

**CODESWITCHING IN THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING DISCOURSE:
THE CASE OF THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DEBATES IN
TAIWAN**

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1. Introduction

Based on the Random House Unabridged Dictionary published in 2006, codeswitching is the alternate use of two or more languages or varieties of language, especially within the same discourse. Dissimilar to codemixing where the hybridization of codes is punctuated, codeswitching focuses on the speaker's movement from one language to another (e.g. Tom MacArthur, 1992). Even though certain commentators regard codeswitching as a consequence of speakers' linguistic deficiencies, professional scholars prefer to take these linguistic alternations as natural outcomes among speakers who are capable of manipulating numerous linguistic forms ranging from languages to dialects to styles. It is commonplace to observe codeswitching practices in our daily converses since most people in the world are bilingual or even polyglot. (e.g. Goldstein & Kohnert, 2005; Gutierrez-Clellen, 1999; Kohnert, Yim, Nett, Duran & Duran et al., 2005).

One of the motivations for people to codeswitch is for establishing resemblances with their interlocutors since "...people like others who display, or make an attempt to display, an optimal linguistic similarity to their styles of speaking and modes of expressing themselves" (St.Clair and Giles, 1980:290). Essentially, as A become more like B, the probability that B will like A increases (e.g. Koslow, Shamdasani, and Touchstone et al., 1994).

Since interlocutors share "a common set of interpretative procedures which allow the participators' intentions to be encoded by the speaker, and correctly interpreted by the listener (Giles & Clair, 1979: 46-47)", in campaign situations, by converging to people's code(s), politicians attempt to draw potential supporters' attention and momentarily to create the social solidarity, particularly the integration of a society or a particular ethnic group. "Individuals with high needs for social approval and intelligibility have the propensity for converging more to others' communication behaviors than those with higher self-esteem and lower needs for approval. (Natalé 1975, cited in Giles & Clair, 1979)." Politicians certainly are the ones who must call for comparatively more appreciation from the people than many others.

The present study is going to discuss the codeswitching phenomena in the 2008 presidential campaign in Taiwan. The data in this investigation are extracted from the debates for the election held on February, 24th, 2008, being aired on Taiwan Public Television Service. Two candidates, Changting Hsieh and Yingjiu Ma, are the

debaters. Hsieh is the nominee of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and Ma belongs to the Kuomintang (KMT), which had governed Taiwan over fifty years in a row before the DPP's eight-year administration from 2000 to 2008 led by Chen Shui-bian. In the debate, twenty citizens from different areas in Taiwan were selected to ask questions in an attempt to attain the two nominees' future policies for the following years in the office. In the answers to those inquiries, codeswitches are conspicuously used. In the following paragraphs, why the presidential candidates switch their code(s), in what situations they conduct the linguistic adjustments and at what language(s) are targeted during the debates will be discussed case by case.

2. The ethnicity and the language historical backgrounds in Taiwan

Taiwan is a country where multiple languages co-exist as a consequence of diverse backgrounds of its residents. According to Copper (2003) seventy percent of the total population in Taiwan are Hoklo or Fuklo, fifteen percent are Hakka, around two percent are indigenous people of southeast Asian origin and thirteen percents are mainlanders whose ancestors retreated from mainland China with the Kuomintang led by Kai-shek Chiang after the Chinese Civil War. Besides KMT's followers, some of the mainlanders in Taiwan nowadays are descendants of the immigrants arriving at Taiwan after the Second World War. In addition to the large percentage of people of Han Chinese ethnicity, a large number of aborigines had settled down in Taiwan long before the invasions of the Chinese. The aborigines in Taiwan are sub-divided into thirteen tribes according to the information provided by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan in 2008, which includes Ami, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Rukai, Puyuma, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, and Sakizaya.

Each ethnicity in Taiwan possesses their unique linguistic repertoire. The Minnan people speak Taiwanese, which is a language spoken in Fujian Province. Hakka people, who originally migrated south to Guangdong Province, its surrounding areas and Taiwan, speak Hakka, a variant spoken predominantly in southern China by the Hakka ethnic group and its descendants in diaspora throughout East and Southeast Asia and around the world. The minorities, the aborigines, possess even more diverse linguistic variations, which belong to the Austronesian language family.

In addition to their own native tongues, a large percentage of Minnan, Hakka, and Austronesian indigenous people have presently acquired the ability to communicate in Mandarin on account of the KMT's strict language policy where Mandarin was taken to be the official language. Under this policy only Mandarin was allowed in government, education, and media (e.g. Zheng, 1990); other Chinese variants and the aborigines' native languages were forbidden particularly in public. Speaking any non-Mandarin languages was considered to be an improper and even humiliating behavior.

The Mandarin Campaign directed by the KMT bureaucrats was aimed to expel Japanese left by the preceding government and figure out a new lingua franca to facilitate their administration after the Japanese colonization from 1895 to 1945. Restricting people's code is one of the most effective ways to retrieve people's self-identity and make Taiwanese people stand on the same line with the new-coming Chinese administration. Forcing people to speak Mandarin Chinese directs all Taiwanese to the idea that they are Chinese people and should be loyal to the officials

of the Kuomintang. As a result of the KMT's language policy and the implementation of the national language, local vernacular tongues were highly repressed. The KMT's ultimate goal was to make Mandarin Chinese the only language in Taiwan where each ethnicity originally held different tongues of their own. The omni-Mandarin language policy was successful; more and more local languages nowadays have been vanishing as a consequence of the repression from the KMT bureaucrat. Tsao (2001) in his investigation of residents' Hakka and Taiwanese ability in the Hsinchu area has already uncovered a linguistic catastrophe where his samples' vernacular abilities are vanishing along with the decline of their ages. Moreover, some of the DPP activists conceive the idea that the legitimization of Mandarin as Taiwan's national language has placed the locals at a serious disadvantage and put them in the category of second-class citizens, vis-à-vis the Mainlanders, who have enjoyed hegemony in the political sphere for quite some time (e.g. Huang, 2000).

In 2000 as Chen Shui-bian, the former leader of the DPP party, won the presidential election and the KMT had no choice but to hand over its sovereignty, the language policy has been veered on a large scale and the status of the vernaculars have been gradually moving upward. To distinguish its identity from the KMT and its political stance, the DPP activists mostly use Taiwanese rather than Mandarin in their public speeches; apparently, languages are manipulated to broadcast their distinct political idiosyncrasies. In the parliament, the DPP party members even intentionally embarrass certain councilors, mainly from the KMT, by tossing questions in Taiwanese (e.g. Economist, August 7, 1993).

Wei (2003) suggests that the increasing use of Taiwanese as well as other non-official languages by celebrities, though to a much lesser degree, combined with the fact that these languages are used in public domains, such as the politics and the media, not only helps raise the visibility but also the status of the vernacular. In addition to Southern Min, the importance of Hakka and the languages of the indigenous people have been uplifted in recent years; formal lessons for the vernacular tongues have been offered and regulated as required courses in elementary school curriculums since 2001. All these efforts made by the government are for boosting the importance of the diverse cultures and languages in Taiwan and the acceptance of the co-existing ethnicities.

On account of the revolutionary language policy directed by the DPP, people in Taiwan are attempting to take back their local identities, proclaim their Taiwanese status and get rid of the "Chinese" background. And since the politicians understand the ideology behind languages, "speaking Taiwanese has become the prerequisite for candidates who want to mobilize voters and win elections. (Wei, 2003: 146)." In addition to Taiwanese, the most powerful local vernacular tongue, Hakka and the Austronesian have also been manipulated by the politicians for the sake of winning votes during the campaigns.

3. Texts and Analyses

Before examining the codeswitches of the debaters, the background of each person who asked the questions, and the discussions proposed in each section will be introduced first. The excerpts of the replies from the candidates are presented with the Romanian spelling system. The codeswitches will be highlighted in square and the

target language will be labeled in the preceding of the focuses. The unmarked lines are in Mandarin.

Qishang Zeng, a farming folk of the Hakka ethnicity, used Hakka when asking the nominees how they would protect the farmers' working environments when they are in the office in the future.

Excerpt of Ma's reply

(Hakka) Tsen khisong sinsang, ngiho, lia tsa munthi fuisonge
Tsen Khisong Mr. hello this CL question very
shinmung en, jintian wo yao tebie jiu zhege wenti
thank PRT today I want specially aim.at this question
 a, dui wode nongye zhengce zuo yige shuoming...
PRT to my agricultural policy do one explanation

“Mr. Tseng Khisong, hello. Really thanks for this question. Today I am going to focus on this inquiry and to make clear of my agricultural-related policies...”

Excerpt of Hsieh's reply

(Hakka) shinmung, lia munthi mune tshin ho ° wo ne ,
thank this question ask very good I PRT
 meinong de xiangqin ne you feichang jiaoao
Meinong ASSC villager PRT have very be.proud
 gen zizun , wo jide you yi ju hua shou ,
with self-dignity I remember there.is one CL saying say
hang shong hang ha , m tat minung
go.up mountain go.down oceans NEG worth Meinong
sanha ° meinong shi zuihaode , shi zuihaode...
foot.of.mountains Meinong COP best COP best

“Thanks. This is a really good question. People in Meinong are really proud of themselves and have very high self-dignity. I remember a saying which is stated like this -- one travels to the hills and the seas and (he later realizes that) those places are not as worthy as the areas under the mountains in Meinong township. Meinong is the best, is the best...”

Neither Hsieh nor Ma are native Hakka speakers; still, both had learnt Hakka for running the presidential election campaign. During the debate, the farmer was asking questions in his mother tongue, the Hakka vernacular; as the candidates perceived the Hakka background of their interlocutor, both have endeavored to demonstrate to the peasant that they are able to speak his vernacular tongue. The nominees, obviously, were attempting to construct solidarity and friendliness through the adoption of Hakka and let Hakka residents perceive that the candidates and people of Hakka background share certain similarities and belong to an identical community linguistically.

In Hsieh's reply, his intent to get closer to the Hakka in Meinong is palpable.

After expressing his appreciation of Khisong Tsen's question, Hsieh came out with a couplet stating the merit of Meinong where Tsen resides. The couplet describes that people would find Meinong to be superior to any other places after traveling around. Also, Hsieh made an effort to explain the couplet in Mandarin to other non-Hakka speakers and emphasized Meinong's supremacy by repeating "shi zui hao de", which means 'is the best'. By restating the rhyme in Mandarin, the official language in Taiwan, not only did Hsieh make the beauty of Meinong noticeable to many others, he also managed to give the Hakka the idea that he was helping them promote their cultures to other non-Hakka speakers.

On the other hand, compared with Hsieh, Ma's discussion was comparatively less focused on people in Meinong and has a weaker sense of flattery. Ma did not deliberately demonstrate his approval of people from that area. Instead, Ma used Hakka to thank Tsen at the very beginning of his reply. His little use of Hakka, however, may possibly be in virtue of his immature linguistic competence.

Chaoxun Luo, a Taiwanese-speaking agriculturist, asked the candidates how they would deal with the prices of the farm produces.

Excerpt of Ma's reply (i)

women xiexie Luo xiansheng tichulai de wenti °
 we thank Luo Mr. propose ASSC question
 (Taiwanese) longcanpin gesio e bundeh yidin ai
agricultural.products price ASSC question must need
gaisen zile cansiao e zedq ° womende
 improve this production.and.marketing ASSC system our
 chanxiao zhidu zhangqiyilai ne ' wangwang
 production.and.marketing system for.a.long.time PRT often
 dui nongmin tigong de zixun bu zu ' suoyi
 to farmers provide ASSC information NEG enough so
 zai zhege nongmin changchang youdeshihou ne yinwei youxie
 at this farmers often sometimes PRT because some
 zixun er qiangzhong mou yi zhong nongchanpin...
 information and.then rush-planting certain one kind farm.produce

"Let's thank Mr. Luo's question. The problem of the price for the farm produces should be improved by solving its producing and selling system. The farmers for a long run obtain rare information from our government. Because of this, farmers would occasionally rush to cultivate a particular plant simply on account of certain pieces of information..."

Excerpt of Ma's reply (ii)

...jianglai ruguo wo dangxuan zongtong hai hui jixu
 in.the.future if I elected president still would continue
 guanzhi ' dan wo hui rang nongmin geng you jihui
 restrain but I would let farmer even.more have chance
 ba nongchanpin mai dao dalu qu ° gewei keneng bu
 BA farm.produce sell to mainland go everyone maybe NEG

yiding zhidao , (Taiwanese) lan dailam ghiokzenn cing e
surely know our Tainan Yujing plant ASSC
suaia zima cutkao gau daiiok bi cutkao gao litbun
mango now export to mainland compare.with export to Japan
e kaze ° shijishang , taiwan you feichang youzhide
NOM more in.fact Taiwan have very high-quality
 shuiguo nenggou waixiao dao dalu...
fruit can export to mainland

“If I am elected, I will still try to control it. But I would create more chances for the farmers to sell their products to the mainland. The amount of our mango in Yujing, Tainan which has been selling to China is larger than the amount exported to Japan presently. In reality, Taiwan has fruits with very high quality that could be sold to the mainland...”

Ma’s Taiwanese proficiency level is much lower than Hsieh’s but in order to construct a close relationship with the farmers, Ma managed to codeswitch to Taiwanese from Mandarin while brushing on the agricultural issues. As he converged to the vernacular from Mandarin, he attracted the addressees’ attention and made those Taiwanese-speaking farmers realize that he certainly took their difficulties into consideration.

In the second excerpt while Ma was mentioning the mango in Tainan, knowing that the majority of residents in Tainan area are fluent in Taiwanese and frequently use Taiwanese during their daily casual talks, he codeswitched to Taiwanese again. With the convergence, Ma successfully obtained people’s appreciation, especially those who are good at speaking the Minnan dialect. Also, the Taiwanese inclusive first person pronoun “lan” in Ma’s reply coined the illusion that Ma is one of the members in the Yujing township.

Excerpt of Hsieh’s reply

wo zai zuo yuanzhang de shihou , qishi (Taiwanese) hunlim
I ASP do prime.minister ASSC moment actually Yunlin
cidang e suanntau dioh si shengchanguosheng , beh daiiok
Citong ASSC garlic EMP COP overproduce buy around
nngik ba ta lengdong qilai , o women dou zuo
two.hundred.million BA it frozen up PRT we all do
 le o ° ... xianzai women yong jiuwu cheng la , a
ASP PRT now we use ninety-five percent PRT PRT
 jiushi guoqu liang nian de jiaqian de gausiahgho ,
namely past two year ASSC price ASSC ninety-five percent
lai ga lin bhe , ka lin bhe dnglai oh , na zheyangzidehua
come give you buy give you buy back PRT then if.so
 ne , zheyang jiushi mei you wenti ° zheyang dageh cng
PRT this that.is NEG have question this everyone plant
bhoyaoginn , na ruguo zhixiao , zhengfu mai ma ° danshi
no.problem then if slow.selling government buy PRT but
 you yige jiushi jiaqiang qudi zhongguode zousi , juedui bu
have one that.is reinforce clamp Chinese smuggling must NEG

neng kaifang zhongguo de nongchanpin jinlai , buneng mianchu
can open.up Chinese ASSC farm.produce come.in cannot let.off
 yixie zhongguo dizhi chanpin de zhege shuijin 。 oh
some Chinese inferior product ASSC this tax PRT

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| piru | gong | ni | suanntou | dionggok | e | suanntou | liblai |
| <i>for.example</i> | <i>say</i> | <i>you</i> | <i>garlic</i> | <i>China</i> | <i>ASSC</i> | <i>garlic</i> | <i>come.in</i> |

lan dior de a , lan long de a , citma orha
we EMP defeat PRT we all defeat PRT now oyster

| | | | |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| gincior | e | longmin | a |
| <i>banana</i> | <i>ASSC</i> | <i>farmer</i> | <i>PRT</i> |

dionggok e orha , lan cit gin
China ASSC oyster we one kilo

| | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---|
| bezab | koh | | | |
| yin | cit | gin | sazap | koh |
| lan | long | ki | ho | |

eighty dollar they one kilo thirty dollar we all go give
biannдорh...
defeat

“As I was the prime minister, actually, the garlic in Citong, Yunlin has overproduced. (The government) spent around NT\$ 200,000,000 buying the garlic and then put them into the fridge. We had already done so. But, even so, there are still some remaining problems...Third, (we) promise to buy (the surplus products). That is if you go to sign up, the government would buy your crops with a reasonable price. Now, we spent ninety-five percent of the average prices for the past two years to purchase the excesses. If so, there is no problem as farmers cultivate (the same plant). If the sell is dull, the government would consume. And moreover, (we have to) clamp down on the smuggling from China. We can not introduce products from China. And we cannot remove the taxes imposed on the Chinese products with inferior quality. Take the garlic as an example. If the Chinese garlic is imported to Taiwan, we would all be defeated. One kilo of the oyster from China costs thirty dollars and our Taiwanese oyster costs eighty dollars (per kilo). Farmers growing the banana and breeding the oyster would be defeated.”

Hsieh started his reply in Mandarin, borrowing Mandarin’s high official status to intensify his authority and power as a prime minister. But as he was tackling on the garlic in Yunlin, where Taiwanese is widely spoken, he switched to Taiwanese in order to present his decent characteristics and gain approvals from the garlic farmers. But soon, he moved back to Mandarin when expressing professional jargon in economics, using “shengchanguosheng” meaning ‘oversupply’. Undoubtedly, it is possible to express the idea of overproduction in Taiwanese by translating the Mandarin expression into the Taiwanese saying word by word but the Taiwanese outcome would be perceivably unprofessional; thus, Hsieh switched back to Mandarin from Taiwanese to express the professional wording.

But while Hsieh was taking on the government’s policy for solving the problem of overproduction, he spoke Taiwanese, claiming that the government would purchase the crops if the agricultural products overabound. He also used Taiwanese to declaim against Ma’s proposal, where he suggested the idea of importing Chinese agricultural products into Taiwan. By speaking Taiwanese, not only did Hsieh made a distinguishment between Taiwan and China but he reinforced his diverse viewpoints from Ma whose mother tongue is Mandarin. Moreover, compared with Mandarin, Taiwanese is much more dissimilar to China’s official language, Putonghua, and thus,

it is oft-manipulated to stand for Taiwan's political independency from the mainland.

Hsieh's intention to get closer to the agriculturalists could also be noticed by his application of the Taiwanese pronoun, which has also be applied by Ma during the debate. While conferring on the negative consequences if Taiwan allows imports of the Chinese farm produces, Hsieh revealed his antagonism towards Ma's proposal and using "lan" to show those peasants that he was standing at the same side with the local farmers. "Lan" is the Taiwanese inclusive we, whose Mandarin counterpart is "zan(men)". However, rarely can we notice the oral application of the Mandarin inclusive first person pronoun in Mandarin of the present time. It may be another reason why Hsieh decided to apply the Taiwanese inclusive we even though the Mandarin counterpart is still available.

Shuo-cheng Yuan in Mandarin asked the candidates' opinions on the issue of establishing entertainment centers with casinos in Pescadores.

Excerpt of Hsieh's reply (i)

women zhengfu touzi henduo qian o women nage
 we government invest very.much money PRT we that
 taihualun ye gaishan women henduo ziyuan ye
 Taihua.ferry also improve we many resources also
 touxiaqu le a ° [a gaoue diorsi zuanong a] , a
 throw. ASP PRT PRT September that.is windy PRT PRT
 [bohuatdo zuesinnli a] , [a phngo diorsi ho hong]
 no.way do.business PRT PRT Penghu that.is PRT wind
 cioktoue a , huilinggi zi aidiu sicinn ko , a
 very.strong PRT airplane money need four.thousand dollar PRT
 beh zuanniunn ho lan a zuankang beh ki phngo ,
 want how let people PRT specially want go Penghu
 citesizunn ne ge ta yi ge jihui , na lidao
 this.moment PRT give it one CL chance PRT off-shore.island
 sheli tiaoyue zai peihe zonghede
 establishment treaty again to.tie.in.with integrated
 yulequ zhongjian you boyi , [cite edang ciabsiu] ,
 entertainment.area middle have game this can accept
 danshi yao you peitao ° diyige , chengxushang yao
 but must have supplementary first in.proceeding must
 gongmintoupiao , zhe gongmintoupiao yao guiding yi ge
 referendum this referendum must regulate one CL
 bili o cai nenggou tongguo ° dierge , guyong
 proportion PRT only can pass second employee
 dangdideren yidingde bili yishang , dangdide jiuye
 the.local certain proportion upward local employment
 youxian ...
 to.have.priority

“Our government has invested a lot and the Taihua ferry has been improved as well. We have already put a lot of resources there. But it is just windy on September. That is hard to do business then. Penghu is just windy. The airplane ticket (to Penghu)

costs NT\$ 4000. How would people be willing to spend that much money just for going there? At this moment, we should give Penghu an opportunity. It is acceptable to have that treaty for that off-shore island, which allows the establishments of casinos inside the entertainment centers. But we must have some supplementary policies. Firstly, in terms of the establishment proceeding, we must hold a referendum. The treaty could be activated only if the number of the votes is high enough. Second, the percentage of the local employees must be large. You cannot bring outsiders to work in Penghu. The locals should be privileged. We should also think of policies to maintain local security, and to limit the number of the customers going there. Give the people in Penghu an opportunity to choose (their future)...”

Excerpt of Hsieh’s reply (ii)

ta yinggai shi yi ge zonghede yulequ huozhe
it should COP one CL integrated entertaining.area or
 shi dade fandan you zhege boyi , na zheyang ne jiu
COP big hotel have this game then so PRT EMP
 you ren keyi qu nali zhu liang tian san tian yi ge
have people can go there live two day three day one CL
 libai , ta huadelai , jipiao jiaotongfei
week he be.able.to.benefit airplane.ticket transportation.fee
 pingjun ta jiu huadelai , na zhege shi dui
equalize he EMP able.to.benefit then this COP to
 penghu de renmin o (Taiwanese) dui phngo lan o
Penghu ASSC people PRT to Penghu people PRT
shionnduae liik ki la , korlu ionn zaidelang e
largest benefit go PRT consider use local.people ASSC
liik ki korlu la , xiexie o
benefit go consider PRT thank

“It should be an integrated entertaining area or a hotel with the casinos. If so, there should be some people willing to live (in hotels in Penghu) for two to three days or a week. They can profit from it. (As the price of) the airplane ticket and the transformation expending are equalized, people (who go there) would benefit from it. This is to people in Penghu... We take the most benefits into consideration for people in Penghu. Thanks”

When conferring on the government’s prior investments on improving the tourism in Pescadores, and his future plans to build up a resort with casinos, Hsieh spoke Mandarin. His officialdom, authority and power were maintained and boosted because of the official status of the language itself. But, the code was switched into Taiwanese as Hsieh was brushing on the obstacles faced by the residents in Pescadores. The vernacular enabled Hsieh to low down his social status to a commoner rather than a celebrity from the authority. With this linguistic aid from the vernacular, Hsieh ingratiated himself with the inhabitants in the outlying area. By pointing out Pescadores’ inclemency in Taiwanese, he convinced people, especially the ones living in Penghu, that he was not a bureaucrat that would only boast in public but he was really the one who understood his people’s needs. Meanwhile, by speaking Taiwanese, his determination to help people to get out of the plight was

strengthened because Hsieh seemed to be one of the in-group who were seeking for favors from the government.

Ling-jia Zhu asked the candidates how to cope with the dollar diplomacy and how to remove the investment plans in countries which have the diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

Excerpt of Hsieh's reply (i)

yong qian bu yiding jiushi kaiziwaijiao huo sheme
use money NEG surely namely dollar.diplomacy or whatsoever
o o dangnian wo xiaoshihou women you meiguo yeyou
PRT those.years I childhood we have America also
yuanzhu women ' women yeshi yong (Taiwanese) mihun
help we we also use flour
mianfen yeshi meiguo 、 niunaifen yeshi meiguo o
flour also America cow.milk.powder also America PRT
lai de o o suoyi women youqian le ' women bangzhu
come NOM PRT so we wealthy ASP we help
bieren wo xiang zhe yeshi rendao...
others I think this also humanity

“No every diplomatic financial aid should be treated as the dollar diplomacy. As I was in my childhood, we received aids from the United States. We used the flour and milk power from the States. So, as we are wealthy now, it is humanistic to help others...”

‘Dollar diplomacy’ refers to the “diplomacy that seeks to strengthen the power of a country or effect its purposes in foreign relations by the use of its financial resources” (c.f. Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2008.) As the candidates were asked about their plans to meliorate this political mechanism, Hsieh reported Taiwan’s situations at the past when people were receiving donations from the American government. Americans had sent flours, and milk powder as relieves to uplift Taiwan’s impoverished situation. While commenting on the flour from the US, Hsieh switched to Taiwanese from Mandarin and soon switched back to Mandarin from Taiwanese. That is the noun phrase “flour” was stated once in Taiwanese and once in Mandarin in his statement. Certainly, his switching was not triggered by his lack of vocabulary in each tongue; instead, the switch should be seen as a strategy to punctuate the phrase, namely, the flour. Gumperz (1982) suggests that the reiteration is among some of the conversational functions of codeswitching. Repetition may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message. Also Tannen (1987) has similar viewpoint claiming that repetition is oft-applied as a tactic for attracting others’ attentions. Certainly, to state “mihun” (‘flour’ in Taiwanese) out of a speech conducted in Mandarin Hsieh toned up the fact that Taiwan did receive American’s financial aid few decades ago. Meanwhile, the reinforcement of the donations from the States enabled Hsieh to diminish the culpability caused by the unappreciated dollar diplomacy done by the DPP administration, which Hsieh belongs to.

Excerpt of Hsieh's reply (ii)

...ruguo jiushi shuo yiwei nide shibai jiushi wode kuaile ,
 if namely say because your failure namely my happiness
 xiang nage (Taiwanese) [oh be l'jonggun] , jiushishuo ni
 like that black white general namely you
 zai duanjiao liang ge , women jiu xiaci
 again sever.diplomatic relations two CL we EMP next.time
 jiu keyi zhengdang lunti , na zhege taiwan
 EMP be.able.to political party transition then this Taiwan
 ne jiu mei you tanpan de benqian la , zhege
 PRT EMP NEG have negotiate ASSC counter PRT this
 jiushi xisheng Taiwan renmin de liyi , xiexie 。
 that.is.sacrifice Taiwan people ASSC benefit thank

“...if we regard your failure to be our happiness, just like the Black and White Generals (in the wooden puppet show). Namely, if you terminate that diplomatic relation with two more countries, and we could have the political party transition next time, Taiwanese would have no chance to negotiate. This would sacrifice the Taiwanese’s benefits. Thanks.”

A Taiwanese term appears in this paragraph when Hsieh was criticizing the antagonism between the DPP and KMT. These two parties have been trying to take advantage from each other’s failure in diplomacy. ‘Oh be l’jong gun’ are two figures in the traditional Chinese puppet show. The General White and the General Black are always confronting with each other in the play and the most well-known line spoken by the two figures is ‘others’ failures are my happiness’. Since the hostility between the General White and the General Black in the play is similar to the relationship between the KMT and DPP, Hsieh’s borrowing of the expression from the play metaphorically captured the rivalry between the two political parties in Taiwan. And because the puppet show is broadcasted in Taiwanese, it turned out to be more authentic and stunning as Hsieh uttered the expression with the vernacular spoken by the puppets.

In Mandarin, Bochun Fan asked the candidates who we are, what the identity of people in this island should be.

Excerpt of Ma’s reply

fan xiaojie de zhege wenti feichang zhongyao ,
 P.N. Ms ASSC this question very important
 wo yao zai zhege difang xiang dajia shuoming
 I want at this place toward everyone explain
 wo shi taiwanren , wo shi zhonghuaminguo de
 I COP Taiwanese I COP the.Republic.of.China ASSC
 guomin 。 (Taiwanese) [wa si taiwanlan , wa si mangga duahan]
 people I COP Taiwanese I COP Mengjia grow.up
 e taiwanlan , [wa si jia taiwan mi] , [lim taiwan]
 ASSC Taiwanese I COP eat Taiwanese rice drink Taiwanese
 zui duahan e taiwanren , [wo ma si dionggok]

water grow.up ASSC Taiwanese I also COP China
...doinghuamingok e gokmin , huisionge cingcoi 。
the.Republic.of.China ASSC people very clear
 suoyi wo yao zai zhege difang gen gewei baogao , wa bilai
so I want at this place to everyone report I future
bhe zor zi e ziann taiwanlan 、 ziann taiwanlan diouisi...
want do one CL real Taiwanese real Taiwanese that.is
en... ziangange Taiwanlan , zinndite taiwanlan , wo yao zuo
PRT real Taiwanese honest Taiwanese I want do
 yi ge zhengpai 、 zhengzhide taiwanren 。 women xiwang jiaoyu
one CL decent honest Taiwanese we hope educate
 women de zisun , gaosu ta women shi taiwanren ,
our ASSC descendant tell him we COP Taiwanese
 women shi zhonghuaminguo de guomin ,
we COP the.Republic.of.China ASSC people
 zhe shi feichang qingchude...
this COP very clear

“The question from Ms. Fan is very important. Here I want to make clear that I am a Taiwanese, a citizen of the Republic of China. I am a Taiwanese, a Taiwanese who grew up in Mengjia. I am a Taiwanese who have been raised up with the Taiwanese rice and drink the Taiwanese water. I am also the citizen of China...the Republic of China. It is very clear. So, here, I want to report to everyone that I in the future will be a real Taiwanese. A real Taiwanese is an absolute Taiwanese, honest Taiwanese. I want to be a decent, honest Taiwanese. We hope that we can educate our descendants by telling them that we are Taiwanese; we are the citizens of the Republic of China. This is pretty clear...”

“Speakers who codeswitch are seen as evoking and laying claims to the rights, obligations and identities associated with each language (Stroud, 1992:131).” Taiwanese is the most widespread vernacular in Taiwan and is frequently adapted by the DPP activists to construct a political idiosyncrasy different from the KMT, which was retreated from the Mainland China and launched the Pan-Mandarin policy to erase the Taiwanese ideology at the past. In public certain skillful politicians purposefully give speeches in Taiwanese to intensify their local identities indirectly, more or less, to make public their antagonism to the KMT or the Chinese government.

Yingjiu Ma was born in Hong Kong and later settled down in Taiwan with his family at his childhood. His birthplace has always been an issue to other DPP politicians who treat Ma as an outsider from the mainland. For the sake of proving his Taiwanese identity and gaining trust from the local for the election, Ma firstly replied in Taiwanese purposefully to strengthen the fact that he was brought up in Taiwan and is certainly a citizen of the Republic of China because he is able to speak the most prevalent vernacular tongue. That is by speaking Taiwanese Ma was in an attempt to acquire the public’s approval and accentuated the place where he grew up intending to deflect and to hide his birth place – China.

At last, Ma switched to Mandarin from Taiwanese to reclaim his statement once again. At this moment, his targets were changed. He demonstrated the followers of Chang Kaishak and the KMT supporters that they share the same language and of

course stand on the same side. By reporting his viewpoints both in Mandarin and Taiwanese, Ma managed to persuade people with the local identities and the ones from the Mainland that they belong to the same community.

Excerpt of Hsieh's reply

wo shi taiwanren , wo conglai mei you youyu
 I COP Taiwanese I all.along NEG have hesitate
 jiang wo shi yi ge taiwanren 。 na women xiaohaizi
 say I COP one CL Taiwanese that we kids
 nan jiao de yuanyin , jiushi you ren xiang
 hard teach ASSC reason namely there.is people like
 Ma xiansheng ta shi nian jiang , ta shi nian qian jiang
 Ma Mr. he ten year say he ten year ago say
 ta shi xin taiwanren , wu nian qian ta shi jiang wo
 he COP new Taiwanese five year ago he COP say I
 shi taiwanren yeshi zhongguoren , jintian ta jiang
 COP Taiwanese also Chinese today he say
 ta shi (Taiwanese) zinnidite taiwanlan , suoyi womende
 he COP honest Taiwanese so our
 xiaohaizi hui hunyao la , hui hunyao , women yao
 kids would confuse PRT would confuse we want
 yiguan , zhege taiwanren ye bu shi yong koutou
 consistent this Taiwanese also NEG COP use oral
 koushui lai rentong la 。 wo kan hen duode
 mouth.water come identification PRT I see very many
 bisai , nianqingren zai oh die bangqiu jingdiansai e
 contest young.people at PRT at baseball classic ASSC
sizun hua taiwan gaiu , taiwan gaiu , Wang Jianmin yangji
 moment shout Taiwan go Taiwan go Wagn.Jianmin Yankee
 qiuchang kan ta bisai shi taiwan de rekuang ,
 baseball.field see him contest moment Taiwan ASSC craze
 na jiushi zhende taiwan de rentong 。 hen duo
 that that.is real Taiwan ASSC identification very many
 ren qu chuguo bisai youxiude xuanshou cheling o
 people go go.abroad contest outstanding contestant diabolos PRT
 diaojiu bangqiu shuo wa si taiwan lai e ,
 liquor.mixing baseball say I COP Taiwan come NOM
 wo bu shi zhongguo , zhege jiushi taiwan de rentong ...
 I NEG COP China this that.is Taiwan ASSC identification

“I am Taiwanese. I never hesitate to claim that I am a Taiwanese. Why it would be hard to educate our children is because that we have some people like Mr. Ma. He said he was a new Taiwanese ten years ago. Five years ago, he stated that he was a Taiwanese and also a Chinese. And today he said he is one honest Taiwanese. So, our kids would be confused. We must be consistent (in our statements). Also, our Taiwanese identity cannot be proved just with our oral reports. I watched many games. Many young people yelled “Taiwan go, Taiwan go” while watching the (World) Baseball Classic. People’s craze in the Yankee baseball court came out when

they are watching Jiangming Wang's performance and that is a real symbol of self-identification. Many outstanding contestants go abroad for contests, such as bartender contests, diabolo contests and baseball games, claiming that they are from Taiwan not from China. They certainly identify themselves as Taiwanese..."

In this excerpt, surprisingly, Hsieh used the unmarked tone, Mandarin, to respond instead of Taiwanese, which is frequently embraced by him particularly in public to reinforce his local identity. Here, Mandarin could be considered as a neutral tone that would not trigger overt conflicts over issues associated with the national identity and political ideology on account of the official status of the code itself as an official language. After making clear of his viewpoints, Hsieh tried to fight against Ma by pointing out his swinging proclamations in terms of his identity. And since Hsieh was citing Ma's statements, he switched to Taiwanese that was used by Ma while he was stating his viewpoints. Hsieh's Taiwanese quote could be interpreted as a mockery implying his disagreement over Ma's declaration of himself as a real Taiwanese.

At the later part of Hsieh's response, as he was describing the audiences' applause during the baseball game in the United States, he once again shifted his code from Mandarin to Taiwanese. The local vernacular is more able to light up people's Taiwanese identity in an international occasion compared with Mandarin. Although Mandarin is Taiwan's official language, it has a great resemblance to the official language of the mainland China. Taiwanese helps to punctuate distinctions between Taiwan and the mainland much more vividly. Hsieh's intent to draw a line between Taiwan and China could also be seen by his expressions at the last part of his answer. While claiming his Taiwanese identity, Hsieh shifted his code to Taiwanese from Mandarin and later spoke Mandarin rather than Taiwanese to emphasize that he is not from China. From these switches, we could clearly understand that Taiwanese is manipulated by Hsieh to associate to his Taiwanese identity but as he was trying to discuss issues over the mainland, he spoke Mandarin to signal out the contrary.

Mingzhi Lin, a teacher with the Amis ethnicity, would like to know how deeply the candidates understand cultures of the indigenous people, and how they are going to deal with the issues related to the aborigines' education.

Excerpt of Ma's reply

xiexie Lin Mingzhi xiansheng de wenti ° na wo zai zheli
thank Lin Mingzhi Mr. ASSC question then I at here
 yao tebie xiang ni shuo
want especially to you say
 (Austronesian) salikakamapurongna'aiho , en , wo zai zheli
hello.every.sister.and.brother PRT I at here
 hai yao qiangdiao , zai huida nide wenti zhiqian ,
also want emphasize at reply your question prior
 shangci yinwei zai taibei xian ...
last.time because at Taipei county

"Thanks for the question from Lin Mingzhi. Here, particularly, I want to say "hello every sister and brother" to you. And, here, before answering your question, I want to emphasize that last time because of Taipei County..."

Excerpt of Hsieh's reply

xiexie Masau , (Austronesian) Ting-king Kaku wo shi tin king ,
thank Masau I.am.Tingking I COP Tingking
wode yuanzhumin ameizu de mingzi jiao tin king ,
my aborigine Amis ASSC name called Tingking
a wo taiyazu de mingzi jiao hayong , hayong o o .
PRT I Atayal ASSC name called Hayong Hayong PRT
e wo juede women gen yuanzhumin shi ge huobanguanxi ,
PRT I feel we with aborigine COP CL partnership
o women bu shi yao tisheng sheme yuanzhumin de
PRT we NEG COP want uplift what aborigine ASSC
shuizhun la wenhua ...
standard PRT culture

“Thanks, Masau. I am Tingking. I am Tingking. My name in Amis is Tingking. And my name in Atayal is Hayong, Hayong. I think the aborigines and we are in a partnership. We do not need to uplift their standards or cultures...”

Both Ma and Hsieh's objective to show off their very limited Austronesian language ability is a political trick to get closer with the aborigines. Their codeswitch to the indigenous languages grabs the native speakers' attention and reduce the distance between the native inhabitants and those political celebrities. Hsieh in his response intended to mention his name in two Austronesia languages struggling to reveal his friendliness to as many aborigines as possible. But, because Ma and Hsieh's Austronesian language abilities are not professional enough for them to produce a statements so their talks were limited to very basic greetings only.

4. Discussions and conclusions

Brown and Gilman (1960) suggest that solidarity implies the similarity between interlocutors and is symmetrical. Both Yingjiu Ma and Changting Hsieh during the debates were adjusting their languages to correspond with the codes of their addressees. By converging to languages of the people who initiated the discussions, they forged similarities so as to construct the sense of solidarity for the sake of gaining ballots during the presidential election from those they accommodated to.

The linguistic repertoires of Ma and Hsieh are not parallel, however. Their Mandarin abilities should be indistinguishable because it is the language which they had learned from school educations. In respect of Hakka and Austronesian languages, both candidates successfully had past the Hakka language proficiency test; their proficiency level of this vernacular tongue should be quite similar as well. And, owing to the great diversity of the Austronesian languages, Ma and Hsieh should have very little mastery of them. The main difference between Hsieh and Ma's linguistic competence lies in their Taiwanese. Taiwanese is within Hsieh's linguistic repertoire; in other words, it is his mother tongue. In political campaigns, Hsieh's Taiwanese proficiency on one hand is a symbol of his local identity but on the other hand, he did not enjoy much advantage in terms of accommodating to Taiwanese for

demonstrating friendliness to many others. It is Hsieh's instinct to speak Taiwanese; no or little effort is required for him to codeswitch to this vernacular in the talks for the campaigns. Nevertheless, on account of Ma's background as a descendant of a mainlander whose native language is Mandarin, for Ma to speak Taiwanese is a challenging task. Serious attention should be paid to utter simple Taiwanese phrases. And of course, as a result of his linguistic limitation, or deficiency, in Taiwanese, it is relatively less frequent to have Ma speaking Taiwanese in public compared with Hsieh in general. But during the debates, it could be noticed that Ma had endeavored to answer questions in Taiwanese as long as he seized the opportunities. Ma was quite aware that by converging to their language he could gain supports from those Taiwanese speakers.

Compared with Ma, Hsieh put a lot more energy codeswitching to Hakka and the Austronesian. His attentiveness could be observed particularly in the first and last excerpt. In the first excerpt, a Hakka couplet was applied to applaud residents in Meinong, which is known as a Hakka village. Hsieh, in the last excerpt, was attempting to display his intimacy with the indigenous people by displaying many his names in their codes. Hsieh's converge to Hakka and Austronesian mainly is not to answer the proposed questions but obviously is for greeting and adulating people speaking those languages. Remarkable accommodations to Hakka and Austronesian, however, are not found in Ma's speeches. That is Ma used Hakka and Amis to salute people who participated in the debate but did not try to give excessive admiration or constructing friendliness in either of the tongues. Ma converged to Taiwanese more often than to other codes in his speeches.

Ma's abundant switches to Taiwanese during the debates could be explained from three aspects. First, Ma's Hakka and Austronesian linguistic competence is weaker than his Taiwanese. Saying that Ma's Taiwanese ability far surpasses his Hakka and Austronesian competence, it is expected that he converges to Taiwanese more frequently because his Taiwanese enables him to canvass more issues during the debate. Next, Ma's wide application of Taiwanese may be a result of the orientations of the topics initiated by the participators and the language spoken by the people took part in the event. Many proposed questions were agriculture associated and several participators were Taiwanese native speakers. Naturally, Taiwanese is his first choice while answering the questions because most peasants are more fluent in vernacular, particularly Taiwanese. Most importantly, Taiwanese is socially more dominating than the other vernacular tongues. The relatively larger number of Taiwanese speakers on the island may be a crucial trigger for Ma to put more effort learning Taiwanese and accommodate to it repeatedly in the campaigns. To put it differently, for the sake of achieving more social approvals, Ma's codeswitch abounds in Taiwanese.

Even though Ma's inefficient vernacular ability makes people to distinguish him as an outsider, instead of a local Taiwanese, his poor Taiwanese could also be a stepping-stone. As long as Ma converges to Taiwanese under the right situations and with appropriate manners, he could successfully win unanimous applause from the locals. This is a merit that Hsieh, a Taiwanese native speaker, did not enjoy that much. In spite that Hsieh is regarded as a pure Taiwanese and possesses more similarities to the local than Ma, his identity may be one of his obstacles in the campaign because of the notorious scandals of the former president Shui-bian Chen. Chen, a staunch DPP nationalist, who was once widely supported because of his local Taiwanese background before his briberies and misdoing of his family were uncovered since

2006 (c.f. BBC news, Nov 12, 2008). To put it differently, Hsieh's identity as a Taiwanese may lose its social power due to the misconduct of Chen who had made many Taiwanese people lose confidence to politicians with "pure" Taiwanese identity.

In conclusion, in the 2008 election campaign codeswitching is indeed a strategy manipulated by candidates to create solidarity and achieve social supports. The codeswitching phenomena mainly occur in situations where the interlocutors are speakers of non-official languages including Hakka, Taiwanese and the Austronesian. In the debates, Mandarin is the neutral code and is widely applied because of its official status and is the language that would trigger least ethnic conflicts, nevertheless, as the candidates were trying to demonstrate their sincerity to the potential voters and coin the sense of harmony, Taiwanese, Hakka and the languages of the indigenous people would be manipulated in speeches that are chiefly conducted in Mandarin.

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