

## **A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TAIWAN'S NATIONAL DEBATE ON ECONOMIC TIES WITH CHINA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) views language as “social practice” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997:258), studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to unfold the sources of power, dominance, and inequality (van Dijk 2001). CDA is used to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between language and society, which is much different from other discourse analysis methods (Rogers 2004). The major goals of CDA are to “critically analyze those who are in power, those who are responsible, and those who have the means and the opportunity” to deal with social problems (van Dijk 1986: 4). Among many CDA theorists, van Dijk’s (1993) socio-cognitive model has been widely referenced and applied in the analysis of media discourse. However, there is little research analyzing debate discourse by van Dijk’s model. Therefore, the discourse in this study was analyzed using van Dijk’s model in order to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between language and power in the national debate on the issue of Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) held in Taiwan. The ECFA debate is about 142 minutes long, held on April 25, 2010. The reason for holding this national debate was to familiarize the Taiwanese people with the contents of the ECFA and to publicize the benefits of signing it with Mainland China. The data of the ECFA debate was analyzed based on van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model and then categorized into three themes: discourse representing Us versus Them, evasion, and diversity of the discourse. Through the above analysis, the study is to reveal that dominance and power are manifested in language (Wodak 2001; Van Dijk 1993, 2001).

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, the ECFA debate

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) views discourse as “social practice” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258), and takes special interest in the relation between language and society, which is much different from other discourse analysis methods (Rogers 2004). The relationship between language and society can be described, interpreted, and explained through studying and analyzing written and spoken texts. The key CDA theorists include Fairclough (1992, 1993, 1995), van Dijk (1993, 2001), Gee (2005), van Leeuwen (1993), and Wodak (2001). Although they hold somewhat distinct views on CDA, it is generally agreed that CDA should be viewed as an approach made up of different perspectives and methods to investigate the relationship between the use of language and social context.

Many CDA theorists define CDA in their own way (Van Dijk 1993; Meyer 2001). Some of them share similar points of view, while others are rather different from each other. Fairclough and Wodak’s approaches rely much on Halliday’s (1994) linguistic analysis, starting with systematic analysis of lexical resources to genre and text metafunction. Unlike the approaches of Fairclough and Wodak (1997), van Dijk (1995) develops methods which are more focused on cultural and social contexts. The methods are based on four categories: action, context, power, and ideology. Discourse analysis is, from van Dijk’s (1995: 17) point of view, ideology analysis, because “ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies”. He further claims that ideologies “indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members” (van Dijk 1995: 19) and they are manifested through discourse. The manifestation is particularly presented by Us versus Them dimensions, in which people of one group are likely to use positive terms to describe themselves while they present others in negative ones. Besides ideology, power issue is also one of the major goals which CDA emphasizes. Through CDA, those people who are in power and have the means to

deal with social problems are critically analyzed (van Dijk 1993). In a society, the relationships of “dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” can be described, interpreted, and explained (Wodak 2001: 2). In other words, every discourse is produced and interpreted historically in a society where powerful groups dominate discourse structures. Thus, three major themes shared by all CDA models are “the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology” (Wodak 2001: 3).

For decades, CDA has attracted a number of scholars to analyze and explain the relationship between language and society in sorts of fields, such as in media discourse (van Dijk 1998) and in education (Rogers 2004); moreover, different kinds of models have been applied to analyze discourse, such as Fairclough’s model, van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model, Wodak’s discourse sociolinguistics model, and so forth. Especially in the analysis of media discourse, van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model has been widely referenced and applied. However, there is little research analyzing debate discourse by van Dijk’s model. Therefore, the discourse in this study was analyzed using van Dijk’s model in order to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between language and power of the national debate on the issue of Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) held in Taiwan on April 25, 2010.

## **2. FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

The ECFA debate is about 142 minutes long, divided into three parts: statement, interrogation, and conclusion. In this study, the debate was analyzed by van Dijk’s socio-cognition model (1998: 61-63) in the following aspects: (1) Examination of the context of the discourse: historical, political, or social background of a conflict and its main participants; (2) Analysis of groups, power relations, and conflicts involved; (3) Identification of positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them; and (4) Examination of formal structures: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions.

Items (1) and (2) are briefly explained and interpreted in the part

called Context and Power Relations while (3) and (4) are elaborated and categorized into three different themes: discourse representing Us versus Them, evasion, and diversity of the discourse. The above analyses are to unfold the manifestation of dominance and power in language.

### 3. DATA

This study presents a critical discourse analysis of the language used by two ideologically opposed political leaders, Taiwan President Ma and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Chairwoman Tsai. The ECFA debate between President Ma and Chairwoman Tsai provides data to analyze how language is used to deliver divergent political views and beliefs. The analysis is based on the ECFA debate held on April 25, 2010. The content of the debate, about 142 minutes long, firstly, was transcribed from the ECFA video uploaded on the website of Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council, analyzed critically, and then translated into English (Figure 1). The selected data were backtranslated in order to improve the reliability and validity of the study. In addition, to validate the analysis, a corpus of news reports related to the debate was considered to lend support to the debate data. Two English-language daily newspapers, The China Post and Taipei Times, which showcased local (Taiwan) and international news, were examined in the study.

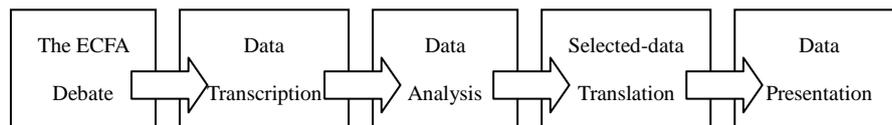


Figure 1. Data analysis procedure

### 4. BACKGROUND OF THE ECFA DEBATE

The ECFA, as defined by Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council (2010: 1), was to "promote the normalization of cross-strait economic and trade

relations, to avoid Taiwan being marginalized by regional economic integration, and to enhance Taiwan's position as a platform for regional investment." It was a preferential trade agreement between Taiwan and Mainland China for the purpose of reducing tariffs and commercial barriers between the two countries. However, the ECFA was not welcomed by the Taiwanese people, especially the opposition politicians.

*The DPP and its pro-independence allies, however, are wary about signing such an agreement with China, fearing that the pact could make Taiwan more reliant on China economically and eventually lead to its annexation by China. (Bian & Wu 2009: 1)*

Despite fierce opposition to ECFA from the opposing parties, President Ma strongly insisted that signing the ECFA would establish and strengthen the economic connection between Taiwan and other countries; in other words, it would help prevent marginalization of Taiwan's economy.

*Ma believes without the ECFA, Taiwan will be economically marginalized in an emerging free trade zone in Asia, dominated by the People's Republic of China. (ECFA to be debated at last 2009: 1)*

Moreover, President Ma kept emphasizing he would absolutely protect Taiwan's sovereignty and politically sensitive language would be excluded during the negotiation with China representatives.

*Ma said his administration would expedite the signing of the agreement and promised that it would not contain terms such as "one China," "peaceful unification" or "one country, two systems." (Ko 2009: 1)*

However, after a year of unveiling the proposal of ECFA, the majority in Taiwan still did not have a clear idea of the agreement. A survey showed that over 70% of the people in Taiwan were aware of the

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ECFA but only 33% of them thought that they understood the content (ECFA debate is just a show March 26, 2010: 1). Therefore, a national debate on the ECFA was held on April 25, 2010 and broadcast live in order to deliver more information about it to the general public.

## **5. CONTEXT AND POWER RELATIONS**

In the debate, Taiwan's President Ma Ying-jeou and DPP chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen participated and expressed opposing views on whether the signing of ECFA benefitted Taiwan's people or not. After a fiercely competitive presidential election in March 2000, the DPP took power from the incumbent Kuomintang (KMT), which had ruled Taiwan for 55 years; however, in 2008, the KMT regained power because Ma Ying-jeou won the presidential election. Although polls showed that about two-thirds of Taiwan's residents are in favor of ECFA (Majority favors ECFA April 20, 2009: 1), Tsai was concerned that it would erode Taiwan's sovereignty. To keep Taiwan's sovereignty was the focal doctrine of the DPP, while the KMT was criticized for being 'too close' to China.

The participants of the ECFA debate were the current Taiwanese president Ma Ying-jeou and the current DPP chairwoman Tsai Ing-wen. Ma is not only the Taiwan president but the chairman of KMT, while Tsai is just the chairwoman of DPP. The DPP ruled Taiwan for eight years from 2000 to 2008 but is now the largest opposition party. In the debate, the two participants were from two politically opposing parties but Ma plays two roles at the same time. First, he is Taiwan's president and holds more power than a leader of a political party. Besides the conflicts of power between the participants, the conflicts between the two parties have always been in the headlines and fiercely discussed on radio, newspaper, and TV. It is generally agreed that the two parties fight against each other so much because the KMT is more pro-China, while the DPP fires back everytime the KMT tries to get closer to the Chinese government for fear that Taiwan will lose its sovereignty.

## **6. THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE ECFA DEBATE**

The following analysis of the data reveals the emergence of three broad themes: discourse representing Us versus Them, evasion, and diversity of the discourse.

### **6.1 Discourse Representing Us Versus Them**

In the debate, discourse representing “Us versus Them” (Van Dijk 1998; Oddo 2011) was delivered more frequently by President Ma (80%) than by Chairwoman Tsai (20%) (see table 1). The lexical words used by President Ma are more powerful, making a sharp contrast with the ones spoken by Chairwoman Tsai. Chairwoman Tsai presents the positive part of the DPP and the negative side of the KMT. In the same vein, President Ma speaks what the KMT has done to make Taiwan better and how the DPP has prevented Taiwan from embracing prosperity. The discourse of the debate is in accordance with what van Dijk (1995) claimed that WE are democratic while THEY are not, and Our soldiers are fighting for freedom while the Others are terrorists. Additionally, President Ma keeps emphasizing that the DPP tends to avoid wanting to build up a good relationship with China and with other countries, but the KMT is willing to work hard to make up what Taiwan has lost during the eight years of DPP rule, which was mentioned repeatedly, leaving a strong impression on the Taiwanese people that the DPP should take responsibility for Taiwan’s depressed economy.

Table 1. Discourse representing ‘Us versus Them’

<b>President Ma’s Discourse</b>	
About ‘Us’	About ‘Them’
1. To accept the advice of KMT to embrace internationalization?	1. Should we take the suggestion of DPP to lock ourselves?
2. To inaugurate a ten-year golden era by my leadership.	2. Let’s say goodbye to the eight-year rule by the DPP.
3. We Taiwanese people are brave and know how to deal with difficulty.	3. You are pessimistic, crying over difficult times instead of handling it.
4. What we do is multi-dimensional, not only negotiating with China but also with other countries.	4. During your eight years in power, everything was delayed.
5. However, I won’t let my voters down. I have to sign the ECFA for our country’s benefits.	5. Chairwoman Tsai, during your party’s rule, we just stayed at the starting line.
6. While during our time in government, we improved the relationship.	6. The biggest problem of the DPP is you tend to avoid facing reality and solving problems.
7. KMT is able to do everything.	7. DPP members try to postpone everything using timing as an excuse.
	8. When we want to make the content of the ECFA transparent, you the DPP keep boycotting and rejecting it in parliament.
	9. You DPP ignore everything during the eight years.
	10. During the DPP rule, the relationship between Taiwan and China worsened.
	11. During the DPP rule, our economic status weakened.
	12. The DPP only talks without action.
	13. We won’t escape from the international world of business which was totally ignored during the eight years of DPP administration.
<b>Total: 20 clauses</b>	

Chairwoman Tsai's Discourse	
About 'Us'	About 'Them'
1. The DPP leads Taiwanese people to move toward the world, along with China. 2. The DPP has a positive attitude toward an integration of international economy and business cooperation with China.	1. The KMT takes us to the world through the assistance of China. 2. We think signing the ECFA is a mistake made rashly by the KMT. 3. During your two-year rule, people feel a sense of insecurity.
<b>Total: 5 clauses</b>	

## 6.2 Evasion

Unlike President Ma's powerful discourse, Chairwoman Tsai debates in a gentle way, repeatedly asking President Ma a great number of questions. However, President Ma evades the questions raised by Chairwoman Tsai, which makes her questioning useless and powerless. It is one of the most significant strategies of political leaders to express something without necessarily giving any information. In the data analyzed, evasion or what Holly (1989: 122) claims "non-communication" of content was used to avoid revealing any detailed part of the agreement so that it could be smoothly signed without further opposition.

***Chairwoman Tsai:** I would like to ask President Ma when you are going to reveal the contents of the ECFA to the public.*

***President Ma:** It's still under negotiation; therefore, during this time, it is impossible to report it to the public. As you know, it is important to keep it secret during the process of negotiation. (The ECFA TV debate April 25, 2010)*

From the above excerpt, it was obvious that President Ma tried to evade from answering the question raised by Chairwoman Tsai. Moreover, he tried to justify the action to seal the lid of the ECFA during

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the process of negotiation. Similarly, this time when President Ma was asked about the reason why the stricter framework proposed by the World Trade Organization (WTO) was not accepted, he answered nothing regarding WTO but highly emphasized the significance of the ECFA.

***President Ma:** Signing the ECFA is not for personal benefit but for our country's benefit. For Taiwan's future, if I don't sign it, I will let my voters down, and I don't know how to face the next generation of Taiwan. It is Taiwan's future. (The ECFA TV debate April 25, 2010)*

The purpose of the debate was to make the public understand more about the ECFA. However, President Ma did not directly and clearly answer the questions raised by Chairwoman Tsai, causing the public in Taiwan to lack a clear picture of the ECFA.

### **6.3 Diversity of the Discourse**

In Taiwan, most of the people who support the KMT mostly speak Mandarin Chinese while those supporting the DPP generally speak Taiwanese, a language spoken by the majority from the southern part of Taiwan. However, President Ma, also the chairman of the KMT, spoke four languages, including Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese, Hakka, and Amis, an aboriginal language spoken in Taiwan, to greet the audience in the studio and in front of the TV. During the debate, he even uttered Taiwanese idioms, whereas Chairwoman Tsai only spoke Mandarin Chinese. The discourse of Chairwoman Tsai is less powerful and purposeful than that of President Ma since the latter knows how to use different languages to attract people's attention and show he is sharing the same culture and language. Furthermore, President Ma uses a number of Chinese idioms and proverbs (Table 2 and Appendix), which is very distinctive from Chairwoman Tsai's discourse. The discourse of President Ma was emphasized to point out the ability of the KMT to create more opportunities to embrace prosperity and the inability of the

DPP to make a closer economic connection to other countries by the idioms and proverbs.

***President Ma:** The idea of signing an economic agreement with Mainland China is not conjured up after my administration but many years ago. After seeing our relationship with Mainland China, I was very concerned about the development of the Asia-Pacific region. You may not know it, but in 2003, I went to Singapore to deliver a speech called "Why not 10 plus 4." I have already noticed the problem and people of insight would also notice it. However, you DPP just **turn a blind eye to** the situation, pretending that nothing happened. During the eight years of DPP administration, there was no breakthrough, making us feel really worried and concerned. (The ECFA TV debate April 25, 2010)*

He also used a metaphor to describe how we were just busy tying our shoelaces when other countries were already running toward economic progress. This implied that people in Taiwan were too slow to catch up with other countries in economic terms.

***President Ma:** Look! Other people have run for four or five laps but we are still squatting down, tying shoelaces. How much longer shall we wait? (The ECFA debate April 25, 2010)*

Table 2. Idioms and proverbs used by President Ma

Idioms or proverbs	Meaning	Appendix
[ba suoyou jidan fangzai tong yige lanzi] 把所有雞蛋放在同一個籃子	put all their eggs in one basket	Example 6
[bu bu wei ying] 步步為營	to act cautiously	Example 3 & 4
[bu ru huxue yan de huzi] 不入虎穴焉得虎子	nothing ventured, nothing gained	Example 10
[chongdao fuzhe] 重蹈覆轍	to recommit the same error	Example 2
[shengsi youguan] 生死攸關	a matter of life and death	Example 8
[shi ruo wudu] 視若無睹	to turn a blind eye to	Example 7
[wei yu choumou] 未雨綢繆	to repair the house before it rains	Example 5
[yi chou mo zhan] 一籌莫展	unable to find a way out	Example 9
[yuan youtou zhai youzhu] 冤有頭，債有主	every injustice has its perpetrator	Example 1
[zhan ding jie tie] 斬釘截鐵	to speak in unequivocal terms	Example 1

One interesting phenomenon occurring in President Ma's discourse was that he used informal language in the interrogation part. The interrogation part was divided into five rounds. In the first round, President Ma only used formal language while in the last round, several informal words were used. The informal words were meaningless; moreover, they seldom occur in a formal speech or debate. In a casual discourse, people use 'ei' to call a friend or an inferior, which is considered impolite. However, in the discourse of the fifth round of interrogation, President Ma applied it several times, making the audience think that he paid no respect to Chairwoman Tsai. Chairwoman Tsai, on the other hand, respected the president and this could be analyzed from her entire discourse. She used "Let me report it to the President..." "Mr. President, would you please explain it to us..." "I would like to ask the President this question..." and the like. An analysis and interpretation of Chairwoman Tsai's discourse confirms the statement that female

speakers tend to use more formal language compared with males (Holmes 1992). More than that, evidence is also clear for the concept that people tend to be more polite to those who are socially superior (Spolsky 1998).

## **7. CONCLUSIONS**

Although the eight years of DPP rule was not the main focus of this debate, President Ma tactfully drew the audience's attention to the unsatisfactory performance of the DPP's time in power by his use of language. His language was to distract people from questioning the underlying purpose of signing the ECFA. Unlike President Ma's discourse, Chairwoman Tsai kept her remarks aiming at the necessity of signing the ECFA. There was no significant variation in her discourse while the application of different languages and proverbs made President Ma's discourse somewhat unique and distinctive. Moreover, President Ma applied the strategy of evasion (Holly 1989; Bhatia 2006) to answer the questions raised by Chairwoman Tsai, making the process of the debate go smoothly without revealing any important details. In accordance with the discourse analysis, a poll conducted by the United Daily News and the China Times after the debate showed that President Ma's performance was more impressive than that of Chairwoman Tsai (Chao 2010: 1).

Only by analyzing the language use in their debate could power relations and the implication beyond sentences be unfolded. President Ma seemed to have more dominance and power over Chairwoman Tsai, well represented in the discourse of the debate. The analysis of this study, similarly, supports the main ideas of CDA—"dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language" can be described, interpreted, and explained (Wodak 2001: 2). Furthermore, the analysis reveals the significant themes, namely, discourse representing Us versus Them, evasion, and diversity of the discourse, which are presented through the discourse of the ECFA debate. The discourse of the ECFA debate is the construction of socio-political ideologies. The ideologies are shown through language when political speakers use

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various strategies to achieve their goals (O'Barr & O'Barr 1976). Through language choices, social identity or status is manifested (Wodak 2012; Anderson 1983), presenting someone who has more power, dominance, and control than his or her interlocutors. In other words, the sources of power, dominance, and inequality are unfolded from the discourse of the ECFA debate, particularly the utilization of positive evaluation of Us and negative terms describing Them (van Dijk 1995, 2001).

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## **APPENDIX**

1. President Ma: I am glad that Chairwoman Tsai has publicly admitted that the 960 items were opened to other countries by DPP. Moreover, you **spoke in unequivocal terms**. You should have done it early and then I would not have been suffered from misunderstanding for three years. However, you questioned that why we open the economic door. Actually, the door has been opened during the DPP administration. What you have done shouldn't be our fault! **Every injustice has its perpetrator.**

2. President Ma: Most importantly, you mentioned that it will be hard for us to live with the situation in which 600 items of produce will be open within 10 years. According to what you said, does that mean you will not sign any related contract with Mainland China? Do you mean that we should wait for another 10 years? If it is right, does it mean that you **recommit the same error** occurred 8 years ago? You just claim that the time is not right to sign with Mainland China and you take it as a shield to avoid facing the reality. The DPP will never face the problem and will never solve it.

3. President Ma: You said that after signing ECFA, there will be more businesses invested in Mainland China. However, to the contrary, after we open direct flight between Taiwan and Mainland China and relax the investment regulations, it turns out that the businesses which were in Mainland China and Hong Kong come back to Taiwan. Why didn't they come back during the DPP administration? Because we KMT know more about the businesses. All they want is 'easy-to-commute.' Although the opened items are just a few, it is because we **act cautiously**, just as you mentioned that we should move forward step by step, little by little. What we have done is what a responsible administration should do.

4. President Ma: When the time we had negotiations at World Trade Organization, the pressure is much more than signing the ECFA with Mainland China. At that time, we did mobilize many people and many

resources. Due to the WTO experience, we are aware that it is not right to talk something like FTA with Mainland China immediately. Everything should be carried out step by step and we should **act cautiously** in order to protect Taiwan's benefits effectively. Now if we do not make this economic movement, we will be out.

5. President Ma: I just said that the importance of cutting tariff is different in different businesses. Take machine tools for example. The tariff is 8%. Therefore, if the business transaction is not tariff-free, the competition will be reduced. Different businesses have different problems to solve. You should not tackle everything on the same basis. More importantly, economic threats from other countries, such as Association of Southeast Asian Nations, Japan, and Korea, are on the way toward us. Taking necessary actions in advance is my responsibility as a responsible leader. Being a leader of a responsible administration, should I not "**repair the house before it rains?**"

6. President Ma: In other words, they count on us and we count on them. Now we are heading to attract their domestic markets. We focus on not only Mainland China market, but also Brazil, India, and Russia. Since last year, we have promoted our New Zheng He Plan to those countries. Last July, we joined the WTO the Government Procurement Agreement and we could also participate in their government procurement. By doing so, we could have 50 million US dollars. This year, the profit will be more than five hundred million US dollars. We try not to **put all the eggs in one basket**. However, the largest basket cannot be empty.

7. President Ma: The idea of signing an economic agreement with Mainland China is not conjured up after my administration but many years ago, after seeing our relationship with Mainland China, I was very concerned about the development of Asia-Pacific. You may not notice that in 2003, I went to Singapore, delivering a speech called "Why not 10 plus 4." I have already noticed the problem and people of insight would also notice it. However, you DPP just **turn a blind eye to the**

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situation, pretending that nothing happened. During the eight years of DPP administration, there was no breakthrough, making us feel really worried and concerned.

8. President Ma: These small businesses rely on tariff reduction. You think cutting down 1% or 2% will not help but to them, it is **a matter of life and death**. I have stated for several times that we truly listen to people from top to down. All the businesses will benefit from our signing with Mainland China.

9. President Ma: Just as I mentioned that back to 2003, we have already thought of signing an economic agreement with Mainland China. This issue must be settled as soon as possible. Taiwan cannot be excluded from the economic integration of East Asia. Mainland China plays an important role; therefore, we must break through this barrier in order to sign any free-trade agreement with other countries. You, Chairwoman Tsai, while you were acting as Mainland Affairs Council Chairwoman, you were **unable to find a way out** to sign anything with other countries. You couldn't get anything done.

10. President Ma: We should get together. After we sign ECFA, in the next 10 years, Taiwan's economy will be improved, foreign investment will be increased, and the employment rate will be boosted. We are reluctant to hide away for eight years and the world will not wait for us for eight years. At this moment, we, of course, understand the political intention of Mainland China but we will not be afraid and will not just run away from it. We have confidence in Taiwan, Taiwan businesses, and Taiwan people. **Nothing ventured, nothing gained.**

台灣一場全國性辯論的批判性言談分析

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批判性言談分析(Critical Discourse Analysis) 將語言視為是一種社會實踐(social practice)。藉由研究與分析書面或口語文本，批判性言談分析被使用於揭發權力、支配和不平等的來源。再者，有別於其他的言談分析方法，批判性言談分析是用來描述、說明及解釋語言和社會之間的關係。數十年來，批判性言談分析被用在各種類別的研究，像是媒體言談和教育之相關議題。在本研究中，運用 van Dijk 的社會認知模式來分析一場台灣全國性的辯論——兩岸經濟合作架構協議(ECFA)。本研究結果符合批判性言談分析的主要概念：支配、不公平待遇、權利與控制在文本中的呈現。

關鍵字：批判性言談分析、van Dijk 的社會認知模式、兩岸經濟合作架構協議 (ECFA)