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台灣叩應節目中認同的語言策略探討

A Study of Identity Construction Strategies in a  
Taiwan Call-in Show

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## 摘要

本研究探討叩應節目中語言與政治立場、族群認同之關係。以目前最受歡迎的大話新聞為例，我們採用了 2008 年總統大選的前兩個禮拜叩應內容，總共 22 個段落，叩應題目與政黨、族群相關。並將這些語料，驗證於巴寇和霍爾(Bucholtz and Hall)於 2004 和 2005 提出之認同分析的架構(framework of analyzing identity)與泰伏和透納於 1986 年提出之社會認同理論(social identity theory)。主要採用巴寇和霍爾提出的其中三個策略做為本研究的主要分類依據，分別為同化(adequation)、異化(distinction)，以及證實(authentication)。分析結果顯示原本存在之泛綠泛藍的族群衝突，透過語言策略的應用而越發強烈。

證實的策略可透過引用、反問句，打油詩，和隱喻達成。同化和異化的策略則可透過代詞、認同標記、否定動詞、被字句和言談策略達成。其中，言談策略又可進一步分為反義詞、否定標記、對比標記、反問句和語碼轉換。

簡而言之，本研究證實了對同族群的成員，在語言策略上，大多以正面且肯定的面向呈現。相對的，對不同族群的成員，則是以負面且否定的面向呈現。亦即驗證了泰伏和透納的社會認同理論。

## ABSTRACT

The thesis aims to examine the relations among language use, political stance and ethnic identity. The popular call-in show, Da Hwa News, renowned for the pungent comments attributed by the call-in audience, was selected as the research target. A total of 22 call-in sections, from May 5 to May 19, 2008, whose call-in topics were associated with political party or ethnology were downloaded from Youtube and qualitatively measured based on Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2004, 2005) of analyzing identity and social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Three tactics of intersubjectivity were further adopted as main categories, including adequation, distinction, and authentication. Results of the analyses revealed that the already existed ethnic contradiction between the pan-green and the pan-blue has been aggrandized through the linguistic devices.

The tactic of authentication was linguistically achieved through quotations, rhetorical questions, doggerels, and metaphors. The tactics of adequation and distinction were linguistically achieved through deixis, identity labels, negative verbs, bei-constructions, and discourse devices inclusive of semantic opposites, negative markers, contrastive markers, rhetorical questions, and codeswitching.

In sum, the thesis has demonstrated that the in-group members are linguistically

avored and out-group members are linguistically derogated. The discrepancy between the groups is aggrandized by the call-in audiences.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Motivation

Bucholtz and Hall, in an article on identity and interaction (2005), defined identity as “the social positioning of self and other” (p.2). Viewing identity as a dynamic process altering from moment to moment in the interactional discourse to show who the speakers are in relation to others, this study explores some of the ways in which individuals divide the world into two social groups, in-group and out-group, with linguistic devices, and the relationship between the two in the call-in contents of a political TV program. Specifically, this study investigates the ways in which stances are formed and identities are revealed in terms of issues of political party and ethnology in discursive contents contributed by the audience of one of the most popular political call-in television programs, Da Hwa News, in Taiwan.

The linguistic devices through which political or ethnological stances are revealed include deixis, identity labels, discourse devices, negative verbs, and bei-constructions. This study aims to relate micro-level language use to call-in audience’s stance and identity in Taiwan. The call-in context is an interesting site to research political and ethnological stance owing to its pungent and critical features towards issues of Taiwan’s controversial national status, and citizen’s ethnological

identity. Hence, the study contributes to sociolinguistics field in relating linguistic use to stance and identity. In addition, the study analyzes the discursive call-in contents in the political call-in program, Da Hwa News, which is a fantastic platform for receiving citizen's opinions on political issues. However, the ethnological stance or identity of the call-in audience is rarely researched through the adoption of different language use.

## **1.2 The History of Taiwan, the Taiwanese Language, and the Taiwanren marker**

The history of Taiwan could be traced back to four hundred years ago. After the colonization of Spain and Dutch, Chen Cheng-gong, a leader who intended to overthrow the Ching Dynasty, outcast the Dutch and set Taiwan as the base to rebel. Unfortunately, the Chen regime was defeated and Taiwan eventually became part territory of Ching Dynasty. Since then, numerous citizens from the Fujian Province, China, immigrated to Taiwan, which forced aborigines to move to the mountain areas. The languages used were dialects of Southern Min, or called "Taiwanese" nowadays (Hong 1992; Li 2002).

In 1895, a war broke out and changed the relationship between China and Taiwan forever. Taiwan was ceded to Japan, the winner of the Sino-Japanese War, for fifty years according to the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Regarding Taiwan as the long term

colony, Japanese administration systematically constructed the public facilities and assimilated Taiwanese's identity to Japanese's identity. It proclaimed Japanese as the national language and prohibited the other dialects. In addition, Taiwanese were forced to change their surnames into Japanese ones and assimilated by the gradual acculturated education (Huang 1993; Li 2002).

In 1945, as one member of the loser Allies in the Second World War, Japan was forced to give up Taiwan, and returned it to China according to the Cairo Declaration, whose credibility was questioned lately. The incredible existence of the Cairo Declaration led to the controversy if the future of Taiwan should be handed to China or be determined by all citizens in Taiwan. The latter statement strengthened the Taiwanese identity independent of the China identity. However, the reality of the status quo was that the defeated Chinese, Kuo Ming Tang (KMT), was exiled by the People's Republic of China (PRC), took over Taiwan, and dominated Taiwan for the later fifty years. During the KMT regime, the identity of the people originally living in Taiwan, including aborigines, Hakka, Southern Min, (hereafter "Taiwanren" ) was rising against the identity of KMT, the Chinese people (hereafter "Mainlander") in the February 28 incident and the following "white terror". So far, in this study, the phrase "Taiwanese" was used to be the replacement of the dialects of Southern Min, or the ethnology group of people living in Taiwan; while the use of the phrase "Taiwanren"

emphasized the discrepancy of an individual's identification of ethnology regardless of the individual's born place. The misconduct of the Mainlander government to the February 28 incident caused tens of thousands of deaths and mysterious missing of ordinary citizens and the Taiwanese elite, among which included minority of the Mainlanders reprobating the KMT government's injustice treatment to the Taiwanrens and majority of the Taiwanrens. The "white terror" represented the thirty-eight-year-long Emergency Decree, during which period other language than Chinese, the national language, was prohibited and the freedom of speech was suppressed (Li 2002; Su 2005).

In 1986, the establishment of the first recognized opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), symbolized two things: uprising the status of the use of Taiwanese, and strengthening the identity of Taiwanren because the majority of the party was composed of Southern Min, who spoke Taiwanese. Renowned for claiming independence of Taiwan and identifying themselves as Taiwanren instead of Chinese, the DPP members received the greatest lift in the 2000 presidential election, in which the DPP candidate, Chen Shui-bian, won the victory. That the fifty-year government of KMT was ended and the peaceful transfer of the reins of power to the opposition party marked a successful page in the democratic development of Taiwan (Hsiau 1997; Su 2005). After the twenty years of rapid socio-political change, national

and ethnic identities have become a central issue in Taiwanese politics. As group boundaries are often linked to language, one goal of this study is to investigate the demonstration of the callers' consciousness of Taiwanren identity and the callers' positioning entities as Mainlanders.

The relationship between Taiwan and China in historical development complicates the identity issues among Taiwanren. Generally speaking, the Taiwanren identity was rising against the Chinese identity before and after the February 28 incident and the following "white terror" (Li 2002; Su 2005). Public opinion surveys about the Taiwanren and Mainlander identity have been conducted by the election study center in National Chengchi University since 1992. In 1992, the percentage of self-identification with Taiwanren was 17.3% while that with Mainlanders was 26.2%. In 2000, when the reins of power were peacefully transferred to the opposition party, 36.9 percent of citizens in Taiwan considered themselves Taiwanese while 13.1 percent Mainlanders. The Taiwanren identity exceeded the Mainlander identity at that time by a low ratio of 3 to 1. When it came to 2009, almost thirteen times as many people regarded themselves as Taiwanren rather than Mainlanders. The discrepancy between the two identities was further aggrandized when the subjects under survey were young people aged from 18 to 29, the percentage of who regarded themselves as Taiwanren was approximately 75% and that of Mainlanders less than 10% (Liu, 2010).

So explicit is the Taiwanren identity that it can be adopted as a label to identify the group boundary.

### **1.3 Scope and Goal**

The goal of this study is to show the relationship between language uses and identity in the call-in contents in the call-in show called “Da Hwa News.” Hosted by Zhen Hong-yi, Da Hwa News is a pan-green television program in which several politicians, scholars, and political commentators discuss or criticize the current political or social issues. Accepting citizens’ call-ins is part of the show. The program enjoys great popularity among shows of the same category such as “2100 People Speak” and “Sissy’s World” in Taiwan’s A.C. Nielsen polls. In addition, the linguistic features of the call-in contents in Da Hwa News are more salient than those in the others. To be specific, the TV rating of “Da Hwa News” is twice higher than either of the pan-blue call-in shows, “2100 People Speak” and “Sissy’s World”, which makes it influential on the audience and fascinating enough to be a study target (Li 2008).

Data are collected from March 5, 2008 to March 19, 2008, during which essential political issues are discussed, including the examination of Ma’s and Hsieh’s executive ability, the aftermath of the disputable activity of the pan-blue legislators, and the nationality orientation between Mainland China and Taiwan. The reason why

these sections are selected is that the call-in contents are more pungent and critical during election time than those at usual time and that the language discrepancy between in-group and out-group members is the greatest. The above conditions tend to create an appropriate circumstance to show the call-in audience's stance or identity towards discussed issues. All call-in data are researched based on Bucholtz and Hall's (2004, 2005) principles of analyzing identity in discourse and social identity theory's ideas of favoring in-group and derogating out-group in the hope of revealing the call-in audience's stances towards nationality and ethnology through language devices.

As a result, the research questions of this study are as follows:

- (1) In terms of the tactic of identity work, adequation, how do the speakers position themselves or others?
- (2) In terms of the tactic of identity work, distinction, how do the speakers distinguish themselves from others? Do the linguistic devices differ from those adopted in achieving adequation? Are the pairs of adequation and distinction intertwined with or excluded from each other?
- (3) In terms of the tactic of identity work, authentication, how do the speakers claim their realness as Taiwanren?



#### **1.4 Organization of the Present Study**

The organization of the present study is as follows. Chapter two reviews the literature related to this study, including the definition of identity, principles of analyzing identity, social identity theory, identity researches in gender, nationality, and professional, stancetaking in discourse, style in sociolinguistics, and footing in sociolinguistics. Chapter three explains the process of data collection and data analysis. In chapter four, data analysis focuses on the linguistic devices of demonstrating identity towards certain issues, and they are categorized according to Bucholtz and Hall's framework (2004, 2005).



**CHAPTER TWO**  
**LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **2.0 Introduction**

The first half of the section reviews the development of the concept of identity and Bucholtz and Hall's (2004, 2005) framework of analyzing identity principles in detail. The second half of the section reviews relevant issues associated with this study, including process of identification, construction of identity, stancetaking in discourse, style in sociolinguistic field, and Goffman's footing (1979, 1981).

## **2.1 The Definition of Identity**

According to Benwell and Stokoe (2006), the development of identity could be diachronically divided into three major processes, including identity as a project of the self, identity as a product of the social, and identity as a constitution of the discourse.

In the seventeenth century, identity was first viewed as "an instrumental project of the self", in which self was reflected by the accumulation of knowledge and experience in the speaker's mind. It was a commonly accepted notion then that the mind was separated from the body and knowledge was derived from observation (Taylor 1989). Until the late modern age, Giddens (1991) considers self as a conscious project of social agents and identity as a "reflexive project of the self". However,

Giddens is criticized for avoiding the issues of context and the notion of being subject to interactional discourses (Benwell and Stokoe 2006).

By contrast, Hegel (1977) proposes the idea that identity is supposed to be affected by external factors such as the social world; that is, identity is an intersubjective matter and also a social product. Since the formation of identity should be associated with others in the society, the self is defined by dint of its membership of particular groups such as “adolescent”, “white”, and “working class”. A major theory of group identity is social identity theory (SIT), in which social identity is initiated and pertained through the process of recognizing the individuals themselves as members of certain groups, and the competitive phenomenon is exposed between the “ingroup” in which the individual belongs to and the “outgroup” in which the individual does not belong to (Tajfel 1982). The detailed review of SIT is in 2.3.1. Nevertheless, it is criticized for treating identity as a pre-discursive and essential matter (Antaki, Condor and Levine 1996). In addition, variationist sociolinguistics, a linguistic-based approach, holds a similar understanding of identity to that of SIT. Variationists associate social identity with language use. Thus, the distribution of linguistic variables such as accents, syntax and morphology tend to be analyzed with social factors such as gender, age, social class and group identification in the hope that their relationship will be revealed. However, variationist sociolinguistics is criticized

that a certain linguistic pattern is not necessarily related to certain identity presumed by the analysts (Benwell and Stokoe 2006).

So far, the reviewed theories are still more or less under the shadow of essentialism in which identity pre-exists discourse. However, Foucault (1972) considers identities as products of discourses which are resulted from social practices. On the other hand, Mills (1997) also suggests that it is actual discourse rather than the process of identification that forms the basis of subjectivity. Furthermore, Butler (1990) proclaims that identity is not only a discursive practice but also a performance and the subjects achieve their performative agencies through adopting repetitive acts or signs. Like Butler, Goffman (1959) regards identity as a contingent process in interactional discourse contexts. Gradually, identity has been analyzed from the angle of a constitution in discourse.

In addition to being constituted in discourse, identity has been viewed as a fragmentary, fluid, contingent and dynamic process. The main interaction-based theories are as follows: conversation analysis (CA), a micro-level approach, focuses on examining organization of conversation sequences in order to induce linguistic rules or maxims (Sack 1984), and it is daily conversation or talks that establish who we are (Drew 2005). Hence, from the CA's perspective, identity is bound in context in which the self is "accomplishment of interaction". Instead of assuming identity

existing ahead of analysis, the CA analysts propose that identity is locally produced through interactional contexts and is able to be transformed at any moment (Heritage 2005). In addition to micro-empirical approaches, there are approaches that combine both macro- and micro- level methods, including narrative analysis (Sarbin 1986; Georgakopoulou 2002) and positioning theory (Bamberg 2004; Davies and Harré 1990; Harré and van Langenhove 1991; 1999). In the former, identities are constructed in narrative telling which enables narrators to evaluate themselves and others. In this way, at certain points in the story, the aspect of identity is revealed more saliently (Georgakopoulou 2002; Benwell and Stokoe 2006). In the latter, the construction of identity between speaker and audience is focused on by positioning theorists. Individuals are able to position themselves as certain characters in relation to others in certain issues or events (Davies and Harré 1990). In addition, critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1989; 1995) is another approach forging micro and macro contexts, in which language is a form of ideological practice that constructs identities; that is, identity is constituted through language probing into the relationship between text and conversational participants and revealing participants' attitudes and ideologies towards discussed issues. The main ideas of CDA are that analysis should be context-bound and that only by examining the social and cultural contexts do the analysts realize the social phenomenon. No matter which the approach

is, micro or macro, they are in common that a subject's identity, which is discourse-based, is dynamic and alternative at any moment as the international discourse continues, which is one of the main ideas in this thesis as well.

Among abundant sociolinguistic researches concerning identity, Labov's "The Social Motivation of a Sound Change" (1963) is representative and significant. The analyzed target is the English dialect of Martha's Vineyard, an island near Massachusetts, the feature of which is called "Canadian raising". That is, the natives tend to pronounce the diphthongs in words such as "right" and "house" as /əy/ and /əw/ instead of /ay/ and /aw/. This feature is not adopted by most of the US mainlanders; as a result, Labov argues that the native adopt the pronunciations of [rəyt] or [həws] so as to identify himself or herself as the member belonging to the island called "Vineyarder". Although Labov's work successfully demonstrates that some particular identity is able to be signaled with the adoption of linguistic variations, Robert Le Page is dissatisfied with Labov's method of connecting identity and linguistic features. In Le Page's point of view, Labov fails to provide the explanation for the understanding of how multiple identities simultaneously appears. To compensate the deficiency, Le Page regards each analyzed utterance as an "act of identity" which can be interpreted in multiple dimensions. Moreover, he further argues that identity is dynamic through the use of linguistic devices and that the

speakers are allowed a number of linguistic choices to signal their multiple identities, which distinguishes him from Labov (1977).

This section summarizes definitions of identity and significant research related to identity. In order to illustrate the fluidity of identity focused by constructionists more explicitly, Bucholtz and Hall's (2004, 2005) theoretical framework handling dynamic identity is reviewed in the following section.

## **2.2 The Principles for Analyzing Identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 2005)**

### **2.2.1 The Emergence Principle**

Dell Hymes (1975), a linguistic anthropologist, first views linguistic action as dialogic instead of monologic, which leads to the understanding of discursive structure as emergent during the processes of performances and as a form of deliberate social displays (Bucholtz and Hall 2003). The subsequent noted anthropologists further demonstrate that performance is not mere a reflection of an underlying textual structure but also an emergent product derived from discourse in specific occasions (Bauman, 1977; Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Briggs, 1988).

Likewise, several functional and interactional linguists also argue against the static view (Bybee and Hopper, 2001; Ford et al., 2002; Hopper, 1987). In their view, identity is regarded as a product emergent rather than pre-existing in the course of

social and cultural interaction. The recognition of identity as emergent can be examined through the disconformities of language uses in specific encounters such as transgender performance. In Bucholtz and Hall's research (2005), a transgender category born male in India, hijras, identify themselves as neither men nor women through the use of obscenity to distance themselves from femininity on the one hand while they use linguistic feminine system of Hindi to represent their selves on the other hand.

### **2.2.2 The Positionality Principle**

The positionality principle disagrees with the traditional view that social behavior correlates to only macro identity categories, including class, age, and gender. Instead, language users tend to orient to local identity categories in the moment-to-moment interactions. That is, the roles of the participants in the linguistic interactions can be temporarily assumed as evaluators, listeners, or story tellers as the interactions go on. Therefore, the process of positioning is dynamic and captures the snapshot of not only subjectivity but also intersubjectivity. This phenomenon is demonstrated in an interview conducted with middle-class European American 17-year-old girls (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Their uses of different levels of innovative quotative markers position themselves as different kinds of teenagers. For



instance, one girl tends to adopt “say”, “go”, and “be like” to achieve quotative functions, while another girl uses a more youthful marker “be all”. As a result, the local identities are shown by their different choices of linguistic forms that the former is obviously not interested in pursuing trendiness; the latter seems to be more fashionable. In addition, the represented discourse enables participants to position other types of people with negative evaluations and themselves with positive ones.

### **2.2.3 The Indexicality Principle**

Identity positions are constructed in interaction through a mechanism called indexicality. Generally speaking, the concept of indexicality associated with the speakers’ cultural beliefs and values plays an important role in bridging linguistic forms and social meanings (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1985). In an ongoing talk in Bucholtz and Hall’s research (2005), repetitively quoting “hijra” is argued to be one of the indexical processes. The term not only refers to the transgender category but also carries the depreciatory meaning of impotence in Indian society. Another indexical process is shown in pragmatic concepts such as implicature and presupposition. Among the process, it is stance that provides the resourceful dimensions for the construction of identity, a type of evaluative or epistemic orientation to the ongoing discourse. In Ochs’ research (1992), linguistic forms do not

connect with index identity directly but associate with it through certain stances such as uncertainty, forcefulness, and so on instead. The details of stance will be reviewed in 2.4. In addition, the uses of interactional footings and certain linguistic structures are also the expressions of indexicality. For instance, sociolinguists of style pay more attention to linguistic forms such as grammar, lexicons, and phonology in the hope of associating them with personas or identity, while language choices between different languages have been tied to identity constructions.

#### **2.2.4 The Relationality Principle**

Identity is a relational phenomenon, acquiring social meanings in relation to other participants or other identity positions in local contexts; that is, identity is constructed intersubjectively. A framework called “Tactics of Intersubjectivity” is proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2003, 2004, and 2005) in the hope of providing a more complete picture of how and why the construction of identity is achieved. There are three pairs of tactics in this framework, including adequation versus distinction, authentication versus denaturalization, and authorization versus illegitimation. The concepts of these three pairs do not exclude from each other, but interrelate instead.

#### **2.2.4.1 Adequation and Distinction**

The term “adequation” describes the fact that the individuals in the same group are sufficiently similar rather than identical in their positions towards certain issues. Hence, adequation is contrastive with the traditional view that identity is rooted in one another’s equation or likeness. The examples of adequation can be found in the discourse of lesbians and gay men (Robin Queen, 1998) or a speech given by President George W. Bush to win American’s support for the war against Iraq (Hodges, 2004). In the former situation, the participants’ sexual orientations are determined with tropes, the understanding of which depends on shared knowledge towards lesbians and gay men, while in the latter situation, Bush’s juxtapositioning “Al Qaeda” and “Saddam” tends to produce the adequation between the two items.

On the other hand, the concept of “distinction” emphasizes the differentiations of identity relations. For instance, in the interaction happening in the Tongan market, the Tongan seller’s using centralized New Zealand-like vowels creates the distinction with other Tongans who are regarded as underclass for their vowels are never centralized (Besnir, 2004). Another example takes place in a conversation between “kotis”, a lower-middle-class gay identity, and “hijras”, a lower-class community in India, in which Kotis make fun of Hijas’ using dirty language and show off their upper-class personalities with polite verbal forms in Hindi (Hall 2005).

Both tactics are concerned with two semiotic processes of ideology, “erasure” and “highlighting” (Gal and Irvine 1995, Irvine 2001, Irvine and Gal 2000, Goodwin 1994). Erasure focuses on the invisibility of sociolinguistic phenomena. Opposite to erasure, highlighting pays attention to the salience of specific phenomenon. As a result, when it comes to the adequation, similarities between interlocutors are highlighted while the distinction or differences are erased.

#### **2.2.4.2 Authentication and Denaturalization**

The second pair of tactics, authentication and denaturalization, are concerned about the constructions of the credible or incredible identities respectively. “Authentication” focuses on the agentic processes to assert realness. For example, interlocutors are able to authenticate the identity of their language through nationalistic rhetoric which owns the power to index the speakers as the members in the group embracing the identity of nation-state. Another example lies in a narration analyzed by Bauman (1992), in which the narrator authenticates not only the story but also his identity as the teller by describing that “I don’t remember that now, just now at the moment---his daughter told my father this story”. That is, the narration can be traced back to its provenience, not invented in the air instead.

The counterpart of authentication is denaturalization, which focuses on the

situations in which the authenticity of an identity is questioned or challenged because of the perception of identity rupture. For instance, in a drag queen performance analyzed by Butler (1990), the understanding of denaturalization is demonstrated in the form of the drag queen's producing dirty language abhorred by the female. In addition, the drag queen switches the image of "kneeling" in religious ceremonies into a fellatio one. Another example illustrates "nerdiness" in superstandard English (Bucholtz, 2001), including careful articulation of alveolar stops and formal lexicons.

#### **2.2.4.3 Authorization and Illegitimation**

The concept of authorization focuses on identities which involves the affirmation of institutional power. In Bush's speech which attempts to arouse the electorate's supports to the war against Iraq (Hodges, 2004.), though the first-person plural pronouns are used several times to refer to different targets they aim to conflate the Bush Administration with the United States. The force of conflation is successful due to Bush's presidency. As a result, he speaks on behalf of the nation. Likewise, his presidential authority offers him the ability to create the identification between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda.

Opposite to authorization, illegitimation focuses on the ways identities are denied, dismissed or ignored by structures of institutional powers. For example, Joseph Park

(2004) analyzes the message in the answering machine which is left by American students who attempt to mock their Korean friend's accents. The Americans laugh at the Korean's standard Americanized pronunciation because they do not consider it the usual Korean realization of the word. That is, although the Korean student pronounces a word right, the American students still illegitimate it because their "shared national language ideology of Koreaness" considers it inappropriate.

#### **2.2.4.4 Interactions between Tactics**

The three pairs of complementary tactics aim to snap a clearer picture of the process of constructing identity. According to Bucholtz and Hall's discussions (2003, 2004 and 2005), identities are intersubjectively constructed. Although the relationality principle is divided into three dimensions, they shall not be regarded as mutually exclusive. Instead, the three different dimensions sometimes overlap one another, and two or more tactics might appear in conjunction either deliberately or accidentally in certain contexts.

#### **2.2.5 The Partialness Principle**

With the concept that identity is dynamically constructed in social behavior, identity is naturally viewed as partial. That is, in discourse or any interactional

activities, the construction of identity is the result of negotiations or others' representations. Hence, no matter whether identity is constructed deliberately or accidentally, the understanding of identity is the process of taking certain stances towards sociocultural events at one moment and discarding them at the next moment. This is why the understanding of identity can only be partial instead of fully conscious.

### **2.2.6 Interim Summary**

The above principles attempt to propose a framework for analyzing identity, including emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality and partialness principles. When it comes to identity positioning, identity is regarded as the emergent instead of pre-existing product, and it should be intersubjectively associated with local sociocultural contexts rather than the broad social categories such as gender only. Identity can also be indexically produced through linguistic strategies, including implicatures, stances, styles, and lexicons. In addition, the understanding of identity is partial, which might come from interactional negotiations or others' representations.

## **2.3 Social Identity Theory and Identity Researches about Gender, Nationality, and Profession**

This section focuses on social identity theory, and the construction of identity in authentic data relates to gender, nationality and professional.

### **2.3.1 Social Identity Theory**

The heart of social identity theory is self-categorization, which depicts humans' attempt to categorize the world into two groups, us and them, while social identity is one's self-awareness or self-knowledge that s/he belongs to a certain organization or group. Or, it can be defined as "the part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978).

According to social identity theory, the discrepancies between two groups will be aggrandized than the actually existing ones, and the characteristics of in-group will be perceptually favored (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Brewer and Brown (1998) further argue that not only in-group favoritism but also out-group derogation should be pointed out. Generally speaking, individuals tend to show favoritism to in-group qualities on the one hand, and derogate out-group qualities on the other. It is the positive characteristics that are exaggerated in the former, and the negative features are aggrandized in the latter, in which way the superiority of in-group is emphasized. However, favoring in-group and derogating out-group need not occur at the same time.



In either way, the group differentiation is enhanced.

### **2.3.2 Gender, Professional, and National Identities**

Traditionally, it is considered that what people talk reflects who they are; however, it is possible that people construct who they are by what they talk through the adoption of the linguistic resources (Cameron 1997). In the following, the construction of gender, yuppie identity, and Hong Kong identity will be reviewed in order.

According to Ochs (1992), the relation between language and gender is performed through social activities. In Cameron's research (1997), the casual conversation between five men is analyzed to show that these men tend to display masculinity with gossip. Through the contents of gossip, they identify several non-present males as gays, which regards themselves, heterosexual men, as a contrast group. However, their attempt is contradicted with the one of the informal features in women's talk, cooperation, the marks of which contain latching, simultaneous speech, and repetition (Coates 1989). As to the construction of female identity, Holmes (1997) analyzes conversational excerpts in everyday conversational interaction to conclude that the female identity is demonstrated by the female speaker's adopting phonological variants such as aspirated /t/ and the standard variant of (ING),

pragmatic particles such as “you know” and “sort of”, and attenuators such as “quite” and “just”. As to the construction of yuppie identity, Zhang (2005) proposes that the Chinese yuppies’ adopting the “cosmopolitan” variable is part of the practices that distinguish the yuppies from other social groups. The “cosmopolitan” variable is defined by Zhang as the use of full tone instead of a neutral tone. Every stressed syllable has a full tone with a fixed pitch value or one of the four Mandarin tones, while a weakly stressed syllable has a neutral tone whose pitch is determined by the tone of its preceding syllable (Chao 1968, Norman 1988, Qian 1995).

The discussion above is associated with gender and professional identity, and what follows is concerned about constituting the identity of nationality. With the use of personal pronouns and code-mixing, a shared “Hong Kong identity” is constructed in Tsang and Wong’s analysis (2004) of the comic discourse in a Hong Kong stand-up comedy. The use of the first-person plural “we” by the performer aligns himself with most of the audience, Hong Kong people, to construct a Hong Kong identity with them, and position himself more as a spokesperson or a sociocultural critic. On the other hand, the performer’s code-mixing between Cantonese and English indexes affiliation to Hong Kong identity because code-mixing itself is an aspect of the Hong Kong society.

## 2.4 Stancetaking in Discourse

Sociolinguistics focuses on the achievement of stancetaking by examining the phonological, morphological, and lexical choices, and how the sets of linguistic choices link to the cultural styles or identities through stancetaking (Eckert 2000; Kiesling 2005). That is, stance is the internal psychological state linking linguistic forms and social identities (Fox 2001; Johnstone 1995; Kärkkäinen 2006). According to Irvine (2009), stance concerns the speaker's evaluation and assessment to objects in discourse. The commonly discussed types of stance include epistemic stance which concerns the speaker's degree of commitment to a proposition as shown in "The moon *might* be made of green cheese", affective stance which concerns the speaker's feelings about an utterance as shown in "It's disgusting to think that the moon might be made of green cheese", and the third kind of stance concerning a speaker's self-positioning in relation to an interlocutor as shown in "Who are *you* tell *me* what the moon is made of?". Likewise, in DuBois' approach (2007), stance is a social actor's public acts, which is accomplished by the tendency whether he or she aligns himself or herself with other subjects or not in the interaction after evaluating the targeted figures or issues. Hence, the social actors tend to be cast into certain categories by aligning themselves with certain attitudes, which is part of the claims of social identities (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). From the above definitions of stance,

evaluation and appraisal seem to be main dimensions of stancetaking. The concept of evaluation ranges from the speaker's stance toward the entities, to his/her viewpoint on propositions, to his/her feelings about utterances. The process of evaluating a proposition often involves comparativeness between the proposition and a norm; hence, linguistic features associated with evaluation include comparative adjectives, negation and adverbs of degrees; the language of evaluation includes markers of subjectivity such as conjunctions and speech-reporting structures (Hunston and Thompson 2000), all of which are examined in this study as strategies of taking stance to the discussed issues in the hope of revealing the speakers' ethnological identities. In the following paragraph is the discussion of the intertwined relationship between stance and identity.

From sections of 2.1 and 2.2, it is suggested that the concept of identity is defined as a social product or a constitution of the discourse (Benwell and Stokoe 2006). The projection of identity in interaction is also the demonstration of interpersonal relationships. That is, linguistic variations are used not only to position speakers toward identity categories such as class, gender or race, but also to take up personal stances (Alexandre 2009). What's more, it is habitually taken stance performed in linguistic differences that tends to differentiate census-like groups. That is, identity is indicated by repeated patterns of stancetaking. Hence, the expression of

identity enables individuals to be similar to or different from other individuals in a particular social group (Kiesling 2009). In a similar approach, Ochs (1992) also indicates that a variety of social identities are able to be pieced up through learning stance which is associated with learning the speaker's intersubjective positions and relational implications in the interactional or moment-by-moment discourse.

Moreover, the motivation of identification processes is claimed by Alexandre (2009) to be a desire to fix social categories for the sake of various forms of advantages gained by the stance taker. This is another main focus of this study for the speakers to differentiate from others by taking stances or revealing identities in the issues of ethnology and political party.

Next, the significant researches of demonstrating identity through stancetaking are presented. In Johnstone's "Linking Identities and Dialect through Stancetaking" (2007), Pittsburgher interviewees deploy several stancetaking strategies to claim that embracing the competence of the Pittsburghese dialect is part of the essential elements of being a Pittsburgher, including the use of local pronunciations. Likewise, in Eckert's (1989, 2000) works, stance, identity and phonology are linked by a Detroit high school students' adoption of different variants of vowels. The local identity is created through this semiotic activity.

## **2.5 Style in Sociolinguistics**

The emergence of styles takes place when the features of stancetaking are repeatedly adopted (Bauman 2004). Through styles, it is possible for stancetaking to be linked with social identity (Eckert 1989, 2000).

In Kiesling's (2005) research related to immigrants in Australia, a set of phonological features are argued to be a representation of a face-saving stance called "authoritative connection", including final High Rising Tone (HRT) in words and frequent use of pronunciation of word final -er. According to Kiesling's analysis, this stance is particularly associated with subordinate groups, including the Greek and Lebanese speakers. The repeated adoption of stancetaking features forms an immigrant style; furthermore, the subordinate members' using these stancetaking strategies identifies themselves as immigrants.

## **2.6 Footing in Sociolinguistics**

Footing concerns individuals' interactional positions. It is defined by Goffman (1981) as participants' taking up alignment to the audience or themselves, on which the interpretations of the subsequent utterances are based. Under all conditions, individuals hold certain positions when they are interacting with others. Basically speaking, the demonstration of footing is associated with not only participants'

alignment but also the degree of affiliation or identification shown towards the uttered statements (Goffman, 1979, 1981; Cowper 2003).

In Goffman's opinions, footing manifested through the systematic verbal and nonverbal cues and markers indicates the "participation framework" or the participant's relative footing in a conversation. Several linguistic and paralinguistic devices are implied to be indications of a change in footing. At the level of prosody, the alterations might take place in pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, or tonal quality. As the grammatical level is concerned, repeating words in a strident pitch of an utterance might function as satirical while footing shift might be executed through employing pronominal reference, deixis, hedges, qualifiers, adages, sayings and direct or indirect reported speech. As to the discourse level, the participant's footing is altered in giving up a speaking turn, in which situation an animator footing can probably be changed into a recipient footing (Goffman 1979, 1981).

## **2.7 A Summary of Literature Review**

In this section, based on "Discourse and Identity" written by Benwell and Stokoe (2006), identity is diachronically treated as a project of the self, a product of the social, to a constitution of the discourse. Next, the attention is shifted to Bucholtz and Hall's (2004, 2005) principles of analyzing identity, which is the main framework of the

study. In addition, a key theory of group identity, SIT, is reviewed to pave the way to the categorization of collected data, and several identity researches concerning gender, nationality, and professional are paid attention to. Finally, concepts related to identity in sociolinguistics are reviewed including stancetaking, style and footing.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology of the study. Section 3.1 presents the introduction of the most popular call-in program, Da Hwa News. Section 3.2 presents how the identity-oriented data are selected. Section 3.3 presents data analysis. The collected data are categorized according to the identity framework developed by Bucholtz and Hall (2003, 2004).

#### **3.1 Call-in program**

The data adopted in this study is from the popular TV call-in program, Da Hwa News. The origin of call-in programs, renowned as a platform of the host's receiving audience's calls to listen to their opinions towards the policy, society or even country, could be traced back to 1992, when the first underground radio call-in program was established. At that time, the mainstream media were still controlled by the government, which made it impossible for citizens to speak their opinions out loud. Hence, under the circumstance where speech right was suppressed in a way popularized the underground call-in programs (Chen 1994). Not until 1993 was the cable TV legalized. Jumping into the bandwagon, the first TV call-in program, "2100

People Speak”, was born in August, 1994 (Yang 1997). The record of the long-term high viewer rating was smashed by the later grass-rooted call-in program, “Taiwan sound”. However, it was not until 2006 that “Da Hwa News” won the landslide victory in viewer rating. From then on, though the number of viewer rating was a little bumpy after the legislative official election, the viewer rating of “Da Hwa News” was twice as much as that of “2100 People Speak” on the whole (Chen 1994, Yang 1997). The popularity, on a hunch basis, may be partly derived from the linguistic features attributed to group distinction of the call-in contents. The language use is also one of the main issues of the study.

### **3.2 Data Collection**

According to Wu (2001), the viewer rating would increase when the elections were approaching, which marked the significance of the call-in individuals’ opinions because they were exposed to more audience than the usual. The Presidential election was held in March 20, 2008. The call-in programs were downloaded for 14 days from the website, YouTube, which was a platform for uploading and sharing films. The corpus of the study consisted of 28 hours of call-in programs. However, after the deduction of the discussion among the host and guests, and of the call-in sections with call-in topics related to other than national identity and political party, the actual

length falls to 4 hours, 13minutes and 20 seconds. During the call-in time, the discussed topics are always shown on the screen, and the call-in contents are from the audience in front of the television instead of the host and guests. As to the process of screening collected data, only those discussed topics associated with nationality and political parties were selected. In topic 1, no identity labels were found. Thus, it is excluded from the study. However, topic 2 was chosen for the national identity labels, Taiwan and China. After being screened by the above steps, the 22 selected sections were summarized in the table 3-1.

#### Topic 1

(2008.3.5): 不讓勞工來?那讓甚麼人來?不敢說?

不讓農產品來?那甚麼可以來?有講?

The laborers are rejected. Who is allowed? The agriculture products are prohibited. What is allowed?

#### Topic 2

(2008.3.11): 一中市場後 台灣製=中國製 你要? 一中市場 醫師,律師也拒絕?

After the one-China market, is the made-in-Taiwan equal to the made-in-China? Do doctors and lawyers also refuse the one-China market

policy?

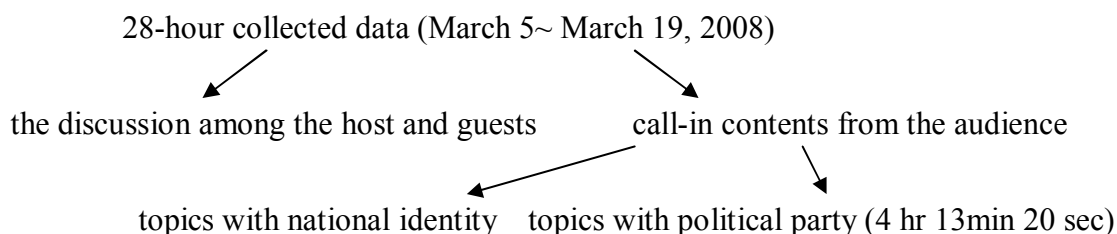


Figure 1. The process of screening collected data

Table 3-1. The selected dates and call-in topics

Nationality Identity:

Date	call-in topic
2008.3.5	挺馬 <u>中國</u> 有前途?! 喝 <u>台灣</u> 血? 台灣人政權 下流? Does people's supporting Ma lead to the prosperity of the People's Republic of China? Is it equal to drinking Taiwanren's blood? Does Taiwanren's government deserve to be depreciated as obscenity?
2008.3.10	馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 <u>外國人</u> 不能考證照? 馬胡說? Without the one-China market policy, are Ma's economic policies equal to none? According to Ma, foreigners can't attend certificate examination but their academic backgrounds will be admitted?
2008.3.11	一中市場後 <u>台灣</u> 製=中國製 你要? 一中市場 醫師,律師也拒絕? After the one-China market, is the made-in-Taiwan equal to the made-in-China? Do doctors and lawyers also refuse the one-China market policy?

---

2008.3.11 經濟緊靠中國=胰島素 台灣=糖尿病人? 香港回歸中國 為何富越富 貧越貧?

Is Taiwan analogized as the diabetes patient when its economy is tied to China? After Hong Kong returned to China, why are the rich richer, the poor poorer?

---

2008.3.15 有和平協定仍鐵腕鎮壓西藏 台灣要? 一中市場 追求經濟 政治統一 你要?

With the peace agreement, PRC still suppresses Tibet? Is it what Taiwan wants? The one-China market policy is equal to the unification of economy and politics, do you accept that?

---

2008.3.16 勞工,農產品,學歷來 馬又要統一 誰還抗衡? 簽了和平協定 中國仍鎮壓西藏 台灣?

After the acceptance of the labor, agriculture products, academic backgrounds, Ma still pursues unification. Who will play the role of counterbalance? After the peace treaty, China still suppresses Tibet, how about Taiwan?

---

2008.3.17 Freddy:一定逆轉勝! 靠這關鍵 5 天? 鎮壓西藏 中國今說是“清潔衛生” 恐怖?

According to Freddy, the turning point of the election will come in five days? According to China, the incident of suppressing Tibet is reported to the cleaning activity?

---

2008.3.17 西藏和平協議 有用? 馬的和平協定 你要? 被屠殺 西藏沒有選擇 台灣卻還要一中市場?

Is the peace agreement between China and Tibet practical? Will you accept the treaty proposed by Ma?

---

2008.3.18 台灣兩岸人民決定 馬,溫說法一致? 西藏被血腥鎮壓 馬竟幫中國講話?

Is Ma's saying accordant to Wen's that Taiwan's fate should be determined by citizens of two countries? In the Tibet suppression incident, Ma speaks for China?

---

2008.3.19 鎮壓西藏像 228 馬要把台灣往中國送? 魯肇忠:兩岸共同市場一定拖垮台灣 馬聽到?

The Tibet suppression incident is like the 228 incident. Is Ma going to give Taiwan to China? Does Ma hear Lu's statement that Taiwan is destined to be doomed under the cross-strait common market policy?

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Political Party:

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Date	call-in topic
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2008.3.6 6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?

挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」? 6:2?

Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?

---

2008.3.6 賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?

入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand.

Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!

---

2008.3.7 高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?

- 
- 2008.3.8 承認中國學歷 婦女,青年同意嗎? DPP 民調只差 6%  
謝 14 天能逆轉勝?  
Will women and the youth agree the admittance of China's academic background? Does DPP' survey show 6% differences? Will Hsieh sin the battle in 14 days?
- 
- 2008.3.8 謝馬誰能給女性幸福? 誰帥? 誰可靠? 一中市場找沒工? 找沒尤? 美夢? 惡夢? Who can give women happiness, Hsieh or Ma? Is the one-China market policy a sweet dream or a nightmare?
- 
- 2008.3.9 總統辯論 謝馬治國能力 誰好?  
74%不同意承認學歷 55%反一中市場 百姓憂?  
Based on the presidential debate, whose executive ability is better, Ma or Hsieh? Seventy four percent of citizens disagree to admit foreigners' academic background and fifty five percent of citizens are against the one-market policy.
- 
- 2008.3.10 辯論表現 馬降謝升 會逆轉?  
承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?  
Based on both candidates' presentation in the debate that Ma's support rate is decreasing and Hsieh's is increasing, will the result be different? Is it possible to admit foreigners' academic background but forbid their taking certificate tests? What is Ma talking about?
- 
- 2008.3.12 衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門  
帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?  
Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?
- 
- 2008.3.13 藍營道歉如此強硬 真心? 選後? 3/4 國會+馬總統 甚麼是做不出
-

---

來?

Is the pan-blue meant for the apology? What can't be done after the pan-blue controls the majority of the congress and wins the presidential campaign?

---

2008.3.15 藍:四立委硬闖 是陷阱? 真道歉?

反戴帽、擊掌 藍登「剽竊」? 年輕人同意?

Based on KMT, are the four legislators being set? Is this a real apology?

Does KMT plagiarize DPP's creativity to wear caps upside down and give me five in the parade? Will young people agree to the act?

---

2008.3.16 316 黃金周 剪刀交叉 謝會逆轉勝嗎? 台聯台南主委挺馬 馬:識時務! 恐怖?

Does Hsieh have the chance to win the battle? Ma praises the support from the Tainan's chairman of Taiwan Solidarity Union.

---

2008.3.18 一中市場 勞工害怕? 相信馬的話? 謝現在正值黃金交叉 逆轉成真?

Are the labor afraid of the one-China market policy? According to Hsieh, he has the chance to win the battle?

---

### 3.3. Data analysis

The relevant portions of the discursive data from call-in contents were downloaded from Youtube, a public website platform for uploading and downloading videos, transcribed into Chinese script, and translated into English. When the speaker has shifted into a language different from the one he or she has been speaking, angle brackets labeled with T (<T T>) (T stands for Taiwanese) are used (Du Bois,



Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, and Paolino 1993). The data were analyzed at the levels of linguistic devices, stancetaking, and nationality and ethnological identities.

This study examined instances of the adoption of certain linguistic devices related to stancetaking. The tactic of authentication was linguistically achieved through quotations, rhetorical questions, doggerels, and metaphors. The tactics of adequation and distinction were linguistically achieved through deixis, identity labels, negative verbs, bei-constructions and discourse devices including semantic opposites, negative markers, contrastive markers, rhetorical questions and codeswitching.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, I analyze how the caller's ethnological identities and political stances (among which are stances toward nationality) are illustrated through intersubjective tactics (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 205), including adequation, distinction, and authentication. The tactics are achieved by linguistic devices such as deixis, identity labels, and discourse devices. In the following, Section 4.1. analyzes the devices that achieve adequation. Section 4.2 analyzes the devices that achieve distinction. Section 4.3 discusses the devices that achieve authentication. Finally, Section 4.4 summarizes and concludes the findings in this chapter.

#### **4.1 Devices that Achieve Adequation**

Adequation is a relational phenomenon, which emphasizes the similarity between groups or individuals (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). In this study, several linguistic devices are found to have achieved adequation, and they further show the callers' stances to the discussed issues. The devices are discussed in the following sections according to the frequency of occurrence. Each call-in is regarded as a unit and the number of units with a certain linguistic device is divided by the number of all

call-ins in the collected data to acquire the device's occurrence frequency. In this section, the frequency of the instances of adequation is 13.6%. From the most frequent to the less frequent, the order of discussion will be deixis (9.7%), identity labels (8%), and other discourse devices (7.8%).

#### **4.1.1 Deixis**

The term “adequation” emphasizes the similarity between groups or individuals (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), so only the plural, not the singular, pronouns such as “我們 (wo-men)”, “你們 (ni-men)” and “他們 (ta-men)” are discussed as group boundary markers. In our data, the instances of the adequation with the adoption of deixis can be categorized into three parts: the use of “我們 (wo-men)”, the use of “我們 (wo-men)” and “他們 (ta-men)”, and the use of “你們 (ni-men)” or “他們 (ta-men)”. To begin with, the callers tended to align themselves with certain groups with “我們 (wo-men)”, which is a demonstration of stance (DuBois 2007). When “我們” is used as self-reference, it denotes a collective meaning of “a group of people including the speaker” (Leech and Svartvik 1978). According to Quirk et al. (1985), the canonical deictic functions of “我們” can be categorized as follows: the inclusive authorial function in serious writing, the editorial function in formal writing by a single individual, the rhetorical function related to the hearer (e.g., you) in the

collective sense of the nation or the party, and the “我們” related to a third person (e.g., he or she).

Following Lakoff's (1990) taxonomies, depending on what referents “我們” refers to, “我們” can be further divided into the audience-inclusive and the audience-exclusive “我們”. To an audience, the two categories indicate a sense of being included and excluded respectively in the speaker's use of “我們”. Here, the term "audience" in the study involves those who watch the program, the program host and the panelists. In this way, the local identity categories of the callers such as evaluators or story tellers are able to be positioned (Bucholtz and Hall 2004) as in Extract 16. In this extract, the caller positioned himself as a historical evaluator analyzing the issue whether the KMT are qualified enough to be the government in power. The call-in topic is shown in the parenthesis as the theme of the discussion.

(1) March 17

(Freddy:一定逆轉勝! 靠這關鍵 5 天? 鎮壓西藏, 中國今說是「清潔衛生」。恐怖? According to Freddy, the turning point of the election will come in five days? According to China, the incident of suppressing Tibet is reported to the cleaning activity?)

1 我們來看重點, 誰夠格當台灣的總統? 我們先說國民黨: 跟日本戰輸了, 台  
2 灣還給我們, 交給民軍, 本來台灣人民有機會由住民來自決, 決定自己的前  
3 途, 但是交託中國暫時來管。結果剛好那時候被共產黨打得走投無路, 跑來  
4 台灣, 結果被佔領, 搬了一個中華民國來這裡。我們沒有其他的辦法來決定  
5 自己的命運, 命運就徹徹底底變成這樣, 變成中華民國。所以誰有資格? 當  
6 然是謝長廷。因為國民黨是延續那邊過來的, 是中國國民黨, 也不是這邊正

7 統的政黨。他們來這邊搜刮人民的財產，搜刮政府的財產，變成黨產，選舉  
8 的時候運用。

### Translation

1 In this Presidential election, **let's** see who is qualified to be Taiwan's President.  
2 **Let's** talk about the KMT first. After Japan was defeated, Taiwan was supposed to  
3 be handed to **us**, and guarded by civil military temporarily. Before Taiwan was  
4 handed over to the KMT, citizens of Taiwan had the chance to determine the fate  
5 of Taiwan. China was only able to ruin Taiwan temporarily. After the KMT were  
6 defeated by the Communists and fled to Taiwan, Taiwan was occupied and  
7 turned into the ROC. **We** are not able to determine our own fate, and Taiwan  
8 turns out to be named as R.O.C. So who is more qualified? Of course, Hsieh is.  
9 The KMT were the inheritor of the PRC over **there**. They were not **orthodox**  
10 **here**. **They** came here to plunder the people's and government's properties and  
11 turned them into their party's assets, and use them in elections.

In Extract 1, there are four instances of “我們”, in which one instance of “我們” refers to the caller himself and the other three instances of “我們” refer to the caller, the audience, and the host (line 4). The first instance of “我們” in line 1 refers to those who are going to pay attention to the question “誰夠格當台灣的總統? (line 1)” proposed by the caller; thus, it is audience-inclusive, and so are the third and fourth instances of “我們” in lines 2 and 4. The referents of the third instance of “我們” refer to those receive the sovereignty of Taiwan, Taiwanren and the referents of the fourth instance of “我們” refer to those whose country is occupied by the Mainlanders who are defeated over the rein of power of Mainland China, flee to Taiwan and occupy Taiwan, Taiwanren. Hence, both of them are audience-inclusive. Through the adoption of audience-inclusive “我們”, the caller successfully positions himself as a

member of those who participate in the discussion of the question, and a member of those who deserve the right to determine the fate of Taiwan. As to the second instance of “我們” in line 2, the actual referent of it is the caller himself and it therefore is audience-exclusive. Hence, this instance of “我們” is irrelevant to adequation.

In Hodges’s (2004) study of investigating the former President George Bush’s rhetorical strategies to gain the American public’s support for the war against Iraq in 2003, he discovers that the relation of adequation between President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and the terrorist network Al Qaeda is created. During Bush’s speeches, the names of Al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein are repeatedly juxtaposed to establish the production of adequation between the two morally and politically equivalent entities. Similarly, the structure in Extract 1 moves from “本來台灣人民有機會由住民來自決、決定自己的前途 (line 2)” to “我們沒有其他的辦法來決定自己的命運 (line 4-5)”, and alternates between the two actors, Taiwan’s residents and “我們”. The rhetorical juxtaposition reinforces the conceptual link between the two entities. Hence, the identity of “我們” is emergent as “台灣人民” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

In addition, the concept of distinction can be perceived in the comparison between the KMT and the other political parties in Taiwan through the adoption of pronouns, demonstratives, and lexicons. The detail discussion of the counterpart of adequation, distinction, will be demonstrated in 4.2. In Extract 1, the first plural

pronoun “他們 (ta-men)” in line 9 was adopted to refer to the KMT in the preceding discourse. The occurrence of both “這邊” and “那邊” in line 8 contrasts the discussed entities in Lu’s (1992) study which notes that “這” and “那” contrast the most when they are juxtaposed. Moreover, the use of the lexicon “正統的 (orthodox)” implies the existence of the heterodox.

In Extracts 2 and 3 below, the five instances of “我們” are audience-inclusive, which were used by the callers to include their audience and were further equated with certain group members. For example, the four instances of “我們 (wo-men)” (lines 2-3) in Extract 2 were used to take an affective stance (Irvine, 2009) a stance in reporting the caller’s inner feelings about waving the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee flag which is unable to represent this country. In the realm of syntax, the possible antecedent NP in the preceding discourse for the plural first person pronoun “我們” is Taiwan’s residents. In the realm of rhetoric, the repeated juxtaposition of “我們 (wo-men)” and the most likely identity of the referent, Taiwan’s residents, strengthens the conceptual link between the two entities. As a consequence, the identity of the audience and the caller is rhetorically associated with that of Taiwan’s residents. As to Extract 3, the instance of the audience-inclusive “我們 (wo-men)” followed by forms of reference, Taiwanren, functions as a means to show rapport and establish solidarity with the audience (Chen 2007) (line 2). In terms of syntax, “這些

以前被騙的、藍營被洗腦的人 (line 3)” is the appositive of “我們台灣人”. In terms of rhetoric, the juxtaposition of the two morally equivalent categories is a strategy to associate the identity of “這些以前被騙的、藍營被洗腦的人” with we Taiwanren, the identity label.

### (2) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 在日本的亞洲~~賽我有去參加。其實台灣的民眾真的很可愛，其實也很可
- 2 憐。因為我們並沒有屬於我們的一面旗子，然後可以讓我們很高興可以代表
- 3 自己的國家。每次都很委屈得拿著不能修改的國旗，我覺得這對我們來說是
- 4 很不公平的事情。

### Translation

- 1 I have been to Japan in participation of the competition. I find out that Taiwan's
- 2 citizens are both lovely and pitiable when they are cheering for Taiwan's baseball
- 3 team in foreign countries because **we** don't have our own national flag
- 4 representing **our** own country. It is pleasant for **us** to hold the national flag while
- 5 cheering for the team. However, only allowed to hold up the unchangeable
- 6 emblem of Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee when participating in sport events,
- 7 I think it is unfair for **us**.

### (3) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 那高捷ㄉㄟ?謝長廷在建設的時候，被講到一無是處，雞蛋裡挑骨頭說多黑
- 2 暗、貪汙!現在，這兩天要通車了，大家再去看看。我希望我們台灣人這些
- 3 以前被騙的、藍營被洗腦的人，能稍微客觀一點，真的去體會 4 一下。(...)

### Translation



1 How about the MRT in Kaohsiung? During its construction, Hsieh was attacked  
2 with smears and slanders. Now, the MRT is about to run. I hope we the  
3 Taiwanese, including those who in the past have been deceived and brainwashed  
4 by the pan-blue, can really experience it. (...)

In Extracts 4 and 5 below, both the plural first pronoun “我們 (wo-men)” and the plural third pronoun “他們 (ta-men)” appeared; however, only the former functions as the linguistic device of adequation. In Extract 4, there are five instances of “我們 (wo-men)” (lines 1-4), among which the referents of the second instance of “我們 (wo-men)” are the caller and the hosts of the call-in show exclusive of the audience in front of the TV and the referents of the remaining four instances of “我們 (wo-men)” are audience-inclusive. This extract builds on the notion of similar plans discussed in Extract 2, and hence the identity of “我們 (wo-men)” is emergent as the citizens voting for the referendum (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). As to Extract 5, it confirms the studies of Maitland and Wilson (1987) and Wilson (1990) that pronominal choices are able to reflect ideological differences. In her speeches, Margaret Thatcher establishes rapport with her audience by adopting “I” and deftly shifts to the institutionalized “we” to strengthen her image as a determined leader. Especially, Thatcher’s institutionalized “we” is ambiguous on whether it is regarded as the British people or as the British government. In the excerpt in question, the caller’s shifting from “I” to audience-inclusive “we” demonstrates a high level of

solidarity and identification with his group (i.e., the young people group). Especially, the establishment of the adequation is explicit among “我們”, the young people group and those whose political stances are against Mainland China. In addition, the counterpart of adequation, distinction, is intersubjectively constructed between China and Taiwan, which will be discussed in detail in 4.2.

#### (4) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 第三點，公投是民意的展現。我覺得鳥籠公投是這些政治人物造成的。我們
- 2 應該回到以世界定義的標準的公投的定義來看。我們還是應該鼓勵民眾出來
- 3 投。只要有百分之九十以上的民眾的話，投我們要入聯或返聯。這樣子的話，
- 4 世界應該用他們的標準來告訴我們說全國民眾就是要公投我們就是要入聯
- 5 的。

#### Translation

1 Third, a referendum is the demonstration of citizens' viewpoints. I think it is the  
2 politicians who make the glass-bottle-confined referendum. **We** should return to  
3 the universal definition of referendum. **We** should encourage people to vote. As  
4 long as there are over ninety-percent of people voting for **our** joining or returning  
5 to the UN, the world **they** will be aware of the fact that **we** need the referendum,  
6 and **we** want to join the UN.

#### (5) March 16

(勞工,農產品,學歷來 馬又要統一 誰還抗衡? 簽了和平協定 中國仍鎮壓西藏台灣?)

After the acceptance of the labor, agriculture products, academic backgrounds, Ma still pursues unification. Who will play the role of counterbalance? After the peace treaty, China still suppresses Tibet, how about Taiwan?)

- 1 今天本來要去參加擊掌的活動，可是因為工作的關係，無法過去。可是

- 2 打電話給我的朋友，呼籲他們一定要去這個活動，就是台灣人一定要站
- 3 來，不要被一個中國架構這樣影響到。還有我呼籲年輕人一定要站出來，
- 4 然後說我們反對中國的立場。

### Translation

- 1 Because of work, I am unable to participate in the activity; however, I
- 2 telephoned my friends and urged **them** to join it. The Taiwanese must stand out
- 3 to express the stance of defying the one-China framework. **I** call upon **young**
- 4 **people** to stand out to show **our** stance of opposing China.

In Extract 6, due to the function of the direct quotation, the referent of “你們 (ni-men)” is identical to that of “他們 (ta-men)”, the Mainland Chinese residents of Taiwan. The use of the group boundary phrases, including “你們大陸”, “那邊”, and “來台灣” constructs the conceptual link that the Mainland Chinese residents do not belong to the Taiwanren group, and the positioning of the speaker’s ethnology identity, aboriginal, is taken in opposition to the other Mainlander identity in the utterance (DuBois, 2007; White, 2003; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

### (6) March 8

(謝馬誰能給女性幸福? 誰帥? 誰可靠? 一中市場找沒工? 找沒尢? 美夢? 惡夢? Who can give women happiness, Hsieh or Ma? Is the one-China market policy a sweet dream or a nightmare?)

- 1 我是一位二十八歲的原住民。針對中國的學歷，我是不贊成。因為我有一
- 2 個上班的同事，他是大陸人，那我問他說：「你是支持馬英九還是希望你們
- 3 大陸那邊的人來台灣？」他自己本身是大陸人，他也不贊成他們大陸的人
- 4 來台灣。

### Translation

- 1 I am a twenty-eight-year-old **aboriginal**. As to the academic diploma earned in
- 2 China, I think we should not recognize it. I have a colleague who is a

- 3 Mainlander. I asked him whether he supports Ma's policy of allowing **you**
- 4 **Mainlanders to come to Taiwan**. He himself who is a Mainlander also
- 5 disapproves of this policy.

#### 4.1.2 Identity Labels

The relationship between Taiwan and China in historical development complicates the identity issues among Taiwanren as discussed in 1.2. Public opinion surveys about the Taiwanren and Mainlander identity have been conducted by the election study center in National Chengchi University since 1992. When it came to 2009, almost thirteen times as many people regarded themselves as Taiwanren rather than Mainlanders. So explicit is the Taiwanren identity that it can be adopted as a label to identify the group boundary. The positioning of the Taiwanren identity enables individuals to be similar to other individuals (Kiesling, 2009) and hence achieves adequation.

When analyzing our data, we find that many instances of the identity label, Taiwanren, are preceded by the propositional “我們 (wo-men)”. According to Lakoff (1990), the propositional “we” in our data belongs to the audience-inclusive “我們 (wo-men)”, which functions as reinforcing the shared common interests with his/her audience to show solidarity with them. Thus, when the callers position “我們” as Taiwanren, the snapshot of not only subjectivity but also intersubjectivity is captured (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

To go a step further, the juxtaposition of the identity label and groups of people establishes a discursive ground for the adequation between the two groups. Extract 17 illustrates the point. In this extract, the caller described the scenario under which he participated in the DPP-held activity and equated those who attended the activity with the Taiwanren.

(7) March 17

(Freddy:一定逆轉勝! 靠這關鍵 5 天? 鎮壓西藏 中國今說是“清潔衛生” 恐怖? According to Freddy, the turn point of the election will come in five days? According to China, the incident of suppressing Tibet is reported to the cleaning activity?)

- 1 我上一週也有去參加那個百萬擊掌逆轉勝，感覺就是很多台灣人站出來，
- 2 表達自己的聲音。這種感覺很好就是台灣人自己出來決定自己的命運，勇
- 3 敢的表達自己的聲音。(…) 這陣子馬英九的誠信問題讓我有很大疑問，
- 4 他一直也沒有說明。(…)他會不會像宋楚瑜，現在跑到美國去了？那我們
- 5 台灣之後怎麼辦？我真的很怕，我覺得台灣人就是要挺台灣人；我們台灣
- 6 人就是要給真的愛台灣(的人) [cut off by the host]

### Translation

- 1 I attended the activity held by the DPP last week and saw a lot of Taiwanese
- 2 stand out to express their opinions. It is good that the Taiwanese determine their
- 3 own fate and express their opinions (...)Recently, I had my doubt about Ma's
- 4 honesty because he never clearly explained the green card issue (...) Will he be
- 5 like Soong, who fled to America? How about Taiwan's future? The Taiwanese
- 6 should back up only Taiwanese and the Taiwanese should choose the one who
- 7 really loves Taiwan [cut off by the host]

In Extract 7, there were five instances of Taiwanese; the former two were used by the caller to refer to those who participated in the activity (lines 1-2), and the latter

three implied those in-group members of Taiwanren, who didn't possess dual nationality (line 5). The first two instances are repetitively juxtaposed with the verb phrases, the subjects of which are inferred to be those who participated in the activity, including “參加那個百萬擊掌逆轉勝”, “站出來”, “表達自己的聲音”, “出來決定自己的命運”, “勇敢的表達自己的聲音” (lines 1-3). As one of the participants, the caller indirectly indexes the possession of the Taiwanren identity (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). As to the other instances of Taiwanese, according to the context, the caller first implied Ma's and Soong's possession of dual nationality which aroused “the question whether they will flee to America just like what Soong did (line 4)”, and further made the statement that “**台灣人就是要挺台灣人; 我們台灣人就是要給真的愛台灣(的人)** (line 5-6)”. These instances of Taiwanese have marked the contrast between those only with Taiwan nationality and those with both American and Taiwan nationalities. In this way, the caller identifies himself or herself as Taiwanren through an indexical process. According to Ochs (1992) and Silverstein (1985), the concept of indexicality associated with the speakers' cultural beliefs and values plays an important role in bridging linguistic forms and social meanings. Through identity labels, juxtaposition, and indexicality, the activity-participating individuals are ethnologically labeled as Taiwanren.

We also find that certain groups of people are identified as Taiwanren such as

the “young group” participating in the activity in Extracts 8 and “partisan members” in Extracts 9, as discussed below.

In Extracts 8, the repeated juxtaposition of the identity label Taiwanren and young people creates the relation of adequation. The young people who took part in the activity were labeled as the Taiwanese through the concept of inheritance, which will be further discussed in 4.1.3.

(8) March 16

(316 黃金周 剪刀交叉 謝會逆轉勝嗎? 台聯台南主委挺馬 馬:識時務! 恐怖? Does Hsieh have the chance to win the battle? Ma praises the support from the Tainan’s chairman of Taiwan Solidarity Union. )

- 1 在這個擊掌的過程當中，有很多阿伯會問說：「為什麼你們年輕人會想參加
- 2 這活動？」(...)今天的教育，如果台灣人無法自覺，把這個教育傳承下去，
- 3 我們爭取這麼多年來的民主，有可能在這個過程中斷層了，無法延續下去。
- 4 (...)也希望這些年輕人能繼續延續這樣的觀念，民主的力量能夠繼續傳承
- 5 下去。

### Translation

- 1 In this activity, many elderly people asked us why we would like to join the
- 2 activity (...) If the Taiwanese don’t teach their offspring the value of
- 3 democracy, the procedure of passing down the value of democracy might be cut
- 4 down, and democracy couldn’t probably be passed along (...) I hope these
- 5 young people can inherit the democratic concepts so that the power of
- 6 democracy can be passed down.

In addition, Taiwanren is also used to mark the partisan members. In Extract 9, by using the phrase “我希望我們台灣人：這些以前被騙的、藍營被洗腦的人，能稍微客觀一點，真的去體會一下。(line 3)”，the caller claimed that those who were

deceived or brainwashed by the pan-blue also belonged to the Taiwanese group.

(9) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 那高捷ㄉㄟ? 謝長廷在建設的時候, 被講到一無是處, 雞蛋裡挑骨頭說多黑
- 2 暗、貪汙! 現在, 這兩天要通車了, 大家再去看看。我希望我們台灣人這些
- 3 以前被騙的、藍營被洗腦的人, 能稍微客觀一點, 真的去體會 4 一下。(...)

### Translation

- 1 How about the MRT in Kaohsiung? During its construction, Hsieh was attacked
- 2 with smears and slanders. Now, the MRT is about to run. I hope we the
- 3 Taiwanese, including those who in the past have been deceived and
- 4 brainwashed by the pan-blue, can really experience it.

#### 4.1.3 Discourse Strategies

In addition to deixis and identity labels, we find that the adoption of discourse strategies works not only to assert the identification of a group but also to impose similarities on others (Hodges 2004). The discourse strategies examined in this study include juxtaposition, parallelism, negative lexicons and bei-contruction.

To begin with, the rhetorical strategy, juxtaposition, is found to be used to position the two entities within the same conceptual category defined by the concept of “inheritance”, “the right to decide on one’s own future”, and “the expression on political issue” respectively. In Extract 8, the members of the young people group and the Taiwanese are positioned within the concept of inheritance and marked by related



lexical descriptions such as “傳承下去”, “斷層”, “無法延續下去”, “延續這樣的觀念” and “繼續傳承下去”. The notion of passing along essence of Taiwanren’s education is repeatedly positioned with passing along the democratic moral values by young people. The rhetorical linking is highlighted in the continuation of the extract, and the rhetorical structure weaves an image of the identity label, Taiwanren, and the activity-participating young men as inseparable. Similarly, in Extract 1, the structure moves from “本來台灣人民有機會由住民來自決, 決定自己的前途 (line 2)” to “我們沒有其他的辦法來決定自己的命運 (line 4)”, and the notion of decision-making positions the two actors, Taiwan’s residents and “我們 (wo-men)” in the equivalent category, the decision makers of Taiwan’s destiny. As to Extract 7, the notion of the expression on political issue bridges the activity-participating citizens with the identity label, the Taiwanese, in phrases such as “參加那個百萬擊掌逆轉勝”, “台灣人站出來”, “台灣人表達自己的聲音”, “台灣人出來決定自己的命運”, “台灣人勇敢的表達自己的聲音”. From the discourse practice, the speaker’s identity as Taiwanren is emergent through indexicality in both excerpts (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

(8) March 16

(316 黃金周 剪刀交叉 謝會逆轉勝嗎? 台聯台南主委挺馬 馬:識時務! 恐怖?  
Does Hsieh have the chance to win the battle? Ma praises the support from the  
Tainan’s chairman of Taiwan Solidarity Union. )

1 在這個擊掌的過程當中, 有很多阿伯會問說: 「為什麼你們年輕人會想參加

- 2 這活動？」(...) 今天的教育，如果台灣人無法自覺，把這個教育傳承下去，  
3 我們爭取這麼多年來的民主，有可能在這個過程中斷層了，無法延續下去。  
4 (...) 也希望這些年輕人能繼續延續這樣的觀念，民主的力量能夠繼續傳承  
5 下去。

### Translation

- 1 In this activity, many elderly people asked us why we would like to join the  
2 activity (...)If the Taiwanese don't teach their offspring the value of democracy,  
3 the procedure of passing down the value of democracy might be cut down, and  
4 democracy couldn't probably be passed along (...) I hope these young people  
5 can inherit the democratic concepts so that the power of democracy can be  
6 passed down.

(1) March 17

(Freddy:一定逆轉勝! 靠這關鍵 5 天? 鎮壓西藏，中國今說是「清潔衛生」。恐怖?  
According to Freddy, the turning point of the election will come in five days?  
According to China, the incident of suppressing Tibet is reported to the cleaning  
activity?)

- 1 我們先說國民黨：跟日本戰輸了，台灣還給我們，交給民軍，本來台灣人  
2 民有機會由住民來自決，決定自己的前途，但是交託中國暫時來管。結果  
3 剛好那時候被共產黨打得走投無路，跑來台灣，結果被佔領，搬了一個中  
4 華民國來這裡。我們沒有其他的辦法來決定自己的命運，命運就徹徹底底  
5 變成這樣，變成中華民國。

### Translation

- 1 **Let's** talk about the KMT first. After Japan was defeated, Taiwan was supposed  
2 to be handed to **us**, and guarded by civil military temporarily. Before Taiwan  
3 was handed over to the KMT, citizens of Taiwan had the chance to determine  
4 the fate of Taiwan. China was able to ruin Taiwan temporarily. After the KMT  
5 were defeated by the Communists, they fled to Taiwan. Taiwan was named as  
6 ROC. We are not able to determine our own destiny and it is destined that  
7 Taiwan was turned into the ROC.

(7) March 17

(Freddy:一定逆轉勝! 靠這關鍵 5 天? 鎮壓西藏 中國今說是“清潔衛生” 恐怖?  
According to Freddy, the turn point of the election will come in five days? According  
to China, the incident of suppressing Tibet is reported to the cleaning activity?)

- 1 我上一週也有去參加那個百萬擊掌逆轉勝，感覺就是很多台灣人站出來，
- 2 表達自己的聲音。這種感覺很好就是台灣人自己出來決定自己的命運，勇
- 3 敢的表達自己的聲音。(…)

### Translation

- 1 I attended the activity held by the DPP last week and saw a lot of Taiwanese
- 2 stand out to express their opinions. It is good that the Taiwanese determine
- 3 their own fate and express their opinions (...)

Likewise, the relation of adequation is constructed in the callers' statements as they evaluate themselves and others by means of parallelism and negative lexicons. In Extract 10, the similarities between the KMT and the PRC are imposed by the caller in the parallel structures when she responds to the discussed issue "Tibet is suppressed by the PRC under the peace agreement. Will Taiwan become the second Tibet?" In the beginning, the caller explicitly enunciates her conclusion as "I think the KMT and the PRC are relatives." The following are two explanations for this conclusion in the form of parallel structures. According to the caller, in the first explanation, the comparison between the KMT and the PRC is displayed in three layers of parallelism, including the subjects "the KMT vs. the PRC's media", the temporal markers "before vs. now", and the objects "the DPP mobs vs. the Tibet mobs". What's more, in line 3, the second parallel structure comes in terms of the negative lexicon, "侵占 (occupy)". The in-group marker, "我們 (wo-men)", acts as the object of the verb phrase "侵占", while the agents of the negative characteristic "侵占" feature the out-groups, as in "中國共產黨侵占我們的古坑咖啡" and "國民黨侵占民進黨的創意 (line 2)". The

rhetorical structures of these two sentences weave together an image of the KMT and the PRC as inseparable, both of which describe the democracy claiming DPP and the Tibet citizens as mobs. These discursive practices reveal the speaker's stancetaking in opposition with both the KMT and the PRC. Meanwhile, the distinction between the perpetrators, the KMT and the PRC, and the victims "the DPP and the Tibet citizens" is salient.

(10) March 15

(有和平協定仍鐵腕鎮壓西藏 台灣要? 一中市場 追求經濟 政治統一 你要?)

With the peace agreement, PRC still suppresses Tibet? Is it what Taiwan wants? The one-China market policy is equal to the unification of economy and politics, do you accept that?)

- 1 我覺得中國國民黨跟共產黨真的是一家人。像中國國民黨以前，反民進
- 2 黨爭民主爭總統民選，說他們是暴民；現在中共的媒體，說西藏在爭民
- 3 主，也說他們是暴民。那中國共產黨侵占我們的古坑咖啡甚麼的，那國
- 4 民黨侵占民進黨的創意，所以我真的覺得他們是一家人

### Translation

- 1 I think the KMT and the PRC are relatives. In the past, the KMT objected to
- 2 DPP's fighting for the democracy and the Presidential election and called them
- 3 mobs. Now PRC's media also calls Tibetans mobs. The PRC plagiarizes our
- 4 coffee brand and the KMT plagiarizes DPP's idea. So I think they are members
- 5 of a family.

Last, in Extract 9, the “被 (bei)” construction distinguishes between the inflectors from the victims. According to Chiu and Chi's (1999) study, in recent years, linguists tend to consider that the “被 (bei)” construction contains pejorative meaning.

Both the actions “被騙” and “被洗腦” describe adversities and the agents of the actions can't be identified. The objects of the actions can be argued to be the different group from the abridged agents as in Extract 9. Hence, the juxtaposition of “我們” the Taiwanese and the deceived and brainwashed people in the pan-blue camp reinforces the conceptual link between the two and they are different from the omitted agents, the out-group members.

(9) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 那高捷ㄉㄟ? 謝長廷在建設的時候, 被講到一無是處, 雞蛋裡挑骨頭說多黑
- 2 暗、貪汙! 現在, 這兩天要通車了, 大家再去看看。我希望我們台灣人這些
- 3 以前被騙的、藍營被洗腦的人, 能稍微客觀一點, 真的去體會一下。(...)

### **Translation**

- 1 How about the MRT in Kaohsiung? During its construction, Hsieh was attacked
- 2 with smears and slanders. Now, the MRT is about to run. I hope we the
- 3 Taiwanese, including those who in the past have been deceived and
- 4 brainwashed by the pan-blue, can really experience it.

#### **4.1.4 Interactions among Identity, Deixis, Lexicon, and Other Devices**

In the collected data, we find that the relation of adequation can hardly be achieved through the adoption of single linguistic devices but through multiple linguistic devices. The mixed use of identity labels and deixis can be found in Extracts 1, 5, 6 and 7. The mixed use of identity labels, deixis and bei-construction can be

found in Extract 9. The instance of mixed use of identity labels and juxtaposition is 8. Extract 10 is the representation of the mixed use of parallelism, negative lexicons and deixis. Furthermore, the intersubjectively constructed tactic, adequation, from time to time appears with its counterpart, distinction, as in Extracts 1, 5, and 10. The specific analysis of distinction will be discussed in the following section.

#### **4.2 Devices that Achieve Distinction**

Distinction, the counterpart of adequation, focuses on the identity relation of differentiation (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). In this section, several linguistic devices are found to have achieved distinction. The discussions will be presented in order of deixis (64.5%), identity label (25.8%), discourse devices (32.3%), to negative verbs & bei-contruction (12.9%). The instances of adopting deixis device will be divided into those only using pronouns and those using both pronouns and demonstratives. The pronoun instances will further be subdivided into four major types, including “我們” vs. “他們”, “我們” vs. “你們”, “我們” vs. “你們” vs. “他們”, and “你們” or “他們” without “我們”. The second device is identity label, which is divided into those with other groups and those without other groups. As to the part of discourse device, five subtypes are analyzed, inclusive of those with semantic opposites, negative markers, contrastive markers, rhetorical questions, and codeswitching.

### 4.2.1 Deixis

The number of the instances containing the linguistic device, deixis, which is used to distance two categories is forty (64.5%). The frequency is the highest among all distinction devices. The data can be further divided into two kinds, those containing pronouns and those containing both pronouns and demonstratives. As to the former, four subtypes are categorized, including “我們 vs. 他們”, “我們 vs. 你們”, “我們 vs. 你們 vs. 他們” and “without 我們”. The analyses will be presented in order of explicitness of referents from the most explicit to the least explicit in every subtype.

To begin with, in the category of “我們 vs. 他們”, there are three subtypes— “我們” or “他們” followed by referents, neither “我們” nor “他們” followed by referents, and the appearance of either “我們” or “他們”. In Reagan’s speech, he regards the world as being divided into a virtuous we (i.e., good Americans) and an evil they (i.e., bad Soviets) to manipulate his dichotomous rhetoric of we vs. they (Halmari, 1993). In addition, Cameron (1997) examines the contrast between identification of non-present males as gays and that of the evaluators themselves as heterosexual men through the contents of gossip. In the excerpt in question, the most explicit distinction instance can be found in Example 10, in which both referents are preceded by pronouns as shown in “他國民黨 (line 1)” and “我們民進黨 (line 3)”. In this way,

the group boundary is salient and the caller aggrandizes the discrepancy between his in-group identity of a DPP member and the out-group KMT. In Example 11, the identity of “三個立委” is first indexed as those who are capable of turning Taiwan into a refugee camp (line 2-3), and then the speaker’s stance toward them is changed into entities indexed as “亡國之徒” or “亡國奴” (line 4). The interpretation of multiple identities is constructed in the view of Le Page that utterance is an “act of identity”, and is based on the partial character of identity (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). No matter which referents of “他們” are, the members of which belong to a group different from the Taiwanren group.

(10) March 18

(一中市場 勞工害怕? 相信馬的話? 謝:現在正值黃金交叉 逆轉成真?)

Are the labor afraid of the one-China market policy? According to Hsieh, he has the chance to win the battle?)

- 1 我覺得他國民黨的資源真的很多。因為像我們汐止，就很少看到民進黨的
- 2 宣傳車或旗子，可是國民黨的宣傳車在還沒選舉，前兩個月，就在汐止這
- 3 裡跑，所以我就覺得它的資源真的很多，所以我們民進黨真的要團結，不
- 4 要被國民黨的人(...)

### Translation

- 1 I think the resources from the KMT are way too many. Here in Si-chi, we rarely
- 2 see DPP’s election campaign car and flag, but KMT’s vehicles started marching
- 3 two months ago. So I think its resources are too many. We DPP should really
- 4 unite.

(11) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh’s headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT’s



legislators robbers?)

- 1 我看那三個立委，他們是有恃無恐。對於這種行為好像目無法紀，反正中
- 2 華民國已經變成中國國民黨的啦！我比較好奇的是說，他們是不是要把這
- 3 裡變成漢人居住的難民營？如果我們台灣人有那個意識或沒有那個意識到
- 4 說這些是來自中國的亡國之徒，我們不好意思說亡國奴，他們很多思維都
- 5 是從這邊認知的。如果繼續讓這些人保有台灣，真的是古時候的人說的國
- 6 之將亡必有妖孽，真的是不是人所該做的行為。

### Translation

- 1 The three legislators are emboldened and brazen. The KMT has possessed the
- 2 ruling power of the ROC. I wonder if they would like to change this place into a
- 3 refugee camp for the Chinese. If we Taiwanren don't realize that these are
- 4 outcasts of China, or those leading the country to an end, and if we let these
- 5 people control the ruling power of Taiwan, this country will be destroyed soon.
- 6 What they have done is beyond normal people's understanding.

Likewise, “我們台灣人 (line 4) and 我們台灣 (line 6)” in Example 12, “我們挺綠的” in Example 13, “我們大學生” in Example 14, and “我們綠營 (line 1)” in Example 15 have the same effects with “我們台灣人” in Example 11, and they are distinction tactics which are proposed as in-group markers in contrast to the out-group members shown in the form of the third plural pronoun, “他們”. The referents of in-group members in these examples are clearer than those of out-group members which can be found in the context though not followed after the out-group marker “他們”. In addition, the callers aligned themselves with the members shown in the identity label (Taiwanren) to achieve the intersubjective tactic, adequation. The argument that the pairs of adequation and distinction are intertwined with but not

excluded from each other is proved again.

(12) March 8

(謝馬誰能給女性幸福? 誰帥? 誰可靠? 一中市場找沒工? 找沒尤? 美夢? 惡夢?  
Who can give women happiness, Hsieh or Ma? Is the one-China market policy a  
sweet dream or a nightmare?)

- 1 我現在在鳳山這邊，有見識到很多大陸結婚來的女生在上班(...) 各行各業
- 2 都有，但他們沒有工作權，他們都很年輕，不可能嫁了好幾年。他們沒有
- 3 工作權就已經佔了台灣人的工作權 (...) 如果要承認中國學歷，是不是我
- 4 們的下一代廣告看板都要改成簡體字，那我們台灣人要怎麼看呢?(...) 大
- 5 陸人就是來台灣撈錢，不管是不是已經結婚，他們就是說有賺到錢就是要
- 6 回到大陸去風光，然後換下一批的人再來，那我們台灣是不是只能當跳板？

#### Translation

- 1 I live in Fengshan. I met with many Chinese women working here (...) in all
- 2 walks of life due to the marriage relationship with citizens in Taiwan. However,
- 3 they don't have the right to work. (...)They are usually young. They have not
- 4 lived here long enough to get the work permit. If the Chinese diploma is
- 5 recognized, shouldn't we change the words on billboards into simplified
- 6 Chinese? There is no way that we Taiwanren could understand it. Mainland
- 7 Chinese come to Taiwan only for money. Once they have made enough money,
- 8 they will go back to China. Then, another group of people will come to Taiwan.
- 9 Is our Taiwan only their springboard?

(13) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better,  
Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 我周邊的人，真的是挺馬英九的比較多。不過相對的因為他們講話比較大
- 2 聲，所以讓我們挺綠的都不太講話。

#### Translation

- 1 Among the people around me, more support Ma. They usually speak louder
- 2 than us who support the pan-green.

(14) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 我覺得謝長廷總部應該多派一些人到各大學來宣揚他們的理念，因為我們
- 2 大學生很多都是沒有在看電視，甚至也沒有看報紙，都是在看網路。

### Translation

- 1 The Hsieh camp should assign more people to universities to propagate their
- 2 ideas. Many university students don't watch TV or read newspapers but just
- 3 browse the Internet.

(15) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 我這邊有兩個事情要跟大家說：第一、我懇請我們綠營的民眾一定要冷靜
- 2 我們千萬不能中了他們的圈套，然後一定要去投票，制裁他們。第二、我
- 3 希望中間選民能想想：國民黨國會一黨獨大了，就已經囂張成這個樣子了。
- 4 那如果再當上總統的話，後果應該不堪設想！

### Translation

- 1 I have two points to say. First, I beg our pan-green people to remain calm. We
- 2 can't jump into their trap, and we must go to vote to punish them. Second, I
- 3 hope the dangling voters can think it over. KMT members' arrogance should be
- 4 taken into consideration. If he is elected President, the consequences will be
- 5 disastrous.

The second subtype of the categorization, “我們 vs. 他們”, focuses on instances with referents which are preceded with neither “我們” nor “他們” such as “他們沒有那個觀念” in Extract 16. Although the pronouns are not immediately followed by the referents, they are inferred from the contexts, the audience's background knowledge

and the discussed issues. To begin with, the referents of the pronouns are more explicit in Example 16, 17, 18 and 19 than other Examples in this section because the referents can be retrieved from the contexts. Based on the contexts, the aggrandizement of group boundaries is marked through the adoption of pronouns and the callers position themselves as in-group members of “我們” referring to Taiwan citizens in contrast to “他們” referring to the PRC citizens in Example 16, “本土的國民黨員 (line 1)” in contrast to “非本土的國民黨員” in Example 19, and “我們” in contrast to the out-group members of “擋預算的國民黨立委” in Example 18 and “中國大陸” in Example 17. In addition, the use of the first plural person pronoun positions the callers as in-group members of Taiwan citizens as far as the nationality issue is concerned in Example 16 and 17. Concerning the political party issue, the caller’s stance against KMT is demonstrated in Example 18 through the KMT’s behavior of blocking the passing of the government expenditure (line 4), which draining of Taiwan’s opportunity to participate in the international affairs. To go a step further, from the claim made by the caller that he is a Taiwan support in line 1, the behavior of the KMT distances themselves from the Taiwan group. Especially, the political stance toward the subgroup of the pan-blue group is claimed in Example 19, in which the caller positions himself as an in-group member of “本土的國民黨員” and distinguishes himself from the other subgroup of the KMT, “非本土的國民黨

員”。

(16) March 11

(一中市場後 台灣製=中國製 你要? 一中市場 醫師,律師也拒絕?

After the one-China market, is the made-in-Taiwan equal to the made-in-China? Do doctors and lawyers also refuse the one-China market policy?)

- 1 我們都知道大陸模仿能力很強，他們沒有那種智慧財產權。到時候整個台
- 2 灣都是仿冒品。其次，他們根本不用進來，他直接在台灣設廠，他就可以
- 3 把你搞得一蹋糊塗。他們是共產國家，以國家的力量在背後來跟你民間打。
- 4 這樣子我們怎麼打？

#### Translation

- 1 We all know that China is good at imitation and they don't have the concept of
- 2 Intellectual Property Rights. In time, Taiwan will be full of counterfeit goods.
- 3 Next, without coming here in person, they will still beat you down by setting up
- 4 factories in Taiwan. A Communist country like them will compete with you
- 5 with all the country's resources. How could we win over this battle?

(17) March 10

(馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?

Without the one-China market policy, are Ma's economic policies equal to none?

According to Ma, foreigners can't attend certificate examination but their academic backgrounds will be admitted?)

- 1 我跟同學有在聊，有些同學意見是說：不一定他這樣實施下來，不一定人
- 2 民會偏向想要統一。我跟他說，我不這樣認為。我覺得好壞 我們都是一個
- 3 國家。以前中國大陸比較差，我們不想統一。然後他們變好了，我們就想
- 4 統一，這是不對的。

#### Translation

- 1 After the chat between my classmates and me, they concluded that maybe
- 2 people will tend to favor unification. I disagreed with them on this point. No
- 3 matter what happens, we are still a country. It is incorrect to refuse the
- 4 possibility of unification in the past and agree to reunite with China now
- 5 because China is more powerful economically.

(18) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 我是七年級生，我今年沒有投票權，可是我支持台灣。民進黨做不好，大
- 2 家都知道，可是誰有資格講，國民黨沒有資格講，因為他們立委過半，擋
- 3 預算我們都看得到。我常跟我同學講：要跟你父母親講說入聯一定要過，因
- 4 為入聯代表台灣，台灣主權如果出去，台灣讓人家看得到，國民黨擋，我
- 5 們也看得到，就讓他一直擋吧！

### Translation

- 1 I was born in the seventies of the period of the Republic. I have no right to vote
- 2 and I support Taiwan. It is known that the DPP didn't perform well but the
- 3 KMT has no right to criticize the DPP. The KMT occupied over half of the seats
- 4 in the Legislative Yuan and blocked the passing of the government expenditure.
- 5 I ask my classmates to tell their parents to support the referendum on joining
- 6 the UN. The referendum represents the sovereignty of Taiwan. If the KMT
- 7 keeps blocking it, let them do that.

(19) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 我是本土的國民黨員。我覺得今天國民黨做得是很丟臉，好像強盜土匪一
- 2 樣。我要呼籲本土的國民黨員要支持為台灣，不要讓這群像土匪的人糟蹋
- 3 我們。(…) 難道這個國家比共產黨還土匪，難道台灣人都這樣沒有志氣，
- 4 還讓他們這樣下去？

### Translation

- 1 I am a local member of the KMT. What the KMT has done today is shameful
- 2 and like a bandit. I want to call on all local members of the KMT to support
- 3 Taiwan and stop these bandit-like people from humiliating us. Should this
- 4 country be ruined by these people? Should Taiwanren let them keep doing this?

In addition to the contexts, the referents of the pronoun can be retrieved from the audience's background knowledge. As to Example 20 and 21, the audience's familiarity to the proper nouns may influence their interpretation of the referents of the pronouns, as shown in one-China-market policy “一中市場” and the cross-strait common market policy “兩岸共同市場”. Basically speaking, the targets referred in the two policies are the same, Taiwan and Mainland China. Hence, as long as the audiences are familiar with the terms, the in-group marker “我們” can be easily positioned as Taiwan in contrast to the out-group marker “他們” referring to Mainland China. What's more, the callers' stance toward nationality is displayed as Taiwanren. As to Example 22, the background knowledge of the winner of the legislator election in 2006 is required when the individuals tend to pry into the caller's political stance. As long as the cognition that the winner was the KMT is retrieved, it is not difficult for the audiences to position the caller's political stance against the KMT by means of referring the KMT as “他們”, an out-group marker.

(20) March 9

(總統辯論 謝馬治國能力 誰好? 74%不同意承認學歷 55%反一中市場 百姓憂?  
Based on the presidential debate, whose executive ability is better, Ma or Hsieh?  
Seventy four percent of citizens disagree to admit foreigners' academic background and fifty five percent of citizens are against the one-market policy.)

- 1 再來就是一中市場，我八十歲的阿公他都知道，一中市場應該是要兩個國
- 2 家平等，水準可以互通的，才可以是一中市場。到目前為止我們已經不是
- 3 很平等了，而且他們還高出我們一截，所以怎麼可能會說我們要甚麼就會
- 4 有甚麼，我們不要甚麼，他們就真的不會給我們甚麼東西，這是不合理的。

## Translation

- 1 As to the one-China market policy, even my eighty-year-old grandfather knows
- 2 that this can only be implemented when the two involved countries are equal
- 3 in politics. So far, we are not equal or their political backup is more powerful
- 4 than ours. Hence, to demand only what we want and to refuse what we don't
- 5 want are impossible and unreasonable for us

(21) March 10

(馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?  
Without the one-China market policy, are Ma's economic policies equal to none?  
According to Ma, foreigners can't attend certificate examination but their academic  
backgrounds will be admitted?)

- 1 我是從國外回來的，我今年二十四歲，是一個上班族。兩岸共同市場當然
- 2 對台灣衝擊會很大。那既然他這樣開放的話，那我們這些從國外回來，想
- 3 要在台灣發展定居的人要怎麼辦？我們也是要跟他們搶 也是對我們有很
- 4 大的衝擊。

## Translation

- 1 I come back to Taiwan from the foreign country. I am a twenty-four-year office
- 2 employee. The cross-strait common market policy will definitely have a great
- 3 impact on Taiwan's economy. Since the policy stands for openness, as one
- 4 members of those who come back from abroad, what should we do? If we are
- 5 required to compete with them?

(22) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?  
Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's  
legislators robbers?)

- 1 當初立委選舉他們贏四分之三的時候，我第一件事情就是去部落格把我所
- 2 有的文章刪掉，因為我很害怕白色恐怖。反正從小就是那個環境，他們說
- 3 的都是對的，他們都有他們的理由，就像剛剛那件事情一樣。明明是他們
- 4 的錯，可是馬英九剛剛說甚麼，他說他譴責暴力，明明就是他先到人家
- 5 裡踹門的，然後現在又說暴力。所以你不覺得很不公平嗎？都是他們說的
- 6 對，所以立法院是他們開的；法院是他們開的，甚麼都是他們的，那我



## 7 們還搞甚麼？

### Translation

1 After they won the legislative election, the first thing I did was to delete all the  
2 articles I had written in my blog because I was afraid of the white terror. All  
3 the time, what they said was right and they all had their reasons, just like what  
4 happened in that event. Evidently, the fault was all theirs. Ma said he  
5 condemned violence but it was they who kicked the door hard first. Don't you  
6 think it is unfair? What they say is correct. They control the Legislative Yuan,  
7 the court, etc. What should we do then?

As to Examples 23 and 24, the referents of the pronouns are implied in the discussed issues. From the discussed issue in March 16<sup>th</sup>, “After the acceptance of the labor, agriculture products, academic backgrounds, Ma still pursues unification” the source providing these products refers to the PRC. According to the context, the use of “我們” demonstrates the caller’s stance toward nationality, Taiwan, in contrast to the PRC. On the other hand, the two compared targets shown in the discussed issue in March 7<sup>th</sup>, “Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?” and the fact that the KMT indeed overtakes the DPP weave together an image that the KMT is the out-group as shown in “現在他們贏那麼多 (line 1)” in contrast to “我們”. Hence, the caller’s political stance towards the DPP and against the KMT is exhibited.

#### (23) March 16

(勞工,農產品,學歷來 馬又要統一 誰還抗衡? 簽了和平協定 中國仍鎮壓西藏台灣?)

After the acceptance of the labor, agriculture products, academic backgrounds, Ma still pursues unification. Who will play the role of counterbalance? After the peace treaty, China still suppresses Tibet, how about Taiwan?)

- 1 現在時間來不及了啦，要不然我也要去登記參選。我的政見就一個，就讓
- 2 他們每個人給我們一億。我們要的就給我們 我們不要的他們都不能來

### Translation

- 1 It is too late for me to register as a candidate. I have only one political platform,
- 2 namely, they should give each of us one hundred million dollars. We have the
- 3 rights to demand everything we want and refuse anything we don't like.

(24) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 剛才講到綠卡的問題，現在他們贏那麼多，他當然不會理我們。就好像
- 2 我們那麼籃球對大陸一樣，對不對！我們再怎麼拼，還是打不贏他們。他
- 3 就不拼了，他派三軍四軍來跟你打就好了，他就不要回應。

### Translation

- 1 We were talking about the green card issue, now that they have had a landslide
- 2 victory, they don't need to care about your opinions. Like the basketball team
- 3 we sent to China, no matter how hard we tried, we would still fail to beat them.
- 4 They can send out second-string or third-string players to play with us.

The third subtype of the categorization, “我們 vs. 他們” focuses on the instances in which contain either “我們” or “他們”. According to Tsang and Wong’s analysis (2004), the performer in a Hong Kong Stand-up comedy positions himself as an evaluator, and aligns himself with Hong Kong people by the adoption of the first-person plural pronoun to construct a Hong Kong identity. Likewise, in excerpts in question, the identity of Kaohsiung people as shown in “我們高雄人 (line 1)” in Example 25, that of Taiwanren as shown in “我們台灣人 (line 2)” in Example 26,

and that of Taiwan as shown in “我們台灣 (line 1)” in Example 27 are constructed.

In addition, the speaker’s negative stance is shown toward the entities combined with the out-group marker, “他們”, as shown in “國民黨他們” in Example 28, “聯合報和中國時報他們” in Example 29. According to Chen’s analysis (2007) of the speech delivered by Ronald Reagan on television in 1984, he considers Reagan’s use of the pronoun “we” inclusive of Reagan himself and his audience simultaneously constructs the assumption of the existence of “you” or “they”. In similar fashion, the existence of the other group is constructed as “非高雄人” in Example 25, “非台灣人” in Example 26, “非台灣” in Example 27, “非國民黨” in Example 28, and “非聯合報和中國時報” in Example 29. As to Example 30, the group boundary is denoted by the word, “來 (lai)”, in “以前國民黨剛來的時候”. According to Lee (2008), “來 (lai)” indicates the spatial movement of an entity from a point of origin to a point of destination. In addition to the motional feature, the word “來 (lai)” presupposes a particular vantage point, from which an entity moves to the terminal or toward the location of the speaker. In the example in question, the KMT’s terminal point of “來 (lai)” is obviously Taiwan, which is different from its source point. However, the referents of “我們” undertake no moving process. The contrast between the out-group KMT immigrating from another place but Taiwan and the in-group “我們” distances the caller from the out-group. Hence, the construction of the caller’s political stance

against the KMT is implied. Concerning Example 31, following the discussed topic, “Does KMT plagiarize DPP’s creativity to wear caps upside down and give me five in the parade?” the caller continues pointing out that the behavior of plagiarizing other’s ideas of creativity is regarded as disrespectful, as shown in “像這種歷史古蹟，他們一點都不尊重”. Based on the discussed topic, the referents of “他們” are referred to the KMT. What’s more, along with the group marker, “他們”, the negative connotations of the words, “plagiarize” and “disrespect”, establishes a clear negative stance toward the KMT.

(25) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 剛才主持人有講到水的問題，我們高雄人買水買了好幾十年。為什麼會買
- 2 水？也是國民黨造成的。

### Translation

- 1 Like what the host just said, we Kaohsiung citizens have bought water for
- 2 decades. Why do we need to buy water? It was all KMT’s fault.

(26) March 11

(經濟緊靠中國=胰島素 台灣=糖尿病人? 香港回歸中國 為何富越富 貧越貧?)

Is Taiwan analogized as the diabetes patient when its economy is tied to China? After Hong Kong returned to China, why are the rich richer, the poor poorer?)

- 1 剛剛有人在說考試，怕大陸人考試考不贏我們。不好意思，請他到北京看
- 2 一下，補習班很多，怎麼可能考不贏我們台灣人？

### Translation

- 1 I want to respond to the previous viewpoint that Chinese perform worse than us

- 2 in examination. There are a lot of cram schools in Beijing. How could it be
- 3 possible for us Taiwanren to perform better than them?

(27) March 10

(馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說? Without the one-China market policy, are Ma's economic policies equal to none? According to Ma, foreigners can't attend certificate examination but their academic backgrounds will be admitted?)

- 1 共同市場說歐盟和東協都是國對國，我們台灣沒有國，我們台灣入聯才像
- 2 是一個國家，共同市場，中國大陸會承認你嗎？你是他的地區(...)

### Translation

- 1 According to the cross-strait common market policy, the trades between the EU
- 2 and the ASEAN are based on the premise that members of both groups are
- 3 admitted as countries. Taiwan is not considered as a country by others. So, we
- 4 need to join the UN as a country. Is it possible for China to adopt this policy?
- 5 You are just one of his provinces(...)

(28) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 如果長昌真的逆轉勝，國民黨輸得起嗎？(...) 因為國民黨他們的觀念就是
- 2 一加一等於二，他們就覺得他很有優勢，可是他就是輸不起。

### Translation

- 1 If Hsieh won eventually, would the KMT have accepted the failure? The KMT
- 2 thought they were likely to win the battle, but the truth was that they couldn't
- 3 afford to lose

(29) March 16

(勞工,農產品,學歷來 馬又要統一 誰還抗衡? 簽了和平協定 中國仍鎮壓西藏 台灣?)

After the acceptance of the labor, agriculture products, academic backgrounds, Ma still pursues unification. Who will play the role of counterbalance? After the peace treaty, China still suppresses Tibet, how about Taiwan?)

- 1 台北市那個聯合報和中國時報他們常常會免費提供一份報紙給每一班的學生，
- 2 他們這樣就是對我們下一代的思想改造。

### Translation

- 1 The *United Daily News* and the *China Times* often provide newspapers for the
- 2 students for free. They attempted to remold the minds of our offspring.

(30) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 假如又被中國統一的話，像以前國民黨剛來的時候，四萬元換一塊的時候，
- 2 我們都沒有錢了，大家要考慮一下口袋的 money money。

### Translation

- 1 If Taiwan is annexed by China again just like sixty years ago, our property
- 2 would shrink greatly due to the fluctuation of the exchange rate.

(31) March 15

(藍:四立委硬闖 是陷阱? 真道歉? 反戴帽、擊掌 藍營「剽竊」? 年輕人同意?)

Based on KMT, are the four legislators being set? Is this a real apology? Does KMT plagiarize DPP's creativity to wear caps upside down and give me five in the parade? Will young people agree to the act?)

- 1 今天他對創意的不尊重，還有對創意的剽竊，很久以來就是一個邏輯性的。
- 2 因為他對中山橋、圓環，像這種歷史古蹟，他們一點都不尊重。(…) 就像
- 3 今天他們也是沒有考慮到對方的想法和創意， 完全就是以剽竊的方式，那
- 4 還說保護台灣的文化呢！

### Translation

- 1 It is inevitable for him to be not respectful of creativity but plagiarize it. What
- 2 they did to the historic monuments was disrespectful. What they did today
- 3 showed that they were ignorant of others' thoughts and creativity. To
- 4 plagiarize others' creativity can't be regarded as the way of protecting Taiwan's
- 5 culture.

The above analysis focuses primarily on the distinction pronoun device, “我們 vs. 他們”, and discusses how the callers construct their nationality and political identities through the stancetaking device. Different from the previous one, the following takes the second subtype of the distinction pronoun device, “我們 vs. 你們”, as center of investigation. In Example 21 and 32, the callers adopt the in-group marker “我們” to include themselves and extend the range of reference. In contrast to the in-group members, the callers emphasize the differences between the two groups as shown in the salient out-group marker consisting of the plural out-group pronoun and its referent as shown in “你們國民黨”. In this way, the political stance toward the KMT is not favored by the callers. As to Example 33, although the out-group referent, the KMT, is not preceded by its pronoun, their relation is quite explicit according to the context. According to Bucholtz and Hall’s analysis (2005), middle-class European American 17-year-old girls position themselves as different kinds of teenagers with different innovative quotative markers, and tend to position others with negative evaluations and themselves with positive ones. In the excerpt in question, the contrast between “你們” and “我們” is highlighted in the complementary pair, “亂 vs. 安定”. That the negative connotation of the word, “亂”, is applied to describe the out-group denotes the caller’s clear negative stance toward the KMT. In contrast, in Example 34, the in-group is more salient as shown in the Taiwanese phrase “咱台灣人”, in which

the employment of “咱 (lan)” in Southern Min, according to Huang (1959), adds the speaker’s intimacy with the addressees. In addition, the shift from the second singular person pronoun to the second plural person pronoun extends the scope of the pronoun, which categorizes the referent of “你 (ni)”, “許委員”, as a member of the out-group and creates a strengthening effect on the out-group members in contrast to the Taiwanren in-group. Particularly, the differences between the two groups are aggrandized in the phrase “你們都昧著良心說瞎話”, which denotes the negative characteristic of the out-group KMT. Thus, the KMT is not favored when it comes to the caller’s stance to the political party. Especially, in Example 35, the analysis of the dramatic “你們 (ni-men)” is based on Biq’s (1991) study of the dramatic use of “你 (ni)” in conversational Mandarin. According to Biq, when “你 (ni)” is used in the dramatized utterances, there will be a role shift from the actual discourse to the situation being described. Additionally, Lin (1993) claims that all the personal pronouns can be applied. Therefore, the dramatic use also applies to “你們 (ni-men)” in this example where at first, the caller is an in-group member of Taiwan citizens as shown in “我們人民 (line 2)”; in the following, a dramatized utterance is made by the caller in “你們不准給我公投”, the speaker of which is the KMT. According to Biq (1991) and Lin (1993), the role of the caller shifts from the speaker of the current discourse to the speaker of the described situation in which the statement is imaginary.



The audiences of the described situation are “你們” whose referents are Taiwan citizens who are qualified to vote in a referendum. As observed, the referents of “我們” and “你們” are the same, Taiwan’s citizens. The interchange between the actual role and the described role provides a vivid image that “我們人民” and the KMT belong to different groups, and the caller’s preference to the former instead of the latter as far as the political stance is concerned.

(21) March 10

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 蕭萬長先生講的五十年後經濟會如何，那是在講說如果你們國民黨當選的
- 2 話，是不是台灣大選會沒有？現在國會你們已經過半，你們將來可以罷免
- 3 總統當選人。你們如果在講五十年之後會怎樣，是不是再告訴我們五十年
- 4 後已經沒有甚麼總統大選了。還會有台灣的存在嗎？

### Translation

- 1 Is Mr. Siao’s policy the same as saying that Taiwan’s elections will be canceled
- 2 if you KMT wins the election? You have occupied over half of the seats in the
- 3 Parliament, which means that you are equipped with devices to recall the
- 4 President. Do the things fifty years later told by you include the disappearance
- 5 of the Presidential election? Will Taiwan still exist at that time?

(32) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 那我想要反駁一下許舒博委員他的一句話，如果今天我們在這個時候，如
- 2 果阿扁總統要求要加每個人的薪水的時候，請問一下，你們國民黨會不會
- 3 又覺得是選舉操弄？

### Translation

- 1 I want to refute what Legislator Shih said. If President Chen requests salary
- 2 raise for every civil servant at this time, will you KMT consider it an election
- 3 ploy?

(33) March 17

(中藏和平協議 有用? 馬的和平協定 你要? 被屠殺 西藏沒有選擇 台灣卻還要一中市場?)

Is the peace agreement between China and Tibet practical? Will you accept the treaty proposed by Ma?)

- 1 希望國民黨不要再用似是而非，甚至是避重就輕的說法來說服人民。(…)
- 2 你們已經五十多年都不負責任了，你們沒有資格說這句話。現在八年做得
- 3 還不錯，我們需要一個安定的生活，我希望你們不要再亂了(…)

### Translation

- 1 I hope the KMT can stop evading the issue or cheating the people with specious
- 2 statements. You have held the reins of power for over fifty years and you deny
- 3 your responsibility. So you have no rights to say this. In the past eight years,
- 4 we have lived a good life. We need a stable life, so please stop creating
- 5 disturbances.

(34) March 10

(馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?)

Without the one-China market policy, are Ma's economic policies equal to none?

According to Ma, foreigners can't attend certificate examination but their academic backgrounds will be admitted?)

- 1 <T 許委員，我覺得咱台灣人又，為了要當官，這回跟馬英九拼得很累。
- 2 你回去問你老婆，因為馬英九沒有優點讓你講 T>，你們都昧著良心講。跟
- 3 外省講事情：“筷子一放，甚麼都忘”，<T 台灣人佔不到好處 T。>

### Translation

- 1 Legislator Shih, we Taiwanren are dog-tired and exhausted in this election
- 2 competing with Ma because those who would like to be high-ranking officials.
- 3 What you said is against the truth and Ma processes no virtues. Taiwanren gain
- 4 no advantage when discussing with Waishengren. After you put down the
- 5 chopsticks, what you have agreed is also gone.

(35) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 入聯是政治人物吵起來的，民意現在就是要入聯，人民最大，不管有沒有
- 2 大選(...) 國民黨出來跟我們講說現在不是我們人民做主，現在是國民黨做
- 3 主，「你們不准給我公投」難道是這樣子嗎？

### Translation

- 1 The issue of joining the UN is raised by politicians. People clearly demand that
- 2 the referendum be conducted no matter whether there is an election or not. (...)
- 3 However, the KMT tell us that we are not the decision makers but they are.
- 4 You are not allowed to hold the referendum. Is that so?

In addition, in Example 36, the instance of “你們 (ni-men)” is used in a direct quotation of an imaginary conversation. According to the extract, the expression which introduces the quotation shows that the quote refers to an invented scenario, or it is called “an impossible quote” based on Mayes (1990). In the excerpt in question, in the quotation, the addressees of the speaker are shifted from the host and the audience in front of the television to only KMT members as shown in “只能跟國民黨的說”. Concerning the referents of “他們 (ta-men)”, from the call-in topic, they are inferred to be pan-blue legislators. As a matter of fact, the referents of “他們” and “你們” are the same, referring to KMT members. The adoption of different pronouns enables the speaker to take intersubjective positions toward entities and further constructed a variety of social identities (Ochs, 1992). In the excerpt in question,

although the out-group is marked by two pronouns, “你們” and “他們”, the distinction is still clear between “they” and “we” inclusive of “大學生 (line 2)” and “中華隊 (line 3)”. In this way, the caller distances himself from the out-group KMT.

(36) March 13

(藍:四立委硬闖 是陷阱? 真道歉? 反戴帽、擊掌 藍營「剽竊」? 年輕人同意? Based on KMT, are the four legislators being set? Is this a real apology? Does KMT plagiarize DPP’s creativity to wear caps upside down and give me five in the parade? Will young people agree to the act?)

- 1 今天面對費鴻泰的情形，今天他們憑甚麼闖進來？只能跟國民黨的說：「今
- 2 天不是踏進你們家，你甚麼都不知道。」如果他開放大陸勞工，我們大學
- 3 生真是，起薪兩萬二，我覺得一定會更低。如果今天我們中華隊出去可以
- 4 拿國旗的話，我投馬英九。

#### Translation

- 1 As to today’s incident, they have no rights to break into others’ places. All I
- 2 want to tell the KMT is that you can pretend nothing has happened; however, if
- 3 he allows the import of China’s laborers, we university students’ starting
- 4 salary will be as low as twenty-two thousand dollars or even less than this
- 5 amount. If we the Chinese Taipei team can raise up the national flag whenever
- 6 they go abroad for contests, I will vote for Ma.

As to the fourth subtype, the instances contain “你們” and “他們” but no “我們” markers. The adoption of negative evaluations to both groups as shown in “他們就這麼鴨霸了” and “你們這些支持挺綠的就該死了” reveals the speaker’s opposition to them and intersubjectively constructs the speaker’s social identity as an evaluator (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) whose group is apparently different from “你們” and “他們”. As to Example 38, there are altogether four instances of “他們”. The first

instance of “他們” is used when the caller claimed that the DPP government should shoulder part of the responsibility for the chaotic situation and he showed disagreement with the behavior of the police of the DPP government. The second instance of “他們” occurs when the police escorted the KMT legislators to leave. The referent of the third instance of “他們” is obviously shown as the KMT, and the referent of the fourth “他們” can be easily inferred to be the KMT. Although the in-group is implicit, the out-group members, no matter whether they are members of the KMT or the DPP, are revealed with the adoption of “他們”. However, in Example 39, the only possible referent of the out-group can be inferred to be the KMT based on the call-in topic, “藍營道歉如此強硬?”, or the caller’s reflection of her former political identity as a KMT member as shown in “我之前也曾經是國民黨的” (line 3).

(37) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 國民黨現在還沒執政(...) 他們就這麼鴨霸了；若執政之後，你們這些支持
- 2 挺綠的就該死了，真的就是秋後算帳了。

### Translation

- 1 Before the KMT hold the reins of government, their legislators dared to call
- 2 others names. Should they gain the reins of power one day, you who support
- 3 the pan-green would be dead for sure.

(38) March 13

(藍營道歉如此強硬 真心? 選後? 3/4 國會+馬總統 甚麼是做不出來?)

Is the pan-blue meant for the apology? What can't be done after the pan-blue controls the majority of the congress and wins the presidential campaign?)

- 1 我覺得這件事民進政府也要負很大的責任，為什麼會放任他的政務官，
- 2 隨國民黨籍的立法委員去作這樣的事情呢？最後還讓他們轄下的警察，去
- 3 保護他們離開。(…) 而且我覺得今天費鴻泰會這樣子做，就是因為有前車
- 4 之鑑，就是當初他們國民黨來的時候，軍隊來，也是這樣子，就擅入民宅，
- 5 就搶阿，就殺阿，結果他們得到的待遇是甚麼？就是成王敗寇阿！

### Translation

- 1 In my opinion, the DPP government also should shoulder part of the
- 2 responsibility. Why did DPP administrative officers have to go along with the
- 3 KMT legislators to do such a thing? The incident ended with DPP government
- 4 officials protecting them to leave. Fei's behavior is not the first time in history.
- 5 Decades ago, they KMT army came to Taiwan to do the same things,
- 6 Breaking into people's houses, robbing and killing citizens. They ended up
- 7 well. The winner gets everything and the loser gets nothing.

(39) March 12

(藍營道歉如此強硬 真心? 選後? 3/4 國會+馬總統 甚麼是做不出來?)

Is the pan-blue meant for the apology? What can't be done after the pan-blue controls the majority of the congress and wins the presidential campaign?)

- 1 我覺得他們是在轉移焦點，就是之前的一中市場，還有他們其他立法委員
- 2 被爆出有綠卡。可是他們今天發生這種事情的話，我想大家會忘了之前的
- 3 事情。我之前也曾經是國民黨的，可是我覺得他們今天做出來的事情，真
- 4 的是很丟臉。(…) 用選票來表達自己的理念，或者是用選票來制裁他們。

### Translation

- 1 I think they were attempting to divert the focus of attention from the previously
- 2 mentioned one-China market and the green card issues. Preoccupied with
- 3 today's incident, everyone might forget what happened in the past. I used to be
- 4 a member of the KMT but I feel ashamed about today's incident.(…) You
- 5 should use the ballot to express your ideas and punish them.

After the examination of the instances containing only pronouns, the following is

the second part of the use of deixis in achieving distinction, the instances of which contain both pronouns and demonstratives. Both pronouns and demonstratives are used to aggrandize the discrepancy between the two categories (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). To begin with, the contrast between the in-group and the out-group is highlighted with the referents preceded by their pronouns in Example 40, as shown in “我們台灣 (line 2)” and “他們國民黨 (line 2)”. Furthermore, the demonstrative marker, “這邊” is used to strengthen the boundary between in-group Taiwan in contrast to China, where the root of KMT members is in China as in “國民黨的上一代是中國的 (line 2)”. As to Example 41, 42 and 43, the referents of the “us” and “them” group can be identified in the contexts though they are not necessarily preceded by their pronouns and demonstratives. In Example 41, the instance of “我們” is audience-inclusive, which is used by the caller to include his audience, particularly the Taiwan residents. When the caller is showing sympathy for the political situation of Taiwan, “我們” is used with its inferred referent next to it as shown in “我們台灣真的很可憐 (line 2)”. Due to the inclusive nature of “我們” and the phenomenon that the instance of “我們” can be omitted without changing the meaning of the caller’s opinion, the caller’s use of “我們” may help build rapport with his audience. Furthermore, the caller’s stance toward nationality as a Taiwanren is demonstrated, and those who consider themselves Taiwan residents are regarded as the members of

the caller's in-group. In contrast with the Taiwanren in-group, the out-group is marked with “他們” whose referent is inferred to be “大陸 (line 1)”. Combined with the demonstrative “那邊”, “大陸” seems to be categorized as out-group according to the caller. Meanwhile, the discrepancy between in-group and out-group is aggrandized through the adoption of “大陸那邊 (line 1)”, “他們 (line 3)” and “我們台灣 (line 2)”. Likewise, in Examples 42, the referents of “我們” can be retrieved from either “台南人” or “台灣人” (line 2) in contrast to “中國那一邊” and in Example 43, the dramatic use of “我們” is applied to the second instance of “我們” in “我們大陸 (line 3)”. Hence, the group to which the referents of “我們大陸” belong is different from that of “我們學校 (line 1)” and “我們台灣 (line 4)”. Either way, with the adoption of both group-marker pronoun and the demonstratives, the demonstration of the caller's political stance against the KMT is implied in Example 40, or the callers' stances toward nationality in the other three examples are implied to favor Taiwan rather than Mainland China. Especially, in Example 44, the referents of “他們這些人 (line 2)” can not be found in the context but in the discussed issue, “Are KMT's legislators robbers?” Meanwhile, through the rhetorical strategy, juxtaposition, the referents of “我們” can be inferred to be “台灣的住民” or “有認同台灣土地的人” (line 1) without efforts. Furthermore, Example 44 displays the third group “中間選民 (line 4)” marked with “你們 (line 4)” other than “我們 (line 1, 3)” and “他們這些



人”。Note that there is a noticeable shift of the addressees of the speaker from “他們這些人” to “你們” the referents of which are “中間選民”. As for this, we suggest that this pronominal shift might be triggered by the caller’s intention to arouse the attention of the members from different groups. No matter which group the caller speaks to, he seems to have distinguished himself as a member of the Taiwanren in-group from both the KMT legislators and the dangling voters.

(40) March 17

(中藏和平協議 有用? 馬的和平協定 你要? 被屠殺 西藏沒有選擇 台灣卻還要一中市場?)

Is the peace agreement between China and Tibet practical? Will you accept the treaty proposed by Ma?)

- 1 我認同馬英九說的話，說西藏和台灣完全不一樣。因為西藏大家都認為這
- 2 個國家是個國家，我們台灣不一樣。他們國民黨認同國民黨的上一代是中
- 3 國的，這邊是台灣的。當然不一樣，怎麼會同心？

### Translation

- 1 I agree to Ma’s remarks that Tibet is absolutely different from Taiwan.
- 2 Everyone regards Tibet as a country, but Taiwan is different. The KMT admitted
- 3 that their previous generation is identified with China; however, here’s Taiwan.
- 4 How can we have the same ideal and goal?

(41) March 15

(有和平協定仍鐵腕鎮壓西藏 台灣要? 一中市場 追求經濟 政治統一 你要?)

With the peace agreement, PRC still suppresses Tibet? Is it what Taiwan wants? The one-China market policy is equal to the unification of economy and politics, do you accept that?)

- 1 最近我有看報紙，應該大陸那邊有把台灣的農產品註冊商標有五十多種：
- 2 甚麼阿里山的高山茶，美濃的板條，都把註冊完了。我們台灣真的很可憐，
- 3 我看一中市場下去，可能連台灣之光王建民都是他們的了(...)

## Translation

- 1 According to the recent newspaper, people in China have plagiarized over fifty
- 2 trademarks belonging to Taiwan's agricultural products and have them
- 3 registered with their government, including Ali Mountain's tea and Meinung's
- 4 rice noodles. We Taiwan are really pitiful. After the one-China market policy is
- 5 implemented, the glory of Taiwan, Wang Chien-ming, may be argued to be
- 6 Chinese. (...)

(42) March 16

(勞工,農產品,學歷來 馬又要統一 誰還抗衡? 簽了和平協定 中國仍鎮壓西藏台灣?)

After the acceptance of the labor, agriculture products, academic backgrounds, Ma still pursues unification. Who will play the role of counterbalance? After the peace treaty, China still suppresses Tibet, how about Taiwan?)

- 1 剛剛看到台南國民黨的造勢晚會，有一些人站出來挺馬。我覺得那不會影
- 2 響我們，因為在台南人的心中，他本來就不屬於台灣人(...)他要站在中國
- 3 那一邊，我們不要跟他同邊，我們要站在歷史正確的一方。

## Translation

- 1 I just saw the KMT stump rally in Tainan where some people stood out to
- 2 support Ma. I don't think it will affect us because in the local people's mind, he
- 3 doesn't belong to Taiwanren (...). He chose to stand on China's side but we
- 4 don't want to be on the same side with him. Instead, we need to stand on the
- 5 right side of history.

(43) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 T 我去年研究所畢業(...) 因為我本身是研究台灣(...)的學術史，我們學校
- 2 裡面有一個中國來的清華大學的交換博士生來看我口試，我報告完後 T，
- 3 他就突然講一句：“你剛剛講的這些東西真的好像我們大陸一九八零年代的
- 4 學術界怎樣怎樣”(…) T 中國的學術這麼爛，你還要承認他，對我們台灣有
- 5 甚麼好處嗎？(…)你承認他，在台灣混不下去的人，就躲到那邊去。T

## Translation

1 As to the Chinese diploma, I'd like to share an experience with you. I major in  
2 the Taiwan's history. After I completed my oral defense, an exchange student  
3 from Ching Hwa University of China auditing my presentation suddenly spoke  
4 out to me in private that what you just said was similar to the things in the  
5 1980s in China. Why do you admit their diplomas when you know they are way  
6 behind us? Is this a positive development for Taiwan? (...)If you admit their  
7 diplomats, those who can't survive in Taiwan will flee to Mainland China.

(44) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

1 我要呼籲台灣的住民，有認同台灣土地的人，大家要忍氣吞聲，把我們不  
2 滿的心情，要用投票來表示。台灣人要知道他們這些人是如何看不起台灣  
3 人，把我們欺負的那麼慘，這是跟土匪一樣。但是我們原諒他，我們要用  
4 投票解決。中間選民也應該看清楚，再讓他們一黨獨大，我看你們沒有  
5 生存的空間了。

### Translation

1 I want to call on Taiwan's citizens, those who identify themselves with  
2 Taiwan, to put up with it for the moment but show our dissatisfaction with our  
3 ballots. Taiwanren need to know how they look down on Taiwanren, break into  
4 our houses and humiliate us so much as to act like bandits. However, we  
5 forgive him and we will use our ballots to punish him. The dangling voters  
6 should know their true colors. If you keep letting them control the whole  
7 country, your survival space will be suppressed.

As to Example 45, three different groups are found, “我們”, “中國 (line 2)” and  
“他們 (line 3)”. The combination of “中國” and “那邊” containing the connotation  
of “away from the discussed target” denotes an image that China and “我們” is  
separable. To go a step further, China is distanced from “他們” followed by its

referents “美國法國英國”. The use of the third plural person pronoun highlights the contrast between “美國法國英國” and “我們”. From above, the caller takes a stance in opposition to “中國那邊” and “美國法國英國他們”, and the group in which the caller belongs to is different from either China or “美國法國英國”.

(45) March 6

( 6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 我覺得入返聯都要投贊成，這是沒有問題。只是說，我們就算全部通過，
- 2 可是問題是中國那邊一定會阻擋。(…)在聯合國裡面，有沒有其他的國家，
- 3 像美國法國英國他們支持我們? 像這些大國比較有用，譬如那些小國家，
- 4 根本沒權力，誰鳥你? 最終的權力在中國那邊，可是問題是有可能嗎?

### Translation

- 1 Without a doubt, both referendums on joining the UN and returning to the UN
- 2 should be supported. But China will definitely disagree to our joining the UN.
- 3 (...) Are there any other countries in the UN which support Taiwan like
- 4 America, France, and England? No one will pay attention to the little countries.
- 5 The final decision-maker is China. But the question is, is there a possibility?

The following three examples belong to the category, the appearance of only one group. The out-group markers are salient in the NP antecedent “那些既得利益者” of “他們” in Example 46 and in the NP antecedent “那邊的女人 (line 1)” of “他們” in Example 47. From the contexts, the juxtaposition of “那些既得利益者”, “他們”, and “Ma-Shiou supporters” establishes an image of these three groups as inseparable; in Example 47, the referent of “那邊” is referred to “大陸”, and the out-group image is

explicit along with “他們”. Through the performance of this linguistic practice, the callers in the two excerpts seem to cast these entities into certain categories different from theirs (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). Both the callers distance themselves from the pan-blue supporters and the PRC citizens. Either way, the caller’s political stance is hence suggested not for the KMT in Example 46, and not for the PRC in Example 47. As to the Example 48, which has salient in-group marker, consisting of “我們” and “這邊”. Based on the background knowledge toward the policy of one-China market, we suggest that the targets under discussion are Mainland China and Taiwan. In addition, the use of “我們這邊” distinguishes the caller from Mainland China, and that the caller’s political stance against the PRC is hence implied.

(46) March 10

(馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說? Without the one-China market policy, are Ma’s economic policies equal to none? According to Ma, foreigners can’t attend certificate examination but their academic backgrounds will be admitted?)

- 1 我是覺得馬蕭都是為了那些既得利益者而提出政見，因為我有廠商他是在
- 2 大陸投資，不過他們都支持馬蕭。

### Translation

- 1 I had a feeling that the pan-blue’s political platforms are put together for the
- 2 benefit of certain interest groups. I know some businessmen who are investing
- 3 in China, and they all support the pan-blue.

(47) March 8

(承認中國學歷 婦女,青年同意嗎? DPP 民調只差 6% 謝 14 天能逆轉勝? Will women and the youth agree the admittance of China’s academic background? Does DPP’ survey show 6% differences? Will Hsieh win the battle in 14 days?)

- 1 我去過大陸，之前也在大陸做生意，我覺得那邊的女人真的很可怕，她們
- 2 就是強黏過去，真的很可怕。要不是我顧得很牢，我老公也早就淪陷了。我
- 3 就想她們甚麼叫做羞恥心，很像沒有耶，

### Translation

- 1 I have been to China before and did business there. I think the women there are
- 2 really horrible. They are good at catching Taiwan's men's hearts. They are
- 3 really horrible. My husband would have been caught if I hadn't paid much
- 4 attention. I think they are shameless.

(48) March 8

(謝馬誰能給女性幸福? 誰帥? 誰可靠? 一中市場找沒工? 找沒尤? 美夢? 惡夢?  
Who can give women happiness, Hsieh or Ma? Is the one-China market policy a  
sweet dream or a nightmare?)

- 1 如果大陸一中市場的話，是不是，他們有一些學歷上的專家人員之類的，
- 2 就會過來，就會讓我們這邊本來要塑立出來一個亞洲醫學的算是國際中心
- 3 的這個部分，是不是會有一些問題？

### Translation

- 1 Under the policy of one-China market, some of their experts will come here and
- 2 as to the international organization of the so-called Asian Medical Center we
- 3 are going to build here, will there be difficulties?

After the examination of the instances with “我們”, “你們”, and “他們”, the interrelations between the three pronouns, the referents of the three pronouns, and the combination of pronouns and demonstratives, it is unquestionable that the appearance of the referents of the pronouns is helpful for the interpretation of the in-group and out-group boundary. Through the analysis, it is now evident that in terms of the examples with no explicit referents for the pronouns, the identities of the referents can

be retrieved from the discussed issues, the surrounding contexts, and the background knowledge toward the proper nouns. In the following, the second-highest-rate linguistic device which achieves distinction is about to be discussed.

#### **4.2.2 Identity Label**

In this section, we are going to examine the linguistic device, identity label, the instances of which are seventeen (25.8%). According to Cameron (1997), it is possible that people construct who they are by what they talk through the adoption of the linguistic devices. After analyzing collected data, we find out that the adoption of identity labels tends to mark the in-group members. Based on the existence of the out-group referents, the collected data can be further categorized into two parts: those with explicit out-group referents and those with implicit or without out-group referents.

The following ten instances of identity label refer to explicit out-groups, i.e., Chinese citizens, KMT members, pan-blue members, and Mainlanders. In the speech delivered on television by Ronald Reagan in 1984, Chen (2007) has observed that Regan's use of the pronoun "we" to include Reagan himself and his audience simultaneously constructs the assumption of the existence of "you" or "they". Similarly, the construction of "the other" can be revealed in Pennycook's (1994)

example in which white westerners distance themselves from the impecunious in the Third World: “*We* don’t have poverty like the Third World”. In the excerpts in question, Extracts 26, 49, and 12 denote the similar concept. All three extracts contain the same compound consisting of the pronoun *we* and the identity label Taiwanren, and make the assumption of “the other” or the out-group, the Chinese citizens based on the excerpts. In Example 15, 50, and 51, the KMT members belong to the out-group in contrast to “我們綠營的民眾 (line 1)”, “台灣人” and “有感情、有人性的台灣人 (line 3)” respectively. The out-group contain not only the KMT but also “中間選民 (line 2)” in Extract 15 and the PRC’s citizens in Extract 51. Especially, in Extract 51, two layers of out-groups are found in contrast to “us”, “有感情、有人性的台灣人 (line 3)”. The referents of the out-group members who choke the neck of Taiwan (將台灣掐得死死的) are the PRC’s citizens at the first layer and the KMT at the second layer. In this example, it is explicit that identity work is always in relation to others and the referents of “the other” can shift in different contexts. In addition, the identity labels of “深綠的” and “淺綠的” (line 2) are used to distinguish from the pan-blue members in Example 39 and “我們台灣人 (line 1)” is contrasted with the referents of the out-group members, Mainlanders in Example 34.

(26) March 11

(一中市場後 台灣製=中國製 你要? 一中市場 醫師,律師也拒絕?)

After the one-China market, is the made-in-Taiwan equal to the made-in-China? Do doctors and lawyers also refuse the one-China market policy?)



- 1 剛剛有人在說考試，怕大陸人考試考不贏我們？(...) 請他到北京看一
- 2 下，補習班很多，怎麼可能考不贏我們台灣人？

### Translation

- 1 I want to respond to the previous viewpoint that Chinese perform worse than us
- 2 in examination. There are a lot of cram schools in Beijing. How could it be
- 3 possible for us Taiwanren to perform better than them?

(49) March 11

(一中市場後 台灣製=中國製 你要? 一中市場 醫師,律師也拒絕?

After the one-China market, is the made-in-Taiwan equal to the made-in-China? Do doctors and lawyers also refuse the one-China market policy?)

- 1 如果開放大陸人來台考證照，如果大陸人沒有我們台灣人能力強的話，我
- 2 們也不用怕跟他們競爭。

### Translation

- 1 If China's licenses are admitted by the Taiwan government, we should not be
- 2 afraid as long as our abilities are stronger than theirs.

(12) March 8

(謝馬誰能給女性幸福? 誰帥? 誰可靠? 一中市場找沒工? 找沒尤? 美夢? 惡夢?

Who can give women happiness, Hsieh or Ma? Is the one-China market policy a sweet dream or a nightmare?)

- 1 如果要承認中國學歷，是不是我們的下一代，廣告看板都要改成簡體字，
- 2 那我們台灣人要怎麼看呢？(...) 大陸人就是來台灣撈錢，不管是不是已經
- 3 結婚，他們就是說有賺到錢就是要回到大陸去(...)

### Translation

- 1 If the Chinese diploma is recognized, shouldn't we change the words on
- 2 billboards into simplified Chinese? What about our offspring's education? (...)
- 3 Mainland Chinese come to Taiwan only for money no matter whether they are
- 4 married or not. Once they have made enough money, they will go back to
- 5 China. (...)

(15) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 第一，我懇請我們綠營的民眾一定要冷靜，我們千萬不能中了他們的圈套，
- 2 然後一定要去投票，制裁他們。第二，我希望中間選民能想想：國民黨國
- 3 會一黨獨大了，就已經囂張成這個樣子了，那如果再當上總統的話，後果
- 4 應該不堪設想！

### Translation

- 1 First, I beg our pan-green people to remain calm. We can't jump into their trap,
- 2 and we must go to vote to punish them. Second, I hope the dangling voters can
- 3 take KMT members' arrogance into consideration. If he is elected President, the
- 4 consequences will be disastrous.

(50) March 13

(藍營道歉如此強硬 真心? 選後? 3/4 國會+馬總統 甚麼是做不出來?)

Is the pan-blue meant for the apology? What can't be done after the pan-blue controls the majority of the congress and wins the presidential campaign?)

- 1 像那個蔡正元，罵人家<T 撿角 T>，(…) 你看國民黨這些人，欺負台灣人  
真的
- 2 是太過分了！

### Translation

- 1 Mr. Cai called others hopeless cases. These KMT members have gone too far
- 2 pushing Taiwanren around.

(51) March 15

(有和平協定仍鐵腕鎮壓西藏 台灣要? 一中市場 追求經濟 政治統一 你要?)

With the peace agreement, PRC still suppresses Tibet? Is it what Taiwan wants? The one-China market policy is equal to the unification of economy and politics, do you accept that?)

- 1 我們台灣在世界上，中國共產黨對外將台灣掐得死死的，最可憐的是：中
- 2 國國民黨在內部將我們掐得死死的。那台灣是不是很可憐？所以我希望有
- 3 感情、有人性的台灣人，這次要勇敢站出來，站出來支持我們的謝長廷。

### Translation

- 1 The PRC controls Taiwan on the world stage and the KMT controls Taiwan's
- 2 domestic affairs. How poor Taiwan is! I hope the humane Taiwanren can
- 3 bravely stand out to back up our Hsieh.

(39) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 我覺得他們今天做出來的事情，真的是很丟臉，讓我的感覺好像是他要挑
- 2 起藍綠，(…)所以我希望大家理智，不管是深綠的還是淺綠的 (…)我覺得
- 3 用選票來表達自己的理念 或者試用選票來制裁他們。

### Translation

- 1 I feel ashamed about today's incident. I feel that they were trying to provoke a
- 2 fight between the pan-blue and the pan-green. I hope everyone including the
- 3 deep-green and the light-green can be more reasonable. We should use the
- 4 ballot to express your ideas and punish them.

(34) March 10

(辯論表現 馬降謝升 會逆轉? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?

Based on both candidates' presentation in the debate that Ma's support rate is decreasing and Hsieh's is increasing, will the result be different? Is it possible to admit foreigners' academic background but forbid their taking certificate tests? What is Ma talking about?)

- 1 <T 我覺得我們台灣人為了要當官，這回跟馬英九拼得很累。(…) 因為馬英
- 2 九沒有優點讓你講 T>，你們都昧著良心講，跟外省人講事情：筷子一放，
- 3 甚麼都忘。<T 台灣人佔不到好處 T。>

### Translation

- 1 We Taiwanren who would like to be high-ranking officials are dog-tired and
- 2 exhausted in this election competing with Ma. What you said is against the
- 3 truth and Ma processes no virtues. After you put down the chopsticks, what you
- 4 have agreed is also gone. Taiwanren gain no advantage when discussing with
- 5 Waishengren.

On the other hand, there are altogether eight extracts containing implicit out-group referents. In Extracts 7 and 52, both the instances of the identity label, Taiwanren, follow the audience-included “我們 (wo-men)”, which can build in-group rapport with the audience. As the Cameron’s (1997) research in which the contents of gossip affirm the solidarity of the in-group of heterosexual men by constructing absent others as the out-group of gays, the caller in Extract 7 repetitively used Taiwanren and “我們台灣人” not only to show his ethnological stance but also to align the absent characters including “馬英九 (line 1)” and “宋楚瑜 (line 2)” with non-Taiwanren out-group members in “台灣人就是要挺台灣人 (line 3)”.

Concerning another stance construction strategy, codeswitching, in Tsang and Wong’s analysis (2004), the performer’s code-mixing between Cantonese and English indexes affiliation to the Hong Kong identity because code-mixing itself is an aspect of the Hong Kong society. In a similar fashion, the use of codeswitching in Example 52 in the time when the caller raised the ethnological issue reveals her stance toward the Taiwanren identity. As to Extracts 24 and 44, in the former, the caller adopted “我們 (wo-men)” followed by the identity label “高雄人” to mark the group boundary and the awareness that he belongs to “高雄人” group, and in the latter, the Taiwanren in-group is distinct from the non-Taiwanren out-group with the juxtaposition of “他們 (ta-men)” and “我們 (wo-men)” in “他們這些人是如何看不起台灣人，把我們欺負

的那麼慘”。

The last four identity label instances of achieving distinction without explicit out-group referents are demonstrated in terms of adjectives, including “挺綠的” which implies that the out-group is non-“挺綠的” in Extract 37, “深綠的” in contrast with non-“深綠的” in Extract 53, “本土的國民黨員” which implies that KMT members are divided into different groups by means of the level of localization in Extract 19, and “正直的台灣人” in contrast to the out-group members of “不正直的台灣人” in Extract 54.

(7) March 17

(中藏和平協議 有用? 馬的和平協定 你要? 被屠殺 西藏沒有選擇 台灣卻還要一中市場?)

Is the peace agreement between China and Tibet practical? Will you accept the treaty proposed by Ma?)

- 1 這陣子馬英九的誠信問題讓我有很大疑問，他一直也沒有說明。我覺得
- 2 台灣的未來交給一個有雙重國籍，如果交給這種人，他會不會像宋楚瑜，
- 3 現在跑到美國去了? (...)我覺得台灣人就是要挺台灣人，我們台灣人就是
- 4 要給真的愛台灣(...)

### Translation

- 1 Recently, I had my doubt about Ma's honesty because he never clearly
- 2 explained the green card issue. It is really terrifying to hand over the reins of
- 3 government to someone like him. Will he be like Soong, who fled to America?
- 4 Taiwanren should back up only Taiwanren and Taiwanren should choose the
- 5 one who really loves Taiwan.

(52) March 19

(鎮壓西藏像 228 馬要把台灣往中國送? 魯肇忠:兩岸共同市場一定拖垮台灣 馬

聽到?

The Tibet suppression incident is like the 228 incident. Is Ma going to give Taiwan to China? Does Ma hear Lu's statement that Taiwan is destined to be doomed under the cross-strait common market policy?)

- 1 (...)我爸爸媽媽是台灣人，每次到月底的時候，老師就叫我們講台語要罰
- 2 錢，然後我就回家哭，跟我媽媽要拿錢繳給老師。然後我媽媽就說：為什
- 3 麼要罰錢？<T 咱台灣人講台語，為什麼咱要罰錢？T>

### Translation

- 1 My father and mother are Taiwanrens. At the end of the month, I went home
- 2 crying and asked for the money from my mother to pay the fine. My mom said
- 3 angrily why we should be fined. Was it wrong that we Taiwanren spoke
- 4 Taiwanese?

(24) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 我們高雄人買水買了好幾十年，為什麼會買水？也是國民黨造成的。現在
- 2 水好了，加水站到處還是有。那是信心的問題。

### Translation

- 1 We Kaohsiung citizens have bought water for decades. It was all KMT's fault.
- 2 Although the water is clean now, stations selling purified drinking water are still
- 3 everywhere. It's a matter of faith.

(44) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 台灣人要知道他們這些人是如何看不起台灣人，把我們欺負的那麼慘，這
- 2 是跟土匪一樣。

### Translation

- 1 Taiwanren need to know how they look down on Taiwanren, break into our
- 2 houses and humiliate us so much as to act like bandits.

(37) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 國民黨現在還沒執政(...)若執政之後，你們這些支持挺綠的就該死了，真
- 2 的就是秋後算帳了

### Translation

- 1 The KMT hasn't held the reins of government (...).Should they gain the reins of
- 2 power one day, you who support the pan-green would be dead for sure. They
- 3 will revenge for what you have said to them.

(19) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 我是本土的國民黨員，我覺得今天國民黨做得是很丟臉，讓人恥笑，好像
- 2 強盜土匪一樣。我要呼籲本土的國民黨員要支持為台灣 (...)

### Translation

- 1 I am a local member of the KMT. What the KMT has done today is shameful
- 2 and like a bandit. I want to call on all local members of the KMT to support
- 3 Taiwan.

(53) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 有時候只是陳述一個事實，我同學就說：你這個深綠的。所以在台北的時
- 2 候，談論政治我都不敢講話。

### Translation

- 1 Sometimes, when I was just stating a fact, my classmates would tease me
- 2 calling me a deep-green guy. So, in Taipei, when we are discussing politics, I

3 am afraid of expressing my opinions.

(54) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 我要表達的是年輕人比率那個，應該是一半一半吧！應該說正直的台灣人
- 2 (...) 該愛這塊土地的時候，一定會有人站出來的。

### **Translation**

- 1 The support rate among young people is half and half. The honest Taiwanren
- 2 (...) will surely stand out whenever Taiwan needs them.

### **4.2.3 Discourse Devices**

The focus of this section is to reveal the distinction between two categories through discourse devices in a bid to show the callers' ethnological, national or political stance, including semantic opposites, negative markers, contrastive markers, rhetorical questions, and codeswitching. The frequency of the use of discourse devices in the distinction section is the second highest among the four devices (32.3%).

#### **4.2.3.1 Semantic Opposites**

In this section, three major traditional categories of semantic oppositeness, including complementary antonymy, gradable antonymy and directional antonymy (Saeed 1997) are put together under the category of semantic opposites to show the discrepancy between the two compared targets.



#### 4.2.3.1.1 Complementary Antonymy

Complementary antonymy, also referred to as “binary taxonomy” (Leech 1974), “divides some conceptual domain into two mutually exclusive compartments, so that what does not fall into one of the compartments must necessarily fall into the other” (Cruse 1986). In the collected data, the contrastive pairs, “勝 vs.輸” in Example 28, and “玩真的 vs.玩假的” in Example 55 are categorized into complementary opposites.

In Example 28, as to the discussed issue associated with the result of the 2008 Presidential election, undoubtedly, one is the winner and the other is the loser among the two main candidates. The DPP is regarded as the winner with the verb “勝” in contrast to the KMT as the loser with the verb “輸 (line 1)”. Along with the out-group marker “國民黨他們”, the adoption of the complementary concept differentiate the DPP from the KMT. What’s more, according to the caller’s conjecture, the positive attitude to the victory of the DPP suggests the pro-DPP and against-KMT stance. In similar fashion, the contrastive pair of “玩真的 (line 2)” and “玩假的 (line 2)” in Extract 55 magnifies the discrepancies between the two groups. According to social identity theory, the characteristics of in-groups would be perceptually favored and those of out-groups would be derogated (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Brewer and Brown, 1998). In addition, the performances of speaker’s different stances through which

speaker may align themselves with and oppose themselves to entities enable themselves to express multiple meanings (Alexandre, 2009). Hence, the caller's stance toward the DPP as in-groups can be inferred from “玩真的” while the KMT is regarded as the out-group connected with “玩假的”.

(28) March 6

( 6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 我想提一下逆轉勝的事情，如果長昌真的逆轉勝，國民黨輸得起嗎？(...)
- 2 因為國民黨他們的觀念就是一加一等於二，他們就覺得他很有優勢，可是
- 3 他就是輸不起。

#### Translation

- 1 I want to mention the come-from-behind victory. If Hsieh won eventually,
- 2 would the KMT have accepted the failure? (...)The KMT thought they were
- 3 likely to win the battle, but the truth was that they couldn't afford to lose.

(55) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 剛剛許委員也提到說藍綠雙方都在玩入聯返聯這個議題。至少現在民進黨
- 2 是玩真的，國民黨是玩假的！

#### Translation

- 1 Legislator Shih just mentioned that both the pan-blue and the pan-green are
- 2 manipulating the issue of joining the UN or returning to the UN. Well, at least
- 3 the DPP takes it very seriously but the KMT doesn't and tries to fool the people.

#### 4.2.3.1.2 Gradable Antonymy

Gradable antonymy is also referred to as “polar opposition” (Leech 1974) because of “the feature of polarity to accommodate a region on a given scale which does not belong to either end of the scale” (Hsu 2008). According to Hunston and Thompson (2000), linguistic features such as adverbs and adjectives of degree are associated with evaluation through which speakers may perform self-positioning in relation to the compared entities. In Example 33, the caller positions himself as one member of the DPP in-group and regards the KMT as the out-group through the contrastive pair of “亂 (line 3) vs. 安定 (line 4)”. In similar fashion, in Example 56, when the caller compares his attitudes to his identity as a Hakka under the KMT government and the DPP government, he feels ashamed in the KMT’s era but feels honored in the DPP’s era. Based on the context, the presupposition of “很不好意思” results from the fact that the Hakka-related issues conducted by the KMT arouse the caller’s shamefulness. However, the presupposition of “很光榮” results from the fact that those conducted by the DPP arouse the caller’s sense of honor. The different attitudes of the KMT and the DPP toward the Hakka-related issues aggrandize their discrepancy and the DPP is favored by the caller due to the positive connotation of “光榮”. In Example 57, when the caller compares the smear tactics the two political parties are engaged in, he uses the comparative marker, “更甚” to denote the different

level of corruption as shown in “可是就貪腐和抹黑來講，國民黨更甚吧！(line 2)”,

in which the KMT is suggested to be the more derogatory one compared to the DPP.

Furthermore, the discrepancy between the DPP and the KMT is displayed with the repetitive word, “惡”— the former is regarded as “小惡” and the latter “大惡” (line 3).

The two categories are the same in “kind” but different in “degree”. Although both of them are labeled derogation, the caller will still choose the less derogatory one as in

“不可能棄小惡而去就大惡”. As a result, the adoption of the two gradable opposites

weaves together an image that the KMT is worse than the DPP, and the caller’s choice

reveals the pro-DPP stance. Likewise, Example 20 is another instance of using

comparative words as in “我們已經不是很平等了，而且他們還高出我們一截 (line

2)” to show the difference between “我們” and “他們”.

(33) March 17

(台灣兩岸人民決定 馬,溫說法一致? 西藏被血腥鎮壓 馬竟幫中國講話?)

Is Ma’s saying accordant to Wen’s that Taiwan’s fate should be determined by citizens of two countries? In the Tibet suppression incident, Ma speaks for China?)

- 1 希望國民黨不要再用似是而非，甚至是避重就輕的說法來說服人民。(…)
- 2 你們已經五十多年都不負責任了，你們沒有資格說這句話。現在八年做得
- 3 還不錯，我們需要一個安定的生活，我希望你們不要再亂了，讓謝長廷繼
- 4 續做下去，這樣台灣才能安定長昌下去。

### Translation

- 1 I hope the KMT can stop evading the issue or cheating the people with specious
- 2 statements. You have held the reins of power for over fifty years and you deny
- 3 your responsibility. So you have no rights to say this. In the past eight years,
- 4 we have lived a good life. We need a stable life, so please stop creating

5 disturbances, and vote for Hsieh to keep Taiwan safe and prosperous.

(56) March 11

(經濟緊靠中國=胰島素 台灣=糖尿病人? 香港回歸中國 為何富越富 貧越貧?

Is Taiwan analogized as the diabetes patient when its economy is tied to China? After Hong Kong returned to China, why are the rich richer, the poor poorer?)

- 1 我本身是客家人，國民黨執政的時候，我很不好意思跟人家說我是客家人；
- 2 民進黨執政以後，我覺得客家人很光榮。

### Translation

- 1 I am a Hakka. When the KMT was in power, I felt ashamed to tell others I am a
- 2 Hakka. However, after the DPP was in power, I felt honored as a Hakka.

(57) March 10

(馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?

Without the one-China market policy, are Ma's economic policies equal to none?

According to Ma, foreigners can't attend certificate examination but their academic backgrounds will be admitted?)

- 1 國民黨現在就無所不用其極的用宣傳民進黨他的貪腐，抹黑，所以需要政
- 2 黨輪替，可是就貪腐和抹黑來講，國民黨更甚吧！(...)如果說民進黨真的
- 3 做的不好的話，需要換人做，那我們也不可能棄小惡而去就大惡！

### Translation

- 1 Right now, the KMT is broadcasting the DPP's corruption and smearing it in
- 2 every possible way in order to call for the change of the reins of power.
- 3 However, as far as corruption and scandal are concerned, the KMT is worse
- 4 than the DPP. If DPP performance was so lousy as to be replaced, we will rather
- 5 choose the bad one than the worse one.

(20) March 9

(總統辯論 謝馬治國能力 誰好? 74%不同意承認學歷 55%反一中市場 百姓憂?

Based on the presidential debate, whose executive ability is better, Ma or Hsieh?

Seventy four percent of citizens disagree to admit foreigners' academic background and fifty five percent of citizens are against the one-market policy.)

- 1 一中市場應該是要兩個國家平等，水準可以互通的，才可以是一中市場，到
- 2 目前為止我們已經不是很平等了，而且他們還高出我們一截，所以怎麼可能
- 3 會說我們要甚麼就會有甚麼；我們不要甚麼，他們就真的不會給我們甚麼東
- 4 西，這是不合理的。

### **Translation**

- 1 As to the one-China market policy, this can only be implemented when the two
- 2 involved countries are equal in politics. So far, we are not equal or their
- 3 political backup is more powerful than ours. Hence, it is impossible for us to
- 4 demand only what we want and refuse what we don't want. This is
- 5 unreasonable.

#### **4.2.3.1.3 Directional Antonymy**

The excerpts associated with directional antonyms in this study are independent reversives, in which there is “no necessity for the final state of either verb to be a recurrence of a former state” (Cruse 1986). Take Example 58 as a start, the distinction between the PRC and Taiwan is drawn in the issue of employment. The adoption of the phrase “上課 ” in “北京的教授就可以來這邊上課” contains the meaning that the professors in Beijing have jobs. However, “失業” of Taiwan’s professors denotes that Taiwan’s professors no longer have jobs. In addition, the use of the phrase “來這邊” infers that the terminal point of the movement “來” performed by Beijing’s professors is “這邊”, the referent of which is Taiwan according to the context. The contrast built by “in employment” and “out of employment” reveals the differences of the two groups. In similar fashion, in Example 18, although the identities of the out-group members are clearly shown in “他們立委”, the referents of which are the KMT

members, the caller further shows the differences between the out-group and the in-group with directional antonyms. According to the surrounding context, the object of the phrase “國民黨擋” is inferred to be the issue of “入聯”. The statement of “入聯代表台灣，台灣主權如果出去，台灣讓人家看得到” raises the possibility that the other countries in the world will pay attention to Taiwan if Taiwan passes the referendum of entering the UN. Nevertheless, “國民黨擋入聯” blocks the way of Taiwan to join in the United Nations, and sustains the chance for Taiwan to be noticed in the international society. The opposite stance to the issue of participating in the UN distances the KMT from those who support the issue. As a member of supporting Taiwan’s participation in the UN, the caller takes a political stance against the KMT. In Example 59, based on the discussed issue of Mainland China’s suppressing the Tibet, the caller adopts the phrase “天佑” to show sympathy with the Tibet citizens who were suffering something tragic; however, uses the phrase of “譴責” to condemn the enforcement of something tragic on Tibet by Mainland China. In this way, the PRC performing suppression is distinct from the Tibet under suppression. In addition, the positive connotation of “天佑” and the negative connotation of “譴責” reveal the caller’s stance of pro-Tibet and against-China.

(58) March 11

(一中市場後 台灣製=中國製 你要? 一中市場 醫師,律師也拒絕?)

After the one-China market, is the made-in-Taiwan equal to the made-in-China? Do

doctors and lawyers also refuse the one-China market policy?)

- 1 我們這邊就是覺得如果開放證照的話，那就像剛剛馬英九先生講的，北京
- 2 的教授就可以來這邊上課。那台灣的教授不就有蠻多要失業了嗎？

### Translation

- 1 We think that if their licenses are recognized by us just like what Mr. Ma said,
- 2 the professors in Beijing can work here. Then, are Taiwan's professors going to
- 3 lose their jobs?

(18) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 民進黨做不好，大家都知道，可是誰有資格講，國民黨沒有資格講，因為他
- 2 們立委過半，擋預算我們都看得到。我常跟我同學講：要跟你父母親講說入
- 3 聯一定要過，因為入聯代表台灣，台灣主權如果出去，台灣讓人家看得到，
- 4 國民黨擋，我們也看得到，就讓他一直擋吧！

### Translation

- 1 It is known that the DPP didn't perform well but the KMT has no right to
- 2 criticize the DPP. The KMT occupied over half of the seats in the Legislative
- 3 Yuan and blocked the passing of the government expenditure. I ask my
- 4 classmates to tell their parents to support the referendum on joining the UN.
- 5 The referendum represents the sovereignty of Taiwan. If the KMT keeps
- 6 blocking it, let them do that.

(59) March 19

(鎮壓西藏像 228 馬要把台灣往中國送? 魯肇忠:兩岸共同市場一定拖垮台灣 馬聽到?)

The Tibet suppression incident is like the 228 incident. Is Ma going to give Taiwan to China? Does Ma hear Lu's statement that Taiwan is destined to be doomed under the cross-strait common market policy?)

- 1 我要向西藏圖博的人祈福，天佑西藏人民，譴責中國的暴政。

### Translation

- 1 I would like to pray for the people in Tibet. God bless Tibetans and damn the



2 tyranny of China.

#### 4.2.3.2 Negative Marker

After the examination of the instances with semantic opposites, the following two sections focus on the instances with negative and contrastive markers, both of which are linguistic features with comparativeness to evaluate entities in utterances and further reveal speaker's stances (Hunston and Thompson, 2000). To begin with, in Example 13, two pairs of contrastive phrases are adopted as in phrases “沒有很明顯 (line 1-2)” vs. “很明顯 (line 3)” and “講話比較大聲” vs. “不太講話” (line 4), which are based on the repetitive words, “明顯” and “講話” respectively. In this example, the caller tended to compare the DPP's executive ability with that of the government in Taipei under the rein of the KMT. The progress in construction and renewal in Kaohsiung governed by the DPP is “很明顯” in contrast to that in Taipei run by the KMT as in “沒有讓我看看到很明顯的進步” containing a negative marker “沒有” to show the difference from the other compared group. In this way, the group boundary is exhibited, and the caller's in-group can be reasonably argued to be the favored DPP, and the KMT is argued to be the out-group (Brewer and Brown, 1998). The other contrastive pair of this example is shown in “因為他們講話比較大聲, 所以讓我們挺綠的都不太講話”. From the statement, the political identity of the caller is obvious the pan-green as shown in “我們挺綠的”. Furthermore, the use of the negative

marker “不” enhances the differences between the less-talking pan-green in-group in contrast to the“他們 (ta-men)” group, who tend to speak out loud. The referents of “他們” can be inferred to be the pan-blue group, most members of which are renowned for “挺馬英九 (who is the presidential candidate of the pan-blue group)”. In similar fashion, the repetitive word “講話” is observed in Example 53 as in “不敢講話 vs. 講的是歪理” when discussing the political issues in Taipei. Although the referents of “他們” are not explicit, the feature of “speaking less” of the deep-green in-group is still clear.

(13) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 我是二十五歲住在台北的台北人，馬英九在台北八年了，不過沒有讓我看
- 2 到很明顯的進步。去年的時候我有去高雄玩，我覺得高雄的進步是大家很
- 3 明顯可以看到的。(…)我周邊的人，真的是挺馬英九的比較多。不過相對
- 4 的因為他們講話比較大聲，所以讓我們挺綠的都不太講話。

### Translation

- 1 I am a twenty-five-year-old living in Taipei. Ma has been in power in Taipei for
- 2 eight years. I didn't notice any improvement. Last year, I had a trip to
- 3 Kaohsiung, where I noticed obvious improvements. (...)Among the people
- 4 around me, more support Ma. They usually speak louder than us who support
- 5 the pan-green.

(53) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 有時候只是陳述一個事實，我同學就說：你這個深綠的。所以在台北的時
- 2 候，談論政治我都不敢講話，即使有時候覺得他們講的算歪理、硬么(...)

### Translation

- 1 Sometimes, when I was just stating a fact, my classmates would tease me
- 2 calling me a deep-green guy. So, in Taipei, when we are discussing politics, I
- 3 am afraid of expressing my opinions, even though they are talking about
- 4 nonsense, distorting truths and facts.

#### 4.2.3.3 Contrastive Markers

The focus of this section is the category of the contrastive markers, “可是 (keshi)” and “而 (er)”. Among the common contrastive markers, “可是 (keshi)”, “只是 (zhishi)”, “但是 (danshi)”, and “不過 (buguo)”, “可是 (keshi)”, the one that most frequently occurs in spoken discourse, tends to convey implicit contrast and appear in dispreferred responses to express disagreement (Wang, 2005). In the excerpt in question, in Example 60, the DPP is in contrast to the KMT in the number of election campaign cars with “可是 (keshi)” as in “就很少看到民進黨的宣傳車或旗子，可是國民黨的宣傳車在還沒選舉前兩個月，就在汐止這裡跑” to show that the resource-lacking DPP is different from the resource-abundant KMT with the implication that the KMT is not the members of the caller’s in-group in “他國民黨”. Hence, the political stance of the caller is not for the KMT. Likewise, “可是 (keshi)” in Example 61 is used to compare the executive ability performed by the DPP and by the KMT governments respectively. Based on the context, during the time when Wu

was a mayor, the tap-water was noticed to have the smell of chlorine and disinfectant fluid, while the smell has gone in the Hsieh's era. This kind of water is not qualified enough for citizens to drink. In this way, the caller indirectly responds to the discussed issue, "Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?"

The candidate Hsieh with the achievement of improving the quality of tap-water is implied to be the better one, and the caller's political stance is hence inferred to be pro-DPP.

(60) March 18

(一中市場 勞工害怕? 相信馬的話? 謝:現在正值黃金交叉 逆轉成真?)

Are the labor afraid of the one-China market policy? According to Hsieh, he has the chance to win the battle?)

- 1 我覺得他國民黨的資源真的很多，因為像我們汐止，就很少看到民進黨的
- 2 宣傳車或旗子，可是國民黨的宣傳車在還沒選舉前兩個月，就在汐止這裡
- 3 跑。

### Translation

- 1 I think the resources from the KMT are way too many. Here in Si-chi, we rarely
- 2 see DPP's election campaign car and flag, but KMT's vehicles started marching
- 3 two months ago.

(61) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 以前吳敦義的時代，水煮起來就真的有氯跟消毒水的味道，可是現在，就
- 2 是謝長廷執政之後呢？(...) 水喝起來就已經沒有那種味道了。

### Translation

- 1 During the time when Wu was a mayor, the tap-water still had the smell of
- 2 chlorine and disinfectant fluid after being boiled. But now, after the Hsieh era
- 3 (...) The boiled tap-water is odorless now.

The following instances of “而 (er)” are categorized into Hong’s (2008) classifications of compound sentences in modern Chinese—“而 (er)” conjoining dissimilar additive clause complex in Example 62, and “而 (er)” conjoining adversative clause complex in Example 63. In the former, the dissimilar additive clause complex denotes that with the same subject, the two conjoined clause complexes have different polarity. According to Halliday (1994), polarity is the selection between positive and negative. In the excerpt in question, the subjects of the clause complex, “不是叫台灣隊” and “而是叫 Chinese Taipei” are the same, “我們”. Based on the context, “台灣隊” and “Chinese Taipei” are hyponyms of “隊伍名稱”. The contrastive feature of the hyponyms prohibits “台灣隊” and “Chinese Taipei” from interchanging with each other. That is, the name of the representation team is either “台灣隊” or “Chinese Taipei”. Hence, the fact that our representation team is called Chinese Taipei excludes the possibility of “台灣隊”. In the following contexts, the caller relates Taiwan in “台灣隊” to the issue of nationality as shown in “因為我們是一個國家，為什麼不能叫做台灣，而是叫 Chinese Taipei” to strengthen her pro-Taiwan stance. As to Example 63, “而 (er)” conjoins two adversative clause complexes. The definition of adversative is out of expectation (Halliday 1976). That is,

in the sentence consisting of two clause complexes, if the entailment of the topic of the latter clause denies the entailment of the former clause, then the adversative relation is constructed (Hong 2008). In the excerpt in question, based on the context, “全球性的問題” entails that Taiwan’s financial turndown should be attributed to the financial environment of the world instead of certain groups. However, the entailment of “說民進黨他因為做不好，所以才會造成這種結果” is that the DPP is the one to be blamed for the financial turndown, which obviously violates the entailment of the former clause. In addition, it is also a strategy of evasion for the caller to mitigate the DPP’s responsibility and hence constructs the pro-DPP stance.

(62) March 17

(Freddy:一定逆轉勝! 靠這關鍵 5 天? 鎮壓西藏 中國今說是“清潔衛生” 恐怖? According to Freddy, the turn point of the election will come in five days? According to China, the incident of suppressing Tibet is reported to the cleaning activity?)

- 1 這次奧運棒球賽，我覺得我們不是叫台灣隊，而是叫 Chinese Taipei，我覺得
- 2 得很生氣，也覺得很可惜。因為我們是一個國家，為甚麼不能叫台灣，而
- 3 是叫 Chinese Taipei，這是我覺得比較可惜的地方。

### Translation

- 1 In the baseball game in the Olympics, I felt angry that we can’t attend it in the
- 2 name of Taiwan but have to use Chinese Taipei instead. I felt very angry and
- 3 felt sorry for it. It is a country. Why can’t it be named Taiwan? Why does it
- 4 have to be Chinese Taipei? It is really a pity.

(63) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible

for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 物價在日本也是一直再漲，這個東西我有在日本的經濟雜誌上看過。他說
- 2 到全球的物資，還有中國效應的問題，其實這個東西是全球性的問題。你
- 3 們不去研究全球性的問題，而反過來說民進黨他因為做不好，所以才會造
- 4 成這種結果，這個是不對的。

### **Translation**

- 1 In Japan, prices of commodities also keep rising. I saw related discussion in
- 2 Japan's economic magazines. The uprising prices are associated with the China
- 3 effect and the global economy. Without studying the world issues first, it is
- 4 wrong to blame only the DPP.

#### **4.2.3.4 Rhetorical Question**

Rhetorical questions are questions whose answers are implicit in the question form. A rhetorical negative question has the illocutionary force of a positive assertion, and a rhetorical positive question has the illocutionary force of a negative assertion (Han 2002). Concerning the use of rhetorical question as a discourse strategy to distance two groups, the discrepancy between the two categories in Examples 31, 64 and 65 is aggrandized along with the adoption of “還” and entailments though in an euphemized way. In Example 31, the differences between two groups are marked by means of the word “還” and the rhetorical question. When the word “還” is used in the rhetorical questions, You (2001) categorizes its mood usage into two kinds, to be surprised at the reverse situation, and to be sarcastic at the confrontation of the hearers' anticipation. In addition, in Liou, Pan, and Gu's study (1996), they provide the third interpretation of “還”, containing the meaning of “不應該(should not)”. In

similar fashion, in the excerpt in question, according to the caller, the non-referent out-group members are accused of not respecting and plagiarizing other's creativity in “對創意的不尊重，還有對創意的剽竊 (line 1)”, and not respecting and destroying the historic spots in “像這種歷史古蹟，他們一點都不尊重，用摧毀的方式 (line 2-3)”. The accumulation of accusations builds the image of sarcasm in form of the rhetorical question, “還說保護台灣的文化呢 (line 5)”, the mood of which reveals the caller's sarcastic stance and arouses the doubt towards the behavior of out-group members' so-called protection of Taiwan's culture. In this way, those who perform the disrespectful activities are distinct from the Taiwan group consisting of Taiwanren.

Likewise, the entailments of the rhetorical questions in Example 64 “國民黨在國會過半，又做了甚麼？”, and in Example 65 “台北市八年做了甚麼？” are that KMT legislators have done nothing and that the Taipei government has achieved nothing respectively. Compared with their counterparts, the DPP and the Kaohsiung government, it seems that “民進黨執政差” and “高雄現在多漂亮” are better than the entailments of the rhetorical questions. Hence, the discrepancy between the two entities are revealed and aggrandized, and the callers' political stances towards the DPP and the Kaohsiung government operated by the DPP can also be therefore inferred.

(31) March 15

(有和平協定仍鐵腕鎮壓西藏 台灣要? 一中市場 追求經濟 政治統一 你要?



With the peace agreement, PRC still suppresses Tibet? Is it what Taiwan wants? The one-China market policy is equal to the unification of economy and politics, do you accept that?)

- 1 今天他對創意的不尊重，還有對創意的剽竊，很久以來就是一個邏輯性的。
- 2 因為他對中山橋，圓環，像這種歷史古蹟，他們一點都不尊重，用摧毀的
- 3 方式對這些地方做出處置，他完全沒有考慮到這些東西的文化和歷史。就
- 4 像今天他們也是沒有考慮到對方的想法和創意，完全就是以剽竊的方式，
- 5 那還說保護台灣的文化呢？

### Translation

- 1 It is inevitable for him to be not respectful of creativity but plagiarize it. What
- 2 he did to the historic monuments was disrespectful. His way of destroying them
- 3 meant that he totally ignored their status in culture and history. What they did
- 4 today showed that they were ignorant of others' thoughts and creativity. To
- 5 plagiarize others' creativity can't be regarded as the way of protecting Taiwan's
- 6 culture.

(64) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 這八年來民進黨執政差，可是這八年來國民黨在國會過半，又做了甚麼？

### Translation

- 1 For eight years, the DPP was in power but indeed its performances were not
- 2 satisfying; however, what have been done by the KMT who occupies over half
- 3 of the seats in the Legislative Yuan?

(65) March 10

(辯論表現 馬降謝升 會逆轉? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?)

Based on both candidates' presentation in the debate that Ma's support rate is decreasing and Hsieh's is increasing, will the result be different? Is it possible to admit foreigners' academic background but forbid their taking certificate tests? What is Ma talking about?)

- 1 兩位八年的市長任內，誰拿得出政見，誰拿得出他的成績來給我們看？(...)
- 2 台北市八年做了甚麼？你看人家高雄現在多漂亮！

## Translation

- 1 Who has performed better during their eight-year tenure? What achievements
- 2 have been done in Taipei in the past eight years? Kaohsiung is really beautiful
- 3 now.

### 4.2.3.5 Codeswitching

In addition to rhetorical questions, codeswitching is found in the collected data as a linguistic strategy to distance two compared entities. According to Tse's (2000) study, the increased use of local mother tongues can be regarded as a symbol to defy the establishment, assert democratization, express localism, and show the ethnolinguistic identity. In addition, the "Hong Kong identity" is constructed partly by code-mixing which is an aspect of the Hong Kong society (Tsang and Wong, 2004). Hence, in Example 52, the alternation from Mandarin to Taiwanese when the caller explains the fine-paying incident due to speaking Taiwanese reinforces the caller's stance toward the Taiwanren identity as shown in "咱台灣人講台語，為什麼咱要罰錢? (line 3)". So is the situation in Example 34, in which the caller altered from Taiwanese to Mandarin when he marked the characteristic of the Waishengren (Mainlanders) group in "跟外省講事情，筷子一放，甚麼都忘 <T 台灣人佔不到好處 T (line 2)>" to show the differences between the Taiwanese-speaking in-group members and the Mandarin-speaking out-group members.

(52) March 19

(鎮壓西藏像 228 馬要把台灣往中國送? 魯肇忠:兩岸共同市場一定拖垮台灣 馬聽到?)

The Tibet suppression incident is like the 228 incident. Is Ma going to give Taiwan to China? Does Ma hear Lu's statement that Taiwan is destined to be doomed under the cross-strait common market policy?)

- 1 (...我爸爸媽媽是台灣人，每次到月底的時候，老師就叫我們講台語要罰
- 2 錢，然後我就回家哭，跟我媽媽要拿錢繳給老師。然後我媽媽就說：為
- 3 什麼要罰錢？<T 咱台灣人講台語，為什麼咱要罰錢？T>

### Translation

- 1 My father and mother are Taiwanrens. At the end of the month, I went home
- 2 crying and asked for the money from my mother to pay the fine. My mom said
- 3 angrily why we should be fined. Was it wrong that we Taiwanren spoke
- 4 Taiwanese?

(34) March 10

(辯論表現 馬降謝升 會逆轉? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說?)

Based on both candidates' presentation in the debate that Ma's support rate is decreasing and Hsieh's is increasing, will the result be different? Is it possible to admit foreigners' academic background but forbid their taking certificate tests? What is Ma talking about?)

- 1 <T 因為馬英九沒有優點讓你講 T>，你們都昧著良心講。跟外省講事情：
- 2 筷子一放，甚麼都忘。<T 台灣人佔不到好處 T。>

### Translation

- 1 What you said is against the truth and Ma processes no virtues. After you put
- 2 down the chopsticks, what you have agreed is also gone. Taiwanren gain no
- 3 advantage when discussing with Waishengren.

#### 4.2.4 Negative Verbs & Bei Construction

In this section, negative verbs and bei-constructions are analyzed to show the differentiation between the two discussed targets according to the callers, and the

speaker's stance in opposition to the entities with authority or institutional power. The frequency of the use of this category is the lowest among the four distinction strategies (19.3%).

All of the collected negative verbs contain subjects and patients, in which the subjects do harm to the patients. The subject of the phrase “鎮壓 (line 3)” in Example 66 can be inferred from the preceding referent “中國人民解放軍 (line 1)”, and the patient is “我們 (wo-men)”. Obviously, the subject and the patient denote different entities from different groups; the former belongs to the power-holding governing class and the latter entitled “我們” belongs to the completely unarmed in-group members. The situation is similar in the other six instances. In addition, the group boundary is more explicit with the adoption of the phrase “欺負” in Examples 50 and 67. Especially, in Extract 51, the subjects of the verb “掐 (line 1-2)” are the PRC and the KMT, and the patient is the Taiwanren group. It is clear that both the PRC and the KMT are distinct from “有感情、有人性的台灣人 (line 3)”. As to Example 68, according to the caller, the behavior of KMT legislators “侮辱 (insult) (line 2)” the in-group members, our citizens, which distances KMT members from citizens.

(66) March 15

(藍:四立委硬闖 是陷阱? 真道歉? 反戴帽、擊掌 藍登「剽竊」? 年輕人同意? Based on KMT, are the four legislators being set? Is this a real apology? Does KMT plagiarize DPP's creativity to wear caps upside down and give me five in the parade? Will young people agree to the act?)

- 1 各位民眾應該不會忘記他們要求特首直選得時候，中國人民解放軍立刻進
- 2 入香港。這個畫面大家透過新聞都非常清楚。如果今天反分裂法沒有解除
- 3 的話，那以後如果我們要集會遊行，他是不是同樣會派軍隊來鎮壓我們？

### Translation

- 1 When Hong Kong people asked for the direct election of the Chief Executive, it
- 2 is hard for everyone to forget the image of the People's Liberation Army's
- 3 immediate invasion of Hong Kong. If the Anti-Secession Law is not repealed,
- 4 will they send the army to suppress us if we apply for a rally or a procession?

(50) March 13

(藍營道歉如此強硬 真心? 選後? 3/4 國會+馬總統 甚麼是做不出來?)

Is the pan-blue meant for the apology? What can't be done after the pan-blue controls the majority of the congress and wins the presidential campaign?)

- 1 像那個蔡正元，罵人家<T 撿角 T>(…) 你看國民黨這些人，欺負台灣人真
- 2 的是太過分了。

### Translation

- 1 Mr. Cai called others hopeless cases. These KMT members have gone too far
- 2 pushing Taiwanren around.

(67) March 9

(總統辯論 謝馬 治國能力 誰好? 74%不同意承認學歷 55%反一中市場 百姓憂?)

Based on the presidential debate, whose executive ability is better, Ma or Hsieh?

Seventy four percent of citizens disagree to admit foreigners' academic background and fifty five percent of citizens are against the one-market policy.)

- 1 國民黨不要只會說民進黨一直攻擊你。你自己在多少年前，是怎麼樣欺負
- 2 台灣人的，有過親身之痛的人，才會了解。

### Translation

- 1 Before the KMT blames the DPP for attacking them, they should reflect on how
- 2 they bullied Taiwanren decades ago. Only when they experience the suffering
- 3 will they know the feeling.

(51) March 15

(有和平協定仍鐵腕鎮壓西藏 台灣要? 一中市場 追求經濟 政治統一 你要?

With the peace agreement, PRC still suppresses Tibet? Is it what Taiwan wants? The one-China market policy is equal to the unification of economy and politics, do you accept that?)

- 1 我們台灣在世界上，中國共產黨對外將台灣掐得死死的，最可憐的是：中
- 2 國國民黨在內部將我們掐得死死的。那台灣是不是很可憐？所以我希望有
- 3 感情、有人性的台灣人，這次要勇敢站出來。

### Translation

- 1 Third, the PRC controls Taiwan on the world stage and the KMT controls
- 2 Taiwan's domestic affairs. How poor Taiwan is! I hope the humane Taiwanren
- 3 can bravely stand out.

(68) March 6

(賭盤 80 萬降至 15 萬票 長昌可能逆轉勝?入、返聯都要投贊成!

The presidential bet has decreased from 800 thousand to 150 thousand. Is it possible for the Hsieh camp to gain the final victory? Vote for both referendum proposals!)

- 1 國民黨一黨獨大以來(...) 你看之前吳育昇委員，他罵邱議瑩委員說你是甚
- 2 麼東西(...) 還有很惡質的時間還沒有到就把人家聲音關掉，這點非常侮辱
- 3 我們的百姓。這一點非常不應該。

### Translation

- 1 The KMT has occupied over half of the seats in the Legislative Yuan. Legislator
- 2 Wu called Legislator Chiu names. They meanly turned off others' microphones
- 3 when their time of speaking was not up, which is very insulting. How can the
- 4 KMT be so arrogant? It is wrong.

In addition to negative verbs, the bei construction is also used as a linguistic device to show the differences between two entities. The bei construction is the form of passivization in Chinese, often indicating something unfortunate has happened (Chao 1968). Combined with negative verbs, the bei construction phrases denote the

victimization of the patients and the persecution of the subjects. In Example 33, the first instance of “被 (bei)” is followed by the negative verb “抓”, referring to the predicament of Taiwan’s people. So is the situation of the second instance of the bei construction as in the phrase “被殺掉”. The referents of the two patients can be inferred from the context, Taiwan’s people; however, those of the subjects were omitted by the caller and could only be inferred from background knowledge. No matter who the referents of the subjects are, they are distinct from the Taiwan people group. As to Example 39, the bei construction works in the similar way to indicate the powerlessness of “深綠的” and “淺綠的”, and those who perform the activity of “欺負” are argued to be different from the pan-green group. As to Example 30, the differentiation between China and “我們 (wo-men)” is revealed in the phrase “被統一”, resulting in the fact that they belong to different groups. Furthermore, the rhetorical juxtaposition of the simile with the bei construction reinforces the conceptual link between mainland China and the KMT. In this way, both entities were categorized as out-group members according to the caller.

(33) March 17

(中藏和平協議 有用? 馬的和平協定 你要? 被屠殺 西藏沒有選擇 台灣卻還要一中市場?)

Is the peace agreement between China and Tibet practical? Will you accept the treaty proposed by Ma?)

- 1 二二八屠殺你們也是這麼說，台灣人民說他可能被抓去，他可能過的還不
- 2 錯，可是他就被殺掉。這都是你們的手法，你們必須要承認這個事實。

### Translation

- 1 Like the 228 incident, in which Taiwan's people were caught and killed. This is
- 2 the ploy that you have always used and a fact that you need to admit.

(39) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 希望大家理智，不管是深綠的還是淺綠的，不管是有被欺負的感覺還是
- 2 怎麼樣，我覺得用選票來表達自己的理念，或者試用選票來制裁他們。

### Translation

- 1 I hope everyone including the deep-green and the light-green can be more
- 2 reasonable. If you feel humiliated by the KMT, you should use the ballot to
- 3 express your ideas and punish them.

(30) March 6

(6:2? 年輕人偏愛馬? 謝急起直追?挺文化 挺棒球 謝馬誰「帶種」?)

6:2? Do young people prefer Ma? Is Hsieh catching up? As to culture and baseball, who pays more attention to them?)

- 1 假如又被中國統一的話，像以前國民黨剛來的時候，四萬元換一塊的時候，
- 2 我們都沒有錢了。

### Translation

- 1 If Taiwan is annexed by China again just like sixty years ago, our property
- 2 would shrink greatly due to the fluctuation of the exchange rate.

## 4.2.5 Interactions among Identity Labels, Deixis, Lexicon, and Discourse

### Devices

The intersubjective relations are multiple rather than singular and several tactics tend to appear together in discourse (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004). In Rudolf Gaudio's



(2001) research, how tactics work together in identity construction is illustrated. The term “chocolate queen” claimed by Gaudio builds the identity boundary of self and other, and creates an intersubjective relation of distinction between black African and white American homosexuality. The use of the same term in the response of Aliyu (a dark-skinned man) asserts a shared identity with Gaudio, which is an act of adequation. In this study, twenty six instances out of sixty two (42%) adopt over two distinction-achieving devices simultaneously to display the discrepancy between different groups. The following two are distinction instances with multiple linguistic devices. In Example 34, the discrepancy between Taiwanren and Waishengren is aggrandized by the adoption of the pronouns, “我們” and “你們”, the codeswitching between Taiwanese and Mandarin, and the identity labels of “Taiwanren” and “Waishengren”. In Example 39, the distinction of the two different groups, the KMT and the pan-green, is demonstrated with the use of out-group pronoun, “他們”, the identity labels of the deep green (深綠的) and the light green (淺綠的) (line 4-5), and the combination of the bei construction and the negative verb, “被欺負 (line 5)”.

(34) March 10

(馬經濟政策 拿掉一中 幾乎就空了? 承認學歷 外國人不能考證照? 馬胡說? Without the one-China market policy, are Ma’s economic policies equal to none? According to Ma, foreigners can’t attend certificate examination but their academic backgrounds will be admitted?)

- 1 <T 我覺得咱台灣人為了要當官，這回跟馬英九拼得很累。(…)因為馬英九
- 2 沒有優點讓你講 T>，你們都昧著良心講。跟外省講事情：筷子一放，甚麼

- 3 都忘。< T 台灣人佔不到好處，所以我們要摸著良心講話。馬英九都被你  
4 們這些人包裝的，因為他沒有優點讓你們講 T>，你們都昧著良心說瞎話。

### Translation

- 1 We Taiwanren are dog-tired and exhausted in this election competing with Ma  
2 because of those who would like to be high-ranking officials. (...) What you  
3 said is against the truth and Ma processes no virtues. After you put down the  
4 chopsticks, what you have agreed is also gone. Taiwanren gain no advantage  
5 when discussing with Waishengren. We need to tell the truth. Because Ma  
6 processes no merits, you are now crafting a saintly image of him instead. What  
7 you said is totally against your conscience.

(39) March 12

(衝台灣維新館 硬闖謝辦公室 用腳踹門 帶走物品 馬營藍委難道是強盜?)

Break in Hsieh's headquarter, kick the office door, take documents away, are KMT's legislators robbers?)

- 1 我覺得他們是在轉移焦點，就是之前的一中市場，還有他們其他立法委員  
2 被爆出有綠卡。可是他們今天發生這種事情的話，我想大家會忘了之前的  
3 事情。我之前也曾經是國民黨的，可是我覺得他們今天做出來的事情，真  
4 的是很丟臉，讓我的感覺好像是他要挑起藍綠 (...) 不管是深綠的還是淺  
5 綠的，不管是有被欺負的感覺還是怎麼樣，我覺得用選票來表達自己的理  
6 念，或者試用選票來制裁他們。

### Translation

- 1 I think they were attempting to divert the focus of attention from the previously  
2 mentioned one-China market and the green card issues. Preoccupied with  
3 today's incident, everyone might forget what happened in the past. I used to be  
4 a member of the KMT but I feel ashamed about today's incident. I feel that they  
5 were trying to provoke a fight between the pan-blue and the pan-green. (...)I  
6 hope everyone including the deep-green and the light-green can be more  
7 reasonable. If you feel humiliated by the KMT, you should use the ballot to  
8 express your ideas and punish them.

## 4.3 Devices that Achieve Authentication

The discussion so far has demonstrated how the tactics of adequation and

distinction are at work so that the callers' implicative ethnological and political identities are able to be revealed. In the following, the extracts concentrate on authentication (6%). The callers asserted their realness as Taiwanren rather than citizens of China or America when expressing their opinions related to nationality identities. The devices used to authenticate the nationality identity are quotations, rhetorical questions, doggerels, and metaphors.

To begin with, Examples 69 to 71 are extracted from the same day's program and the discussed issue is whether the support to Ma leads to the prosperity of the People's Republic of China and whether Taiwanren's government deserves to be depreciated as degradation. All of the callers claimed their realness as Taiwanren and authenticated their Taiwanren identities by categorizing the out-group as people who embrace no Taiwanren identity.

In Extract 69, the caller claimed that Taiwanren's root was in Taiwan while the KMT's root was in China. From the context, “我們 (wo-men)” are those who are not supporters of the KMT but those who regard Taiwan as their hometown and country. In addition, the caller implied that KMT supporters were not Taiwanren because they viewed mainland China as their root or fatherland. To strengthen his nationality identity, the caller quoted the then president Chen Shui-bian's saying, “If you think Taiwan is worse than China, why don't you go back to China?” to emphasize the

realness of his nationality identity as a Taiwanren. In addition, the presupposition of the verb phrase “滾回去” is that one comes from another place. According to the context, the place for those who depreciate Taiwan is mainland China. Hence, the distinction between different nationality identities, Taiwanren or the citizen of mainland China, is obvious.

In Extract 70, the caller expressed his gratitude to the program’s host and political commentators for revealing the indecent truth about the KMT because what they did was “為台灣”. To further show his agreement with the commentators, the caller emphasized his stance towards the commentators in “真的ㄟ又”. The inference of the rhetorical question “他們真的有臉在台灣說中華民國” is that they possess no rights to discuss the ROC in Taiwan. The caller confirmed his realness as Taiwanren by banishing “他們 (ta-men)”, the KMT, to mainland China and reminding them to take ROC national flags with them. The implication of this statement is that it is impossible for “他們 (ta-men)” to wave ROC national flags, the symbol of Taiwan, on the land of the People’s Republic of China. As a result, if “他們” are really banished to go there, “他們” need to abandon the symbol of Taiwan. In this way, the caller claimed his realness as a Taiwanren, who is able to wave the national flag in Taiwan and claims his identity of Taiwanren by posing the question, “Why don’t they move to mainland China?” which implies that they should move to mainland China.

In Extract 71, the caller authenticated himself as the real Taiwanren by requesting Ma to “回去 (line 3)” China in a doggerel. In the beginning of the doggerel, the caller mocked at Ma’s inability of dealing with administrative affairs and at his over-confidence of his “handsome look”. As to Ma’s ability and look, the caller quoted a Taiwanese proverb “枵狗笑想豬肝骨” (literally, “a hungry dog keeps dreaming of eating a pig’s liver,” and metaphorically, “He bites off more than he can chew”) to pave the way to the final remark that “乾脆趕快回去大陸 當他的豬狗牛 (line 3)”. In this way, in contrast to the place where Ma belongs, the caller proclaimed that he himself belongs to Taiwan, which makes him a real Taiwanren.

(69) March 5

(挺馬 中國有前途?! 喝台灣血? 台灣人政權 下流?

Does people’s supporting Ma lead to the prosperity of the People’s Republic of China? Is it equal to drinking Taiwanren’s blood? Does Taiwanren’s government deserve to be depreciated as degradation?)

- 1 我認為台灣人必須要覺醒。我們的根是在台灣，然後國民黨的根是在中國。
- 2 阿扁說：「如果台灣不好，那你就滾回大陸去！」的確就是這樣！

### Translation

- 1 Taiwanren should be aware that their roots are in Taiwan; however, the KMT’s
- 2 root is in mainland China. A-bian’s statement is really true that if you think
- 3 Taiwan is worse than China, why don’t you go back to China?

(70) March 5

(挺馬 中國有前途?! 喝台灣血? 台灣人政權 下流?

Does people’s supporting Ma lead to the prosperity of the People’s Republic of China? Is it equal to drinking Taiwanren’s blood? Does Taiwanren’s government deserve to

be depreciated as degradation?)

- 1 你們真的為台灣說出<T 顧臉盆 T>後面的醜陋。他們真的有臉在
- 2 台灣說中華民國！他們為甚麼不全部過去中國大陸阿？加帶中華民國國旗
- 3 去？

### Translation

- 1 You have revealed the ugly side of the KMT. How dare they talk about affairs
- 2 of the ROC in Taiwan? Why don't they move to mainland China with the flag
- 3 of the ROC?

(71) March 5

(挺馬 中國有前途?! 喝台灣血? 台灣人政權 下流?)

Does people's supporting Ma lead to the prosperity of the People's Republic of China?  
Is it equal to drinking Taiwanren's blood? Does Taiwanren's government deserve to  
be depreciated as degradation?)

- 1 我有一首打油詩要送給馬英九：馬英九真悲哀，無能通人知； 這種想要選
- 2 總統，卻是什麼都不知，真是馬不知臉長；以為自己真英俊，卻不知自己
- 3 是馬文才；枵狗笑想豬肝骨，乾脆趕快回去大陸，當他的豬狗牛！

### Translation

- 1 I have made a doggerel for Ma Ying-jeou, "It is a pity that Ma's poor
- 2 administrative ability is well-known by everyone. How dare he, an ignoramus,
- 3 want to join the Presidential election? He thinks that he is handsome but turns
- 4 out to be Ma Wen-cai (a pockmarked idiot in Chinese history). He bites off
- 5 more than he can chew. Why doesn't he go back to China to be a citizen of
- 6 China?"

As to Extract 72, the caller with the last name Ma said that the then Presidential candidate Ma had been cast out from Ma's clan, the reason of which was that “我們是台灣馬，他是中國馬”. The juxtaposition of nationality and the last name emphasizes the nation where those whose last name is Ma belongs. Further, the juxtaposition of Taiwan's Ma (one with the last name Ma in Taiwan) and mainland's Ma (one with the

last name Ma in China) creates the contrast of the two different nationality identities, the Taiwan identity and the China identity. Moreover, Ma was also analogized as “洛克馬” (a “lock horse,” meaning “a nag”), which falls into the category of the American horse, an innuendo implying that he might be a green-card carrying American citizen, according to the joke cracked by the caller. No matter which nationality is analogized with Presidential candidate Ma, citizen of China or America, Ma seems to be linguistically distinguished from the Taiwanren identity with the pronouns “我們 (wo-men)” and “他 (ta)”.

(72) March 7

(高捷通車了 謝馬執行力誰好?)

Kaohsiung MRT has been done. Whose ability of executive administration is better, Hsieh or Ma?)

- 1 我現在先表示說：那個馬英九先生已經被我們族譜劃名了。因為我們是台灣馬，他是中國馬，然後也是洛克馬。洛克馬是屬於美國的一種。
- 2

#### **Translation**

- 1 I need to clarify first that Mr. Ma has already been excommunicated from Ma's
- 2 clan. We are Taiwan's Ma and he is mainland's Ma. In addition, he is also
- 3 notorious as “a lock horse,” (meaning “a nag” in Taiwanese) which falls into the
- 4 category of the American horse.

#### **4.4 Results and Discussion**

This chapter investigates how ethological and nationality identities are constructed in the call-in content. Instead of searching for the explanation leading to the result, this chapter focuses on the identity construction processes. Taking

adequation, a concept indicating two entities are similar, as the starting point, I show that, first, the two or three groups in the call-in calls are positioned in a morally and politically equivalent category by adopting linguistic devices such as identity labels, deixis, and lexicons to show the callers' stances to the entities. In addition, adequation is argued to be a tactic which can be used from an outside position to impose similarities on others (Hodges, 2004). From the interactionists' viewpoints, identity arises in interaction: "for a person to 'have an identity' is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features" (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). "Casting into a category" can be realized through stance-taking (Johnstone, 2007). As a result, the allusions to and performances of the ethnological, nationality and political identities are perceived to be scaffolded by taking stance moves, positioning entities in a morally equivalent category. In the collected data, the callers tend to position themselves as in-group members of Taiwanren. Second, the same devices can also achieve distinction to aggrandize the discrepancy between members from different groups. Third, the use of other linguistic strategies is analyzed to emphasize the differentiations of the entities' identity relations, including semantic opposites, entailment, presupposition, negative markers, contrastive markers, rhetorical questions, codeswitching, negative verbs and *bei*-constructions. The tactic of distinction can be easily found in the call-ins (about 84%), among which the linguistic device, deixis is often used (about 64.5%) to



distinguish different groups. Especially, the phenomenon that adequation together with distinction are found in the same call-in shows that they are interrelated with, rather than excluded from, each other. Fourth, another tactic of the relationality principle, authentication, is adopted to assert the callers' realness as Taiwanren rather than citizens of China or Americans when expressing their opinions related to nationality identities.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Summary and Implications

The concepts of stancetaking and identity recently have been analyzed in the sociolinguistic field, especially in terms of phonological variation. However, the discussion of multiple linguistic variations except phonology in a study was rare and a high viewer rating program was influential on the individuals and representative enough to be a study target (Li 2008). Thus the study presented the relationship among linguistic devices, stancetaking and identity in the call-in show, “Da Hwa News”, using Bucholtz and Hall’s principles for analyzing identity (2004, 2005).

The three main political issues before the approaching of the presidential election, when more exaggerated discrepancy between in-group and out-group tended to be observed were the examination of Ma’s and Hsieh’s executive ability, the aftermath of the disputable activity of the pan-blue legislators, and the nationality orientation between Mainland China and Taiwan. A total of 22 sections, from March 5 to March 19, 2008, were selected and analyzed. Following tactics of intersubjectivity, the tactics of adequation, distinction and authentication were conducted and Social Identity Theory was brought into effect. In the following, the research questions will be answered respectively.

Question 1:

In terms of the tactic of identity work, adequation, how do the speakers position themselves or others?

In terms of the tactic of identity work, adequation, the speakers tended to index their orientations to the propositions of discourse, and to social identity categories inclusive of young people and Taiwanren through the adoption of linguistic features such as deixis and identity labels, and discourse devices.

Question 2:

In terms of the tactic of identity work, distinction, how do the speakers distinguish themselves from others? Do the linguistic devices differ from those adopted in achieving adequation? Are the pairs of adequation and distinction intertwined with or excluded from each other?

In terms of the tactic of identity work, distinction, speakers exaggerated the discrepancy of the evaluations toward the propositions or entities with negative verbs, bei-constructions, and discourse devices such as semantic opposites, entailments & presuppositions, negative markers, contrastive markers, rhetorical questions, and

codeswitching apart from deixis and identities. The tactic of distinction was easily found in the call-in contents (about 84%), among which the linguistic device, deixis was often used (about 64.5%) to distinguish different groups. In addition, the intertwined relation between the tactic of adequation and distinction in this empirical study of monolingual contexts suggested the speaker's multiple social identities.

Question 3:

In terms of the tactic of identity work, authentication, how do the speakers claim their realness as Taiwanren?

In terms of the tactic of identity work, authentication, the adoption of the linguistic devices such as quotations, rhetorical questions, doggerels and metaphors enabled the speakers to show their stances toward their own utterances as well as toward the appraisal targets in the utterances, with whom the speakers may establish different kinds of relational engagement (Martin, 1997). In this study, the speakers authenticated their Taiwanren identities by categorizing the members of the out-group taking stances in opposition to Taiwanren stances.

Results of the study have shown that the already existed ethnic contradiction between the pan-green and the pan-blue has been aggrandized through the linguistic

device. The in-group members, mainly the pan-green targets, are heavily favored, and the out-group members, mainly the pan-blue targets, are generally derogated. The distinction is apparently enhanced between individuals from different political stances, which is harmful to the harmony of the society. For the sake of the construction of a peaceful society, citizens should be encouraged to avoid watching call-in shows and treat people around them open-mindedly no matter whether they are Taiwanrens, Mainlanders, pan-green advocates, or pan-blue supporters.

## **5.2 Limitations of the Present Study and Suggestions for Future Research**

The present study has uncovered the process of stancetaking through which the association between particular linguistic forms and social meanings is constructed in a call-in show program. It has observed the speaker's Taiwanren identity and political stances (among which are stances toward nationality and political party). However, since this program is pan green-oriented, it is beyond this study's limit to examine the stance-achieving linguistic devices in utterances from the pan blue-oriented individuals. Moreover, it is out of the question to compare the different language use of stancetaking and identity demonstration among speakers from different political groups.

In addition, the analyses of this study mainly concern the production of call-in

contexts by the audience of the program. However, in Kiesling's view (2009), linguistic differences are often found between men and women (e.g., "men are confrontational," "women are servile"), and the gender issue is also important in sociolinguistic field. Hence, it is suggested that future research would better involve a gender analysis to further illustrate the impacts of discussed issues on both sexes' demonstration of taking stances towards nationality and politics.

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