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## On the Iconization of Simplified Chinese

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*Although iconization is widely recognized as a crucial process through which linguistic differences are accorded social significance, we know little about how iconic linkages travel across time and space. This article highlights the processual nature of iconization and reveals recontextualization as an important mechanism for the transformation of indexical signs into icons. Focusing on a well-known poem that purportedly encapsulates the defects of the simplified Chinese script used in mainland China, this study shows how its recontextualization in Hong Kong's print and social media between 2000 and 2015 helped construct simplified Chinese as defective and map its "defects" onto mainlanders. [iconization, recontextualization, writing systems, Chinese, Hong Kong]*

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### Introduction

Iconization (Irvine and Gal 2000), also known as rhematization (Gal 2005; Irvine 2004), is widely recognized as a crucial semiotic process through which linguistic differences are accorded social significance.<sup>1</sup> It is a truism that linguistic forms, including whole languages, can index social groups by virtue of contiguity or correlation. Through iconization, this indexical relation is interpreted as a relation of resemblance: linguistic forms become perceived as similar in some way to the social groups they represent. By attributing "cause and immediate necessity to a connection . . . that may be only historical, contingent, or conventional" (Irvine and Gal 2000:37), iconization further naturalizes the bond between linguistic forms and social groups.

The concept of iconization has proven to be a valuable addition to the sociolinguistic and linguistic-anthropological toolbox (see, e.g., Androutsopoulos 2010; Gal 2013; Sebba 2015; Woolard 2008). But how exactly does this semiotic process work? Since it is doubtful that an indexical sign becomes an icon simply because one person, however influential, perceives and proclaims it as such, iconization is better conceptualized as a continuous, collaborative process than as a one-time event. Such an approach would lead us to investigate how iconic linkages travel across time and space, what effects this circulation has on the linkages themselves, and how it contributes to the construal of indexical signs as icons.

Highlighting the processual nature of iconization, this study demonstrates how collaborative recontextualization, which has been facilitated by digital and social media technologies in recent years, serves as an important mechanism for the transformation of simplified Chinese from an indexical sign to an icon. As is well known, a logographic system is used for writing Chinese, but modern Chinese is

actually written in two scripts. The simplified script (簡體字) is used in mainland China, and the traditional script (繁體字) in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau.<sup>2</sup> Focusing on a well-known poem that purportedly encapsulates the defects of simplified Chinese characters, this study explores how its recontextualization in Hong Kong's print and social media between 2001 and 2015 helped construct the simplified script as defective and map its "defects" onto mainlanders.

The iconization of simplified Chinese needs to be understood against the backdrop of the ongoing conflict between Hong Kongers and mainlanders. Launched in 2003, the Individual Visit Scheme allows residents of certain mainland cities to visit Hong Kong on an individual basis. Mainlanders could previously travel to Hong Kong only on business visas or in group tours. The scheme has exponentially increased the flow of goods and people across the border. Though benefiting the city's economy, it also sowed the seeds for Hong Kongers' growing resentment toward mainland visitors. Numerous reports have appeared in the media about rising tensions stemming from a variety of social and cultural issues. Mainlanders have been accused of driving up property prices, causing shortages of household goods, and engaging in "uncivilized behavior" (e.g., defecating in public). Hong Kongers have complained about high-end stores that cater to rich mainland visitors at the expense of local shoppers, and pregnant women from mainland China seeking to give birth in Hong Kong in order to gain the right of abode for their children. Recent debates over electoral reform, patriotic education, and the use of Putonghua (the official spoken language of the People's Republic of China) to teach Chinese have also brought to light many Hong Kongers' distrust of their own government and their discontent over the influence of Beijing in Hong Kong's affairs. The circulation of the poem about simplified Chinese should be considered in light of this sociopolitical environment.

This article takes a close look at the poem as a vehicle through which the iconic linkage between simplified Chinese and mainlanders travels across time and space. After a brief discussion of the concepts of iconization and recontextualization, I introduce the poem, explain its significance, and examine the transformations that it has undergone since its first appearance in Hong Kong's print and social media in the early 2000s. I propose that the recontextualization of the poem has contributed to the iconization of simplified Chinese in two significant ways. First, it has created an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983) for those who are opposed to the simplified script. This community, in turn, has provided a basis for the propagation, elaboration, and strengthening of the iconic linkage between simplified Chinese and mainlanders. Second, what has emerged from the successive recontextualizations is a narrative that imposes a causal interpretation on the sequential relationship between the script reform in the 1950s and the subsequent social problems in mainland China. Through iconization, simplified Chinese has become not only a "natural" depiction of mainlanders, but also a pretext for discrimination.

### Iconization and Recontextualization

Researchers have demonstrated the workings of iconization in a wide array of sociolinguistic settings. In 19<sup>th</sup>-century India, Hindu nationalists exploited certain features of the Urdu script to create social distinctions (Ahmad 2008). Through iconization, the Urdu script and its users became associated with foreignness, deception, and treachery. Not only did Hindu nationalists link the script to Semitic languages and cultures, but they also claimed that it encouraged fraud and forgery because of its susceptibility to multiple readings. Using evidence from literary works and metalinguistic commentaries, Zhang (2008) traces the iconization of a well-known feature of Beijing Mandarin. Rhotacization is a phonological process in which the subsyllabic retroflex [ɻ] is added to the syllable final (e.g., *bao* 'bag': *bao* [pau] → *baor* [pau.ɻ]). Zhang's analysis reveals how this feature is iconically linked to the "Beijing smooth operator" (a local character type in Beijing-flavor literature) and is interpreted as the reason for Beijingers' smooth character and gift of gab.

Studies like Ahmad (2008) and Zhang (2008) demonstrate how iconic linkages are forged between linguistic forms and social groups. But how do these linkages travel and spread within a community? What effects does this circulation have on the linkages themselves and, more generally, on the transformation of indexical signs into icons? The present study addresses these questions. Language ideologies, which create and regiment social boundaries through iconization and other semiotic processes, are constantly being reproduced in many different sites. This study views print and social media as crucial “secondary sites” (Philips 2000) in which metapragmatic commentary about ideologies occurs. Attention to sitedness can help us better understand the interactional processes through which language ideologies are challenged and transformed (Wee 2006). It also encourages us to examine how language ideologies travel: like spoken and written texts, they can be extracted from one context and recontextualized elsewhere.

Linguistic anthropologists have long sought to understand how discourse is transformed when it is extracted from one context and fitted into another. They have examined what conditions facilitate decontextualization and recontextualization, what the recontextualized text brings with it from its earlier context(s), what formal, functional, and semantic changes it undergoes as it is recentered, and how recontextualization helps construct relations of power and authority (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Spitulnik 1997). While recontextualization may appear to focus primarily on the relationship between the original discourse and the copied discourse, Lempert (2014) has recently argued for moving beyond the original-copy binary, partly because by comparing just two things, we risk overlooking other texts that are involved in the process. A copy, as he explains, “may feel like a copy of a copy of a copy” (p. 385) that is embedded in a long discursive chain. Thus, it is not always easy to identify the original and the copy. In what follows, I will discuss the poem and its significance before taking a close look at its recontextualization in Hong Kong’s print and social media since the early 2000s.

### The Poem and Its Significance

Motivated by the belief that the Chinese logographic writing system posed a significant hindrance to the promotion of mass literacy, various attempts were made in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to simplify the Chinese script, but it was not until the 1950s that large-scale script reform was successfully implemented (Chen 1999, Chapter 9; Zhao and Baldauf 2008, Chapter 1). Language-planning institutions of the newly established People’s Republic of China (PRC) reduced the number of strokes for many characters in various ways. A traditional character might be replaced by its cursive form, its ancient form with a simpler graphic structure, one of its component parts, a homophonous character with fewer strokes, or a newly created simplified character. Variant forms were also eliminated to reduce the number of characters in common use. Widely promulgated in the PRC, the simplified script became indexically linked to mainlanders, the Communist government, and mainland Chinese culture.

The traditional and simplified scripts are not drastically different. In fact, they have many characters in common. Table 1 shows the first four lines of a well-known poem. Of the 30 characters in this passage, 21 (70%) are the same in the two versions. The ones that are different are underlined. In this case, the simplified characters are only slightly different from the traditional ones. With the help of co(n)textual information, those who are familiar with the traditional script usually have little difficulty making out simplified characters, and vice versa.

While the simplified script has long been a popular topic of discussion in Hong Kong, the debate over its merits and shortcomings has intensified in recent years. Many object to the widespread use of the term 繁體字 ‘complicated/complex characters’ to refer to the traditional script because of its connotation of cumbersome. They believe that mainland China’s simplified characters (簡體字) should

Table 1  
Xu Zhimo's *A Second Farewell to Cambridge*

Traditional Chinese (used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau)	Simplified Chinese (used in mainland China)	English Translation
再別康橋 輕輕的我走了， 正如我輕輕的來； 我輕輕的招手， 作別西天的雲彩。	再別康橋 輕輕的我走了， 正如我輕輕的來； 我輕輕的招手， 作別西天的雲彩。	A Second Farewell to Cambridge Softly I am leaving, Just as softly as I came; I softly wave good-bye To the clouds in the western sky.

instead be contrasted with the “proper characters” (正體字) or “original characters” (原體字) used in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Some deride the simplified script as “evil characters” (邪體字), “crooked characters” (歪體字), and “disabled/handicapped characters” (殘體字). Taking the personification even further, one commentator describes simplified Chinese as “an abnormal fetus with missing limbs and facial features” (四肢不整、五官不齊的畸形怪胎) (Gou 2006).

The purpose of this article is not to engage in this debate; rather, it is to demonstrate how the recontextualization of a well-known doggerel poem (打油詩 or 順口溜) that purportedly encapsulates the defects of the simplified script helps transform simplified Chinese from an indexical sign to an icon. The circulation of this poem in Hong Kong's print and social media began in the early 2000s. In slightly different forms, the poem first appeared in three articles in the pro-Beijing newspapers *Ta Kung Pao* (大公報) (Wai 2001) and *Sing Tao Daily* (星島日報) (Anonymous 2005b, 2005c). However, none of these articles discussed the poem in detail or used it as a springboard to expound on the shortcomings of the simplified script. The poem was subsequently cited in an article published on March 30, 2006 in *Apple Daily* (蘋果日報) in which the author bemoaned the problems of simplified Chinese and mainland Chinese society (Y. Lee 2006). Example 1 (below) shows the poem in the *Apple Daily* article. Many Chinese characters, secondary graphic components are attached to primary ones to indicate the intended meaning or pronunciation. The poem in question highlights the missing semantic components in four simplified characters. The original text is in traditional Chinese. Simplified characters (in square brackets) are added to aid comparison (see also Table 2):

1.            親[亲]不見，            “Family members” do not see each other,  
              產[产]不生，            “produce” does not grow,  
              廠[厂]空空，            “factory” is all empty,  
              愛[爱]無心。            “love” has no heart.  
(Y. Lee 2006)

Table 2  
Traditional and simplified characters in the poem

	Traditional Character	Simplified Character	Missing Component
'family members'	親	亲	見 'see'
'produce'	產	产	生 'grow'
'factory'	廠	厂	敞 'spacious'
'love'	愛	爱	心 'heart'

It is in *Apple Daily* that the poem has been most widely circulated. Although I also discuss other newspaper articles and Internet postings, the analysis presented here is based primarily on 61 articles published in the online version of *Apple Daily* between March 30, 2006 and March 31, 2015. These articles, all of which make direct or indirect reference to the poem in Example 1, offer a snapshot of a vast “intertextual series” (Hanks 1986; Hill 2005). The long time-frame attests to the longevity and enduring effects of the poem. A polarizing newspaper, *Apple Daily* is revered by some but reviled by others for its pro-democracy and anti-Beijing stance. As one of the most popular newspapers in Hong Kong (F. Lee 2012), it embodies the view of a sizable segment of the city’s population. This study focuses on the circulation of the poem in *Apple Daily* because it presents a clear case of how recontextualization facilitates iconization.<sup>3</sup>

This poem has also “gone viral” on the Internet since the mid-2000s. Table 3 shows the results of Google searches conducted on July 27, 2015 using two lines of the poem, 親不見 (“‘family members’ do not see each other”) and 愛無心 (“‘love’ has no heart”), as keywords.<sup>4</sup> These results, which include websites in traditional Chinese and simplified Chinese, indicate that while the poem is found on very few webpages published before March 30, 2006 (when the poem first appeared in *Apple Daily*), it has been widely circulated since then. Netizens have also created Internet images not only to illustrate the differences between traditional Chinese and simplified Chinese, but also to explain the cultural significance of these differences.<sup>5</sup> Posted on various websites and Facebook pages, these usually unattributed images include characters in the *Apple Daily* version, as well as later versions, of the poem.

The origin of the poem is somewhat murky. The *Apple Daily* article (Y. Lee 2006) claims that in the 1980s, an elderly man living in Taiwan used this poem to describe what he saw during his visit to mainland China. However, an article published in the same year (Gou 2006) states that this poem was already widely circulated among the public in the 1950s. Whoever the originator might be, more pertinent to this study is the fact that the three earliest versions of the poem in Hong Kong’s print media are rather similar to each other: the ones in *Ta Kung Pao* and *Apple Daily* focus on the same four characters shown in Table 2, and the one in *Sing Tao Daily* focuses on three of the four (i.e., 产 ‘produce,’ 厂 ‘factory,’ and 爱 ‘love’).<sup>6</sup>

Exploiting the structural properties of Chinese characters, the poem highlights the differences and erases the similarities between the traditional script and the simplified script. Erasure, as Irvine and Gal (2000) explain, simplifies the sociolinguistic field by treating facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme as irrelevant. As the “converse of erasure,” highlighting includes “any semiotic act that brings to salience some aspect of the social situation” (Bucholtz and Hall 2004:495). The poem in Example 1 highlights four characters and presents them as a synecdoche for the simplified script. Other simplified characters, as well as many characters that the two scripts have in common, are overlooked. The poem also lumps together different kinds of simplified characters. Not all simplified characters were created as a result of the script reform in the 1950s. Some (e.g., 爱 ‘love’) were variant forms that

**Table 3**  
Results of Google searches (The asterisk is a placeholder for any unknown terms.)

	Before March 30, 2006 (when the poem first appeared in <i>Apple Daily</i> )	Before March 31, 2015 (the end of the data-collection period)
親不見 * 愛無心	4 entries	2,470,000 entries <sup>□</sup>
愛無心 * 親不見	0 entries	2,430,000 entries

<sup>□</sup>These are Google’s estimates rather than the actual numbers of webpages with the keywords.



had been in popular use long before they were officially recognized by the government.

This poem is amenable to decontextualization and recontextualization because of its structural and semantic open-endedness. As a list rather than a narrative, it has a formal “prepared-for detachability” (Bauman and Briggs 1990:74), which facilitates addition, modification, and deletion. Each line is an individual example that can be easily detached from the rest of the text. New examples can be added, and the clauses can be rearranged with little impact on the core meaning of the poem. In addition, the poem itself is open to interpretation. Blurring the line between the “mention” and “use” of the four characters, it is ostensibly about the defects of these characters, but it also suggests a world (namely, mainland China) in which family members do not see each other, production does not stimulate growth, factories are all empty, and people do not really understand the concept of love. As in other cases of iconization, the poem presents a linguistic form (simplified Chinese) as similar to the social group it indexes (mainlanders), mapping the defects of the former onto the latter.

### Transformation and Co-Construction

The poem suggests an iconic linkage between simplified Chinese and mainlanders. But how has this linkage been taken up? Since its first appearance in *Apple Daily* in March 2006, the poem has spurred columnists’ and opinion writers’ discussion of not only the four characters it highlights, but other simplified characters as well. Many subsequent articles refer to the poem directly (by citing the March 30, 2006 article) or, more often, indirectly (by quoting a line or two of the poem without attribution). In addition, they offer additional examples (some of which are shown in Table 4) to illustrate the “defects” of simplified characters and explain their cultural significance. Many of these examples link simplified Chinese directly to the perceived problems of mainland Chinese society. Figure 1, which is an illustration in Faan (2014), compares the traditional character 選 with its simplified counterpart, 选. This character is used in the words 选择/選擇 ‘choose, select’ and 选举/選舉 ‘elect.’ The semantic components 共 ‘together’ and 先 ‘first’ (which is used in the word 优先 ‘priority’) are in the traditional character (選) and the simplified character (选), respectively. What kind of choice does the simplified character 选 refer to? According to this illustration, it is not one that everyone makes “together” (共同); rather, it is based on the “priorities” (优先) of the select few. This can be read as a veiled critique of the political system in mainland China, where those in power pay little attention to the masses and make decisions for the country based on their own priorities.

**Table 4**  
Additional examples that illustrate the “defects” of simplified characters

Simplified Character	Traditional Character	Gloss	Article in which the Character Is Discussed
a. 听	聽	<i>‘listen’</i>	Gun 2006
b. 兰	蘭	<i>‘orchid’</i>	Lau 2006
c. 竞	競	<i>‘compete’</i>	Leui 2007
d. 特区政府	特區政府	<i>‘government of the Special Administrative Region’</i>	Tsao 2012a
e. 爱国	愛國	<i>‘patriotic’</i>	Y. Lee 2012
f. 怀	懷	<i>‘miss, long for’</i>	Lei 2012
g. 东	東	<i>‘east’</i>	Chiu 2012
h. 文华东方酒店	文華東方酒店	<i>‘Mandarin Oriental Hotel’</i>	Sou 2014
i. 选	選	<i>‘choose, select, elect’</i>	Faan 2014
j. 书	書	<i>‘book’</i>	Ko 2015

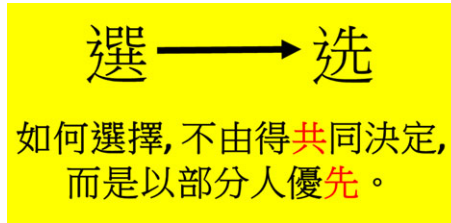


Figure 1. 选/選 'choose, select, elect' (created based on the image in Faan 2014)

*Apple Daily* readers have also been involved in the discussion of the poem. Several responded to the March 30, 2006 article by using characters in the poem to create parallel couplets that elaborate on the problems of the simplified script. A popular poetic genre in China, the parallel couplet (對聯) is characterized by the interplay of two lines that not only are identical in length, but are also linked together by a single idea that is expressed through the use of different yet related images and metaphors. A reader sent the couplet in Example 2 (below) to columnist Lee Yee, the author of the March 30, 2006 article, who shared it with his other readers in an article published on May 29, 2007. The original text is in traditional Chinese. Simplified characters (in square brackets) are again added to aid comparison:

2. 至親[亲]不見新中國, 心愛[爱]僅存舊中華; 簡體出, 鬼神哭。

My family does not see the new China. Deep in our hearts resides our love only for the old country. When simplified characters appear, ghosts and gods wail.

禮[礼]失曲豆沉九鼎, 地靈[灵]火赤旱神州; 正氣塞, 天地泣。

The Nine Cauldrons [a symbol of China and state power] sank when rite ('rite, social custom') lost 曲 ('bend, song') and 豆 ('bean'). The spirits set ablaze the earth and cast a dry spell on the Divine State [a poetic name for China]. When the force of righteousness is blocked, the heavens and earth cry.  
(Y. Lee 2007a)

Two characters from the poem, 亲/親 'family members' and 爱/愛 'love,' are in the first line, but the second line introduces two new examples, 礼/禮 'rite, social custom' and 灵/靈 'spirit.' The simplified character 礼 does not have the semantic components 曲 'bend, song' and 豆 'bean,' and the bottom half of the simplified character 灵 'spirit' means 'fire' (火). On June 6, 2007, Lee Yee shared couplets created by yet another reader based on the one in Example 2 (Y. Lee 2007b). All this back-and-forth has produced new examples that purportedly illustrate the defects of simplified characters.

The examples discussed above are not directly related to any structural changes to the poem, but they give some insights into the kind of co-construction that produced more elaborate versions of the poem, which have been circulated in print and social media since 2012. As the following examples show, each version appears to build on earlier ones. The first column of Table 5 shows one version of the poem that appeared in an article published on January 22, 2012 (Li 2012). The first four lines (a–d), though arranged in a different order, are already in the March 30, 2006 version. This longer version highlights: (i) simplified characters with missing components (lines a–m); (ii) simplified characters with modified components (lines n–q); and (iii) one character that is the same in the simplified and traditional scripts (line r). Figure 2 shows an even more recent version posted on a Facebook page on March 13, 2015. The two versions highlight many of the same simplified characters, but the one in Figure 2 includes eight additional characters at the end. These characters—namely, 鬼 'ghost,' 偷 'steal,' 骗/騙 'cheat,' 贪/貪 'greedy,' 毒 'drug,' 黑 'black, malicious,' 赌/賭 'gamble,' and 贼/賊 'thief'—are identical (or almost identical) in the two scripts. The intention in both cases is clear: it is to call attention to the seeming lack of logic and

common sense in the simplification process. Why change “good” characters (e.g., 愛 ‘love’) and leave “bad” ones (e.g., 魔 ‘evil’) untouched? How can you be close to your “family members” (亲/親) if you do not “see” (見) them regularly? How can you “lead” (导/導) with no “direction” (道)?

Table 5

A longer version of the poem in an article published on January 22, 2012 (The text is in traditional Chinese. Simplified characters (in parentheses) are in the original.)

Poem	English Translation	Eliminated or Modified Component
漢字簡化之後,	After the simplification of Chinese characters,	
a. 親(亲)不見,	“Family members” do not see each other,	見 ‘see’
b. 愛(爱)無心,	“love” has no heart,	心 ‘heart’
c. 產(产)不生,	“produce” does not grow,	生 ‘grow’
d. 廠(厂)空空,	“factory” is all empty,	敞 ‘spacious’
e. 麵(面)無麥,	“noodle” has no wheat,	麥 ‘wheat’
f. 運(运)無車,	“transportation” has no vehicle,	車 ‘vehicle’
g. 導(导)無道,	“leadership” has no direction,	道 ‘direction’
h. 兒(儿)無首,	“child” has no head,	白 ‘mortar’
i. 飛(飞)單翼,	“fly (v.)” has one wing,	飞 ‘fly’
j. 湧(涌)無力,	“surge” has no power,	力 ‘power’
k. 有雲(云)無雨,	there are “clouds” but no rain,	雨 ‘rain’
l. 開關(开关)無門,	“open” and “close” have no door,	門 ‘door’
m. 鄉(乡)里無郎,	young men are not in the “countryside,”	郎 ‘young men’
n. 聖(圣)不能聽也不能說,	“sages” can neither hear nor speak,	耳 ‘ear’
o. 買(买)成鈎刀下有人頭,	to “buy” is to brandish a billhook over someone’s hand,	口 ‘mouth’
p. 輪(轮)成人下有匕首,	in “wheel,” a dagger is concealed under a person,	買 ‘buy’
q. 進(进)不是越來越佳而往井裏走,	“progress” does not get better but goes into a [dead-end] well,	輪 <sup>§</sup> ‘wheel’
r. 只有魔, 還是魔。	only “evil” is still evil.	佳* ‘short-tailed bird’

<sup>§</sup>The semantic component in the simplified character 买 means ‘head’ (头).

<sup>§</sup>The right side of the simplified character 轮 ‘wheel’ has two components: 人 ‘person’ and 匕 ‘dagger.’

\*This semantic component looks like 佳 ‘good.’ 井, the semantic component in the simplified character, means ‘well.’



Figure 2. Poem posted on a Facebook page (created based on the image at <https://www.facebook.com/火雞哥粉團-600272890103152/>, accessed on June 2, 2016)



Columnists, opinion writers, readers, and Internet users are all involved in the circulation, elaboration, and co-construction of the poem. As Spitulnik (1997) argues, the social circulation of media discourse, together with people's active engagement with mass media, plays a critical role in the construction of communities. As a template for elaboration and co-construction, the poem invites readers not only to look for additional examples to illustrate the "defects" of simplified characters, but also to map those defects onto mainland Chinese society and psyche. Far from being passive recipients, readers are coauthors of the poem who are actively engaged in the propagation, elaboration, and strengthening of the iconic linkage between simplified Chinese and mainlanders. This kind of co-construction contributes to the ever-evolving nature of the poem, gives readers a sense of ownership of this joint product, and creates an imagined community for opponents of simplified Chinese.

### From a Direct Quote to "Public Words"

While the previous section focuses on the transformations that the poem has undergone since it first appeared in *Apple Daily* in March 2006, this section takes a close look at the interplay between the quoting voice and the quoted voice in the successive recontextualizations of the poem. As the following analysis shows, the poem has transformed from a direct quote to what Spitulnik (1997) calls "public words." Public words are well-known phrases like proverbs, slogans, and clichés that are remembered, repeated, and cited long after their first utterance. Often condensed from much longer narratives or speech events, public words are useful linguistic devices for conveying astute observations and moral lessons in a concise manner. The circulation of public words, as Spitulnik (1997) argues, constitutes a key element in the construction of communities of all scales.

Examples 3–5, which are excerpts from three *Apple Daily* articles, demonstrate how the demarcation between the quoting voice and the quoted voice has become increasingly blurred over time. In all three cases, the poem is used as evidence for the defects of simplified characters and, as will be discussed in a later section, as a springboard for expounding on the social problems of mainland Chinese society. Example 3 is from the March 30, 2006 article in which the poem first appeared in the newspaper (the poem is underlined in Examples 3–5):

3. 二十年前，一位離鄉數十年的台灣老人回大陸探親，他看到大陸當時的社會景況，於是用簡化漢字講出他的感想：「親不見，產不生，廠空空，愛無心」。
- Twenty years ago, an elderly man living in Taiwan who had left his hometown decades ago went back to the mainland to visit relatives. When he saw the societal situation on the mainland at that time, he used simplified Chinese characters to describe his impression: "'Family members' do not see each other, 'produce' does not grow, 'factory' is all empty, 'love' has no heart."
- (Y. Lee 2006)

The poem in Example 3, which is part of a narrated event, is a direct quote that is linked to a specific person, time, and place. Columnist Lee Yee merely serves as an "animator" (Goffman 1981), repeating what someone else presumably said in an actual situation. The quotation marks (「」) set the poem off from the rest of the text. Example 3 illustrates what Voloshinov (1986) calls "linear style," which constructs "clear-cut, external contours for repeated speech" (p. 120).

Like Example 3, Example 4 exemplifies Voloshinov's "linear style" in that the quoting voice and the quoted voice are clearly demarcated from each other. It is from an article published in 2012, six years after the poem was first cited in *Apple Daily*. It quotes the longer and more elaborate version in Table 5:

4. 朋友自巴黎透過 fb 傳來幽默訊息:  
漢字簡體化之後; 親(亲)不見, 愛(爱)無心, 產(产)不生, 廠(厂)空心,  
麵(面)無麥...!  
 A friend sent a humorous message from Paris via Facebook:  
After the simplification of Chinese characters, "family  
members" do not see each other, "love" has no heart, "produce"  
does not grow, "factory" is all empty, "noodle" has no wheat...  
 (Tang 2012)

In this case, the writer not only serves as an animator by repeating what someone else wrote, but also frames the interpretation of the poem by indicating the tone of the message. What makes this recontextualization different from the one in Example 3 is that it merely states the source of the information (i.e., another animator) without offering any details about the author of the poem or the context in which it was first uttered.

Example 5, which is from a more recent article, reproduces a few lines of the poem rather than quoting it in its entirety. (Simplified characters, which are in square brackets, are again added to aid comparison.) Unlike the previous examples, it illustrates what Voloshinov (1986) calls "pictorial style," in which "[t]he reporting context strives to break down the self-contained compactness of the reported speech, to resolve it, to obliterate its boundaries" (p. 120):

5. 中共推行簡體字, 當初原意想係消滅文盲, 教育農民, 化繁為簡, 但簡化不得其法, 好多簡體字都失去原來意義, 為人詬病, 遂有廠[厂]內空空, 麵[面]中無麥, 后後不分之譏。  
 When Communist China promoted simplified characters, the original intent was to eradicate illiteracy and educate farmers. However, traditional characters were not simplified properly. Many simplified characters have been criticized for losing their original meanings. Subsequently, there has been ridicule about "factory" that is all empty, "noodle" that has no wheat, and "queen" that is indistinguishable from "after."  
 (Jo 2015)

Since 譏 'ridicule' suggests prior verbal actions, it is reasonable to conclude that the simplified characters that this passage highlights were previously brought up and discussed by others. Yet we do not know the source of the information, let alone the author of the poem or the originating context. In this case, the boundary between the quoting voice and the quoted voice has completely dissolved. As the poem evolves and becomes more widely circulated over time, it no longer points to one source-utterance but is enmeshed in a vast intertextual web of prior recontextualizations. As in the case of proverbs that originally came from Aesop's fables, attribution and original contextual information have become less crucial for its recontextualization and interpretability.

By shedding the indexical linkage to its originator, the poem has become more shareable and has gained an air of authority. It has undergone what Squires (2014) calls "indexical bleaching," a process whereby, through repeated use in discourse, a linguistic form ceases to carry its original indexical associations, and the range of contexts and speakers for whom it can be used is broadened. The perception of joint production discussed in the previous section is further enhanced by detaching the poem from its originator. Rarely attributed to any one person, the poem belongs to everyone who is against simplified Chinese. Anonymity, as Gal and Woolard (2001) explain, serves as an ideological foundation for the Habermasian bourgeois public sphere (Habermas 1989). This modern "public" purportedly achieves a superior "aperspectival objectivity" by eliminating each person's self-interest to create a common voice. In other words, it represents everyone because it is no-one-in-particular. By the same token, since the poem is anonymous and unattributed, it can

be said to embody the feelings of all those who are opposed to the simplified script. From this perspective, the messages that it conveys do not actually come from any identifiable persons but rather seem to be objective facts.

### Highlighting “Love” and “Family”

The poem spotlights certain simplified characters and presents them as a synecdoche for the simplified script, but two of the characters—namely, 愛/愛 ‘love’ and 亲/親 ‘family members’—have received significantly more attention than the others in subsequent recontextualizations. Table 6 shows eight newspaper headlines that include these two characters. Some of the headlines (a, c, d, e, f, and h) repeat verbatim the lines of the poem that contain 愛/愛 ‘love’ and 亲/親 ‘family members.’ Others (b and g), reminiscent of what Bakhtin (1984:197) calls “hidden dialogicality,” respond to the poem without quoting it directly. Although most of the articles discuss other simplified characters as well, they all focus on 愛/愛 ‘love’ and 亲/親 ‘family members’ in the headlines. A headline, as many (e.g., Bell 1991) have argued, must not only grab readers’ attention, but also give some indication of the nature and content of the subsequent text. Because 親[亲]不見 (“family members’ do not see each other”) and 愛[爱]無心 (“love’ has no heart”) are used in the headlines to summarize the articles, they are likely seen as apt descriptions of what is wrong with the simplified script and mainland Chinese society.

愛/愛 ‘love’ and 亲/親 ‘family members’ have been cited as examples more often than the other characters in the poem to illustrate the problems of simplified Chinese and mainland China. A series of *Apple Daily* articles (Anonymous 2010, 2015a, 2015d; Yip 2015), as well as many articles in other newspapers in Taiwan and Hong Kong (e.g., Anonymous 2015b, 2015c; Chen 2015), report that Feng Xiaogang (馮小剛), a well-known mainland Chinese director, has advocated the revival of certain traditional characters with salient cultural meanings. To justify his claim, he repeatedly uses 愛 ‘love’ and 親 ‘family members’ as examples, and quotes (without attribution) the lines of the poem with these characters. The official poster of a popular Chinese movie released in 2014 also draws attention to the two characters.<sup>7</sup>

Table 6  
Newspaper headlines that include 愛/愛 ‘love’ and 亲/親 ‘family members’

Date	Chinese Headline	Translation
a. 3/30/2006	親不見,愛無心	“Family members” do not see each other, “love” has no heart
b. 6/14/2006	愛是不能無心的	“Love” cannot have no heart
c. 5/29/2007	親不見,愛無心	“Family members” do not see each other, “love” has no heart
d. 8/27/2009	愛無心,唇無肉	“Love” has no heart, “lip” has no flesh
e. 7/16/2010	「亲」不見「愛」無心 馮小剛微博籲不簡化「親愛」	“Family members” do not see each other, “love” has no heart; Feng Xiaogang requests via Weibo that “family members” and “love” not be simplified
f. 2/11/2012	簡「愛」無心殘不堪:也談簡體	Simplified “love” with no heart is utterly defective; another look at simplified characters
g. 3/9/2015	親要相見,愛要有心	“Family members” must see each other, “love” must have a heart
h. 3/20/2015	親不見、愛無心 專家揭簡體字禍害	“Family members” do not see each other, “love” has no heart; experts expose the scourge of simplified characters

Entitled 親愛的 (literally, “beloved”), the movie tells the story of a father in mainland China who travels all over the country to look for his abducted son. The poster hints at this theme through a clever design feature, shown in Example 6a (compare Example 6b):

- 6a.            亲見愛的            ‘beloved’            (the movie title on the poster)  
6b.            親愛的            ‘beloved’            (the movie title without the design feature)

Even though the movie title is in traditional Chinese, the noticeable gap between 亲 and 見 (which means “see”) in the first character (親) alludes to the simplified character 亲, as well as 親不見 (“‘family members’ do not see each other”). By doing so, it calls attention to the setting (i.e., mainland China) and the central idea (i.e., child abduction) of the story.

親[亲]不見 (“‘family members’ do not see each other”) and 愛[爱]無心 (“‘love’ has no heart”) have even been used as modifying expressions to describe and derogate not only the simplified script, but also mainland Chinese society. In a Chinese noun phrase, everything that modifies the noun comes before it (Li and Thompson 1989:103–138). As schematized in Example 7, the particle 的 (Mandarin: *de*; Cantonese: *dik1*) is often used to link the modifying expression to the noun:

7.            Modifying expression            +            的            +            Noun  
              (e.g., relative clause, possessive, adjective)

Examples 8 and 9 are from two articles that highlight 親不見 (“‘family members’ do not see each other”) and 愛無心 (“‘love’ has no heart”), and use them as modifying expressions in noun phrases:

8.            「愛無心、親不見」 + 的 + 殘體字 ‘disabled characters’:  
              如同把好好的正體字「愛」和「親」改成「愛無心、親不見」的殘體字一樣，「醜」字的下場更為可憐—無端端「被滅口」了。

Just like the proper traditional characters “愛” and “親,” which were changed to the disabled characters “‘love’ with no heart” and “‘family members’ that do not see each other,” the character “醜” [‘ugly,’ ‘disgraceful,’ ‘shameful’] suffered an even more pitiful fate—it was “killed off” for no good reason.

(Got 2012)

9.            「愛無心」 + 的 + 世界 ‘world’:  
              親不見,愛無心,自從中共用行政手段推行簡體字以來,真箇是一語成讖,使大陸社會陷入「愛無心」的世界。

“Family members” do not see each other, “love” has no heart. Ever since Communist China adopted administrative measures to promote simplified characters, this saying has turned into an omen, which has unfortunately come true. It has caused mainland Chinese society to descend into a world where “love” has no heart.

(Y. Lee 2006)

In Example 8, the saying refers specifically to the simplified (“disabled”) characters 愛 and 亲, while Example 9 clearly states that it describes both the simplified script and mainland Chinese society. In fact, according to Example 9, this saying has, in a way, caused mainland China to descend into a world where “love has no heart.” As in other cases of iconization, not only does Example 9 present the linguistic image (simplified Chinese) and the social image (mainland China) as similar to each other, but it also attributes “cause and immediate necessity” (Irvine and Gal 2000:37) to the connection between them.

### A Topsy-Turvy World

The focus on 亲/親 ‘family members’ and 愛/愛 ‘love’ plays into a larger narrative about the destruction of core Chinese values in mainland China. Many articles that quote the poem assign causality to the relationship between simplified Chinese and the social turmoil during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Launched by Mao Zedong in May 1966, the Cultural Revolution was ostensibly meant to cleanse Chinese society of its capitalist and bourgeois remnants. Organized into groups called the Red Guards, urban youths were encouraged to criticize cultural institutions and attack traditional values (e.g., the Confucian virtue of filial piety). They tortured intellectuals, abused elderly people, and even denounced their own friends and parents. Many of those who were targeted committed suicide or died of ill treatment. As the following examples show, opponents of simplified Chinese see not only a sequential relationship but also a causal connection between the script reform carried out by the Communist government and the social chaos that ensued:

10. 簡體字推行以來,莫非真是因「字」而成讖,造成大陸生產不繼,親人分離,有愛無心的社會局面?  
Could this saying [the poem in Example 1] be an omen that has unfortunately come true? Did the promotion of simplified characters result in a societal condition in mainland China where production does not continue, family members are separated from each other, and love has no heart?  
(Y. Lee 2007c)
11. 又中國文化為何?當然以是仁義為本,但文化是如何承傳呢?文以載道,微言大義,文字是最重要的方法。不少中文字內本有文化意義,如愛由心受,簡體字卻把心除去,久而久之,人們就不理解心的重要。  
So what is Chinese culture? Of course, it is based on benevolence and righteousness. But how is culture passed down from generation to generation? Words are the most important means. Writing is for conveying truth, and a few simple words can express profound meanings. Cultural meanings are encoded in many Chinese characters. For example, “love” is felt in the “heart.” Yet “heart” was eliminated. As time goes by, people no longer understand the importance of the “heart.”  
(Chiu 2012)

The above two examples tie the defects of simplified characters to social problems in mainland China. In Example 10, the writer wonders if the simplification of Chinese characters is the reason for the present predicament for China. Example 11 goes a step further by offering an explanation for how the simplified script has resulted in long-term, irreparable damage to mainland Chinese culture. In this case, the meaning of a character is understood as the sum of its parts. Emphasizing the iconic nature of Chinese characters, Example 11 takes for granted that what is missing in a character is missing in those who use it. Because the simplified character for “love” (愛) does not have the components denoting “heart” (心), mainlanders have trouble understanding this concept. The simplification of Chinese characters has not only damaged an important symbol of Chinese culture, but has also destroyed core Chinese values.

The negative impact of the simplification of Chinese characters, opponents argue, continues to reverberate in the present day. Recall that later versions of the poem (e.g., the ones in Table 5 and Figure 2) show that “good” characters (e.g., 愛 ‘love,’ 親 ‘family members’) were simplified, but “bad” ones (e.g., 魔 ‘evil,’ 偷 ‘steal’) have been left untouched. Similarly, in mainland Chinese society, desirable qualities (e.g., filial piety) have been lost, but unsavory ones remain. Having supposedly abandoned traditional Chinese values, people in mainland China are said to lack compassion and



common decency. It is no wonder that mainlanders would deface historical and cultural monuments in other countries (Liu 2013), use personal connections to get out of trouble (Tang 2012), offer to do someone else's homework for a fee (Ko 2013), and refuse to help a collapsed elderly person on the street (Kong 2007).

While the preceding discussion focuses primarily on the defects of individual characters, opponents of simplified Chinese also look at the relationships among characters to reveal the problems of the simplified script. Unlike traditional Chinese, simplified Chinese often uses the same character for several homophones. Later versions of the poem (e.g., the ones in Table 5 and Figure 2) include the following line:

12. 麵(面)無麥 (e in Table 5)  
"noodle" has no wheat

The simplified character for "noodle" (面), unlike its traditional counterpart (麵), does not have the semantic component denoting "wheat" (麥). In traditional Chinese, 麵 and 面, which are homophones in both Putonghua (*miàn*) and Cantonese (*min6*), refer to "noodle" and "face," respectively. In other words, they are two separate characters with different meanings. In simplified Chinese, however, 面 is used to convey both meanings. Using this example as a starting point, several articles that quote the poem bring up other simplified characters that purportedly lump different concepts together (see Table 7). Looking at Chinese characters in a decontextualized manner, they maintain that to avoid confusion, characters that have different meanings should look different even if they sound the same. However, they disregard the fact that although a simplified character may have several meanings, misunderstanding is unlikely to arise because Chinese characters are more like morphemes than words. Most words in modern written Chinese consist of more than one character. It is not difficult to determine which meaning a given simplified character is supposed to convey based on its linguistic environment. For example, the simplified character 付 (c in Table 7) means "pay, hand over" and "decay, rotten." It is used in the expression 付钱 'pay' (literally, "hand over money"). Few would think that it means "decay, rotten" in this context.

Once again, the simplified script and its users are presented as similar in important ways. Opponents contend that since many simplified characters lump different concepts together, mainlanders have trouble telling them apart. The simplification of Chinese characters, they argue, has produced "simplified minds." Not only are mainlanders said to be easily confused, but they are also portrayed as lacking the

Table 7  
Simplified characters for homophones

Simplified Character	Traditional Characters	Article in which the character is discussed
a. 干	干 'interfere, shield' 乾 'dry, clean'	Lau 2006; Y. Lee 2006; Y. Lee 2007c
b. 后	幹 'do, work, fuck' 後 'after, behind, rear, later' 后 'queen'	Y. Lee 2007c
c. 付	付 'pay, hand over' 腐 'decay, rotten'	Tsao 2012b
d. 复	復 'restore, respond, return' 複 'repeat, complex' 覆 'cover'	Anonymous 2015e
e. 丑	丑 'clown' 醜 'ugly, disgraceful, shameful'	Got 2012; Lei 2012

ability to think clearly and distinguish right from wrong. A satirical article (Anonymous 2014) entitled “Dai Ji-Sam knows a few tricks for learning disabled [i.e., simplified] Chinese” (學用殘體 低智心係有啲計) illustrates the putative adverse effects of simplified Chinese on mainlanders’ intelligence. It is in a section of the newspaper called “Communist News” (共新聞), which explores what Hong Kong would be like if Communist China completely took over the city. This article reports on an interview with a fictional person named Dai Ji-Sam (低智心), who is an expert on “disabled Chinese.” The first two characters of his name (低智) mean “low intelligence,” and the last character (心) is homophonous with 深 ‘deep.’ His name as a whole may be interpreted as “extremely low intelligence.” Dai declares that anything that is missing something should be called “disabled” (殘體) (i.e., simplified). The interviewer asks Dai how to use “disabled” Chinese to address General Secretary Xi Jinping (習近平總書記), the paramount leader of the People’s Republic of China. (“General Secretary” is one of Xi’s official titles.) Dai takes Xi’s last name (習) and the first character of his title (總) to create 習總. In Cantonese, this new form of address is homophonous with 雜種, which means “bastard, half-breed.”

Opponents view the simplified script as yet another tool used by the Chinese Communist Party to control the minds of the masses. Like Putonghua, the common national speech promoted by the central government, simplified Chinese is seen as an important means through which the Party unites the country by eradicating cultural and regional differences (Mak 2014; Sou 2014). Some commentators (e.g., Lau 2006; Li 2012) draw a parallel between simplified Chinese and Newspeak, the fictional language described in George Orwell’s (1949) classic novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Created by the totalitarian state Oceania, Newspeak limits freedom of thought and expression by eliminating, replacing, or changing the meanings of words that pose a threat to the regime (e.g., *free*, *justice*). Chip Tsao (2014), a well-known cultural critic in Hong Kong, argues that mainlanders who know only simplified characters are restricted to news and information provided by government-sanctioned media organizations, leaving themselves vulnerable to blind spots in their understanding of not only their own country but also the wider world in which they live.

Thus, what has emerged from the successive recontextualizations of the poem is a narrative that reinterprets the link between the script reform in the 1950s and the subsequent social problems in mainland China. Construing their sequential relationship as a causal connection, this narrative presents a handful of simplified characters, which have been cherry-picked to advance certain political agendas, as the cause of the social ills in mainland Chinese society. Its circulation in print and social media has not only perpetuated negative stereotypes about the simplified script and mainlanders, but also helped naturalize the belief of them as defective in similar ways.

### Conclusion

Highlighting the dynamic nature of iconization, this article calls for greater attention to what happens to iconic linkages after their initial establishment. Since iconic linkages are continually renewed and transformed, iconization should be conceived of as a process that unfolds over time. The issues that concern us in this case are comparable to those that confront sociolinguists who study the actuation and implementation of linguistic change. We need to investigate what social conditions give rise to the circulation of iconic linkages, how iconic linkages travel across time and space, and how they are transformed in the process.

The case study presented in this article suggests that iconic linkages are more likely to be propagated in times of political discord and social transformation. While the poem about simplified Chinese was created long before its first appearance in *Apple Daily*, its pervasive circulation since the early 2000s has coincided with Hong Kong’s gradual loss of economic and cultural clout. Since the reversion to Chinese rule in 1997, Hong Kong’s economy has suffered one setback after another (e.g., the

Asian financial crisis in 1997, the dotcom bust in 2000, and the SARS outbreak in 2003). Cantopop, Cantonese popular music produced primarily in Hong Kong, dominated the Chinese popular culture scene at the turn of last century but began to decline in popularity in the 2000s. In the mid-1990s, the Hong Kong film industry, once the third largest in the world, experienced a dramatic downturn from which it has not fully recovered. Hong Kongers' self-doubt has been exacerbated by the rise of mainland cities like Beijing and Shanghai. These cultural and economic changes have led Hong Kongers to hold on to whatever symbolic capital they believe sets them apart from mainlanders, be it Cantonese or the traditional script. The power of the poem lies in its ability to succinctly capture many Hong Kongers' sentiments at this historical juncture.

In order to study the transformation of iconic linkages, we must examine the vehicles through which these linkages travel across time and space. The poem about simplified Chinese is a particularly good example, but metalinguistic discourse that serves as a conduit for the circulation of iconic linkages takes other forms as well. Stories, songs, and cartoons that explore the relationship between linguistic forms and social images deserve our attention, as do widely circulated words and phrases that highlight certain linguistic features and tie them to specific social types. I have in mind expressions like *fuhgeddaboutit* (forget about it) for Italian-Americans, *Toity-Toid Street* (Thirty-Third Street) for New Yorkers, and *pahk the cah in Hahvahd Yahd* (park the car in Harvard Yard) for Bostonians. In each of these cases, an indexical link between a phonetic feature and a social group has already been established. By tracing the movement of the expression in social and temporal space, we can determine whether the link has been further ideologized and become iconic. Only through careful observation of how seemingly discrete instances of the iconization of a linguistic form are connected to each other can we truly understand the processes involved in the transformation of indexical signs into icons.

Recontextualization, as this study shows, serves as a crucial mechanism for iconization. Advances in digital media in the last two decades have drastically changed the circulation of texts and images. As can be attested by the myriad versions and illustrations of the poem that have been disseminated in social media, online tools like wikis, blogs, and Facebook have made it possible for Internet users not only to compress the time and space between recontextualizations, but also to interact and collaborate with each other as creators of user-generated content. Of course, recontextualization occurs through other media (e.g., face-to-face interaction, traditional print media) as well. Social media, because of their emphasis on collaboration, increase the potential of Internet users to claim coauthorship of shared content. Indexical bleaching, though not essential to the initial establishment of iconic linkages, facilitates their transmission over time. As the circulation of the poem demonstrates, discourse often loses its link to the originator as it becomes more widely diffused. Through their participation in a "speech chain" (Agha 2003), columnists, opinion writers, readers, and Internet users have all been actively involved in the construction and transmission of the iconic linkage between mainlanders and simplified Chinese. Successive recontextualizations have produced more elaborate versions of the poem, and have transformed the poem from a direct quote tied to a specific person, time, and place to something akin to a witticism or an aphorism, which can be used in a wide variety of situations.

Through iconization, simplified Chinese has become not only a "natural" depiction of mainlanders, but also a pretext for discrimination. It now serves as a rationalization for many Hong Kongers' aversion to mainlanders and their culture. The narrative that has emerged takes agency away from mainlanders by portraying them as linguistic automatons who are completely under the spell of simplified Chinese. It lays the blame squarely on the Communist government, which according to opponents, uses the simplified script as a tool to control the minds of the masses. This narrative is no doubt a manifestation of the worsening tensions between Hong

Kong and mainland China. Alarmed at the increasingly prevalent use of simplified Chinese in their city, many Hong Kongers are worried that their future generations will suffer the same fate as mainlanders. Language has become for them an important front in the struggle for control over the destiny of Hong Kong.

### Notes

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1. The reformulation of iconization as rhematization shifts the focus from changing signs to people's changing interpretations of signs (Ball 2014; Gal 2013). Following Woolard (2008), I use the term *iconization* in this article because of its prevalence in the sociolinguistic and linguistic-anthropological literature, but it is meant to capture people's interpretations of sign-object relationships.

2. Since this article focuses on language use in Hong Kong, I use traditional Chinese throughout the article unless the context calls for the use of simplified characters or both. When both are used, they are separated by a slash, and the simplified characters precede the traditional ones. Simplified characters (but not characters that are the same in the two scripts) are in boldface.

3. Between January 1, 1998 and March 31, 2015, only nine articles in Taiwanese newspapers referred to the poem. Two of them were published in the Taiwan edition of *Apple Daily*. It is quite possible that this poem is more widely circulated in Hong Kong than in Taiwan.

4. As discussed in a later section, these are the two most quoted lines of the poem.

5. Examples can be found at <http://evchk.wikia.com/wiki/簡體中文> (accessed June 2, 2016).

6. The version of the poem in *Apple Daily* is similar but not identical to the first four lines of "Song about Simplified Chinese" (簡體字之歌), written by the Taiwanese scholar Fuh-Kwen Liu (劉孚坤). This "song," which was cited in an article published on January 10, 2005 (Anonymous 2005a), is significantly longer and includes characters that are not in later versions of the poem circulated in Hong Kong's print and social media.

7. The movie poster can be found at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dearest\\_%282014\\_film%29](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dearest_%282014_film%29) (accessed June 2, 2016).

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