

Ideology in Address Forms— A Case Study of Two Political Talk Shows in Taiwan

Woan-Tyng Lee
National Chengchi University

Political discourse should be informative and purposeful, because it is mainly used to influence an audience's political conception and judgment (Wilson, 1990). Since abundant forms of address are productively employed in such discourse, several studies propose functions of address forms (Brown & Gilman, 1960/1972; Jaworski & Galasiniki, 2000). This study aims to discuss appellations with pragmatic functions, based on Levinson (1983) by analyzing discussions on two talk shows within opposite political stands. In discussing how the use of appellations reveals the ideology of the programs, this study will analyze the attitude of the participants in the discussions on the programs.

1. Introduction

Political language expresses information, announces policy and states facts, and it is organized in rhetoric and purposeful methods in order to influence hearers' conception and judgment toward politicians (Wilson 1990; Chang 1998). Thus, political talk shows on television have an effect on citizens' political beliefs; and, especially, in political discourse, linguistic forms are used to convey speakers' ideology. Manipulating forms of address is one of the standard ways to attract audience's attention in talk shows, and the evidence can be firstly found in the dictionary. A form of address is "an identifying appellation which signifies status or function, e.g. 'Mr.' or 'General'." Thus, the way you address a person will project the figure that you think within the social factors.

Studies indicate that forms of address show ideology in the projection of speakers' beliefs in political discourse, especially when presenting 'power' or 'solidarity' (Brown & Gilman, 1960/1966; Fasold, 1994; Bull and Fetzer, 2006; Chang, 1998; Kuo, 2003). Brown and Gillman (1960)¹ demonstrated that the dimension of solidarity has been more recognized over) the dimension of power. As a person has power over another person to a

¹ Brown and Gillman (1960), using various methods like informal interviews, the analysis of works of literature, and the results of a survey questionnaires, found that the second-person pronoun usage was governed by two semantics, including interlocutor's power and solidarity. People used reciprocal forms of address more often than non reciprocal forms.

degree, so he or she controls the other person's behavior during the conversation. Similarly, the principle of showing reciprocals of American English was set to address the first name between interlocutors. Fasold (1994) illustrated that the use of the power pronouns, which Chinese language has *ni* (你) and *nin* (您) for the second-person pronouns, to express respect for someone was nonreciprocal. The power relationship from the gap of the status was nonreciprocal, because the difference of power was involved in a meeting between two individuals.

For usage of pronouns in political discourse, Bull and Fetzer (2006) suggested that the conception of power and solidarity should affect the use of first names, surnames, titles, and indexical expressions like pronouns. In forms of address, the referential domain of pronouns can be vague, and they can be employed strategically in order to keep an opinion or persuasion diplomatically vague. 'The pronouns do not carry their own concept meaning, they get their meaning from the nouns, in whose stead they are used. This made it easy to hide behind the pronouns and to use 'we' as a central political force of influence' (Ritta Pyykko 2002). In the dynamic event of a political interview, the noun phrases for which a pronoun stands are not ambiguous, so noun phrases can directly indicate the referent. However, their pragmatic functions are varied. Moreover, address forms can create various patterns to match the political purposes.

In the literature on the political address forms in Mandarin Chinese, a study of personal pronouns in political discourse discussed the strategies in the use of marked forms which are altered by the view points of person and number (Chang, 1998). Eight strategies examine Chinese personal pronouns, and distancing from the self and extending the scope from singular to plural pronouns were used to examine the speakers' involvement and attention within the conversation. However, this study only focused on the change of pronouns in political discourse with a lack of other kinds of forms of address in political discourse. The other analysis is about the forms of address used in the debates before the Taipei mayoral election, and it discussed the usage of address forms by two debaters when candidates defended the questions from other candidates (Kuo, 2003). Thus, based on Kuo's study, the present study analyzes the discussions on two talk shows where the discussions take opposite political stances to discuss the use of address forms using pronouns, nouns and compounds. Also, the study examines the pragmatic functions of Strengthening, Weakening and Politeness. The main research question of this present study is how address forms reveal the ideology of the programs and how political intention is manipulated in linguistic forms with different pragmatic functions. Address forms and strategies of operating forms are main focuses.

In this study, data is transcribed from two political interviews which are in opposite political statuses. One talk show 'Dahwaxinwen' (hereinafter referred to as Da) 大話新聞 with people from the opposition party always queries the government's policies. The discussions on 'Quenminkaijiang' (hereinafter referred to as Quen) 全民開講 supports the governing party. In terms of ideology, the host and participants in the discussions in the programs purposefully chose particular linguistic forms to influence the beliefs of

their audiences. Thus, the present study hypothesizes that the referents which the speakers address would affect the usage of forms and that the political stances of the participants in the talk shows would also have an effect on the selection of appellations and strategies. Section 2 outlines the usage of address forms in Chinese, and the following classification of address forms in sections 4 and 5 will be based on this section. And then methods and procedures will be mentioned in section 3. Sections 4 and 5 will be presented in tables of numbers of address forms used in the discussions and a comparison between Da and Quen will also be discussed. Session 5 is a short discussions about the attitudes toward the government, the audience and President Ma. The last session is the conclusion.

2. Form of Address

A form of address is a marker which, by tradition or law, precedes a reference to a person who holds a title or post, or to the office itself. It shows an individual in a personal capacity. As being associated with monarchies, they are used by a female marital partner in the marriage. In society, they are also universally used for presidents in republics and for members of Parliament, judges and senior constitutional office holders.

Main usage in forms of address in Chinese is for honorific titles, such as Mr, Sir, Mrs, Ms, Miss, and Madam in English. Chinese titles, unlike in English, always follow the name of the person and can stand alone, for instance, *xiansheng* 先生 ‘Mr. or Sir.’² In general, Hu (1999) suggests that the normal form for two individuals who are not intimate should tend to be mutual exchange of their LN + title so that the level of politeness used in interaction will be appropriate. In regard to occupational titles, Chinese people often address professionals in formal situations by their occupational titles. These titles can either follow the surname or full name, or can stand alone. In the political field, the titles refer to government and politics to show the status in the occupational field, such as *weiyuan* 委員 ‘delegate’ and *zhuxi* 主席 ‘chairperson.’

In regard to the forms which are used to analyze the forms of address in talk shows, firstly, nouns include bare nouns, proper nouns and names like Surface Name Last Name. Forms of address are connected with the expression of power and solidarity, and this holds for first names, surnames, titles, and indexical expressions, such as pronouns (Brown and Gilman 1960), for example, a full name like *mayingjiu* 馬英九, SN/LN with

² Hu (1999) proposes that to use Last Name + *xiansheng* is for politeness sake. People interchange this form with the title. *Lin xiansheng* ‘Mr. Lin’ who is a doctor can be addressed as *Lin yisheng* ‘Doctor Lin.’ LN + title and LN + *xiansheng* ‘Mr. Lin’ are equal in degree of the politeness. *nushi* 女士 ‘Ms.,’ *taitai* 太太 ‘Madam,’ and *xiaojie* 小姐 ‘Miss’ are used for women. *nushi* 女士 ‘Ms.’ is used for a married woman, so this form is related to age and social status. Educators employ this title when addressing older women or women in a higher social position in a written or spoken form. The alternative common use for LN + *nushi* ‘Ms.’ is LN + *taitai* ‘Mrs.’ When addressing any young woman who is not likely to be married, the form used is LN + *xiaojie* ‘Miss.’

a title, such as *Ma-zongtong* 馬總統 ‘President *Ma*’ or *MaYingJiou-zongtong* 馬英九總統 ‘President *mayingjiou*,’ and participants who indicate with location like *taiwanren* 台灣人 ‘Taiwan people.’

Secondly, personal pronouns, or called personal deixis are also discussed in the paper; their referents should depend on the context (Muhlhausler and Hare 1990). Personal pronouns index number and person features in speech events. They are the first-person, the second-person and the third-person pronouns with both singular and plural forms, which encode different participant roles in the speech event. The participants may include the speaker, the addressee (the hearer), and the others (audience or non-participants) (Levinson, 1983; Fillmore, 1971). The Mandarin pronoun system is listed in Table 1.

Table 1. The Pronoun **System** in Mandarin (Chao, 1968)

Personal pronouns	Singular	Plural
1 st person	wo 我 ‘I’	women 我們 ‘we’
2 nd person	ni 你 ‘you’	nimen 你們 ‘you’
3 rd person	ta 他(她,它) ‘he/she’	tamen 他們(她們,它們) ‘they’

Moreover, in Mandarin Chinese, a further referential pronoun is *dajia* 大家 ‘everyone,’ which indexes all participants. And, reflexive pronouns are *ziji* 自己 ‘itself’ and *renjia* 人家 ‘myself’ not only have canonical use which co-index subject but also non-canonical use which can occur in the subject position.

Lastly, the combination of nouns and pronouns shows a high redundancy of address forms, so it is also mentioned in this paper. For example, a noun can indicate a participant, like *zongtong* 總統 ‘president’, but in compound form, the noun *zongtong* goes with the 1st person plural pronoun *women* ‘we’ or the 2nd person singular pronoun *ni* ‘you,’ so (1a) below shows high redundancy to realize particular pragmatic functions. In the present study, several patterns will be discussed: a pronoun followed by a noun in (1a), a noun followed by a pronoun in (1b), a pronoun followed by a reflexive pronoun in (1c) and a possessive pronoun by a noun in (1d). By analyzing the number of nouns, pronouns, and compounds, the present study will show how speakers utilize address forms to achieve their purposes in political discourse to influence the political stance of their audiences.

(1) a. pronoun + noun	<i>ni-zongtong</i>	你總統
	‘you president’	
	<i>women-zongtong</i>	我們總統
	‘our president’	
	<i>nizhengfu</i>	你政府
	‘you government’	

b. noun + pronoun	<i>zongtong-ni</i> 'president you'	總統你
c. pronoun + pronoun	<i>nimen-ziji</i> 'yourselves'	你們自己
d. poss+ prono	<i>women-de-zhengfu</i> 'our government'	我們的政府

3. Method

The data were transcribed from four Chinese political television interviews, Da and Quen³, 20 minutes for each. Two topics were chosen. Both of the topics were discussed on each of the two programs on different dates. The first topic was that of a serious flood disaster which occurred on 8th August 2009. The second topic was that of a reported decline in people's agreement with the signing of the ECFA with China.

The participants in the two programs discussed the topics from different points of view. For the flood disaster, the participants in the discussions on both Da and Quen queried the policy in behind the rescue operations. For the ECFA, the participants in the discussions on Da were in disagreement with the policy behind the signing of the ECFA and expressed that the fall in the rate of approval showed that the views of the citizens were opposite to those of the government. On the other hand, the participants in the discussions on Quen were in agreement with the policy, but they sometimes queried that President Ma should publicize the policy.

Address forms indicating the referents of *Government or Audience* did not refer to a particular person, but were collective nouns. In the discourse, the speakers used pronouns to refer the government or audience, and sometimes, they used bare nouns presenting a neutral attitude. Sometimes the nouns were attached to pronouns, particles, and location. *Government or Audience* is even informal nick-names and formally proper nouns. Address forms were classified in view of pragmatic functions and social functions. Three main pragmatic functions were politeness, strengthening, and weakening, and social functions were analyzed based on the context.

4. Number of Address Forms on Da and Quen

Based on the above classification, address forms in opinion-releasing context are divided into three categories, with the data for each category being shown in three tables, respectively. Generally, the figures in Table 2 shows that the most frequently used form of address is in the form of a pronoun (50.9 %); the second is most frequently used form of address is in the form of a noun (41.1 %). Also, the discussions on the talk shows present

³The author would like to thank You Hui-jun for transcribing the discussions on 'Dahwaxinwen' and 'Quenminkaijiang' on 13 August 2009. The discussions on 'Dahwaxinwen' 大話新聞 on 1st April 2010 and on 'Quenminkaijiang' 全民開講 on 31st March 2010 were transcribed from the website 'TaiwanYes' http://taiwanyes.com/tvfilm_201004.php.

different preferences in the use of types of address forms. In the discussions on Da, nouns are frequently used, and the frequency of pronouns is close to nouns. However, only pronouns are most frequently used in the discussions on Quen.

Table 2. Total number and percentage of address forms on Da and Quen

Address forms	Pronouns		Compounds		Nouns		Total
Da	106	40.3%	26	9.9%	131	49.8%	263
Quen	216	58.4%	25	6.7%	129	34.9%	370
Total	322	50.9%	51	8%	260	41.1%	633

In view of the correlation between the use of appellation forms and pragmatic functions, the figures in Table 3 and Table 4 show that the language used by the participants in the discussions on Da and Quen show the same distribution of pragmatic functions. Strengthening is the priority function, and weakening is on the second one. The participants in the discussions on Da and Quen use pronouns to show strengthening and compounds to show weakening. However, in the language used by the participants in the discussions on Da, the rate of strengthening function of pronouns and nouns are close; that is, those two forms are both frequently manipulated to emphasize the referents. Only pronouns frequently play this role in the language used by the participants in the discussions on Quen.

Table 3. Pragmatic Functions Used in the Discussions on the Two Topics on Da

PF	Strengthening		Weakening		Politeness	Total
Pronouns	82	45.30%	24	33.80%	0	106
Compounds	24	13.20%	2	2.80%	0	26
Nouns	75	41.50%	45	63.40%	11	131
Total	181	100%	71	100%	11	263
	68.80%		27%		4.20%	100%

The Tables 3 and 4 show the occupational title in the noun category can function as presenting politeness. Mostly, in positive content, it **is** regarded as showing politeness to the referents, so politeness becomes a method to emphasize the participants' status. By contrast, in negative content, the emphasis on the social status functions as strengthening the antagonism to the referents. For example, indicating the occupational title may imply that the participants are not responsible about their duty. 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 below present types of nouns, pronouns, and compounds occurring in the shows.

Table 4. Pragmatic Functions Used in the Discussions on the Two Topics on Quen

PF	Strengthening		Weakening		Politeness	Total
Pronouns	166	67.00%	50	43.90%	0	216

Compounds	23	9.20%	2	1.80%	0	25
Nouns	59	23.80%	62	54.40%	8	129
Total	248	100%	114	100%	8	370
	67%		30.80%		2.20%	100%

4.1 Pronouns

The discussions on two talk shows show a high rate of utterances which use pronouns on strengthening the focus. The discussions on Da preferred to use four kinds of pronouns equally, and the discussions on Quen only used the 1st person singular pronoun to draw the audience's attention to present solidarity. That is, their preference for pronouns and strategies are different: the discussions on Da alternates the forms of pronouns, but the discussions on Quen frequently uses the 1st person plural pronoun. The 3rd person singular pronoun appears to weaken the emphasis on the referents.

Table 5. Number of Pronouns Used in the Discussions on the Two Topics on Da

Pronouns	Strengthening		Weakening		Total
1st person Singular	15		1		16
2nd person Singular	14		3		17
3rd person Singular	18		17		35
1st person Plural	17		0		17
2nd person Plural	3		0		3
3rd person Plural	1		0		1
Dajia	11		3		14
Ziji	3		0		3
Total	82	77.3%	24	22.7%	106

In Table 5, most of the pronouns are used with a focus on strengthening, especially the 3rd person singular and the 1st person plural pronouns. Also, the number of utterances of the 1st person singular, 2nd person singular pronoun and 'dajia' are close. 'Ziji' which is used in the subject position is regarded as a way of emphasizing the referents, because 'ziji' needs an antecedent and appears as a compound structure with a preceding pronoun. The 3rd person singular pronoun is used most frequently for both strengthening and weakening functions, and the difference in the use is influenced by the context. In a negative context, the 3rd person singular pronoun has the functions of strengthening or weakening opinions. In a positive context, it only has the function of weakening the focus, because to directly mention the name of the referent would be stronger than to use a pronoun. The rates of the utterance of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd personal singular and the 1st personal plural pronouns are close, but the 3rd personal singular pronoun is used most frequently in the discussion.

The speaker in (2) firstly refers to President Ma by using *zhege-mazongtong*, and then, he uses a noun of the name *MaYingJiou* and the 3rd person singular pronoun by repetition to highlight the referent. The pragmatic function is to strengthen the intonation, and the social function is to show antagonism between the president and the citizens. In the second step, the form of *citizen* is alternated from the 3rd into the 2nd person singular pronoun, because it is shifted by the number of referents. The emphasis is varied from the president to the president and citizens. At the end of the paragraph, a long compound of *Taiwan people* with location and a pronoun with a reflexive pronoun *ni-ziji* highlight the disagreement toward the government from the citizen, so it makes the distance between the president and citizen. Also, the language used in this extract shows that the participants on Da prefer to alternate the forms to highlight the focus.

(2)

H: zhexie huomai de ren, **zhege-mazongtong** jieshou waiguo meiti de fangwen. **ta(President Ma)** budan meiyou shuo ziji (President Ma) a youcuo. **Ta** guai shei? guai de shi zaimin. **Ta (President Ma)** shuo yinwei zhexieren a! Sishou jiayuan, buyuanyiche.....

H: but these buried people. Ah, **President Ma** was questioned by the foreign media. **He (President Ma)** did not confess that **he (President Ma)** is wrong. **He** blamed the victims. **He (President Ma)** said because these people *would stay* in their homes rather than run away. ..

(Da 2009: 21-25)

And, the 3rd person singular pronoun was used to weaken the focus in (3), because it is the speaker's explanation to the speech from President Ma, but the speaker uses a determiner to highlight the disagreement to the opponent. Also, the name with the title is presented with a sarcastic intonation, which implied that President Ma was not as valuable as the title.

(3)

M7: Wo jintian yao qiangdiao de shi wuneng yejiusuan le danshi wuneng buneng wuchi a. Ni kan zhejitian mayingjiu gen liuzhaoxuan jiangdehua nengbuneng ting? Mayingjiu jiangshuo eh zhexie doushi yinwei nicunmin bu cheli.

?: luan jiang

M7: Qingwen zheyangdehua nengting ma? Dierge liuzhaoxuan jiangshuo sheme jiangshuo women jiuzaisudu henkuai le la. Tade yisi shi shuo xianzai hai kunzai limian de ren zhen de huogai la. Women jiuzai sudu yijing henkuai la women jiuzai sudu yijing bizhege 921 haiyao kuaijiuer yi renjia a budao bangexiao shi lianggezong touzhinei jundui daoqianxian zhuzha. Qingwen ni jingran hai you houlianpi gan gen 921 bi

M7: Today, I want to emphasize that you government is incompetent and shameless. Ah, you can see that, in these days, whether the talk of Ma Ying-Jiou to Liu Zhao-Xuan made sense or not. Ma

Ying-Jiou said that it is all due to the reason that you villagers did not withdraw from their houses.

?: nonsense

M7: May I ask whether it made sense or not? The second thing is that Liu Zhao-Shuan said the speed of the rescue operation was fast. His meaning is that the victims who were trapped deserved it. Our speed in rescuing them was faster than the speed on 921. On 921, not in a half hour, in two hours, the rescue troops arrived at the frontline. How dare you compare it with the speed on 921? (Da 2009: L198-199)

Then, *with regard to other pronouns*, (3) shows that the speaker shifts the point of view to use the 1st person plural pronoun to refer to *Liu Zhao-Shuan* and *to the Government*. Also, the referents of the 2nd person singular pronoun are various, because the speaker shifts point of views. *ni* in the first line is non-referential, but *ni* in the last line refers to *Liu Zhao-Shuan* and *to the government*.’ The usage of *You government* is from the citizen’s point of view, but the usage of *You citizen* is from government’s point of view. And, the opposite point of view by using *ni-men* is another strategy. This dramatic use is to get the audience feel angry about the president.

When Da refers to the government, there are 14 types of address forms, and pronouns, such as ‘you,’ are used most frequently. The use of the projective *you* is another non-deictic use of personal pronouns, and The speaker expresses agreement with the viewpoint of the addressee. Chang (1998) also suggests that there is a *pronoun scale* in political discourse to show the strategy involved in the usage. The scale *shows from I approaching self to they distancing from self* in Fig 1.



Fig 1. Contradictory uses of strategies (Chang, 1998)

And, Brown and Gillman (1960) proposed that the 2nd person pronoun usage was governed by two semantics, including interlocutor’s power and solidarity. The use of the *You* strategy reflects the speaker’s solidarity and close relationship with addressee. The second highest form of address is *We*, which shows solidarity with the addressee. However, as we see *our government* in (4), *we* is not a usage of solidarity but ironic to emphasize how badly the government has performed. In the last line of (4), *we* refers to the government but not the audience. It is used to present a sarcastic meaning, because the audience does not want to sign the ECFA.

(4)

M3: **mazhengfu** de niupi chuopo, suoyi **taiwanrenmin** wenjia bao yizhi zaishuo rangli, zheci tangwei youlaishuo bu shi hongshuimengshou ye bushi lingdan miaoyao, qi shi zhegehua yinggai shi **women-de-zhengfu** gen **women** (referring to audience) shuo, jieguo biancheng zhongguo de zhengfu dui **taiwanren** jiang, **taiwanren** tingdao xinli huiyou yigewenti, women de zhengfu gen **women** (referring to audience) shuo ECFA shi lingdanmiaoyao, danshi yao gen **women** (referring to the government) qian de guojia shuo bushi o!

M3: The Ma government is found bragging, so Taiwanese understand ECFA much better than before. The important reason is that China has been talking. Wen Jia-bao promoted the benefits of the ECFA. Tang Wei said ECFA is not a monster and it is not a medicine. In fact, this announcement should be conveyed by our government. As a result, the China government talked to us, so we got confused, our government told us that the ECFA was a panacea, but the other country said it was not.

(Da 2010-04-01)

The use of various address forms is a standard feature in the discussions of the participants on Da, and the purpose is to emphasize their antagonism to the policy of government, so the speakers pretend that they represent the audience's point of views. Therefore, there are pronouns for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd personal singular and 1st personal plural in the discussions on Da, because, in order to strengthen the opposition, shifting points views needed all kinds of pronouns.

In number of pronouns used in the discussions in Table 6, pronouns are used frequently to replace nouns in the discussions. Pronouns are used 216 times which is twice as high as the usage. The 1st person plural pronoun is used most frequently. The 2nd person singular pronoun is used second most frequently, and the 3rd singular pronoun the third percentages. However, some pronouns less appear in the discussions on Quen. 'Renjia' is used only three times; the 2nd person plural is used only once.

Table 6. Number of Pronouns Used in the Discussions on the Two Topics on Quen

Pronouns	Strengthening	Weakening	Total
1 st person Singular	20	2	22
2 nd person Singular	50	1	51
3 rd person Singular	11	28	39
1 st person Plural	80	3	83
2 nd person Plural	1	0	1
3 rd person Plural	0	12	12
Dajia	4	1	5

Reflexive - renjia	0	3	3
Total	166	76.9%	216

An example can be shown in (5). *Women* is used to refer to the speaker, the government or even the citizens. At the same time, the antagonism is between China, by using the 2nd pronoun with location, and whole of the Taiwanese people but not between the government and the citizens. Thus, the phenomenon that the 1st person plural pronoun is frequently used is because the members in the discussions on Quen intend to alleviate misunderstandings between the government and the citizens by emphasizing on the issue.

(5)

M5: **women** xiwang touguo zheyici ECFA de tanpan, buneng xiezai baizhiheizi, yebuneng you wangyi laijiang, yinwei zheshi yizhong dui **women** zhuQuen de shanghai, danshi danshi **women** xiwang bici zhijian, xiang **women** de wajjiaoxiubing...

M5: We hope, through negotiation of the ECFA, announcement cannot be written in words. Also, it cannot be announced by Wang Yi, because this would destroy our sovereignty, but we hope our relationship can be as same as our diplomatic armistice...

(Quen 2010: 74-79)

The 2nd person pronoun shows highest frequency in the discussions on Quen, and it is also a dramatic use which is shifted from the 3rd person point of view. The different thing is address form the 1st person plural pronoun which is used both in referring to the government and to the audience, and the frequency is 32.73% in referring the government. However, in discussions on Da, although *We* is also used both in referring to two objects, it is only used total number plus percentage 12.50%, and it is as ironic address form addressing the government. Therefore, because *We* also conveys the speaker's wish to have an intimate relationship and solidarity with the referent by taking their side, as the discussions on Quen would regard themselves as members of the governing party.

4.2 Compounds

A possible compound structure used in address forms is that of reduplicated lexemes with the same referent. For example, *ta-ma-zongtong*, the pattern of 'a pronoun followed by a noun,' shows that *ta* and *ma-zongtong* both refer to President Ma. The way in which the same information appears redundantly in the discourse is used to draw the attention of the audience or to express a particular attitude toward the referents. When viewing the total number of compounds in Table 7 and Table 8, it can be seen that the participants in the discussions on Da and Quen produced almost the same number of compounds. The participants on Da produced 26 and those on Quen 25. And participants

on both programs use the pattern of ‘a pronoun followed by a noun’ which is an offensive way to query targets, especially the government and President.

Table 7. Number of Compounds Used in the Discussions on the Two Topics on Da

Compounds	Strengthening		Weakening		Total
Pronoun + Pronoun	1		0		1
Pronoun + Noun	9		1		10
Noun + Pronoun	2		1		3
Noun + Reflexive Pro	3		0		3
Pronoun + Reflexive Pro	4		0		4
Possessive + Noun	3		0		3
Noun + Pronoun + Reflexive	2		0		2
Total	24	92.3%	2	7.7%	26

Table 8. Number of compounds Used in the Discussions on the Two Topics on Quen

Compounds	Strengthening		Weakening		Total
Pronoun + Pronoun	0		0		0
Pronoun + Noun	14		0		14
Noun + Pronoun	2		1		3
Noun + Reflexive Pro	0		1		1
Pronoun + Reflexive Pro	1		0		1
Possessive + Noun	5		0		5
Noun + Pronoun + Reflexive	1		0		1
Total	23	92%	2	8%	25

Similarly to usage for pronouns, the compounds used by the discussions on Da are almost equally used to strengthen the focus, which shows that the discussions on Da like to alter the types of address forms to index the participants. In the discussions on Quen, ‘pronoun+noun’ is the most frequently used address form. Other types are only used once or a few times. The discussions on Quen do not alternate the forms of address.

4.3 Nouns

The discussions on Da contains 129 nouns, as shown in Table 9, and the discussions on Quen use 131 nouns, as shown in Table 10. They also have almost the same number of nouns. Bare nouns are frequently used to weaken the focus. Nouns with title are used for two opposite purposes. They are used in positive content to show the politeness of the speaker, and in negative content to add a sarcastic meaning to strengthen the focus.

In the discussions on Da, the number of nouns occurring on strengthening in a negative context is higher than the number in the discussions on Quen, so it likes to use nouns to get the hearer’s attention. Also, the frequency of the occurrence of nouns with

location is greater than that of the frequency of the occurrence of nouns with location in the discussions on Quen, so the discussions on Da like to focus on the location differences to get solidarity with the audience. Moreover, adding a determiner in front of nouns also is another favorite strategy.

Table 9. Number and Type of Nouns Used in the Discussions on Da

Nouns	Strengthening		Weakening		Total
Name	11		0		11
Bare noun	29		43		72
People with Location	13		0		13
D + noun	13		0		13
Title + noun	20		2		22
Total	86	65.6%	45	34.4%	131

Table 10. Number and Type of Nouns Used in the Discussions on Quen

Nouns	Strengthening		Weakening		Total
Name	22		0		22
Bare noun	23		61		84
People with Location	1		0		1
D + noun	2		1		3
Title + noun	19		0		19
Total	67	51.9%	62	48.1%	129

In discussions on Quen, the noun of “People with location” only appears once, and a noun with a determiner occurs three times. Those two forms are seldom used to strengthen the focus. The speakers only present *Government* to show disagreement, which is a way to query the government, but the attitude is not as aggressive as the attitude of the discussions on Da.

4.4 Comparison

With regard to forms of address, the participants in the discussions on Da and Quen prefer to use different forms of address. The participants in the discussions on Da like to use both noun and pronoun, while those in the discussions on Quen prefer to use pronouns. In regard to nouns, bare noun is the prior use to weaken the focus like in (1). As the speakers wanted to highlight one point, they reduced their use of other address forms. This strategy was used on both Da and Quen. However, the discussions on Quen did not like to direct to the target.

Then, Da and Quen have similar rate of using compound, ‘pronoun + noun’ is the most frequently occurring pattern; discussions on Da like to alternate the forms, but those on Quen do not like to alternate the forms. The discussions on Quen *only* used the pattern

of ‘pronoun + noun’ to criticize the target. In the discussions on Da, other types of compounds, such as *ni-men-ziji* and *zijirenming*, were used to raise the antagonism of the audience to the government.

In regard to the use of pragmatic functions, names with title can show politeness. Strengthening and weakening implies features strategies used in the discussions on Da and Quen. First, in the data, 66.2% of the discussions on Da focus on strengthening, which may imply the discussions on Da is aggressive in raising antagonism to the government and competition between China and Taiwan. Moreover, the discussions on Da are good at presenting dramatic use *ni* and shifting points of view in use of pronouns.

And, the participants in the discussions on Quen not only focus on strengthening but weakening, so they sometimes want to alleviate the conflict between the government and the citizens; they sometimes stood for government to show empathy; sometimes they explained the policy for the government. Meanwhile, the discussions on Quen still queried the policy of the government, especially in the discussions on the ECFA, but, even when the participants query the policy of the government, they did not alternate the forms to exaggerate their intonation, and they did not directly point out target points. The discussions on Quen used a vague and general term like *zhengfu* when the *government* was regarded to be a target of blame. At the same time, in data, the percentage of address forms of *name* are high, because when the discussions on Quen mention the antagonism between China and Taiwan, they directly used the noun of the name *Wangyi* to raise the opposite relationship.

5. Discussions of Strategies Toward Government, Audience and President Ma

In regard to address audience, the discussions on Da and Quen all would like to use the 1st person plural pronoun to show solidarity with the audience, so Da and Quen have same purpose to use the address forms. However, when address the government and the president, the discussions on Da and Quen show different strategies. The following table presents the types of address forms referring to Government and president in the discussions on Da and Quen

In Table 11, as addressing the government, the participants in the discussions on Da show antagonism towards government which is reflected in their use of compounds of nouns with pronoun. The participants on Da also use *women* to refer to the government, but it is an ironic usage. *Ma-ying* 馬營, *Ma-ge* 馬閣, and Ma-government are proper nouns used to address the government led by President Ma. Such usage emphasizes the status of President Ma, and President Ma becomes the target of blame. Therefore, for the discussion on Da, both the president and the government are blaming target. On the other hand, in the discussion on Quen, address forms like “this *mayingjiou*-government” and “*Ma*-government,” point out President Ma as the target of the government. On addressing government in Quen, the types of pronouns are more than the types in Da. The reason is that using pronouns would also increase the degree of ambiguity in the discourse (Muhlhausler and Hare 1990), so they do not accurate to blame the governing party.

Table 11. The address forms referring to ‘government’ and ‘President Ma’ on Da and Quen (arranged by the Quantity from minor forms to major forms)

AF of Gov on Da	AF of President on Da	AF of Gov on Quen	AF of President on Quen
<i>nimen</i> 你們	<i>zheezongtong</i> 這 e 總統	<i>women-zhengfu</i> 我們政府	<i>ni-MaYingJiou</i> 你馬英九
<i>zhemage</i> 這馬閣	<i>zhege-Mazongtong</i> 這個馬總統	<i>zhegezhengfu</i> 這個政府	<i>zongtong-ni</i> 總統你
<i>nizhengfu</i> 你政府	<i>zhezongzongtong</i> 這種總統	<i>zhegeMaYingJiou-zhengfu</i> 這個馬英九政府	<i>ni-guojia-lingdaoren</i> 你國家領導人
<i>yizhengfu</i> 伊政府	<i>huojialingdaoren</i> 國家領導人	<i>MaYingJiou-Mazhengfu-ziji</i> 馬英九馬政府自己	<i>Ma-zongtong-ta</i> 馬總統他
<i>zhengfuta</i> 政府他	<i>tazongtong</i> 他總統	<i>Zhizhengdang-ni</i> 執政黨你	<i>MaYingJiou-xiansheng</i> 馬英九先生
<i>MaYingJiou-zhengfu</i> 馬英九政府	<i>Maezongtong</i> 馬 e 總統	<i>Ma-zhengfu</i> 馬政府	<i>ta</i> 他
<i>maying</i> 馬營	<i>Malingdaoren</i> 馬領導人	<i>tamen</i> 他們	<i>na</i> 你
<i>Zhegezhengfu</i> 這個政府	<i>lingxiu</i> 領袖	<i>wo</i> 我	<i>MaYingJiou-zongtong</i> 馬英九總統
<i>zhezengfu</i> 這政府	<i>MaYingJiou-zongtong</i> 馬英九馬總統	<i>ta</i> 他	<i>Ma-zongtong</i> 馬總統
<i>Mazhengfu</i> 馬政府	<i>women-MaYingJiou-zongtong</i> 我們馬英九馬總統	<i>MaYingJiouzhengfu</i> 馬英九政府	<i>MaYingJiou</i> 馬英九
<i>women-de-zhengfu</i> 我們的政府	<i>zane-zongtong</i> 咱 e 總統	<i>women</i> 我們	
<i>ta/yi</i> 他/伊	<i>ziji</i> 自己	<i>ni</i> 你	
<i>women</i> 我們	<i>ni</i> 你		
<i>ni</i> 你	<i>Mazongtong</i> 馬總統		
	<i>MaYingJiou</i> 馬英九		
	<i>ta/yi</i> 他/伊		

According to Kuo (2003), she proposes that an increase in the use of address forms in a debate would project increasing hostility and confrontation, it also correlation between choices of address forms and overt verbal opposition. Thus, the discussions on Da present antagonism to both the government and President Ma by using lots of redundant address forms. The discussions on Quen only show opposition to President Ma, but they still support the governing party, because it seems that the participants in the discussions on Quen try to vague pronouns to decrease the degree of judgment.

The use of the 1st person pronoun *women* in the discourse shows solidarity with the government. Therefore, the discussions on Quen separate the party with *President Ma*; that is, they not only argue the behavior of President Ma and also suggest proper ways for the government on the policy. However, the discussions on Da regard President Ma as a target of all bad things from the governing party, so President Ma is the core of the government domain. President Ma is the independent individual; sometimes, President Ma may stand for the whole government, and it becomes an abused target which is the use of metonym (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). This relationship is presented in Figure 2.

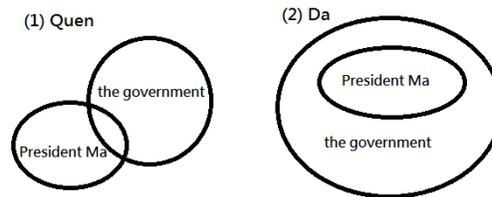


Fig 2. Two domains of the government and President Ma

In conclusion, the holding of different political ideologies is reflected in the use of address forms. The participants in the discussions on Da and Quen seek to get close to their audiences by using the solidarity word of the 1st person pronoun *women*. However, in addressing the government, participants in the discussions on Da show antagonism to the government by using compounds of pronouns and nouns. These participants also use *women* to refer to the government, but it is a ironic usage. In contrast, the participants in the discussions on Quen, use *women* to show solidarity with the government and the audience. When addressing the audience, the participants in the discussions on Da focus on location phrases with nouns, but the participants in the discussions on Quen use proper nouns to present a neutral tone. The notions of ‘power’ and ‘solidarity’ are universal (Brown etl, 1960), so participants in the discussions on Da and Quen both try to get close to the audience, and they use address forms to get the attention of the audience. Because the participants in the discussions on Da and those on Quen represent two opposing political stances, different strategies in the usage of address forms when referring to the government and President Ma are also shown.

6. Conclusion

Ideologies are sets of ‘ideas,’ that is, belief systems, so they need cognitive components. And, political cognition serves as the indispensable theoretical interface between the personal and the collective dimensions of politics and political discourse (Van Dijk, 2006). Thus, the Quantity and types of forms of address implies the television program’s policy strategies. Above data which provided supporting information was from discussions on the political television talk shows, Quen and Da, which could influence

the political thinking of the audience and make the audience believe in the argument of the politicians (Wilson, 1990). Based on the transcriptions of the discussions on Quen and Da who had contrasting political positions, the study presented their distinguished patterns of address forms.

By analyzing three categories of address forms, pronouns, nouns and compounds, and three main pragmatic functions, strengthening, weakening and politeness, the study found that Quen and Da depended on different strategies to present forms. Da preferred to use pronouns and nouns, and the subcategories in three categories were alternated and equally distributed. Nouns with determiner, nouns of names, or nouns with location were added; pronouns were used most frequently through shifting points of views. Because of an individual's multiple social, discursive, and interactional roles, pronouns can refer to more than one identity and therefore can express multiple meanings (Bull & Fentzer). And, alternated forms could make the speech exaggerated and aggressive to emphasize the target of referents. Also, the pragmatic function of strengthening was almost conducted; weakening was less used, so raising antagonism, especially between the audience and the government, was the main purpose of the discussions on Da.

Otherwise, the favorite form of address used by the participants used in the discussions on Quen was pronouns, because the speakers focused on producing solidarity by approaching audience (Maitland & Wilson 1987). The participants, especially in using the first person plural pronoun, which represented the identification of the speakers with the audience, attempted to employ empathetic use toward the victims of the flooding and supporting use to the governing party (Levinson 1988). The alternation of address forms was less various, so speakers would not like to change form to emphasize the antagonism between the speaker and the government or between the audience and the government. In regard to the pragmatic functions, both strengthening and weakening were performed. The discussions on Quen tried to play the role to alleviate misunderstanding over the government *and* to create opposition to other *targets* like China other even the president, because the antagonism between China and Taiwan can produce solidarity with citizens or audience.

This study has taken a step in discussing ideology on forms of address in political television interview by analyzing types of forms of address. Function and meaning should be context-dependent; thus, even the same pronoun may indicate different referents. The strengthening of different referents is used to show antagonism to opponents or solidarity with an audience to get the approbation of the audience. The analysis of the use of pronouns used by participants in political discussions in this study supports the literature, and the research on compounds can also raise other issues.

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