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探討社群媒體使用者對於口譯品質之觀感

Exploring Social Media Users'

Perception of Interpreting Quality

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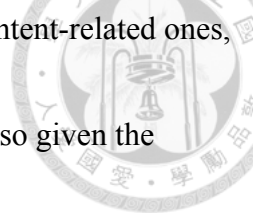
The completion of this thesis and degree turned out to become not only a pursuit of knowledge but a journey of personal introspection, and I feel very fortunate to have accomplished this journey with the help of so many people.

Abstract



This paper examines social media users' perceptions of simultaneous interpreting quality in a live streaming interpreting event on YouTube. On December 11, 2012, Harvard Professor Michael Sandel was invited by Taiwan's Ministry of Culture to give a lecture about his new book, *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*. The lecture was held at a stadium with an audience of 6,000 people. At the same time, the lecture was broadcasted live on YouTube, so simultaneously there was a group of online users listening to the lecture. Because the YouTube streaming did not provide dual channels, the online audience had no choice but to listen to the simultaneous interpretation, while the original source speech was broadcasted at the backdrop at a lower volume. In other words, online YouTube audience became default absent users of the interpreting service. Most importantly, the YouTube audience not only watched Sandel's lecture and listened to the interpreters online, but many of them posted online comments simultaneously. The comments comprised the basis of this research.

A total of 233 comments from 134 unique users were collected to form a rich set of uncontrolled, natural data on users' perception of interpreting quality. This data was closely examined to understand the different quality criteria used by different users.



Overall findings show that delivery-related criteria, as opposed to content-related ones, were most often cited by the interpreting users. Context does matter, so given the highly-interactive nature of the interpreting event, the data shows that users paid much attention to prosodic features, such as fluency of delivery, smooth alternation between source and target languages, and lively intonation. Technology is another important element in this research. New electronic media has enabled interpreting events to broadcast live on-line, expanding the number of interpreting users and also changing the nature of speaker-listener-interpreter relationship. Adequate technical support is necessary in this case to ensure the quality of interpretation delivery, otherwise technical shortfall affects users' quality perception, as reflected in a large portion of comments that preferred listening to the lecture without the interpretation.

Keywords: quality of interpretation, quality perception, Internet interpreting, social media.

中文摘要



本篇論文旨在探討一群 YouTube 社群媒體使用者對於同步口譯品質的觀感。2012 年 12 月 11 日美國哈佛大學邁可·桑德爾教授(Michael Sandel) 應文化部邀請來台演講並談論他的著作—“錢買不到的東西：金錢與正義的攻防”。該演講在台灣大學體育館舉辦，現場觀眾共 6,000 人，備有同步口譯服務。該演講同時也有 YouTube 網路即時轉播，所以有為數可觀的線上觀眾。當時 YouTube 並沒有中英雙聲道服務，所以線上觀眾只能聆聽現場同步口譯版本，而演講原音則以較低音量在背景播放，因此該 YouTube 聽眾成了口譯服務遠端使用者。值得一提的是這群口譯使用者不但透過 YouTube 聆聽 Sandel 演講及口譯內容，更有許多聽眾在 YouTube 網頁上留下大量口譯相關意見，這些寶貴意見遂形成本研究的分析基礎。

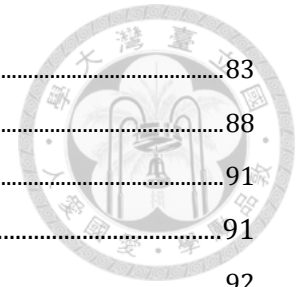
總共有 134 位 Youtube 使用者提供了 233 個意見，形成豐富、未經研究控制的自然資料，有助瞭解使用者的口譯品質觀感。透過嚴謹資料分析，本研究嘗試了解使用者不同的口譯品質衡量標準。研究結果顯示大部份口譯聽眾注意到表達相關的衡量標準，而非過去研究中較受重視的實際口譯內容。口譯情境(Context)也很關鍵。由於該演講場合高度互動的特質，資料顯示許多聽眾重視口譯訊息的表達，包括聲韻、流暢度、生動語調以及口譯員目標語和來源語間的轉換。科技與口譯也是本研究的重要議題，特別是科技如何影響聽眾的口譯品質觀感。本研究彰顯新媒體以及新型傳播科技如何為更多口譯活動提供實況轉播，進而擴大口譯使用者群也改變了講者、觀眾和口譯員三者間關係。為確保口譯轉播品質，需有適切的技術支援，否則就如同許多使用者表達他們希望只聽原音而不要聽口譯，技術上的不足有可能也會影響使用者的口譯品質觀感。

關鍵字：口譯品質、使用者品質觀感、網路口譯、社群媒體

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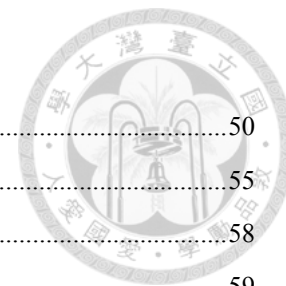


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Chapter 1 Introduction



Interpreting quality research is one of the most extensively investigated subjects in interpreting studies. Understanding how to objectively define and evaluate the quality of interpretation has profound implications for both interpretation as a profession and an academic discipline. When AIIC admits new members to the profession, it has to ensure that the members meet stringent quality criteria and that there is a set of common standards in the screening system (Kurz, 1993). Interpreting quality is also relevant to the education and training of professional interpreters, take for instance the assessment criteria used in entrance exams or qualifying tests in interpretation schools. Yet is there an objective definition of interpreting quality, what is it, who defines it, and what are some of the empirically sound methods available when probing the issue? Descriptively, what are the factors that decide the quality perceptions of interpreting users? Many researchers have poured significant efforts into the study of interpreting qualities, debated overtime the different meanings and methods, and generated a wealth of knowledge. This research, set in a social media interpreting context with the use of new sources of data, aims to use an observational, bottom-up approach to listen to what

online interpreting users are saying about the performance of two simultaneous interpreters in a live interpreting event.

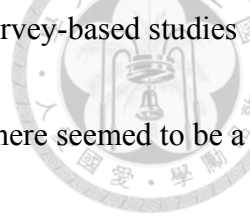


1.1 Background of the Study

Rich literature on interpreting quality has revealed many different dimensions to define interpreting quality. As summarized by a model developed by Pöchhacker (2001), interpreting quality ranges from accurate rendition of source, adequate target language expression, equivalent intended effect, to successful communicative interaction. Good interpretation has multiple-level of definitions, from the “lexico-semantic core” at textual output level to the “socio-pragmatic sphere of interaction” (p. 143).

Similarly, researchers have also developed various quality criteria to operationalize and measure the different aspects of quality. Some are linguistic, output-oriented, and content-related quality criteria, such as *logical cohesion of utterance*, *sense consistency with original message*, *completeness*, *correct grammar*, and *correct terminology*. On the other end of the spectrum, there are extra-linguistic, pragmatic, service-orientated, or form-related quality standards. Take the following criteria for example, *pleasant voice*, *lively intonation*, *poise*, and *pleasant appearance*.

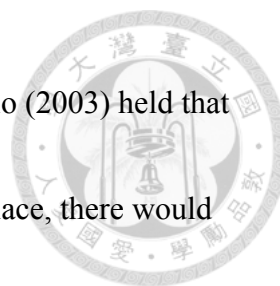
Many empirical studies have been conducted to test how interpreters and users



perceive the importance of these different quality criteria. In some survey-based studies (e.g. Bülér, 1986; Marrone, 1993; Koczyński, 1994; Moser, 1996) there seemed to be a general consensus that content-related criteria are more important than form-related ones. Meanwhile, form-related, delivery or extra-linguistic criteria have been considered desirable, but not essential. Yet this is not a final conclusion. With the accumulation of more literatures, many researchers have gradually realized that interpreting quality is very multi-dimensional, and differs with at least two key factors—the users and the interpreting context.

Regarding the role of users, Gile (1991) stated that quality assessment is “affected by the different actors’ respective positions in the communication configuration and by the limitations of these positions” (p. 196). Kahane (2000) exemplified how actors hold different perceptions about what constitutes good interpretation. When empirical research on interpreting quality started to prosper from the late 1980s, quality studies started from understanding the perspectives of professional interpreters, but subsequently more studies focused on surveying general end-users and even distinguished between user groups of different backgrounds.

Context is another crucial factor affecting interpreting quality. Koczyński (1994)



defined quality as a function of situation and context. Straniero-Sergio (2003) held that without the situational context in which the interpreted event takes place, there would be “a gap between the ideal (academic) quality and situated (real-world) quality”

(p.135). Because interpreters’ performance is largely dependent upon the context in which the event took place, one has to frame the situation first, and then consequently decide the realistic, achievable quality of the interpretation. With this theoretical foundation in mind and also as professional interpretation expands to serve different social contexts and communities, there have been emerging quality studies in specific contexts, such as in community, court or media interpreting, just to name a few.

Researchers have attempted to define media interpreting, mainly by describing the different scenarios where interpretation services are required. According to Pöchhacker (2010), media interpreting is “a form of language transfer in the media used primarily for live mass media broadcasts” (p. 224). So far, media interpreting studies focused on simultaneous interpreting events on the television.

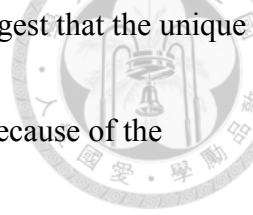
There are mainly two types of television interpreting (Mack, 2002). One typical example is foreign events with special significance broadcasted on the television, such as a presidential inaugural ceremony, or a state memorial service. Another typical

television interpreting scenario is the in-studio talk shows or interviews where interpreters provide consecutive interpretation for the program host, interviewees, and sometimes a live audience. In some countries, such as Japan, there are broadcast interpreters who play the dual-role of television reporters and interpreters, and are expected to meet the quality standards of both professions (Snelling, 1997).



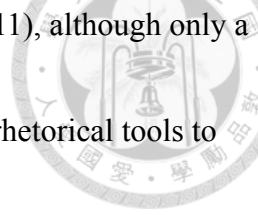
Mack (2002) also pointed out two prominent features of media interpreting that set it apart from simultaneous interpreting in a conference setting. First is the unique participant relationship with users in media interpreting. The users in media interpreting are often a group of off-line audience. How will the interpreters be able to gauge the need of these remote users? Another feature is exposure--the nature of the media enables the performance of a single interpreter to reach thousands, if not millions of viewers and listeners. In addition, the exposure factor might increase the stress level on interpreters (Kurz, 2002) as well as the difficulty level of the interpreters' works (Pöchhacker, 2011). These unique features of media interpreting could result in insightful quality-related findings, contributing to making the literatures on interpreting quality more comprehensive and holistic.

However, in the context of media interpreting, there have only been a small number



of studies on interpreting quality. A general consensus seemed to suggest that the unique context of media interpreting does affect users' quality perception. Because of the unique context, delivery- or performance-related quality criteria were deemed to be more important than content-related ones (Pignataro & Velardi, 2011; Straniero-Sergio, 2003; Pöchhacker, 1997; Kurz & Pöchhacker, 1995). This means that when evaluating the quality of media interpreters, interpreter's ability to speak convincingly can sometimes be even more important than to speak correctly.

However, one has to note the methodological limitations in these small number of quality studies. Kurz and Pöchhacker (1995) used Bühler's eight quality criteria and asked survey participants to assess the relative importance of different quality, and compared with results with Kurz's study done in 1993. However, the sample size of TV professionals was only 19 people, and it was unclear from the study whether the differences between the scores given by the two comparison groups were of statistical significance or not. Pöchhacker's (1997) and Straniero-Sergio (2003) respectively focused on one media interpreting event to analyze and compare the source and target texts to assess interpreters' performance. They differed in the sense that Pöchhacker's (1997) still applied Bühler's quality criteria, while Straniero-Sergio (2003) identified and



described the norms of media interpreters. Pignataro and Velardi (2011), although only a preliminary study with limited data, observed how interpreters used rhetorical tools to gain affiliative responses from the audience, which was a measurement of successful interpretation. With these limited number of studies, the investigation of quality in media interpreting context is not final, especially as new forms of media and web-based broadcasting technologies continue to evolve.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The previous section has underscored that interpreting quality has to be studied under different contexts and from the perspectives of different users in order to develop a more balanced, nuanced portrait of interpreting quality. However, as mentioned, only a handful of studies have been devoted to the issue of quality studies in media interpreting. Even fewer studies documented the phenomenon of simultaneous interpreting conducted over the Internet, not to mention quality studies in a social media context. A clear gap in existing literatures is about how the needs and perceptions of online interpreting users might change or differ from conventional interpretation users because of a new interpreting context and an unprecedented speaker-listener-interpreter relationship. This question would only become more relevant as the usage of Internet


and web-based broadcasting technologies become more widely applied in more simultaneous interpreting events, having an even greater impact of the interpretation profession.



Many previous interpreting quality studies also contained a number of methodological limitations. This study expands the territory of media interpreting with new methodological options presented in this particular context. Fundamentally, instead of asking users what quality criteria, specific or general, they value the most, the researcher tries to observe and listen to what users are saying about the interpreters. Descriptive, instead of normative, interpreting quality criteria are explored through an in-depth analysis of the YouTube user comments.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

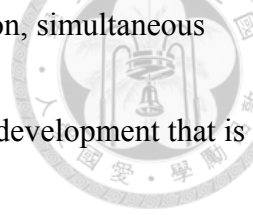
It is with this background that the research takes place. This research seizes a unique data collection opportunity and constructs an observational case study to examine users' perceptions of the quality of simultaneous interpreting in a live streaming interpreting event on YouTube. On December 11, 2012, Harvard Professor Michael Sandel was invited by Taiwan's Ministry of Culture to give a lecture about his new book, *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*. The lecture was held



at a stadium with an audience of 6,000 people. At the same time, the lecture was broadcasted live on YouTube, so simultaneously there was a group of online users listening to the lecture. Because the YouTube streaming did not provide dual channels, the online audience had no choice but to listen to the simultaneous interpretation, while the original source speech was broadcasted at the backdrop at a lower volume in the same channel. In other words, online YouTube viewers were default absent users of the interpreting service. Most importantly, the YouTube audience not only watched Sandel's lecture and listened to the interpreters online, but many of them left online comments simultaneously. This use of social media data is advancement from existing media interpreting studies. The YouTube comments comprised the basis of this research. A total of 233 comments from 134 unique users were collected to form a rich set of uncontrolled, natural data on online users' perception of interpreting quality. This data was closely examined to understand the different quality criteria, both narrowly- and broadly-defined, used by different users, including a cross-reference analysis between the YouTube comments and lecture transcription.


1.4 Significance of the Study

The importance of exploring online users' interpreting quality perception is



two-folds. First, although media interpreting is not a new phenomenon, simultaneous interpreting broadcasted over the Internet is a relatively more recent development that is under-studied in interpreting research. The interpreting event in this research is not a conventional media interpreting event but one that was webcasted live on YouTube, which further expands the boundary of quality studies in media interpreting. As the phenomenon of Internet interpreting becomes more prominent, interpreting quality studies also have to keep up with new norms and practices, while quality standards and criteria used to measure interpreting performance also have to evolve accordingly. This research explores the key issue of how quality criteria might remain the same or differ in this new interpreting context and how a much larger group of online interpretation users perceive interpreting quality.


Media interpreting researchers (e.g. Mack, 2002) used to think of remote users as those who are “undifferentiated, anonymous and numerous, with no possibility of active participation” (p. 207). In most situations, the role of remote online users is invisible and their voices unheard. This is not only because of the remote, off-site nature of the users, but also because the users are voluntary, unsolicited, and can come from



anywhere in the virtual world.¹ This makes it almost impossible to understand quality from their perspectives. But the nature of a social media like YouTube allows users to leave comments while viewing the interpreting event. And this is exactly the second contribution of this study. In addition to documenting a new phenomenon in media interpreting, this research also captured new data to shed light on new issues and challenges relevant to Internet interpreting. New data is available because of the nature of social media, where Internet users are no longer passive listeners but active participants who can voice their opinions about the interpretation performance simultaneously along with the interpreting event. These YouTube comments about the interpreters' performance might only be a tip-of-the-iceberg, but at least they can start to draw researchers' attention to listen to the voice of this group of interpreting users. And by understanding their needs and the factors that affect interpreting quality, professional interpreters who engage in these online interpreting assignments can play better roles or further advance their profession.

Another equally important component of the new data is the complete transcription data of both the source and target texts. Pöchhacker (2011) pointed that in many cases

¹ One exception is the scenario of virtual conferences or webinars where online users have to obtain passwords to access the web content, including the interpreter's rendition.



interpreted speeches were broadcasted in voice-over mode in a single audio channel so the original speech was barely audible. But this study is able to overcome the above-mentioned limitation, allowing the researcher to cross-examine the transcription and users comment data, so that interpreting quality can be analyzed and cross-examined from different perspectives.

1.5 Primary Research Questions

Based on the literature reviewed and the gaps identified in existing studies, the researcher proposes the following research question in the hope of informing users' quality perception in an online interpreting context:


Research Question: What is the interpreting quality perception of the social media users, and specifically, what quality criteria can be elucidated from the YouTube responses and how do these quality criteria differ from or support previous findings?

The research question aims to find out what quality criteria were noticed by the social media users who viewed the webcast of a highly interactive lecture, and how they differ or align with the commonly used quality criteria categories documented in existing literature.

1.5 Assumptions, Limitations, and Scope



This is a qualitative, observational study of an interpreting event that was webcasted on YouTube. The event was a lecture by Harvard Professor Michael Sandel, and the topic were relevant issues covered in his book, *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*. Sandel addressed an audience of 6,000 people in a stadium at National Taiwan University. Two interpreters were invited to provide simultaneous interpretation for both Sandel, the audience in the stadium, as well as the online viewers who watched the YouTube webcast. The online viewers not only watched the event, but many of them also left comments, and a significant number of comments (233 comments) were interpretation-related. The researcher collected these YouTube comments on December 18, 2002, one week after when the lecture took place. Comments were mainly posted simultaneously during the event, while a smaller number of comments were posted shortly after the conclusion of the event. Comments posted after December 18, 2012, were not included in this study. The researcher assumes that the comments describe the interpreting perceptions of a group of YouTube listeners, but do not reveal the normative standards of interpreting quality. In addition, information is not sufficient to establish a user profile nor claim that the profile of the YouTube



listeners resembled that of the live audience at the stadium of National Taiwan University, who were mainly composed of university students. However, the YouTube users were vocal enough to post large number of comments, indicating that they were a group of active “netizens,” which might result in a certain degree of selection bias. The researcher also assumes that the user comments were unsolicited opinions expressed in a most natural setting by audience members. So by studying these comments, the research can have a glimpse into how users really think of or judge the performance of interpreters in an authentic interpreting event. Meanwhile, the researcher also completed a full transcript of the source text and target text. This research focuses mainly on the YouTube user comments and transcription data to develop the main arguments.

1.6 Thesis Organization

The thesis is divided into five chapters and an appendix section. The first chapter provides a brief introduction about the background of the study. It also describes the objectives and significance of this research and presents the main research question.

Chapter Two presents a comprehensive review of related literature on interpreting quality, both in terms of specific quality criteria commonly applied in previous empirical works as well as broader interpreting quality factors that have been

documented. A thorough review of research works on media interpreting is also included. The third chapter describes specific data collection and analytical methods used in this research, and explains how such a research design is suitable to address the main research question.

Chapter Four presents the findings and discussions of the research results, starting with findings from the lecture transcription and YouTube comment data, followed by detailed discussions on multiple aspects of interpreting quality, including major quality criteria and broader factors affecting quality perception. Finally, Chapter Five concludes the thesis by presenting a summary of the main findings, limitations of this study, and suggestions for future research. There is also an appendix section, which includes the complete lecture transcription, original YouTube comments, as well as a profile of the audience members who interacted with Sandel.



Chapter 2 Literature Review




The aim of this chapter is to establish a theoretical foundation for this study and to identify the gaps to be filled in the existing research methods and knowledge concerning users' perception of interpreting quality. The review starts from understanding existing definitions and constructs of interpreting quality, followed by mapping out broader factors that affect interpreting quality, and in particular, the increasing importance of technology and media.


2.1 Defining Interpreting Quality

For a very long time good interpretation was merely a subjective judgment. There lacked a consensus about what constitutes interpreting quality and how it should be assessed. No wonder AIIC referred to quality as "that elusive something which everyone recognizes but no one can successfully define" (AIIC, 1982, as cited in Zwischenberger, 2010, p.128).

Although quality can be very subjective, since the late 1980s more and more researchers started to address the challenge of defining and understanding interpreting quality (Kurz, 2001). Earlier researchers defined good interpretation as one that does



not deviate or differ from the original text. Quality criteria are at the comparative linguistic level, focusing on syntactic and semantic parameters (Barik, 1994; Altman, 1994). At this stage, researchers seldom took into account broader factors, such as the context, actors, text type, or process of the interpreted event, so the findings often were not readily applicable to real-life interpreting norms. Déjean Le Féal (1990) argued that good interpretation carries an equivalent effect on the listeners as the source text—“what our listeners receive through their earphones should produce the same effect on them as the original speech done on the audience” (p.155). Moreover, the target text should present the original content with the same level of clarity and precision, and its “language and oratory quality should at least be on the same level, if not better” (p.155). Moving beyond comparing source and target text, more researchers started to view good interpreting from broader and more holistic perspectives. Gile (1998, as cited in Kalina, 2005) took a processing viewpoint and defined interpreting quality as “the optimum balance between different processing efforts.” Interpreting quality deteriorates when one of the processing efforts (listening, memorization, or speaking) is overloaded, straining the total processing capacity. Taking an encompassing viewpoint, Pöchhacker (2001) developed a model of quality standard, where



interpreting quality ranges from accurate rendition of source, adequate target language expression, equivalent intended effect, to successful communicative interaction. This model summarizes the fact that good interpretation has multiple-level of definitions, from the “lexico-semantic core” at textual output level to the “socio-pragmatic sphere of interaction” (p. 413).

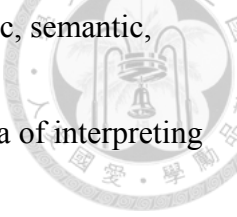
2.2 Measuring Interpreting Quality

2.2.1 Different Quality Criteria

To assess interpreting quality empirically and to actually measure quality standards, there have been many endeavors and debates about research methods. One of the most common empirical studies on interpreting quality has been survey research, as compared to experimental studies, corpora analysis or case studies (Pöchhacker, 2002).

One of the pioneering survey-based research works started from Bülter (1986). Since then researchers have developed and applied a range of quality criteria, and asked the respondents to rate the criteria by order of significance. These criteria reflected researchers’ endeavor to operationalize the construct of quality by breaking it into more tangible components or objective attributes.

There are basically two main categories of quality criteria that have been widely



used. The first category is related to accuracy and focuses on linguistic, semantic, product-oriented, or content-related criteria. These are the core criteria of interpreting quality. This product-oriented perspective reflects the reasoning that good interpretation means that the target-text is a “faithful image” (Gile, 1991, p. 198) or “exact, faithful reproduction” (Jones, 1998, p. 5) of the source text. Some quality criteria that fall under this category include *fluency of delivery*, *logical cohesion of utterance*, *sense consistency with original message*, *completeness*, *correct grammar*, and *correct terminology*. The second category emphasizes on style and looks at extra-linguistic, pragmatic, service-orientated, or form-related standards. These criteria are more related to “listener-orientation” and “target-text comprehensibility” (Pöchhacker, 2001, p. 413). Take the following criteria for example, *pleasant voice*, *lively intonation*, *poise*, and *pleasant appearance*. Interestingly, some criteria, such as *fluency of delivery*, *synchronicity*, or *native accent* can be categorized as either content- or form-related, depending on the researchers’ interpretation.

In addition, there can be a sub- or third category, which refers to personality traits (Büler, 1986). These criteria include those such as *thorough preparation*, *endurance*, *reliability*, and *ability to work in a team*. Note that these criteria cannot be directly and

explicitly observed or experienced by the audience.

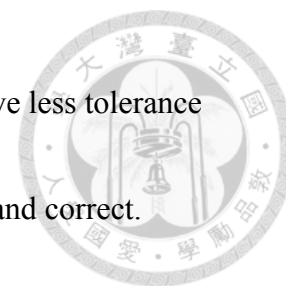


2.2.2 Perceived Importance of Different Quality Criteria

There has been a constant debate about which category of quality criteria are considered more important. In many studies (e.g. Bler, 1986; Marrone, 1993; Kocpczyński, 1994; Moser, 1996) there seemed to be a general consensus that content-related criteria are deemed more important than form-related ones. The linguistic criterion *sense consistency with the original* has constantly been given the highest ratings, as well as the *accuracy* criterion. Meanwhile, form-related, delivery or extra-linguistic criteria have been considered desirable, but not essential.

However, there are also some studies that found that users might consider more important “superficial” criteria such as *native accent*, *pleasant voice*, and *fluency of delivery*, as opposed to linguistic criteria. For instance, Kurz (1993) mentioned that extra-linguistic criteria might be considered more important in certain situations or contexts, such as media interpretation or in conferences filled with lively discussion and spontaneous exchange. There are also some other possible explanations. Users do not normally understand the source language and its linguistic quality, so they are more likely to judge interpreting quality based on criteria that they can directly feel or

experience (Büler, 1986). Another explanation is that some users have less tolerance listening to a halting interpretation, even if it is logically coherence and correct.



Although formal, delivery related criteria are not considered essential, they still affect how the users evaluate the real performance of the interpreters (Garzone, 2002).

Looking at each specific quality criterion, one observes an even more complicated picture. According to user comments in a study by Pöchhacker and Zwischenberger (2010), the criterion *synchronicity* is more important in certain situations or in speeches with certain features. Take for example speeches with jokes, punch lines, or lots of numerical data. The criterion *native accent* is often considered less important or unimportant. But in the same research by Pöchhacker and Zwischenberger, some survey respondents expressed the viewpoint that the importance of native accent depends on the target language. Another user in the same study pointed out that accent might be related to prosodic quality (e.g. native intonation), which elevates the importance of accent. These are only observational comments given by individual survey respondents. However, empirical evidence can be found in a recent experimental study by Cheung (2013). When judging three versions of an English-to-Cantonese SI differing only in accent, participants rated the native accent SI quality more favorably than the two other

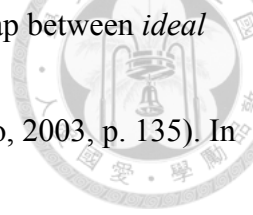
SI that had Mandarin and English accent respectively. The researcher cannot review and discuss every single criterion in existing studies but the isolated examples listed here are meant to highlight how and why some form-related criterion were attached significant importance.



Whether content- or form-related, these quality criteria studies reflect researchers' efforts to operationalize the construct of quality by breaking it into more tangible components or attributes. The goal of many of these studies is not necessarily to reach an absolute dichotomic conclusion about which category of quality criteria is more important, but to highlight the fact that the discussion of interpreting quality should also consider the type of interpreting event or assignment, who the respondents are, the expectations of the respondents, how the respondents perceive the interpreter's role, and many other contextual factors.

2.2.3 Challenges in Measuring Quality

Despite the fact that the topic of interpreting quality criteria has been extensively studied, there still exist quite a number of research challenges. As Moser-Mercer (2009) pointed out in her article "Construct-ing Quality," many existing studies were "overly ambitious", trying to cover too many attributes of quality in a non-specific way (p. 156).



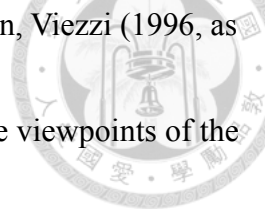
When a study eliminates the situational context, it would create “a gap between *ideal* (academic) quality and *situated* (real-world) quality” (Straniero-Sergio, 2003, p. 135). In addition, the many quality attributes are often “suggested by researchers and not by users”—users mostly likely do not think in terms of quality (e.g. this is a good/bad interpretation), but more in terms of other constructs such as comprehension (e.g. I don’t understand what the speaker is trying to say) (p. 157). This causes a construct validity problem. In addition, many quality criteria are not only subjective, but can also be interpreted into different meanings. For example the criterion *fluency of delivery* can be further characterized by frequent hesitations, pauses, or irregular, unnatural rhythms. So when a respondent rates *fluency of delivery* as important, it might be due to a general feeling or a certain characteristic that he/she thought about. To address this issue, Macías (2006) used silent pauses as a sub-parameter of fluency to design an experiment. Respondents were asked to rate the interpreting quality of three simulated simultaneous interpretation videos, including the control video without additional silent pauses. Findings indicated that silent pauses have a negative effect on the quality parameter of fluency. Still, much research design and methodological work remains to be done to ensure that the construct of quality is clearly measured.

2.3 Interpreting Quality in the Ears of Different Users



2.3.1 Importance of Users' Perspectives

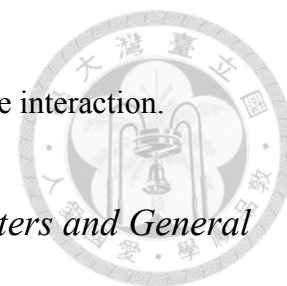
In addition to studying the various quality criteria, it is equally crucial to understand quality of interpretation from different users' perspectives. Gile (1991) stated that quality assessment is "affected by the different actors' respective positions in the "communication configuration" and by the limitations of these positions" (p. 196). Moreover, the actors' motivation and attention would also shape how they judge the interpreting quality. These actors include the Sender, the Receiver, the Client and the interpreters themselves. More specifically, professional interpreters (senior or novice), listeners (including professionals or experts who attend conferences regularly and are familiar with interpretation service versus general audience who seldom have the chance to receive interpretation service), and clients who pay for the interpreting services (e.g. agents and event organizers) might all have different perceptions or understanding about what constitutes good interpretation (Kahane, 2000). If interpretation is perceived as a type of service, when trying to evaluate the quality of the service, one can either try to understand the end-users' perceptions, or those of the service providers, namely the interpreters (Moser, 1996; Kurz, 2001). These viewpoints



are usually mutually complementary rather than exclusive. In addition, Viezzi (1996, as cited in Pöchhacker, 2001, p. 412) not only distinguished between the viewpoints of the interpreters and users, but also included the perspective of the “external observer” – namely those are studying the subject of interpreting and measuring its objective features. And even if the user groups are categorized clearly, there are still many individual factors that shape the users’ preferences, such as “cultural habits, knowledge of and interest in a given subject, personal attitudes and subjective impressions” (Kalina, 2005, p. 774).

To model the rather complex relationships between these various positions and perspectives on interpreting quality, Pöchhacker (2001) developed a model to include the triad of interactants, or actors, composed of the interpreter, the speaker, and the listener. Additional actors are the client (employer) and colleague (fellow interpreter/team member). Importantly, when a researcher studies these multiple perspectives and perceptions, he/she can either investigate an abstract, off-site, hypothetical event, or refer to a concrete communicative event in a specific context. Moreover, when the researcher chooses a concrete event approach, he/she may take either a product-orientation or interaction-orientation approach, focusing either on the

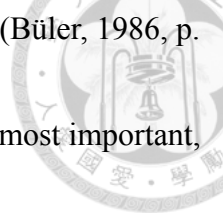
recordable interpreting output or the entire process of communicative interaction.



2.3.2 Different Perspectives between Professional Interpreters and General Users

When empirical research on interpreting quality started to prosper from the late 1980s, quality studies started from understanding the perspectives of professional interpreters, but subsequently more studies focused on surveying general end-users or listeners. Some studies also compared the quality expectations between professional interpreters and conference participants. Ideally both viewpoints should be considered simultaneously, and it is still debatable regarding whether it is best to understand interpreting quality from the perspective of an interpreter or an end-user (Chiaro & Nocella, 2004). The following sections summarize the quality perceptions of professional interpreters and interpreting users respectively.

Some of the earlier quality research focused on the perspectives of professional interpreters. Take Bler’s pioneering empirical study in 1986 for instance. She surveyed AIIC sponsors, who were all experienced conference interpreters, regarding quality evaluation standards they consider when endorsing potential candidates for their AIIC membership. The quality criteria in her work were meant to “reflect the requirements of



the user as well as the fellow interpreter in a well-balanced mixture” (Büler, 1986, p. 233). She found that linguistic/semantic criteria were considered the most important, with the criterion of *sense consistency with the original message* being ranked the highest among all the criteria. Meanwhile, the extra-linguistic/ pragmatic criteria were considered desirable, but not essential. In a more recent study by Pöchhacker and Zwischenberger (2010), they also surveyed AIIC members and confirmed many findings from Büler’s work. More details are included as below.

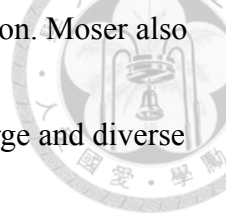
Even more interpreting quality studies looked at perspectives from interpreting users. Kurz (1993) tested Büler’s hypothesis by using eight of Büler’s quality criteria, but she surveyed three groups of conference attendees, including medical doctors in a medical conference, engineers in an international conference on quality control, and delegates at the Council of Europe. There was general agreement by all groups on the importance/unimportance of some of the quality criteria (e.g. *sense consistency with original message, pleasant voice, and native accent*). Meanwhile, there were also many discrepancies in terms of overall ranking as well as scores attached to individual quality criterion. For instance, Delegates at the Council of Europe considered the criterion *correct terminology* as the most important, giving higher scores than did the two other

groups. On the surface such a result might be surprising, as one would expect *correct terminology* to be considered more important in scientific or medical conferences. But




Kurz (1993) offered a likely explanation, arguing that the delegates at the meetings of international organizations were used to a specific terminology and thus expected the interpreters to use those technical jargons that they were most used to and thus were less tolerant towards any deviations. In addition, because of the shared criteria with Bülér's earlier study, Kurz could compare the quality expectations of both professional interpreters and users. She found that while all user groups shared some agreement when assessing the different quality criteria, the AIIC interpreters in Bülér's study seemed to demand higher interpreting quality than the participants in Kurz's research. In other words, professional interpreters were more stringent and had higher quality standards than common conference delegates.

Testing the same hypothesis between different user groups and quality expectations, Moser (1995, 1996) conducted a large-scale study, holding 201 standardized interviews with end-users at 84 different meetings. The interviewee profile was rather diverse. They included first-time interpretation service users, meeting participants who only have limited experienced in using interpretation service, and frequent attendees of



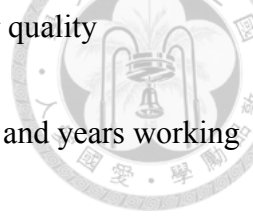
multilingual conferences with considerable experience of interpretation. Moser also provided gender and age distribution of the participants. With this large and diverse interviewee sample, Moser was able to examine the correlation between conference-going experience and users' quality expectations. The four quality criteria categories that he used included *faithfulness of interpretation to the original content*, *synchronicity*, *rhetorical skills*, and *voice*. He found that highly experienced users attributed a much higher weight to the faithfulness to original content criterion than to the three other criteria. The less experienced conference goers attached similar importance to all the four criteria. Meanwhile, the newcomers, those respondents who used interpretation for the first time, valued good rhetorical skills the most. When comparing the requirement for faithful content across the three user groups, the highly experienced users valued it more than the less experienced respondents. In addition to conference-going experience, Moser's study also looked into quality expectation differences between different gender and age groups, and yielded interesting findings. For example, women were more disturbed by lack of synchronicity and more sensitive to "ums" and "aahs" or other fillers and pauses. Unfortunately, although this research conducted interviews and open-ended questionnaires, this research did not provide

explanations for the different quality expectations across different user groups.



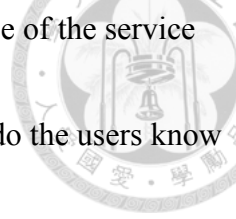
Similar to Kurz's (1993) goal to compare quality criteria importance perceived between professional interpreters and interpreting users, Ru (1996) surveyed 20 conference interpreters in Taiwan and 166 interpreting users. Respondents were first asked to rate the importance of seven quality criteria, including *pronunciation*, *fluency of delivery*, *coherence*, *speech rate*, *faithfulness*, *professional terminology*, and *pleasant voice*. Then respondents were given hypothetical scenarios to understand their expectations towards the function and role of interpreters. An example of a scenario was "When the speaker talks in a lively intonation, should the interpreter mimic the speaker's tone and also deliver an animated rendition?" Ru found that both interpreters and interpreting users ranked faithfulness as the most important quality criteria, followed by coherence and fluency of delivery. Both groups also ranked pleasant voice as the least important criteria. Ru studied the perspectives of interpreters and listeners in Taiwan, but the findings align with previous studies, showing agreements between the two groups.

In a more recent study by Pöchhacker and Zwischenberger (2010) that surveyed AIIC members and yielded 704 responses, it highlighted how socio-demographic and



professional characteristics of the surveyed interpreters affected their quality expectations or judgment. These characteristics included gender, age and years working as a professional interpreter. Generally the survey participants were more demanding for the form-related quality parameters than for the delivery-related criteria, but the degree of importance also varied across different meeting types, domains, and individual preferences or expectations. For example, when tested on two audio samples, one with lively intonation and the other with monotonous intonation, female interpreters seemed to be more generous judges than their male counterparts and were more appreciative of lively intonation.

These studies validated the hypothesis that different user groups have varying quality perceptions and attach different weights to the various quality criteria. Yet understanding the quality perceptions of professional interpreters or conference participants only provide a partial picture of interpreting quality. Some studies argue that neither professional interpreters nor end-users are capable of making quality assessment (Chiaro & Nocella, 2004). How should interpreters know what is good for users, and what users need in the interpreting context? And if we apply the service concept in business and marketing, since professional interpretation is a kind of service,



service providers have to understand the needs and satisfaction degree of the service users (Kotler & Armstrong 1994, as cited in Kurz, 2001). Similarly, do the users know what is good for them? (Shlesinger, 1997) Moreover, “How can they (users) know for sure whether the service provided is adequate?” (Garzone, 2002, p. 118). Although end-users are people who “consume” the interpretation service, they do not know the source language nor do they know much about interpretation. So an average end-user might not be the best person to judge whether the interpretation is good or bad. At best, general users provide their perception of the interpreted texts, which is only one dimension of the quality paradigm (Kalina, 2002). Because of these limitations, Kalina (2002) called for a new model that “encompasses the communication situation, the intentions and knowledge bases of the different actors (including the interpreters), and any conditions liable to affect the interpreted event” (p. 123-124).

2.4 Broader Factors Affecting Interpreting Quality

The previous section highlights the fact that both the concept of quality and the operation of quality criteria are subjective and only reflect certain aspects of interpreting quality. In addition to the two main categories of quality criteria mentioned above, more recently, some researchers started to broaden the research on interpreting quality,



looking at a broader set of factors that may affect interpreting quality in a communication context. Garzone (2002) has noted this shift, indicating that research has departed from “a purely “linguistic” and “technical” approach and moved towards a broader view, based on a notion of interpretation as “a complex interactional and communicative event encompassing pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors” (p. 107). Many previous studies strived to understand the “ideal” quality standards with more focus on the interpretation output. But subsequently researchers started to look at factors in real conditions that interpreters have to face.

Moser-Mercer’s (1996) framed the concept of “optimum quality” in a context-- “an interpreter provides a complete and accurate rendition of the original that does not distort the original message and tries to capture and all extra-linguistic information that the speaker might have provided subject to the constraints imposed by certain external conditions” (p.44). Using media interpreting situations as examples, Straniero-Sergio (2003) emphasized that quality studies have to be conducted in a particular context—“frame the conditions in which the interpreter has to translate a particular text, and, consequently, consider and decide the achievable quality of the interpretation”; otherwise the quality standards are only “wishful thinking” that exist only in an ideal

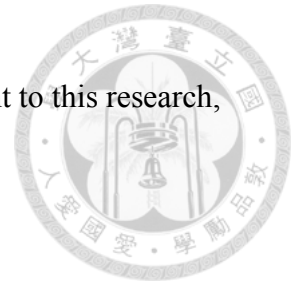
world (p. 171).



Kalina (2002) looked at factors relevant to interpreting quality that belong to different phases of an actual interpretation activity, covering a wide range of factors from contract specifications, technical equipment, availability of source text presentation, to output review (e.g. recording). Kellett Bidoli (2000) also provided a thorough review of factors that shape interpreting quality, including environmental factors, experience-related factors, inter-personal/social factors, linguistic features, para-linguistic features, non-verbal communication features, physical and mental factors, prosodic features, situational factors, task-related factors, technical features, textual features, and time factors. In a pilot study by Moser-Mercer, Künzli, and Korac (1998), the authors investigated the effect of prolonged turns, defined as those lasting more than 30 minutes, on interpreters' quality output. They found that prolonged turns resulted into more meaning errors and a higher level of mental fatigue. Moreover the interpreters were not even aware of the decline of their interpreting quality. These long lists of factors can never be exhaustive, yet they continue to broaden and deepen the field of interpreting quality research.

Although this research is unable to review every single factor, we will review in

length one of the less-discussed quality-related factors that is relevant to this research, namely, technology and broadcasting media (see 2.5).



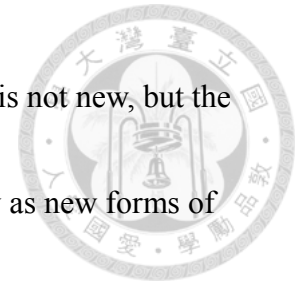
2.5 Media Interpreting

2.5.1 Definitions and Context

Many previous studies chose conferences settings to test the various quality criteria. Researchers have selected conferences of different topics and with different audience size, but many findings are still rather similar (Kahane, 2000). In contrast to quality studies in conference interpreting, there have been fewer interpreting quality studies in the field of media interpreting. Yet as electronic media and telecommunications technology become more sophisticated and prevalent, there are more topics and methodological options to be explored in this field.

First of all, it is important to understand the different definitions and scenarios of media interpreting. Pöchhacker (2010) defined media interpreting as “a form of language transfer in the media used primarily for live mass media broadcasts” (p. 224). Here, the form of media refers mainly to television. But earlier in history, simultaneous interpreting was already broadcasted over the radio, when in the 1930s Hitler’s speeches were interpreted for French radio by acclaimed interpreters such as André Kaminker

and Hans Jacob (p. 224). So the practice of media interpreting itself is not new, but the scenarios, modes, and modalities are constantly changing, especially as new forms of electronic media arise.



Mack (2002) also distinguished between “on-site scenarios that involve interpreters in a studio-based communicative event, with or without the presence of an audience, and simultaneous interpreting of broadcast events occurring in a remote location” (p. 208-209). An example for the former type of television interpreting would be an interview or a talk show in a TV studio where an interpreter is required to provide short consecutive interpretation for the host, the interviewee, and sometimes with a live audience. As for the latter case when a distant event is provided for local audience via live transmission, a typical example would be a foreign event with special significance, such as a presidential inaugural ceremony. An interpreter provides simultaneous interpretation for the audience in front of the television. In addition to these two main forms of media interpreting, in some countries, such as in Japan, there is also need for broadcast interpreters (Snelling, 1997). Some news programs produced in foreign countries are broadcast with Japanese translation on a daily basis. These broadcast interpreters prepare translation for recorded news programs and report news in a manner

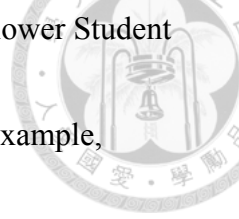


that adheres to broadcast standard, be it voice quality, intonation, or pronunciation. In the occurrence of significant occasions, such as the State of the Union address by the U.S. president, live simultaneous interpretation is required.

These scenarios of media interpreting have been limited to the TV interpreting context. But as more international conferences or media events get webcasted or stored on the Internet, there are greater chances that interpreters' performance would be exposed beyond the physical conference site. As new forms of media and broadcasting technologies emerge, the applicable definitions and likely scenarios of media interpreting should be further expanded as well. For instance, in addition to the subject of this study, Professor Sandel's lecture broadcasted over YouTube, there have been many recent highly publicized events that were live-streamed over the Internet, and the interpreters all played visible roles or received much media attention. One is Apple's iPhone 6 release event on Sept. 9, 2014, where the voice of a Chinese interpreter was broadcast to all the online users and overlaid the Apple presenters.² The Chinese interpretation was supposed to broadcast to only those with an IP address in China, but due to a technical shortfall, the entire online streaming to global audience was dubbed

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<http://www.forbes.com/sites/antonyleather/2014/09/10/apple-iphone-6-launch-event-technical-issues-and-a-huge-missed-opportunity/>



by the Chinese interpreter. Two other recent examples were the Sunflower Student Movement in March, 2014 and the g0v summit 2014. In the former example, professional interpreters served as volunteers and used web-based broadcasting technologies, such as Ustream, to inform the international media and overseas communities about the protesters' occupation of the legislature.³ The latter example was an unconventional conference that provided interpretation service in a groundbreaking approach—there was a dedicated interpretation channel where the conference participants could tune into directly from their laptops, while the simultaneous interpreters also provided live interpretation simply by using their laptops and headphones as they listened to and watched the lecture online.⁴ All of these examples highlight the increasing importance of live streaming technology and its impact on the work and role of simultaneous interpreters. Yet this is a phenomenon that is still under-studied in the field of media interpreting. Whether these new interpreting forms fall into the category of media interpreting also warrants further discussion. As telecommunications technologies advance further, there are increasingly more diverse venues that could broadcast interpreting events, and the boundaries of media

³ <http://www.thenewslens.com/post/34042/>

⁴ <http://summit.g0v.tw/zh-TW/>



interpreting expands further. As Pöchhacker (2011) described, media interpreting has evolved from the early 20th-century media of television to the “new media” of the 21st century, which includes webcast media content and videoconferencing (p.22).

2.5.2 Users in Media Interpreting

Regardless of the type of medium, there are a number of major characteristics of media interpreting that set it apart from conference interpreting. Mack (2002) discussed eight unique aspects of interpreting on television. For example, in terms of participant relationship, the participants of media interpreting involve a “double-level of television communication.” The on-screen participants communicate with each other for the sake of an off-line audience, and the off-line audience is “undifferentiated, anonymous and numerous, with no possibility of active participation” (p. 207). Mack further provided three main typologies of participant relationships in interpreter-mediated communication situations on television. Type 1 is when an interpreter mediates for on-screen participants, and the translation is made accessible to the television audience, or the absent hearers (Hutchby, 1995). Type 2 refers to events where interpreters are only serving the television audience without mediating for the on-screen participants.

Type 3 consists of events where the interpreter also serves as a presenter, so the television audience feels as if the interpreter is directly addressing them.



In addition, some major characteristics of media interpreting that are often cited include its high exposure, high stress level and challenges unique to a media interpreting context (Pöchhacker, 2011; Kurz, 1997). Exposure is related to how the nature of the medium enables the performance of a single interpreter to reach thousands, if not millions of viewers and listeners. This has significant implication to the public's perception of the work and role of interpreters. "The quality of a given interpreting performance therefore has a high impact on the audience and is likely to shape public perceptions of interpreting one way or another" (Pöchhacker, 2011, p. 23). This characteristic of high public exposure is also one of the causes to interpreter's high stress level.

Kurz (2002) measured and compared the heart rate and perspiration levels of interpreters in two different settings, in a live broadcast versus a conference interpreting assignment, and found that interpreters in a live broadcast faced higher stress level.

There are at least three major sources that contribute to higher stress, as summarized by Kurz (1997). First is the physical environment. Instead of a soundproof booth with



direct view of the speakers, interpreters working for TV face a different environment.

They often work in a newsroom or a separate studio, are constantly distracted by all

kinds of visual and acoustic disturbances in the live event, see the speakers only via a

monitor, and cannot receive feedback from the audience. Second are work-related

factors, such as late-night working hours with short-notice and without much time for

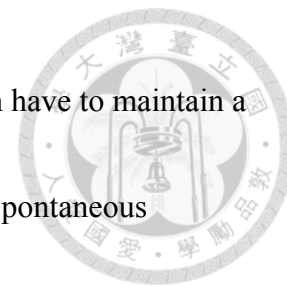
preparation. The third source related to psycho-emotional stress factors related to the

high public exposure of media interpreting. Interpreters feel more stressful and are more

careful of making mistakes.

In addition to these various stress factors typically associated with TV broadcast assignments, Pöchhacker (2011) also pointed out that the nature of the source speech brings forth tremendous challenge to interpreters. The two fundamental genres of media interpreting are media events and talk shows, and each has source speeches with distinct characteristics that bring forth its own challenges (Straniero-Sergio, 2003). In media events of special occasions where TV interpretation is provided, such as an inauguration or commemorative speech for an internationally renowned figure, the source speeches are often scripted meticulously and elaborately with high information density and formality. As for talk shows or interviews, which fall under the category of “dialogic

studio-based scenario” (Pöchhacker, 2010, p. 235), interpreters often have to maintain a very short EVS to keep-up with the real-time flow of conversation, spontaneous exchanges and interaction dynamics. In this highly exposed situation, interpreters work in simultaneous and bidirectional mode and have to quickly adjust strategies




In summary, media interpreters not only have to cope with challenges in a complicated media context, but also have to deal with challenges stemming from the source speech itself. Because of all these unique characteristics of media interpreting, media interpreting deserves to be recognized “as a specialization in its own right rather than as an aspect of “conference interpreting””(Pöchhacker, 2011, p. 22).

2.5.3 Quality Studies in Media Interpreting

In terms of interpreting quality research in media interpreting, there have only been sporadic studies that provided a glimpse into the interconnection between interpreting quality and new technologies, and also identified gaps for possible future research.

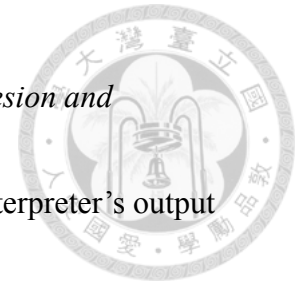
Kahane (2000) mentioned about the users of new technologies such as video and teleconferencing, though the expectations of these users remain unknown. Kahane wondered whether the users would also feel a sense of “alienation and coldness in communication” as the interpreters who used the new technology (p. 6-7). In a 1995



research conducted by Kurz and Pöchhacker, the authors compared the quality expectations of 124 conference participants with those of 19 TV professionals who employed or worked with interpreters in their programs at Austrian and German TV organizations. The participants were asked to assess the relative importance of Bühler's eight quality criteria. The study found that the two groups agreed that *sense consistency* and *logical cohesion* are the two most important quality criteria. However, TV professionals gave a distinctly higher rating to the quality criteria of *pleasant voice*, *native accent*, *fluency of delivery* and *correct grammatical usage* than conference participants. One research limitation is that the sample size of TV professionals is much smaller, and it is unclear from the study whether the differences between the scores given by the two groups are of statistical significance or not.

To examine Kurz's findings with another approach, Pöchhacker's (1997) conducted a case study of a live broadcast simultaneous interpreting event. It was a formal address given by former U.S. President Bill Clinton, and one of Austria's most experienced media interpreters provided a simultaneous voiceover interpretation into German that was broadcasted live on Austria Television. Pöchhacker compared the original English speech with the transcription of the German interpretation, examining

specifically the criteria of *accent and voice, fluency of delivery, cohesion and consistency, and completeness and correctness*. He found that the interpreter's output did meet the stringent demands of pleasant voice, native accent and fluency of delivery.



Pignataro (2011) analyzed differences between television interpreting and conference interpreting, aiming to outline a profile of television interpreters and highlight strategies uniquely used by television interpreters. She argued that quality norms in media interpreting are based more on form than on content, so when evaluating the interpreting quality, media interpreters are evaluated by their ability to interpret convincingly, even more than interpreting a speech correctly. And because of this reason, she particularly focused on how media interpreters employ rhetorical skills. For example, television interpreters have to rely on format-related, extra-linguistic strategies, such as voice intonation and other rhetorical skills, to “eliciting an affiliative response from the audience” (p. 84). And if the television interpreter can achieve such a goal, it can be considered a successful, good interpretation. Regarding the form versus content debate, Straniero-Sergio (2003) also reached a similar conclusion, stating that when examining real-world interpreting data, “the norm is that media interpreters are judged not for interpreting a speech correctly but convincingly well” (p. 172).

Form-related criteria are most valued by both the interpreters and viewers, including fluency of delivery, voice quality, speed, as well as the ability to summarize and deliver a smooth and coherent discourse.



2.5.4 Gap in Existing Literature

In summary, these studies of quality in media interpreting have been regarded as a sub-research either under interpreting quality studies or media interpreting, and are still at a nascent stage. Also all of these studies focus on television interpreting, and the research so far has not been able to identify any research about interpreting events broadcasted in new forms of media, such as the Internet. This implies great research potential in this field as more interpretation events get webcasted or streamed online and as new media technology reshapes the interpretation profession. It is also valuable to study interpreting quality in a much wider context that traces and reflects the evolving practices and norms of the interpretation profession.

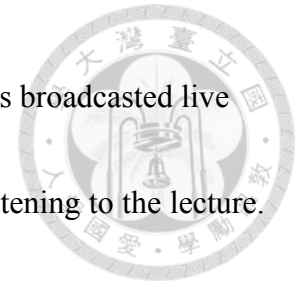
Chapter 3 Methodology



This chapter explains key research methods applied in this study, starting from an explanation about data gathering methods for this research, followed by descriptions about how the researcher analyzes the two main data components of this study, namely the lecture transcription and YouTube comment data, to answer the main research question and to discuss the issue of interpreting quality in this case study.

This naturalistic study analyzed authentic data on the web to collect users' responses and preferences about two professional interpreters' live interpreting session. On December 11, 2013, Harvard Professor Michael Sandel was invited by Taiwan's Ministry of Culture to give a lecture about his new book, *What Money Can't Buy: The Moral Limits of Markets*. Two interpreters provided service for this SI session. The rendition occurred in both directions, Chinese to English and English to Chinese. The total length was 116 minutes. The lecture was held at a stadium at National Taiwan University with an audience of 6,000 people. According to the conference organization agency, about 5,200 people borrowed interpreting headphones, representing a large

body of interpreting service users.⁵ At the same time, the lecture was broadcasted live on YouTube, so simultaneously there was a group of online users listening to the lecture.



As of December 18, 2013, one week after the lecture when the research data were collected, as many as 11,648 YouTube viewers browsed the lecture web page, almost twice the size of the live audience at the stadium. Importantly, because the YouTube streaming did not provide dual channels, the online audience had no choice but to listen to the simultaneous interpretation, while the original source language text was broadcasted at the backdrop at a lower volume. In other words, online YouTube audience became default absent users of the SI service.

Most important of all, this group of YouTube audience not only watched Sandel's lecture and listened to the interpreters online. Many of these listeners also left online comments simultaneously. These comments revealed a rich set of user responses, especially regarding their quality perceptions and judgment, their preferences or dislikes about certain aspects of the interpretation, and also their understanding of the role and work of interpreters. These comments thus comprised the basis of this research. In addition to the comment data, the researcher also developed a full transcription of the

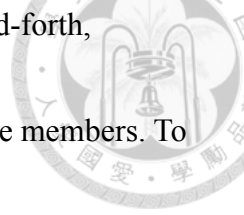
⁵ The author contacted the conference organization agency immediately after the event to inquire about the approximate number of audience members who borrowed headsets.

lecture. These are the two main data components of this research. In the following, the researcher explains in length how these two pieces of data are analyzed, processed and pieced together to answer the two main research questions.



First, the researcher developed a full lecture transcription data to establish the typology and context of this unique interpreting event (Appendix A). This is one of the unique advantages of studying a media interpreting event—because the content is broadcasted to the public, researchers can have access to authentic performances by interpreters and conduct corpus-based empirical research (Pöchhacker, 2011). In this study, the lecture was broadcasted via YouTube. The entire lecture transcription lasted 116 minutes, including Sandel’s talk, the audience members’ answers and comments, and the interpreters’ rendition. In the transcription, the source and target text were placed alongside each other for source-target comparison. This was made possible by the fact the online broadcast included both the source speech and the interpreters’ rendition, instead of broadcasting in voice-over mode in a single audio channel.

Yet just the transcription alone was not enough to describe clearly the interpreting context. The researcher also developed detailed parameters to better analyze the transcription data. The entire lecture had a very interesting structure that was unlike a



typical speech or conference. It was comprised of numerous back-and-forth, multi-directional dialogues between Sandel and the different audience members. To honestly present this very interesting structure, the researcher developed a complete log about how the entire interpreting event took place, including the time point and time length of every segment of the lecture, language used by the interpreter, as well as the speaker (either Sandel or an audience member) whom the interpreter was interpreting for in each segment.

To ensure that the analysis is valid and rigorous, the research carefully defined key variables that were used throughout the study. First of all, “speakers” include both Sandel and all the audience members who stood up and voiced their opinions during the lecture. There were a total of 24 audience members, and each audience member is numbered with an ID according to its order of speech, gender, and the language they used (Appendix B). Secondly, each lecture “segment” is defined as one interpretation session by one interpreter and for one source language speaker. “Segment” is a basic unit of analysis in this study, which is used repeatedly in many of the following quantitative analysis, such as when the researcher compares the interpreting loading of the male and female interpreters. When there is a change of interpreter or source text



speaker, the researcher counts it as another new segment. For better illustration, the

following Table 1 contains three segments. From Segment #77 to Segment #78, both the

speaker and interpreter changed, and the speaker changed again in Segment #79.

Table 1: Example of transcription segments

Segment#	Starting time	Time length	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text
77	0:45:32	0:00:44	Sandel	F	Now there seems to be a shift in opinions. Now I see more orange than I did before. Now I would like to hear from someone who said it was fair to scalp tickets for the Mayday concert but who said it was unfair to scalp train tickets on the Chinese New Year. Someone who raised white for the first question and orange for the second. Who can explain the moral difference between the two?... Yes.	現在我看的出來，好像大家的意見好像有點不太一樣了，橘黃色的好像比較多，那我想聽聽看哪一位能夠說你贊成賣黃牛票... 賣音樂票賣黃牛票時是公平的，但是第二個問題的時候他認為是不公平的，第一個問題你用白色的，第二個問題你用橘紅色的，這個中間有什麼樣的道德差異呢？請你提出你的想法。
78	0:46:16	0:00:43	4-F-C	M	我覺得這個問題的關鍵在於這兩個物品的性質有所不同，第一個五月天的演唱會如果我不看它得話我不會死，或是說，我的生活質量可能會有一些改變，但並不是我生活的必需品。但是第二個火車票的話，這個是中國人傳統的習俗，我一定要回家，所以對於我們生活來說，是生活的必需品，而且這關係到整個國家的交通等更大的一些問題，所以國家需要對它有所管控，而試著調高它的價格就是一種不公平的表現。	I believe the key to these two questions, is that these are two things, the nature of these two things. If I don't go to see a mayday concert, I, or, maybe there's, quality of my life will change a little bit, not essential. But the train tickets is different. That's a traditional Chinese tradition. We have to get home on Chinese new years, so that will affect my life and I will consider it essential, and that will affect the entire country, transportation, has a broader ramification. So the country need to get involved to control that, to gauge the price of train tickets, that's unfair.
79	0:46:59	0:00:52	Sandel	M	Alright. Stay there. Thank you for that. So you draw the distinction between the concert...stand up, stay there...the concert is a luxury. It's not a necessity. Well, maybe for some people, Mayday concert is a necessity. But the train ticket on the Chinese New Year has a more significant, more important meaning	所以您先留在那兒先不要走，所以您剛剛講的是看演唱會...欸站著站著站著，所以看演唱會是一種奢侈品，而不是一種必需品，也許對某些人來說五月天是一種必需品啊，但是呢，火車票這個過年返鄉的火車票，他更重要，在生命中生活中更重要，所以你覺得說這不公平，要讓這個

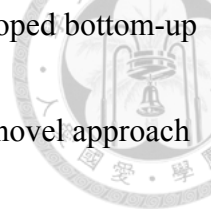
				in life. And that's why it would be unfair to allow market principles ticket scalping to allocate tickets. Do I understand? Okay, stay there. Someone disagrees. Someone thinks even scalping train tickets is fair. Tell us why.	市場的原則完全的深入，然後用這個黃牛票來影響這個火車的價格是嗎？有人不同意，有人不同意，有人覺得火車黃牛票都覺得是公平的一件事情。
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In addition to the lecture transcription, the YouTube comment data is another essential data component (see Appendix C for a full list of comments). The researcher collected the YouTube comments on December 18, one week after the lecture. Although the researcher did not collect the comments immediately after the lecture, judging from the content of all the comments, the researcher can likely postulate that the majority of comments occurred during or right after the lecture.⁶ Moreover, by December 18, an original English version dubbed with Chinese subtitle was still not available.⁷ This means that the Internet viewers had no other options but to watch this dual-channel version and thus their comments were based on this version. Therefore the comments analyzed were as close to the live event as possible.

After collecting all the comments, the researcher then grouped and categorized these responses. All the comments were labeled with matching quality criteria used in previous studies if applied, otherwise, the researcher established new categories to

⁶ In fact, comment #198 seemed to be a cut-off point between comments that occurred simultaneously during the lecture and those that occurred after the event. Post-event comments were by YouTube viewers who watched the rerun of the lecture.

⁷ The Chinese subtitle version of the lecture was broadcasted on the PBS television program on Dec. 22, 2012, and on the YouTube PBS channel from Jan. 17, 2013.



describe the comments. In this way, the quality attributes were developed bottom-up from the users' spontaneous comments in a naturalistic setting. This novel approach allows the researcher to bring the observation and findings close to a real communication context. In the many previous survey-based research works, quality attributes were suggested by researchers and not by users (Moser-Mercer, 2009). But this study takes an opposite approach--quality attributes were suggested and defined bottom-up from users, allowing a better understanding of the complex and multi-dimensional concept of quality. Note that some comments fell under more than one category, thus are discussed in more than one section in this thesis.

After the transcription and YouTube comment data were ready, the researcher combined and cross-referenced the lecture transcription and YouTube comments. This allowed the researcher to use certain parts of the transcription as evidence or explanation to gaze the intention behind YouTube user comments. The combination of these two data components helped the researcher understand why certain parts of the interpreters' rendition elicited certain user reaction or feedbacks. The combination of the transcription and YouTube comment is the foundation of this case study, offering a more complete, holistic and in-depth analysis of this unique interpreting event.

Chapter 4 Findings and Discussions



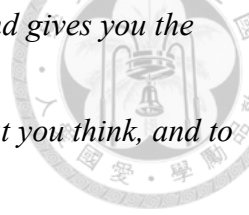
This chapter presents major findings of this case study. The first part uses transcription data to establish and explain the interpreting context. Subsequent sections report on detailed findings from the user comment data in the order of different comment type. When necessary, both transcription data and user comment data are cross-examined to support the main arguments.

4.1 Establishing Interpreting Context: Findings from Transcription Data

Having complete access to public broadcasting content of authentic interpreting performances is a key advantage in studying media interpreting events (Pöchhacker, 2011), and this applies to the subject of this case study, a live lecture webcasted on YouTube. The researcher completed a transcription of both the source and target text speech with the aim to document this unique interpreting event and establish the interpreting context for detailed analysis.

Right in the beginning of Sandel's speech, Sandel told the audience,

“You thought you were coming to a lecture. But, it's not the kind of lecture



where the professor stands at a podium and reads from a text and gives you the answers about big ideas. And I want to invite you to tell me what you think, and to listen to one another, and to say whether you agree or disagree with what your friends and colleagues had to say. So does that sound reasonable? Are you ready to participate even you way back in the balcony?”

Reviewing the detailed transcription, the researcher would characterize this event as a Socratic-style lecture filled with highly interactive, bidirectional, and even multidirectional exchanges of ideas and comments, not only between the speaker and the audience, but also among the audience members. The speaker-listener relationships were multifaceted. For example, after elaborating on certain main issues, Sandel would then ask the audience to vote and encourage audience members to stand up and express and elaborate their viewpoints. Then Sandel built debates between two or more audience members, asking them to challenge or persuade one another. Q&A sessions occurred throughout the talk, and based on these Q&A sessions, Sandel completed his highly interactive speech.

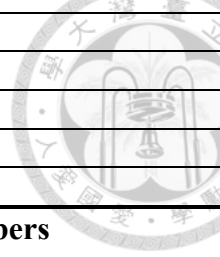
A quantitative analysis of the entire transcription presents the very interesting structure and context of the lecture, as seen in Table 2. The entire lecture lasted 116



minutes and included 182 segments. As defined in the Methodology section, each lecture “segment” is one interpretation session by one interpreter and for one source language speaker. So whenever there was a change of interpreter or source text speaker, a new segment began. Based on this definition, 17 segments were established due to a change of interpreters and 60 segments were established due to a change in target language. The remaining segments were due to a change in source text speaker. In terms of time length of each segment, the majority of them were very short, under 30 seconds. Only 21 segments lasted for at least one minute, and those segments mainly were Sandel’s introduction, conclusion, or summary remarks of the issues under debate. The large number of segments, frequent change in segments, and more importantly, the multiple factors behind segment changes indicated that the interpreters had to constantly change their target languages, adapt to different speakers’ styles, and strategize accordingly. Frequent interpretation turns implied that the interpreters had to stay constantly alert and ensure smooth transitions, including the operation of the simultaneous interpreting machine.

Table 2: A quantitative analysis of lecture transcription data

Total length	116 minutes
Total number of segments	182 segments
>10 minutes	2



1 minute~10 minutes	19
30 seconds~1 minute	35
< 30 seconds	126
Segment change due to interpreter turns	17
Segment change due to language change	60
Total number of audience members who expressed their opinions	24 audience members
Audience members who spoke in Chinese	14
Audience members who spoke in English	7
Audience members who code-switched	3

Serving different source text speakers is another unique feature of this lecture. In addition to interpreting for Sandel and the entire audience, the interpreters also had to interpret for 24 audience members who participated in Sandel’s policy debate (see also Appendix B). These 24 members not only represented different speaking styles, but also spoke in different language and language combinations. Fourteen of them spoke in Chinese, seven spoke in English, and three code-switched between the two languages. Every time an audience member conversed with Sandel in Chinese, the interpreter had to switch his/her target language. Even in fewer cases when the audience member spoke in English, the interpreter still had to get accustomed to the member’s English accent. Code-switching speakers were even harder to follow because of their accents and unexpected time points of switching to a different language. Yet the different languages used by the audience members reflected the increasingly common English as lingua franca phenomenon, especially in Q&A sessions. As discussed in Chang and Wu (2009),

when addressing English-speaking lecturers during Q&A sessions, Chinese-speaking audiences often prefer using English. This necessary adjustment to different non-native accents brings new challenges to interpreters.



Furthermore, the researcher found a very clear structure of the lecture, which could be broken down into nine topical dialogues, plus Sandel's opening and concluding remarks (Table 3). Each dialogue was like a stand-alone argument following a certain set of logic. Each dialogue followed a similar pattern—Sandel would introduce the topic and the debate issue first, then he would ask the entire audience to vote, and ask individual audience members to stand up and voice their opinions, challenge one another, or address another audience member's comment. After rounds of discussions, Sandel would then summarize contrasting opinions, conclude the debate or discussion, and move on to conduct his next conversation. Each dialogue differed in time length and the number of audience members. Some dialogues were longer than others, and involved more members in the discussion. For example, conversation #8 and #9 involved as many as six audience members in the debate plus Sandel, which meant that the interpreters had to rapidly keep up with the multi-party conversation and adjust to their different languages and speaking styles.

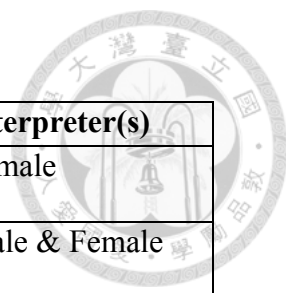


Table 3: Main lecture segments

Dialogue #	Segments	Time length	Speakers	Interpreter(s)
Opening Introduction	1-2	0:17:14	Sandel	Female
Dialogue 1 (snow shovel)	3-63	0:12:00	Sandel 1-M-E 2-F-C&E 3-M-C	Male & Female
Dialogue 2 (Pepsi cola)	64-72	0:03:14	Sandel 3-M-E&C	Female
Dialogue 3 (Mayday concert)	73-76	0:03:34	Sandel	Female
Dialogue 4 (Chinese new year train ticket)	77-96	0:07:45	Sandel 4-F-C 5-F-E	Female & Male
Dialogue 5 (cash incentive)	97-112	0:15:59	Sandel 6-M-C 7-F-C 8-F-C 9-M-C	Male
Dialogue 6 (nuclear waste)	113-119	0:13:44	Sandel 10-M-C 11-F-C	Male & Female
Dialogue 7 (fundraising)	120-122	0:03:22	Sandel 12-F-C	Female & Male
Dialogue 8 (7-11 monopoly)	123-160	0:16:53	Sandel 13-F-E 14-M-C 15-M-C 16-F-E 17-M-E 18-M-E&C	Female & Male
Dialogue 9 (media monopoly)	161-181	0:11:14	Sandel 19-M-C 20-M-C 21-F-E 22-M-C 23-M-C 24-F-E	Male
Closing remarks	182	0:11:59	Sandel	Female

Table 4, using Dialogue #8 as an example, is a detailed record that offers more details of the back-and-forth interaction between Sandel and the audience members.

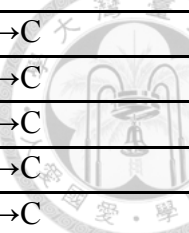
This dialogue was a debate about the impact of franchised convenient stores on local



brick-and-mortar businesses, and involved a heated discussion between Sandel and the six audience members. Among the six audience members, three spoke in English, two spoke in Chinese, and one person code-switched between the two languages. In addition, there were a total of 38 segments, interpreted respectively by the female and male interpreters.

Table 4: Dialogue #8

Segment#	Starting time	Time length	Speaker	Interpreter	Language direction
123	1:26:22	0:02:18	Sandel	F	E→C
124	1:28:40	0:00:20	13-F-E	M	E→C
125	1:29:00	0:00:01	Sandel	M	E→C
126	1:29:01	0:00:03	13-F-E	M	E→C
127	1:29:04	0:00:02	Sandel	M	E→C
128	1:29:06	0:00:02	13-F-E	M	E→C
129	1:29:08	0:00:03	Sandel	M	E→C
130	1:29:11	0:00:02	13-F-E	M	E→C
131	1:29:13	0:00:09	Sandel	M	E→C
132	1:29:22	0:00:02	13-F-E	M	E→C
133	1:29:24	0:00:01	Sandel	M	E→C
134	1:29:25	0:00:57	13-F-E	M	E→C
135	1:30:22	0:01:30	Sandel	M	E→C
136	1:31:52	0:00:58	14-M-C	M	C→E
137	1:32:50	0:00:23	Sandel	M	E→C
138	1:33:13	0:00:02	14-M-C	M	C→E
139	1:33:15	0:00:05	Interpreter	M	C→C
140	1:33:20	0:00:04	14-M-C	M	C→E
141	1:33:24	0:00:11	Sandel	M	E→C
142	1:33:35	0:00:01	13-F-E	M	E→C
143	1:33:36	0:00:09	Sandel	M	E→C
144	1:33:45	0:00:31	13-F-E	M	E→C
145	1:34:16	0:00:47	Sandel	M	E→C
146	1:35:03	0:00:51	15-M-C	M	C→E



147	1:35:54	0:00:55	Sandel	F	E→C
148	1:36:49	0:00:56	16-F-E	F	E→C
149	1:37:45	0:00:08	Sandel	F	E→C
150	1:37:53	0:00:10	Sandel	F	E→C
151	1:38:03	0:00:37	17-M-E	F	E→C
152	1:38:40	0:00:05	Sandel	F	E→C
153	1:38:45	0:00:10	17-M-E	F	E→C
154	1:38:55	0:00:02	13-F-E	F	E→C
155	1:38:57	0:00:03	Sandel	F	E→C
156	1:39:00	0:00:28	17-M-E	F	E→C
157	1:39:28	0:02:35	Sandel	F	E→C
158	1:42:13	0:00:35	18-M-E	M	E→C
159	1:42:48	0:00:16	18-M-C	M	C→E
160	1:43:04	0:00:21	18-M-E	M	E→C

In summary this detailed, structural, and quantitative analysis of the entire lecture carries multifold implications to the interpreters. The analysis illustrates the uniqueness of this interpreting context—a highly conversational lecture filled with multi-directional and interactive dialogues, and the interpreters carried an important role in bridging these communicative interactions. To handle the many brief, under-one-minute interpreting segments, interpreters had to maintain very short EVS. The interpreters had to constantly adapt to different speaking styles, speed, and even language. Each language change also involved switching the buttons on the interpreting machine, taking up extra effort from the interpreters. The interpreting listeners also noticed the unique features of this highly conversational lecture, which would be discussed in length in the following sections.




According to Alexieva (1997), there are different types of interpreter-mediated events and these different types of encounters shape directly the role of interpreters.

Based on this typology and the transcription data presented in this section, this studied event could be regarded as more “culture-specific”, because there was close proximity between the speaker and the audience, great involvement of the participants, huge number for audience and high orality (p. 170). In this type of event, the interpreter has a very important role to play and has to “actively intervene in the communication to prevent misunderstanding and smooth cultural differences,” because the communication depends greatly on the interpreter’s ability to bridge dialogues, and to avoid or repair communication breakdowns (p. 170). This is one of the possible explanations for why there were so many YouTube comments devoted to interpreter-related issues, as highlighted in the next section.

4.2 Understanding Quality Criteria-Findings from Comment Data

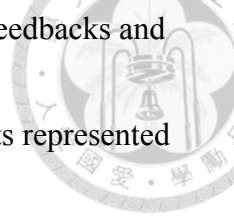
This research tabulated that there were 964 comments regarding Sandel’s YouTube lecture video, as of Dec. 18, 2012. Not surprisingly, the majority of the comments were about the content and issues discussed in the lecture itself. But importantly, out of the



964 comments, close to a quarter (25%) of them (233 comments) were specifically related to interpretation, including the interpreters' performance, interpreted content, and the interpreting context. This is a large number of comments that reflected users' responses and perceptions of the interpreting event. And because the users' responses were all anonymous, voluntary, and unsolicited, the researcher was able to gather a wide array of comments in the most candid and natural setting, covering issues that were more difficult to obtain through traditional survey or interview instruments.

These 233 YouTube comments came from 134 unique users, so on average every unique YouTube user made 1.7 comments. Some comments were responses to other comments or part of a string of conversation. In terms of user profile, the researcher was unable to construct a detailed profile of these YouTube users. But based on their comments, the researcher understands that it was quite a diverse group. Some might know about the profession of interpretation better than others. They had different levels of English language proficiency. Not all of them followed through the entire speech (they could go off or on line anytime), so depending on the segments they watched, they probably came up with different and not directly comparable comments.

These 233 comments were selected because together they allowed the researcher to



construct an in-depth and relevant analysis about users' perception, feedbacks and judgment about this interpreting session. All these different comments represented different, sometimes opposite, voices from the audience, and also supported the argument that this group of YouTube users held diverse opinions about the interpreters. This paper focuses on the comments that are relevant to interpreting quality, and also includes other comments that reflect users' perception, attitude, and observation of the entire interpreting event as well as the role of interpreters.

Table 5 below tabulated and summarized the different types and topics of comments, and also calculated the number of comments in each category. The largest number of comments was devoted to the issue of technology, media broadcasting and interpreting quality (105 comments, 45% of total comments). There were 35 quality-related comments that could be categorized into the most common quality criteria used in previous studies. Meanwhile, 166 comments did not fall under the common quality criteria, but still touched upon pertinent quality related issues, including users who compared the interpreting performance or quality of the male and female interpreters (48 comments), and voiced compliments or criticisms (35 comments). In addition to quality-related comments, YouTube users also offered a rich



range of feedbacks that reflected their understanding or perception of the role and work of interpreters (28 comments), and pinpointed the issue of English as lingua franca (55 comments). The following sections discuss each category of comments, and also combine relevant findings from the transcription data to support the main arguments.

Table 5: Interpretation-related comments by type and number

Different Types of Comments	Number of Comments
Total Number of YouTube comments *	964
Total Number of Interpretation-related comments	233
1. Technology and interpreting quality	105
2. Users' perception of interpreting quality based on existing quality criteria	35
3. Broader factors affecting quality perception	166
3.1 Quality comparison: Comparing the interpreting quality of male and female interpreters	48**
3.2 Quality judgment: General comments	35
3.3 Discussion and general understanding of the work and role of interpreters	28
3.4 English as lingua franca	55***

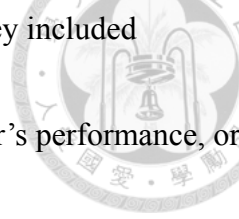
*Note: As long as the YouTube video clip remains live on the Internet, viewers can still post comments, though the number decreases. So the researcher set a cutoff time point (Dec. 18, 2012), one week after the event, and captured and analyzed only those comments posted before the time point.

**Note: Among the 48 comments, 18 comments were duplicates from the technology and quality criteria sections.

***Note: Among these 55 comments, 44 comments were duplicates from the technology section, where users preferred the original English version over the interpreted one. The remaining 11 comments were about the language usage of audience members and were not directly interpretation-related, thus were not included in the total 233 comments.

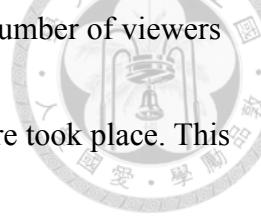
4.3 Technology and Interpreting Quality

An AIIC Webzine article by Olsen (2012) provided three main categories of



technologies that are closely tied to the interpretation profession. They included technologies that deliver interpreting services, augment an interpreter's performance, or ultimately replace human interpreters altogether. Since technology is a very broad term that means different things to different people, this paper discusses technologies and technological breakthrough that fall into the first category. The researcher would also like to distinguish between technologies that remove interpreters from the interpreting event site (i.e. remote interpreting), and technologies that serve a remote audience (i.e. broadcasted or webcasted interpreting events), and clarify that this study focuses on the later.

In this particular interpreting context, technology can be viewed as a double-edged sword. On one hand, thanks to technology and new media, the interpreters were able to provide their interpreting service to a much larger group of listeners and over a much longer period of time, as opposed to conventional interpreter-mediated conferences. As of December 18, 2012, one week after the lecture when the researcher collected the comment data, there were 11,648 viewers who browsed the lecture website, almost twice the size of the physical audience at the stadium. Moreover, technology not only allowed the interpreters to provide their service to a large and remote audience during



the event, but also long after the event. By December 29, 2014, the number of viewers increased to 103,075, almost a ten-fold increase from when the lecture took place. This means that the interpreters' rendition has been repetitively broadcasted over a long period of time to an even larger group of audience. This symbolizes an unprecedented impact of technology on the way interpreting services is provided. Yet on the other hand, this unique phenomenon also indicates that interpreting quality is dependent upon the quality of the technology. In other words, if any technical glitches or problems occur or if technical arrangement is under par, listeners at the remote end would be negatively affected. At times, technical shortfall might also have a negative effect on how listeners perceive the quality of interpretation, which is one of the main observations of this case study.

There were 105 comments that voiced their dissatisfaction or frustration about the technical arrangement of the lecture being broadcasted on YouTube (Table 6). The researcher further broke down the 105 comments into two main types of opinions. The first type (44 comments) found the Chinese interpretation annoying and/or preferred the original English version showed with Chinese subtitles.⁸ Examples:

⁸ Taking another analytical perspective, these 44 comments are later on elaborated in the 4.7 English as Lingua Franca section.



Comment #171: “翻譯真的蠻吵的!!!好想聽原音喔~~”[The interpretation sounds noisy. Really want to listen to the original lecture.]

Comment #229: “若是公視可以的話，加上字幕聽原音會好許多” [If PBS can manage it, it will be much better to listen to the original lecture with subtitles added.]

Related to this first category, 18 additional comments specifically asked about ways to turn off or turn down the interpretation, or explained that it was impossible to switch off the interpretation. Examples:

Comment #7: “怎樣關中文翻譯?” [How to turn off the Chinese translation?]

Comment #22: “剛跟公室反應了他們說 因為他們只負責轉播 所以無法關掉 然後因為有些人有需要翻譯 所以無法用掉” [Just talked with PBS. PBS is only in charge of broadcasting the program, so the interpretation could not be turned off. Also, some people need the (Chinese) translation, so it cannot be removed.]

Meanwhile, a large number of comments discussed the dual-channel broadcasting issue (43 comments). Some listeners expressed their dissatisfaction about the two sound sources, original and interpreted, mixed together while the users listened to the live-broadcast on YouTube. Examples:

Comment #78: “同時兩個聲音出來不容易聽懂” [It's hard to listen to two sound



sources at the same time.]

Comment #110: “還是等重播後再專心看好了....兩種語言同時聽真難過.....” [Will

wait until the rebroadcast...it’s really difficult to listen to two languages

simultaneously.]

Table 6: Comments about technical arrangement and its effect on listening quality

Comment #	Commenter #	YouTube comment (105 comments)
Type 1: Those who found the translation annoying and/or preferred listening to the original English version (44 comments)		
4	C4	不能只聽英文@@
5	C5	我只想聽本人的聲音
9	C9	翻譯一直干擾==
20	C16	English only plz!!
24	C19	翻譯好吵...
38	C25	有原文能聽嗎?
48	C31	要是同步翻譯可以只顯示字幕就好了...
51	C32	可以關掉口譯嗎 有點煩人
64	C40	可以關掉口譯嗎 好痛苦阿
101	C55	翻譯可以調小聲嗎?
102	C56	口譯好吵...
104	C58	口譯好討厭 Orz
105	C2	無法關掉或調小聲....
107	C57	真的希望能有字幕
127	C68	我想聽英文...哪裡有??
129	C69	現場有英文的~
144	C77	話說有沒有沒有口譯的版本阿...
145	C3	沒有口譯要等之後重播啦
146	C78	有沒有只聽英文還中文阿 -0-
166	C86	請問一下按鈕可以按掉翻譯嗎

168	C87	只能等原音的重播了
169	C88	我也想關掉翻譯><
171	C90	翻譯真的蠻吵的!!!好想聽原音喔~~
173	C85	我放棄了 聽英文吧
179	C94	可以關掉翻譯嗎
183	C95	e04 中文翻譯真煩
185	C95	吵死了
200	C105	請問之後會上傳沒有"口譯"的版本嗎? 口譯人員辛苦了。
202	C107	不知是否能在 YouTube 提供無口譯的版本?
203	C108	希望有原文版本!
204	C109	這就是口譯版 不然看看公視轉播版本是不是原音版
205	C109	我寧願聽全英文 翻譯其實很干擾@@@"
207	C111	希望 YouTube 上有原音版
208	C112	我也希望有全英文但是上字幕的版本@@因為這樣聽其實有點不順
211	C113	希望有原音版+100 聽過現場之後現在很想回味
213	C115	希望有原文發音+字幕版
217	C119	原音中文字幕也可以放上來嗎?
221	C122	我好想把中文翻譯關掉.....
222	C123	有原文版的嗎?? 翻譯聽得超不習慣
225	C126為何不直接用字幕
226	C127	請問哪裡可以找到沒有中文配音的原檔? 請問公視有另外上傳原音無中文同步口譯的嗎? 感謝!!
228	C129	我也不想看有翻譯配音的
229	C130	若是公視可以的話, 加上字幕聽原音會好許多
233	C134	2012/12/11 Michael Sandel 桑德爾臺灣演講: 錢買不到的東西 (全場英譯中同步口譯) 誰知道是誰做的口譯? 從男口譯員堅定的說話語氣, 不知道是否就是李健光 (因替陳冠希口譯而轟動一時的新聞主播兼口譯員)? 哪裡有英語原音的影片, 請告知!


Type 2: Those who discussed about ways to turn off the translation (18 comments)		
1	C1	可以關掉翻譯嗎？
2	C2	我想打電話給公是叫他們關掉翻譯
3	C3	聽說關聲道有用，不確定。
7	C7	怎樣關中文翻譯？
8	C8	怎麼把同步口譯關掉呀@@"
10	C10	按遙控器的 "主語/副語" 可以切換
14	C2	用 youtube 看 要怎麼關掉翻譯 XD
15	C13	怎麼關掉翻譯阿~~
22	C2	剛跟公室反應了他們說 因為他們只負責轉播 所以無法關掉 然後因為有些人有需要翻譯 所以無法用掉
37	C2	他們說無法
85	C2	恩...我有問說有無辦法請他們另外開個頻道只放英文講者的 但她們說無法
87	C49	有辦法關口譯嗎？
90	C51	可以選擇頻道撥放嗎？
108	C59	怎麼關口譯？
109	C29	youtube 直播不能關掉口譯 不用問了...
111	C57	+1 to know [*]
134	C73	有人說不行了,這是直播...
149	C80	要怎麼關掉翻譯？
Type 3: Those who discussed about the dual-channel issue (43 comments)		
6	C6	混音聽了好痛苦....誰知道要怎麼關掉??
11	C11	我這邊中文跟原音 分得很清楚耶 @@?
12	C12	聲道沒用 左右一樣
26	C2	不是那問題拉` 只是想要只聽原講者 很容易被干擾...
27	C20	那是否可以開兩個頻道？要聽原文的去聽原文，要聽中文的聽中文？
31	C6	真的很干擾，只想聽原音的話，聽的聽的很混亂....
34	C1	唉 當初應該開兩個

39	C21	現場有口譯 公視負責轉播 當然就連口譯都錄進來 公視要後製才能將口譯的音軌抽掉
52	C3	我比較討厭這種狀況 XDDD
53	C10	媽呀，更混亂了
55	C3	我是說翻譯 XD
56	C34	聲音都混在一起了
57	C35	好亂
63	C14	口譯的聲音比原音還大真的很悲劇
67	C41	我覺得我們是在聽麥可大大的耳機ㄟ
73	C21	公視只負責轉播 口譯是現場 MIC
78	C25	同時兩個聲音出來不容易聽懂
80	C21	口譯的聲音需要後製才能抽掉 不是轉播中就能抽 掉的
84	C47	天啊,,,,,,混音。
88	C30	主要是現場有即時口譯機，不過應該是兩組吧(中翻 英&英翻中)，但為啥轉播會變成兩組都出現？
91	C2	混亂了 XDDDDDDDD 回 S 大: 無法喔 剛剛跟公視 確認過了 他們只負責轉播
98	C30	會推斷兩組是因為,麥可剛剛是說不小心聽到(所以 不是全時開啟?), 還是觀眾講中文的時候他才打開?
100	C2	對.....只是....因為他們現場直播只有一個頻道 所以 就一定要放口譯 因為有些人會需要
103	C57	怎麼分開音效頻道
110	C69	還是等重播後再專心看好了....兩種語言同時聽真難 過.....
112	C2	我也受不了了` 大家辦啦....我再想辦法 看重播....
114	C14	口譯的聲音蓋過中文真的很悲劇 QQ
115	C61	英翻中的聲音太大聲，我聽不見學生的中文.....
121	C37	翻譯都是同一個頻道
123	C66	所以公視只轉播一個頻道就是了...?
125	C57	發言者講中文的時候，都被英文口譯給蓋過 XD
130	C70	影片的關於裡面有字幕的電視播放時間。這樣子好 難聽懂&思考 等電視播放了

133	C72	可否下次有兩個頻道？一個原音，一個翻譯的！？
135	C29	直接跟主辦單位反應吧，如果有下次的話...
136	C21	to yehkoko 這口譯是現場音 公視只負責轉播 口譯的音軌需要後製才能抽掉
137	C30	沒有下次了，公視電視播出的時候，應該就是原音了(誌捨目前是這樣寫...)
141	C40	把螢幕關掉 不要注意到講中文的人 會聽得比較清楚 XD
142	C75	嗯...雖然是不得已的，我也同時在做其他事，直接聽，都是聽中文。
161	C81	以後應該有聲音遮罩這種東西才對...聽一邊就好
167	C30	不過沒聽到他講什麼... 被翻譯蓋掉了 Orz
174	C21	翻譯是現場錄音 公視只負責轉播 需要後製才能抽掉翻譯的音軌 不是轉播就能抽掉翻譯音軌
218	C120	有沒有把翻譯消除的版本阿，中英文交雜，聽起來好難過 XD
227	C128	非常感謝公視。還好原音的音量沒有被完全蓋過去，真是個修練專注力的好教材。

*Note: Comment #111 was seconding Comment #108, asking whether there was a way to turn off the interpretation.

These comments reflected more of a technical issue than about the interpreters' performance or quality. In other words, when the users expressed that they would like the interpretation to be turned off, it was not because they thought the interpreting quality was poor, but because they wanted to listen to the original lecture in a single separate sound track, not mixed with the interpreters' voice. Nevertheless, these comments demonstrated that such an external environmental factor is actually crucial to users' experience and quality of listening. These comments highlighted the importance



of adequate technical standards and broadcasting arrangement in ensuring the quality of interpretation delivery, especially in this form of internet-broadcasted, live-streaming interpreting events, which are becoming more prevalent with the rapid advancement of internet media technologies.

4.4 Delivery-related Quality Criteria

A number of YouTube users offered detailed feedbacks about their perception of interpreters' performance, which formed an important asset of this naturalistic data.

Applying the eleven quality criteria framework used by a previous important work on interpreting quality by Pöchhacker & Zwischenberger (2010), this study identified a total of 35 comments that could fall into one of the eleven criteria. There were also a number of comments that could not be categorized, and are discussed separately in the next section.

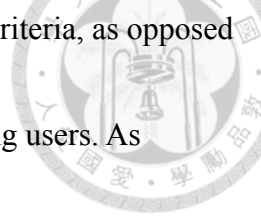
As seen in Table 7, among the 35 quality-criteria related comments, 28 comments are related to delivery-related criteria, and only the three remaining ones can be categorized as content-related criteria. Among the delivery-related criteria, the criterion of *synchronicity* received the highest number of comments (13 comments). Then followed *fluency of delivery* (7 comments), *lively intonation* (6 comments), and *pleasant*



voice (1 comment). The criterion of native accent did not receive any comment. In terms of the content-related criteria, only three were mentioned, namely *logical cohesion* (3 comments), *correct terminology* (3 comments), and *appropriate style* (1 comment). The other criteria of *sense consistency with the original message*, *correct grammatical usage*, and *completeness of interpretation* received no mention from the YouTube users. Detailed discussion of each quality criterion is covered in the following sections.

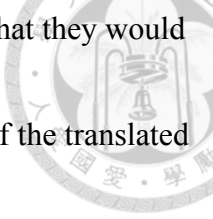
Table 7: A summary of quality-criteria related comments

Comment type	Count	Example
Total number of quality-criteria related comments	35	
Delivery-related criteria (subtotal)	28	
Synchronicity	13	口譯好厲害喔 翻完英文馬上回到中文 (Comment #147)
Fluency of delivery	7	男生翻譯斷句段的比較好 (Comment #143)
Lively intonation	7	口譯翻的很有情緒起伏 XD (Comment #79)
Pleasant voice	1	女口譯 口條怎怪怪的...感冒了嗎? (Comment #28)
Native accent	0	
Content-related criteria (subtotal)	7	
Logical coherence of utterance	3	口譯很亂，勉強能聽 (Comment #89)
Correct terminology	3	現在口譯還算不錯，提問時如果牽涉到太多專有名詞，口譯就很悲劇 (Comment #16)
Appropriate style	1	口譯口氣感覺比較適合會議 (Comment #46)
Sense consistency with original message	0	
Correct grammatical usage	0	
Completeness of interpretation	0	



Different from findings in the previous studies, delivery-related criteria, as opposed to content-related ones, were most often mentioned by the interpreting users. As summarized in Table 7, among the 35 comments, 28 of them were delivery-related, while only seven remaining ones were content-related criteria. This suggested that many of the YouTube listeners paid attention to prosodic features, such as *synchronicity*, *speed*, *fluency of delivery*, *smooth alternation between source and target languages*, and *lively intonation*. Meanwhile, content-related criteria, such as the often-cited criterion of *sense consistency with original*, were not mentioned or emphasized by the users. It is also necessary to clarify here that just because more listeners mentioned about certain quality criteria, it does not mean that those quality criteria were deemed more important. These comments only serve to describe how listeners perceive the interpreters' performance, and are not normative judgment.

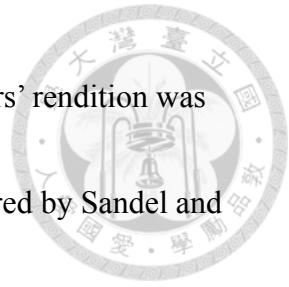
Previous literatures provided a number of possible reasons that explain why delivery-related comments might be considered more important. First of all, users do not normally understand the source language and its linguistic quality, so they are more likely to judge interpreting quality based on criteria that they can directly observe or experience (Büler, 1986). This argument is only partially applicable to this particular



interpreting event, as quite a number of YouTube viewers expressed that they would prefer listening to the original English version of the lecture instead of the translated one (See Table 6). However even if the viewers understood the source language, they probably would not have been able to compare the source speech and interpreted rendition on the spot. This is related to a problem that Pöchhacker (2011) pointed out—when the original speech is broadcasted in a voice-over mode in a single audio channel, the original speech becomes barely audible. In this study, both source lecture and interpreted rendition were broadcasted over one single channel, with the source lecture broadcasted at a slightly lower volume, making it hard to comprehend.

Furthermore even if the listeners could hear the source speech, the users were distracted by simultaneously listening to both the source and target content. Another explanation is that some users have less tolerance listening to a halting interpretation, even if the rendition was logically coherence and correct. Kurz (1993) mentioned that extra-linguistic criteria might be considered more important in certain situations or contexts, such as media interpretation or in conferences filled with lively discussion and spontaneous exchange. This is another possible case for this specific interpreting context. Sandel's lecture was highlighted by direct communication and lively exchanges


between Sandel and the audience members. Moreover, the interpreters' rendition was webcasted live over the Internet. How the lecture content was delivered by Sandel and interpreted by the interpreters is crucial to the listeners' perception, which explains why delivery-related quality criteria received more attention.



4.4.1 Synchronicity

Kurz (1997) said that “speed is of the essence” in media interpreting, which meant that the interpreter should stay as close to the speaker as possible, and if the lag becomes too long, especially in Q&A-filled interviews, the entire interpreting event becomes “unpalatable and unacceptable” (p.197). Bross-Brann (1994, as cited in Pignataro, 2011) also emphasized that a television interpreter should be able to work at a supersonic speed. Synchronicity is often thought important when interpreting for jokes or when finishing up, but synchronicity and keeping up the speed with the speaker is also very important in short dialogue exchanges, especially in a media setting, to ensure the natural flow of the conversation and interactions.

In this particular interpreting context, which is a Socratic-style lecture filled with multi-directional and interactive dialogues between the speaker and numerous audience members, synchronicity is very important, and probably more important than in other



settings. Kurz (1993) discussed how extra-linguistic criteria might be considered more important in media interpretation or in conferences filled with lively discussion and spontaneous exchange. Furthermore, among the various extra-linguistic criteria, Pöchhacker & Zwischenberger (2010) found that users recognize the importance of synchronicity when commenting specifically about media events. These previous studies confirm the findings of this study, as synchronicity is the most cited quality criteria among all—among the 35 quality criteria-related comments, as many as 13 comments were related to synchronicity (see Table 7 and Table 8). Furthermore the spontaneous comments by users reflect the many concrete features that construct or define *synchronicity*, which include speaking speed, breathing between sentences, and switching between source and target languages. Once again, this is the strength of this naturalistic data as it avoids the construct validity issue commonly appeared in previous survey-based studies.

In this interpreting event, Sandel and the audience members had to wait for the interpreter's rendition before they could proceed with their following comments, so the more simultaneous the rendition, the shorter the waiting time, and thus the smoother the dialogue. Yet the tradeoff was that the interpreters were forced to shorten their EVS in

order to keep up with the speakers and the switching of speakers. There were two comments that directly mentioned the talking speed of the interpreters:



Comment #82 : “演講者有把講話速度放慢 但是這口譯根本全速飆車阿” [The speaker did slow down, but the interpreter was talking at full speed.]

Comment #147 : “口譯好厲害喔 翻完英文馬上回到中文” [The interpreter was awesome—after translating into English, he immediately switched back to Chinese.]

Moreover, when the source content often involved code switching between Chinese and English, mainly because some audience members chose to spoke in English, the interpreters had to garner extra effort to not only adapt to different speakers’ styles, but also change their output language accordingly. This is why in the 13 synchronicity-related comments, the researcher found many YouTube users commenting on the switching between Chinese and English by the interpreters. While some thought it sounded very busy and even chaotic (Comment #156: “一下英文一下中文真莫名”[So random, English for a while, and then Chinese for another.]), some were very impressed with the interpreters’ ability in making fast and uninterrupted transitions between the two languages (Comment #62: “超強!!! 中翻英 英翻中 不打結”[Superb! Chinese into English, and English into Chinese, without any difficulty.]);Comment #68:

“中英交替翻很厲害有趣”[Code-switching between Chinese and English is quite amazing and interesting.]).



Table 8: Quality criteria- synchronicity

Comment #	Commenter #	YouTube comment (13 comments)
58	C19	oh my god!!! 這是什麼雙語狀況...
59	C36	這個口譯感覺超忙的
62	C39	超強!!! 中翻英 英翻中 不打結
68	C24	中英交替翻很厲害 有趣~
70	C42	翻譯好忙翻譯好忙翻譯好忙翻譯好忙
75	C45	男口譯程度很好 但一下中文一下英文實在好亂啊...
82	C28	演講者有把講話速度放慢 但是這口譯根本全速飆車阿
147	C70	口譯好厲害喔 翻完英文馬上回到中文
152	C81	一下英文一下中文，翻譯快瘋了
156	C83	一下英文一下中文真莫名
192	C98	大家體諒一下口譯吧!! 中英轉換不容易耶!!
215	C117	口議員不知道跟座談是否同一位，顯然這次有進步。大概有比較正常的呼吸了！
216	C118	1:43 分左右，口譯對於同學中英文轉換有點怒了，呵呵，應該是無奈吧~

It is also important to study the transcription data and see whether the data supports these findings from the YouTube user comments concerning synchronicity. As mentioned, Sandel’s lecture was not a one-directional speech, but was composed of multiple question-and-answer exchanges between Sandel and his audience. Take the two following transcription segments for example. These examples demonstrated how

the interpreters had to make constant, short switches between Chinese and English to interpret for both Sandel and the audience members who stood up and voiced their opinions.



In the five-minute-and-thirty-minute segment in Frequent Turn Example 1 (Table 9), there were 11 turning points between Chinese and English, and within them, the longest segment lasted for one minute and eight seconds (Segment #34), while the shortest one lasted for only 2 seconds, and there were quite a few segments that lasted less than 10 seconds. Moreover, even when interpreting into Chinese, there were four occasions when the interpreters switched from interpreting for Sandel to interpreting for the audience members or vice versa, thus requiring the interpreters to adjust to the different English-speaking styles. For example, in Segment #32, the audience member all of a sudden switched from speaking in English to Chinese and sped up her talking speed. The interpreter had very short reaction time. In other words, within this shorter than six minute segment, multiple multi-faceted, brief dialogue exchanges occurred in different directions, demanding the interpreters to react quickly, keep up with different speakers and different languages, while at the same time providing highly synchronous interpretation.

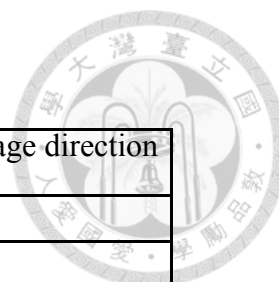


Table 9: Frequent turn example 1

Segment #	Starting time	Time length	Speaker	Interpreter	Language direction
24	0:32:28	0:00:55	3-M-C	Male	C→E
25	0:33:23	0:00:20	Sandel	Male	E→C
26	0:33:43	0:00:05	2-F-C	Male	C→E
27	0:33:48	0:00:12	Sandel	Male	E→C
28	0:34:00	0:00:33	2-F-C	Male	C→E
29	0:34:33	0:00:04	Sandel	Male	E→C
30	0:34:37	0:00:07	2-F-E	Male	E→C
31	0:34:44	0:00:03	Sandel	Male	E→C
32	0:34:47	0:00:17	2-F-C	Male	C→E
33	0:35:04	0:00:02	Sandel	Male	E→C
34	0:35:06	0:01:08	3-M-C	Male	C→E
35	0:36:14	0:00:09	Sandel	Female	E→C
36	0:36:23	0:00:03	2-F-E	Female	E→C
37	0:36:26	0:00:02	Sandel	Female	E→C
38	0:36:28	0:00:01	2-F-E	Female	E→C
39	0:36:29	0:00:55	Sandel	Female	E→C
40	0:37:24	0:00:02	2-F-E	Female	E→C
41	0:37:26	0:00:03	Sandel	Female	E→C
42	0:37:29	0:00:08	2-F-E	Female	E→C
43	0:37:37	0:00:08	Sandel	Female	E→C
44	0:37:45	0:00:04	2-F-E	Female	E→C
45	0:37:49	0:00:01	Sandel	Female	E→C
46	0:37:50	0:00:08	2-F-C	Female	C→E
47	0:37:58	0:00:07	Sandel	Male*	E→C

*Note: Out of frustration, the male interpreter took over from here.

In another frequent turn example (Table 10), although the interpreter mostly interpreted into Chinese, there were multiple frequent yet brief exchanges between Sandel and the audience member (5-F-E). The three-minute conversation was filled with very short segments, indicating that both Sandel and the audience member 5-F-E uttered very short sentences or words, requiring the interpreter to achieve synchronous

delivery.



Table 10: Frequent turn example 2

Segment #	Starting time	Time length	Speaker	Interpreter	Language direction
82	0:49:06	0:00:43	4-F-C	Male	C→E
83	0:49:49	0:00:13	5-F-E	Male	E→C
84	0:50:02	0:00:10	Sandel	Male	E→C
85	0:50:12	0:00:04	5-F-E	Male	E→C
86	0:50:16	0:00:09	Sandel	Male	E→C
87	0:50:25	0:00:03	5-F-E	Male	E→C
88	0:50:28	0:00:05	Sandel	Male	E→C
89	0:50:33	0:00:10	5-F-E	Male	E→C
90	0:50:43	0:00:07	Sandel	Male	E→C
91	0:50:50	0:00:10	5-F-E	Male	E→C
92	0:51:00	0:00:18	Sandel	Male	E→C
93	0:51:18	0:00:05	5-F-E	Male	E→C
94	0:51:23	0:00:37	Sandel	Male	E→C

4.4.2 Fluency of Delivery

As Pöchhacker’s (1997) adequately described, “fluency of delivery is actually a very complex paralinguistic phenomenon which relates to such interdependent features as pauses, speaking speed, voiced hesitation, false starts, slips and repairs” (p. 210).

This argument is reflected in many of the YouTube comments analyzed below.

The quality criterion of *fluency of delivery* received seven comments from the YouTube users (Table 11). Some concrete attributes expressed by the users regarding the criterion *fluency of delivery* included Chinese or English fluency, pauses, whether the delivery sounded choppy, or whether the interpreters provided fluid rendition



without segmenting the delivery at odd places or in the middle of the sentences. The male interpreter was praised for his ability to segment sentences properly (Comment #143: “男生翻譯斷句段的比較好”[The male interpreter did a better job segmenting the sentences.]) and for his English fluency (Comment #86: “男口譯講英文簡直活過來了!”[The male interpreter came to life when speaking in English!]). One comment thought the female interpreter sounded less fluent when speaking Chinese (Comment #140: “女口譯翻中文明顯比較不流暢”[It is obvious that the female interpreter’s Chinese was less fluent.]). Meanwhile, there was one user who seemed to have some understanding about simultaneous interpretation, and criticized the Chinese proficiency of the two interpreters (Comment #131: “其實，同步翻譯的品質，除了英文聽力之外，中文語文能力也很關鍵-，這兩位口譯，很明顯的不是英文不好，而是中文不好。”[In fact, when assessing the quality of simultaneous interpretation, besides English listening comprehension, Chinese is also key. It’s very obvious that the two interpreters’ problem is their Chinese proficiency, not English.]). Finally, two users seemed to have noticed pauses in the interpreters’ rendition (Comment #180: “翻譯去上廁所了”[The interpreter has gone to the rest room.]; Comment #189: “翻譯應該在喝水或是在吃巧克力，辛苦了”[The interpreter is probably drinking water or eating chocolate. Kudos to

you.]), therefore they came up with reasons to explain the absence of the interpreters.

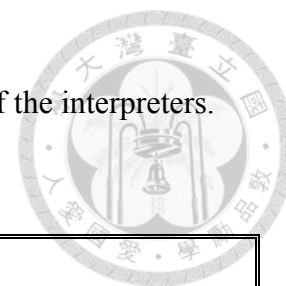


Table 11: Quality criteria- fluency of delivery

Comment#	Commenter#	YouTube comment (7 comments)
86	C48	男口譯講英文簡直活過來了！
131	C71	其實，同步翻譯的品質，除了英文聽力之外，中文語文能力也很關鍵，這兩位口譯，很明顯的不是英文不好，而是中文不好。
140	C57	女口譯翻中文明顯比較不流暢
143	C76	男生翻譯斷句段的比較好
180	C86	翻譯去上廁所了
189	C24	翻譯應該在喝水或是在吃巧克力 辛苦了
197	C53	可不可以把一整句話聽到一段落在翻阿

The transcription data also offered a number of concrete examples that elaborated on the issue of fluency of delivery. There seemed to be three major characteristics of the interpretation delivery that undermines the fluency criterion, as listed below.

4.4.2.1 Supplement information in the end with awkward Chinese word order

Sometimes the interpreters took a short EVS strategy and followed closely the English word order, thus at times producing Chinese output with awkward word order. For instance, the following examples (Table 12) illustrated the misplacement of a direct verb object, adjective clause, and subject. If the interpreters waited a bit longer, he or she might have been able to deliver more completed and clarifying sentences.

Table 12: Awkward word order

Segment#	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text	Suggested version
1	Sandel	M	And yet, philosophy is also inescapable because these big questions about justice and virtue and the common good, these <u>big questions are at stake in our everyday lives</u> , and our personal lives, and also in our public life.	但是哲學也是沒有辦法，我們沒有辦法去避免哲學，因為我們講到正義，這些大的問題，或者是倫理，或者是眾人的利益，這些大的問題， <u>因為每天我們都要面對這些大問題</u> (Direct verb object)， <u>個人的生活中，還有在公眾的生活中都會遇到</u> (Verb)。	但我們沒有辦法不談哲學，許多重大議題，像是正義、道德、公眾利益等，我們都需要面對這些議題，不論是在私領域或公領域。
1	Sandel	F	The general question I would like to pose is the subject of my new book What Money Can't Buy; and the question is this, what should be the role of money and markets in a good society?	那也就是我在新書<錢買不到的東西>裡面講到一個問題就是，也就是錢的角色，市場的角色， <u>在一個美好的社會中</u> (adjective clause)。	在我的新書<錢買不到的東西>中，我想要提出一個問題，那就是，在一個美好的社會中，金錢和市場的角色為何。
97	Sandel	M	I think I might rather be like the train tickets.	我想最好比較像那個火車票比較好，我的哲學課(Subject)。	我希望我的哲學課比較像是一票難求的火車票。

4.4.2.2 Repair

Repairing sentences and wording is another example that might hinder the fluency of delivery. If the interpreters keep on repeating and correcting themselves, the messages would not move forward as quickly as desired. The following examples (Table 13) showed how the interpreters repeatedly used two or three words to repeat the same word, sentence or concept, resulting into lengthier and more confusing renditions.

Table 13: Sentence repair

Segment#	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text	Suggested version
1	Sandel	M	Over the last few decades, we've seen around the world a trend, almost without realizing it, we have drifted from having	近十幾年來，幾十年來，在全世界各個地方，我們都有看到 <u>這樣子的情況，這樣子的一個趨勢</u> ，大家都沒有去意識到，幾乎沒有意識到我	過去幾十年來，全世界有一個趨勢，我們卻不自覺，那就是我們已經從市場經濟轉變為一個市場社會。

			market economies to becoming market societies.	們已經漂離了，我們已經遠離了，從一個市場的經濟轉變成一個市場的社會。	
96	Sandel	M	I suspect the reason more people consider the market an inappropriate mechanism for allocating the access to a surgeon, must be we regard health a different kind of good from tickets to a Mayday concert, or even train tickets on Chinese New Year.	我想大部分的人會認為市場，在這個方面的這個運用就是不太合適了，因為我們認為醫療是一個不同的一種商品；一種服務，一種事物，跟我們剛才說的音樂會，跟火車票錢，都不太一樣的事情，醫療是一個不同的事物。	我想，之所以比較多人認為市場並不適合作為外科醫生看診的機制，主要是因為我們覺得醫療是一個不同的商品，不同於五月天演唱會門票或是農曆過年的火車票。
119	Sandel	M	But they tested that hypothesis (#1). And it turns out the estimate of the risk before and after the financial offer (#2), the estimate of the risk was about the same among the respondents (#3).	但是他們有去試驗這樣子的一個假設，您剛才這個假設他們有去試過 (backtrack#1)，其實他們剛才那個在之前跟之後，就是給錢之前跟給錢之後 (backtrack#2)，其實他們這個風險其實是差不多，風險，他們感覺的風險其實是差不多 (backtrack#3)。	他們驗證了該假設。結果發現比較給錢以前和給錢以後對於風險的認定其實是差不多的。

4.4.2.3 Sentence Segmentation

Among the seven comments on the fluency of delivery criterion, two were specifically about sentence segmentation. In the following examples from the transcription, the researcher also observed similar problems. In the following Table 14, Segment #114 is a shorter yet fragmented sentence. Segment #151 was a longer paragraph filled with strange pauses and segmentation at unnatural points in sentences.

Table 14: Sentence segmentation

Segment#	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text	Suggested version
114	Sandel	F	So what do you think explains the fact that the number willing to accept the nuclear waste site in their community fell in half	所以...現在...這些...接受...核廢...料在他們家裡的時 候，為什麼他們會...他們的 意願會降低了呢?	各位覺得為什麼提供金錢報 酬後，願意接受核廢料掩埋 的人數掉了一半?

			when they were offered money?		
151	17-M-E	F	That a grocery store or you called a small Zahuodian, it got a different identity meaning except for only making money. A grocery store could be...could have a neighborhood meaning with the households along...with the community, and they can provide diversity and all the other neighborhood connections for other safety issues and for other issues which are not economic reasons. That's probably we shouldn't eliminate all the grocery stores by economic reasons.	我相信，一些雜貨店，這些小的雜貨店，有一些，不只是，代表，它，是進行交易的行為，他有一些鄰居，跟，社區的關係，的感覺，他們可以提供的是呢，各式各樣的，鄰居之間的聯繫，或者是說，互相守望相助的情況，所以，這一些功能是，不應該被我們忽略的，所以我們不應該用這個方面的價值，價值不應該被忽略掉。	雜貨店代表的意義不只是賺錢。它有社區、鄰居的意義，可以提供多元性，提供鄰居之間的聯繫，像是守望相助，不只是經濟上的價值。所以我們不應該以經濟價值的名義，要所有的雜貨店都關門。

4.4.3 Lively Intonation

Through the formal feature of lively intonation has been regarded as less essential in previous quality studies, there were seven comments related to the intonation issue (Table 15). These comments did not necessarily carry a positive or negative connotation, but they showed that users noticed the changes in the interpreters' tone of voice and volume. Another possible reason why intonation garnered users' attention might attribute to the distinctive intonation between the male and female interpreters.

Table 15: Quality criteria- lively intonation

Comment#	Commenter#	YouTube comment (7 comments)
44	C21	口譯人員不能挑 口條音調相似的人來交替嗎 QQ
50	C2	其實 翻譯 並不一定找同口氣的 而是找默契好的
79	C9	口譯翻的很有情緒起伏 XD
95	C53	女口譯太緊張了吧

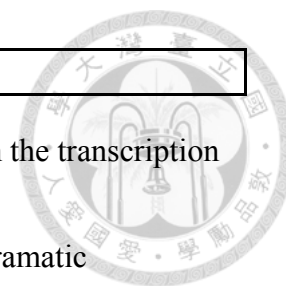
117	C30	男口譯 很愛演 哈哈
175	C92	口譯越翻越大聲
178	C86	翻譯的口氣變溫柔了

While the female interpreter sounded more composed or flat, the male interpreter had a much more animated style and more voice expressions. This is why there was also a comment questioned why the conference organization could not arrange two interpreters with more similar delivery style (Comment #44: “口譯人員不能挑 口條音調相似的人來交替嗎 QQ” [Can’t they select interpreters with similar delivery style and tone of voice?]). And indeed, when the researcher examined the transition points between the two interpreters, there were numerous sharp contrasts. Take for instance the last interpreting turn from the male to female interpreters (from Segment #181 to #182, Table 16). When the female interpreter took the turn from the male interpreter, the interpretation rendition all of a sudden changed to a much calmer, flatter tone.

Table 16: Contrasting turn from male to female interpreters

Segment#	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text
181	24-F-E	M	Yes, but there is a gap between what you do and what you say.	所以剛剛那位女生講得是說，你覺得... 你行...你言行不一啊！↑
182	Sandel	F	So in fact, there is sometimes a gap or maybe it is a tension within all of us that we think of ourselves often both as consumers looking for the lowest prices, and at the same time, with the another part of ourselves, as citizens concerned about the character and identity about the neighborhoods in the community, which	有時候我們會有一種張力，一種緊張的情況，我們看到...認為消費者大家都希望找最便宜的價錢去買東西，但是我們生活中的我們腦筋中的另一個部分還會想另外一個事情，就是我們的社區裡面人人的，人人、大家所關心的一些這些觀念。

		we also care about....	
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In addition, the following Table 17 contains two examples from the transcription data that highlights the male interpreter's animated intonation and dramatic tone-of-voice change. In Segment #34, the source text speaker was audience member (3-M-C). He spoke in a normal tone, but the male interpreter had a more lively delivery style, probably because he wanted to emphasize the speaker's argument or to energize the dialogue exchange. In Segment #179 the speaker (24-F-E) was also very involved in the speech, so the interpreter was probably following or mimicking the style of the speakers. In other words, the change in tone of voice became a strategy for the interpreter to better serve the function of the speech, and in this case, the function involved successful conversation or debate between Sandel and the participants.

Table 17: Lively intonation

Segment#	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text
34	3-M-C	M	...因為在這種情況下，並不是因為價格的因素，就算它價格再低，有些人還是沒有辦法有能力去購買這樣的物資...	I think, I think that's unfair. Because considering the circumstance, not↑ to do with the price, doesn't matter↑ how low the price gets↑, some people still can't afford these goods.
179	24-F-E	M	... Why don't you buy food in the grocery stores? Do you go to the grocery stores instead of 7-ELEVENS? Like in the problem...in the issue of convenience, you will still choose 7-ELEVEN instead of grocery stores...	那你為什麼，你為什麼你...就去雜貨店買食物就好啦↑，你每天都去這個雜貨店啊↑，你不去 Seven 嗎↑，所以就是方便嘛↑，你還是會選擇 Seven，你不會去 Seven 買啊↑。



4.4.4 Pleasant Voice

There was one comment that found the female interpreter's delivery(口條) to be a bit odd and thought she sounded as if she caught a cold (Table 18). While “delivery” could refer to many things, including the logical cohesion or organization of one's speech, because the second-half of the comment mentioned specifically about the possibility of the interpreter catching a cold, the researcher assumed that this listener made this judgment because of the interpreter's coarse voice, and thus the researcher categorized this comment into the *pleasant voice* criteria.

Table 18: Quality criteria- pleasant voice

Comment#	Commenter#	YouTube comment (1 comment)
28	C21	女口譯 口條怎怪怪的...感冒了嗎?

4.5 Content-related Quality Criteria

As seen in Table 7 (p. 74), among the 35 quality-criteria related comments, only seven comments can be categorized into the three content-related criteria, namely logical cohesion (3 comments), correct terminology (3 comments), and appropriate style (1 comment). Meanwhile, the three other content-related quality criteria were not mentioned by the YouTube users, which included *sense consistency with the original message*, *correct grammatical usage*, and *completeness of interpretation*. Here it is



important to discuss why these quality criteria or features were left unnoticed by the YouTube users. The criterion, *sense consistency with original the original message*, has been often cited as one of the most important quality criteria in previous studies, yet in this research it was not noticed by the listeners. Most likely it was because the listeners were not able to compare the source and target texts, especially in this study where the interpreters' speech volume was louder than that of the source text speaker. And the same probably applies to the criterion, *completeness of interpretation*, as well.

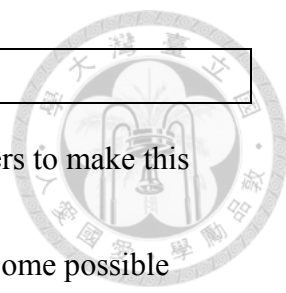
4.5.1 Logical Cohesion

For the quality criterion *logical cohesion*, there were three related comments, as seen in Table 19. Comment #13 sounded neutral, although the user worried whether the interpreter(s) would be able to handle the Q&A session and still deliver a coherent rendition. Meanwhile, Comments #21 and #89 were criticisms about the incoherent delivery. At least two users found it hard for the users to comprehend the interpreter's delivery.

Table 19: Quality criteria- logical coherence of utterance

Comment#	Commenter#	YouTube comment (3 comments)
13	C3	翻譯口條還可以啦，只怕問答時間就悶了。
21	C17	感覺這翻譯好像 google 翻譯文章...

89	C50	口譯很亂，勉強能聽
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Unfortunately, it was unclear which segment prompted the listeners to make this quality judgment or why. The transcription data, however, provided some possible explanations. The following sections highlight factors that might impair the logical cohesion of the interpretation, which included confusing conjunctions, confusing pronouns, and meaning errors.

Conjunctions are very helpful for interpreting users to grasp the logical flow and contour of the main messages. Yet Segment #73 in Table 20 showed how too many conjunctions are used in a confusing way. This might have impaired the logical cohesion of the rendition.

Another factor that might have weakened the target text logical cohesion is the inappropriate use of pronouns. When interpreting from English to Chinese, Chinese pronouns might be especially confusing for listeners, as they do not distinguish between different genders or between human and things. Segment #97 (Table 20) illustrated how too many identical pronouns might be confusing for listeners to identify the right subject, thus undermining the logical coherence of the message.

Finally, meaning errors is one of the most direct results of illogical utterance. Of



course, unlike translation, simultaneous interpretation is not meant to be perfect. It serves the moment, so it is inappropriate to examine or scrutinize in length the interpretation output repeatedly long after the conclusion of the interpreting event. Yet with more and more interpreting events webcasted and saved on YouTube and other internet media outlets, researchers can now revisit an interpreting event video, study the performance of the interpreters, and analyze the interpretation corpora. The following meanings errors were selected, not to nitpick on the interpreters, but to demonstrate errors on the meaning level that were related to the criterion of logical cohesion. The two examples were from the same Segment #97 (Table 20) and were related to a similar section in Sandel’s lecture —how the public opinions about market swung along the spectrum as Sandel posed different questions. However, the interpreter failed to seize the main message, thus unable to convey the meaning correctly.

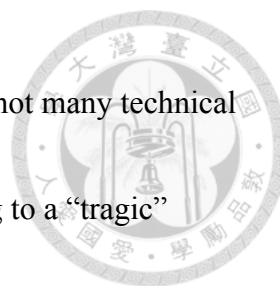
Table 20: Factors that impair logical cohesion

Segment#	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text
Confusing Conjunctions				
73	Sandel	F	In fact, you might also say there are two ways of allocating scarce goods. At least two: paying or waiting on line. Let's take a scarce good. Sometimes in great demands: tickets to a very popular concert, rock concert. Whose tickets are extremely hard to get? Mayday? Alright, suppose there is a Mayday concert, and the tickets are priced	可能你會說有兩種，至少兩種方式，來針對這個稀少資源的事情，譬如說付錢的這個事情或著排隊這個事情。有的時候譬如說去參加一個非常受歡迎的流行音樂這個大的音樂會，大家都很想爭取這個票，音樂票，所以這種音樂這個票非常的受歡迎，Mayday 大家都知道，如果說是這個Mayday 的音樂會，如果五月天的音樂會

			in a way that enables many people at least to afford the tickets but ends the result they sell out within a few hours. You have that experience, haven't you? Trying to get the tickets to a Mayday concert? But some people line up and wait and buy the tickets and then sell them at a higher price online to make a profit. Ticket scalping. Now is there... so someone who didn't wait in line but who really want to see the concert and is willing to pay and able to pay can do so.	很受歡迎，如果這個價錢能夠讓很多人都能夠買得起，但結果幾小時之內他就賣光了，你們常常碰到這種情況對不對呢？你想買票，你想去買五月天的票永遠都買不到，但是有些人排隊排隊去買票，但是呢，來開始用更高的錢，來在網路上賣票，像是黃牛票，在網路上賣黃牛票，所以有些人沒有在那邊排隊的人，非常想看五月天的音樂會，所以他們有能力花更多的錢去買票，他們就買得到票了。
Confusing pronouns				
97	Sandel	F	Many schools have a problem. Children, especially students from disadvantage backgrounds, don't do as well as they might. They may lack of motivation. They may lack of academic skills. They may not have the habits of studying hard. And so some schools in the US have actually begun experimenting with a way of trying to motivate students to get good grades, to do well on tests, to read more books. They offer cash incentives.	很多學校裡面，他們都有一些問題，特別是小孩子或著是學生，他們的背景家裡的經濟不好，他們在學校也表現的不好，他們可能沒有什麼動機或是動力來學習，他們可能不想要努力學習，努力讀書，所以有的學校，特別是在美國有些城市裡面，已經開始進行一項實驗，就是要用一種方法來鼓勵學生有好的表現、好的成績，他們能夠花錢來，來鼓勵他們來讀書。
Meaning errors				
97	Sandel	F	But as we went through the examples, the number of people who consider the market, the appropriate mechanism for distributing access to the goods changed. What does this tell us about the relation between market reasoning and moral reasoning?	如果我們來考量所有的這些例子，大家認為，市場是一個對於貨物分配或者是交易的一個機制是公平的，那麼這個情況告訴我們什麼事情呢？就是市場的這個辯論、市場的理论跟倫理的道理是有什麼樣子的一個關係呢？
97	Sandel	F	It seems that many people, those who change from white to orange, in the case of change do believe the appropriate way of distributing the access to the goods depends on the centrality, the moral importance, or the necessity of that good.	好像看起來很多人，從白色或橘色選擇中間，你們相信了，在財貨的這種分配方面，有他的道德價值或者是她的必需價值的這些考量。

4.5.2 Correct Terminology

As for the quality criterion of *correct terminology*, there were three-related comments (Table 21). Strictly speaking, none of these comments were judgments on the interpreters' appropriate or inappropriate use of correct terminology in delivery quality interpretation. These three comments together presented a brief conversation between Commenters #C14 and #C11. They seemed to have a reasonable understanding



about the more generic nature of the topic of Sandel’s lecture where not many technical jargons were used. Commenter #C14 had a prior experience listening to a “tragic” interpretation where the interpreter failed to translate professional jargons. This confirmed previous literature that the importance of different quality criteria varies with the nature and type of interpreting events (Büler, 1986).

Table 21: Quality criteria- correct terminology

Comment #	Commenter#	YouTube comment (3 comments)
16	C14	現在口譯還算不錯，提問時如果牽涉到太多專有名詞，口譯就很悲劇
17	C11	專有名詞 這種演講也不太會提到吧
19	C14	上次提問時，因為有些是教授提問的，用詞都很艱深或過於專業，這時翻譯就很悲劇 XD

4.5.3 *Appropriate Style*

The only comment that touched upon appropriate style was “口譯口氣感覺比較適合會議[The interpreter’s style sounded more suitable for conference meetings.]” (Comment #46, Table 22). The comment stated that one of the interpreters’ style was more appropriate for conferences, instead of for an event like Sandel’s lecture. Note that appropriate style is categorized here as content-related based on the categorization used in previous studies by Büler (1986), Chiaro & Nocella (2004), Macías (2006), and Pöchhacker and Zwischenberger (2010).

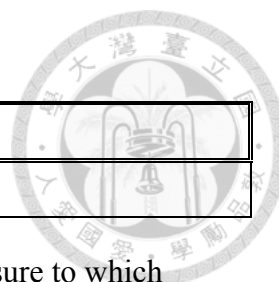


Table 22: Quality criteria- appropriate style

Comment#	Commenter#	YouTube comment (1 comment)
46	C24	口譯口氣感覺比較適合會議

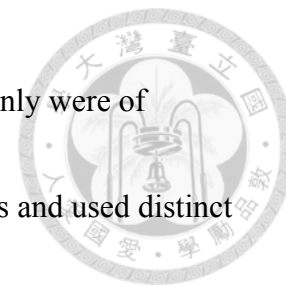
Based on this one comment, the researcher cannot pinpoint for sure to which interpreter the YouTube user was referring, which shows the limitation of this research. Yet drawing from more information from the other comments and the transcription data, the researcher can possibly reason that the comment might be referring to the female interpreter’s style, which sounded more serious, composed, steady, and with a longer EVS, as opposed to the male interpreter’s fast and animated delivery. More discussion about the different styles between the male and female interpreters would be discussed in the next section.

4.6 Broader Factors Affecting Quality Perception

4.6.1 Quality Comparison: Comparing Interpreting Quality of Male and Female Interpreters

This dataset provides another unique perspective to understand the listeners’ quality perceptions, which is through the comparative comments regarding the performance of the male and female interpreters. Professional SI interpreters work in cooperative pairs, not in competition, so the performance of the interpreters should be

judged by the overall teamwork. However, the two interpreters not only were of different gender, but also carried rather contrastive interpreting styles and used distinct strategies, which garnered attention and discussions from the YouTube audience.

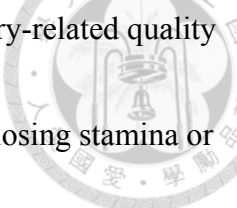


Because of this nature, this research was able to find quite a number of comments expressing their preferences for one interpreter over the other. The researcher isolated these comparative comments to understand the quality criteria used when judging the interpreting quality in this context.

Forty-Eight out of the 233 interpretation-related comments commented on either the female or male interpreter's performance, or compared both of them (Table 23).

The following is a more detailed breakdown and analysis.

(1) Comments regarding the male interpreter: There were 27 comments related to the male interpreter, many more than those about the female interpreter. 15 comments expressed profound admiration for the male interpreter. These YouTube users were very impressed with the male interpreter's performance. Furthermore, 10 comments (comments with asterisks) touched upon specific attributes of the male interpreter's delivery, providing some hints or possible explanations behind the admiration, which included comments on his speed, lively intonation, dramatic delivery, English fluency,



and switching between Chinese and English. These are mainly delivery-related quality criteria. Meanwhile, two comments thought the male interpreter was losing stamina or had a tiring voice (Comment #76: “好累 X”[So tiring.] and Comment #139: “男口譯員應該很累”[The male interpreter must be exhausted.]), probably because he was switching rapidly to translate for different source speakers or because of his longer total time of interpretation. These comments align with what the researcher observed in the transcription data when examining the male interpreter’s rendition. The male interpreter indeed spoke much faster and sounded much more animated than the female interpreter, and at times he was so involved in the communication that he almost sounded like an anchorman or sports commentator.

(2) Comments regarding the female interpreter: There were six comments related to the female interpreter. Two wondered whether she caught a cold (Comment #28 and Comment #93), two thought she sounded too nervous and that she was not prepared enough (Comment #94 and Comment #95), one thought her style suits better conference interpreting (Comment #46), and one commented on her lack of Chinese fluency (Comment #140). These comments did not necessarily indicate that the female interpreter is not as good as the male one, but did carry a certain degree of negative

connotation.



(3) Comparative comments between the male and female interpreter: There were nine comments that directly compared the two interpreters. These comments found the male interpreter to have done a better work, while none of them thought that the female interpreter was better. These comments indicated that although the two interpreters worked as a team and their performance should be judged as a team, these user comments obviously treated them as competitors. This is also illustrated in two related comments, “怎麼換人了”[How come the interpreter changed?](Comment #29) and “為何換人翻譯了”[Why did the interpreter change to a different person?](Comment #33), where listeners asked about why there was a change in interpreter. It showed that listeners either did not know that simultaneous interpreters work in pairs, or noticed the distinct differences between the two interpreters and wondered why there was the change.

(4) Curious YouTube viewers: There were six viewers who noticed the performance of the interpreters and became very curious about the true identity of the interpreters. This once again highlights the uniqueness of this naturalistic data, as the interpretation itself sparked the interest of a group of YouTube users.

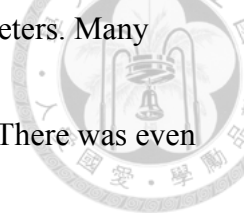
Table 23: Specific comments about male and female interpreters

Comment#	Commenter #	YouTube comment (48 comments)
Type 1: Comments about male interpreter (27 comments)		
32	C22	男的翻譯比較好
47	C21	男口譯比較強
59	C36	這個口譯感覺超忙的*
62	C39	超強!!! 中翻英 英翻中 不打結*
68	C24	中英交替翻很厲害 有趣~*
70	C42	翻譯好忙翻譯好忙翻譯好忙翻譯好忙*
75	C45	男口譯程度很好 但一下中文一下英文實在好亂啊...*
82	C28	演講者有把講話速度放慢 但是這口譯根本全速飆車阿*
60	C37	男口譯超強
69	C21	男口譯 根本神人...好強大...
71	C30	不過口譯真的超強 XDDD
74	C44	這男譯很強，是說現在電視有轉播嗎?
76	C46	好累 XD
77	C27	翻譯好厲害!!
79	C9	口譯翻的很有情緒起伏 XD*
81	C37	男口譯超強
86	C48	男口譯講英文簡直活過來了!*
113	C41	男口譯終於回來了~
117	C30	男口譯 很愛演 哈哈*
124	C49	男口譯好神!
139	C24	男口譯員應該很累 XD
143	C76	男生翻譯斷句段的比較好*
182	C21	口譯辛苦了 超強大的男口譯
188	C84	男的口譯超猛啊!
191	C14	男翻譯真的是屌哥 佩服的五體投地
206	C110	男性口譯者超級強大.....可是還是想試著聽原音
230	C131	男口譯勝出!
Type 2: Comments about female interpreter (6 comments)		
28	C21	女口譯 口條怎怪怪的...感冒了嗎?*
46	C24	口譯口氣感覺比較適合會議*

93	C21	女口譯 是不是感冒了？
94	C52	可能是即時支援吧
95	C53	女口譯太緊張了吧*
140	C57	女口譯翻中文明顯比較不流暢*
Type 3: Comparative comments between male and female interpreters (9 comments)		
29	C9	怎麼換人了...
33	C23	????為何換人翻譯了???
35	C23	原本的口譯還不錯流利啊!!
36	C24	同步口譯本來就有人交替
40	C26	同步口譯了水準差太多...
131	C71	其實，同步翻譯的品質，除了英文聽力之外，中文語文能力也很關鍵，這兩位口譯，很明顯的不是英文不好，而是中文不好。*
231	C132	這個女的翻譯的不好, the guy is doing much better!
44	C21	口譯人員不能挑 口條音調相似的人來交替嗎 QQ*
50	C2	其實 翻譯 並不一定找同口氣的 而是找默契好的*
Type 4: Users who are curious about the interpreters (6 comments)		
92	C19	誰可以人肉一下男女口譯員？
106	C15	男口譯是壹電視主播劉傑中，女口譯不清楚。
18	C15	同步口譯是劉傑中 壹電視主播
25	C14	劉傑中（1980年10月9日－），壹電視主播，國立中山大學外國語文學系畢業。
210	C112	誰知道口譯是誰呀?優秀到爆呀!
233	C134	2012/12/11 Michael Sandel 桑德爾臺灣演講:錢買不到的東西(全場英譯中同步口譯) 誰知道是誰做的口譯?從男口譯員堅定的說話語氣,不知道是否就是李健光(因替陳冠希口譯而轟動一時的新聞主播兼口譯員)? 哪裡有英語原音的影片,請告知!*

*Note: These were 18 duplicated comments from the previous Technology or Quality Criteria sections.

The comments were also helpful in answering questions about why more listeners ranked the male interpreter much better than the female one, as well as what criteria the



listeners used and what they noticed when comparing the two interpreters. Many audience members noticed the distinct styles of the two interpreters. There was even one comment that said the two interpreters' performance differed too much, “同步口譯了水準差太多”[There is a huge gap between the performance of the two simultaneous interpreters performance.] (Comment #40). Furthermore, two comments specifically mentioned the reasons behind such a comparison. One thought the female interpreter's Chinese rendition was not as fluent, “女口譯翻中文明顯比較不流暢”[It is obvious that the female interpreter's Chinese was less fluent.] (Comment #140). Another commented on the male interpreter's ability to segment sentences “男生翻譯斷句段的比較好”[The male interpreter did a better job segmenting sentences.] (Comment #143).

Such a contrast between the two interpreters also made some users question why there was a change in interpreters. As seen in Type 3 comments in Table 23, Commenters #C9 and #C23 both asked why the interpreter changed to a different person. Addressing this question, Commenter #C24, probably who was someone who had a better understanding about what simultaneous interpretation entails, answered that simultaneous interpreters work in pairs. Then the subsequent Comment #50 added that simultaneous interpreters do not necessarily have to have the same tone of delivery, but

do need to be able to work in teams.



The transcription data also offered rich information that explained why more users thought the male interpreter performed better. To sum up, several possible reasons included longer interpreting time, more English output, faster talking speed, fluent transition between Chinese and English, and more animated intonation.

(1) Longer interpreting time: The two interpreters in total took turns 17 times.

However, the researcher observed some major differences in terms of interpretation time length and number of interpretation segments. First of all, in the entire 116-minute lecture, the male interpreter's interpretation time was longer than the length of the female interpreter's (as seen in Table 24, the male interpreter translated about 70 minutes, while the female interpreter translated for 46 minutes). This is a significant interpreting time discrepancy, allowing the audience to listen more to the male interpreter's delivery. Secondly, the male interpreter also translated more segments than the female interpreter. As defined in the Methodology Chapter, one segment is defined as one interpretation session by one interpreter and for one source language speaker. When there was a change of interpreter or source language speaker, the researcher counted it as another new segment. Out of the total of 182 segments, the female



interpreter only interpreted for 43 segments, while the male interpreter interpreted for 139 segments. This discrepancy illustrated that not only did the male interpreter interpreted for more segments, his segments tended to be shorter, thus requiring faster processing time, whether it was switching between target and source languages or adapting to different speakers. Moreover, every time the interpreters changed the target language, he or she had to operate the interpreter console, which meant extra workload. As for the length of each segment, the researcher did not identify any prolonged turns, defined as those lasting more than 30 minutes according to Moser-Mercer, Künzli, & Korac (1998). Analyzing the transcription data, the researcher found that the longest turn was interpreted by the male interpreter, which lasted 22 minutes and 58 seconds. Still one can assume that these interpretation time and workload discrepancies may result in higher degree of the male interpreter's interpretation fatigue.

Table 24: A quantitative comparison of female and male interpreter's rendition

Variable	Female interpreter	Male interpreter
Total interpretation time	0:46:00	1:10:08
Total interpretation segments	43	139
Longest interpretation segment*	0:11:59	0:12:42
Longest interpretation turn**	00:11:59	00:22:58
Number of Chinese segments	1	30

*Note: "One interpretation segment" referred to one interpretation session by one interpreter for one source language speaker. When there was a change of interpreter or source language speaker, the researcher count it as another new segment.

**Note: "One interpretation turn" covered multiple segments all translated by the same interpreter but

serving different speakers in a row.



(2) More English output: Breaking down the number of segments by source

language, the researcher found that Chinese was the source language for only 31

segments out of the 182 segments. Yet the female interpreter only interpreted for one

segment (#46), which lasted only 8 seconds, whereas the remaining 30 segments were

interpreted by the male interpreter into English. This meant that the users listened to the

male interpreter's English delivery for a much longer time. And as seen in a comment,

at least one user openly expressed his/her admiration towards the male interpreter's

English fluency, as seen in Comment #86 (Table 23), “男口譯講英文簡直活過來

了！”[The male interpreter came to life when speaking in English!]

(3) Faster talking speed: Related to the disproportionate workload distribution

between the two interpreters and the fact that the male interpreter delivered more

English output, the male interpreter also translated for more faster-speed source

language speeches, which were often in Chinese and by audience members. The

researcher only analyzed the 21 segments that lasted at least for one minute and

calculated the uttered words per minute (wpm) for both the source and target texts. As

seen in Table 25, the researcher distinguished two types of speech segments—the first



type refers to segments where the interpreter translated Sandel's English speech into Chinese, and the second type refers to segments where the source language was Chinese.

The Type 1 segments showed that Sandel spoke at a rather slow, clear, and consistent manner. According to Gerver (1975), the optimal input rate for simultaneous interpretation ranges between 100 to 120 wpm. Sandel's speech rate fell within this range, and at times even slower. When the interpreters translated for Sandel into Chinese, the male and female interpreters did not differ much in the Chinese output rate, as seen in all the 15 segments under Type 1. In other words, when interpreting into Chinese, the female interpreter was not slower than the male interpreter, which is different from the general user perception. However, in the remaining six segments (Type 2), the audiences spoke at a fast speed in Chinese, much faster than an optimal Chinese input rate of 150-180 characters per minute (cpm), as estimated by Li (2010). And importantly, the male interpreter was the one who interpreted for all of these segments. Based on Gerver's (1969) argument that interpreters are very sensitive to input speech rate, the example here suggests that because the source speech rate likely affected the male interpreter's delivery, his English output rate was also much faster. This speech rate factor might be another reason that explains why many audience

members gave lavish praise to the male interpreter.



Table 25: Selected speech segments for speed comparison by order of target text rate

Segment	Starting time	Time	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text rate (wpm)	Target text rate (wpm)
Type 1: From English into Chinese						
64	0:39:44	0:01:14	Sandel	Female	119	248
157	1:39:28	0:02:35	Sandel	Female	125	234
120	1:23:00	0:02:11	Sandel	Female	105	232
73	0:41:58	0:02:26	Sandel	Female	114	227
114	1:15:40	0:02:50	Sandel	Female	102	226
182	1:54:49	0:11:59	Sandel	Female	101	207
2	0:23:12	0:04:32	Sandel	Female	99	205
97	0:53:17	0:07:45	Sandel	Female	95	198
123	1:26:22	0:02:18	Sandel	Female	93	179
119	1:20:00	0:03:00	Sandel	Male	128	259
173	1:49:54	0:01:08	Sandel	Male	116	242
113	1:09:16	0:06:24	Sandel	Male	112	226
135	1:30:22	0:01:30	Sandel	Male	118	221
1	0:10:30	0:12:42	Sandel	Male	86	203
105	1:06:22	0:01:03	Sandel	Male	85	196
101	1:02:59	0:01:08	Sandel	Male	65	163
Type 2: From Chinese into English*						
172	1:48:35	0:01:19	22-M-C	Male	298	159
34	0:35:06	0:01:08	3-M-C	Male	268	151
78	0:46:16	0:00:43	4-F-C	Male	255	149
166	1:45:39	0:01:08	20-M-C	Male	236	142
102	1:04:07	0:01:04	8-F-C	Male	176	121
96	0:52:17	0:01:00	4-F-C	Male	201	107

*Note: When counting the speech rate for segments where Chinese was the source language, characters, not words, were counted, so the number appeared to be larger than the Type 1 segments.

(4) Fluent code-switching between Chinese and English: Because the male



interpreter interpreted for almost all of the segments where Chinese was the source language, he was also the one who had to switch between Chinese and English accordingly. Since the YouTube users listened to both the source and target text outputs at the same time, the users were able to listen to how the interpreter smoothly or rapidly switched between Chinese and English, even in rapid dialogue exchanges. The users not only caught attention of the fluent code-switching, but also offered many positive feedbacks. Examples:

Comment #75 : “男口譯程度很好 但一下中文一下英文實在好亂啊” [The male interpreter has good skills, but it’s so chaotic listening to Chinese and then switching to English.]

Comment #206 : “男性口譯者超級強大...可是還是想試著聽原音” [The male interpreter is superb. But I still hope to try to listen to the original lecture.]

(5) More animated intonation: In contrast to the female interpreter’s more composed and longer EVS delivery, the male interpreter had more lively intonation and voice expressions. Examples:

Comment #79 : “口譯翻的很有情緒起伏 XD” [The interpreter has very rich tonal expressions.]



Comment #117: “男口譯 很愛演 哈哈” [The male interpreter is really into acting, how funny.]

In the earlier discussion about *lively intonation* as a quality criterion, Table 15 (p. 88) provides more specific examples from the transcription data about the male interpreter’s animated intonation.⁹

4.6.2 *Quality Judgment: General Comments*

There were 35 comments that either strongly expressed their admiration or offered criticisms towards the interpreters and their delivery (Table 26). In the 27 positive comments, the users were not only aware of the interpreters’ presence, but were very impressed with the interpreters’ extraordinary performance and offered lavish praise to the interpreter(s). Within them, there were six listeners who thought the interpreter’s performance was simply “divine”(神) (Comments #118, #122, #162, #164, #165, and #184).

Table 26: General comments

Comment#	Commenter #	YouTube comment (35 comments)
Type 1: Positive comments (27 comments)		
23	C18	我覺得翻譯得很好耶@@
41	C27	雖然會干擾但原本的口譯還不錯啊!

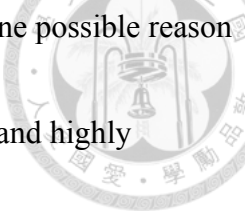
⁹ These are duplicated examples from the deliver-related quality criteria-lively intonation section, as the examples apply to both of these discussions.

42	C28	翻譯已經很厲害了啦 但教授英文用的很簡單
83	C14	口譯真的很屌
116	C52	口譯太可怕了
118	C63	口譯員神人!!
122	C65	這口譯人員是神!
126	C67	光聽口譯就值回票價~XDDD
128	C69	口譯，讚！
154	C14	口譯真的很強
159	C84	即時口譯 超猛!
162	C86	靠邀 翻譯神人
164	C14	這個口譯員是神人等級的 XD
165	C85	翻譯真神人阿
170	C89	口譯人員超強的
172	C91	但是翻譯很強
177	C93	翻譯超強!!!
184	C22	神之口譯
194	C100	口譯真的很威
198	C103	各位德性的公民晚安 口譯真的超強
199	C104	翻譯人員還蠻厲害的
201	C106	我覺得會場的翻譯很好，但翻譯用的耳機收訊真的很差。
209	C112	但是即席口譯真的強大到爆炸!
66	C40	口譯很強 但是同時聽很痛苦
176	C24	口譯員超強 但我還是想聽原音 XD
212	C114	很棒的翻譯，不過請問有英文版本媽??
214	C116	:D 昨晚的講座公共論述很讚!!!兩位口譯員同步翻譯也很厲害，辛苦了!我也希望有原音字幕版~~
Type 2: Other comments (8 comments)		
151	C40	口譯快崩潰了 XD
153	C53	他在欺負口譯 哈哈 就講中文嘛!!!
155	C82	翻譯崩潰了!!
157	C14	口譯崩潰~~~~
158	C75	我沒跟到口譯崩潰的劇情 XD

163	C40	口譯又要崩潰了
187	C96	口譯員....
196	C102	口譯員好...

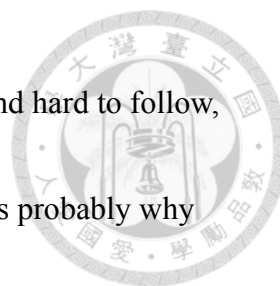
Unfortunately, it is unclear to which interpreter is the comment referring. In addition, there is not enough information to pinpoint the exact reasons behind these positive feedbacks, such as what quality criteria they based upon to come up with the judgment. However this shortfall could be addressed in the earlier section on quality criteria related comments, and one may reason that some possible reasons include the highly simultaneous nature of this interpreting event, speed, delivery, fluency, or the quick reaction and language-switching time. In addition, four comments (Comments #66, #176, #212, and #214) added that, although they found the interpreters' performance impressive, they still hope to listen to the original English version. The researcher addresses these comments in length in the previous Technology and Interpreting Quality section as well as in the following English as Lingua Franca section.

In the second half (Type 2) of Table 26, there were also eight comments that mentioned about the interpreter's meltdown. It is unclear from the comments what linguistic or extra-linguistic characteristics the commenters were referring to that



prompted them to think that the interpreter was breaking down. But one possible reason has to do with a key feature of this lecture—the fast-paced dialogues and highly conversational exchanges between Sandel and the audience members. Because Sandel was constantly posing questions to the audience and the audience answered back in both Chinese and English, the interpreters had to constantly switch between source and target languages. Some comments were very impressed by the interpreters’ ability to do so, but some found it confusing and irritating. Furthermore, quite a few viewers sensed the challenge and loading brought on to the interpreters. This is probably why there were these comments that thought the interpreter was breaking down or losing control under the chaotic exchanges.

From the transcription data, the researcher could also trace a communication context behind these comments. The researcher observed from the transcription data that the comments occurred likely because this one particular audience member was code-switching frantically between Chinese and English, and the YouTube users noticed how that messy code-switching affected the interpreter’s performance. The following comment string (Table 27) illustrated how the audience member could not make up his mind about whether to speak in Chinese or English. When he spoke in



English, or even in Chinese, his comments were quite unorganized and hard to follow, making it difficult for the interpreter to follow and interpret. That was probably why listeners could hear the interpreter sigh and sensed some frustration in his voice.¹⁰

Table 27: Code-switching audience member

Segment #	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text
158	18-M-E	Male	你好，我叫何榮俊。I would speak English first. Because media is different. Media controls...sorry! Media controls our objects about everything. As the group has so many TV channels, so many newspapers, they will say the government is good. Education is good. But 7-ELEVEN is different because...	Hello. Ho, my name is Ho. 我覺得媒體不一樣，媒體不太一樣。因為媒體控制了所有的一切。所以如果一個集團旗下有太多這種...太多的媒體，那很多人會說；「政府很好、教育很好」它可以控制我們的思想。但是 7-ELEVEN 又是另外一回事了。
159	18-M-C	Male	我覺得便利商店比較不一樣，這要看你是在什麼的情況之下。譬如在以前那個時代的時候會，我覺得，社區會有很奇怪的一種...我是會計系的。然後我覺得 Accounting is shit.	I think I would switch to English. I think it depends on the circumstances with the case of the 7-ELEVEN because back in the old days, they believe that the sense of community is very important. I study accounting, by the way. I think accounting sucks.
160	18-M-E	Male	Accounting principles have one principle and concrete assumption. In minor two has such a saying that everything on the paper can be compared by money. A friend asked me the very question: why I buy these shoes? It's Nike, not Adidas. It's not because money. It is just I want to "just do it".	Accounting principle has a...(sighed the interpreter) 它的貨幣的價值。講到會計它說所有的東西都是可以用錢去來估量它的價值。但是名聲...為什麼我不買 Adidas 買 Nike 呢？不只是錢，那是不一樣的...

¹⁰This speaker's comment was unorganized, to the extent that the edited subtitle version did not even include this person's speech and instead deleted it from the video.

4.6.3 Users' General Perception and Understanding of the Role of Interpreters



The role of interpreters is far from invisible in this online YouTube lecture broadcast session, otherwise there would not have been close to a quarter of YouTube comments devoted to interpreter or interpretation related discussions. Interpreters and the interpreted content must have in one way or another caught the attention or sparked the interests of the users, including both the live audience and remote YouTube users. In addition to quality perception, this naturalistic data also offered rich information regarding the online users' general perception of the profession and role of interpreters. Many of these perceptions or expectations for the interpreters are from the audience's perspective, which might not align with the need of the source language speakers, illustrating the fact that interpreters often serve multiple clients and users.

Table 28 revealed comments showing that many listeners only had limited understanding of the function or role of interpreters, suggesting that this event was the first time they received service from interpreters or that they seldom had opportunities to listen to interpreters. Six comments (Type 1, Table 28) inquired why the interpreters had to translate into English, instead of just into Chinese. Examples:



Comment #54: “為何講中文也要口譯成英文 XD?” [Why is the Chinese speech interpreted into English?]

Comment #61: “這哪招阿??? 還出現中翻英...” [What’s going on? Interpretation from Chinese into English?]

On one hand, this misconception resulted from the technical arrangement that did not allow the online YouTube users to select channels but to listen to both source and target text speeches simultaneously. But these comments also suggested that these users were not aware of the fact that the interpreters were also serving the speaker, Sandel, in the three-way communication context.

In response to these questions, there were a number of comments that provided explanations (Type 2, Table 28). These comments tried to explain that the interpreters were also translating for Sandel, and therefore they had to interpret in both directions. One user tried to point out that interpreters’ job is to translate what he heard in English into Chinese, and vice versa, as seen in Comment #96: “翻譯的工作是要翻譯出來，聽到英文就要翻成中文，聽到中文就要翻成英文。” [It’s the job of the interpreter to listen to English and translate into Chinese, and to listen to Chinese and translate into English.] These comments revealed that different users have different understandings

about the work nature and job requirement of an interpreter, which would in turn affect users' interpreting quality perception and expectations.



Previously in Table 26, a number of users criticized the interpreters' performance, commenting on how the interpretation sounded very chaotic and busy. Taking a more understanding viewpoint, two users said they had some prior translation or interpretation experience so they understood how challenging the work is (Comments #45 and #232, Type 3, Table 28). Two other YouTube viewers empathized with the interpreters and asked the other listeners to be more understanding and appreciative of the work of interpreters. Examples:

Comment #43 : “口譯是邊聽邊翻，跟事後整句翻譯的狀況當然不同囉...”

[Interpreters have to listen and interpret at the same time, so of course it differs from translating the entire segment after the lecture concludes.]

Comment #190: “耳朵聽英文嘴巴講中文持續十分鐘不能錯不能間斷，試試看就知道有多累了...” [Just try to listen to English and talk in Chinese non-stop for ten minutes, and you know how tiring it is.]

On a separate note, there were two comments (Comments #30 and #148, Type 4, Table 28) that showed their interest and understanding of the interpreter profession from



a different perspective, namely financial compensation. One user inquired about how much the interpreters got paid. Another user commented that interpreting requires solid skills and those who truly master the skill might charge \$40,000-\$50,000 NTD during a two-hour event. Although there were only two comments that raised the financial compensation issue, they provided another perspective when discussing users' general understanding of the interpreter profession.

To summarize the above comments, although this research does not have a user profile with defined parameters or characteristics, these YouTube comments represented a wide range of diverse opinions from a group of social media users. They were vocal and active online, and that was why they left a large number of interpretation-related comments. These comments about the interpreting event therefore convey the online users' viewpoint of interpretation, instead of the sample groups most often researched in previous studies, such as professional interpreters, frequent conference participants, experts, specialists, or students of interpreting studies. This is another reason how this naturalistic study compliments existing research.

Table 28: Discussion and general understanding of the work and role of interpreters

Comment#	Commenter#	YouTube comment (28 comments)
Type 1: Users questioning the English rendition (6 comments)		

54	C33	為何講中文也要口譯成英文 XD?
61	C38	這哪招阿??? 還出現中翻英...
72	C43	我英文不好啦~~沒事用英文翻譯幹嘛拉哈哈
119	C64	拜託觀眾講中文時,翻譯英文的不要播出來給我們好嗎 ~~
120	C19	公視不知道在搞三小,也不事先音測一下?
219	C121	奇怪ㄟ既然在台灣撥幹馬還要把中文翻成英文ㄋ害我 中文都聽ㄅ到
Type 2: Users explaining about target text (9 comments)		
49	C19	中文口譯 桑德爾也聽得到... 哈哈
65	C2	回答依: 翻譯成英文是因為 講者也需要聽得懂 XD
96	C2	並不是 翻譯的工作 是要翻譯出來 聽到英文就要翻 成中文 聽到中文就要翻成英文
97	C54	Sandel 教授也要聽翻譯啊
99	C30	即時口譯主要是給現場(索取口譯機)的人聽得(英翻 中), 上一次對談結束有聽到交回口譯機 XD
138	C74	中文轉英文是給 Sandel 聽的
220	C61	其實之所以會有中翻英的同步翻譯音軌, 除了擔心在 場是否會有外國觀眾。主要還是因為現實上音軌的切 換技術和人力無法如我們隨願吧 (苦笑
223	C124	因為講者要聽
224	C125	把中文翻成英文應該是要翻給 Sandel 教授聽的吧,因 為他也有戴着翻譯機
Type 3: Users empathizing with interpreters (9 comments)		
43	C29	口譯是邊聽邊翻, 跟事後整句翻譯的狀況當然不同囉...
45	C30	當過同步翻譯 這麼驚腳的翻譯可理解 呵呵
132	C70	口譯好辛苦...
181	C53	口譯辛苦了
186	C86	翻譯一場演講 自由基翻倍
190	C97	耳朵聽英文嘴巴講中文持續十分鐘不能錯不能間斷, 試試看就知道有多累了...
193	C99	別戰翻譯好嗎 這是現場的咩...
195	C101	翻譯辛苦了

232	C133	我在讀翻譯的時候，我的老師曾經告訴過我們，對於翻譯這個行業真正了解的人很少。所以大家的批評都非常主觀。我覺得既然那些批評的人都被桑德爾教授的深度所吸引，那是不是也要讓自己成為一個有深度的人？只聽桑德爾教授不見得會讓人變的有深度，但是跟得上時代流行是一定會的。譯者要顧慮到很多方面，不會只顧慮到聽講的人，也需要顧慮到演講的人。譯者的辛苦被聽講的人單方面某些欲求沒有被滿足而抹煞是非常可惜的。甚或是，那些開口批評的人真正投身口譯這門行業，有把握達成他自己心目中的完美境界？還是，連現在所專注的專業上也都不夠出色，不為人所知？但是批評別人總是容易，審視自己總是困難，所以譯者對於這種意見其時可以一笑置之？如果學不會沒有標準答案的討論方式，就算是沒有習得最原始的精神
Type 4: Users curious about the price of interpreting service (2 comments)		
30	C19	及時口譯領多少錢...
148	C79	即時口譯的功力很重要，厲害的人，這兩小時可能就要價四、五萬
Type 5: Users commenting about interpreter's intervention (2 comments)		
150	C53	中文名自英文名字都可以!!口譯好可愛 哈哈
160	C85	他剛剛應該是被翻譯影響了

The transcription data also revealed some information about how the users think of the role of interpreters. The researcher found from the transcription data several intervention strategies adopted by the interpreters. By reviewing both the YouTube comment and transcription data, the researcher attempts to understand whether the YouTube users noticed these strategies, and if so, what they thought about the intervention strategies and how the intervention affected users' quality perception.



Illustrated in Table 29, when an audience member (14-M-C) asked Sandel whether he should speak in Chinese or English, the male interpreter, instead of translating this question and posing it to Sandel to answer, he went ahead to answer for Sandel and told the audience member that either language was fine. The interpreter probably assumed that Sandel would answer the same, so he employed this intervention strategy that could help save time and make the exchange more efficient. This highlighted the interpreters' role in shaping the lecture content. Interestingly, some audience members probably noticed this intervention, as reflected in an user comment (#150), “中文名自英文名字都可以!!口譯好可愛 哈哈” [Chinese or English names both work! The interpreter is so adorable.]).

Table 29: Interpreter's intervention example 1

Segment #	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text
138	14-M-C	Male	中文還是英文嗎	n/a
139	14-M-C	Male	n/a	都可以都可以
140	14-M-C	Male	Steven.	Steven. That's his name, Steven.

There is also much evidence from the transcription data that points to the interpreters' intervention and the interpreter's highly active, communicative role. In order to provide additional explanation for the speaker and to facilitate the audience's understanding, the interpreters took a more proactive and intervening strategy.



For example, among the 24 audience members who participated in the dialogue with Sandel, one of them (#22) was a student activist (Wei-Ting Chen 陳為廷) who received much media spotlight at the time of the interpreting event. So when he stood up to voice his opinion, the audience cheered for him. The interpreter instantly provided a brief background for Sandel about the student so that Sandel could better understand the audience's enthusiastic reaction (see Table 30). Although none of the YouTube comments mentioned about this intervention example, the researcher did find many YouTube comments about Chen and his comments. This incident showed that when the interpreting audience knew about Chen and reacted towards his statement, Sandel had to rely on the interpreter's intervention to understand the audience's reaction and to continue his dialogue with the audience.

Table 30: Interpreter's intervention example 2

Segment #	Speaker	Interpreter	Source text	Target text
172	22-M-C	Male	大家好，我的名字叫陳為廷。(audience cheers)(Sandel: what do you think?) My English name is Wei-ting.	Wei-ting, that's my name. He's the guy who's shouted at the Ministry of Education, he's the guy who was on TV with the minister.

Another intervention example (Table 31) from the transcription data showed how the interpreters intentionally tried to help Sandel memorize the name of the audience



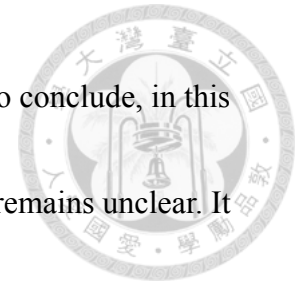
members by purposefully repeating and emphasizing the Chinese names of the Q&A audience members for Sandel. To help Sandel pronounce the Chinese names, the interpreters also simplified some of the names by dropping the family names and altered them into a slightly more English-like pronunciation.

Table 31: Interpreter’s intervention example 3

Segment #	Speaker	Interpreter	Speaker’s comment	Interpreter’s rendition
96	6-M-C	Male	那我全部都用中文說，My name is <u>江哲偉</u> ，	I think I will speak in Chinese. My name is Zhe wei, <u>Zhe Wei</u> , Wei, <u>Zhe Wei</u> . My name is <u>Zhe Wei</u> .
103	Sandel	Male	Alright, and what’s your name? (8-F-C: <u>許廷文</u>) Ting-wen?	您叫什麼名字？ <u>廷文</u> ， <u>廷文</u> ，Ting-wen
158	18-M-E	Male	你好，我叫何榮俊。	Hello. Ho, my name is <u>Ho</u> .

Except for the one comment (Comment#150, Type 5, Table 28) that directly mentioned the interpreter’s intervention, there exist no direct evidence to conclude that the audience might perceive the role of interpreters differently based on interpreters’ intervention. Some intervention examples meant to provide service to the speaker, Sandel, and maybe that was why no audience members noticed or mentioned about them. Meanwhile, even if some people noticed about these intervention cases, they might not have any particular opinion, either positive or negative, about how or why the

interpreters intervened, and thus no related comments were found. To conclude, in this research, how such intervention affects users' perception on quality remains unclear. It will be worthwhile to research further on how these service-oriented intervention strategies by interpreters affect users' quality perceptions.



4.7 English as Lingua Franca

This data offered three unique perspectives regarding the issue of English as lingua franca. First, the researcher observed the language usage of the audience members who stood up and spoke during the event. Secondly, the researcher analyzed the YouTube user comments to understand some of their reactions towards the different language usage of the audience members. The third perspective is a separate topic that studies the comments of the YouTube users who said they preferred listening to the original English version instead of the interpreted version. The researcher would also discuss the implications of these findings to the interpreters and the interpreting profession.

Among the 24 audience members who voiced their opinions and participated in the dialogue with Sandel, 14 people spoke in Chinese, seven spoke in English, and three code-switched between the two languages (see Appendix B). Not surprisingly the majority of participants spoke in Chinese. Still, ten speakers, or almost half of all the 24

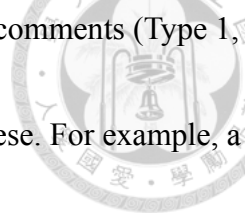


audience members, could have spoken in Chinese but chose to speak in English or code-switched.¹¹ This phenomenon reflected a growing number of non-native English speakers who feel comfortable speaking and communicating in English with native English speakers, thus bypassing the service of the interpreters. This raises the concern about whether interpretation service might someday become obsolete. Moreover the strongly accented English by non-native speakers as well as the often chaotic code-switching further makes the interpreter's job more challenging. As seen in the previous section, some users noticed the code-switching phenomenon and its impact on the interpreters' performance.

4.7.1 Users' Language Preference


Reacting to the different language usage by the audience members, YouTube viewers voiced their different opinions. The researcher was able to find 11 YouTube user comments in total on audience members' language usage (Type 1 and Type 2, Table 32). Although the number was not significant, these comments reflected two opposite views about what language should the audience members use when communicating

¹¹ Based on the language and accent of the 24 audience members who spoke during the lecture, audience member #4, #5, #7 seemed to be from China, and #14 from Hong Kong. For those who spoke in English, only one carried a native accent.



with Sandel at this particular event. On one end of the spectrum, six comments (Type 1, Table 32) seemed to prefer that the audience members speak in Chinese. For example, a YouTube viewer questioned why the audience member had to speak in English and preferred that he/she spoke in Chinese, since Sandel already asked the audience to do so and that there were interpreters at the event (Comment #239: “真囉嗦，都叫你講中文了。” [So redundant. You were already told to speak in Chinese.]). One viewer even thought the audience member who spoke in English was doing a dis-service to the interpreter, making the interpreter’s job more difficult (Comment #153: “他在欺負口譯哈哈 就講中文嘛!!!” [He is giving the interpreter a hard time. So hilarious. Just speak in Chinese.]). Another viewer found it odd listening to two Taiwanese students debating in English (Comment #241: “說實在在在臺灣看到兩個台灣學生用英文辯論蠻怪的(是我不夠國際化嗎)” [To be honest, it feels quite strange listening to two Taiwanese students debating in English (or am I not international/cosmopolitan enough?)]).

Meanwhile, five other comments (Type 2, Table 32) argued from an opposite position, preferring the use of English. One comment emphasized the importance of English in today’s globalized world, “希望台灣人每個都是英文高手，以便直接與國



際接軌。文言文少讀一點，大家多學英文，英文太重要了。”[I hope everyone in Taiwan can speak good English, so as to connect to the world. We should study less classical Chinese and spend more time on leaning English. English is too important.](Comment #243). Another person was very impressed that the audience member spoke in English “現場學生也用英文，酷炫！”[Students at the live event also spoke in English. Cool!](Comment #235). Another comment thought the audience member should have spoken in English “是不會用英文問喔” [Can't you ask in English](Comment #242).

Though the total number of comments was limited, these comments represented the two positions often discussed when it comes to the role of English as lingua franca—some people prefer the use of Chinese as the common conference language, while some think more positively the use of English. In addition, the debate of ELF is related to whether the interpretation service is viewed necessary or redundant, as further elaborated below in the following comments that voiced the preference of only listening to the original English version.

4.7.2 Users' Preference for Original English Lecture

Forty-four comments in Table 32 were about the users' preference to listen to the original English version without interpretation. These are the same comments as those



in the Technology and Interpreting Quality section (Table 6, p. 68), where users preferred the original English version over the interpreted one. Yet aside this technical issue, these comments are also relevant to the discussion about whether the trend of ELF would challenge the future of the interpreting profession. As observed in the comments, some listeners recognized the good quality of the interpreter, but still wanted to listen to the original English version. Just like how a growing number of non-native speakers prefer using English to communicate, these YouTube comments showed that some audience members preferred listening to the English speaker than listening to the interpreters' rendition.

Meanwhile, once again, these comments also reflect the importance of adequate technical arrangement for interpreting events. If the sound streaming problem did not occur and dual channels were available during the online live YouTube broadcast, maybe more people would have preferred the interpreted version, or maybe fewer people would have said they preferred the original English version over the interpreted version.

Table 32: Comments related to English as lingua franca

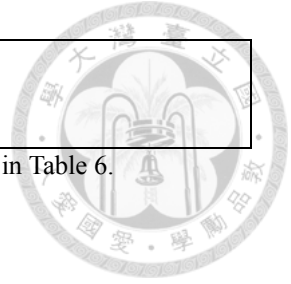
Comment#	Commenter #	YouTube comment (55 comments)
Type 1: Users who preferred audience members speak in Chinese (6 comments)		

153	C53	他在欺負口譯 哈哈 就講中文嘛!!!
238	C3	不要講英文啊幹
239	C19	真囉嗦，都叫你講中文了。
241	C100	說實在在台灣看到兩個台灣學生用英文辯論蠻怪的(是我 不夠國際化嗎
236	C100	連老外都說我想知道你的中文名字~我們卻死要取英文 名
244	C136	用英文名字真的不好，日韓人士也都沒在用英文名字
Type 2: Users who commented positively about English usage (5 comments)		
235	C19	現場學生也用英文，酷炫！
237	C21	到現場 我也講不出流利的英文 QQ
240	C57	真恨自己英文太爛
242	C86	是不會用英文問喔
243	C135	希望台灣人每個都是英文高手，以便直接與國際接軌。文 言文少讀一點，大家多學英文，英文太重要了。
Type 3: Users who preferred original English version over Chinese translation* (44 comments)		
4	C4	不能只聽英文@@
5	C5	我只想聽本人的聲音
9	C9	翻譯一直干擾==
20	C16	english only plz!!
24	C19	翻譯好吵...
38	C25	有原文能聽嗎?
48	C31	要是同步翻譯可以只顯示字幕就好了...
51	C32	可以關掉口譯嗎 有點煩人
64	C40	可以關掉口譯嗎 好痛苦阿
101	C55	翻譯可以調小聲嗎?
102	C56	口譯好吵...
104	C58	口譯好討厭 Orz
105	C2	無法關掉或調小聲....
107	C57	真的希望能有字幕
127	C68	我想聽英文...哪裡有??
129	C69	現場有英文的~

144	C77	話說有沒有沒有口譯的版本阿...
145	C3	沒有口譯要等之後重播啦
146	C78	有沒有只聽英文還中文阿 -0-
166	C86	請問一下按鈕可以按掉翻譯嗎
168	C87	只能等原音的重播了
169	C88	我也想關掉翻譯><
171	C90	翻譯真的蠻吵的!!!好想聽原音喔~~
173	C85	我放棄了 聽英文吧
179	C94	可以關掉翻譯嗎
183	C95	e04 中文翻譯真煩
185	C95	吵死了
200	C105	請問之後會上傳沒有"口譯"的版本嗎? 口譯人員辛苦了。
202	C107	不知是否能在 Youtube 提供無口譯的版本?
203	C108	希望有原文版本!
204	C109	這就是口譯版 不然看看公視轉播版本是不是原音版
205	C109	我寧願聽全英文 翻譯其實很干擾@@"
207	C111	希望 youtube 上有原音版
208	C112	我也希望有全英文但是上字幕的版本@@因為這樣聽其實有點不順
211	C113	希望有原音版+100 聽過現場之後現在很想回味
213	C115	希望有原文發音+字幕版
217	C119	原音中文字幕也可以放上來嗎?
221	C122	我好想把中文翻譯關掉.....
222	C123	有原文版的嗎?? 翻譯聽得超不習慣
225	C126為何不直接用字幕
226	C127	請問哪裡可以找到沒有中文配音的原檔? 請問公視有另外上傳原音無中文同步口譯的嗎? 感謝!!
228	C129	我也不想看有翻譯配音的
229	C130	若是公視可以的話, 加上字幕聽原音會好許多
233	C134	2012/12/11 Michael Sandel 桑德爾臺灣演講: 錢買不到的東西 (全場英譯中同步口譯) 誰知道是誰做的口譯? 從男口譯員堅定的說話語氣, 不知道是否就是李健光(因替陳冠希口譯而轟動一時的新聞主

		播兼口譯員) ? 哪裡有英語原音的影片，請告知！
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*Note: These 44 comments are duplicates from the technical issue section, as seen in Table 6.



Chapter 5 Conclusions

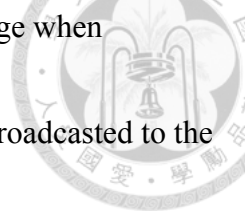


5.1 Summary of Study

This naturalistic study analyzed authentic data from the social media of YouTube to understand online users' responses and preferences about the performance of two simultaneous interpreters in a highly interactive lecture by Professor Michael Sandel from Harvard University.

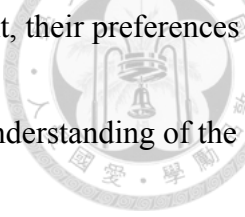
Compared to the large volume of interpreting quality studies, there have been relatively fewer studies devoted to the context of media interpreting. Most media interpreting studies focused on television interpreting. Hardly any empirical works have been conducted to investigate the impact of Internet and webcasting technologies on the profession of interpreters. However, technologies for the delivery of interpreting services are rapidly developing, and one can only foresee that in the future that more and more interpreters will face assignments that involve forms of technology one way of another, such as working in interpreting events that are webcasted live online.

When conducting media interpreting studies there are both advantages and disadvantages. Unlike conference interpreting where professional interpreters have to



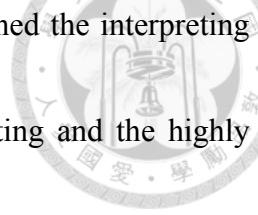
safeguard the privacy of the meetings and clients, one major advantage when conducting media interpreting studies is that because the content is broadcasted to the public, researchers can have access to authentic interpreting events and conduct corpora-based studies, as pointed out by Pöchhacker (2011). Yet one major limitation is that because the audience in media interpreting are often “undifferentiated, anonymous and numerous, with no possibility of active participation” (Mack 2002), researchers can hardly get a hold of the remote users to understand their perceptions about interpreting. Yet this study was not only able to enjoy the advantage of media interpreting and develop a complete transcription of both source and target text, but also was able to overcome the limitation of conventional media interpreting studies and listen to the users’ voices.

One key element that laid the foundation of this research is that many YouTube audience members were not passive viewers but active participants who voluntarily left comments about the interpreting event. Out of the total of 964 YouTube comments devoted to Sandel’s speech, as many as a quarter (25%) of them, or 233 comments, were specifically related to interpretation related issues. These comments are the most important asset of this research because they revealed a rich and unique set of user




responses, especially regarding their quality perceptions and judgment, their preferences or dislikes about certain aspects of the interpretation, and also their understanding of the role and work of interpreters. Through these comments, the researcher was able to have a glimpse into how a group of online users perceived a highly interactive interpreting event.

The researcher also completed a full lecture transcription to contextualize the YouTube comment data and to develop a more comprehensive understanding of some of the possible reasons or motivations behind the user comments. The researcher also analyzed the transcription data carefully, such as by recording and tabulating the order, time point, language and time length of all the speakers and of the two interpreters. By cross-examining the YouTube comments and lecture transcription, the researcher was able to use certain parts of the transcription as evidence or explanation to gaze the intention behind certain YouTube user comments. The researcher was also able to understand why certain parts of the interpreters' rendition, mediation or strategy caused certain reactions and feedbacks from the audience. Overall, the combination of the YouTube data and transcription offered a more comprehensive, holistic and in-depth analysis of this unique interpreting event.



Through examining the combined data, the researcher established the interpreting context, which is characterized by both the media interpreting setting and the highly interactive nature of the lecture. Because the lecture was webcasted live on YouTube, the researcher was able to gain access to interpretation-related comments posted by the social media users. As for the Socratic-style lecture weaved by numerous multi-party, multi-directional Q&A sessions, it demanded the interpreters to play a very strong communicative role, which also shaped the listeners' interpreting quality perception.

The media interpreting setting shaped a unique speaker-listener-interpreter relationship. From the interpreters' viewpoint, they were probably focusing on providing service for the 6,000 people-audiences at the stadium, without thinking too much about the online audience. However, thanks to the webcast service, the interpreters in fact were not only serving Sandel and the audience at the stadium on the day of the event, there were also providing their service to a much larger group of online listeners and over a much longer period of time. As observed from the timing of the YouTube comments, while the majority of the comments were posted simultaneously while the lecture took place, many comments were post-event ones. This altered the conventional relationship between the interpreters and the users. Even



though the interpreters' assignment has ended, the “future” interpreting users were still commenting on the interpreters' performance. So to some extent, the “future” users are interacting with the interpreters, forming a continuous speaker-listener-interpreter relationship.


However, to ensure smooth delivery of interpreting service over the Internet and successful communication, technology had an important role to play. Here, technology mainly referred to the web-streaming technology that webcasted the event to the virtual audience on YouTube. In this particular interpreting event, when the Public Television Service arranged to webcast the event online, it did not take into consideration the possibility of providing multi-lingual, multi-channel interpreting service. Instead it simply webcasted two soundtracks merged together, one was the source text sound from both Sandel and the audience member, and the other was the target text sound from the interpretation booth, with the latter set at a larger volume. This technical arrangement attracted much attention from the YouTube users, as supported by the large number (105 comments) of YouTube comments, who voiced their frustration or dissatisfaction about the webcasting arrangement of the lecture. Some users found it painful to have to listen to both channels at the same time, some inquired about ways to listen only to one sound

channel, while many other users expressed their preference to shut off the interpretation and only listen to the original lecture.



This finding underlines the crucial role of technology in an Internet interpreting context. Technology exposes the interpreters' performance to a greater audience and over a longer period of time, yet at the same time, interpreting quality becomes more dependent upon the quality of technology. When there is a lack of adequate technical arrangement and support, listeners at the remote end will be negatively affected. At times, technical shortfall might also have a negative effect on how listeners perceive the role of interpreters.

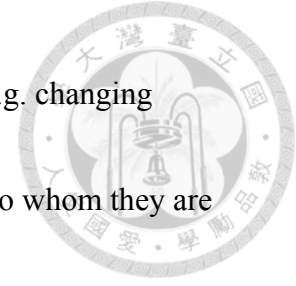
To sum-up the effect of this Internet media interpreting context on the interpreters as well as the interpreting users, when delivering interpreting service over the Internet, in order to reap the benefits and avoid potential shortfalls, just having the webcasting technology available is not sufficient. Many more delicate issues would need to be considered by the event organizer, such as the provision of multiple language channels and the availability of a SI technician. The researcher would also like to echo with AIIC's "Draft checklist for interpretation over the Internet" (2002). When taking on internet interpreting assignments, professional interpreters should ask questions, such as



“Will the webcast be accessible to the public at large or restricted to people with a password?” and “How long will the conference (and the interpretation) remain posted on the website?” Internet interpreting is here to stay and new technologies will continue to open up new possibilities and challenges for the interpreting profession. This calls for continuous research efforts devoted to the issue of Internet interpreting.

Another aspect of the interpreting context is the highly interactive nature of the lecture. Based on Alexieva’s (1997) typology, in such type of interpreter-mediated event, interpreters have a very prominent role to play. This is supported by the large number of interpretation-related YouTube comments. If the online users did not notice the interpreter’s role, most YouTube comments would have been related to the lecture content itself, and not about the interpreters.

Indeed, as seen in the transcription data and in the eight main dialogues in Table 3 (p.58), the entire interpreting event had a very unique structure composed of numerous back-and-forth, multi-directional exchanges between Sandel and the audience members. Sandel’s speech was composed of many Q&A sessions and involved fast-turnabouts between speakers and between languages. In ensuring the flow and pace of these messages and exchanges, the interpreters played anything but a passive, invisible role.

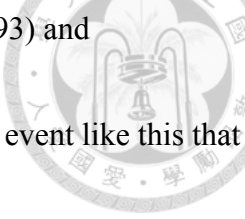


The interpreters had to proactively respond to all sorts of changes (e.g. changing languages, changing the mindset of who the listeners are, changing to whom they are addressing) all within a very short reaction time. There were even moments when Sandel told the audience to comment in Chinese because he had an interpreter and when an audience member said he was waiting for the interpretation before he could comment, both incidents once again reinforcing the prominent role of interpreters in this event.

The research now revisits the primary research question and summarizes the main findings.

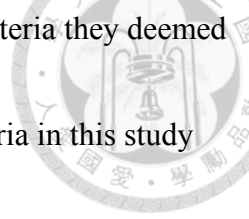
Research Question: What is the interpreting quality perception of the social media users, and specifically, what quality criteria can be elucidated from the YouTube responses and how do these quality criteria differ from or support previous findings?

Findings from this study showed that delivery-related criteria and expressive elements (e.g. *synchronicity, fluency of delivery, intonation and voice quality*) were mentioned the most by the YouTube users, as opposed to content-related criteria. For example, *synchronicity* was the most cited quality criteria among all. Meanwhile, although the criterion, *sense consistency with original message*, was often found the most important quality criterion in many previous quality studies, none of the comments




mentioned this criterion. This supports research findings by Kurz (1993) and Pöchhacker & Zwischenberger (2010). In a simultaneous interpreting event like this that is filled with lively discussion and spontaneous exchange, a setting that resembles media interpretation as well as dialogue interpretation, extra-linguistic criteria were viewed more important by users. Another likely explanation is that the interpreting users simply were not able to compare the rendition against the source text, because they could not hear the source speech clearly. This was mainly because the speaker's and the interpreter's voices were all mumbled together in one single channel. If dual-channel streaming was available, the users might have been able to choose whether they wanted to listen to the original or interpreted version, thus generating different quality perceptions. This once again underscores the role of technology in this case study.

The large number of diverse YouTube comments also demonstrated that even in the same interpreting event, different users perceive interpreting quality differently and apply different quality criteria to describe the performance of interpreters. This supports previous findings by Pöchhacker and Zwischenberg (2010) that, depending on the meeting (type of event, size, degree of formality), various quality criteria might be attributed different degree of importance by the listeners.



Even more importantly, instead of asking users which quality criteria they deemed important, as in most previous survey-based studies, the quality criteria in this study were suggested bottom-up from the users' spontaneous comments in a naturalistic setting. This approach addresses the construct-validity problem pointed out by Moser-Mercer (2009). In previous studies, researchers and survey respondents might have different interpretations about what a quality criterion means, so the quality parameters measured might differ from what users actually think. But in this study, the researcher started out by observing specific quality attributes mentioned by the users and then categorized them into different quality criteria. As exemplified by the YouTube comments, users did not mention directly specific criteria. Instead, they commented on concrete features that constructed or defined *synchronicity*, such as speaking speed, breathing between sentences, and switching between source and target languages. With this approach, the researcher brings the observation and findings closer to a real communication context, and develops a better understanding of the complex and multi-dimensional concept of quality.

In addition to the content- versus delivery-related quality criteria debate, this research also contributes to existing interpreting quality literature by revealing broader



factors that affect users' quality perception. For example, the comments revealed larger, macro trends of technology and of English as lingua franca, and their relation to interpreting quality perception. In addition, while it is often taken for granted that simultaneous interpreters work in pairs and are considered as a team, the many YouTube comments compared the performance of the two interpreters as if they were competitors. This indicated that when two interpreters carry rather distinctive and contrastive styles in the same booth, interpreting users might take notice and even develop their preferences for one interpreter over the other based on certain quality attributes. This is also a very user-perspective judgment of interpretation performance, which would otherwise not be easily noticed from the interpreter-centric perspective. The large number of compliments and criticism also prompted this study to explore possible reasons behind users' quality judgment. Furthermore, the formation of different quality perceptions is context-driven—the lecture was highly interactive and multi-directional, which presented a great challenge to the interpreters, but also gave the interpreters an opportunity to shine and demonstrate to the audience how interpreters could mediate such a fast-pace and dynamic event. And this was one of the main reasons why so many YouTube listeners were so impressed with the interpreters' performance, especially the

male interpreter.



5.2 Limitations of the Current Study

The major limitation of this study is the time point of data collection. The researcher did not capture and record all of the YouTube comments until Dec. 18, 2012, one week after the lecture. If the researcher was able to follow and record the comments during the live event, the researcher would have been able to follow the comments and conversations of the YouTube users and understand why they made certain comments, at which segment of the lecture, or towards which interpreter and speaker. Because of this constraint, the researcher could only refer back to the transcription data for some possible explanations, without being able to pinpoint exactly where each comment occurred in which part of the transcription. For example, many comments expressed strong admiration towards the interpreters but the researcher could not be certain about which interpreter was the YouTube user referring to nor can the researcher gauge deeper into why the users thought so, or what criteria they used to make those judgments. This limitation occurred mainly due to a lack of experience in dealing with this type of social media data in a live interpreting event. If a similar occasion or event occurs again, it will be key to collect the data right from the beginning of the event and mark the data as

the live lecture or conversations proceed forward.



In addition, the comments collected on YouTube might not be as systematic, comprehensive, deliberate, and targeted as those from carefully designed questionnaires, interviews, or other structured survey vehicles. The way the comments described or commented on the qualities and performance of the interpreters might seem to be more subjective than objective. In addition, feedbacks from the anonymous YouTube users might not be equivalent or comparable to those from the audience in the stadium.¹²

Unlike many previous studies where the researchers knew clearly the background (such as demographic) characteristics of the users, the researcher had no idea of the characteristics or profile of the online YouTube users, even though the researcher found that they have diverse opinions about interpretation. This limitation made it impossible to analyze the possible correlation or link between their socio-demographic background and their perception about interpreting quality. Finally, there might be a selection bias issue among the pool of users. These YouTube users were interpreting audience members who chose to not only view an interpreting event online but also actively posted comments, or even discussed and debated with their fellow YouTube viewers.

¹² This study could have built an even stronger case if the researcher was able to distribute surveys to the interpreting audience in the stadium and conduct comparative studies of quality perception between the live audience and online YouTube viewers.



The researcher can assume that these users were a group of more tech-savvy or vocal “netizens”, who might be a self-selective group that might pose bias to the observation and findings of this research.

Another fundamental limitation is confined by the YouTube live streaming technology, which failed to provide channel-switching service. All the YouTube listeners had to listen to both the English and Chinese content at the same time, which was quite distracting, as reflected in the many comments. This lowered the overall listening quality, regardless of the factor of interpretation quality. If this technical shortfall did not occur, the researcher might have obtained some different observations from the users regarding interpreting quality. On the other hand, this also once again highlights the importance of technology and technical arrangement when delivering high-quality interpretation service over the Internet.

5.3 Directions for Future Research

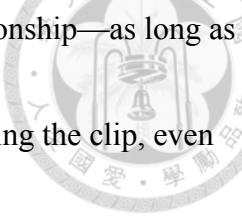
This event was not only broadcasted live on YouTube simultaneously with the event in the stadium, but the full-length video was also available on YouTube after the event. This altered and challenged the nature of a simultaneous interpreting event. With the rapid advancement of new media and technologies, such a trend is very likely to



continue and even become more prevalent. This is a topic that awaits further research, especially as more interpreting events become available online and thus accumulating more research material.

In the past, simultaneous interpreters usually serve the moment and are only listened once. The audience did not have the opportunity to rewind the footage and listen to the interpretation again. Yet an online video of an interpreting event means that countless anonymous virtual viewers could always go back to the webcast link repeatedly.¹³ This also means that interpreters' performance can be closely monitored and examined. Future research can continue to study how media and technology advancement affect the profession, work nature and rights of professional interpreters. For example, following Kurz's (2002) study that examined the stress level of interpreters in live-broadcast interpreting assignments, it would be relevant to understand whether interpreters whose rendition is broadcasted live over the internet face similar degree of high pressure, knowing that their interpretation would be heard and judged by a large ground of audience. It would also be intriguing to study this

¹³ As mentioned earlier, the research compared the number of Youtube viewers on December 18, 2013, one week after the lecture when we collected the comment data, and on September 10, 2014, almost one year after the lecture, and found a ten-fold increase. This highlights the fact that technology not only allowed the interpreters to provide their service to a large and remote audience during the event, but also long after the event.



unprecedented and dynamic type of speaker-listener-interpreter relationship—as long as the YouTube video clip is available and that there are new users viewing the clip, even months and years after the event, in a broader definition, the interpreter is still serving these invisible, unknown users. What are the perspectives of the interpreters who are directly facing these new waves of technologies? Or are interpreters mostly concentrated on serving the live audience at the interpreting event, and the need to serve the remote, virtual users only come as a secondary concern? Website live feed functions can further be utilized for future experiments, such as for comparing interpreting quality perceptions among various groups. It will also be relevant to compare quality perceptions of online virtual users with those of the live audience who participated live in an interpreting event. Much research is still needed to conclude whether quality perceptions between the live and virtual groups are the same or not. Furthermore, although this research did not establish a detailed profile of the users, there are research methods to reach the diverse groups of users, such as contacting the online virtual users through their YouTube anonymous IDs and reaching the live audience by distributing questionnaires or conducting interviews at where the interpreting event took place.

5.4 Conclusion



This naturalistic case study compliments existing research on interpretation quality by developing a multi-dimensional, heterogeneous and holistic perspective for researchers to understand users' quality perception in a social media setting. Interpreting quality is a very complex and multi-dimensional construct. This study serves as an open-ended vehicle that gathers a wide array of interpreting quality-related user comments in a most candid and natural setting. Because all users' responses were anonymous and unsolicited, this research was able to unveil issues that were more difficult to obtain through traditional survey or interview instruments. The quality perceptions mentioned by users also were not confined by existing quality criteria. In many previous studies, many quality criteria surveys asked respondents to think in abstract terms about a good, *ideal* interpretation. But this naturalistic setting offered a rare opportunity for the researcher to capture *real* user comments about an actual simultaneous interpretation event. Studying these *real* user comments, this research concludes that interpreting quality should not only be constructed through narrowly defined quality criteria, but should be understood in a broader context. Highly interactive interpreting events, one that resembles media or dialogue interpreting,

deserve much attention when studying interpreting quality as they form context-based user-quality perceptions. Finally, the role of technology and its impact on the interpretation profession should not be absent in the discussion of interpreting quality.



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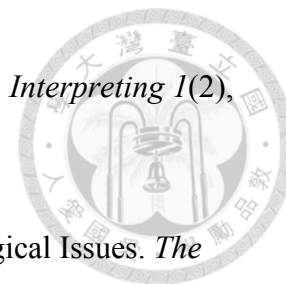
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Appendix

Appendix A: Lecture Transcription

Segment	Starting time	Time length	Speaker	Inter-preter	Source text	Target text
1	0:10:30	0:12:42	Sandel	M	<p>Thank you, thank you, thank you very much. Ni hao ma? Jia ba bue? Thank you for welcoming me here. This is, this is an amazing gathering. This is my first visit to Taiwan. And already I feel at home. It is, I've been here now just for three days, and already I am grateful for so many things. I love the warmth of the Taiwanese people, I love Taiwanese food, and I am deeply grateful for the astonishing, overwhelming response by Taiwanese readers to my book, justice, and now to my new book, what money can't buy. The subject I teach and write about is philosophy, moral and political philosophy. And often, when we think of philosophy, we think of a subject that really resides in the clouds. A subject that is all about abstract ideas that the philosophers discuss and debate, far removed from the world in which we live. But I've never viewed philosophy this way. From the time I was young, I was interested in politics, in campaigns and elections, in political arguments and</p>	<p>非常感謝各位。你好嗎，吃飽了嗎，呷飽未。感謝大家邀請我來這邊，真的這麼多人，這是我第一次來臺灣，這是我來臺灣的第一次，我已經感覺到，像家的感覺一樣，我才來三天而已。然後到現在呢，我已經感覺到好多東西我都深懷感激，我非常愛臺灣人的熱情，我非常喜歡臺灣的食物，我深深的感激這一切大家對我的歡迎，我的讀者。正義這本書，還有最新的這本<錢買不到的東西>這本書，我非常非常地感激，從打從內心深處感激各位，我教的科目呢，也，以及我寫的這些，課，課題就是哲學，主要是在政治哲學。常常來說，當我們一講到哲學，就想到了一門科目它是它好，像是在雲端的一個科目一樣，這個科目都在講一些這種抽象的概念，哲學家們他們講的討論，爭論的這種抽象的概念，跟世界好像脫節一般。但是我從來不這麼看哲學。我從很小的時候，年輕的時候，我就很，對政治</p>

	<p>debates. I found it fascinating. When I graduated from college, how many of you here are still in college, by the way? How many are college students? Quite a few, wow. Well when I graduated from college, I didn't know what I wanted to do when I grew up. I thought maybe I could become a political journalist, maybe become a politician and run for office. And the idea of being a professor that was not my first idea. And then I had the chance to read and study some more and to travel. And I became fascinated by what the philosophers of the past had to say about justice, and political community, and the common good. And before I knew it, I was captured by the project of philosophy and I wound up a teacher of philosophy. But I always wanted to retain some connection between the kind of philosophy that I did and the world in which we live. Philosophical problems and debates, especially ethical debates are difficult and controversial. And the philosophers themselves, whether Plato and Aristotle or Confucius, or John Stuart Mill, the philosophers themselves disagree about what justice means, about what a just society looks like. They disagreed; they were arguing with one another. And so, you might wonder, if these great thinkers can't agree on the meaning of justice and the common good, how can we possibly aspire to do better? And doesn't this show that philosophy is impossible. Well, in a way, it may be. And yet, philosophy is also inescapable because these big questions about justice and virtue and the common good, these big questions are at</p>	<p>很感興趣，在這個政治的辯論，在政治選舉，政治的辯論裡面，我覺得非常有趣，我從大學畢業之後，大家這邊大學生舉手一下好嗎？大學生，哇好多人啊。我大學畢業的時候，其實當時我不知道要幹什麼，我之後要幹嘛我不太清楚，我想說，談，也許我可以當政治記者啊，也許可以當一個政治家，或者是參加選舉，那，當教授這件事情，我當時不是我的第一個選項。後來我有一個機會去讀更多的一些東西去旅遊旅行，然後我就開始對哲學家們他們講的，過去的，古代的哲學家講到的一些概念，對正義的相關的概念，對政治社群以及眾人的利益這些議題感到，深深感到興趣。接著，我就深深的陷入了，這一個，哲學這個東西。最後呢開始教哲學。但是我一直想要保留的一種連結，也就是一種我之前讀的那些哲學，還有現在我們生活的這個世界。我希望這兩個東西是連在一起，各種的這種爭論，哲學的爭論，倫理道德的爭論，很難去回答而且會造成許多的爭議，哲學家們，他們不管是柏拉圖還是亞里士多德、還是孔子、還是 John Stewart Miller 他們這些哲學家都沒有統一的，統一的意見，到底正義這個東西是什麼呢？什麼才是公平正義的社會？他們都沒有同意的，同樣的意見，他們之間都互相爭論着，所以你可能會去想，如果這些偉大的思想家都沒有辦法同意他們正義的定義，還有眾人的利益，那麼他們都沒辦法同意，我們怎麼還能夠做得更好呢？那麼這樣子不就是說哲學就是一件很不可能的事</p>
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stake in our everyday lives, and our personal lives, and also in our public life. And so tonight, I would like to engage you in a discussion. You thought you were coming to a lecture. But, it's not the kind of lecture where the professor stands at a podium and reads from a text and gives you the answers about big ideas. Philosophy is exciting because it really is less a list of answers than an invitation to reason together about things that matter in our lives. And so I would like tonight, in this small intimate gathering, to invite you to discuss some of the big questions that face all of us in our societies. I am going to give you some examples, some stories, that really raise hard questions about what is the right thing to do. And I want to invite you to tell me what you think, and to listen to one another, and to say whether you agree or disagree with what your friends and colleagues had to say. So does that sound reasonable? Are you ready to participate even you way back in the balcony? Are you ready? Yes? Alright.

(pause; subject change)

The general question I would like to pose is the subject of my new book *What Money Can't Buy*; and the question is this, what should be the role of money and markets in a good society? Today, there are very few things that money can't buy. I'll give you one or two examples from my society. There's a city in California that offers prisoners a choice, if you're sentenced to a jail term in this California town and if you don't like the standard accommodations, you can buy a prison cell upgrade. It's true. For how much do

情，在某種方面來講，是可以這麼說，但是哲學也是沒有辦法，我們沒有辦法去避免或者，因為我們講到正義，這些大的問題或者是倫理或者是，眾人的利益，這些大的問題，因為每天我們都要面對這些大問題，個人的生活中，還有在公眾的生活中都會遇到。所以今天晚上，我想要跟所有的人來討論，你們以為是來聽演講的嘛，但是，並不是這種講課就是教授講在這邊講課，然後讀教，讀課本，然後告訴你，告訴你所有的解答，這些大的概念的解答，我不會給你這個答案，哲學很讓人興奮，因為它，其實它就是，不，不是一大堆的解答。其實哲學更像是邀請你來閱讀一些重要的，生命中重要的事物，所以今天晚上我希望的就是，在這個很小的一個群眾中呢跟大家邀請大家一起來討論這些所謂的大問題，每個人都會面對的問題，在社會中所面對的問題，我會給大家舉一些例子，一些故事，這些故事呢都會提出一些重要的問題。很難回答的問題，來問你說到底什麼樣才是對的事情，還有我要邀請大家告訴我你們怎麼想，你們要互相傾聽對方，看看你們同不同意對方講的話，你的朋友、你的同事，他們講的話，同不同意呢？那大家聽我這樣建議合理嗎？你們，就算上面的那個，你準備好了嗎？你準備好參與了嗎？是，我首先要問大家一個，很大的一個問題，就是，那也就是我在新書<錢買不到的東西>裡面講到的一個問題就是，也就是，錢的角色、市場的角色，在一個美好的社會中，在今天這個社會中，其實有很少的

you suppose? How much a night would you guess? It's about ninety dollars a night. A good deal if you can afford it. Here's another example. The cost of living is going up; jobs are hard to find; there's a new way of making money: rent space on your forehead to an advertising company; tattoo advertising they call it. There're advertising firms that rent space for commercial sponsors on people's foreheads. One woman needed to raise money for the education of her son, and she auctioned off space on her forehead for a permanent tattoo for a commercial sponsor willing to pay, how much do you think? Ten thousand dollars. Unfortunately, the winning bid came from an online casino. And so she agreed to put an ad, and tattoo ad for the casino on her forehead. What money can't buy? Now these may seem like small examples. But money and markets are reaching in to more fateful, important spheres of life. For example, the way we fight our wars; did you know that, in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, there were more private military contractors on the ground than there were US military troops. Now this is not because we ever had a public debate about whether we wanted to outsource war to private companies, but this is what has happened. Over the last few decades, we've seen around the world a trend, almost without realizing it, we have drifted from having market economies to becoming market societies. The difference is this, the market economy is a tool; it's an effective and valuable tool for organizing productive activity. And as you all know, market

東西，錢買不到的東西越來越少了，我給你舉一兩個例子，比如說從我的社會，美國社會中舉幾個例子，在加州有一個城市，它提供這個如果是罪犯，如果你被關，關了，判了刑期，在這一個加州的一個城市裡面，如果你不喜歡你的這個住宿的品質，牢房的品質的話，你可以去購買一個牢房升級，是真的，你們來猜猜看可以多少錢可以升級，一個晚上要花多少錢可以升級你的牢房呢，美金九十元，就一個晚上多付九十元，就沒錯，誒，你想想看，這還不錯喔，這筆交易還不錯。還有另外一個例子，他們現在物價起漲，工作很難找，還有新的賺錢的方法喔，那就是在你的額頭上，把這個額頭租出去，租給廣告公司，你就把你的這個刺青廣告刺在你的額頭上，有些廣告公司他們，他們可以把這個贊助商呢，就是把它的 logo 打在你的額頭上，之前也許有一個女，婦女她需要為他的大學，要讀這個學，上學的孩子籌錢，，籌學費，於是她，她開始去讓這個公開發標，看大家願意付多少錢在她的額頭上刺上字，美金一萬塊，但是呢，很糟糕，最後呢，這個贏得，這個得標的公司，是一個線上賭場，居然，所以到最後，她願意呢，在她的額頭上刺上這個賭場的廣告，刺青，刺在她的額頭上。錢還有什麼東西買不到的呢？你聽起來可能覺得這些好像只是一些小的例子，但是錢跟市場它們，漸漸的深入了到其他的一些領域裡，更重要的，跟我們這個信念有關係的一些場域，譬如說，打仗，打仗的方式也正在改變，你知道嗎，在

				<p>economies have helped produce affluence, prosperity, rising standards of living in places around the world. But a market society is different. A market society is a place where everything is up for sale. A market society is a way of life where market thinking and market values reach into spheres of life previously governed by other values, non-market values. Now why should we worry about this? For the following reason.</p>	<p>伊拉克還有阿富幹的戰爭裡面，美軍，其實，當時有更多的這個承包商，戰爭的承包商，私人的就是傭兵的人數比美軍的人數還要多，這不是說因為我們之前有曾經討論過說，談我們是不是要這個外包，連這個戰爭都可以外包出去，外包給私人的承包商，但是這已經在發生了，近十年來，幾十年來，在全世界各個地方，我們都有看到這樣子的情況，這樣子的一個趨勢，大家都沒有去意識到，幾乎沒有意識到我們已經漂離了，我們已經遠離了，從一個市場的經濟轉變成一個市場的社會，這兩者之間的差別在於，市場經濟是一個工具，它是一個很好的很有效的，很有價值的一種公司來這個掌握我們各種的一些，生活的一些行為，一些作為，那麼大家都知道，市場經濟已經造成了很好的，譬如說富有啊，它創造了很多這種富有，富裕，在全世界都是這樣子，但是講到了市場社會就不一樣了，市場社會，這個講到市場社會，全部的東西都可以賣，市場社會是一種生活方式，市場的想法，市場的價值，完全的深入了生活的各個層面，之前不是，是以其它的價值來作主導的，不，非市場價值作主導的領域，那我們幹嘛要擔心呢？接下來有以下的理由。</p>
2	0:23:12	0:04:32	Sandel	<p>When markets operate outside of the domain of material goods like cars and flat-screen televisions, when markets begin to dominate other domains of life, family life, personal relations, health, education, criminal justice, civic life, when markets govern in those areas, sometimes they change the meaning of</p>	<p>當市場在，在這些物質生活之外作主導的時候，譬如說一些電視或者是一些，恩其他的面向作主導的時候，在生活中作主導，在實際關係，在教育方面作主導，或者是在人民的公民生活中間，市場在這些中間作主導，但是有的時候，它們會改變了這些</p>

the goods we care about, and sometimes market values can crowd out or corrupt non-market values worth caring about. But it's not easy to know when market thinking and market values pose a threat to other values and when they simply contribute to economic efficiency. And, but this suggests that where markets serve the public good and where they don't belong is not only an economic question. It's also a moral and a civic question, a question on which we often disagree. Despite that fact that we often disagree, we need, I think, to step back and reflect on the proper place of markets. We need to have a morally active debate about where markets serve the public good and where they don't belong. And that's the debate I'd like to invite you to join me in tonight. Let's begin with a small example. Let's imagine that you were living in a place that has a lot of snow in the winter. Just imagine that. And suppose that there's a store that sells snow shovels to dig out when it snows. It sells snow shovels for ten dollars. And then one day there's a great blizzard, enormous amounts of snow, everybody needs a snow shovel, and so the store increases the price from ten dollars to twenty dollars because the demand has gone up. Here's our first question. Is it fair or unfair for the store to raise the price of snow shovels after there's been a huge snowstorm. Let's take our first vote using your programs. Those of you who think it's fair to raise the price, supply and demand, raise the white part, the white side of your program. Those of you who think it's unfair, raise the orange part of your

我們這些所關心的事物的價值，有的時候市場價值會排擠了，或者是腐壞了，這些非市場價值所規範的事情，但是很不容易知道的事情就是什麼時候，市場思維，市場價值會造成一種威脅，因為市場價值可以創造市場的一種經濟效益，所以我們很難察覺它有這種威脅，所以我們要知道，市場什麼時候，市場能夠為人民造福，什麼時候不行。這個問題並不只是一個經濟的問題，這還是一個道德的問題，是一個市民大家所關心的問題，當然這個問題我們大家可能有不同的意見，但是雖然我們都有不同意見，我們可能還是需要，要退後一步，來仔細思考一下，來想一想市場真正應該處的位置，我們應該要在道德方面，有非常積極的討論來確定什麼領域應該是市場應該介入，能夠造福人群，什麼時候市場不應該介入，這就是今天我想要邀請大家來跟我一起來討論的問題。首先，我們來舉一個小的例子，我們來想像一下，你生活在一個怎麼樣的環境呢，一個有下雪很多的地方，假設現在有一個地方，有賣這個劇雪的劇子，賣十塊錢一個，有一天，突然來了一個大冰暴，所以下了很多的雪，大家都需要雪劇子，所以這個店就把雪劇子從十塊錢漲價到二十塊錢，因為市場需求大了。所以我們必須要提出第一個問題的是，這不是公平呢，漲價是不是公平，讓這個店裡把雪劇漲價，在大雪之後，你就漲價了，哄抬了價錢，那麼，我希望大家來投票，你們認為應該，這是，漲價這是很公平的事情，你們就把你的白色的那一面的，面秀出來給

					<p>program. Let's see what people think. White, say it's fair, it's the law of supply and demand, orange say it's unfair. Alright, we have a pretty good division of opinion here on the snow shovel question. I'd say a slight majority of white, suggests that a slight majority considers it fair, but many consider it unfair. Let's hear first from someone who thinks it's unfair for the store to raise the price from 10 dollars to 20 dollars. Why is it unfair? Raise your hand and tell us why you think it's unfair to raise the price of a snow shovel. Yes, stand up and tell us your name, please.</p>	我們看，如果你不同意的話，就是用紅色的那一面，我們來看一看大家的投票結果，白的是公平的，那紅的表示你覺得這是不公平的，好，我想大家的意見都很大不相同，那麼在這個雪產劇子的問題上，我們可以看到很多的不一樣的意見，好像白色的數字比較多，好像大部分的人認為是覺得還算公平，可是有很多人還是覺得不公平，那麼首先覺得不公平的人，是不是有人可以來提出一下你的想法，為什麼不公平呢，請你舉手，然後告訴我們你為什麼認為這是不公平的，來增加這個雪劇子的價錢，好，請你站起來。
3	0:27:44	0:00:27	1-M-E	M	<p>Good evening everyone. My name is Hsu Cheng Yuan. And the reason I believe it's unfair is because, this increases the price is not because of the increasing cost of this production, is basically because of its rising demand. The seller, the seller does not need more money to produce their product, the snow shovel, but their, they basically increase the product because people need it more. So that's why I think it's unfair.</p>	<p>大家好，我的名字叫許成元 我相信它不公平的原因是因為這樣子會漲價的原因，不是他的這個生產的價格提供了，而是因為需求提供了，所以這個販賣的者，他只是為了要，他不需要花更多的錢去製造這個雪劇，他漲價的原因就是因為人們更需要，所以我覺得這不公平。</p>
4	0:28:11	0:00:09	Sandal	M	<p>And would you say that whenever people need something, it's wrong to raise the price?</p>	<p>那你會說，當人們需要一個，只要任何一個人需要一個東西很多人需要這個東西就不該漲價嗎？</p>
5	0:28:20	0:00:12	1-M-E	M	<p>I think in this case, it is a public good, because since there's only one store that sells the snow shovels. So yeah to, um, for the greater good to serve the public.</p>	<p>我覺得為了公共的利益來說呢，因為只有這一家店在賣嘛，所以我覺得為了公，更大的利益，大眾的利益 我覺得，不該漲價。</p>
6	0:28:32	0:00:11	Sandel	M	<p>So it's a case of special need, it's a public good. And what's your name again?</p>	<p>所以是特殊需求，為了公眾的利益，您的名字叫什麼。</p>
7	0:28:43	0:00:05	1-M-E	M	<p>Hsu Cheng Yuan, and English name is Brian.</p>	<p>(Interpreter murmuring "it's everywhere")</p>

8	0:28:48	0:00:49	Sandel	M	Alright thank you. Who disagrees? Who think it's fair? Who disagrees that it is a public good? Yes. And I want to emphasize that people should...to speak in Chinese...in...because we have...and because I have this machine, I suddenly learn Chinese.	誰反對，誰覺得很公平的，覺得說這個東西它是一個公眾的財貨的請舉手，這個反對剛才這位說法的請舉手。我要強調一下，所有的人，您如果要講中文都可以因為我們可以有這個現場的直接幫大家翻譯，因為我有這台機器，我剛才不小心就聽到了這個中文，學了一大堆中文。
9	0:29:37	0:00:40	2-F-E	M	Ok, I will speak in English. Ok, uh...I think it's fair because as happens whenever, um, every time after a typhoon hits Taiwan; and the vegetable prices just raise up and it means common good for people because there're too many...something you want to, you have to distribute the things to everyone fairly. So only people who get, who have the money can buy it.	我還是講英文吧，我覺得這是公平的，因為，因為這件事情，每一次颱風來臺灣，那個菜價都會漲啦，所以它是一個公共的財貨，因為當人們需要一些東西的時候，你必須，他要去把它公平的分給大家，所以錢多的人就可以買得到。
10	0:30:17	0:00:16	Sandel	M	And the fair way of distributing things, when there's a high demand, is for the people who are willing and able to pay to get vegetables or the snow shovel.	那麼公平的分..分配的方法，就是有一個高的這個需求，那你覺得公平的方法就是，就是有錢的，而且願意付錢的這些人可以買到菜或者是買到雪剷嗎。
11	0:30:33	0:00:03	2-F-E	M	Yes.	是的。
12	0:30:36	0:00:04	Sandel	M	Alright stay there, and tell me your name.	你在那邊等一下再跟我講一下你的名字是什麼？
13	0:30:40	0:00:03	2-F-E	M	Um, English name is Wendy.	我叫做，我的英文名字叫做 Wendy。
14	0:30:43	0:00:04	Sandel	M	Ok, Wendy. I really want to learn your Chinese name.	我很想要知道你的中文名字。
15	0:30:47	0:00:12	2-F-E	M	Oh Chinese name is Ya-Jun.	雅鈞。
16	0:30:59	0:00:40	Sandel	M	Stay there. Who has a reply, who disagrees with Ya-Jun, and can explain why? (pause) Yes, stand up, in the middle, waiving orange card, stand up.	你在那邊等一下，雅鈞請妳等一下，有沒有人不同意雅鈞的說法的，可以解釋為什麼你不同意嗎？那位請站起來，手握橘色書的那位，請您站起來。

17	0:31:39	0:00:11	Sandel	M	The microphone doesn't work. So we now have a shortage of microphone. We'll sell you another one from a higher price.	麥克風好像有點問題，所以我們現在，我們再賣，用更高的價錢賣另外一支這個麥克風給你。
18	0:31:50	0:00:10	3-M-E	M	Dear professor, my name is Yo-Long. I am from, I am a student of, I am a graduate student of political science.	教授您好，My name 我的名字是佑隆，我是，研究所，這個政治學的研究生我可以講中文嗎？
19	0:32:00	0:00:08	Sandel	M	No, so speak, here what I want you to do is to speak directly to...	我要你直接跟。
20	0:32:08	0:00:02	3-M-E	M	Actually in fact, I don't agree.	我不同意。
21	0:32:10	0:00:13	Sandel	M	Alright. See if you can persuade Ya-Jun. Speak directly to her.	你可不可以說服悅，睿鈞，雅鈞，你可不可以說服她 看你能不能說服她，你直接跟她講吧。
22	0:32:23	0:00:01	3-M-C	M	May I speak Chinese?	我可以講中文嗎？
23	0:32:24	0:00:04	Sandel	M	Yes of course, of course.	當然可以，當然可以。
24	0:32:28	0:00:55	3-M-C	M	我認為，因為，假如在那個情境下，雪鏟的價格上升，除了是市場需求的上升之外呢，重要它產生的因素是自然災害。在這個同樣的條件之下，我們可以想想在不多久之前發生的 331 大地震，不管是糧食、不管是飲水，在災難的情況下，都會提高。但是人們不一定普遍都能夠承受那樣的價格。那在這個情形下呢，物資的援助跟政府的幫助，不管是各個價格能夠恢復到同樣的水平，讓需要某些物資的人們都能夠得到他們應該有的物資，我覺得市場這樣子的提升，不能是因為受到自然災害或是非人為因素的影響，那這是我簡短的意見，謝謝大家。	I believe that under that circumstance, and all the prices are rising. So apart from the rising public demand in the market demand, but it's due to natural disaster(激動語氣). So under the same circumstance, we can imagine it happened not so long ago, we had an earthquake. Shortage of food, shortage of water. When disaster happen, the prices rises. But not everyone can bear the price. So under this circumstances, the help from the government, from charity organizations, it play a major role to help the victims to restore the same level, to restore the price. Anyone who needs the goods, can obtain these goods. I believe the rise of the price cannot be due to natural disaster, or is non-man-made reason.

							This is how I think. Thank you.
25	0:33:23	0:00:20	Sandel	M		Wait, wait, that' good. Stay there. Keep the microphone. But it's a natural disaster! And not everyone can afford the high price for vegetables or for snow shovels. What would you say in reply?	你等一下，你等一下，這個麥克風先拿著，但是是自然災害耶，不是每一個人都付得起，付得起這個菜價上升，或者是很貴的這個劇雪劇阿，妳要怎麼回答呢？
26	0:33:43	0:00:05	2-F-C	M		Directly to him?	直接跟他講嗎？
27	0:33:48	0:00:12	Sandel	M		Directly to him, yes. And you can in English or Chinese. Alright.	直接跟他講，直接跟他講，如果妳要講中文也可以。
28	0:34:00	0:00:33	2-F-C	M		就是，因為現在是自然災害，然後如果你把金額上提高了，然後而且就是需要的人還是有那個人去買的話，會比起，呃，如果你把金額提高還是有人可以買這些東西買掉，表示你已經幫助了那些需要幫助的人，然後剩下的人就是，就已經沒有那些東西了啊。就是他們要想辦法，就，呃...	I think, I think, because natural disaster, okay. But if you, if you raise the price, if you raise the money, and those who need it they can buy it and there are people who's willing to buy it, and if you compare that with. If you raise the price, someone can still purchase it, right? So you already helped the one that needed the help, and the rest can, well then they ran out of the goods already. They have to figure out their way because they don't have enough vegetables.
29	0:34:33	0:00:04	Sandel	M		That's pretty, pretty tough.	妳這樣講還滿嚴格的喔。
30	0:34:37	0:00:07	2-F-E	M		The material is limited, so you have to try to distribute all you can, all you have now to everybody.	因為物資不夠阿，所以你要盡量的去分，分配給大家。
31	0:34:44	0:00:03	Sandel	M		You can speak in Chinese, I have the machine.	妳可以用那個中文講沒關係。
32	0:34:47	0:00:17	2-F-C	M		物資有限，你要怎麼把這些東西做最有效的利用然後分給最需要的人，就是把這金額提高看誰可以買。那如果沒有人買這些東西的話，他們自然價格自然又會回到原點，那可以買的人就可以繼續再去買了。	When the goods are limited, how do you effectively distribute these goods? That's how you do it. You raise the price. If no one buys it, that means the price will return to where it was. So they can buy it again.

33	0:35:04	0:00:02	Sandel	M	What would you say?	您認為呢？
34	0:35:06	0:01:08	3-M-C	M	I think, 我覺得這有點不公平。因為在這種情況下，並不是因為價格的因素，就算它價格再低，有些人還是沒有辦法有能力去購買這樣的物資。我們可以看到在紐奧良風災的時候，那時候美國政府因為沒有辦法幫助紐奧良的居民，在那個城市當中發生了許多現象，有很多搶，許多掠劫的，就是很多劫掠的行為在那個城市中不斷地發生，因為他們在爭奪稀少的資源，那這個資源政府沒有提供，市場又高價的提供的情況下，多數人們需要少數賴以生存的資源被少數人把持著的時候，他們只好靠著非合法的行為去取得這些資源。那就算這個資源的價格再怎麼提高，他們無法承受他們就會採取非合法的途徑去取得它，這個跟市場價格的關係，我覺得，不是那麼密切。這是我簡短的意見。	I think, I think that's unfair. Because considering the circumstance, not to do with the price(語調起伏), doesn't matter how low the price gets, some people still can't afford these goods. We can see in New Orleans, and during, after the storm, the, the US government, they couldn't help the people of New Orleans, and in that city, there were a lot of robbery, a lot, lot of atrocity, robbing people, robbing each other in New Orleans, because they were fighting for limited goods. Then the government is not providing it, and the market is jacking up the price, a lot of people needed, need essentials, and the essentials are in the hands of the fews. And they can only use illegal means to obtain these goods. And at first the price rise, if they cannot afford it, they will do anything they can, including breaking the laws. So I don't think, got very little to do with market price. That's my very short reply to you.
35	0:36:14	0:00:09	Sandel	F	Alright, but, suppose... Let me make it a little bit harder for you since you doing it so well.	比較，比較困難的問題，你剛才做得很好。
36	0:36:23	0:00:03	2-F-E	F	Thanks.	n/a
37	0:36:26	0:00:02	Sandel	F	You were speaking about vegetables.	你講到菜價的問題，蔬菜的問題。
38	0:36:28	0:00:01	2-F-E	F	Yes.	n/a



39	0:36:29	0:00:55	Sandel	F	Some people would say it's possible to go without vegetables for a while, if you can't afford it. Let's take the example of water, bottled water, after, let's say there's been a typhoon, that, or a flood, that has created a shortage in the water supply. And bottled water before the typhoon, let's say, costs a dollar for a liter. And because the demand for bottled water goes up, after an earthquake or after a typhoon, the store increases the price of the water, according to supply and demand, to ten dollars a bottle. Water now, which is even more a necessity perhaps than vegetables. Is that fair, even the water?	有的人說，你可以不要吃蔬菜呀，有的時候你可以不吃蔬菜也可以，那我們來舉個例子，講到這個礦泉水，瓶裝水，如果說有颱風來的時候，或者是淹水的時候，或者是在什麼情況之下使我們的水的供應比較少了，所以呢瓶裝水呢，可能在颱風之前，是一瓶一塊錢，舉例來說，那麼因為這個需求，或者是變高了，就是在颱風或地震之後呢，這個價錢也上漲了，因為這個市場的需求，這個問題所以水的價錢漲價了，所以呢，可能在蔬菜這方面的，跟蔬菜方面比較來講的話，水的供應更，需要的比較多一點。所以你同意嗎？
40	0:37:24	0:00:02	2-F-E	F	Yes.	n/a
41	0:37:26	0:00:03	Sandel	F	Because?	n/a
42	0:37:29	0:00:08	2-F-E	F	Because it's limited, and because you have to distribute it fairly and...	因為，所以這個水的資源少了，是有限的供應了。所以你必須要非常。
43	0:37:37	0:00:08	Sandel	F	Distribute it fairly, and why is it distributed according to who can pay for it?	很公平的來分配這個水源，那麼是不是要根據誰能夠付得錢多來決定誰可以得到水呢？
44	0:37:45	0:00:04	2-F-E	F	It demands more than, um...	n/a
45	0:37:49	0:00:01	Sandel	F	I am sorry?	n/a
46	0:37:50	0:00:08	2-F-C	F	供過，供不應求。	F:(frustration 語氣) If the supply is not enough (M 接手：If the supply is more than, less than, sorry, I apologize switching)
47	0:37:58	0:00:07	Sandel	M	My machine suddenly stopped working.	When the demand is more than the supply.
48	0:38:05	0:00:05	2-F-E	M	The people who need is, are more than can be provided.	所以是供需求 妳講得是供需求

49	0:38:10	0:00:09	Sandel	M	So it is the law of supply and demand. Now the law of supply and demand is an economic principle, and what we'd just been debating is...	所以這是一個經濟的原則啦 ok 我們剛才爭論的這個重點呢就是。
50	0:38:19	0:00:02	2-F-E	M	Ethical. It's ethical problem.	這是一個道德。
51	0:38:21	0:00:01	Sandel	M	It's also whether it's an ethical principle.	這也是一個道德的原則問題。
52	0:38:22	0:00:01	2-F-E	M	Yes.	n/a
53	0:38:23	0:00:05	Sandel	M	And you say it is also an ethical principle.	您也覺得它是一個道德倫理的問題。
54	0:38:28	0:00:04	2-F-E	M	Problem o question, problem or question.	n/a
55	0:38:32	0:00:02	Sandel	M	Or you're not sure?	不確定嗎？
56	0:38:34	0:00:02	2-F-E	M	Yes it is an ethical problem and...	n/a
57	0:38:36	0:00:17	Sandel	M	And what is the ethical principle? And what is the ethical principle underlying the law of supply and demand? That when there was a shortage of good, they should go to those who can afford it?	所以這邊的道德原則是什麼呢？所以我們在這個供需需求的這個原則之下，當這個供大，供過於求，供少於求的時候呢，那它之下的道德原則是什麼呢？
58	0:38:53	0:00:07	2-F-E	M	Just give the material, give the thing to people who need it and who can afford it.	那要把這些，要給需要的人，還有買得起的人。
59	0:39:00	0:00:02	Sandel	M	Who need it AND who can afford it.	需要又能買得起的人，您說是這樣子嗎？
60	0:39:02	0:00:02	2-F-E	M	Yes.	n/a
61	0:39:04	0:00:16	Sandel	M	So need and the ability to pay are two principles. And you think need alone is not enough for the ethical principle.	所以需求以及付得起，要有錢，所以這是兩個原則啊 這是兩，妳覺得需求不夠，就講到我們道德的原則來講 光是需求不夠。
62	0:39:20	0:00:04	2-F-E	M	Yes, you can always find some way out.	你一定可以找到一個解決方法啊。
63	0:39:24	0:00:20	Sandel	M	Alright, well, so we've had a good start to the discussion, about whether the economic principle of supply and demand is also an ethical principle. I wanna thank both of our participants for great a great exchange.	所以我們在這個一個很好的開始噢，所以經濟的這個原則的，供需原則，也是一個道德的原則。我要感謝這兩位，這兩位參與的同學，謝謝你們。

64	0:39:44	0:01:14	Sandel	F	<p>You know, I was pressing our defender of the law of supply and demand. I want to give another example. Do you still have the microphone up there? You lost it. Alright. I'll take this problem to everyone. Take the goods that is perhaps not a basic necessity of life though some people think it is. Pepsi Cola. I read that Pepsi Cola company invented a special kind of vending machine that works in the following way. On normal days the price of a can of Pepsi is, let's say, a dollar. Built in the machine is a thermometer. And on the days when it is very, very hot, the machine automatically increases the price of a can of Pepsi from 1 dollar to 2 dollars. Anything wrong with that? Let's go back to our critic of the law of supply and demand. Anything wrong with that?</p>	<p>我剛才一直在問她的問題，讓他講出一些理由，那麼剛才上面那位男士，是不是還拿著麥克風，你是不是可以繼續講呢？我現在要提出另外一個問題，也讓大家知道這個問題。(long pause: 8 seconds) 嗯，譬如說百事可樂，可能並不是一個必需品，有一些覺得是蠻需要的，有些人覺得不需要，我記得百事可樂公司曾經作了一個販賣機，它們的功能是這樣子，就是在平常的日子裡這個一罐的百事可樂可能是一塊美金，那麼裡面有一個這個溫度計在裡面，如果說天氣變熱的時候，這個機器呢會自動地把這個一罐裝的汽水變貴了，變成兩塊錢一罐。你覺得這對不對呢？這位先生，你覺得這件事情合不合理呢？剛才我們講到供需的問題，所以這位先生，你覺得剛才的百事可樂的這件事情，你覺得合不合理？</p>
65	0:40:58	0:00:08	lag	F	n/a	n/a
66	0:41:06	0:00:19	3-M-E	F	<p>I need the translator for a while...(long pause) I think this, this, something for a reason. If the price up, must be for a reason.</p>	<p>我需要想一想。我想一定是原因才這樣作的。如果你把價錢拉高了，一定是有什麼原因吧，可能這樣子才會作出這種決定。</p>
67	0:41:25	0:00:09	Sandel	F	<p>But if there's anything objectionable? Would you find this machine to be immoral?</p>	<p>但是如果有人說不合理的話，你會覺得這個機器是很不道德的事情，這個機器的運作不道德嗎？</p>
68	0:41:34	0:00:04	lag	F	n/a	n/a
69	0:41:38	0:00:03	3-M-E	F	<p>maybe we have to ask the company.</p>	<p>那我們必須要問這個公司為什麼要這麼做啦。</p>
70	0:41:41	0:00:03	lag	F	n/a	n/a
71	0:41:44	0:00:06	Sandel	F	<p>But is there anything unfair about it? It's not a necessity. Can you speak in Chinese, it's fine.</p>	<p>但是針對這件事情來講是不是有什麼不公平的地方，有點奇怪的地方呢？</p>

72	0:41:50	0:00:08	lag	F	n/a	n/a
73	0:41:58	0:02:26	Sandel	F	<p>Alright. Maybe this is harder because it is not involved in the necessity. That's that some people argue about whether it's ethical to raise the price. I'd like to take another kind of case to put you because there are various ways of distributing scarce goods. One way is according to the willingness and the abilities to pay. That's the principle we have just been discussing. Another principle of distributing is "first come, first served", the principle of lining up, of queuing, of waiting. In fact, you might also say there are two ways of allocating scarce goods. At least two: paying or waiting on line. Let's take a scarce good. Sometimes in great demands: tickets to a very popular concert, rock concert. Whose tickets are extremely hard to get? Mayday? Alright, suppose there is a Mayday concert, and the tickets are priced in a way that enables many people at least to afford the tickets but ends the result they sell out within a few hours. You have that experience, haven't you? Trying to get the tickets to a Mayday concert? But some people line up and wait and buy the tickets and then sell them at a higher price online to make a profit. Ticket scalping. Now is there... so someone who didn't wait in line but who really want to see the concert and is willing to pay and able to pay can do so. Let's take the second poll with your programs. Is it fair or unfair? Ticket scalping for a Mayday concert. Those who think it's fair raise the white part of your program and those who think it's unfair raise the orange.</p>	<p>好，也許這個比較困難的問題，因為這是跟必需的品不太一致的，所以這跟我們剛才討論的問題，道德的問題有點的不太一樣，下面我要再舉一個例子，因為在分配這個很稀少的資源方面有很多種的方式，一種方式是你的意願跟你有能力來來付錢的這個事情上，另外一個原則就是分配的原則就是第一個到的就先給他服務，先來先給你服務，譬如說是排隊，可能你會說有兩種，至少兩種方式，來針對這個稀少資源的事情，譬如說付錢的這個事情或者排隊這個事情。有的時候譬如說去參加一個非常受歡迎的流行音樂這個大的音樂會，大家都很想爭取這個票，音樂票，所以這種音樂這個票非常的受歡迎，Mayday 大家都知道，如果說是這個Mayday 的音樂會，如果五月天的音樂會很受歡迎，如果這個價錢能夠讓很多人都能夠買得起，但結果幾小時之內他就賣光了，你們常常碰到這種情況對不對呢？你想買票，你想去買五月天的票永遠都買不到，但是有些人排隊排隊去買票，但是呢，來開始用更高的錢，來在網路上賣票，像是黃牛票，在網路上賣黃牛票，所以有些人沒有在那邊排隊的人，非常想看五月天的音樂會，所以他們有能力花更多的錢去買票，他們就買得到票了，讓我們來看看這一次的投票，大家的想法是怎麼樣呢？你覺得是不是公平呢？就是買黃牛票，賣五月天的黃牛票的這件事情，所以還是一樣，你用白色的代表你贊成，橘黃色的代表你反對，</p>

74	0:44:24	0:00:08	lag	F	n/a	n/a
75	0:44:32	0:00:56	Sandel	F	Well, another division of opinion. But I think I think maybe a slight majority to those who say it's fair. Now let's take but maybe a slightly harder question: ticket scalping of train tickets during the Chinese New Year. People line up. There is a great demand for the train tickets, and some people buy tickets and sell them at a high price to people who didn't get one Is this fair? White...raise your white, those you think scalping train tickets on the Chinese New Year is fair. Orange, if you think it's unfair. See if there's difference.	好像我們又看到很多不同的意見了，但是我相信我看到的到是，好像說公平的人比較多一點，現在我們再來問一個比較難的問題，賣黃牛票，譬如說在中國新年的時候賣火車票，大家排隊，很多人要搶這個火車票，有的人買了票然後再賣出去，用更高的價錢，賣給那些買不到票的人，所以這是不是公平呢？白色，認為是公平的，橘黃色認為是不公平的，也就是在新年要搶火車票這件事情上來請做出表決。
76	0:45:28	0:00:04	lag	F	n/a	n/a
77	0:45:32	0:00:44	Sandel	F	Now there seems to be a shift in opinions. Now I see more orange than I did before. Now I would like to hear from someone who said it was fair to scalp tickets for the Mayday concert but who said it was unfair to scalp train tickets on the Chinese New Year. Someone who raised white for the first question and orange for the second. Who can explain the moral difference between the two?...Yes.	現在我看的出來，好像大家的意見好像有點不太一樣了，橘黃色的好像比較多，那我想聽聽看哪一位能夠說你贊成賣黃牛票...賣音樂票賣黃牛票時是公平的，但是第二個問題的時候他認為是不公平的，第一個問題你用白色的，第二個問題你用橘紅色的，這個中間有什麼樣的道德差異呢？請你提出你的想法，
78	0:46:16	0:00:43	4-F-C	M	I believe the key to these two questions, is that these are two things, the nature of these two things. If I don't go to see a mayday concert, I, or, maybe there's, quality of my life will change a little bit, not essential. But the train tickets is different. That's a traditional Chinese tradition. We have to get home on Chinese new years, so that will affect my life and I will consider it essential, and that will affect the	I believe the key to these two questions, is that these are two things, the nature of these two things. If I don't go to see a mayday concert, I, or, maybe there's, quality of my life will change a little bit, not essential. But the train tickets is different. That's a traditional Chinese tradition. We have to get home on Chinese new years, so that will affect my life and I will consider it essential, and that will affect the

					entire country, transportation, has a broader ramification. So the country need to get involved to control that, to gauge the price of train tickets, that's unfair.
79	0:46:59	0:00:52	Sandel	M	<p>Alright. Stay there. Thank you for that. So you draw the distinction between the concert...stand up, stay there...the concert is a luxury. It's not a necessity. Well, maybe for some people, Mayday concert is a necessity. But the train ticket on the Chinese New Year has a more significant, more important meaning in life. And that's why it would be unfair to allow market principles ticket scalping to allocate tickets. Do I understand? Okay, stay there. Someone disagrees. Someone thinks even scalping train tickets is fair. Tell us why.</p> <p>所以您先留在那兒先不要走，所以您剛剛講的是看演唱會...欸站著站著站著，所以看演唱會是一種奢侈品，而不是一種必需品，也許對某些人來說五月天是一種必需品啊，但是呢，火車票這個過年返鄉的火車票，他更重要，在生活中更中重要，所以你覺得說這不公平，要讓這個市場的原則完全的深入，然後用這個黃牛票來影響這個火車的價格是嗎？有人不同意，有人不同意，有人覺得得火車黃牛票都覺得是公平的一件事情。</p>
80	0:47:51	0:00:53	5-F-E	M	<p>Hi I am from China and I have my personal experience. I get up and arrive at the train station at 6am, and I wait three hours in line. I was in the second in the line. And when it's to my turn, there's no ticket for my train. So I just think that it is. Then I ask the scalper, who sell me the ticket for \$50RMB extra, So I think it's important that, no, not important, fair that we can have a way to get what we need through higher price.</p> <p>我來自中國，我有個人的經驗。我每天早，我有一次一早六點就去排排隊了，我排了這一個三小時，我本來是排第二個，排6小時，結果輪到我的時候，就已經賣光了，票都已經賣光了，所以我有，我覺得，所以我我就問那些黃牛票，那些黃牛，問他們說，問我，多了50塊人民幣想要賣我那些黃牛票，所以我覺得，我覺得公平的話呢，講到公平這件事情，這是因為有一個公平的機制去買的話，有些人付多一點錢也沒關係。</p>

81	0:48:44	0:00:22	Sandel	M	So you think it's fair to pay a higher price for the train tickets if you really want one badly and if you can afford it? ... What would you say in reply? See if... turn in face with her and see if you can persuade her of your point of view.	所以你覺得公平就是多花一點錢，火車票，如果你真的覺得一定要回家，你真的很想要的話，你又付得起的話就買的到，那就是一個公平。你怎麼回答呢？剛剛那位怎麼回答呢？來您看著他講，您看著他講，您看能不能夠說服他，說服你的論點。
82	0:49:06	0:00:43	4-F-C	M	是我覺得這個同學他說的事基於他個人的經驗，50元錢對於你來說可能它不算多，你可以支付得起，可能就是一頓飯錢，但是我想這位同學如果你生活在大陸的話，或即便是在台灣，也會有許多人很貧窮，50元錢對於他們來說的話可能是更有意義的一筆錢，所以我覺得問題是在於說這個50元錢，它這個價格如果說漲到了100，也就是說它對每個人的相對價格的價值不一樣，那麼如何你去判斷他賣給你50元錢的時候，他就是Fair的，他賣給你100元的時候他就變成不公平了，如果你如何去衡量這個標準呢？	I think she is talking about her own experience. 50 yuan maybe it's not a lot to you maybe it's just a meal to you. But maybe if you live in somewhere poor even if you live in Taiwan... even in Taiwan, a lot of students can't afford it. They're poor. They can't really afford...50 yuan means more to some other people so I think the 50 yuan you're talking about. How about you go up to 200...how about...it's a relative price. It's not an absolute price. So for 50 extra, that's fair. How about 100 yuan? Is that unfair? So how do you judge what is your standard?
83	0:49:49	0:00:13	5-F-E	M	I think that the problem in China is that you can't get the ticket through standing in a line. I was on the second one. And I still got no ticket.	我覺得中國的問題呢就是你可以，就是你可以排隊去買票嘛，我排第二個欸，我還是買不到票。
84	0:50:02	0:00:10	Sandel	M	So it's impossible to get a ticket standing in line. You're the second person in line and the tickets are already gone.	所以你要排隊根本就是買不到票嘛，你排第二個都還是買不到。
85	0:50:12	0:00:04	5-F-E	M	I wait there for three hours. And I still got no ticket.	我等了三小時還是買不到票。
86	0:50:16	0:00:09	Sandel	M	Well, now how does it happen? Did that first person, the one person ahead of you buy all the train tickets? Or do you think something else is going on?	第一個人...是不是第一個人都把所有的票都買走了呢？還是有更其他的事情？
87	0:50:25	0:00:03	5-F-E	M	It's just there so little ticket so you can't get it.	因為票實在太少了。

88	0:50:28	0:00:05	Sandel	M	I see. Alright. Maybe something else was going on with those tickets.	也許這個桌子下面還有一些暗盤交易，也許。
89	0:50:33	0:00:10	5-F-E	M	But I don't know... 50 yuan extra or 100 yuan extra. That's the market does.	我覺得五十人民幣還是一百人民幣，我覺得就是市場價嘛，就是市場會這麼做，就是市場價格嘛。
90	0:50:43	0:00:07	Sandel	M	That's the market price. Is the market price defines the just way of allocating the tickets?	就是市場價嘛，那那麼市場價格就可以決定這個正義公平的票的分配方法嗎？
91	0:50:50	0:00:10	5-F-E	M	If you find the exact price where the demand and the supply meet...	如果你要找到一個，供需都要要求要找到一個平衡嘛
92	0:51:00	0:00:18	Sandel	M	Where demand and the supply meets. In fact, you study... most of you studied economics. Those curves... they meet...supply...demands...that's the market price but the question I am asking is slightly different. Does that mean it's a fair price?	供需的要求要找到一個平衡，你們應該都有學過這個經濟學，大家都學過經濟學的這個兩條線交叉的時候，那個就是供需的交叉，是不是？那個就是市場價格，但是我問的問題是不一樣，另外一個問題，這樣就是公平的價格嗎？
93	0:51:18	0:00:05	5-F-E	M	Yeah I think the Chinese tickets are under price...	是的，我覺得中國火車票太低了，票價太低了。
94	0:51:23	0:00:37	Sandel	M	Ok, maybe so. So the price they charge at the ticket window may be under price relevant to demands. Let me ask you another... you were not ... you distinguish between the tickets to a Mayday concert and the train tickets of the Chinese New Year. Now let me offer you a third case. Do you think it would be fair to scalp tickets to a philosophy lecture?	也許吧，也許他在這個賣票窗口賣的票太低了，也許對這個不符合供需的這個需求太低了，那我再問你另外一個問題，您剛才有區分說這個五月天的票還有火車票的差別，這個返鄉的火車票，您剛剛說這兩件事不一樣，那我提第三個例子給您，你覺得公平嗎？如果是這樣看覺得不公平，就是黃牛票還是黃牛黃牛票，你覺得不公平？上哲學課來買黃牛票，您覺得公平嗎？
95	0:52:00	0:00:17	lag	M	n/a	n/a
96	0:52:17	0:01:00	4-F-C	M	事實上我是一名哲學系的同學，那如果對於我來說的話，我覺得它其實...應該我覺得不算是一個公平	Actually I'm a philosophy student. I study philosophy. So to me, personally, I think

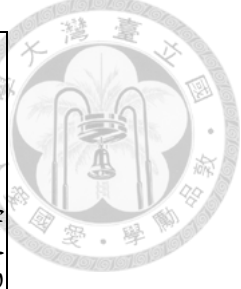
97	0:53:17	0:07:45	Sandel	F	<p>或者是不公平的問題，其實我覺得它的性質類似於五月天的票，如果說，就是有一些人不去聽五月天的演唱會他會死，比如我的室友，那如果像有一些哲學愛好者來說的話，一堂哲學課對他來說可能意味更多，所以我覺得對於他們來說價格的話可以由市場去控制就是需求和他的供給之間的關係去決定它，所以它的性質和五月天的票是一樣的，這是我的答案</p>	<p>maybe it's not really...it's not a question of being fair or unfair. I think the nature of which is a little bit like the Mayday concert. I think if some people don't go to the Mayday concert, they'll die. For example, my roommate will die if she doesn't see Mayday. Some, eh, philosophy lover, a philosophy lesson means a lot more, so for the philosophy lovers, price can be determined by the market. The supply and demand can determine the price. This is more like a Mayday concert. That's my answer to you.</p>
	0:53:17	0:07:45	Sandel	F	<p>That's what you think of philosophy? I think I might rather be like the train tickets. Let me... let me one other question for those refer him strong defender of the law of supply and demand not only just an economy principle but also an ethical principle. Let's take one other case of ticket scalping or paying to get access to get a service. Suppose you need surgery. And many people need surgery and there aren't enough qualified surgeons to schedule everyone, at least to get them earlier appointment. Is it fair that if there are tickets being sold appointment tickets for a surgeon, which happens in some places? Is there anything wrong with some people waiting on line for a long time taking the appointment ticket and then selling it to the highest bidder, someone willing to paying a lot of money to gain early access to medical care? Let's have a show of your program. Raise your... the white side of your program if you think it's fair in the case of access to the surgeon, orange if you</p>	<p>這是你認為哲學的定義就是這樣子的嗎？哲學的價格就是這樣的嗎？我想最好比較像那個火車票比較好，我的哲學課。讓我再來問另外一個問題，對於剛才才有一些維護自己供需問題的人因為它並不只是經濟的原則還是一個倫理的原則，一個道德的原則，我們來再講一下，黃牛票的事情，或者是花錢去買一個服務，如果說你需要動手術，可能有的時候大家需要動手術，但是並沒有那麼多的外科醫生能夠幫你排好所有的手術行程，譬如說要很早的做手術，這種事情比較難辦，所以是不是比較公平的是如果說有一些票，譬如說是這個掛診做手術的這個號碼也可以拿來賣的話，如果有的人在排隊，等了很久，拿到了這個看診的這個時間或者是排手術的時間，然後他拿到這個資格，他把這個機會賣給其他的願意付更多的錢的人，那那些人能夠付更多的錢來享受這個醫療的服務，那麼再一次，我們來做一個投</p>

	<p>think it's unfair. So now I see quite a few... I see a sea of orange with still quite a sprinkling of white. So there are still quite a few people who would apply the law of supply and demand to the allocation of medical care and the access to the surgeon. But as we went through the examples, the number of people who consider the market, the appropriate mechanism for distributing access to the goods changed. What does this tell us about the relation between market reasoning and moral reasoning? Well, it seems to suggest, and this came out in some of the comments: is that whether the market is an appropriate way of allocating goods depends on the characters of those goods. It seems to matter whether the goods is regarded a public good or a private good, as a basic necessity or a kind of luxury, like the concert. And in the case of medical care, access to the surgeon, I suspect the reason more people consider the market an inappropriate mechanism for allocating the access to a surgeon, must be we regard health a different kind of good from tickets to a Mayday concert, or even train tickets on Chinese New Year. Now we already have noticed we haven't resolved any of these questions but we've begun to clarify some of the ethical issue state. It seems that many people, those who change from white to orange, in the case of change do believe the appropriate way of distributing the access to the goods depends on the centrality, the moral importance, or the necessity of that good. Let's shift from ticket scalping to another use of market reasoning, cash incentive to encourage certain kinds</p>	<p>票，同樣我們用白色跟橘色，來做為贊同跟不贊同，公平與不公平的這個抉擇，請大家顯示一下...現在我看到很多人...我看到很大一片的橘色了，但是白色的也有一些人，所以，還是看的出來有很多人認為，認為這一個供需問題，供需的原則，可以應用在這一個人手術的事情上，如果我們來考慮所有的這些例子，大家認為，市場是一個對於貨物分配或者是交易的一個機制是公平的，那麼這個情況告訴我們什麼事情呢？就是市場的這個辯論、市場的理論跟倫理的道理是有什麼樣子的的一個關係呢？因為我們剛才大家做了一個評論，我們可以聽得出來，到底市場是不是一個最好的工具，來做為貨物的分配，主要是要看看這個貨品，或者是事物的本質是什麼？要看看這個事物，一個公眾的事物，或是私人的事物，就是跟公眾有關還是跟私人有關的，還是一個基本上一個人生活上的必需品，還是一種比較相對於奢侈品之類的像音樂會這一類的事物，那麼在於醫療方面，或者是說要去找到醫生來做手術的等等，我想大部分的人會認為市場，在這個方面的這個運用就是不太合適了，因為我們認為醫療是一個不同的商品；一種服務，一種事物，跟我們剛才說的音樂會，跟火車票錢，都不太一樣的事情，醫療是一個不同的事物。我們剛才還沒有解決這些問題，但是我們已經開始慢慢澄清，這些事情，好像看起來很多人，從白色或橘色選擇中間，你們相信了，在財貨的這種分配方面，有他的道德價值或者是她的必需價值的</p>
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of behavior. Many schools have a problem. Children, especially students from disadvantage backgrounds, don't do as well as they might. They may lack of motivation. They may lack of academic skills. They may not have the habits of studying hard. And so some schools in the US have actually begun experimenting with a way of trying to motivate students to get good grades, to do well on tests, to read more books. They offer cash incentives. They try this in New York and Washington DC, in Chicago. In New York they offer 50 dollars for each A, 35 dollars for each B. In Dallas, Texas, they pay young children of 8-year-old 3 dollars for each book they read. The goal is to encourage academic achievement. Some people think it may work; other people say it's a wrong way trying to motivate children. Let's imagine that you are the principal of a school and you want to motivate all of the students in your school to study harder, to achieve better grades. How many think the cash incentive is worth trying and how many find it objectionable? How many would reject the idea of the cash incentive? If you think it's worth trying, raise the white side of your program. If you think it's objectionable, the cash incentive, raise the orange part of your program. Alright, this is an interesting division of opinions. That looks about evenly divided. Let's hear first from someone who objects, someone who would reject this system of paying for good grades to read books. Why would you reject it? Yes.

這些考量。那麼我們現在從賣黃牛票，來轉換到另外一種，另外的市場的點，就是用現金來鼓勵我們做一些事情，很多學校裡面，他們都有一些問題，特別是小孩子或著是學生，他們的背景家裡的經濟不好，他們在學校也表現的不好，他們可能沒有什麼動機或是動力來學習，他們可能不想要努力學習，努力讀書，所以有的學校，特別是在美國有些城市裡面，已經開始進行一項實驗，就是要用一種方法來鼓勵學生有好的表現、好的成績，他們能夠花錢來，來鼓勵他們來讀書，在芝加哥、華盛頓 DC、在紐約，都有這樣做，在紐約 50 塊錢，一個 A，45 塊錢一個 B 的成績，在德州，他們有給二年級的學生，他們給他們兩塊錢，來讀一本書，就是能夠讓他們在學校的成績表現上能夠有好的表現，有些人認為這是行的通的，有的人認為這不是好的一種鼓勵學生的方式，那麼我們來想一想，如果你是這些學校的校長，你希望要鼓勵這些學生，希望所有的學生，都能夠好好的努力讀書，能夠有好的成績，你們有多少人會認為，用現金來鼓勵他們，是值得嘗試的呢？有些人會覺得說我不會這樣做呢？你覺得值得這樣做的，請你用白色的標誌來顯示，如果你認為不值得，用橘色。好，現在我們看到非常明確的分野，好像差不多紅，白色橘色的數量也都差不多，那麼首先我們來聽一聽反對的意見，有些人不贊成這個制度，就是用現金來鼓勵好的成績的制度，為什麼你不贊成呢？請這位，請站起來，告訴我們你的原因，花錢鼓勵學

98	1:01:02	0:00:54	6-M-C	M	<p>那我全部都用中文說，My name is 江哲偉，就是為什麼我覺得不可以用現金獎勵，來獎勵功課好的人是因為怕這樣子的話，那些，他們為什麼會讓自己功課變好的原因，為什麼去念書就是為了要得到錢，他們其實不是因為真正想要這個東西，或要得到好的學術成就才去功課好，所以如果去除掉這個誘因的話，他們就其實不會去念書了，而且為什麼我們沒有辦法挑選出真正喜歡念書的人，而好書呢？其實有人就是適合念書，有些人就是喜歡念書需要大家都喜歡念書，為什麼家都要成念書有人就是不喜歡念書，那我們就讓喜歡念書的人有這個能力的人成績好就好了啊，以上是我的看法。</p>	<p>生讀書有什麼不對呢？</p>
99	1:01:56	0:00:25	Sandel	M	<p>Alright, stay there, Zhe wei. Stay there. Who disagrees with Zhe wei and thinks this would be a policy worth trying? Alright, go ahead.</p>	<p>I think I will speak in Chinese. My name is Zhe wei. The reason why I don't agree with cash incentive is that why do they want to study harder, why do they want to study, because they want to...earn... money, not because they want to...uh... achieve academically, or want to study, for study sake, to get rid of the cash incentive, they would not study. So we can't really pick out those who actually enjoy studying. Another question is why should everyone study hard. Some people are more academically incline, some people are into other things. So let those who enjoy studying, reading, read and study. That's how I think study at least. Thank you.</p> <p>哲偉您先站著，還有沒有人...有沒有人反對呢？有沒有人反對？覺得說用金錢作為一個誘因如果來...試試看這樣子，用金錢來鼓勵？有沒有人？OK...請您來講。</p>



100	1:02:21	0:00:38	7-F-C	M	<p>所以我想請問哲偉，你是覺得那些喜歡念書的同學是因為給了獎金他就不喜歡讀書了嗎？就是我會覺得說如果因為喜歡讀書想要功課好，或者是因為別的自己的功課變得好，然後如果有一些有獎金他自然讓自己的功課好的你因為給了他現今，他可以別的想法想要功課好，他只是一種獎勵也可以用現金做別的事或者什麼的話，所以我覺得它也可以刺激更多的人來爭取功課好，所以我覺得它是一個直得嘗試的一個做法，謝謝。</p>	<p>So Zhe wei, do you think those who study hard, if you give them money would they cease to enjoy studying? I think that if they enjoy studying, and they're good at it, or for other reasons they want to study, with or without cash incentive, they would be able to achieve good academic result. But if you give them cash incentive, it's an encouragement. It will stimulate more people, encourage more people to do this. So I think I support this policy.</p>
101	1:02:59	0:01:08	Sandel	M	<p>Alright, stay there. What's your name? Su? Okay, Su, stay there. Su says it will motivate more students to study hard and as a good thing what would be wrong with that? Who else objects? Who else objects, and can say what's wrong with that? Let's see if we can bring a microphone down And remember you're trying to persuade Su. Remember the argument. What is wrong with motivating students by paying them money?</p>	<p>你叫什麼名字？素，請您留著，您可以會激勵更多的學生，這是一件好事啊，這樣有什麼錯呢？有沒有人反對的？還有沒有人反對的？可以講得出原因說這樣有什麼不對的？我們請拿一個...這一行有沒有麥克風，有沒有人來幫忙一下，傳一下這個麥克風，給這位，好了。記得，你要說服素這邊，你要說服素同學，記得他剛剛講的嘛？所以給錢，為了要激勵學生更努力的讀書，如果錢有效的話為什麼不好呢？我們不這麼做呢？</p>



102	1:04:07	0:01:04	8-F-C	M	因為其實有很多人，例如說像我，我都不想念書，可是我們家真的不好，這樣不對，不要笑，等我一下，而且就是像對如果說，因為我想念書，可是如果你給我錢，我會覺得說我好像被賄賂了，我喜歡念書其實我不是想要那個錢，那有一些會是因為我想要錢所以我來念書，其實我對這個學術一點興趣都沒有，那如果說之後可能經費的問題我沒有錢，我沒有辦法再得到錢了，那我就不念了那對於這個社會就沒有任何的益處。	Because actually there are a lot of people. For example, I don't enjoy studying maybe I come from a poor family and I'm studying because I'm from poor family. That's not... that's not. Don't laugh at me. Give me one second. For example, yes, ok, I want to study if you provide some cash incentive, so money. I feel I'm bribed. I'll feel I'm bribed. But I enjoy studying but I'm not for the money. But some people, they want the money, that's why they study, they're actually not interested in this academic stuff at all. So afterwards, if you run out of budgets, and the cash incentive ceases to be there. And I may cease to study. So that's for the society it's not beneficial to the society.
103	1:05:11	0:00:39	Sandel	M	Alright, and what's your name? Ting-wen? Ting-wen says it's a form of bribery. It's a form of bribery. She would, you would feel bribed. And when the money runs out, or when the student is no longer in school that pays money, if they're only studying to make money, they'll stop studying. They've been bribed. Is it a bribe?	您叫什麼名字？廷文，廷文，Ting-wen，廷文您剛剛說這是賄賂嘛，這是一種賄賂，這是賄賂的形式，你會感覺被賄賂到了，所以到後來沒有錢了，或者是這個學生她轉學了，另外一家學校沒有給錢鼓勵的，他如果只是为了賺錢而讀書的話，他之後可能就會不要再讀書了，因為是賄賂啊，賄賂，你覺得是賄賂嗎？
104	1:05:50	0:00:32	7-F-C	M	不，我會覺得，我覺得剛才同學舉的例子說，啊，我是真的對學術一點都不感興趣，那麼我請問為什麼你還要再研究學術，對，你也會覺得為了錢然後去學校，那麼我覺得你可以去換一個也許是脫離學校，可能自己去做一些自己感興趣的有興趣的會更適合你的人生發展，那也可能是為了改善你的生活。	I think that example that someone who's not interested in academic incline at all. My question to you is why would anybody pursue academically. So you think it's about money, right? So I think you can change... you can go and pursue your interest out of institutional study. Maybe to improve your life but you

105	1:06:22	0:01:03	Sandel	M	<p>Here is what I want to get that. Why is it a bribe? A bribe is improper use of money, right? If you bribe an official to do something, to serve your interest, then it's a kind of illicit unethical act, so bribery suggests an improper use of money. Now sometimes it means an illegal use. But here we're imagining that the law permits the cash incentive and yet it still seems to some a case of bribery. Why is that? Who agrees that this is a case of bribery and can explain why they object? What exactly is the objection?</p>	<p>我這邊再講一個重點，為什麼這是一種賄賂呢？賄賂是一種錯誤使用金錢的方式，不是嗎？如果你去賄賂官員，叫他們幫你做一些事情，幫你做一些個人的事情，這種事就是一種非法的、不道德、不倫理的一種行為，所以賄賂它的意義就是一種錢的不當的使用，甚至有人是違法的使用，那我們現在來假設說這個法律... 這個並沒有違法，獎勵學生並沒有違法，但是感覺起來，有些人還是感覺像是賄賂，為什麼會有這種賄賂的感覺？有沒有人同意覺得這是一種賄賂的... 像是賄賂，可以解釋你為什麼反對，到底反對的原因是什麼？</p>
106	1:07:25	0:00:19	9-M-C	M	<p>我同意這是一種賄賂以金錢的方式，但是如果換個角度想，如果我是一個真的很喜歡讀書的學生，然後何不妨用一個類似讀書禮券的方式，以讀書禮券代替金錢的方式來處理，這樣子。</p>	<p>I agree it's a form of bribery through cash incentive. But if you turn around, if I were students who were interested in studying, maybe you could give my coupon, or voucher, book vouchers,</p>
107	1:07:44	0:00:26	Sandel	M	<p>Book vouchers. And that's an interesting suggestion. You would encourage... if you were the principal of the school, and you want to encourage these kids to read more books, you would not give them cash. You would give them book vouchers. Why would that be a better way, do you think of motivating them?</p>	<p>所以圖書禮券，您說，欸這個建議也很有趣喔，因為你會去鼓勵，如果你是校長的話你要鼓勵你的學生，要多讀一點書，你不要給他們現金，你給他的是圖書禮券，為什麼圖書禮券會更好呢？激勵學生這是一種更好的方式，你覺得是為什麼呢？</p>

108	1:08:10	0:00:24	9-M-C	M	因為如果是純粹金錢的話就會有一種，純粹物質的感覺，然後就會讓整個讀書這件事情感變成是一種利益的交換，我給你錢讓你讀書。	Because if you just give them cash, it feels so purely materialistic. It feels so materialistic. And it sort of... my studying, it feels like exchange of money for studying, feel like a... 可就是這樣啊！你本來就是這樣子啊！就是賺錢，這有什麼不好呢？這有什麼不好呢？
109	1:08:34	0:00:07	Sandel	M	But that's what it is. Exchange money for studying. Why is that bad?	
110	1:08:41	0:00:15	9-M-C	M	如果我喜歡讀書的話讀書禮券如果可以純粹用在買書的方面，我覺得這是一件比較稍微道德上說得過去的事情。	If I enjoy studying, then book vouchers would be... I can use that for books again, more books, so I think that's a little bit more ethical, more ethically permissible.
111	1:08:56	0:00:11	Sandel	M	It seems more ethically permissible somehow to reward the students with book vouchers than with money. And what's your name?	所以道德上比較說得過去，要送圖書禮券而不要送金錢...Ethan, Ethan 你好，他說給圖書禮券會比較好，比給現金要好。
112	1:09:07	0:00:09	9-M-C	M	Ethan, 盧奕辰, my English name is Ethan	Ethan, he just said.
113	1:09:16	0:06:24	Sandel	M	So Ethan has given us his idea of book vouchers. Let me say why I think it is taken this debate. First of all, I want to thank all of you who have expressed your views about paying children to read. The objection to paying children to read books seems to be, or to get good grades to study hard, seems to be that the money teaches a certain lesson. The money doesn't only provide incentive but it also conveys a certain attitude towards learning. That's the worry of those who object, if I hear you correctly. And those who object seem to feel that the cash incentive applied to learning, to reading, to studying, may convey the attitude toward learning and reading is a job of pay. And if it's only a job of pay, and if that's what we would teach the children, the students, then even they	他說給圖書禮券會比較好，比給現金要好，那讓我講一下我覺得說我真正在討論的癥結在哪裡，首先我要感謝大家剛才才有表達出自己意見的這些人，講說我們不應該獎勵學生，用現金來獎勵學生，那反對的聲音，付錢讓學生多讀一點書的反對聲浪，或者說讓他們更努力讀書，考試成績高一點，感覺最大的反對聲浪來自於，因為錢教導了我們一課，錢不只是給他們一種誘因而已，而且它傳達的一種對學習的態度，這就是我們擔心的問題，反對的人，如果我聽大家聽的對的話，大家反對的原因是這樣子，你們的感覺是，反對的人，覺得說現金的誘因，如果把它放在學習上或者是讀書上，或者是求學的話，有可能它傳達的是一種態度，讀書學

did read more books for the money, even if they did study harder to get better grades, motivated by the incentive, the large purpose of education would be diminished or eroded or corrupted or crowded out by the cash incentive. That's we're worrying about bribery. And that's why Ethan suggests that, I assume, that a better way of motivating them is payment in kinds so does the vouchers to buy a book. Because the vouchers to buy a book is an expression of the aim of conveying the love of reading rather than teaching that reading is a chore, a job that should be done for pay. I should tell you what happened in these experiments. Do you want to know? Paying kids to get good grades did not seem to increase good grades. Paying children to read books actually get the children to read more books. It also led them to read shorter books. But the larger question is the one that emerges in this discussion. What will happen to these students in a long run? What would happen when the money stops? Now it's possible that the money will motivate them to begin reading and then they will come to love reading for its own sake in which case when the money stops they will carry on reading. But it could also happen... this seems to be the fear, the worry, that the lesson they will learn is that reading and studying is a chore that you should only do if you're paid. And if that's the lesson that starts then the market of incentive would have crowded out on non-market-value worth carrying about, namely the love of learning for its own sake. Now I want to ask one more thing about

習的態度就是為了要去賺錢，如果只是為了賺錢的工作的話，我們這樣子去教我們的小孩，教我們多的學生，就算他們多讀一點書，為了錢多讀了一點書，就算他們多努力讀書，成績有提升的話，也就是因為這個誘因所造成的努力，但是更大的目的，教育的更大的目的是什麼，可能會被傷害到，會被侵蝕掉，會被腐化掉，或者會被排擠掉，金錢的誘因而排擠掉，這就是我們擔心賄賂的最大的擔心，就是剛才 Ethan 建議的，我假設你剛剛這樣子說，有更好的激勵學生的方法，也就是用另外一種方式，比如說像是圖書禮券，另外的獎勵，因為圖書禮券它就是書，其實他表達的就是說熱愛讀書這件事，而不只是教他們說而不只是教他們說讀書是一種很累的工作，然後做了是為了賺錢，所以我應該跟大家講一下說這些實驗，你們要知道後來這些實驗怎麼了？付錢給小朋友提升他們的成績，沒有成功，似乎沒有很大的成效，給他們錢讓他們多讀一些書，有讓他們讀更多的書，而且讓他們讀更薄的書，但是大的問題是，也就是說大家討論中所浮現出來的一個問題就是，這些學生在長期來講，會怎麼樣呢？當最後沒有錢了的話，會怎麼樣呢？有可能，錢一開始激勵了他們讀書，然後漸漸地慢慢的就愛上了閱讀這件事，閱讀就是為了閱讀，沒有錢的時候還是會繼續閱讀，但是也有可能，你們的恐懼你們的擔心，你們的憂慮就是他們學到的這一課，他們學到的信息是，讀書閱讀是一種工作，很累的工作，是為了錢去做

cash incentive for good grades. I want to see again all of those who find it objectionable, raise your orange cards if you still find it objectionable. Paying kids cash for grades. And hold up. While you're holding up your orange cards... lower you cards. I meant to know how many of you were paid by your parents for good grades or for studying hard. Why don't we do it this way: raise the white card if anyone here was paid by his or her parents for studying or for getting good grades. White cards. Look at that. Wow. Look at that. That's pretty striking. So you speak for experience. Actually when I was in high school, I never got paid for grades or for reading books. But I was living in Los Angeles, that's right went to high school, and the Los Angeles Dodgers Baseball team... no. Yes... Dodgers gave free tickets to students in Los Angeles high school who had good grades and so a lot of my friends and I got to a lot of Dodgers' games. Though we didn't really consider it a bribe, we just thought it a nice side benefit. Now what the case of paying cash for good grades, for reading books, brings out is a striking feature of market values. Economists often assume market exchanges won't change the characters of goods themselves, what worries a lot of you about the cash for good grades or studying is that a financial payment may actually change the way we look at certain activities. Let me give you a very different kind of example, and tell you a true story.

的事情，那如果是這樣子的話，那麼市場的事，那如果這把對於讀書的熱愛排擠掉，這個誘因，就講一下跟這個現金誘因而來鼓勵學生，我要再看一次反對的人，橘色的，反對的人請你們舉橘色的，再投票一次，如果要給學生給他們獎勵，用金錢來獎勵他們讀書，請舉起你們橘色這面，我很有興趣想要知道一件事就是，這邊在座各位你們的父母之前，小時候曾經有給你錢讓你這個考試考好有錢的，如果有舉白色的，如果曾經有收過父母的錢，或者成績進步考試考好，有收過父母的請舉白色，曾經有收過父母錢的請舉白色，看看，你們看看，真的是很讓人吃驚啊，所以你們是依據個人經驗來講的嘛，其實呢當我在高中的時候，我從來沒有收過錢，或者是讀書看看書都沒有拿過錢，但是我住在LA洛杉磯，道奇棒球隊他當時有送免費票，送洛杉磯的高中學生，如果成績的話就可以拿到他們的免費票，所以我們很多的朋友，我們就看了很多道奇隊的比賽，當時我們的感覺不像是賄賂，沒有這種賄賂的感覺啦，我們覺得就是一個不錯的福利，還不錯的一個福利，那麼付現金讓他們閱讀所帶出的問題，也就是市場價值的一個很重要的問題，經濟學家們常常會假設說，市場的交流他不改變，財貨本身的本質，並不會改變財貨的本質，但是讓你們大家很擔心的一件事就是，剛才付學生讀書的事情，也就是說給錢的會可能我們看某件事情的態度，這種看法，我再給大家另外一個真實的故事，真實的例子。

114	1:15:40	0:02:50	Sandel	F	<p>In Switzerland, they were trying to decide some years back, how to... where to locate a nuclear waste site. No community wants one in its backyard. Under the law of Switzerland, the local community has to approve the nuclear waste site. There was a small town in the mountains of Switzerland that seemed to be geologically the safest place. And so a survey was done of the residents of the town before the final decision was made. And the residents were asked, if the parliament chooses your town for the nuclear waste site, would you vote to approve? Despite the risk, 51% said yes, they would approve. Then the economist surveyors asked them a second question. They improved the offer. They said suppose parliament chooses your town for the nuclear waste site and offers to pay each resident of the town a yearly amount of money in compensation for the risk. Up to eight thousand dollars a year per person. Then would you be willing to accept? Now how many, What percentage do you think said yes? What would you guess? Just call it out. 80%? What do you think? 80%? 90%? 100%? 30%? This is like an auction. The number fell from 51% to 25%. Now so those who said 30 were on the right track. From the standpoint of standard economic reasoning, this is a paradox, because according to the law of supply and demand, when you offer to pay people to do something, typically more people are willing to do that thing, not fewer. So what do you think explains the fact that the number willing to accept the nuclear waste site in their community fell in half when they were offered</p>
	<p>在瑞士，麼樣來把他們的核廢料來做為處理他們要找一個地方，沒有一個社區希望在自己的家的背後就放這些核廢料，所以在法律的規定之下，這些社區必須要決定，他們是不是要接受這些核廢料，所以在山區裡有一個瑞士的小鎮，他們認為在地理上這是最好的，最安全的核廢料的放置場所，所以做了一些調查之後，這些，社區裡面的人做了一些調查，然後他們就做了一個決定 [long pause] 如果說，他們告訴這些人說，如果是國會決定要用你們這個地方做核廢料的掩埋場，你們願不願意接受，結果有百分之五十一的住戶說可以，我們可以接受，然後，經濟學家他們又問他們一個問題說，如果我們來加強這些，好一點的方案，如果說選擇你們的地方作為核廢料的放置處，而且付你們錢，每一個人都可以付你們錢做補償 [long pause] 每一個人每一年都可以收到八千美元左右的錢做為補償，你們覺得，你們認為他們有多少人會贊成他們這個，接受這個核廢料的掩埋場，請你們說出來，你們認為為八十 百分之八十嗎，你們其他的人認為是多少，有多少當地的住民會贊同這個他們安放核廢料，百分之九十，百分之一百，百分之三十，好像我們在做拍賣一樣啦 大家都在叫價，結果這個百分比，從，百分之五十一降到百分之二十五，所以剛才有人說百分之三十，你是猜對了，接近了，所以從，基本上，基本的這個經濟學的辯論來講，這是一個非常吊詭的事情，因為如果說你給更多的獎勵的時候，特別是，你給更多</p>				

115	1:18:30	0:00:49	10-M-C	M	<p>我覺得如果公平地把錢跟道德都做為一個可以對等的單位的話，那只能說，付出來的錢，讓他們不足以覺得足夠來買他們的道德感，如果今天把金額提高到一定高，甚至高到比他們的年收入，甚至十年收入都更高的時候，說不定他們認為他們的道德就可以被買走了。如果說今天提出來的金額大到他們可能一百年都賺不來，但是他們仍然不願意去賣他們的這種權利的話，我只能說瑞士這個國家真的非常成功，因為他們的道德感始終不能被金錢替代。這就是我的感覺，謝謝。</p>	<p>的人應該要願意得到更多的獎勵才對，怎麼會現在變少了呢 所以...現在...這些...接受...核廢...料在他們家裡的時候，為什麼他們會...他們的意願會降低了呢？為什麼你給他錢，他意願反而會降低呢，請你告訴我的意見。</p>
116	1:19:19	0:00:16	Sandel	M	<p>Thanks, you like them. Alright. That's good. That's good. Any other explanations? Yes.</p>	<p>I think if we look at money and ethical issues and we try to measure them in a more equal way. I think it's because the amount of money paid is not enough for the sense of their morality. If you raise the cash incentive or their yearly income, if you pay them a lot, a lot of money, maybe they can be bought. So if the amount is so great, maybe it's like a hundred year of pay, and they are still unwilling to sell it out their... then all I can say then Swiss people are very ethical. They are morally really robust. That's all I can say. That's what I feel.</p>
117	1:19:35	0:00:15	11-F-C	M	<p>其實我要講的事情，我怎麼想到的跟他不太一樣，我要講的事情就是，如果你今天，如果我是當地居民的的話，那你今天付我錢，那我會覺得有鬼，對，就是一定是很危險，你才覺得你要 compensate 這件事情。</p>	<p>很好，這個回答很好，還有沒有其他的解釋呢？那一位。</p> <p>Actually, I think I've got a different point of view. Umm...If I were the local resident, and you paid me, I will feel there's something suspicious. There's something fishy going on. It must be super dangerous and that's why you are compensating me.</p>
118	1:19:50	0:00:10	Sandel	M	<p>I see. I see.</p>	<p>n/a</p>

119	1:20:00	0:03:00	Sandel	M	<p>That's good. That's good. So we have two... Thank you for that. So we have two possible explanations. The one we just heard says: When I'm not being paid, I say yes, I'm willing to accept. Then someone offers me a lot of money, and I think to myself, this must be really riskier than I thought. They're willing to pay me money for it. But they tested that hypothesis. And it turns out the estimate of the risk before and after the financial offer, the estimate of the risk was about the same among the respondents. So although that is a plausible answer, it turns out the evaluation of the risk was about the same, which suggests, the earlier hypothesis. It seems that when they were asked to accept without payment, 51% said yes out of a sense of civic duty, civic responsibility. They were willing to make a sacrifice for the sake of the common good. They figure the community as a whole needs the energy, which has to go somewhere, and this is the safest place, even though it poses a risk to us, we are willing to do it for the sake of the common good. But then when they were offered money, though standard economic reasoning would suggest the money should simply add to the incentive. The monetary incentive actually drove out the sense of civic responsibility because it changed the meaning of the question. What first seemed to be a matter of civic duty, civic virtue now became a financial transaction. People were not willing to be bought out. In fact, they asked people who changed their mind. Why do you change your mind? And they say we don't want to be bribed. Back to the idea of a</p>	<p>很好，這個回答也很不錯，很感謝您這樣的回答，有兩個可能的解釋，我們剛才聽的第一個人講的，當我沒有，沒有錢拿，我說，好，我接受，但有人給我很多錢，那我覺得說 eh 這個應該是我想像的還要更危險，你付我錢，代表一定更危險。但是他們有去試驗這樣子的一個假設，您剛才這個假設他們有去試過，其實他們剛才那個在之前跟之後，就是給錢之前跟給錢之後，其實他們這個風險其實是不多，風險，他們感覺的風險其實是不多。所以是有可能，你剛才講那樣有可能，所以去評估，風險的評估是差不多的，那樣子它就意味著，剛才第一個人講的這個假設，當他們在，更早的假設，如果說 eh 沒有錢的話你們願不願意去接受，百分之五十一的人他們因為公民責任，公民責任，公民義務他們願意去犧牲自己，然後來成就大我，為了整個社區，整個國家，他們需要這樣子的核能，核廢料總要找個地方埋，即使是有這樣子的一個危險，我們還是願意，因為我們願意犧牲小我，完成大我，為了更大的利益，但是一旦給他們錢之後，這個一般標準的經濟的邏輯，應該是這個，錢應該會讓他誘因更大啊，可是呢，反而這個金錢的誘因把他排擠掉了，他的這個公民責任，因為一開始問的是公民道德，公民義務的這樣子的一個問題，現在就變成一個金錢上的交易了，因為很多人不願意被收買，他們問了很多人，問他們，問很多人說，你們怎麼改變心意了，因為他們說我們不想</p>
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	<p>bribe. Why was it a bribe? They are willing to make a sacrifice for the sake of the common good. But they were not willing to sell out the safety of themselves and their families simply for a monetary payment. So here's another example where the cash incentive which would seem to increase the willingness to perform a certain act has the opposite effect and the way it has the opposite effect is by driving out, in this case, the sense of the common good, the sense of shared responsibility.</p>	<p>要被收買，就像剛才，那位講的，不願意被收買，為什麼這是一個賄賂呢，因為他們願意為了公眾利益而犧牲自己，但是他們不願意，賣出自己，讓自己家人的或者是個人，個人可能遭受危險，是為了錢而讓自己遭受到這個危機。所以金錢的誘因本來是要提升到這件事情的意願，反而他最後的結果是相反的，反而把他推出去了，把他排擠出去了，也就是為了大我，為了共同的這個責任所願意做出的犧牲。再給大家舉另外一個例子。</p>
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120	1:23:00	0:02:11	Sandel	F	<p>Once there's an example. In Israel every year, high school students take time to gather funds, collect funds for charitable causes, donation day they call it. One year they did an experiment, they divided the students into three groups. The first group, they gave it a short speech about the importance of the charitable causes and sent them out to collect the funds. The second group received the same speech, but was also offered a 1% commission on the funds they collected. The third group was given the motivational speech and offered a 10% commission on all the funds they raised that day. Which of the three groups do you think raised the most money? What do you think? The third? 10% commission is pretty good. Some people say the first. Actually it was the first. The group that was not paid anything raised more than the other two groups. Now it is true that the group offered 10% raised more than the group offered 1%. So the cash incentive, the market mechanism did operate. But the group that was not paid any commission raised more even than those were paid 10%. Now here again. This is a paradox from the standpoint of the standard economic reasoning. Who has an explanation? What's going on? How do you explain this? Anyone? Over toward this side. Stand up. Yes. Go ahead.</p>	<p>以前高中的學生會花一些時間去募款，為一些慈善的事情來做募款，他們有特別選一天來做這件事。有一次他們做了一個試驗，他們把這些學生分成三個組織，三個小組，有一小組，他們告訴這個小組這個活動的重意義，然後請他們出去募款。第二個小組，他們也聽到了這個演講，但是每個人可以收到這個募款的百分之十做為獎勵，第三個小組呢，他們當然也收到了這個鼓勵的演講，但是他們收到的鼓勵金更高了，就是整個募款的百分之十做為獎勵，你認為這三個小組中，哪一個小組能夠募到最多的錢，你認為？第三組嗎？百分之四，百分之十，對不起。有人說第一小組。事實上，事實上，真的是第一小組，完全是沒有收費地去募款的這個小組，他們募到的款最多。確實如此，在這個收到百分之十的這個獎勵金的這個小組比收到百分之十的小組是多一點，所以市場機制確實是有他的一定功能跟成效的，但是沒有收到任何獎勵金的小組，卻比那個收到百分之十的獎勵金的小組募到的款更多，所以這又是一個弔詭的地方。如果我們用一個基本的、基礎的經濟理論來看的話，這是不合理的，那麼大家有什麼解釋呢，怎麼來解釋這樣一個情形呢？是不是有人可以來給我們講一下？這邊，好，請你站起來，請說，我們會把麥克風遞給你。</p>
121	1:25:11	0:00:22	12-F-C	M	<p>喂，就是那個如果他沒有拿錢的話，就是去募款沒有拿錢的話，他會覺得自己有義務做到最好，然後如果他領了錢的話，他可能可以怠惰，因為一部分的錢是他的，所以他怠惰的時候對於那個活動本身</p>	<p>If the person did not receive any cash when they go out and try to get funding, they feel, the person will feel obligated or obliged to do his or her best. But if you receive the cash,</p>

122	1:25:33	0:00:49	Sandel	M	<p>的本分就沒有那麼多，對。謝謝。</p> <p>So the obligation somehow, the sense of obligation for the cause is somehow diminished when money enters the picture. In this way, it's... I do think this is what's happening. Here again, as with the Swiss vote, it seems that with a higher motivation, observing that the public goods is present, to introduce money runs the risk of driving it out. Well, I wanna put to you one other kind of question about the role of markets.</p>	<p>you might get lazy because you only own part of the money, you only get part of the income. You feel less obligated. That's a sense of the ownership of the event.</p> <p>所以這種責任感，做事責任感，這種某個這種有意義的事情的責任感，當錢進入這種事情的時候，就把這種責任感把他推擠掉了。是，我同意你這樣講 就像我剛才講到的，瑞士的這個投票，他們的投票情形是一樣，我感覺上好像更大的這個動機，動機要犧牲小我完成大我的這個動機更大，但是你一把錢拿進來以後，就把這個更高的價值排擠掉了，我再給大家另外一種問題。</p>
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123	1:26:22	0:02:18	Sandel	F	<p>A question that has to do with the role of market power. Part of the appeal of market reasoning is that it seems an alternative way of allocating goods, an alternative way to the way of power. We sometimes think that when government decides, that's the exercise of power; when markets decide, that's just individuals choosing to exchange money for goods, money for services. I want to ask. Imagine that you live in a society with a lot of small shopkeepers, small shops, Zahuodian. And then gradually overtime, 7-11 comes along and creates more and more stores, and pretty soon, there are great many 7-11s, and fewer and fewer Zahuodian. How many think that this is, that this change is a good thing? How many of you find this change troubling or objectionable? Raise your white program if you think it's a good thing and your orange program if you think it's objectionable, troubling. [pause] Here it looks like...although another pretty even division, now I think this time I see more white than orange. But it's a pretty even division. Why? Who can tell us, someone who is bothered by it. No, let's start with the white. Someone who thinks it's a good development. What would be your reason? Yes, in the front row.</p>	<p>現在我們在另外一種市場的角色情形來討論一下。就是，一般來講，市場的論點吸引人之原因就是能夠分配財貨 [long pause] 能夠讓他有一些權力。譬如說政府會利用這種市場機制來行使它的能力 [long pause] 譬如說我們來說，用來金錢來換取服務來換取其他的貨品。讓我們來想像一下，你活在一個社會裡面有很多小的雜貨店之類的啊，雜貨店，就是他所說的雜貨店，我們的中文，雜貨店，然後過了一段時間，結果便利商店就開始出現了 7-11，然後有更多的人，更多的便利商店出現，很快地，那麼，到處充斥著 7-11，那麼雜貨店越來越少了。你們認為，這種改變是好事呢還是壞事呢？有些人，認為，這個，你們認為這樣的一個改變會覺得很困擾呢，還是你覺得它是好事？白色代表你認為是好事，橘色代表認為你覺得有點困擾，不喜歡 [pause]。現在看起來好像差不多，橘色白色都差不多，但是白色的好像多一點點。但是，差不多的情況，那麼你們覺得有什麼事情困擾你，你們認為這樣的發展是好的現象，你的理由是什麼？好，請你，第一排的這位 [pause]。</p>
124	1:28:40	0:00:20	13-F-E	M	<p>Hello, my name is Ann. I'm a USC alumni. I'm very grateful I can be here. So to answer your question. I think most of us have seen the movie "You've Got the Mail", there was a very old small bookshop. And then, you know, it got disappear because there is a bookstore....a book chain store around the corner.</p>	<p>你好，我今天很高興來到這邊，我的名字叫 Ann。回答您剛才的問題，我覺得多半的人都有看過電影，就是那個 You got mail 這個電影，電影中有一個小店</p>

125	1:29:00	0:00:01	Sandel	M	Right.	n/a
126	1:29:01	0:00:03	13-F-E	M	By Tom Hanks, right?	就是休葛蘭主演，湯姆漢克斯主演的那個電影。
127	1:29:04	0:00:02	Sandel	M	I'm sorry. What's the name of the movie?	你說的是哪一片？
128	1:29:06	0:00:02	13-F-E	M	You've Got the Mail.	You've got mail
129	1:29:08	0:00:03	Sandel	M	What is it?	n/a
130	1:29:11	0:00:02	13-F-E	M	By Meg Ryan and Tom Hanks.	梅格萊恩跟湯姆漢克。
131	1:29:13	0:00:09	Sandel	M	Okay, so it's a small bookstore is driven out of business by a big chain bookstore.	就講到了小書店被大的連鎖書店吃掉的。
132	1:29:22	0:00:02	13-F-E	M	So I think it's pretty similar to your question.	我覺得你問的問題很像。
133	1:29:24	0:00:01	Sandel	M	It is similar.	n/a
134	1:29:25	0:00:57	13-F-E	M	When you call Zahuodian and 7-11, right? I think when we talk about this question, we have to think one question first. What kind of market we are talking about actually? I would like to go back few questions previously like your medical needs compared to all other examples you gave us previously. I think they are different actually because for medical needs, for all the hospitals, their goals are not supposed to be making money. However, if we are talking about the business, when it comes to business, for example, if I'm running the Coca Cola company, of course all I do is about making money, make a fortune. So when it comes to business, it's market driven, I think. But when it comes to, like, medical needs or medical suppliers, I think it's another story.	雜貨店跟 7-11 這個論戰，我們先要想的一個問題就是我們講的是哪一種市場，我，回到前面幾個問題，之前譬如說醫療的問題，還有，我覺得都不太一樣，因為醫療的需要，譬如說醫院，他們的目的不是要獲利，不是要賺錢，但是如果我們講的是要做生意，譬如說我開的是，我是這個可口可樂的公司，我當然就是要賺錢，我當然是要賺很多錢，所以講到了做生意 一定是市場導向的，所以講到了醫療需求，醫療器材的提供，我覺得這是兩碼子事。
135	1:30:22	0:01:30	Sandel	M	Okay, that's good. Stay there. So you are not troubled when the Zahuodian is driven out by the 7-11 or when the small bookstore is driven out by the chain	所以你覺得如果雜貨店被 7-11 漸漸侵蝕掉了，或說小書店被大書店排擠掉了，或者說，亞馬遜網路書店 你對這點沒有問題，

136	1:31:52	0:00:58	14-M-C	M	<p>bookstore or by Amazon or, is it an equivalence? That's progress that stores coming in and offering more the customers wanted at lower price perhaps? That's economic efficiency? And that's different from the medical cases. And the reason it's different is the purpose of a shop or a bookstore. These are commercial enterprises. Hospitals do not exist for the sake of money either profits. Whereas stores, shops do. That's what business is, to make money. And so that's the basis of the distinction. That's very good and it helps with connection with our earlier cases. What's your name again? Ann, okay. Stay there Ann. I wanna listen to someone who disagrees with Ann. And who does find it troubling if the Zahuodian is driven out by 7-11 or the small bookstore is driven out by the chain store? Yes, go ahead. With the glasses. Yes, go ahead.</p> <p>好 professor 你好，我是念經濟系的，但是在我們的經濟系來說的話，就是我們經濟學來說的話，有那個競爭或是那個不競爭的市場，就是雜貨店被大集團取代以後，就是我們那個做為消費者來說，就是少了一個選擇，少了一個選擇的話那個，那個大集團如果他的服務或產品變得不太好的話，我們就是沒了其他的選擇，但是如果我們還有很多很多的話，我們去消費的話，A 那個雜貨店不是很好的話，我們還可以去 B 那個雜貨店，可以去 C 那個雜貨店去消費的，所以我覺得那個雜貨店損失比便利店好很多。</p>	<p>這個就是進步嘛。那也就是說，新的店進來，以更低的價格提供顧客更想要的東西，那樣就是經濟上更有效率，那這個跟醫療，跟，它之所以不一樣的原因，也就是說店的目的，或者說書店的目的，這些都是商業的個體、商業的企業、那麼醫院不是在那邊為了要賺錢或者獲利，但是商店的目的就是要賺錢，這就是商業嘛，做生意就是這樣，就是為了要賺錢。所以，這是你講的這兩點，你講得非常的好，跟之前的問題也有連結。你叫什麼名字 Ann，請你留在那邊，我要再聽另外一個人，誰不同意 Ann 講的，覺得說如果雜貨店都被 7-11 這個吞掉或漸漸消失了，因為 7-11 的出現，或小書店被大書店，漸漸地這個被排擠掉了。戴眼鏡的那位先生。</p>
					<p>I study economics, professor. But in my school, in my economic school... Uh, when I study economy, competition. And there is competitive market and non-competitive market. So grocery gets phased out by larger corporations or franchise 7-11. But for consumers, you have fewer choices. And large corporations if their services or their products. If the quality diminishes, if the quality goes down, then we have no other choice. But if we still many many different little grocery stores everywhere. Number one, if the grocery doesn't provide good service, we can go to different grocery store, another grocery store.</p>	

							So more choices. In that, I think well, grocery shops is better than 7-11.
137	1:32:50	0:00:23	Sandel	M	Alright, Preserving the small shops preserves choice, and the risk is that the 7-11 or the big chain bookstore will achieve monopoly and then raise prices and reduce choice, right? That's the economic argument against the chain store, against the 7-11. What's your name? Tell us your name	所以你如果保留那些小店的話，或者那些大的連鎖書店，他們如果獨霸市場的話，那麼價格就會提升，那你的選擇就會越來越低了，對不對，這是經濟學的論點。你反對7-11的這個道理。你的名字叫什麼？請講，請講出你的名字，你的名字。	
138	1:33:13	0:00:02	14-M-C	M	中文還是英文嗎	n/a	
139	1:33:15	0:00:05	Interpret er	M	n/a	都可以都可以。	
140	1:33:20	0:00:04	14-M-C	M	Steven.	Steven. That's his name, Steven.	
141	1:33:24	0:00:11	Sandel	M	Steven you are trying to make it easy for me. Steven you are trying to make it easy for me. Alright, Amy what do you reply to the economic argument about monopoly, about choice, preserving choice?	謝謝你 Steven 你講英文名字這樣我比較好記得。Amy 你會怎麼講呢？你對 Steven 剛才講出了獨霸市場，然後壟斷市場？	
142	1:33:35	0:00:01	13-F-E	M	My name is Ann.	n/a	
143	1:33:36	0:00:09	Sandel	M	Ann, I'm sorry. I have trouble with Angelo American names.	不好意思，我講錯，Ann，有時候我會記不得，英文的反而我會記不得。	
144	1:33:45	0:00:31	13-F-E	M	I think it's the same situation to the big groups. You know, if they raise the price unreasonably, eventually they will be eliminated by the consumers. For example, you said if I find 7-11 is not good, then I still can go to Family Mart, OK, something like that. Same situation with the small store.	我覺得情況是一樣的，大集團，如果他們大的團體，如果他們漲價的話，如果不合理的漲價，就會被消滅掉啊，因為消費者會把他們排除掉，因為如果我覺得7-11不好的話，那我可以去，去全家，我也可以去OK便利商店，別家的便利商店啊。同樣的情況，其實跟小店是一樣的情形，所以您說的，如果	

145	1:34:16	0:00:47	Sandel	M	<p>So there are still consumers if the strictly economic objection you think can be met by consumers exercising their choice and going to another store. Is there someone...so we had an exchange here about economic arguments for and against the 7-11 versus the Zahuodian. Is there someone who objects, who is troubled by the big operations crowding out the small ones on ethical grounds? Go ahead.</p> <p>大家好。我叫李安。然後我覺得那個大集團進入那個城鎮。然後把小資本的那個雜貨店取代掉是很不合理的。因為如果真的資本集中到商店，然後商店不會把他們的資本回饋到整個社區之中，而資本會流出整個社區之外，對於整個小城鎮的整體經濟是會有影響的，可是如果是雜貨店的話，我到雜貨店消費，可能這雜貨店的老闆也會來我的店消費。這是一個循環，對整個城鎮的經濟是好的，可是如果大集團進來，可能會對這個整體經濟會有影響，甚至很多居民都因此無法生存，這是我的答案，謝謝。</p>	<p>您剛剛講說經濟上的論點，還是可以如果，可以讓消費者自由選擇，還是可以去別家消費，還是可以啊。</p>
146	1:35:03	0:00:51	15-M-C	M	<p>Hello, my name s Ang Lee. Ang Lee. I think for large corporations entering little towns and trying to kill the little grocery stores is not reasonable. Because all the money is concentrated and large corporations will not contribute back to the community so the capital, the cash will just get drained out of the town. If I go to a grocery store and the shop owner will come to my shop too if I live in the same town, that would be a circulation for the economy of the town. The large cooperation will affect the economy maybe because a lot of the residents lose jobs.</p>	<p>好，我們這邊有兩個人，我們是在經濟學上在爭論，對正反兩面的爭論。那有沒有人就是 7-11 對戰雜貨店的這一個討論，有沒有人反對，就是反對，剛剛就是大集團，大的企業把小的店漸漸，漸漸地讓他們都消失，有沒有以道德的原因、道德的原則而反對的人呢？[long pause] 你的論點是什麼？</p>



147	1:35:54	0:00:55	Sandel	F	So this is a concern about the distributive effect that the large company may take capital and jobs out of the local community. I wanna hear someone focusing on the...any other ethical argument? Intrinsicly ethical objections especially thinking about Ann's bookstore example. Is there anything lost, what if anything is lost if a chain store, a bookstore crowds out, drives out small book shops? Oh, alright, way back there in the balcony. Go ahead.	所以，大家看到了一些分配方面的效果，就是大的公司，會，把當地或者地區的工作機會或者其他經濟效益都帶走的另外一種情況。我現在希望聽到對於道德本質上的一些，這種論點就是關於 Ann 所提出來的，她的這個關於書店的問題，如果說是連鎖商店或者是書店，或許是排擠了一些小的書店的這種情況 有沒有一些其它的論點？好，很遠的那個地方，在上一層看台的地方，請說。
148	1:36:49	0:00:56	16-F-E	F	Hi, finally I'm not a student so far I'm the only one who is speaking here. Um, my name is Grace. And I look at...actually I don't care who runs it, the business as long as it's a fair game with justice. Because for a large cooperation can open stores by annex and annex. And I believe there is a, should I say the word, using the word maybe is not right, well, a scandal between the specialist interest groups the government and the cooperates. And that's not a fair, that's not a fair game. So I think that's totally morally wrong. And not giving any chance to a small community. If the large cooperation they do more work, they should have contributed back to the small community for more activities and, for the cultural events.	是，好，我不是一個學生，我的名字叫 Grace。事實上我不擔心誰來經營這些事業，只要是很公平的營運都可以，因為大公司可以經營很多店，我想，我不知道我用這個字，不知道合不合適，就是可能會跟官商有一些勾結的情況，如果有這種情況就是不公平的情況，在這種情況之下，就是道德上的不公平，那對整個，小的，社區就不合理，那麼大公司應該反而就是對社區做出更多的貢獻，然後去提供更多文化的方面的活動。
149	1:37:45	0:00:08	Sandel	F	Alright, so it's a further worry that the local community will suffer if the small shops were driven out.	所以小的社會，如果說是在小的店都搬出去，被排擠掉之後，會受到災害，會比較不合適。
150	1:37:53	0:00:10	Sandel	F	And over here you had another argument. Go ahead.	n/a

151	1:38:03	0:00:37	17-M-E	F	That a grocery store or you called a small Zahuodian, it got a different identity meaning except for only making money. A grocery store could be...could have a neighborhood meaning with the households along...with the community, and they can provide diversity and all the other neighborhood connections for other safety issues and for other issues which are not economic reasons. That's probably we shouldn't eliminate all the grocery stores by economic reasons.	我相信，一些雜貨店，這些小的雜貨店，有一些，不只是，代表，它，是進行交易的行為，他有一些鄰居，跟，社區的關係，的感覺，他們可以提供的是呢，各式各樣的，鄰居之間的聯繫，或者是說，互相守望相助的情況，所以，這一些功能是，不應該被我們忽略的，所以我們不應該用這個方面的價值，價值不應該被忽略掉。
152	1:38:40	0:00:05	Sandel	F	So the neighborhood identity, the community identity you think may be ignored.	所以你認為這種社區裡面的這種身分不應該被忽略掉？
153	1:38:45	0:00:10	17-M-E	F	Yes, that would be a part of key issue of the grocery store.	n/a
154	1:38:55	0:00:02	13-F-E	F	7-11 can offer that as well.	但是 7-11 的這種便利商店也可以做到這一點。
155	1:38:57	0:00:03	Sandel	F	7-11 can offer the benefit to the neighborhood as well.	她認為這種連鎖商店，便利店也可以做到這一點。
156	1:39:00	0:00:28	17-M-E	F	Sir, may I say that most the employee or the owner of the 7-11 are not local people. For example, my neighbor may run a grocery store next to my house, but the 7-11 owner, the employee might be several miles away from my house. They are the neighbor connecting to around the community, so they can provide other functions that 7-11 could not have.	我認為大部分這種便利店的職員或者是老闆，他們都不是當地人，所以這些人，這些職員他們可能是住得離我家很遠，不是這個當地的人，所以他們不太能夠做到這種鄰居這種守望相助的功能。



Alright, I want to...so here we have a debate of the identity, the accountability with the neighborhood. I want to ask another kind of business and take one last vote. Here we have a debate about the accountability and identity with the neighborhood. I want to ask about a different kind of business and take one last vote. Suppose we are now in a context. And it can really depend very much on the purpose of the stores, the shops. And by contrast to the hospital. We've spoke about bookshops. We've spoke about small grocery stores. Let me ask about one of another kinds of business. Suppose there are a limited number of newspapers and television stations in the community. And then suppose, like, with some of the examples we've just been discussing, some big companies buy a large number of those newspapers and television stations. Just hypothetically. (*audience applauds*) Just hypothetically. Now, we've talked about shops, grocery stores and we've talked about bookstores. Let's take one more vote: how many consider, in the case of newspapers and television stations—it's a subjection of market principles—those who can afford to buy them big companies buy many of the newspapers and television stations. How many say that's okay? And how many say that's objectionable? Raise the white if you think it's okay. Raise the orange if you think it's objectionable. (*audience cheers*) Now, alright. But a vote is just the beginning of a discussion. Remember that is not the end of the discussion. So we need to hear people's reasons. Now, a lot of people did not object to the 7-ELEVEN

所以我們現在看到的是，就是這些店的，或是說他們對於這個社區，這些鄰居的感覺，之間的幫助是什麼。假設我們現在談另外一個問題。所以我們現在看到的是這些店，或是說他們對於社區這些鄰居之間的感覺、之間的幫助是什麼。假設我們現在談另外一個問題。譬如說，有的時候我們是要看這個店，他剛才用醫療，醫院的經營方式來比較。我們剛才談到了這些小雜貨店、其他的經營方式。現在談另一種方式、一種另外的商業行為。假設，如果說有限的一些數量，的，媒體、電視或是報紙，但是現在出現了一些，我們討論到的這種大的公司、大的集團，把一些，這些，媒體電視報紙都買掉了。這是假設性的問題，我只是將假設性的問題提出來而已喔。我們講到了雜貨店，講到一些店、將到一些書店。我們最後來做一個投票。你們認為如果是在這些媒體方面—報紙、電視的。如果說有一些大的財團有權、有能力來買掉這些媒體、報紙、電視台，你們認為，這是可以的嗎？有那些人認為這是不好的、不贊成的？白色的表示你贊成，橘色的表示你反對。好。但是，我們投票只是說，做為我們討論的開始，所以我們必須要聽到你們自己的論點。有些人並不是反對喔，他們並不是反對這些便利商店、7-ELEVEN 來排擠掉一些小雜貨店。但是我們現在看到的是，對於這個媒體被壟斷、被買掉的這種情況，有絕大多數的人都是有同樣的想法。那我想聽聽看，不贊成，並不反對剛才雜貨店的事情而現在是反對這個媒

					dominating local stores. And yet it looks like a great many people object to big companies buying television and newspapers. Who can explain? I want to hear from someone who did not object in the 7-ELEVEN but who does object the newspaper and television case. Go ahead. Toward the back.				體壟斷的事情，請哪一位來跟我們講一下你的意見？
158	1:42:13	0:00:35	18-M-E	M	你好，我叫何榮俊。I would speak English first. Because media is different. Media controls...sorry! Meida controls our objects about everything. As the group has so many TV channels, so many newspapers, they will say the government is good. Education is good. But 7-ELEVEN is different because... (<i>code-switch</i>)				Hello. Ho, my name is Ho.我覺得媒體不太一樣。因為媒體控制了所有的一切。所以如有一個集團旗下有太多這種...太多的媒體，那很多人會說：「政府很好、教育很好」它可以控制我們的思想。但是 7-ELEVEN 又是另外一回事了。
159	1:42:48	0:00:16	18-M-C	M	我覺得便利商店比較不一樣，這要看你是在什麼的情況之下。譬如在以前那個時代的時候會，我覺得，社區會有很奇怪的一種...我是會計系的。然後我覺得 Accounting is shit.				I think I should be speaking English. I think it depends on the circumstances with the case of the 7-ELEVEN because back in the old days, they believe that the sense of community is very important. I study accounting, by the way. I think accounting sucks.
160	1:43:04	0:00:21	18-M-E	M	Accounting principles have one principle and concrete assumption. In minor two has such a saying that everything on the paper can be compared by money. A friend asked me the very question: why I buy these shoes? It's Nike, not Adiddas. It's not because money. It is just I want to "just do it".				Accounting principle has a...(唉) 它的貨幣的價值。講到會計它說所有的東西都是可以價錢去來估量它的價值。但是名聲...為什麼我不買 Adiddas 買 Nike 呢? 不只是錢，那是不一樣的...(唉)
161	1:43:25	0:00:57	Sandel	M	Okay, that is good. But I still I want to hear what is the relevant distinction between the 7-ELEVEN case and the newspapers and television stations case. Who has different responses to those and can explain why.				但我還是想要聽到...我想要知道...我想要聽到您講這個 7-ELEVEN 的這個案例還有媒體壟斷的這個 case。有沒有人有別的回應呢?可以解釋說你問什麼一個同意一個不同

					Yes. Absolutely that. Let's see if they will get you a microphone. And while we are waiting for the microphone there, who over here would like to speak in the discussion? Yes, yes. Go ahead. Are you ready? Tell us.			意呢?後面那位,後面那位。看能不能拿一支麥克風給他?那我們一邊等麥克風,這邊有沒有人想先發言呢?因為我們還在等麥克風。那位...那位,你準備好了嗎?講吧!請講!
162	1:44:22	0:00:50	19-M-C	M	好, Nice to meet you. (Sandel: good to meet you)我叫做蕭柏翰, My name is 柏翰, 媒體他是一個人民傳播言論自由的工具, 然後今天一個財團, 他這樣子控制住了媒體, 他在無形之中, 會給人民有很大的潛移默化, 而且如果他論點單一的話, 很容易失去多元的聲音, 當人們沒有媒體識讀的時候、當大眾沒有媒體識讀得能力的時候, 大眾的言論導向很容易就被財團操控, 這樣的話人們真正的思想都會被控制住, 然後就沒有辦法表達真正的他們想表達的事情。		Bo-han, Bo-Han, my name is Bo-Han. Media is something that a...a tool for free speech for us to communicate. If one large company controls the media, somehow it's able to influence people's thinking. And if it has a very singular point of view, and we lose a variety of opinions. And if a lot of people...if a mass media gets controlled, people's thoughts can be controlled by certain individual. They will not be able to express what they want to express at the beginning.	
163	1:45:12	0:00:07	Sandel	M	Okay stay there, thanks. What do you say?		你先站著等一下喔, 謝謝, 那一位, 那一位, 你是怎麼回應他。	
164	1:45:19	0:00:15	lag	M	(麥克風無聲音)		我還是講中文吧... (麥克風沒聲音)	
165	1:45:34	0:00:05	Sandel	M	Please. Alright, while he's trying to get... You have one?		好了嗎?	

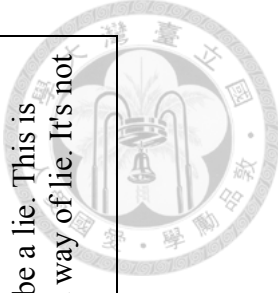


166	1:45:39	0:01:08	20-M-C	M	因為呢，該怎麼講...我們對於媒體的想法，是為了他們給我們意見，或是去監控一些政府、其他機關，但是我們對於7-ELEVEN的想法，卻是說：他給我們的便利性，然後他的價錢，又在我們覺得還算合理，雖然他會比較貴，但是它是24小時，當你半夜肚子餓的時候，你第一個想到的Seven，來個泡麵，香噴噴的，你不會去想到柑仔店，那邊有一個很和藹的阿婆，每天問你說「吃飽沒」這樣子，然後但媒體的話，你通常會希望說，他有不同不同的意見，它可以給我們說一些建議，或是說一些挑戰，它給我們挑戰，讓我們知道說這個世界上有不同的聲音，媒體可以給我們一些挑戰、新的訊息，抱歉我非常非常緊張。	How do I put this...I think media...the way we think about media is for the media to give us a bit point of views. Or maybe they're there to manage our government. But for 7-ELEVEN, it's different. 7-ELEVEN provides convenience. Convenience stores provide convenience and with a reasonable price. Maybe it's a little bit more expensive, but it's twenty-four hours. And if you are hungry at night, you can go to 7-ELEVEN and get some instant noodles, and it smells nice. And you would think a about grocery stores...there is a grandmother sitting there. And she's asking you "have you had your dinner?" She cares for you. But think about 7-ELEVEN. And with media, it's different. Media provides the different voices. And maybe it gives us all advice, challenges. Media provides challenges and for us to know there are different voices— there are different opinions in this world. And we are able to know that...I am sorry. I am really really nervous.
167	1:46:47	0:00:05	Sandel	M	You're doing fine. Take your time.	沒關係，你講得很好，慢慢來，慢慢來。
168	1:46:52	0:00:18	20-M-C	M	媒體會給我一些挑戰、新的訊息，然後我們會去思考，思考以後我們會再去回饋給媒體，媒體又會開始報導，然後這是一個進步的情況，在道德上我們人也是認為說，這是一個非常好的情況。	Media gives us many challenges, many new messages and information so that we can think. And then we will be able to give feedback to the media, and then they will report it, and then we are progressing. And I think, morally speaking, this is the good situation.

169	1:47:10	0:00:32	Sandel	M	<p>Alright, good. Thank you. (20-M-C: 教授，謝謝。)</p> <p>Now I want to hear from someone who disagrees. Someone who disagrees if the opinion sees transfer. Someone...you disagree? Go ahead. Right now, we will get a microphone here and there. And we'll there. Go ahead. I want someone who takes the other view.</p>	<p>感謝，我要再聽一下，我們有沒有反對他講的，有沒有人反對剛他講的論點，有沒有人覺得說...你反對嗎?你反對嗎?來，請講，給他一支麥克風，這邊也來一支，這邊也來一支麥克風。有沒有人反對、持不同意見?</p>
170	1:47:42	0:00:37	21-F-E	M	<p>I think the first case is similar to the second case cause the first case is like the movie <i>We Hate Wal-Mart</i>. For the media, it's like the big corp will control our opinions. And for big corps like 7-ELEVEN, if they're going to the town, they can control our appetite, for example. And of...just like the movie <i>We Hate Wal-Mart</i>, if Wal-Mart comes to our town and eliminates all the small grocery shops, then we are committing the same crime that Wal-Mart was doing, and we don't have our choices. If the products have problems, then we don't have our choices.</p>	<p>我覺得第一個跟第二個很像，因為第一個就是說，為什麼我們討厭 Wal-Mart，沃爾瑪這個...因為媒體會控制我們的意見，但是如果像 Seven，他們如果去一個小鎮，他們就可以控制我們的食欲啊，就像有一個電影叫做《我們都討厭 Wal-Mart》這個電影裡面，因為 Wal-Mart 會把這些小店都排擠掉，那麼最後呢，其實 Seven 做的就是跟 Wal-Mart 一樣，因為如果商品有問題的話，我們沒有其他的選擇。</p>
171	1:48:19	0:00:16	Sandel	M	<p>So you're worrying about excessive concentration of power both in the case of retail stores, grocery stores, and in the case of the media. (21-F-E: Yes) And what do you think?</p>	<p>所以你擔心的就是說，你怕說太集中在...力量太集中在某些人的、少數人的手上，不管這是這個小店還有媒體都是一樣，你覺得呢?你覺得?</p>



172	1:48:35	0:01:19	22-M-C	M	<p>大家好，我的名字叫陳為廷。(audience cheers)(Sandel: what do you think?) My English name is Wei-ting. 我覺得兩個問題呢，其實我覺得它們都是有相似性的，剛剛大家提到那個雜貨店的問題，比方說我的家鄉是一個農村，比方說我的家鄉是一個農村，我們家鄉裡面的農村呢，他的雜貨店裡面，賣得是什麼東西，賣的是可能是，我外婆種的菜、我的外婆的朋友種的菜，在那個雜貨店裡面，它不只是一個市場交易的行為，裡面可能是一個互惠的場合，我今天賣你的菜，我賣你 5 塊錢，那我另外一個人賣你 10 塊錢，那可能今天我們是朋友，在雜貨店裡面的交易，會視我們的關係有所不同，那個場域，他是屬於社區的，屬於一個我們這個互動的過程當中，他的市場的邏輯是不一樣的，那這樣的雜貨店跟 7-ELEVEN 所標舉的，其實是兩種不同的生活的方式，而 7-ELEVEN 他有各式各樣的資源，告訴我們，在廣告上面狂打廣告，告訴我們，這種生活方式是最便利的，最符合大家需求的，但是這個東西可能是謊言，他可能是一種偽善的謊言，他的事實真相.....</p>	<p>Wei-ting, that's my name. He's the guy who's shouted at the Ministry of Education, he's the guy who eh was on TV with the minister. (Sandel: Go ahead. What do you think?) I think they are two questions. I think there are similarities between the two questions. Okay, about the grocery stores. My hometown is a farm town, a farming town, and there is a grocery store. And you know what they sell? You know they sell my grandmother's vegetables. They are grown by my grandma. It's not just the market's cash exchange. It's the exchange that I'll sell you some vegetables for five and another person will sell you for ten. And then we are making this exchange, and the prices will be different. It's a different domain that belongs to the community. Belong to the community exchange and it's different to the market's reasoning. So a grocery store and 7-ELEVEN represent two ways of life. 7-ELEVEN has a lot of resources. You can see on the advertisement that you want to... You know they tell you in the ad you want a 7-ELEVEN life. But maybe that could be a lie. This is hypocrisy. 7-ELEVEN is a way of lie. It's not a best way of life...</p>
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173	1:49:54	0:01:08	Sandel	M	<p>Alright. Alright. Let me give my understand. You both think.... Both of the speakers, the last two speakers think there's an analogy in the 7-ELEVEN case and the media case because 7-ELEVEN does represent a way of life. It does promote certain values. And so it's not merely a business question. It's not merely... Miss Anne was suggesting earlier it isn't just a matter of business. And so there's an analogy between the two. Now I want to hear a third kind of opinion. I want to hear from a defender of the minority view on this question. Is there someone who defends the market principle in the 7-ELEVEN case and defends the right of any company, however big, to buy at whatever prices being offered a newspaper or a television station? Yes.</p>	<p>讓我跟你澄清一下，你們兩個都決定說... 你們都覺得剛才兩位講的，都覺得說這兩個之間，就是 Seven 跟媒體之間都有個關聯喔，因為 Seven 他們代表的東西是一種生活方式，Seven 它推廣的是一種固定的價值，所以不只是一個商業的問題了，對不對？是剛才 Anne 講過的，她說它不只是一個生意的問題、企業的問題，這兩個之間他有一個對比，我想要聽第三種聲音，我想要看看有沒有有人可以幫這個少數人，就是剛才意見最少，是少數的人，有沒有人可以，就是在 Seven 這個 case 這個案子裡面，還有這個媒體，不管任何的企業，不用什麼價格，媒體，報紙，電視台也好，你覺得只要就是它出得起就可以買的，有沒有人這樣子的意見的？</p>
174	1:51:02	0:00:40	lag	M	<p>While we are waiting for this microphone, is there another minority defender who wants to respond to both cases. In the back? Alright. Go ahead. Get a microphone there. There are two defenders for the market decision in both the 7-ELEVEN case and newspaper case.</p>	<p>(麥克風沒聲音)... 我們在等的時候，有沒有，有沒有其他的，要為這個市場論而辯護的呢？後面，後面那邊有一些，來拿一支麥克風給他，上面有兩位要為這個市場做辯護，包括 Seven 還有媒體壟斷這兩個，你都要為市場做辯護</p>
175	1:51:42	0:00:54	23-M-C	M	<p>My English is pretty bad, so I just speak in Chinese. (Sandel: go ahead.) 那個我想說的是，媒體它就算只有一家，我們現在講的是市場公平，我們講的並不是媒體一家獨大，對於社會所造成的影響，那如果一家媒體，我們現在討論得所謂是公平，那現在問題來了，它買下這個其他的媒體，它有錯嗎？在交易機制上他是沒有錯的，我知道我反旺中，可是我們現在社會的問題是：我們失去的是社會良心，並不是她買下這個媒體，它所發生的管道，如果它</p>	<p>我英文不太好，所以我講中文了。 I think media, even though there's only one of them. I am talking about a market fairness. I am not talking about monopolization. Monopolization... what effects can that have on our society. I think we're talking about fairness here. I think the question is if one company buys all the media, is it wrong? Is it wrong? I think from the market mechanism,</p>

					是一個好的媒體，它是可以為大家發聲，它可以監督政府，它可以提出各種意見，那為什麼它不行買下其他媒體呢？	there's nothing wrong. I am anti-monopolization, but we are losing a conscience in the society, not the fact that in... not the fact it's buying all the media. I think if it's a good media, it can be supervise for the government. It can provide a variety of opinions. Why can't it buy all the media?
176	1:52:36	0:00:06	Sandel	M	Alright, what do you think?	上面那位，上面那位
177	1:52:42	0:00:54	Sandel 24-F-E	M	Hello, it's very nice you finally meet you. I would like a make a more controversial point on the media case. It's that I think media is itself. It is not only an agency to express the people's opinion. In nature, it's actually...it works under a capital mechanism. It works under a market demand. The news that is shown on TV every single day is actually what we want to see. So then it doesn't matter which company that dominates the media industry because what it will present to the audiences are what we want to see. If we don't want to see it, then it follows the market mechanism—the demand drops so they will not provide that sort of supply anymore.	終於遇到您了，教授，呃...我想要講得比較這個，可能會很多人不同意的講法，就是關於媒體，我覺得媒體本身呢，它並不是唯一就是幫人民發聲的管道，它還是在一個資本主義的架構下所運作的，它還是要符合這個市場的要求，每天早上看到，每天看到的新聞就是人要看到的新聞啊，所以不管是哪個公司掌握了所有的媒體、媒體業，因為媒體會給觀眾看得就是觀眾想看的，如果不想看的話，那麼他還是會照著市場的需求，如果大家不想要的話，他就不會有這樣子的供給了。
178	1:53:36	0:00:24	Sandel	M	Alright, so this argument is analogous to the argument we've heard about in the 7-ELEVEN case, which is the consumers don't have to go to the 7-ELEVEN if the prices get too high or the services are not good enough. And they don't have to watch even maybe a television station that may be owned by a large cooperation.	所以這個就跟你的這個，就跟 Seven 剛才講到得很像，就是欸消費得不一定要去 7-ELEVEN 啊，如果太貴的話，或是說服務不好的話，你不需要去 7-ELEVEN，你也不需要去看這個媒體啊，就算如果他就是被這個某個大財團壟斷的電視，你也可以不看它。

179	1:54:00	0:00:28	24-F-E	M	<p>Yes. Yeah, I support that person over there. I think he made a point that transaction is actually legal. But then in the 7-ELEVEN and the grocery case, I think if people say if the grocery case they bring an identity to the community, then okay, back to the practical question: why don't you buy food in the grocery stores? Do you go to the grocery stores instead of 7-ELEVENs? Like in the problem...in the issue of convenience, you will still choose 7-ELEVEN instead of grocery stores.</p> <p>Even though you might care with the other part of yourself, about the values connected to the local...</p>	<p>所以我支持剛才那位人士，所以其實這是一個合法的一個交易，那麼在 Seven 跟這個雜貨店的...如果他說雜貨店能夠帶給這個社群一種認同的話，那你為什麼，你為什麼你...就去雜貨店買食物就好啦，你每天都去這個雜貨店啊...，你不去 Seven 嗎，所以就是方便嘛，你還是會選擇 Seven，你不會去 Seven 買啊！</p>
180	1:54:28	0:00:07	Sandel	M	<p>Yes, but there is a gap between what you do and what you say.</p>	<p>所以即使你會在另外一部分...就算另一方面你既然在乎那個...那個認同的問題，但是你其實你的做法.....</p>
181	1:54:35	0:00:04	24-F-E	M	<p>So in fact, there is sometimes a gap or maybe it is a tension within all of us that we think of ourselves often both as consumers looking for the lowest prices, and at the same time, with the another part of ourselves, as citizens concerned about the character and identity about the neighborhoods in the community, which we also care about. I want to thank everyone who joined in this really spirited part of the discussion about the 7-ELEVEN and about the newspaper and the media. I want to see if it's possible now to draw some conclusion about the discussion we had throughout this evening. We've discussed many examples, many of them are controversial. And to go back to our question: where do markets serve the public good? And where do they not belong? It seems that when we have been</p>	<p>所以剛剛那位女生講得是說，你覺得...你行...你言行不一啊！</p>
182	1:54:39	0:11:59	Sandel	F	<p>So in fact, there is sometimes a gap or maybe it is a tension within all of us that we think of ourselves often both as consumers looking for the lowest prices, and at the same time, with the another part of ourselves, as citizens concerned about the character and identity about the neighborhoods in the community, which we also care about. I want to thank everyone who joined in this really spirited part of the discussion about the 7-ELEVEN and about the newspaper and the media. I want to see if it's possible now to draw some conclusion about the discussion we had throughout this evening. We've discussed many examples, many of them are controversial. And to go back to our question: where do markets serve the public good? And where do they not belong? It seems that when we have been</p>	<p>有時候我們會有一種張力，一種緊張的情況，我們看到...認為消費者大家都希望找最便宜的價錢去買東西，但是我們生活中的我們們腦筋中的另一個部分還會想另外一個事情，就是我們的社區裡面人人的，人人、大家所關心的一些這些觀念。謝謝我們剛才所有參與這個討論的各位發表言論的人，我想現在是不是能夠做一些結論，就是針對我們剛才所說的種種的討論做一個結論。我們討論了很多的例子，很多是有爭議性的，重回到我們的問題來講，倒是什麼領域是市場是能夠為大家造福的，什麼領域是他們不應該介入的。看起來我們已經有看過、經歷過許多的爭議，就是針對市場的角色的一個問題，看起來我們認為這些事情的爭議都會回到一個原點，就是這些活動的真正的目的是</p>

considering these various controversies about the role of the markets, the disagreement seem always to come back to the question: what is the purpose of the good? What is the purpose of the activity? Is the purpose of a grocery store to make money? And if so, then that distinguishes a trade of an hospital whose purpose and said it's to promote health, not to make money. But then others do not agree. They say, "no, the purpose of the small grocery stores may not only be to make money, may be more than just business. It may be the source of local community and identity. It may...and that is not only a market question. So whether we were discussing how to relocate snow shovels after a storm or bottle water after a typhoon. Whether we were discussing the difference between ticket scalping for the Mayday concert and for the train tickets, and for the philosophy lecture or for the surgery. Or whether we were talking about the 7-ELEVEN, one the one hand. And the television and newspaper, on the other. We disagreed at all of these questions about whether market mechanisms are the appropriate ones. And the disagreements seemed all to depend on competing accounts, competing conceptions about the social and moral and civil purposes these institutions, these activities served. What does this tell us about economics and ethics? Well, what it suggests to me is that economics is not enough to decided questions of policies and questions of law. Economic reasoning can't be separated from ethical reasoning. When economics was first invented by the classical economists, going back to Adam

什麼，一個雜貨店它在做生意的時候，它真正的目的是什麼，它是要做生意嗎？那麼對於醫院來講它的真正目的是什麼呢？是要提升更多的健康，而不是為了做生意，但是有些人認為，認為這個雜貨店，並不是只是為了做生意而已，也許他是一個社區的一個表象、一個表徵，它有一些社區的功能性，所以他有不同的功能，一所以這看起來並不是一個經濟學上的問題了，所以我們要針對剛才雪鏟子的問題，或者是一瓶礦泉水的問題，或者是在颱風之後，這個哄抬價格的事情。我們討論到黃牛票，是針對這個音樂會或是針對火車票，或者是針對於哲學課，或者是針對於這個醫療這個手術的事情，這整整的不公平，或者是說媒體買賣的事情，我們有很多不同的意見，而這些問題都有充斥著很多的問題，都是充斥著市場機制是不是一個非常合適的方式。這些不同的想法都是互相有不同的觀念，社會道德或者是公民的一些的責任的問題都牽涉在裡面，那麼這些論點到底告訴我們什麼事情呢，是關於經濟關於道德倫理，對我來講，經濟並不足以來決定許多原則、許多法律上的規範，經濟上的倫理可能可以與道德的倫理來分開，在傳統的經濟學家，從一開始，從亞當史密斯的時候開始，他認為這是與這個倫理道德的價值不同的、分開的。現在我們認為經濟學，並且教學經濟學，認為是跟我們的自主的一些紀律是分開的，好像經濟學可以單獨成立成一支，可以自己單獨來決定一個好的社會，來為大眾謀福，但是我認為這是

Smith, it was conceived as a branch as in the some fields of moral and political philosophy. Today we often think of economics and teach economics as if it were separate autonomous disciplines, as if market reasoning by itself could define the good society and the public good. And I think this is a mistake, but it's a mistake that we are all tempted to make for a deep reason to connect economics with ethics that requires us to engage in very difficult arguments—controversial arguments about the meaning, the purpose of all of our social institutions and practices whether it's teaching and learning, whether it's health care, whether it's military service, civic virtues, stores, television and newspapers, nuclear waste sites. Now we disagree this deeply about how to interpret the purposes and meanings of these goods, and so there is a great temptation to conduct our public discourse in a way that avoids tangling with one another about this controversial, moral and civic questions. And that, I think, is what leads us to say "well, let the market decide", "let them sort it out" "they are neutral", "they will not require us to have these ethical debates". But I think that's a mistake. And it's a mistake that in societies around the world had drained our public discourse of large meaning. I think it's no accident that in almost every society today that there is a deep frustration with politics and with political parties. There is a frustration with... while in many countries, that is an intense and changed partisanship and a kind of public discourse that is hallowed out, empty of big

不對的，但是這種錯誤是我們常常會發生一些錯誤的思想的，就是將經濟與道德連結在一起，我們必須要在不同很辛勞的辯論之中來討論這些問題。這些有爭議的問題中，必須要探討的是這些意義，還有這些目的，這是我們所有的社會行為，不管是在學習、教學，在醫療、在軍隊的方面的傭兵的事情，在商店的事情，在電視媒體的問題等等，都需要我們去考慮，或是甚至於核廢料的處理，我們都有深遠的不同的意見，我們要解釋這些財貨它的真正的意義，所以我們常常很容易得就是把我們的公共論述中間，把這些很爭議、很具爭議性的這些問題把它排除掉，我認為這就是我們會說「讓市場去決定好了」，「我們不需要我們去有一個公共論述」，「不需要我們做一些道德倫理的辯論」，但是我認為這是不對的，這是一個錯誤，因為全世界這個社會，都已經缺乏了這種公共論述的這種機會，使我們沒有辦法討論很重大的問題，所以大概所有的今日的社會都有一種挫折感，就是在對政治、對於政治黨派我們都有一些挫折感，在很多國家裡面，有一種非常明確的政黨的分裂，或者是政黨政治，然後這些事情會把我們要爭相討論的一些重大的倫理道德、正義的問題、或者是一個美好社會的一個價值都完全忽略掉了，所以我認為我們對於一個公共論述應該有更多的期許，更饑渴地想要探討更多的問題，包括正義的問題。這種公共論述、公共辯論很難達到，因為這需要我們克服我們這種猶豫不決的這種心態，我們必須要

questions, of ethical questions, of questions about justice and the meaning of goods and the character of a good society. And yet I think there is a hunger for a better kind of public discourse—a public discourse that engages directly with big moral questions, including questions of justice. That kind of public discourse is not easy to achieve because it requires that we overcome our hesitation to reason together in public about these controversial moral questions. But I think it's possible. I think it's possible in part because we've been doing this this evening. You could see by the white cards and the orange cards—the disagreements in this all on each of these questions. And you could hear the arguments across this arena the competing views by the role of the market, by what consists of human needs, about what are the necessities, what are the luxuries, about how to value goods—from education, the environment, military service to criminal justice to civic life. And yet, if you think about the discussions we had, they not only illustrate the necessary connections between economics and ethics. They also illustrate that it is possible to enter into debates and discussions, public discussions about hard ethical questions in a spirit of mutual respect and civility, listening to one another, sometimes learning from one another, even where we may disagree. I think the quality that you have displayed tonight is what is desperately needed in public discourse and public life. At a certain period of rising economic growth and economic development, it sometimes seems that all that matters is economics

面對這種去爭議的問題，面對它去討論，但是我認為還是有可能我們可以做得到這點，因為今天我們就已經在實踐這樣一個公共論述的論壇，今天晚上我們在這裡，看到這些白色的卡、這些橘色的卡，表現出不同的意見，在這個大的體育館裡面，對於每一個問題我們都有不同的意見、不同的聲音，我們也可以聽到每一個人對於自己的論點都有很多的論述，他們把市場的角色、人類的的需求，或者是人類的必需品，或者是奢侈品，或者是怎樣來評斷一些事務的價值，對於環境、對於醫療、對於軍隊的制度等等，對於我們公民的生活都有很多的想法。如果你可以回憶一下剛才我們的討論，想到他們與經濟跟倫理的關係之外，我們還可以有一個機會，真正的進入這種豐厚的論述，對於非常嚴肅的、非常重要的道德倫理問題，對於我們的公民的責任做一些了解，而且我們可以互相學習，因為我們在彼此不同的意見之中還是可以互相學習。今天晚上我們大家所表現的，就是一個非常積極的饑渴想要有一項公共的論述、公共的論壇。在這種經濟發展了很長的一段時間之後，可能我們會看到最重要的是好像是經濟、經濟的效率，還有所有這種供需的原則所規定出來的相關的事情，但是我們的社會已經達到了一種經濟的富庶的程度時候，人們的注意力就已經改變了，而且這是正確的現象，就是我們開始對於我們共享的這個社會，共同生活的地方有一種非常關心的焦點，這就是把我們帶回到古代的想法，就是關於正義是不是我

and economic efficiency and a law of supply and demand also defines the public good. But once a society reaches a certain stage of public good economic well-being and achievement, people's attention turns and rightly turns to the character of the society we share. The way we live together. And that brings our attention back to ancient questions about justice, what we owe one another, how to value goods and the meaning of good life. So what I have heard tonight leaves me very hopeful. I know there's a frustration about the turns of public discourse in your society and in mine and in just but every other society with which I am familiar with. But what I also heard is the yearning, the hunger for something better, the aspiration to lift up our public discourse—not because we all agree if we have a morally moral bust debate about the questions, but because that kind of debate is more worthy of what we aspire to in public life. And that kind of debate makes...deepens democracy and makes all of us better citizens. So I think this has really been—certain for me, I hope for you—a remarkable occasion because it was in the end more than a philosophy lecture, more than even a Mayday concert. I think what I saw tonight...and it thanks to you. I think what I saw tonight was a glimpse of what a public discourse, a big question may be. Thank you all very much. (*audience applause*) Thank you. Thank you. (*long audience applause*)

們互相有虧負，我們應該怎麼樣來定這個社會的價值、很多美好事物的價值。所以今天晚上我所聽到的，讓我覺得非常地有希望，對於這個公共希望是抱著非常好的想法，我相信每一個我所接觸到的社會，我覺得都是這樣的感受，我也聽到了大家的聲音，就是你們的渴望，你們對於更好的生活、更好的一些道德價值的希求，你們希望提升你們的生活，提升我們的公共論述，不是因為我們大家都同意。如果我們有一個公共論述的目的，並不是要有一個同樣的結論，而是因為這種公共論述是真正能夠讓我們的生活更有價值，這種公共的論壇或者是辯論，在民主社會裡特別重要，使我們每一個人成為更好的公民，所以我想今天晚上真的是對大家，特別是對我，是一個非常珍貴的經驗，我想我們最後可以結論的是這並不是一個哲學的演講，並不是只一個五月天的演唱會這麼熱鬧，而是我們今天晚上看到的是，特別是要感謝各位的參與，就是我們今天看到了一線曙光，就是我們在重要的問題上絕對可以有非常好的公共論述，謝謝大家，謝謝，謝謝各位！





Appendix B: List of 24 Audience Members

Speaker code	Gender	Language	Note
1-M-E	Male	English	
2-F-C&E	Female	Chinese and English	
3-M-C&E	Male	Chinese and English	
4-F-C	Female	Chinese	PRC accent
5-F-E	Female	English	PRC accent
6-M-C	Male	Chinese	
7-F-C	Female	Chinese	PRC accent
8-F-C	Female	Chinese	
9-M-C	Male	Chinese	
10-M-C	Male	Chinese	
11-F-C	Female	Chinese	
12-F-C	Female	Chinese	
13-F-E	Female	English	
14-M-C	Male	Chinese	HK accent
15-M-C	Male	Chinese	
16-F-E	Female	English	
17-M-E	Male	English	
18-M-C&E	Male	Chinese and English	
19-M-C	Male	Chinese	
20-M-C	Male	Chinese	
21-F-E	Female	English	
22-M-C	Male	Chinese	
23-M-C	Male	Chinese	
24-F-E	Female	English	



Appendix C: Interpretation-related YouTube Comments

Total number of interpretation-related comments*: 233		
Total number of unique YouTube commenters **: 134		
Comment number	Commenter number	YouTube comment
1	C1	可以關掉翻譯嗎?
2	C2	我想打電話給公是叫他們關掉翻譯
3	C3	聽說關聲道有用，不確定。
4	C4	不能只聽英文@@
5	C5	我只想聽本人的聲音
6	C6	混音聽了好痛苦....誰知道要怎麼關掉??
7	C7	怎樣關中文翻譯?
8	C8	怎麼把同步口譯關掉呀@@"
9	C9	翻譯一直干擾==
10	C10	按遙控器的 "主語/副語" 可以切換
11	C11	我這邊中文跟原音 分得很清楚耶 @@?
12	C12	聲道沒用 左右一樣
13	C3	翻譯口條還可以啦，只怕問答時間就囧了。
14	C2	用 youtube 看 要怎麼關掉翻譯 XD
15	C13	怎麼關掉翻譯阿~~
16	C14	現在口譯還算不錯，提問時如果牽涉到太多專有名詞，口譯就很悲劇
17	C11	專有名詞 這種演講也不太會提到吧
18	C15	同步口譯是劉傑中 壹電視主播
19	C14	上次提問時，因為有些是教授提問的，用詞都很艱深或過於專業，這時翻譯就很悲劇 XD
20	C16	english only plz!!
21	C17	感覺這翻譯好像 google 翻譯文章...
22	C2	剛跟公室反應了他們說 因為他們只負責轉播 所以無法關掉 然後因為有些人有需要翻譯 所以無法用掉
23	C18	我覺得翻譯得很好耶@@"

24	C19	翻譯好吵...
25	C14	劉傑中 (1980 年 10 月 9 日-)，壹電視主播，國立中山大學外國語文學系畢業。
26	C2	不是那問題拉` 只是想要只聽原講者 很容易被干擾...
27	C20	那是否可以開兩個頻道? 要聽原文的去聽原文，要聽中文的聽中文?
28	C21	女口譯 口條怎怪怪的...感冒了嗎?
29	C9	怎麼換人了...
30	C19	及時口譯領多少錢...
31	C6	真的很干擾，只想聽原音的話，聽的聽的很混亂....
32	C22	男的翻譯比較好
33	C23	????為何換人翻譯了???
34	C1	唉 當初應該開兩個
35	C23	原本的口譯還不錯流利啊!!
36	C24	同步口譯本來就有人交替
37	C2	他們說無法
38	C25	有原文能聽嗎?
39	C21	現場有口譯 公視負責轉播 當然就連口譯都錄進來 公視要後製才能將口譯的音軌抽掉
40	C26	同步口譯了水準差太多...
41	C27	雖然會干擾但原本的口譯還不錯啊!
42	C28	翻譯已經很厲害了啦 但教授英文用的很簡單
43	C29	口譯是邊聽邊翻，跟事後整句翻譯的狀況當然不同囉...
44	C21	口譯人員不能挑 口條音調相似的人來交替嗎 QQ
45	C30	當過同步翻譯 這麼彆腳的翻譯可理解 呵呵
46	C24	口譯口氣感覺比較適合會議
47	C21	男口譯比較強
48	C31	要是同步翻譯可以只顯示字幕就好了...
49	C19	中文口譯 桑德爾也聽得到... 哈哈
50	C2	其實 翻譯 並不一定找同口氣的 而是找默契好的
51	C32	可以關掉口譯嗎 有點煩人
52	C3	我比較討厭這種狀況 XDDD
53	C10	媽呀，更混亂了

54	C33	為何講中文也要口譯成英文 XD?
55	C3	我是說翻譯 XD
56	C34	聲音都混在一起了
57	C35	好亂
58	C19	oh my god!!! 這是什麼雙語狀況...
59	C36	這個口譯感覺超忙的
60	C37	男口譯超強
61	C38	這哪招阿??? 還出現中翻英...
62	C39	超強!!! 中翻英 英翻中 不打結
63	C14	口譯的聲音比原音還大真的很悲劇
64	C40	可以關掉口譯嗎 好痛苦阿
65	C2	回答依: 翻譯成英文是因為 講者也需要聽得懂 XD
66	C40	口譯很強 但是同時聽很痛苦
67	C41	我覺得我們是在聽麥可大大的耳機ㄟ
68	C24	中英交替翻很厲害 有趣~
69	C21	男口譯 根本神人...好強大...
70	C42	翻譯好忙翻譯好忙翻譯好忙翻譯好忙
71	C30	不過口譯真的超強 XDDD
72	C43	我英文不好啦~沒事用英文翻譯幹嘛拉哈哈
73	C21	公視只負責轉播 口譯是現場 MIC
74	C44	這男譯很強，是說現在電視有轉播嗎?
75	C45	男口譯程度很好 但一下中文一下英文實在好亂啊...
76	C46	好累 XD
77	C27	翻譯好厲害!!
78	C25	同時兩個聲音出來不容易聽懂
79	C9	口譯翻的很有情緒起伏 XD
80	C21	口譯的聲音需要後製才能抽掉 不是轉播中就能抽掉的
81	C37	男口譯超強
82	C28	演講者有把講話速度放慢 但是這口譯根本全速飆車阿 www
83	C14	口譯真的很屌
84	C47	天啊,,,,,,混音。
85	C2	恩...我有問說有無辦法請他們另外開個頻道只放英文講者

		的 但她們說無法
86	C48	男口譯講英文簡直活過來了！
87	C49	有辦法關口譯嗎？
88	C30	主要是現場有即時口譯機，不過應該是兩組吧(中翻英&英翻中)，但為啥轉播會變成兩組都出現？
89	C50	口譯很亂，勉強能聽
90	C51	可以選擇頻道撥放嗎？
91	C2	混亂了 XDDDDDDDD 回 S 大: 無法喔 剛剛跟公視確認過了 他們只負責轉播
92	C19	誰可以人肉一下男女口譯員？
93	C21	女口譯 是不是感冒了？
94	C52	可能是即時支援吧
95	C53	女口譯太緊張了吧
96	C2	並不是 翻譯的工作 是要翻譯出來 聽到英文就要翻成中文 聽到中文就要翻成英文
97	C54	Sandel 教授也要聽翻譯啊
98	C30	會推斷兩組是因為,麥可剛剛是說不小心聽到(所以不是全時開啟?), 還是觀眾講中文的時候他才打開?
99	C30	即時口譯主要是給現場(索取口譯機)的人聽得(英翻中), 上一次對談結束有聽到交回口譯機 XD
100	C2	對.....只是....因為他們現場直播只有一個頻道 所以就一定要放口譯 因為有些人會需要
101	C55	翻譯可以調小聲嗎？
102	C56	口譯好吵...
103	C57	怎麼分開音效頻道
104	C58	口譯好討厭 Orz
105	C2	無法關掉或調小聲....
106	C15	男口譯是壹電視主播劉傑中，女口譯不清楚。
107	C57	真的希望能有字幕
108	C59	怎麼關口譯？
109	C29	youtube 直播不能關掉口譯 不用問了...
110	C69	還是等重播後再專心看好了....兩種語言同時聽真難過.....
111	C57	+1 to know

112	C2	我也受不了了`大家辦啦...我再想辦法 看重播....
113	C41	男口譯終於回來了~
114	C14	口譯的聲音蓋過中文真的很悲劇 QQ
115	C61	英翻中的聲音太大聲，我聽不見學生的中文.....
116	C52	口譯太可怕了
117	C30	男口譯 很愛演 哈哈
118	C63	口譯員神人!!
119	C64	拜託觀眾講中文時,翻譯英文的不要播出來給我們好嗎~~
120	C19	公視不知道在搞三小，也不事先音測一下？
121	C37	翻譯都是同一個頻道
122	C65	這口譯人員是神!
123	C66	所以公視只轉播一個頻道就是了...?
124	C49	男口譯好神!
125	C57	發言者講中文的時候，都被英文口譯給蓋過 XD
126	C67	光聽口譯就值回票價~XDDD
127	C68	我想聽英文...哪裡有??
128	C69	口譯，讚！
129	C69	現場有英文的~
130	C70	影片的關於裡面有字幕的電視播放時間。 這樣子好難聽懂&思考 等電視播放了
131	C71	其實，同步翻譯的品質，除了英文聽力之外，中文語文能力也很關鍵，這兩位口譯，很明顯的不是英文不好，而是中文不好。
132	C70	口譯好辛苦...
133	C72	可否下次有兩個頻道？一個原音，一個翻譯的！？
134	C73	有人說不行了,這是直播...
135	C29	直接跟主辦單位反應吧，如果有下次的話...
136	C21	to yehkoko 這口譯是現場音 公視只負責轉播 口譯的音軌需要後製才能抽掉***
137	C30	沒有下次了，公視電視播出的時候，應該就是原音了(誌捨目前是這樣寫...)
138	C74	中文轉英文是給 Sandel 聽的
139	C24	男口譯員應該很累 XD

140	C57	女口譯翻中文明顯比較不流暢
141	C40	把螢幕關掉 不要注意到講中文的人 會聽得比較清楚 XD
142	C75	嗯...雖然是不得已的，我也同時在做其他事，直接聽，都是聽中文。
143	C76	男生翻譯斷句段的比較好
144	C77	話說有沒有沒有口譯的版本阿...
145	C3	沒有口譯要等之後重播啦
146	C78	有沒有只聽英文還中文阿 -0-
147	C70	口譯好厲害喔 翻完英文馬上回到中文
148	C79	即時口譯的功力很重要，厲害的人，這兩小時可能就要價四、五萬
149	C80	要怎麼關掉翻譯？
150	C53	中文名自英文名字都可以!!口譯好可愛 哈哈
151	C40	口譯快崩潰了 XD
152	C81	一下英文一下中文，翻譯快瘋了
153	C53	他在欺負口譯 哈哈 就講中文嘛!!!
154	C14	口譯真的很強
155	C82	翻譯崩潰了!!
156	C83	一下英文一下中文真莫名
157	C14	口譯崩潰~~~~
158	C75	我沒跟到口譯崩潰的劇情 XD
159	C84	即時口譯 超猛!
160	C85	他剛剛應該是被翻譯影響了
161	C81	以後應該有聲音遮罩這種東西才對...聽一邊就好
162	C86	靠邀 翻譯神人
163	C40	口譯又要崩潰了
164	C14	這個口譯員是神人等級的 XD
165	C85	翻譯真神人阿
166	C86	請問一下按鈕可以按掉翻譯嗎
167	C30	不過沒聽到他講什麼... 被翻譯蓋掉了 Orz
168	C87	只能等原音的重播了
169	C88	我也想關掉翻譯><
170	C89	口譯人員超強的

171	C90	翻譯真的蠻吵的!!!好想聽原音喔~~
172	C91	但是翻譯很強
173	C85	我放棄了 聽英文吧
174	C21	翻譯是現場錄音 公視只負責轉播 需要後製才能抽掉翻譯的音軌 不是轉播就能抽掉翻譯音軌
175	C92	口譯越翻越大聲
176	C24	口譯員超強 但我還是想聽原音 XD
177	C93	翻譯超強!!!
178	C86	翻譯的口氣變溫柔了
179	C94	可以關掉翻譯嗎
180	C86	翻譯去上廁所了
181	C53	口譯辛苦了
182	C21	口譯辛苦了 超強大的男口譯
183	C95	e04 中文翻譯真煩
184	C22	神之口譯
185	C95	吵死了
186	C86	翻譯一場演講 自由基翻倍
187	C96	口譯員....
188	C84	男的口譯超猛啊!
189	C24	翻譯應該在喝水或是在吃巧克力 辛苦了
190	C97	耳朵聽英文嘴巴講中文持續十分鐘不能錯不能間斷，試試看就知道有多累了...
191	C14	男翻譯真的是屌哥 佩服的五體投地
192	C98	大家體諒一下口譯吧!! 中英轉換不容易耶!!
193	C99	別戰翻譯好嗎 這是現場的咩...
194	C100	口譯真的很威
195	C101	翻譯辛苦了
196	C102	口譯員好...
197	C53	可不可以把一整句話聽到一段落在翻阿
198	C103	各位德性的公民晚安 口譯真的超強****
199	C104	翻譯人員還蠻厲害的
200	C105	請問之後會上傳沒有"口譯"的版本嗎? 口譯人員辛苦了。
201	C106	我覺得會場的翻譯很好，但翻譯用的耳機收訊真的很差。

202	C107	不知是否能在 Youtube 提供無口譯的版本?
203	C108	希望有原文版本!
204	C109	這就是口譯版 不然看看公視轉播版本是不是原音版
205	C109	我寧願聽全英文 翻譯其實很干擾@@"
206	C110	男性口譯者超級強大.....可是還是想試著聽原音
207	C111	希望 youtube 上有原音版
208	C112	我也希望有全英文但是上字幕的版本@@因為這樣聽其實有點不順
209	C112	但是即席口譯真的強大到爆炸!
210	C112	誰知道口譯是誰呀?優秀到爆呀!
211	C113	希望有原音版+100 聽過現場之後現在很想回味
212	C114	很棒的翻譯, 不過請問有英文版本媽??
213	C115	希望有原文發音+字幕版
214	C116	:D 昨晚的講座公共論述很讚!!!兩位口譯員同步翻譯也很厲害, 辛苦了!我也希望有原音字幕版~~
215	C117	口譯員不知道跟座談是否同一位, 顯然這次有進步。大概有比較正常的呼吸了!
216	C118	1:43 分左右, 口譯對於同學中英文轉換有點怒了, 呵呵, 應該是無奈吧~
217	C119	原音中文字幕也可以放上來嗎?
218	C120	有沒有把翻譯消除的版本阿, 中英文交雜, 聽起來好難過 XD
219	C121	奇怪ㄟ既然在台灣撥幹馬還要把中文翻成英文ㄋ害我中文都聽ㄅ到
220	C61	其實之所以會有中翻英的同步翻譯音軌, 除了擔心在場是否會有外國觀眾。主要還是因為現實上音軌的切換技術和人力無法如我們隨願吧 (苦笑
221	C122	我好想把中文翻譯關掉.....
222	C123	有原文版的嗎?? 翻譯聽得超不習慣
223	C124	因為講者要聽
224	C125	把中文翻成英文應該是要翻給 Sandel 教授聽的吧, 因為他也有戴着翻譯機
225	C126為何不直接用字幕

226	C127	請問哪裡可以找到沒有中文配音的原檔？請問公視有另外上傳原音無中文同步口譯的嗎？感謝！！
227	C128	非常感謝公視。還好原音的音量沒有被完全蓋過去，真是個修練專注力的好教材。
228	C129	我也不想看有翻譯配音的
229	C130	若是公視可以的話，加上字幕聽原音會好許多
230	C131	男口譯勝出！
231	C132	這個女的翻譯的不好, the guy is doing much better!
232	C133	我在讀翻譯的時候，我的老師曾經告訴過我們，對於翻譯這個行業真正了解的人很少。所以大家的批評都非常主觀。我覺得既然那些批評的人都被桑德爾教授的深度所吸引，那是不是也要讓自己成為一個有深度的人？只聽桑德爾教授不見得會讓人變的有深度，但是跟得上時代流行是一定會的。譯者要顧慮到很多方面，不會只顧慮到聽講的人，也需要顧慮到演講的人。譯者的辛苦被聽講的人單方面某些欲求沒有被滿足而抹煞是非常可惜的。甚或是，那些開口批評的人真正投身口譯這門行業，有把握達成他自己心目中的完美境界？還是，連現在所專注的專業上也都都不夠出色，不為人所知？但是批評別人總是容易，審視自己總是困難，所以譯者對於這種意見其時可以一笑置之？如果學不會沒有標準答案的討論方式，就算是沒有習得最原始的精神
233	C134	2012/12/11 Michael Sandel 桑德爾臺灣演講：錢買不到的東西（全場英譯中同步口譯） 誰知道是誰做的口譯？從男口譯員堅定的說話語氣，不知道是否就是李健光（因替陳冠希口譯而轟動一時的新聞主播兼口譯員）？ 哪裡有英語原音的影片，請告知！

*YouTube comments were collected on December 18, 2012, one week after the live lecture.

**Numbers for comments and commenters are listed in chronological order. The two numbers do not exactly match because many users voiced their comments multiple times.

*** “yehkoko” is the nickname for commenter C72.

**** Judging from the entire 964 comments, comment #198 seemed to be a cut-off point—only comments before that occurred during the lecture, and the rest were post-event comments by YouTube viewers who watched the rerun of the YouTube lecture.