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「介入」與「分級」轉換之語料庫分析

Interpreters' Mediation in the PRC's Government Press
Conferences: A Corpus-based Analysis of Engagement
and Graduation Shifts

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A Corpus-based Analysis of Engagement and Graduation Shifts

本論文係胡懷宇（R11147011）在國立臺灣大學翻譯碩士學位學程完成之碩士學位論文，於民國 113 年 9 月 5 日承下列考試委員審查通過及口試及格，特此證明。

The undersigned, appointed by the Graduate Program in Translation and Interpretation on September 5, 2024, have examined a Master's Thesis entitled above presented by HUAI-YU HU (R11147011) and hereby certify that it is worthy of acceptance.

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Abstract

This study examined the role of interpreters in the press conferences of the People's Republic of China hosted by the premiers and foreign ministers from 2009 to 2023, focusing on their mediation through analyzing interpreting shifts. Using Appraisal theory, a linguistic model from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), the study identified engagement and graduation shifts, categorized into omissions, additions, substitutions, and sentence omissions. Source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs) from these press conferences were transcribed to build two primary corpora: one for the officials (premiers and foreign ministers) and the other for the journalists; the latter was further divided into local and foreign journalists.

Engagement, a subsystem of Appraisal theory, explores how locutions position speakers in relation to the points they reference and the potential responses to the points. When speakers acknowledge differing viewpoints but seek to challenge, restrict, or fend off these alternatives, they use contractive engagement locutions. In contrast, expansive engagement locutions allow for alternative perspectives. The data of this study revealed that the STs of the Chinese officials were more contractive than expansive, which was more so in their TTs. The STs of Chinese journalists were more contractive than expansive. Their TTs were also contractive but less so than their STs. The STs of foreign journalists were more expansive than contractive, but their TTs were more contractive than expansive. This means that the interpretations of the officials and foreign journalists were more contractive than their own STs, presenting a less open stance toward differing viewpoints. Conversely, interpretations of Chinese journalists were more expansive, portraying a more open image.

Graduation, another subsystem of Appraisal theory, denotes the degree of things. Up-scaling graduation resources intensify degrees, reflecting a higher level of speaker's



intensity or investment in the point they mention. The data showed an increase in the use of up-scaling resources in both the TTs of the officials and Chinese journalists, compared with their own STs. However, foreign journalists exhibited a decrease of such expressions in their TTs. This suggests that the interpretations of the officials and Chinese journalists heightened their intensity or investment in the points they referenced, whereas foreign journalists' interpretations lessened the speakers' intensity or investment.

This study found that interpreting shifts were most frequent among Chinese journalists, followed by officials and foreign journalists. In terms of different speakers, in the corpus of officials, additions were the most common type of shift, followed by omissions, substitutions, and sentence omissions. In the corpus of Chinese and foreign journalists, omissions were the most common, followed by additions, substitutions, and sentence omissions. Given that additions require more cognitive effort than omissions, which are usually the most frequent shift type, interpreters may have been exerting more effort in adjusting the officials' remarks than those of the journalists, whether local or foreign.

Regarding different shift types, additions and substitutions, the two types of shifts that demand more cognitive effort, occurred most often in the officials' TTs. Omissions and sentence omissions occurred most often in Chinese journalists' TTs. However, sentence omissions happened far less often in the officials' TT than in those of Chinese and foreign journalists. This suggests that the interpreters could have spent additional effort in fine-tuning the officials' remarks while avoiding sentence omissions, thereby maintaining a higher level of accuracy in their interpretations for the officials.

Qualitative analysis identified distinctive and common appraisal shift patterns in the corpora. In the officials' corpus, four shift patterns of all four types of shifts had



different communicative effects: limiting the officials' openness to different viewpoints, emphasizing points, reinforcing obligations of Japan and the U.S. and making discourse less face-threatening. In the Chinese journalists' corpus, additions expanded Chinese journalists' openness to different viewpoints, while sentence omissions failed to recreate their favorable attitudes towards China. In the foreign journalists' corpus, omissions turned opinions into facts, and sentence omissions neutralized discourse and saved face for China and its allies. Common shift patterns included the omissions observed in both Chinese and foreign journalists' corpora, which seems to reduce solidarity between journalists and officials. Another pattern was explicating logical transitions through additions, which was shared by officials and both groups of journalists. Additionally, a substitution pattern of turning "I think" into "I believe" was observed in the officials' and foreign journalists' corpora, which seems to strengthen speakers' investment.

Many shift patterns identified in this study reveal the Chinese interpreters' alignment with the government at the textual level. These patterns are likely related to factors encouraging their alignment with the government, such as their identities as civil servants or members of the CCP, or their ideologies. However, some of the patterns may imply other factors, including interpreting norms, institutional norms, and the interpreters' function of negotiating interpersonal relations. This interplay between various social factors defines an active yet multifaceted role for the government interpreters in the Chinese international press conferences.

Keywords: conference interpreting, political interpreting, role, shifts, appraisal theory



摘要

本研究透過口譯轉換 (interpreting shifts) 之分析，探討中國口譯員在 2009 年至 2023 年中華人民共和國總理和外交部長中外記者會中的中介協調 (mediation) 角色。本研究採用系統功能語言學 (SFL) 的語言學模型「評價理論」(Appraisal Theory)，辨認「介入」(engagement) 和「分級」(graduation) 之口譯轉換，並將轉換分為「省略」、「增添」、「代換」和「句子省略」四類。分析素材為歷年記者會之原語和口譯譯語逐字稿，由此建立兩大語料庫：官員語料庫 (包含總理與外交部長) 和記者語料庫；記者語料庫又另分為中國記者和外國記者兩個子語料庫。

「介入」是評價理論的子系統之一，探討字詞顯示講者對其所提及的論點，以及對提及該論點所招致的回應有何立場。若講者認知到有不同論點但欲挑戰、限制或反對與其不同之觀點，會使用「限縮性的介入字詞」。相對地，「擴展性的介入字詞」則包容不同觀點。本研究資料顯示，中國官員的原語較具限縮性，而口譯譯語的限縮更為明顯。中國記者的原語較限縮，口譯譯語也限縮，但相較原語擴展。外國記者的原語較具擴展性，但口譯譯語卻較為限縮。這表示官員和外國記者的口譯譯語相較原語都更為限縮，亦即口譯譯語降低此兩類講者對不同觀點的開放程度。而中國記者的口譯譯語則變得更具擴展性，塑造出講者對於不同觀點更為包容的形象。

「分級」為評價理論的另一子系統，攸關事物的程度。「升級型」字詞增強程度，反映出講者對於所提及的論點有較高程度的強度和投入。本研究資料顯示，相較原語，官員和中國記者口譯譯語中「升級型」用詞皆增加，但外國記者卻減少。這代表官員和中國記者的口譯譯語加強了此兩類講者對論點的強度和投入，



但外國記者的口譯譯語則弱化了講者對論點的強度和投入。

本研究發現口譯員為中國記者翻譯時，「轉換」出現的頻率最高，其次是官員和外國記者。若以不同講者區分，在官員語料庫中，「增添」是最常見的轉換類型，其次是「省略」、「代換」和「句子省略」。在中外記者語料庫中，「省略」最為常見，其次是「增添」、「代換」和「句子省略」。由於相較「省略」此種最常見的轉換，「增添」需要更多的氣力，因此口譯員可能花了較多氣力調整官員的發言，多於中國或外國記者的發言。而若以不同轉換類型區分，「增添」和「代換」的頻率在官員的口譯譯語中最高。「省略」和「句子省略」在中國記者的口譯譯語中的頻率最高，而「句子省略」在官員譯語中的頻率卻遠低於中外記者的譯語。這表示口譯員可能花了更多氣力微調官員的發言，不過同時盡量避免「句子省略」，為官員口譯保持較高準確性。

評價轉換模式可分為語料庫特有及共同兩層面來探討。若以語料庫特有的評價轉換模式來看，在官員語料中，四種類型的轉換模式具有不同的溝通效果：限縮官員對不同觀點的開放程度、強調觀點、強化日本和美國的義務以及減少話語的面子威脅（face-threatening）。在中國記者的語料中，「增添」擴大了中國記者對不同觀點的開放程度，而「句子省略」則未能再現記者對中國的好感。在外國記者的語料中，「省略」將觀點轉化為事實，而「句子省略」則將話語轉為中立，為中國及其友邦挽回顏面。在語料庫共同的轉換模式方面，可以看到三大趨勢：一、在中國、外國記者語料庫中，口譯員的「省略」似乎降低了記者與官員之間的同盟程度（solidarity），二、在官員及中外記者語料庫中，口譯員的「增添」顯化了原語的邏輯轉折，三、在官員語料庫和外國記者語料庫中，口譯員的「代換」（比如把「我認為」變成「我相信」），似乎加強了原講者的投入程度。



綜觀來看，就文本層面而言，中國口譯員的「轉換」顯示中國口譯員與政府口徑一致（alignment），其因素可能包含口譯員的公務員身分、中國共產黨黨員身份或意識形態，這些因素皆鼓勵口譯員與政府保持一致。不過，中國口譯員的「轉換」也可能基於其他因素，包括口譯規範、制度規範以及口譯員調和人際關係的功能。因此，各種社會因素之間的相互作用決定了中國政府口譯員在中外記者會中主動卻也多面向的角色。

關鍵字：會議口譯、政治口譯、角色、轉換、評價理論



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Chapter 1 Introduction

The international press conferences of the People's Republic of China (PRC), held annually during the sessions of the National People's Congress (NPC) and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) (referred to as the "Two Sessions"), have consistently garnered global attention. These conferences are the country's only occasion where high-ranking officials take questions from journalists about the state of the country, facilitated by highly-trained government interpreters who play a pivotal role in bridging linguistic gaps. However, the distinctive Chinese context presents unique challenges to the conventional notion of interpreters merely serving as intermediaries. The government interpreters not only work as professional interpreters but also as diplomats working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). As the government introduced the concept of telling China's story well in the early 2010's, the interpreters have been further endowed with the responsibility to advance the mission. Consequently, their multifaceted identities and the prevailing policy may necessitate a role beyond intermediaries, potentially shaping their textual alignment or disalignment in the interpretation. This study sought to explore the alignment/disalignment of PRC government interpreters through an analysis of interpreting shifts spanning from 2009 to 2023. Specifically, it examined how shifts in interpretation patterns may vary across different speakers.

1.1 The Chinese Political Press Conferences

Firmly embedded within the historical context of Reform and Opening-up, the interpreter-mediated press conferences were institutionalized as the communication channel for the PRC to disseminate its message and affirm its stance on crucial issues

(Gu, 2019). Of all the international press conferences held during the Two Sessions, those hosted by the premier (PM) and the foreign minister (FM) are especially important. The premier, as the highest-ranking official of the government, and the foreign minister, who heads the MFA, use these occasions to articulate the country's diplomatic policy and position.

The press conferences proceed in a Q&A mode, where journalists raise questions and officials provide answers. With both local and foreign journalists in attendance, the questions and answers are interpreted consecutively by interpreters from the Department of Translation and Interpretation (DTI) of the MFA. In the PMs' press conferences, questions mostly touch upon the internal environment, which includes Chinese domestic economy, population growth, financial/trade policies, focuses of the administration in the next year. Those related to the external environment, however, would surge when some major international events happen. All questions raised in the FMs' press conferences are related to the external environment.

The interpreters working in the press conferences have to undergo intensive competition and training before they make it to interpret for the high-level officials. As former vice director of the DTI suggested (2004), to work in the DTI, one must first pass the Chinese civil servant examination and the Chinese and English tests administered by the MFA. Subsequently, they must pass an English interview to qualify for the two-stage training process. Approximately half of the candidates are eliminated in the first stage, leaving only seven to ten individuals to proceed to the second stage before officially joining the department as translators/interpreters.

The Chinese interpreters serve not only as professional interpreters but also as diplomats and members of the CCP. Government interpreters across different countries hold varying roles. Staff interpreters at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of the



Republic of China (Taiwan) are full-time interpreters rather than diplomats. Similarly, at the U.S. Department of State, staff interpreters are not the U.S. Foreign Service Officers (FSOs). In contrast, Japan stands out as some of the most prominent interpreters at its MOFA are full-time diplomats.

Chinese DTI interpreters share similarities with their Japanese counterparts, serving both as interpreters and diplomats. According to a former director (2000) of the DTI, the interpreters are expected to adhere to the ethical code by “not changing or omitting the original speech based on their personal preferences” (p. 38). However, the expected faithfulness to the source appears to be constrained when they are asked to “leave no room for manipulation and interpretation” (Xu, 2000, p. 35) for issues pertaining to the PRC’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.

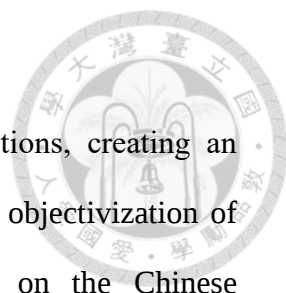
On the other hand, the Chinese interpreters differ from their counterparts in the countries mentioned above because they are members of the CCP, the party that controls the government and the state. This affiliation requires them to not only serve the government but also adhere to the party's rules and objectives. Former Chinese premier and foreign minister Zhou Enlai once said, “You (the DTI interpreters) are people, members of the CCP and revolutionary cadres. You need to have this awareness and agency to exert more influence. Surely you cannot interpret at your own will. Your priority is interpretation, but your second priority is doing a good job of external work” (Shi, 2009, p. 10). Therefore, the interpreters are also required to understand and espouse the diplomatic policies of the country and the CCP (Xu, 2000, p. 37). Moreover, in an article on the PRC’s diplomacy, Yang Jiechi (2022), the then director of the Office of the Central Commission for Foreign Affairs, mentioned the government’s mission to “tell the PRC’s stories in lively ways, and better present a true, multi-dimensional and panoramic view of the PRC to the world.” DTI interpreters not only have to work as

the bridge of communication for the PRC but also as members of the government and the party in helping fulfill the country's missions.



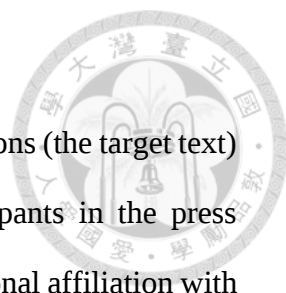
Researchers have investigated how the Chinese government-affiliated interpreters perform in the press conferences to understand their role in the setting. Adopting the participation framework (Goffman, 1981) and the concept of audience design, Liu (2010) used three of the press conferences to explore how the interpreters conduct face management and information management. The corpus-based study found that the interpreters would design their interpretation by adding more deference devices when the addressee was the official and leaving out those when it was not. Additionally, the results show that when they interpreted for Chinese journalists, they used less first-person reference than the source speech; however, when they interpreted for the officials, they added more first-person reference. Liu argued that this seemed to show the interpreters' solidarity with the people they presented, and that the adjustments were for them to form an image of a "responsible and loyal employee" (Liu, 2010, p. 189). Gu (2019) also found that there was an increased (re)production of different self-referential items in the interpretation in the PMs' press conferences from 1998 to 2017. The textual alignment with the government helped form a sense of collectiveness shared by the Chinese people and the country. However, unlike Liu (2018), Gu argued that what this signaled was the interpreters' "in-group identification as part of China's ruling elite" (Gu, 2019, p. 285).

Li (2018) analyzed the PMs' press conferences from 2000 to 2014 to investigate interpreters' mediation through modality shifts. In Li's study, shifts are broadly understood as linguistic changes in the target text from the source text, which aligns with the operational definition of shifts used in this study. A detailed introduction of shifts will be provided in the next chapter. Li found that weakening and subjectivization



of modality often occur in the officials' statements and suggestions, creating an audience-friendly image for the officials. Also, strengthening and objectivization of modality were found to occur more frequently in discourse on the Chinese government's responsibility or ability, forming the image of the government as responsible and determined. Li concluded that the in-house interpreters "not only function as professional interpreters, but also play the role of diplomatic workers and government representatives" (Li, 2018, p. 289). Li and Zhang (2021) employed the participation framework and the appraisal theory to analyze shifts in the PM's 2018 press conference. They found that when the interpreter was interpreting the PM's response to questions on sensitive diplomatic events, he would render the heteroglossic source speech monoglossic (not allowing an alternative viewpoint), which enhanced the PM's authoritative power in conveying the message. Moreover, the interpreter was found to add lexical items that had a distancing effect when conveying other countries' perspectives on the PRC. They argued that the active mediation may be explained by the interpreter's ideological alignment with the PM and his institutional power to disseminate the government's message to the world.

The studies collectively revealed that the Chinese government-affiliated interpreters had dual identities as professional interpreters and members of the government, with their government affiliation motivating them to adjust the form or content of the source speech when necessary. However, some of the studies only used a small number of the press conferences for analysis, limiting the generalizability of their findings. Others used data that spanned more than a decade but only included data up to 2017 as the most recent. Moreover, most of the studies (e.g., Gu, 2019; Li, 2018; Li & Zhang, 2021) only examined the remarks given by the officials (the source text) and the corresponding interpretations (the target text) and excluded the questions raised



by the journalists (the source text) and the corresponding interpretations (the target text) for data homogeneity. However, journalists are important participants in the press conferences, distinct from government officials, who enjoy institutional affiliation with the interpreters. Therefore, a larger dataset including both the officials' and the journalists' source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs) may be needed for a more comprehensive analysis of the interpreters' performance and role in the press conferences.

1.2 Research Purpose and Research Questions

This study constructed bilingual parallel corpora of Chinese press conferences held between 2009 and 2023, featuring the PMs and the FMs. The theoretical framework employed was Martin and White's appraisal theory (2005). The research aimed to compare engagement and graduation locutions in both STs and TTs, identifying shifts in these linguistic resources to examine potential mediation patterns by the interpreters. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted.

Unlike previous studies, this study specifically focused on questions and answers related to international relations. To many political scientists, the operation of international relations unavoidably involves a differentiation of self and others. States, as agreed by realists, is the primary actor in the anarchic international system, with the ultimate goal of survival by safeguarding their own national interests (Mearsheimer, 2001; Morgenthau, 1948). Constructivism theory, on the other hand, asserts that interaction between states drives their identity-formation that separates self from others (Wendt, 1992, 1999). The inevitable dichotomy of self and other is embedded in political discourse, which requires interpreters to choose sides while interpreting. Given the inherent distinction between "self and other," interpreters may be compelled to

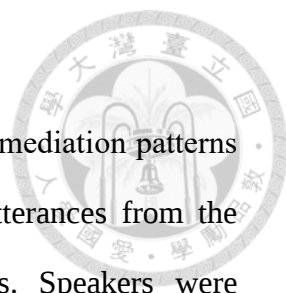


engage in greater mediation.

Interpreters' mediation can be a kind of optimization, realized by adjustments to the form of the message, elements of content, intervening in the communication process, or more active acts such as arbitration or advocacy (Setton & Dawrant, 2016). However, it can also involve intervention in the interpreting products shaped and conditioned by interpreters' socio-cognition, as previous studies suggested (e.g., Gu, 2019; Li & Zhang, 2021). Given the political significance of Chinese press conferences and the distinctive duality in government interpreters' identity, this study explored how interpreters mediate the press conferences at the textual level, drawing on the subsystem of engagement and graduation of the appraisal theory. The engagement and graduation choices made by speakers and the shifts occurring in the corresponding interpretations were examined through the comparison among different speakers (i.e., the officials, the Chinese journalists, foreign journalists). The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the patterns of engagement and graduation choices in the STs and TTs of the officials and journalists?
2. What are the patterns of engagement and graduation choices in the STs and TTs of Chinese and foreign journalists?
3. What are the appraisal shifts (namely omissions, additions, substitutions, and sentence omissions) made by the interpreters in relation to different speakers (i.e., officials vs Chinese journalists vs foreign journalists)?
4. How do the shifts demonstrate the interpreters' alignment/disalignment with the Chinese government?

As mentioned, the Chinese interpreters are civil servants who work in the same institution as the officials and share the same goal of rightly conveying China's message. In contrast, journalists do not necessarily have institutional affiliations with the



interpreters. Therefore, to thoroughly investigate how interpreters' mediation patterns differ in relation to different speakers, this study included all utterances from the officials and journalists and their corresponding interpretations. Speakers were categorized into two main groups: officials and journalists. Within the journalists' group, distinction was made between local journalists and foreign journalists.

Research question one aimed to identify how the officials and journalists utilize engagement and graduation resources and to understand whether these patterns also exist in their interpretations. Research question two took a step further by comparing the subgroups of journalists: Chinese journalists and foreign journalists. Research question three examined the differences in engagement and graduation resources used in the form of four types of shifts: omissions, additions, substitutions, and sentence omissions. The ST-TT comparisons for potential shift patterns were made within each corpus, and the identified patterns were compared across the corpora. Research questions one, two, and three were answered through quantitative analysis, focusing on the frequencies and percentages of the engagement and graduation items used. With the identified shift patterns from research question three as the starting point, the last research question explored whether interpreters' alignment with the government exists. This research question was answered through qualitative analysis that provides actual examples from the corpora.

While the mediation patterns identified through appraisal shifts in this study are at the textual level, it is pertinent to consider how alignment or disalignment may relate to social factors such as interpreters' identity and ideology. Although it is understood that the presence of such factors cannot be conclusively determined as the cause of the shifts, exploring these connections remains significant. In addition, the use of a comparatively large corpus and appraisal theory can contribute to a more solid analysis

of the social factors at play.

Through the analysis of appraisal shifts, this study aimed to discover the patterns of mediation by the interpreters, exploring how they conducted mediation when they interpreted for different speakers in the sociopolitical context. On March 4th, 2024, the PRC announced that the PM's press conference would no longer be held, marking the end of "an important institution of China's reform era" (Li, 2024). As the PM's press conferences passes into history, it is hoped that by including the press conferences up to 2023, this study can contribute to the understanding of interpreters' role in this significant political setting.

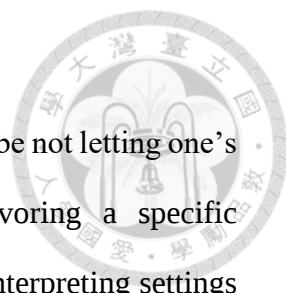
Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter first reviews studies on interpreter's role in different settings: community, conference, and political and diplomatic setting. A summary of literature on interpreting shifts, a useful analytical tool to examine interpreter's mediation, is then presented. An overview of the appraisal theory is provided in the last section of this chapter.

2.1 Interpreters' Role

Role is an important construct in social science studies (Pöllabauer, 2015). As Baert (2005) argued, role can be defined as "a set of expectations society has of individuals in a given social position or status" (p. 524). The expectations for a role can help indicate the extent to which one's agency is limited by the position or status they occupy (Baert, 2005). In the field of interpreting studies, interpreters' agency is manifested through how active the interpreters are in the communication process. While there are various role descriptions for interpreters, whether it being conduit, helpers, communication- facilitators, bilingual/bicultural specialists, they all revolve around the interpreter's extreme personal involvement or extreme to not-so-extreme non-involvement (Roy, 1993).

The Code of Professional Ethics of the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC, 2022) lists impartiality as one of the principles regulating conducts towards clients. Many other codes, especially those for court (e.g., National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators of the U.S. [NAJIT]) and public service interpreting (e.g., National Register of Public Service Interpreters of the U.K. [NRPSI]), propose a similar concept but sometimes in different terms, such as neutrality. Impartiality (or neutrality) can be construed as providing equal fidelity or equal service



to all speakers, or according to more common understandings, it can be not letting one's own views influence the interpretation or refraining from favoring a specific communicating party (Prunč & Setton, 2015). However, different interpreting settings involve different participants and communication goals, leading to different expectations for interpreters, particularly in terms of the level of impartiality. Moreover, there may be discrepancies between expected roles and actual performance. The following discussion will be on the expected and actual roles performed by interpreters in community, conference, and political and diplomatic settings.

2.1.1 Interpreters' Role in Community Interpreting

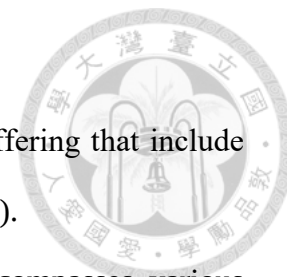
Community interpreting, according to the announcement of the First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings, “enables people who are not fluent speakers of the official language(s) of the country to communicate with the providers of public services so as to facilitate full and equal access to public services (legal, health, education, local government, and social services)” (Carr et al., 1997, p. 11). The imbalance of power and cultural differences between public service providers and those who do not speak the official languages challenge community interpreters' impartiality.

Ethical codes for court interpreters often feature the idea of impartiality. In Christensen's questionnaire-based research (2011) on a Danish interpreter-mediated courtroom setting, interpreting users and interpreter in the case study all gave the highest mark of 5 to impartiality as an interpreter competence. However, the fact that witnesses and defendants have the tendency to become reliant on the interpreter and power imbalances heightened in adversarial proceeding makes impartiality a difficult requirement (Mikkelsen, 2008). Nowadays, it is widely accepted that “interpreters can

and should act as advocates for the interpreting process” (Mikkelson, 2008, p. 79), which allows interpreters’ mediation not tailored for a specific party.

Because of the collaborative nature of most healthcare interactions, medical interpreting may have a different set of expectations (Mikkelson, 2008). Interpreters know from experience that “just translating” is not enough for “interactions marked by the interlocutors’ unequal status and different educational, social and cultural backgrounds” (Pöchhacker, 2000, p. 51). To investigate how public service providers and interpreters view the role of interpreter, Pöchhacker (2000) distributed questionnaires to 508 doctors, nurses and therapists of 12 hospitals, 121 to social workers and childcare nurses/counselors and 32 to both spoken language and sign interpreters in Vienna. The demands and expectations from the service providers were found to correspond to the aspirations of interpreters themselves, agreeing that interpreting within their institutional settings as a multi-faceted task beyond mere translation. Leanza (2005) also investigated the role of medical interpreters, but from three perspectives: physicians, interpreters and the researcher. The physicians and the interpreters have similar understandings of interpreters’ role, which is a “neutral translating machine” or “neutral ally” in the preventive pediatrics consultation. The result seems to contradict with that of Pöchhacker’s study (2000) but in the one-on-one stimulated recall interviews, some physicians and interpreters respectively expressed the benefits and expectations for interpreters taking a more active role. The researcher’s analysis of the transcripts of the interaction in the consultations further reveals that interpreter could take a more active role by asking the doctor’s permission to ask the parents health-related questions. Bolden’s research (2000) demonstrated interpreters are far from being passive in medical interactions. It was found that in the history-taking of medical consultations, interpreters would “pursue issues they believe to be

diagnostically relevant” (p. 387) and omit patients’ information offering that include “subjective accounts of their socio-psychological concerns” (p. 387).

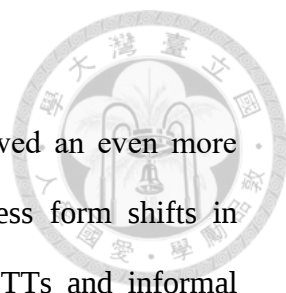


As suggested above, community interpreters' mediation encompasses various aspects, including form, content, and behavior. Despite differing levels of required impartiality across settings, a proactive role is generally expected and observed among community interpreters.

2.1.2 Interpreters' Role in Conference Interpreting

Compared with that in the community interpreting setting, the number of studies examining the interpreter's role in conference interpreting is comparatively limited. Conventionally, conference interpreters are presumed to adopt a passive and neutral role. However, research into users' attitudes and interpreters' own aspirations has highlighted the nuanced nature of this seemingly straightforward expectation. In Kopczynski's (1992) survey study on interpreting users' attitude towards and expectations for interpreters, a more active role is the ghost role, with the intruder role as the opposite. The result showed that most of the 57 Polish respondents preferred the ghost role over the intruder role in a conference setting; on the other hand, the majority allowed two intruder operations: correction of the speaker and addition of explanations.

Setton and Guo (2009) further revealed the coexistence of an active and a passive role by investigating interpreters' own attitudes to their role. On loyalty, the results of the questionnaire-based study show the interpreters' preference to be first loyal or only to the speakers. Meanwhile, the interpreters could take an active role by toning down, which as reported by the respondents, happened more often for “rude or aggressive language” (p. 229). A minority also said they might tone town criticism of their country, group or their paying client, which indicates their institutional alignment.



The empirical studies on interpreters' role performance showed an even more active role performed. Chang and Wu (2009) investigated address form shifts in interpreted Q & A sessions. With the analysis on the STs and TTs and informal interviews with the interpreters, they found that a shift could occur when the interpreters recognized the difference in the norms of address forms among languages, and when the interpreters wanted to better fulfill their goal of facilitating the communication process. In Diriker's (2004) ethnographic study of an English/Turkish colloquium, it was found that there were shifts in the speaking subject that conflicted with the assumption that "the person occupying the speaker-position (i.e., the "I") on the floor would also occupy the speaker-position (i.e., the "I") in the delivery" (p.84). For example, when the speaker was apologizing for a mistake he made, the interpreter switched from first-person to third-person, creating a distancing effect. Monacelli's (2009) research of interpreted conferences (English/Italian) also concluded that out of the need of self-preservation, interpreters subconsciously or strategically realigned themselves vis-a-vis target text listeners, compared with the alignment arrangement of source text speakers to their listeners. Through the investigation on stance (personal reference), voice (agency) and face (modality), Monacelli's study shows the interpreters' inclination of creating distance and indirectness in their delivery, revealing their purpose of distinguishing themselves from the ST.

Despite the expectations for a passive role, conference interpreters' performances explicitly unveil their activeness. Realized in both form and content, interpreters' mediation in the conference setting can be triggered by not only the need for optimization but other factors. As Diriker (2004) argued, "the interpreted utterance is not the reproduction of 'the meaning intended by the original speaker' but the presentation of 'meaning negotiated by the simultaneous interpreter' – in a dialectical

relationship with the source utterance, the interpreter's own subjectivity and a variety of social-cultural and interactional factors" (pp. 144, 145).

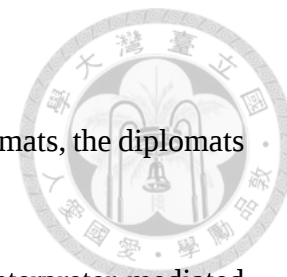


2.1.3 Interpreters' Role in Political and Diplomatic Interpreting

The diversity of languages spoken by people from different countries necessitates translation and interpretation for effective communication among them. The earliest existence of diplomatic interpreters can be traced back to Ancient Egypt, where royal messengers who spoke several languages would be accompanied by a common interpreter to deliver the pharaoh's message to foreign rulers (Mira Kadrić et al., 2021). It was not until the 20th century that political and diplomatic interpreting developed into the forms we know today, which include multilingual negotiations, conferences for international treaties and international organizations (Mira Kadrić et al., 2021).

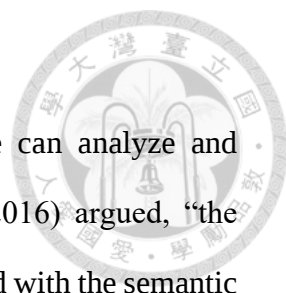
The potential impact of communicative interaction in political and diplomatic setting limits the extent to which interpreters can mediate or intervene. In fact, interpreters are usually expected to take a more passive role in political and diplomatic setting than in other settings of conference interpreting. Many diplomats and interpreters interviewed by Mira Kadrić et al. (2021) agreed that "the interpreters should not add or omit anything or reword or summarize the message, that errors or inaccuracies are not tolerated and that adding or modifying the content in any way would be a gross breach of their mandate" (p. 73). Impartiality as a principle was also mentioned by some of the interviewees. Kondo (1990) argued that interpreters' watering down politicians' remarks may save some embarrassment or even prevent a potential world crisis, but that it could hinder genuine mutual understanding. In Kopczynski's (1992) questionnaire-based research, among the 57 respondents

including people from humanities, science and technology and diplomats, the diplomats had the most restrictive view of interpreters' playing an active role.



Due to the confidentiality of many political and diplomatic interpreter-mediated events, it is usually hard to access the data for interpreting research. However, recordings of some conferences and debates of the European Parliament (EP) and the Chinese annual international press conferences are accessible on the Internet, and thus are widely used as material for studies on interpreters' role. For instance, Fu (2016) used the interpretation and translation of Chinese Premier's press conferences and his reports on the work of the government from 2008 to 2012 to examine the modal patterns in the discourse. The author found that there was massive use of modulation and collocation of first-person pronouns with volitive modal verbs, suggesting the translators/interpreters' role of "policy endorsers." Investigating a simultaneously interpreted plenary debate from the EP, Beaton-Thome (2013) found that interpreters working with German/English used lexical variants to reference those in the Guantanamo Bay detention camp, whom members of the EP hardly had a consensus to address. It was argued that the interpreters' lexical contraction compared with the STs and self-correction revealed the positioning they took while they were interpreting. While Fu (2016) and Beaton-Thome (2013) adopted different analytic tools, their studies both shed light on the complexity of interpreters' role in authentic political setting.

Political and diplomatic discourse can already be complicated in terms of positioning. Adding interpreters into the communicative interaction can impose another layer of complexity, because they "cannot simply disentangle him or herself from this lexical negotiation but is forced to take an ideological stance, not necessarily their own, through lexical choice" (Beaton-Thome, 2013, p.394). Therefore, to understand how

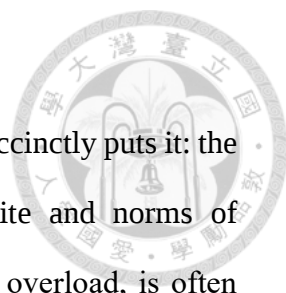


active the role an interpreter takes through their mediation, one can analyze and compare the lexical choices used in the STs and TTs. As Fu (2016) argued, “the rendition of meaning and intention is, more often than not, associated with the semantic elements indicative of a communicator’s attitudes, opinions, stances, and judgment, etc” (p.105).

2.2 Shifts in Interpreting

Research on user expectations and role performance in all settings shows that interpreters are likely to mediate in different settings. Methodologically, however, the former is usually questionnaire-based (Christensen, 2011; Kopczynski, 1992; Pöchhacker, 2000; Setton & Guo, 2009), and the latter usually includes comparative analysis of STs and TTs (Beaton-Thome, 2013; Chang & Wu, 2009; Diriker, 2004; Monacelli, 2009). By comparing the texts, researchers can better understand how user expectations are met or not met in reality and how interpreters mediate in what circumstances. A good way to understand the differences is to conduct shift analysis. Shifts are departure in the TT from the ST. Popović (1970) argues that “all that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected, may be interpreted as a shift” (p. 79). Shifts are not necessarily errors; they are expected even when the TT leans heavily on the ST (Toury, 2012). Even though shifts are inevitable in translation and interpreting, there are always more than one way to deviate from the original (Toury, 2012).

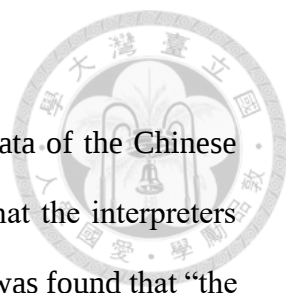
There is no denying that interpreters are influenced by various factors that can shape their performance and lead to shifts in their interpretation. The factors can be interpreters’ own view to the interests of one or more of the communicators, the setting, the existing norms of interaction and interpretation of a speech community etc.



(Kopczynski, 1994; Setton & Dawrant, 2016), or as Wang (2012) succinctly puts it: the interpreter's interpreting competence, cognitive conditions on site and norms of interpreting. Interpreter's cognitive condition, especially cognitive overload, is often considered related to the identified textual shifts, given that interpreting itself is cognitively demanding and requires the coordination of different cognitive efforts (Gile, 2009b). However, since interpreting is a complex communicative activity involving participants with diverse backgrounds and goals, interpreter's agency, socio-cultural and interactional factors also play a significant role. Recognizing that there is never just a single way to realize the inevitable need to make a shift, studies on shifts provide insights into interpreting from perspectives beyond cognition, using shifts as traces to anchor other possible factors related to them.

Shifts as an analytical tool have been used to examine hedges (Mangnifico & Defrancq, 2017; Pan, 2020), modality (Fu & Chen, 2019; Gu, 2018; Li, 2018; Monacelli, 2009), address form (Chang & Wu, 2009), personal reference (Diriker, 2004; Monacelli, 2009) and appraisal shifts (Li & Zhang, 2020; Gao, 2020; Gao & Munday, 2023). Shifts in cohesion have also been studied (Shlesinger, 1995). Usually, the correspondence of the abovementioned shifts between the ST and TT can be identified in data, which could be in the form of omissions, additions, substitutions, reductions or corrections.

Interpreting shifts studies are usually done to reconstruct interpreting norms, to investigate interpreting strategies, and to explore the potential impact of interpreter's identity or ideology on the performance. Wang (2012) analyzed shifts of five Chinese Premier Press Conferences and identified four typical norms of ST-TT relations: adequacy, explicitation in logic relations, specificity in information content and explicitness in meaning. Unlike Wang (2012), Pan (2019) resorted to the norms embedded in metadiscourse and identified three types of them: linguistic, professional

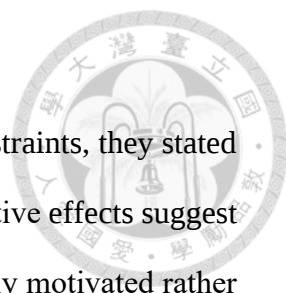


and institutional norms. By analyzing the shifts of hedges in the data of the Chinese PMs' and FM's press conferences from 1990 to 2014, he found that the interpreters give different priorities to the three types of norms. Interestingly, it was found that "the institutional norm of 'loyalty' to government speakers is closely adhered to by interpreters" (p. 108).

Monacelli (2009) drew on the theory of participation framework, analyzing shifts of personal reference, voice and modality in ten authentic SI-mediated conferences. She found that to save face and manage interpersonal relations, interpreters would detach themselves from the ST, act with indirectness and mitigate illocutionary force. Additionally, by employing the participation framework, Chang and Wu (2009) examined how interpreters dealt with address forms in SI-mediated Q&A sessions. They found that the languages used by the questioners and presenters affected interpreters' decisions regarding the interpretation of personal names and pronouns.

Some studies (e.g., Beaton, 2007; Gu, 2019; Li & Zhang, 2021) linked shifts to interpreters' identity and ideology. In this line of research, one of the most widely used analytical tools is appraisal shifts. Appraisal theory is a linguistic model focusing on evaluative language. It is concerned with how writers/speakers evaluate the material they present and what effects they want that evaluation to have on their audience. The key to evaluation is taking a stance, which is the essence of political or diplomatic discourse. Therefore, studies (e.g., Gao, 2020; Li & Zhang, 2021; Pan, 2019) have been investigating interpretation in political or diplomatic settings through appraisal shifts, attempting to explore how the shifts can be understood by the audience and what implications they have for interpreters' identity and ideology.

Li and Zhang (2021) investigated the use of engagement locutions, a subsystem of the appraisal theory, in the STs and TTs of the 2018 Chinese Foreign Minister Press



Conference. Acknowledging the potential impacts of cognitive constraints, they stated that “the regular patterns of engagement shifts and their communicative effects suggest that most of the interpreter’s choices for these shifts are ideologically motivated rather than accidental” (p. 8). They concluded that the ideological positioning could come from the fact that the interpreter was a public servant with an institutional power to effectively convey the Chinese official’s message.

Gao (2020) employed the appraisal theory and Van Dijk’s (2013) Ideological Square to examine how interpreters’ ideology influenced discourse reconstruction during the 2016 Summer Davos meeting in China. Through both quantitative and qualitative analyses, the study revealed that Chinese interpreters tended to emphasize positive and downplay negative discourse about China, thus reflecting an in-group positioning. While the out-group positioning was less apparent, a pattern emerged where interpreters added or recoded ideologically charged discourse related to countries other than China. The interpreters’ alignment with the officials found in the aforementioned two studies echoes with the result of Pan’s (2019) research, which suggests that guided by the institutional norms, interpreters appeared to be loyal to government speakers. The difference is that Li and Zhang (2021) and Gao (2020) contributed the loyalty to ideology, while Pan argued it existed as a proof of institutional norm.

Appraisal lexical items include hedges and modalities, providing a bigger toolkit than studies using only either of the categories. Moreover, as a type of analytical tools, appraisal shifts have the potential to reveal how social factors like identity and ideology are related to interpreting output. Therefore, this study adopted the appraisal theory to investigate how interpreting shifts in the Chinese press conferences from 2009 to 2023 can possibly be related to social factors.

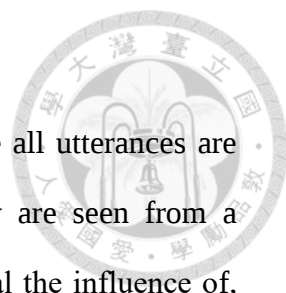


2.3 Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory is a linguistic model extended from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). SFL proposes that languages have three metafunctions: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual (Martin & White, 2005). Ideational resources are employed to construe experience. Interpersonal resources are utilized to negotiate social relations, establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships. Textual resources, on the other hand, manage informational flow. Appraisal theory attends to the interpersonal, exploring “the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 1).

It is argued that the writer’s/ speaker’s intersubjective stance can vary along three axes: attitude, engagement and graduation. Attitude is concerned with feelings. Engagement deals with the relationship between the speaker/writer and the proposition they reference, and that between the speaker and the audience. Graduation is about degree of things. Each axis includes “a lexically and grammatically diverse selection of locutions” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 94) because the theory is oriented towards meanings in context and rhetorical effects rather than grammatical forms.

Attitude is divided into three sub-categories: affect, judgment and appreciation. Affect is about positive and negative feelings, including expressions of emotions like sadness, happiness and infuriation etc. Judgment is attitude towards behavior. Expressions used to admire, criticize, compliment or condemn belong to this category. Appreciation involves evaluations of things, suggesting how they are valued (or not). Common examples of this category include adjectives like “beautiful,” “dangerous” and “compelling.”



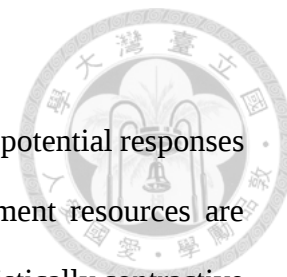
Engagement and graduation are situated in a backdrop where all utterances are considered stanced or attitudinal (Martin & White, 2005). They are seen from a dialogistic perspective in that “to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or to take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the response of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 92). Therefore, utterances are analyzed with a focus on two types of relationships: one between the speaker/writer and the proposition they reference, and one between the speaker/writer and the audience.

A dialogistic communicative context is heteroglossic, which means the writer/speaker in some way engages with alternative viewpoints of the one they propose, thus recognizing the existence of other arguments. Monoglossic utterances, however, are undialogized, usually existing as categorical assertions that make no reference to other viewpoints. Since appraisal theory focuses on the analysis of heteroglossia and does not identify the lexical items denoting monoglossia, only heteroglossic expressions were identified in this study; monoglossic utterances were only discussed when their corresponding ST or TT are heteroglossic.

Earlier research has indicated that shifts of attitudinal expressions tend to be minimal, typically happening only when the translator or interpreter significantly alters the original text or when the attitudinal meaning is unclear or subject to dispute (Munday, 2015). Therefore, this study only focused on the shifts of engagement and graduation resources. The detailed framework of the two axes is provided in the following sections.

2.3.1 Engagement

Engagement is concerned with how locutions “position the speaker/writer with



respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to the potential responses to that position” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 36). All of engagement resources are heteroglossic. They can be either dialogistically expansive or dialogistically contractive. The distinction lies in the degree to which the appraisal resource allows alternative viewpoints. Dialogistically expansive resources recognize the possibility of different positions, whereas dialogistically contractive ones “challenge, fend off, or restrict the scope of such” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 102).

Dialogistically expansive resources include two types: entertain and attribute. Entertain is wording that indicates its viewpoint is but one of a number of possible positions, thus entertaining the possibility of other positions. Modality expressing possibility, such as “may” and “might,” and locutions expressing evidentiality, such as “seem” and “suggest” are considered entertain resources. Attribute also recognizes alternative viewpoints, not by presenting the speaker’s/writer’s original position (internal voice) as entertain, but by overtly introducing others’ position (external voice). An attribution resource is seen as an acknowledging formulation when the speaker/writer reports the external voice without imposing their preference, including reporting verbs like “say,” “think” and “announce.” One is seen as a distancing formulation when the speaker/writer reports the external voice but doesn’t take the responsibility of it, if not negating it; a typical example is the word “claim.”

Dialogistically contractive resources also include two types: disclaim and proclaim. Disclaim are wordings that directly reject or replace some dialogic alternative, or present the alternative as not applying. A disclaiming resource is seen as a denial formulation when the alternative viewpoint is introduced just so the speaker/writer can reject it. The negation seems to contrast with the dialogistic perspective. However, a proposition can only be rejected after it is acknowledged, thus making a denial

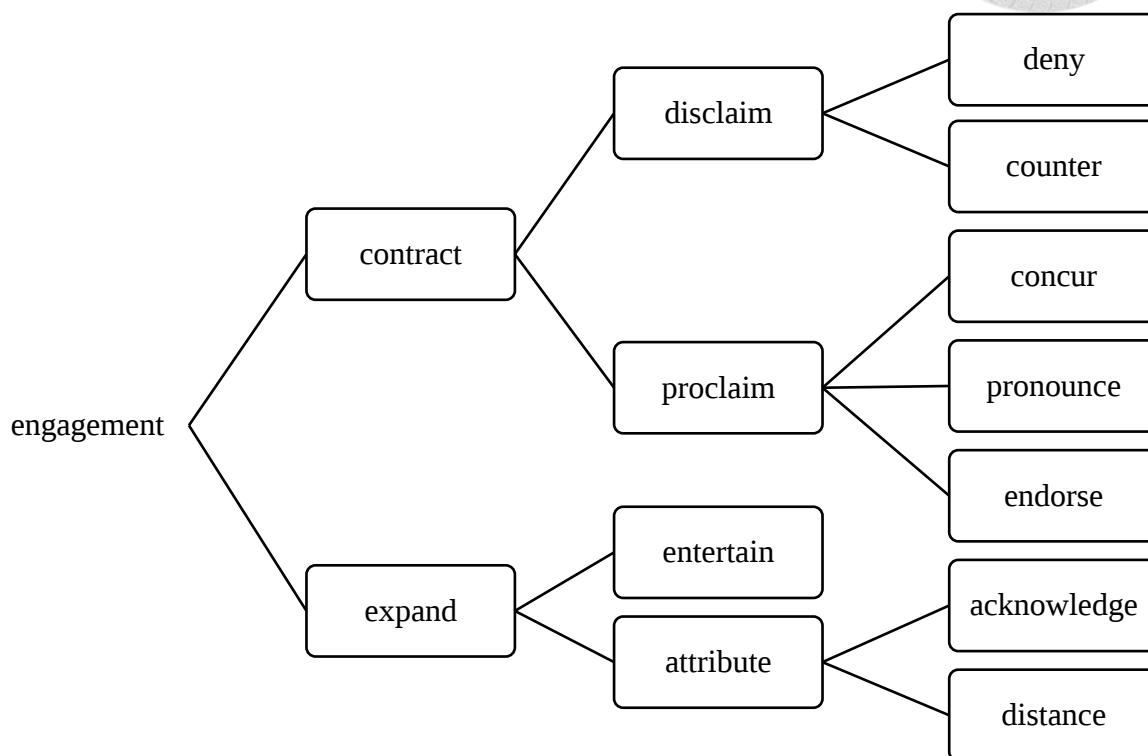
formulation a dialogistic resource. The other sub-type of disclaim is counter. Countering formulations are those replace the current proposition, which usually are conjunctions and connectives such as “even though,” “but” and “yet.”

The other sub-type of dialogistically contractive resources is proclaim. Unlike disclaim, proclaiming formulations do not directly reject a contrary position, but still limit the scope of dialogistic alternatives. There are three sub-types of proclaiming formulations: concur, pronounce and endorse. Concur involves formulations overtly showing that the speaker/writer agrees with the proposition referenced themselves. Locutions like “of course” and “admittedly,” and leading questions are often considered concurring formulations. Pronounce involves formulations that demonstrate the speaker’s/writer’s interpolations, where they announce their position by challenging that of the audience or of a third party (those do not directly engage in the communicative exchanges). Common pronouncements are “I contend,” “the truth is” and “you must agree that.” The last sub-type of proclaim is endorse. Endorsements are used to introduce a proposition from an external source, and to show such proposition is “correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 126). Endorsements usually are achieved by verbal processes (and their nominalized equivalents), such as “prove,” “demonstrate” and “point out”. The framework of engagement is outlined in Figure 1.



Figure 1

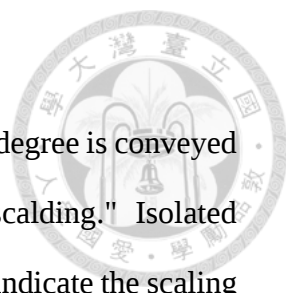
The Engagement System (adapted from Martin & White, 2005, p. 134)



2.3.2 Graduation

Graduation deals with gradability, indicating the degree (up-scaling or down-scaling) of things. There are two sub-types of graduation: force and focus. Force is concerned with amount (quantification) and intensity (intensification). Quantification are assessments of entities. It can be imprecise measuring of number (e.g., “few,” “many”) or mass (size, weight, distribution or proximity) of entities.

Intensification are assessments of degree of intensity, which can operate over qualities (adjectives or adverbs), processes (verbs) or the verbal modalities of likelihood, usuality, inclination and obligation. There are two major modes to achieve



intensification: infusion and isolation. In infused intensification, the degree is conveyed through the object being measured, such as "warm," "hot," "scalding." Isolated intensification, on the other hand, requires a separate lexical item to indicate the scaling up or down of intensity. This includes pre-modification (e.g., "slightly" hot, "quite" hot, "very" hot), comparatives and superlatives.

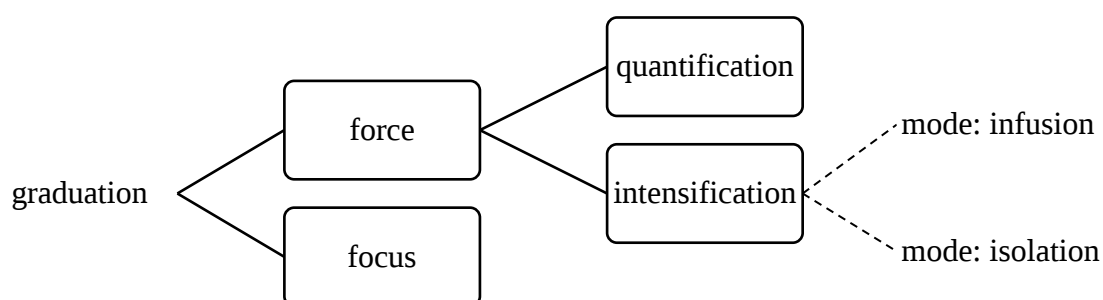
The other sub-type of graduation is focus. Focus is concerned with prototypicality. It applies to things that are not scalable from the experiential perspective. Things that have an either-or nature seem to be non-scalable, but when the conditions to qualify as them are not met or precisely met, they become scalable. For example, a "real professional" is up-scaling of focus, while "sort of a professional" is down-scaling. The framework of graduation is outlined in Figure 2.

Engagement resources are gradable (scalable). They scale for "the degree of the speaker/writer's intensity, or the degree of their investment in the utterance" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 136). For instance, authorial proposition can be reported by, from a lower to higher degree, "I think," "I believe," "I am convinced." Therefore, graduation as an individual category, along with graduation attached to engagement, were all considered in this study.



Figure 2

The Graduation System (adapted from Martin & White, 2005, p. 154)



This study adopted appraisal theory as theoretical foundation to examine shifts in TTs from STs of the Chinese press conferences between 2009 and 2023. Through intertextual analysis, it aimed to identify appraisal shifts that may indicate how the interpreters position themselves against the speakers' arguments. By analyzing these patterns of shifts, the study sought to gain insights into how interpreters approach speeches made by different groups of people. These patterns illuminated how interpreters mediate the communication process, potentially stepping out of the passive role typically expected in political conference settings. Focusing on Chinese press conferences, where interpreters also serve as civil servants and members of the CCP, this study further explored how the identified patterns of shifts may be linked to social factors such as interpreters' identity or ideology.

Chapter 3 Methods



This study aimed to examine the PRC interpreters' mediation through appraisal shifts in the PMs' and the FM's international press conferences from 2009 to 2023. The interpreters' mediation was explored via corpus analysis, which was based on self-built parallel corpora of the STs and TTs of the press conferences. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted. The quantitative analysis presents the shift patterns across the corpora. The qualitative analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in nature, providing examples of the shifts and related discussion. This chapter describes the corpora and the details of data analysis.

3.1 Corpus Description

The corpora are constituted by the STs and TTs of the press conferences given by the PRC's PMs and FM's between 2009 and 2023 during the annual Two Sessions. The answers given by the FM in the press conferences of 2020, 2021 and 2022 were excluded. To prevent the spread of the corona virus, the Chinese government held the press conferences of the three years online, with the journalists and the officials staying in different halls. The journalists' questions were interpreted consecutively, as usual, but the FM's answers were interpreted simultaneously. After the examination of the video recording online, it was judged by the researcher that the interpreters might have been reading aloud from pre-translated scripts rather than providing simultaneous interpretation. This discrepancy, along with the use of simultaneous interpretation instead of consecutive interpretation, could compromise the consistency of the corpus data. Consequently, this study retained only the questions from the FM's press conferences of 2020, 2021, and 2022, excluding both the STs and TTs of the answers. Moreover, those of the FM in 2010 and of the PM in 2009 were also excluded because

the video recordings of the two could not be found on the Internet. This study includes data starting from 2009 because transcripts and video recordings of press conferences prior to that year are difficult to locate.



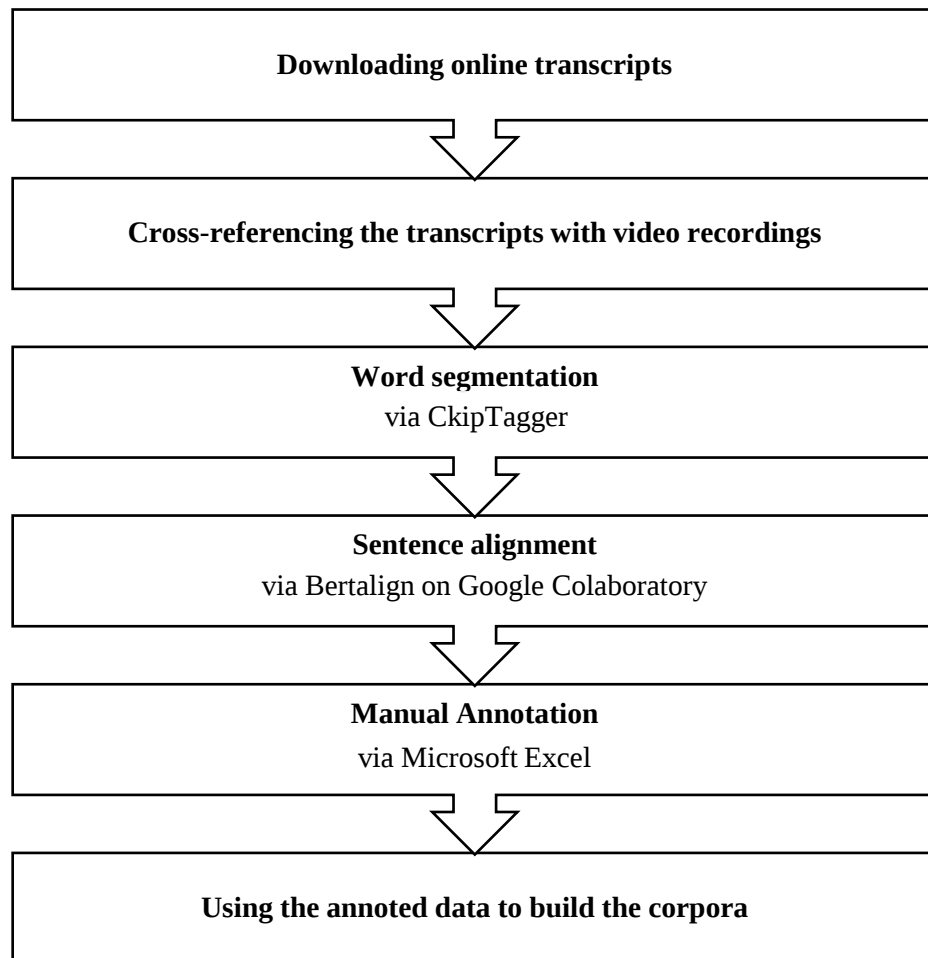
The video recordings of the press conferences were found on YouTube and the website of CCTV, a Chinese official news media outlet. Transcripts of the STs and TTs were downloaded from the government official websites. All questions and answers from the Foreign Minister's press conferences were incorporated. For the PM's press conferences, for the purpose of the current study, only those pertaining to international relations were included.

The online transcripts were cross-referenced with video recordings of the press conferences to align with the actual content, addressing any discrepancies or missing information. Also, speakers' hesitations, repetitions, fillers and stuttering, which were not seen in the transcripts provided by the government, were documented for the benefit of data analysis. The edited Chinese and English transcripts were then processed through CkipTagger, a word segmentation (WS) system developed by Academia Sinica. After the process of WS, the transcripts were uploaded to Google Colaboratory for sentence alignment, using the automatic multilingual sentence aligner Bertalign that employs the transformers-based language model LaBSE. The aligned transcripts of the officials and journalists were then annotated manually on Microsoft Excel for engagement and graduation resources and the shifts. Finally, the annotated data were used to build the corpora. The procedures involved in building the corpora are outlined in Figure 3.



Figure 3

The Sub-corpora Construction Procedures



3.1.1 Participants of the Press Conferences

The participants, or the speakers, in the Chinese press conferences include the Chinese officials: the PMs and the FMs, Chinese and foreign journalists, and the interpreters. From 2009 to 2023, the PMs were Wen Jiabao (溫家寶 2009-2012), Li Keqiang (李克強, 2013-2022) and Li Qiang (李強, 2023) and the FMs were Yang Jiechi (楊潔篪, 2009 - 2012), Wang Yi (王毅, 2013-2022) and Qin Gang (秦剛, 2023). All the officials spoke in Chinese no matter which language had been used by the

journalists when they raised their questions. The journalists were from domestic or foreign media outlets, raising questions in either English or Chinese. Some journalists who did not have Chinese as their first language would ask questions in Chinese. Since the journalists' accents, unidiomatic expressions and disfluency could have had potential effects on the interpreters' comprehension and output accordingly, these factors were all taken into consideration in data analysis.

Of all the press conferences covered, there are five interpreters, three females and two males. As Table 1 shows, IT 1 and IT 4 interpreted the majority of the press conferences over the past fifteen years. IT 1 interpreted twelve out of the fourteen PMs' press conferences and four out of all the FM's press conferences. IT 4 interpreted six out of all the FM's press conferences covered in this study. Table 2 presents the details of the press conferences in chronological order.

Table 1

Interpreters Working in the Press Conferences from 2009 to 2023

Interpreter	Gender	No. of PM's press conferences participated	No. of FM's press conferences participated
IT 1	F	12	4
IT 2	F	0	3
IT 3	F	0	1
IT 4	M	1	6
IT 5	M	1	0



Table 2

Details of the PM's and FM's Press Conferences from 2009 to 2023

Year	Speaker type	ST word count		TT word count		Length of video recording	Interpreter
		CH	EN	CH	EN		
2023	PM	1525	0	0	1021	n/a	IT 5
2023	FM	9036	441	636	5710	112 min 26 s	IT 3
2022	PM	2505	239	473	1747	n/a	IT 1
2022	FM	2108	575	801	822	n/a	IT 2
2021	PM	2316	78	126	1534	n/a	IT 1
2021	FM	1369	703	832	1353	n/a	IT 2
2020	PM	3234	306	581	2432	n/a	IT 1
2020	FM	1128	481	667	1013	n/a	IT 2
2019	PM	4060	196	338	2829	n/a	IT 1
2019	FM	11602	384	561	6376	111 min 59 s	IT 4
2018	PM	2622	206	327	1713	n/a	IT 1
2018	FM	11835	377	497	6817	121 min 11 s	IT 4
2017	PM	3637	330	252	2663	n/a	IT 1
2017	FM	11844	376	598	6497	114 min 30 s	IT 4
2016	PM	2630	230	405	1841	n/a	IT 1
2016	FM	11369	218	313	6849	108 min 42 s	IT 4
2015	PM	3099	79	183	2434	n/a	IT 1

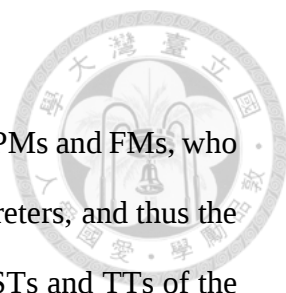


No. of corpus	Speaker type	ST word count		TT word count		Length of video recording	Interpreter
		CH	EN	CH	EN		
2015	FM	7400	243	388	5159	92 min 43 s	IT 4
2014	PM	2957	180	383	2267	n/a	IT 1
2014	FM	7796	214	271	5377	96 min 11 s	IT 4
2013	PM	2071	0	0	1507	n/a	IT 4
2013	FM	7542	0	0	5402	98 min 51 s	IT 1
2012	PM	2328	107	177	1796	n/a	IT 1
2012	FM	8260	228	412	5669	102 min 29 s	IT 1
2011	PM	2208	70	144	1713	n/a	IT 1
2011	FM	9421	110	222	6242	116 min 26 s	IT 1
2010	PM	3447	153	262	2659	n/a	IT 1
2009	FM	9172	305	392	3286	65 min 52 s	IT 1

Note. The length of video recordings for the PMs' press conferences is not provided because only specific questions, those related to international relations within the setting, are incorporated. Besides, the length of video recordings for FM's press conferences from 2020 to 2022 is not provided as only questions raised during the press conferences are included.

3.1.2 The Four Corpora

Table 3 presents the details of the corpora. The participants of the press conferences include the officials (PM and FM), the journalists (domestic and foreign)



and the interpreters. C1-Officials consists of the STs and TTs of the PMs and FMs, who are the representatives of the government, the superior of the interpreters, and thus the main clients of the interpreters. C2-Journalists is comprised of the STs and TTs of the journalists, who do not work in the government and thus do not have to act on behalf of it. C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists are for domestic and foreign journalists. These two corpora are subsets of C2-Journalists and are mutually exclusive. The differentiation of the two types of journalists is to better reflect the context of the PRC. In the country, domestic journalists can work for the government. Most of the domestic journalists were from media outlets subordinate to the government. Therefore, to investigate how the interpreters' patterns of appraisal shifts vary across different speakers, the researcher first compared the results from the officials (C1) and the journalists (C2) and proceeded to contrast those from C1, the domestic journalists (C2-1) and the foreign journalists (C2-2).

Table 3

Details of the Corpora

Corpus name	ST word count		TT word count	
	CH	EN	CH	EN
C1-Officials	107135	204	0	81642
C2-Journalists	27287	6337	11157	14803
C2-1-Chinese Journalists	14174	94	213	7394
C2-2-Foreign Journalists	13113	6243	10944	7409



3.2 Data Analysis

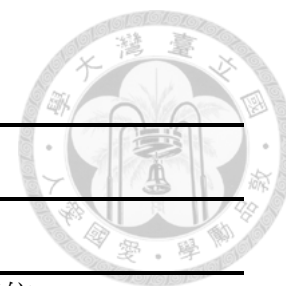
3.2.1 Annotation of Appraisal Resources

To identify the pattern of the use of engagement and graduation resources and shifts therein required manual annotation. The lexical examples of the appraisal resources were referenced from Martin and White (2005) for the English texts and Peng et al. (2015) for the Chinese texts. The former is a book specialized in the appraisal theory, while the latter is one of the few works introducing the theory for application in the Chinese language. Table 4 and Table 5 respectively present the typology of engagement and graduation resources adopted in this study.

Table 4

Typology of Engagement Resources for Analysis (based on Martin & White, 2005 and Peng et al., 2015)

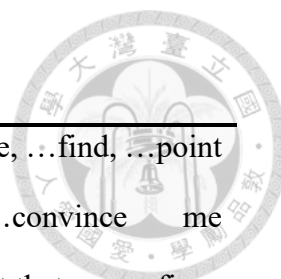
Engagement		
Sub-category		Example
Expansive	Entertain	may, will, must, might, could; perhaps, probably, definitely; it seems, it appears, apparently; in my view, I think that, I believe that, I'm convinced that, I suspect that; if, as long as, unless, in case, whenever 可能、必須； 似乎、好像、顯得、.....似的；



Engagement		
Sub-category		Example
		我想、我相信、我深信； 如果、除非、只要、凡是
	Acknowledge	say, report, state, declare, announce, believe, think, describe, argue, deny; according to, it is said/reported that, in sb's view說、根據.....、在.....看來、 對.....來說；否認、.....反駁
	Distance	claim, rumor, so-called, labeled, allegedly 鼓吹、謠傳、所謂、風言風語
Contractive	Deny	no, didn't, never 不、無、沒有
	Counter	although, however, but, yet; even, still; while, in contrast, on the other hand, in theory...in practice, not...but 儘管、但是、然而、可是； 甚至、還、仍然、依然；



Engagement	
Sub-category	Example
	而、則、相比之下、理論上、表面上..... 實際上、不是.....只是、不是.....而是
Concur	certainly, clearly, naturally, obviously, admittedly, of course, it is clear that, everyone knows that; not surprisingly, it is no wonder that, there is no doubt that 當然、顯然、分明、的確、確實； 自（然）、況且、何況、反正； 我們知道/深知/注意
Pronounce	as a matter of fact, I contend; almost, absolutely, totally, utterly, entirely, really, completely; should, must 事實上、本質上、我主張、我發現； 根本、幾乎、完全、簡直、著實； 更加重要的是、應該強調的是、最主要的是、關鍵是； 應該、必須



Endorse

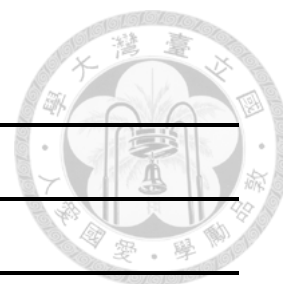
...show, ...demonstrate, ...find, ...point
out, ...prove, ...convince me
that, ...confirm the fact that, ...confirm
顯示、表明、指出、發現、證實



Table 5

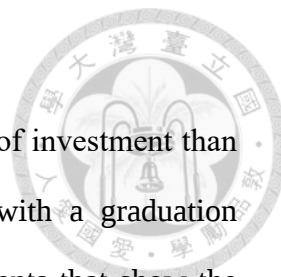
Typology of Graduation Resources for Analysis (based on Martin & White, 2005 and Peng et al., 2015)

Graduation		
Sub-category		Example
Up-scaling	Quantification	a few, many; 許多、大量、無數、大批
	Intensification	relatively, fairly, rather, quite, very, extremely, utterly; comparatives, superlatives; often, always; possible, probable, certain must 有點、挺、好、很、相當、極、特別、 尤其、十分； 比、比較、不如、更、最； 常常、總是
	Focus	real, genuine, pure, absolute, exact; in particular, particularly, especially 真正、正宗、純正、整整、絕對、徹 底、完全； 特別、尤其



Graduation		
Sub-category		Example
Down-scaling	Quantification	few, little; 少數、一點、零星、稀少
	Intensification	a bit, somewhat; rarely; comparatives, superlatives; 些、一點； 比、比較、不如、更、最
	Focus	sort of, kind of, (work) or anything, just like that, to a degree; almost, nearly, about 算是、等於、近於、...之類的； 差一點、左右、大約
No-scaling	Quantification	some 一些
	Intensification	sometimes, occasionally 有時

All of the seven engagement resources, expansive or contractive, were included. It is worth noting that since engagement resources feature gradability (Martin & White, 2005), their annotation generally not only includes engagement but also graduation. For example, “I think” and “I believe” are entertaining resources that indicate the speaker’s

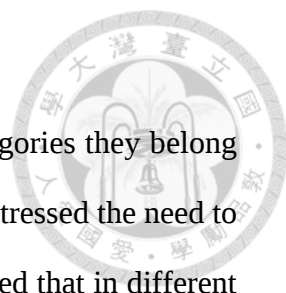


investment in their utterance, but “believe” shows a higher degree of investment than “think,” so “I believe” is marked as an entertaining locution with a graduation annotation of “up-scaling.” “Should” and “must” are pronouncements that show the speaker’s intensity in describing some obligation, but “must” carries a higher degree of intensity, so it is marked as a pronouncement with a graduation annotation of “up-scaling.”

Deny is the only engagement sub-category that has no lexical examples. Generally speaking, any lexical expressions that carry negativeness can be perceived as a denial resource, except for those that cannot be treated as an individual element in a sentence. As Peng (2015) suggested, expressions like “deny” and “no more than” are used to show negation, but their negativeness is only embedded in themselves rather than exists as an individual element that negates a discourse in the sentence. Therefore, only negative expressions that serve as an individual element were counted as a denial resource in this study.

Graduation resources were divided into three categories: up-scaling, down-scaling and no-scaling. Martin and White (2005) proposed that graduation goes in two directions, either up or down. Since this study aimed to analyze appraisal shifts, the category “no-scaling” was added to serve as a benchmark for up-scaled or down-scaled appraisal shift in appraisal resources. In “no-scaling” there are expressions that do not specify the moving direction on the scale and can be thought of as being set in the middle of the scale, such as “some” and “sometimes.”

The major ways graduation operates are quantification, intensification and focus. It should be noted that focus does not serve as a category in no-scaling. The reason is that focus is graduation over prototypicality, which is more of an either-or category and does not allow graduation resource to set in the middle of the scale.



The lexical examples are usually categorized into the sub-categories they belong to in Table 4 and Table 5. However, Martin and White (2005) also stressed the need to take co-textual and contextual factors into consideration. They argued that in different co-textual conditions and contexts, the meaning and rhetorical effect of a specific engagement resource could vary systematically. Given the complexity of this, the annotation of this study was conducted manually.

3.2.2 Analyzing the Shifts

The shifts to be identified and analyzed include textual omissions, additions, substitutions and sentence omissions. The choice of the four types of shifts was inspired by Gao's study (2020); however, Gao did not clearly define these shifts. The following are the definitions for the shifts in this study:

1. Omissions: the removal of appraisal locutions from the ST.
2. Additions: the inclusion of appraisal locutions in the TT.
3. Substitutions:
 - When the appraisal resource in the ST and corresponding TT belong to different categories.
 - When an appraisal resource is omitted but a non-appraisal expression is added to convey the intended meaning of the ST.
4. Sentence omissions: the removal of a clause or a complete sentence from the ST.

Gao (2020, pp. 90, 98) argued that sentence omissions could be more revealing of interpreters' ideology because the longer time span locally provide the interpreter with more time and cognitive capacities. Although this study did not arbitrarily determine the reasons for the appraisal shifts, the reduced temporal pressure and cognitive load



would probably allow more discussion on potential social factors like interpreters' ideology or identity.

The current study used data from a CI setting, which in Gile's (2009b) Effort Model is performed in two phases, the comprehension phase and reformulation phase. The reformulation stage is self-paced by the interpreter, while the comprehension phase is paced by the speaker, which is similar to the Effort Model of SI, where the interpreter is under time pressure and thus have higher risks of saturation. The major difference of the model between CI's first stage and SI is that the production effort is devoted to notes and speech production respectively. Despite the similarity, Gile (2009b) stated that since note-taking in CI allows more freedom than speech production in SI, CI does not necessarily generate the same constraints as SI (p. 177). Therefore, in the current study, cognitive factors still played a role in data analysis.

Shifts arisen from differences between linguistic systems were not included in the present study. Toury (2012) stated that there are obligatory shifts and non-obligatory shifts. Obligatory shifts stem from systemic differences between the source and target languages (Toury, 2012), such as those occur because of grammatical differences (Gu, 2019) or a lack of correspondence between related expressions in the languages (Bakker et al., 2000). However, non-obligatory shifts, also known as optional shifts, are caused by the interpreter's interpreting strategies or other considerations in their decision-making process (Gu, 2019), existing for stylistic, ideological or cultural reasons (Bakker et al., 2000). Therefore, obligatory shifts were not included in the present study; only non-obligatory shifts, the interpreter's subjective choice, served as a unit for analysis.

Quantitative analysis included two parts. First, the profiles of engagement and graduation resources of the STs and TTs for all the corpora were established. The

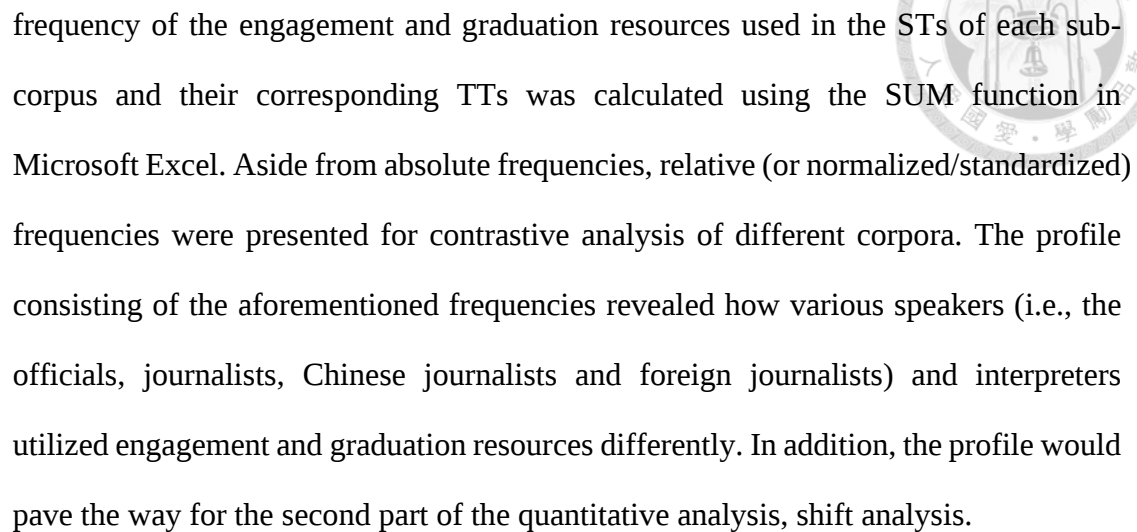
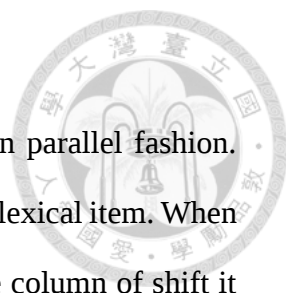


Figure 4

A Screenshot of the Annotated Data in C1-Officials

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As Figure 4 shows, the annotated ST and TT are displayed in parallel fashion. Each pair of angle bracket serves as a marker to identify an appraisal lexical item. When a shift occurs, the related marker will be replicated and put into the column of shift it belongs to (see column F~I) for calculation.

The frequencies, both absolute and relative, of each type of shifts in every corpus were calculated using the SUM function in Microsoft Excel. Moreover, as a way to gauge how common shifts are, in each corpus, the total number of shifts were further divided by the total word count. Finally, to identify the patterns of shifts, the researcher divided the number of each type of shifts by the total number of shifts in each corpus. Statistical comparisons were made across C1-Officials, C2-1-Chinese Journalists, and C2-2-Foreign Journalists. The quantitative analysis helped identify prominent features of the use of engagement and graduation resources in STs and TTs and their shifts patterns across different corpora.

What follows the quantitative analysis is the qualitative analysis, which is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in nature. Examples of shifts related to the quantitative features of the corpus data were provided, including the ST, the TT, the literal translation of the ST or backtranslation of the TT (both translated by the researcher). CDA is a type of analytical research that investigates how “discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 466). Discourse is “language seen as social practice determined by social structures” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17). Formal properties of texts are seen as “traces” of how text production is socially constructed, revealing connections between the properties of texts and ideologies or power relations that are otherwise opaque to those who produce or interpret those texts (Fairclough, 2013). In this study, engagement and graduation shifts are the formal properties of texts that were

used to explain how the immediate situation (the press conference), the institution (the MFA and the interpreters' identity), or the wider political and sociocultural contexts might have contributed to these shifts.

CDA has been subject to criticism for its perceived subjectivity. Researchers using CDA are accused of “cherry-picking” the examples of texts that are in line with their assumptions or agendas (Partington, 2004, 2006; Widdowson, 1998). The inevitability of selecting examples may also bring the present study under such criticism. However, the use of corpus can decrease the level of subjectivity. Corpus-based studies only select examples that help elucidate salient features identified within the corpus data, reducing the likelihood of cherry-picking by researchers. Additionally, the substantial amount of data in this study contributes to the reliability of the identified features, providing a more robust foundation for the examples presented.



Chapter 4 Quantitative Results

This chapter presents quantitative results from analyses within and across the corpora. Results for research question one and two—the engagement and graduation choices in the STs and TTs of the officials and journalists, as well as Chinese and foreign journalists—are presented in Section 4.1. The section provides the appraisal profiles of the source text speakers and the interpreters, discussing their use of engagement and graduation resources. Results for research question three, concerning appraisal shifts in relation to different speakers, are presented in Section 4.2. In this section, shift profiles of the corpora are provided, along with discussion on the patterns identified in these profiles.

4.1 Appraisal Profiles of the Source Text Speakers and the Interpreters

An appraisal profile provides an overview of the distribution of engagement and graduation resources used in a corpus. Both engagement and graduation are discussed in their broad categories: 1) expansive and contractive engagement, as well as 2) no-scaling, upscaling, and down-scaling graduation. The former categorization indicates the degree to which an utterance allows for dialogically alternative positions, while the latter demonstrates the degree of authorial intensity or investment in an utterance. For comparison across the corpora, all categories are measured in relative frequency.

4.1.1 Appraisal Profiles of the Officials and Journalists

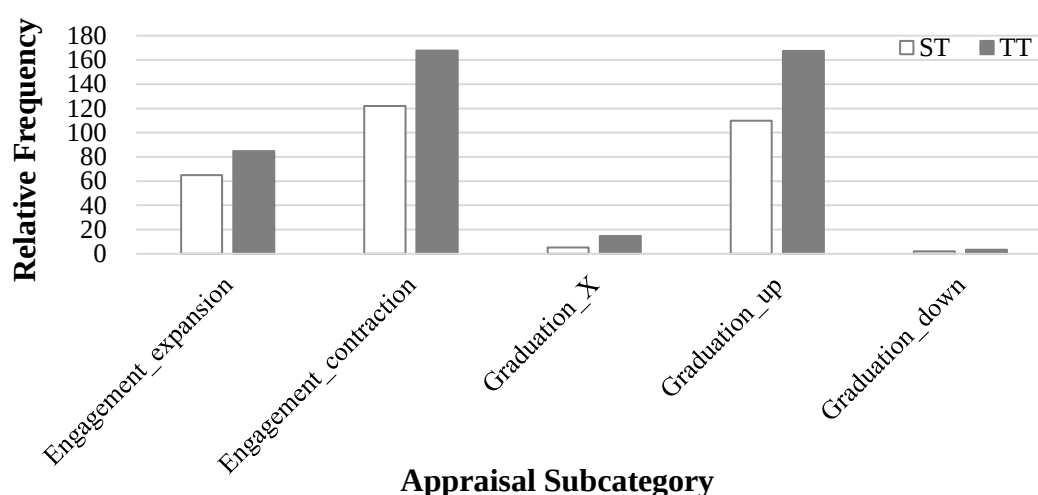
Figure 5 presents the appraisal profile of CI-Officials. It shows that the relative frequency of each of the appraisal sub-categories in the TTs outnumbers that of those in the STs, indicating a more frequent use of appraisal locutions by the interpreters than the officials. Although the distribution remains largely consistent, the significant



increase in contractive engagement makes the officials' utterances more contraction-oriented. This means that on the whole, the TTs allow for fewer dialogically alternative voices than the STs. In addition, the considerable uptick in upscaling of graduation increases the authorial intensity or investment in the TTs.

Figure 5

Appraisal Profile of C1-Officials



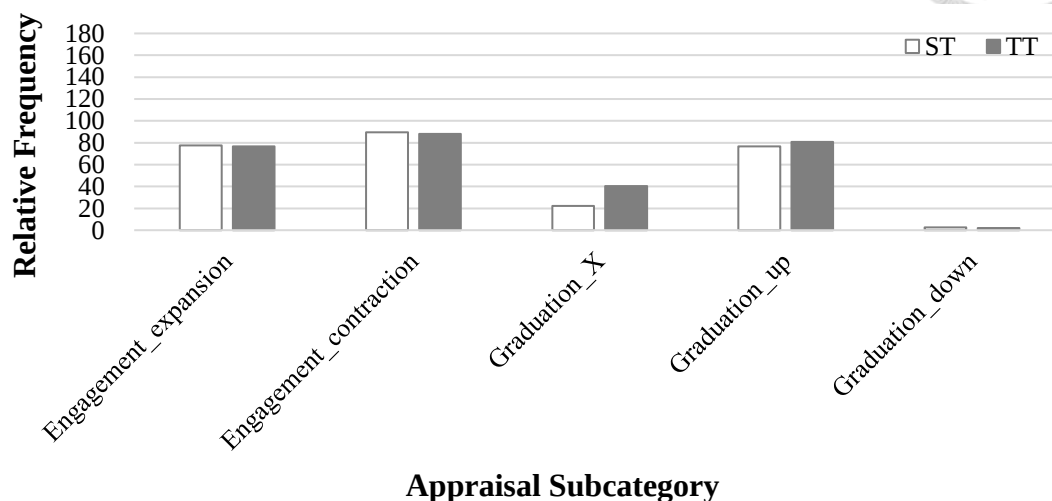
Note. Relative frequency is calculated by dividing the raw frequency of each type of resource by the word count of the corpus, and then multiplying the result by 10,000.

Figure 6 illustrates the appraisal profile of C2-Journalists. Almost every appraisal subcategory occurs with nearly the same relative frequency in the TTs as in the STs. Since the distribution of expansive and contractive engagement resources is roughly even in both the STs and the TTs, the journalists' utterances and the interpretations do not appear to be tilted toward either embracing or limiting alternative opinions.



Figure 6

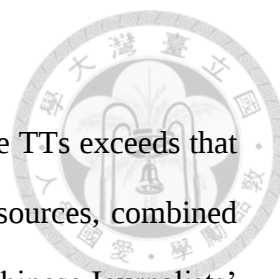
Appraisal Profile of C2-Journalists



The results of C1-Officials and C2-Journalists differ from those of Gao's (2020) study on the 2016 Summer Davos meeting in China. Gao's study found a general reduction of the appraisal subcategories from STs to TTs, suggesting that this could be attributed to interpreters' cognitive saturation, as proposed by Gile's (2009a) Effort Model. However, this study does not identify a general reduction in either the officials' or journalists' data. Instead, it finds a general increase in all appraisal subcategories for the officials. Furthermore, the significant increase in contractive engagement and upscaling graduation in the officials' data suggests that interpreters may put in additional effort when interpreting for officials to limit dialogically alternative voices and increase authorial intensity or investment.

4.1.2 Appraisal Profiles of Chinese and Foreign Journalists

C2-Journalists can be further divided into C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists. As depicted in Figure 7, except for contractive engagement



resources, the relative frequency of all the other subcategories in the TTs exceeds that in the STs. The considerable increase in expansive engagement resources, combined with a slight decrease in contractive engagement resources, allows Chinese Journalists' utterances to embrace more dialogically alternative opinions. Additionally, there is a significant increase in both no-scaling and upscaling graduation resources. The latter may suggest a higher level of authorial intensity and investment in the TTs than in the STs.

Figure 7

Appraisal Profile of C2-1-Chinese Journalists

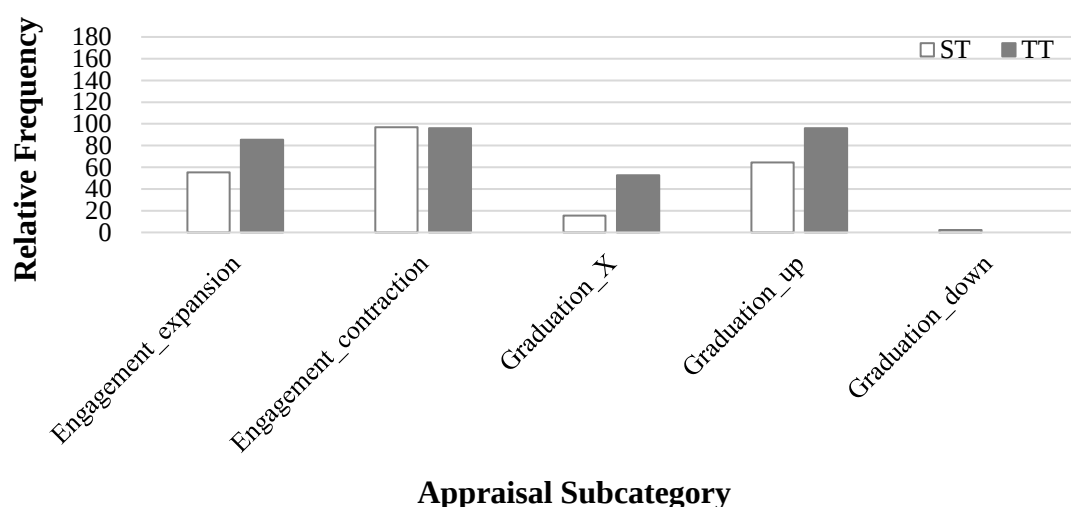


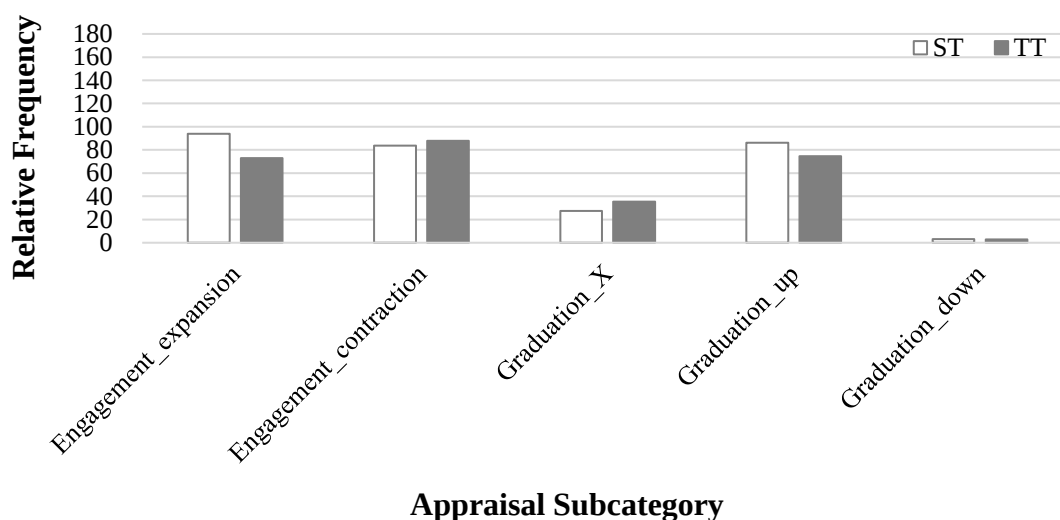
Figure 8 displays a complex landscape of C2-2-Foreign Journalists, where no global trend between STs and TTs can be identified. Nevertheless, the drop in expansive engagement resources in the TTs is evident, resulting in a change in the overall distribution by allowing contractive engagement resources to dominate the profile. This changes foreign journalists' utterances from expansion-oriented to contraction-oriented, limiting dialogically alternative opinions. It is also found that there is a decrease in



upscaling graduation resources, which indicates a lower level of authorial intensity or investment in the TTs than in the STs.

Figure 8

Appraisal Profile of C2-2-Foreign Journalists



Comparison between the appraisal profiles of C1-Officials, C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists can shed light on how engagement and graduation resources are used in relation to different speakers. Figure 9 is the engagement profile of the three corpora. The significant increase in contractive engagement makes the officials' utterances more contraction-oriented than it is in its STs. As for foreign journalists, the opposite changes in expansive and contractive engagement transform the utterances from expansion-oriented to contraction-oriented. In contrast, with an increase in expansive engagement and minimal change in contractive engagement, Chinese journalists' utterances appear to be more expansion-oriented in its TTs. This turns out to be surprising because the officials share similar



results with foreign journalists, instead of Chinese journalists, who are from media outlets subordinate to the government.

Figure 9

Engagement Profile of C1-Officials, C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists

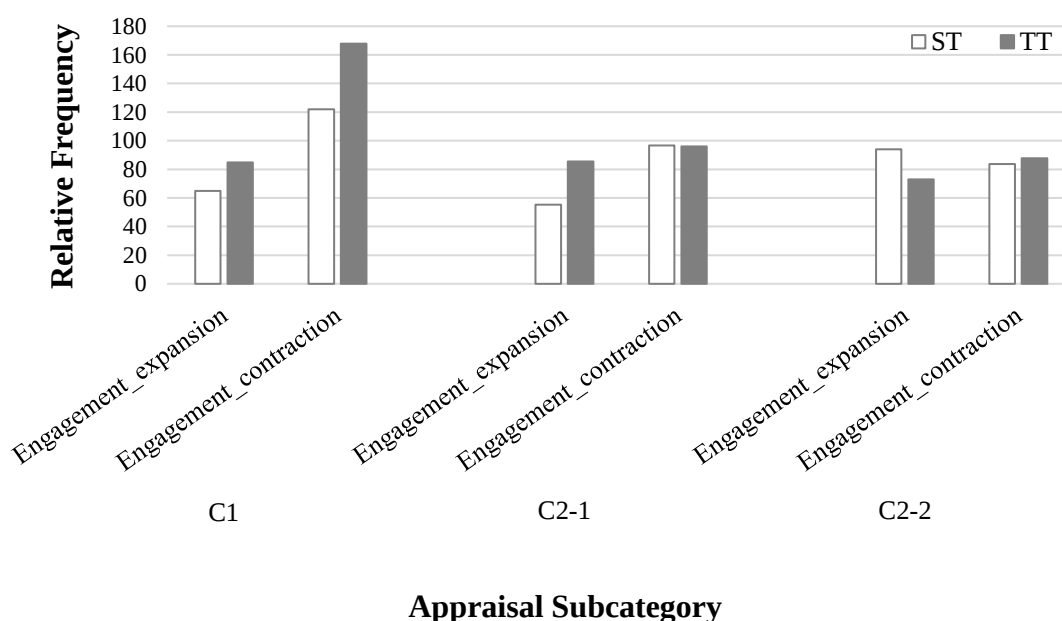
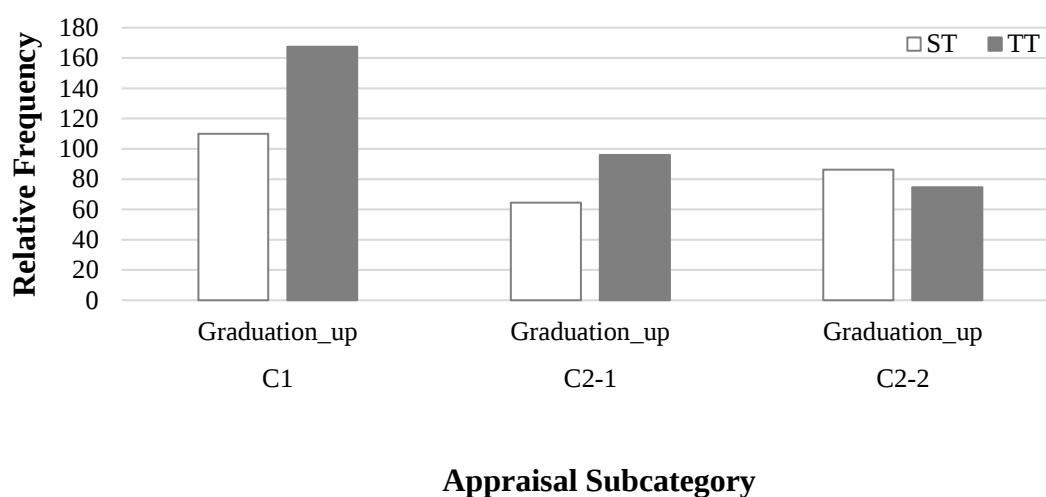


Figure 10 is the upscaling graduation profile of the three corpora. Since no-scaling graduation resources do not denote particular authorial propensity, and down-scaling resources have insignificant ST-TT difference in all the corpora, only upscaling resources are discussed here. All the three corpora see a change in their use of upscaling resources, with an increase in both the officials and Chinese journalists, and a decrease in foreign journalists. That is, unlike the results of engagement resources, the officials and Chinese journalists share the same pattern in terms of upscaling graduation resources.



Figure 10

Upscaling Graduation Profile of C1-Officials, C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists



The differentiation of Chinese and foreign journalists uncovers the distinctive trends in their use of appraisal resources, which were not identified when they were discussed under one broad category of journalists in the previous section. The results above suggest that the TTs (interpretation) of the officials and foreign journalists allow for fewer dialogically alternative positions than their STs, but that the TTs of Chinese journalists have an opposite pattern. The results also reveal that the TTs of the officials and Chinese journalists increase the authorial intensity or investment in the STs, which is decreased in the case of foreign journalists.

This section reveals the general differences of appraisal resources used between the STs and TTs in all the corpora. It also emphasizes the importance of differentiating between Chinese and foreign journalists for analysis. However, a more detailed discussion on the actual shift patterns within and across all the corpora will be presented in the following section.



4.2 Shift Profiles of the Interpreters

Table 6 presents the appraisal shift profile in relation to different speakers: officials, Chinese journalists, and foreign journalists. The ratio of shifts is highest among Chinese journalists (2.83%), followed by the officials (2.12%) and then foreign journalists (1.67%), which is less than half of that of Chinese journalists.

Regarding the percentage of each type of shifts in the interpretation of a speaker, the two groups of journalists share the same pattern, which differs from that of the officials. The interpretations of both Chinese and foreign journalists show omissions at the top, followed by additions, substitutions, and sentence omissions, aligning with the findings of Gao's study (2020). However, for officials in this study, additions (36.33%) predominate, followed by omissions (35.98%), with the rest following the same order as the two groups of journalists. It is unusual that additions take up the largest proportion of all the shifts as they require generating new meaning units or information, which demands more cognitive effort than omissions. Therefore, this unusual pattern identified for the officials may suggest the interpreters conscious attempt to adjust the officials' STs.



Table 6

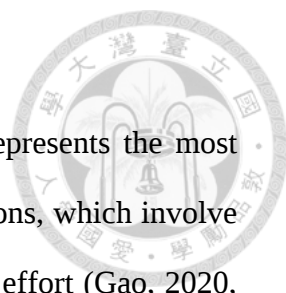
Appraisal Shifts in Relation to Different Speakers

Speakers	Officials			Journalists					
				Chinese			Foreign		
	AF	RF	%	AF	RF	%	AF	RF	%
omissions	621	76.06	35.98	123	161.69	57.21	123	67.02	40.2
additions	628	76.92	36.33	44	57.84	20.74	96	52.31	31.73
substitutions	451	55.24	26.13	25	32.86	11.63	60	32.69	19.61
sentence omissions	27	3.31	1.56	23	30.24	10.7	27	14.71	8.82
ratio of shifts	2.12%			2.83%			1.67%		
	(1727)			(215)			(306)		

Note. AF is absolute frequency and RF is relative frequency. Relative frequency is calculated by dividing the raw frequency of each type of resource by the word count of the corpus, and then multiplying the result by 10,000. The ratio of shifts is calculated by dividing the total absolute frequency of shifts by the word count of each corpus.

Relative frequency of shifts allows for comparative analyses across the corpora of different speakers. First, among interpretation for all speakers, the interpretation of officials exhibits the highest relative frequencies of additions (76.92) and substitutions (55.24), but the lowest relative frequency of sentence omissions (3.31). Second, the interpretation of Chinese journalists shows the highest relative frequency of omissions (161.69) and sentence omissions (30.24). Third, the interpretation of foreign journalists demonstrates the lowest relative frequency of all types of shifts except sentence omissions.

The first finding suggests that interpreters may prioritize recreating the STs as completely as possible when they interpret for the officials, as the frequency of its



sentence omissions is exceptionally low—the type of shift that represents the most obvious departure from the STs. However, additions and substitutions, which involve inserting or recoding information and thus demand more cognitive effort (Gao, 2020, p. 83), occur most frequently when interpreters interpret for the officials, may require further investigation. The second finding, conversely, suggests a weaker emphasis on fully recreating message when the interpreters interpret for the Chinese journalists, as indicated by the extremely high relative frequencies of omissions and sentence omissions. The third finding shows that most types of shifts occur least often in the interpretation of foreign journalists, who compared with the officials and Chinese journalists, are less affiliated with and less ideologically aligned with the Chinese government.

The results of the corpora reveal the shift patterns within the interpretation for different speakers and highlight the groups of speakers where specific types of shifts occur with the greatest or lowest relative frequency. They show that, at the textual level, the Chinese interpreters do mediate the press conferences with shifts, and they might spend additional effort adjusting the officials' remarks. However, a couple of questions remain—the types of shifts the interpreters make, how they make the shifts, and the meaning and effects of these shifts. Only when these questions are answered can research question four, concerning interpreters' textual alignment or disalignment with the government, be addressed. These issues and the implications for interpreters' alignment will be explored in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 Qualitative Results

This chapter presents qualitative analyses of appraisal shifts in the corpora.

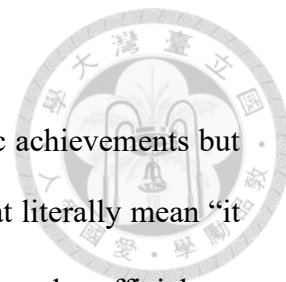
Each section in this chapter discusses the identified patterns of different types of shifts found in the respective corpora: C1-Officials, C2-1-Chinese Journalists, and C2-2-Foreign Journalists. Examples from the corpora are provided, including their ST, TT and literal translation (LT) of the ST or backtranslation (BT) of the TT. In addition to analyzing distinctive trends within each corpus, commonalities shared by the corpora are also discussed.

5.1 C1-Officials

As shown in the previous chapter, C1-Officials has the second-highest ratio of shifts among the three speaker-centered corpora, despite its extremely low relative frequency of sentence omissions, which suggests the interpreters' effort to restore officials' message in the TT. Nevertheless, the corpus exhibits various shift patterns, encompassing all four types of shifts.

5.1.1 Omission: *Eliminating the Openness to Different Viewpoints*

The interpreters tend to omit entertaining locutions used by the officials. Entertaining locutions signal that the speaker anticipates the proposition may be problematic for some of the intended audience, and by validating alternative viewpoints, they build solidarity between the speaker and the audience who holds to different positions. The omissions make heteroglossic discourse monoglossic, essentially transforming discourse that presents itself as one but of many perspectives into a categorical statement, contracting the dialogic space and decreasing the intended solidarity between the officials and those who are not on the same page with them.



In example 1 and 2, the officials talk about China's diplomatic achievements but in a rather humble tone with the use of “可以講” and “應該說” that literally mean “it can be depicted/said.” These entertaining resources serve to present the officials as offering a perspective while acknowledging the possibility of differing viewpoints from the audience. However, in the interpretations, these phrases are omitted, failing to embrace alternative viewpoints as seen in the STs. Consequently, this omission makes the officials appear to be touting the country's achievements in a less modest manner than intended.

Example 1. (C1-Officials; 2009 FM; interpreter 1)

ST: 去年這一年對中國的外交來講，可以講是「闖關之年」、「開拓之年」、「豐收之年」。

LT: *For This past year, China's diplomacy **can be depicted** as “the year of overcoming challenges,” “the year of breaking the ground,” or “the year of harvest.”*

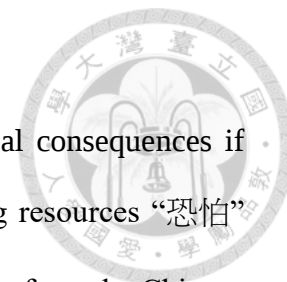
TT: Last year was a year of enormous challenges. Yet we met these challenges head on and reaped a good harvest.

Example 2. (C1-Officials; 2011 PM; interpreter 1)

ST: 我們國家有著 5000 年的文化傳統，在世界上歷經劫波，而現在還保存完整傳承下來，中國是一個.....應該說是一個典範。

LT: *Our country has a 5000-year cultural heritage. It experienced trials and tribulations from this world, but now is still preserved in its entirety and passed down. China is.....**can be depicted** as a role model.*

TT: China has a 5000-year cultural heritage. Chinese civilization is one of the few in the world that have stayed unscathed from many trials and tribulations and continued uninterrupted in its development.



Examples 3 and 4 are warnings from officials about potential consequences if China-U.S. relations deteriorate in specific ways. The entertaining resources “恐怕” and “可以說” serve to soften the severity of the warnings, implying, from the Chinese perspective, that these are merely potential consequences. The officials likely employ these expressions to mitigate the threat posed to the face of the U.S. However, these nuances are not retained in the TTs, resulting in a more assertive stance from China on the matter.

Example 3. (C1-Officials; 2019 FM; interpreter 2)

ST: 我們認為中美兩國不會也不應該走向對抗，如果要重新拾起冷戰的舊思維的話，那是違反時代潮流的，也是沒有出路的，**恐怕**也是不得人心的。

LT: *We think that China and the U.S. will not and should not go into confrontation. If the old mindset of Cold War is regained, it will be against the present-day trend, and will not get anywhere. It will **likely** to be unpopular.*

TT: Our two countries should not and will not descend into confrontation. A return to the outdated Cold War thinking goes against the present-day trend, has no future and will be deeply unpopular.

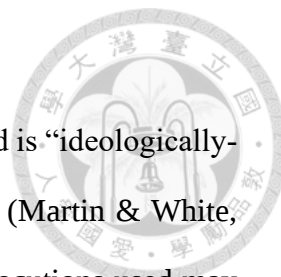
Example 4. (C1-Officials; 2020 PM; interpreter 1)

ST: 關於所謂脫鉤，**可以說**兩個主要經濟體脫鉤，對誰都沒有好處，也會傷害世界。

LT: *Regarding the so-called decoupling, it **can be said that**, the two major economies' decoupling will do no good to anyone and will do harm to the world.*

TT: And "decoupling" between major economies will do neither side any good. It is also harmful to the world.

The function of entertaining resources to build solidarity between the speaker and



the audience is particularly in operation when the position referenced is “ideologically-significant” or related to some “established axiological formation” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 109), as seen in the examples provided. The entertaining locutions used may appear trivial but they indicate the officials' willingness to consider alternative perspectives. Conversely, the omissions of these expressions discursively eliminate this openness to different viewpoints. Moreover, the omissions have the potential to diminish the intended modesty conveyed by the officials or amplify the assertiveness of the government.

5.1.2 Addition: Emphasizing

The interpreters would intervene by adding pronouncement resources, which are used to “assert or insist upon the value or warrantability of the proposition” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 128). As Martin and White (2005) stated, such insisting or emphasizing implies that there exists “some resistance, some contrary pressure of doubt or challenge against which the authorial voice asserts itself” (p. 128). Example 5 and 6 are from the same response to a question posed during the 2018 FM's press conference by a journalist from National Broadcasting Company (NBC), an American media outlet. The journalist first mentions that U.S. President Trump said he would adopt any measures necessary to prevent China's state-led economic model from disrupting international competition. He then asks whether China will also take any necessary measures in response to the U.S.

Example 5. (C1-Officials; 2018 FM; interpreter 4)

ST: 也就是說中國越發展，越能為世界做貢獻。

LT: *That is, the more China develops, the more contribution China can make to the world.*



TT: The truth is, the more China develops, the more contribution China will make to the world.

Example 6. (C1-Officials; 2018 FM; interpreter 4)

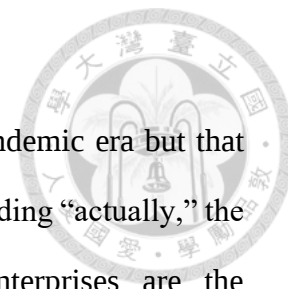
ST: 作為兩個利益高度融合的大國，作為世界第一和第二大經濟體，中美既要對兩國人民負責，也要對世界各國負責。

LT: *As two large countries whose interests are highly intertwined, and as the first and second largest economy in the world, China and the U.S. have to be responsible to their people and also to any other country in the world.*

TT: The bottom line is, as the world's largest economies, China's and America's interests are deeply entwined. We must bear in mind not just the interests of our own people, but also the well-being of the world.

Example 5 is about the alleged harm attributed to China's economic model. By adding "the truth is," the interpreter dismisses the allegation by a third party, the U.S. president in this context, and potentially by the journalist. This addition emphasizes that while China acknowledges the allegation, it believes that the opposite is true, which is probably something the interpreter wants the audience to learn about. Example 6 is about the confrontation between China and the U.S. In addition to serving as a logic marker, the phrase "the bottom line is" underscores China's generosity in considering other countries' well-being, and the moral high ground China possesses in the bilateral relations. This also helps to imply that China's economic model is not solely self-serving and therefore not, as the U.S. accuses, inherently detrimental to the world.

Example 7 and 8 include the addition of pronouncement resources like "actually" and "really". Example 7 addresses a question regarding cross-strait relations posed by TVBS, a Taiwanese news outlet. The journalist highlights the desire of the Taiwanese



government to re-establish connections with China in the post-pandemic era but that the cross-strait relations were not cooling off. In the response, by adding “actually,” the interpreter underscores the fact that numerous Taiwanese enterprises are the beneficiaries of China’s policies, challenging those who doubted the effectiveness of the policies or China’s efforts in this regard.

Example 7. (C1-Officials; 2021 PM; interpreter 1)

ST: 我們一直秉持「兩岸一家親」的理念。這幾年可以說出臺了很多惠及臺企、臺胞的政策，不少臺灣企業和同胞從中受益。

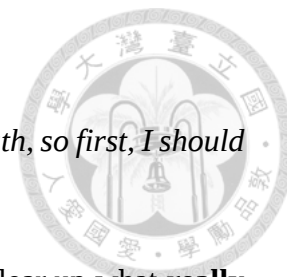
LT: *We always hold the belief that people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait belong to one and the same family. In recently years, it can be said that we have introduced many policies that benefit Taiwan companies and compatriots, and many have benefited from them.*

TT: We always believe that people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait belong to one and the same family. That is why in recent years, we have introduced a series of policies that benefit Taiwan companies and compatriots, and many have **actually** been beneficiaries of such policies, measures.

Example 8 is from the response to a question asked by Bloomberg News, an American news outlet. The journalist asks about China’s response to the allegation that in the Copenhagen climate summit, the Chinese delegation was condescending and that PM Wen Jiabao even refused to join a meeting for many heads of states. The addition of “really” reinforces the idea that the allegation is far from the truth, solidifying the warrantability of what the PM is going to say.

Example 8. (C1-Officials; 2010 PM; interpreter 1)

ST: 但畢竟你還給了我一個澄清真相的機會，因此，我首先應該感謝你。



LT: *But after all, you still gave me an opportunity to clear up the truth, so first, I should thank you.*

TT: But I still want to thank you for giving me an opportunity to clear up what **really** happened in Copenhagen.

As shown above, when the officials answer questions that present doubts and disagreement to China's doing, the interpreters would add pronouncement resources to emphasize the officials' points directed to such challenges, highlighting the Chinese government's version of truth.

5.1.3 Substitution: Reinforcing the Obligations of Japan and the U.S.

The interpreters often reinforce obligation by upscaling modality, a substitution that combines entertaining and graduation resources. The officials elucidate other countries' obligations, specifically what China expects them to do, in managing their relations with China. This typically targets Japan and the U.S., as these two countries have historically been at odds with China on regional and global levels, respectively.

Example 9 is where the FM urges Japan not to forget the history and deny their crimes in the past to foster their bilateral relations for the new era. While the FM uses the modality “不會” (will not) to describe the Chinese people's propensity, he adopts “不應” (should not) to subjectively delineate Japan's obligation not to forget. The former was accurately translated into “will not,” but the latter was upscaled from “should not” to “must not.” This substitution discursively reinforces the FM's position, creating a starker contrast between what Japan is morally obliged to do and what it is doing. Example 10 is a similar example, where the modality “should” is upscaled to “must.”

Example 9. (C1-Officials; 2023 FM; interpreter 3)



ST: 日本軍國主義曾給中華民族造成了深重傷害，至今隱隱作痛。中國人民不會忘記，日方也不應忘記。

LT: *The Japanese militarism once inflicted immense sufferings on the Chinese nation, which are still painful today. The Chinese people will not forget this, and the Japanese side **should not** either.*

TT: The immense sufferings imposed by the Japanese militarists on the Chinese nation are still painfully...painful today. The Chinese people will not forget this, and the Japanese side **must not** forget.

Example 10. (C1-Officials; 2015 FM; interpreter 4)

ST: 70 年前，日本輸掉了戰爭。70 年後，日本不應再輸掉良知。

LT: *Seventy years ago, Japan lost the war. Seventy years later, Japan **should not** lose its conscience.*

TT: Seventy years ago, Japan lost the war; seventy years afterwards, Japan **must not** lose its conscience.

Example 11 to 12 are the FM's explanations of the U.S. obligation in handling China-U.S. relations. In Example 11, the FM stresses the importance of the U.S. not interfering in Taiwan's affairs for a peaceful China-U.S. relationship. Although accentuated with the strong term "the first red line," this obligation is only conveyed through a "可" (can) in the ST, a modality with no intensification. However, the interpreter replaces it with "must," fortifying the FM's insistence that the U.S. abide by China's request. Example 12 is similar to Example 11 except that the modality upscaled is "should," which on the scale of graduation carries a higher level of intensity than "can," but both still fall behind "must."

Example 11. (C1-Officials; 2023 FM; interpreter 3)



ST: 臺灣問題是中國核心利益中的核心，是中美關係政治基礎中的基礎，是中美關係第一條不可跨越的紅線。

LT: *The Taiwan question is the core of the core interests of China, and the bedrock of the bedrock of the political foundation of China-U.S. relations, and the first red line that **cannot** be crossed in China-U.S. relations.*

TT: The Taiwan question is the core of the core interests of China, the bedrock of the political foundation of China-US relations, and the first red line that **must not** be crossed in China-US relations.

Example 12. (C1-Officials; 2018 FM; interpreter 4)

ST: 中美雙方應該在遵守中美三個聯合公報和雙方各項共識的基礎上相互尊重，優勢互補，互利共贏。

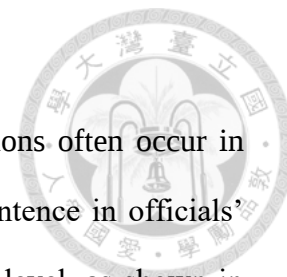
LT: *China and the U.S. **should** respect each other, combine our strengths and pursue win-win cooperation on the basis of abiding by the three joint communiqués and our common understandings.*

TT: China and America **must** respect each other, combine our strengths and pursue win-win cooperation on the basis of the three joint communiqués and our common understandings.

The substitution for an upscaled modality makes the officials appear tougher, rendering a suggestion for what can or should be done into a command of what must or must not be done. This increased intensity may not be welcomed by Japan and the U.S., but it helps convey the Chinese government's stance more firmly.

5.1.4 Sentence Omission: Compliments and Harsh Expressions

As mentioned in the previous chapter, sentence omissions are rare in C1-Officials,



but there are still some patterns identified. First, sentence omissions often occur in officials' compliments to journalists, which is usually the first sentence in officials' response. The compliments can be about the journalists' Chinese level, as shown in Example 13, or about the questions they raise, as seen in Example 14.

Example 13. (C1-Officials; 2017 PM; interpreter 1)

ST: 你很有勇氣啊，始終用中文來提問。

LT: *You are very brave! You raised the question only in Chinese.*

TT: (the whole sentence is omitted)

Example 14. (C1-Officials; 2016 FM; interpreter 4)

ST: 你說的其實很好，今年是中國和東盟建立對話關係的「銀婚」之年。

LT: *What you said is actually pretty good. This year is the "silver wedding" anniversary of dialogue relations between China and ASEAN.*

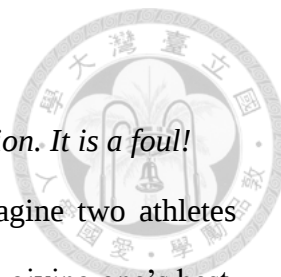
TT: This year is, if you will, the "silver wedding" anniversary of dialogue relations between China and ASEAN.

Sentence omissions in C1-Officials, more importantly, occur in the officials' speech in harsh terms. Example 15 is an excerpt from the FM's response to a question about US-China relations from NBC.

Example 15. (C1-Officials; 2023 FM; interpreter 3)

ST: 美方口口聲聲說要遵守規則，但如同兩位運動員在奧運田徑場上賽跑，一方不是去想如何跑出自己的最好成績，而總是要去絆倒對方，甚至想讓對方去參加殘奧會，這不是公平競爭，而是惡意的對抗，犯規了！

LT: *The United States talks a lot about following rules. But as two athletes competing in an Olympic race, if one athlete, instead of thinking about running to get the best score they can get, always wants to trip the other, or even **make the other join the***



***Paralympics**, this is not fair competition but a malicious confrontation. It is a foul!*

TT: The United States talks a lot about following rules. But imagine two athletes competing in an Olympic race. If one athlete, instead of focusing on giving one's best, always tries to trip or even injure the other, that is not fair competition, but malicious confrontation and a foul!

As can be seen from the texts, the part of “make the other join the Paralympics” is replaced by “injure the other.” This replacement is not considered a case of substitution, even though the intention to hurt the other athlete is retained in the TT, because it does not meet any of the definitions of substitution in the current study. Plus, the explicit reference of the Paralympics forms a complete meaning unit in the ST but is nowhere to be found in the TT, so the corresponding TT is seen as including an occurrence of sentence omission. By simply saying injure the other without mentioning Paralympics, the interpreter dilutes the directness and sarcasm of the FM's accusation against the U.S. The communicative effect can be two-fold. First, the sentence omission decreases the implied maliciousness on the U.S. side, making the speech less face-threatening to the American journalist. The softening of the tone can be used to negotiate interpersonal relations. As mentioned, the interpreter functioned as the bridge between the official and the journalists, so sustaining the two sides' relationship is of paramount importance. Second, the sentence omission presents the government as less rude. The simile of Paralympics might seem rude to the audience, especially people who are physically challenged. In the press conference, the FM represents the government, with the journalists serving as the voices from the rest of the world. Therefore, using a rude expression can be seen not as a personal act, but as a governmental decision that may potentially undermine the country's image.

Example 16 is an excerpt from the FM's response in 2016 to a question asked by



the Cable News Network (CNN), an American news outlet. The journalist asks about the arbitration case on South China Sea, which was brought by the Republic of the Philippines against the PRC, where he mentions most experts expected the ruling would be in favor of the Philippines.

Example 16. (C1-Officials; 2016 FM; interpreter 4)

ST: 我非常尊重你提出這個問題的權利。但是呢，我**其實非常**不希望你現在就對這個**所謂的**法庭的判決做出一個預斷。**難道**你現在就知道結果了嗎？

LT: *I very much respect your right to ask this question. But I **actually very much** do not want you to make a prejudgment about the **so-called** court ruling. **How could you have known the result by now?***

TT: I respect your right to ask that question. But **perhaps** you're prejudging the outcome of the arbitration case. **And it's too early to tell.**

The final two sentences in the TT seem to more or less capture the gist of their correspondence in the ST, but the information has been reorganized to the point that most of the appraisal resources are eliminated, serving as an example of sentence omission. The FM expresses aversion towards the journalist for prejudging, which, in reality, was done by the experts mentioned, instead of the journalist himself. The up-scaling graduation resource “very much” in the second sentence of the ST is used to stress the aversion. However, the TT fails to convey this aversion. Instead, with the addition of the entertaining resource “perhaps,” the FM’s tone is further softened. The pronouncement resource “**其實**” (actually), used to emphasize the FM's preference, and the distancing resource “**所謂的**” (so-called), implying doubt about the legitimacy of the ruling, are both omitted by the interpreter. Additionally, the last sentence changes from a rhetorical question directed specifically at the journalist into a question without

a clear target. These shifts alter the discourse from one aimed at the journalist to one focused on the prejudgment, making it less face-threatening to the journalist.

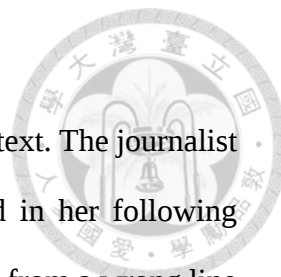
Therefore, sentence omissions usually occur when the officials compliment journalists or their questions. More importantly, they also happen to the officials' speech containing strong language that can undermine the official-journalist relationships and China's image.

5.2 C2-1-Chinese Journalists

Among the three corpora representing different types of speakers, C2-1-Chinese Journalists exhibit the highest ratio of shifts, relative frequency of omissions, and sentence omissions. The identified pattern of omissions is shared by C2-2-Foreign Journalists, which will be discussed in Section 5.4.1. This section will focus solely on the identified patterns of addition and sentence omission in C2-1-Chinese Journalists.

5.2.1 Addition: Embracing Other Possibilities

When raising questions, journalists would often begin with the backstory and cite what experts, media and the general public have said about the matter. In C2-1-Chinese Journalists, it is found that interpreters tend to add modality denoting possibility, a kind of entertaining resource, as they interpret for the journalists' citations. Example 17 is a question asked by Phoenix TV about the reduced tension in the South China Sea. The journalist cited the Filipino FM, using “穩健” (robustly), though with stutter and hesitation, to affirm the high possibility of completing the Code of Conduct (COC) in July. However, in the TT, the interpreter used the word “might,” which causes an opposite effect, as it represents lower level of certainty and thus allows for other possibilities. It should be noted that “穩健” refers to robustly or steadily in Mandarin



and does not necessarily make an appropriate collocation in this context. The journalist is Chinese, a native Mandarin speaker, and the word is not used in her following remarks, which dismisses the possibility of her reading out the word from a wrong line in her script. Therefore, it is believed that the journalist intends to convey the high possibility of the COC being completed by June but uses an inappropriate word on the spot.

Example 17. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2017 FM; Phoenix TV; interpreter 4)

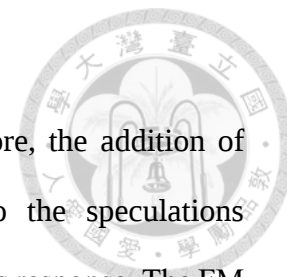
ST: 前不久呢，菲律賓外長也透露說南海行為準則框架... 啊這個穩健呢... 是會在六月份完成。

LT: *Not long ago, the Filipino foreign minister also revealed that the COC Framework.....this robustly.....will be completed in June.*

TT: According to the Filipino foreign minister, the COC Framework **might** be completed in June.

Example 18 is rather complex. It is an excerpt from a question asked by Phoenix TV as well. As seen in the first sentence, the interpreter renders the “fact” in the ST that China is building a logistics center in Djibouti into a “media report” in the TT, which is an acknowledgment expression that turns the monoglossic statement into heteroglossic discourse. More importantly, when describing the “report,” the interpreter adds “may,” an entertaining resource that allows for alternative positions, which in this case can be the possibility that China is not building the center.

However, the interpreter should have known that the center existed and was under construction. In fact, the Chinese government did not confirm its existence until November 2015, and on February 25, 2016, about two weeks before the FM's press



conference, they confirmed its construction had started.¹ Therefore, the addition of "may" seems illogical. One possible explanation is related to the speculations mentioned by the journalist, which are further elaborated in the FM's response. The FM reaffirms that China would "not take the old path of expansionism traveled by traditional powers" and "not engage in any form of power politics." The interpreter, aware of these speculations, might have added "may" to avoid reinforcing the suspicions about China's intentions, thus interpreting the categorical statement in the ST less assertively, despite knowing the truth.

Example 18. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2016 FM; Phoenix TV; interpreter 4)

ST: 大家都非常關注中國海軍在吉布提修建的這個後勤保障設施。那因為這是中國在海外建設的第一個嘛，所以也是引發了不少的猜測。那這是否意味著中國外交政策的某些變化？

LT: *Everyone is paying much attention to the logistics center built by the Chinese navy in Djibouti. And because it is the first one China builds overseas, it has sparked lots of speculations. Does this mean that there are some shifts in China's diplomatic policies?*

TT: People have taken note of the report that China **may** soon build a naval logistics center in Djibouti. This would be a first and this has given rise to a lot of speculations. Does the news suggest any change in China's foreign policy?

Example 19 is similar to Example 18 in terms of the possible rationale for the addition. This question, asked by China Daily, concerns China's Belt and Road Initiative, which some consider a means for China to further project its power, similar to its logistics center in Djibouti. The addition of "may" not only decreases the certainty of the initiative being seen as such but also implies that people might hold a different

¹ See Xie, Y. & Xie, Z. (2018), especially p. 125 and p. 126, for the clear timeline.



view, namely not perceiving it negatively.

Example 19. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2016 FM; China Daily; interpreter 4)

ST: 另外有人擔心這是中國實力加快對外擴張的象徵，請問您怎麼看？

LT: *Some other people worry that this is a symbol of China's external expansion of its increasing power. What is your view?*

TT: People **may** see it as an indication of the rapid projection of Chinese power. What is your view?

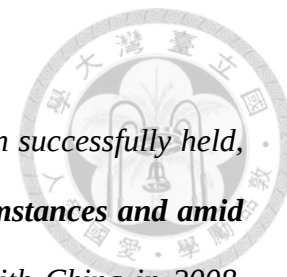
Interestingly, this pattern of addition, which transforms monoglossic discourse into heteroglossic, contrasts with the pattern of omission identified in C1-Officials, where heteroglossic discourse is usually turned into monoglossic one.

5.2.2 Sentence Omission: Chinese Journalists' Subjective Evaluations

In C2-1-Chinese Officials, sentence omissions often occur when journalists mention their subjective evaluations of China. In Example 20, the omitted part is the journalist's subjective evaluation about the remarkable success of the Winter Olympic Games in Beijing. Even the use of "實屬" (truly), a pronouncement resource for emphasis, did not prevent the interpreter from omitting the sentence. This omission weakens the stark contrast the journalist intended to make between the bleak international circumstances and China's outstanding achievement.

Example 20. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2022 FM; People's Daily; interpreter 2)

ST: 我們都知道，北京冬奧會啊成功舉辦啊，這在當前國際形勢和新冠疫情這樣一個局面下實屬難能可貴啊。有國際人士評價說啊，他說和 2008 年北京相比，那今天的中國呢就更為自信和強大了，國際地位和影響力今非昔比。對此您怎麼看？



LT: *We all know that the Beijing Olympic winter games have been successfully held, which is truly remarkable under the current international circumstances and amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Some foreigners say that compared with China in 2008, China now is more confident and stronger, and that its international position and influence cannot be compared with those in the past. What is your view?*

TT: The Beijing Olympic winter games has been a great success. Some foreigners say that China has more confidence, strength and international influence than it staged the Olympic games in 2008. What is your view?

In Example 21, the journalist's subjective evaluation is revealed through the expression “不平凡” (extraordinary). The year 2020 was when COVID-19 started sweeping the whole world. There were speculations that the virus originated in Wuhan, China, and thus the country faced some diplomatic challenges as other countries grappled with the public health crisis. The word “不平凡” euphemistically describes the challenges or difficulties, in terms of number and magnitude, that both China and other countries faced throughout the year. The interpreter omits the whole sentence including this expression, probably because she does not want to bring up a politically sensitive topic. Furthermore, she may find it difficult to interpret “不平凡,” which literally means “extraordinary” but in this context should carry a negative meaning. One way or another, the information is the journalist's subjective evaluation and thus can be omitted without serious consequences.

Example 21. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2021 FM; China Central Television; interpreter 2)

ST: 那 2020 年無論是對世界各國，還是對中國來說都是極不平凡的一年。我想請問您如何評價過去這一年的中國外交？



LT: *Whether for countries around the world or for China, 2020 has been a year that is extremely extraordinary. I would like to ask, what is your take on China's diplomacy over the past year?*

TT: How would you describe China's diplomacy over the past year?

In Example 22, the sentence omissions include not only the journalist's subjective evaluation (of how "we" judge the situation) but also that of the Chinese students in Ukraine. The omitted parts can actually serve as evidence that China had, objectively speaking, done an extraordinary job on the matter. The omission, therefore, decrease the claimed excellence of the administration, which is further undermined by the omissions of upscaling graduation resources like "大量" (a great deal of) and "非常" (very).

Example 22. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2022 FM; Xinhua News Agency; interpreter 2)

ST: 近日來，我們關注到中國從烏克蘭陸續撤出了大... ..多批中國公民。我們注意到在中國駐烏克蘭的使領館克服困難，做了大量組織協調工作，保護了在當地中國公民的安全。在報導中我們也看到有中國留學生非常動情地說，我們的護照就是硬通貨，因為我們身後有強大的祖國。所以我想請問外長，您對此怎麼看？

LT: *In recent days, we have noticed that China has evacuated many Chinese nationals from Ukraine. We have noticed that the Chinese embassy in Ukraine has overcome difficulties, made a great deal of coordination, and protected the safety of the Chinese nationals in the country. We have also seen from the news that some Chinese students in the country said very movingly that, "Our passport is a hard currency because we have a strong motherland getting our back." So I would like to ask you, Foreign Minister, what is your view on this?*



TT: The Chinese embassy is working hard to evacuate Chinese nationals from Ukraine. Many Chinese students in Ukraine are grateful for what their motherland is doing for them.

The examples show that Chinese journalists' subjective evaluations are usually omitted by the interpreters. Interestingly, most of the omitted evaluations in the examples are compliments to China's achievements, which seems that on the discursive level, the interpreters do not intend to recreate the journalists' favorable attitude towards the country in the TTs.

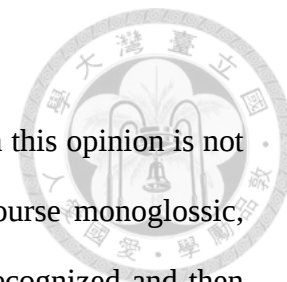
5.3 C2-2-Foreign Journalists

C2-2-Foreign Journalists reports the lowest ratio of shifts among the corpora representing different speakers. It also demonstrates the lowest relative frequency of all types of shifts with the exception of sentence omissions. This section will discuss the identified shift patterns of omissions and sentence omissions in the corpus.

5.3.1 Omission: Turning Opinions into Facts

In C2-2-Foreign Journalists, it is observed that interpreters tend to omit entertaining and acknowledgment resources. These omissions render heteroglossic discourse monoglossic, akin to the omission pattern identified in C1-Officials. However, examples in C2-2-Foreign Journalists predominantly occur when journalists cite some subjective evaluations.

Example 23 is an excerpt from a question asked by a journalist representing Lianhe Zaobao, a Singaporean news outlet. There are two omissions in this example: “有學者認為” (some scholars think), an acknowledgment resource, and “可能” (likely), an entertaining resource. The former is used by the journalist to present an external expert



opinion (thus heteroglossic), and whether the journalist agrees with this opinion is not known. However, the omission of this resource renders the discourse monoglossic, transforming the opinion into a fact, which seems to have been recognized and then stated by the journalist. It is worth noting that although the U.S. intention to counter China is widely known, the U.S. has never explicitly expressed this in the official document of its Indo-Pacific Strategy,² or the joint statements of the Quad,³ as of the 2022 FM's press conference. Therefore, the omission of the acknowledgment resource may explicate the U.S. government's hostility towards China, which is further increased by the omission of the entertaining resource “可能” (likely).

Example 23. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2022 FM; Lianhe Zaobao; interpreter 2)

ST: 美國正以亞太地區作為戰略重點，有學者認為，這可能制衡中國的影響力。中國如何評估「印太地區」和「印太四國」的概念，它會對本區域會帶來什麼影響？

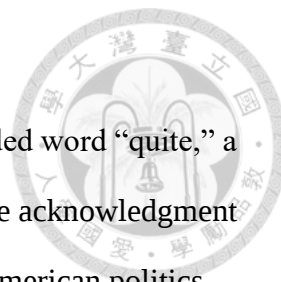
LT: *The U.S. is making the Asia Pacific its strategic focus. Some scholars think that this is likely to counterbalance China's influence. What is China's take on the Indo-Pacific strategy and the Quad and their implication for the region?*

TT: The United States is turning its focus to Asia Pacific to counterbalance China's influence in the region. What is China's take on the US Indo-Pacific strategy and the Quad and their implication for the region?

Example 24 is rather simple. The omission of “很多人覺得是” (have been perceived by many people), an acknowledgment resource, transforms the heteroglossic discourse into a monoglossic one. This omission makes the discourse appear to be a

² See the document of Indo-Pacific Strategy released by the White House in 2021.

³ See the Quad Joint Leaders' Statements on the official website of the White House.



fact rather than an evaluation, which is further intensified by the added word “quite,” a graduation resource for intensification. Together, the omission of the acknowledgment resource and addition of “quite” increase the perceived turmoil in American politics.

Example 24. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2017 FM; CNN; interpreter 4)

ST: 那您也注意到特朗普擔任美國總統之後，他的外交政策被很多人覺得是日益顯示出一種美國至上的孤立主義和民粹主義的這種體現，那就覺得是給中國創造了一個絕佳的機會，能在這個國際事務中……做一個更加主導的這樣一個角色。

LT: *You also noticed that after Trump became the U.S. president, his diplomatic policies have been **perceived by many people** as increasingly emblematic of isolationism and populism of U.S. supremacy. It is considered that this presents China with a significant opportunity to assume a more dominant role in international affairs.*

TT: President Trump has adopted an America First approach and his policies are quite isolationist and populist in nature, people say this will hand China an opportunity to assume global leadership.

As mentioned in 5.2.1, journalists usually start their questions by citing what experts, media, and the general public have said about the matter. This provides a concrete source for the officials to approve of or object to, eliciting the government’s opinion. When a cited opinion or evaluation is deprived of its source in the TT, it becomes a fact, or an opinion considered to be a fact by the journalist. Discursively, this reinforces the authority of the opinion-turned fact. Nevertheless, if an opinion is not ideologically charged, omitting the acknowledgment resource may not be specifically beneficial or detrimental to any party. In example 25, even though China and the U.S. are both mentioned, the opinion is not favorable to neither China nor the U.S. Therefore, omitting the acknowledgment resource “cite” is not in the interest of



either party.

Example 25. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2021 FM; NBC; interpreter 2)

ST: Observers **cite** climate change and the pandemic as potential areas of cooperation between China and the new US administration.

TT: 氣候變遷和全球疫情是中國和美國新政府未來合作的潛在領域。

BT: Climate change and the pandemic are potential areas of cooperation between China and the new US administration.

5.3.2 Sentence omission: Face-Threatening Information to China or Its Allies

When interpreting for foreign journalists, the interpreters tend to omit information that is face-threatening to China or its allies. Example 26 is an excerpt from a question asked by a journalist from Agence France-Presse, a French news outlet. The journalist explicitly says that since China argues that forced labor does not exist in the country, the International Convention on Forced Labor should have been promptly ratified by the government, instead of being left pending as it is. However, the interpreter omits both the cited China's argument and the suspicious gap between the ideal and reality. In the TT, the question appears to be a mere inquiry about China's intention to sign the convention, without contrasting its claim and mentioning the unusual discrepancy.

It can be argued that the journalist has an accent, but the question was still intelligible, and its length would not likely allow for unintentional omission and reframing. Moreover, the interpreter adds the distancing phrase "so-called" before the convention, which might suggest the interpreter's attempt to distance herself from the convention or even possibly to negate its legitimacy.

Example 26. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2021 FM; Agence France-Presse; interpreter 2)



ST: One of the key requests of the Europeans is that China ratifies the International Convention on Forced Labor. So my question is, **how come it takes so long for China to ratify this convention as it says that there's no such thing as forced labor in China?**

TT: 特別是在這份協定中提出的要求是希望中國能夠簽署所謂的《強迫勞動國際公約》，中方是否打算這樣做？

BT: *A specific request proposed in this agreement is the hope that China will sign the so-called International Convention on Forced Labor. Does China intend to do so?*

Example 27 is a question asked by a journalist from the Reuters, an international news outlet. The interpretation is accurate overall but omits a part of the ST unfavorable to North Korea.

Example 27. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2017 FM; Reuters; interpreter 4)

ST: The United States now says that all options are on the table for dealing with North Korea. And in Malaysia, the half-brother of North Korea's leader Kim Jong Nam was murdered **apparently on the orders of Kim Jong Un of using a banned nerve gas**. Does China think there will be war on the Korean Peninsula?

TT: 美國說將不排除任何選項，金正男在馬來西亞遇刺，中國是否認為半島會發生戰爭？

BT: *The United States says that all options are on the table. Kim Jong Nam was assassinated in Malaysia. Does China think there will be a war on the peninsula?*

Before this Foreign Minister's press conference, the Malaysian authorities had begun an investigation and confirmed that Kim Jong Nam was poisoned, although it was not known if he was assassinated on the orders of the North Korean leader. The North Korean government denied the accusation and consistently opposed the autopsy.



However, by using the term “apparently,” the journalist appears to heavily invest in the accusation. Explicitly mentioning the cause of death allows the journalist to highlight the potential brutality of North Korea, which can lead to regional conflicts, as noted in the question. Despite the journalist's certainty, clear pronunciation and normal speech rate, the interpreter still omits the controversial part.

These two examples show that the interpreters may intentionally omit sentences that are face-threatening to China or its allies, which are common in foreign journalists' questions, especially those from the West. The sentence omissions make the interpretation more neutral and save face for China.

5.4 Commonalities

This section details shift patterns shared by at least two corpora among C1-Officials, C2-1-Chinese Journalists, and C2-2-Foreign Journalists. Three common patterns—omissions, additions, and substitutions—are identified. The omission pattern is shared by the two journalists' corpora, the addition pattern is shared by all three, and the substitution pattern is shared by the corpora of officials and foreign journalists.

5.4.1 Omission: Reducing Solidarity between Journalists and Officials

In C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists, it was found that the interpreters tend to omit journalists' concurring resources, such as “我們看到” (we have seen), “我們知道” (we know) or “我們注意到” (we have noticed). These expressions are affirming concurrence that overtly announce the addresser as having the same knowledge as the addressee. In this context, the plural subjective “我們” (we) should refer to the journalist, and the person to whom the journalist's question is directed, namely the official. Discursively, the concurring resources create a sense of



solidarity between journalists and the officials in witnessing, knowing or noticing something.

Example 28 and 29 are excerpts of questions asked by a Chinese journalist and a foreign journalist. Although the questions are asked in Chinese and English respectively, their concurring resources “我們看到” and “we have seen,” intended to align the officials with themselves, are both omitted. In the interpretations, the intended solidarity between the journalists and the officials is nowhere to be found.

Example 28. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2019 FM; Global Times; interpreter 4)

ST: 此外我們看到，一些拉美國家同中國建交引發了美方反應，在這樣的背景下，中方對中拉關係的發展有何評價？

LT: *In addition, we have seen that some Latin American countries establishing diplomatic ties with China has invoked the U.S. to react strongly. Under this context, what is the Chinese side's evaluation on the development of its ties with Latin America?*

TT: Separately, Washington reacted strongly to Latin American countries' decision to establish diplomatic ties with China. Against this backdrop, what's China's thinking about its ties with Latin America?

Example 29. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2016 FM; Zambia Daily Mail; interpreter 4)

ST: Good morning, as China's economy has been slowing down, we've seen a drop in commodity demand. Some people say that this will affect the relationship in terms of economic cooperation and development aid to Africa.

TT: 由於中國的經濟增速放緩和對大宗商品的需求下降，中非之間的經貿合作和中國對非洲的發展援助是不是會受到影響？

BT: *As China's economic growth rate has been slowing down and demand for*



commodity has been decreasing, will the China-Africa economic and trade cooperation and China's development aid to Africa be affected?

Example 30 is from a question asked in Chinese, by a journalist from a Cambodian media outlet. The omitted concurring resource is “我們知道” (we know), which is followed by a factual description. Example 31 is from a question asked by a Chinese paper, with its concurring resource “我們注意到” (we have noticed) omitted.

Example 30. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2016 FM; The Cambodia Daily; interpreter 4)

ST: 我們知道東盟作為東亞合作中心，去年底已經宣布建成東盟共同體，中國也始終把東盟作為周邊外交的合作方... 優先方向，堅定支持東盟在區域合作中的中心地位。

LT: *We know that ASEAN serves as the hub of East Asian cooperation. Last year, it announced that the ASEAN community had been established. China also always views ASEAN countries as a priority in its neighborhood diplomacy, determined to support ASEAN centrality in regional cooperation.*

TT: ASEAN plays an important role in East Asian cooperation. Last year, the ASEAN community was established. China views ASEAN countries as a priority in its neighborhood diplomacy, and support ASEAN centrality in regional cooperation.

Example 31. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2015 PM; China Daily; interpreter 1)

ST: 近期我們注意到國際上有一種看法，認為中國已經成為了世界上最大的經濟體，一方面挑戰了美國的領導地位，另一方面在很多國際事務上中國仍然在搭便車，請問您怎麼看待這樣的看法？

LT: *Recently, we have noticed that there is a viewpoint around the world that China*



has become the world's largest economy and is challenging America's leadership status and that at the same time, is still free riding in many international affairs. What is your view on this viewpoint?

TT: Some people have come to the conclusion that China has become the number one economy in the world and is posing a challenge to the leadership status of the United States. But they also argue that China is still free riding in international affairs.

This pattern of omission is found in the journalists' corpora but not in the officials' corpus, where similar concurring expressions are present in the ST. In the officials' ST, phrases like “我們看到/知道/注意到” (we have seen/know/have noticed) are preserved, indicating a higher level of accuracy. This preservation potentially suggests that the interpreters feel the need or are comfortable aligning themselves with the officials when indicating shared knowledge.

5.4.2 Addition: Explication of Logical Transition

Additions of appraisal resources to make logical transitions explicit are common across all three corpora. In Example 32, countering resources such as “but” and “just” are added to complete the logical flow, where the FM mentions Southeast Asian countries to emphasize that China does not focus solely on its cooperation with Northeast Asian countries (mentioned in the previous utterance). Similarly, Example 33 includes the addition of “in spite of,” a countering resource implicitly embedded in the source text.

Example 32. (C1-Officials; 2009 FM; interpreter 1)

ST: 我們還重視啊和東南亞、和中國所有周邊國家的合作。

LT: *We also value cooperation with Southeast Asian countries and all our neighboring countries.*



TT: But not just so, we also pay a great deal of attention to our relations with Southeast Asian countries and all our neighbors indeed.

Example 33. (C2-1-Chinese Journalists; 2009 FM; TVB; interpreter 1)

ST: 然後就是法國總統在去年底，在中國的反對之下，就是一意孤行去接見了達賴。

LT: *And then at the end of last year, against China's opposition, French President met with Dalai.*

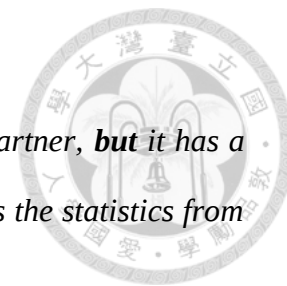
TT: In spite of China's strong opposition, French President met with Dalai at the end of last year.

In Example 34, “但” (but) is added to make it clear that despite the close China-EU trade ties, the benefits are not evenly shared. It is worth noting that there is an addition of sentence, “this is the statistics from the EU,” which is an acknowledgment resource without any trigger in the ST. This addition prompts the PM to reply, “you just said the issue of trade deficit is based on EU statistics, and this is very well-said” (你剛才說中歐的貿易逆差問題是歐方的統計，講的很正確). The PM is likely implying that the statistics may not be accurate and probably exaggerated. This addition, therefore, not only helps the interpreter avoid taking responsibility for the authenticity of the figure but also provides the PM with an opportunity to further question its validity.

Example 34. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2017 PM; Radio France; interpreter 1)

ST: The European Union is China's second largest commercial partner with a trade deficit of 137 billion euros in favor of China and a large number of European businesses complain about that.

TT: 歐盟是中國第二大貿易夥伴，但歐盟對華貿易赤字高達 1370 億歐元，這是歐方的統計數據。所以歐盟一些企業對此頗有微詞。



BT: *The European Union is China's second largest commercial partner, **but** it has a trade deficit as much as 137 billion euros in favor of China. This is the statistics from the EU. Therefore, some European businesses complain about that.*

The examples show that the explicitation of logical transitions usually occurs in contrary propositions and is achieved through the addition of countering locutions. This means that when the interpreters interpret for the officials, Chinese journalists and foreign journalists, there is a common effort to make implied contrastive relationships explicit.

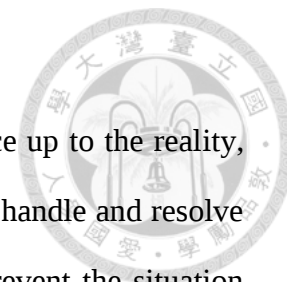
5.4.3 Substitution: Turning "Think" into "Believe"

In C1-Officials and C2-2-Foreign Journalists, interpreters are found to substitute "I think," an entertaining resource, with one of higher intensity, such as "I believe" or even "I am convinced." The absence of this pattern in C2-1-Chinese Journalists may be attributed to its lack of such expressions in its ST. Example 35 and 36 are from C1-Officials. By replacing "I think" with "I believe" and "I'm convinced," the interpreters strengthen the FM's investment in how China's relations with Japan and the U.S. should look like, emphasizing the other side's duty in making the bilateral relationships work.

Example 35. (C1-Officials; 2013 FM; interpreter 1)

ST: 中方認為日方應正視現實，確實糾正錯誤，同中方一道，通過對話磋商妥善處理和解決有關問題，防止事態升級失控。

LT: *The Chinese side **thinks** that the Japanese side needs to face up to the reality, take real steps to correct his mistake and work with the Chinese side to properly handle and resolve the relevant issues through dialogue and consultations so as to prevent the situation from further escalating and getting out of control.*



TT: The Chinese side **believes** that the Japanese side needs to face up to the reality, take real steps to correct his mistake and work with us to properly handle and resolve the relevant issues through dialogue and consultations so as to prevent the situation from further escalation or even getting out of control.

Example 36. (C1-Officials; 2023 FM; interpreter 3)

ST: 每當我想起他們，**我****就在想**，決定中美關係的，應該是兩國的共同利益、共同責任和兩國人民的友誼，而不是美國的國內政治和歇斯底里的新麥卡錫主義。

LT: *Every time I think of them, **I am thinking** that what determines the China-U.S. relations should be the common interests and shared responsibilities of the two countries and by the friendship between people of the two countries, rather than by US domestic politics or the hysterical neo-McCarthyism.*

TT: Every time I think about them, **I'm convinced** that the China-US relationship should be determined by the common interests and shared responsibilities of the two countries and by the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples, rather than by US domestic politics or the hysterical neo-McCarthyism.

Example 37 is from C2-2-Foreign Journalists. Although it features the same substitution of “believe” for “think” as in Example 38, it differs in that the subject of the reporting verb is not the addresser themselves, but “quite a few people in Japan,” an external party. This makes the expression an acknowledgement rather than an entertaining resource.

Example 37. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2015 FM; NHK; interpreter 4)

ST: 另外呢，在日本有不少民眾**認為**，中國是不是利用歷史問題作為武器，來貶低日本這幾年來對世界和平的貢獻，中傷日本在國際社會上的信譽？

LT: *Also, quite a few people in Japan **think** that whether China is using the history*



issue as a weapon to denigrate Japan's contribution to international peace and tarnish Japan's international reputation.

TT: Many people in Japan **believe** that maybe China is using the history issue as a tool to denigrate Japan's contribution to international peace and tarnish Japan's international reputation.

The substitution is complicated by the fact that when interpreting foreign journalists speaking in English (interpreting from English to Chinese), the interpreters would opt for downscaled resources. As seen in Example 41 and 42, “believe” is replaced by “think” (相信).

Example 38. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2011 FM; ETV of South Africa; interpreter 1)

ST: But also some people **believe** that BRICS is developing into an emerging market bloc that competes against the developed world, what are your comments?

TT: 另外，有人認為「金磚國家」組織正在朝著與發達國家相競爭的新興市場集團的方向發展，對此您有何評論？

BT: *Also, some people **think** that BRICS is developing into an emerging market bloc that competes against the developed world, what are your comments?*

Example 39. (C2-2-Foreign Journalists; 2009 FM; The Associated Press; interpreter 1)

ST: Some **believe** that China has been trapped into buying American government debt and supporting such policies in the United States.

TT: 也有人認為正是美國的所作所為，才使中國陷於被迫不得不一直購買美國國債和支持美國政策的這種處境。

BT: *Other people **think** that it is exactly what the U.S. had done that trapped China*



into such situation, where it is forced to keep buying American government debt and supporting the American policies.

Example 38 and 39 seem to contradict previous examples, but taken together, they may suggest the interchangeability of “believe” and “think,” transcending speakers, languages and content. However, the replacement of “think” with “be convinced,” which carries even higher intensity than “believe,” still only occurs when the interpreters interpreting for the officials.

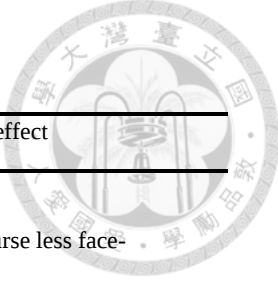
5.5 Interpreters’ Alignment with the Government

The three corpora, each associated with different speakers, exhibit both distinctive and common shift patterns. The patterns identified, most related to engagement rather than graduation resources, mostly display the interpreters’ alignment with the government at the textual level. Table 7 presents the distinctive shift patterns of the corpora in relation to different speakers.

Table 7

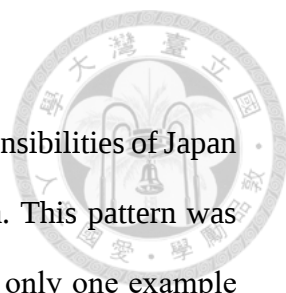
Distinctive Shift Patterns of the Corpora in relation to Different Speakers

Corpus	Shift pattern	Appraisal resource	Communicative effect
C1-Officials	Omission	Entertain	Eliminating the openness to different viewpoints
	Addition	Pronounce	Emphasizing
	Substitution	• Pronounce • Upscaling (graduation)	Reinforcing countries’ obligation
	Sentence omission	Compliments and harsh expressions	• Not recreating the officials’ favorable attitude towards



Corpus	Shift pattern	Appraisal resource	Communicative effect
		(No specific appraisal resources)	journalists • Making discourse less face-threatening • Protecting China's image
C2-1-Chinese Journalists	Addition	Entertain	Expanding the openness to different viewpoints
	Sentence omission	Chinese journalists' subjective evaluations (No specific appraisal resources)	Not recreating Chinese journalists' favorable attitude towards China
C2-2-Foreign Journalists	Omission	• Entertain • Acknowledge	Turning opinions into facts
	Sentence omission	Face-threatening information to China or its allies (No specific appraisal resources)	• Making discourse neutral • Saving face for China

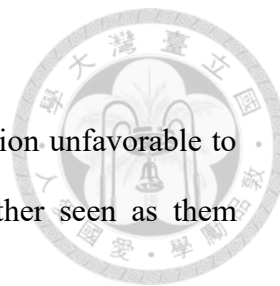
Interpreters' alignment with the government is the consistency of positions on certain matters shared by the officials and the interpreters. It indicates that, at the textual level, the interpreters share the same viewpoints as the officials they are interpreting for. C1-Officials demonstrates such alignment through patterns of omissions, additions, and substitutions, excluding sentence omissions. In C1-Officials, entertaining resources are omitted in a way that contracts the officials' openness to alternative viewpoints, presenting a more assertive image of the officials and the government. The additions of pronouncement resources show that when doubts or disagreements about China's actions emerge in a question, China's version of the truth is emphasized in the interpretations of the officials' responses. The substitutions of upscaling



pronouncements usually occur when the officials talk about the responsibilities of Japan and the U.S. in maintaining their bilateral relationships with China. This pattern was also found in Li and Zhang's (2021) study, but their data included only one example (Example 12 in this study), which was from the 2018 FM's press conference. Li's (2018) study also found a similar pattern, where interpreters would strengthen China's responsibilities with modality shifts. However, in this study, the responsibilities or obligations strengthened are those of Japan or the U.S., with which China is usually in tension on the regional and world level, respectively. The shifts more firmly convey the government's stance, making China come across as more domineering. As Li and Zhang (2021) suggested, this can increase the interpersonal cost for audience members who do not agree with the responsibilities laid out by the government.

The sentence omissions in C1-Officials, however, do not present the interpreters' alignment with the government. A compliment by an official to a journalist can hardly count as the official's viewpoint on certain issues. Moreover, the official's harsh expressions are also omitted. It can be argued that they are omitted because the interpreters want to protect the country's image. At the same time, the sentence omissions prevent the officials' intended directness and harshness from being recreated in the TT. As argued by Kondo (1990), watering down such remarks is likely to hinder genuine mutual understanding.

C2-1-Chinese Journalists demonstrates an inconsistent pattern of alignment. The pattern of additions related to entertaining found in this corpus is the opposite of the omissions pattern in C1-Officials. This shows that interpreters tend to entertain other possibilities when interpreting for journalists but may have fewer reservations about the statements made by the officials. The additions may indicate the interpreters' lower investment in journalists' remarks, demonstrating their disalignment with journalists.



When the addition occurs in journalists' citing a subjective evaluation unfavorable to China, the interpreters' disalignment with journalists can be further seen as them aligning with the government.

In the same corpus, it is also found that interpreters omit Chinese journalists' own evaluations of China, which are mostly favorable to the country. This contradicts the findings in Gao's (2020) study, where interpreters would emphasize positive discourse about China, reflecting an in-group positioning, which can be construed as the interpreters' alignment with the government.

C2-2-Foreign Journalists also reveals a pattern of inconsistent alignment. When foreign journalists cite subjective evaluations from others, the interpreters tend to omit the entertaining and acknowledgment resources. These omissions transform opinions into facts, reducing their tentativeness. However, since the omissions of acknowledgment occur for both favorable and neutral evaluations of China, it is difficult to determine whether there exists an alignment between the interpreters and the government. The sentence omissions, however, serve as evidence for alignment. By reframing questions and leaving out sensitive information, the interpreters make the interpretations less face-threatening to China and its allies.

Common shift patterns shared by the three corpora were also identified, as depicted in Table 8. The common pattern of omissions is only shared by the corpora of journalists. On the substantive level, the omissions of concurrence resources, such as "we have seen," "we know," and "we have noticed," eliminate the solidarity that journalists intend to build with the officials. Given that interpreters do not omit such expressions when interpreting for the officials, it may be safe to conclude that interpreters find it more difficult to occupy the first-person position when interpreting for journalists and less so when interpreting for the officials. This may demonstrate that



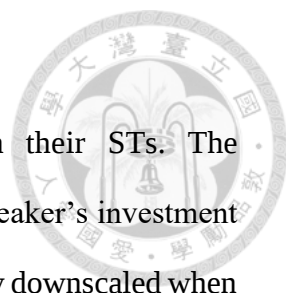
it is easier for interpreters to align themselves with the latter. This pattern was also identified in Liu's (2010) study, which analyzed three years of the Chinese press conferences of Two Sessions. Liu argued that removing first-person references "adds distancing and detachment to the utterance" (Liu, 2010, p. 112). However, Liu found this pattern only in questions asked in Chinese. In contrast, this study found the pattern in questions asked in both Chinese and English, suggesting an even clearer tendency of interpreters to align with the officials rather than either group of journalists.

Table 8

Common Shift Patterns of the Corpora in relation to Different Speakers

Corpus	Shift pattern	Appraisal resource	Communicative effect
C2-1-Chinese Journalists	Omission	Concur	Reducing solidarity
C2-2-Foreign Journalists			between journalists and officials
C1-Officials	Addition	Counter	Explicitation of logical
C2-1-Chinese Journalists			transition
C2-2-Foreign Journalists			
C1-Officials	Substitution	• Entertain	Turning "think" into
C2-2-Foreign Journalists		• Upscaling (graduation)	"believe" to strengthen speakers' investment

The common pattern of additions is shared by the three corpora. It shows the interpreters' effort in making implicit contrastive relationships explicit, regardless of whom they are interpreting for. This is not related to taking positions and thus not allows a discussion on interpreters' alignment. The common pattern of substitutions, where “我想/認為” (I think) is upscaled to “我相信” (I believe) , is shared by the officials and foreign journalists. It is not found in the Chinese journalists'

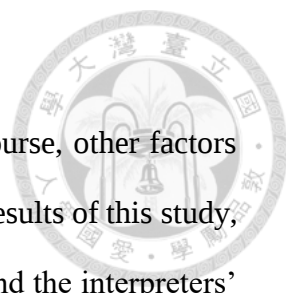


interpretations probably because such expressions are few in their STs. The substitutions have the communicative effect of strengthening the speaker's investment on specific issues. However, the fact that such expressions are usually downscaled when interpreted from English to Chinese may suggest the interchangeability of “think” and “believe,” indicating that interpreters see no difference in the degree of certainty attached to the expressions. This makes it hard to decide the interpreters' alignment. However, it is worth noting that the upscaling from “I think” to “I am convinced,” an expression with greater intensity than “I believe,” is only found in the officials' interpretations.

Many shift patterns identified in this study show the Chinese interpreters' alignment with the government at the textual level, some of which were found in previous studies that included smaller amount of data. The interpreters' perceived tendencies to share the same viewpoints as the officials they are interpreting for, not to do so with journalists, and the upscaling that corresponds with these tendencies, may suggest the interpreters' willingness to align themselves with the government. It can be argued that some of the shifts may be caused by cognitive overload and thus not conscious, but the fact that they exist as patterns instead of sporadic examples in the corpora may reduce such concern. If the shifts that form patterns are not unconscious, they are likely related to factors that encourage them to align with the government, such as their identities as civil servants or members of the CCP, or their ideologies. On the other hand, there are shift patterns that do not lead to a conclusion of interpreters' alignment. Such patterns may be related to factors other than identity or ideology.

5.6 Factors Beyond Identity and Ideology

Identity and ideology play significant roles in the creation of political discourse.

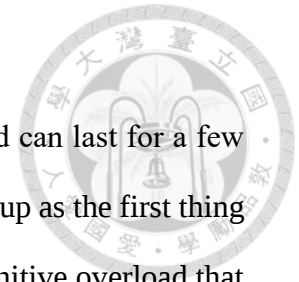


When interpreters are involved in creating or recreating such discourse, other factors besides identity and ideology can also be at play. According to the results of this study, these factors may include interpreting norms, institutional norms, and the interpreters' function of negotiating interpersonal relations.

Interpreting norms include maintaining a higher level of accuracy for the main clients' remarks and the explicitation of logical transitions (e.g., Pan, 2019; Wang, 2012). Among all the corpora of different speakers, C1-Officials has the lowest relative frequency (RF) of sentence omissions, the most noticeable type of shift due to its significant departure from the ST. Contrarily, C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists have much higher RF of such type of shifts, which usually consists of more substantial changes to the discourse. Given the large number of words and the amount of information in each segment of the officials' remarks, the low RF of sentence omissions particularly highlights the interpreters' efforts in accurately recreating the officials' messages. This suggests their deliberate effort to interpret especially accurately for the officials, who are their superiors and main clients.

Explicitation is a phenomenon considered one of translation's universals (Gumul, 2015), or a strategy "inherent in the process of language mediation" (Blum-Kulka, 2000, p. 302). In Wang's study (2012) on interpreting norms that analyzed 11 of the Chinese PM's press conferences, one of the norms identified was explicitation in logical relations, mostly realized through the addition of cohesive devices. In this study, the pattern of adding cohesive devices was also identified. What differs from Wang's result is that in this study, the cohesive devices added were all to express contrastive relationships, namely countering resources in appraisal theory.

Institutional norms are potentially revealed by the sentence omissions of officials' compliments and the common pattern of substitution that turns "I think" into "I believe."



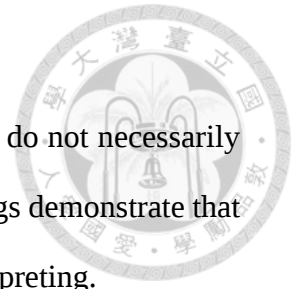
Usually, a single segment of the officials' remarks to be interpreted can last for a few minutes, and the officials' compliments to journalists usually come up as the first thing they say when answering questions. Long segments may cause cognitive overload that makes the interpreters miss the information that emerges at the very beginning. It may be recognized that such information is not as essential as the subsequent response, leading the DTI to establish an institutional norm to ignore and omit the compliments. This appears to defy the interpreting norm of higher accuracy for the main clients, but since the compliments are usually brief compared with the entire response, accuracy is not significantly compromised.

The common pattern of replacing "I think" with "I believe" contradicts interpreters' tendency to mitigate the degree of things or illocutionary force (Monacelli, 2009; Sun, 2014). The abnormality of strengthening the degrees and the interchangeability of "think" and "believe" identified in this study may suggest that the DTI sees no difference in the expressions and that when the interpreters interpret from English to Chinese, it is an institutional norm to interpret "認為" (think) as "相信" (believe).

Interpreters' function of negotiating interpersonal relations can explain the pattern of sentence omissions of officials' harsh expressions. It can be argued that the sentence omissions were to protect China's image. However, since they have the communicative effect of making discourse less face-threatening to the journalist asking the question, it would make sense if the interpreter was negotiating interpersonal relations between the official and the journalist. As Fu and Chen (2019) argued, interpreters may act more actively in "mediating and shaping interpersonal relations" in high-stakes settings (p. 30).

Interpreting norms, institutional norms, and interpreters' function of negotiating

interpersonal relations help explain the identified shift patterns that do not necessarily show the interpreters' alignment with the government. These findings demonstrate that various factors can influence interpreters' decisions as they are interpreting.



Chapter 6 Conclusion



This study aimed to explore Chinese DTI interpreters' mediation in the Chinese press conferences during the Two Sessions through the lens of interpreting shifts. Previous studies have analyzed the Chinese interpreters' role in the political setting, but with comparatively limited data. By including fifteen years of both the PM's and FM's press conferences (2009-2023) and journalists' remarks, this study is expected to provide more comprehensive understanding of the interpreters' mediation in the high-stakes political setting. This chapter summarizes the findings for the four research questions, discusses the limitations of the study, and explicates its contributions and possible directions for future research.

6.1 Findings

Research question 1: *What are the patterns of engagement and graduation choices in the STs and TTs of the officials and journalists?*

In the STs of the officials, the frequency of contractive engagement resources exceeds that of expansive ones. In the TTs, contractive engagement resources exceed expansive ones by a larger margin. This may suggest an effort to limit dialogically alternative viewpoints, making the officials seem less open to different ideas. There was a significant increase in upscaling graduation in the TTs of the officials, enhancing the officials' intensity and investment in their arguments. However, in the STs and TTs of journalists, the distribution and relative frequencies of the appraisal subcategories are nearly identical. This indicates that the journalists' openness to different ideas, as well as their intensity and investment, remain consistent in the TTs. The results for both the officials and journalists disalign with those of Gao's study (2020), where a general decrease of the use of all appraisal subcategories was found and attributed to



interpreters' cognitive saturation.

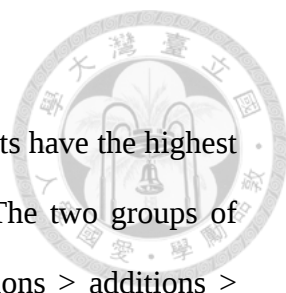
Research question 2: *What are the patterns of engagement and graduation choices in the STs and TTs of Chinese and foreign journalists?*

In the STs of Chinese journalists, the frequency of contractive engagement resources exceeds that of expansive ones, with upscaling being the most used graduation mode. The TTs of Chinese journalists shows a general increase in all appraisal subcategories, except for a decrease in contractive engagement resources, which occur less frequently than expansive ones. This means the TTs allow for more dialogically alternative viewpoints than the STs, making Chinese journalists appear to be more open to different ideas. There is also an increase in upscaling graduation in the TTs that strengthens Chinese journalists' intensity and investment in what they argue.

In the STs of foreign journalists, the frequency of expansive engagement resources exceeds that of contractive ones, with upscaling being the most used graduation mode. There is no general change pattern in its TTs, but in the TTs, contractive engagement resources surpass expansive ones, and upscaling graduation resources diminish. Therefore, Chinese and foreign journalists show opposite changes in engagement and graduation choices in their TTs. Their differences were not discernable when all journalists were discussed as a group, as in research question one.

In sum, the TTs of the officials and foreign journalists make the speakers perceived to be less accepting of different viewpoints, whereas Chinese journalists appear more accepting. Authorial intensity and investment in propositions are enhanced in the TTs of the officials and Chinese journalists but are decreased in those of foreign journalists.

Research question 3: *What are the appraisal shifts (namely omissions, additions, substitutions, and sentence omissions) made by the interpreters in relation to different speakers (i.e., officials vs Chinese journalists vs foreign journalists)?*



In the quantitative analysis, it was found that Chinese journalists have the highest ratio of shifts, followed by the officials and foreign journalists. The two groups of journalists share the same pattern of frequencies of shifts: omissions > additions > substitutions > sentence omissions. However, the officials have a different pattern: additions > omissions > substitutions > sentence omissions. Since additions require more cognitive effort than the other types of shifts, as interpreters must generate new meaning units, the fact that additions rank highest only in the officials' corpus may suggest additional effort by the interpreters to adjust the officials' remarks.

Regarding the occurrences of each type of shift across the speakers (corpora), omissions are most frequent among Chinese journalists. Additions and substitutions, which are more cognitively demanding shifts, are far more frequent among the officials compared with the other two groups of speakers. This may also indicate the interpreters are inclined to spend extra effort in fine-tuning the officials' remarks. However, sentence omissions, the most noticeable type of shift, are almost equally frequent in the two groups of journalists, but far less common among the officials.

Although the quantitative results may highlight additional effort in adjusting the officials' remarks, the qualitative analysis demonstrates that the interpreters can actually be active when interpreting for all three groups of speakers. It reveals shift patterns that are exclusive to or shared by them. In C1-Officials, it was found that there are omissions of entertain, an expansive engagement resource, which reduces the officials' openness to different viewpoints. Additions of pronouncement, a contractive engagement resource, were also discovered, which not only decreases the aforementioned openness, but also helps to emphasize the officials' points. There is also substitution for pronouncement with a higher degree, reinforcing the obligations that the Chinese government argues Japan and the U.S. should bear in addressing their

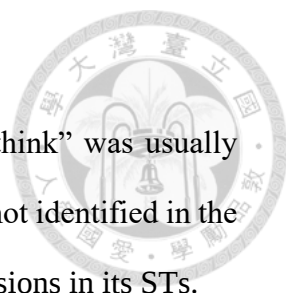


respective bilateral relations with China. Overall, the results correspond with the quantitative analysis, which shows a contractive orientation and more upscaling in the officials' interpretation.

In C2-1-Chinese Journalists, a pattern of adding entertain and acknowledgment, both being expansive engagement resources, was identified. This potentially expands Chinese journalists' openness to different viewpoints, bringing an opposite effect as the omission pattern of entertain found in the officials' interpretation. In C2-2-Foreign Journalists, entertain and acknowledgment are omitted, which not only makes foreign journalists appear to be less open to different ideas, but also turns their remarks into monoglossic statements. The qualitative results of the journalists' corpora are also in line with their respective expansive and contractive orientations identified in the quantitative results.

Each of the corpora has their own pattern of sentence omission, without any specific appraisal resources being consistently involved. In C1-Officials, sentence omissions happen to officials' compliments for journalists and their harsh expressions that can compromise the official-journalist relationships and China's image. In C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists, sentence omissions usually occur in Chinese journalists' subjective evaluations, and face-threatening information to China and its allies, respectively.

Common shift patterns include omissions, additions, and substitutions. In both journalists' corpora, it was found that concurring resources like "we have seen/noticed" and "we know" are usually omitted. This pattern was not identified in the officials' corpus, despite the existence of such expressions in its STs. In the corpora of the officials and both groups of journalists, there exists a pattern of adding countering resources that denote contrastive relationships. In the corpora of the officials and

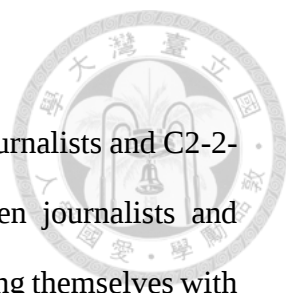


foreign journalists, it was found that the entertaining resource “I think” was usually replaced by “I believe,” an upscaling substitution. This pattern was not identified in the Chinese journalists’ corpus, probably due to the lack of such expressions in its STs.

Research question 4: *How do the shifts demonstrate the interpreters’ alignment/disalignment with the Chinese government?*

Many of the shift patterns identified can be construed as showing the interpreters’ alignment with the government. In C1-Officials, the omissions of entertain eliminate the officials’ openness to different viewpoints, reducing the intended modesty and strengthening the officials and the Chinese government’s assertiveness. The additions of pronouncements emphasize the officials’ points, validating the government’s arguments against others’ doubts. The substitutions for upscaled entertaining resources reinforce the obligations that China thinks should be imposed on Japan and the U.S. All of these show that at the textual level, the interpreters share the same viewpoints as the officials they are interpreting for and display even higher levels of investment in conveying the viewpoints.

In C2-1-Chinese Journalists, the additions of entertaining or acknowledgement expand the journalists’ openness to different viewpoints, showing the interpreters’ tentativeness in the journalists’ remarks. This is opposite to the omissions pattern of C1-Officials. It can be seen as the interpreters’ disalignment with the journalists, which when related to journalists’ subjective evaluations unfavorable to China, can also be considered the alignment with their government. In C2-2-Foreign Journalists, the interpreters were found to have a tendency of aligning themselves with the government by omitting sentences that include face-threatening information to China and its allies, North Korea, for example. Finally, the omissions of concurring resources like “we

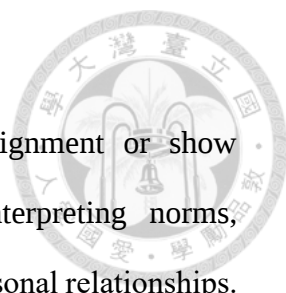


know,” “we’ve seen” and “we’ve noticed,” in both C2-1-Chinese Journalists and C2-2-Foreign Journalists reduce solidarity intended to be built between journalists and officials. This suggests that the interpreters may have problem aligning themselves with journalists. Since this shift pattern was not found in C1-Officials, where such expressions do exist, it may be concluded that the interpreters have less difficulty aligning themselves with the officials, suggesting their alignment with the government.

There are shift patterns that do not allow for a definitive judgment on the interpreters' alignment. For example, the omissions of entertain and acknowledgment in C2-2-Foreign Journalists turn opinions into facts, reducing the journalists' tentativeness in the propositions referenced. However, since these propositions can be either favorable or neutral to China, it is difficult to determine whether this indicates the interpreters' alignment. Additionally, the common pattern of adding countering resources exists in all the corpora and is not fundamentally related to taking positions, making it unlikely to be associated with the interpreters' alignment. Furthermore, the issue of alignment is not relevant to the common pattern of substituting “I believe” for “I think,” because the two expressions, despite carrying different degrees of authorial investment, were found to be interchangeable in the interpretations.

Two shift patterns show the interpreters' disalignment at the textual level. One is the sentence omissions of C1-Officials, where the officials' compliments and harsh expressions were omitted. The other is the sentence omissions of C2-1-Chinese Journalists, where the journalists' subjective evaluations, mostly favorable to China, were omitted.

The interpreters' alignment with the government may be related to their identities as civil servants or CCP members who would advocate for the officials' or the government's positions, or their ideology that serves the same purpose. The shift



patterns that either do not allow a definitive judgment on alignment or show disalignment reveal factors beyond identity and ideology: interpreting norms, institutional norms and interpreters' function of negotiating interpersonal relationships.

Interpreting norms are manifested through a higher level of interpreting accuracy for the officials, who are the main clients of the interpreters. This can not only be explained by the quantitative analysis of shifts but also the sentence omissions pattern of Chinese journalists' subjective evaluations. The other shift pattern that may be related to interpreting norms is the common pattern of explicitation of logical transition, which is shared by all the corpora of different speakers.

Institutional norms are those assumed to have been established by the Department of Translation and Interpretation (DTI) at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). The sentence omissions of officials' compliments for journalists may result from the DTI's decision to prioritize more concrete and important information. The common pattern of replacing "I think" with "I believe" in Chinese to English interpretation and replacing "I believe" with "I think" in the opposite language direction may reflect the DTI's norm of interpreting such expressions in a specific way, potentially indicating that the DTI perceives no difference in their degree. Lastly, the interpreters' function of negotiating interpersonal relations is revealed through the sentence omissions of officials' harsh expressions that can damage the official-journalist relationships.

The shift patterns identified indicate the Chinese DTI interpreters' mediation at the textual level, many of which show alignment with the Chinese government. Mediation may suggest an active role taken by the interpreters, but may not necessarily be related to factors that encourage them to take certain stances, despite the distinctive Chinese context. The Chinese interpreters may mediate the press conferences as civil

servants, CCP members, but also as professional in-house interpreters following the profession's and their institution's norms.



6.2 Limitations

First, corpus-based research in translation and interpreting studies has an inherent limitation. As Straniero Sergio and Falbo (2012) stated, “corpora findings may tell us how translators translate, but not why they translate the way they do” (p. 22). Shifts identified through the use of corpus show what changes at the textual level, but what has led to the changes is not clear. External factors like audio quality, speakers' accents, or internal factors like interpreters' cognitive capabilities and social cognition, just to name a few, can individually or collectively lead to interpreting shifts. Consequently, it is difficult to determine the causal relationships between the shifts identified and any possible factors.

Second, since this study did not apply inferential statistics, the quantitative analysis is based on the comparative trends directly identified by the researcher. Nevertheless, the use of relative frequency and percentage helps to provide an overall picture of how appraisal resources are used and how shifts occur within and across the corpora.

Third, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that has been criticized for researchers' subjective contextualization of the text and obliviousness to the intention of the person who created the text. Without knowing the actual intention of the interpreters in the press conferences, researchers would not know exactly why they interpreted in a certain way, or in the case of this study, why the interpreting shifts came up. Despite the limitations, a corpus is one of the best tools for compiling discourse data. Plus, CDA is concerned with “exposing and making more

explicit the otherwise hidden ideologies and latent power asymmetries enacted, legitimized, and reproduced in discourse” (Gu & Tipton, 2020, p. 410). Therefore, this study still offers a perspective for examining interpreters’ shifts in political settings.

Fourth, Appraisal theory may have inherent constraint when used as the analytical framework in an interpreting study. As a linguistic theory, it was originally designed to analyze regular texts and speeches, rather than translation or interpretation. When it is applied to analyze interpretations, chances are that the positions the speaker (the interpreter) take, revealed by their appraisal choices, may not necessarily reflect the interpreter’s own intention. Some of the appraisal resources may be seen as insignificant buffering devices or padding for interpreters to buy time. These resources may not represent the product of the interpreter’s active mediation, which limits the applicability of the theory in analyzing the intention behind such expressions. For example, the pronouncement resource “the bottom line is” can be a common expression interpreters use when they are (re)arranging information, which is unrelated to their personal stance on the content. Other examples are the concurring resources “we’ve seen,” “we know” and “we’ve noticed,” as mentioned in one of the common omission patterns. However, as insignificant as the expressions can be, in this study, the shift pattern of them still allows for further analysis. The fact that the omission pattern is only shared by the interpretations of the two types of journalists, excluding the officials, may be explained by the interpreter’s preference for whom to align with. While Appraisal theory has limitations in interpreting research, it still offers a perspective for closely examining the linguistic resources that are often overlooked but can reveal the speaker’s stance.

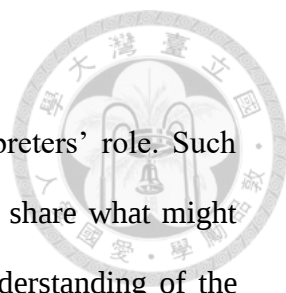


6.3 Contributions and Future Directions

Among the studies analyzing the role of interpreters in the Chinese press conferences, this study stands out due to its use of a more comprehensive and larger corpus. The data are comprehensive in that they include all participants of the press conferences: officials, Chinese journalists, and foreign journalists, which is rare in this field of study. This inclusivity allows for a comparison between different speakers, forming a more holistic view of the interpreters' role. With a greater amount of data, this study helps confirm the shift patterns found in previous studies based on limited data. Additionally, it helps identify new patterns, capturing those that might have been missed in the past.

Another contribution of this study is that it reveals the multiplicity of the Chinese interpreters' social cognition. Previous studies analyzing the Chinese press conferences mainly focused on how the interpreters' identity and ideology influenced their interpretations. While this study initially had a similar focus, the results reveal other social factors that could impact interpreters' output. As in previous research, interpreters' textual mediation was found, but it could be driven by factors such as norms widely practiced in the interpreting profession or those established by the Department of Translation and Interpretation (DTI) at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). This study shows that although China has a distinctive political context and government interpreters do assume additional responsibilities, they are still professional interpreters who have to follow certain norms and perform certain functions.

Even though political interpreting settings, especially high-stakes ones, may not allow interpreters to reveal details about the settings, retrospective interviews with



interpreters are still recommended for future studies on the interpreters' role. Such interviews will enable the interpreters to listen to their output and share what might have triggered their shifts. This approach will lead to a better understanding of the interpreters' decisions, making the analysis of the causes of shifts more valid and credible. Since the Chinese press conferences have been widely studied, future research can focus on political interpreting settings in other countries. It would be interesting to see whether shift patterns vary among such contexts in different countries. Comparisons between countries with different political institutions, such as authoritarian versus democratic, or countries where government interpreters possess different identities, may shed more light on the interpreters' roles in the interpretation of political discourse.



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