

What Does *Guojijiegui* Mean?— Language Ideology, Intertextuality and Indexicality in Online Metapragmatic Discourse*

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Abstract

This study discusses how the expression *guojijiegui* ‘to connect with the world’ is conceptualized in relation to linguistic practice and what role language ideologies and indexicality play in the meaning-making process, by drawing from online metapragmatic discussion on the once heated debate of replacing the current phonetic system for Taiwan Mandarin with Romanization. Bopomofo, the phonetic system for Taiwan Mandarin, was once proposed to be replaced with Romanized phonetic schemes in order to *guojijiegui*. Though the term is semantically unspecific, the proposal sparked heated discussions on the association between *guojijiegui* and linguistic practice. The general public’s great attention suggests that *guojijiegui* has implicit and shared meanings “out there.” The study will discuss that news viewers’ understanding of *guojijiegui* from earlier texts becomes extra-textual knowledge (Gumperz, 1996). The knowledge influences their interpretations of this policy proposal and shapes the current metapragmatic discussion, as an example of how expressions and meanings travel among different texts, namely, intertextuality (Kristeva, 1980; Bakhtin, 1986; Briggs & Bauman, 1992). Past studies on intertextuality in the Taiwanese context seldom addresses its role in daily conversation. This study attempts to complement known studies on intertextuality and addresses how intertextuality affects speakers’ everyday discourse in the Taiwanese context.

Keywords: language ideology, indexicality, *guojijiegui*, Taiwan, intertextuality

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1. Introduction

This study discusses how the trendy expression *guojijiegui* (國際接軌), literally ‘to connect with the world,’ is conceptualized in relation to language practice in Taiwan and what role language ideologies and indexicality play in the meaning-making process by drawing from online metapragmatic discussion on the once heated debate of replacing Bopomofo, the current phonetic system for Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan, with Romanized phonetic systems. This proposal to abolish Bopomofo for *Luoma pinyin* (羅馬拼音) ‘Romanized phonetic schemes’ was initiated by a Legislative Member, Yeh Yi-jin (葉宜津, henceforth Yeh), who ran in a primary election for Tainan mayoral election in her own political party in March 2018. She explicitly stated that the adoption of Romanized phonetic schemes was critical to *guojijiegui*. Her proposal reveals the belief that Romanized phonetic schemes index *guojijiegui*. This belief, or language ideology in a broad definition (Silverstein, 1979), suggests that linguistic practice points to disparate social values, that is, its indexical values (Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008). The proposal to regulate phonetic systems of Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan for the goal of *guojijiegui* received great attention and sparked heated discussions among news viewers at that time. Though the term is catchy, it has no direct referent. Though it is not an entry in dictionaries compiled by the Ministry of Education, the term has approximately 954000 Google search results. This suggests that *guojijiegui* has implicit, unspecified, but shared meanings “out there” that speakers probably seldom question. With the term being so popular yet undefined, the public’s discussion on the language policy proposal by Yeh to achieve *guojijiegui* offers a perfect opportunity to explore how the term is ideologized with regard to linguistic practice, which refers to both language choices and the adoption of phonetic schemes in this study. The study will discuss that viewers’ understanding of *guojijiegui* from earlier texts becomes “extra-textual knowledge” (Gumperz, 1996: 397). The knowledge influences their interpretations of Yeh’s proposal and shapes the current metapragmatic discussion, as an example of how expressions and meanings travel among different texts, namely, intertextuality (Kristeva, 1980; Bakhtin, 1986; Briggs & Bauman, 1992). With no attempts at evaluating the policy proposal itself, this study aims to investigate 1) how *guojijiegui* is conceptualized in relation to language practice in Taiwan, 2) how viewers’ interpretations of the term *guojijiegui* from their past experience shape the current metapragmatic discussion, as an example of intertextuality, and 3) what language ideologies and indexical values are manifested and foregrounded in the meaning-making process.

The study is inspired by the observation that the general public treats the value *guojijiegui* as given, shared and needless to define. The issue is worth exploring for its theoretical and empirical implications. Theoretically, this study hopes to complement past studies on intertextuality by analyzing how a fixed expression such as *guojijiegui*, which is also an indexical value without a specified definition, invokes intertextual interpretations. Studies on intertextuality have focused on address terms (Hill, 2005), identity labels (Wong, 2005), and evaluative expressions (Adachi, 2016). Studies on intertextuality have discussed how a term, when used in a new context, carries its indexical meanings from prior texts with it (e.g. Hill, 2005; Wong, 2005), and how indexicalization (Eckert, 2008), the link between language use and social categories, is deployed to serve other sociopragmatic purposes such as scripting parodies (Bucholtz & Lopez, 2011). Furthermore, the study presents how a metapragmatic discussion on phonetic systems can be a full-fledged ideology-laden and indexicality-fused debate. Empirically, to the best of my knowledge, past literature on intertextuality with Mandarin Chinese data has been found to focus on literature and art (Chang, 2007; Fischer, 2009), information transmit in media (W. Wang, 2008; C. Wang, 2017) and courtroom discourse (Shi, 2014). Studies on intertextuality in the Taiwanese context feature in research on drama and film (Wood, 2007; W. M. Wang, 2016), and EFL studies (Chi, 1995). Less attention has been paid to intertextuality in everyday discourse. How intertextuality works and affects speakers' everyday discourse is thus worth exploring.

The study is outlined as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of language use in Taiwan, and of the debate regarding Bopomofo, Romanization of Mandarin Chinese and *guojijiegui*. Section 3 reviews the relevant theoretical frameworks. Section 4 describes the method. Section 5 presents how *guojijiegui* is (dis)connected with linguistic practice. Section 6 discusses the interaction among language ideologies, indexical values and intertextuality. The study ends with a conclusion and future directions.

2. Context

Mandarin Chinese used in Taiwan has been termed Taiwan Mandarin (e.g. Cheng, 1985; Tsao, 1999; Her, 2009; Tan, 2012; Su, 2018). As the lingua franca of Taiwan (Chen, 2010; Dupré, 2013), Taiwan Mandarin is also commonly referred to as *Guoyu* (國語) 'national language' and *Zhongwen* (中文) 'Mandarin Chinese.' In addition to Taiwan Mandarin, Taiwanese (also known as *Taiwan Southern Min*, *Tai-gi*, and *Taiyu*), Hakka and Aboriginal

languages are major languages spoken in Taiwan (Tsao, 1999; Wu, 2011). The current phonetic system for Taiwan Mandarin, Bopomofo, also called *Zhuyin fuhao*, *Zhuyin*, *Mandarin Phonetic Symbols*, *National Phonetic Symbol 1* (Tsao, 1999) or simply *Bopomo*, has been practiced since 1918. Developed based on components of traditional Chinese script, Bopomofo is critical to Mandarin Chinese literacy because it bridges the gap between traditional Chinese characters and the phonetic system (Tsao, 1999). This merit is, however, thought to have disadvantages in an increasingly computerized world because Bopomofo is not a built-in layout for computer keyboards (Tsao, 1999). Furthermore, the fact that Bopomofo is practiced in Taiwan makes it “local” and less preferred to Romanized phonetic schemes by some (see further discussion in Her (2005)). The issue of opting for a Romanized phonetic system for Taiwan Mandarin is further complicated by the fact that Taiwan has employed several Romanized phonetic schemes and is known to have inconsistently applied these systems in the public sectors (Chiung, 2001; Her, 2009). At least four Romanized phonetic schemes are available for transliteration, including Hanyu Pinyin, Tong-Yong Phonetic Scheme, National Phonetic Symbol 2 and Wade-Giles (Her, 2005). Each has its pros and cons of considerations from history, accuracy, to political implications (see Tsao (1999) and Lin (2015) for further discussion, and see Chiung (2001) and H. -L. Wang (2002) for a detailed review on Taiwan’s orthography and political status). Inconsistent transliteration is also addressed by Curtin (2007), who discusses linguistic landscapes in Taipei in her study, and notes the potential confusion inconsistent transliteration creates when foreigners attempt to read street signs. The inconsistency makes it apparent that the so-called *Luoma pinyin* ‘Romanized phonetic schemes’ does not refer to a single, agreed-upon phonetic system. It serves as an umbrella term applied to several distinctive Romanized phonetic scripts. The absence of a definition for the term *Luoma pinyin* makes the Romanization of Taiwan Mandarin debatable because this leaves room for interpreting which schemes are referred to. This lack of specificity also urges the present study to use “Romanized phonetic schemes” in the plural form in the discussion. Due to the complex historical and ideological implications behind terms referring to languages and phonetic systems, all the terms from the data will retain in the translation in this study.

Guojijiegui has been a catchy phrase in public discourse such as in news, language policy enactment, and economic activities, in recent decades. As a fixed expression, *guojijiegui* is composed of three elements. *Guoji* refers to “international.” *Jie* means “to connect” and *gui* is a route for vehicles or rails for trains. *Guojijiegui* is therefore a metaphor from transportation to mean to stay connected to global trends and to meet global standards. The expression can

mean both an act and a state. However, pinpointing the semantic meaning of the expression is rare. What is even more intriguing is how the state and the act of *guojijiegui* are described as desired and even mandated (H. -L. Wang, 2002). As the study focuses on the meaning-making process of the term *guojijiegui* in relation to linguistic practice, an English translation is avoided to reduce the potential for a biased definition. The study uses the transliteration *guojijiegui* instead.

Yeh's proposal is not the first attempt to relate the adoption of phonetic schemes to *guojijiegui* though her proposal probably did receive a great amount of public attention. Attempts have been made by the government and by academe to settle the Romanization of Taiwan Mandarin. An earlier debate in 2000 between Tong-Yong scheme and Hanyu pinyin saw how complicated the Romanization of Mandarin Chinese is. Hanyu pinyin, which is used by Mainland China and internationally, appeared as a convenient choice (e.g. Her, 2005). Tong-Yong scheme, developed in Taiwan and favored by the government at that time, was said to cater to both the need for localization and the urge for globalization (L. -Y. Wang, 2002). Tong-Yong scheme distinguishes itself from Hanyu Pinyin with a 15% of transliteration differences (Her, 2005). Due to Taiwan's fluctuating political relationship with China, Hanyu Pinyin and Tong-Yong scheme were criticized by their respective opponents for ideologizing the linguistic issues with politics and neglecting the need to *guojijiegui*. H. -L. Wang (2002) discusses the homogenizing forces behind the eagerness and anxiety to *guojijiegui* from a politics-oriented perspective. This present study discusses the meaning-making of *guojijiegui* from a linguistics-oriented perspective.

The two events, the debate in 2000 and Yeh's proposal in 2018, display some interesting discrepancies that make the present study significant. A major difference notes the revelation of lay persons' perspectives. With rise of social media, how individuals respond to Yeh's proposal is immediately observable. It is of theoretical, empirical and social significance to investigate how public events such as a language policy proposal are talked about in everyday discourse. These unsettled issues, including which phonetic schemes Yeh, the news, and news viewers were respectively referring to, and what exactly *guojijiegui* means, are however found to be generalized, if not absent, in the current discussion. In addition, the prior discussion seldom impacted or questioned the use of Bopomofo. The then debate occurred with the unspoken, then therefore agreed, premise that Bopomofo stayed even though concerns about the role of Bopomofo from curriculum design were raised (L. -Y. Wang, 2002). The debates in 2000 and in 2018 have respective focuses but both place equal amount of prominence to

guojijiegui.

3. Theoretical Frameworks

This study addresses lay beliefs related to linguistic practice, and investigates how these beliefs which have been cultivated in past social experiences shape this current discourse. The study draws from the theoretical frameworks of intertextuality, indexicality and language ideology to account for the observations. Metapragmatic discourse which refers to both explicit and implicit evaluation-laden discourse of language use (Silverstein, 1979, 1985, 1993) is one of the sites where the three frameworks meet.

Intertextuality describes how current discourse is a combined product of both elements from other speakers in other contexts and elements newly created in the current context (Bakhtin, 1986; Fairclough, 1992; Hodges, 2015). A text is always linked to prior utterances and feeds later communication (Bakhtin, 1986). Intertextuality could be understood as cohesion across texts (Bauman, 2005; Hodges, 2015). The term “intertextuality” was first coined by Kristeva (1980), who developed Bakhtin’s idea where a text is seen as “a mosaic of quotations” (Kristeva, 1980: 66). The act of quoting and repeating facilitates social interaction through discursive practice (Tannen, 2006). For example, Tovaes (2005) discusses how utterances from TV programs are borrowed and readjusted in family interaction. Kristeva (1980) further identifies the concept of horizontal and vertical intertextuality. Horizontal intertextuality addresses the phenomenon of how speakers select utterances from previous turns and rephrase them to sustain the current interaction (Du Bois, 2014). Such a conceptualization is also discussed in different terminology (Hodges, 2015). The act of reintroducing prior utterances is termed “recycling” by Tannen (2006). Vertical intertextuality refers to the way that speakers see a text as belonging to a certain genre by identifying linguistic cues and relating them to salient characteristics of various types of texts (Kristeva, 1980; Briggs & Bauman, 1992; Johnstone, 2008). Briggs and Bauman (1992) adopt the concepts of intertextuality to yield an account of how a genre is recognized and how the knowledge about various genres is circulated through discourse. They propose that linguistic features are foregrounded by speakers and picked up by recipients in interpreting discourse by linking the current text to prior understanding. However, Briggs and Bauman (1992) state that the idea of generic intertextuality offers only a sketch, and that pragmatics and metapragmatics still play a crucial role in shaping and understanding discourse.

Silverstein (2005) adopts a related concept termed “interdiscursivity.” According to Silverstein (2005), intertextuality describes “a directionally neutral state of comparability of texts in one or another respect” (7), and thus differs from the inquiry of linguistic anthropology (Silverstein, 2005). Interdiscursivity deals with “how intertexts are created, that is, how they are generated in events of communication through techniques of interdiscursivity deployable as role strategies of the participants” (Silverstein, 2005: 7). Bauman (2005) states that interdiscursivity mostly refers to discursive practice while intertextuality refers to the cohesive connections in different texts. This study does not distinguish between intertextuality and interdiscursivity. The term intertextuality is used throughout.

A discussion of intertextuality and the meaning-making process draws attention to the concept of indexicality. Indexicalization addresses the dynamics between meaning making and discourse in interaction (Hill, 2005; Eckert, 2008; Jaffe, 2016). The fact that speakers choose to use recurrent utterances shows that indexicality is constructed on a somewhat shared knowledge regarding the intended meanings of an expression. The experience of intertextuality is also a process of indexicalization (Hill, 2005). Speakers interpret linguistic practice by linking it to social contexts where it is situated. Linguistic practice which conforms to social expectations usually go unnoticed whereas unexpected linguistic practice invites language users’ attention to the practice itself (Hübler & Bublitz, 2007). Anton (1998) notes the distinction between “attending from the speech,” which speakers mostly do in communication, and “attending to the speech,” when expectations fail (202). Expectedness can be deployed to achieve other goals. In their study on mock language in films, Bucholtz and Lopez (2011) discuss how European-American characters’ portrayal of stereotypical African American English is interpreted as parodic. The European-American performers deploy linguistic features which are stereotypically considered to belong to AAE to perform inauthentic blackness (Bucholtz & Lopez, 2011). In indexicalization, linguistic practice usually points not to one, but to a number of potential meanings (Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008). This suggests indeterminacy and multiplicity of indexical values (Silverstein, 2003; Hill, 2005; Jaffe, 2016). In her study on the use of the Spanish word *mañana* by English native speakers, Hill (2005) states that intertextuality explicates how interaction could be affected by indirect indexical meanings. Jaffe (2016) discusses how English-speaking mothers get confused and even irritated by the Spanish word *pobrecito*, literally ‘poor little boy,’ when their Spanish-speaking mothers-in-law address their baby boys as *pobrecito*. The address term is interpreted to suggest that the mothers are not looking after their babies well. Jaffe (2016) elaborates that indexical meanings are constantly examined and reinterpreted. Taking a slightly different approach, the

study discusses how a fixed expression invokes extra-textual knowledge (Gumperz, 1996) that viewers deploy as a criterion for judgments.

As linguistic practice indexes multiple meanings, different indexical values coexist (Silverstein, 2003). Eckert (2008) notes that indexical meanings are not discrete from one another but are ideologically associated (Eckert, 2008). Hill notes, “The apparent opacity indirect indexicality has is not inherent in its semiosis but resides in the particular context of ideological commitments and understandings of the world held by speakers” (2005: 115). Language ideology is predominantly understood as the bridge between linguistic forms and their meanings in broader social contexts. Studies on language ideology diverge in researchers’ distinct remarks of how language ideology is defined, how language ideology can be approached as an inquiry, and how explicitly an ideology is manifested. One frequently-cited definition by Silverstein (1979) describes ideology as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (193). He further states that the moment speakers talk about the material world, they also “presuppose (or reflect) and create (or fashion) a good deal of social reality by the very activity of using language” (Silverstein, 1979: 194). Ideologies, in other words, are understood as “social constructs” (Cameron, 2003: 448) that reveal “what people think, or take for granted about, language and communication” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994: 56). One resourceful area to study language ideologies is metapragmatics (Woolard, 1998). The study analyzes online metapragmatic discussion and identifies recurrent ideological themes surrounding *guojijiegui* to investigate the interrelation among intertextuality, language ideology and indexicality.

4. Method

The study adopts a discourse analytical approach to analyzing both Yeh’s proposal speech at the hustings and news viewers’ comments on related news coverage about her speech. Yeh’s proposal speech on replacing Bopomofo with Romanized phonetic symbols was retrieved from the YouTube channel dppsng.¹ The section of the proposal speech, from 2:00:07 to 2:00:54, was transcribed for later analysis. The study also located 16 news clips on YouTube with the keyword search ㄅㄛㄇㄛ ʼBopomoʼ and 羅馬拼音 *Luoma pinyin* ‘Romanized phonetic schemes.’ Comments posted on these 16 pages were retrieved.² A total number of

¹ The video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dxmySEIGTOI> was last accessed in February 2020.

² The comments on the dppsng page were not included due to several concerns. These comments contain little

1801 comments were collected, with the last access in February 2019. See Appendix for the links to each page and the number of comments retrieved.

Yeh's speech is investigated with a discursive analytical approach by identifying evaluative and inferred social meanings about the referred linguistic practice (Rapley, 2007; Gee, 2011). The study suggests that these socio-political meanings, both explicit and unsaid, are picked up by press and news viewers. The viewers evaluate not merely the proposal itself, but mostly the inferred meanings they believe the policy proposal to carry.

The study identifies viewers' comments which mention *guojijiegui* and related vocabulary, including *guoji hua* (國際化) 'internationalization', *quanqiu hua* (全球化) 'globalization' and simply *jiegui* (接軌) 'connecting'. 167 comments contain these words. The study analyzes how viewers take stances by (dis)aligning with one another (Du Bois, 2007) and how *guojijiegui* is described as related to language use. Computer-mediated communication on social media such as YouTube changes audience and users into anonymous "creators" (Page, Barton, Unger & Zappavigna, 2014) who can be "overtly evaluative" (Wiese, 2015: 349). Contestation in discourse is thus expected to be amplified. Communication on social network regarding a linguistic debate allows the study to analyze how viewers "attend to the speech" (Anton, 1998: 202). The anonymity also makes it challenging to relate the findings to viewers' personal background, including age, education and linguistic repertoire. The present study takes advantages of explicitness in online commenting and also notes the potential limitations. To avoid biased over-interpretations, only comments that overtly mention the above vocabulary with explicit references to linguistic practice are deemed valid for analysis. An example of invalid comments is shown in (1).

(1) Zhe zhende hen hao, zheyang dique keyi gen guojijiegui.

"This is really good, this can (help us) *guojijiegui*."

Though Comment (1) takes a positive stance on the proposal, what the demonstrative pronouns *zhe* 'this' and *zheyang* 'this way' respectively refer to remain unspecified. This viewer could be commenting on Bopomofo abrogation, Romanization implementation, or both.

information about the addressed issues. In addition, the number of comments is significantly smaller than the number of comments from mainstream news media. Furthermore, the keyword search on YouTube does not lead to this particular video. It is thus inferred that most viewers did not refer to the *dppsng* page to get informed. Due to the abovementioned reasons, comments on the *dppsng* page were not collected for this present study.

The ambiguity causes this comment to be excluded from valid comments for this study. Among the 167 comments, 59 are considered invalid. A total of 108 comments are analyzed. With the relatively limited number of available comments, the present study does not aim at drawing generalizations. Rather, the study exploits the explicit metapragmatic discourse to examine the dynamics of language ideology and indexicality related to *guojijiegui*, which has been taken as normative, and is seldom questioned and challenged (Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1998; Kroskrity, 2004). Each comment can potentially manifest multilayered language ideologies and indexical values. Each theme and indexical value has to be found in at least two comments to be discussed in this study.

5. Analysis of Yeh's Speech about Replacing Bopomofo

Yeh's proposal speech, presented in (2), is found to discursively construct *guojijiegui*, the use of Bopomofo, and the use of Romanized phonetic schemes as related to one another. She codeswitched between Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese. Taiwanese is put in bold texts.

(2)

- 1 Wo de jiaoyu zhongdian zai nali?
“What's my education focus?”
- 2 Zai gen guojijiegui.
“It's on how to *guojijiegui*.”
- 3 Zhege biaoti hen da.
“This issue is huge.”
- 4 Zenme zuo?
“What will (I) do?”
- 5 Hen jiandan.
“Very simple.”
- 6 Di yi ge yao zuo de jiu shi
“The first thing is to”
- 7 diudiao Bopomofo.
“discard Bopomofo.”
- 8 Bopomofo **ū siánn-mih lōo-īng?**
“**What on earth does Bopomofo do?**”

- 9 **He sī tsit tsióng ê zhuyin.**
 “**That is** one phonetic system for one (language).”
- 10 Zhe shi yi zhong de zhuyin eryl.
 “This is merely one phonetic system (for one language).”
- 11 **Lí buē khì līm-hô tiōng-iàu ê khó-tshì lāi-té**
 “You won’t take any important examinations”
- 12 **beh kā lí khó** bopomo.
 “on Bopomo.”
- 13 Women yinggai xue shenme?
 “What should we learn (instead)?”
- 14 Women yinggai xue Luoma pinyin.
 “We should learn *Luoma pinyin*.”
- 15 Luoma pinyin ē-tàng tsù siánn-mih im?
 “**What languages can** *Luoma pinyin* notate?”
- 16 ē-tàng tsù Kok-gí, tsù Tâi-gí, tsù Tik-gí, tsù Lit-gí, tsù sóo-ū ē gí-giân.
 “(They) can be used with Chinese, Taiwanese, German, and Japanese, to write in all these languages.”
- 17 Renhe yi zhong yuyan dou keyi yong Luoma pinyin.
 “Any language can be phonetically notated with *Luoma pinyin*.”
- 18 **Hōo lán ê gín-á** bu hui haipa kedouwen.
 “(This) **frees our children** from fearing *kedouwen*.”
- 19 Zhe shi yi ge gen guojijiegui de di yi bu,
 “This is the first step to *guojijiegui*,”
- 20 feichang zhongyao de yi bu.
 “a very critical step.”

This term *guojijiegui* is repeated twice (lines 2 and 19), but not defined in Yeh’s speech. It is inferred that the term is treated as old information and that it invites a shared and conventionalized reading. Yeh proposes that in order to *guojijiegui*, Bopomofó should be *diudiao* ‘discarded’ (line 7), showing her dispreference for Bopomofó. The negative evaluation toward Bopomofó is also evident in the rhetorical question *Bopomofó ū siánn-mih lōo-īng?* ‘What on earth does Bopomofó do?’ (line 8). This rhetorical question, intended for a reversed interpretation (Han, 2002) of its uselessness, reinforces her denigration of Bopomofó. The *eryl* ‘merely’ in *Zhe shi yi zhong de Zhuyin eryl* ‘This is merely one phonetic system (for one language)’ (line 10) diminishes the importance of Bopomofó and denies its attachment to

culture and identity. Yeh then further downgrades Bopomofo by noting how Bopomofo is not a subject in important examinations (lines 11 and 12). Yeh's discourse reveals her disapproving attitudes toward Bopomofo.

The perceived usefulness of Romanized phonetic schemes is advocated in Yeh's speech. The *yinggai* 'should' in line 14 expresses the need to acquire Romanized phonetic schemes. She also highlights the applicability of Romanized phonetic schemes to notating a wider range of different languages (lines 15 to 18). *Guojijiegui* is phrased as an additional value to Romanized phonetic schemes. Furthermore, the use of Romanized phonetic schemes is thought to free children from the fear of *kedouwen* (line 8). What *kedouwen* refers to is not specified in Yeh's speech.³ Nonetheless, as will be discussed later, it is understood as foreign scripts and even English by news viewers. The claim presupposes that children originally were afraid of learning foreign languages. It also entails that adopting Romanized phonetic schemes makes students keen on learning foreign languages. Despite its truthfulness, foreign language acquisition is phrased as a problem in Yeh's speech and the exposure to Romanized phonetic systems could help to alleviate this problem.

A discourse analysis (Rapley, 2007; Gee, 2011) of the proposal reveals the presence of the connections among language ideologies, indexical values and linguistic practice. *Guojijiegui*, which is phrased as an indexical value (Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008), is thought to be achievable through adopting Romanized phonetic schemes. The adoption of Romanized phonetic schemes is discursively related to being keen on foreign language learning, which is depicted as originally scary to school children. Summarizing figures will be presented in later sections. A closer examination of the speech shows how information is left unspecified. What *kedouwen* refers to and how it is related to *guojijiegui* remain unknown. How *guojijiegui* is defined is not verbalized and how Romanized Taiwan Mandarin is positioned in the pursuit of *guojijiegui* is unsaid. However, it will be presented later that language ideologies, indexicality and intertextuality fill in these gaps.

³ According to Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary by Ministry of Education (<http://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/cbdic/>), *kedouwen* refers to the ancient script in Dynasty Zhou. In the present context, it remains unknown which language(s) Yeh is referring to. What is even more attention-worthy is how the viewers interpret it as foreign scripts.

6. *Guojijiegui* and Linguistic Practice

The 108 comments where the conceptualizations of *guojijiegui* are explicitly associated with linguistic practice reveal that the discussion about *guojijiegui* is not restricted to phonetic schemes, but extended to several languages. The five subsections discuss respectively the links between *guojijiegui* and Romanized phonetic schemes, English, Bopomofo, Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese.

6.1 *Guojijiegui* and Romanized Phonetic Schemes

Yeh proposes to adopt Romanized phonetic schemes in order to *guojijiegui*, leading viewers to critique the association between *guojijiegui* and the practice of Romanized phonetic schemes. Two contesting stances are found.

Some deliberately rebut the belief that adopting Romanized phonetic schemes would lead to *guojijiegui*. They refute an indexical link between *guojijiegui* and Romanized phonetic schemes which they believe Yeh to hold. Two comments are shown in (3) and (4) below.

- (3) Yuanlai feichu Zhuyin, shiyong Luoma pinyin jiu shi he guojijiegui a! Wo zhishang tai di, keyi jieshi yixia luoji zai na ma???
- “So abrogating Zhuyin and adopting *Luoma pinyin* mean *guojijiegui*! I’m simply too dumb, can (someone) show me how this works?”
- (4) Luoma pinyin gen Yingwen shi tong yi yang dongxi ma? Bu shi suoyou Yingwen zimu de shiwu du shi Yingwen hao ma? Luoma pinyin zheme jiandan xuyao xue ma? Taiwan mei you Zhuyin hai suan Taiwan? Xue le Luoma pinyin jiu neng guojihua?
- “Do *Luoma pinyin* and English refer to the same thing? Not everything with English letters is English, OK? Do we need to learn *Luoma pinyin* when it is so easy? Is Taiwan still Taiwan without Zhuyin? With *Luoma pinyin*, can we call ourselves internationalized?”

In the form of a sarcasm following a self-deprecation *wo zhishang tai di, keyi jieshi yixia luoji zai na ma???* ‘I’m simply too dumb, can (someone) show me how this works?’ Comment (3) derides the lack of logical reasoning behind replacing Bopomofo with Romanized phonetic schemes to *guojijiegui*. Comment (4) believes that Yeh incorrectly associates Romanized phonetic symbols with English. Though it remains unknown why Yeh made such a proposal,

Viewer (4) presupposes that English plays a part in Yeh's rationalization between Romanized phonetic schemes and *guojijiegui*. Comment (4) also explicates that through commenting on the language proposal, other languages are introduced into the discourse. This significance will be discussed later.

Some affirm the existence of a connection between Romanized phonetic schemes and *guojijiegui*. This stance is found in viewers' general assertion that Taiwan should adopt Romanized phonetic schemes, either because Romanization facilitates English learning, as seen in comment (5), or because Romanized phonetic schemes help foreigners learn Taiwan Mandarin, as seen in comment (6).

(5) Zhuyin keyi buyong wanquan feidiao. Wo zancheng Luoma pinyin. Yinwei zheyang xue Yingwen shi hui gengjia rongyi. Zhe shi shishi. Xiang gen guojijiegui. Yingwen zhende hen zhongyao. Wuguan chumai Taiwan wenhua. Ershi youmeiyou yuanjian. Luoma pinyin ye keyi shi yi zhong xuanxiang.

"The use of Zhuyin does not need to be completely abolished. I agree that *Luoma pinyin* should be adopted. Because this makes English learning easier. This is a fact. (If we) want to *guojijiegui*, English is of great importance. (This) is not about betraying Taiwanese culture. It is a matter of having the foresight. Adopting *Luoma pinyin* can be an option."

(6) Luoma pinyin rang waiguoren geng neng xuexi zhongwen. Queshi youdian fuhe "guojijiegui"

"*Luoma pinyin* indeed makes it easier for foreigners to acquire Mandarin Chinese. This kind of corresponds to *guojijiegui*."

Viewer (5) affirms the connection between Romanized phonetic schemes and *guojijiegui* because adopting Romanized phonetic schemes make English learning manageable. Though Comments (4) and (5) express different conceptualizations concerning the role of Romanized phonetic schemes in English learning, they both reveal the anxiety about English learning and manifest the language ideology that English is the language to *guojijiegui*. Viewer (5) does not find adopting Romanized phonetic schemes and Bopomofo necessarily conflicting. This illustrates that Bopomofo and Romanized phonetic schemes are not conceptualized as either-or. Such a rationalization differs from Yeh's proposal. Using Romanized phonetic schemes is linked to "have the foresight." The comment explicates that the differences in opinions on the proposal are mapped onto the personal trait of having the foresight or not. Comment (6) mentions that Romanized phonetic scripts make Chinese learning more accessible for

foreigners. Viewer (6) sees a positive cultural contact mediated by Chinese learning as a definition of *guojijiegui*, but only *you dian* ‘kind of.’ The use of the adverb *you dian* presupposes that one particular language can *guojijiegui* entirely, not just ‘sort of.’ In other words, a generally agreed-upon but implicit definition for *guojijiegui* in terms of linguistic practice exists. Comment (6) instantiates that the act of *guojijiegui* is also understood as how to make Mandarin Chinese more accessible for foreigners. The concern corresponds to the debate of phonetic schemes in 2000. Yet, the adverb also shows that there is a more entrenched understanding of *guojijiegui* than the Romanization of Mandarin Chinese. In addition to *guojijiegui*, adopting Romanized phonetic schemes is also described by other viewers to be “foreign,” and to lead to “non-standard Chinese pronunciation.”

The two types of conflicting views make it apparent that adopting Romanized phonetic schemes is comprehended differently with regard to its (lack of) association with *guojijiegui*. Viewers’ perception of the absence of the association between Romanized phonetic schemes and *guojijiegui* suggests that the intertextual link between *guojijiegui* and the debate in 2000 is not as established, leading viewers to either refute the indexical link or tone down the association.

6.2 *Guojijiegui* and English

The observation that English is introduced into the discourse is noteworthy as Yeh’s proposal does not explicitly mention English. The study thus proposes that English is introduced into the current discourse because the expression *guojijiegui* links Yeh’s discourse about phonetic schemes to prior texts where *guojijiegui* occurs, and contributes to shaping the viewers’ metapragmatic discussion. Two types of evaluative discourse about English and *guojijiegui* are identified.

A majority of the viewers explicitly disagree that adopting Romanized phonetic schemes could lead to *guojijiegui*. These comments claim that English should be promoted instead, as shown in (7) and (8).

(7) Gen *guojijiegui* jiu xue Yingyu!

“Learn English if [we] want to *guojijiegui*.”

(8) Gen *guojijiegui* yinggai duo tuiguang Yingwen.

“To *guojijiegui*, English should be promoted more vigorously.”

The two comments reveal that the term *guojijiegui* is discursively linked to English. The comments that link *guojijiegui* with English tend to phrase *guojijiegui* mostly as a goal while learning English is discursively constructed as the solution and the means, as the two comments present. The structural similarities in describing *guojijiegui* and English suggest that the “extra-textual knowledge” (Gumperz, 1996) of the association between *guojijiegui* and English is shared. The association can be said to be in direct indexicality because viewers “can easily characterize it with the same or almost the same metapragmatic expressions” (Hill, 2005: 114).

The second type of discourse regards viewers’ sarcastic proposals, such as to officialize English, as seen in (9), and to demand government officials to adopt English as the language at work, as shown in (10). Their pleas also entail that English is taken as the language for *guojijiegui*. However, the viewers are taking a negative stance to this indexical link.

- (9) Jianqing fudan? Zhijie feichu Zhongwen gai xue Yingwen jiu hao la! Yao yu guojijiegui ma~ Deng Taiwan quanmian feichu Zhongwen gai xue Yingwen shi, taiwanren jiu keyi shuo ziji shi meiguoren le, zheyang gou jianqing fudan le ma?

“To alleviate the burden? How about simply banning Mandarin Chinese and learning English instead! Since we want to *guojijiegui*~ When English becomes pervasive and Mandarin Chinese is abolished entirely, Taiwanese can self-identify as American, does this alleviate the burden?”

- (10) Diudiao Bopomofo, hui zenyang? Gang xue hui Zhuyin de xiaoxuesheng yao zhong xue? Pa Yingwen de ren bu shi zhaoyang pa? Yao fei Zhuyin lai yu guojijiegui, zai guohui de shihou, du jiang Yingwen, bujin jiegui, hai lingxian shijie.

“Abolishing Bopomofo, what would that be like? School kids who have just learned Zhuyin have to start over again. Don’t people who are afraid of English still feel intimidated? (Rather than) abolishing Zhuyin to *guojijiegui*, when (at interpellation) in the Legislative Yuan, speak English only. This way we are not merely *jiegui*, but also making a pioneering move.”

These viewers’ proposals acknowledge that English links to *guojijiegui*. They further propose a more radical language management, in order to express their strong disapproval. Viewer (10) states that adopting Romanized phonetic schemes does not relieve the burden caused by learning English. The statement implicates that *kedouwen* in Yeh’s speech is interpreted as English. The two comments also reveal that language ideologies are constantly found to

contest with one another (Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1998). The contrastive stances could be a result of evaluating one identical language ideology differently. The observation also evidences that *guojijiegui* is an intertextual cue which evokes viewers' prior knowledge to interpret current discourse. One interesting observation concerns the essentialized link among phonetic systems, languages, identity and we/they dichotomy. Adopting Romanized phonetic schemes is perceived as abandoning Taiwanese identity while legitimizing English is referred to as accepting American identity. Essentialized indexical links between languages and identity labels play a critical role in interpreting language practice in a socially meaningful way (Bucholtz, 2003).

The two types of discourse evaluate the indexical link between *guojijiegui* and English. One comment explicitly contests the language ideology that English leads to *guojijiegui*. Regardless of their respective opinions and regardless of the truthfulness of this belief, the significance lies in how viewers relate this language policy proposal to English.

6.3 *Guojijiegui* and Taiwan Mandarin

The associations between Mandarin Chinese and *guojijiegui* are mostly seen in two types of discourse, sarcastic proposals to ban Mandarin Chinese, and explicit attachment of Bopomofo to Chinese and to Taiwanese-ness, which refers to the public's recognition of Taiwanese sociocultural and sociolinguistic phenomena as positive, local and unique (Zemanek, 2017). Though the two discursive strategies both distance Mandarin Chinese from *guojijiegui*, they show strong preference toward Mandarin Chinese. Two examples are shown in (11) and (12) below.

- (11) Jiegui...? Yaobuyao gancui feichu Guoyu, Taiyu, quanbu jiang Yingyu bu shi geng kuai? Waiguoren xiang xue Zhongwen keyi ziji jia zhu Luoma pinyin jiu hao, weihe women yao peihe bieren de xiguan? You biyao name weiqiu quan ma?
 “Jiegui...? Wouldn't it be more effective to simply abolish Guoyu and Taiyu, and speak English instead? Foreigners can always phonetically mark Mandarin Chinese with *Luoma pinyin* when they learn the language, why do we have to cater to others? Do we have to make such a concession?”
- (12) Yu guojijiegui shi hen hao, dan bu zunzhong ziji de muyu, jiu meiyou zhide bei zunzhong, Zhongwen zhi mei guoran bushi mei ge ren du neng liaojie de.
 “It is good to *guojijiegui*, but if people don't respect their own mother tongues, they are

not worth the respect, not everyone learns how to appreciate the beauty of Mandarin Chinese.”

Comments (11) and (12) label phonetic schemes and languages in terms of ownership (Parmegiani, 2010). A contrast between Bopomofo and Romanized phonetic schemes is discursively constructed as the contrast between *women* ‘us’ and *bieren* ‘others.’ This evidences that both phonetic schemes undergo the semiotic process where they can mark group membership. Comment (12) affirms the importance of *guojijiegui*; yet the use of *dan* “but” suggests that the latter sentence is given more recognition, namely, the respect for one’s own native language. Viewer (12) states that not everyone learns to appreciate the beauty of Chinese. The diverse stances are discursively constructed as the ability to appreciate the beauty of Chinese, a cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) that marks social distinctions (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 2003).

6.4 *Guojijiegui* and Bopomofo

Yeh’s proposal to scrap Bopomofo is understood by many as Yeh’s criticism of Bopomofo as a hindrance to *guojijiegui*. The most prevailing stance shows viewers’ disapproval to scrap Bopomofo. Most of these comments consider Bopomofo and *guojijiegui* to be irrelevant, as shown in (13) and (14) below.

(13) Quanshijie du zai zhili yu baohu ziji de wenhua, zhiyou taiwan liwei zhili yu rang ziji wenhua bei diushi, erqie Zhuyin daodi weihe dezui le guojihua?

“Countries worldwide are devoted to preserving their own cultures. And here is a Taiwanese Legislative Member suggesting we dump our own culture? Also, how is Zhuyin preventing internationalization?”

(14) Wo xue Yingwen ye cong ABC kaishi xue, na waiguoren xue Zhongwen cong Bopomo kaishi xue zenme le. Zhe shi wenhua de mailuo. Jiegui guoji yinggai keyi xiangdao qita fangshi ba. Zenme hui xiang dao yinghe waiguoren sheqi ziji de wenhua? (punctuations added⁴)

“I started with alphabets when learning English, why can’t foreigners start with Bopomofo when learning Mandarin Chinese? This is our cultural heritage. There should

⁴ The viewer separates each sentence with a space in the original comment in Mandarin Chinese. However, sentence boundaries become indistinguishable in transliteration. A period is added by me when there is a space in the original text.

be some other ways to achieve *guojijiegui*. How did [she] come up with the idea of discarding our own culture to appeal to foreigners?”

Viewer (13) characterizes Bopomofo as irrelevant to *guojijiegui*. The questioning *Zhuyin daodi weihe dezui le guojihua?* ‘How is *Zhuyin* preventing internationalization?’ implicates that the viewer bears his/her own rationalization in how the connection “is supposed to” work. The question also implies that Bopomofo does not interfere with the pursuit of *guojijiegui*. Viewer (14) terms Bopomofo as *wenhua de mailuo* “cultural heritage” that should be preserved. The sentence *jiegui guoji yinggai keyi xiang dao qita fangshi ba* ‘There should be some other ways to achieve *guojijiegui*’ illustrates that the viewer holds certain conceptualizations about *guojijiegui* where Bopomofo probably does not play a part. By commenting on how linguistic practice is (dis)connected from an indexical value, this illustrates that viewers are aware of the indexicalization process of *guojijiegui*. It also needs to specify that whether an indexical link is acknowledged does not necessarily correspond to viewers’ evaluative and affective stances of the referred indexical links.

6.5 *Guojijiegui* and Taiwanese

The indexical associations between *guojijiegui* and Taiwanese are explicitly mentioned in four comments. The fact that Taiwanese is seldom brought up in discourse about *guojijiegui* shows that the two are perceived not to influence each other much. One comment ironically proposes to eradicate Taiwanese and to speak English instead. The other three evaluate how Yeh’s use of Taiwanese at the hustings makes her un-international. These comments reflect on the (dis)association between Yeh’s proposal for *guojijiegui* and her codeswitched speech between Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese. The dissociation can be used for criticism, as seen in (15) and (16).

(15) Zhengjian fabiao yong Taiyu, biaoshi feichang bu guojihua. Jianyi gongkai changhe jin jiang Taiyu, buran waiguoren ting bu dong. Waiguoren zhi xue guo Zhongwen eryl, zhengshi yanjiang hai liao Taiyu. Youmeiyou xiang guo waimei de tongku? ziji dou mei guojiguan le. (punctuations added)

“Speaking Taiyu at the hustings, this is far from being international. I suggest that using Taiyu in public should be prohibited; otherwise, foreigners may have difficulty comprehending [what is being said]. Foreigners learn to speak only Mandarin Chinese. (Yeh) spoke Taiwanese while making her formal public speech. Did (Yeh) think about the

foreign media? She is not internationalized, anyway.”

(16) Gen guojijiegui xue Yingyu jiu hao la, gen Zhuyin fuhao you shenme tai da guanlian, na gen guojijiegui na ni jiang Yingwen bie yong Taiyu.

“(We) learn English to *guojijiegui*, why does (it) have anything to do with (abandoning) Zhuyin? To *guojijiegui*, you stop using Taiyu and speak English.”

Comment (15) reveals multiple layers of indexicalization with Taiwanese. Speaking Taiwanese at the hustings is described as *feichang bu guojihua* ‘not very international.’ The sarcastic suggestion to ban Taiwanese in public presents the long-held belief that Taiwanese is more prevalent at private domains (Liu, Gijssen & Tsai, 2016), even described as inappropriate for formal settings. In addition, foreigners are portrayed to probably understand Mandarin Chinese, but not Taiwanese. These distance speaking Taiwanese from the image of *guojijiegui*. Comment (16) also manifests multilayered language ideologies and indexical values. The sentence *gen guojijiegui xue yingyu jiu hao la* ‘(We) learn English to *guojijiegui*’ explicates that English is introduced into the discourse because of *guojijiegui*. Daring Yeh to stop using Taiwanese is an instance of counterdiscourse (Hill, 1998). The counterdiscourse shows viewers’ defense that the yearning for a better global connection and visibility should not override the preservation of local language. Literally, to *guojijiegui* means no Taiwanese. However, this language ideology and its non-literal, inverse evaluative stances illustrate that even in explicit metapragmatic discussion, language ideologies are manifested with different degrees of explicitness (Dyers & Abongdia, 2010). Furthermore, language ideologies are not necessarily in accord with evaluative stances.

This section has presented how *guojijiegui* is discursively related to linguistic practice, including Romanized phonetic schemes, English, Bopomofo, Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese. The term *guojijiegui* invokes the intertextual relationship between Yeh’s proposal on *guojijiegui* and prior texts where *guojijiegui* occurs. These viewers specify their understanding about *guojijiegui* from prior texts when they evaluate Yeh’s proposal and contribute to this online discourse. *Guojijiegui* is conceptualized as achievable by learning English though speakers’ opinions differ regarding whether Romanized phonetic schemes play a facilitative role, as discussed in (4) and (5). *Guojijiegui* is also described as attainable by making Chinese more accessible to foreigners though whether Bopomofo or Romanized phonetic schemes should be adopted is debated, as seen in (6) and (14). The ideological link between *guojijiegui* and English seems established. Significantly, the link is not necessarily viewed as positive, as suggested by the ironic plea to officialize English and to scrap Mandarin

Chinese in (9), (10), (12) and (14). These comments illustrate that contestation is part of the ideologizing process (Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1998). The Viewers' discussion on English, Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese makes it explicit that phonetic systems are associated to language, and to sociocultural values attached to languages. The shared indexical values of Taiwan Mandarin and Bopomofo such as *ziji de* 'our(s)' in (12) and (13) reveal that the viewers do not draw a line between discourse about Bopomofo and Chinese. The inseparability notes that the discussion about phonetic systems is found to escalate to a debate about language.

7. Discussion

To discuss the interaction among indexicality, language ideologies and intertextual relations, the study draws from online metapragmatic discussion centering on a policy proposal to replace Bopomofo with Romanized phonetic schemes. While not aimed at evaluating this proposal, the present study discusses how indexical links influence the viewers' evaluations, how layers of language ideologies are manifested, and how intertextual relations between the current discourse and prior texts are invoked by the term *guojijiegui*. The present study adopts Silverstein's definition (1979) and sees language ideologies as rationalizations and beliefs regarding language use. These rationalizations distinguish what is regarded as regular and normal from what is not (Woolard, 1998; Cameron, 2003; Kroskrity, 2004). When Yeh proposed to replace Bopomofo with Romanized phonetic schemes so as to *guojijiegui*, her speech is interpreted to manifest the belief that *guojijiegui* can be achieved with the Romanization of Taiwan Mandarin, and not with Bopomofo-notated Taiwan Mandarin. The heated online discussion on YouTube shows that these viewers, also as agents who are affected by potential language implementation, vigorously participate in interpreting this language policy proposal (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Johnson, 2011; Barakos, 2016). These viewers' diverse stances suggest that phonetic schemes are also socially-distinctive and ideology-laden.

A major finding concerns the dynamic indexicalization process of languages and phonetic schemes, including how an indexical link is constantly examined and how individuals conceptualize the links differently. The dynamics of indexicalization is best observed in comparing indexicality in Yeh's speech and in the viewers' 108 comments. Figure 1 notes the indexical values in Yeh's speech. The indexicality mainly focuses on her rationalization of linking Romanized phonetic scripts to *guojijiegui*. The employment of Romanized phonetic

schemes is also believed to make school kids keen on learning *kedouwen*. Being keen on learning *kedouwen* further points to *guojijiegui*. Even though other languages such as Mandarin Chinese, Hakka, Taiwanese, Japanese and German are mentioned, their indexical values are not made explicit in Yeh's speech.

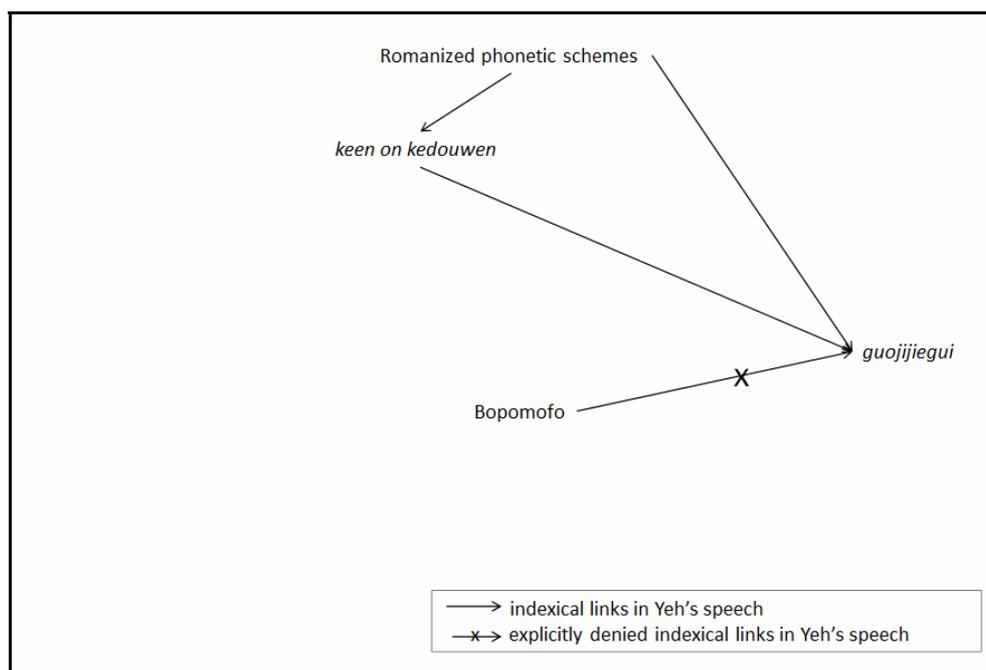


Figure 1. The Indexicality in Yeh's Speech

Figure 2 presents the prevailing indexical links found in the viewers' 108 comments. Several findings are noteworthy. First, more languages and more indexical values are involved in the discourse even when these comments all center on one indexical value, namely, *guojijiegui*. With such a complicated web of indexicality, Figure 2 reveals that discussion on linguistic practice is seldom excluded from social contexts and from interrelationships with other linguistic practice which apparently also participates in the indexicalization process. Second, there is no mentioning of *kedouwen* in the viewers' comments. Nonetheless, Comment (5) mentions how adopting Romanized phonetic schemes makes English learning more manageable. Comment (10) notes that school kids will still be afraid of English. The two comments correspond to Yeh's *hōo lán ê gín-á bu hui haipa kedouwen* '(Adopting Romanized phonetic schemes) frees our children from fearing *kedouwen*,' and elucidate that *kedouwen* is understood as English by the viewers. Third, it has been argued that English is brought into the discourse because *guojijiegui* invokes the intertextual relations. The terms points back to

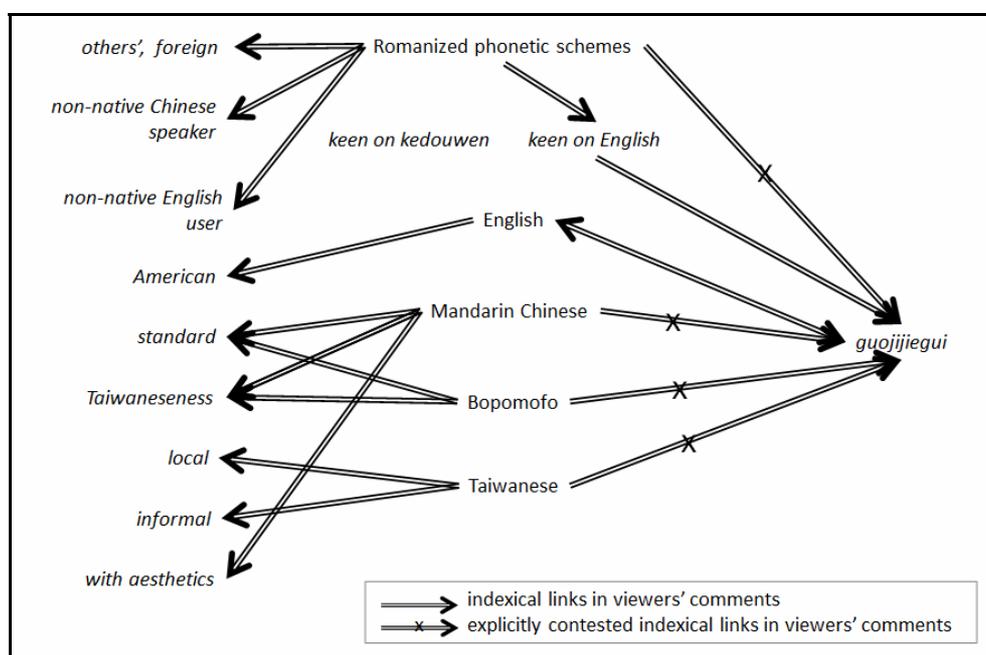


Figure 2. The Prevailing Indexicality in the Viewers' Comments

English, similarly as how other languages point to their respective values. Therefore, a double-ended arrow is used. Moreover, the linguistic practice under discussion is found to be distinguished based on the indexical values regarding identities and ownership, as shown in Comments (11), (12), and (13). Bopomofo, used by an exclusive number of users, can mark group membership. It indexes a sense of Taiwaneseeness, the positive recognition of Taiwan's sociocultural uniqueness (Zemanek, 2017). Noteworthy, the indexical links, whether acknowledged or absent, are not necessarily evaluated accordingly. When Taiwanese is considered irrelevant or even contesting with *guojijiegui*, as seen in (15), and (16), the viewers do not necessarily hold that against the language. Rather, the counterdiscourses of Taiwanese (Hill, 1998) contradict the discourse of *guojijiegui* and maximize the contrast between Yeh's performance and her discourse in pursuing *guojijiegui* to disqualify Yeh from talking about *guojijiegui*. The multiplicity in social function allocation, value acknowledgements, and context-specific evaluations conform to Blommaert's (2010) concept of *polycentricity*, which accounts for the phenomena that speakers recognize multiple norms and adjust their language preferences in different social contexts.

In addition to multiplicity, also remarkable is the finding that these indexical values contest one another. A linguistic practice can point to several meanings which coexist and even contradict one another (Silverstein, 2003). The contestation can be observed in the indexical

links between *guojijiegui* and respective linguistic practice. The observation suggests that indexical values are evolving and that *guojijiegui* is not semantically fixed. Figure 3 graphically presents how the viewers talk about linguistic practice in relation to *guojijiegui*. Each language and phonetic system is placed on a field of two contesting values, *guojijiegui* and counter-value, *not guojijiegui* based on the viewers' judgments.⁵ The field of *guojijiegui* is framed in concrete lines because the viewers are found to have relatively firm beliefs about *guojijiegui*. The field of the counter-values is framed in dotted lines because there is no a clear-cut boundary between “irrelevant to *guojijiegui*” and “unable to *guojijiegui*.” Each circle represents a language or a phonetic scheme. The larger a circle is, the more involved it is in the discourse about *guojijiegui*. The figure shows that English, Romanized phonetic systems, Mandarin Chinese and Bopomofo are found to index both values though one indexical value are found more established and entrenched than the other. Figure 3 shows that indexicality is contesting and dynamic. What has been treated as normative, intuitive and “nothing wrong” is in fact not fixed and constantly reevaluated (Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008).

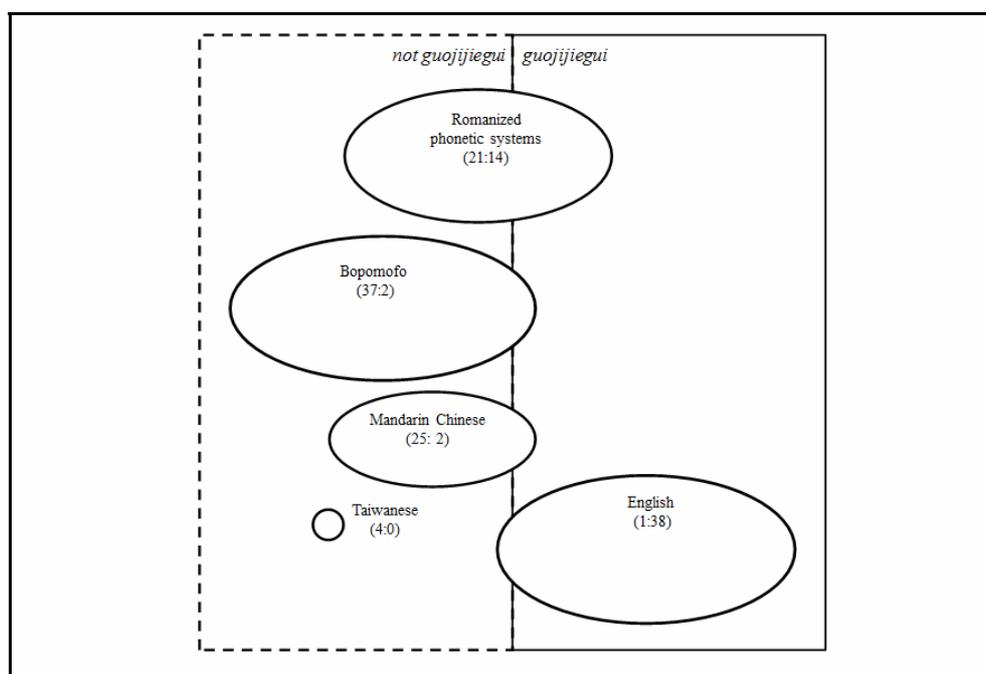


Figure 3. The Mapping of Linguistic Practice and *Guojijiegui*. The Numbers in the Parentheses Note the Numbers of Comments that Overtly Mention the Respective Values

⁵ The counter-value “not *guojijiegui*” is named so because the category includes the values “unable to *guojijiegui*” and “irrelevant to *guojijiegui*.” Though the two counter-values reveal different attitudes, the study does not intend to distinguish between the two counter-values.

Also significant is the observation that English is introduced into the discourse. The study explains that the indexical relationship can go from linguistic practice to value, as shown in Yeh's speech, and from value to language. English and *guojijiegui* are found to be in direct indexicality as the viewers are aware of the indexical relation (Hill, 2005). According to Tsao (2008), speakers' awareness of associating English to certain social images was established in the early 1990s. This awareness is verbalized in the viewers' refutation of Yeh's statement, as seen in Comments (7) to (11). This study suggests that the term *guojijiegui* invokes the intertextual reading of *guojijiegui* and causes Yeh's proposal to be evaluated accordingly. Though as mentioned previously in Section 2, the debate about the Romanization of Mandarin Chinese has addressed the issue of *guojijiegui* in 2000, it is apparent that English-oriented conceptualizations are far more established. As language ideologies are ideational rather than truth (Cameron, 2003), the study is not aimed to argue in what way English can, while other languages cannot, *guojijiegui*. Rather, the study addresses why English is framed as so critical to *guojijiegui* that the mentioning of *guojijiegui* is able to introduce English into this current discourse. This finding echoes what Blommaert (2007) states in saying that intertextuality "makes particular terms sensitive" (8). The viewers are found to commonly phrase *guojijiegui* as a goal to achieve and see English as the means. The similar discursive structure explicates that the news viewers have shared knowledge regarding how *guojijiegui* is conceptualized along with linguistic practice, possibly due to the previous exposure to related news and information. The similar structures also explicate how "recycling" discourse is pivotal in recognizing and interpreting discourse (Tannen, 2006). The Romanization of Taiwan Mandarin comes under public scrutiny for a relatively short period, both in 2000 and in 2018. Comparatively, the attention to English is lasting. It is expected that the viewers find English more pronounced than Romanization of Taiwan Mandarin in the discourse about *guojijiegui*. The viewers' refutation to indexical links that "went wrong" reveals their rationalizations about how indexicalization "should be." Indexicalization leads the viewers to reckon Yeh's, and also some viewers', rationalizations as incorrect, and these viewers further provide their "correct" rationalization. The viewers' discussion explicates that the indexical links between languages and their social values become part of the meanings that also travel through discourse. This awareness becomes a judgment criterion, narrows down linguistic interpretations to a limited number of possibilities, and regularizes speakers' linguistic behaviors and beliefs by criticizing perceptually inappropriate linguistic practice (Silverstein, 1979). All these associations are fostered via discourse and discourse further reinforces or challenges these relationships, as suggested in the contesting relationship of language

ideologies (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998), indexical links and stances the viewers take.

8. Conclusion

Drawing from the online metapragmatic discussion on the proposal to abrogate Bopomofo and to adopt Romanized phonetic schemes for Taiwan Mandarin, the study shows how *guojijiegui* is conceptualized in relation to linguistic practice, how language ideologies and indexical links are foregrounded, and how intertextuality accounts for the meaning-making process in everyday discourse. Though the term *guojijiegui* is common, we seldom question how *guojijiegui* is perceived in relation to linguistic practice, in what way *guojijiegui* could be achieved and why *guojijiegui* is framed as desired. This study has approached metapragmatic discourse from an ideological perspective to examine what has been treated as “nothing wrong.” Several remarks are of empirical and theoretical implications. Phonetic schemes possess indexical values as languages do. The practice of phonetic schemes invokes both ideological and indexical interpretations about phonetic schemes as well as about the languages they notate. The example of *guojijiegui* illustrates that established indexical links between linguistic practice and values can go from linguistic practice to values, and significantly from values back to languages. The bi-directional indexicalization evidences how intertextual knowledge is molded by discourse and further shapes discourse. *Guojijiegui* is predominantly linked to English. The viewers’ indexical link between *guojijiegui* and English is also found to be more entrenched than the link between Romanized phonetic schemes and *guojijiegui*. The interaction among language ideologies, indexical values, and intertextuality is also discussed. Intertextuality strengthens the social indexing of linguistic practice. Indexicality is further reinforced through discourse because linguistic practice that does not conform to expectations tends to be examined and evaluated (Anton, 1998; Kroskrity, 1998, 2004; Hübler & Bublitz, 2007). The evaluative discourse further entrenches established rationalizations about linguistic practice. The study also presents that linguistic practice is distinguished in relation to other languages used in a community and that it seldom stands alone.

The study however remains small-scaled. The study centers on the social representations of languages in relation to *guojijiegui*. This inevitably allows a single dimension of direct indexicality and language ideologies. A larger amount of data from other media is sure to shed

more light on the discussion of indirect indexicality, such as the distinction between “unable to *guojijiegui*” and “irrelevant to *guojijiegui*.” Moreover, further analysis on the relation among language ideologies, indexicality and viewers’ demographic information will contribute tremendously to the issues addressed. Furthermore, the influence of media representation is definitely worth further attention. How Yeh’s speech is edited and represented and how different editing from different media shape viewers’ comments could be further explored.

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Appendix

The 16 YouTube News Clips and the Number of Comments on Each Page

links	comments
<p>Han fei Bopomo gai Luoma pinyin, Yeh Yi-jin “Jiegui shijie.” “Proposing to replace Bopomofo with <i>Luoma pinyin</i>, Yeh Yi-jin ‘To connect with the world.’” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OVffHVNTBGM</p>	233
<p>Nanshi jiang fei Bopomo? Yeh Yi-jin ti gai Luoma pinyin. “Is Tainan about to abolish Bopomo? Yeh Yi-jin proposes to adopt <i>Luoma pinyin</i>.” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ecEijDEbEaw</p>	209
<p>Mintiao bu dao 1%. Suan min kui Yeh Yi-jin, “Bopomo hai de.” “Poll shows less than 1% of approval. Haters quip at Yeh, ‘It’s all about Bopomofo.’” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bfMNqZ2A-kU</p>	211
<p>Feichu Zhuyinfuhao gai yong Luoma pinyin, minzhong pubian fandui. Yeh Yi-jin “Weishenme haipa gaibian.” “General disapproval of replacing <i>Zhuyin fuhao</i> with <i>Luoma pinyin</i>. Yeh Yi-jin ‘Why are we afraid of changes?’” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LFHfnPsG6AY</p>	211
<p>Hong ta, diudiao Bopomo “xiagao”, Wangsijia baoqi, “Ni gai yingwen ming chulai xuan.” “Describing the proposal of abolishing Bopomofo as ‘reckless’, Sophia Wang challenges Yeh, ‘Run for the election after changing your name into English.’” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaebLNs7x64</p>	203
<p>“Bopomofo ū siánn-mih lōo-īng?” Luoma pinyin kaodao minzhong, zenme nian dou guai, guowen laoshi dianchu guanjian shi zhege. “‘What on earth does Bopomofo do?’ <i>Luoma pinyin</i> confuses people and sounds weird no matter how you read it. Chinese teachers tell you why.” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VcCBFS5pMx4</p>	195

links	comments
<p>Liwei ti fei Zhuyin Bopomo yu guojijiegui. “Shi shi shi shi shi.” Raokouling fan cheng Luoma pinyin dou shi qingsheng.</p> <p>“A legislative member proposes to abolish Zhuyin to <i>guojijiegui</i>. <i>Luoma pinyin</i> turns the tongue twister ‘Shi shi shi shi shi’ into neutral tone throughout?!”</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jQtPhv_SLKM</p>	158
<p>Yeh Yi-jin ti fei Bopomo, gai xue Luoma pinyin gen guojijiegui! Hua yi chu yinfa lunzhan.</p> <p>“Yeh Yi-jin proposes to abrogate Bopomofo, and to adopt <i>Luoma pinyin</i> to <i>guojijiegui</i>! The proposal sparks debates.”</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CqoLAUg772Y</p>	105
<p>“Bopomofo ū siánn-mih lōo-īng?” Yeh Yi-jin ti gai xue Luoma pinyin. Yinfa wangyou lunzhan.</p> <p>“‘What on earth does Bopomofo do?’ Yeh Yi-jin proposes to adopt <i>Luoma pinyin</i>. The proposal sparks debates.”</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iVEPl4cVC8w</p>	93
<p>Xuan dao huntou? “Fei Bopomo” gen guojijiegui, Yeh Yi-jin ti gai xue Luoma pinyin.</p> <p>“Proposing to abolish Bopomofo to <i>guojijiegui</i>, Yeh Yi-jin suggests adopting <i>Luoma pinyin</i>.”</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t13k1XwIcuw</p>	49
<p>Zui xin 《Han feichu Bopomo bei ma fan, Yeh Yi-jin “Zuo dui de shi bujihuiyu.”</p> <p>“Latest 《Criticized for proposing to abolish Bopomofo, Yeh Yi-jin ‘Do the right thing despite criticisms.’”</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1SnMAfliOck</p>	41
<p>2018 jiu he yi—Pao fei Bopomo yin lunzhan, Yeh Yi-jin “kuaisu yinying guojihua.”</p> <p>“Nine-in-one elections 2018—the proposal of scrapping Bopomofo sparks debates. Yeh Yi-jin (says), ‘In response to internationalization.’”</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jQtPhv_SLKM</p>	38
<p>Rang haizi gen guojijiegui, Yeh Yi-jin ‘jiaoyu xian feidiao Bopomofo.’</p> <p>“Making children <i>guojijiegui</i>, Yeh Yi-jin (states), ‘Bopomofo should be scrapped.’”</p> <p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Re13Z1BI0-Y</p>	21

links	comments
Liwei ti fei Zhuyin gai Luoma pinyin. Yuyan jiaoshi biao kanfa. “A legislative member proposes to replace <i>Zhuyin</i> with <i>Luoma pinyin</i> . Language teachers express concerns.” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ae5CITbdKvU	15
Zhu guojijiegui? Liwei chang “Fei Bopomo” xue Luoma pinyin. “To facilitate <i>guojijiegui</i> ? A legislative member proposes to scrap Bopomofo and to learn <i>Luoma pinyin</i> .” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ba74sVihXZw	14
Zhu guojijiegui? Liwei chang “Fei Bopomo” xue Luoma pinyin. “To facilitate <i>guojijiegui</i> ? A legislative member proposes to scrap Bopomofo and to learn <i>Luoma pinyin</i> .” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nDhxsAmbK8k	5
Total	1801

從「國際接軌」的定義論語言的意識形態、 互文性和指標性

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摘要

本研究探討「國際接軌」一詞如何在台灣的社會語境下被連結到語言的使用，並透過分析相關語言政策提案的線上言談討論，剖析語言意識形態、互文性和語言的指標性在語言的詮釋和理解過程中所扮演之角色。注音符號曾以「國際接軌」一由被提議以羅馬拼音替代，並引起新聞和社會關注。雖「國際接軌」一詞被廣泛使用，但並無明確的定義。由大眾對於「國際接軌」和語言使用的熱切討論可得知，「國際接軌」有約定俗成且鮮少被檢視的社會意涵。本研究旨在討論語言使用者如何從過去語言經驗建構「國際接軌」一詞的涵義，進而利用該認知以詮釋此語言政策提案。這樣的現象，即字詞和其字面上與非字面上的意涵流轉於不同語境中並影響語言使用與評論，被稱為語言的「互文性」(Kristeva, 1980; Bakhtin, 1986; Briggs & Bauman, 1992)。過去對於台灣語境中的互文性大多著重於藝術語言。互文性對一般日常語言使用的影響頗深，在台灣語境中的研究卻較少被提及。以語言的互文性為理論基礎，以「國際接軌」為例，以線上言談討論為研究主體，本研究討論語言的互文性如何影響並形塑日常對話。

關鍵字：語言意識形態、指標性、國際接軌、台灣、互文性

