

Representations of the Name Rectification Movement of Taiwan Indigenous People: Through Whose Historical Lens?*

Sheng-hsiu Chiu^{1,2} and Wen-yu Chiang¹

National Taiwan University¹

Huafan University²

Within the theoretical and methodological framework based on the conceptual metaphor theory, the discourse-historical approach, and corpus linguistics, this article examines the various representations of Taiwan indigenous people's name rectification movement in three major broadsheet newspapers, the *United Daily News*, the *Liberty Times*, and the *Apple Daily* in Taiwan. Using two-tier analysis, which incorporates the discourse-historical approach into the conceptual metaphor theory, we demonstrate that JOURNEY and CONFLICT metaphors, the two predominant types identified in news coverage, are portrayed in divergent ways in different news media. By analyzing the cognitive characteristics of conceptual metaphors in combination with other discursive/rhetorical strategies, we demonstrate that political orientations and underlying ideologies are ingrained in the corpora news reports, and the ways in which the newspapers' publishers delineate the indigenous issue echo the different positions they take toward national identity. We hence posit that 'Taiwan indigenous people as the positive Self' construction is a pseudo-positive Self construction, which is merely a camouflage for the media's real stance on viewing indigenous people as the Other. We argue that all of the representations of the name rectification movement in three different newspapers in Taiwan are based on intention, inextricably intertwined with the newspapers' ideological stance of national identity, and are viewed through the historical lens of the Han people.

Key words: Taiwan indigenous people, JOURNEY metaphor, CONFLICT metaphor, political discourse, ideology, Self and Other

* The previous versions of this article were presented at the 2nd International Conference on Political Linguistics in Łódź, Poland, 2009, under the NSC grant (NSC 98-2914-I-211-004-A1), and the 8th International Conference on Researching and Applying Metaphor in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 2010. We are grateful to the participants there, especially Prof. Lily I-wen Su, Drs. Jennifer Eagleton and Marlene Johansson Falck, for their questions and comments. Sincere thanks are also due to Ren-feng Duann, Dong-yi Lin and Ying-yu Lin for the many fruitful discussions we had at National Taiwan University. We are indebted to two anonymous reviewers for offering insightful comments and valuable suggestions. Any errors remaining herein are solely our responsibility.

1. Introduction

This article examines the representations of the *zhengming*¹ *yundong* (正名運動 ‘name rectification movement’), a core indigenous rights movement of Taiwan indigenous people, in news discourse. By drawing upon the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, Wodak 2001) within the paradigm of critical discourse analysis (CDA), and corpus linguistics, this study investigates conceptual metaphors used in news coverage to represent the indigenous name rectification issue and how these metaphorical representations further contribute to the discursive construction of Taiwan indigenous people as an in-group (the positive Self) or as an out-group (the negative Other).² The data under analysis, comprised of 292 news articles (approximately 293,578 Chinese characters) covering the Taiwanese indigenous name rectification movement, were extracted from three major Taiwan newspapers — the *United Daily News* (UDN), the *Liberty Times* (LT), and the *Apple Daily* (AD) — from January 1, 2005, to December 31, 2007.

Based on mounting anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and genetic research in recent decades, it has been demonstrated that Taiwan may be the ancestral homeland of all peoples of the Austronesian language family (cf. Shutler & Marck 1975, Blust 1985, 1999, Bellwood 1991, Diamond 2000, Li 2004, 2006, Gray et al. 2009). While the Austronesian progenitors of Taiwan’s indigenous groups occupy an important historical

¹ *Zhengming* (正名 ‘rectification of names’) is an important concept in Confucianism and is one of the most basic precepts of Chinese social philosophy. This doctrine upholds the belief that things not only should be called by their proper name but also should conform to the name they already have, so that order and stability can be created in a society. While the concept of ‘rectification of names’ is central to Chinese thought, today it has been applied to a broader range of issues, such as those related to politics. For example, after Taiwan’s transition to democracy during the 2000s, name rectification became a common topic concerning statehood and national orientation. For Taiwan indigenous people, name rectification serves as a means for protecting and promoting their discrete ethnic and cultural identities. Moreover, naming is also important in the international indigenous legal framework, as well as in the 2005 Basic Law of the Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan.

² The binary opposition of in-group and out-group originates from the social identity theory developed in the mid to late 1970s by Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel 1978, Tajfel & Turner 1979, 1986). According to this theory, there is a socio-psychological basis of intergroup discrimination where individuals view the in-group as superior to the out-group. People often represent the relations between the in-group and the out-group essentially in terms of *self* (also *us*) versus *other* (also *them*), in which *self* is associated with positive properties and *other* is associated with negative properties. The dichotomy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is also the basis of racial inequality.

and cultural position within the larger Austronesian language group, Taiwan indigenous people are now a minority group on their own land, struggling for survival. Like other aborigines around the world, Taiwan indigenous people experienced colonialism through a series of settlers (for details, see §2.1) who laid claim to their land and imposed the institutions of the nation-state, a capitalist economy, and cultural assimilation. Ethnically and socially marginalized, Taiwan indigenous people have long been neglected by non-aboriginal society, and any issues related to them, such as the loss of their tribal lands, culture, customs, and even ethnic or individual names, in addition to their loss of autonomy due to colonialism, are frequently treated with indifference. However, like other indigenous peoples elsewhere, Taiwan indigenous people deserve their own place in the world.

We chose ‘the name rectification movement of Taiwan indigenous people’ in news texts as our research focus for the following reasons. First, with the increased esteem for human rights and ethnic equality,³ indigenous movements worldwide have gained much attention over the last few decades (cf. Yashar 1998, 2005, 2007, De Costa 2006, Forrest 2006, Larsen et al. 2008). Through many of these movements, including those in Taiwan, indigenous peoples are seeking specific rights to preserve their territories, natural resources, languages, cultures, heritages, and, most importantly, the right to self-determination.

Second, few studies have been conducted on the linguistic devices used to represent the name rectification movement in news media. Most of the related studies concerning this indigenous issue are from the perspectives of sociology, anthropology, or public administration (cf. Stainton 1999, 2002, Chang 2000, 2002, Ericsson 2004, Nari 2005, Shih 2005, Hsieh 2006, Cheng 2007, Simon 2007, 2008). Within the CDA paradigm, Ni’s (2003) study is the only one that explores the rhetorical strategies used by different newspapers, arguing that Taiwan indigenous people are mostly portrayed as the negative Other. In spite of the study’s valuable contribution, there are limitations. While the study focuses on a diachronic analysis among different news reports, the lack of frequency of discursive strategy tokens given in a systematic way is a deficiency. Furthermore, Ni does not take metaphor into consideration, though this linguistic device is also “involved in the positive self and negative other presentation” (Wodak 2001:73) and may reflect different political dispositions implicit within language (Charteris-Black 2004, Musolff 2004, Chilton 2005, Ahrens 2009, among others). In political language analysis, the

³ The milestone document of human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. The UDHR specifies fundamental human rights that protect all individuals universally. In 2007, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which constitutes a major step toward addressing the persistent human rights of indigenous peoples.

interaction between metaphors and ideology is of paramount importance, which is why consideration of the cognitive function of metaphors is necessary (for details regarding conceptual metaphor, see §3).

Focusing on the use of conceptual metaphors for the ‘indigenous name rectification movement’ in three major broadsheet newspapers — the *United Daily News* (UDN), the *Liberty Times* (LT), and the *Apple Daily* (AD) — in Taiwan, this study aims to provide answers to the following research questions:

- (a) Which conceptual metaphors are used in the discursive construction of the ‘indigenous name rectification movement’?
- (b) How do these metaphors vary according to the different political orientations and ideologies of the newspapers?
- (c) How do these different metaphors construct Taiwan indigenous people as the positive Self and the negative Other?
- (d) From what perspective are the Self/Other constructions of Taiwan indigenous people represented?

The bi-polar notions of the positive Self and the negative Other⁴ addressed in research questions (c) and (d) derive from the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner 1979). Widely accepted among sociologists and social psychologists (cf. Ellemers et al. 2002), social identity theory argues that social categorization, which is the subjective process of classifying people into groups, involves a basic distinction between the category containing the Self (also in-group or ‘us’) and Other (also out-group or ‘them’) categories (Tajfel & Turner 1986, Turner et al. 1987). The distinction between Self and Other indicates the difference in how someone treats a person of the same identity as compared to a person of a different identity. This recognition of different social categories can influence social perception, affection, and behavior, resulting in the systematic favoring of the Self relative to the Other (Brewer 2007). That is, the Self/in-group often discriminates and is prejudiced against the Other/out-group to enhance its self-image, thus the positive Self and the negative Other.

While the media are an important public domain for contesting and negotiating social issues, news texts are subject to “the social constraints and institutional relations

⁴ In this article, Self and Other refer to the Constitutive Self and the Constitutive Other, as they arise out of the social interactive process and are identified as the oppositional construction of ‘inclusiveness’ and ‘exclusiveness’. To indicate the symbolic usage of Self and Other, we therefore follow the convention of capitalizing their initial letters (cf. van Pelt 2000, Jemmer 2010) to differentiate them from personal ‘self’ and general ‘other’, which use lowercase initial letters.

within which the news reporters operate” (Curran & Seaton 1988, van Dijk 1996). We hence hypothesize that the textual manifestations of the Taiwanese indigenous name rectification movement will vary among the three newspapers, in that the underlying ideologies of the presenters will inevitably co-determine how the movement is reported.

Ideologies are a form of social cognition and a belief system shared by members of a social group. Created and recreated, they produce social meanings that are distributed through society via discursive and non-discursive practices (Hall 2006:397-398). Deeply ingrained in thought patterns, beliefs, and language, and usually created by members of society who are more powerful, ideologies are not always self-evident to individuals; in addition, they can produce unequal relationships of power, domination, and exploitation (Wodak 1996:18). One of the main aims of CDA is to make explicit the ideologies that are hidden in any kind of social practice. As Kress (1990) pointed out, CDA treats language as a type of social practice among many used for representation and signification. To explore ideologies implicit within language and to understand how their representations are employed, metaphor serves as an instrumental tool since it is “conceptual in nature” and plays “a central role in the construction of social and political reality” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:159).

Metaphor analysis enables us to uncover the hidden and possibly unconscious intentions, attitudes, and beliefs of language users, while the corpus-based approach provides us proven instances of recurring linguistic evidence. Both qualitative and quantitative modes of analysis are essential in this study since they provide the basis for judging and interpreting norms of metaphor use in our data. While the methodological framework of this article is based upon CDA, it draws largely upon the discourse-historical approach elaborated in Reisigl & Wodak (2001) and Wodak (2001), which provides interdisciplinary linguistic analysis of a text that goes beyond the textual level to include historical, political, sociological, and psychological dimensions in the analysis of a specific discursive event. It is also an approach beneficial to identifying the discursive construction of the positive Self and the negative Other presentation in any social issue. Using the interdisciplinary outlook of the discourse-historical approach to examine the identical metaphors found in different news corpora not only gives us a more comprehensive picture of the findings but also illuminates the issue of metaphor analysis.

Using two-tier analysis, which incorporates the discourse-historical approach into the conceptual metaphor theory, this study reveals the divergent ideologies of the publishers of the three newspapers under investigation and demonstrates that the discursive (re)construction of the indigenous issue in the media is strongly influenced by their respective political viewpoints. The ways in which these particular publishers delineate the issue echo the different positions they take toward national identity, the most divisive

and controversial political issue in Taiwan. While JOURNEY and CONFLICT metaphors, the two predominant types identified in the newspapers, are superficially the same across the news corpora, the ways in which the same metaphors are employed in the formation of the indigenous name rectification issue are divergent among different news media. Employing various conceptual metaphors in combination with other rhetorical strategies, we further demonstrate that the Self construction of Taiwan indigenous people as an in-group is merely a political-correctness disguise. We thus propose that the positive-Self construction is actually a pseudo-Self construction that conceals the newspapers' publishers' real stance on Othering⁵ indigenous people. Moreover, we argue that all of the representations of the name rectification movement among the three newspapers are based on intention, inextricably tied to the newspapers' ideological stance of national identity, and are viewed through the historical lens of the Han⁶ people.

2. Background information

As Wodak has argued, CDA should be inherently historical (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, Wodak 2001). As such, the essentials of understanding Taiwan indigenous people and their noted name rectification movement historically are provided in §2.1 and §2.2.

2.1 Background of Taiwan indigenous people

Dating back 8,000 years, Taiwan indigenous people are the original inhabitants of Taiwan, having lived on the island long before any other settlers arrived (Blust 1999). Both linguists and anthropologists believe that Taiwan indigenous people are members of the Austronesian family, with linguistic and genetic ties to other Austronesian ethnic

⁵ The word "Othering" was first introduced in the writings of the German philosopher George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and was later developed in the psychoanalysis of Jacques Lacan (1901-1981). Within the psychological process, an individual establishes his or her identity by distinguishing between the self and other persons. Othering can also be defined as a process by which individuals and society identify and label people thought to be different in a way that devalues and dehumanizes them. There has been some discussion of this process in social science literature (see, e.g., Vignoles et al. 2006, Gillespie 2007, among others).

⁶ The population of Taiwan is generally classified into four major, relevant ethnic groups: Indigenous people (2%; 14 distinct tribes); Hakkas (15%; people who emigrated from regions of China's Guangdong Province in past centuries); Hoklos (70%; people who emigrated from regions of China's Fujian Province in past centuries); and Mainlanders (13%; people who emigrated from various parts of China between 1945 and 1949). The first group, who are of Malayo-Polynesian stock, are called non-Han Austronesians, while the latter three, who are descendants of migrants and refugees of China's Mongolian race, are called Han people.

groups, such as the peoples of the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Oceania (cf. Blust 1999, Bird et al. 2004, Hill et al. 2007). Currently, the government has recognized 14 tribes in Taiwan: Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, and Seediq. Each tribe has its own language, customs, culture, and social structure. According to the Council of Indigenous Peoples, under the Executive Yuan, the population of indigenous people in Taiwan is now around 490,000, which is approximately two percent of Taiwan's total population of 23 million. Over the past centuries, Taiwan indigenous people have been colonized by various foreign powers, which are categorized into five distinct periods as shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Colonial periods of Taiwan indigenous people from 1624 to 1987

Colonial Regimes	Period (A.D.)	Remarks ⁷
The Dutch (1624-1662) and Spanish (1626-1642) Mercantilism's Autocratic Colonialism	1624-1662	During this colonial period, some of the Pingpu people ⁸ lost their autonomy, but the vast majority of other indigenous communities remained unaffected.
Zheng's Feudal Colonialism	1662-1684	During Zheng's rule, his forces occupied the western plains of Taiwan and a small part of the mountainous areas.
Qing Dynasty's Aristocratic Colonialism	1684-1895	While the colonizers tried to invade the territory of the indigenous people and assimilate them, the mountains and the eastern plains were still under the effective control of the indigenous people.
Japanese Imperialist Colonialism	1895-1945	It was during this period that the subsistence lifestyle of the indigenous people began to collapse, as the colonizers used oppressive methods to control them.

⁷ Sources are from the 1993 "Report of the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations," <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/ata.htm>.

⁸ "Pingpu people" refers to the indigenous people of the plains, as opposed to the other tribes in the mountainous areas.

The Chinese Nationalist Party (also known as Kuomintang, or KMT) ⁹ Government	1945-1987	Overlooking the indigenous people's ethnic status and historical position in Taiwan, the KMT implemented a series of authoritarian colonial policies to deprive indigenous people of their traditional right to the land, culture, language, economy, education, and, especially, their traditional sovereignty.
---	-----------	--

With the lifting of martial law¹⁰ in 1987, authoritarian rule under the KMT ended gradually through a transition to democracy. While Taiwan has since experienced political liberalization, conditions for Taiwan indigenous people have only slightly ameliorated, as they remain dominated by the Han population, often facing economic and social barriers, such as a high unemployment rate and substandard living conditions.

2.2 Name rectification movement of Taiwan indigenous people

Zhengming yundong (正名運動 'name rectification movement') is the best-known indigenous rights movement in Taiwan. It has several demands at different levels,¹¹ all of which center on the indigenous people's right to use their native language to name things and themselves. For centuries, Taiwan indigenous people have suffered under various colonialists, losing their land, languages, cultures, and naming rights in the process. The Qing Dynasty called them *shengfan* (生番¹² 'uncultivated barbarians') or *shoufan* (熟番 'cultivated barbarians'), the Japanese first called them *fan* (蕃 'savages') and then later *gaoshazu* (高砂族¹³ 'Takasagun'), and the Republic of China, ruled by

⁹ The Chinese Nationalist Party is the oldest political party in the Republic of China (Taiwan) and is currently the largest in terms of its seats in the Legislative Yuan. It originated in China in 1912 and ruled much of the country from 1928 until its retreat to Taiwan in 1949. In Taiwan, the KMT controlled the government under a single-party state until reforms were instituted in the late 1980s, which gradually loosened the KMT's authoritarian grip on political power.

¹⁰ Martial law in Taiwan began in 1949 and ended in 1987.

¹¹ The different dimensions include racial, personal, ethnical/tribal, and traditional geographical areas, such as landmasses and bodies of water.

¹² The literal meaning of the Chinese character 番/蕃 *fan* indicated by Chinese Word Sketch Engine (<http://wordsketch.ling.sinica.edu.tw/>) is 'savage' or 'barbarian', which has a biased and negative connotation. As for the Chinese characters 生 *sheng* and 熟 *shou*, the former denotes 'uncooked' and the latter denotes 'cooked'. Both characters have the extended meanings of 'uncultivated' and 'cultivated', respectively.

¹³ During the Edo period (1603-1808), Japan called Taiwan 'Takasago', which was a term from the Okinawan language that later became the alias of Taiwan. In 1935, to facilitate its policies

the KMT, called them *shanbao* (山胞¹⁴ ‘mountain compatriots’). Except for *gaoshazu*, which has a positive connotation for Japanese people, most of the appellations had pejorative connotations that threatened the dignity and independence of Taiwan indigenous people. Therefore, ‘name rectification’ became the first step in disengaging themselves from their stigmatic position and pursuing self-identity and indigenous human rights.

The first aboriginal organization, the Taiwan Aboriginal Rights Promotion Association, founded in 1984, led a movement¹⁵ for name rectification, claiming the indigenous people in Taiwan had the right to be called *yuanzhumin* (原住民 ‘indigenous people’) rather than *shanbao* (山胞 ‘mountain compatriots’); they finally prevailed with an official ethnic name-change in 1994. Another demand of the name rectification movement was the restoration of individual names, from Han to aboriginal. In 1995, after continuous lobbying by activists, the KMT government finally granted indigenous people the right to register and use their aboriginal names.

Along with the democratic developments in Taiwan, the indigenous name rectification movement has become more diverse. Following the success of the indigenous people’s official name-change and their ability to use aboriginal names, various tribes have focused on renaming their own groups based on their ethnic origins. As a result, the Thao tribe was officially recognized in 2001, as were the Kavalan and the Truku tribes in 2002 and 2004, respectively. The latest change took place in April 2008, with the official recognition of the Seediq tribe.

One concern of the name rectification movement is the restoration of traditional aboriginal names for indigenous people’s villages, landmasses, and bodies of water because these traditional names are of cultural, religious, and historical significance and they further define their identity within their territory. When the Japanese came to Taiwan, they did not recognize the indigenous people’s tribal nations and thus they declared indigenous territory to be governmental land. Even after the subsequent KMT administration established native reservations, most indigenous territory has still not been returned and remains national land, which is named after the Han Chinese (Yan & Yang 2004). Thus, the restoration of the traditional aboriginal names given to geographical features will help indigenous people to reclaim their rights and redefine their position within Taiwan.

of assimilation and pacification, the Japanese colonial authority proclaimed that indigenous people would be called ‘Takasagun’, rather than the belittling ‘savages’ (cf. Kao 2006:27-70).

¹⁴ Indigenous people refuse the appellation *shanbao* (山胞) because the Chinese character 胞 *bao* means ‘siblings from the same parents’, which they regard as Han people’s ethnocentricity. For details of the pejorative connotations, see Parod (1992).

¹⁵ The movement itself is led by indigenous people (cf. Kaing 2004, Parod 2008).

2.3 Three newspapers under analysis

We chose three newspapers, the *United Daily News* (UDN), the *Liberty Times* (LT), and the *Apple Daily* (AD), as research objects to examine whether newspapers mask their ideological positions and change the nature of the event reported. The first two newspapers were selected because of their publicly recognized opposing political orientations. UDN, a daily with comprehensive news coverage, was founded in 1951 and has enjoyed a decades-long influential position among other main newspapers in Taiwan.¹⁶ The political orientation of UDN leans toward the Pan-Blue Coalition,¹⁷ which supports the KMT and favors Pan-China from an anti-independence perspective. Conversely, LT, founded by a local Taiwanese business group in 1980, is aligned with the Pan-Green Coalition¹⁸ led by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP),¹⁹ which emphasizes the local values of Taiwan and supports Taiwan independence (cf. Curran & Park 2000). With opposing political stands, these two newspapers tend to report in different ways controversial political issues, particularly those related to national identity and policies (cf. Kuo & Nakamura 2005, Chiang & Duann 2007, Kuo 2007a, 2007b). The third newspaper, AD, is published by a Hong Kong-based company and concentrates more on celebrity coverage and provocative social news rather than political news, so it has no conspicuous political orientation toward any party.

Although the editorials of these three newspapers have quite distinctive perspectives due to their different political stances, the ways in which they deal with certain subjects are worthy of investigation. For example, does the way in which they report the

¹⁶ From 1955 to 1988, Taiwan experienced a “newspaper ban,” which restricted the number of pages and publications that could be published. It was only in 1988 that the law was changed to allow new competitors into the market.

¹⁷ The Pan-Blue Coalition is a political alliance in Taiwan, consisting of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, or KMT), the People First Party (PFT), and the Chinese New Party (CNP). The name “pan-blue” comes from the KMT’s party color (the leading party of the coalition). This coalition tends to favor a Chinese nationalist identity over a Taiwanese separatist identity, and its members are often regarded as supporters of unification with Mainland China.

¹⁸ The Pan-Green Coalition was formed in the aftermath of the 2000 R.O.C. presidential election, and it consists of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), and the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP). The color green is depicted on the badge of the DPP, which is the leading party of the Pan-Green Coalition. Unlike the Pan-Blue Coalition, the Pan-Green Coalition emphasizes Taiwan’s sovereignty and favors Taiwan independence over reunification with China.

¹⁹ The KMT and the DPP are Taiwan’s two major political parties. The former was the dominant political party in Taiwan until 2000, while the latter led the administration from 2000 to 2008. These two parties are distinguished by their polarized positions — the KMT calls for unification, while the DPP advocates independence.

same event reflect the tone of their respective editorials? Will they reveal different political stances based on their news articles? Examining how the news reports of these three newspapers addressed the issue of name rectification for Taiwan indigenous people can demonstrate the influence of their underlying ideologies on their reporting of the issue.

2.4 National identity issue in Taiwan

National identity, referring to the future association between Taiwan and Mainland China, is not only a divisive issue in Taiwan but also the key to understanding the dominant cleavage underpinning Taiwan's society and politics (Chang 1994, Schubert 2004, Hsieh 2005, Wachman 2008, among others). One reason Taiwan people's national identities have diverged is based on events in Taiwan's history, which include tragic ethnic conflicts and oppressive colonial experiences. In 1949, after losing the mainland to the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War, the KMT retreated to Taiwan and imposed an authoritarian control on the island. KMT leaders upheld the principle of 'one China' and the goal of the 'restoration of China', and forcibly indoctrinated all citizens in Taiwan with the belief that Taiwan was part of China. To foster the 'great China' identity and ideology of eventual unification with Mainland China, the KMT government enforced a variety of Sinicizing measures regarding language, education, and media in an attempt to force local residents to accept the views that Taiwan and Mainland China were inseparable and that all residents in Taiwan were descendants of Chinese lineage. During this authoritarian era, any activities or speech that might encourage a separate Taiwanese identity and promote the concept of independence was suppressed (cf. Wu 1994, Corcuff 2002, Chang 2003).

Since the early 1990s, Taiwan's democratization has thrived, and many political taboos have been lifted. Mythical elements in the official presentation of the reunification identity have been refuted. Moreover, the pro-independence DPP's rise to power in 2000 has signaled an end to the KMT's futile attempt to forge a common Chinese identity.²⁰ Today, many people in Taiwan consider Taiwan and China to be two different political territories and even two different countries (Ho & Liu 2002, Wang & Liu 2004). As mentioned, the press holds implicitly partisan views, which parallel the ideologies in the political arena. For example, UDN has been aligned with the Pan-Blue camp, while LT has been aligned with the Pan-Green camp (Lin 2008). As for the public, some people, in considering ethnic-cultural bonds, believe that Taiwan and Mainland China

²⁰ Wu (2004) indicated that the Chinese nationalism viewpoint held by the KMT treats the Taiwanese people as constituents of China, the Taiwanese culture as an offshoot of Chinese culture, and the Taiwanese languages as merely dialects of Chinese languages.

are parts of an integral whole and should be reunified, while others consider Taiwan and China to be two very different countries that should be independent of one another. Consequently, the co-existence of two national identities has resulted in a division among people in Taiwan over the future of the nation.

Undoubtedly, the national identity issue constitutes an important dimension of discourse on Taiwan's future. Different historical experiences, as well as different generations, reflect the Taiwanese's different assertions of national status (Hsieh 2000, Chang & Wang 2005, among others). Among those who support Taiwan independence, they hold the view that Taiwan is "not only a geographical name but also the name of a country that already has political connotations" (Chen 1997:10). They argue that people on the island have the right to forge a Taiwanese nationalism, with its own cultural heritage and indigenization identity. Although people in Taiwan tend to accept a dichotomous definition of Taiwan's national identity, a majority of the public²¹ rejects the polarized positions on the national identity issue. For these people, the best option for Taiwan at the current stage is to maintain the status quo, which is neither unification nor independence. They prefer to remain under the present framework and to leave undetermined the decision of unification/independence to future generations (Hsieh 2005, Huang 2005, Tsai et al. 2008, among others).

3. Theoretical and methodological framework

In order to carry out the analysis of collected data, the methodological framework of this article is based upon an integration of models, which include the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993), the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, Wodak 2001) within critical discourse analysis (CDA), and corpus linguistics. Based on a critical analysis of a corpus of news discourse, we identified the conceptual metaphors that appeared in three newspapers in Taiwan regarding the indigenous name rectification issue. We also incorporated the discourse-historical approach to identify any nuances in using metaphors as a way to report the issue and to demonstrate further the ideologies hidden behind the discursive construction.

The central tenet of CMT is that metaphor operates at the level of thinking. CMT interprets metaphor cognitively as a mapping relation from a source domain to a target

²¹ Chang's (2005) study indicated that from 1998 to 2004, over 50% of the Taiwanese public favored the preservation of the "status quo." More recently, the survey by Global Views (<http://www.gvm.com.tw/gvsrc/eng/index.asp>) in June 2011 showed that about 60 to 65% of those polled favor maintaining the status quo (with unification and independence as the other two options).

domain; that is, a more abstract concept is understood and reasoned in terms of a more concrete one (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). For example, in the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the source domain is JOURNEY and the target domain is LIFE; thus, the conceptual structure represented by JOURNEY is mapped onto the domain of LIFE. The concept of speed, originally associated with a journey, can also be mapped onto LIFE, which creates expressions such as “I’d better *slow down* and think about my future.” In cognitive linguistic conventions, the source and target domains are written in capital letters to distinguish between metaphor, which is a conceptual cross-domain mapping, and metaphorical expression, which is the instantiation of the metaphor in an utterance. In this study, a metaphorical expression is presented in underlined italics, for example, “...the indigenous name rectification is a *shedding blood crusade against* authority and injustice ...,” whereas a cross-domain mapping (i.e. conceptual metaphor) is written in capitals, for example, INDIGENOUS NAME RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT IS WAR. Since metaphorical language patterns are manifestations of such cross-domain mental projections, conceptual metaphors hence serve as a clue to trace the ideology implicit within the linguistic forms.

Metaphor is also a useful tool in persuasive discourse. Text producers may choose particular ways to express ideas metaphorically to convey an ideological or persuasive point. Taking a pragmatic orientation, Charteris-Black (2004:21) defines metaphor as “an incongruous linguistic representation that has the underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgments by persuasion.” The current research incorporates the discourse-historical approach into CMT, arguing that when exploring the representation of the name rectification movement of Taiwan indigenous people, conceptual metaphor analysis alone is inadequate, especially when identical metaphors identified in different newspapers are considered.

CDA is a broad term for the theoretical and analytical framework in which social meaning is constructed and proliferated through discourse. In the CDA literature, discourse is viewed as a social practice and is thus imbued with power and ideology (cf. Fairclough 1992, 1995, Wodak 1996, 2001, Fairclough & Wodak 1997, van Dijk 1998, 2001, 2006). Discourse is also conceptualized as the means through which individual and institutional ideologies are reproduced and reinforced. Within the CDA paradigm, this study draws upon the discourse-historical approach elaborated in Reisigl & Wodak (2001) and Wodak (2001).

As mentioned previously, one of the most important qualities of the discourse-historical approach is its interdisciplinarity. This approach considers the context in which the discourse is produced to be crucial (Benke 2000, Wodak 2000) and calls for an awareness of the intertextual and interdiscursive nature of discourse (Wodak 2001). Thus, we consider it a useful tool for systematic and in-depth analysis of the news discourse

of the Taiwan indigenous name rectification issue because it is a multifaceted event related to history, racism, multiculturalism, and the social psychology of identity in Taiwan society. Moreover, the news representation of the name rectification movement reveals how politics, history, society, and media act upon each other by taking broader contextual factors, such as the socio-political setting of discourse, into consideration. Specifically, when investigating the Taiwanese news discourse of the indigenous name rectification movement, this study concentrates on the discursive strategies²² given in Wodak's (2001:73) framework to demarcate the positive Self and the negative Other constructions of Taiwan indigenous people in news discourse.

To investigate our data thoroughly, we also employed the methods used in corpus linguistics. Deriving our research from corpus analysis allows us to consider the overall frequency and patterns of distribution of the conceptual metaphors we identified. This study also adopts a quantitative corpus-based approach and concordance keywords from the target domain (as proposed by Deignan 1999, 2005a, 2005b, Stefanowitsch & Gries 2005, Stefanowitsch 2006a, 2006b) to identify every metaphorical usage appearing in the three news corpora.

Collecting a great quantity of empirical data, establishing consistent procedures for identifying metaphors, and comparing the subtle variations of the employment of metaphors and discursive strategies in reporting indigenous-related news, this study effectively deconstructs the ideologies of news media and identifies the Otherness reproduction of Taiwan indigenous people in ideological news discourse.

4. Materials and methods

4.1 Materials

For the analysis of this study, three corpora²³ of news texts — the *United Daily News* (UDN), the *Liberty Times* (LT), and the *Apple Daily* (AD) — were collected from January 1, 2005, to December 31, 2007. Corresponding to the year the Basic Law on Indigenous people passed, data collection began in 2005, which was also the end of the first decade after the government permitted indigenous people to register and use their traditional names. Moreover, the fifth Taiwan (R.O.C.) comprehensive change of national

²² The discursive strategies specified in the discourse-historical approach are as follows: Referential/nomination, Predication, Argumentation, Perspectivation, and Intensification/mitigation (Wodak 2001:73).

²³ All three newspapers have an online corpus for news services. LT is available at <http://iservice.libertytimes.com.tw/IService2/search.php>; UDN is available at <http://udndata.com/library/>; and AD is available at <http://tw.nextmedia.com/index/search>.

identity cards²⁴ was implemented between December 21, 2005, and December 31, 2006, which was promoted by the government through various means of mass media. It was also during this period that issues of indigenous name rectification were reported frequently in the media. Table 2 below shows the details of the news tokens from the corpora collected each year:

Table 2: News tokens and their percentage of incidence in the corpora

Year	UDN		LT		AD		Total	
	News Tokens	Incidence (%)	News Tokens	Incidence (%)	News Tokens	Incidence (%)	News Tokens	Incidence (%)
2005	53	51.96%	43	42.16%	6	5.88%	102	100%
2006	35	44.87%	38	48.72%	5	6.41%	78	100%
2007	66	50.00%	61	46.21%	5	3.79%	132	100%
Total	154	49.36%	142	45.51%	16	5.13%	312	100%

The sizes of the three corpora are as follows: (a) UDN, 140,388 Chinese characters; (b) LT, 145,575 Chinese characters; and (c) AD, 7,611 Chinese characters. The corpus size of UDN and LT is approximately the same, while the corpus size of AD is comparatively much smaller due to its sixteen related reports appearing during the three years under study. AD's disinterest in reporting issues concerning the name rectification movement of Taiwan indigenous people reflects its usual practice of obtaining and adopting news materials.

4.2 Research methods

In this study, we used an integrated model combining the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), the discourse-historical approach (DHA), and corpus linguistics to analyze the conceptual metaphors appearing in three newspapers in Taiwan. First, we selected eight keywords from the target domain: (a) *yuanzhumin* (原住民 'indigenous people'); (b) *yuanzhumin mingzi* (原住民名字 'indigenous name'); (c) *zhengming* (正名 'name rectification'); (d) *fuming* (復名 'name restoration'); (e) *yuanzhumin zhengming* (原住民正名 'name rectification of indigenous people'); (f) *yuanzhumin fuming* (原住民復名 'name restoration of indigenous people'); (g) *yuanzhumin*

²⁴ In the 2005 comprehensive change of identification cards, the Taiwan government digitized all the personal information of its citizens and issued a new identification card to all eligible citizens. Compared to the old vertical-writing-type card, the new identification card is in horizontal type and has a larger name space for filling in aboriginal names, as they are habitually spelled out using the romanization system. It was also at this time that the indigenous name rectification issue was resumed and became a much sought after discussion issue.

zhengming yundong (原住民正名運動 ‘name rectification movement of indigenous people’); and (h) *yuanzhumin fuming yundong* (原住民復名運動 ‘name restoration movement of indigenous people’). The keywords are straightforward lexemes related to the indigenous name rectification issue. Three pairs of lexemes — (c) and (d), (e) and (f), and (g) and (h) — are synonymous expressions.

By searching for the selected keywords in the target domain, we narrowed down the search scope, focused on our research target, and avoided expressions that did not metaphorize the name rectification issues related to Taiwan indigenous people. We searched for each of these keywords throughout our established corpora and when a keyword was located, we examined the context in which it occurred to decide whether it was being used metaphorically or literally in that instance; expressions that were considered literal in sense were excluded. The major criterion for conceptual metaphor selection was based on domain incongruity. That is, whenever an expression showed a source-target domain mapping with semantic tension for a keyword, such a mapping was considered a conceptual metaphor. To decide the source domain of each metaphorical expression, we resorted to both the Sinica Corpus²⁵ and SUMO²⁶ to ensure the metaphoricality of each expression addressed.

Example (1) below presents the NAME RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor:²⁷

- (1) 「台灣原住民正名運動」已經二十歲了，生日快樂！時至今日，台灣原住民仍致力從各項正名運動過程中，一點一滴拼湊出族群應有的尊嚴與主體性樣貌。

‘The name rectification movement of Taiwan indigenous people is now (already) *twenty years old*. Happy Birthday! (Until) Today, Taiwan indigenous people are still continuously devoted to the *process* of different types of the name rectification movement in order to search for and construct, little by little, a general appearance of their dignity and subjectivity, both of which deserve to be given to all ethnic groups.’ (*Liberty Times*, 12 December 2005)

²⁵ Sinica Corpus is an online Chinese general corpus service available at <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/SinicaCorpus/>.

²⁶ The Suggested Upper Merger Ontology, or SUMO, is an upper ontology and categorization scheme for an encyclopedia. SUMO and its domain ontologies form the largest formal public ontology in existence today, which is used for research and applications in research, linguistics, and reasoning. For details, refer to www.ontologyportal.org.

²⁷ In this article, a keyword is presented in a square, whereas a metaphorical expression is expressed in underlined italics. Any conceptual metaphor identified is written in capitals.

In this example, the attribute of age, 二十歲 ‘twenty years old’, used to describe the indigenous name rectification movement renders the inanimate movement of life and vitality, hence creating semantic incongruity. This metaphorical expression instantiates the conceptual metaphor NAME RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT IS A PERSON and leads readers to conceptualize the name rectification movement as a living human being. Another conceptual metaphor, NAME RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT IS A JOURNEY, also emerges from this news excerpt. The co-occurrence of the lexeme 過程 ‘process’, which represents a path, conceptualizes a journey.

While metaphor analysis is useful in eliciting text producers’ motivations, we argue that simply analyzing metaphors cannot adequately expose their ideologies, especially when identical metaphors, such as NAME RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT IS A JOURNEY, appear in all three newspapers but with different ideological viewpoints. We hence incorporate the discourse-historical approach, which considers broader contexts such as the political and historical background, into our analysis in order to discern any nuances in each of the identical metaphor uses across the three corpora.

After identifying the metaphorical expressions and the conceptual metaphors in our data, discursive strategies were applied to examine the co-text of each token, focusing on the argumentative, the predicative, and rhetorical tools (e.g., syntactic structures, collocation, attributive words, etc.), to infer what the text producer intended to transmit through each metaphor use. During this phase, we incorporated the *positive self-presentation* and the *negative other-presentation* (Self vs. Other) construction in our explanation to delineate the contrasting representations of the indigenous name rectification issue in each of the three newspapers. For example, investigating the personification metaphor in (1), the time adverbials 已經 ‘already’, 時至今日 ‘until today’, and 仍 ‘still’ indicate the length of time the indigenous people have spent engaging in the various name rectification movements, and the verb phrase 一點一滴拼湊 ‘piece up/construct little by little’ depicts the toil and labor spent in search of their dignity and subjectivity. The example therefore suggests empathy in supporting the indigenous people but also irony in criticizing the KMT government. In addition, the argument that both dignity and subjectivity are deserved by every ethnic group supports the position of the news text producer, which portrays the indigenous people as the positive Self and the KMT government as the negative Other.

The steps of our analysis are provided in Figure 1 below:

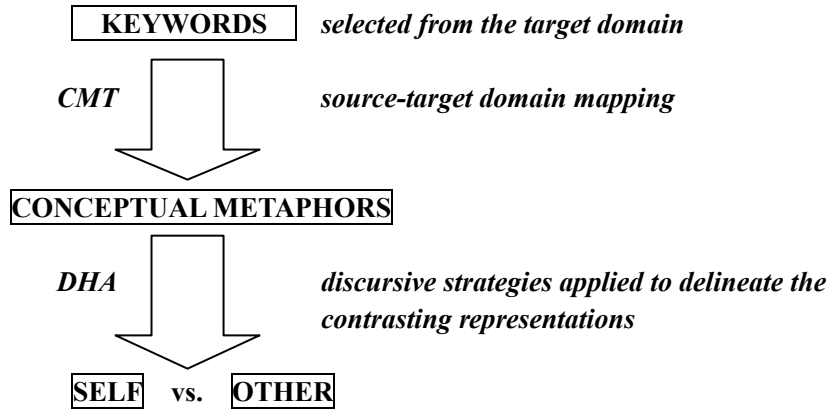


Figure 1: The steps of analysis to identify the conceptual metaphors and Self/Other constructions

Through meticulous CMT and DHA analysis, this research uncovers the means by which news reporters arrive at their aboriginal representations and further create meaning in their production of the discourse.

5. Analysis and discussion

Regarding the first research question stated in §1, we found that a variety of conceptual metaphors have been used in indigenous name rectification reports, as shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Indigenous name rectification movement and its conceptual metaphor representations in the corpora

Source Domain	UDN		LT		AD	
	Tokens	Incidence (%)	Tokens	Incidence (%)	Tokens	Incidence (%)
JOURNEY	147	43.49	128	36.89	4	14.29
CONFLICT	55	16.27	121	34.87	2	7.14
BUILDING	5	1.48	2	0.58	0	0
PERSON	7	2.07	16	4.61	0	0
DEVICE	8	2.37	11	3.17	0	0
LIGHT	0	0	0	0	1	3.57
PLANT	13	3.85	3	0.86	0	0
PERFORMANCE	0	0	0	0	6	21.43
WELFARE	20	5.92	2	0.58	1	3.57
FESTIVAL	0	0	0	0	4	14.29

SPORTS	0	0	0	0	5	17.86
NUTRITION	0	0	0	0	2	7.14
GLORY	16	4.73	3	0.86	0	0
IDENTITY	19	5.62	33	9.51	1	3.57
BUSINESS	6	1.78	2	0.58	0	0
CONTAINER	31	9.17	22	6.34	2	7.14
RELIGION	11	3.25	4	1.15	0	0
Total	338	100.00	347	100.00	28	100.00

The predominant conceptual metaphors used in both UDN and LT are JOURNEY and CONFLICT. As for AD, PERFORMANCE ranks first and SPORTS ranks second.

Our approach to metaphor identification and categorization consisted of several stages. First, we sorted out lexemes/expressions with a metaphoric sense as possible tokens of metaphors. These candidates were then examined using the criteria for defining a metaphor specified in §4.2, with a focus on the presence of incongruity or semantic tension that results from a shift in domain use. Any shift in domain was counted as one token of the conceptual metaphor, and those that did not satisfy the metaphor criterion were excluded from further analysis. As for the source domain decision, the metaphorical lexemes/expressions thus identified were searched in both the Sinica Corpus and SUMO to find out where they occurred and how they should be categorized in the source domain.

5.1 JOURNEY metaphors in the three newspapers

Among all the conceptual metaphors found in our corpora, JOURNEY, a domain descended from the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Lakoff 1993:219), is used frequently, as social activities/political movements usually involve states, changes, actions, causes, processes, purposes, difficulties, means, etc., all of which are characterized cognitively as features of an event. JOURNEY is also one of the most pervasive structures of the image schema, which includes a starting point, the path traversed, and a final goal. This basic structure also implies other important notions related to a journey, such as motion, direction of progress, distance, travelers, speed, crossroads, and burdens/obstacles faced. In most of its cognitive representations, a journey represents a purposeful activity that involves movement within a physical space beginning with a starting point and ending at a destination. In line with this, Lakoff (1993:219) reformulated the journey metaphor as PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION, and Charteris-Black (2004:74) proposed a similar metaphor, PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION, in the political domain.

The JOURNEY metaphor in our corpora conceptualizes the name rectification movement as a lasting journey that would take some time to complete. The path is often rugged and features other difficulties. This journey always has a starting point — the initiation of the movement — and a final goal — the completion of name rectification. The indigenous people are co-travelers on this journey, while the people, events, and things encountered comprise the overall process. Although the three newspapers have different stances on various issues, they often used the concept of ‘journey’ to map onto the concept of ‘name rectification’, and in so doing, inspired readers to think about the issue of indigenous name rectification in terms of a journey. Example (2) below is one of the JOURNEY metaphors found in UDN:

- (2) 台灣的原住民正名運動包含原住民的名字的恢復及族群名稱的正名，這是延伸個人認同邁向為集體認同的第一步。而原民會為鼓勵原住民重視自己傳統文化，從回復傳統姓名開始，已補助全國 17 個部落完成「集體復名」程序，希望未來能有更多原住民部落加入。

‘The indigenous name rectification movement in Taiwan includes the restoration of the traditional aborigines’ names and the rectification of the tribe names, which *extends* the concept of identity and is *the first step* in *striding forward* to self-identity and collective-identity. In order to encourage the indigenous people’s emphasis on traditional cultures and customs, the Council of Indigenous Peoples has subsidized 17 tribes to collectively *complete* the name restoration *procedures since the beginning of the first move to* recover their original names, in the hope that more aboriginal tribes *will participate in* the movement.’ (*United Daily News*, 9 August 2007)

The metaphorical keywords from the source domain, such as ‘the first step’, ‘stride forward’, ‘complete’, ‘procedures’, ‘since the beginning of’, ‘the first move of’, and ‘participate in’ construct an image in which the journey’s departure is the first step striding toward name rectification and the final destination is the completion of name rectification. Those indigenous people who have yet to claim their aboriginal names are the cordially invited participants/companions of the journey. The metaphorical keywords in this excerpt work as a correspondence between the two domains (name rectification vs. journey) and show how the name rectification movement is structured around the idea of a journey.

Another JOURNEY manifestation, example (3) below, is extracted from LT:

- (3) 不過，選擇暫時維持漢名的南投民何國中校長何光明認為原住民正名與否，早就超越族群認同層次的問題，沒有人認為正名的方向是錯的，但傳統姓名的漢字翻譯不統一也不貼切，讓很多人因而對這條路觀望。

‘However, He Guang-ming, principal of Nantou’s Minhe Junior High School and who temporarily retains his Han name, believes that whether indigenous people rectified their names or not, the issue has long transcended the issue of ethnic identification. Nobody thinks the direction of name rectification is wrong. However, the Chinese character translation of indigenous names is not unified and is lacking in accuracy. This has made some people adopt a wait-and-see attitude on this road.’ (*Liberty Times*, 22 January 2006)

In this example, name rectification is portrayed as a journey that can lead either in the right direction or in the wrong direction; hence, the travelers must stop often to ensure they are travelling on the right path.

Example (4) below is a JOURNEY excerpt from AD:

- (4) 他們體認了只有回復名字，才能傳承文化 …通過這一步，族人更清楚什麼是民族尊嚴，什麼是有自信，什麼是「自主」。

‘They realize that only by name restoration can the indigenous people transmit their traditional culture between generations ...Through this step of name rectification, the indigenous people will further clearly understand what ethnic dignity is, what self-confidence is, and what self-determination is.’ (*Apple Daily*, 13 April 2006)

In this example, ‘step’, a characteristic and specific part of a journey, is used to refer to the whole journey, in particular, the name rectification movement. Moreover, ethnic dignity, self-confidence, and self-determination can be clarified only by taking this step.

The JOURNEY conceptual metaphors from the corpora are summarized in Table 4 below. The underlying features of the lexemes/expressions listed, such as a starting point, a path, travelers, barriers, a final destination, etc., are manifested in language to serve as the input and to correlate them further with the conceptualization of a journey.

Table 4: Expressions of JOURNEY metaphor in the corpora

Expression	UDN		LT		AD	
	Tokens	Incidence (%)	Tokens	Incidence (%)	Tokens	Incidence (%)
道路 ROAD	18	12.24	15	11.72	1	25.00
途徑 PATH	30	20.41	32	25.00	0	0
起點 STARTING POINT	5	3.40	2	1.56	1	25.00
阻礙 BARRIER	16	10.88	19	14.84	0	0
終點 DESTINATION	18	12.24	20	15.63	1	25.00
目標 GOAL	13	8.84	9	7.03	1	25.00
管道 CHANNEL	5	3.40	7	5.47	0	0
人 PERSON					0	0
朋友 COMPANION	14	9.52	2	1.56		
旅者 TRAVELLER	6	4.08	3	2.34		
步 STEP	11	7.48	9	7.03	0	0
手段/工具 INSTRUMENT	3	2.04	5	3.91	0	0
走向/前行 MOVING FORWARD	8	5.44	5	3.91	0	0
Total	147	100.00	128	100.00	4	100.00

Since journey metaphors are widely used among the three newspapers, simply analyzing this source domain will not reveal how the ideologies underpinning the newspapers influence their representations. Therefore, it is necessary to examine how JOURNEY is used in each of the newspapers in order to find the differences. We thus apply the discourse-historical approach, which takes into account discourse semantics²⁸ and grammatical features, to construct the Self and Other presentations, and then examine the broader contexts in order to make inferences about what motivates these differences. Sections 5.2 through 5.5 discuss our second research question.

5.2 The different representations of JOURNEY in UDN and LT

The indigenous name rectification movement originated from indigenous people's efforts toward building their identities, seeking their rights, and establishing their position in Taiwan. Thus, the use of the JOURNEY metaphor in news reporting as a manner of thinking and inference for understanding indigenous people's efforts toward this process

²⁸ According to Reisigl & Wodak (2001:26), discourse semantics is an extension of semantics to include the relationship between a sentence and the context or discourse in which the sentence is realized.

is expected. However, when applying the discourse-historical approach and scrutinizing these metaphors, we found JOURNEY portrayed quite differently in UDN and LT. The JOURNEY metaphors for name rectification in UDN are mainly joyful while those in LT are arduous and sorrowful. In addition, LT often frames the indigenous ethnic identity issue with the issue of national identity. By binding these two different kinds of identities together, LT attempts to get general readers to react to the issue of national identity. To illustrate the different journey representations in UDN and LT, the following examples are extracted from both corpora, respectively:

- (5) 來自花蓮、台東的噶瑪蘭族後裔，昨天回到宜蘭縣五結鄉流流社的「噶瑪蘭家屋」，以傳統歌舞、祭典，慶祝噶瑪蘭族正名5周年；各地後裔相見歡，氣氛很熱烈。噶瑪蘭族復名從70年代開始推動，一直到91年時才得到政府承認，正式列為台灣原住民第11族，每年噶瑪蘭族都會回到宜蘭五結流流社尋根。「非常高興回到故鄉！」花蓮新社噶瑪蘭族頭目潘金榮說……

‘Coming from Hualian and Taidong, the descendants of the Kavalan Tribe yesterday returned to their Kavalan traditional house, which is located in the Liuliu community of Wujie county, Yilan. With traditional ceremonies, songs and dances, they celebrated the fifth anniversary of the successful name rectification of the Kavalan Tribe. The descendants from different places happily met with each other, and the atmosphere was very ardent and warm. The name restoration movement of the Kavalan Tribe *was launched* in the 1980s, and it wasn’t *until* 2002 that the tribe received recognition from the government and was formally listed as the eleventh aboriginal tribe of Taiwan. Every year, the Kavalan Tribe will *come back* to Yilan to *look for their ethnic roots*. The Hualian chief of the Kavalan Tribe, Jin-rong Pan, said, “I’m so happy to come back to my hometown”.’ (*United Daily News*, 23 December 2007)

The name rectification movement as portrayed in UDN’s excerpt in (5) is a looking-for-ethnic-roots journey, beginning in the 1980s and ending in 2002, with the ethnic group Kavalan being recognized by the government. Through the predication strategy, in which the evaluative attributions such as ‘happily’, ‘ardent’, ‘warm’, ‘celebrate’, and ‘songs and dances’ co-occur with the keyword ‘name rectification/name restoration’, the news text producer presents pleasing traits of the name rectification movement and hence labels the movement as positive. This evaluation further constructs a supportive attitude of the UDN toward those indigenous people who endeavor to pursue name rectification and hence view Taiwan indigenous people as the positive Self. While the practice of highlighting the indigenous people’s joyfulness regarding

their ability to restore traditional names prevails in UDN's reports, the practice of the KMT government previously depriving the indigenous people of their aboriginal names is usually left out. Hence, this emphasizes the differences in how the JOURNEY metaphor is portrayed in UDN and LT.

Examples (6) and (7) below are extracted from LT. Example (6) illustrates the journey metaphor with arduous and sorrowful attributes, while example (7) ties national identity with ethnic identity, both of which are frequent metaphorical representations found in LT:

- (6) 民進黨政府宣稱，台灣是一個尊重人權、社會公義與多元族群文化的社會。但是，為什麼台灣的平埔族群鄉親仍然被排除於政府與社會體制之外？為何政府仍然否認平埔族的存在，忽視瀕臨滅絕的平埔文化？為何政府持續地維持非人道的「滅族政策」，驅迫平埔族群走向滅亡之絕境？為何政府會有如此的種族歧視，不承認這一群弱勢的少數族群？過去的國民黨政府與現在執政的民進黨，不但對我們沒有同情悲憫的關懷，對於我們過去多次的請願上書，開公聽會、記者會以爭取正名的平埔人權運動，也都持續地以冷淡、傲慢、蔑視的種族歧視態度來對待我們。我們不懂政府何以會用這樣的種族歧視來對待台灣瀕臨滅絕的弱勢族群。學者指出，再不搶救這些平埔原住民族群，不到十年真的就可以宣佈「台灣平埔族已滅亡了」。我們正面臨自己族群的生死存亡之秋，搶救平埔南島文化語言、傳統智慧與族群記憶是我們的使命。

‘The DPP government declares that Taiwan is a society that respects human rights, social justice and ethnic cultural diversity. Yet, why is it that Taiwan’s Pingpu aborigines are still rejected by the government and social systems? Why is it that the government still denies the existence of the Pingpu ethnic group, and turns a blind eye on the vanishing Pingpu culture? Why does the government still adopt an inhuman ‘ethnic annihilation policy,’ driving Pingpu groups to walk towards the brink of extinction? Why is it that the government is so racially discriminating that it refuses to acknowledge this weak minority ethnic group? The KMT government of the past and the incumbent DPP government have never shown any compassion or concern for us. They treated us with coldness, arrogance, and denigration when we made petitions several times in the past, during public hearings and press conferences, to push for the Pingpu name rectification movement. We do not understand why the government adopts racial discrimination against a weak minority group on the brink of extinction. Scholars have pointed out that if no efforts were made to save the Pingpu ethnic groups, it would take no more than a decade to pronounce

‘the death of the Pingpu.’ Our group *is facing* threats to our survival. It is our mission to save the Pingpu culture and language, traditional acumen and ethnic memory.’ (*Liberty Times*, 21 December 2006)

In this example, both the past KMT government and the incumbent DPP government, which both advocate an aboriginal ethnic annihilation policy, are represented as persecutors condemning the Pingpu aboriginal people to a journey that will end in either ethnic survival or ethnic extinction. The explicit predicates such as ‘denies the existence of the Pingpu ethnic group’, ‘turns a blind eye on the vanishing Pingpu culture’, and ‘adopts an inhuman “ethnic annihilation policy” ’ are used to blame both the KMT and the DPP governments, whose stance is unfavorable towards Taiwan’s indigenous people, specifically the Pingpu tribe. The empathetic comprehension of the Pingpu indigenous group and blaming attitude toward both governments further construct indigenous people as the positive Self and both the KMT and the DPP as the negative Other.

- (7) 台灣的正名運動包含國名、以及原住民的集體名字的確認，也就是決定大家是否要當同一個命運共同體，這是淬煉個人認同為集體認同的第一步。

‘Taiwan’s name rectification movements include the confirmation of the official name of the country, and the drive towards the collective resumption of aborigine names. That is to say, the issue to be decided is whether everybody wants to form a collective destiny. This is *the first step* in uplifting individual identification towards collective identification.’ (*Liberty Times*, 5 July 2007)

The news text illustrated in (7) combines two name rectification movements, that of the country’s and that of the indigenous people. When reporting indigenous issues, in which the focus should be the indigenous people, LT aligns individual identification (aborigines’ identity) with collective identification (Taiwan people’s identity) in a way that markets to the readers what it considers the ideal Taiwanese identity. Moreover, the argumentation strategy (i.e. ‘the issue to be decided is whether everybody wants to form a collective destiny’) used by LT further justifies its position toward support of Taiwan indigenous people’s pursuing their identity via the name rectification movement, and hence constructs indigenous people as the positive Self.

5.3 CONFLICT metaphors in the three newspapers

Another conceptual metaphor, CONFLICT, figures prominently in our corpora as

well. In line with the view of social psychology, ‘conflict’ is defined here as a perceived incompatibility of goals (cf. Smith & Mackie 2007). A clash of interests, ideas, actions, needs, values, expectations, views, or directions often sparks a conflict within the mind of an individual or between two opposing groups. In this study, conflict is understood as a perceived incompatible clash, such as a struggle, contest, chaos, war, etc. Metaphorical expressions from this source domain include lexemes such as 禍事 ‘incidence’, 災難 ‘disaster’, 橫禍 ‘accident/adversity’, 逃難 ‘fleeing from a calamity’, 苦難 ‘hardship’, 痛苦 ‘sufferings’, 磨難 ‘tribulation’, 廝殺 ‘fighting at close quarters’, 戰爭 ‘battle’, 困擾 ‘persecution’, 麻煩 ‘trouble’, 消滅 ‘slaughter’, 搶救 ‘save/rescue’, 保護 ‘protect’, 滅亡/滅絕 ‘annihilation’, 混亂 ‘chaos’, 殺 ‘kill’, 流血流汗/流血揮汗 ‘sweating blood’, 抗議 ‘protest’, 排擠 ‘edging out’, 切斷 ‘sever’, 掙扎 ‘struggle’, and 挑戰 ‘challenge/competition’, all of which constitute subsidiary conceptualizations within the concept of ‘conflict’ at the macro level, and hence bring forth the conceptual metaphor NAME RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT IS A CONFLICT.

CONFLICT is the second most common domain in both UDN and LT, accounting for over one-fourth of all metaphors identified. Employing the conceptual metaphor NAME RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT IS A CONFLICT, news text producers highlight images of fighting and physical struggle, which is necessary to achieve the indigenous groups’ collective goal — restoring the naming right. Since CONFLICT metaphors have an important role in achieving certain social/political goals, individuals who cause the conflict or any hardships confronted during the process of solving the conflict can be conceptualized as ‘enemies’ or ‘obstacles’, respectively. Table 5 below shows the various lexemes/expressions that map to the indigenous name rectification movement as ‘conflict’. The underlying features of the expressions for conceptual linking are based on the core concept of perceived incompatibility.

Table 5: Expressions of CONFLICT metaphor in the corpora

Expression	UDN		LT		AD	
	Tokens	Incidence (%)	Tokens	Incidence (%)	Tokens	Incidence (%)
INCIDENCE	2	3.64	5	4.13	0	0
ADVERSITY	5	9.09	1	0.83	0	0
DISASTER	7	12.73	14	11.57	0	0
BATTLE	3	5.45	12	9.92	0	0
HARDSHIP	3	5.45	2	1.65	0	0
FIGHTING	6	10.91	7	5.78	1	50.00
FLEEING	0	0	1	0.83	0	0
CHAOS	3	5.45	6	4.96	0	0
STRUGGLE	2	3.64	25	20.66	0	0
SUFFERINGS	3	5.45	12	9.92	0	0

TROUBLE	12	21.82	5	4.13	0	0
DESTROY	4	7.27	4	3.31	0	0
RESCUE	1	1.82	5	4.13	0	0
PROTEST	2	1.82	4	3.31	0	0
PERSECUTION	1	3.64	5	4.13	0	0
TRIBULATION	0	0	1	0.83	0	0
SLAUGHTER	0	0	2	1.65	0	0
PROTECT	0	0	1	0.83	0	0
ANNIHILATION	0	0	3	2.48	0	0
KILLING	1	1.82	0	0	0	0
SWEATING BLOOD	0	0	2	1.65	0	0
EDGING OUT	0	0	2	1.65	0	0
SEVER	0	0	2	1.65	0	0
RECONCILIATION	0	0	0	0	1	50.00
Total	55	100.00	121	100.00	1	100.00

The CONFLICT metaphor highlights imagery and scenes familiar to people, such as disaster, chaos, fighting, sweating blood, killing, etc., on an experiential basis to correlate the indigenous name rectification movement. Example (8) below is a CONFLICT metaphor drawn from LT:

- (8) 漢字譯音有侷限且沒有統一範本，造成正名一團亂。原住民族委員會發展出「原住民族語言書寫系統」。長期在南投縣魚池鄉日月潭投入邵族母語研究、教學的退休教師簡史朗認為，羅馬拼音多數的字母發音與英語的音標發音相同，只要具備國中英語基礎，稍加輔導，應該能夠大致了解，值得推廣。但傳統姓名的漢字翻譯不統一也不貼切，讓很多人困擾，這是譯音政策造成的混亂。

‘Chinese character transliteration has its limitations because there is no standard version. It also causes *chaos* within indigenous name rectification. The Council of Indigenous Peoples developed an “Indigenous Peoples’ Language Writing System.” Jian Shi-lang, a retired teacher involved in the long-term study and teaching of the Thao dialect used around Sun-Moon Lake in Yuchi Township, Nantou, observes that alphabets for romanization are similar to English phonetic symbols. Therefore, a basic grounding in junior-high-school-level English, with the necessary guidance, is all that is needed for an understanding of the system. It is thus worthy of promoting. However, the Chinese character translation of indigenous names is not unified and is lacking in accuracy. This has *made people very confused*, and has also caused *chaos* within the transliteration policy.’ (*Liberty Times*, 21 June 2007)

In (8), the news reports that the Chinese character limitations and a lack of a unified transliteration system help to establish a link between indigenous name rectification and a man-made disaster. This has also been used on an experiential basis to make a cognitive explanation of indigenous name rectification in terms of an irreconcilable conflict, and through which imagery such as chaos, perplexity, and trouble is created. The predicates in this news excerpt, such as ‘has its limitations’, ‘there is no standard version’, ‘is not unified and is lacking in accuracy’, and ‘made people very confused’, explicitly label both the policy of Chinese character transliteration and the policy formulator negatively, which further constructs the KMT government as the negative Other.

5.4 The different representations of the CONFLICT metaphor in the three newspapers

While the CONFLICT metaphor is a frequent device used by LT and UDN in reporting related news, its manifestation is very different. The CONFLICT metaphor in UDN is often represented as a tedious application procedure and its resulting inconvenience, while LT frequently raises the degree of conflict to fighting for ethnic survival and national identity. Both the target and the reason for the conflict reported in the two newspapers are quite divergent. Example (9) below is a CONFLICT metaphor from UDN:

- (9) 台中縣和平國小校長江美麗也未改名原名，她說：「太麻煩！」。她認為正名是一種身分認同的困擾及麻煩，一旦身分證更改，一些證書、文件全都要跟著改，非常不便。

‘Jiang Mei-li, the principal of Heping Elementary School in Taichung County, did not reclaim her aboriginal name. She said that name rectification was *too tedious and troublesome*. She considered name rectification *as troublesome and a perplexity of identity*. Once a person changes to the aboriginal name, he or she has to rectify all of the names on every one of his or her diplomas, certificates and documents. It is highly *inconvenient* to be in this situation.’ (United Daily News, 19 September 2006)

In this example, name rectification is considered not only troublesome but also inconvenient because the tedious name-change process would require changing documents and may induce anxieties when revealing the name-change to others.

Extracted from LT, example (10) below is quite different from (9):

- (10) 如果是在外來統治君臨之際，名字的更易無非想要切斷被統治者的文化根源，因此，改名是同化政策的第一步。戰後，多少可憐的台灣人父母，自以為是爲了子女的前途著想，即使自己操弄蹩腳的北京話，也忍痛不願用母語污染下一代，同樣是被迫作自我同化的抉擇。

‘If done in times of *foreign domination*, the changing of names is nothing more than an attempt to *cut off the cultural roots of the dominated*. Thus, the changing of names is *the first step* in carrying out assimilation policies. After World War II, how many pitiful Taiwanese parents, thinking that they were doing the right thing for their children’s future, *bear the pains* of denying the younger generation their mother tongues by speaking rough Mandarin (i.e. Beijing language)? They too *were forced to* make the choice to assimilate themselves.’ (*Liberty Times*, 27 March 2007)

LT states that the reason for the conflict is the foreign dominator cutting off the indigenous people’s cultural roots by forcing them to adopt Han Chinese names. Thus, the indigenous name rectification movement is a call to action to search for ethnic cultural roots. In addition, LT correlates this behavior with the KMT government’s policy of coercing Taiwanese people to speak Mandarin. By binding two assimilation policies (i.e. one geared toward aborigines and the other toward the Taiwanese people), LT raises the conflict issue from the level of ethnic human rights to the level of national identity. Moreover, with the lexemes ‘pitiful’, ‘bear the pains’, and ‘were forced to’, LT’s political orientation toward blaming the KMT and its own pro-Taiwanese identity is quite apparent. Furthermore, the predication ‘cut off the cultural roots of the dominated’ labels the actor — the foreign dominator — negatively, and hence the KMT government is constructed as the negative Other. In addition, ‘Beijing’ and ‘Taiwanese parents’ are mentioned together with ‘foreign dominator (KMT government)’ and ‘the dominated (the aborigines)’, and hence Beijing, a metonymy of Mainland China, is constructed as the negative Other, while both Taiwanese parents and aborigines are constructed as the positive Self.

While the CONFLICT metaphor occurs frequently in LT and UDN, its representation in AD is different. With less emphasis on fighting and other negative aspects of conflict, AD highlights the concept of ‘reconciliation’ in a conflict, and then leads readers to consider the legitimacy and indispensability of setting into action the indigenous name rectification movement. Example (11) below illustrates this difference:

(11) 三社群埋石立約 解恩怨

仁愛鄉長陳世光指出，賽德克族有多達、德克達雅、德魯固等三大社群，長期被政府列為是泰雅族的一支，但兩族的語言、傳統風俗、血緣不同，多年來向中央爭取正名，尚未獲准。陳世光指出，公所串連分布在鄉內互助、南豐、大同、親愛、春陽、精英、合作等七村三大社群族人，舉辦「賽德克族傳統民俗文化活動」，將由社群長老、祭司以傳統「埋石立約」的方式，將石頭埋進獵場土地內，表示大家皆同意大和解，讓過去恩怨煙消雲散，希望今後族人團結合作共推正名運動。

‘Three Tribes Bury Stones and Sign Contracts to Disentangle the Feelings of Gratitude and Resentment

The chief of Ren-ai County, Chen Shi-guang, indicated that three groups of the Seediq — the Toda, the Tekdaya and the Truku — have long been considered by the government as branches of the Atayal tribe. However, the languages, traditional customs, cultures and consanguinity between the Seediq and Atayal are quite different. These two tribes *have strived for* name rectification for many years from the government but haven’t yet received permission. Chen pointed out that the county government would unite the indigenous people living in the present seven villages and encourage them to practice Seediq traditional culture activities to *solve previous enmities*. The chiefs and priests would conduct a traditional ceremony in which to bury stones in the hunting grounds and sign a contract to signify the importance of reconciliation and cooperation with the hope that the tribal peoples would *unify to advance* the name rectification movement.’ (*Apple Daily*, 15 December 2006)

Although AD also used the concept of ‘conflict’ to report indigenous issues, it did so depicting enmity and division among aboriginal groups, and reaching ‘harmony’ through conflict, before turning to the drive for indigenous name rectification. AD is also the only newspaper that incorporated the concept of indigenous ethnic ‘reconciliation’ into its news reporting on indigenous issues.

While the three newspapers all used CONFLICT metaphors to represent the indigenous name rectification issue, the reason, purpose, target, process, scope, and degree of conflict were reported quite differently. LT focused on ethnic survival while UDN focused on the tedious procedures of rectifying names. As for AD, it focused on the conflict among aboriginal groups before turning to the issue of name rectification.

5.5 Conceptual metaphors in AD

Compared with LT and UDN, AD used less conceptual metaphors overall, which was expected given the total volume of reports focusing on indigenous name rectification and how few were contributed by the newspaper. Among the metaphors used, PERFORMANCE had the highest frequency while SPORTS ranked second, with only a slight difference between them.

5.5.1 PERFORMANCE/CATWALK metaphors

The metaphorical expression ‘catwalk’ is found in AD, which is the only newspaper that associated the concept of performance to understanding the indigenous people’s name rectification movement, as shown in example (12) below:

(12) 全民總動『原』趴趴走

八月一日為原住民紀念日，民進黨籍原住民立委陳瑩昨特地穿上改良的原住民禮服，一一介紹鄒族、卑南族、魯凱族、排灣族的傳統服飾，秀出「原味」，並邀請全民今天一起穿上原住民服飾，參加「全民總動『原』趴趴 Go」活動。陳瑩說，這項活動將於上午十一時，在台北火車站售票處集合，搭乘捷運到台北市政府站，再步行到華納威秀，藉此讓民眾了解原住民正名歷史。

‘All Indigenous Peoples on the GO

August 1 is commemoration day of the indigenous people in Taiwan. The DPP aboriginal legislator Chen Ying donned aborigine attire and accessories yesterday and introduced the traditional costumes and ceremonial garbs of the Tsou, the Bunun, the Rukai, and the Paiwan tribes, respectively, to show the tastes of ‘origin’. She performed a catwalk to display the aborigine clothes and invited all of the people of Taiwan to dress in aboriginal costumes and participate in the ‘All Indigenous Peoples’ on the GO’ activity. Chen said people may assemble at the ticket office of the Taipei Railway Station at 11:00 a.m. and take the MRT to the Taipei Municipal Government, and then march to the Warner Viewshow. The purpose of this activity is to better acquaint people of the indigenous name rectification movement with its history.’ (*Apple Daily*, 9 August 2007)

Lexemes used in this excerpt, such as ‘attire’, ‘ceremonial garb’, ‘on the go’, ‘march’, and ‘Warner Viewshow’, highlight catwalk imagery and performance, creating the conceptual metaphor INDIGENOUS NAME RECTIFICATION IS A PERFORMANCE.

AD's use of the CATWALK metaphor also reflects the newspaper's emphasis on entertainment and sports stories.

5.5.2 SPORTS metaphors

As a number of researchers have commented regarding social issues, the use of sports metaphors aims to simplify these issues; for example, Semino & Masci (1996: 250) stated:

Within sports metaphors, the complexities of ideological and ethical issues are backgrounded and politics is presented as a relatively simple domain with clear participants (the party 'teams'), unproblematic goals (winning) and unambiguous outcomes (victory or defeat).

Among the three newspapers, only AD simplifies the indigenous name rectification issue and conceptualizes it as a sports competition. One example of this is given in example (13) below:

- (13) 原住民正名是運動比賽，期待原民立委帶頭改。

「復名」是每個族人生命中的重大挑戰，在這場賽事中，每個族人也都扮演了重要的角色。原住民復名運動破千人，但點滴不能滋潤大地，我們期望，原住民立委作為族人所信賴的政治菁英，能夠做復名的表率，作未來復名的2千人、1萬人，甚至原住民46萬人的標竿，未來每一個原住民名字後面美麗的故事，將會被看見，成為台灣社會所有成員共同的資產，原住民更能挺直站立大聲說：「身為原住民，我很驕傲」。

Indigenous Name Rectification is a Sports Competition. We Expect Indigenous Legislators to Start It Off

Name rectification is the biggest challenge in every indigenous person's life. In this competition, every aborigine plays an important role as well. There are over a thousand aborigines participating in the name rectification movement who have changed their names. However, a little rain cannot save a land from drought. We anticipate that the political elites, the aboriginal legislators, will be the leaders and models of the tribal peoples, and lead them to join the name rectification actions and to serve as benchmarks for them. The beauty of the story of each name of the indigenous people can be seen, and, further, these stories can become an asset to Taiwan society. Moreover, each indigenous person can stand firmly and speak loudly: "I am very proud of being an aborigine." (Apple Daily, 13 April 2006)

Using the concept of ‘a challenge in life’ to allude to indigenous name rectification also establishes the need for bravery in pushing name rectification. The indigenous people are the participants and the indigenous Legislative Yuan members are the leaders in the competition. Results of the competition allude to the success or failure of the indigenous name rectification movement. Moreover, the record of achievement implies the fruitful success of name rectification, which can be seen and respected by all people of Taiwan.

Research question (c) will be discussed in §5.6.

5.6 The constructions of Self and Other in the three newspapers

With several predication, argumentation, and rhetorical strategies serving as instrumental tools, we found that the three newspapers weave Self and Other constructions into their metaphorical representations in divergent ways. In UDN, the indigenous people comprise the positive Self and the DPP-dominated government and the incumbent president Chen Shui-bian (2000-2008) comprise the negative Other. In LT, the positive Self consists of not only the indigenous people but also the Taiwanese people, specifically those who support Taiwanese identity, whereas the negative Other consists of the Japanese colonial government, Mainland China, and the political opposition opponent KMT. As for AD, it constructs the indigenous general populace as the positive Self, while the negative Other represents the aboriginal legislators and celebrities who have not yet resumed using their aboriginal names. Table 6 below shows the Self and Other constructions found in each of the newspapers:

Table 6: The constructions of Self and Other in the corpora

News	Self	Other
<i>United Daily News</i>	Taiwan indigenous people	DPP-dominated government, President Chen Shui-bian
<i>Liberty Times</i>	Taiwan indigenous people, Taiwanese people who support Taiwanese identity	Japanese colonial government, Mainland China, KMT government
<i>Apple Daily</i>	Taiwan indigenous people	Indigenous legislators and celebrities who have not yet resumed using their indigenous names

Provided are two more examples that expound on the Self/Other division. Example (14) below is extracted from LT:

- (14) 台灣有些原住民語地名是日本人改的，日本殖民統治台灣時期，特別是在一九二〇年趁著改行政區分之便，偷天換日把許多台灣舊地名改成日本本土的地名，很可能是歷來改地名改得最多的一次。任何一個殖民統治者都一樣，喜歡把他家的地名搬去殖民地使用，所以美國才有那麼多像「新約克」那樣「新」什麼的地名。日本殖民統治者也一樣，因此台灣就出現了像高雄、岡山、汐止、松山的地名。

‘Some of the aboriginal region names were changed by Japanese colonizers. Japan, taking the opportunity to rearrange the administrative regions, stole the sky and put up a sham sun to change many Taiwanese region names into Japanese names during its colonial period in the 1920s. It is perhaps the biggest region name-change action in Taiwan’s history. The dominators, whoever they are, do the same thing — transplant their own region names to the colony. That is why in the U.S.A. there are so many region names beginning with the lexeme *new*, such as New York. Japanese colonizers did the same thing to Taiwan; therefore, many Japanese region names, such as Gaoxiong, Gangshan, Xizhi and Songshan appear in Taiwan.’ (*Liberty Times*, 28 January 2006)

In (14), LT uses the predicate ‘stole the sky and put up a sham sun’ to give a negative evaluative attribution to the social actor Japan, the man-made calamity maker, and hence adopts an attitude against Japan’s role in changing the aboriginal and Taiwanese region names. We therefore view this example as a discursive construction of Japan as the negative Other. Among our three news corpora, LT is the only newspaper that criticizes the colonizer Japan when reporting on related issues. As most other examples found in LT show, LT aligns the ongoing indigenous name rectification issue (an ethnic issue) with the issue of Taiwan’s colonization by Japan (a national issue).

While UDN and LT often institute their political opponents (i.e. the DPP government and the KMT government) as the negative Other, AD by contrast constructs the indigenous legislators and celebrities who have not yet resumed using their indigenous names as such, as shown in example (15) below:

- (15) 立法院的原住民立委，他們是原住民菁英中的菁英，其意見受到主流社會的高度重視，所受的社會壓力最小，不用擔心找不到工作申請不到信用卡。他們在部落是「喊水會結凍」，比部落領袖還要偉大的人物，可以說每個原住民立法委員都是統領數百個部落的超級大頭目。但是，他們沒有與原住民可連結的名字，他們的名字每天出現在報紙、電視上，但是卻沒有人喊得出他的原名。歷屆的原住民立委當中，除了前立委馬賴·古麥、巴燕·達魯、瓦歷斯·貝林外，目前 10 位立委都還是

「3 個字」的漢名漢姓。

‘The aboriginal legislators in the Legislative Yuan are the elites among aboriginal groups. Their viewpoints are often highly esteemed by mainstream society... They are actually the super-leaders of many of the aboriginal tribes. However, they do not have aboriginal names *associated with their ethnic roots*. They appear every day in newspapers and on TV programs, but nobody can identify them by calling out their original aboriginal names. Except for three ex-aboriginal legislators, Malai, Bayan, and Walisi, the 10 incumbent aboriginal legislators are still using Han names’ (*Apple Daily*, 13 April 2006).

The news reports regarding indigenous name rectification in AD place emphasis on the immediate action of the aboriginal legislators to restore use of their traditional names. The argumentation ‘However, they do not have aboriginal names associated with their ethnic roots’ criticizes the improper behavior of those aboriginal legislators who still use their Han names and thus constructs them as the negative Other. This not only reflects the ideology of AD but also reinforces its reporting tendency to center on stories involving celebrities.

Despite the fact that the three newspapers all construct Taiwan indigenous people as the positive Self, we argue that this Self is superficial in that it reflects the “political correctness” of valuing the human rights of the indigenous people because of its global status in recent years. Since the purpose of political correctness is to minimize offense in a social context, political correctness may result in the suppression of ideas. We therefore argue that this superficial Self construction, or Pseudo-self construction, is masking the newspapers’ true views of indigenous people as the negative Other. Crucial to our analysis is the concept of the ‘intertextuality’ emphasized in Reisigl & Wodak’s (2001) discourse-historical approach. That is, the individual text always relates to past or even present texts — explicitly or implicitly, it is dialogical with other texts and gains its meanings in relation to other texts.

To conceal what the KMT government has done to Taiwan indigenous people, UDN omits the sorrowful historical facts, such as quashing their independence by forcing the use of Han names and their struggle for ethnic survival, and emphasizes the indigenous people’s present happiness with their ability to use traditional names. Therefore, in UDN, the JOURNEY metaphors represent a happy process of looking for self-identity. On the contrary, LT frequently relates the current indigenous name rectification movement to the previous mournful indigenous history of struggling for ethnic survival and of being cruelly deprived of ethnic dignity. LT chose to focus on the hardships of indigenous people as a means to elevate related issues, such as national identification and positioning of the nation, to a higher level. Although the metaphorical journey also seeks self-

identification and self-dignity, the process itself is arduous, with the final goal being the establishment of a national identity and nationhood. The perils and hardships of the journey portrayed in LT also include the pressure of ethnic survival of different groups and the country. Therefore, the representation of JOURNEY metaphors in LT is always sorrowful and solemn and is delivered in a misery-filled tone.

In comparison, AD's JOURNEY metaphors share similarities with UDN and LT in terms of the metaphor centering on a time journey, in which the duration and time-consuming characteristics of the name rectification movement are reflected. However, AD is different from the other two corpora in that it believes the journey of self-identification must be led by legislators who are indigenous people themselves. Nevertheless, we argue that indigenous name rectification is a collective responsibility, since indigenous people share a common destiny. Putting the focus on indigenous celebrities, and not simply the name rectification issue itself, reflects AD's tabloid properties and indifferent stance on indigenous issues.

These divergent ideologies among UDN, LT, and AD are also reflected in their representation of CONFLICT metaphors. UDN omits the painful results of colonialism, mitigating the KMT government's guilt, and hence any conflict concerning the indigenous name rectification movement occurring in its related coverage is limited to the low-level, tedious administration procedures of rectifying names. Alternatively, LT clearly identifies the goals of conflict as the victories gained in the indigenous people's fight for self-identity and ethnic identity, and in Taiwan people's fight for nationhood and autonomy/subjectivity. When reporting on indigenous ethnic issues, LT frequently presents the issue of Taiwan identity in an attempt to homogenize two different identities into a single reporting event. Therefore, it usually underscores the imagery of 'hardships and difficulties' and raises it to the level of fighting for national identity. However, the ethnic identity of indigenous people and the national identity of Taiwan's non-aboriginal society are two different things. For the indigenous people, they have no fatherland elsewhere in which to turn, and they are indeed the true indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan. Conversely, AD regards those indigenous legislators who have not yet restored the use of their traditional names as 'enemies' in its CONFLICT metaphor representation. Revealing specific aboriginal legislators as the negative Other reflects the newspaper's habit of focusing its reports on celebrities' lapses. The position of straying from the main subject when reporting on the indigenous people's name rectification movement further leads us to argue that the positive Self construction of Taiwan indigenous people in AD is a camouflage for political correctness, as seen in similar articles in UDN and LT.

Through a selection of metaphors in combination with other rhetorical strategies, we argue that a Pseudo-self construction disguises Taiwan indigenous people's negative

Other construction. In addition, when reporting indigenous issues, the three newspapers do not genuinely embrace the issues facing aborigines, but, instead, focus on concerns of their own. Moreover, all reports on the indigenous issues are from the Han people's historical perspectives. We therefore argue that the Self and Other constructions of Taiwan indigenous people toward the issue of the indigenous name rectification movement are established on the political stances and the underlying ideologies of the newspapers' publishers.

6. Conclusion

Drawing on an integration of analytic tools, this article analyzes the news reports covering the indigenous name rectification movement of Taiwan indigenous people in an attempt to illustrate the role played by conceptual metaphors and discourse in shaping the public's perceptions about the indigenous name rectification movement, as well as what motivates the different representations of the issue.

Using two-tier analysis to investigate both conceptual metaphors and discursive strategies, this study contributes theoretically and empirically to the representation of Taiwan indigenous people's name rectification movement. Theoretically, we demonstrated that metaphor theory alone does not sufficiently make visible the ideologies hidden in the identical metaphors, such as the predominant JOURNEY and CONFLICT metaphors identified in our news corpora, and hence incorporated the discourse-historical approach into the conceptual metaphor theory to provide a more comprehensive framework to explain the function of metaphor use in news discourse. In doing so, we argue that cognitive characteristics of metaphor cannot be treated in isolation from other persuasive rhetorical features in the discourse context.

Empirically, we analyzed the data regarding the name rectification movement of Taiwan indigenous people in print media. Despite the fact that indigenous rights and movements have been emphasized around the world, few studies have been conducted on the linguistic devices used to report the indigenous issues. Our study, therefore, is poised to fill this gap. Through the examination of conceptual metaphors and rhetorical strategies used to report indigenous issues, and through the filter of Self and Other social identity constructions, this article has demonstrated that political orientations and underlying ideologies are ingrained in the corpora news reports. While all three newspapers constructed Taiwan indigenous people as a positive Self in-group, it was achieved under the camouflage of a Self construction, thus resulting in a pseudo-Self construction that masked Taiwan indigenous people's negative Other construction.

Unlike previous studies demonstrating the dichotomous Self and Other framework, our study posits that the Self construction is a manipulation tool used to gloss over a

text writer's real intentions. We verify that those indigenous people-related reports are far from being the objective records of the language they are popularly conceived to be, although each report may vary in the degree to which their editorial motivations are transparent or concealed. We also provide evidence that all linguistic devices used to represent issues related to Taiwan indigenous people and the name rectification movement are strongly influenced by news agencies' ideological viewpoints, and the ways in which the newspapers' publishers delineate the indigenous issue echo the different positions they take toward national identity. Finally, we argue that the representations of the indigenous name rectification movement in the three newspapers in Taiwan under investigation stem from the respective publishers' self-serving motives, which are based on their own attachments to different national identities, and, specifically, these representations are seen through the Han people's historical lens.

References

- Ahrens, Kathleen. (ed.) 2009. *Politics, Gender and Conceptual Metaphors*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bellwood, Peter. 1991. The Austronesian dispersal and the origins of languages. *Scientific American* 265.1:88-93.
- Benke, Gertraud. 2000. Discourse analysis as social science methodology. *SWS Rundschau* 40.2:140-162.
- Bird, Michael I., Geoffrey Hope, and David Taylor. 2004. Populating PEP II: the dispersal of humans and agriculture through Austral-Asia and Oceania. *Quaternary International* 118-119:145-163.
- Blust, Robert A. 1985. The Austronesian homeland: a linguistic perspective. *Asian Perspectives* 26.1:45-67.
- Blust, Robert A. 1999. Subgrouping, circularity, and extinction: some issues in Austronesian comparative linguistics. *Selected Papers from the Eighth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (8-ICAL)*, ed. by Elizabeth Zeitoun & Paul Jen-kuei Li, 31-94. Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica.
- Brewer, Marilynn B. 2007. The social psychology of intergroup relations: social categorization, ingroup bias, and outgroup prejudice. *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles* (2nd edition), ed. by Arie W. Kruglanski & E. Tory Higgins, 695-715. New York: Guilford Press.
- Chang, Andy G., and T. Y. Wang. 2005. Taiwanese or Chinese? Independence or unification? An analysis of generational differences in Taiwan. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 40.1-2:29-49.
- Chang, Mau-kuei. 1994. Toward an understanding of the *sheng-ji wen-ti* in Taiwan: focusing on changes after political liberalization. *Ethnicity in Taiwan: Social, Historical, and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. by Chung-min Chen, Ying-chang Chuang & Shu-min Huang, 93-150. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.
- Chang, Mau-kuei. 2000. Zhongzu yu zuqun guanxi [The race and ethnic relationships]. *Shehuixue yu Taiwan Shehui* [The Sociology and Taiwan's Society], ed. by Chen-huan Wang & Hai-yuen Chu, 239-279. Taipei: Chuliu. (In Chinese)
- Chang, Mau-kuei. 2002. Duoyuanzhuyi yu duoyuanwenhua lunshu zai Taiwan de xingcheng yu nanti [The formation and problems of the discourse of multi-ism and multiculturalism in Taiwan]. *Taiwan de Weilai* [Taiwan's Future], ed. by Tien-tung Hsueh, 223-273. Taipei: Huatai. (In Chinese)
- Chang, Mau-kuei. 2003. On the origins and transformation of Taiwanese national identity. *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities*, ed. by Paul R. Katz & Murray A. Rubinstein, 23-58. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Chang, Mau-kuei. 2005. Taiwan's nationalistic politics and its difficult 'status quo'. *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 21:91-124.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2004. *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chen, Wen-chun. 1997. National identity and democratic consolidation in Taiwan: a study of the problem of democratization in a divided country. *Issues & Studies* 33.4:1-44.
- Cheng, Zoe. 2007. The secret's out. *Taiwan Review* 57.4. Online at <http://taiwanreview.nat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=24036&CtNode=1337&mp=1>. Accessed June 23, 2009.
- Chiang, Wen-yu, and Ren-feng Duann. 2007. Conceptual metaphors for SARS: 'War' between whom? *Discourse & Society* 18.5:579-602.
- Chilton, Paul. 2005. Manipulation, memes and metaphors: the case of *Mein Kampf*. *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century: Discourse, Language, Mind*, ed. by Louis de Saussure & Peter Schulz, 15-44. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Corcuff, Stéphane. 2002. Taiwan's 'mainlanders', new Taiwanese? *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*, ed. by Stéphane Corcuff, 163-195. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe.
- Curran, James, and Jean Seaton. 1988. *Power without Responsibility: The Press and Broadcasting in Britain* (3rd edition). London: Routledge.
- Curran, James, and Myung-jin Park. (eds.) 2000. *De-westernizing Media Studies*. London & New York: Routledge.
- De Costa, Ravi. 2006. Identity, authority, and the moral worlds of indigenous petitions. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48.3:669-698.
- Deignan, Alice. 1999. Corpus-based research into metaphor. *Researching and Applying Metaphor*, ed. by Lynne Cameron & Graham Low, 177-199. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Deignan, Alice. 2005a. A corpus-linguistic perspective on the relationship between metonymy and metaphor. *Style* 39.1:72-105.
- Deignan, Alice. 2005b. *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Diamond, Jared M. 2000. Taiwan's gift to the world. *Nature* 403:709-710.
- Ellemers, Naomi, Russell Spears, and Bertjan Doosje. 2002. Self and social identity. *Annual Review of Psychology* 53:161-186.
- Ericsson, Niclas S. 2004. Creating "Indian Country" in Taiwan? *Harvard Asia Quarterly* 8.1:33-44.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London & New York: Longman.

- Fairclough, Norman, and Ruth Wodak. 1997. Critical discourse analysis. *Discourse as Social Interaction: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. by Teun Adrianus van Dijk, 258-284. London: SAGE.
- Forrest, Scott. 2006. Indigenous self-determination in Finland: a case study in normative change. *Polar Record* 42.3:229-238.
- Gillespie, Alex. 2007. Collapsing Self/Other positions: identification through differentiation. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 46.3:579-595.
- Gray, Russell D., Alexei J. Drummond, and Simon J. Greenhill. 2009. Language phylogenies reveal expansion pulses and pauses in Pacific settlement. *Science* 323: 479-483.
- Hall, Stuart. 2006. The whites of their eyes. *The Discourse Reader* (2nd edition), ed. by Adam Jaworski & Nikolas Coupland, 396-406. London & New York: Routledge.
- Hill, Catherine, Pedro Soares, Maru Mormina, Vincent Macaulay, Dougie Clarke, Petya B. Blumbach, Matthieu Vizuete-Forster, Peter Forster, David Bulbeck, Steven Oppenheimer, and Martin Richards. 2007. A mitochondrial stratigraphy for island southeast Asia. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 80.1:29-43.
- Ho, Szu-yin, and I-chou Liu. 2002. The Taiwanese/Chinese identity of the Taiwan people in the 1990s. *American Asian Review* 20.2:29-74.
- Hsieh, John Fuh-sheng. 2000. East Asian culture and democratic transition, with special reference to the case of Taiwan. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 35.1:29-42.
- Hsieh, John Fuh-sheng. 2005. Ethnicity, national identity, and domestic politics in Taiwan. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 40.1-2:13-28.
- Hsieh, Jolan. 2006. *Collective Rights of Indigenous People: Identity-Based Movements of Plains Indigenous in Taiwan*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Huang, Chi. 2005. Dimensions of Taiwanese/Chinese identity and national identity in Taiwan: a latent class analysis. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 40.1-2:51-70.
- Jemmer, Patrick. 2010. The O(the)r (O)the(r). *Café Philosophique: A Season of "The Other"*, ed. by Patrick Jemmer, 7-39. Newcastle: NewPhilSoc Publishing.
- Kaing, Lipay. 2004. *Bu Shangjie de Yundong: Taiwan Yuanzhuminzu Xingming Quan Yundong [A Movement Not on Street: The Name Right Movement of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples]*. Taipei: The Association for Taiwan Indigenous Peoples' Policies. (In Chinese)
- Kao, Ming-shih. (ed.) 2006. *Taiwanshi [History of Taiwan]*. Taipei: Wunan. (In Chinese)
- Kress, Gunther. 1990. Critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 11:84-99.
- Kuo, Sai-hua. 2007a. Language as ideology: analyzing quotations in Taiwanese news discourse. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 17.2:281-301.
- Kuo, Sai-hua. 2007b. Social change and discursive change: analyzing conversationalization of media discourse in Taiwan. *Discourse Studies* 9.6:743-765.

- Kuo, Sai-hua, and Mari Nakamura. 2005. Translation or transformation? A case study of language and ideology in Taiwanese press. *Discourse & Society* 16.3:393-417.
- Lakoff, George. 1993. The contemporary theory of metaphor. *Metaphor and Thought* (2nd edition), ed. by Andrew Ortony, 202-251. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Larson, Erik, Zachary Johnson, and Monique Murphy. 2008. Emerging indigenous governance: Ainu rights at the intersection of global norms and domestic institutions. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 33.1:53-82.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2004. Origins of the East Formosans: Basay, Kavalan, Amis, and Siraya. *Language and Linguistics* 5.2:363-376.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 2006. The internal relationships of Formosan languages. Paper presented at the 10th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (10-ICAL), January 17-20, 2006. Puerto Princessa City, Palawan, Philippines.
- Lin, Lihyun. 2008. Bianqian yu tiaozhan: jiejin hou de Taiwan baoye [A historical experiment with deregulation: the changes and challenges of the press after the lifting of the press ban in Taiwan]. *Mass Communication Research* 95:183-212. (In Chinese)
- Musolff, Andreas. 2004. *Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning in Debates about Europe*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nari, Iwan. 2005. *Taiwan Yuanzhuminzu Yundong de Guohui Luxian* [The Congress Route of Indigenous Movements in Taiwan]. Taipei: The Culture and Education Foundation of National Development. (In Chinese)
- Ni, Yan-yuan. 2003. *Zaixian de Zhengzhi* [The Represented Politics]. Taipei: Weber. (In Chinese)
- Parod, Icyang. 1992. Women weisheme xuanze 'Taiwan yuanzhuminzu' zhege chenghu? [Why do you choose the appellation of 'Taiwan Indigenous People'?]. *Zhengqu Xianfa Yuanzhuminzu Tiaokuan Xingdong Shouce* [A Handbook of Fighting for Clauses on Indigenous Rights in Constitution], ed. by Taiwan Aboriginal Rights Promotion Association, 10-11. Taipei: Taiwan Aboriginal Rights Promotion Association. (In Chinese)
- Parod, Icyang. (ed.) 2008. *Taiwan Yuanzhuminzu Yundong Shiliao Huibian* [Documentary Collection on the Indigenous Movement in Taiwan]. Taipei: Academia Historica. (In Chinese)
- Reisigl, Martin, and Ruth Wodak. 2001. *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Antisemitism*. London & New York: Routledge.

- Schubert, Gunter. 2004. Taiwan's political parties and national identity: the rise of an overarching consensus. *Asian Survey* 44.4:534-554.
- Semino, Elena, and Michela Masci. 1996. Politics is football: metaphor in the discourse of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy. *Discourse & Society* 7.2:243-269.
- Shih, Cheng-feng. 2005. *Taiwan Yuanzhuminzu Zhengzhi yu Zhengce* [The Politics and Policies of Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples]. Taipei: Hanlu. (In Chinese)
- Shutler, Richard Jr., and Jeffrey C. Marck. 1975. On the dispersal of the Austronesian horticulturalists. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 10.2:81-113.
- Simon, Scott. 2007. Paths to autonomy: aboriginality and the nation in Taiwan. *The Margins of Becoming: Identity and Culture in Taiwan*, ed. by Carsten Storm & Mark Harrison, 221-240. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Simon, Scott. 2008. Taiwan studies and Taiwanese indigenous people. *Proceedings of the October 26-27, 2007 UCSB International Conference on Taiwan Studies*, 43-64. Santa Barbara: Center for Taiwan Studies.
- Smith, Eliot R., and Diane M. Mackie. 2007. *Social Psychology* (3rd edition). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Stainton, Michael. 1999. The politics of Taiwan aboriginal origins. *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. by Murray A. Rubinstein, 27-44. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe.
- Stainton, Michael. 2002. Presbyterians and the aboriginal revitalization movement in Taiwan. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 26.2. Online at <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/taiwan/presbyterians-and-aboriginal-revitalization-movement>. Accessed April 3, 2009.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2006a. Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy. *Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*, ed. by Anatol Stefanowitsch & Stefan Th. Gries, 1-16. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2006b. Words and their metaphors: a corpus-based approach. *Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*, ed. by Anatol Stefanowitsch & Stefan Th. Gries, 63-105. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol, and Stefan Th. Gries. 2005. Covarying collexemes. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 1.1:1-43.
- Tajfel, Henri. (ed.) 1978. *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1979. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. by William G. Austin & Stephen Worchel, 33-47. Monterey: Brooks-Cole.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. by Stephen Worchel & William G. Austin, 7-24. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

- Tsai, Chia-hung, Ding-ming Wang, and Livianna S. Tossutti. 2008. Between independence and unification: an ordered probit analysis of panel survey data on Taiwan's constitutional future. *Issues & Studies* 44.4:71-98.
- Turner, John C., Michael A. Hogg, Penelope J. Oakes, Stephen D. Reicher, and Margaret S. Wetherell. 1987. *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-categorization Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1996. Discourse, power and access. *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard & Malcolm Coulthard, 84-104. London & New York: Routledge.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 1998. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: SAGE.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 2001. Critical discourse analysis. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen & Heidi Hamilton, 352-371. Oxford: Blackwell.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 2006. Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society* 17.2:359-383.
- van Pelt, Tamise. 2000. Otherness. *Postmodern Culture* 10.2. Online at <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/pmc/v010/10.2vanpelt.html>. Retrieved June 29, 2011.
- Vignoles, Vivian L., Camillo Regalia, Claudia Manzi, Jen Golledge, and Eugenia Scabini. 2006. Beyond self-esteem: influence of multiple motives on identity construction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90.2:308-333.
- Wachman, Alan M. 2008. Competing identities in Taiwan. *The Politics of Modern Taiwan*, Vol. 1, ed. by Dafydd Fell, 126-192. London: Routledge.
- Wang, T. Y., and I-chou Liu. 2004. Contending identities in Taiwan: implications for cross-strait relations. *Asian Survey* 44.4:568-590.
- Wodak, Ruth. 1996. *Disorders of Discourse*. London & New York: Longman.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2000. Recontextualization and the transformation of meanings: a critical discourse analysis of decision making in EU meetings about employment policies. *Discourse and Social Life*, ed. by Srikant Sarangi & Malcolm Coulthard, 185-206. London & New York: Longman.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2001. The discourse-historical approach. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Ruth Wodak & Michael Meyer, 63-94. London: SAGE.
- Wu, Nai-teh. 1994. Convergence or polarization? Ethnic political support in the post-liberalization state. *Ethnicity in Taiwan: Social, Historical, and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. by Chung-min Chen, Ying-chang Chuang & Shu-min Huang, 151-168. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.
- Wu, Yu-Shan. 2004. Taiwanese nationalism and its implications: testing the worst-case scenario. *Asian Survey* 44.4:614-625.

- Yan, Ai-ching, and Kuo-chu Yang. 2004. *Yuanzhuminzu Tudi Zhidu yu Jingji Fazhan* [*The Land System and Economic Development of the Indigenous Peoples*]. Taipei: Taoshiang Publishers. (In Chinese)
- Yashar, Deborah J. 1998. Contesting citizenship: indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics* 31.1:23-42.
- Yashar, Deborah J. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah J. 2007. Resistance and identity politics in an age of globalization. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610.1:160-181.

[Received 27 December 2010; revised 5 August 2011; accepted 24 August 2011]

Sheng-hsiu Chiu
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Taiwan University
1, Sec. 4, Roosevelt Road
Taipei 106, Taiwan
jshchiu@gmail.com

Wen-yu Chiang
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
National Taiwan University
1, Sec. 4, Roosevelt Road
Taipei 106, Taiwan
wychiang@ntu.edu.tw

台灣原住民正名運動再現： 透過誰的歷史視角？

邱盛秀^{1,2} 江文瑜¹

國立台灣大學¹

華梵大學²

本文以概念隱喻理論、歷史論述分析及語料庫語言學為研究方法，分析台灣三報再現原住民正名運動的方式。運用概念隱喻理論及歷史論述分析二層式的分析方法，本文證明新聞報導中出現頻次最顯著的兩種隱喻——旅程隱喻及衝突隱喻——以極為不同的方式呈現於不同的報紙媒體中。藉著分析概念隱喻的認知特性及文本中其他的論述修辭策略，我們發現台灣三報在再現原住民正名議題時，糾葛著各自的意識形態及政治立場，並反映出不同的國家認同觀點。我們因此主張報紙再現的「台灣原住民是自我」框架是一種「偽」架構，藉以遮掩視原住民為他者的論述立場。本文總結，台灣報紙論述中再現之原住民正名運動，是基於各報不同的政治立場及意圖，並透過漢人的歷史視角呈現。

關鍵詞：台灣原住民，旅程隱喻，衝突隱喻，政治語言，意識，自我與他者