CHANGE OF IDEOLOGIES OF MACAO IN THE POST-HANDOVER PERIOD: A CORPUS-BASED DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MACAO'S POLICY ADDRESSES[*]

LAM SUT I

City University of Macau, University of Macau

ABSTRACT

Policy addresses are important governmental documents that convey the government's policies and publicize the government's work plan set for the coming year, and at the same time, carry important information about social and economic developments. This paper studies the policy addresses of Macao SAR in the post-handover period from 2000 to 2017. It aims at investigating how the linguistic configurations reflect the ideologies constructed by the government in the post-handover period. With a corpus-assisted methodology, this paper applies discourse analysis to the investigation of the policy addresses given by the two chief executives of the four different terms of the Macao SAR government. The analysis shows that the diction in the policy addresses reflects the changes in the development of Macao and in the relationship between the government and the audience in the investigated period. It is argued that a corpus-assisted investigation can reveal how discourse is shaped by social practice and how discourse is used to help construct ideologies.

Key words: Macao, policy address, discourse analysis, ideologies, corpus

---

1. INTRODUCTION

"Policy Address" is the name used by the Macao SAR government for the important government work reports which summarize the government's work in the past year and publicize its work plan set for the coming year. The addresses carry important information about social as well as economic developments of the region at the same time. A policy address is a particular type of government report with its unique characteristics of text production and consumption, which is produced by a group of authors and addresses all citizens. (Yu 2004) In Macao, the policy addresses are written by consultants of the Office of the Chief Executive of the Macao S.A.R. of the People's Republic of China (Gabinete do Chefe do Executivo) with the Chief Executive, who presents the address to the public as a leading figure of the S.A.R. government on behalf of the whole team. There is existing literature from a discourse analysis perspective that investigates how this particular text type functions in the social practice of specific regions, such as Qian and Tian's analysis of the government work reports of China (2014), Agnieszka's (2013) analysis of the State of the Union addresses of the US, and Wang and Li's (2013) analysis of policy addresses of Hong Kong. However, the policy addresses of Macao still lack analysis. In this paper, a corpus-assisted discourse analysis approach is applied to investigate how the policy addresses as a discourse type function in constructing the ideologies of Macao in the post-handover period. The study attempts to answer the following questions: Are there any differences in the keywords between the policy addresses presented by Ho and Chui? Are there any differences in the presentation of the keywords? If yes, what changes in the ideologies of the society do those differences reflect?

2. RELEVANT THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

In this research, a corpus-assisted discourse analysis is applied to study the relationship between ideology and discourse. The relevant theoretical concepts are reviewed in the following.

2.1 Discourse and Ideology

The study of discourse has become a major focus of research in many disciplines. There is literature surveying the range of definitions given to "discourse" (e.g. Jaworski and Coupland 1999:1-7; Schiffrin 1994:23-43). Schiffrin, Tanner, and Hamilton (2003) summarize the previous definitions of discourse into three general ones as: language above the clause, language in use and language and 'social practice'. Paltridge (2012:1) later defines discourse analysis as the study which "looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur". It is described as involving the consideration of the relationship between language and social context, as well as the relationship between language and identity. (ibid.) These lead to the discussion of the ways of how discourse is produced to contribute to the construction of certain views of the world and of people. With Paltridge's description, discourse is described as the role that correlates with ideologies.

When producing discourse, the choice of words is never neutral. They are used to represent the world in different ways and to create different kinds of relationships between the text and the people who will consume it. For this reason, to a certain extent, discourse often promotes a particular ideology, which creates a shared worldview and meanwhile limits the way to look at reality. According to Halliday (1994), we present the world with language through choosing words that represent people, things, or concepts (participants), and words about what these participants are doing to, with, or for one another (process), which are named as "who's doing what" by James Paul Gee (2010). The differences in the use of words for processes and how they are used to connect participants vary the impressions of what is going on. (Jones 2012:13) In this paper, since discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:258), it is believed that a corpus-based analysis of the use of words in a particular discourse type, policy addresses, which is to set the direction of development of Macao, can better reveal how this discourse type is used by the government to construct ideologies for this region in the post-colonized

period and meanwhile how the discourse is shaped by the social practice of this region.

2.2 Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis

Over the years, different approaches have been implemented by scholars to do discourse analysis. Since the mid-1990s, researchers have attempted to integrate the methodology suggested by corpus linguistics with discourse analysis such as Hardt-Mautner (1995, 2000), Koller and Mautner (2004), O'Halloran and Coffin (2004), Baker (2004, 2006, 2009) and Orpin (2005). One criticism of corpus-assisted approaches is that they are too broad to facilitate close readings of texts (Baker 2006:7). Widdowson (2000:7) claims that corpus linguistics only offers 'a partial account of real language' because it does not address the lack of correspondence between corpus findings and native speaker intuitions. Baldry (2000:36) argues that corpus linguistics treats language as a self-contained object, 'abstracting text from its context'. The criticisms actually encourage corpus-assisted studies to take potential problems into account instead of preventing researchers from using corpora in an analysis. Corpus-assisted discourse analysis is unique in that it allows the researchers to analyse a large number of texts and compare them with other texts and conversations that are produced under similar or different circumstances and to bring some degree of 'objectivity' to the analysis. (Jones 2012:32)

In this paper, the author uses corpus data to explore a hypothesis which underpins the definition of corpus linguistics as a method, taking a discourse analysis approach with the tools provided by a corpus software to study the policy addresses of Macao SAR so as to identify the significant linguistic patterns of the selected data and to explore the function of this particular discourse type in the social practice of Macao in its post-colonized period.

2.3 Keywords Analysis

The corpus-assisted approaches help attain the general view of corpora. Oakes (1998:4) points out, "in corpus analysis, much of the data

4

is skewed." Words don't just occur as random collections. "No terms are neutral. Choice of words expresses an ideological position." (Stubbs, 1996:107). We can interpret that examining the skewed use of the words in a corpus can help to reveal the possible implicit elements of the texts. One of the corpus tools, a keyword list, can help better reveal the lexical choice of the corpora. Raymond Williams (1976, 1983) associates keywords with the speaker's ideological awareness and Stubbs (2001:100) believes that studying typical collocations of keywords may shed light on an author's "cultural connotations". A keyword list shows words with significant differences when comparing with a reference corpus. "[Therefore, it] gives a measure of saliency, whereas a simple word list only provides frequency" (Baker 2006:125). Thus, the keywords in this paper are believed to be one of the tools to reveal social changes and institutional ideology. The keyword analysis supplemented by a cluster and concordance search is believed to enable the close examination of keywords with their context in use. All the linguistic phenomena attained with the help of the corpus tools are believed to be the evidence when exploring how the policy addresses as a discourse type function in the social changes of Macao SAR.

Scott (1999) says that keyword lists tend to show up three types of words. They are proper nouns, "aboutness" keywords which are the lexical words including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and finally the grammatical words with high frequency. In accordance with Scott, the "aboutness" keywords are generally the group which is the most interesting to analyse and the frequent grammatical words can probably indicate the style of the text (ibid.). Scott's three-type framework of keyword analysis is implemented in the present study.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data and Tool

The data of this paper consists of the policy addresses that the Macao SAR government released over 17 years, from the handover in 1999 to 2017. The period under investigation has witnessed four terms of the

Macao SAR government with two different chief executives, namely Mr Edmund Ho Hau Wah, the chief executive of the first and the second terms, and Dr Fernando Chui Sai On, the chief executive of the third and the present terms. The policy addresses presented by these two chief executives are collected to build two corpora for the present study. The corpus of the 2000 to 2009 policy addresses given by Ho is named Corpus of Ho's Policy Addresses (CHPA). The other corpus of the 2010 to 2017 policy addresses by Chui is named Corpus of Chui's Policy Addresses (CCPA). The texts of the policy addresses were downloaded from the official website of the Macao SAR government[1], which are accessible by the public. The corpus software, AntConc, version 3.4.4 (Anthony 2016)[2], and Corpus Word Parser, version 3.0.0.0 (Xiao 2014)3[3], are used as the tools for the corpus-assisted analysis. The Corpus Word Parser is used to identify and mark the semantic chunks of the Chinese texts in the policy addresses while AntConc is used to apply the corpus tools as keyword list, cluster and concordance to search for the word frequency, work keyness and the context. A one million-word balanced corpus of recent Chinese, ToRCH 2009 (Text of Recent Chinese)4[4] is used as a reference corpus in the corpus-based analysis.

3.2 Methodology

With the help of the software, Corpus Word Parser, the selected data are divided into semantic chunks in Chinese which are named as tokens for the corpus tools. They are checked according to the language

---

[1] www.policyaddress.gov.mo

[2] Anthony, L. (2016). AntConc (Version 3.4.4) [Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from http://www.laurenceanthony.net/

[3] Xiao, H. (2014). CorpusWordParser (Version 3.0.0.0) [Computer Softeware]. Beijing, China: Institute of Applied Linguistics Ministry of Education. Available from www.cncorpus.org

[4] ToRCH 2009 (available from http://www.bfsu-corpus.org/content/conll-2013) is a Chinese corpus containing 1,087,619 words (1,703,635 characters) with 671 texts from 15 text types, namely Press: Reportage, Press: Editorial, Press: Reviews, Religion, Skill and hobbies, Popular lore, Belles-lettres, Miscellaneous: Government and house organs, Learned, Fiction: General, Fiction: Mystery, Fiction: Science, Fiction: Adventure, Fiction: Romance, and Humour.

customs in the Macao context and modified manually for the sake of the research purpose of the present study. For instance, 一國兩制 (One country, two systems) are divided into four tokens by the software but manually modified as one whole token afterwards.

With the texts presented in tokens (Chinese semantic chunks), ToRCH2009 is used as a reference corpus with AntConc to search for the keywords of the corpora. The CHPA and the CCPA are compared to the reference corpus respectively to obtain two keyword lists. Table 2 shows the beginning of the two keyword lists with the top five keywords.

Table 1. Two corpora built for this paper

	Corpus	Token
CHPA	Corpus of Ho's Policy Addresses (2000-2009)	84517
CCPA	Corpus of Chui's Policy Addresses (2010-2017)	55896

Table 2. Keyword lists of the CHPA and the CCPA

	CHPA			CCPA		
	Freq.	Keyess	Keyword	Freq.	Keyness	Keyword
1	980	3352.3	政府 (government)	532	2610.831	澳門 (Macao)
2	600	2533.643	澳門 (Macao)	426	2549.717	特區政府 (SAR government)
3	566	2407.588	市民 (Citizens)	361	1512.316	居民 (residents)
4	2018	1347.456	和 (and / with)	420	1332.359	政府 (government)
5	236	1229.33	特區政府 (SAR Government)	715	1115.047	發展 (development)

The keywords attained from the two keyword lists are used in the corpus-assisted analysis with the cluster and concordance search for deeper investigation.

4. KEYWORDS ANALYSIS

The comparison of the two sets of keywords reveals the similarities and differences between the CHPA and the CCPA. The author implemented Scott's three-type framework of keyword analysis (1999) in the following analysis.

4.1 Key Proper Nouns

In the first 50 keywords of CHPA's and CCPA's keyword lists, only two proper nouns are identified in each. They are 澳門 (Macao) and 特區政府 (SAR Government). There are no proper nouns related to people or other regions included in the first 50 keywords of each corpus except the name of Macao itself and the name of the government. It is easy to understand that policy addresses are not addressing any specific person but the legislative council and all Macao citizens through media. It also indicates that the topics discussed in the policy addresses are with low or even no reference to other cities or countries.

Table 3. Key proper nouns in the CHPA and the CCPA.

CHAP			CCPA		
Freq.	Keyness	Keyword	Freq.	Keyness	Keyword
600	2533.643	澳門 (Macao)	532	2610.831	澳門 (Macao)
236	1229.33	特區政府 (SAR Government)	426	2549.717	特區政府 (SAR Government)

Table 3 shows the details of the two key proper nouns identified from the CHPA and the CCPA. The apparent difference in the keyness of 特區政府 (SAR Government) catches our attention for discussion. In the top five frequent 3-word clusters of 特區政府 (SAR Government) as shown in Table 4, we can see that 特區政府 (SAR Government) mainly acts as the agent of actions in both corpora. It is mainly used when the speaker refers to his own voice on behalf of the whole government. Though the word is used in a similar way in both corpora in

terms of linguistic structure, there is significant difference in keyness. This piece of evidence arouses interest and hence the necessity of the study of another keyword, 我們 (we), which will be explored in the section of grammatical words.

Table 4. Cluster search of CHPA and CCPA

CHPA	CCPA
特區政府 將　繼續	**特區政府** 將　繼續
特區政府 的　施政	**特區政府**　施政　的
為此，　**特區政府**　將	**特區政府**　的　施政
特區政府　將　以	**特區政府**　將　在
特區政府　將　在	對　**特區政府**　施政

4.2 "Aboutness" Keywords Analysis

As mentioned earlier, "aboutness" keywords are the lexical words in the keyword list which are usually the most interesting to analyse when studying the overview of a corpus. The 'aboutness' keywords identified in both corpora are listed in Table 5. They are classified into two different categories, namely key nouns and key verbs.

4.2.1 Key nouns analysis

The key nouns can further be classified into two different groups in accordance with their meaning. One refers to the participants of the discourse and the other refers to the foci of the government policies. The noun phrases referring to participants are similar in both corpora. As shown in Table 5, they are 市民 (citizens) / 居民 (residents), 政府 (government) and 立法會 (legislative council), which are always the participants in policy addresses.

The second group of key nouns refers to the policies of the government, which shows the differences in the CHPA and the CCPA. They can be categorised into different sub-groups according to their different references. The first group refers to the governmental system such as 公務人員 (civil servants), 行政 (administration) and 部門 (department) identified in the CHPA, which does not exist in the CCPA.

The second group refers to people's lives such as 民生 (livelihood), 房屋 (housing), 教育 (education) and 經濟 (economics) identified in CCPA. However, these specific concerns about people's lives cannot be found in the first 50 keywords of the CHPA while there is only one phrase, 素質／質素(quality), identified in the CHPA with a similar reference but referring to the more general concern of people's lives (the quality of people's lives). These differences in lexical choices reveal that Ho's administrations focuses more on the administrative system than Chui's administrations while Chui's administrations have more specific foci of attention on people's livelihood.

Table 5. Key lexical words of the CHPA and the CCPA

Category		CHPA	CCPA
Noun Phrase			
Participant		市民(citizens), 政府 (government), 立法會 (legislative council)	居民(residents), 政府 (government), 立法會 (legislative council)
Policy	Common concern	社會(society), 博彩(gaming), 措施(measures)	社會(society), 博彩(gaming), 措施(measures)
	Governmental system	行政(administration), 部門 (department)	--------
	People's lives	素質／質素(quality)	民生(livelihood), 房屋 (housing), , 教育 (education), 經濟 (economics)
	Other concern	--------	葡 (Portuguese), 津貼 (subsidy), 儲備 (reserves)
Verb Phrase			
Common action		合作(cooperate), 提升 (increase), 加強(enhance), 促進 (reinforce), 優化 (improve), 強化(strengthen), 改善(improve), 完善(refine)	合作(cooperate), 提升 (increase), 完善(refine), 加強(enhance), 優化(improve), 促進(reinforce)
Different action		確保(ensure)	建設(build), 發放 (grant/offer/provide)

The keywords identified in the CCPA listed in the third sub-group as "other concerns" in Table 5 indicate that there are more topics repeatedly discussed during Chui's terms. 津貼 (subsidy) and 儲備 (reserves) identified in the CCPA refer to the financial situation of the government and 葡語 (Portuguese) is with reference to Macao's history as a former Portuguese colony. These new topics being emphasized by Chui's addresses are not included in the foci of attention during Ho's terms.

Aside from the differences between the key nouns, there are some key nouns identified in both corpora to show common concerns of both Ho's and Chui's addresses. Having been the pillar industry of Macao for years, the gaming industry was a common concern of both Ho's and Chui's addresses, which is evident in having 博彩 (gaming) as one of the key nouns in both the CHPA and the CCPA. When looking at the frequency of this key noun, there is an apparent upward trend of its frequency. It seems that the importance of 博彩 (gaming) in the government plans is increasing in the investigated period. However, there is a change of the social position of the gaming industry in Macao, which is evident in the further analysis of concordance lines of the key noun 博彩 (gaming).

Table 6. Frequent clusters of the 博彩(gaming)

CHPA	CCPA
旅遊 博彩 業	非 博彩 元素
(tourism gaming industry)	(non-gaming elements)
博彩 業 發展	博彩 業 健康
(the development of gaming industry)	(the health of gaming industry)
推動 博彩 業	博彩 毛 收入
(to promote gaming industry)	(gross gaming revenue)

Table 6 shows the 3-word clusters of the key noun 博彩 (gaming) with high frequency in the CHPA and the CCPA. While博彩 (gaming) collocates with some positive actions (developing and promoting) in the CHPA, it collocates with a word with the same meaning of a prefix "non-" in English most frequently in the CCPA. This indicates that the high frequency of 博彩 (gaming) in the CCPA shows not only the significance of the gaming industry in Chui's administrations but also

the importance of the elements which are not related to gaming. 非博彩元素 (non-gaming elements) is a phrase that first appeared in a policy address in 2013 and then appeared in every policy address afterwards. In order to investigate the actual distribution of the key noun 博彩 (gaming), a phrase 非博彩 (non-gaming) is formed in the corpora to be studied. Figure 1 shows the frequency of 博彩(gaming) and 非博彩 (non-gaming) in the investigated period. The statistics show that there is still a noticeable upward trend of 博彩 (gaming) throughout the period but an increase in the use of 非博彩 (non-gaming) since 2013 as well. These imply a change in the gaming industry in the investigated period.
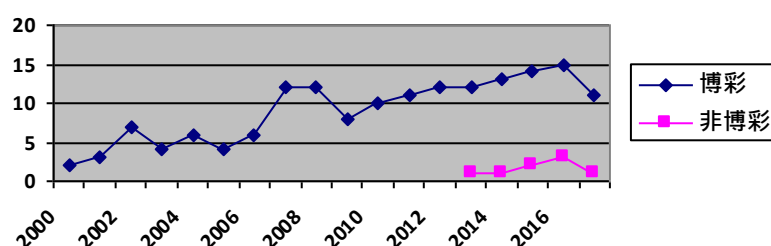

Figure 1. Frequency of 博彩(gaming) and 非博彩(non-gaming) in the investigated period

Example:
(1) Corpus: CCPA   Year: 2017
政府繼續促進博彩與**非博彩元素**的聯動效應，鼓勵博彩企業加大對本地中小企產品和服務的採購，推動博彩企業與本地特色中小餐飲企業和文創企業進行更多的合作。
English Translation:
The Government will continue fostering synergy between gaming and **non-gaming elements**; encouraging gaming enterprises to further procure products and services of local small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs); and promoting further cooperation between gaming enterprises and catering and cultural and creative enterprises with local characteristics.

Example 1 is a concordance line of 非博彩元素 (non-gaming element) taken from the CCPA. The example shows that the government is encouraging the cooperation between gaming enterprises and other local small- and medium-sized enterprises, catering and cultural and creative enterprises with local characteristics to enhance the involvement of non-gaming elements in the market.

4.2.2 Key verbs analysis

As listed in Table 5, the verbs used in both corpora are similar. Using terms from systemic functional grammar (SFL), most of them are the verbs for introducing the material process as refining the goals which is interpreted as the existing elements in accordance with the meaning of the verbs, such as 提升 (increase), 加強 (bolster), 優化 (improve), 強化 (strengthen), 改善 (improve), 完善 (enhance). However, the goals introduced by these verbs in each corpus are different, which is revealed in the cluster analysis of the verbs. Table 7 lists the most frequent clusters of the selected verbs with the setting of having the selected verbs on the left to investigate the most common goals which collocate with them. The goals of the action, refining, in both corpora are categorized into three categories, namely, governmental system, economy, and people's livelihood.

Table 7. Frequent clusters of the common key verbs in the CHPA and the CCPA

CHPA	CCPA
提升 行政 效率	**提升** 居民 的 生活 素質
加強 區域 合作	**加強** 對 博彩業 的 監管
促進 經濟 發展	**促進** 經濟 適度 多元
優化 市場 環境	**優化** 人 居 環境
強化 公僕 觀念	**強化** 保安 範疇
改善 市民 生活	**改善** 民生 素質
完善 市場 環境	**完善** 醫療 系統

The analysis shows that there is a trend of the change in the goals from general to specific. The ones related to the economy are from 市場

環境 (market environment) in the CHPA, to 對博彩業的監管 (regulation towards the gaming industry) in the CCPA; from 經濟發展 (economic development) in the CHPA to 經濟適度多元 (adequate economic diversification) in the CCPA. The goals about people's livelihood are from 市民生活 (the life of citizens) in the CHPA to 生活素質 (the quality of people's lives), 人居環境 (people's living environment), 保安範疇 (security aspect), 民生 (people's livelihood) and 醫療系統 (medical care system) in CCPA. These reveal that there are common foci of attention in both corpora, but the more specific directions of the development are mentioned in the CCPA.

Table 8. Goals of key verbs with the meaning of refining in the CHPA and the CCPA

	CHPA	CCPA
governmental system	行政效率 (efficiency of administration) 公僕觀念 (the concept of serving the public)	---
economy	市場環境 (market environment) 經濟發展 (economic development)	對博彩業的監管 (regulation towards gaming industry) 經濟適度多元 (adequate economic diversification)
people's livelihood	市民生活 (the life of citizens)	生活素質 (the quality of people's life) 人居環境 (people's living environment) 保安範疇 (security aspect) 民生 (people's livelihood) 醫療系統 (medical care system)

The cluster analysis is followed by examples of the concordance lines of the common key verbs in the CHPA and the CCPA to give detailed instances of the contexts of the common key verbs. The examples are selected according to the concordance lines of key verbs in completed sentences.

14

(2)　Corpus:　CHPA　　　　　　　Year:　2005

政府將透過跨部門協調統籌的方式，在廣大市民的支持下，充份聽取民意，認真吸納其他國家和地區的成功經驗，科學分析研究，制訂出旨在**改善**市民生活質素的、兼顧個人和整體利益的、公平合理而又重視成本的政策和措施。

English Translation:

Through inter-departmental coordination and with the broad support of our citizens, we will heed public opinion, and draw on the successful experience and scientific analysis and studies conducted in other countries and regions. We will come up with fair, reasonable and cost-effective measures and policies that aim to **improve** the quality of life of our citizens, and consider the interests of both individuals and the community as a whole.

(3)　Corpus:　CCPA　　　　　　　Year:　2013

因應建設世界旅遊休閒中心和經濟社會發展的需要,政府將進一步**強化**保安範疇的人力資源，推進科技強警，優化內部管理，促進警民關係，完善應變計劃，防範及打擊罪案，維護社會治安和公共秩序。

English Translation:

In the face of Macao's development into a world tourism and leisure centre and the need for economic and social development, the Government will further **strengthen** police human resources and technology, perfect its internal administration, foster police-community relations, and improve contingency plans, so as to prevent and combat crime and maintain civic cohesion and public order.

(4) Corpus: CCPA   Year: 2016
秉持"預防優先，妥善醫療"的理念，加快實施《**完善**醫療系
統建設方案》。離島醫療綜合體正陸續進入施工階段。新建或擴
建的湖畔嘉模衛生中心、路環公共衛生臨床中心及路環衛生站
均在今年完工或投入服務。
English Translation:
We will uphold the principle of "**Improve** medical services and
prioritise prevention" and expedite implementation of the Plan for
Improvement of the Medical and HealthCare System. We have
gradually commenced construction of the Islands District Medical
Complex. The newly constructed or expanded Carmo Health
Centre, Coloane Public Health Clinical Centre and Coloane Health
Station were completed or commenced operations this year.

   Examples 2, 3 and 4 are the concordance lines related to people's
livelihood. Example 2 is taken from the CHPA which provides an
example for the contexts of the most frequent cluster of the key verbs,
改善 (improve). It shows how the government can make improvement
to the mentioned aspects is still being studied with the experience of
other regions and countries and some scientific analysis to seek
appropriate future actions. Examples 3 and 4 are taken from the CCPA.
The key verbs in these examples are 強化 (strengthen) and 完善
(improve). 強化保安範疇 (strengthen the scope of security) and 完善
醫療系統 (improve the medical system) are the most frequent clusters
of these two key verbs in the CCPA. Different from Example 2,
Examples 3 and 4 introduce the government's decision on the specific
actions to be taken for improving two particular aspects related to
people's livelihoods, 保安 (public security) and 醫療 (medical
services).

(5)　Corpus:　CHPA　　　　　　　Year:　2004
二・**促進**經濟發展，**優化**產業結構作為龍頭產業，旅遊博彩業成為特區近年的主要經濟增長動力，特區政府在明年將致力保持並強化這一動力。
English Translation:
2. Promoting economic development and **streamlining** the structure of industry Tourism and gaming form the "head industry" of Macao, and they have become the major engines of economic growth in recent years. In the coming year, the MSAR Government will spare no effort to sustain and strengthen them.

(6)　Corpus:　CCPA　　　　　　　Year:　2015
三、**促進**經濟適度多元經濟適度多元是澳門經濟發展的總趨勢，是政府施政的重點，我們希望在穩定龍頭產業的同時，促進非博彩元素成長，加快經濟適度多元發展。
English Translation:
III. **Facilitate** adequate economic diversification Adequate economic diversification is the trend of Macao's overall economic development, and among the highlights of Government policy. While stabilising our leading industry, we also reinforce non-gaming elements and speed up adequate diversification of the economy.

Examples 5 and 6 are the examples of the concordance lines of the key verb 促進 (promote / facilitate). Both are related to the economy of Macao. Example 5 is taken from policy address 2004 which is included in the CHPA and Example 6 is taken from policy address 2015 which is included in the CCPA. Both of them appear as a title of a section in each policy address, which indicates that they act as the major foci of attention in each corpus. As shown in the example, the goal of the process 促進 (promoting) is 經濟發展 (economic development) in the CHPA, while in the CCPA, the goal is 經濟適度多元 (adequate economic diversification), which first appeared in policy address 2007, the third to the last year of Ho's second term. The differences in the goals show that the development of the economy has a more specific direction in the latter one. Example 5 shows that the promoting processes

are partly related to the pillar industry of Macao, tourism and the gaming industry, and they are to be sustained and strengthened as 'the major engines of the economic growth'. Similarly, Example 6 from the CCPA shows that the facilitating process is also related to the gaming industry, but the goal for this process, 經濟適度多元 (adequate economic diversification), is to be fulfilled by reinforcing non-gaming elements. This echoes the finding of the concordance analysis of the common key noun 博彩 (gaming).

Aside from the common verbs in both corpora, the verbs identified in only one corpus rather than both are worth discussion as well. 確保 (ensure) is a key verb identified in the CHPA, which is used to promise that the goal(s) introduced will occur or be the case. Other key verbs 建設 (build) and 發放 (grant/offer/provide) are identified in the CCPA. The former one is used when a new goal is to be constructed and the latter one is used to introduce the benefit to be delivered. These verb choices reveal that the process of making promises are frequently mentioned in the CHPA while the processes of introducing new goals and welfare are more frequently mentioned in the CCPA.

Example 7 shows one of the goals which frequently follow the key verb 確保 (ensure) in CHPA. The actor of the verb, 特區政府 (SAR Government), makes a promise of ensuring the goal, 社會的穩定和發展 (social stability and development) in this sentence. The goal 社會的穩定和發展 (social stability and development) is generally the universal concern of all citizens. This example shows one of the promises Ho's offices made to fulfil the universal concerns of citizens.

(7) Corpus: CHPA   Year: 2002
特區政府將積極致力於促進就業、發展文化教育、改善民生，**確保**社會的穩定和發展。
English Translation:
The SAR Government will devote itself to promoting employment, developing cultural education, improving people's livelihoods, and **ensuring** social stability and development.

Examples 8 and 9 are examples of the concordance lines of other key verbs identified in the CCPA. Example 8 shows one of the goals

18

frequently follows the key verb 建設 (build). The goal 世界旅遊休閒中心 (World Centre of Tourism and Leisure) is a new concept which first appeared in policy address 2010 (the start of Chui's terms), which is a phrase created for the recent revolution of the development of Macao's economic pillar, the gaming industry. Example 9 is an example of the concordance line of the other key verb 發放 (grant/offer/provide). It collocates with the objects 臨時住屋補貼的計劃 (more temporary housing subsidies), 經濟援助金 (financial aid) and 特別補助和特別生活津貼 (special subsidies and special living allowances), which are the financial supports in a few different aspects for the public.

(8)　Corpus:　CCPA　　　　　　　Year:　2011
　　　隨著國際社會形勢不斷轉變，內在與外在的發展模式持續變化，有必要進行適當的定位調整和持續的制度完善，以**建設**世界旅遊休閒中心為發展藍圖，保障特區得以持續發展、居民的生活素質得以不斷提升。
　　　English Translation:
　　　Owing to constant global changes, and continually varying modes of internal and external development, we must promptly and properly adjust our positioning and enhance our system. **Building** <u>a world travel and leisure hub</u> is already our blueprint for development, and can guarantee sustainable development together with ongoing improvements to our quality of lif

(9) Corpus: CCPA   Year: 2010

特區政府繼續對住宅單位作出與去年相同金額的電費補貼；對低收入受僱人士作出經濟補貼；研究加大力度支持向符合資格的社屋輪候家團**發放**臨時住屋補貼的計劃；透過社會工作局，向有困難家庭**發放**經濟援助金，向三類弱勢家庭**發放**特別補助和特別生活津貼。

English Translation:

We shall offer every household the same electricity fee subsidy as the previous year. We shall continue providing financial allowances to low-income, full-time employees. We shall also investigate the potential for **granting** more temporary housing subsidies to eligible families on the waiting list for public housing. Through the Social Welfare Bureau, we shall **offer** financial aid to families with difficulties. We will **provide** special subsidies and special living allowances to three categories of disadvantaged families.

With the government as the actor of the material processes (the agent of the actions) introduced in policy addresses, the linguistic phenomena mentioned above reveal that the actions both Ho's and Chui's administrations took are mainly refining society with the existing elements but Ho's administrations refine the society at a general level for the basic elements while Chui's administrations take specific actions for the refining to develop the details. The different key verbs identified in each corpus indicate Ho's administrations' intention of building the public's confidence towards the government through making promises and Chui's administrations' intention of creating new elements and offering financial supports to further develop society.

4.3 Grammatical Words

The last category of the keywords to be analyzed in the present study is grammatical words. As pointed out by Baker (2006:128) "function words can also help to identify phraseologies which may have unfixed patterns in terms of form, but are more fixed in terms of function". The analysis shows that there are two grammatical words in the top 50 keywords of the CHPA, namely the connective 和 (and / with) and the

subject pronoun 我們 (we), which are not included in the first 50 keywords of the CCPA.

Table 9. Frequent clusters of 和 (and) in the CHPA and the CCPA

Ho's	Chui's
公務 人員 **和** 廣大 市民 (civil servants and all Macao citizens)	經濟 補貼 **和** 成果 分享 (subsidies and wealth sharing)

The Chinese word "和" appears with two references, namely a conjunction 'and' and a preposition 'with'. The repeated use of the conjunction 'and' can stress a connection between two objects of discussion (Baker 2006:123). Table 9 shows the frequent clusters of the word "和" with the reference of a conjunction 'and' in the CHPA and the CCPA, excluding the proper noun phrases such as 一國兩制、澳人治澳和高度自治 ("One country, two systems", "Macao people governing Macao" and "A high degree of autonomy"). The most frequent 5-word cluster of 和 (and) in the CHPA, 公務人員和廣大市民 (civil servants and all Macao citizens), shows that the two objects, civil servants and all Macao citizens are repeatedly connected together for discussion, which reveals the speaker's intention in building the relationship between the two objects. In the CCPA, the most frequent 5-word cluster of 和 (and) is 經濟補貼和成果分享 (subsidies and wealth sharing). This frequent cluster connects the objects, 經濟補貼 (subsidies) and 成果分享 (wealth sharing), both of which refer to the financial support offered by the government. Literally, the former refers to the financial support offered by the government to ease citizens' financial difficulties while the latter refers to the materials given by the government when it has a positive financial condition. The repetitive connection of these two objects probably implies the inclusive relationship between 經濟補貼 (subsidies) and 成果分享 (wealth sharing) which reveals the speaker's intention of conveying the positive financial condition of the government in the speech.

Table 10. Details of the pronoun "我們" (we) in the CHPA and the CCPA

CHPA				CCPA			
Rank	Freq.	Keyness	Keyword	Rank	Freq.	Keyness	Keyword
15	858	912.807	我們	558	227	34.034	我們

Another key grammatical word identified in the CHPA is the first-person plural pronoun, 我們 (we). Baker (2006:143) says one text may have more than its fair share of the first-person pronouns when compared to another text which would be a useful way of revealing discourse prosodies. As one of the keywords of the CHPA, the first-person pronoun, 我們 (we) is with a keyness of 912.807, which is almost 27 times higher than its keyness in the CCPA. This linguistic phenomenon reflects the different relationship between the speakers and the addressees in the CHPA and the CCPA. The pronoun (we) has two references: it refers either to the speaker and addressee (inclusive we), or to the speaker and another (exclusive we) (Wales 1996). The concordance search of 我們 (we) shows that it is mainly used as an exclusive we to represent the government as the actor of the processes in both the CHPA and the CCPA as seen in Examples 10 and 11.

(10)   Corpus: CHPA   Year: 2006
未來一年，**我們**將調整側重前線服務改革的策略，更加強調內部工作和後勤支援的改革，促進不同層次改革的一體化，促進服務功能改革和部門架構改革的一體化 。
English Translation:
In 2006, **we** will adjust our original strategy, which emphasized the reform of frontline services, and instead we will focus more on reforming our internal work and logistical support, in order to foster the integration of our reforms on different levels, as well as the integration of reforms in our service functions and departmental organizations.

(11)   Corpus: CCPA   Year: 2013
在新的一年，**我們**將繼續關注及優化各項民生福利政策，並適時採取惠民措施，讓社會各階層都能分享經濟發展成果，提升居民的生活素質。
English Translation:
In the coming year, **we** will continue to focus on and improve policies to augment various aspects of daily life, and will take timely measures for the benefit of the people, allowing all social sectors to share the fruits of economic development, and ultimately raising people's standard of living.

In both Example 10 and 11, a personal pronoun 我們 (we) is used when the speaker refers to the government as the actor of the processes introduced in the sentences. Instead of naming the government, the use of 我們 (we) indicates that the speaker is part of the government and the government is acting as a team with strong coherence. The frequent use of the pronoun "we" reflects the solidarity among the members of government as well as authority and communality. This interpretation echoes Pennycook's (1994) study on the politics of pronouns which concludes that the pronoun (we) is used in different forms of discourses to denote authority and communality, as well as the study of Sotillo and Wang-Gempp (2004) on ideology in online political discussions which shows that the pronoun (we) is generally used to display solidarity. Thus, the frequent use of 我們 (we) in the CHPA shows the opposite effect with the high keyness of 特區政府 (SAR Government) in CCPA (as mentioned in Section 4.1; it is two times higher than it is in the CHPA). As 我們 (we) and 特區政府 (SAR Government) are with the same reference, the choice between these two reflects the different interpersonal relationship the speakers built.

5. DISCUSSION

The similarities and differences of the linguistic constructions of Ho's and Chui's policy addresses are identified in the above corpus-based analysis, which reflect the ideologies the Macao SAR

government has constructed in the investigated periods as discussed below.

5.1 A Change of the Condition for Governance

Macao is a city with a special historical background as a former Portuguese colony. Mr Edmund Ho Hau Wah is the Chief Executive of the first term of Macao SAR. Before the start of this new government, there were problems in the social order of Macao. As mentioned in one of the examples in the case analysis, what Ho's offices strive for is "steady development". In order to achieve steady development, as announced by Mr Ho when he was the first chief executive of Macao SAR, there would not be many objectives to be achieved in the first term of the new government, but the primary task is to deal with social security. As evident in the case analysis, Ho's administrations' goals for refining are more general than the other one. After Macao returned to China's governance, the social security of Macao has been apparently improved. The effort and merits of Ho's offices provide a better basis for Chui's administrations' governance. As revealed in the case analysis, Chui's administrations are able to focus on more topics and even introduce new elements to be developed. They are able to deal with more details of different aspects by taking more specific actions to work on different issues. All these reveal the improvement of the governance conditions from Ho's terms to Chui's terms.

5.2 A Change of the Image of the Government

The history of being a former Portuguese colony provides the first term of Macao SAR challenges in building the relationship between the new government and the public. Different from some regions which have experienced a difficult period because of colonialism, the history of colonization is a complicated experience for people in Macao as many of them have a positive attitude towards the invasion of western culture during the colonial period, which was considered as more educated or with higher social position. In the time period right before the handover of the governance of Macao from Portugal to China, many people in

Macao had different degrees of fear because of the uncertainty of the future of the city. With the frequent use of the lexis for making promises and the frequent use of 我們(we) to display and motivate solidarity, Ho's administrations' attempts to help Macao citizens build up confidence towards the new governing team are revealed, which is also one important task for the first terms of the new government. Governed by Ho's administrations for ten years, there is apparent improvement in the public order and the economy of Macao. With the merits of Ho's administrations, most people in Macao enjoy a better economic environment as well as other positive conditions offered by the rapid development of society. Chui's administrations are eased from the significant attempt of Ho's offices to earn trust from the public but are responsible for showing power and authority to a certain extent. As evident in the case analysis, Chui's policy addresses show that his administration has the ability to involve more new elements in social development and share the fruitful financial results with the public to show their merits in social development.

5.3 A Change of the Economic System

As seen in the case analysis, there is a change in the role of the gaming industry during the investigated period, from the major engine of economic growth to an industry to motivate the growth of other local small- and medium- sized enterprises. This change is the response towards the change of the economic system of Macao. Gambling activities have dominated the economy of Macao since the 19th century, from Fantan (the traditional Chinese gambling activities) to the gaming industry today. It is an economic element with a prominent role in the economic system of Macao. With the gaming liberalization in 2003, the gaming industry even made the city well-known all over the world with revenue surpassing Las Vegas as the top gaming market. Responding to China's Eleventh Five-Year Plan (one of a series of social and economic development initiatives), adequate economic diversification was introduced in Ho's policy address in 2007. "Fostering synergy between gaming and non-gaming elements" (2017 PA) is not just to make changes to the gaming industry but the whole economic system of

Macao from depending on one single industry to motivating the growth of other economic activities with the help of the strong financial basis of the pillar industry so as to achieve the adequate economic diversification. As revealed in the case analysis, adequate economic diversification is a goal to be reinforced throughout Chui's terms.

5.4 Overlap Between the Governance of the Four Terms

Though social changes are reflected in the policy addresses by Ho and Chui, there is considerable overlap in the governance directions between Ho's and Chui's offices. The Macao SAR government started in 1999. From a Portuguese colony to a special administrative region of China, the city has been facing challenges in the great change of the authority in these 17 years. Some long-term objectives would not be achieved within one or two terms. They are left to the following administrations to be further developed. As shown in the case analysis, public administration is one of the concerns throughout the four terms. Reforming the public administrative system has been a focus of attention in Ho's terms but "deepen[ing] the reformation of public administrative system" still appears in Chui's policy addresses with more attention to the structure and responsibility of specific organizations and institutions. Similarly, refining social elements are always the concerns of the government in all four terms but with more specific actions to be taken to deal with more aspects in Chui's terms.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, a corpus-based discourse analysis is applied to investigate the linguistic configurations of the policy addresses of the first four terms of the Macao SAR government and to explore the relationship between policy addresses as a discourse type and the social practice of Macao. A keyword analysis with cluster and concordance search for learning the contexts is implemented to generally study the "aboutness" of the selected policy addresses. It is found that how the government positions itself by different administrations and the

governing directions of different administrations are revealed in the linguistic construction of the policy addresses. This paper presents an analysis at a general level so as to show the overview of a keyword analysis. More detailed analysis on the particular sorts of keywords can be done in the future with a special focus. It is hoped that this paper can give the implications that a corpus-assisted investigation can better reveal how policy addresses are shaped by the change of social practice of Macao in the post-colonized period and how they are used to contribute to relationship construction between the government and the public.

REFERENCES

Agnieszka, S. 2013. A critical discourse approach to the analysis of values in political discourse: The example of freedom in President Bush's State of the Union addresses (2001–2008). *Discourse and Society*, 24(6):792-809.

Baker, P. 2004. "Unnatural acts": discourses of homosexuality within the House of Lords debates on gay male law reform'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8(1):88-106.

Baker, P. 2006. *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.

Baker, P. 2009. The BE06 corpus of British English and recent language change. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14(3):312-37.

Baldry, A. 2000. *Multimodality and multimediality in the distance learning age*. Campobasso: Palladino.

Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. 1997. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction,* eds.by T.A. van Dijk, pp.258-284. London: Sage.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1985/1994. *An Introduction to functional grammar.* London: Arnold.

Hardt-Mautner, G. 1995. How does one become a good European: The British press and European integration. *Discourse and Society* 6(2):177-205.

Hardt-Mautner, G. 2000. *Der britische Europa-Diskurs: Methodenreflexion und Fallstudien zur Berichterstattung in der Tagespresse*. Wien: Passagen-Verlag.

Gee, J. P. 2010. *Introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*, 3rd edition. London: Routledge.

Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N. 1999. Introduction: Perspectives on discourse analysis. In *The Discourse Reade,* eds. by A. Jaworski and N. Coupland, pp.1-44. London: Routledge.

Jones, R. H. 2012. *Discourse Analysis: A resource book for students.* Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge.

Koller, V. and Mautner, G. 2004. Computer applications in critical discourse analysis. In *Applying English Grammar: Corpus and Functional Approaches,* eds. by C. Coffin, A. Hewings and K. O'Halloran, pp.216-28. London: Arnold.

Oakes, M. 1998. *Statistics for corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

O'Halloran, K. and Coffin, C. 2004. Checking overinterpretation and underinterpretation: help from corpora in critical linguistics. In *Applying English Grammar: Corpus and Functional Approaches,* eds. by C. Coffin, A. Hewings and K. O'Halloran, pp.257-97. London: Arnold.

Orpin, D. 2005. Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 10(1):37-61.

Paltridge, B. 2012. *Discourse Analysis*. 2nd ed. London: Bloomsbury.

Qian and Tian. 2014. A decade of change in China: A corpus-based discourse analysis of ten government work reports. In *Discourse, politics and media in contemporary China*, eds. by Cao, Q., Tian, H. L. and Chilton, P. A., pp.77-95. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Schiffrin, D. 1994. *Approaches to discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D. and Hailton, H. (eds.). 2003. *The Handbook of discourse analysis.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Scott, M. 1999. *WordSmith tools help manual.* Version 3.0. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sotillo, S. M. and Wang-Gempp, J. 2004. Using corpus linguistics to investigate class, ideology, and discursive practices in online political discussions. In *Applied corpus linguistics: A multidimensional perspective*, eds. by U. Connor and T. A. Upton, pp.91-122. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Stubbs, M. 1996. *Text and Corpus Analysis.* London: Blackwell.

Stubbs, M. 2001. *Words and phrases: Corpus studies of lexical semantics.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Wales, K. 1996. *Personal pronouns in present-day English.* Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. 2000. On the limitations of linguistics applied. *Applied Linguistics* 21(1):3-25.

Williams, R. 1976/1983. *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society.* New York: Oxford University Press.

于成鯤. Yu, C. 2004. 政府工作報告的文體特點 / The Literary Style Characteristic of Government Working Report. *廣播電視大學學報(哲學社會科學版) / Journal Of Rtv University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, 128(1):42-44.

王加林, 李玉坤, Wang, J. and Li, Y.. 2013. 回歸前後香港政府施政報告內容分析的對比研究 / An Analysis of the HK Governments' Policy Addresses. *廣東外語外貿大學學報 / Journal Of Guangdong University Of Foreign Studies*, 24(4):88-91.

LAM SUT I

General Education Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
City University of Macau
Avenida Padre Tomás Pereira Taipa, Macau.
English Department, Faculty of Arts and Humanities
The University of Macau
Avenida da Universidade, Taipa, Macau, China
miclamsi@hotmail.com

後回歸時期澳門意識形態的變遷：
澳門施政報告的基於語料庫話語分析

林雪儀
澳門城市大學、澳門大學

施政報告為澳門重要的政府文件，用以展示政府來年的工作計劃，同時，亦傳遞關於社會及經濟發展的重要資訊。本文調查澳門主權回歸以後，特區政府由二零零零年至二零一七年間頒布的施政報告，旨在分析施政報告中的語言建構及其所反映政府於此時間所建構的社會意識形態。本文結合基於語料庫的研究方法，對特區政府成立以來，由兩名行政長官管治的四屆政府（合共十七年）的施政報告作話語分析。結果顯示施政報告的語言建構反映了在調查時期，澳門的社會發展變化，以及社會與政府的關係變化，以此說明基於語料庫的研究方法有助反映如何利用話語，於特定社會環境，建構特定社會意識形態。

關鍵字：澳門、施政報告、話語分析、意識形態、語料庫