)
彼 and 此 and 之 were replaced by 他 during the Han Dynasty (206 BC – AD220) because it developed and "covered all the grammatical roles in nominative, object, and accusative cases" (Chan, 2011:84)			
他	Indefinite Demonstrative *ta*	*ta*	One of three orthographic forms (others being 佗 and 它) for indefinite demonstrative *ta* in the Qin Dynasty (221 – 206 BC) (Chan, 2011:86).
它	Indefinite Demonstrative *ta*	*ta*	One of three orthographic forms (others being 佗 and 他) for indefinite demonstrative *ta* in the Qin Dynasty (221 – 206 BC) (Chan, 2011:86).
佗	Indefinite Demonstrative *ta*	*ta*	One of three orthographic forms (others being 它 and 他) for indefinite demonstrative *ta* in the Qin Dynasty (221 – 206 BC) (Chan, 2011:86).
他	Generic *ta*	*ta*	During the Late Han Dynasty (206 BC – AD220) and the Southern and Northern Dynasties (AD 420-598) the character came to incorporate the notion of other people, being used as an adjective and also combined with 人 *ren* 'person' as a compound when applied to people (Chan, 2011:86). Generic *ta* as a third person pronoun had come to acquire all features necessary to refer to a definite person by the Late Tang period, i.e. AD 923 - 937 (Chan, 2011:83) Generic *ta* is known to reign up until the end of what Chan (2011:15) identifies in their study as the "First Period", i.e. the early 20th century.

Appendix C: Table of Third Person Singular Pronouns (Brief ta-Focussed Historical Summary)

			Generic *ta* split into the Masculine 他 , Feminine 她 , and neuter 它), which are said to be the "three main forms of the Chinese third person pronoun in current use" (Chan, 2011:13), during the 1920 language reform sparked by Liu Bannong (Chan, 2011:15).
其	N/A	*qi*	Emerged by the Wei-Jin period (AD 220-420) and saw active usage in the Southern and Northern Dynasties (AD 420-598) (Chan, 2011:86). Noted as the English equivalent for 'his' / 'her' / 'its' / 'their' / 'that' / 'such' / 'it' (when referring to something preceding it) (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.)
伊	N/A	*yi*	Emerged by the Wei-Jin period (AD 220-420) and saw active usage in the Southern and Northern Dynasties (AD 420-598) (Chan, 2011:86) and used by literati. Zhou Zuoren used 伊 in their translations in 1919. Also noted to be used during the early stage of the Republic of China (Zou, 2021). Noted to by an old variant third person singular pronoun used for 'he' or 'she'; a second person singular pronoun 'you'; third person singular feminine pronoun 'she' during the May Fourth Movement of 1919-1920; an introductory particle with no specific meaning in Classical Chinese; and to mean 'that' when preceding a noun (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.).
怹	Honorific *ta*	*tan*	Honorific third person singular 'he' from the native Beijing dialect (Chan, 2011:53-54). Noted as being used for 'he / she' (courteous, as opposed to 他) (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.)
祂	Divine Ta	*Ta*	Developed for translating the Bible from English to Chinese (Chan, 2011:92) and used to refer to a divine being 'He'.
它	Neuter *ta*	*ta*	In early forms of *baihua*, that is Written Vernacular Chinese (developed toward end of Tang Dynasty AD 618-907 (Chan, 2011:17)) which emerged from Classical Chinese and pre-dated Modern Written Chinese (1920s onwards), usage referring to humans was recorded (Chan, 2011:91).
他女	Ta-Women	*tanü*	A candidate for the female pronoun developed by Zhou Zuoren in his translation of the Swedish Novel *Gaige* (Reform) by Strindberg August in 1918 as a temporary solution (Chan, 2011:85). Also considered by fellow May Fourth Movement advocate Qian Xuantong who further proposed 彼女, female tuo, "she", and "si" in 1919 (Chan, 2011:86).
彼女	Japanese 'She'	*binü*	A candidate for the female pronoun put forth by May Fourth Movement advocate Qian Xuantong who further proposed 他女, female tuo, "she", and "si" in 1919 (Chan, 2011:86).

Appendix C: Table of Third Person Singular Pronouns (Brief ta-Focussed Historical Summary)

妸	Female *tuo*	*tuo*	A candidate for the female pronoun put forth by May Fourth Movement advocate Qian Xuantong who further proposed 他女, 彼女, "she", and "si" in 1919 (Chan, 2011:86).
他	Masculine *ta*	*ta*	Derived from the Generic *ta* in 1920 (Chan, 2011:15) to specifically signal out males. Used in Modern Written Chinese.
她	Feminine *ta*	*ta*	Derived from the Generic *ta* in 1920 (Chan, 2011:15), Liu Bannong proposed it to specifically signal out females, i.e. 'She'. Used in Modern Written Chinese.
它	Inanimate Neuter *ta*	*ta*	Said to be derived from the Generic *ta* in 1920 (Chan, 2011:15) and one of the three primary forms used in Modern Written Chinese. The form is said to have been used concurrently with Liu's proposed Cow *ta* and is often seen in reprints of his work; the character has the roof radical and knife ヒ character from Old Chinese and was designated as the official third person neuter pronoun in the 1950s. (Chan, 2011:88).
牠	Cow *ta* ; Animate Neuter *ta*	*ta*	Proposed in 1920 by Liu Bannong to be used for neuter 'it' and was actively used from the 1920s – 1955 (Chan, 2011:88). In 1955, the character was characterized by the government as a variant word and thus banned in Mainland China (Chan, 2011:91). However, current practice in Taiwan and Hong Kong is to use 牠 Cow *ta* for animate objects while Neuter *ta* 它 is used for inanimate objects (Chan, 2011:91). Noted as 'it' used for animals (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.)
人家	N/A	*renjia*	Noted as meaning 'other people' ; 'somebody else' ; 'he'; 'she' ; 'they' ; 'I'/ 'me' when referring to oneself as "one" or "people" (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.).
TA	Genderless *ta*	*ta*	My studies show that *ta* is pragmatically open. That is, closer to the neuter form until pragmatically connected to an anaphor in the listener's mental lexicon. Noted as meaning 'he' or 'she' (MDBG Chinese Dictionary, n.d.).
X也	Non-binary *ta*	*ta*	Noted as being the non-binary choice for language users in Hong Kong (Lai, 2020).

*It is interesting to note that although reform occurred in the orthography, it was strongly rejected in speech. Everything not pronounced *ta* failed to be incorporated and the people did not differentiate the gender in speech (Chan, 2011:89).