

**The Roles of the Interpreter in Political Settings:
A case study of the Chinese government's in-house
interpreters in press conferences**

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Abstract

Interpreting is commonly recognised as an oral form of translation intended to facilitate communication across linguistic or cultural barriers (Pochhacker, 2004). Since interpreting is fundamentally a language-based activity, the roles of the interpreter are enacted through his or her use of language in context.

The aim of this study is to understand the interpreter's roles in practice, or more specifically, the roles of the interpreters in the Premier's NPC (National People's Congress) and CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) press conference in China, a high-profile political event, which is also known as the two-session press conference. For this objective, the study uses a specialized corpus built out of these political events; and adopts systemic functional linguistics (SFL) as its theoretical and analytical framework. The study investigates the interpersonal choices made by the interpreters and the context in which these choices are made, particularly in relation to the changes in speaker, addressee and topic of the question and answer set in the interpreting practice. The study finds that the Chinese government in-house interpreters perform dual roles in the press conferences: as a professional interpreter, and as a civil servant. On the one hand, the interpreters are committed to their professionalism in providing a linguistic service only in communication. On the other hand, they respond to the influence of their institutional allegiance. These two roles are by and large determined by the context in which the interpreting takes place. The in-house interpreters have to decide their performance choices in communication with full consideration of the context in which they are interpreting, thereby making corresponding choices at both lexicogrammatical and semantic levels.

By investigating the interpreters' roles and their linguistic choices from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics and on the basis of a specialised corpus,

the study offers benefits to both interpreting practitioners and researchers, by: 1) providing linguistic evidence that the interpreters tend to play a proactive role in an interpreter-mediated event; 2) demonstrating that the linguistic choices made by the interpreters are reflective of the contextual constraints they face; and 3) shedding light on future corpus-based interpreting studies.

Certificate of Originality

I hereby certify that this work is the result of my own research and that the work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other institution university or institution. I certify that sources of information used and the extent to which the work of others has been utilized have been indicated in the thesis.

Signature

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter presents an introduction to the present study, on the interpreter's role. In Section 1.1, a brief review on the background of interpreting studies and the role of the interpreter is provided to contextualise this study on Chinese government in-house interpreters at political press conferences. Section 1.2 outlines the theoretical foundation and analytical tools used in this study. Section 1.3 provides a brief account of the data collection; followed by the presentation of the research objectives and research questions in Section 1.4. Section 1.5, the final section of the chapter, summarises the structure of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

1.1.1 Understanding the Interpreter's Role in Practice

Interpreting practice is commonly recognised as an oral form of translation to facilitate communication across linguistic or cultural barriers (Pochhacker, 2004). Although the practice of interpreting has been documented since the beginning of recorded human history (Angelelli 2004a; Pochhacker & Shlesinger, 2002), it was only recognised as a profession for cross-cultural and multi-linguistic communication in the 20th century, when it started to attract academic interest (Pochhacker, 2002).

The development of interpreting studies has progressed significantly in the early 21st century. The interpreting practice has been found to be a complex research subject involving various phenomena, including the interpreting process, the interpreting product or interpreter's performance, interpreting as a profession, and interpreter training; and has been conceptualised from the perspectives of a range of disciplines, such as anthropology, cognitive science, linguistics, neurophysiology and sociology (Pochhacker, 2011).

As in Translation Studies, the sociological turn is also observed in Interpreting Studies, which emphasises the communicative nature of the interpreting practice, and studies the interpreting practice from the perspective of the social sciences (Pochhacker, 2011). As a result, academic interest has increasingly centred on the study of identity-related issues in interpreting, such as the role of the interpreter in communication context (Pym, 2006). Indeed, the presence of an interpreter is of great importance to any interpreter-mediated communication.

In Interpreting Studies, the interpreter's role is generally defined as a relational concept expressed by normative behavioural expectations towards a social position (Pochhacker, 2004). The normative expectation is often stated institutionally as part of a professional codes of ethics. However, in most cases the over-emphasis in these professional codes on the quality of the interpretation regarding accuracy, completeness and fluency, leads to a mechanical but idealised view that the interpreter is 'non-person' and always neutral in communication. Furthermore, this view of 'non-person' and 'neutrality' is so abstracted that the interpreter is regarded as a 'machine' and 'conduit'. Accordingly, the professional codes have 'dumbed down' the role of the interpreter to something 'invisible'.

However, the view of invisibility is challenged in various empirical studies (e.g. Angelelli, 2004a/b; Katan & Straniero-Sergio, 2001; Leanza, Boivin & Rosenberg, 2010; Le et al., 2009; Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008, Setton & Guo, 2009; Sun, 2014; Takeda, 2009; Wadensjo, 2008a&b). Due to the complexity of interpreting practice and the diversity in Interpreting Studies, studies on the interpreter's role cover a wide range of fields, ranging from community to conference interpreting. Applying various research methods, such as discourse analysis, interview and extensive surveys, to harvest both qualitative and quantitative data, these studies strongly argue that the interpreter is in fact a social agent in communication, and that the interpreter's role is visible in the social practice.

By acting as a social agent in communication, an interpreter needs to respond closely to different social and contextual variables, and constantly has to make choices in order to adjust his or her social positioning in any interpreter-mediated communication. The making of those choices is driven by the interpreter's self-perception of his or her interpersonal functions in communication (e.g. Leanza, Boivin & Rosenberg, 2010; Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008, Setton & Guo, 2009); is influenced by the interpreter's selfhood, including his or her professional background, cultural and social allegiance, and ideological commitment (e.g. Le et al., 2009; Takeda, 2009; Sun, 2014); and is constrained by the setting of the practice and the nature of the communicative activity (e.g. Katan & Straniero-Sergio, 2001; Wadensjo, 2008a&b).

In summary, the sociological turn in Interpreting Studies has resulted in an intensive scholarly effort to identify the interpreter as an active participant in

communication (Angelelli, 2004a/b). However, given the complexity of interpreting and the extensive research fields the study of the interpreter's role may cover, the interpreter's role in practice can be discussed and understood properly with reference to the situational context of the interpreting.

1.1.2 The In-house Interpreter in China

The present study focuses on the practice of in-house interpreters in China, who are employed by the government. The practice of these interpreters possesses some distinctive features, although no comparison has been made to distinguish interpreters geographically.

Firstly, in-house interpreting in China has a long history, and is deeply embedded in China's politics and diplomatics. Historically, since the introduction of official examinations in 165 B.C., *fanyi*, a generic default term used in China for both translator and interpreter, has been used for those civil servants who are actively engaged in political and diplomatic communications between China and the rest of the world. They have acted not only as the conveyors of speech but also as the diplomatic and cultural consultants for the interests of the Chinese authority (Lung & Li, 2005; Roland, 1999).

Compared with most of the popular immigrant destinations in Europe, Australia and North America, interpreters in contemporary China perform much less community-based assignments (Sun, 2014). Like their counterparts in Chinese history, the interpreters in modern China are found to be more actively engaged at more formal settings, in either simultaneous or consecutive interpreting modes, such as the government press conferences between officials and journalists (Sun, 2014). In addition, the interpreting market in China has witnessed a significant share of institutional in-house interpreters rather than freelance practitioners (Setton & Guo, 2009; Sun, 2014).

Secondly, the interpreter in China seems to have experienced a positive change of social status with the evolution of the interpreting profession. In the past, *fanyi* generally has had a low social status because of their foreign engagement. Studies (Lung & Li, 2005; Roland, 1999) have found that these language posts were low in prestige because China generally held a condescending attitude towards 'alien races' in its history. All forms of foreign language education were discouraged or even resented by the authorities, except those in the authorised government schools (Roland, 1999). Interpreters and translators were often trained and employed by the government only because "they have

no other means of making a livelihood” (Roland, 1999, p. 86). In this way, Chinese interpreters were traditionally offered an inferior and institutionalised position by the authority, which made it impossible for them to claim any rights of their own. In fact, “as late as the 19th century, native Chinese interpreters sometimes carried poisons with which they could speedily kill themselves if apprehended and sundry stratagems were devised for fooling the authorities” (Roland, 1999, p. 86).

However, according to the survey conducted by Setton and Guo (2009), interpreters in China now generally enjoy a reputed social status, and are content with the status level assigned by their society. Most respondents in Setton and Guo’s survey believed that interpreters are currently seen “as journalists, lawyers or management consultants” (p. 234). The interpreter’s recognised social status and job satisfaction is thus found to be similar to the views on interpreters in the west.

Thirdly, the in-house interpreter who performs notably in the diplomatic service often acts as an interpreter temporarily, as the profession has become “a stepping stone to a diplomatic career” (Setton & Guo, 2009, p. 213). In the People’s Republic of China (PRC), the Department of Translation and Interpretation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is possibly the largest and the most prestigious government agency for language services. As is specified on the Department’s website, the Department is mainly responsible for providing language support to the MFA and other government agencies. The language services provided include only “translation of important state diplomatic events and diplomatic documents and instruments, as well as simultaneous interpretation and coordination of interpretation in multi-languages for major international conferences” (MFA, 2014). However, the career path of interpreters from the Department often goes beyond the boundaries of the language service. Some interpreters from the Department have become professional diplomats, and have even been appointed as ambassadors or ministers. According to the official website of the MFA (MFA, 2014), at least five diplomats who worked for the Department of Translation and Interpretation were appointed as China’s ambassadors to foreign countries in 2014. In addition, the enlisted career statements of nine assistant ministers on the MFA website also show that one minister started his diplomatic career from the Department of the Translation and Interpretation.

In summary, the in-house interpreter in China appears to be historically, socially, and politically distinctive. The special properties that are shared by this community make it significant to understand their role(s) in the political and diplomatic contexts.

1.1.3 Two-Session Press Conferences

For the in-house interpreter at the Department of Translation and Interpretation of MFA, one of the most important and high-profile assignments is the press conferences of the annual meeting of the China's National People's Congress (NPC) and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), being generally abbreviated as 'two-session'. These meetings provide an opportunity for representatives from all walks of life in the country to review the policies adopted by the government in the previous year, discuss future plans, and inform the general public and China watchers from different countries of timely updates on the China's political, social and economic development.

In 1988, the press conference of China's NPC and CPPCC held by the Chinese Premier was for the first time broadcast live to world audiences via China Central Television (CCTV). Since then, the live broadcast of the Premier's two-session press conference has become an annual practice. The press conference invites hundreds of journalists from different parts of the world to attend, and inevitably attracts a very extensive media coverage.

To assist the communication between the Chinese-speaking Premier and non-Chinese speaking journalists at the press conference, the organising committee provides consecutive interpreting services in two languages, namely Chinese and English. All interpreters recruited for the event are staff members selected from the Department of Translation and Interpretation of MFA.

As this interpreter-mediated political event is open for the public via the media broadcast, the two-session press conference becomes a special platform for the government in-house interpreters to demonstrate their alleged role(s) in practice.

1.2 Theoretical Considerations

1.2.1 The Interpreter's Role in Practice as a Social Identity

The literature on interpreting (Angelelli, 2004 a/b; Alexieva, 2002; Berk-Seligson, 1990; Dam; 1998; Gerver, 1976; Gile, 1997; Hale, 2002; House, 2001; Kirchhoff, 2002; Moser,

1978; Setton, 1998; Shlesinger, 1997; Stenzl, 1983; Torsello, 1997; Wadensjo, 1998; Wu & Wang, 2009) shows that interpreting practice can be perceived from a range of perspectives. Interpreting Studies may be placed in a larger interdisciplinary matrix that goes beyond the interpreting or translation setting itself. The study of the interpreter's professional identity - his or her role in practice or social positioning in actual communication - benefits a great deal from insights from perspectives from different but related disciplines.

One of the neighbouring fields to Translation and Interpreting Studies is discourse analysis. In recent years, identity constructed through text and talk has become a common research interest in discourse analytical studies (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Danesi, 2014; Shiffrin, 1996; Van Dijk, 2011). While it is important to acknowledge that discursive social action is the locus where culture and social identities take shape, it is also necessary to understand that discursive acts need to be studied in particular social contexts. Thanks to the fact that the interpreter performs his or her professional identity entirely with the means of language in a social context, it becomes essential to analyse the interpreter's role based on his or her linguistic choices, as understood with reference to that context.

The professional identity of the interpreter is realised via the interpreter's acting in his or her role in the communication. Since identity is constructed by and reflected in language use as being both abstract and dynamic, the interpreter's role, as a relational concept about a social position (Pochhacker, 2004), has to be manifested collectively by a series of linguistic choices for social positioning in communication.

1.2.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Social Identity

From a sociocultural perspective, communication is socially conventionalised. Language users have to establish different communicative models, based on their social knowledge, to demonstrate their social identities, including their interpersonal relationships within and memberships of a particular social group or community (Hall, 2002). The language for communication then becomes "a sociocultural resource constituted by a range of possibilities, and open-ended set of options in behaviour that are available to the individual in his existence as social man" (Halliday, 1973, p. 49).

By viewing language as a sociocultural resource, systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) becomes both theoretically and descriptively powerful in relating the micro-patterns of discourse with the macro-patterns of the social context in which the discourse

is produced (Matthiessen, 2012). Through the modelling of linguistic meaning in three concurrent macro-functions at different strata and in a macro-pattern of social context, the linguistic variations of a speaker in relation to various contextual patterns can be depicted, for the analysis of discursive acts and the speaker's social identity.

Language provides a set of sociocultural resources (systems) for making meaning, and for enacting social identity. From an SFL perspective, identity is a social-linguistic construction. A person's social identity is enacted through his or her linguistic choices of interpersonal meaning in relation to tenor values. In SFL, tenor refers to the participants, or more precisely to their relationship in a discourse including power relations, formality, and closeness, which works in combination with other contextual values to determine different uses of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). There have been a variety of studies on the roles of monolingual speakers in communication that have analysed the speaker's choices for the realisation of interpersonal meanings. In Thompson's (1999) study, for example, doctors use mood, normalisation and ellipsis to perform authoritative and sympathetic roles in communication in relation to the patients. In Bednarek's (2010) corpus-based analysis, the accumulation of emotive language choices constructs and reveals the identity of different characters in TV series. For Tann (2010), interpersonal meanings are used in collaboration with textual and ideational meanings to establish the collective identity of Singaporeans in history books.

Out of a range of potential systemic options, the construction of a social identity is realised by specific linguistic choices. Specifically, a speaker's social identity is typically related to his or her choices of the interpersonal metafunction of language in response to different contextual variables.

1.2.3 Interpersonal Meaning in SFL and the Interpreter's Role in Practice

In reference to the 'function-rank matrix' in SFL (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), language consists of meaning-making resources with sets of options available to language users through all strata. Grammatically, when selections from different resources are made to configure language users' intentions into concrete forms of a language, the choices are then interpreted into a system network and constructed within a grammatical rank scale (Butt et al., 2001; Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997). In particular, interpersonal

meaning is typically realised in MOOD, MODALITY and APPRAISAL (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Martin & White, 2008).

To perform interpersonal metafunction choices, different patterns of wording in a clause, termed the system of MOOD, are used to enact different speech roles for both the language user and his or her audience in communication (Butt et al., 2001; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In addition, Modality is specifically used to carry the speaker's interpersonal judgement on the status of the discourse, and covers all intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles to construe a speaker's uncertainty with respect to a proposition or a proposal. However, unlike the mood system which is obligatory in independent clauses, MODALITY is optional and may not be present in all independent clauses.

APPRAISAL systems are an extension of the SFL account of the interpersonal metafunction of language at the level, or 'stratum', of discourse semantics (Martin & White, 2008). Appraisal resources in text are used to negotiate social relationships (Martin & Rose, 2002). Systems of appraisal in linguistics allows language users to adopt different authorial identities for interpersonal alignment with the intended audience or readership.

Given that interpreting practice is an inter-linguistic communication and that the message for transmission is largely a product of the interpreter's voluntary choices, the interpreter's role in practice should be situated in the linguistic choices of the interpersonal meaning between the source speech and the target rendition. Thus, linguistically, it is important to probe into the translational shifts in relation to the interpersonal meaning of the two languages in interpretation, in order to understand an interpreter's choices of social positioning in communication. To be more specific, the study of the interpreter's role in practice is dependent on the analysis of the interpreter's discourse: that is, how and why different linguistic resources for the realisation of the interpersonal meaning are processed and selected to finalise the interpreter's social response to tenor values, for self-presentation of identity in different contexts.

In summary, by using the theoretical framework in SFL and its analytical tools, the interpreter's various linguistic choices regarding the interpersonal relationship in communication can be modelled in a systematic and comprehensive manner. By analysing the patterns of wording in interpretation against the source speech, the

interpreter's choices of social positioning in communication can be described and then explained with empirically observable data. In this sense, the discourse of an interpreting practice, including both the source speech and its interpretation, becomes instrumental to understanding an interpreter's choices of interpersonal meaning; then the choices of social positioning in communication. Eventually his or her choice of role in professional practice become manifest. As Angelelli (2004b) puts it: "interpreters take different steps to achieve their communicative goals, depending upon the social reality of all the participants involved in the encounter and the constraints that the institution impose upon them" (p. 79).

1.3 Data

The data of the current study are collected from multiple video clips of the live broadcasts of China's two-session press conference for the years of 2003-2006, 2009, 2010, and 2012. All clips are downloaded from the internet.

For ease of analysis, a specialised and open corpus, namely the China's Two-Session Press Conference (CTSPC) corpus, was designed. For the present study, the corpus consists of seven Premier's two-session press conferences. Brief information on these seven press conferences are listed in Table 1.1. As is displayed in Table 1.1, the seven press conferences were retrieved from multiple multimedia websites.

Session	Date	Retrieved Website	Duration
2003pm	17/03/2003	www.tudou.com/programs/view/vsUrl4Hg-0A/	109'
2004pm	15/03/2004	v.youku.com/v_show/id_ca00XMjYwMDkxMjQ=.html v.youku.com/v_show/id_XNTYyNTQzODA=.html	107'
2005pm	14/03/2005	www.tudou.com/programs/view/qjsR0Vfa9uA/	115'
2006pm	16/03/2006	news.cntv.cn/china/20120313/110635.shtml	128'
2009pm	13/03/2009	v.youku.com/v_show/id_XNzc1MTgwMzY=.html	144'
2010pm	14/03/2010	www.tudou.com/programs/view/FiUCiP2ZUN8	137'
2012pm	14/03/2012	tv.sohu.com/20120330/n339405450.shtml	182'

Table 1.1: Overview of Seven Press Conferences in the CTSPC Corpus

The audio-visual information is transcribed into written texts following the basic transcription conventions, and then filed as individual bilingual archives. The annotation of each archive marks out the language properties, namely as either English or Chinese,

and as either the source language or the target language. Each conference archive can be reclassified into two monolingual texts for independent linguistic analysis.

The bilingual corpus of CTSPC is currently comprised of 48,456 tokens in English and 71,840 Chinese characters, which is considered to be large enough to capture the range of possible patterns in the interpreters' linguistic choices of interpersonal meaning, thus reflecting the social positioning of the interpreter in practice.

1.4 Aims and Research Questions

The broad aim of the current study is to understand the role of those in-house interpreters in the two-session press conference, China's high-profile political event. While aiming to understand the interpreter's choice of role in practice, the study also intends to shed light on the effect of different contextual variables on the interpreter's decision-making of what role to choose and how to perform the chosen role in practice.

To this end, the study is designed to focus on the interpretation, the linguistic product of the interpreter in practice. The analysis will be conducted within the philosophical, theoretical and analytical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, where the study will use a personalised corpus for its linguistic investigation into the interpreter's choices of interpersonal meaning. The benefits of such an analytical approach include: 1) providing quantitative and qualitative data on the interpreter's choices of social positioning; 2) demonstrating the influence of the contextual variables of the interpreting event, such as the speaker, the interpreting addressee and the topic of the interpreted discourse, on the interpreter's choice of role presentation; and 3) offering a more practical and flexible understanding of the interpreter's role in actual communication.

The comparative analysis of the realisation of the interpersonal meaning between the source speech and the interpretation is intended to answer the following questions:

1. What role(s) do professional interpreters play in a socially- or politically-constrained setting such as China's Two-session Press Conference?
2. How do these Chinese in-house interpreters position themselves linguistically in these events?

These questions can be further reformulated as:

- Will interpreters' language production be influenced by a series of communicative factors?
- What are the possible contextual elements affecting interpreters' choices for their social positioning?

Within a more systemic functional-oriented perspective, the research questions can be specified as:

How and why are the interpreter's linguistic choices, specifically in the Mood elements, Modality and Attitudinal elements, for the expression of interpersonal meanings affected by the following factors?

- 1) *the speakers from different social and political backgrounds, namely journalists from Mainland China and other countries, and of the Premier of China;*
- 2) *the interpreting addressees, namely the Chinese-speaking Premier and English-speaking journalists; and*
- 3) *the content or the theme of the discourse regarding China's social and political environment.*

1.5 Structure

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 provides a brief introduction to the study. The background introduces the development of interpreting studies and the studies of the interpreter's role in practice, and helps to situate the current study of the interpreter's role in practice in a specific context, of the Chinese political press conference. Also included is an introduction to the special properties of the in-house interpreter in China, and background information on China's two-session press conference. The theoretical considerations are stated to align the linguistic analysis of the interpreter's role with the discourse analysis of social identity. The chapter highlights the use of the SFL approach, particularly analysis of the interpersonal meaning of the language in communication, for the construction of a social identity of the in-house interpreters, including their choices of social positioning in communication. Finally, this chapter gives a snapshot of the data used for the study, outlines its objectives and research questions, and finishes with an outline of the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews the theories and empirical literature in interpreting studies on the professional identity of the interpreter. This chapter firstly presents an overview of the

evolution of interpreting studies and its recent Social trends. By reviewing interpreting studies as being interdisciplinary, particular attention is given to the development of interpreting studies in terms of the role of the interpreter in practice. Included here is discussion of the interpreter's visibility in different communicative settings, through different modes of language delivery, and with different research methods, such as the case study and questionnaire targeting various geographical locations. By specifying the diversity in the literature on the interpreter's role in practice, this chapter highlights the complexity and dynamic nature of the interpreter's choice of social positioning in communication. Thus, in order to understand the role of interpreter in practice, the empirical data, namely the interpretation text itself, needs to be analysed within a larger matrix of various disciplines. Meanwhile, the distinctive features of the communicative event need to be properly addressed in the course of the linguistic analysis.

To bridge the gap between the study of the interpreter's role and the linguistic analysis, Chapter 3 presents the theoretical link between linguistic and functionalist approaches towards the construction of social identity. Specifically, the chapter establishes the relation between the abstract notion of identity and the language in communication, to reason the necessity of studying social identity with the application of linguistic resources. Then, it reveals the theoretical foundation underpinning the discourse analysis of the interpreter's linguistic choices revealed in this study. Particular attention is given to the systemic functional linguistic approach. Included here is the introduction of the linguistic realisation of interpersonal meaning in English and Chinese languages, and the importance of context of situation to the understanding of such meaning in SFL theory. In this way, the chapter emphasises that language, being a sociocultural resource available for the realisation of different social relationships, is also a set of characteristics unique to the individual language users in a situation. More precisely, the chapter highlights the connection between the study of the interpreter's role in practice and the SFL analysis of interpersonal meaning in a context.

Chapter 4 specifies the methodological approach employed in this study. It introduces the compilation of the CTSPC corpus, the data of the study - namely, China's two-session press conference - and the procedure of the analysis in detail. In addition, the chapter outlines the analytical framework used for the contrastive analysis of interpersonal meaning realised in the interpreted texts and their source texts. Included

here is the selection of three contextual variables used as the screening condition for the detailed analysis.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 report the results of the analysis of the interpreter's linguistic choices, regarding the interpersonal meaning with reference to contextual variables, in the communication. Chapter 5 focuses on the analytical findings of the interpreter's linguistic features with change of speaker in the source speech. Chapter 6 focuses on the analysis of the interpreter's linguistic choices with change of the primary interpreting addressee. Chapter 7 investigates the impact of different topics on the interpreter's linguistic performance, with possible social and political influences. By analysing grammatical choices realising the speech functions, the application of different modal features, and the adjustment of attitudinal resources from the source speech into the interpretation, these three chapters reveal the interpreters' choices of their social positioning that are reflective and responsive to changes in different contextual variables in the CTSPC corpus. Following the analytical findings, the association between the interpreters' social positioning in communication and the impact of the selected contextual variables on the interpreter's choices of role performance is discussed separately.

Chapter 8 is the concluding chapter of this thesis, with a summary of the research findings and a detailed discussion of the outcomes, to answer the research questions of the study. What is found is that the government in-house interpreters have played multiple roles in China's political press conference. The interpreter's choices of his or her social positioning in communication are performed in a dynamic and negotiable process, which is constant in interaction with multiple contextual parameters including the speaker, the addressee, and the specific topics of the interpreting discourse at the scene. The chapter concludes that understanding the interpreter's role in practice requires understanding of the nature of the communicative event and the society at large. Also included in this chapter is acknowledgement of the limitations of this study, and recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Interpreter's Role in Interpreting Studies

This chapter reviews the theories and empirical literature in interpreting studies on the professional identity of the interpreter.

An overview of the evolution of interpreting studies and its recent social trends shows that interpreting studies is actually interdisciplinary. The interpreter's role can be discussed in different communicative settings, through different modes of language delivery, and with different research methods, such as the case study and questionnaire targeting various geographical locations.

While specifying the diversity in the studies on the interpreter's role in practice, this chapter highlights the complexity and dynamic nature of the interpreter's choice of role in communication. Thus, the role of interpreter in practice can be analysed within a larger matrix of various disciplines. Meanwhile, the distinctive features of the communicative event need to be properly addressed in the course of the analysis.

2.1 An Overview of Interpreting Studies

Interpreting is commonly regarded as an oral form of translation, or more precisely, an oral rendering of spoken messages. This linguistic practice is generally performed to facilitate communication across linguistic and cultural barriers (Pochhacker, 2004). In other words, interpreting can be defined as “interlingual, intercultural oral or signed mediation” (Pochhacker, 2002, p. 3).

Although interpreting dates back to the earliest times of human history, the advent of modern technology necessary for simultaneous interpreting (SI) and a huge increase in international communications are most likely the reasons why the practice was only recognised as a profession for cross-cultural and multi-linguistic communication in the twentieth century (Pochhacker, 2002). In 1953, a number of conference interpreters got together in Paris to found the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC). This marked the start of the professionalisation of conference interpretation (Mackintosh, 2006).

Having long been marginalised, interpreting was simplified in the provision of translation studies as one of its many subjects. Indeed, both translation and interpreting do share many descriptive features. To cite some examples, there is the focus on situation, function, text and culture, the notion of equivalence, meaning transference, the target or

source language orientation and the human agent. These shared features seem to accommodate the conceptualisation of interpreting well as a form of translation. Yet, despite its common ground with translation, interpreting nonetheless possesses a most distinctive and critical feature –immediacy – which potentially defines and ultimately differentiates all its manifestations from the act of translation. Thus, following the phenomenal growth of translation studies as an independent discipline, the study of interpreting takes its shape firstly as a sub-discipline within a wider field of translation studies during the 1990s and then as a field of tremendous development in its own right during the 21st century.

2.1.1 Overview of Interpreting Studies

At first glance, a review of studies of interpreting reveals most academic interest is in seeking to understand various interpreting phenomena primarily regarding the interpreting process, its product and performance, its practice and profession, and the training of the interpreter. The interpreting phenomena have been conceptualised and modelled “from the perspective of scientific disciplines as different as anthropology, cognitive science, linguistics, neurophysiology, and sociology” (Pochhacker, 2011, p. 6).

The professionalisation of interpreting has also resulted in the growing trend in empirical research to conduct systemic investigations into the practice to understand the interpreting as a profession with the pedagogical contexts of curriculum design, teaching, assessment, and training. Apart from the academic efforts to explore these pedagogical issues however, the research literature on studies of interpreting mainly addresses two aspects; namely, interpreting as a process and interpreting as a product.

2.1.1.1 Interpreting as a Process

The process-oriented research approach in studies of interpreting is traditionally informed by cognitive sciences, with its focus on conceptualising and building different models of conference interpreting practices such as simultaneous interpreting (SI) and consecutive interpreting (CI) (Gerver, 1976; Gile, 1997; Moser, 1978; Kirchhoff, 2002; Setton, 1998). Moreover, the conceptualisation of interpreting processes is also discussed in relation to topics including bilingualism, simultaneity, comprehension, memory, production, input variables and strategies (Moser, 2001; Pochhacker, 2004). These topics are typically explored within a cognitive-based framework to address issues of a particular aspect of the interpreting process.

Among the various proposed information processing models, Gile's (1997) Effort Model of interpreting with its simplified schema is arguably the most widely applied. In Gile's Effort Model for example the practice of SI was deconstructed into a singular phase with four cognitive efforts: listening and analysis (L); short-term memory (M); speech production (P); and coordination (C). The SI process thus can be expressed with the following formula:

$$SI = L + P + M + C$$

To clarify, when information flow A, B and C unfolds successively the P effort is going to work on A, the M effort deals with information A and B, while the L effort works on C. Because the SI interpreter is putting in different efforts on different messages simultaneously, the C effort is thus at work to assist his or her multitasking activities. In that way, an interpreter's performance is heavily constrained by the excessive time pressure as well as distributive demands for his or her limited attention.

Unlike SI, CI deals with the incoming information flow in a consecutive manner and thus allocates specific time intervals from the interpreter's linguistic output. Based on the SI model and the application of the same principle, the CI process is modelled by Gile into a two-phase operation in the interpreter's cognitive efforts. This can be expressed as:

$$CI \text{ Phase one: } L + N + M + C;$$

$$CI \text{ Phase two: } \text{Rem} + \text{Read} + P$$

With its similar expressions of cognitive efforts, the CI two-phase model reveals similarities with SI practices. That is, during phase one of CI, the L effort still consists of all comprehension-oriented operations and the C effort is also required to assist the interpreter to multi-task. However, the M effort, which refers to "the high demand on short-term memory" (Gile, 1997, p. 198), becomes associated with the time intervals between the moment that the information is heard and the moment of the decision as to whether or not the information is to be noted, formulated or completely omitted (Gile, 1995). This contrasts with the overlapping intervals for processing different message segments in SI.

In addition, the production of notes or note-taking (N) finalises the information receiving process in CI and sets up an essential condition to the complex operation of

three efforts in phase two. As Gile (1995) explained, when notes are effectively taken, CI interpreters may perform Rem better with less Rem capacity required. If so, with the assistance of long-term memory operations (Rem) and note-reading (Read), the P effort can be achieved. That is, the production of a structured and natural rendition of the source speech. For example, the working of L can support the C of source speech A into several fragmented, but complementary messages such as A1 for N and A2 for M. When interpreters deliberately choose to reformulate the message A1 or A2 to minimise his or her cognitive efforts and maximise the performance, both messages may be developed into variant forms such as A1+ or A1- and A2+ or A2-. Then, the variant messages may be permuted into different combinations as either: A1+ plus A2-; A1- plus A2+; or even A2+ plus A1+ to reconstruct the original speech A. In this way, the interpreter's performance may be constrained by his or her distribution of limited cognitive capacity among different tasks. But more importantly, the interpreting output is eventually determined by a series of choices made by the interpreter on how to proceed with the information.

Although the primary aim of Gile's theorisation is to explain the difficulties in interpreting processes and to provide possible strategies to cope with these difficulties, its focus on interpreting practices relating the interpreters' cognitive capacity is significant to both interpreting practitioners and researchers. Using Gile's Effort Model it is possible to identify various cognitive parameters involved in different modes of interpreting. With different cognitive concepts in use, the CI practice is recognised as essentially different from the SI practice. In other words, the interpreters for SI and CI practices will experience different cognitive pathways in order to produce accurate interpretations. In addition, it is also evident that there is a capacity constraint to all interpreting activities. As is revealed in both SI and CI processing models, the interpreting can only proceed smoothly when the total processing requirements for any mode of interpreting practice do not exceed the total available cognitive capacity that an interpreter can possibly afford. This basic understanding of the difference of interpreting modes is critical to quality improvement in both interpreting practices and interpreting studies.

Indeed, Gile's Effort Model influences the trajectory of the field. As an uncomplicated model, it helps to identify the elementary constitution of the interpreting process and thus makes it possible to develop appropriate coping tactics. However, like

any cognitive models of interpreting, Gile's Effort Model has its limitations, mostly regarding the concepts related to discourse and context in interpreting practice. Pym (2006) used the same interpreted output data included in the Gile's study of his Effort Model and found that the contextual factors in modelling the interpreting process needed to be considered. This was in order to better understand the interpreter's linguistic output even though most of the apparent SI failures can be explained with the interpreter's cognitive incapacity at work.

Similarly, Wu and Wang's (2009) observational study of large segments of English-Chinese consecutive interpreting found that cognitive efforts alone do not offer adequate explanations to the production of exceptionally large segments in CI practices. Thus, they proposed a revision to Gile's Effort Model to include a rather complex discourse transformation model in CI. That is, because the operation of Gile's mode of CI is conditioned by the interpreter's cognitive capacity, the discourse transformation becomes a necessary compensation in CI when the cognitive requirements cannot be met. More specifically, regardless of its size, each segment should be processed individually as a discourse in which the most appropriate level of macro-structure of meaning can be transformed with the minimal cognitive effort possible.

Focusing on CI and its relation to Gile's two-phase Effort Model, Alexieva (1998) attached greater importance to the idea of discourse and correspondingly the vital role of the interpreter in practice rather than defining the process in cognitive concepts. For Alexieva (1998), although an interpreter's performance can be constrained by distributive demands on the interpreter's cognitive capacity such as listening and N or note-read in combination with demands on remembering and speaking, it is the interpreter's *choice* that determines the final output of the interpreting. This means the CI process becomes more constrained by the interpreter's various decision-making moves at different stages, obviously offering a critical status to the interpreter's voluntary choices in relation to the communicative situation.

In all, process-oriented studies of interpreting are generally conducted from two possible perspectives. An interpreting event may be viewed as a mental process regarding various cognitive capacities in operation where the neural level of inquiry to the interpreting practice such as analysis of the cerebral organisation and brain activity in interpreting practice becomes fundamental. Alternatively, the interpreting process may be

viewed as a discourse process from a more textual perspective in which the interpreting practice is located more precisely within the human sciences (Pochhacker, 2003).

2.1.1.2 Interpreting as a Product

Next to the process-based approach is the linguistic or sociolinguistic approach. This approach views the interpreting as a product or a communicative event. With a focus on an analysis of the interpretation as a text, studies of this approach generally highlight the linguistic nature of interpreting practices. In addition, this approach takes interpreting as a verbal process regarding “particular lexical and structural input-output correspondences” (Pochhacker, 2004, p. 53). Thus, included in this linguistic framework are a number of common topics: discourse; source-target correspondence; interpreting effect and quality; and the role of the interpreter in practice (Pochhacker, 2004).

Studies of interpreting have been traditionally positioned as a sub-discipline of translation studies (Pochhacker & Shlesinger, 2002). As a result of sharing common ground with the linguistic practice for inter-lingual or intercultural communication, the basic ideas and theoretical approaches applied in translation studies can support the development of interpreting studies, particularly regarding translational activities (Pochhacker, 2004). Thus, with reference to translation studies, parallel ideas are developed in interpreting studies (Pochhacker, 2004). For example, Dam (1998) used an experimental corpus for a product-oriented analysis of lexical similarities and dissimilarities in CI practices. Most likely influenced by Seleskovitch’s (1975) early work on the concept of de-verbalisation and sense-based interpreting performance, Dam’s (1998) findings on the dichotomy between sense-based and form-based interpreting respond to the dichotomy on free-vs-literal translation in translation studies.

In addition, the notion of equivalence in translation studies has also been replaced in some studies by a series of notions of accuracy, completeness, and fidelity for the assessment on the interpreter’s translational product (Hale, 2002; House, 2001; Shlesinger, 1997; Torsello, 1997). Meanwhile, Hatim and Mason (1997) took a text-linguistic and discourse analytical approach on the basis that all acts of translating, either in oral mode or written mode, are communicative in nature. In addition, translation and interpreting have multiple common interests, particularly in regards to processing the text. In these communicative acts the meanings are constructed in a text-to-context direction, implying the communication has to happen in a specific context. The concept of context

is emphasised in the systemic functional linguistic (SFL) approach to translational activities and is surely highlighted in the interpreting practice as well.

Thus, when all interpreting activities are framed under social and institutional contexts the entire interpreting practice is modelled as an interactional process (Alexieva, 2002; Kirchhoff, 1976; Stenzl, 1983; Wadensjo, 1998). To some extent, literature on the development of parallels between translation studies and interpreting studies suggest that advances in interpreting studies have benefited from its parental discipline: translation studies. That is, interpreting studies are a sub-discipline within the wider field of translation and the even larger context of the scientific community. This recognition implies “the foundation of the disciplinary matrix [in interpreting studies] is in place, even though it may be subject to gradual shifts” (Pochhacker, 2011, p. 16).

As we can see from a review of the linguistic approaches to translation activities, translation is located in a typology of systems as a phenomenon or field of study related to other fields concerned with multilinguality such as comparative linguistics, contrastive analysis and typological linguistics (Matthiessen, 2001). Though commonly simplified as a process of meaning transfer between two languages, translation in both oral and written forms is not recognised as “a passive reflection of the original”, but as “a creative act of reconstruing the meanings of the original as meanings in the target” (Matthiessen, 2001, p. 64).

This notion of creativity in the translation process opens the door to understanding the “creativity” imposed upon the final product by the translator’s linguistic choices. To frame the verbal choices of translation more precisely in a comprehensive and systematic network of language, Matthiessen (2001) believed that the act of translation is located “at the level of semantics rather than at the level of lexicogrammar” and “within the roughly same context as the original” (p. 64). “But since language is a higher-order semiotic with a level of lexicogrammar, the translations will inevitably impose lexicogrammatical patterns on the translation” (p. 64). The difference between literal translation and free translation then lies in the degree of abstraction of meaning in the system. In this sense, translations are bound to be free because “they have to be done at the level of semantics and thus be abstracted away from lower-level renderings of meaning” (Matthiessen, 2001, p. 66). Hence, the translation practice needs to be modelled as mapping meaning at the level of semantics in the first instance.

With the assistance of well-constructed systems and networks of language, SFL tries to explain the linguistic issues in translational activities, particularly in quality assessment. Halliday (2001) claimed that it is very difficult to define good translation as it involves “a complex variety of different factors that are constantly shifting in their relationship one to another” (p. 14). More specifically, the author stated that central idea of equivalence in translation assessment “could be assigned differential values according to the specific conditions attaching to a particular instance of translation” (p. 15). For Halliday (2001), the values of equivalence vary firstly at different strata, although “in most cases, the value that is placed on it goes up the higher the stratum” (p. 15). For example, semantic equivalence is valued more highly than lexicogrammar; and contextual equivalence is valued most highly of all. Similarly, the value of equivalence tends to go up at the higher ranks of the language structure. That is, clause complex equivalence is valued more highly than clause equivalence, and clause value is valued more highly than phrasal equivalence. However, the relative values can always be varied according to specific instances where circumstances change in the specific instance of translation task.

In addition to the differences in value regarding strata and ranks, there is also equivalence concerning three metafunctions of language; namely, the ideational, interpersonal and textual to construe different aspects of meaning. Metafunction equivalence is also considered in detail in Halliday’s assessment for good translation. Specifically, Halliday (2001) argued that translation equivalence is largely defined in ideational terms. He wrote, if “a text does not match its source text ideationally, it does not qualify as a translation, so the questions whether it is a good translation does not arise” (Halliday, 2001, p. 16). However, the author also recognised that in some contexts, matching the interpersonal or textual relations as its condition in the original text may be valued highly in the translation process to the extent that it is necessary for the translator “to override the demand for exact ideational equivalence” (p. 16). Thus, for Halliday (2001), a good translation is defined as mostly responsive to the linguistic features of the text which are most valued in the given translation context. The author’s discussion of good translation revealed that the quality assessment of a translation is actually based on the nature of the translational activities, or more specifically, the relationship between a source text and its target text as well as the interconnectedness between text and context.

Following Halliday's systemic-functional theory, and by making reference to pragmatics, speech act theory, discourse analysis, and corpus-based study on spoken and written language, House (1981; 1997) proposed a functional-pragmatic evaluation model to assess translation quality. At the centre of the model is the notion of equivalence. In the model, equivalence becomes a relative concept that is not linked statically to formal, syntactic and lexical similarities. Instead, it is defined "by context or the interplay of various contextual factors" (House 1997, p. 247). When focusing on the functional and pragmatic equivalence of the three types of meaning; namely, the semantic, pragmatic and textual meaning, a translation according to House (1997) becomes "the recontextualisation of a text in L1 by a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in L2" (p. 247).

In the construction of her model, House (2001) established detailed requirements for functional equivalence concerning both ideational and interpersonal metafunctions of language. In turn, she then emphasised the application of both functions in particular situational contexts. In this way, House (2001) developed a detailed analytic model for quality assessment which incorporates the micro-components of Register, Field and Tenor including the subject matter concerning participant relationships and social actions, author provenance and stance, and participation social role relationships and social attitudes, with the macro-component of Genre of Mode.

By focusing on different functional levels, House (2001) used her assessment model to differentiate two types of translations: overt and covert translations. Moreover, she proposed that the translation quality assessment should consider the qualitative difference between these two types of translation. For example, the assessment of covert translations needs to consider the function of a cultural filter related to socio-cultural differences in the two speech communities acknowledged in the empirical research. In addition, House (2001) also recognised that the choice of the translation type may depend on the joint force of the text; the translator's subjective interpretation of the text; and other social factors "which concern human agents and socio-cultural, political or ideological constraints" that are "more influential than linguistic considerations or the professional competence of the translator" (p. 254). House's (2001) multi-perspectival viewpoint supports a feasible probabilistic reconstruction of the translators' choices in translation as a decision-making process.

However, while providing a detailed functional-pragmatic assessment model, House (2001) also acknowledged the difference between linguistic analysis and social judgment in the translation evaluation. Specifically, the functional-pragmatic model focuses on the description of text. It cannot enable judgement on a good translation because this kind of evaluation is reliant on the consideration of numerous social factors. Rather, a linguistic analysis serves the demands for scientific objectivity in translation studies.

As House (2001) claimed, a detailed comparative analysis of the translated and original texts provides the descriptive foundation for “arguing an evaluative judgment” (pp. 254-256). Although this means “recognising the inevitable subjective part of any translation assessment by a human evaluator”, it cannot “invalidate the objective part of the assessment” and thus it “merely reinforces its necessity” (House, 2001, p. 256).

In the context of all other linguistic approaches, the significance of deploying the SFL perspective in translation studies is that such an approach understands the linguistic choices within a more comprehensive framework. As such, it gives importance to text and context, meaning and structure, and potentials and realisation. More importantly, the act of translation is understood in a broad sense to include any oral or written semiotic activities for communication (Matthiessen, 2001). Hence, verbal activities in interpreting practices could also be explained by systemic linguistic theories simply because they only differ from other written forms of translational activities in terms of their oral mode in the context register. In other words, the insights and ideas about translation can well feed into interpreting studies.

To summarise, the literature suggests diversity may well be the most distinctive feature regarding the domains and approaches adopted in interpreting studies discipline. From its beginning, this field has developed both vertically and horizontally. It employs a range of research strategies including fieldwork, surveys, experiments, discourse analysis, qualitative and quantitative data etc. to explore various interpreting phenomena such as cognitive processes, interpreting performance, and interpreting strategies in a broad range of contexts. As demonstrated in previous research, the advancement of interpreting studies is largely due to contributions from other disciplines. That is, “numerous subfields within the cognitive, linguistic and social sciences and humanities, from anthropology and artificial intelligence to neurolinguistics, psychology and social theory, have supplied

conceptual tools, empirical findings and research designs” to interpreting studies (Pochhacker, 2004, p. 9). Thus, on one hand, diversity in interpreting studies reveals the true complexity of interpreting practices as a research phenomenon. On the other hand, apart from acknowledging the broad and profound impact of other disciplines on interpreting studies, what also needs to be acknowledged is that perceptions interpreting phenomena as the object of study is obviously shaped by the researcher’s own conceptual perspective.

2.2.2 Social Trends in Interpreting Studies

The evolution in studies of interpreting reveals the emergence of diversity as a distinctive feature. As a research topic, interpreting presents with many complexities. Given that it is “a human activity open to [various] sensory experiences” (Pochhacker, 2011, 14), the interpreter’s performance can be observed, recorded and analysed in both an experimental setting and in an authentic communicative setting. Hence, research studies of interpreting could, to a certain extent, be classified as an empirical discipline based on the different natures of the study objects. The systematic collection of data on various interpreting phenomena enables the researcher to try to understand how meanings are expressed across linguistic and cultural barriers in response to both cognitive and contextual constraints. However, notwithstanding the attempts to describe interpreting activities, and despite the various ways to view interpreting practices, the conceptualisations of interpreting as a verbal process and a communicative activity should not be disputed.

Due to the recognition of interpreting’s communicative nature, “the characterisation of interpreting studies as an empirical-interpretive discipline” becomes more “closely aligned with research practices in the social sciences, and the human sciences” (Pochhacker, 2011, p. 15). However, this is a relatively unexplored area (Pochhacker, 2003) and thus the call for a better understanding of the sociological trend in translations studies and interpreting studies has emerged in the past two decades (Angelelli, 2012). This means regarding translation and interpreting either as a process or as a product from a cultural, social, ideological and personal perspective.

In response, multi-faceted translation and interpreting theories, research, pedagogy and technology have been investigated accordingly from a sociological perspective. Issues concerning the social factors embedded in translation and interpreting

practices are thus discussed more in inter-disciplinary terms, and greater academic interest has been focused on translation and interpreting studies from the text to social agent, and from a sociology of language focus to a focus on “mediator and their social context” (Pym, 2003, p. 3). As such, social and interpersonal relationships concerning power and status, and ideology and practice, are constantly discussed. The surge in translation and interpreting studies from a sociological perspective has been accompanied by greater academic interest in identity; namely, the role of translators and interpreters as a social and professional group.

2.2 Interpreter’s Role

In each interpreting practice the presence of the interpreter is of paramount importance as an indispensable link between the source speech and the target rendition. The process-oriented approach supports the view of interpreting as a mental process whereby an interpreter’s cognitive capacity constrains information processing at different stages and whereby an interpreter produces a direct response to various contextual variables within the communicative event. More importantly, each of the interpreter’s linguistic choices, including the selection of the messages in process and the structural realisation of meanings, will eventually define the quality of the interpreting output. Furthermore, the rise in professionalism in the field of interpreting suggests an interpreter has to perform according to different expectations from various parties. Given the importance of the interpreter in the interpreting practice, the role of an interpreter in communication becomes one of the most noted topics in interpreting studies (e.g. Angelelli, 2004b; Davidson, 2000; Inghilleri, 2007; Pochhacker, 2004; Roy, 1993; Torikai, 2010).

2.2.1 Translator’s Role

Interpreting and translation studies share fundamental levels of epistemology and methodology, and interpreting studies benefit from the growth of translation studies. As such, it is necessary to review and comparably take reference on what the role of translator is described before discussing the interpreter’s role in practice, namely the professional identity of the interpreter.

Venuti’s (1995, 2008) work on the translator’s visibility in literature translation is regarded as both classic and controversial in modern translation studies. Specifically, Venuti’s (2008) critical position lies in two of his interrelated arguments on the invisibility of the translator. Both arguments relate to domestication as both translation

strategy and an attitude held towards a foreign text; or conversely, the visibility of the translator in relation to foreignisation compared to domestication. For Venuti, domestication contributes to the invisibility of the translator; whereas foreignisation is the way to make the translator visible. To be visible is to allow foreign influences to infiltrate translated texts.

In his review of the current state of literature on translation, Venuti (1995, 2008) diagnosed the dominance of domestication in the Anglo-American translation culture to achieve readability. Because domestication adapts the norms and conventions of the target culture, it inevitably causes the disappearance of linguistic and cultural features of the original text. Domestication minimises the foreignness in the original text and leads its readership into a possibly narcissistic experience of fluency and authorship as if the translation form does not exist. The more fluent the translation appears, the more invisible the translator becomes. However, Venuti (1995) believed the translator's pursuit of fluency is not the real reason for the dominance of domestication in contemporary literature translation. In fact, the adoption of domestication is deeply rooted in the social and political inequality between different cultures, where domestication is only a tool used by the strong culture to colonise the weaker culture and ultimately maintain its hegemony. In contrast, foreignisation as a translation strategy excludes dominant cultural values and signifies the linguistic and cultural differences. It is endorsed with the meaning of the translator's resistance to cultural imperialism; in this case the English-language world.

Venuti (1995, 2000) framed contemporary literature translation within a grand social, cultural and political context and then claimed it was more than a neutral operation. To this author, the translator's invisibility in the literary translation is just a reflection of the geopolitical economy of different cultures. By exhibiting marginal cultures and linguistic features in their translational practice, translators can perform a more visible role against cultural hegemony. In doing so, translators need to realise that they are actually empowered by their selection of specific translational strategies. Certainly, the translator's decision-making regarding a particular strategy is inevitably conditioned by a series of contextual variables depending on the circumstances. Thus, translators need to be aware of different role options in practice. In all, translation is a linguistic practice mediated by political and cultural factors through the translator's

choices. As a result, translation transparency, or more particularly the literature translation, is essentially illusive.

To some extent, Venuti's argumentation can be deconstructed into two inter-related points. Firstly, translators have been traditionally associated with the notion of invisibility, at least in the field of literary translation. Arrojo (1995) also noticed this close association and stated that; "in a culture that often equates authorship with property and writing with the conscious interference of producer, the translator's activity has been related to evil and [...] indecency" (p. 21). Thus, any discussion on translator invisibility in practice is related to ethical issues. Secondly, acknowledging the translator's invisibility and defining the translator's role in a larger social context, or more specifically in a political situation, Venuti (1995, 2008) actually aims to liberate translators from the inferior servitude without giving the invisibility too much prescriptiveness or negation (Pym, 1996). In a non-significant sense, Venuti's 'translator's invisibility' (1995, 2008) generated considerable theoretical and professional advances in understanding the translator's social positioning (Ozolins, 2014, AILA).

Because the Venuti discussion on translator's invisibility is rather confined to the singular domain of literature translation, and is more ideologically based on a liberal humanism analysis than a linguistically based analysis, his 'invisibility' argumentation onto the translator's role appears rather debatable and thus requires more complementary analysis. Thus, it would naturally be more problematic if similar moves were used to reveal the role of interpreters (Ozolins, 2014, AILA) due to the higher-level of complexity and diversity caused by the oral nature of the interpreting practice. Furthermore, as Venuti's perception of invisibility relates more precisely to the translator's submission to the social and cultural imperialism, his study provides little reference to explore the invisibility of the interpreters in their professional practice whereas the concept of invisibility in interpreting studies defines more on the absence of interpreters' participation and presumes a social and cultural vacuum for interpreting practice (Angelelli, 2004b).

2.2.2 Interpreter's Role: Ideal VS Real

The study of interpreting as a product or communicative event is traditionally situated within linguistic or sociolinguistic frameworks. From this perspective, the study of the interpreter's role is much related to an analysis of the interpreter's performance with an

emphasis on which the quality assessment becomes another constant topic (Pochhacker, 2004).

In studies of interpreting, the interpreter's role is "a relational concept defined [...] as a set of more or less normative behavioural expectations associated with a social position" (Pochhacker, 2004, p. 147). In order to understand the behaviour expectations placed on the interpreter in practice it is necessary to study the emergence of interpreting professionalism during the 20th century. It is during this emergence of interpreting as an independent profession that the interpreter's role was first codified as part of professional codes of ethics to specify the institutional expectations on interpreters in practice.

Since the establishment of the very first professional organisation of interpreters; the AIIC (Association Internationale des Interpretes de Conference) in 1953 there has been a growing number of regional and international professional translator and interpreter associations. These bodies focus on the different types of interpreting and translation or on the different communicative functionalities in interpreting practice. Accordingly, codes of ethics are stipulated to guide the professional practices of members and serve as the corresponding criteria for training programs.

In the USA, the California Healthcare Interpreting Association Code of Ethics and Standards of Practice (2002) posed four roles for its interpreters: message converter, message clarifier, cultural clarifier, and patient advocate. These role categories were then borrowed by the National Council to make it into a national code rather than a state one. However, notwithstanding the participatory norms relating to the interpreter's social position, "the codes of ethics and codes of conduct of community interpreters are still strictly focused on interpreters as non-persons, defined for their role in judicial situations" (Bot, 2003, p. 35). The NAJIT (National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators) code of ethics for instance specifically stipulates in Canon 1:

Source-language speech should be faithfully rendered into the target language by conserving all the elements of the original message while accommodating the syntactic and semantic patterns of the target language [...with] no distortion of the original message through addition or omission, explanation or paraphrasing. All hedges, false starts and repetitions should be conveyed; [...] and] the register, style

and tone of the source language should be conserved”.

(NAJIT, 2011)

Given its emphasis on accuracy of meaning, the NAJIT Code of Ethics and Professional Responsibilities for interpreters assigns primary concern to the quality of the interpreter’s performance. Defining accuracy, completeness and faithfulness in interpretation as a product in the standard of literalism, the interpreter’s role seems to be implicitly conceptualised as a non-person and positioned as a neutral party in the communication process. The non-person conceptualisation however is often replaced with other metaphors such as conduit or machine (Pochhacker, 2004).

In addition, because most interpreter organisations give priority to accuracy of rendering in interpreting practice, different training programs on interpreters set their goals accordingly to ensure the quality of the interpreting performance. With this mechanistic conceptualisation of interpreting quality emphasised in the code of conduct, the goals underpinning interpreter performance in training programs have been reset to emphasise fluency of delivery. This is so that “communication between parties who do not share a language [can be] as smooth as it would be if the parties did have a common language” (Angelelli, 2004, p. 13). As such, the emphasis on fluency alludes to the assumed invisibility of the interpreter in regards to social positioning.

In all, it appears that professional codes of ethics generally prescribe very mechanistic criteria for interpreter performance based on accuracy, completeness and fluency. What is underlined by this overemphasis on interpreting quality is another mechanistic view of the interpreter’s role; that is, a ‘non-person’ with neutrality in communication. Furthermore, because the code of conduct adopts an instructive stance for the organisation’s member interpreters, the over-reading of a conduit and the positioning of the interpreter as a ‘non-person’ might be easily accepted as a part of the guiding principles for the profession and eventually become an idealised image for all interpreting practitioners. On the other hand, given the importance of the professional codes of ethics in guiding the interpreter’s performance, the idealised ‘non-person’ and the ‘neutrality’ assigned to the interpreter’s role also reinforces the assumption that interpreting is “mechanistic” and interpreters are completely “invisible” (Pochhacker, 2004).

The ambiguous equations of ‘non-person’ to ‘machine’ and ‘neutrality’ to ‘invisibility’ abstracted from the interpreter’s codes of ethics are obviously debatable due to their curious reasoning that a mechanistic rendition surely brings neutrality in communication and possibly vice versa. Moreover, the reading of the interpreter as invisible is also problematic in that there is a different understanding of the value of trust that is believed to govern the accountability of interpreting practice. In reference to Chesterman’s (1995) discussion on the ethics of translation, four primary ethical values: clarity of language; the truth of the text; trust; and understanding among all involved parties are identified to respectively govern four norms over all translation activities. Among these four norms; “the value of trust is directly relevant to the translator’s visibility” (p. 154), rather than to the translator’s invisibility. For Chesterman (1995), the value of trust must be subscribed to all parties in communication because without multidirectional trust the communicative act of translation will surely fail. Given that trust underpins a translator’s loyalty to the profession rather than to the source or the target entity, and given “the aim of translation is to improve intercultural relations”, visibility appears “more important than invisibility” because it can create more trust in the translator’s profession “in an intercultural space” (pp. 154-155).

In other words, the interpreter’s invisible role will surely undermine the value of trust and thus should be regarded as unethical. Furthermore, the codes of ethics are more associated with expectations and norms rather than directly associated with interpreters in practice. Thus, the prescriptive nature of such codes makes it difficult to reflect the identity of interpreters in the profession.

Nevertheless, professional codes of ethics are not the only reason why interpreters are positioned as invisible and a conduit understanding in the social communication context. The invention of technology-based SI also contributes to “the view of the interpreter as an invisible translating machine” (Pochhacker, 2004, p. 147).

In the conventional practice of SI, interpreters practice in the interpreting booth. Apostolou (2009) argued that even though the booth is physically located in the conference venue, the design of its large windows is to create an illusion of the interpreter’s physical presence which can never be materialised to the audience. In this sense, the SI booth confines interpreters’ physical exposure in a “limited and uncanny” way (Apostolou, 2009, p. 5). Because the simultaneous interpreter is required to process

speakers' voices to an audience within an interpreting booth, the audience can interact with a speaking machine only. Under this illusion of an interactive speaking machine, the human agent in the communication process is totally replaced by modern technology. Furthermore, the use of SI for live television broadcasts may effectively reinforce the interpreter's invisibility for the general public. This is possibly due to the fact that "as a rule, the interpretation into the language of the audience is broadcast as a voice-over, with the original speaker still audible in the background" (Pochhacker, 1995, p. 207). In this case, the interpreter's invisibility is somehow faked by the image of the speaker on the screen. To be concise, "the interpreter's physical absence and technological hand-over of voices in SI simply enforces the interpreter's invisibility in practice" (Apostolou, 2009, p. 8).

Moreover, apart from the physical absence of the interpreter in SI mode, the conventional use of the first person "I" for speakers in almost all modes of interpreting rendition is also believed to contribute to the interpreter's invisibility (Apostolou, 2009; Bot, 2005; Lee, 2007). The use of the first-person pronoun in interpreting to directly address the audience for the speaker may subconsciously turn the interpreter into a shadow of the speaker and thus create the sense of interpreter exclusion from social interaction. Thus, the interpreter's use of first-person pronoun in practice is also associated with the illusion of their invisible presence in communication (Apostolou, 2009). More importantly, the use of first-person interpreting is encouraged in both the interpreting industry and in interpreter education courses because it conforms to and thus affirms the code of ethics as linguistic evidence of the interpreter's illusiveness (Bot, 2005; Lee, 2007). Yet, Angelelli (2004b, 2007) argued that there is often a gap between the expectations of interpreters and their actual interpreting practices. Although the use of the third-person pronoun is generally viewed "as a lack of professionalism on the part of the interpreter" (Bot, 2005, p. 244), it is still constantly used by interpreters, particularly in community-based practices (Bot, 2005; Lee, 2007). Obviously, the interpreter's real performance may contradict the ideal of interpreter invisibility.

With regard to the role of interpreters in practice, the assumption of their invisibility appears rather problematic due to its weak theoretical grounding, its illusionary technological replacement, and the interpreters' contradictory performance. From this perspective, any claim for an invisible interpreter role, or support for the

metaphor of the interpreter as a conduit or a machine needs to be contested. More specifically, in the current sociological turn for translation and interpreting studies, the mechanic views of interpreting and the interpreter cannot be validated as various sociolinguistic lenses have been utilised to illustrate the more participatory role of interpreters in practice (Angelelli, 2004a/b; Ozolins, 2014).

2.2.3 Interpreter's Visibility

During the past 50 years there has been an obvious growth in studies of interpreting and the interpreter's professional identity (Pohhacker, 2009). From a sociocultural perspective, interpreting is no longer taken as an oral text or a mental process, but as a communicative activity. In the sociocultural contextualised process of interpreting practice, an interpreter becomes embedded as an indispensable agent. Thus, it is almost impossible for the role of the interpreter, or his or her social positioning in more specific terms, to be simply associated with invisibility, passiveness, and transparency, or simply as a conduit. Instead, the role of the interpreter is perceived to be part of a social construct that can be further differentiated within different situations (Pochhacker, 2006).

In consideration of the complexity of interpreting practice and the diversity of interpreting studies as is discussed in Section 2.1, the role-related studies have also covered many different fields, ranging from community to conference interpreting. Moreover, various methods are applied including discourse analysis, interviews and extensive surveys to harvest both qualitative and quantitative data for illustration of what role professional interpreters have in actual communication.

2.2.3.1 Community-based Interpreting

Community interpreting is an intra-social mode of interpreting (Pochhacker, 2001). When performing communication-enabling tasks, interpreters are often involved in a particular professional service such as healthcare or legal proceedings. Rudvin (2003/2007) believed that the heterogeneous feature of community-based interpreting often affects the way in which the role of the interpreter is defined.

- **Medical & Health-care Settings**

Avery (2001) adopted a social perspective to analyse interpreting in the context of healthcare and uses multiple role options to argue for an elastic role-space to medical

interpreters. In his analysis, Avery (2001) discovered that the shift from the early dichotomy of the interpreter's identity as a neutral agent to a full participant in communication process reflects the shift in views of interpreting from linguistic to social aspects. He firstly established the link between the interpreter's neutrality with the conduit role perception and then differentiated the active participatory role of the interpreter into several conceptualisations to address the interpreter's different communicative functions in practice. In this way, Avery (2001) acknowledged the complexity of the role description in studies of interpreting. Thus, with a more comprehensive academic discussion on the interpreter's role in response to the socio-linguistic nature of interpreting events, the role of the interpreter in medical interpreting practices is progressively conceptualised within four possible interpersonal functions; conduit, manager, linguistic facilitator and social or institutional gate-keeper.

To Avery (2001), the interpreter's core function lay in the message transmission from the source to the target organs. In turn, the author's conduit argument posited that accurate message transmission relies on the linguistically and culturally appropriate equivalence. Although it is recognised that proper equivalence will inevitably require an interpreter's contextual knowledge of the communicative event, the interpreter is still preferred to be as invisible as possible. Indeed, the conduit description confines the responsibility of the interpreter to the linguistic level of communication; as if the interpreter has no obligation to the ultimate communication. That being said, Avery (2001) did realise that the communicative quality may be jeopardised when pure interpretation is the only criterion and when clients are not fully acknowledged with cultural and social discrepancy.

The decision by an interpreter to step in can thus be made on the condition that the intervention is cautious and is only made in the interests of the client. In other words, the interpreter's cultural intervention serves as a good fix to the conduit conceptualisation in practice. In short, the interpreter's conduit role is used to stress his or her linguistic function; whereas the other three differentiated roles are used to emphasise the interpreter's communicative capacity and social functions. In the healthcare interpreting setting, both the linguistic and the social functions need to be realised in order to ensure the objective and the clarity of the communication, and to afford proper respect to the individuality (e.g. cultural or social background) of each participant.

In recognising the four interpersonal functions of the medical interpreter in practice, Avery (2001) actually argued for a more dynamic and continuous evolution of the interpreter's role in healthcare settings. In addition, he also believed that the description of an interpreter's role should be grounded on the linguistic aspects of interpreting with findings from social perspectives.

Avery's (2001) argument on the interpreter's multiple role choices is partially supported by Angelelli (2004b). Angelelli (2004b) found that the interpreters perceived and conducted themselves as being visible and more precisely co-constructors in the clinical communication. As they inevitably faced the issues of power and dominance in the interaction, they chose to manage the asymmetrical relations between speakers with more or less dominant languages by responding to various social factors including the patient's ethnicity or socio-economic status. Thus, she used a variety of metaphors to describe the participatory roles of interpreters, such as bridge, detective, diamond connoisseur and miner, and proposed a continuum of interpreter visibility that ranges from low to high, bearing different levels of impact on the medical interaction. What needs to be pointed out is Angelelli's research was undertaken by observing and interviewing interpreters in a California hospital rather than directly analysing their linguistic production.

Unlike Avery (2001) and Angelelli (2004b) both reasoning for an elastic role-space to define medical interpreters, Davidson (2000) and Hsieh (2007) sought a more concise description of the medical interpreter's role. Sharing similar views of the interpreter's co-diagnostic activities in medical interpreting practice, Davidson (2000) and Hsieh (2007) both chose to focus on the interpreter's active participation in communication as justification for their description.

Davidson (2000) examined the medical discourses of hospital-based interpreters in the United States. His data set included 20 fully transcribed medical interpreting events selected from more than 50 observed interpreter-mediated medical interviews. Davison (2000) believed that "interpreters interpret for a reason" (p. 380). Thus, the communicative goal underpinning the interpreting event will significantly affect the interpreter's self-perception on his or her role and ultimately shape the linguistic performance. However, Davison (2000) asserted that the communicative goals are actually determined by "historical contexts that frequently preclude any analysis of social

equality between the primary speakers” (p. 381). In other words, the context of the interpreting event; namely its historical, political or institutional and situational features influences greatly the interpreter’s choice about their performed roles in practice. Such choices will further affect the outcome of the communication regarding the interpreter’s neutrality. Unquestionably, the context in interpreter-mediated communication is of such importance that it affects the interpreter’s linguistic choices and defines the interpreter’s role in practice. Given the importance of context in interpreting practice, Davidson’s (2000) choice of hospital-based interpreters as his research subjects actually highlighted concerns about the power of institutions to shape the interpreter’s role performance. This is because in-house interpreters are usually regarded as institutional insiders.

During his observations, Davidson (2000) noticed that the interpreters made selective interpretations and used quantifiable patterns of interference in practice such as initiating the interview, gate-keeping the patients’ questions rather than referring them to the physician, voluntarily acting for the physician to request clarification from the patient, and managing the conversation flow. These activities gradually reveal the scope of the interpreter’s participation as a co-interviewer, a conversational manager, and even a co-diagnostician in medical interviews. More specifically, these activities, as evidence of the medical interpreter’s active participation, serve neither the role of invisible linguistic machine nor of advocate for patients. Instead, the participatory behaviours of medical interpreters signal a level of interpersonal alignment with the medical practitioner. Thus, Davidson (2000) concluded that interpreters can never be neutral linguistic machines “because they are themselves social agents and participants in the discourse” (p. 401). More specifically, hospital-based interpreters are assigned an extra gate-keeping role in medical practice due to their professional affiliation to the hospital community.

However, because Davidson’s (2000) study participants were untrained professional interpreters his study and naturally his argument for the interpreter’s institutional gate-keeping role in medical interviews were inevitably challenged. The criticism of Davidson’s (2000) study is generally levelled at the representation of interpreter professionalism (Hale, 2005). As Pochhacker (2006) pointed out, the mediating behaviour of untrained bilinguals in face-to-face communication can only be labelled as non-professional conversational mediation. Thus, Hsieh’s study (2007) appeared to complement Davidson’s (2000) study in response to the issue of interpreter

professional training. Hsieh (2007) observed and interviewed 26 medical interpreters who were practicing as professionals following formal training or having passed the certification program.

For Hsieh (2007), the difference between the co-diagnostician role of the medical interpreter and the conduit role was that the former often assumes responsibilities and is better alignment with the medical practitioner. In his audio-tape of medical interpretations, Hsieh (2007) identified a series of diagnostic strategies in the interpreter's practices such as assuming the provider's communicative objective, editorialising information for medical emphasis, initiating information-seeking behaviours, and volunteering medical information to patients. From the interpreters' perspective, the non-linguistic rendering performance can be fully justified on the basis of their presumed membership in the health-care team and its objective to deliver a quality health-care service. In general, Hsieh's (2007) examination of medical interpreters' collaborative practices and the consequences for the medical discourse basically re-stated and further elaborated on Davidson's (2000) claim about the interpreter's role in medical settings, particularly as co-diagnostician.

That being said, Hsieh (2007) also noticed that interpreters' understandings of their supportive position to medical practitioners in practice not only affected their interpreting performance, but also significantly influenced the dynamics of the whole medical interaction and the role performance of all participants. Specifically, interpreters' preconceptions of the traditional and authoritative role of the medical practitioner actually reinforced the hierarchy in health-care settings and thus jeopardised practitioners' communicative efforts for an equal, collaborative relationship with the patients. Thus, while acknowledging the interpreter's co-diagnostician behaviours, Hsieh (2007) called for a realistic attempt to differentiate these behaviours as being appropriate or inappropriate, given the possible concerns about interpreter professionalism. In addition, Hsieh (2007) gave suggestions about how to interpret findings from other studies of the interpreter's role. He recommended that because the interpreter's choices are practically motivated and intentional acts that aim to meet the different communicative needs of the context, it is necessary for researcher to examine the variables that influence the interpreter's role expectations and their choices of communicative or interpreting strategies.

Apparently, Davidson (2000) and Hsieh (2007) both suggested that medical interpreters, regardless of their professional training background, behave as active participants in health-care settings. However, some researches (e.g. Leanza, Boivin & Rosenberg, 2010; Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008) identified a number of differences between professional interpreters and untrained interpreters in regard to their role performance. For example, untrained interpreters are more likely to override institutional constraints to embrace multiple roles in practice (Pochhacker, 2004).

Included here are two related studies on medical cases in North America. Firstly, Rosenberg, Seller and Leanza (2008) invited six professional and nine family interpreters to attend preliminary interviews, video-recordings, and semi-structured post-event interviews to generate categorised feedback on interpreters' role performances. Secondly, Leanza, Boivin and Rosenberg (2010) selected ten trained, but six family interpreters for video-recording. The researchers' transcriptions were then coded to categorise interpreter's performance on the basis of Habermas' communicative action theory (CAT). This theory differentiates two different voices: those from the lifeworld (in this case unrelated to medicine); and those from the field of medicine. The two studies provided different perspectives on the interpreter's role in medical interactions; that is, the former provided an insider's perspective and the latter provided an outsider's perspective.

Using different research methods and subjects, both studies (Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008; Leanza, Boivin & Rosenberg, 2010) found that medical interpreters, the professional and the untrained family interpreter, participate actively in medical interviews using different communication patterns. In Rosenberg's (2008) research, professional interpreters rarely participated in the medical communication as primary interlocutors and constantly reported their inner struggle as "a contradiction between their social identity as a community member and their professional identity as an interpreter and a part of the health care system" (p. 92). In contrast, family interpreters often spoke on behalf of the patient and were at ease with the way they practiced as they did not perceive themselves as system agents.

Similarly, in Leanza's (2010) research family interpreters demonstrated more communicative actions and gave crucial contextual information in communication, presenting a higher level of intrusiveness in the process of meaning building. Professional interpreters in contrast tended to "transmit virtually everything that is said [in medical

interviews], including patient's resistance to the [voice of medicine]" (p. 1894), which suggested a stronger intention to lessen the degree of their participation for neutrality. In addition, even when an interruption regarding non-medical-related information was initiated by either party, professional interpreters generally managed the conversation in order to relate back to its biomedical goals; whereas some family interpreters simply did not make such attempts.

The Rosenberg, Seller and Leanza (2008) and Leanza, Boivin and Rosenberg (2010) studies developed a similar line of argument. While interpreters in medical interviews are not at all a conduit, trained interpreters demonstrate a strong and unified understanding of their performing roles. Their unobtrusive and refined linguistic performance is driven by the attempt for impartiality, which is much associated with the deemed professionalism. This reveals the conduit model stipulated in the code of ethics does exert its influence on shaping professional interpreter's professional identity in practice.

Meanwhile, Rosenberg (2002) took a linguistic approach to analyse the interpreter-mediated discourse in the health-care setting. Specifically, he examined the differences between source language utterances and interpreters' renditions in relation to the interpreter's role choice as "a conduit" or full participant. Based on Wadenjo's four types of translational shifts, Rosenberg (2002) found that among the corpus of 1,334 interpreter utterances, close rendition takes up 40.8% and becomes the largest category; whereas both the expanded and the reduced rendition have the smallest shares of 9.2% and 3.6%, respectively. As for the linguistic preference within the non-rendition category, which is traditionally treated as translation errors, Rosenberg (2002) found the phatic was used most often, indicating the interactional nature of the analysed medical discourse. In addition, with a greater percentage of off-task utterances identified in the English source text, particularly the banter primarily applied by medical staff, Rosenberg (2002) believed that the English-speaking party has a stronger desire for communication in the medical interviews.

To supplement his corpus-based linguistic discoveries, Rosenberg (2002) provided a detailed description of the interpreter's working environment and the audio-taped interviews on parties' information on socio-economic, linguistic and personality background. On the basis of this contextual information, Rosenberg (2002) argued that

the interpreter's role in practice is actually embedded with the demands of the profession, the relationships of all parties in the speech event, and the effect of the interpreting mode on the interpreting quality. In other words, the interpreter's role in practice is not a fixed concept. It varies in response to various contextual factors of the communication including the nature of the communication, the relationship between different clients, and the client's expectation.

In discussing the interpreters' professional identity in medical settings, many researchers (e.g., Angelelli, 2004b; Davidson, 2000; Hsieh, 2007; Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008; Leanza, Boivin & Rosenberg, 2010) agree on the interpreter's active participation. These researchers argued for either a more precise description or for a larger space to define the interpreter's role. Moreover, they all acknowledged the close association between the interpreter's involvement and the features of the institution, or the social factors involved in the interaction. This indicates that there is always a need in interpreter-mediated medical interviews for collaboration with different social institutions, possibly due to different expectations or restrictions on the interpreter's interpersonal involvement.

- **Legal Settings**

Studies of the role of medical interpreters in practice may lead to two different assumptions about the interpreter's role choices at other community-based settings. On the one hand, because "interpreting in institutional settings [...] is fundamentally different from conference interpreting as the interpreter is inside, not outside the interaction" (Leanza, Boivin & Rosenberg, 2010, p. 1888), the role of the community-based interpreter at other institutional settings, including legal settings, can be defined in a similar manner. On the other hand, because medical interpreters need to perform multiple functions in communication, the most compatible venues for "conduit" conceptualisations are probably the courtroom or other diplomatic settings (Avery, 2001). Thus, different views on the role of interpreters in legal settings make it necessary to conduct further investigations in the field.

Berk-Seligson (1990) used an array of methods, including observation in courts and training program, tape-recording and discourse analysis of more than 100 hours of legal interpretations and an experimental study on listeners' response, to examine three

aspects of interpreters as in their ideal role, in the actual practice and the effect of their performance. Specifically, she made a detailed discussion on the interpreters' pragmatic alterations in practice and managed to establish the basic argument that the interpreters can influence the court proceedings because all subtle linguistic changes they made on legal discourse can affect the judgement of the listeners and thus ultimately the speaker's credibility. In the sense, the interpreters, according to Berk-Seligson (1990), actually were taking an active and even powerful role in the relevant legal communication.

Similar to Berk-Seligson (1990), McIntire and Sanderson (1995) also beheld the interpreter's power in legal settings. They chose to examine legal and sign language interpreting cases in relation to the power disposition in communication. With a brief review on the evolution of three interpreting models in history; namely, "the helper model", "the conduit model" and "the facilitator model", McIntire and Sanderson (1995) proposed that the interpreter's role and its scope of responsibility is primarily based on the dynamic interaction of participant, power and language in each triadic legal communication. This view carries much resemblance with Avery's (2001) assertion of a dynamic and continuous evolution of the medical interpreter's role with four different interpersonal functions in communication.

To highlight the issue of power in legal interpreting, McIntire and Sanderson (1995) selected deaf clients and mostly female interpreters for inclusion in their research. As disability and female gender are traditionally categorised as socially disadvantaged groups, such a client-interpreter combination is situated on the disempowered milieu of communication. For McIntire and Sanderson (1995), disempowerment of the female interpreter originated from the relatively powerless social position related to gender and language. The formality of the legal setting and the seriousness of the consequences in legal discourse however can increase social inequality by impelling the interpreter towards a seemingly safe choice of conduit model to avoid potential responsibilities. In addition, the analysis of individual courtroom cases and the interpreters' demographic profile showed an interpreter's lack of experience and a deaf client's linguistic disadvantage may only contribute to the powerlessness in communication as a whole. As a result, in formal legal discourse with asymmetrical power composition, interpreters, particularly female interpreters, tended to embed their evaluation of participants' social

relationships by disempowering their language use and thus indirectly oppress the disadvantaged participant (McIntire & Sanderson, 1995).

McIntire and Sanderson (1995) thus disagreed with the conduit hypothesis on the role of legal interpreters in practice. By focusing on one specific gender and a particular group of legal clients, they suggested that the interpreter's identity in practice is in fact a personal choice from within a dynamic continuum of social-linguistic power. Moreover, this choice is primarily determined by the interpreter's evaluation on the power-relationship in the communicative event.

Unlike McIntire and Sanderson (1995) who gave special focus to the power composition in legal interpreting events, Morris (2010) chose to focus on the humanity issues involved in the interpreter's role in legal proceedings. She acknowledged that interpreters are indeed potentially intrusive to the content in legal proceedings because they are also human beings and possess independent social and emotional assets of their own.

Investigating several court cases over a period of three decades, Morris (2010) noticed a gradual change of attitudes in the interpreter's role. As she claimed, there has been greater acceptance of a more comprehensive involvement for the interpreter in legal settings, particularly from the interpreter's own perspective. From a unique and rare case of interpreter reporting on legal cases in the United States, the boundary of impartiality and neutrality prescribed in legal settings is greatly stretched by the claimed civic duty from the interpreter involved.

Based on the study findings, Morris (2010) argued that legal interpreters do actually function beyond the linguistic boundary and their emotional attachment will be inevitably intrusive to the legal proceeding. For example, in one of her quoted cases, the interpreter, Erik Camayd-Freixas, chose not only to disclose the case, but also to report thirteen problems he observed in the judicial process. Such a voluntary publication of the legal case cited in Morris's (2010) study is rather controversial and mostly questioned in terms of interpreter professionalism as he indeed steps out of his role of an interpreter. However, it cannot be denied that the humanistic touch on the interpreter's role debate as Morris (2010) claimed highlights an important understanding in interpreter-role studies: the interpreter is by no means an emotionless linguistic machine.

Instead of discussing the interpreter's role from a grand social and humanistic perspective, Hale (2005) and Manson (2005) showed more interest in assessing the interpreter's role from their linguistic choices; namely, the interpretative discourse itself. For Manson (2005), the interpreter's discourse played a central role in his or her role identification because it is in his or her discourse that various ostensive cues for social positioning in communication are left. Hale (2005) also stressed a crucial link between the interpreter's discourse and their choice of role, stating that "what is crucial in any argument about role definition is [...] the consequences of the chosen role" (p. 26). For this reason, Hale (2005), by using authentic courtroom data, looked for examples to illustrate the legal interpreters' identity confusion.

Firstly, magistrate's use of third person and witnesses' side comments in legal proceedings suggested different demands on the interpreter's role performance from what is prescribed in professional codes of ethics. In this context, interpreters are "surrounded by temptations from all sides to deviate from the [conduit] role prescribed by their code of ethics" (Hale, 2005, p. 15). As Hale (2005) believed, this deviation from the reality made the legal interpreter particularly vulnerable to pressures from institutional, professional and interpersonal spheres. For example, she argued the service provider may expect the interpreter's interpersonal involvement in communication, particularly as "a compatriot who is there to comfort and help" (Hale, 2005, p. 17).

Such an expectation is obviously beyond the scope of a pure linguistic service and thus will inevitably challenge the feasibility of the conduit role being prescribed for the interpreter's professionalism in practice. Hale (2005) continued to argue that professionalism in the interpreter's role performance depended on the interpreter's control against their own "natural inclination" and a full understanding of the consequences and accountabilities for their actions. Also manifested is the self of the interpreter over their professional roles by their subconscious or conscious linguistic choices such as filtering, polishing, changing or editing the original utterances at various magnitudes.

Secondly, interpreters' face-saving actions for the lawyer and their stylistic polishing for the witness in legal communication are identified as examples which reveal the interpreter's shift in client allegiances to the lawyer, the court, and to the witness, respectively. For Hale (2005), the interpreter's allegiance shift suggested that they give more consideration to the power relations in their social positioning relative to different

interpreting subjects. In other words, the interpreter's role in legal settings is closely associated with their vision on the interpreting client. The authentic data used in Hale's (2005) study apparently justifies a more liberated and flexible role as legal interpreter in contrast to the rigid mechanistic view prescribed in the code of ethics. Yet, in defence of the professionalism and code of ethics, Hale (2005) still acknowledged that "what is happening" is not "what should be happening" (p. 26).

However, "accuracy [in interpreting] does not equate to a literal rendition, but to a pragmatic reconstruction of the original" (Hale, 2005, p. 26). To Hale (2005), interpreters need to remove the language, institutional, and cultural barriers between different interlocutors to achieve a pragmatic reconstruction of meaning. Thus, "as interpreters can only do what is humanly possible" (p. 26), their personal understanding will make the rendition unique and eventually reflect their selfhood in language. Indeed, Hale (2005) does not explicitly elaborate on the role of the community interpreter, even though she acknowledges that legal interpreters are not a conduit.

In fact, the illustration of all legal interpreting examples does not confine Hale (2005) to the legal domain only. Her argument concerns the whole community interpreting setting more broadly, which led her to conclude there is an identity crisis among community-based interpreting practitioners.

To summarise, despite Avery's (2001) early assumption of the conduit role of legal interpreters, none of the studies of the interpreter's role in legal settings claimed that the interpreter is invisible or a conduit in practice. Instead, relevant studies suggested that the interpreters exercise power in communication (Berk-Seligson, 1990) and their choices of social positioning in legal communication are based on the power-relationship within the communication (McIntire & Sanderson, 1995; Hale, 2005) and the interpreter's personal attachment to either party (Morris, 2010; Hale, 2005).

2.2.3.2 Non-Community-Based Interpreting Settings

In addition to highly specialised areas such as medical interviews or legal proceedings, the role of the interpreter is also discussed in other fields including academia (Roy, 1993), business (Takimoto, 2012), and political or public interactions (Sun, 2014; Monacelli, 2009). These fields are generally more concerned with the conference interpreting mode.

Roy (1993) adopted a social-linguistic approach to examine a videotaped interpreting event between a professor and his student. The author undertook a Conversational Analysis (CA) of the transcript and the complementary playback interviews with all participants. CA paradigms posit that a verbal communication is structured with both automatic and unconscious conventions. In a conversation, speaking turns are created as one of the basic organisational activities. That is, when two primary speakers are talking simultaneously, one party will naturally be interrupted for the sake of smooth proceeding of the conversation. Such an interruption is a judgement made by the conversation participant based on deciding rights and obligations within a situation (Bennett, 1981). In turn, when overlapping occurs in an inter-lingual communication in the presence of an interpreter, whose talking turn should be compromised is a question often decided by the interpreter.

Roy (1993) examined interpreter choices during overlapping discourse and turn-taking in simultaneous talking. The author discovered that many of the interpreter's choices during overlapping and turn-taking activities exemplified their understanding of the power relationship between the two primary speakers. These speakers are obviously unequal in academic authority and then in the interpersonal function of communication. In the case of turn-taking the interpreter is by no means a conduit for message transmission. Rather, the interpreter's subjective turn-taking management is his or her linguistic strategy for alleged alignment and thus a manifestation of his or her active participation.

Secondly, Takimoto (2012) observed two NAATI (National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters in Australia) accredited professional interpreters' performances in multi-party business settings. The author conducted a detailed post-event interview in order to understand the interpreter's role in practice. Instead of criticising the conduit-role argument in the traditional dichotomy of invisibility and visibility, Takimoto (2012) took the interpreter's communicative participation for granted in practice. In addition, Takimoto (2012) specified the interpreters' involvement at three levels based on Goffmans's (1981) participation framework and Clark's (1996) categorisation of listeners and speakers.

From the listener's perspective, the post-interpreting interviews demonstrated that the interpreters have the clear intention to fully participate as listeners and that their roles

as attender, identifier and respondent coded function according to their attentiveness in listening comprehension. There were instances to show however that the interpreter's listening function as a respondent may be impacted by physical or comprehension difficulties. From the speaker's perspective, NAATI's professional code of ethics seems to strictly "prohibit an interpreter from becoming a 'principal' [in communication]" (p. 41) with an explicit stipulation on legitimising the avoidance of unsolicited opinions in interpreting practice. It may therefore be argued that this is why, Takimoto (2012) found interpreters clearly participate in the interaction at the levels of both 'vocaliser' and 'formulator', even though they express no intention to be a 'primary principal' that possesses full freedom to make comments in communication.

Some recorded interpreting cases however demonstrate that interpreters sometimes do participate in an interaction as a principal in a delicate way, particularly where the interpreter's principal in communication function is restricted to a certain capacity and to a certain sphere. In this event, interpreters react to all functions as 'vocaliser', 'formulator' and more accurately 'secondary principal' while speaking. Indeed, Takimoto's (2012) analysis on business interpreting events illustrated that interpreters are active participants in communication, particularly when they speak. Furthermore, it was recognised that their participation unfolded in a highly complicated manner.

Compared to interpreting practices conducted in academic and business settings, interpreting practices in political and diplomatic settings appear to be much more formal and have an even greater influence on the social context. Some researchers (e.g., Inghilleri, 2007; Le, Menard & Hhan, 2009; Sun, 2014; Torikai, 2010; Takeda, 2009) focused their scholarly interest on this particular domain; whereas the social context of the interpreting practice bears more relevance to the current research.

Inghilleri (2007) examined the role of interpreters or translators within the context of political asylum. In this context political sensitivity is believed to be constantly in play. The basic argument in Inghilleri's (2007) study is that interpreters perform "at the grinding edge of macro-political realities" (p. 207) because they "are socially and politically situated" in an asylum event in which the force of linguistic utterances "remains located firmly in the context of national cultures and identities" (p. 206). In other words, if interpreting research on micro-texts of utterances in community-based

services such as the healthcare and legal settings is reflective of the attainment of social and legal rights, the study of interpreting in contexts of the pursuit of political asylum is more responsive to a larger social and political reality. As Inghilleri (2007) pointed out, this is because “intercultural, inter-lingual communication becomes a central part of the process in which global relations of power are played out” (p. 196).

To Inghilleri (2007), the complexity of the interpreter’s role in political asylum contexts is constructed fundamentally on the basis of social and political realities. Specifically, the wider historical and political context constructs the asylum seekers as outsiders with limited transnational rights of belonging, causing a tension for interpreters to challenge the authorised discourse in which the political inequality is maintained. Thus, while illustrating the role of the interpreter as helping or hardly contesting the politics in relation to political asylum, Inghilleri (2007) actually demonstrated the same types of political concerns raised by Venuti (2008) in his discussion on translator invisibility in cultural imperialism.

In Takeda’s (2009) research, the Far East Tribunal is deemed to be a political procedure. In turn, the author argued that the interpreter’s role in practice is determined by institutional practices closely related to the issue of trust in political settings. Three socially and culturally disconnected groups of linguists were used to ensure interpreting quality, particularly interpreter voicelessness, in communication. Specifically, Japanese nationals served as interpreters, Japanese-Americans as monitors, and US military officers as language arbiters to rule on any disputed interpretations. Takeda (2009) established this hierarchical system to regulate and constrain the interpreter’s role to one of neutrality or as conduit.

The detailed review of the selection criteria for the three tiers of linguists, along with several interviews with some of the interpreters, revealed that linguistic competence was considered important, but not as important as the interpreter’s affiliation to the advantaged party. Takeda (2009) went on to argue that political interpreting in fact involves a variety of complex elements, while its political nature determines that trust is likely to be more important than quality. On the one hand, the interpreter is expected and requested to perform a conduit role considered best practice for neutrality. On the other hand, the interpreter’s performance is also expected to be in favour of the advantaged party due to its close interaction with the power composition. It is no exaggeration to say

that the lengthy and sophisticated monitoring system in the Far East tribunal was introduced to establish and warrant the supremacy of the allies by curbing the interpreter's linguistic impartiality.

However, because the Far East tribunal's monitoring system is highly impractical in today's political context, the interpreter's role will inevitably be conflated with the roles of language monitor and arbiter in the tribunal. This reflects the multi-faceted identity of the interpreter in modern political discourse and also suggests an open choice for interpreters in practice. As suggested by Takeda (2009), the pursuit for trustworthiness in political interpreting events may override its objective for quality control and as a result, an interpreter's political affiliation may determine the interpreter's role choice in practice.

Similar concerns about political trustworthiness are also found in Le, Menard and Hhan's (2009) exploratory research on the Vietnamese interpreter's identity in the political and diplomatic arenas. The authors first conducted semi-structured interviews with seven high-level Vietnamese interpreters working in political settings. They then examined the interpreters' role choices at four inter-penetrated layers: the personal; the enactment; the relational; and the communal (Le et al., 2009).

Le et al. (2009) found that issues of trust and respect are an important influence on the interpreter's performance. In practice, interpreters admitted that they used different interpreting strategies for the purposes of relationship building in communication. Applying different interpreting strategies, the interpreters intended to realise different role variations. However, despite the different role variants, there was consensus among the interpreters that the roles of translator, cultural informant, and cultural mediator are generally favoured; whereas the roles of cultural advocate and bilingual professional are generally rejected (Le et al., 2009).

The interpreter's rejection of the role of cultural advocate suggests that neutrality in intercultural communication is highly valued in interpreting practice. Following a more detailed exploration of the interpreter's sense of cultural belonging however Le et al. (2009) found that it is most likely the interpreter's self-perception as a member of a country in political and transnational situations tended to affect the interpreters' judgment on contextual variables and thus ultimately influenced his or her choice of role in

practice. As a consequence, it is hardly possible for the interpreter to achieve cultural or social neutrality in political and diplomatic settings.

Recognising the progressive disappearance of interpreter invisibility in political and diplomatic settings, Le et al. (2009) argued that in relation to political and diplomatic discourses, the interpreter's sense of the national pride dominates any other contextual variables in shaping the interpreter's identity.

Also focusing on the political and diplomatic settings, Monacelli (2009) provided a very descriptive account of the veteran interpreter's self-preservative acts in SI. The author's study was based on the analysis of a corpus of 10 parallel texts in terms of three core aspects: the interpreter's stance, voice and the 'face' work. Monacelli (2009) found interpreters tended to avoid or mitigate threats originating in source text speakers in order to protect either the face of the speaker or themselves. In addition, to protect their own professional face, interpreters tended to shift into the personal mode and choose to engage in subordinate communication with the audience when their interpreting is constrained or interrupted with difficulties.

Moreover, during interviews with interpreters conducted to complement the corpus analysis, Monacelli (2009) found that "all subjects recognised their moves as self-regulatory in nature" (p. 153). As a result, Monacelli (2009) concluded that interpreters will always aim "at professional survival and subordinate all activity (linguistic choices, interpersonal professional relations, etc.) to the preservation of their professional face" (p. 53). In other words, interpreters' participatory or self-regulatory activities in communication are basically self-protective. After all, the interpreting practice is a norm-governed activity embedded in a social and professional system.

In contrast to findings indicating the interpreter's visibility in practice, Torikai's (2010) life-story interviews of five Japanese pioneer interpreters who actively practiced in conference and diplomatic settings in post-WWII Japan found the interpreters' denied being culturally or socially inclusive. The choice of the pioneer interpreters is regarded as very symbolic because they are highly professional and thought of as role-models by current Japanese diplomatic and conference interpreters. The interviews were semi-structured in design in order to gain a thorough understanding of the interpreters' life

experiences and to discover the possible divergence between their perceived and practiced identities.

Specifically, the interviews conducted by Torikai (2010) focused on culture issues in communication and to identify differences in the five interpreters' cultural experiences. As the issue of culture in interpreting is related to the interpreter's choice of role as a linguistic conduit, a communication facilitator, or a bilingual mediator, Torikai (2010) believed it was worthwhile to examine the interpreters' perceptions of culture through narrative form to understand their perceived role in practice. Applying Goffman's (1981) participation framework, Torikai (2010) extracted from their narratives the cultural attitudes, perceived roles, and actual roles the interpreters played in practice.

A key finding to emerge from the Torikai (2010) study was that the interpreters were essentially indifferent to cultural issues and theoretically advocate the interpreter's invisible role in communication. However, the participants' narratives on interpreting practice led to a different understanding of their role as co-constructors in the interaction. Their narratives indicated that despite their deliberate indifference to culture elements in communication, "they were indeed essential partners in [...] communication, [...] bridging cultural barriers" without being conscious of their perceived role as "more or less invisible" (Torikai, 2010, p. 91).

More relevant to this research, Sun's (2014) study of interpreter mediation in Chinese government press conferences applied Goffman's social communicative theory to examine interpreters' roles and positioning in practice. Specifically, Sun (2014) collected a large body of authentic data; namely, six SARS-related press conferences involving interpreting in China, to analyse the interpreter's mediation of face and participation framework, and the choice of footing in communication.

Sun's (2014) analysis revealed that the interpreters tended to "be restrained and cautious in interactional management" as their interpreting seemed to aim for a literal rendition of content. Yet, they were also heavily involved in shaping the rigid organisational communicative structure of the press conference. They negotiated the institutional alignment and primarily protected the face of the institutional superior. Thus, linguistically, the interpreters were found to be "semantically neutral but emotionally/pragmatically partial" (p. 180). In the end, Sun (2014) concluded that the interpreters

during Chinese government press conferences are “comfortably situated as institutional aides or insiders” rather than “the role of institutional gate-keepers or cultural brokers” (p. 179).

The studies on interpreters’ identity in political and diplomatic settings (e.g., Le et al., 2009; Sun, 2014; Takeda, 2009; Torikai, 2010) unanimously suggested and confirmed a visible role of interpreters in practice. The visibility of the interpreter in practice was closely associated with the interpreter’s national pride, feelings of cultural inclusiveness, the client’s trust, and the institution they work in. Thus, it may be concluded that cultural and social issues are highly important and sensitive in political and diplomatic interpreting because the interpreter’s professional identity in political and diplomatic settings is highly responsive to various contextual variables.

2.2.3.3 Interpreters in Media Interpreting

In interpreting practice, media settings may pose extra challenges to the interpreter’s practice because TV interpreting has special features (Kurz, 1995). To start with, the media usually requests the interpreter support “close cooperation with program producers and sound engineers on technical matters” (p. 195). More importantly, interpreters often face extra stress, particularly at the psycho-emotional level. Firstly, radio and TV broadcasts are in one direction only and this means the interpreter cannot receive feedback from the audience to indicate if the message is well understood. Secondly, “the TV interpreter works for a very heterogeneous audience” (p. 197) and he or she will therefore have to coordinate his or her interpreting with different kinds of expectations. Thirdly, due to the audibility of media interpreting and live broadcasts potentially reaching large populations, the TV interpreter needs to be cautious with his or her linguistic choices. This is because the audience may “check on the completeness and fidelity of the interpreter’s output” (p. 197) and newspapers often do not hesitate to report critically. Therefore, Kurz (1995) believed that “apart from encountering all the difficulties of ordinary conferences [...], the interpreter working in the media is also confronted with special requirements and restraints” (p. 204). These challenges and constraints eventually make TV interpreters “a ‘hybrid’ or new breed of interpreter” (p. 197). With these special features in mind, the intervention of the media in interpreting practices inevitably inspires extensive scholarly interest in understanding how interpreters realise their professional roles in this mode of communication.

Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) used a corpus of 200 hours of Italian talk show interpreting in their study to examine their claim that the traditional invisible role of interpreters is greatly challenged by an ethics of entertainment in television industry. For Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001), the talk show represented a mixture of different genres, varying in topics, interactional styles and purposes. They believed most talk shows do not aim to reach a conclusion or agreement on a specific topic, and the conflict, disagreement or controversies in it are all to entertain the audience. Thus, although interpreter-mediated institutional interactions are generally informative in nature, the talk show may emphasise the entertainment function interpreting practices. Specifically, Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) assumed that when the theme of a talk show became very personal, the interpreter may be more involved in the communication and their use of language to maintain social contact will certainly prevail. Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) focused mostly on the CI mode to analyse the interpreting regarding “three interlocking aspects of ethics: comfort, professional performing capacity and culture” (p. 217).

Firstly, within the immediate situational context, the ethics of entertainment in the TV talk show is established on the comfort factor. This is because it affects all parties involved including TV viewing audience and the interpreter. Secondly, the interpreting capacity of the interpreter in TV talks shows integrates the traditional capacity to interpret and the capacity to be a primary participant. In turn, this may be highly challenging for traditional conference interpreters who are “imbued with the norms of prescriptive interpreting ethics” (p. 231) due to its constant emerging visibility. For Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001), “the talk show interpreter is often the object of explicit scrutiny” from both hosts and guests on stage, as well as from the viewing audience off-stage including the millions of viewers, their interpreting colleagues, and “other professional interpreters who assess the quality of the interpreted turns” (p. 218). In this sense, Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) asserted the studio audience and television cameras make the interpreter on stage more conscious of his or her performance, as his or her “personal and public ‘face’ [...] becomes visible to all concerned” (p. 224). Thirdly, Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) found the larger cultural context affected the interpreter’s performance as the standard of ‘good’ or ‘appropriate’ interpreting was actually culture-bound. For example, when a Russian prostitute recounted a rape case during a TV talk show, the interpreter’s explication of ‘rape’ became culturally controversial. The

discussion centred on the word ‘rape’ as face-threatening to the Russian guest as she tried to avoid using the word directly, even though it was referable for the TV audience and optimally relevant in this Italian talk show context.

Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) concluded that the interpreter’s extra cognitive effort towards explication for the audience may indicate that in an “asymmetric encounter” of a media event, the maxim of cooperation is determined by the party in power (p. 219). Because such power often resides within the ideology of popular culture, the interpreter can hardly maintain invisibility or neutrality when two cultures are in conflict.

Finally, after analysing the successful interpreters’ strategies and behaviours, Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) suggested that the invention of the media; namely, the talk show, actually creates a new model of interpreting ethics, “encouraging the interpreter to be a key-player in the show” (p. 234). As they claimed, success for this new model is based on the three factors of comfort, capacity and culture. That is, the authors claimed that a talk show interpreter, like any other full-fledged participants, needs to feel comfortable with his or her visibility in public. Meanwhile, such visibility should also “be coherent with the particular context of television and national culture” (Katan and Straniero-Sergio, 2001, p. 234). Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001) concluded their study with a definition of the media interpreter as “an expansion of the traditional role toward multivariate mediation encompassing varying perceptual positions and sensitivity to context” (p. 213).

Like Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001), Pochhacker (2007) integrated a corpus of media interpreting into his study; namely, a comparative corpus of three sets of English-German TV SI on the same US presidential debate. While focusing on the rendition of cultural items, Pochhacker (2007) realised “the complexity and variability of the interaction constellation in media interpreting” (p. 124) and acknowledged a potential expansion of the interpreter’s role in media interpreting. Similar to claims made by Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2001), Pochhacker (2007) posited that the interpreter in the media needs “to enable live communication between two or more interlocutors, with or without an audience in the studio and sometimes even [...act] in a dual capacity” (p. 124).

In his study, Pochhacker (2007) focused on the interpreter's rendering strategies and considered the characteristics of the source-text and its possible impact on interpreter performance, particularly the strategies the highly-professional media interpreters used to cope with cultural-specific items. According to Pochhacker (2007), the high speech rates of the source speech in SI mode may be "indicative of high cognitive input loads for the interpreters" (p. 132) and thus possibly leads to some necessary interpreting strategies as compressing or cultural specific referencing. In addition, given the importance of the presidential campaign and its media coverage, it becomes highly possible that all president candidates make thorough preparations for their rhetorical performance, which once again inevitably elevates the cognitive stress on the interpreters (Pochhacker, 2007). Thus, the interpreter's choices of interpreting strategies may be heavily affect with such a high cognitive demand from the source speech. In all, Pochhacker (2007) was very cautious about possible influences on the interpreter's performance in the media.

Focusing primarily on the rendition of acronyms, Pochhacker (2007) employed quantitative analysis techniques to investigate a range of corpus-wide features and qualitative analysis techniques to compare three interpretations of the same acronyms. From the quantitative perspective, Pochhacker (2007) declared "omission [is] found to be the most frequent way of dealing with the culture-specific references (mainly acronyms)" (p. 140). Considering its possible strategic goals, the author suggested that culture elements might be lost in the course of media interpreting.

However, Pochhacker (2007) also found, various individual cases of interpreters making efforts to render culture-bound reference. This suggests, interpreters' self-perception on the importance of cultural elements seems to be relevant to their linguistic performance. In this sense, given such the relevance of the interpreter's role to the choice of language, Pochhacker's (2007) study becomes indicative that an interpreter's role in practice is really dependent on the interpreter's individual choices and that such a role choice can be studied more effectively on an individual basis. In addition, because the SI mode obviously impacts the interpreter's strategic choice due to its cognitive and temporal constraints (see section 2.2.1), the mode of interpreting practice should be considered as well when the interpreter's role is to be conceptualised.

Wadensjo (2008a/b) analysed a televised 20-minute talk-show interview between Clive Anderson, a famous BBC journalist, and former USSR leader Mikhail Gorbachev

to study the interpreting performance of Pavel Palazchenko. Palazchenko is a Russian-English interpreter widely renowned for his top-level language proficiency. The analysis by Wadensjo focused on two seemingly contradictory purposes: how a positive image of Gorbachev was created (2008a); and how the invisibility of the interpreter is accomplished (2008b). In her studies on the role of the interpreter in the media practice, Wadensjo (2008a/b) incorporated multiple variables relevant to the current research; namely, political leaders, the media, and the audience who are both on and off screen.

Firstly, Wadensjo (2008a) adopts the premise that “the image of political leaders, distributed through television, is formed [not only] by what they say and by how they perform” and that such an image in the foreign media is “additionally reliant on translation and interpreting practices” because the interviewee gives non-English speech when the program is broadcast alive (p. 120). As such, Palazchenko’s interpretation becomes a critical factor in our understanding of Gorbachev’s public portrait. More importantly, his linguistic choices are also determined by the self-perception of Gorbachev’s social positioning in this event. Secondly, Wadensjo (2008a) chooses Conversational Analysis (CA) to scrutinise several sequences of talk. They include the opening and the closing of the interview and a demanding question and answer session on USSR’s contribution. CA is also used to investigate how Gorbachev and Palazchenko react in front of viewers.

Wadensjo (2008a) found Gorbachev to be an ordinary attentive interviewee – as if he spoke the same language as the host – for two main reasons. Firstly, Gorbachev had exceptionally skillful use of the interpreter including searching the gaze of the interpreter and direct verbal address. Secondly, Gorbachev demonstrated a graceful interaction with the host including “his spatial positioning, gaze, and body movements, communicated orientation to Clive Anderson (the host)” (p. 126). In regards to the interpreter, Wadensjo (2008a) discovered his noticeable assistance to Gorbachev in securing speaking turns and face-saving activities. For example, the interpreter utilised sequential management and interpreting techniques such as linking words “and” and “so” to secure the speaking turn of an anticipated continuation of Gorbachev and his rendition. As a result, Gorbachev always succeeded in the turn competition with the host. When Gorbachev revealed his insecurity about not fully comprehending a question the interpreter chose not to expose this in conversation, but to cover it up by addressing the audience as if Gorbachev

answered back directly. In addition, Wadensjo (2008a) also noticed that the negative polarity in the English host's question went missing in its Russian rendition. Moreover, Wadensjo (2008b) continued to report in other research on similar findings such as the interpreter's obvious change in the volume of his voice in relation to different language directions; namely, speaking loudly in English, but lowering the voice to adapt Gorbachev's physical proximity.

In relation to interpreter invisibility, Wadensjo (2008b) related invisibility to non-personhood in interaction by arguing; "an individual acting in the role of non-person enjoys the privileges of being able to address anyone or to ignore being addressed" (p. 187). In this study, Wadensjo (2008b) applied Goffman's participation framework (1981) to evaluate the interpreter's acting roles in the interview. More specifically, Wadensjo (2008b) referenced Goffman's cluster of the non-person's flexible status of participation to investigate the alignment work in the talk show interview. In the analysis of the speaking modes, Wadensjo (2008b) found that the interpreter only spoke as animator and author. As such, he never projected himself as principal in communication. In terms of the listening modes, the interpreter mostly behaved as reporter and recapitulator. Even on the rare occasion that the interpreter responded like an ordinary conversational partner, he performed this act with professional distance.

Thus, with the reinforcement of the interpreter's poker-face, flat voice and rigid body language, it was obvious that the interpreter chose not to align with the host on any occasion, even at the host's explicit invitation. On the contrary, Gorbachev, the primary interlocutor in the talk show, constantly aligned himself with the host. In all, non-personhood, with a slight adjustment, was "inherent in the social role of interpreter" (Wadensjo, 2008b, p. 187).

Thus, Wadensjo's (2008a/b) studies delivered two key insights. On the one hand, the interpreter's unavoidably subjective participation; namely, his rendering and his efficient cooperation with Gorbachev only, helped to publicise a positive image of Gorbachev in the western media. On the other, the interpreter tried to hide his participatory activities with the assistance of Gorbachev in order to project an invisible image of himself for the audience. In doing so, the experienced interpreter successfully disguises his subjective participation with seeming invisibility in practice.

To summarise, this section reviewed four studies relevant to the interpreter's role in media-based interpreting practices. Katan and Straniero-Sergio's (2001) study suggested that the media can raise an extra demand on the interpreter's role performance, drawing attention to the influence of the media on interpreting practices. Pochhacker's (2007) study applied more informative and less entertaining data from a broadcast of English to German SI that invited no interaction from other media participants. The study suggested more specially that the media's influence on the interpreter's linguistic choices and then his or her role presentation may be more precisely attributed to the special features of the program and the mode of the interpreting practice rather than the media more generally. In two of her studies, Wadensjö (2008a/b) found that the consecutive interpreter participated in the communication in such a refined manner that a sense of invisibility is almost projected. In this regard, it was argued that it is neither the general concept of the media, nor the specific program type (e.g. talk show) that really defines the interpreters' perception and performance of their professional roles. Although the media may present challenges to the interpreter's performance, it is the nature of the communicative activity itself that eventually defines the interpreter's role in practice.

2.2.3.4 Surveying the Interpreter's Role

As stated by Pochhacker (2004), studies on the interpreter's role generally take two approaches: analysing the real practice or directly contacting interpreters. In consideration of the complexity of interpreting practice, it is naturally unreasonable to unify the interpreters' role on the basis of one or two cases. Thus, the survey-based approach was adopted.

Survey-based studies do not collect in-depth information from either detailed interviews or life stories, or from a case analysis of the interpreter's linguistic performance to gain an understanding of the interpreters' role in professional practice. Instead, they (Setton & Guo, 2009; Angelelli, 2004a; Pochhacker, 2009) choose to quantify the evidence relevant to the interpreter's role in practice by circulating questionnaires across large demographic areas. In this way, the questionnaires also reveal different variables that may influence the interpreter's perception of his or her role performance.

One of the most comprehensive surveys on interpreter identity is Angelelli's (2004a) Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory (IPRI). Angelelli (2004a) designed this

instrument to examine the interpreters' self-perception of their roles in cross-cultural communication. Like other surveys, the IPRI in Angelelli's (2004a) study was also expected to present variable measurements on the interpersonal and social aspects of interpreting in relation to the interpreter's role in cross-cultural communication across all settings. For these purposes, the IPRI measures the interpreter's attitudes on five subcomponents of visibility including issues related to client alignment and trust, cultural communication, and conversational management. The target population of Angelelli's (2004a) study was interpreters of different languages and from different settings who practiced in the United States, Canada and Mexico. The questionnaires were composed in English and distributed for use in her full-scale study after the reliability test from the pilot study.

Demographic information was collected in the IPRI to investigate the possible relationship of the interpreter's social and professional backgrounds with his or her perception of professional identity in practice. For instance, among the 293 interpreters who participated in the IPRI in Angelelli's (2004a) study, 27% had attended formal training courses; whereas 73% reported attending less-formal training programs. The modal interpreting experience reported by the respondent interpreters was between 5 to 10 years. Statistical analysis of the data firstly suggested a significant association between these interpreters' self-perception of visibility and their socio-demographic information. For example, the analysis on different age groups suggested there may be an evolution of interpreters' attitudes toward the interpreter's invisibility in practice. Secondly, the survey found that the interpreting setting may affect the interpreter's perception of his or her role. This is because there is a significant attitudinal difference towards visibility among interpreters who practice in medical settings, legal settings and conferences. For example, medical interpreters were found to hold the highest respect for visibility in practice; whereas conference interpreters generally perceived themselves to be the least visible.

Thirdly, using the unsolicited comments in questionnaires, respondents' attitudes on role-related issues were further explored by Angelelli (2004a). To be specific, the author found respondents mostly believed invisibility and neutrality were the goals of interpreting practice. They also admitted that although neutrality is not only plausible but also essential in their professional duty, it is very hard to realise this in their practice if social factors in interaction could be monitored closely. In addition, interpreters'

comments on invisibility and neutrality suggested invisibility and neutrality is prevalent among conference interpreters. More specifically, conference interpreters mostly reported their detachment to clients in communication as the SI booth shelters them from the direct interaction with clients. Additionally, the booth in conference interpreting also helped the interpreter to shelter power differentials and social factors in communication as if the interpreter-mediated events can happen in a social vacuum. Furthermore, almost all the respondents in the survey expressed their concern that social factors affect their role in practice.

In all, through the development of a valid and reliable instrument (i.e. IPRI), Angelelli (2004a) revisited the interpreter's role in a more extensive scope, covering various settings, that included courts, hospitals, business meetings, international conferences, and schools. The survey not only revealed interpreters self-perceptions on their professional identity, but also their discursive comments on their practice. Based on the IPRI data, Angelelli (2004a) was able to establish a strong argument that interpreters accept some degrees of visibility in their roles linked to the interpersonal functions of building trust, filling cultural gaps, and facilitating communication. Moreover, the interpreting setting also exerts a significant influence on interpreters' perception of roles and thus becomes one of the contextual constraints in their role performance. In this sense, Angelelli's (2004a) IPRI exposes the tension between professional ideology and the reality of interpreters at work, thus leaving significant implications for both the development of interpreting theories and the improvement on the interpreting practice.

Similar to Angelelli (2004a), Setton and Guo (2009) also aimed to investigate the relationship between the interpreter's social or professional background and their self-perception on identity in practice. Yet, because Setton and Guo (2009) believe there is a possible uniqueness of China's interpreting professionalisation shaped by its traditional norms and local conditions, their study focused only on Chinese interpreters' attitudes towards their professional identity. In their study, Setton and Guo (2009) used semi-structured questionnaires to harvest quantitative data on interpreters' and translator's demographic background, their patterns of practice, and the employment, and self-perception of their own professional identity.

Of the 250 questionnaires Setton and Guo (2009) circulated to professional or trained translation and interpreting practitioners in Shanghai and Taiwan, nearly one-third

were returned complete. Focusing on 27 interpreters in the survey, nearly half of the respondents were freelancers, most of which who were generalists with some specialised areas in practice. In the role-related questions, 16 interpreters claimed loyalty to the speaker; whereas some respondents also ranked end-users or the audience or the commissioning client on their first loyalty list. Interestingly, the two interpreters who reported their primary allegiance to the commissioning client were both working in-house.

Furthermore, Setton and Guo (2009) reported that nearly half of all respondents indicated that their practice was more or less affected by a client's instruction. For example, the summary of elaborated examples shows the interpreting performance may be affected in its register and style, the concision, and the use of terminology, syntax and delivery style. Most interestingly, it was also reported that there may be some "down-toning or censorship for [...] political sensitive issues" (Setton & Guo, 2009, p. 228). To be more specific, 78% of the surveyed interpreters acknowledged tone-downing for the rude or aggressive language-use in communication, and about 30% of them expressed the necessity to tone down criticism of their country or institution in practice.

The statistical analysis of the data supports the view that the interpreters in China actively imbue their performance with face-saving adjustments. In other words, according to Setton and Guo's (2009) survey, it is hardly possible to claim that trained interpreters, at least in the sampled Chinese market, are performing the invisible role in practice. Moreover, the neutrality of interpreting may be greatly challenged and finally compromised when an interpreter's primary allegiance is not with the speaker. More specifically, in-house interpreters appear to be the most resistant to interference from the commissioning client, particularly when political sensitivity is required. To some extent, focusing on the special attributes of Chinese interpreters and the interpreter's self-perception on social positioning in practice enables Setton and Guo's (2009) survey to reveal the very uniqueness of Chinese interpreters, particularly those who are part of the institution called government.

In the belief that interpreters' role-perceptions will ultimately shape their linguistic performances, Pohhacker and Zwischenberger (2010) conducted a web-based full-population survey in Europe among AIIC members. The aim was to testify to the link between conference interpreters' self-perceptions of interpreting quality and their role in

practice. Firstly, the survey was divided into three sections: interpreters' socio-demographic information; their evaluation of an audio sample of simultaneous interpreting; and their views on the conference interpreter's role. Secondly, the survey focused exclusively on the simultaneous conference interpreting scenario. This was to examine "how interpreters' socio-demographic and professional background data related to their perception of four behavioural constructs, [namely the intervention, the loyalty to the speaker, reaction to the working condition and interpreter's detachment] that had emerged from the analysis of role-related questionnaire items" (<http://aiic.net/page/3405>).

Among the 704 conference interpreters respondents in the Pohhacker and Zwischenberger (2010) study, 89% were freelancers and 11% worked as staff interpreters. Compared to the respondents in China included in the Setton and Guo's (2009) study, and the respondents from North America in the Angelelli (2004a) study, the surveyed conference interpreters appear to be more professionalised as their average AIIC membership is 15 years. In answering the role-related questions, the surveyed AIIC members also appear to share "a clearly defined professional ethos", indicating "an effective process of professional socialisation" (Pohhacker & Zwischenberger, 2010).

When describing the interpreter's role in practice, most of the respondents in the Pohhacker and Zwischenberger (2010) study believed interpreters have an assisting or helping role; whereas some claimed themselves as professionals rendering a communication service. With regard to the statements on the interpreter's intervention in the original speech, the highest agreement was achieved among the oldest third of respondents and the group with the most years of experience. In contrast, lowest agreement was achieved among the youngest third of respondents and the group with the least years of experiences. Such a significant difference suggests the intervention in the original speech may increase proportionally with age and working experience.

In addition, the results from the Pohhacker and Zwischenberger's (2010) survey revealed loyalty to the speaker is related to gender difference. Specifically, female respondents expressed higher level agreement for faithful delivery of the speaker's tone and register to ensure the same effect as the original speech in practice. As for the interpreters' detachment, the youngest group of respondents disagreed to a significantly greater degree than the other age groups on the view that professional distance can help interpreters avoid emotional influence in the working place.

In all, Pohhacker and Zwischenberger's (2010) survey on interpreting quality and the interpreters' role suggests the AIIC conference interpreters view themselves more as facilitators or mediators than an invisible agent. Yet, the complexity of the interpreter's professional role in practice is also acknowledged in the study since the intervention and loyalty difference among AIIC interpreters also suggests an interpreter's commitment to participation may vary significantly in response to their socio-demographic backgrounds.

Admittedly, the three surveys (i.e. Angelelli, 2004a; Pohhacker, 2009; and Setton & Guo, 2009) are different in many ways including the research scale and the geographic locations of the targeted populations. However, they share a similar research goal pertaining to the interpreter's role in practice and the three surveys all report on the more visible and participatory role of interpreters in professional practice. Furthermore, because the questionnaires were designed to respond to the complexities of interpreting practice, the three studies identify the indispensable link between the interpreters' ideology on professional practice, their vision on the role in practice, and the interpreter's social, cultural and even institutional backgrounds. In short, the interpreters' role in practice is driven by their self-perception of their interpersonal functions in communication. Moreover, it is affected by their socio-demographic background including their training program, professional experience and employment status. Lastly, it is contextually constrained by the practice setting.

2. 3 Summary

Studies of interpreting can be viewed as a sub-discipline within the wider field of translation, and the even larger context of the scientific community. According to Wadensjo (2008b), the dichotomy of interpreter visibility and invisibility in practice, is based on two distinctively different theoretical foundations relating to language science and sociology. That is, the notion of the interpreter as a translation machine or conduit "rests upon a monological model of language and mind" that posits the communicative process is a one-way message transmission from the speaker to the listener with lexical items carrying all the meaning (Wadensjo, 2008b, p. 185). However, such a theory of meaning can be criticised on the basis of a dialogical model that suggests all communicative acts involve information exchange as a joint product and cannot be independent from social factors (Wadensjo, 1998). In this regard, the social trend in

studies of interpreting sheds light on the understanding of the interpreter's role in practice.

The studies on the interpreter's role in practice included in this review were conducted from either a linguistic or sociolinguistic perspective. In addition, they focused on community-based interpreting or special settings including political or diplomatic events, and even media interpreting practices. Moreover, the studies analysed individual interpreting cases or were based on surveys of interpreters from different regions including China, Europe or North America. Collectively, these studies found that interpreters actually participate in the communication and thus any notion of interpreter invisibility in practice is impractical.

However, the review of these studies also forces us to acknowledge that the interpreter's role in practice cannot be simply defined as invisible or visible. As a social agent in communication, the interpreter faces multiple choices in relation to his or her role in practice. More importantly, the choices are closely related to a series of social and contextual variables associated with the interpreting event. Specifically, the studies show that the interpreters' role in practice is driven by their self-perception of their interpersonal functions in communication. In turn, these self-perceptions are affected by the interpreters' selfhood including their professional background, cultural and social allegiance and ideological commitment, and the contextual constraints of the practice setting. In this way, the interpreter's role in practice becomes such a complicated topic that can only be discussed in relation to a specific situation (Angelelli, 2008).

Of particular interest to the current study is that the interpreter's role-performance in political and public settings is found to be highly reflective of their sense of ideological belonging and responsive to contextual variables. In addition, although the participation of the media can pose tremendous emotional pressure on the interpreter's linguistic choices, the interpreter's role in practice is still more defined by the nature of the communicative event than the means of the media program. In the end, all of the choices the interpreter makes in the practice are believed to be in the best interest of their professional development.

As is seen in this section, the interpreters' role has also undergone a tremendous shift from an invisible language conduit to an active participant in communication

(Angelelli, 2004a/b). Yet, due to the complexity of interpreting practice and the diversity of interpreting studies, one must caution against making a conclusive argument on the interpreter's role in practice before further evidence can be obtained. Moreover, given the interdisciplinary nature of interpreting studies, it is also possible to project this study of the interpreter's role in practice into a larger disciplinary matrix beyond interpreting or translation settings. In all, the study of interpreter professional identity in practice can benefit from the foundations of different disciplines.

Chapter 3: Interpreter's Social Identity: A Systemic Functional Perspective

The notion of identity constructed by and reflected in language use is both abstract and dynamic. Due to its indispensable link with language, the study of identity is inevitably related to the study of language in use. In recent years, the ways in which identity is dynamically constructed through text and talk has emerged as a common topic of research interest in Social Sciences (Shiffrin, 1996; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Van Dijk, 2011; Danesi, 2014). While it is important to acknowledge that discursive social action is the locus where cultural and social identities take shape, it is also necessary to understand that discursive acts need to be studied in particular social contexts. Advances in translation and interpreting studies now recognise the two fields as interdisciplinary processes. In addition, an interpreter performs his or her professional identity entirely with the means of language used in a social context. As a result it is important to analyse the interpreter's role in practice based on his or her linguistic activities; namely, the interpreter's choices of social positioning in actual communication.

To this end, this chapter firstly establishes the theoretical link between the abstract notions of identity and language in communication. From a linguistic perspective, identity is viewed as a set of characteristics unique to the individual language user in a given situation. Secondly, this chapter introduces discourse analysis in identity studies, with a particular interest in the systemic functional linguistic (SFL) approach. Emphasising the correlation between the linguistic realisation of interpersonal meaning in text and the situational context – particularly the choices involving tenor of activity – enables this chapter to connect the study of the interpreter's role in practice with the textual analysis of the interpersonal meaning in SFL.

3.1 Social Identity

Identity generally refers to “the way that we conceive ourselves as individuals or as members of groups, or, indeed, the way others perceive and categorize us” (Edwards, 2013, p. 1). For each individual, the concept of identity is an abstract reflection of his or her psychological categorisation or attachment to a given social group. The concept of identity rarely exists in isolation from its social or cultural surroundings given human beings in different circumstances and social contexts all possess a number of identities or various facets of one identity (Edwards, 2009). As a result, the notion of identity resides

in “a complex inventory of possibilities for self-presentation” regarded “as collective or individual, as social or personal, as mental constructs or as the product of actions” (De Fina, 2013, p. 1).

From the perspective of social constructionists however identity is a dynamic process of construction embedded in constant interaction with the social world. In other words, identity is not only abstract and socially constructed, but also reflexive and dynamic to social contexts (Hall, 2012; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). As such, identity defines an individual’s social practice and is also defined by the social context of the individual’s practice. Without reference to social context it is very difficult, if not possible, to understand the complex and abstract nature of identity unless the notion can be accurately extracted from an individual’s mind or overtly signalled in a social interaction. This however often involves another abstract notion of language and, more practically, various linguistic activities.

There are different definitions of language, of course. Each stresses different aspects of linguistic phenomena and reveals various understandings. Generally, language is believed to comprise two important facets; the communicative and the symbolic (Edwards, 2013). With both communicative and symbolic features, it becomes functionally possible for language users to retain their linkage to the claimed psychological categorisation or membership towards a group or institution with shared social or cultural understandings (Edwards, 2013). That is, an individual’s language use is driven by an internal motivation to claim his or her connections to the surrounding contexts.

Language is also referred to as “natural semantics of remembrance” (Steiner, 1992, p. 494) in that it becomes central to the formation and preservation of historical, social and cultural traditions, in which various social identities are taking shape. Thus, with both functional and social features language becomes sociocultural resources for individuals to realise their existence as a social entity. In other words, it is through various linguistic activities that an individual’s identity claim is eventually enacted. Given that “the work language does is actually done by human with language in society” (Hasan, 2005, p. 39), the nature of language with the sociocultural knowledge is to create and maintain the patterns of human life.

Therefore, the abstract concept of identity is constructed, conveyed and extracted for analysis through language in use. Such a link between identity and language well explains why linguistics, particularly sociolinguistics and the tool of discourse analysis developed in recent years, has always played a significant role in the study of identity. More specifically, discursive approaches to the discussion of identity can be divided into two categories: the collective and the individual. The former focuses on social identities and the latter focuses on personal or biographical identities.

Social identity is generally defined in relation to sociodemographic categorisation and social practice. It “encompasses participant roles, positions, relationships, reputations, and other dimensions of social personae, which are conventionally linked to epistemic and affective stances” (Ochs, 1996, p. 424). In the current study the interpreter’s social positioning in communication is fundamentally taken as an issue concerning their social identities in practice only. To investigate social identities, two approaches are generally adopted: the sociolinguistic and conversation analysis. Both emphasise social practice and interactions are the central locus for the study of identity.

The sociolinguistic approach to the study of social identities generally attaches great importance to the analysis of language variation. Either sociodemographic-based or practice-based studies of sociolinguistic identities emphasise the correlation between patterns of linguistic variation and social categorisation because language changes according to the individual’s social status and the situations in which language is used (Coupland, 2007; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Literature shows that classic sociolinguistic studies of identity normally posit a correspondence between an individual’s sociodemographic category-based identity and his or her use of linguistic resources. However, these studies often contain multiple independent variables which may be either objective in terms of age, sex and occupation, or subjective in terms of social class and education. As a result, because social structures may change in different society, studies of the sociodemographic categorisation may appear untenable from participants’ perspectives if they are entirely based on the presuppositions of researchers with limited ethnographic knowledge of the participants’ community (Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

What is also problematic is that the simple equation of sociodemographic category-based identity and linguistic variations is actually contested in Accommodation Theory. That is, an individual’s discursive practice may change in order to adapt to the

different linguistic features of other interlocutors within the same interaction (De Fina, 2013). In turn, this eventually inspires a more interactive approach to the study of language variation and identity.

Practice-based identity is more concerned with the membership accrued jointly in social practice (Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Because social practice affects the linguistic landscape “the enterprise of sociolinguistic is to relate ways of speaking to ways of participating in the social world” (Eckert, 2006, p. 3). In this case, studies on practice-based identity generally focus on the analysis of discourse in which different linguistic varieties are used to construct social relationship in communication. The objective of the analysis is to discover how a linguistic form correlates with social structures and, more importantly, to understand how social meanings are embedded in discursive practices. Thus, in line with the sociolinguistic approach on identity studies, various theoretical frameworks including acts of identity, social networks and communities of practice are developed to delineate the link between language variation and social practice.

Framed within a community of practice (CofP), the concept of social identity is related to a group of people “who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly” (Wenger, 2005, p. 1). On the basis of social theory, and serving as one add-on to sociolinguistic toolbox, the value of CofP in the field of identity studies is encapsulated in the fact that it identifies a social grouping; namely, a set of social identities for a participant in virtue of shared practice such as their views of practice and their linguistic expressions of meaning (Eckert, 2006). Given that participants engage with different practices in relation to their commitment to the CofP, and to the place of the CofP within a larger society, the CofP becomes “a rich locus for the study of situated language use, of language change, and of the very process of conventionalisation that underlies both” (Eckert, 2006, p. 1). It is actually through a CoP that particular participants develop a social identity and, accordingly, different linguistic productions to articulate that identity.

Specifically, in a CofP, realisation of meaning relies on two crucial conditions: participants’ shared experiences over time and their commitment to shared values. To be more specific, “a community of practice engages people in mutual sense-making” (Eckert, 2006, p. 1). Yet, as Eckert (2006) explains “whether this mutual sense-making is consensual or conflictual” is based on the member’s “commitment to mutual engagement

and to mutual understanding of that engagement” (p. 1). Moreover, the shared elements will ultimately shape a joint style, including the linguistic style that embodies both commitment and their interpretation of social positioning. Time then allows greater consistency of practice “for the repetition of circumstances, situations, and events” (p. 2). The fact “communities of practice are fundamentally loci for the experience of membership in broader social categories” (p. 2) may be explained further through Bourdieu’s conception of the field of habitus (Eckert, 2006). From this perspective, if a study needs to claim an identity in a CofP, explanations should also be invested from speakers’ experiences, their fields of practice, and the habitus in social engagement.

For critical discourse analysts, social identities may be modified in interaction, but remain relatively stable as they have strong cognitive components acquired “through socialisation and different discourse practices implemented within institutions such as education, public discourses, and mass media” (De Fina, 2013, p. 4). Critical discourse analysis generally takes a strong interest in expressions of social identities and focuses more on understanding language structures.

The study of social identities can also take a more interactive approach related to Conversation Analysis and ethnomethodology. This approach generally proposes that social categories can be analysed only when specific categorisations become important to participants in interaction so that participants’ practice of discourse can be directly or indirectly invoked by their social categories (De Fina, 2013). Thus, the analysis of discourse is constructed on a close association between social categorisation and identity construction.

As is generally acknowledged, discursive social action is the locus where culture and social identities take shape. In other words, discourse is the essential process of social identities taking shape against various social norms. In relation to sociolinguistics, the analysis of linguistic variations is central to understanding different social identities. Moreover, when giving consideration to various social categorisations, it is also important to identify the social variables before deciding on which aspects of language or what kind of linguistic variation should be prioritised as the manifestation of social identity. Accordingly, a detailed linguistic description of the language in use appears essential to understanding the discursive acts of social identity in practice. This descriptive linguistic

account however has to demonstrate how different texts, either in spoken or written form, are structured in response to the interplay of various contextual variables in a situation.

In general, it is widely acknowledged that identities are constructed and thus reflected in language; whereas discursive acts need to be understood in particular social contexts. It is only because of its cross-disciplinary nature that the discussion of identity in discourse analysis “presents a [...] variety and dissimilarity of theoretical and methodological orientations” (De Fina, 2013, p. 1).

3.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Social Identity

From a sociocultural perspective, the very essence of social life lies in communication. Because communication is socially conventionalised human beings use different communicative models based on their social knowledge to demonstrate their individual and social identities, including their interpersonal relationships and memberships to a particular social group or community (Hall, 2002). Thus, language can be viewed as social action. As Halliday (1973) pithily puts it, “language is considered to be first and foremost a sociocultural resource constituted by a range of possibilities, and open-ended set of options in behaviour that are available to the individual in his existence as social man” (p.49).

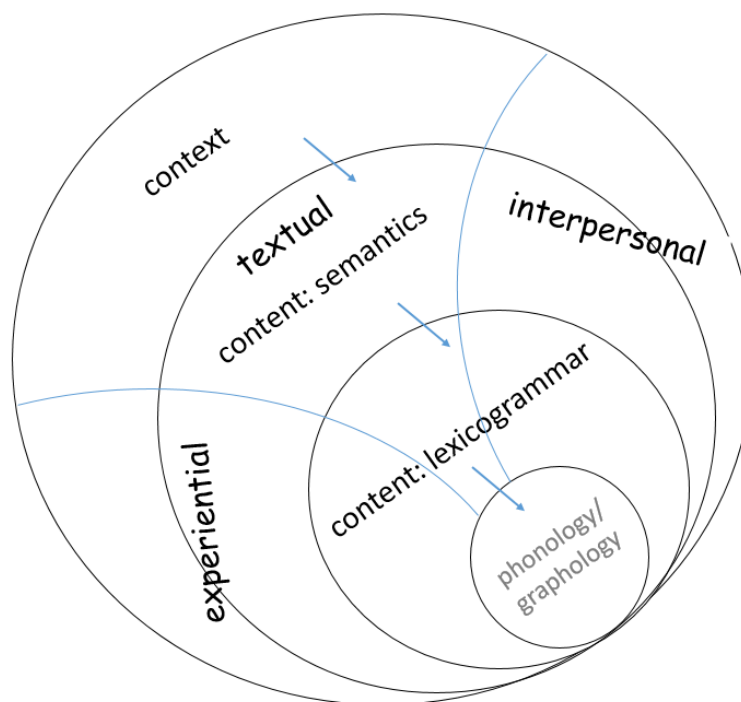


Figure 3.1: Language in Context

Systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) views language as sociocultural resources, and was originally developed to be theoretically and descriptively powerful in relating the micro-patterns of discourse with the macro-patterns of the social context, where the discourse is produced (Matthiessen, 2012). Through the modelling of linguistic meaning in three concurrent macro-functions; namely, the ideational, interpersonal, and textual at different strata and in a macro-pattern of social context (see Figure 3.1), it may be possible to depict linguistic variations in relation to various contextual patterns for the analysis of discursive acts and for later identity studies. For example, the identity of interpreters in professional practice, the interpreter's choice of social positioning in communicative events, is encoded in and thus can be best studied according to their choices of linguistic resources. That is, a study of the instantiation of various metafunctions in context by interpreters to situate themselves in interaction with other communicative participants and against various social contexts.

3.2.1 Stratification

One of the premises of SFL is to view language as meaning-making potential and to relate this potential to its cultural context. That is, as the work of language is only realised in society, the investigation of how and why language works is actually to understand the nature of the relationship between language and society.

To explain how and why language works in different social contexts the model proposed from the SFL perspective is viewed as “one of the most well-tried, comprehensive and competent” in response to the criteria relating to “observational, descriptive and/or explanatory adequacy” (Hasan, 2005, p. 37). This is because the SFL approach, to satisfy its aim to be applicable linguistics, assigns much importance to empirically observable data in all communities and recognises the multiplicity of language use for different communicative goals.

According to SFL, any act of communication involves choices among all resources for meaning in an environment with different options. As a particular context defines available choices for language use and meaning potentials, the description of language becomes a description of choices for meaning in context. These choices can then be charted in a network system comprising four strata: semantics, lexicogrammar, phonology and phonetics. These strata are also grouped into two larger stratal planes: the content plane containing semantics and lexicogrammar, and the expression plane

including phonology and phonetics (see Figure 3.1). Although the realisational relationship between content and expression is arbitrary, the realisational relationship within the two strata of stratal planes is fundamentally natural in the sense that “patterns of wording reflect patterns of meaning” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 27).

In SFL, how context is conceptualised is also critical because it sets up a semiotic habitat as a reference point for meaning interpretation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014); “the stratified linguistic system is embedded in context” (p. 25). From this perspective, language operates in context and should always be theorised, described, and analysed in relation to a context.

To properly define context of situation for linguistic work, Halliday proposes three dimensions of situation in discourse to describe context: field, mode, and tenor. Specifically, field refers to the subject or the content being discussed in the situation. Mode is about the role of language in situation including its directionality or the channel of communication. Tenor refers to the participants, or more precisely to their relationship in a discourse including power relations, formality, and closeness. Put in other terms, it refers to degrees of expertise and of professionalism. Each variable includes a range of contrasting values. The three contextual variables work together to define a specific context; namely, a multi-dimensional semiotic space that determines the use of language.

In SFL, the use of language is conditioned by the context of situation. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) posited:

The combination of field, tenor and mode values determine different uses of language –the different meanings that are at risk in a given type of situation. There are systematic correspondences between the contextual values and the meanings that are at risk in the contexts defined by these values. (p. 34)

The combination of these contextual variables can then determine different meanings at risk in a given situation. Moreover, the meaning at risk can also be stated as wordings at risk at the lexicogrammatical stratum.

For linguists particularly, understanding the semiotic properties of a situation; that is, the specifications of field, tenor and mode can assist their analysis and vice versa. In addition, because the three variables resonate to different metafunctions of language (e.g., tenor resonates with interpersonal meanings), it is also possible for linguists to link their

analysis more precisely to relevant contextual variables. Yet, for Halliday, it is also important to recognise that the situation can never be encapsulated completely in language as “the participants’ perception of social situation is refracted through their own interpretation, based on their experiences of varied participation in language events” (Hasan, 2005, p. 61). Participants are socially and culturally constrained to be selective to the situation and as such the text can only be the manifestation of the participant’s perception of context. Thus, the participants’ understandings of a situation is exposed and reflected through these acts of selection.

In all, SFL recognises the inalienable relation between language and society by endorsing the view that language is a complex semiotic system functioning in different social contexts.

3.2.2 Metafunction

In addition to stratification, the concept of metafunction is also central to SFL. Halliday believes that the basic function of language in relation to its ecological and social environment is to make sense of human experiences and to act out different social relationships. Hence, language is intrinsically functional via three independent but interrelated metafunctions to construe different aspects of these experiences. The ideational metafunction transforms different human experiences into meaning or represents different meanings assigned to the outer and inner worlds. The textual metafunction is to organise the meanings in the other two metafunction into a coherent and linear whole. The interpersonal metafunction is to enact personal and social relations with different people. As such, it is obviously more related to the topic of social identity such as the CofP. As is demonstrated in Figure 3.1, the metafunction dimension applies to both language and context, and the three metafunctions act simultaneously to construe meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Matthiessen, 1995).

Eggs and Martin (1997) specifically stress the interrelation and correlation between the three metafunctions and the context in the following way:

[T]he ideational metafunction is concerned with mapping the ‘reality’ of the world around us (who’s doing what to whom, when, where, why, how). The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with organising the social reality of people we interact with (by making statements, asking questions, giving commands; saying how sure we are; saying how we feel about things). The third

metafunction, the textual, is concerned with organising ideational and interpersonal meaning into texts that are coherent and relevant to their context (what we put first, what last; how we introduce characters and keep track of them with pronouns; what we leave implicit and what we spell out). (pp. 238-239)

Conversely, the context of situation model seems to correlate with the metafunction of language. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), “field values put ideational wordings at risk, tenor values put interpersonal wording at risk and mode values put textual wordings at risk” (p. 35). Thus, there seems to be a hypothesised pairing between context of situation and metafunction of language. For example, as tenor values put interpersonal wording at risk, an investigation into the deployment of the interpersonal metafunction of language should be taken as the primary source to understand the language user’s social relationships, including his or her power relations, and degrees of expertise and professionalism. Or, in terms more relevant to the current study, the construction of his or her social identity and positioning. Linguistically, the interpersonal resources of the systems of MOOD and MODALITY are used to foreground intersubjectivity and, as a result, those who typically encode speakers’ feelings such as affect, judgement, and appreciation are for foregrounding subjectivity (Martin, 1995).

3.2.3 The Realisation of Interpersonal Meaning

Based on Halliday’s diagram of contextual variables and metafunctions (see Figure 3.1), it is theoretically logical to state that the tenor of context is basically realised in the interpersonal metafunction of language. However, it may also be necessary to further clarify that the tenor of context can be empirically realised in all metafunction of language (Tann, 2010; Thompson, 1999).

According to Thompson (1999), the realisational relationship between linguistic choices and contextual variables is not restricted as sets of pairings. In his study, Thompson (1999) uses doctor-patient dialogues as empirical data to investigate the linguistic choices related to tenor of the context of situation. More specifically, he analyses Mood, and cohesion and normalisation in the discourse not completely confined within the scope of interpersonal meaning. Interpersonally, the different uses of commands by doctors and patients construe an unequal social relationship in the medical interaction. Then, the same inequality between the doctor and patients is enhanced in subtler ways through questions where tags are used for example. Thus, Thompson’s

(1999) investigation on Mood choices supports the view that the interpersonal metafunction correlates strongly with the tenor. Yet, Thompson (1999) also discovers in his analysis that an explanation of the linguistic choices in interpersonal meaning are related to knowledge of topic and linguistic choices of textual metafunction in cohesion and nominalisation. In all, Thompson (1999) finds that the doctor chooses the right Mood to project the role of an expert and uses ellipsis to enact a role of a sympathetic friend to align with the patient. In between, the use of nominalisation helps the doctor to “balance very heavily towards expertise at the expense of sympathy” (p. 119).

Thus, while arguing for a more comprehensive relationship between the contextual variable of tenor in relation to different metafunctions of language in text, Thompson (1999) recognises that the people-people relationship manifest in their social positioning in communication is closely related to and realised by the interpersonal metafunction of language. Indeed, the rigid boundaries between tenor (as a contextual variable) and interpersonal meaning may be overcome. The natural correspondence between the organisation of language and the organisation of context however makes it possible for us to better – though not entirely – understand where the interactions stand in a social relationship through the way in which the choices of interpersonal meaning are made in wording.

Benefiting from theoretical and empirical advances in SFL, the study of social identities surely makes great progress by taking a systemic functional approach in discourse analysis. Through their contributions to multimodal discourse analysis, many recent studies (Bednarek & Martin, 2005) inspire the study of identity by revealing the various types of texts and different ways in which identities are constructed. Among all the relevant works, independent studies by Bednarek (2010) and Tann (2010) are of particular relevance and provide inspiration to the current study.

Tann (2010) views identity “as a linguistic phenomenon that emerges from discourse” (p. 163) and chooses to examine the construction of Singaporean national identity in history books from a SFL perspective. According to Tann (2010), identity is the part of discourse that “involves an attempt by participants to impose some sense of temporal continuity onto certain individuals or groups of individuals, and establish some sense of discontinuity from others” (p. 165). Thus, identity becomes “both the process and the product of a discursive formation that involves a discursive act of identification

by a social actor” (p. 165). In addition, because identity is a situational accomplishment and is always in progress (Hall, 2012; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Tann, 2010), its sense of consistency in its construction needs to be maintained within a situated discourse.

In discussing the possible approaches to identity studies, Tann (2010) chooses SFL because it shares a similar social constructivist understanding of “social interactions as choices made by the interactants within a normative framework” (p. 169). Given SFL is well equipped “to handle the multiple dimensions of the text that come into play in the process of categorisation and positioning” (p. 169), Tann (2010) believes it provides a detailed framework to analyse the language in use for identity research. Therefore, in his detailed analysis of social identity discourses, Tann (2010) integrates two useful approaches into the SFL framework; namely, “membership categorisation analysis” and “positioning theory”. He does this because the relationship between discourse participants is in fact theorised by SFL in the context of situation and defined by speech roles and other interpersonal meanings.

Before using the SFL model of language, Tann (2010) insists on taking a more comprehensive approach to observe how linguistic resources are deployed to construct the national identity of Singaporeans in discourse. Accordingly, his analysis is conducted on all three metafunctions of the language in use. Ideationally, Tann (2010) discovers that British colonists are distinguished from Asians; that is, the immigrants are reclassified as ‘Chinese coolies’ and ‘Indian labourers’ in the lexical strings to describe the origins of the nation. Interpersonally, British-Europeans and Asians are positioned and assessed according to a stark dichotomy of attitudes. Specifically, in the textbook the British are assessed with appraisal resources as being biased and unfit to govern; whereas the Asians are positioned as victims. Textually, the identification systems that are used to organise the ideational meaning and interpersonal meaning as semiotic realities and to track identities find that the British is always alienated as from a foreign country in the reference chain for being against the cohesive tie of ‘we’ in discourse. As such, Tann (2010) claims “ideational, interpersonal and textual resources thus work collaboratively to produce and manage identities in texts” (p. 175). This claim corresponds well with Thompson’s (1999) previous argument on the pairing hypothesis.

In comparison to Tann’s (2010) focus on the management of collective identity, Bednarek’s (2010) study assigns great emphasis to a discussion of the characterisation or

individuation of individual identity. In her study, Bednarek (2010) uses a specialised corpus of dialogues from an American television series and focuses her discussion on interpersonal meaning and other SFL concepts such as instantiation, with the emphasis on individuation. For Bednarek (2010), “identity is created through discourse phylogenetically (establishing a system of identity in culture); ontogenetically (with discourse ultimately creating a perceived interior coherent identity in the individual); and logogenetically (creating a particular construal of identity in a given text)” (p. 251).

The repeated linguistic patterns across texts influence the cultural and individual systems; namely, the reservoir and repertoire and eventually contribute to the phylogenetic and ontogenetic development of identity. In this regard, the idea of individuation is related to the concept of instantiation in SFL. More specifically, “instantiation relates to how a text is different from the system, and individuation relates to how an individual is different from the community” (p. 243). To Bednarek (2010), individuation is responsive to “the relation of the individual to sub-communities and community as a whole” (p. 243), and may be presented in the cline from reservoir to repertoire as system and instantiated from repertoire as system to text as instance.

Thus, in order to investigate issues like instantiation and individuation in the SFL framework, Bednarek (2010) proposes a “three-pronged approach”. This approach integrates large-scale computerised corpus analysis, semi-automated small-scale corpus analysis, and manual case studies to address macro-, meso- and micro-levels of discourse analysis, respectively. In addition, it appears applicable to all other sociolinguistic research fields as well. The rationale for introducing corpus linguistics into identity-related discourse analysis is that the large-scale corpus provides significant evidence and representativeness compared to a small-scale analysis. More specifically, corpus has the capacity to demonstrate the actual linguistic performance and the typical discourse patterns. These features eventually help researchers to draw conclusions about individuation regarding the likelihood and typicality of the language in use. Finally, Bednarek (2010) proposes that “linguistics can thus get at the performative nature of identity by studying repeated discursive patterns” (p. 251).

Many linguistic features such as intertextual references and allusions indicate identity for characterisation. Among the potential linguistic features, evaluative language and emotional language are generally analysed in SFL studies as both resources

contribute to the construction of the interpersonal relationship of bonding and affiliation. This is because they not only enact the writer's or the speaker's position, they also invite the reader or the listener to position themselves in a similar way (Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2008; Tann, 2010). For Bednarek (2010), bonding as a shared meaning is the meaning potential along the cline of instantiation being shared and the sub-reservoirs located on the cline of individuation being shared. Because all shared meaning can be referred in text, some linguistic practices that challenge the bonding may include references to emotion, beliefs, and linguistic repertoires and shared personal experiences. Among these, the realisation of emotionality is believed to be closely related to personal and relational identities. These identities are referred as interpersonal identities in Bednarek's (2010) study. In turn, she claims the use of evaluative and emotional language reflects on the interpersonal identity because it "construes the symbolic repertoire of a community and thus an imagined community; realises tenor, the contextual variable concerned with the construal of role relationships between participants; [and] invites bonding and affiliation" (Bednarek, 2010, p. 254).

In conclusion, from a SFL perspective, identity is a social-linguistic construction. More specifically, it is constructed in relation to tenor values whereby tenor is primarily, though not exclusively, construed through interpersonal meanings of language. Therefore, although there is no claim that interpersonal meaning is the only dimension relevant to identity (Bednarek, 2010), **interpersonal** meaning in its various realisational forms contributes to the construction of identity in discourse. In light of the SFL knowledge of interpersonal meanings and in reference to the function-rank matrix of SFL, the interpersonal meaning of the interpreting discourse can then be analysed at both the grammatical and lexical-semantic levels, specifically on MOOD, MODALITY and APPRASIAL. In doing so, the analysis will reveal the interpreter's choices of social positioning via his or her selection of semantic speech functions on clause basis and lexico-semantic resources for the rhetorical function beyond clauses in communication.

3.2.3.1 MOOD and MODALITY

Language is a meaning-making resource with sets of options available to language users through all strata. Grammatically, when selections from different resources are made to configure language users' intentions into concrete forms of language, these choices are then interpreted into a system network and constructed with a grammatical rank scale (Butt et al., 2001; Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997). Thus, based on the notion of choice,

systemic functional grammar (SFG) – as a descriptive rather than prescriptive grammar – studies how grammatical choices are made to make meanings, as well as how the text is constructed in various contexts of use (Fries, 1995; Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997).

In SFG, the clause becomes the analytical focus because it is the basic functional unit on which grammatical structures can be explained with a meaning (Halliday, 1997). To perform the interpersonal metafunction, the clause is “organised as an interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 134). To Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), the wording patterns in clauses set up different roles in communication for both the language user and the audience. Organised as an interactive event, a clause expresses the interpersonal meanings of speech roles at the semantic level of language. This level is realised grammatically in the wording construction termed MOOD (Butt et al., 2001; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In other words, it is the elements of Mood that actually carry the semantic function of a clause as an interactive event (Halliday, 2000).

Mood is primarily composed of two closely linked elements: Subject and Finite. Both the Subject and the Finite are semantically motivated, but contribute to the clause in different ways. The Finite defines and circumscribes the arguability of a proposition and as such it relates the proposition to its context in a speech event by reference to the time of speaking and the judgement of the speaker, both of which are realised respectively in grammatical terms of primary tense and modality (Halliday, 2000). In addition to temporal and modal reference, the Finite also specifies the polarity of proposition in the clause in which the negation should be judged on the basis of meaning.

The Subject on the other hand is the nominal component that combines with the Finite to form Mood in a proposition by reference to its modal responsibility (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Thus, it is only the wording of Mood elements rather than the whole grammatical structure of a clause that becomes different when the semantic functions of proposition and proposal change. For Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), propositions are used to exchange information; whereas proposals are for goods and services. On the basis of these two functions, the speech functions of the clause are further distinguished into four primary types: offer, command, statement, and question. To realise the different speech functions grammatically, clauses are then structured into various Mood types.

In English, the Mood used to exchange information is the indicative. Expressions of the indicative mood include the statement being typically expressed by declarative clauses and the question with a characteristic expression of the interrogative. Within the interrogative category a further distinction is made between yes-no interrogative for polar questions, and wh-interrogative for content questions. The declarative clause is realised via the order of Subject followed by Finite. When the Finite goes before the Subject the clause becomes the yes-no interrogative. For wh-interrogatives, the grammatical pattern should be either a wh-element before the Finite as the Subject or the Finite before the Subject otherwise.

In contrast to indicative systems, imperative clauses are characteristic for the realisation of command and have a distinctive Subject system; namely, ‘you’ or ‘me’ or ‘you and me’ depending on the markedness of clause. That is, the unmarked positive has no Mood element, only a Predicator; whereas the marked may have either a Mood element consisting exclusively of the Subject ‘you’ and the Finite ‘do’, or the Finite before the Subject order of ‘don’t you’. The order then further depends on the polarity of the clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

On the other hand, in light of the special concern for two languages in the current study, the MOOD system in Mandarin Chinese is also considered. Halliday and McDonald (2004) propose in the system of MOOD in Chinese that the system is generally similar to that found in English because “all major clauses select for Mood, the primary selection being either indicative or imperative” (p. 330). Specifically, the indicative mood comprises declarative and interrogative types. The declarative type in Chinese is realised in the typical ordering of elements such as (Subject[^]), (Adjunct[^]), Predicator (^Complement). However, unlike in English where the Subject interacts with the Finite to decide Mood, there is no Finite element in Chinese. The Subject in Chinese plays no essential role in MOOD as it is often omitted from the clause and thus must be presumed somewhere else at the level of wording or referential meaning. In this case, the Predicator is central to the realisation of the declarative clause in Chinese.

Similar to English, there are also two types of interrogatives in Chinese; namely, the elemental or non-polar, and the polar subtypes. Elemental interrogative expressions in Chinese cover basically the same range of question types as wh-interrogatives in English. Polar interrogatives in the Chinese system incorporate a further distinction between the

unbiased type, which is an open question similar to yes-or-no interrogative in English, and the biased type similar to the English tagged declarative, but formed with a declarative clause in combination of the clausal particle “ma”. On the other side of the MOOD system, imperative clauses in Chinese are assigned three classifications: jussive, optative, and inclusive. These forms are respectively associated with the Subject of “you”, “me” as the first person only, and “we” as the special inclusive pronoun. Also similar to English, all Mood types in Chinese function semantically and “there is also comparable cross-coupling between speech function and mood type” (Halliday & McDonald, 2004, p.330).

According to Halliday (2014), speech-functional roles help language users achieve interpersonal meaning via various grammatical patterns. However, for every grammatical category there are also different realisations. For example, a command may be realised by a clause of imperative Mood, other clauses in declarative or interrogative forms, and even the combination of different clauses. Chinese and English share no differences in this regard. For example, declarative clauses in Chinese are used typically to realise statements, but can sometimes function semantically as a question. Likewise, Chinese interrogatives are typical realisations for questions, but may metaphorically realise other speech functions. However, as stated by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), the semantic options will be constrained by a combination of tenor values relating to the power relations and closeness of the discourse participants. When contact is minimal and the power relation is unbalanced it is almost impossible for a person to command a superior stranger in its congruent grammatical realisation form of an imperative clause.

Lexicogrammatically, alternatives to the conventional and common strategy of imperative Mood for command exist among other metaphorical realisations such as the declarative or the interrogative. The congruent realisation is applied only when there is compliance with appropriate social relationships; whereas metaphorical realisations are used to contribute comfortability to the situation. Thus, to understand the social relationship between participants in a communication and its context of situation, the grammatical and semantic strategies used for interpersonal meanings in communication, particularly the selection of a metaphorical realisation for a speech function, are obviously meaningful resources for investigation.

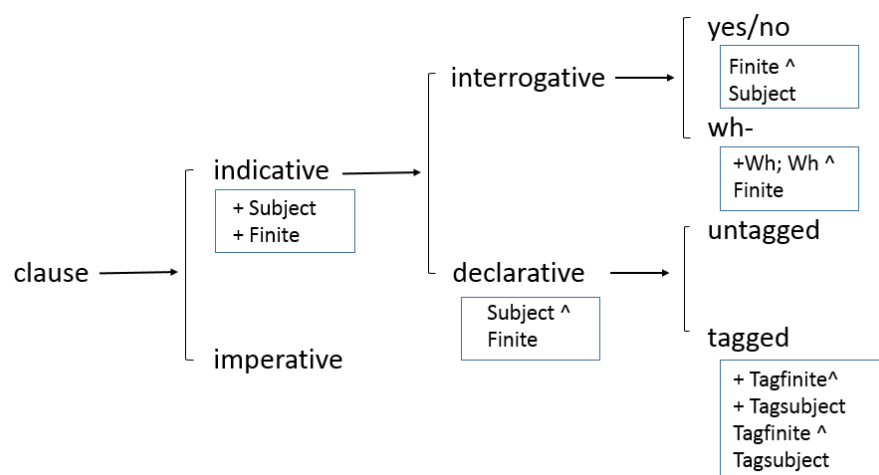


Figure 3.2: Clause Types (Matthiessen & Halliday, 1997)

In addition to Mood choice, Modality is also an important interpersonal grammatical resource for two reasons: first, it carries the speaker's interpersonal judgement on the status of the discourse; and second, it covers all intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles to construe a speaker's uncertainty on a proposition or a proposal.

Based on the notion of choice, a clause as exchange may express possibilities beyond polarity and thus rests within a large space of intermediate degrees that forms the MODALITY system. Unlike Mood elements which are basic and present only in independent clauses, modality is rather elective and may not present in all independent clauses.

In English grammar, Modality in a proposition is termed as modalisation, referring to "the negotiation of probability" that includes two kinds of intermediate possibilities to validate the speaker's assessment (Halliday & McDonald, 2004, p. 339). In specific terms, the degrees of probability state the likelihood of a proposition; whereas the degrees of usuality express its oftenness. In a proposal, Modality also has two types of presence depending on whether it is in the speech function of command or offer. Degrees of obligation are expressed in command; whereas degrees of inclination are related to the offer speech function. Both obligation and inclination are referred to as modulation to distinguish them from modalisation.

However, Modality can sometimes bring ambiguity to the classification between proposition and proposal. When a modulated clause implicates a third person it becomes a

statement of obligation and inclination as a proposition while still able to maintain the original rhetorical force. Conversely, when a proposal is expressed via the indicative mood it becomes discretionary for applying an indicative person system rather than the restricted person system in imperative mood. In this regard, Modality actually stays at the core grammatical system for different speech functions and thus expands the interpersonal meaning potentials of language in use that may be subject to various interpretations.

In English, modalisation is realised through a finite modal operator in the verbal group, a modal Adjunct, or the combination of these two elements referred to as prosody of modalisation. Modulation however can be expressed by either a Finite modal operator, an expansion of the Predicator, or a combination of both.

For Halliday, “modality is an expression of indeterminacy” and can be realised via different forms (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 179). As such, it can be explored as a systemic paradigm. In addition to the sub-system of TYPE, MODALITY in English is identified in reference to other three variants to cover different dimensions of meanings: ORIENTATION, VALUE, and POLARITY. POLARITY distinguishes the negative meaning from the positive; whereas the VALUE variant scales the speaker’s modal commitment to the validity of his or her discourse as high, median and low. However, as is emphasised by Thompson (2008), the three values represent “areas on a scale rather than absolute categories” (p. 69). In other words, the scaling allows for “more delicate distinctions” (p. 69) on the one hand even though its scaling boundaries are not exquisitely clear (Thompson, 2008). This will eventually leave more space for different interpretations.

ORIENTATION is related to the speaker’s modal responsibility and includes two further variants regarding the subjectivity and the directness of the meaning expression, respectively. That is, a speaker’s judgement can be expressed with its subjectivity highlighted or in an objectifying way by shifting the speaker’s subjective evaluation further away from the validity of the proposition. In this regard, Thompson (2008) claims that grammatically, modal operators are more close to the subjective meanings; whereas mood Adjuncts are comparatively closer to the objective pole. In addition, modal responsibility can be assessed on the other scale related to the speaker’s choice of whether or not he or she will openly accept responsibility for his or her subjective assessment in discourse. To mark the difference, the term ‘explicit’ is used when the Modality is

expressed in a separate clause; whereas the term ‘implicit’ is used when it is in the same clause. In this way, all options regarding different variants and values in modal expressions form a systemic network of MODALITY in English, as is suggested in Halliday and Matthiessen’s Figure 4-23 (2014, p. 182).

Lastly, Modality is realised through the Mood element in English grammar; namely, the Finite element or a separate mood Adjunct. Regarding the Finite element, English creates a clear distinction “in the grammar between modal auxiliaries and lexical verbs, and of quasi-modals, supplemented by ‘periphrastic’ forms” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 184). In addition, “the system of modality is highly grammaticalised” in the sense that modality in English “has expanded its domain of realisation” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, pp. 183-184). As such, the realisational forms of Modality within a clause include Finite verbal operators such as ‘will’, and Adjuncts within the mood element such as ‘probably’. They may also include various metaphorical realisations beyond the clause such as ‘I think that’, serving as the explicit manifestation of subjective orientation type. Thus, we have to recognise that any discussion of Modality starts to move from strictly grammatical structures toward “areas which are more difficult to pin down in structural terms” (Thompson, 2008, p. 75).

In Chinese grammar, Modality also presents frequently in discourse and thus is widely discussed in the literature of linguistics from different perspectives (Hsieh, 2005; Zhu, 1996). In SFL, it is generally agreed that Modality in Chinese shares a series of features with English Modality (Halliday & McDonald, 2004; Lee, 2003; Zhu, 1996). Firstly, like English, the Chinese have two distinctive types of Modality. This is because its verbal interaction also falls into two categories of exchange: proposition for the exchange of information; and proposal for the exchange of goods and services. Secondly, Chinese Modality selects one of the polarity and value categories to realise the speaker’s modal assessment regarding its forcefulness along the continuum of polarity poles. Yet, when it comes to the Modality type and the two variants of orientation for specifying modal responsibility, disputes start to arise.

Specifically, Zhu (1996) proposes a Chinese Modality system as a network including only two categories: Modality and Modulation. The former category refers exclusively to probability and the latter is further divided into further ability, inclination, and obligation variants. What needs to be emphasised here is that Zhu (1996) follows

Halliday's early use of Modality on probability and frequency – or usuality – in his network. Thus, Modality as a term in Zhu's (1996) network is what Halliday refers to as modalisation in his latter publication. In comparison to the English Modality system, Zhu's (1996) Chinese Modality network excludes usuality from the category of modalisation because, as he claims, "frequency [in Chinese] is not expressed by modal verbs or any other forms that indicate probability" (p. 189). Zhu's (1996) Modality network, particularly his exclusion of usuality in modalisation was, if not openly criticised, at the least explicitly disputed by Halliday and some of his colleagues. According to Halliday and McDonald (2004), Modality in Chinese is very much alike Modality in English because the modalisation categories include probability and usuality, while modulation has obligation and inclination. Although the inclusion of usuality in the Chinese modalisation system is not stated explicitly in Halliday and McDonald's (2004) work, their enlisted table of modal adverbs to realise usuality in Chinese grammar is pretty much self-explained by the inclusion. That is, usuality in Chinese expresses the meaning of probability although it is realised by modal adverbs rather than modal verbs.

In addition, expressions of modality in Chinese are also central to charting its grammatical network and thus are discussed extensively. Li and Thompson (1981) believe that in Chinese, auxiliary verbs express the modal meaning. They state that auxiliary verbs in Chinese have verbal properties, but are distinctive from fully-fledged verbs. The central role of auxiliary verbs in Chinese Modality is recognised by Zhu (1996) who chooses to rename the auxiliary verbs as modal verbs in order to relate the term more closely to Chinese linguistics literature.

Furthermore, the terms modal verbs, auxiliary verbs, and 'nengyuan' (ability-wish) verbs in Chinese are used interchangeably by Zhu (1996), whose practice is affirmed in Hu's (1999) discussion on Chinese grammar from an SFL perspective. According to Zhu (1996), modal verbs are of great importance to the realisation of Modality in Chinese due to their distinctive grammatical properties from full verbs. Focusing on the classification of modal verbs in Chinese linguistics from a SFL perspective, Zhu (1996) in turn criticises previous classifications, either structure-based or meaning-based, for not fully distinguishing between the two different speech functions in use when modal verbs are applied. Accordingly, Zhu (1996) reclassifies modal verbs in Chinese by making probability an independent category. In his detailed discussion on different types of modality, Zhu (1996) posits that apart from modal verbs, some full

verbs, adverbs, and mood particles can serve as realisational forms. For example, full verbs such as “*xiangxin*” (believe), “*xiang*” (think), “*guji*” (estimate) and adverbs such as “*yiding*” (definitely), “*huoxu*” (probably) and “*yexu*” (possibly) can all be used independently or jointly such as “*zhungai*” (certainly should) to express various degrees of probability. Similarly, although ability is mainly realised by modal verbs, inclination and obligation are both expressed in alternative forms such as adverbs like “*yiding*” (definitely) and “*fei*” (must) for a high degree of inclination and full verbs like “*xuke*” (permission) and “*yaoqiu*” (require) for conveying obligation.

Thus, Zhu’s detailed discussion of realisational forms of Modality in Chinese leads to a dilemma in his own categorisation: by recognising various grammatical forms of Modality other than modal verbs, the exclusion of usuality as a type of modality from the category of modalisation based exclusively on its non-auxiliary expressions appears self-contradictory. Therefore, charting a Modality network primarily on the classification of modal verbs is problematic.

Zhu’s (1996) discussion on realisational forms of modality in Chinese seems to receive more support than his Modality system network. Halliday and McDonald (2004) agree with Zhu that modalisation in Chinese is typically formed by modal adverbs and adverbs, while modulation can be expressed by modal auxiliaries and some full verbs as alternative forms. Yet, Halliday and McDonald (2014) also believe that modal adverbs such as “*pingchang*” (usually), “*youshi*” (sometimes) and “*zong*” (always) actually express the meaning of usuality. Hence, like probability, usuality should be classified back into the realisational forms of modalisation. Furthermore, Halliday and McDonald (2004) point out that because Modality is lexicalised in Chinese and thus may “admit some combinations” (p. 339) in the system, the categorisation of Modality can be difficult in practice.

Though differences in categorisation exist, SFL linguists seem to share a commonality in charting the networks of Chinese Modality: the absence of orientation as a system variant. Yet, if the modal feature of orientation is to define the speaker’s modal responsibility, we should be able to assume that Modality in Chinese also carries such a responsibility in discourse. Zhu (1996) firstly notices in his analysis of modulation that “the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic as well as that between active type and

passive type made by Halliday is applicable in the analysis of the Chinese modulation” (p. 204).

In addition, Hsieh (2005) finds in his investigation into the semantic source of Modality in Chinese that “Chinese modal expressions can be assigned either +source or – source, from which the speaker may choose in accordance with the reference of the source and the prominence of the information it conveys” (p. 54). Then, Hsieh (2005) focuses on the nature of the source in modal expressions and proposes a three-fold division: speaker-oriented, situation-oriented, and subject-oriented modal expressions. For example, given the subject of the clause is to specify the one who is not necessarily the speaker, but responsible for the opinion or attitude the speaker may need to reply on the subject-oriented modal expressions such as “*xiang*” (would like) and “*yunxu*” (allow) when he or she states a point of view as a third part. In this sense, subject-oriented modal expressions serve to objectify the speaker’s opinion. On the contrary, given speaker-oriented expressions such as “*keneng*” (may) and “*keyi*” (can) are normally used for the speaker’s own opinions which imply the source in a covert manner, speaker-oriented modals become rather subjective and implicit.

Moreover, situation-oriented Modality such as “*keyi*” (can) is used as an extension of speaker-oriented expressions in the sense that “there is no need to have the source explicitly stated” (p. 54). In this case, the situation as the reference needs to be inferred from the context of the utterance. Indeed, because Hsieh’s (2005) discussion only focuses on the source feature for Chinese modal expressions it may appear unsystematic or even less reflective to the whole Modality system. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it is evident that Hsieh’s (2005) discussion makes a valuable reference to the evaluation of two further orientation variants: subjectivity and explicitness in Chinese Modality as the SFL definition of orientation is closely related to the notion of source involvement in use.

In contrast to Hsieh’s (2005) complete and indicative discussion on the involvement of the Modality source, Peng’s (2007) research of Modality in modern Chinese focuses only on the subjectivity variant. In addition, Peng aligns with Lyons’ (1977) opinion that Modality includes the subjective and the objective forms of expression. Although the boundary between these two types of expression is not always clear it may be difficult, but surely not impossible to identify one from the other in analysis. This is because the objective modality type normally provides more possibilities

for various understandings of the speaker's discourse. In addition, Peng (2007) aligns with Guo's (2003) scaling of the force of subjectivity in Chinese modal expressions because he believes there is also a gradual continuum of subjectiveness in Chinese Modality.

Finally, it appears that all of the linguists discussed above recognise the meaning of the Modality orientation in Chinese modal expressions, but do not state them explicitly in their studies. Thus, it is reasonable to assess the modal responsibility of Chinese Modality regarding its orientation in practice, although the proposed system of networks to explain Modality in Chinese have so far not officially included the category of ORIENTATION.

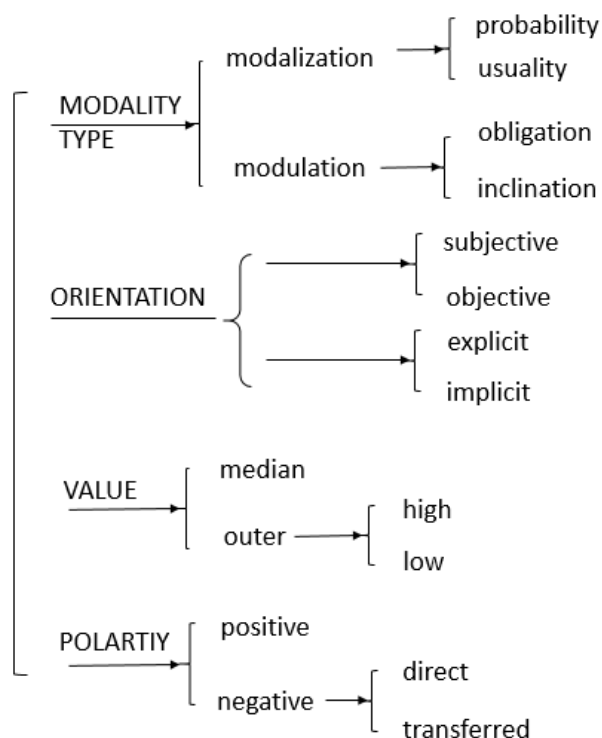


Figure 3.3: System Network of Modality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 150)

It is now possible to claim that despite different realisational forms, English Modality shares a similar network with Chinese Modality from a SFL perspective as both embody similar simultaneous systems. Due to the commonality in network structure such as types of modal expressions, values, and ways of orientation, it is possible to conduct a comparative analysis of the application of Modality on parallel texts, including a source text and its translated version between English and Chinese. As such, we can explore how

interpersonal meanings in MODALITY are deployed or differentiated in the interpreter's discourse.

To summarise, as discussed in this section, the lexicogrammatical resources of Mood and Modality in clauses encode semantically different interpersonal meanings regarding the speakers' performed roles in interaction. Thus, the clause-based grammatical analysis on choices of Mood and Modality in speech is intended to investigate the interpersonal meanings. This is of great significance to the examination of participants' performances of different speech roles in communication (Halliday, 2000). Furthermore, the similar structure of MOOD and MODALITY networks in English and Chinese makes it possible to realise investigations into the interpersonal relationship of participants in communication not only from intra-lingual, but also from inter-lingual perspectives.

3.2.3.2 APPRAISAL and ATTITUDE

At its simplest conceptualisation, APPRAISAL refers to the different positions the speakers hold or to the ways they express their opinions for things or ideas. Language users establish a relationship with others through positions or stances and the resources of Appraisal in linguistics therefore contributes to the establishment of interpersonal meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In addition, positions or stances are deployed in texts to negotiate social relationships (Martin & Rose, 2002). Therefore, the system of Appraisal in linguistics is primarily concerned with the construction of texts by adopting different authorial identities for interpersonal alignment with an intended audience or readership. Because Appraisal is concerned with the interpersonal meaning of language which "realises variations in the tenor of social interactions enacted in a text" (Martin & Rose, 2002, p. 17), it is regarded as the development and extension of a SFL account of the interpersonal metafunction of language (Martin & White, 2008). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), the interpersonal metafunction of language is "both interactive and personal" (p. 30).

For Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), "while construing, language is always enacting: enacting our personal and social relationship with the other people around us" (p. 30). Thus, apart from proposition and proposal, the grammar clause concerns expressions of the speaker's Appraisals of things to whomever they are addressing. However, to construe the interpersonal meaning when Mood and Modality are still

strictly grammatical issues, Appraisal is obviously “on the edge of grammar” because “much of appraisal is expressed by lexical choices and there are few grammatical structures [which have] evolved with a primarily evaluative function” (Thompson, 2008, p. 75).

As suggested by Martin and Rose (2002), APPRAISAL is more of “a [semantic] system of interpersonal meaning” (p. 26). Accordingly, the Appraisal analysis is functional and semiotic-oriented in relation to “rhetoric and communicative effect” of discourse (Martin & White, 2008, p. 1). From this perspective, discourse rises above the clause and construes social meanings with semantic resources through texts (Martin & Rose, 2002). With discourse nestling between the strata of grammar and social context, an analysis of discourse “interfaces with the analysis of grammar and social activity”, not only because its research unit of text size is “bigger than a clause while smaller than a culture” (p. 4), but also for the realisational relationship between the social context in texts as well as a text in sequences of clauses (Martin & Rose, 2002).

With all possible Appraisal analyses being suggested in the field of linguistics, the system of APPRAISAL proposed by Martin and White (2008) is widely quoted in SFL studies. This system is constructed as a three-dimensional framework to assess evaluative resources into three broad semantic domains: ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. Each of these three domains is further classified into different degrees of delicacy as presented in Figure 3.4 below:

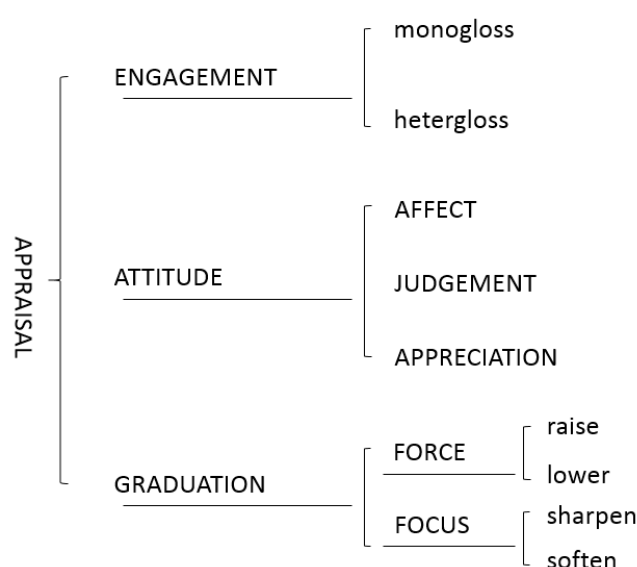


Figure 3.4: APPRAISAL

In the APPRAISAL system, ATTITUDE is the subtype of Appraisal to convey “judgement and associate emotional/affectual responses with participants and processes” (White, 2001). ENGAGEMENT looks at the linguistic resources for positioning the speaker's/author's stance in relation to potential readership. GRADUATION is then concerned with the semantic resources to grade or scale the interpersonal meaning regarding forces and focus (Martin & White, 2008).

Attitudinal meaning is a linguistic resource used to decorate a phase of discourse as speakers or writers take up a stance. ATTITUDE in APPRAISAL focuses on the most direct and explicit expression of personal and emotional experience and is further classified into three types: AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION to address different dimensions of attitudinal meaning. AFFECT deals with natural emotional feels while JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are more defined institutionally as passing responses concerning social norms and aesthetic values (Martin & White, 2008). In this context, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION are heavily dependent on cultural and social variations.

As Martin and White (2008) propose, ATTITUDE in the Appraisal system is firstly divided into three subtypes: AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, and then further categorised according to different features. In their proposed typology of AFFECT, emotions are grouped into three main sets associated with un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. For White (2001), affect is the speaker's invitation to his or her audience for a common stance. Once an emotional invitation is accepted the solidarity, or at least the sympathy between the speaker and his or her audience, will be effectively advanced. However, an intended empathetic connection may also be endangered because an emotional response normally attracts a social evaluation associated with a given socio-semiotic position. Therefore, although focusing on the inter-subjective resources closely linked to natural emotional expressions, the type of AFFECT may remain associated with the social dimensions of interpersonal meanings.

In JUDGEMENT, the general categorisation lies between ‘social esteem’ and ‘social sanction’. The former includes variables of normality, capacity and tenacity to cover different dimensions of critical values in shaping social networks in the oral culture, and the latter comprises variables of veracity and propriety to underpin values codified in writing and more related to “civic duty and religious observances” (Martin & White,

2008, p. 52). As the third attitudinal type, APPRECIATION is divided into types of reaction, composition, and valuation in relation to various mental processes. With such a detailed categorisation, the more socially institutionalised feelings in ATTITUDE are obviously registered under the subtypes of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. This makes both types of attitudinal resources highly likely to differ in discourse analysis, especially when the social value and the aesthetic standard changes. As suggested in Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2008; White, 2001), there is a more general differentiation in attitudinal types that only distinguish natural emotions in relation to Affect from that of institutionalised feelings in relation to Judgement and Appreciation; namely, emotions and opinions in general terms (Bednarek, 2009a&b). Moreover, as highlighted in the discussion of MODALITY in SFL in the previous section, there is obviously a differentiation between positive and negative evaluations in all attitudes of APPRAISAL. For example, in the specific case of JUDGEMENT, positive evaluations are associated with “traits we admire” while the negative ones are “those we criticize” (Martin & White, 2008, p. 52).

The system of GRADUATION within APPRAISAL operates across two axes of semantic scalability: first is grading according to intensity, referred to as “FORCE”; and second is grading according to preciseness, referred to as “FOCUS” (Martin & White, 2008). In addition, the semantic resources under the GRADUATION sub-system may also deploy in a continuum of strength as up-scaling and down-grading (Martin & White, 2008).

ENGAGEMENT, as the third sub-system, includes all linguistic resources by which the textual or authorial voice is positioned inter-subjectively. It expresses the interaction of speakership to its intended readership according to the basic view in SFL that “we only say we are certain when we are not” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 624). ENGAGEMENT is classified between monoglossic and heteroglossic sub-types, with heterogloss vocalising a dialogic probability of the discourse. Nonetheless, such an interactive track may appear to have either CONTRACT or EXPAND heteroglossic diversities (Martin & White, 2008).

Compared to ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION in APPRAISAL, ATTITUDE is more explicitly and directly associated with the expression of personal opinions. Therefore, description of the use of attitudinal resources in discourse appears much more

significant and efficient not only to an investigation of interpersonal meaning in discourse but also to construe participants' role relationships in communication. When focusing on ATTITUDE in Appraisal theory however, as admitted by Martin and White (2008), the categorisation of feelings such as affect, judgement, and appreciation remains proposed as hypotheses. This classification as an analytical tool in discourse, including its various delicacies, may thus be reasonably challenged and can aim only to serve as a useful reference. In this regard, it is necessary to better understand the criteria for the categorisation of attitudinal resources in an Appraisal system before its framework is applied empirically to identify various attitudes for the deployment of interpersonal relationship in discourse.

Accordingly, Bednarek's (2009a) detailed discussion on the correspondence between the linguistic and the cognitive dimensions of evaluation may serve as a valuable reference point for appropriate reasoning in attitudinal categorisations. As is stated by Bednarek (2009a), in mostly psychological but also cognitive linguistic studies, Appraisals are also cognitive evaluations performed individually in response to different contextual stimuli (p. 155). The application of appraisal resources involves emotional experience which may be unconsciously generated. Due to the innate interrelatedness of emotion and Appraisals, the theory of emotion states that the kind of Appraisal in linguistic terms provides evidence to predict the emotion while, at the same time, the emotion can also be used to infer the Appraisal (Oatley et al, 2006). Hence, it is possible for the linguistic classification of attitudinal resources to take on psychological or cognitive references.

In general, the footing and the target are always regarded as two important aspects of Appraisal in discussion, and emotions in the psychological field are often differentiated in reference to these two elements. As such, in accordance to the target differences in reactions such as events, agents, and objects the three-fold distinction in the psychological research of emotions provides the first comparable reference to the categorisation of the attitudinal subtypes of appreciation and judgement in Appraisal theory. In turn, they refer respectively to the linguistic evaluations of objects such as texts or natural phenomena, and of people and their behaviour. However, this correspondence appears limited as the detailed categorisation of event-based evaluations into APPRECIATION is debatable due to a lack of supporting evidence in cognitive linguistic studies.

In addition, when mapping cognitive dimensions of opinion-related Appraisals to the attitudinal delicacies of APPRECIATION and JUDGEMENT in linguistic appraisals, Bednarek (2009a) finds it impossible to establish correspondence in all categories. In particular, most cognitive dimensions of evaluations unfortunately do not fit directly into the linguistic attitudinal taxonomy of opinion-related expressions. However, when discussing emotion-related categorisations, Bednarek (2009a) finds more support for the delicacies of AFFECT in the linguistic Appraisal system through the psychological clustering of basic emotions of human beings as happiness, sadness, fear, anger, disgust and surprise.

In general, it is suggested that some evaluation delicacies in current ATTITUDE constructs in linguistic Appraisal theory are less cognitively supported and thus may be disputed in further discussion. On the other hand, the general categorisation of emotion-related Affect and opinion-related Judgement and Appreciation seems to be comparatively reasonable to follow.

To identify and categorise different attitudinal resources in discourse another possible reference is raised in relation to different grammatical realisational forms. Martin and White (2008) suggest that “the canonical grammatical realisation for attitude is adjectival” (p. 58). To be more specific, Affect is distinguishable with “a relational attributive process with a conscious participant involving the verb feel”; Judgement is identified from “a relational attributive process ascribing an attitude to some person’s behaviour”, and Appreciation is “a mental process ascribing an attitude to a thing” (pp. 58-59). In addition, given the footing and the target are always important to Appraisal (as previously discussed), “the source and target of evaluation are also [believed as] criterial” (p. 59). The source of Affect is generally participants, while the targets of Judgement and Appreciation are respectively participants and things.

Bednarek (2009b) further discusses the suggested grammatical realisation of Attitudes in Appraisal theory that supports the corpus-linguistics findings. That is, using a 100-million-word British National Corpus to examine the occurrences of the grammatical patterns of Attitudes expounded above, in addition to other linguists such as Hunston (2000, 2003) and Sinclair (2003) so that empirical assistance for systematic application of different patterns can be established. Bednarek’s (2009b) assessment focuses on nine lexis-related patterns summarised from previous studies and she establishes that

Appreciation and Judgement share most of the grammatical patterns in lexis categorisation. In turn, this indicates the difficulty in distinguishing between ethic-related and aesthetics-based opinions in practice and a difference between opinions and emotions in APPRAISAL. In assessing the resources of Affect, Bednarek (2009b) finds that the overt affect is very distinctive in its grammatical presentation; whereas the patterns of covert affect are more similar to that in the opinion rather than the emotion.

This obviously suggests other analytical difficulties in Appraisal studies and in this regard it appears unlikely for us to confirm any fixed correspondence between grammatical patterns and specific appraisals. Such a finding clearly suggests that the diagnosis of appraisal resources should not depend on the grammatical structure, but be contextual dependent by also considering the classification of the attitudinal entity. That is, instead of prioritising one dimension; namely, grammatical realisation to diagnose and classify attitudinal resources, it may be necessary to consider attitudinal entity or target as well in the assessment. The benefit of a two-dimensional consideration is that the rhetorical and semantic effects of appraisals can be better understood in analysis.

While investigating the grammatical patterns of Appraisal, linguists (Martin & White, 2008; Bednarek, 2009b) constantly discuss another variant in the realisation of attitudes. For Bednarek (2009b), emotions contain the difference between the covert and the overt presentation; while for Martin and White (2008), all evaluations can be directly inscribed in discourse, but also be invoked from the discourse. It seems all authors agree that Attitude can be constructed not only via an explicit quotation of an attitudinal lexis, but also via the selection of ideational meanings enough to invoke evaluation in the absence of attitudinal lexis (Martin & White, 2008).

In the case of inscriptions, the explicit presentation of attitudes provides a clear sign-post for the interpretation of the selected ideational meanings. The invoked evaluation on the other hand does not leave any reference with which the reader may have access to the speaker's suggested reading position in the interpretation of attitudes. In this context, the invoked realisation of attitudes will necessarily put the meaning of attitudes in discourse at risk. That is, individual and social subjectivity related to one's social and cultural variables such as ethnicity, generation, and class may affect his or her reading position. In this sense, compared to inscribed attitudes, invoked attitudes provide the reader with a certain degree of freedom to choose whether or not to align "with the values

naturalised by the text” (Martin & White, 2008, p. 67). However, it is also recognised that inscribed and invoked attitudes, specifically the active interaction between attitudinal invocation and inscription, may inevitably result in the analytical issue of double coding in the borderline Attitude categories. This issue is constantly discussed in Appraisal, but so far not perfectly resolved in studies. This is because what is inscribed in Judgement for example may also invoke Appreciation and vice versa (Martin & White, 2008).

To address the issue of double coding, the footing and the target of Appraisal become the crucial elements in Appraisal analysis. Specifically, the possibility of double coding in the borderline Attitude categories makes it necessary for the analyst to identify the attitudinal entity given what is being appraised will surely change when different dimensions or types of evaluation are perceived. In other words, when analysing attitudes it is always “useful to note the source of the attitude” (Martin & White, 2008, p. 71): the appraiser and the appraised item. To address the source of Appraisal, Martin and White (2008) suggest that the speaker or the writer of the discourse is normally the source of evaluation “unless attitude is projected as the speech or thoughts of an additional appraiser” (p. 71).

In all, attitudes in APPRAISAL can be evaluated in relation to four parameter: type, polarity, realisational orientation, and attitudinal source/target (Martin and White 2008), with each parameter expressing a particular dimension of the evaluative or emotional meaning. The parameters all comprise two to three confirmed values except for attitudinal source/target. For example, attitudinal type primarily includes Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation if further delicacies are not noted. The POLARITY variant includes the positive and negative values; whereas ORIENTATION has the inscribed and the invoked attitudes to register their realisational difference.

However, it should also be noted that “a defining property of all attitudinal meanings is their gradability” and it is this property that “construe greater or lesser degrees of positivity or negativity” of attitudes (Martin & White, 2008, p. 135). Regarding how to grade Affect, Martin and White (2008) propose that “most emotions offer lexicalisations that grade along an evenly clined scale” (p. 48). Similarly, Bednarek (2009b) finds that the intermediate of covert affect in grammatical patterns is reflective to its intermediary presence of attitudinal subjectivity and personalisation between the emotion and the opinion (p. 172). Thus, we are able to assume that it is also vital to

recognise the scale of intensity of the feelings realised in the selection of ideational meanings in the analysis of Attitude.

In the Appraisal theory, as Martin and White (2008) propose the scalability of Attitude is presented through another sub-system of APPRAISAL; namely, the semantics of GRADUATION to differentiate the nature of meanings. To grade Appraisal resources, the GRADUATION system outlines the lexicogrammatical resources associated with the effects of up-scaling and down-scaling.

On the basis of these two general parameters, further delicacies are developed to achieve more detailed descriptions of graduation. As is seen in the proposed organisation of delicacies, Martin and White (2008) obviously try to avoid using low, medium and high as discrete values. Instead, they want to emphasise that there is a more evenly clined scaling system. However, in their empirical studies, Eggins and Slade (1997) are in favour of a more synthetised system network to scale attitudes. Unlike Martin and White (2008), Eggins and Slade (1997) term the lexical resources used to grade attitudes towards people, things or events as the category of amplification. Compared to the system of GRADUATION in Appraisal theory, the system of amplification differs from the evaluating systems in polarity and ways of realisation (Eggins & Slade, 1997). Firstly, its values occur in a range of scaling resources which share a fundamental meaning. Secondly, “there is no congruent class realisation” (p. 133) because amplifications can also be realised through adverbs, nouns, verbs and the rhetorical strategies like repetition (Eggins & Slade, 1997).

To classify amplification resources, the major categories are referred as enrichment, augmenting and mitigation (Eggins & Slade, 1997). Enrichment refers to the attitudinal coloration of meaning expressed by a core neutral word. It is achieved by an independent lexical item or by adding a comparative element which makes explicit attitudinal meaning. Augmenting is to amplify attitudinal meaning and is achieved by intensifying the evaluation and quantifying the degree of amplification. On the other hand, mitigation is to down-play or minimise the effect of the attitudinal meaning. In this regard, the types of augmenting and mitigation attend to different evaluative directions, with one intensifying and the other playing down the force of the attitudinal value.

By definition, the augmenting and mitigating categories are very similar to the up-scaling and down-scaling categories in the GRADUATION system of Appraisal theory.

Enrichment however appears to be problematic as its extra-colouring of attitudes may form an attitude itself or it may fall into either augmenting or mitigating types. In this sense, when compared with the highly sophisticated system network of GRADUATION developed in Appraisal theory, the amplification framework may appear much less comprehensive, even though it is claimed to be a highly complex area. However, what is generally agreed in relation to GRADUATION and AMPLIFICATION is that the scalability of attitudes is assessed on the basis of a neutral meaning with increased or decreased force or focus. In this regard, Whitelaw, Grag and Argamon's (2005) suggest in their sentiment analysis that in order to fully present attitudes from different dimensions, particularly the one concerning its scalability, it appears more practical to synthesise the GRADUATION resources into ATTITUDES and build a taxonomy with three grading options; namely, high, low and neutral. In this process, high and low refer to the GRADUATION resources and neutral tags the original attitudes.

In all, attitudes are semantic evaluative resources. Given "the use of evaluative and emotional language tells us something about interpersonal identity" (Bednarek, 2010, p. 254), the investigation of attitudinal resources in discourse is equally significant as the grammatical investigation of Mood and Modality to the study of the participants' social positioning in communication. More specifically, the attitudinal resources can be assessed and described with a system which contains simultaneous features (i.e., attitudinal type, polarity, orientation and scale) with each of them expressing a specific aspect of the personal evaluation. However, unlike the MOOD system where categories are clearly differentiated, the analysis of attitudes depends significantly on the context in use. In addition, given the APPRAISAL system is still in its preliminary stage, the proposed categorisation may need further reasoning and should be open to possible alteration.

3.3 Summary

Systemic Functional Linguistics studies the relationship between language and its functions in social settings. More specifically, it provides detailed descriptions of how and why language varies in relation to different users and different contexts of use. In SFL, language is expressed in a system network in which three metafunctions of language respond to the context of situation and extend through the hierarchy of strata and ranks. While insisting on the interrelation of form and meaning, SFL linguists believe it is the choice available in any language variety that eventually realises the instantiation of language from system to actual instances. Therefore, the notion of choice is important to

SFL. Through the fundamental concept of choice it becomes possible to apply systemic functional approach to translation and interpreting studies as both linguistic practices involve the choices made by the translator or the interpreter among different linguistic resources for communication (Kim, 2009; Tebble, 2008).

In the monolingual interaction, the role of the speaker is reflected in his or her choices of linguistic resources. For example, in Thompson's (1999) study, doctors use mood, normalisation and ellipsis to perform authoritative and sympathetic roles to interact with patients. In Bednarek's (2010) corpus-based analysis, the accumulation of emotional language constructs and reveals the identity of different characters in a TV series. In Tann's (2010) research, ideational, interpersonal and textual resources collaborate to establish the collective identity of Singaporeans in textbooks. However, the linguistic resources for identity construction are not exhaustive. In reference to the function-rank matrix in SFL, other ways to realise interpersonal meaning in relation to the construction of social identities may also include the selection of different modal features and the projection of various attitudes in discourse.

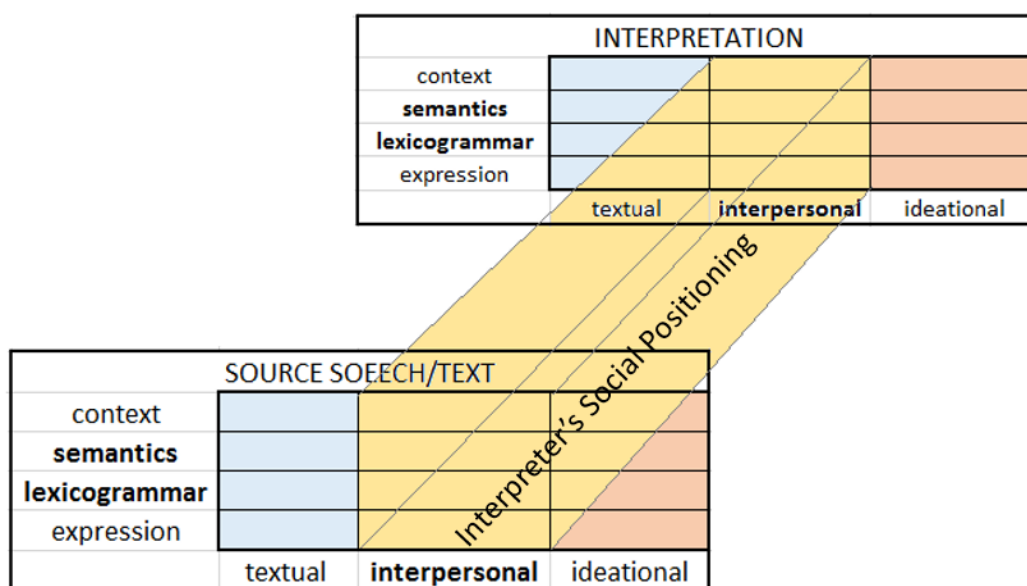


Figure 3.5: Interpreter's Choices for Interpersonal Meaning

As is stated previously in Chapter 2, interpreting is practiced as inter-linguistic communication. In short, it is a communicative language practice. As such, the message for transmission is entirely dependent on the interpreter's choice. Social identity is constructed by, and also reflected in, language use. As a result, the role of the interpreter in practice can also be realised and reflected by his or her choices of message, more

specifically, with possible translational shifts from the source language in relation to the interpersonal meaning in particular, as is indicated in Figure 3.5.

Interpreters are not speakers in the normal sense. Their choices of meaning and possibly the choices of wording may be strictly constrained by the original speech as well as the context of situation. However, given the correlation between the language system and the actual instance it appears safe to argue for the interpreter's participation in the selection of meaning and the choice of wording, regarding the expression of the interpersonal meaning of language in relation to the contextual variable of tenor in the context of situation. Eventually, while the interpreter's social positioning is disguised among his or her linguistic choices for meaning and wording between the source text and the target text, it is important to investigate the translation shifts at the content plane specifically in relation to the interpersonal meaning of language. Finally, as is discussed in Section 3.2.3, the similarities in the language networks of English and Chinese make it possible to conduct a comparative analysis of the interpreter's choice of interpersonal meaning at both the grammatical and semantic levels across the two languages.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Interpreting studies are interdisciplinary in nature. As is previously reviewed in Chapter 2, interpreting phenomena has been understood “from the perspective of scientific disciplines as different as anthropology, cognitive science, linguistics, neurophysiology, and sociology” (Pochhacker, 2011, p. 6). Meanwhile, the complexity in interpreting practice has led to diversification in both theories and analytical approaches to different subjects in interpreting studies. The interpreter’s role, in fact, can be studied from different perspectives and by using different methods. In reference to various studies on social identity at large, discourse analysis, particularly from systemic functional perspectives on language, offers an access to a more comprehensive understanding of the linguistic output of the professional interpreter, and thus his or her role in practice.

This chapter presents the methodology and data of the current study. It will first review the development of corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) in general, and then illustrate the research design for integrating the corpus of CTSPC in this interpreting study. Then, in Section 4.3, it offers an overview of the background of China’s two-session press conference; and the selection and the composition of the specialised parallel corpus of CTSPC. Section 4.3 will explain in more detail the composition of the corpus and how data are analysed and annotated. The methodology is designed to understand how the government in-house interpreters situate their social positioning linguistically in response to various contextual factors involved in the Premier’s press conference.

4.1 Corpus Approach to Interpreting Studies

To understand the interpreter’s role in practice, the present study focuses on a small group of government in-house interpreters, and analyses their patterns of choices of social positioning in press conferences, manifested in their interpreting practice. The analysis will focus on how these interpreters use various linguistic resources to construct the interpersonal relationship in communication. To make a more valid claim for its findings, the choice is made in the study to use a particularly personalised corpus, in light of developments of corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) and the advanced development of corpus-based translation studies (CTS).

As is widely cited in the corpus linguistics literature, the corpus is effective for addressing questions related to language use (McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006). The use of

a corpus makes it possible for linguists to process a large number of texts and discover features of language in use that are often unnoticed or wrongly captured through intuitive means. However, it is also recognised that, as a corpus is only representative of particular varieties of language, it becomes effective and efficient only when the selection criteria are compatible, responsive and practicable to the research question of the study (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012). In other words, representativeness is limited in a corpus, and the selection of data for corpus compilation must vary with the objective set for each study. Accordingly, various disciplines adapt corpus linguistics to their own research objectives (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012). Meanwhile, since a full representation of the language is impossible due to various constraints on availability of time and resources of the study (Reppen, 2010), a corpus has to be built with an adequate size, meaning not necessarily complete but large enough for accurate representation.

For translation studies, particularly descriptive translation studies (DTS), which focuses on “the independence of translated texts [...] and [their] overriding role in receiving cultures” (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012, p. 15), a corpus is recognised as offering great assistance to strengthen claims based on the descriptive findings in translated language. Based on both corpus linguistics and DTS, for their shared goal of “a strongly non-prescriptive, empirical and data-driven approach to translation” (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012, p. 15), corpus-based translation study (CTS) is beneficial to understanding the nature of translation as a mediated communicative event. That is, by focusing on the linguistic features in its large corpora of parallel texts as the evidence for “laws, norms and/or universals governing the translator’s behavior” (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012, p. 15), CTS has developed steadily with many contributions addressing various issues and challenges that may arise in the discipline (Bendazzoli & Sandrelli, 2009).

However, like any other quantitative studies, the corpus method has also incurred criticism for being merely statistical without giving due consideration to the context where the data was placed. In this sense, corpus linguistic techniques are efficient in making a linguistic description; but to explain the identified features in translation, one must rely on cognitive, social, cultural or ideological knowledge that goes far beyond the text (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012).

The development of CTS inevitably gives inspiration to the formation of corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) as a viable and revelatory branch of interpreting studies

(Bendazzoli & Sandrelli, 2009; Shlesinger, 1998). Sharing the ultimate goal with CTS of discovering habitual translational behaviours, CIS identifies various linguistic phenomena in interpreting events by using either parallel corpora, comprising both source texts and target texts relevant to the interpreting practice, or monolingual corpora as sources of materials for testing hypotheses or results about interpreting from rather limited case studies. However, CIS faces more challenges than CTS does in relation to corpus-building (Bendazzoli & Sandrelli, 2009), in that it is less developed than CTS in corpus size, corpus availability, as well as the quality and the quantity of studies.

The major obstacles in CIS include: 1) representativeness or data comparability; and 2) data presentation (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012). To address the issue of representativeness, CIS scholars believe that a certain level of compromise has to be made in corpus compilation, based on the questions of the research and its theoretical consideration as to what is ideal and what is realistically achievable. Since it is often difficult to acquire authorisation and collaboration from professional interpreters in practice (Bendazzoli & Sandrelli, 2009; Sandrelli, 2012), accessibility to authentic interpreting data often becomes limited, and the collection of spoken data becomes timely and expensive (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012).

Meanwhile, as interpreting is an oral practice, the spoken form of data has to be transcribed into a written text. Since certain phenomena, such as prosodic and other temporal features of the speech or interpreted text, cannot be transcribed using the conventional orthography of written language, not to mention being codified in a machine-readable manner, the scope of CIS is limited only to those features that are presentable in transcription (Shlesinger, 1998; Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012). In addition, as transcription itself is analytical, selective, and necessarily reflective to the theoretical goals of the study, the transcribed data can never be regarded as the complete representation of the interpreting event (Falbo, 2012; Hale & Napier, 2013; Sandrelli, 2012; Shlesinger, 1998; Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012). Consequently, since it is practically impossible to re-present all features involved in spoken communication in writing, and since the transcription will surely influence the object of analysis and the way it is analysed, the choice of a particular transcribing principle in any CIS must be made in full consideration of the research questions and its material (Russo, Bendazzoli, Sandrelli & Spinolo, 2012).

Furthermore, as a real interpreting event often involves a number of contextual variables, it is difficult to screen selective criteria among all potential combinations of parameters to depict the interpreting process in a precise manner and then effectively address the research question in CIS. As a result, sufficient control of different variables in the interpreting process and the selection of appropriate methodological approach for the specific phenomena under investigation is a challenge in the development of CIS (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012).

Significant efforts have been made to address these issues in CIS (Angermeyer, Meyer & Schmidt 2012; Russo, Bendazzoli, Sandrelli & Spinolo, 2012; Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012). Firstly, some corpora use different transcription methods for different research objectives. For example, EPIC (the European Parliament Interpreting Corpus), FOOTIE (Football in Europe), and CorIT (Italian Television Interpreting Corpus) all follow a very basic set of transcription conventions to avoid unnecessary complexity, but allowing further details to be added to the corpus in future. However, in these corpora different codes are chosen to target specific aims of analysis. FOOTIE is not POS-tagged, as the research primarily focuses on the interaction and certain lexical patterns in interpreting; whereas EPIC is POS-tagged, indexed and lemmatised. In addition, EPIC and CorIT both relinquish any punctuation marks, to highlight the nature of the text as a spoken discourse; while EPIC only marks out a number of paralinguistic features such as pauses, truncated words and mispronounced words, to stress the originality of the event. To be more thorough and original, CorIT establishes additional and permanent links between the transcribed texts and their original audio or video tracks.

Secondly, in the established corpora great importance is attached to the context of the interpreting activity by including much of the contextual information of the interpreting discourse. In FOOTIE, each press conference header records available information of the interpreting event, including the date, place, and file names of the recordings, followed by a different table designed to record information of the speakers, such as their gender, country of origin, and languages in use. As with FOOTIE, CorIT records information such as names of the interpreter and all participants, dates, programs and their broadcasting channels, on the basis of the situational factors and the interpreter's presence. In this way, the marked contextual information is able to provide extra-linguistic knowledge on the transcript of discourse, which should eventually enrich the

explanation of the linguistic findings from social, cultural or even institutional perspectives that go beyond the boundaries of statistical knowledge.

In summary, the established corpora can make good reference to future corpora or those corpora still under construction in CIS. Firstly, “the close correlation between set objectives, transcription process and data availability” is fundamentally important to the design of a CIS (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012; p. 35). Secondly, as extensively discussed in CTS and other corpus linguistic studies, qualitative studies on modest-size corpora can provide a sufficient platform for further quantitative studies, or vice versa, when “applied analysis categories and theoretical bases are consistent and compatible” (Straniero Sergio & Falbo, 2012; p. 36). These two understandings of CIS serve as a key inspiration for the current study of the Chinese in-house interpreters’ role in government press conferences, and for the compilation of the interpreting corpus for the Chinese government two-session press conferences.

4.2 Research Design

The most relevant research on interpreting in a broad sense started in the 1950s, with the focus of interpreting studies has been placed mainly on the cognitive, psycho- and neuro-linguistic aspects (Diriker, 2004; Pochhacker & Shlesinger, 2002). However, in consideration of the view that the practice of interpreting is a verbal communication, it is logical to expect more important studies on interpreting from a linguistic aspect (Torsello, 1997).

In interpreting studies, the linguistic approach will inevitably concern the concept of discourse. The interpreted discourse is related to both the source language discourse and the target language discourse, and thus encompasses cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences between them (Hale & Napier, 2013). In addition, discourses in interpreting studies can be analysed either independently as separate sets of discourse, or jointly as one interrelated discourse. Specifically, the focus of the study can be placed on either the speaker’s utterance as the speech, or the interpreter’s utterance as the interpreting, or jointly both. However, regardless of which approach is taken, the analysis of the interpreting discourse has to be greatly dependent on the researcher’s linguistic knowledge of the languages concerned, and on other knowledge concerning, for example, the cultures, the context, the settings, and the participants involved in these interpreter-mediated events (Hale & Napier, 2013). In this sense, the interpreter’s discourse, like any

other discourse, should not be studied out of its context (Hale & Napier, 2013). Taking a sociolinguistic approach, and more specifically from a SFL perspective, the context in interpreting practice, as with any other linguistic event, can be expressed with and is conditioned by the parameters of field, tenor and mode (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

With regard to the interpreters' professional identity in practice and its related topics, the focus of study may vary greatly, according to the interpreting setting (e.g. medical, legal, or political), the mode of delivery (e.g. consecutive, simultaneous or dialogic interpreting), as well as the research methodologies to be used in the study (e.g. case studies, questionnaires & surveys, and product-based discourse analysis). As is suggested in the literature, the understanding of the interpreter's role in communication is concluded as being significantly diversified. Hence, the role of professional interpreter in practice is a complicated topic, where various sensitive contextual parameters have to be responded to, and a simple choice between the polar extremes of visibility and invisibility can never be satisfactory. In other words, the role of a professional interpreter cannot be assessed without taking full consideration of different variables in the situational context.

The ethics of interpreters' professional conduct can only stipulate, explicitly or implicitly, what should be happening in interpreting practice, but will never be able to dictate what is actually happening in interpreter-mediated events. The cognitive paradigm and the interpreter's self-perception of his or her professional identity certainly exert and influence on the interpreter's performance. Besides this, the interpreter's behaviour at work is also possibly constrained by various contextual factors, such as the interpreter's physical proximity to speakers, the institutional demand on the interpreting event, and the stakeholders' differentiated expectations. In fact, the role of professional interpreters in practice is materialised in their actual performance under an instant decision-making process, which is governed by three important factors: what they can do; what they should do; and what they want to do. Ultimately, in order to discuss the actual role of professional interpreters taken in practice, we have to examine what they really do in practice. Thus, an interpreting product-oriented study appears to be a more rational choice for analysis, because the interpretation, namely the interpreter's discourse, reflects their choices of professional identity at work.

As a methodology, discourse analysis has been applied extensively in interpreting studies (Hale & Napier, 2013; Hatim & Mason, 1997; Torsello, 1997). Specifically, on

the topic of the interpreter's role in practice, discourse analysis has been used for monologic types of interpreting, such as long consecutive and simultaneous interpreting (e.g. Monacelli, 2009; Sun, 2014), and frequently in dialogue interpreting research (e.g. Avery, 2001; Davidson, 2000; Hale, 2002 & 2005; Manson, 2005). More recently, the use of corpora from a more quantitative approach has been applied to complement the more qualitative approach of discourse analysis in interpreting studies (Hale & Napier, 2013). Although there is no definite benchmark set up for the sufficient quantity of data, it is evident that small data sets are advantageous for investigation in qualitative detail, while larger ones are more valid to claim any representativeness for generalisation. That is, "corpus-based quantitative interpreting studies can therefore complement small-scale qualitative studies, to make more representative claims" (Hale & Napier, 2013, p. 145).

Thus, using the authentic interpreting data to make a more valid and generalised claim on the interpreter's role in practice, the present study is designed to be a product-oriented and corpus-based research. The project with an observational approach, simple descriptive statistics and uncomplicated quantitative processing of data is of great significance and should be given priority in interpreting studies (Dam, 2001; Gile, 1998).

The present study focuses on the comparative analysis of the discourse in a series of interpreter-mediated events, namely China's Two-Session press conferences held by the Premier of the government. It is expected that the comparative discourse analysis between the source speech and the interpretation, regarding different parameters at work, is able to answer the following research questions:

1. What role(s) do professional interpreters in a socially- or politically-constrained setting, such as China's Two-session Press Conference?
2. How do these Chinese in-house interpreters situate themselves linguistically in these events?

More specifically, these questions can be reformulated as:

- Will interpreters' language production be influenced by a series of communicative factors?
- What are the possible contextual elements affecting interpreters' choices for social positioning?

Within a more systemic functional-oriented perspective, these research questions are specified as:

How and why are the interpreter's linguistic choices, specifically in the Mood elements, Modality and Attitudinal elements, for the expression of interpersonal meanings affected by the following factors?

- 1) the speakers from different social and political backgrounds, namely journalists from Mainland China and other countries, and of the Premier of China;*
- 2) the interpreting addressees, namely the Chinese-speaking Premier and English-speaking journalists; and*
- 3) the content or the theme of the discourse regarding China's social and political environment.*

4.3 Data: The China's Two-Session Press Conferences (CTSPC) Corpus

The China's Two-Session Press Conference (CTSPC) corpus is designed as a continuing specialised spoken corpus, which at the time of the present research consists of seven Premier's two-session press conferences for analysis. This section introduces the background and other relevant contextual information of these speech events, describes the composition of the corpus, and explains the analysis/annotation of the data in detail.

4.3.1 Source of Data

The data for the CTSPC corpus is collected from China's two-session press conferences. As a communicative event, these press conferences are strongly characterised by distinctive social and political features. The interpreters involved in the CTSPC corpus are all government in-house interpreters. Their training and employment background make them develop a community of practice in the interpreting practice of the two-session press conference. Hence, the source of data makes the corpus quite distinctive, and thus effectively representative of the choices of the Chinese in-house interpreter in a socially- and politically-constrained setting.

4.3.1.1 The China's Two-Session and the Premier's Press Conferences (CTSPC)

The notion of "two-session" here is an aggregated abbreviation for China's two largest political and major deliberative organs, namely the China's National People's Congress (NPC) and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative

Conference (CPPCC). The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) is generally recognised as an advisory legislative body in China's political system. More specifically, it is an important institution of multiparty cooperation and political consultation, led by the Communist Party of China (CPC), to promote socialist democracy in China's political activities. As is officially reported, the CPPCC has become "a patriotic united front organisation" consisting of representatives from all political parties and organisations, ethnic groups and various sectors in China's society (CPPCC, 2012).

The National People's Congress (NPC) is China's national legislature. Defined by China's current Constitution, NPC is the highest organ of state power. More specifically, NPC is invested with the power to legislate, to oversee the operations of the government, and to elect the major officers of state. The delegate of the NPC is elected by people through democratic margin elections. All delegates of NPC are responsible to the people and also subject to their supervision. Therefore, the NPC is the organ through which the people exercise state power.

The first session of CPPCC was held on September 21, 1949. As the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) was yet to be proclaimed, the session was actually exercising the functions and powers of NPC mainly in composing a provisional constitution for the country, and in electing the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China (PRC). After the founding of PRC, the National Committee of the CPPCC continued to play an important role in the country's political and social activities until the first session of the first NPC in September, 1954.

As the NPC and CPPCC both hold annual sessions in the country's capital of Beijing, the two organs started to have their meetings synchronously in 1978. These annual meetings usually last from 10 to 14 days in the spring season, providing opportunities for the representatives or delegates from all parts of the state to review past policies and discuss future plans to the nation. Therefore, for the public and China watchers, the two-session annual meeting is a significant event in China's political, social and economic systems.

During each two-session season, the government holds several national or international press conferences, releasing important policies and updating session

progress with the public. For example, there were 15 press conferences held during 13 days of two-session meetings in 2015, addressing various topics such as environment protection, economic development and foreign trade, and diplomatic relationships (Observer, 2015).

In 1988, the then Premier LI Peng attended the first press conference, which was broadcast live via China Central Television (CCTV). Since 1993, the internationally broadcast two-session press conference held by the Chinese Premier in term, at the very last day of the two-session, has become a routine practice to conclude the two-session (NETEASE, 2014). Being the only press conference held by the Premier, the head of government and the leader in the country's civil service, the Premier's press conference naturally becomes the most anticipated event among all conferences. For the mass media, the Premier's two-session press conference offers a more direct access to the reporting on the country's policy statement via the question and answer (Q&A), and thus attracts 600-800 journalists each year to participate (NETEASE, 2014).

The Premier's press conference is organised by the State Council Information Office (SCIO), and in the name of the spokesperson of the NPC in term, inviting both the Premier and journalists to attend (Sun, 2014). Announcements of the press conference in more detail are posted on the official website of SCIO, and welcome all media agencies to register for a press card for conference attendance. For example, in 2007 there were 750 press cards issued by the SCIO to journalists. Journalists from the mainland media, and from regions such as Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, were given in total 400 passes; while journalists from the foreign media received 350 cards (NETEASE, 2014). With the pass card, journalists are also allocated by SCIO to different seating areas.

Although it is not compulsory, journalists are said to be encouraged to inform the SCIO of their questions before the Press Conference, to enhance the efficiency of the event (Sun, 2014). Journalists are also able to raise undeclared questions to the speaker. From 1998 to 2013, there were 193 questions raised by journalists during the Premier's two-session press conferences, approximately 12 questions per year. As compared with the number of journalists attending the press conference, the opportunities to raise questions directly to the Premier are very limited. Thus, the moderator or the host of the press conference plays a critical role in appointing different journalists to raise questions and pacing the proceeding of the conference.

News reports and interviews in the media (NETEASE, 2014) both show that the host or the moderator of the press conference has to exercise a delicate art of balance in choosing the journalist for the Premier in the Q&A session. According to an interview with ZHOU Jue (Yucheng, 2013), who served as the moderator of 5 conferences from 1993-1997, making a balance among journalists from different areas who wish to raise questions for the Premier is heavily affected by the world geopolitics. In short, equal opportunities need to be given to the journalists from China and from overseas countries. More specifically, within the Chinese domain, the number of the journalists from Mainland China, and other special regions like Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, should be balanced. For the overseas journalists, the balance needs to be made between countries from different continents. However, despite such a strategic balance being practiced, the moderator's choices do not appear to be random. According to the statistics on the Premier Wen Jiabao's 10 two-session Press conferences, journalists from the foreign media always enjoy the opportunity to raise 6-7 questions to the Premier each year. In detail, there were 28 questions raised by the journalists from the United States, 17 from the United Kingdom, and 11 from Japan. As for the Mainland journalists, those from Xinhua News Agency, CCTV or People's Daily were always given at least one opportunity to raise a question. In addition, the statistics also show that the questions raised by the foreign media are more concerned with human rights and China's democratic progress; while the media from the mainland show more interest on China's economic reforms and social issues. Although all interviewees emphasised in the interviews and reports that there was no censorship practiced in the two-session press conference, and that all journalists were given complete freedom to prepare their questions for the Premier (Yucheng, 2013), it still appears possible for the moderator or the host to screen or 'cherry pick' particular questions in the Q&A session, as the moderators, according to ZHOU Jue, know these journalists very well.

Since the Premier's two-session press conference is basically covered by the Q&A session between the Premier and the journalists from different parts of the world, the consecutive interpreting service is provided between the official languages of Chinese and English for the benefit of monolingual foreign journalists and audience (Sun, 2014). The procedure of the event is diagrammed in the following chart.

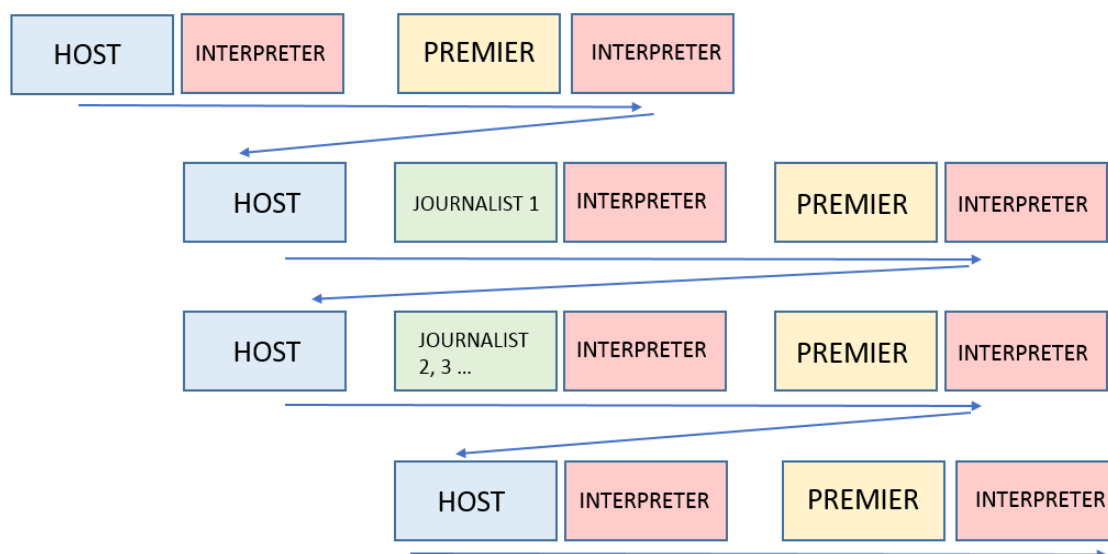


Figure 4.1: Procedure of the Premier's Two-session Press Conference

As is displayed in Figure 4.1, the press conference starts with the host's welcoming remarks and the Premier's opening speech. Both would be followed with the act of interpreting. Afterwards, the Q&A session officially begins. Each time, the host chooses only one journalist to ask one question and the interpreter gives the instant rendering after the journalist completes his or her question. Then, the Premier replies with the answer, either as a complete speech or in several speech-segments, so that the interpreter can practice either after the speech or during the time-intervals between different segments. Then, with each question being answered, the host needs to find a new journalist for a question, until the press conference finishes. In this way, the Q&A session of the Premier's press conference is supported with a consecutive ordering of the interpreting service.

In general, the Premier's two-session press conference can be viewed as an interpreter-mediated communicative event, which necessarily includes: 1) the Premier as the government speaker; 2) a moderator or host; 3) an interpreter who provides consecutive interpreting services between mandarin Chinese, the official language in China, and English, which is commonly used in the event; and 4) journalists who are acting either as an active participant or as part of the audience.

4.3.1.2 The Department of Translation and Interpretation in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

From 1998, when the first Premier's two-session press conference was broadcast live, to 2013, there have been 16 conferences, held by 3 premiers, recruiting 8 interpreters for the language service. All interpreters are staff members of the Department of Translation and Interpretation in Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Department is mainly responsible for providing the language support to the MFA and other government agencies. As is specified on the Department's website, the language services that the Department is due to provide include "translation of important state diplomatic events and diplomatic documents and instruments, as well as simultaneous interpretation and coordination of interpretation in multi-languages for major international conferences" (MFA, 2014). In addition, the Department is also responsible for offering professional training to high-level translators and interpreters of the Ministry.

As the official documents and websites provide only little information on the Department of Translation and Interpretation, we have to rely on other publicised sources, such as personal interviews from some interpreters of the Department, to better understand the nature of these interpreters' work.

FEI Shengchao (Deng, 2014), who interpreted for the premier at the two-session press conference in four consecutive years, from 2006-2009, and who is currently the director of the English Division in the Department, has told media that all young recruits of the Department need to receive a half year of vigorous selective training, which often lasts 8 hours per day, and covers various interpreting skills including short-memory practice, note-taking, and simultaneous interpreting (Cai, 2010). GUO Jiading, the former Director-General of the Department, has also stated that new recruits of the Department must receive nearly a year of intensive training, during which a large amount of exercises, of listening comprehension, interpreting, and translation, have to be finished on a daily basis (Deng, 2014). In addition, as most interpreters of the Department are graduates of languages or liberal arts degrees, while most top Chinese leaders are specialists in science majors, interpreters also need to be prepared with the requisite specialised knowledge, as much as possible according to leaders' work schedules. For the Premier's two-session press conference in particular, the preparation starts a month ahead. For example, ZHANG Lu (Deng, 2014), the deputy director of the English Division in the Department

and the chief interpreter for Premier WEN Jiabao, said that in order to prepare for the Premier's two-session press conference in 2010, she reviewed all the audio-recordings of the conferences from 2003-2009 and summarised all the poetic quotes and idioms ever used by the Premier (Cai, 2010). FEI Shengchao recalled that he could only sleep for 3-4 hours a day when the preparation was getting intense (Bi, 2009). However, according to Fei (Bi, 2009), although the interpreter would work alone in the press conference, 40 of his colleagues at the Department would help him with preparations. They would put together a pile of materials for him to read, and hold a simulation press conference in order to try out all possible questions and answers in the Q&A session. In addition, these colleagues would also comment on the interpreter's simulated performance, and give suggestions for later improvement. In this sense, the interpreters at the Department work as a team, and this practice forms them into a professional community.

In general, the interpreters at the Premier's two-session press conferences are highly-skilled and experienced interpreting professionals. In addition, a community of practice is formed through the Department's intensive training, particularly in the preparation for the Premier's two-session Press Conference. In this manner, the interpreter's performance in the Premier's two-session press conference would be highly representative of the interpreting services provided by the staff interpreters from the Department of the Translation and Interpreting.

4.3.2 Composition of the Corpus

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the CTSPC corpus is designed as a continuing specialised corpus. It consists, at the time of the present research, of seven consecutive interpreting events, or archives, of the Premier's two-session press conferences, as is shown in Table 4.1. Since all conferences are broadcast live as a special TV program, and made available on the internet, each conference archive in the corpus is retrieved from multiple multimedia websites, including the website from China's national TV station CCTV, and other commercial TV websites located in both Mainland China and overseas regions. In order to minimise the chances of any possible post-production editing on the original data, it is always the longest video-recording that is selected for the corpus. In this way, the size of the corpus is currently measured at approximately 922 minutes in length.

CTSPC is a spoken corpus designed primarily for conducting discourse analysis. Thus, all video archives in the corpus are transcribed as one bilingual data set, including both source-language (SL) texts of the government speaker and journalists, being addressed as the speech(es) in the following chapters of the thesis, and target-language (TL) texts of the interpreter, being addressed as the interpretation(s). In doing so, each conference archive can be differentiated into two monolingual discourse texts. During the transcribing process, extraneous information such as coughing, applause and laughing are regarded as "the constituent part" of the relevant context (Brown and Yule, 1983, p. 9) and selectively marked out as contextual information. However, these types of information are purposefully ignored as irrelevant components of the discourse in analysis. In addition, following the basic convention of transcription, repetitions, pauses in seconds, conversational fillers, and corrections are also preserved in line with the time track; but are mostly neglected in the analysis, with the exception of some repetitions which may be used to emphasise a meaning. Meanwhile, punctuation marks are applied in accordance with the original speech to make the utmost effort in obtaining the original contextual message that the speech might carry, and thus to avail the later analysis based on the unit of the clause. In this way, the bilingual corpus of CTSPC is measured as having 48,456 tokens in English and 71,840 Chinese characters, with the word type scoring 4,192 and 4,176 in English and Chinese, respectively.

The compilation of the corpus emphasises the inclusion of more interpreters in order to make a more valid generalisation of their linguistic choices at political press conferences. At the same time, an attempt has been made to try to provide a balance among all participants involved in communication, namely the speakers and the interpreting addressees in press conferences. In this regard, by selecting the press conferences held by one particular Premier, namely the Premier, Wen Jiabao, the compilation of the corpus simplifies the interpreter-speaker relationships, for ease of comparative analysis. Then, the corpus contains speeches raised primarily on two differentiated interpreter-speaker relationships, namely interpreters with the government speaker as the interviewee of the press conference, and with the ninety-four journalists who acted as the interviewers in the event.

During the Premier Wen's ten years of press conferences, from 2003 to 2013, five interpreters, including 3 females (F) and 2 males (M), were recruited to cover 10 two-session press conferences held by Premier Wen. Among these five interpreters, there were

two interpreters who practiced for 4 and 3 consecutive years. Due to the limited time and budget of the present study, in the CTPSC corpus a choice is made not to include 3 press conferences that were performed by those two interpreters in the middle years of their services. In this way, the interpreting archives of CTPSC are still authentic and representative of all 5 interpreters' consecutive interpreting performances on-site. For clarity of the analysis, the following chapters will use "the interpreters" to emphasise the individuality of those interpreters who are concerned in analysis, but "the interpreter" as a general term to address this specific community. It also needs to be acknowledged that possible gender differences will and can be statistically disregarded in the current study, as the female interpreters outnumber the male interpreters only slightly, at the rate of 4:3, regarding the number of sessions. In addition, CTPSC is designed as an open corpus, in that it will continue to be expanded with more sessions added into the corpus.

Finally, as is mentioned, CTPSC is a bilingual corpus currently consisting of 7 Premier's two-session press conference archives. Each interpreting archive is transcribed with the source language text followed by the target versions as the speaking turns of consecutive interpreting proceeds. All data sets are recorded on the basis of the year and the main speaker. For example, the two-session press conference in 2003 is named as 2003pm with '2003' indicating the year of the event and the abbreviation 'pm' representing the Premier as the government speaker of the press conference. In order to avoid potential bias in analysis, five interpreters are generalised and unanimously coded as 'inter'. However, their identity can be revealed in a separable file with their names and a label indicating their different genders. Thus, the current composition of CTPSC is presented as the following in Table 4.1.

File Name	Duration (approx.)	Speaker	Interpreter (inter)	
			Name	ID.
2003pm	109'	Premier WEN Jiabao (pm)	ZHANG Jianmin	M1
2004pm	107'		DAI Qingli	F1
2005pm	115'		LEI Ning	F2
2006pm	128'		FEI Shengchao	M2
2009pm	144'			
2010pm	137'		ZHANG Lu	F3
2012pm	182'			

Table 4.1: CTPSC Composition

4.3.3 Data Analysis and Annotation

The corpus uses the Filemaker software to annotate the data, and then to personalise its data presentation so that different levels of linguistic analysis can be conducted systematically.

Meanwhile, different contextual parameters were annotated to assist the investigation of the interpreter's linguistic choices under different circumstances.

Figure 4.2: Filemaker Interface for Data Presentation in CTSPC

Figure 4.2 presents the software interface for the data presentation in the CTSPC corpus. As is presented, the transcribed data are annotated and presented in two main areas. Firstly, the header at the top of the software interface depicts the background information of the data, including three contextual parameters to be investigated in the analysis. Secondly, the linguistic analysis on the data is annotated and presented at the lower part of the interface.

4.3.3.1 Contextual Variables

Various studies show that the interpreter's role in practice has to be discussed in full consideration of several contextual variables involved in the communicative event. In response to the research questions, the presents study selects and examines the CTSPC interpreters' social positioning in relation to three contextual variables: the interpreter-speaker relationship; the interpreter-addressee relationship; and the content or the theme of the interpreting practice in its situation. These contextual variables are annotated in the heading area of the software interface, as is displayed in Figure 4.3.

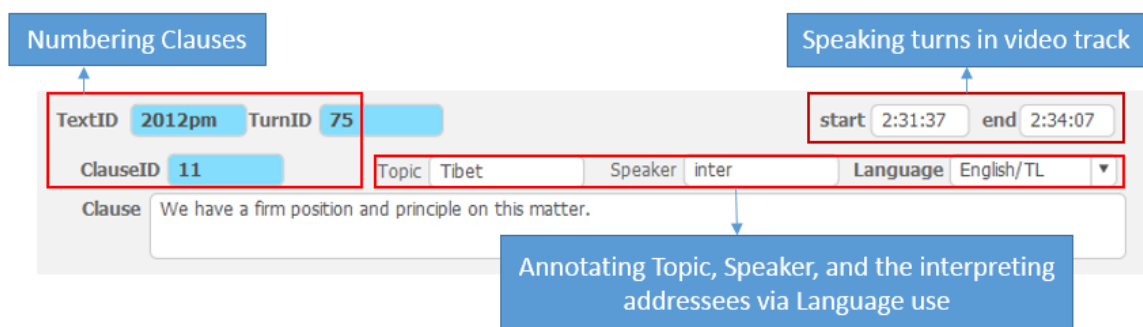


Figure 4.3: Presentation of Contextual Variables

Firstly, the speaker-interpreter relationship is investigated in the analysis. In the CTSPC corpus, speakers include Premier Wen, and approximately ninety-four journalists who raise questions publically in press conferences. Thus, five government in-house interpreters in the CTSPC corpus are positioned in two different interpreter-speaker relationships. On one side, they are engaged with the head of the government, who obviously enjoys a higher social or political status than they do. On the other hand, the interpreters interact with those journalists who are independent and share no social affiliation with them. Furthermore, as journalists are from different countries and regions, including Mainland China, special administrative regions of Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, and other foreign countries, the interpreter-journalist relationship can be more complicated due to the possible dynamism regarding their social and political ideological backgrounds. In particular, since the two-session press conference itself is a political event, the interpreter-journalist relationship is likely to be further divided into three sub-types in response to the geographic location of journalists' media. However, with the time constraints, the speaker-oriented comparative analysis does not concern the interpreter's relationship with the journalist from special administrative regions of the PRC. Accordingly, the concerned interpreter-speaker relationship for analysis is presented in Table 4.2. Specifically, the speaker of the analysed discourse will be annotated in the software. For example, as is seen previously in Figure 4.3, the speaker of the clause with the ID number of 2012pm-75-11 is identified as "inter", meaning that the clause is uttered by the interpreter who performs for the Premier.

Interpreter	Speaker		Relationship Coding
	Premier (pm)		inter - pm
	journalist	overseas (jo)	inter (jo) - jo

		mainland (jm)	inter (jm) - jm
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Table 4.2: Interpreter-Speaker Relationship

Secondly, the interpreter-addressee relationship is also considered as a possible variable in the interpreters' role-related performance for analysis. Among all participants of the Premier's two-session press conference, it is considerably affirmative that Premier Wen is not sufficiently competent in English, based on his academic background listed in the resume; while some overseas journalists appear to be highly competent bilinguals capable of articulating questions in fluent Chinese. In this sense, when an overseas journalist speaks in Chinese, the questions raised become directly accessible to the Premier who is addressed and expected to have a direct response in the Q&A session. Instead, the interpreter's English rendition appears necessary only to the English-speaking journalists who are the off-stage audience of the communication. It is only when the journalist speaks in English that the interpreter's Chinese rendering becomes functional and essential to the Premier, the addressee of the question, and other Chinese-speaking journalists, for the communication purpose. In contrast, such an act of interpreting is functionally insignificant to any English-speaking journalist at the event. In this way, the language use in the journalists' speech is associated with the change of language-direction in interpretation. Eventually, the change of language direction in interpreting assignments defines the addressee of the interpreting service in the CTSPC. In summary, different interpreter-addressee relationships are driven by the language use in the journalists' speech. Accordingly, the contextual variable of the interpreter-addressee relationship for analysis can be presented in Table 4.3.

JO's Language Use	Language-Direction in Interpretation	Addressee of Interpretation	Interpreter-Address Relationship
English	English-Chinese (E-C)	Premier; Chinese-Speaking journalists	Interpreter – Premier
Chinese	Chinese-English (C-E)	English-speaking Journalists	Interpreter - Journalists

Table 4.3: Language-direction

However, the interpreting addressees are not explicitly annotated in the software. Instead, they have to be identified in relation to the value of language. For example, two

clauses shown in Figure 4.4 are both produced by two interpreters who translate for the overseas journalist and are termed jointly as “inter (jo)”. However, the clause 2003pm-45-1 addresses an English-speaking audience only, as the value of language is marked as “English/TL”, meaning the English is used as the target language, and thus indicating the language direction as being Chinese-English. On the contrary, the clause 2012pm-73-2 addresses the Chinese-speaking audience, with the value of language marked as “Chinese/TL”.

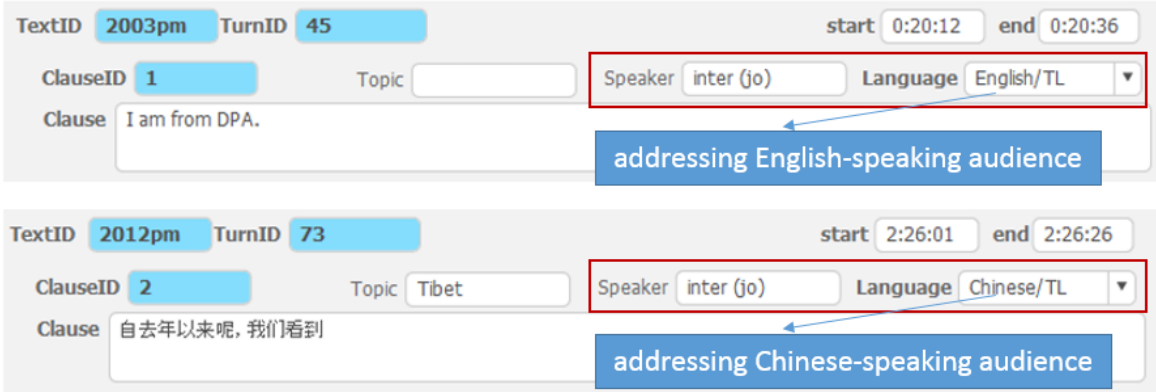


Figure 4.4: Identifying Interpreting Addressees

The third variable for investigation is the theme of interpreting discourse, as the content of interpreting practice is assumed to be of some influence on the interpreters’ practice, specifically their linguistic choices. However, since the interviewing/interpreting discourse in the CTSPC corpus concerns a huge variety of topics regarding the country’s political, economic and social development, it is impossible to be absolutely comprehensive in the analysis. Accordingly, the current study selects only twenty question & answer sets for comparative analysis, due to their consistent appearance in seven press conferences, which is also assumed as being the common interest of the media.

Table 4.4 presents the selected topics for analysis. As is shown in this table, the selected topics vary across two major categories concerning China’s domestic issues and diplomatic relationships. In consideration of their constituent relationships to the two major categories, three types among all topics are classified: domestic issues concerning China’s cross-Strait relationship and two sensitive topics in China’s mass media regarding Tibet and the Tiananmen Square Protest in 1989, and China’s diplomatic relations with Russia, Japan and India. For example, as is displayed in Table 4.4, the cross-Strait relationship has been raised a total of 6 times in the CTSPC corpus, with 3

sessions focusing on Taiwan's independence, while the other 3 sessions emphasising cross-Straits cooperation. In addition, as different subtopics are practiced by at least two interpreters, the relevant analysis is considered to be at a good position to avoid possible individuality of the interpreter in practice. Then, all topics are annotated in the heading areas, as is shown in Figure 4.3 at the beginning of this section.

Category	Topic	Sub-topic	Freq.	Interpreter
Internal	Cross-Straits Relation	1) Taiwan referendum/independence	3	F1; M2
		2) Cross-strait cooperation	3	M2; F3
	Information-Sensitive	Tibet	3	M2; F3
		Tiananmen Square Protest	2	M1; F1
External	Diplomacy	Russia	3	M1; F1; F2
		Japan	3	F1; F2; M2
		India	3	F1; F2; M2

Table 4.4: Content-based Classification on Questions

4.3.3.2 Scope of analysis

The discourse analysis for the CTSPC corpus is implemented using the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics (SFL). The linguistic analysis of the spoken discourse of interpreting events is to be conducted in light of the SFL knowledge of interpersonal meanings on Mood, Modality, and Appraisal theory. Accordingly, the analysis is to be accessed on a clause basis to reveal the realisation of speech function, and through lexico-semantic resources to explore the rhetorical function achieved beyond clauses.

The analysis of English and Chinese texts of each interpreting archive is conducted separately, to minimise any possible inter-lingual influences during the course of the textual analysis. This is because the parallel text sets of the source speech and its interpretation are closely related in meaning. In practice, the analysis at any stage is not conducted in line with the press conference procedure. For instance, only when a complete set of two-phase analysis of the English transcript of one press conference is finished, will the Chinese transcript be filtered out for analysis. Sometimes the interval between the analysis on English and Chinese transcripts from the same press conference was deliberately extended, to the minimum length of a week.

- **MOOD and MODALITY**

In SFL, the lexico-grammatical resources of mood and modality in individual clauses realise different options of the SPEECH FUNCTION system in the semantic stratum (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The analysis is therefore conducted at the lexicogrammatical level in terms of MOOD and MODALITY, and at the semantic level regarding SPEECH FUNCTION.

Specifically, with the delicacy of mood and modality resources in use, clauses encode nuances of semantic meaning through lexico-grammatical variations regarding the interpersonal meaning of the discourse. Accordingly, the clause-based grammatical analysis of choices in mood and modality, in the source speech or its interpretation, is of great significance for exposing the interpersonal meaning of clauses and thus the speaker/interpreter's adoption of speech roles in communication (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

The comparative analysis of the parallel texts in the CTSPC corpus is conducted on a clause basis regarding the deployment of mood and modality. That is, each clause is to be identified in terms of: 1) clause types such as declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses, in relation to the speech functions they realise, as is suggested in Figure 4.5; and 2) features of modality in use, according to Figure 4.7, revised according to the system network of modality proposed by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p. 150).

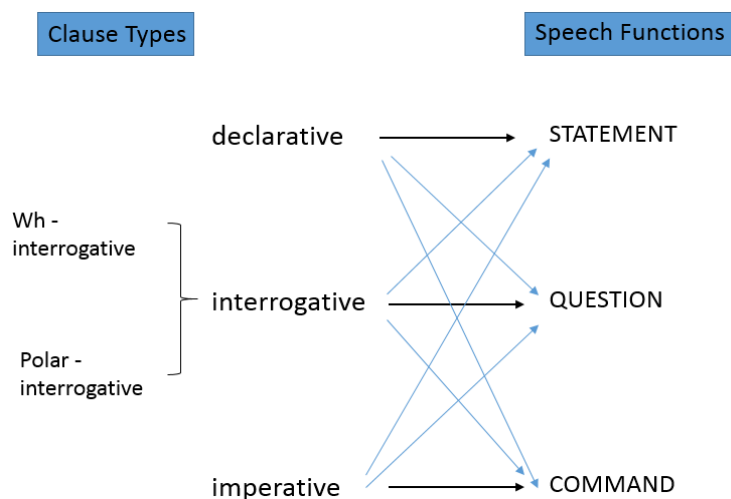


Figure 4.5: Clause Types & Speech Functions

In Figure 4.5, two types of arrows are used to indicate the realisation of a speech function via different clause types. Specifically, the vertical arrow in thick black indicates

the congruent realisation, while the arrows in light blue represent metaphorical realisation of a speech function. For example, a statement is realised congruently via a declarative clause, but can be metaphorically realised via both interrogative and imperative clauses. Accordingly, different clause types and speech functions are annotated in the software. In this way, two types of realisational relationship are also identified. For example, as is highlighted in Figure 4.6, the clause 2012pm-72-7 is an interrogative clause to realise a speech function of question. In reference to Figure 4.5, such a speech function of question is realised congruently.

TextID 2012pm TurnID 72 start 2:25:31 end 2:26:00

ClauseID 7 Topic Tibet Speaker jo Language English/SL

Clause What's the best way for your government

Clause Status MT: interrogative: Speech Function question Note

Figure 4.6: Presentation of Clause Types & Speech Function of Clause 2012pm-72-7

Figure 4.7 demonstrates the system network of MODALITY. As is seen in the figure, MODALITY contains different simultaneous systems. The TYPE, ORIENTATION, MANIFESTATION and VALUE of MODALITY are all characterised with different features, which are annotated in the corpus.

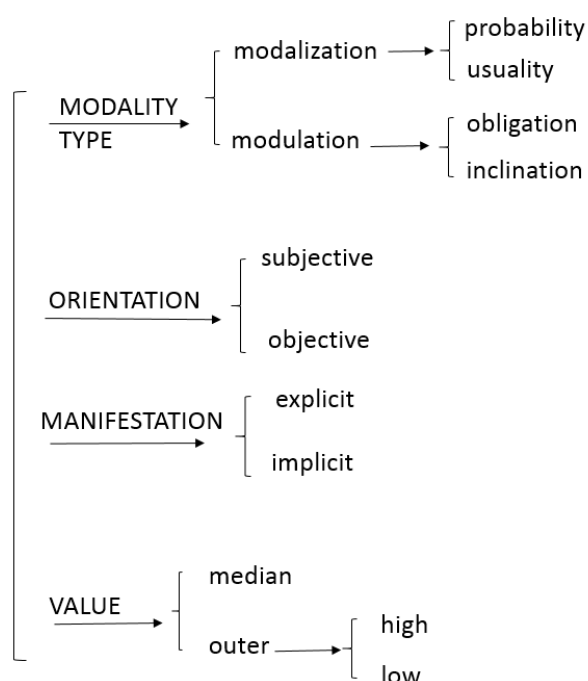


Figure 4.7: System network of MODALITY

To annotate the values in the system network of MODALITY, all modal expressions are firstly highlighted in bold text, and then analysed regarding modality type, orientation, value and manifestation. For example, as is shown in the highlighted areas of Figure 4.8, the modal expression of “would like” in clause 2009pm-114-17 is identified to express the subjective orientation, implicit manifestation, and medium inclination of modulation of the speaker.

Figure 4.8: Modal Features on the Modal Expression in Clause 2009pm-114-17

Finally, it has to be remembered that the aim of the analysis is to identify differences in interpersonal meaning between the parallel texts. Although some clauses in

both texts, in source and target languages, are to be examined closely in the condition that identical meaning is achieved, the major comparison of analytical results on the parallel text set will be made quantitatively, as identical correspondence in meaning may be impossible to obtain in consecutive interpreting practice due to its selective information processing.

- **ATTITUDE**

Appraisal is “a [semantic] system of interpersonal meaning” (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 26), which “realises variations in the tenor of social interactions enacted in a text” (p. 17). The appraisal system proposed by Martin and White (2008) is constructed as a three-dimensional framework to assess evaluative resources into three broad semantic domains, as ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, and GRADUATION. The lexical-semantic analysis on the CTSPC corpus in this study focuses only on ATTITUDE, for two reasons. Theoretically, ATTITUDE is directly concerned with speakers/writers taking up a particular stance in a phase of discourse, as the resource conveys “judgment and associate[s] emotional/affectual responses with participants and processes” (White, 2001). Practical constraints of time preclude further analyses of appraisal.

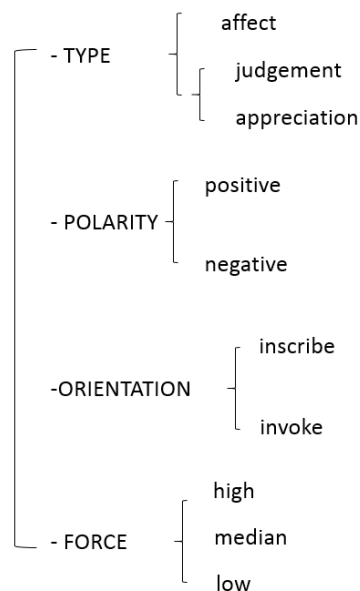


Figure 4.9: System network of ATTITUDE

Based on the general framework of attitudes proposed by Martin and White (2008), the analysis uses a revised system of ATTITUDE, as is presented in Figure 4.9. As is seen in the figure, the system of ATTITUDE embodies three types, namely affect,

judgement, and appreciation, involving the semantic regions of emotion, ethics, and aesthetics respectively. Affect is more emotion-based, while judgement and appreciation are opinion-oriented. In addition, attitudinal meaning in APPRAISAL is also realised by ORIENTATION, and POLARITY. The system of FORCE is added to substitute for the system of GRADUATION (Martin & White, 2008) or ‘Amplification’ (Eggins & Slade, 1997). In Figure 4.8, each sub-system is characterised by different features. However, the system in the present study will not embody more delicacy, with even further nuances since revision on the classification of attitudinal meanings, particularly on its sub-types and further delicacy in the description, is still a work in progress (Bednarek, 2009). More importantly, the lexical-semantic analysis of the attitudinal resources in the present study aims only to identify interpreters’ possible linguistic manipulation of attitudes, rather than to testify the reasoning of attitude delicacy in the appraisal system; thus there is no necessity for the analysis of attitudinal resources at a further level of delicacy.

The appraisal analysis of the attitudinal meaning in the CTSPC corpus is conducted on the basis of speaking turns, and in consideration of the topic-based context. The turn-oriented analysis unit is decided based on three considerations. Firstly, the appraisal analysis is functional and social semiotic-oriented, in relation to the “rhetoric and communicative effect” of discourse (Martin & White, 2008, p. 1). As discourse sits between the strata of grammar and social context, the size of its research unit is generally “bigger than a clause while smaller than a culture”, based on the realisational relationship between the social context in texts, as well as a text in sequence of clauses (Martin & Rose, 2002, p. 4). Secondly, as the Premier’s two-session press conferences use the consecutive mode of interpreting service, the speaker’s utterance or the interpreter’s rendition is practically completed with respect to a number of individual speaking turns at a time. More specifically, in the journalist’s speech, the question of a specific topic is often realised within one speaking turn. Following the consecutive interpreting process, its interpreting needs to be finished in one single turn as well. In this way, mono-linguistic discourses are formed through different turns of the journalist’s questions and their interpretations. In the Premier’s speech, the answer to a specific question is often delivered in several segments, leaving time-intervals for interpreting. Thus, centring on a specific topic, the mono-linguistic discourse for appraisal analysis on attitude is realised respectively in the composition of the Premier’s multiple speaking turns and that of their interpreting turns. In other words, the speech unit for appraisal analysis is defined by the

topic, but lies in the mono-linguistic discourse, which is composed at least within one speaking turn or its corresponding interpretation. So, more importantly, although each speaking turn may appear like an individual mini-speech, they are semantically-related by different topic-based Q&A sets.

In practice, the appraisal analysis in this study identifies all features of attitude in discourse with reference to the framework presented in Figure 4.9. Firstly, the bilingual corpus is filtered with mono-lingual data presentation. That is, the appraisal analysis of the source speech and its interpretation is conducted separately to avoid possible inter-lingual influences. After this textual preparation, attitudinal resources in the mono-lingual discourse are selected within each clause and coded in sequential numbers. For example, in Figure 4.9, the attitudinal lexis of “strong measures” is selected and labelled as 2012pm-75-16-1, which means that it is the first attitudinal resource identified in the clause 2012pm-75-16. It must emphasised here that the numbering of each attitude expression is to specify its location for ease of referencing. Thus, the label of an attitudinal item identified in a specific clause gives no indication that the analysis will be constrained by the boundaries of clauses.

As is displayed in Figure 4.10, the attitudinal features under the system of TYPE, ORIENTATION, POLARITY and FORCE are coded accordingly for the identified attitudinal resource. In addition, the appraiser and the appraised, referring to the source and target of the attitude, respectively, are also manually recorded into the program to assist in the identification of attitudes.

The screenshot shows a software interface for analyzing attitudes. At the top, there are four red boxes containing 'TextID 2012pm', 'TurnID 75', 'ClauseID 16', and 'ItemID 1'. Below these is a text box for 'Item' containing 'strong measures'. Further down, there are two text boxes: 'Topic' with 'Tibet' and 'Speaker' with 'inter'. A tab labeled 'Attitude' is selected. Below the tab is a table with four columns: TYPE, ORIENTATION, POLARITY, and FORCE. The rows in the table are: 'appreciation' (TYPE), 'Inscribe' (ORIENTATION), 'Positive' (POLARITY), and 'Medium' (FORCE). Below the table, there are two text boxes: 'Appraiser' with 'Premier/interpreter' and 'Appraised' with 'government's measures on Tibet'.

TYPE	ORIENTATION	POLARITY	FORCE
appreciation	Inscribe	Positive	Medium

Appraiser: Premier/interpreter
Appraised: government's measures on Tibet

Figure 4.10: Analysis of ATTITUDE on 2015pm-75-16-1

In addition, it is necessary to emphasise that the appraisal resources are coded independently in Chinese and English languages, in order to minimise possible inter-linguistic interference. We expect that such a practice can offer quantitative evidence on whether and how the personal attitudes in the source speech are manipulated or well-preserved through the interpreters' semantic choices in the situation.

4.4 Summary

This chapter reviews the development of CIS, to reason the corpus design in the current study; and introduces the background of China's two-session press conferences in order to contextualise the selection of the data in the CTSPC corpus. As a product-oriented descriptive study of the professional interpreter's social positioning in practice, the present research project builds a specialised corpus of China's staff interpreters' performance in the Premier's two-session press conferences, and integrates the method of discourse analysis in reference to the knowledge derived from systemic functional linguistic analysis.

Meanwhile, to understand the possible contextual variables in the interpreter's role performance, the study also identifies three parameters for analysis, the interpreter-speaker relationship, the interpreter-addressee relationship, and the topic of the discourse; and designs the analytical procedure accordingly.

Chapter 5: Interpreters' Role and the Change of Speakers

As is introduced in Chapter 4, the study tries to understand the possible influence of the communicative context on the interpreter's choices of social positioning. For this objective, the study will examine three parameters including the interpreter-speaker relationship, the interpreter-addressee relationship and the topic of the discourse. The analysis on the interpreter's choices for social positioning will then be conducted at different linguistic levels.

In this chapter, the analysis will focus on the interpreter's linguistic choices for social positioning when the speaker becomes the Premier, the journalists from other countries than China and the journalists from the Mainland. To this end, the chapter firstly introduces the linguistic features in the original speech under different speakers in the CTSPC corpus and then displays the features correspondingly in the interpretation. By comparing the interpersonal choices, such as speech functions and modal and attitudinal resources used by the speaker and the interpreter in practice, this chapter reveals the dynamism of the interpreter-speaker relationship in the interpreter's move/manoeuvre for social positioning. In consideration of the social and political affiliation of the interpreter to the Premier on the one hand, and the shared social and cultural convention between the interpreter and the Mainland journalist on the other, it is assumed that with the change of the speaker, the interpreter's linguistic choices for social positioning will be affected.

5.1 The Overview of the Data

As is stated in Chapter 4, the data for the current study are collected from the complete video-recordings of 7 press conferences. Yet, since the press conferences allow only the government speaker to respond to the questions from the media, the interpreting service is provided mainly to assist the communication between the Premier and all journalists. Thus, the analysis will focus only on the speeches of the Premier (PM), the Mainland journalists (JMs) and the journalists from countries other than China (JOs), as well as their interpretations in order to understand how the interpreters situate themselves with respect to the three different types of speakers in communication.

Table 5.1 displays the range of analysis in the CTSPC corpus. As is shown in the table, the analysis concerns 9,920 clauses, including 4,576 clauses in the cohort of source

speeches and 5,344 clauses in the interpretations. Within the source speeches there are 3,311 clauses from PM and 1,265 clauses from the journalists. Within the interpretations, 4,169 clauses are from PM's speeches and 1,175 from the journalists. In CTSPC corpus, all journalists can be further categorised in line with their social and political-geographic backgrounds as the journalists from Mainland China (JMs), those from the China's special administrative regions like Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan (JHMTs), and those from other countries (JOs). As a result, the speeches can be further identified in line with these three types of journalists. Among all the clauses from the journalists, there are 379 clauses from JMs, 291 clauses from JHMTs and 595 clauses from JOs. In the same vein, among the total speeches interpreted there are 350 clauses for JMs, 278 clauses for JHMTs and 547 clauses for JOs.

Clauses Speakers		Source		Interpretation		Difference	
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Premier		3,311	72.36%	4169	78.01%	858	25.91%
Journalists		1,265	27.64%	1175	21.99%	-90	-7.11%
	JM	379		350		-29	-7.65%
	JO	595		547		-48	-8.06%
	JHMT	291		278		-13	-4.47%

Table 5.1: Speech/Interpretation Composition in Analysis

In Table 5.1, the clauses by PM take up 72.36% of the total source speeches and the clauses in the interpretations of PM's speeches account for 78.01% of the total interpreted speeches. In contrast, as is shown in Table 5.1, the number of clauses in JHMT's speeches and interpretations takes up the smallest share. In other words, the distribution of the clauses among the four different types of speakers in press conferences suggests that PM is undoubtedly the focus of this high-profile political event. In the same vein, it also flags that JHMTs, among all the output of journalists, is the type of speaker who is least active in communication.

With the number of clauses in the source speeches and that in the interpretations for different types of speakers, Table 5.1 also summarises the change of clauses in the interpretations in relation to the source speeches of four different types of speakers.

As is seen in the table, there is an increase of 858 clauses in the interpretations of PM's speeches, taking up 25.91% of the distributive increase in the total clauses of the corpus. In contrast, there is a decrease of 90 clauses from the interpretations for the speeches by the journalist. Specifically, the fall in clause in the interpretations is respectively by 29, 48 and 13 clauses for JMs, JHMTs and JOs.

Based on the number of clauses used for the construction of units of meaning, it shows that as the interpretations of PM's speeches contain more clauses, or in other words units of meaning than the original speeches do. The meaning in the source speeches could be largely elaborated and explicated in the interpretations. On the contrary, the interpretations of the journalists' source speeches might be either simplified with some units of meaning being missed out or more densely packed with information as larger number of clauses are synthesised into fewer numbers.

What is shown in Table 5.1 suggests that there are arguably two different interpreting approaches or strategies at work in the CTSPC corpus. When the speaker is PM, the interpreters tend to be elaborative in practice by using more clauses. When the speaker changes to the journalist, the interpreters are likely to apply either summarisation or generalisation indicated by the reduced clause numbers. The strategic choices adopted by the interpreter seem to vary with the change of the speakers.

5.2 Description of the Source Speeches

Given the above general observation, this section introduces different linguistic features of the source speeches in relation to the three types of speakers in the CTSPC corpus, namely the Premier (PM), the journalists from countries other than China (JOs) and the journalists from Mainland China (JMs).

In this section, the linguistic analysis will focus on the source speeches of the speakers. It will firstly introduces the structural complexity of the language used in the source speeches. But more importantly, the analysis will focus on the speaker's linguistic choices for different speech functions, modal features and features of the attitudes so as to specify how the interpersonal meaning is realised at the content plane of the language. The analysis on the source speeches of the speakers is to understand how the speakers position themselves in communication.

5.2.1 Clausal Complexity in the Speeches

To reveal the complexity of the language structure in the source speeches, Figure 5.1 illustrates how the speech function is realised differently in the speakers' speeches with different numbers of clauses. As is explained previously on SFL in Chapter 3, each independent clause has a speech function. In Figure 5.1, the percentage of the independent clauses with an individual speech role against all clauses, both major and minor, used by PM, JOs, and JMs is calculated and marked on the basis of the year of the press conference. If a percentage rate is high, it suggests that fewer clause complexes are used by the speakers to realise one individual speech function in the source speeches.

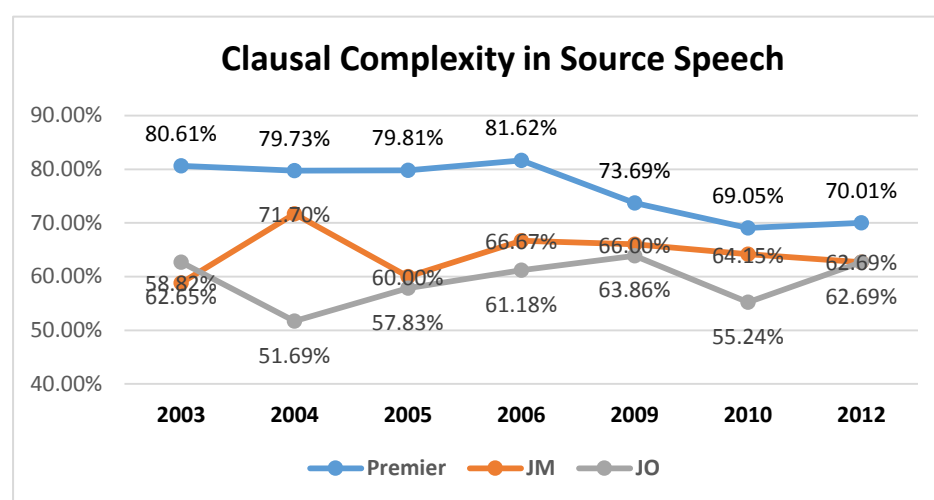


Figure 5.1: Clause Complexity in Speeches

As is shown in Figure 5.1, the percentages of the clausal complexity in three speakers' speeches are rather stable among 7 selected press conferences. This suggests that the construction of language for speech functions is comparatively consistent among each type of speakers.

Take PM for example, the clausal complexity in his speeches ranges from 81.62% to 69.05%, suggesting that averagely 70% of speech functions are realised by clause simplexes rather than clause complexes. In the sense, the majority of clauses in his speeches perform speech functions independently.

In contrast, the clausal complexity rates in the source speeches of JMs and JOs are much lower than that of PM's in all press conferences selected. More specifically, despite the slight difference in percentage, the complexity ratios in the speeches of JMs and JOs are generally similar, namely within the ranges of 58.82% to 71.70% and 51.69% to 63.86% in respective terms. Hence, the much lower clausal complexity rate in the

journalists' speeches suggests that both JOs and JMs tend to use more clauses complexes to articulate their ideas. The speeches of journalists appear to be much more complicated in the grammatical structure, indicating deliberate preparations involved beforehand. In the same vein, PM's speeches appear to be simple in clausal construction, reflecting more sense of improvisation.

5.2.2 MOOD Choices in the Speeches

In SFL, a clause expresses the interpersonal meanings of speech roles at the semantic level of language. This level is realised grammatically in the wording construction termed MOOD (Butt et al., 2001; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). This section focuses on the Mood patterns of different speakers and introduces how different speech roles are realised by the three types of speakers via speakers' choices of clause types.

5.2.2.1 Premier's Speeches

Table 5.2 shows the speech functions realised in PM's speeches to understand the role of PM in communication. In the table, the number of different speech functions are presented and organised on the basis of individual sessions. To highlight the prominent presence of statements in PM's speeches, the percentage ratio of the statement in the speech is also displayed in brackets.

Speech Functions	2003 No. / %	2004 No. / %	2005 No. / %	2006 No. / %	2009 No. / %	2010 No. / %	2012 No. / %
statement	364/ 98.38%	352/ 98.32%	333/ 99.11%	325/ 97.60%	374/ 98.16%	344/ 98.85%	380/ 97.19%
question	2	3	1	2	2	2	5
command	3	2	1	2	5	0	5
offer	1	1	1	4	0	2	1
Total	370	358	336	333	381	348	391

Table 5.2: Speech Functions in the Speeches of PM

As is shown in Table 5.2, the speech function of the statement is obviously the primary source to PM's speeches. The minimum share of the statement among all speech functions used by PM in the 7 press conferences is 97.19%. Such a dominant share of statements in PM's speeches suggests that semantically, the primary function of PM's speeches is to provide information in communication. In other words, PM relies heavily on the speech function of statement to realise the interpersonal meaning in situation.

However, it is also noticed in Table 5.3 that PM uses other speech functions such as questions, commands, and offers, in communication, though all in small numbers.

Focusing on the statement, Table 5.3 summarises the distribution of congruent and metaphorical realisations of all statements in PM's speeches and presents the distribution of two types of grammatical patterns in percentage rates.

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012
congruent	99.73%	99.15%	99.40%	100.00%	99.73%	100.00%	99.74%
metaphoric	0.27%	0.85%	0.60%	0.00%	0.27%	0.00%	0.26%

Table 5.3: Grammatical Realisation of Statements in PM's Speeches

As is shown in Table 5.3, the grammatical realisation of the statements in PM's speeches is highly consistent among the 7 selected sessions. That is, over 99% of the statements in PM's speeches of all sessions are realised congruently via declarative clauses. In the sense, PM rarely uses the metaphorical way to realise his statements in the sessions.

Since the choice of grammatical patterns for a speech-functional role is constrained by various tenor values relating to social powers and interpersonal relationships of the participants in communication, PM's massive application of congruent realisation of statements in his speeches suggests that he situates himself in an appropriate communicative relationship with other participants and thus feels no need for any metaphorical methods for statements to bring more ease to the communication. That is, PM well acknowledges and feels confident with his role in the press conferences to answer questions and provide information as requested.

5.2.2.2 Journalists' Speeches

Table 5.4 summarises the number of speech functions and their distributive percentages in the source speeches of JMs and JOs across the 7 selected press conferences in the CTSPC corpus.

Speech Functions		2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012
statement	JM	19/ 63.33%	21/ 55.26%	26/ 72.22%	21/ 70.00%	20/ 60.61%	23/ 67.65%	25/ 59.52%
	JO	27/ 51.92%	27/ 58.70%	30/ 62.50%	34/ 65.38%	28/ 52.83%	39/ 67.24%	22/ 52.38%

question	JM	7/ 23.33%	13/ 34.21%	8/ 22.22%	6/ 20.00%	10/ 30.30%	7/ 20.59%	12/ 28.57%
	JO	22 42.31%	16 34.78%	16 33.33%	14 26.92%	24 45.28%	17 29.31%	19 45.24%
command	JM	4/ 13.33%	4/ 10.53%	1/ 2.78%	3/ 10.00%	3/ 9.09%	4/ 11.76%	5/ 11.90%
	JO	3/ 5.77%	3/ 6.52%	2/ 4.17%	4/ 7.69%	1/ 1.89%	2/ 3.45%	1/ 2.38%
offer	JM	0	0	1/ 2.78%	0	0	0	0
	JO	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.4: Speech Functions in the Source Speeches of JMs & JOs

As is shown in Table 5.4, among four types of speech functions, the statement and the question take two largest proportions in the journalists' speeches. For example, statements in the JM's speeches range from approximately 55.26% to 72.22% of all speech functions in the 7 press conferences, while questions contribute 20% to 34.21% of all speech functions. Similarly, JO's speeches in the corpus are composed of 51.92% to 65.38% of statements and 26.92% to 45.28% of questions. It is clear that the statement is even more frequently applied than the question in the speeches of journalists.

In Table 5.4, the large proportion of both statements and questions suggests that the primary function of the journalists' speeches in the press conferences is not only to request information but also to give information in the communication. Such a finding appears bit unusual since the role assigned to the journalists in the press conferences is conventionally the interviewer who asks for facts or statements from the interviewee. The highest percentage of statements in the journalists' speeches suggests that the questions raised in their speeches may always be accompanied with more elaborative information to arguably either foreground (constrain) or support (explain) the information request.

Thus, given the dominant presence of statements and questions in the journalists' speeches, our primary interest is to understand the grammatical features of these two speech roles in the speeches of JOs and JMs in the CTSPC corpus.

With analysis, statements in the speeches of both JOs and JMs are found to be primarily realised by declarative clauses, suggesting the congruent grammatical

realisation is the usual choice of the journalists for the speech function of statement. Focusing only on the 63 questions from the speeches of JMs and 128 questions from the speeches of JOs, Table 5.5 demonstrates the distribution of congruent grammatical patterns of questions in the corpus.

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012	Average
JM	85.71%	92.31%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	96.86%
JO	95.45%	100%	87.50%	100%	95.83%	100%	100%	96.97%

Table 5.5: Distribution of Congruent Realisation of Questions in the Speeches of JMs & JOs

As is presented in Table 5.5, the congruent realisation of questions is absolutely dominant in the journalists' speeches. That is, both JMs and JOs primarily use interrogative clauses to realise the speech function of the question. In other words, lexicogrammatically, the metaphorical realisation of question is rare in the speeches of JMs and JOs.

For interrogative clauses including wh-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives, Table 5.6 further describes the application of these two types of interrogative clauses for journalists' questions in the corpus.

		2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012	Total
WH-	JM	6	11	5	5	6	5	6	44
	JO	9	13	9	8	15	7	15	76
Y/N	JM	0	1	3	1	4	2	6	17
	JO	12	3	5	6	8	10	4	48

Table 5.6: Types of Interrogative Clauses for Questions

As is presented in Table 5.6, both JMs and JOs generally use more wh-interrogatives than polar-interrogatives to realise questions. For example, in the speeches of JMs, there are 44 wh-interrogative questions and only 17 polar-interrogative questions. In JOs' speeches, there are 76 wh-interrogative questions and 48 polar-interrogative questions. The number of polar interrogative questions in the speeches of JOs is proportionally higher than that in the speeches of JMs. The difference on the grammatical pattern of questions between JMs and JOs seems to suggest that, although the questions raised by JMs and JOs share a similar semantic purpose for information, JMs focus more

on requesting new information, while JOs seem to be more interested in obtaining the confirmation on the truthfulness of the old or the provided information. That is, with different grammatical features, the questions of JOs in the CTSPC corpus appear more explicit or possibly confrontational than those of JMs do in nature.

5.2.3 Modal Expressions in the Speeches

Table 5.7 focuses on the grammatical resources of modality in the source speeches of the three types of speakers and describes the application of modal expressions in totality and frequency.

	PM	JM	JO
Modality	726	52	107
Clauses with Modality	22.39%	16.88%	21.06%

Table 5.7: Application of Modality by the Speakers in the Source Speeches

As is presented in Table 5.7, PM's speeches contain far more modal expressions than those of JMs and JOs do. However, the distribution of modality in the speeches of PM (22.39%) and JOs (21.06%) is similar, but higher than that in the speeches of JMs. For example, in PM's speeches, 22.39% of clauses contain a modal expression while only 16.88% of clauses in the speeches of JMs have a modality item. Yet, as is also displayed in the table, the frequency of modality in clauses is generally low across the three types of speakers, suggesting that the source speeches are generally articulated with certainty and less interpersonal involvement from the speakers. In other words, with the speakers' choices, the speeches, particularly the speeches of JMs, seem to be more factual than interpersonal.

In more details, the application of modality in the speeches of the three types of speakers differs with various modal features including type, value and orientation.

Figures 5.2- 5.4 describe the application of the three types of modality, namely probability, obligation, and inclination, in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. The type of usuality is excluded in the presentation due to its rare presence in analysis. All types of modality in the speeches are displayed in percentage ratio, calculated with the instance of each type against the totality of the modal expressions.

Figure 5.2 displays the use of probability in the speeches. For the ease of reading, the distributive percentage of probability in the speeches of JOs is marked in bold at the

end of corresponding columns while the percentage in PM's speeches is labelled at the centre of PM columns.

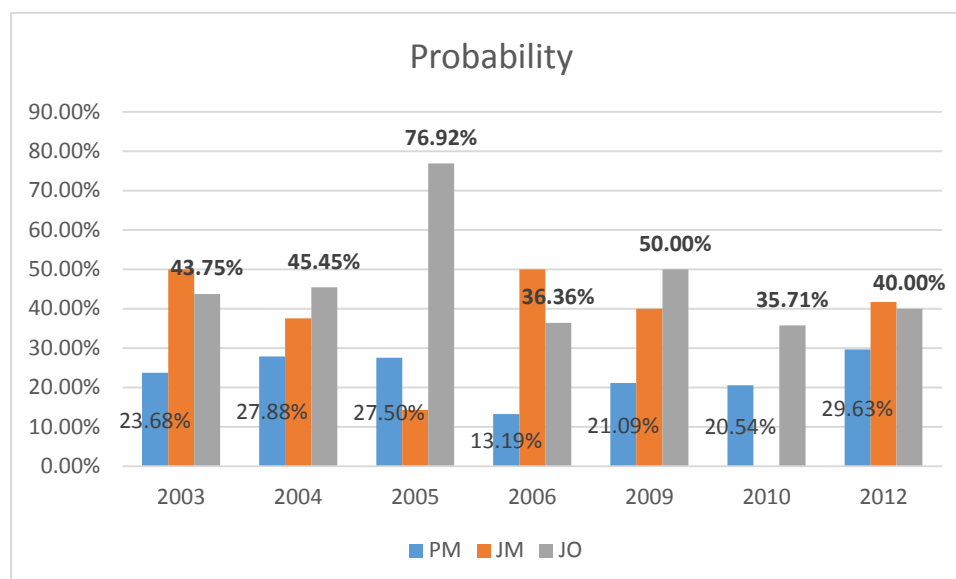


Figure 5.2: The Distribution of Probability in the Source Speeches

As is seen in the figure, the distribution of probability varies greatly among the three types of speakers in the CTSPC corpus. Firstly, the distributive rate of probability in the speeches of JOs generally ranges from 35.71% to 50%, with one exceptionally high rate of 76.92% in 2005 session. Secondly, the distribution of probability in the speeches of PM takes up 13.19% to 29.63% of all modality items, showing less static variation among the 7 selected sessions. As such a range of probability distribution appears generally lower than that in the speeches of JOs, it suggests that PM shows a higher level of confidence in giving propositions while JOs appear more uncertain with the information in their statements. Thirdly, the distribution of probability in the speeches of JMs varies greatly among the 7 selected sessions, indicating less consistency but more randomness for analysis.

Figure 5.3 illustrates the distribution of obligation in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. In the figure, the distributive rates are labelled only for PM's speeches. The distributive rates in the speeches of JOs and JMs are not marked out for detailed exploration because there is no regular pattern identified from the statistics of all individual sessions and thus the data are believed of little significance for the understanding of how the modality type of obligation is used by JOs or JMs.

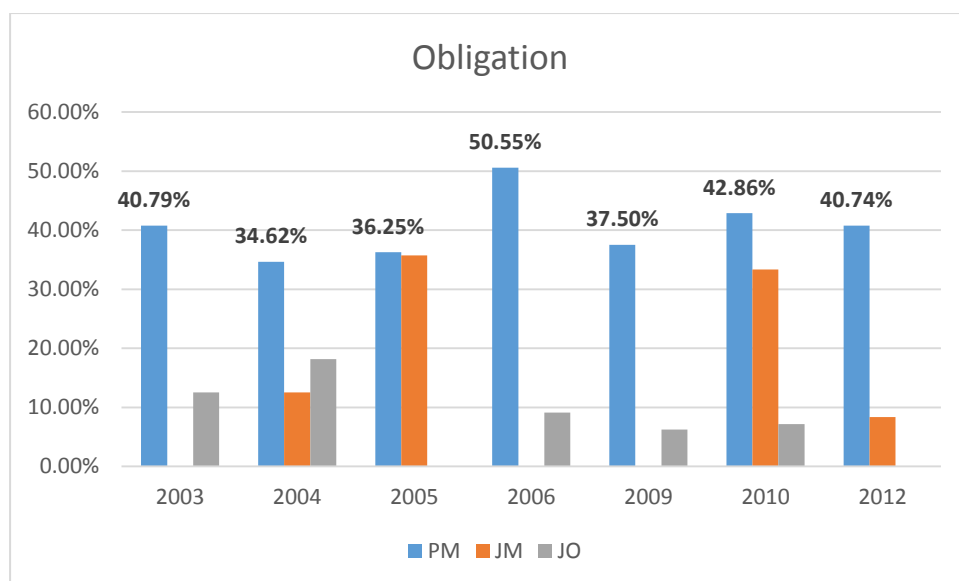


Figure 5.3: The Distribution of Obligation in the Source Speeches

As is illustrated in Figure 5.3, 34.62% to 50.55% of modal expressions in PM's speeches are identified as the type of obligation. The highest distribution of obligation in the speeches of PM indicates a much stronger rhetorical force of prescribing or proscribing in discourse, which is obviously not identified from the speeches of JMs and JOs.

Figure 5.4 presents the distributive difference of inclination in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs among all the individual sessions. In the figure, the distributive rates of inclination in the speeches are all labelled. The rates of PM are marked inside the base columns. The rates of JMs are at the centre and the rates of JOs are above the corresponding columns.

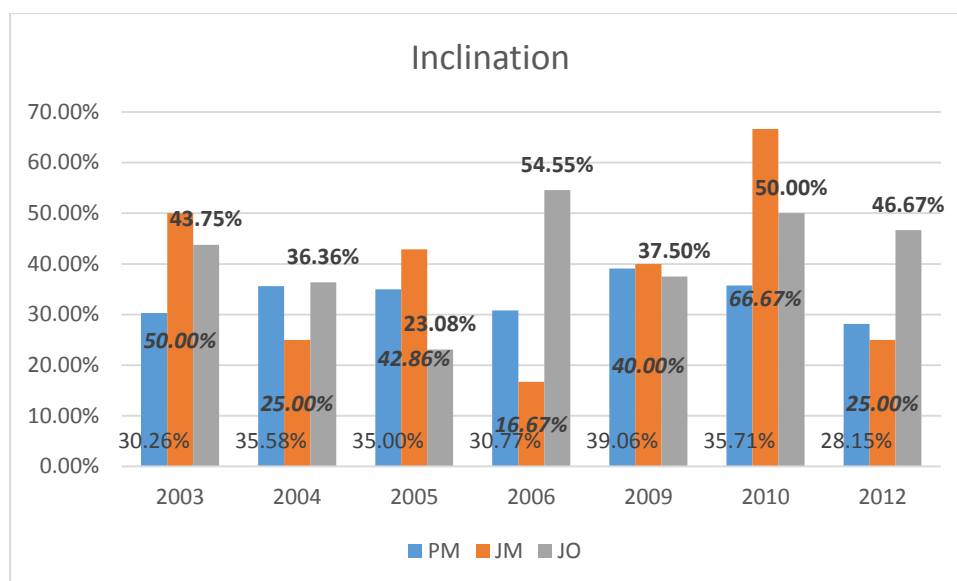


Figure 5.4: The Distribution of Inclination in the Source Speeches

As is shown in Figure 5.4, the modality of inclination appears rather frequent in the speeches of all speakers. Firstly, the application of inclination in the speeches of PM ranges narrowly from 28.15% in the 2012-session to 39.06% in the 2009-session, suggesting that PM does not have consistent preference towards the inclination in his speeches. In comparison, the distribution of inclination in the speeches of both JMs and JOs appears less consistent due to more statistic discrepancies displayed among individual sessions. Yet, with a simple calculation, the average distributive rates of inclination are found to be respectively 41.7% in the speeches of JOs and 38.03% in the speeches of JMs, suggesting that JOs tend to use the modality type of inclination more often than JMs do in the corpus.

Focusing on the three selected modality types in the speeches, Figures 5.2- 5.4 show that the speeches of PM and JOs are different in applying modality.

Firstly, the distribution of the three types of modal expressions in the speeches of PM is rather stable among all individual sessions. The low distribution of probability in PM's speeches indicates more commitment to the truthfulness of his propositions. The distinctively higher level of the obligation in PM's speeches suggests that PM's speeches carry more rhetorical force of commanding and thus forms a more authoritative tone in communication. Secondly, despite some inconsistency of modality use among the different sessions, the comparatively high distribution of the possibility and the inclination in the speeches of JOs is indicative of JOs' uncertainty and tentativeness in

articulation. Thirdly, the distribution of the three types of modality in the speeches of JMs suggests a strong tendency among all JMs to avoid a strong rhetorical force with regulatory or commanding meanings in communication.

Focusing on the modality value, Figures 5.5- 5.8 display the distribution of high, medium and low-value modal expressions in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. For the ease of reading, the highest and the lowest distributive rates in the speeches of different speakers are marked out above the corresponding columns of the individual sessions to indicate the range of distribution.

Figure 5.5 then presents the distribution of medium-value modality in the speeches of the three types of speakers in the CTSPC corpus.

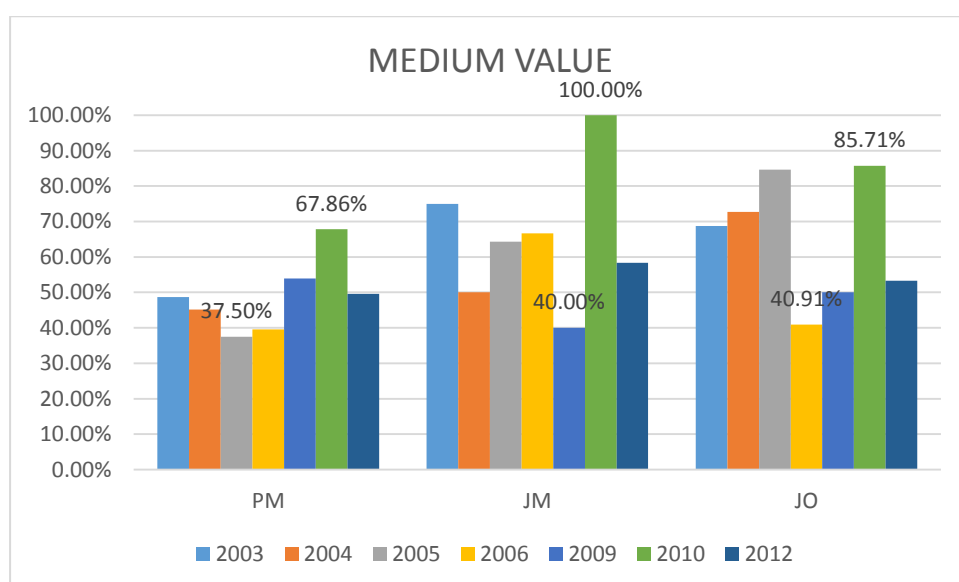


Figure 5.5: Distributive Rates of the Medium Value of Modality in the Speeches

In Figure 5.5, the distribution of the medium-value modality shows that a large proportion of modal expressions in the speeches of the three types of speakers carry the medium value. In addition, the distributive rates presented in PM's speeches among the 7 individual sessions indicates a higher level of consistency of application than those in the speeches of JMs and JOs do. Such consistency of value distribution is also identified in Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7 for the high- and low-value modal expressions.

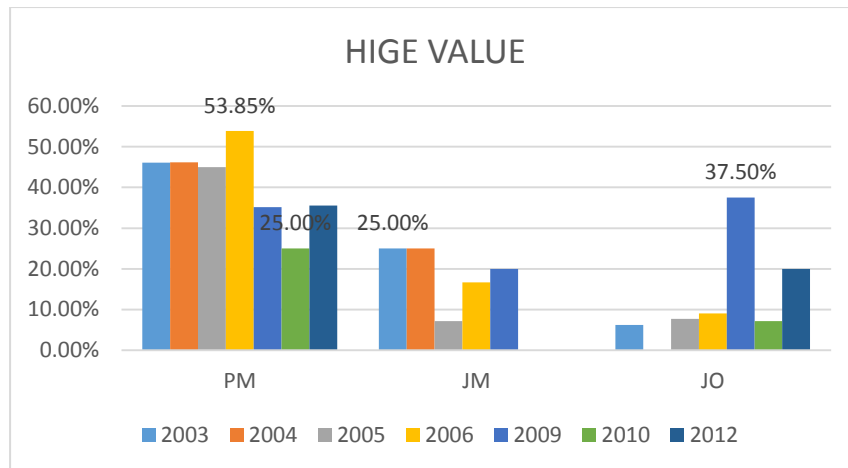


Figure 5.6: Distributive Rates of the High Value of Modality in the Speeches

In Figure 5.6, the distribution of the high value modality varies among the three categories of speakers. In addition to the stable distributive change pattern in PM's speeches, its distributive rates of the high-value modality among all sessions are moderately higher than those in the speeches of JMs and JOs.

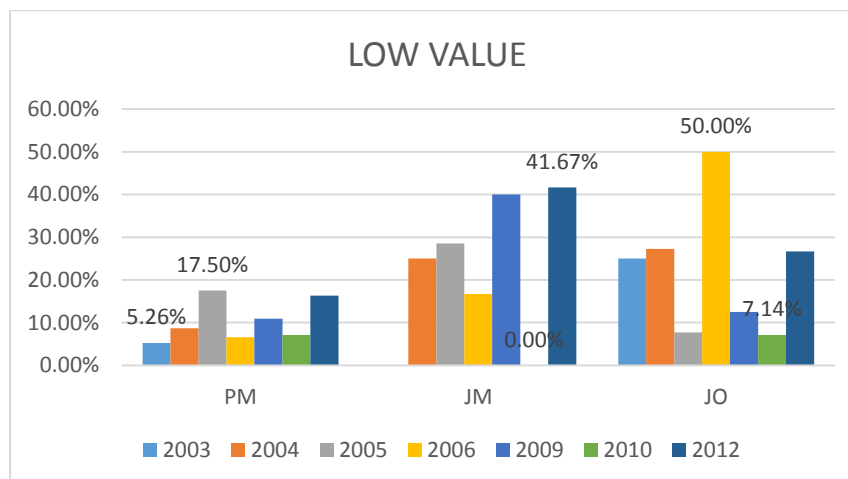


Figure 5.7: Distributive Rates of the Low Value of Modality in the Speeches

In Figure 5.7, the distribution of the low value modality is generally low in PM's speeches. Secondly, the distribution of low-value modality varies greatly in the speeches of JMs and JOs, suggesting a high level of inconsistency in the application of the low-value modality by JMs and JOs. Yet, comparing with the distributive pattern shown in Figure 5.6, the use of low-value modality appears to be bit more frequent than the high-value modality in the speeches of JOs and JMs.

Focusing on the modality value, Figures 5.5- 5.7 show that, apart from the general application of the medium-value modality by all speakers, the high-value modality tends to be applied more frequently in the speeches of PM while the low-value modality seems to be used more often in the speeches of JMs and JOs. Meanwhile, Figures 5.5- 5.7 also show that PM's choices for different modality values are generally consistent among the 7 selected sessions. With consistent preference for the high- and medium-value modality in the speeches, PM, in all CTSPC sessions, presents more confidence with the information than JMs and JOs do in their own speeches.

Figure 5.8 and 5.9 illustrate respectively the distributive application of the subjective orientation and the implicit manifestation of the modal expressions used in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs in the CTSPC corpus. In reference of the modality features discussed in Chapter 4, both systems of modal orientation and manifestation contain two contrastive values. Thus, though focusing only on one value, the figures of 5.8 and 5.9 are able to describe and reflect the general application of other modal features in analysis.

In both figures, the lowest distributive rates are labelled inside the base of the corresponding columns, while the highest rates are labelled outside. When the highest rate reaches 100% of the gridline, the data is not marked out for the convenience of presentation.

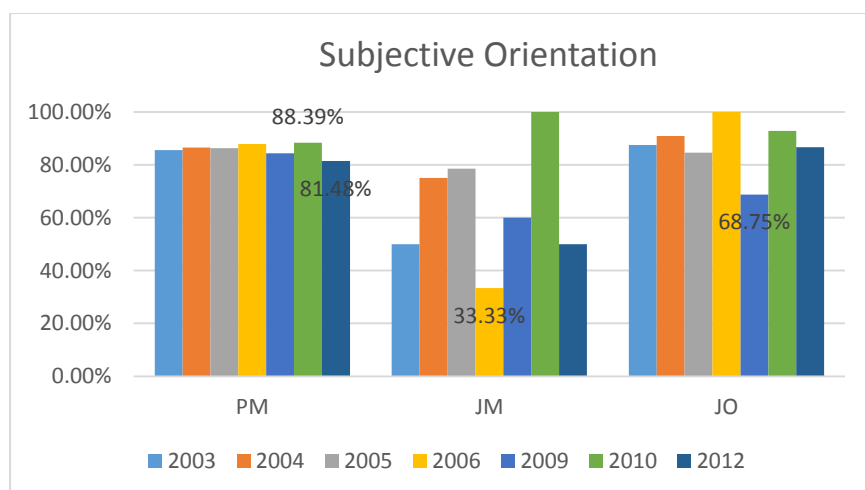


Figure 5.8: Distribution of Subjective Orientation in the Speeches

As is shown in Figure 5.8, 81.48% to 88.39% of the modal expressions in PM's speeches are subjectively oriented. That is, PM consistently chooses to orient his modal expressions in a subjective manner. In the figure, the subjective-oriented modality ranges

from 68.75% to 100% in the speeches of JOs, suggesting that most of the modal expressions used by JOs in the corpus are subjectively oriented. As for the speeches of JMs, the distributive rates of the subjective-oriented modality appear to be rather low and inconsistent among individual sessions, flagging that more modal expressions could be oriented in an objective manner by JMs.

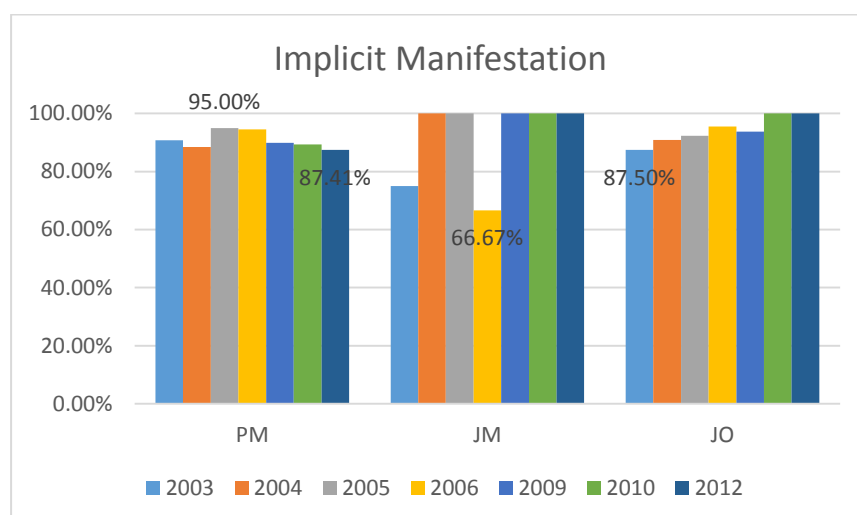


Figure 5.9: Distribution of Implicit Manifestation in the Speeches

Figure 5.9 displays how implicitly manifested modal expressions are distributed in the speeches of the three types of speakers. As is shown in the figure, the distributive rates of implicit modal expressions are respectively from 87.41% to 95% in PM's speeches and from 87.5% to 100% in JOs' speeches. Comparing to the distributive range of 66.67% to 100% in the speeches of JMs, the implicit-manifested modality seems to be more consistently applied by PM and JOs. However, that being the case, it is still obvious that the majority of the modal expressions are manifested implicitly in the speeches of all speakers.

Focusing on the modality features of orientation and manifestation, Figures 5.8 and 5.9 suggest that the modality in the speeches of PM and JOs is more likely to be applied implicitly from a subjective perspective, while the modal expressions in the speeches of JMs stand more chances to be objective and explicit.

To summarise, the analysis on modal features find that the modality is applied differently in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs.

Firstly, PM prefers the type of probability and shows no intention to avoid the type of obligation. In addition, PM also consistently applies high- and medium-value

modal expression in his speeches and usually projects modality in a subjective and implicit manner. In this regard, PM shows a higher level of confidence and authority in discourse and appears very comfortable with his personal perceptions in public. In contrast, JMs are unwilling to claim any authority or mandatory force by avoiding the application of obligation in the speeches. With more distribution of low-value modality in use, JMs become less confident in making any propositions or proposals. Yet, unlike PM using more subjective oriented modality, JMs tend to give more space for the objective oriented modal expressions, and this suggests that they are rather uncomfortable with and thus hesitant to express personal judgements. Thirdly, in the speeches of JOs, the probability and the inclination are mostly used with medium or low modality values and subjective-implicit orientation. Judging from that, JOs are less constrained in their choices of modal expressions in the CTSPC corpus than JMs do. Yet, JOs seem to be bit confident in projecting their subjectiveness in communication.

5.2.4 Attitudinal Resources in the Speeches

With a focus on the attitudinal resources, Table 5.8 summarises both the totality of attitudinal resources in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs in the CTSPC corpus and the distribution of attitudes in clauses.

	PM	JM	JO
Attitudinal Resources	1,537	97	156
Clauses with Attitudes	46.35%	25.59%	26.22%

Table 5.8: Appraisal Resources in the Source Speeches

As is shown in the table, PM's speeches contain 1,537 attitudinal instances. That is, 46.35% of clauses in PM's speeches have been appraised with an attitude. In comparison, only 25.59% and 26.22% of clauses in the speeches of JMs and JOs contain an attitude. It is safe to conclude that PM's speeches are highly appraised while the speeches of JMs and JOs appear much less personal and evaluative.

Figures 5.10-5.14 focus on different features of the attitude and describe their application in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs at the different sessions. To demonstrate the distributive range of each attitudinal feature in discourse, the highest and the lowest distributive rates of the feature are labelled outside the relevant session columns. When the feature is absent in analysis, namely the distributive rate is 0%, the lowest rate is not labelled for a simple and clear presentation.

Focusing on the type of attitudes, Figures 5.10-5.12 demonstrate the distribution of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs.

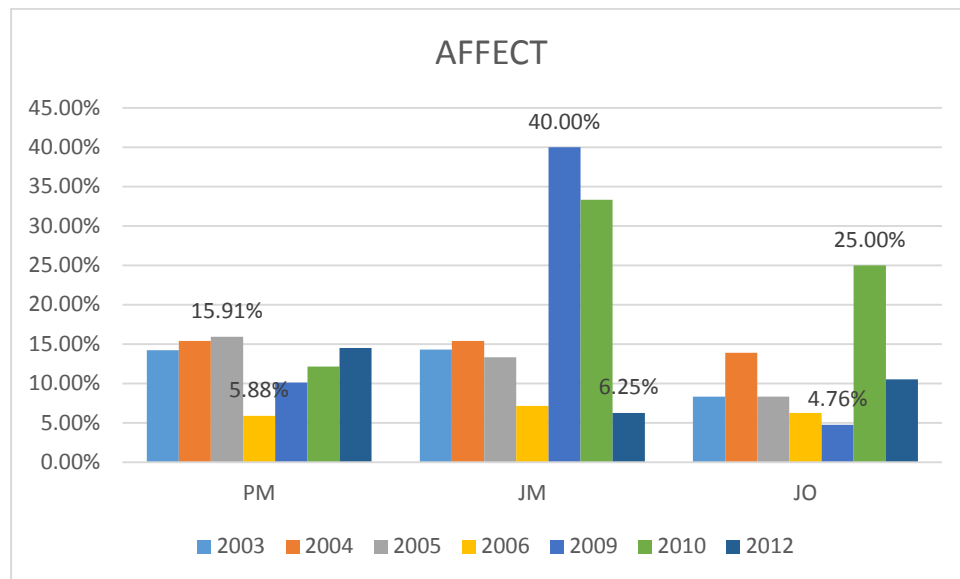


Figure 5.10: Distribution of Affect in Attitudes

As is presented in Figure 5.10, the distribution of Affect ranges noticeably from 5.88% to 15.91% in PM's speeches, 6.25% to 40% in the speeches of JMs and 4.76% to 25% in the speeches of JOs. The presence of Affect as attitudes is rather inconsistently in all sessions and by all the speakers, suggesting that the use of Affect by the speakers is fairly spontaneous in the CTSPC corpus. Secondly, in Figure 5.10, the distribution of the Affect is usually below 15% among most of the sessions in the CTSPC corpus. With such a low rate, the use of Affect as the attitude cannot be common in the speeches of the selected speakers. In other words, most of attitudes in the speeches from the CTSPC corpus for analysis are institutionalised opinions, rather than the natural emotion of human beings.

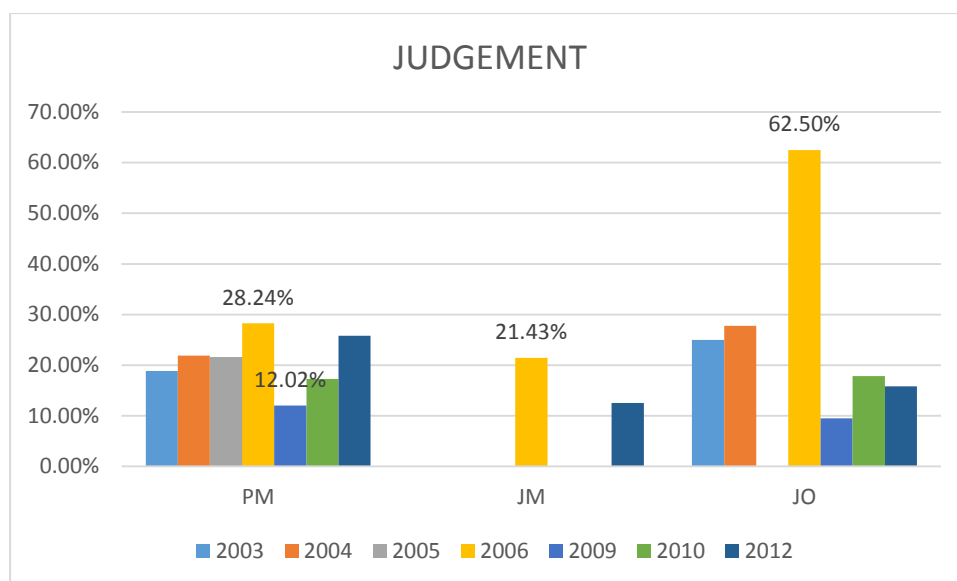


Figure 5.11: Distribution of Judgement in Attitudes

In Figure 5.11, the attitude of Judgement ranges from 12.02% to 28.24% in PM's speeches, indicating that PM consistently uses Judgement in his speeches. In the figure, the distributive rates of Judgement in JOs' speeches vary from 0% to 62.5%, suggesting that most JOs do not avoid using Judgements to appraise in discourse but some JOs, like those present in the 2005-session, obviously prefer not to appraise with Judgement. However, the most distinctive feature shown in Figure 5.11 is that there are only two sessions are identified with the distribution of Judgement in the speeches of JMs, suggesting that the JMs' application of Judgement as attitudinal resources is extremely unusual in the CTSPC corpus. In other words, most of JMs prefer not to use Judgements to present their attitudes on the occasion.

As is presented in Figure 5.12, the distribution of Appreciation as attitudes seems to be common in all speeches of the selected speakers. Particularly in the speeches of PM and JMs, the lowest distribution rates of Appreciation are respectively 59.72% and 60%, saying that the majority of attitudes used by PM and JMs in the CTSPC corpus are Appreciations. In the figure, the distribution of Appreciation in the speeches of JOs varies greatly from 31.25% in 2006-session to 91.67% in 2005-session, showing a high level of randomness in the speakers' linguistic choices. Yet, as the distributive rate is close to 60% among 6 selected sessions in JO's speeches, it is still safe to say that the Appreciation is commonly applied as the attitude to appraise in JO's speeches.

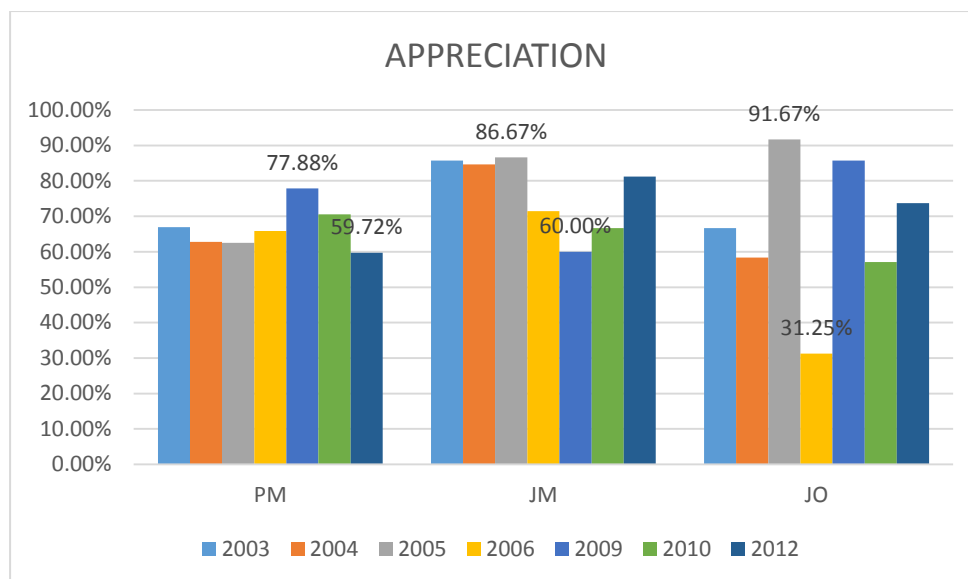


Figure 5.12: Distribution of Appreciation in Attitudes

From Figure 5.10 to Figure 5.12, the distribution of the three types of attitudes shows that the institutionalised feelings, particularly the attitude of Appreciation which is associated more with aesthetics, prevail in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs respectively. As for the Judgement, its consistent presence in PM's speeches and rare appearance in the speeches of JMs suggest two contrastive attitudes towards the use of Judgement in public. That is, the application of Judgement as the attitude for appraisal is well-accepted by PM but somehow purposefully avoided by almost all JMs. In the speeches of JOs, although the high distribution of Appreciation surely indicates JOs' high level of preference towards Appreciation as attitudes for appraisal, the constant presence of Judgement in JOs' speeches also suggests that the attitude of Judgment is not totally dis-preferred in communication.

Figure 5.13 focuses on the positivity of attitudes and describes the distribution of positive attitudes in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. Since all attitudes can be registered in the polarity of positive and negative, the positive attitude distribution in Figure 5.13 is also reflective to how negative attitudes are distributed in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs in the CTSPC corpus.

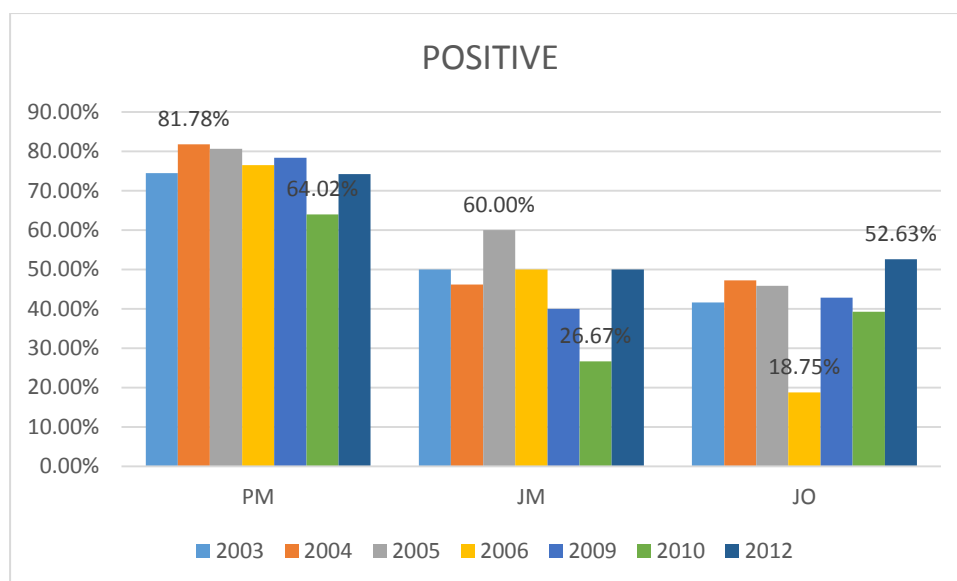


Figure 5.13: Distribution of Positive Attitudes in the Speeches

As is seen in Figure 5.13, positive attitudes range from 64.02% to 81.78% in PM's speeches. That is, with at least 64.02% of positive attitudes in use, the PM's speeches contain primarily positive attitudes and thus are obviously pieces of positively-appraised speeches. In the figure, the distribution of positive attitudes ranges from 26.67% to 60% in the speeches of JMs, being slightly higher than the range of 18.75% to 52.63% in the speeches of JOs. With the highest positive attitude rate of 60%, the speeches of JMs and JOs in the CTSPC corpus surely contain more negative than positive attitudes. In addition, a simple calculation shows that the average distributive rates of positive attitudes are 46.12% in JMs' speeches and 41.18% in JOs' speeches. Thus, statistically, the speeches of JOs could be more negatively appraised than the speeches of JMs in general. However in practice, the speakers' choice of positive attitudes may be different among individual sessions due to the fairly big gap of positive attitude distribution in the speeches of JMs and JOs.

Figure 5.14 shows the distribution of the inscribed attitudinal resources in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. As is presented in the figure, inscribed attitudes range from 57.69% to 69.46% in PM's speeches, indicating that a majority of attitudes are directly stated instead of indirectly realised in PM's speeches. Similarly, the distributive rates of inscribed attitudes are mostly above 50% in the speeches of JMs and JOs, indicating most attitudes are inscribed in their speeches as well. Yet, as the distribution of inscribed attitudes appears less stable in the speeches of JMs and JOs than it is in PM's

speeches, Figure 5.14 then suggests that the journalists in the CTSPC corpus tend to express their attitudes more implicitly while PM usually chooses more direct expression.

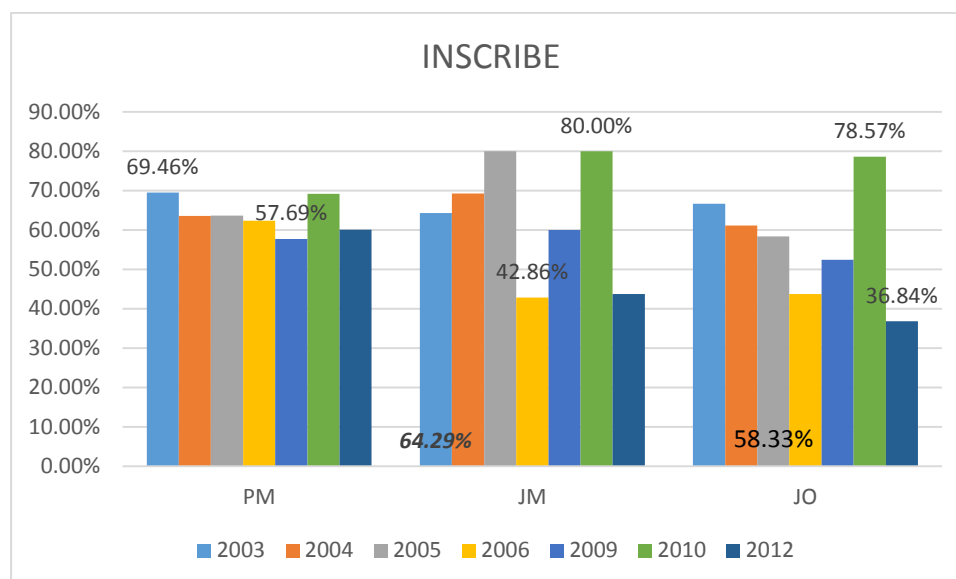


Figure 5.14: Distribution of Inscribed Attitudes in the Speeches

Figure 5.15 and 5.16 describe the force of attitudes, namely upscaling for the intensification and downscaling for the mitigation of attitudes, in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. In both figures, the highest and the lowest distributive rates are labelled above the relevant session columns to mark out the range of the feature distribution.

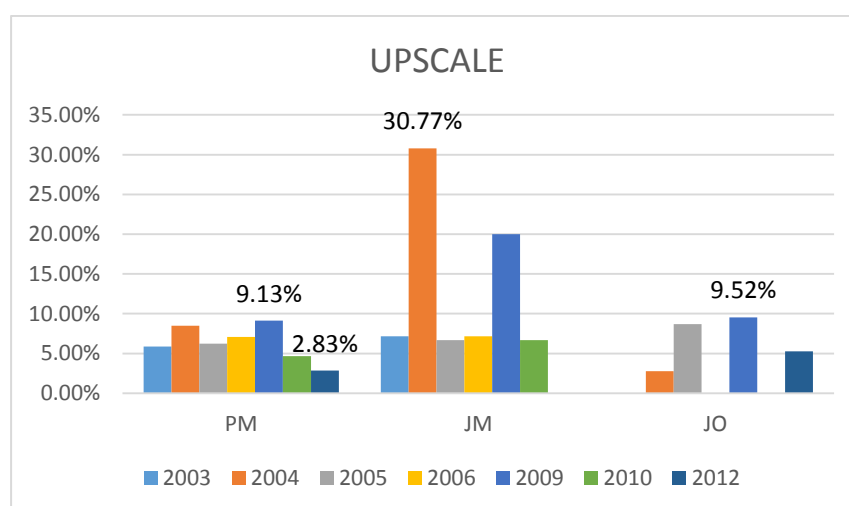


Figure 5.15: Distribution of Upscaling Attitudes in the Speeches

As is presented in Figure 5.15, attitudinal resources are consistently intensified in PM's speeches, ranging from 2.83% to 9.13% among all selected sessions. In the speeches of JMs, attitudes are intensified at the approximate rate of 6% in 4 sessions with

one session claiming no attitudinal intensification and two sessions having over 20% of attitudinal intensification. In contrast, attitudes in the speeches of JOs are not intensified in the three sessions and the rates of up-scaled attitudes in other four sessions are all below 9.52%. In the sense, the distributive rate of intensified attitudes in Figure 5.15 is generally low in the speeches of the CTSPC corpus. In other words, the intensification is not usually applied by all selected speakers to dramatise the attitudes, namely either emotions or opinions, in the CTSPC corpus. Yet, the comparatively stable presence of intensified attitudes in the speeches of PM and JMs also suggests that these two types speakers tend to claim stronger rhetorical forces in attitudinal resources. In contrast, the constant absence of intensified attitudes in JOs' speeches suggests that the strong attitudinal force is least likely to be applied by JOs for appraisal in the CTSPC corpus. Particularly, due to the obvious distributive rate difference among all sessions in the speeches of JOs, the application of highly intensified attitudes may be considered as the unusual and random choices of JOs.

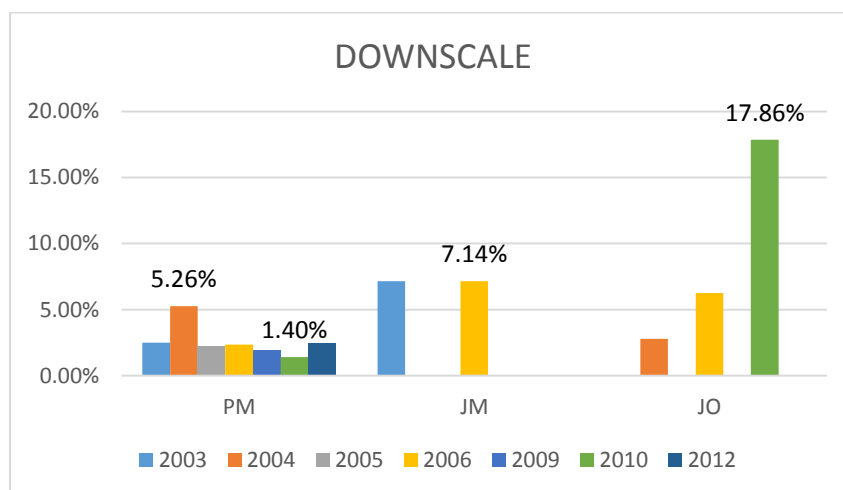


Figure 5.16: Distribution of Downscaling Attitudes in the Speeches

Figure 5.16 presents how downscaled attitudes are distributed in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. In Figure 5.16, the downscaled attitudes appear consistently low in PM's speeches, ranging only from 1.4% to 5.26% among the 7 selected sessions. In contrast, the distribution of downscaled attitudes may appear at a higher rate in the speeches of JMs and JOs. But such a presentation is rare and varies greatly from session to session. In this way, the distribution of downscaled attitudes in Figure 5.16 suggests that the rhetorical force carried by attitudes is usually not mitigated in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. Yet, PM seems habitually use downscaling in his attitudes while JMs

and JOs appear rather spontaneous to choose downscaled attitudes for appraisal in the CTSPC corpus.

Focusing on the force of attitudes, Figure 5.15-5.16 suggest that the speakers in the CTSPC corpus, particularly JOs, use attitudes without intensifying or mitigating their rhetorical forces in the speeches. In addition, while PM may habitually choose some intensified or mitigated attitudes for appraisal, JMs present a stronger preference towards intensified attitudes in their speeches.

The detailed appraisal analysis on the attitudes in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs may conclude with the following features regarding the application of personal and interpersonal meanings by different speakers in the CTSPC corpus.

Firstly, attitudes in the CTSPC corpus are mostly institutionalised opinions, suggesting all speakers use less emotions as appraisal in the communication. More specifically, the Judgement appears consistently in PM's speeches but rarely in JMs' speeches, suggesting that PM feels comfortable to judge while JMs are constrained to make such a type of opinion. Secondly, positive attitudes are absolutely dominant in PM's speeches, indicating PM's optimistic stance in the CTSPC corpus. Thirdly, the distribution of inscribed attitudes in the speeches shows that the journalists express appraisal more implicitly while PM tends to be direct with his attitudes. Finally, the analysis on the attitudinal force of the speeches shows that PM may habitually change the rhetorical force of his attitudes in the speeches, but JOs present very little interest in this regard.

5.2.5 Roles of the Speakers

In the CTSPC corpus, the three types of speakers, namely PM, JMs and JOs, are identified based on their social, political and geographical backgrounds. In addition, following the assigned roles in communication, namely the interviewee and the interviewer in Q&A session of the press conference, the three types of speakers are assumed with some distinctive linguistic features to realise different social positioning in the event. Thus, before discussing how and why these CTSPC interpreters situate themselves in the communication with the change of the speakers, it is necessary to understand how the source speeches are composed linguistically by speakers for expressing their social positioning in communication. That is, the detailed analysis of the source speeches provides a descriptive foundation for the comparative analysis on

different linguistic choices regarding how roles of the speakers may or may not change through the interpreters' language use and eventually avail any valid argumentation on the interpreter's social positioning based on the comparative analysis.

Based on the previous analysis on the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs in relation to the realisation of the interpersonal meaning, the speeches of these speakers are found with the following linguistic features.

Firstly, at the grammatical level, the analysis on the clausal complexity shows that PM's speeches contain more clause simplexes rather than complexes, suggesting a more oral and improvised style. In contrast, the speeches of JMs and particularly JOs tend to be in the style of written text for containing a large number of clause complexes. Thus, the speeches of JMs and JOs are assumed to be carefully prepared and composed before being presented.

Focusing on the speech roles in communication, the distribution of four types of speech functions in PM's speeches seems to suggest that PM's major role as an information provider in the press conference is not exclusive. Instead, PM is actively engaged with other communicative roles in the press conference such as requesting actions or information as well. In the speeches of the interviewer of the CTSPC corpus, the dominant presence of both statements and questions used by JMs and JOs suggests that both requesting and providing information in the press conference are the major roles performed by the journalists. In addition, the small number of commands and the absence of offer in the speeches of JMs and particular JOs gives a sense of urgency and authoritativeness of the journalists in communication.

Grammatically, the congruent realisation prevails in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs in the CTSPC corpus. Such a dominant grammatical congruency suggests that PM and journalists enjoy an appropriate communicative relationship and thus well recognise their speech roles in the communication. However, the distribution of *wh*-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives in the speeches of JOs shows that JOs may perform their speech functions in a more confrontational manner than JMs do in the CTSPC corpus.

Secondly, the deployment of modality among the speeches of the three types of speakers shows that speakers make different modal commitments in communication. That is, although the distribution of modality is generally low in all speeches of the CTSPC corpus, it appears to be the least frequent in the speeches of JMs but the most in the

speeches of JOs, suggesting different levels of certainty in expression. More specifically, PM's speeches contain more modulation, particularly the type of obligation, than modalisation. With the consistently high presence of subjective and implicit modal features, PM's speeches appear to be implicitly personal and proposition-focused. In other words, PM feels comfortably willing to express his uncertainty on the truthfulness of the information in his speeches.

On the other hand, the speeches of JMs present a strong preference towards the type of inclination and also seem to refrain from the type of obligation, suggesting that JMs are not comfortable to give any authoritative rhetorical force in their proposals. In addition, with the unusual preference towards objective orientation, the choice of modality features by JMs suggests that JMs are so much in tense to express personal doubts that they need to implicitly disguise their subjectivity in communication. For JOs, as the deployment of modality in their speeches from the CTSPC corpus shows less regular patterns, it becomes very hard to predict a collective approach in their choices of modal expressions. However, the higher frequency of modality in clauses does suggest that the speeches of JOs create more space for meaning indeterminacy.

Thirdly, the application of attitudinal resources shows that the three types of speakers are very different in expressing their personal stance in the CTSPC corpus. Focusing on the type of attitudes, it is found that although natural emotions are not emphasised in all speeches, the application of institutionalised opinions in PM's speeches varies greatly from the speeches of JMs and JOs. At first, PM's speeches are consistently appraised with the institutionalised attitude of Judgement. Then, PM's speeches contain dominantly positive attitudes which are mostly expressed in a very direct manner. In addition, PM's speeches consistently contain the graduation resource to intensify or mitigate the attitude in speech. These features suggest that PM is rather comfortable and least constrained to positively and explicitly appraisal with personal attitudes in communication.

For the speeches of JMs and JOs, they share the similarity of having much less attitudes in discourse and thus appear rather impersonal. In addition, the speeches contain obvious distributive variations of most attitudinal features among the 7 selected sessions and similar rate of application of positive attitudes, suggesting a high level of individuation and a preference toward neutral stance in the speeches. What is the most

distinctive is that the speeches of JMs are heavily loaded with the attitudinal type of Appreciation but obviously avoid Judgement, which is not observed in the speeches of JOs. Also, the speeches of JMs use slightly more intensification rather than mitigation while the speeches of JOs show no preference in this regard. The distinctive choices of attitudinal features by JMs suggest that JMs are not comfortable in expressing attitudes regarding the social sanction or esteem. Meanwhile, JMs tend to highlight their appraisal of attitudes by projecting them with greater force while JOs appear more interested in putting their appraisal into the spotlight of public attention.

To summarise, the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs present different linguistic features regarding structural complexity, speeches roles and their grammatical realisation, the deployment of modality and the application of attitudes. First and foremost, both PM and the journalists well acknowledge their social roles in the press conference. PM appears comfortable, confident, relaxed, sometimes authoritative and very much engaging with different speech roles in communication, while the journalists appear slightly rigid or constrained to engage any actions in the speeches. More specifically, while both JMs and JOs feel comfortable to request information from PM, JOs generally give less polite or pragmatic but more confrontational gestures to “antagonise” the other communicative party. Secondly, PM is comfortable to express both his modal commitment and subjective perceptions in communication. In this aspect, JMs appear always constrained and the most reluctant to participate themselves into the communication. Typical linguistic choices in the speeches of JMs include too much emphasis on the modal type of inclination and attitudinal type of Appreciation, consistently avoidance of obligation in modality and Judgement for attitudes, the implicit disguise of objective orientation for modality, the lower modal values in use, and rather balanced positive and negative attitudes in the speeches. In this way, JMs’ rather reserved self-presentation with interpersonal meanings in the CTSPC corpus makes them the least authoritative or possibly inferior to their communicative partner.

In all, the textual analysis shows that the CTSPC interpreters need to process different types of source speeches, particularly regarding the tenor of the context. If and only if the social practice affects the linguistic landscape, we would be able to perceive different patterns of variations in the expressions of interpersonal meanings through CTSPC interpreting based on different speakers, and eventually understand how

interpreters perceive their relationship with these speakers and then self-position in the communication.

5.3 Interpreters' Choices: the Interpretation for Different Speakers

With the detailed descriptive foundation of the linguistic features in the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs, this section focuses on the interpretation of the speeches of PM, JMs and JOs. It is expected that some linguistic patterns can be found in the interpreters' choices with the change of the speaker. In this way, it will be possible to understand how interpreters choose to situate in different relationships. Meanwhile, for the ease of comparison, the linguistic features regarding the realisation of interpersonal meanings in the interpretation are organised in the same order as in Section 5.2 to address the relevance for the comparative analysis.

As is stated, the comparative study in this section is conducted to understand how the interpreters situate themselves in communication with different types of speakers. Based on the categorisation of speakers as PM, JOs and JMs, the interpretation is identified in relation to the speaker of the source speech for the comparative study on the translational shifts. To be specific, the interpretations of PM's speeches are abbreviated as INTER-PMs, while the interpretations of the speeches of JMs and JOs are coded as INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs respectively. Such a choice of abbreviation is applied in the whole dissertation in order to differentiate the interpretation based on the three types of speakers. In addition, since the interpretation of the seven selected press conferences in the CTSPC corpus involves five interpreters and each interpreter has to finish at least one complete session, the seven selected press conferences are labelled with the combination of the interpreter's code and the year of the session to identify the specific interpreter at service. For example, when the interpreter M1 serves in PM's press conference in 2003, the relevant session is coded as "M1-03", with "M1" specifying the first male interpreter and "03" signifying the session year of 2003. In this way, five interpreters' linguistic choices for social positioning with different speakers can be identified and presented accordingly.

5.3.1 Clausal Complexity in the Interpretations

In reference to Figure 5.1, Figure 5.17 illustrates how the speech function is realised in the interpretation based on the number of clauses used for interpreting the speeches of

PM, JMs and JOs. In the figure, the lowest and the highest rates for the clausal complexity among the three speaker-based interpretation in each session are labelled to mark the difference in the interpretation.

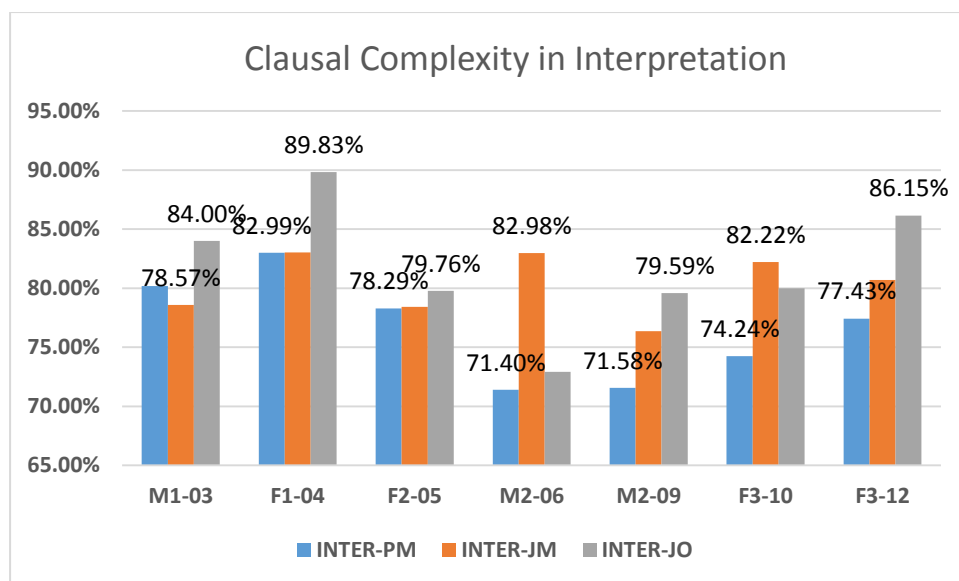


Figure 5.17: Clausal Complexity in Interpretation

As is presented in Figure 5.17, the clausal complexity rates vary among INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs in all sessions of the CTSPC corpus. For example, the smallest range of difference in the clausal complexity is 1.47% being calculated with 78.29% in INTER-PMs and 79.76% in INTER-JOs in the session F2-05. The largest difference in clausal complexity is 11.58% in the session M2-06 between INTER-PM's 71.4% and INTER-JM's 82.98%. In the sense, the different distribution of clausal complexity in interpretation seems random and thus gives little information to assume any relevance on the interpreter's application of clause complexes with different speakers. Yet, it is clear in the figure that the clausal complexity rates in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs are all above 70% and mostly remain above 75%. That is, approximately 75% of clauses in the interpretation of nearly all speeches can realise independent speech functions for communication. In this way, the interpretation is generally assumed with more clause simplexes than complexes, suggesting the interpreters' joint tendency towards simple grammatical structure in practice. Thus, with the interpretation presenting such a typical feature of orality of the simple grammatical structure, the interpreters' grammatical choices will surely avail the audience's listening comprehension.

Figure 5.18 shows the change of the clausal complexity in the interpretation based on the source speeches from the three types of speakers.

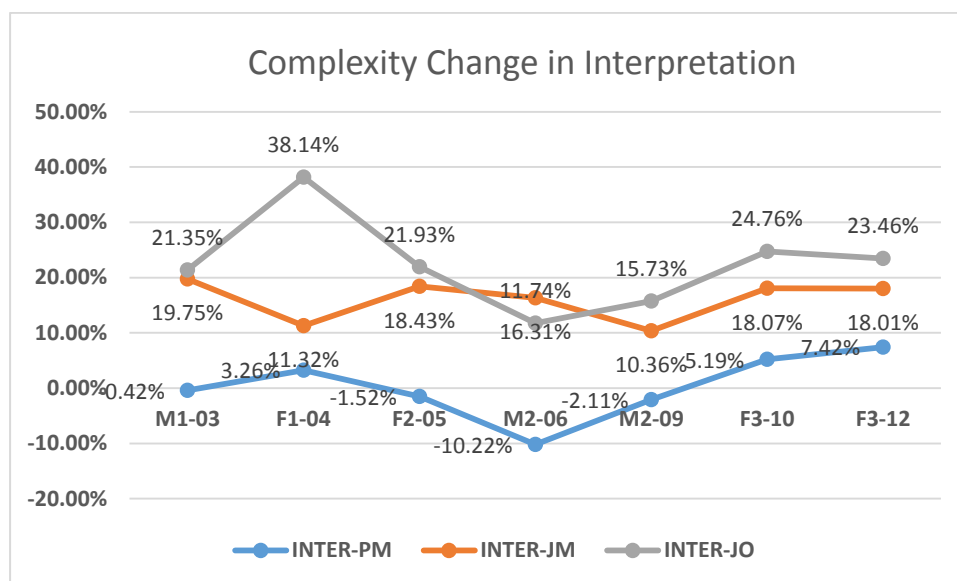


Figure 5.18: Grammatical Complexity Change in Interpretation

As is illustrated in Figure 5.18, the change of the clausal complexity in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs among the seven selected sessions presents some regularities. Firstly, the structural complexity change in INTER-PMs is always the smallest. In addition, it is only in INTER-PMs that the clausal complexity decreases through the act of interpreting. For example, among the selected seven sessions, the highest rate change is -10.22% in session M2-06, suggesting that INTER-PMs in this session contain less simplexes and tend to be structurally complicated than their source speeches.

In contrast, as is indicated in the figure, the clausal complexity is changed the most in INTER-JOs. Apart from the session M2-06, the grammatical complexity change in INTER-JOs is always higher than that in INTER-JMs, suggesting an obvious trend towards simple expressions in both INTER-JOs and INTER-JMs. Meanwhile, such stable trends in the clausal complexity change in INTER-PMs, INTER-JOs, and particularly INTER-JMs among the different sessions is indicative of a sense of uniformity in the linguistic choices of the five interpreters for different speakers.

In consideration of the consecutive interpreting process and particularly its multiple conjunctions of decision making, the patterns of clausal complexity change shown in Figure 5.17-5.18 suggest that the five interpreters' linguistic choices can be

sensitive to the change of the speaker in situation. That is, the interpreters choose to simplify the clausal complexity in INTER-JMs and particularly INTER-JOs. By reducing the number of the clause complexes in the interpretations, the information in INTER-JMs and particularly INTER-JOs becomes more accessible to the audience. In contrast, the clausal complexity in PM's speeches is generally kept and even sometimes raised in INTER-PMs, suggesting that the interpreters may intend to synthesise the meaning in PM's speeches in a more structured manner. That is, the five interpreters use two different approaches to re-structure the speeches of PM and the journalists. Yet, in consideration of the press conference as an interpreting event, we also need to acknowledge the possibility that the simplified structure in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs is established simply due to the oral nature of the interpreting activities. However, regardless of any possible speculations, the simpler clause composition in the interpretations indicates that the interpreters' practice in the CTSPC corpus offers the audience with an easier accessibility to the meaning in grammar. This practice facilitates the communication between the two sides.

5.3.2 Interpreters' Choices of Speech Roles

This section focuses on the systematic grammatical variation in the interpreter's linguistic performance with the change of the different speakers. More specifically, in reference to the analysis in Section 5.2.2 regarding the speech roles of different speakers, the contrastive analysis in this section investigates on the patterns of linguistic differences in the interpreters' practice on the realisation of statements for PM and questions for the journalists.

5.3.2.1 Portraying Premier in Interpretation

Focusing on the speech role of statement which is obviously the locus in PM's speeches of the CTSPC corpus, Figure 5.19 compares the distributive rates of statements in PM's speeches and their relevant interpretations. In the figure, the distributive rates of statements in the source speeches of PM and their interpretations (INTER-PMs) among the 7 selected sessions are labelled above the relevant session columns, for the ease of comparison on the deployment of the statement in the source speeches and interpretations.

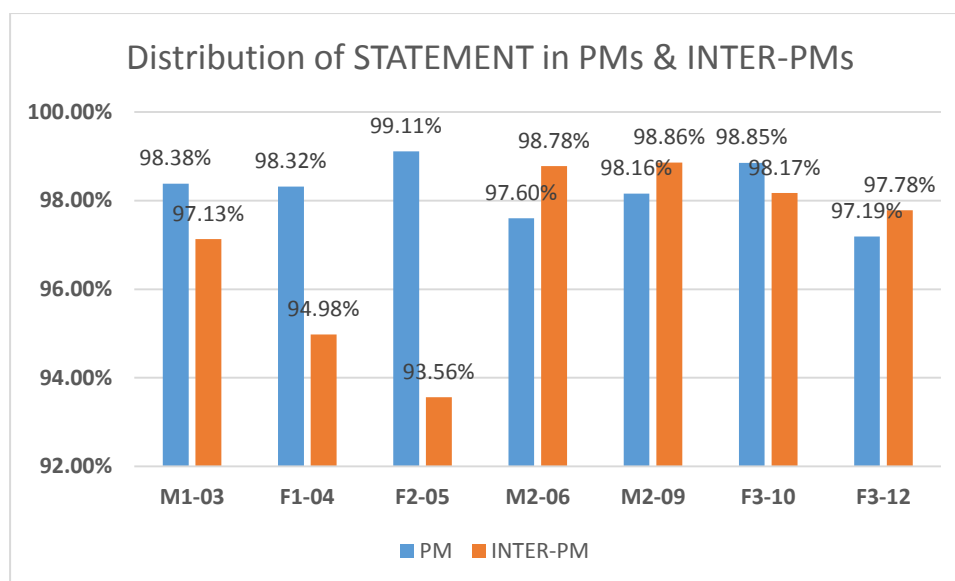


Figure 5.19: Distribution of Statements in PM's Speeches and Interpretations

As is presented in Figure 5.19, the application of statements in INTER-PMs ranges from 93.56% up to 98.86% among all speech functions used in the seven selected CTSPC sessions. The data suggest that the focus of INTER-PMs is primarily on providing information. In Figure 5.19, the difference of the statement between INTER-PMs and the speeches of PM remains no larger than 5.55% in the session F2-05, indicating that the focus on the speech function of statement is not shifted in interpreting. In other words, the interpreters all choose to faithfully portray the communicative role of PM via their choices of the grammatical realisation of interpersonal meanings.

Focusing on the speech function of statement, Table 5.9 show the distribution of congruent realisation of the statement in PM's speeches and interpretations.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
PM	99.73%	99.15%	99.40%	100%	99.73%	100%	99.74%	99.68%
INTER-PM	99.70%	100%	100%	100%	99.71%	100%	100%	99.92%

Table 5.9: Distribution of Statements Realised by Declarative Clauses in PM's Speeches and Interpretations

As is shown in Table 5.9, the average distributive rate of congruent realisation of statement in INTER-PMs is 99.92%, indicating nearly all statements in INTER-PMs are realised via declarative clauses. Secondly, according to the data in Table 5.9, the change of the statement's congruent realisation in INTER-PMs must be below 0.85% among all

selected sessions. In the sense, the interpreters present an exceedingly high level of uniformity in choosing declarative clauses to realise statements for PM.

Based on the data of INTER-PMs in Figure 5.19 and Table 5.9, it seems that PM is situated by the interpreters to perform his role as information-provider in a very comfortable social environment. That is, the interpreters are much faithful to the way that PM chooses to realise his interpersonal meanings in communication. More importantly, the five interpreters choose to inherit or even enhance the comfortable communicative relationship enjoyed by PM with more congruent realisation of the statement in INTER-PMs, suggesting that the interpreters tend to carefully shadow themselves while practicing for PM.

5.3.2.2 Portraying Journalists in Interpretation

Focusing on two major speech roles identified in the speeches of JMs and JOs, namely the statement and the question, Figure 5.20 describes the deployment of statements and questions in the speeches of JMs and JOs, as well as their interpretations as INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. In Figure 5.20, the statement/question rate is calculated by dividing the number of statements with the number of questions in each of the speeches or interpretations. The rate shows the number of statements required by the speaker or the interpreter to prepare or complement one single question in discourse. In the sense, the higher the rate is, the more statements are found in the relevant speeches or interpretations. To highlight the analytical focus of interpretation, only comparative ratios of INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs are labelled respectively above and below the relevant session points.

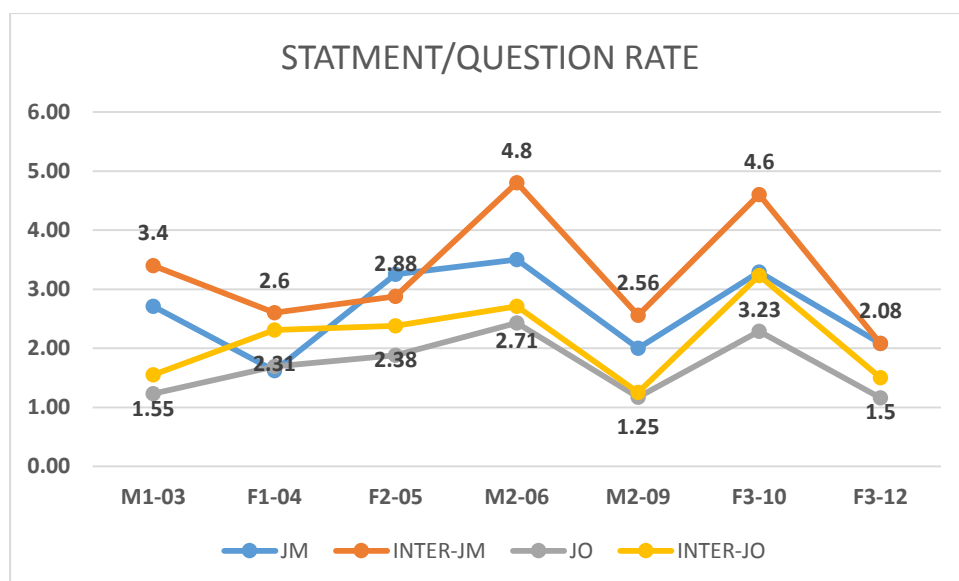


Figure 5.20: Statement VS. Question in Journalists' Speeches and Interpretations

As is presented in Figure 5.20, the comparative rates in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs are generally higher than the relevant rates in JMs and JOs, suggesting that the interpretations may contain more information-giving functions than the source speeches do. In addition, with the data provided, the calculation for the average rate in either speeches or interpretations shows that there is a statistic difference of 0.63 between INTER-JMs and the speeches of JMs and 0.44 between INTER-JOs and the speeches of JOs. That is, comparing to INTER-JMs, the rise of statements in INTER-JOs is limited, suggesting that interpreters are rather restrained in adding more statements for JOs. In this way, the INTER-JOs seem to be more faithful to the speakers' choices of the interpersonal roles in communication. Yet, despite the statistic difference between INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, the rise of the statement ratio in the interpretations of all sessions suggests that such an information-giving practice is deliberate and possibly for re-framing journalists' questions in a more precise and specific manner. In this case, the interpreters' facilitating role becomes evident.

In the analysis, the questions in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs are realised either congruently via interrogatives or metaphorically via declarative clauses. Thus, Table 5.10 focuses on the metaphorical realisation of questions in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs and describes the interpreters' choices of grammatical congruency for the journalists' questions.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
--	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-----

INTER-JM	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	29%	0%	4%
INTER-JO	9%	0%	0%	7%	0%	8%	0%	3%

Table 5.10: Distribution of Questions Realised by Declarative Clauses in the Interpretations of Journalists' Speeches

As is presented in Table 5.10, the metaphorical realisation of questions in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs is very rare, saying that the congruent realisation is the interpreters' common choices. In reference to the predominant congruent realisation of questions in the speeches of JMs and JOs in Table 5.5, it seems that the speakers' original grammatical choices are retained in interpretation.

However, despite interpreters' general preference towards grammatical congruency for projecting journalists' questions, Table 5.10 also shows an individual difference in the metaphorical realisation of questions. For example, in session F3-10, 29% of questions in INTER-JM and 8% in INTER-JO are realised metaphorically by declarative clauses. According to the data in Table 5.5, there is not any case of metaphorically realised questions in the speeches of JMs and JOs. In this way, the rise of metaphorical realisation of the question in session F3-10 seems to indicate the interpreter F3's personal preference, and thus also suggests the interpreter's individuality for re-construing social relationship among speakers in the CTSPC corpus. However, following the interpreter F3's practice in session F3-12, the absolute grammatical congruency of questions indicates that the interpreter actually has no preference of creating extra tension in the communicative environment. Instead, F3's practice shows a great sense of fidelity to the journalist's grammatical choices as if she could possibly empathise with them for their appropriate social relationship in situation. The different approaches in F3's practice in two interpreting sessions may weaken the previous speculation on the influence of the interpreter's personal style in the CTSPC corpus but suggest that some other contextual variables, if they are not cognitive factors, may at work to affect F3's choices for re-construing the interpersonal meaning in F3-10 session, particularly for INTER-JMs.

Focusing on the congruent realisation of questions, Table 5.11 presents the distributive rates of wh-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives of INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs in the 7 selected sessions of the CTSPC corpus.

		M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
Wh-	INTER-JM	50%	100%	50%	80%	55.56%	42.86%	100%	68.34%
	INTER-JO	36.36%	69.23%	46.15%	57.14%	66.67%	46.15%	66.67%	55.48%
Polar-	INTER-JM	50%	0%	50%	20%	44.44%	46.15%	0%	30.09%
	INTER-JO	54.55%	30.77%	53.85%	35.71%	33.33%	46.15%	33.33%	41.10%

Table 5.11: Distribution of Interrogative Clauses for Questions in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.11, the distribution of wh-interrogatives is generally higher than that of polar-interrogatives in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. In addition, the distributive gap between wh-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives is larger in INTER-JMs than it is in INTER-JOs. To be specific, the average distributive rate of wh-interrogatives among questions in INTER-JM is 68.34% while the distribution of polar interrogatives is only 30.09%. This suggests that questions in INTER-JMs are mostly for requesting new information rather than confirming the old information. Yet, in INTER-JOs, the distribution of wh-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives in questions then is slightly more balanced, suggesting a higher level of urgency or directness in these journalists' information-request.

Focusing on the two types of interrogatives, Figure 5.21 illustrates the distributive change in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. To mark the range of distributive change, the highest and lowest rates are labelled next to the relevant session points in both figures.

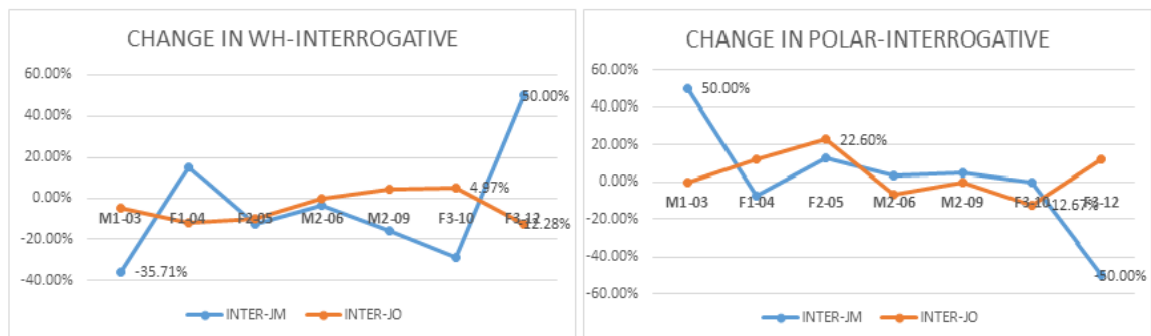


Figure 5.21: Distributive Changes of Wh- and Polar-Interrogatives in Interpretation

As is presented in Figure 5.21, the distributive deviation of wh-interrogatives ranges from -12.28% to 4.97% in INTER-JOs. That is, all distributive changes in INTER-JOs are below 12.28%. In INTER-JMs, the rate varies greatly from session to session and ranges from -35.71% to 50%. In Figure 5.21, the distributive change of polar-interrogatives in INTER-JOs ranges from -12.67% to 22.6%. In INTER-JMs, the distributive rate change is rather limited in 5 sessions, but can be as radical as 50% of change in 2 sessions.

Comparing to INTER-JMs, the distributive change rates of interrogative questions in INTER-JOs are comparatively stable and limited. This suggests that the interpreters' choices of interrogative types are basically faithful to those in the original speeches. Yet, as the distributive change of both types of interrogatives in INTER-JMs is less consistent among the 7 selected sessions, the way of information-request in INTER-JMs appears less relevant to those in the speeches of JMs. In addition, the consistency in the distributive change of two types of interrogatives in INTER-JOs suggest that the interpreters may perform with similar objective of practice in the CTSPC corpus. In this regard, the CTSPC interpreters present two interpreting approaches in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs for their choices on interrogative types. That is, the interpreters' selection of ways of raising questions is heavily influenced by the original choices of JOs in the source speeches only.

5.3.2.3 Summary on the Interpreter's Grammatical Choices for Speakers

In the CTSPC corpus, the interpreting service of the seven selected sessions is provided by the five different interpreters from the same government agency, namely the Department of Translation and Interpretation in MFA. The background information on the Department of Translation and Interpretation in Chapter 4 shows that these selected interpreters from the Department are extremely experienced and highly competent interpreting professionals. Sharing similar knowledge building experiences, these interpreters practice as a team or as a community of practice. In this regard, the linguistic findings through contrastive analysis on the grammatical realisations of the speech roles in communication shows that there are different approaches applied in the interpreters' practice for different speakers in the CTSPC corpus. More importantly, the difference of interpreting approaches seems to be relevant to the change of speakers in situation and thus indicates that with the change of the speaker, the interpersonal relationship constructed in the shared social or political context also changes. In other words, the five

interpreters need to adjust their social positioning with different interpreter-speaker relationship accordingly.

In the analysis, the interpreters possess a high level of uniformity in their interpreting service to PM and JOs, while feel more spontaneous and discursive when they interpret for JMs. More specifically, the interpreters tend to refrain from possible changes in PM's grammatical choices and thus appear rather invisible in their own communicative positioning. Yet, facing journalists, the interpreters become more deliberately visible with their linguistic participation from various perspectives. The difference is noticeable between INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. Firstly, the interpreters make more additional statements in INTER-JMs than INTER-JOs. Secondly, although predominantly retaining the grammatical congruency of questions, some interpreters seem to bring more individuality in their practice for INTER-JMs rather than INTER-JOs. Thirdly, the interpreters give more consistent maintenance of the speakers' choices with interrogative types in INTER-JOs than in INTER-JMs. In all, the five interpreters' facilitation seems to be very responsive to the linguistic performance of the journalists' backgrounds.

5.3.3 Interpreters' Modal Commitment

This section focuses on the interpreters' choices for the application of the modality and different modal features in the interpretation. It is expected that through the comparative analysis on the modality and modal features, the interpreter's choices for modality will be revealed to understand how interpreters choose to project their interpersonal relationships with different speakers in practice.

5.3.3.1 Deploying Speakers' Space of Meaning Inter-determinacy

Table 5.12 describes how frequently the modality is applied in the interpretations and also compares the change of modality use between the interpretations and their source speeches (in reference to Table 5.7) with different speakers.

	INTER-PM	INTER-JM	INTER-JO
Modality	1,169	72	132
Modality per Clause	28.84%	21.36%	25.00%
CHANGE (No.)	443	20	25
CHANGE (%)	6.45%	4.48%	3.94%

Table 5.12: The Application of Modality in Interpretation and Changes from the Source Speeches

As is presented in Table 5.12, the number of modal expressions and the increase of modal expression varies greatly in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. In the figure, the totality of modal expression is extremely high in INTER-PMs. Yet, its distributive rate of modality in clauses is 28.8%, being slightly higher than the rates in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, saying that the modality is applied in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs at generally similar frequency. In addition, Table 5.12 shows that although the modality distribution varies, the rise of modality in the interpretations is evident, suggesting more frequent use of modal expressions in interpreters' performance. That is, the interpreters tend to use modal expressions more frequently than the speakers do to create larger space for meaning inter-determinacy.

To understand the nature of modality use and the subsequent change in interpretation, the following figures and tables in section 5.3.3 provide more detailed description on the features of the modal expressions in the interpretations and give relevant comparison of the values identified in the source speeches.

Table 5.13 presents all distributive rates of the probability in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs among the 7 selected sessions and their averages in the CTSPC corpus.

Probability	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
INTER-PM	52.46%	43.18%	49.54%	34.81%	50%	57.38%	47.06%	47.77%
INTER-JM	71.43%	50%	37.50%	75%	54.55%	66.67%	46.15%	57.33%
INTER-JO	46.15%	46.67%	30.77%	44%	27.27%	29.41%	43.75%	38.29%

Table 5.13: Type of Modality (Probability) in Interpretation

As is displayed in Table 5.13, INTER-JMs have the highest average distribution of probability while INTER-JOs have the lowest. However, according to the rates in individual sessions, the frequent application of probability is not consistent in INTER-JMs. In contrast, the distributive rates of probability in INTER-JOs appear to be comparatively consistent, suggesting a possible pattern in the interpreters' practice.

Table 5.14 focuses on the totality of modal instances in the interpretation and summarises the number of changed probability between the interpretations and their relevant speeches.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	46	28	32	51	75	82	72
INTER-JM	8	3	1	3	4	4	1
INTER-JO	-1	2	-6	3	1	0	1

Table 5.14: Totality Change of Probability in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.14, all sessions in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs contain more modal expression of probability. Yet, the modality instances of probability in INTER-JOs are less used in sessions M1-03 and F2-05. In addition, the number of probability instances in INTER-JOs remains unchanged in session F3-10.

Figure 5.22 focuses on the distribution of probability and presents the change of probability in distributive percentage rates. To highlight the range of difference in interpretation, the highest and the lowest distributive rate changes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs are labelled above the relevant session columns.

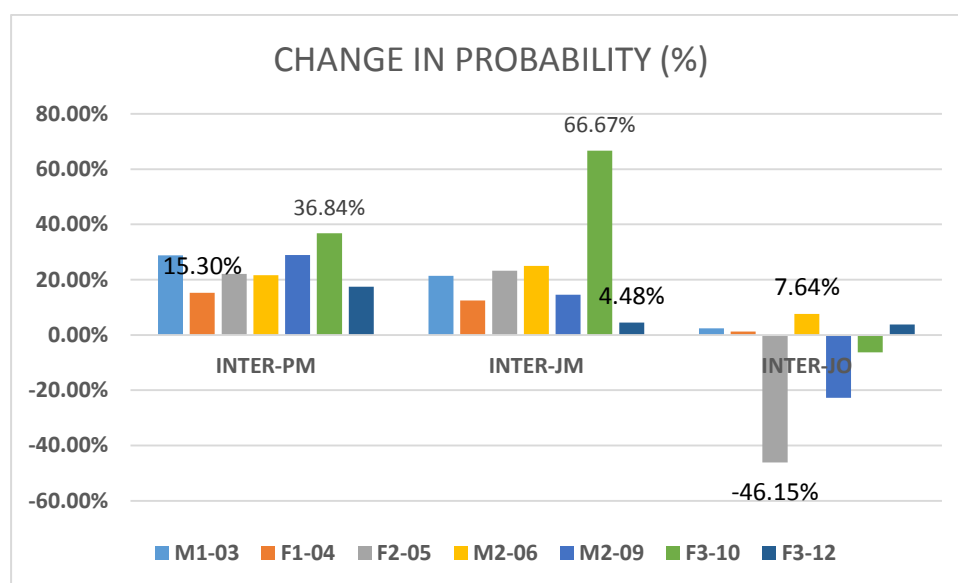


Figure 5.22: Distributive Rate Change of Probability in Interpretation

As is illustrated in Figure 5.22, the general pattern of the distributive change in the modality type of probability in INTER-JOs appears quite different from that in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs. That is, both INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs tend to increase the

distribution of the probability. On the contrary, INTER-JOs have either little distributive change of probability or some dramatic decreases in the sessions, such as -46.15% in session F2-05.

A cross examination of Table 5.14 and Figure 5.22 shows that the distributive change in INTER-PMs conforms largely to the change of instances, suggesting a general trend towards higher level of uncertainty on PM's propositions in the interpreters' practice. Yet, the distributive changes and the totality change of probability in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs appears bit confusing. For example, the unchanged number of probability instance in F3-10 session can cause over 20% of distributive decrease, saying that even the interpreters' acts of omission with probability still cause the effect in communication. In this regard, the distributive rate appears to be more indicative of the possible interpreting pattern(s).

To summarise, Table 5.13-5.14 and Figure 5.22 suggest some general patterns in the interpreters' practice. Firstly, the distribution of probability is largely increased in both INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs and thus expands the original space of the meaning inter-determinacy. Secondly, the change of probability in INTER-JOs is much conserved. In this way, the sense of un/certainty on the likelihood of information in the source speeches of JOs is likely to be retained in most sessions.

Due to the rare presence of usuality in both source speeches and their relevant interpretations, the analysis on usuality is not conducted in the current study of the CTSPC corpus.

In the following tables and figures, the analysis of two types of modalisation, namely obligation and inclination, is presented.

Table 5.15 summarises the distributive rates of obligation in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

Obligation	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
INTER-PM	22.13%	25.00%	38.53%	41.44%	22.55%	20.22%	26.89%	28.11%
INTER-JM	0%	8.33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	15.38%	3.39%
INTER-JO	0%	6.67%	7.69%	8%	12.12%	23.53%	18.75%	10.97%

Table 5.15: Type of Modality (Obligation) in Interpretation

As is presented in Table 5.15, the distribution of obligation in the interpretations shows that the obligation is used constantly in INTER-PMs, occasionally in INTER-JOs but rarely in INTER-JMs. To be specific, the application of obligation in INTER-PMs ranges from 20.22% to 41.44% with an average rate of 28.11%. In INTER-JOs, an average of 10.97% of obligation is distributed with only one session having the modal expression of obligation missing. In INTER-JMs, there are 5 interpreting sessions containing no single case of obligation as the modal expression, suggesting that the use of obligation is consistently and largely avoided in the interpreting practice.

Table 5.16 presents the change of modal instances regarding the type of obligation in the interpretations.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	-4	-3	13	29	-2	-9	9
INTER-JM	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
INTER-JO	5	4	6	10	19	7	6

Table 5.16: Totality Change of Obligation in Interpretation

As is displayed in Table 5.16, the number of obligation instances is basically unchanged in INTER-JMs but consistently increased in INTER-JOs. In contrast, the change of obligation instances in INTER-PMs varies greatly among the different sessions and thus appears to be random.

Focusing on the distribution of obligation among all modal expressions applied in the interpretations, Figure 5.23 displays the change of obligation from the source speeches to the interpretations in percentage rate, with the highest and the lowest rates in each categorisation labelled above the relevant session columns.

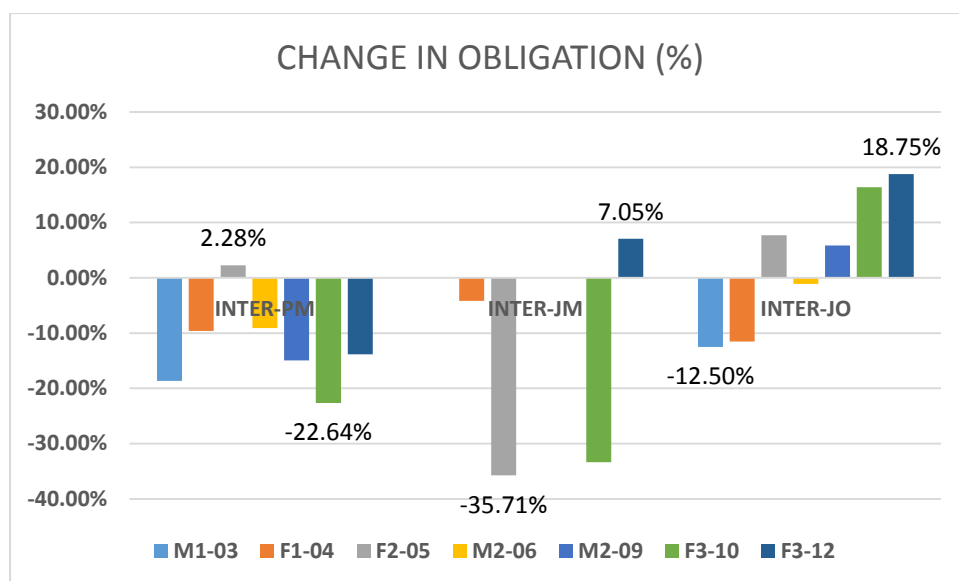


Figure 5.23: Distributive Rate Change of Obligation in Interpretation

As is illustrated in Figure 5.23, the distributive rate change of obligation appears to be consistent in the INTER-PMs only. That is, the use of obligation in INTER-PMs decreases obviously in 6 sessions. For example, in reference to Table 5.16, even with the increase of 29 obligation instances, the session M2-06 still contains nearly 10% of distributive decrease of obligation among all modalities in use, saying that the increase of obligation is comparatively less significant than other types of modality as the interpreters' choices. In INTER-JMs, the distributive change of obligation varies greatly, including over 30% of distributive decrease in two session and no distributive change in the three sessions, suggesting a high level of non-preference in the interpreter's practice. In INTER-JOs, the distribution of obligation is always shifted with 18.75% among the 7 selected session. With the 4 sessions' of increase and the 3 sessions' of decrease, the distributive change of obligation shows no general patterns in this regard.

As is discussed, the application and the distribution of obligation in interpretation in Table 5.15-16 and Figure 5.23 indicate some generalised patterns. Firstly, there is a general tendency in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs of decreasing the application of obligation as the modal expression. Such a practice can possibly mitigate the strong rhetorical force of prescribing or proscribing carried in the original speeches. Secondly, as INTER-JMs avoid changes on obligation instances, the interpreters seem to be extremely sensitive to the use any modal instances of obligation for JMs. This practice of the interpreters may possibly disguise JMs with the weakest rhetorical force among all speakers. Thirdly, INTER-JOs always contain the change of modal instances and their

distributive rates. Although the distributive rate change varies all the time, the unanimous increase of obligatory modal expressions in INTER-JOs seems to suggest only an intention of the interpreters for creating a stronger rhetorical force for JOs in communication.

Table 5.17 presents the distributive rates of the inclination in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

Inclination	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
INTER-PM	18.85%	21.21%	11.01%	22.1%	24.02%	16.94%	23.11%	33.5%
INTER-JM	21.43%	25%	62.5%	25%	45.45%	33.33%	30.77%	38.03%
INTER-JO	53.85%	40%	46.15%	48%	60.61%	47.06%	37.5%	41.7%

Table 5.17: Type of Modality (Inclination) in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.17, the distribution of inclination in percentage ranges from 11.01% to 24.02% in INTER-PMs, 21.43% to 62.5% in INTER-JMs and 37.5% to 60.61% in INTER-JOs. Thus, comparing to INTER-JMs, both INTER-PMs and INTER-JOs present less distributive deviation among the 7 selected sessions. In this regard, the 41.7% of average distribution and the comparative distributive consistency suggest that the inclination is more frequently chosen by the interpreters in INTER-JOs.

Table 5.18 shows the change of modal instances regarding the type of inclination in the interpretations.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	0	-9	-16	12	-1	-9	17
INTER-JM	1	1	-1	1	3	0	1
INTER-JO	0	2	3	0	14	1	-1

Table 5.18: Totality Change of Inclination in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.18, the application of inclination as modal instances remains basically unchanged in INTER-JMs. The change of inclinational modal expressions mostly happens in INTER-PMs and varies greatly in the number of instances. In INTER-JOs, the change of obligation as modal instances is generally few except for the session M2-09.

Figure 5.24 demonstrates the distributive change of the obligation in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. In the figure, the highest and the lowest rates are labelled near the relevant sessions to mark the range of the distributive change.

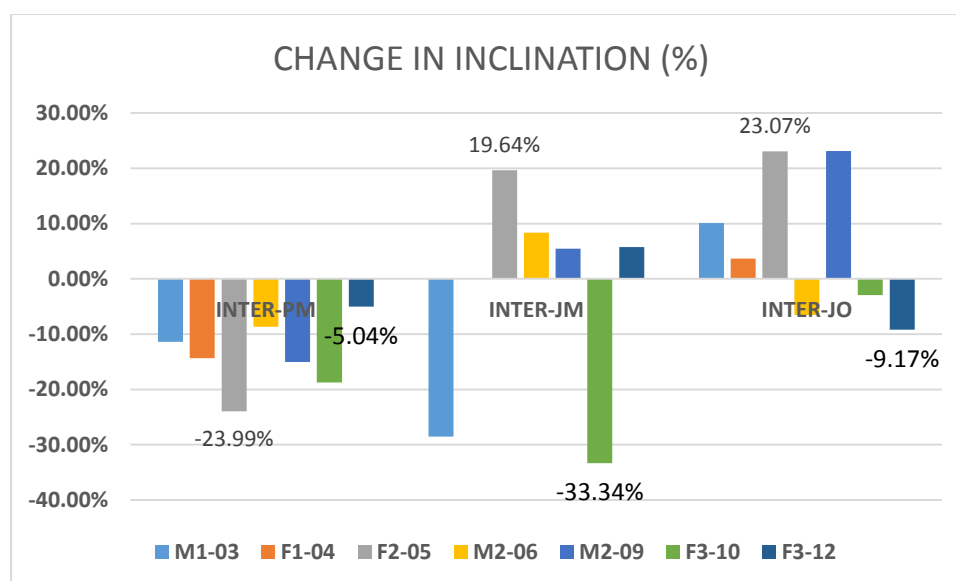


Figure 5.24: Distributive Rate Change of Inclination in Interpretation

As is illustrated in Figure 5.24, the distribution of inclination decreases steadily in INTER-PMs, from -23.99% in the session F2-05 to -5.04% in the session F3-12, showing a strong tendency towards less use of inclination. In Figure 5.24, both INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs contain distributive increase of inclination in 4 out of the 7 selected sessions, suggesting that most interpreters intend for the distributive increase of the inclination in practice.

According to Table 5.17-5.18 and Figure 5.24, the distribution of inclination in the interpretations is indicative of three patterns. Firstly, the decrease of inclination in all sessions of INTER-PMs suggests that this might be the common practice of all five interpreters. Secondly, the increase of inclination distribution in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs seems to be favoured by most of the interpreters but applied very cautiously in INTER-JMs, suggesting that interpreters are normally feeling comfortable in retaining the modal instance of inclination for JMs in their practice.

Apart from the difference in modality types, the interpretation may also change the way that modality is oriented to the audience regarding its subjectivity and implicitness. As both features are polarised with two values as is explained in section 5.2.3, the analysis focuses only on the selected values in section 5.2.3, namely the

subjective orientation and the implicit manifestation. The analysis is expected to reveal the orientation and manifestation of modality in interpretation and reflects how different modal features are processed and possibly distributed/changed in interpretation.

Table 5.19 summarises the distributive rates of the modality with subjective orientation in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

Subjective	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
INTER-PM	82.79%	84.09%	98.17%	92.82%	88.73%	90.16%	89.08%	89.4%
INTER-JM	85.71%	75%	87.5%	100%	100%	83.33%	92.31%	89.12%
INTER-JO	92.31%	86.67%	46.15%	84%	78.79%	100%	75%	80.42%

Table 5.19: Distribution of Subjective Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.19, the distribution of subjective modal expressions is generally high in all speaker-categorised interpretations and among all individual sessions. With at least 75% of subjective modal expressions in all sessions except for the 46.15% at the session F2-05 in INTER-JO, it is reasonable to claim that the objective-oriented modality is not commonly applied in interpretation.

Table 5.20 presents the number of changed subjectively-oriented modal instances in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

Subjective	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	76	104	80	91	128	112	135
INTER-JM	4	8	14	6	5	3	12
INTER-JO	16	11	13	22	16	14	15

Table 5.20: Totality Change of Subjective Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.20, the change in the number of subjectively-oriented modal instances in the interpretations is positive. For example, the interpreting sessions in INTER-PMs contain at least 76 more instances. Yet, there are approximately 5 more subjectively-oriented modal instances in INTER-JOs, suggesting a limited increase of subjectivity in INTER-JOs.

Figure 5.25 illustrates the increase of subject-oriented modality instances of INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs in distributive rates.

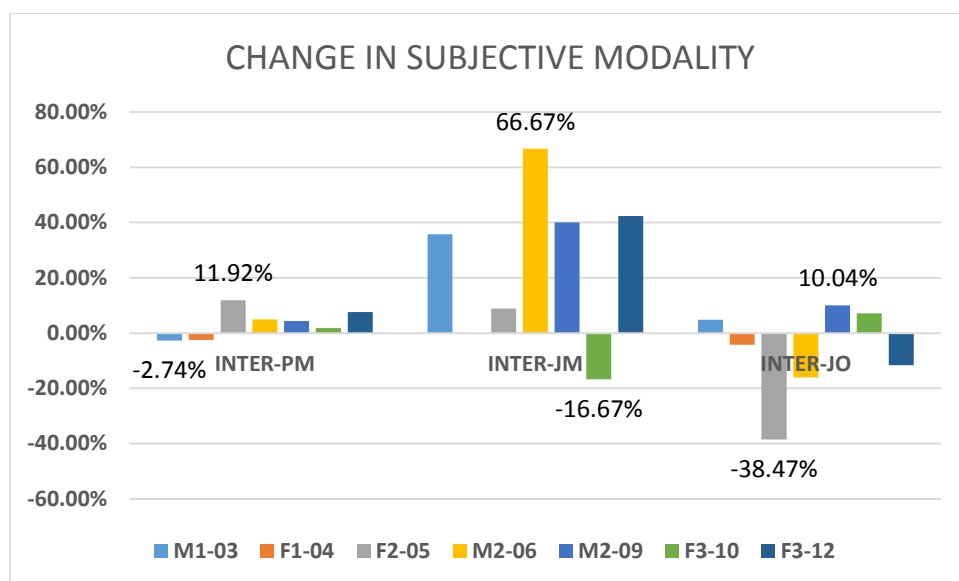


Figure 5.25: Change of Subjective Modality Distribution in Interpretation

As is shown in Figure 26, the distributive rate change of subjective-oriented modality ranges from -2.74% to 11.92% in INTER-PMs, from -16.67% to 66.67% in INTER-JMs and from -38.47% to 10.04% in INTER-JOs. The results suggest that the change is consistently little in INTER-PMs, but comparatively large in INTER-JMs.

In reference to the highest instance increase in INTER-PMs from Table 5.20, the small distributive change indicates that the application of the objectively-oriented modal expressions is large in INTER-PMs. In contrast, the small increase of the subjective modal expressions in INTER-JMs leads to the high rise of its distribution, suggesting that the subjective-oriented modality is greatly enhanced in INTER-JMs while the objective orientation is greatly weakened in interpretation. In INTER-JOs, the change of subjectivity includes both rises and decreases in distribution but only increases in number of instances, showing that the interpreters are rather neutral in terms of changing the original orientation of the modality used by JOs.

Table 5.21 summarises the distributive rates of the modality with implicit manifestation in all interpreting sessions.

Implicit	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12	Av.
INTER-PM	89.34%	88.64%	91.74%	93.92%	83.82%	88.52%	89.08%	89.3%
INTER-JM	92.86%	100%	100%	75%	100%	83.33%	100%	93.03%
INTER-JO	92.31%	86.67%	84.62%	92%	96.97%	100%	100%	93.22%

Table 5.21: Distribution of Implicit Modality in Interpretation

As is displayed in Table 5.21, with averagely over 89% of distributive rates in all interpreting sessions, the implicit modal expressions seem to be commonly used by all interpreters in their practice. For example, the distribution of implicit modality in INTER-PMs remains steady among all sessions at an average rate of 89.03%. Despite the larger distribution deviation among the different sessions, the implicit modal expressions still possess the absolute dominancy in INTER-JOs and INTER-JMs, with both rating the average distribution above 93%.

Table 5.22 describes the number of the changed implicit-manifested modality in interpretation.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	40	25	24	84	56	62	94
INTER-JM	10	4	-6	2	6	2	1
INTER-JO	-2	3	-1	2	17	3	1

Table5.22: Totality Change of Implicit Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.22, the change of implicit-manifestation in INTER-PMs is exclusively positive. The minimum increase is 24 instances in session F2-05. In INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, the change of implicitly-manifested modality varies greatly.

Figure 5.26 focuses on the distribution of the implicit modal expressions in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs and illustrates their distributive change in percentage rate.

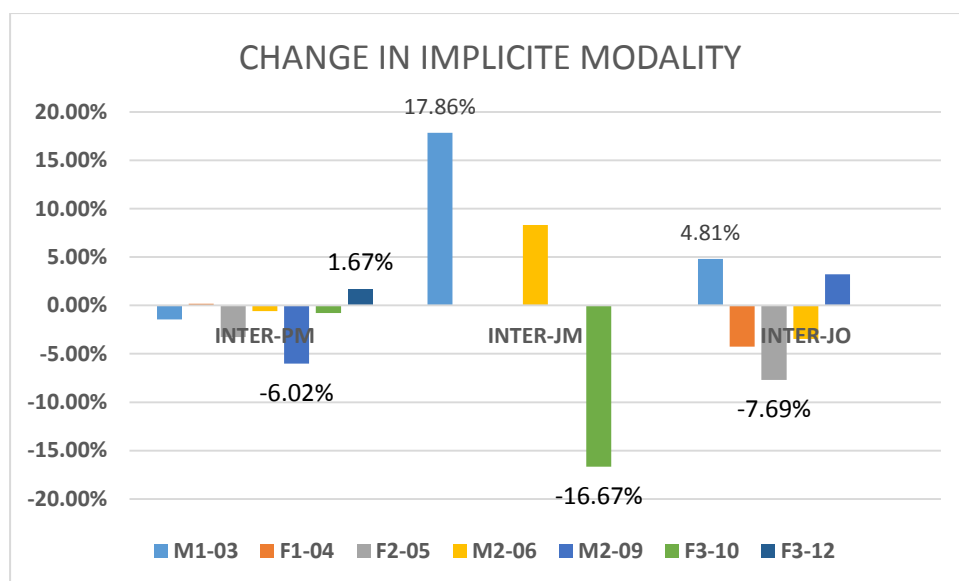


Figure 5.26: Change of Implicit Modality Distribution in Interpretation

As is seen in Figure 5.26, the distributive rate change of implicit modality in INTER-PMs is consistently insignificant. With less than 6.02% of distributive change rate, the INTER-PMs preserve well the distribution of implicit manifestation in PM's speeches. In INTER-JMs, the distributive change of implicitly-manifested modality happens rarely and varies greatly. In INTER-JOs, the distributive change of implicitly-manifested modality happens more frequently, but only in comparatively moderate rates.

Focusing on the model orientation and manifestation, Table 5.19-5.22 and Figure 5.25-5.26 present some linguistic patterns in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. Firstly, the modality is generally projected in a subjective and implicit manner in all interpretations, suggesting a common preference of the five interpreters. More specifically, the rise of subjectively-oriented expressions is especially evident and uniform in INTER-JMs, being very indicative of the five interpreters' intervention into the original choices of the modal feature by JMs. In contrast, the distributive change of modal features and exclusive rise of relevant instances in INTER-PMs also suggest although the interpreters tend to use more modal expressions, they tried to retain the modal commitment chosen by PM in his original speeches. In this regard, the interpreters' practice in INTER-PMs is indicative of the interpreters' strong commitment to the meaning in PM's speeches.

Focusing on the value of modality, the following tables (Table 5.23-5.28) and figures (Figure 5.27-5.29) describe how modal expressions with the three different values

are applied or processed in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs of the CTSPC corpus.

Table 5.23 displays the distributive rates of high-value modality among all modal expressions applied in the 7 selected interpreting sessions.

High-Value	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	66.39%	67.42%	74.31%	37.57%	58.33%	16.39%	72.27%
INTER-JM	42.86%	58.33%	25%	0%	63.64%	0%	61.54%
INTER-JO	23.08%	20%	30.77%	8.00%	21.21%	0%	25%

Table 5.23: Distribution of High-Value Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.23, the distributive rates of the high-value modality vary greatly either among different interpreting sessions or among INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. However, despite all the seemingly randomness, INTER-JOs appear to contain the least use of the high-value modality.

Table 5.24 describes the change of the high-value modality instances in interpretation.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	46	41	45	19	74	2	124
INTER-JM	5	5	1	-1	6	0	8
INTER-JO	2	3	3	0	1	-1	1

Table 5.24: Totality Change of High-Value Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.24, the change is all positive in INTER-PMs, though varies greatly from 2 instances in session F3-10 to 124 instances in session F3-12. That is, the INTER-PMs contain more high-value modality instances than their relevant source

speeches do. In INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, the change of the instance totality varies and is generally small.

Figure 5.27 illustrates the distribute rate change of high-value modality in interpretation among all individual sessions.

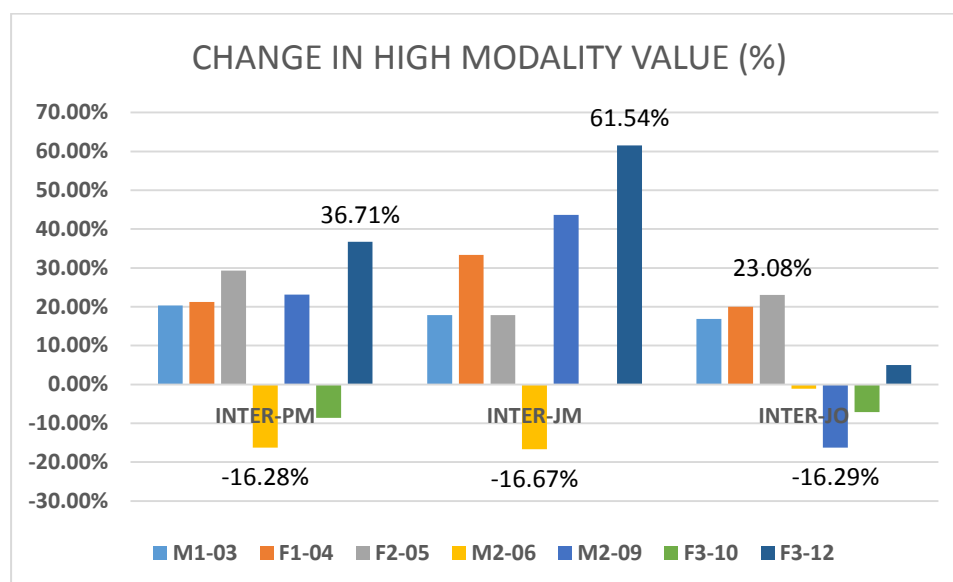


Figure 5.27: Change of High-Value Modality Distribution in Interpretation

As is displayed in Figure 5.27, the increase of the high-value modality is generally obvious in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs. For example, both INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs contain higher rates of high-value modality at 5 interpreting sessions. Yet, it is also noticed that the distribution of high-value modality in session M2-06 decreases by 16.28% in INTER-PMs and by 16.67% in INTER-JMs', suggesting a sense of individuation in the interpreter M2's practice. Comparing to INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs, the distributive rate change in INTER-JOs appears generally conserved and also rather discursive.

Table 5.25 summarises the distributive rates of medium-value modality in interpretation.

M-Value	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	31.15%	31.06%	23.85%	53.04%	38.24%	69.95%	24.37%
INTER-JM	57.14%	41.67%	75%	87.50%	36.36%	100%	38.46%
INTER-JO	69.23%	66.67%	53.85%	84%	63.64%	94.12%	50%

Table 5.25: Distribution of Medium-Value Modality in Interpretation

As is presented in Table 5.25, although the distributive rate of medium-value modality varies from session to session, the application of the medium-value modality appears generally more frequent in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs than it is in INTER-PMs.

Table 5.26 displays the number of changed medium-value modality instances in interpretation.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	1	-6	-4	60	9	52	-9
INTER-JM	5	1	-3	3	2	3	-2
INTER-JO	-2	2	-4	12	13	4	0

Table 5.26: Totality Change of Medium-Value Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in the table, the change of medium-value modal instances is particularly random in the interpretations, particularly in INTER-PMs, showing no regularity from the speaker-based interpretation. Yet, despite all the difference among INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, the change of medium-value modality instances presents a certain degree of consistency within some sessions, such as F2-05, M2-06, M2-09 and F3-10. That is, by either increasing or decreasing the medium-value modal instance in the interpretations for all speakers, some interpreters do present individuality in their practice.

Figure 5.28 illustrates the distributive change of the medium-value modality in interpretation.

As is illustrated in Figure 5.28, the distributive decline of the medium-value modality is presented at 5 sessions in INTER-PMs but only 3 sessions in INTER-JOs, suggesting more interpreters choose to use less medium-value modal expressions in INTER-PMs.

In Figure 5.28, the change of medium-value modality at the session M2-06 appears rather distinctive among all selected sessions. That is, the interpreter M2 increases the use of medium-modality for all speakers in his practice, indicating a strong sense of individuality in his linguistic choices.

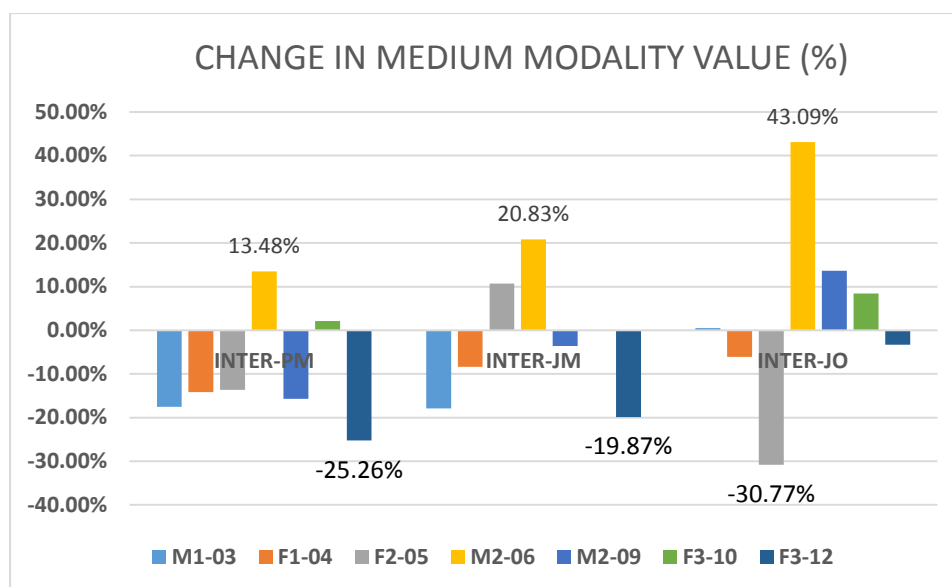


Figure 5.28: Change of Medium-Value Modality Distribution in Interpretation

Table 5.27 summarises the distributive rates of low-value modality in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

Low-Value	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	2.46%	1.52%	1.83%	9.39%	3.43%	13.66%	3.36%
INTER-JM	0%	0%	0%	12.5%	0%	0%	0%
INTER-JO	7.69%	13.33%	15.38%	8%	15.15%	5.88%	25%

Table 5.27: Distribution of Low-Value Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.27, the application of the low-value modality varies greatly between INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. That is, the distributive rates of low-value modality in INTER-JMs are strikingly low at 5 interpreting sessions, saying that the low-value modality is generally avoided in INTER-JMs. In addition, the distribution of low-value modality in INTER-PMs ranges from 1.53% to 13.66%, suggesting that such a value is not preferred in the interpretations for PM.

Table 5.28 shows the number of changed low-value modality instances INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	-1	-7	-12	11	-7	17	-14
INTER-JM	0	-2	-4	0	-2	0	-5
INTER-JO	-3	-1	1	-9	3	0	0

Table 5.28: Totality Change of Low-Value Modality in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.28, the instance change is mostly negative. In addition, such a decrease of low-value modality is exclusive in INTER-JMs. Thus, the low-value modal expressions tend to decrease in interpretation, and, in most cases, the interpreters use less low-value modal expressions for the speakers, especially for JMs in practice.

Figure 5.29 shows the distributive change of low-value modality in interpretation.

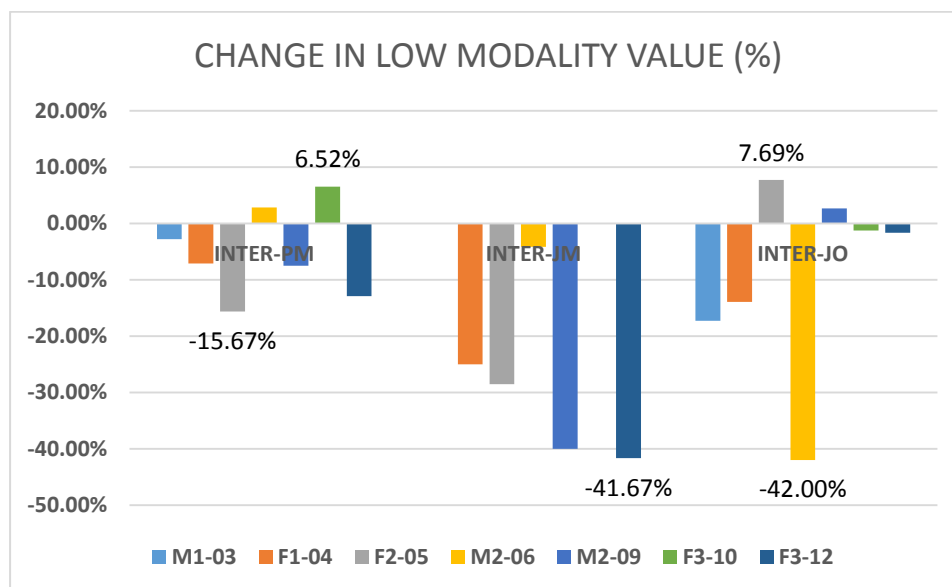


Figure 5.29: Change of Low-Value Modality Distribution in Interpretation

As is illustrated in Figure 5.29, the decrease of the low-value modality distribution in interpretation is evident. Particularly in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs, the five interpreting sessions contain the distributive decrease of the low-value modality. Yet, as compared with INTER-PMs, the distributive decrease of low-value modality in INTER-JMs appears rather radical, with approximately 30% of change at the 4 different sessions. In other words, the distributive change of low-value modality in INTER-PMs is generally limited.

As is shown in Table 5.23-5.28 and Figure 5.27-5.29, the data on the three modal values in interpretation shows that the modal expressions tend to possess higher values in INTER-JMs and more consistently in INTER-PMs. That is, by replacing the low- and medium-value modality with more high- or medium-value modal expressions, both INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs raise up PM's and JMs' level of confidence with the expressed information in their source speeches. In INTER-JOs, the distributive change

and number of modal instances' change are both inconsistent among the 7 selected sessions, suggesting that the interpreters' choices are rather discursive for JOs in this regards.

5.3.3.1 Summary of the Interpreters' Modal Choices

From the contrastive study of modality use in the INTER-PM, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs of the CTSPC corpus, several patterns in the interpreting based on the three types of speakers are summarised as follows.

Firstly, modal expressions are used more frequently in the interpretations than in the source speech, suggesting that the interpreters may have a higher level of uncertainty with the meaning to be expressed in communication than the original speakers do. Secondly, the value of modal expressions are generally raised in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs, falsely expressing more confidence on the information in the interpretation for PM and JMs. Thirdly, the modality with the subjective orientation in INTER-JMs is raised, signifying that the interpreters tend to bring down the distinguished objectivity in the original speeches but to highlight subjectivity for JMs. Fourthly, the three types of modality are processed differently in the interpretations for speakers in the corpus. The types of probability and inclination are chosen to be emphasised in INTER-PMs. In INTER-JMs, the avoidance of obligation in the original speeches is strictly preserved and even strengthened. Yet, in INTER-JOs, the use of obligation is preserved and even slightly strengthened with more modal instances. In this way, the interpreters' practice with different types of modality suggests that their linguistic choices can be very selective to different speakers.

In all, with all the similarities and differences identified in the interpreters' choices of modal expressions, the disparity between the distributive ratio change and the change of modal instances in interpretation suggests that the interpreters try to retain PM's rhetorical forces and intend to project his meanings of utterance with greater confidence. For JMs, the interpreters choose to avoid the modal type of obligation, slightly tune up their use of modality values but reduces the objective orientation. As a consequence, JMs could only express a very personal stand through interpreting and their expressions are bestowed with the least rhetorical force in the interpretations.

5.3.4 Attitudinal Resources in the Interpretations

This section focuses on the interpreters' choices for the application of the attitudinal resources and different attitudinal features in the interpretations. The comparative analysis on attitudes and attitudinal features is also conducted between the source speeches and the relevant interpretations with a view to reveal and understand how interpreters choose to situate themselves with different speakers in practice.

5.3.4.1 Processing Speakers' Attitudes

Table 5.29 summarises the number of attitudinal resources in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs and their average number of attitudes used in each clause of the interpretations. In reference to the data provided by Table 5.8 in Section 5.2.4, it also displays the totality change and the distributive change of attitudinal resources through the interpretations.

	INTER-PM	INTER-JM	INTER-JO
Attitudes	1,755	111	144
Attitude per Clause	42.10%	31.71%	26.33%
CHANGE (No.)	218	14	-12
CHANGE (%)	-4.25%	6.12%	0.11%

Table 5.29: Attitudinal Resources in Interpretation and the Change from the Source Speeches

As is presented in Table 5.29, there are 1,755 attitudinal resources identified in INTER-PMs, 111 in INTER-JMs and 144 in INTER-JOs. Regarding their distributive rates against clauses in use, INTER-PMs' average distributive rate is 42.1%, more than 10% higher than the rates in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. That is, INTER-PMs are the most appraised with attitudinal resources while INTER-JOs appear to be the least appraised with attitudes.

Focusing on the distributive and number change of attitudinal resources, Table 5.29 shows that although INTER-PMs contain 218 more attitudinal instances, their distributive rate actually drops by 4.25%. In contrast, with 12 less attitudes in use, INTER-JOs manage to maintain, or even lift up the original density of attitudes by 0.11%. In INTER-JMs, the distributive rate of attitudes increases by 6.12% with extra 14 attitudinal instances.

In Table 5.29, the rise of attitudinal resources in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs suggests that the aggregate of attitudes in the original speeches is largely elaborated through the interpreters' practice. Yet, the divergence of the distributive rate change in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs also indicates that attitudes are more densely packed in INTER-JMs but less distributed among all clauses in INTER-PMs. With less attitudinal expressions in INTER-JOs, some attitudes are possibly omitted in the interpreting process. Yet, 0.11% of attitudinal frequency change also indicates that INTER-JOs almost inherit and preserve the attitudinal rate from the source speeches.

The application and the change of attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs indicate that the interpreters may intend for a more factual INTER-PMs but a more attitudinal INTER-JMs. As for INTER-JOs, the nearly unchanged attitudinal distributive rate and less attitudinal instances suggest that the interpreters may be unwilling to interpret certain attitudinal resources for JOs, and have no intention to mark the relevant interpretations attitudinal.

Focusing on the types of attitudes, Table 5.30-5.32 describe the distribution of the three types of attitudes, namely Affect, Judgement and Appreciation in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs while Figures 5.30-5.35 illustrate the change of attitudinal distribution and attitudinal instances from the source speeches to the interpretations.

Table 5.30 shows the distributive rate of Affect among all attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs among the 7 selected sessions.

Affect	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	14.77%	15.52%	14.5%	4.70%	6.93%	10%	12.16%
INTER-JM	14.29%	18.75%	22.22%	0%	36.36%	25%	0%
INTER-JO	0%	9.09%	8.7%	9.52%	0%	18.75%	7.14%

Table 5.30: Distributive Rates of Affect in Interpretation

As is presented in Table 5.30, the distributive rate of Affect in interpretation is generally not high, ranging from 4.7% to 15.52% in INTER-PM, from 0% to 36.36% in INTER-JMs and to 18.75% in INTER-JOs. That is, the application of Affect may appear comparatively more frequent in INTER-PMs but generally rare in INTER-JOs. Yet, the varied distribution of Affect in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs suggests that

the emotion is not highlighted as a kind of appraisal resource in the interpretations. In other words, it is the institutionalised feelings that are the real locus in the interpretations.

Figure 5.30 illustrates the distributive change of the Affect in interpretation. In addition, the highest and the lowest rates among INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs are labelled near the relevant session columns to mark the range of distributive change in attitudinal resources of Affect.

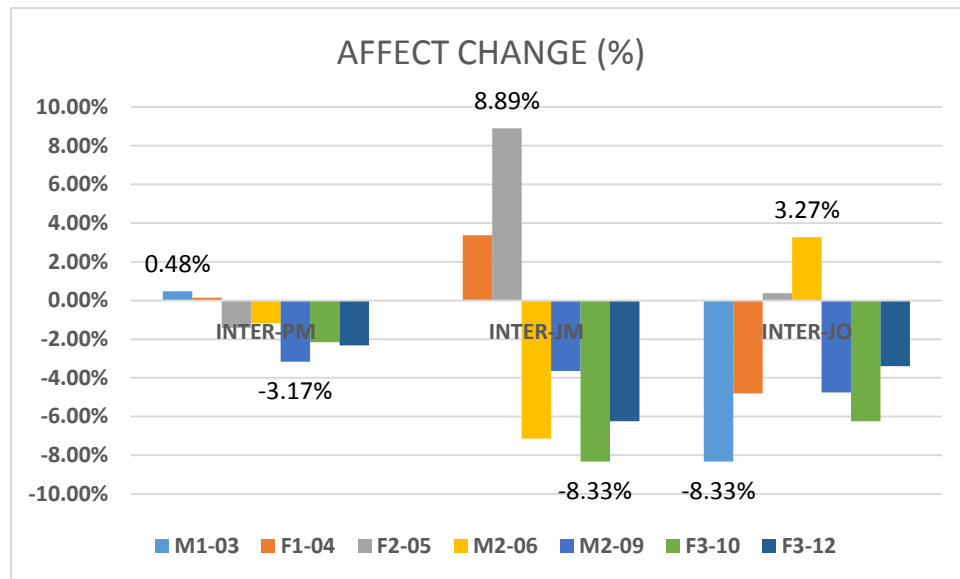


Figure 5.30: Change of Affect Distribution in Interpretation

In Figure 5.30, the change of Affect distribution is mostly negative. That is, comparing to the institutionalised opinions, the attitude of Affect is used less frequently in most of sessions. Focusing on the sessions with the distributive decrease of Affect, those in INTER-PMs remain the lowest with the maximum rate of change at 3.17% while those in INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs appear more evident with the maximum rate of change at 8.33%.

Figure 5.31 shows the change of Affect instances in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

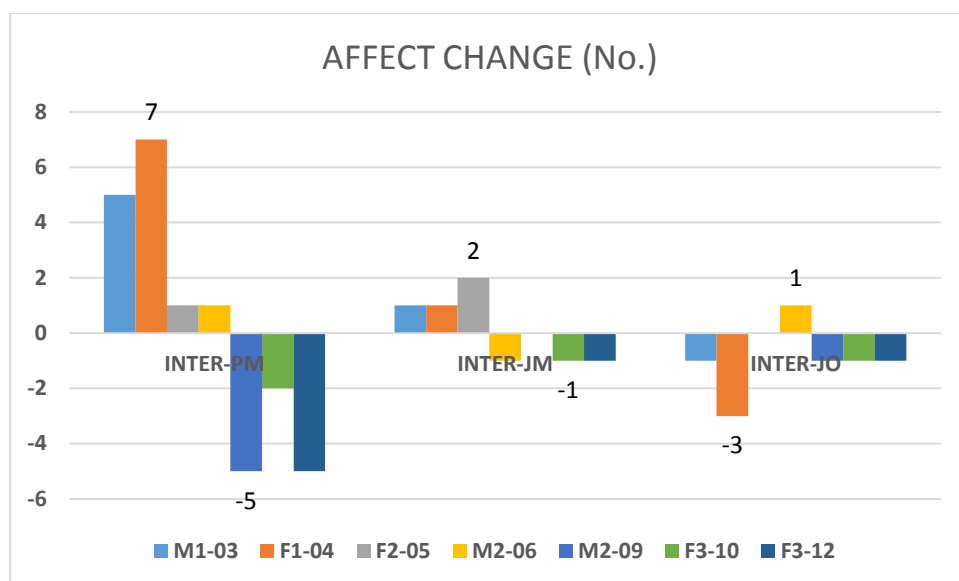


Figure 5.31: Change of Affect Totality in Interpretation

In Figure 5.31, the change of Affect instances is rather limited in the interpretations. In INTER-PMs, the change of Affect does not exceed 7 instances. In INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, the change of Affect is extremely small, normally with the addition or decrease with only 1 instance, suggesting that totality of Affect in the source speeches are generally preserved in the interpreters' practice. Yet, as INTER-JOs generally contain the decrease of Affect instances, it is indicative that the interpreters tend to use less emotional expressions for JOs in their practice.

Focusing on the change of Affect in the interpretations, Figure 5.30-5.31 show that the attitudinal resource of Affect is less emphasised in the interpreters' practice. In INTER-PMs, although the change of Affect instances varies among the different sessions, the decrease of Affect distribution still suggests that the interpreters tend to reduce the application of Affect among all types of attitudes in practice. In INTER-JMs and particularly INTER-JOs, the decrease of Affect instances is limited to one or two cases but still strongly indicates that the Affect is not at all highlighted in the interpreters' practice.

Table 5.31 summarises the distributive rates of Judgement in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

Judgement	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	22.73%	17.59%	28.5%	24.36%	14.29%	12.5%	23.65%

INTER-JM	9.52%	6.25%	0%	7.69%	0%	0%	12.5%
INTER-JO	28.57%	27.27%	0%	23.81%	11.11%	18.75%	14.29%

Table 5.31: Distributive Rates of Judgement in Interpretation

As is shown in the table, the application of Judgement ranges from 12.5% to 28.5% in INTER-PMs, and from 0% to 12.5% in INTER-JMs and to 28.57% in INTER-JOs. That is, despite all the distributive difference, INTER-PMs and INTER-JOs seem to have the higher distribution of Judgement while INTER-JMs consistently have the low distribution of Judgement. In other words, the attitudes of Judgement tend to be more frequently used in INTER-PMs and INTER-JOs but least likely to be used in INTER-JMs.

Figure 5.32 illustrates the distributive rate change of Judgement in the interpretations.

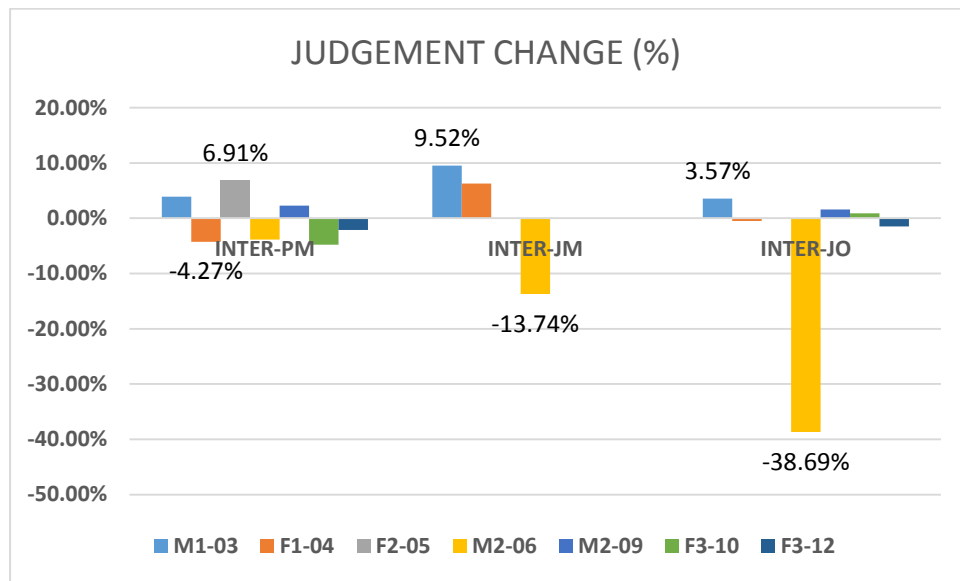


Figure 5.32: Change of Judgement Distribution in Interpretation

As is illustrated in Figure 5.32, the distributive change of Judgement remains generally less than 10%. To be specific, the change of Judgement distribution in INTER-PMs appears steadily small among all selected sessions, suggesting that all five interpreters tend to remain the application of Judgement for PM. In INTER-JOs, the change of Judgement distribution is extremely small in the six selected sessions except for the 38.69% at the session M2-06. That is, the five interpreters are mostly unwilling to change the original distribution of Judgement for those JOs. In INTER-JMs, only three

sessions contain the distributive rate change of Judgement, indicating a high level of sensitivity towards Judgement change in the interpreters' practice for JMs.

Figure 5.33 focuses on attitudinal instances of Judgment and describes the changed numbers from all 7 selected sessions.

As is illustrated in Figure 5.33, most of the instance increase of Judgment are identified in INTER-PMs, including the highest instance increase of 15 instances at the session M1-03. In contrast, the change of Judgment instances is very limited in both INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, saying that the interpreters are very reserved to make any Judgment changes for the journalists. Particularly in INTER-JMs, only three interpreting sessions have the change of Judgment instances and the number of change is less than 2 cases. In INTER-JOs, there are two sessions containing four and five less instances of Judgment, suggesting that some interpreters are intent on avoiding Judgment when JOs speak.

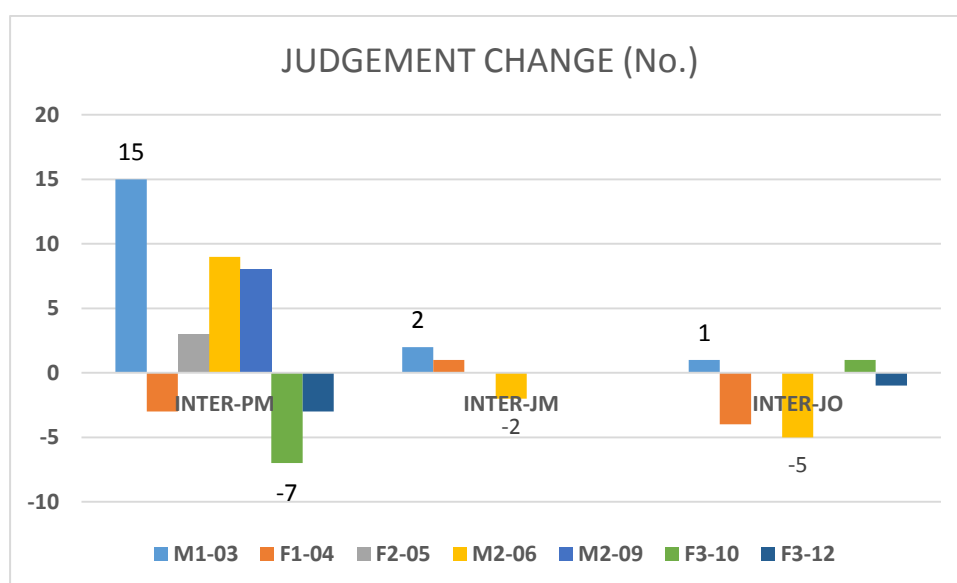


Figure 5.33: Change of Judgment Totality in Interpretation

Table 5.32 focuses on the attitudinal resources of Appreciation and presents the distributive rates of Appreciation in the 7 selected interpreting sessions.

Appreciation	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	62.50%	66.9%	65%	70.94%	78.79%	77.5%	64.19%
INTER-JM	76.19%	75%	77.78%	92.31%	63.64%	75%	87.5%
INTER-JO	71.43%	63.64%	91.3%	66.67%	88.89%	62.5%	78.57%

Table 5.32: Distributive Rates of Appreciation in Interpretation

As is shown in Table 5.32, the distribution of Appreciation ranges from 62.5% to 78.79% in INTER-PMs, from 63.64% to 92.31% in INTER-JMs and from 62.5% to 91.3% in INTER-JOs. That is, with the minimum distribution of 62.5% among all sessions and for all speakers, the attitude of Appreciation obviously has the dominant distribution in all interpretations. In other words, most of the attitudinal resources applied in the interpretations are personal opinions in relation to the institutionalised aesthetics.

Figure 5.34 demonstrates the distributive rate change of Appreciation in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs of the CTSPC corpus.

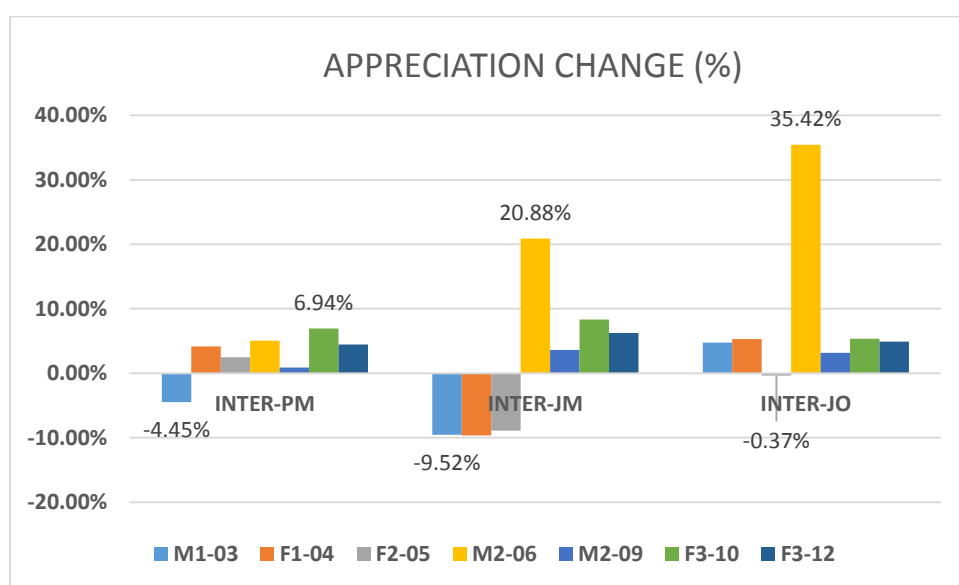


Figure 5.34: Change of Appreciation Distribution in Interpretation

As is seen in Figure 5.34, the distributive rate change of Appreciation is generally positive. That is, the interpretations contain more attitudes of Appreciation than the source speeches do. In INTER-PMs, the rise of Appreciation is evident but limited. In INTER-JOs, the increase of Appreciation is almost exclusive. The distributive rate increase of Appreciation remains approximately at 5% among the five interpreting sessions except for the session M2-06's exceptionally high rate of 35.42%. That is, apart from the distinctive individuality presented by the interpreter M2 at the M2-06 session, the distributive change of Appreciation in INTER-PMs and INTER-JOs suggest similar patterns in the interpreters' practice. In contrast, the distributive rate change of Appreciation in INTER-JMs appears discursive for including 4 sessions' increase and 3 sessions' decrease.

Figure 5.35 illustrates the change of Appreciation instances in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

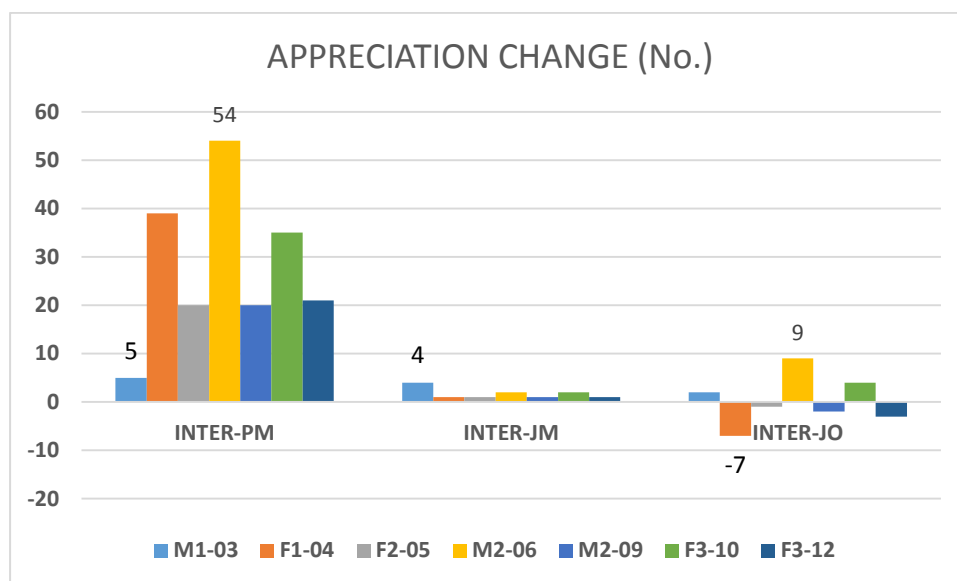


Figure 5.35: Change of Appreciation Totality in Interpretation

As is shown in Table 5.35, INTER-PMs contain massive increase of Appreciation instances and the maximum increase reaches 54 items at the interpreting session M2-06. In contrast, the increase of Appreciation instances in INTER-JMs appear very conservative with the maximum of only four instances. In the way, the rise of Appreciation instances in INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs seem to suggest two different interpreting patterns for the speeches of PM and JMs. More specifically, the rise of Appreciation instances is most likely to be found in INTER-PMs but very cautiously practiced in INTER-JMs. In INTER-JOs, the increase and the decrease of Appreciation instances does not exceed 9 items, suggesting limited regularity in the interpreters' practice.

Focusing on the three types of attitudes, Table 5.30-5.32 and Figure 5.30-5.35 make a detailed description on how attitudes of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation are applied and managed in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. Firstly, the data on the attitude of Affect suggest that natural emotions are not the locus in interpretation. The limited decrease of Affect in the interpretations also suggests that the interpreters have no intention to change the attitudinal focus in the original speeches. In the sense, the interpreters' practice intends to provide more spaces for the aggregate of opinions. Secondly, the dominance of Appreciation in the interpretations suggests that the opinions

deployed in the interpretations for all speakers are primarily made in relation to some aesthetic standards rather than social esteem and even social sanctions. In particular, the steady increase of Appreciation distribution in INTER-PMs and INTER-JOs suggest the interpreters are more comfortable to use Appreciation as the attitudinal appraisal for PM and JOs. Thirdly, the lower distribution of Judgement in the interpretations, particularly in INTER-JMs, suggest that such a type of attitude is not preferred by the interpreters in practice especially when the speaker becomes JM. In addition, as the change of Judgement distribution in most of interpreting sessions for all speakers appears limited, the interpreters' management of Judgement seems to be generally faithful. Yet, the change of Judgement instances in interpretation, particularly in INTER-PMs and INTER-JOs also suggest that the interpreters' choices of Judgement for PM and JOs can be very selective.

Focusing on the orientation feature of attitudes, Table 5.33 and Figure 5.36-5.37 describe the inscribed attitudes in the interpretations. As the orientation of attitude is polarised with inscribed and evoked values, the description of the inscribed attitudes in the interpretations is expected to reveal how the interpreters choose to orient various attitudes to the audience for different speakers.

Table 5.33 summarises the distributive rates of inscribed attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs of the CTSPC corpus.

Inscribe	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	64.39%	61.72%	64.50%	63.25%	68.83%	68.75%	60.81%
INTER-JM	57.14%	68.75%	33.33%	69.23%	100%	68.75%	75%
INTER-JO	42.86%	59.09%	65.22%	52.38%	50%	65.63%	64.29%

Table 5.33: Distribution of Inscribed Attitudes in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.33, regardless of the speaker difference, the distribution of inscribed attitudes is more than 50% in most CTSPC sessions, suggesting that a majority number of attitudes are expressed explicitly in the interpretations. According to the data, the distribution of inscribed attitudes in INTER-PMs remains consistently at the rate of over 60%, suggesting the inscribed orientation is primarily adopted by all interpreters for PM's attitudes. Secondly, the distribution of inscribed attitudes in INTER-JOs appears slightly lower than that in INTER-PMs, suggesting the inscribed expression is still preferred by these interpreters for JOs. As for INTER-JMs, the drastic distributive

difference between 100% in session M2-09 and 33.33% in session F2-05 suggests that some interpreters can be very selective or spontaneous with the direct expression of attitudes for JMs.

Figure 5.36 illustrates the distributive change of inscribed attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

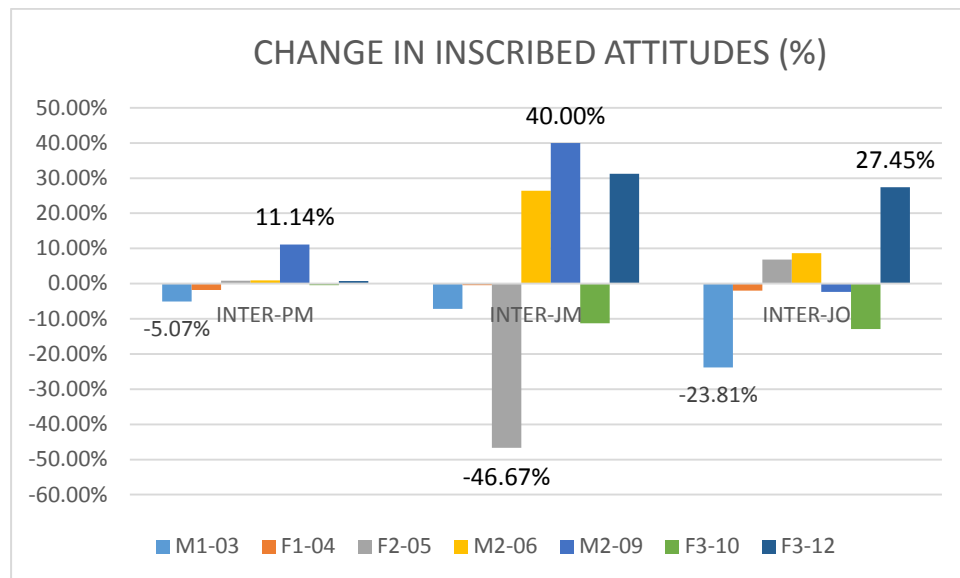


Figure 5.36: Change in the Distribution of Incribed Attitudes in Interpretation

As is seen in Figure 5.36, the distributive rate change of inscribed attitudes is generally very small in INTER-PMs, suggesting a good uniformity in retaining the original orientation feature of attitudes. In contrast, the distributive rate change of inscribed attitudes in INTER-JOs and particularly INTER-JMs varies greatly from one session to another, suggesting a strong sense of randomness in interpreters' choices of inscribed attitudinal expressions.

Figure 5.37 demonstrates the change of inscribed attitudinal instances in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

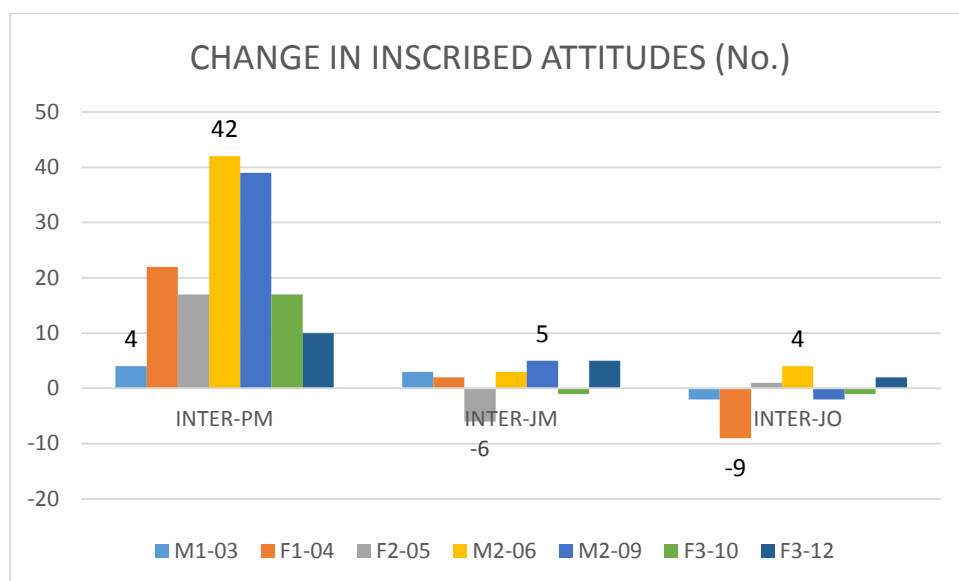


Figure 5.37: Change in the Totality of Inscribed Attitudes in Interpretation

As is illustrated in Figure 5.37, the change of the inscribed attitude in INTER-PMs is positive, indicating a strong tendency of the interpreters to choose more direct and clear expressions of attitudes for PM. In INTER-JMs and particularly INTER-JOs, the change of inscribed attitudinal expressions is limited in general, suggesting that the interpreters are very careful with the journalists' choices for the attitudinal orientation. More specifically, despite the difference among all interpreting sessions, INTER-JMs have more sessions with increased positive attitudes, indicating a possible preference in the interpreters' practice towards more explicit attitudes for JMs.

Based on the distributive change of inscribed attitudes in Figure 5.36 and the change of attitudinal instances in Figure 5.37, two interpreting patterns on inscribed attitudes might be identified. Firstly, the attitudes in INTER-PMs are generally as explicit as they are in PM's source speeches because no large increase is found in their distributive rates. Therefore, the massive rise of inscribed instances in INTER-PMs could be accompanied by the rise of invoked attitudes as well. Secondly, the distribution of inscribed attitudes in the journalists' interpretations is more or less changed. The randomness in the distributive rate suggests that the interpreters' choices of the attitudinal orientation for the journalists are mainly discursive.

Table 5.34 focuses on the positivity of attitudes and describes the distribution of positive attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. As all attitudes carry

only two polarised values, the description in Table 5.34 can also reveal the accumulation of negative attitudes in the interpretations.

Positive	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	74.24%	82.41%	82%	78.63%	78.79%	71.25%	76.69%
INTER-JM	38.1%	18.75%	27.78%	53.85%	100%	43.75%	68.75%
INTER-JO	35.71%	50%	52.17%	42.86%	61.11%	50%	71.43%

Table 5.34: Distribution of Positive Attitudes in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.34, the positive attitudes range from 71.25% to 82.41% in INTER-PMs. That is, with the minimum of 71.25% and some small distributive variations across all individual sessions, positive attitudes apparently prevail in INTER-PMs. In INTER-JMs, the distribution of positive attitudes varies greatly from 18.75% to 100% across the 7 selected sessions, showing much randomness to the presence of attitudinal positivity. Comparing to INTER-JMs, there is much less distributive rate variation across individual sessions in INTER-JOs. However, as the distribution of positive attitudes in INTER-JOs is around 50%, it seems that positive and negative attitudes may have an equal share of presence in INTER-JOs.

Figure 5.38 describes how the distribution of positive attitudes are changed in the interpretations from their source speeches.

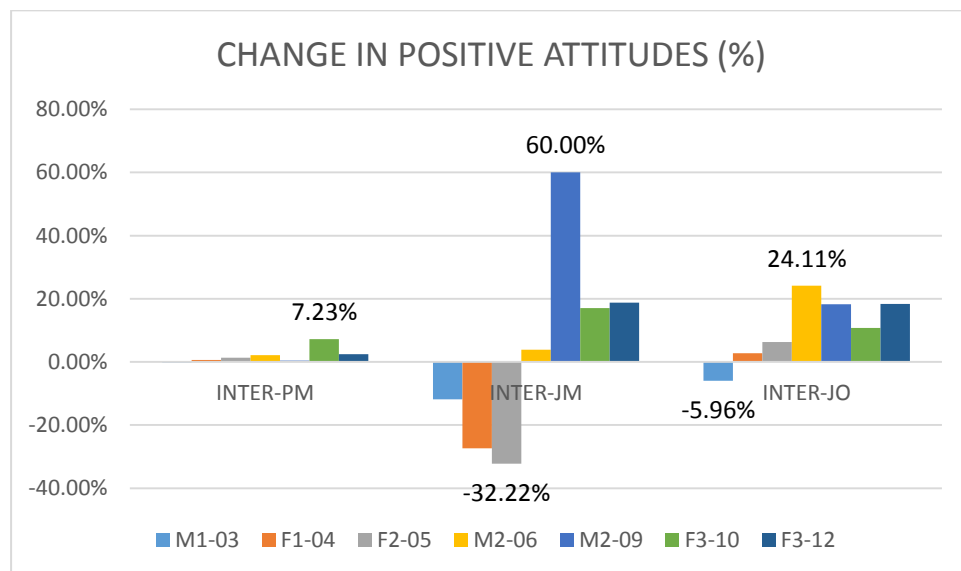


Figure 5.38: Change in the Distribution of Positive Attitudes in Interpretation

As is seen in Figure 5.38, with the highest distributive rate change at 7.23%, the original distribution of positive attitudes in PM's speeches is barely changed in their interpretations. More evidently, however, with INTER-JOs witnessing a rise of the positive attitude distribution in six sessions and a fall to -5.96% in one session, the interpreters obviously intend to use more positive attitudes when interpreting for JOs. In INTER-JMs, the change of the positive attitude distribution varies greatly with an increase in four sessions and a decrease in three sessions at the distributive range of -32.22% to 60%. The results suggest a high level of spontaneity in the interpreters' practice.

Figure 5.39 demonstrates the change of the positive attitudinal instances in the interpretations from the source speeches.

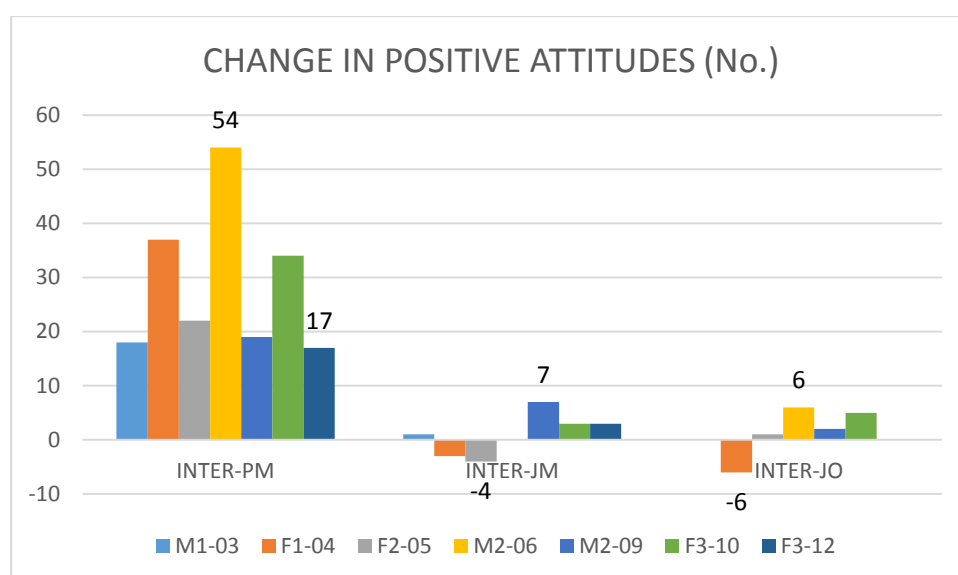


Figure 5.39: Change in the Totality of Positive Attitudes in Interpretation

As is displayed in Figure 5.39, the instances of the positive attitude increase substantially in INTER-PMs, but change with maximally 7 instances in INTER-JMs and 6 instances in INTER-JOs. That shows that the interpreters demonstrate no hesitation in using more positive attitudes for PM, but choose to be cautious in using additional positive attitudes for the journalists.

Focusing on the positive attitudes, the data in Table 5.34 and Figure 5.38-5.39 lead us to some findings. Firstly, the massive addition of positive attitudinal instances in INTER-PMs does not change the distribution of positive attitudes drastically, thus suggesting that dominant positiveness in INTER-PMs is basically a reflection of PM's

own choices. In the sense, the interpreters simply choose to highlight the original feature of PM's attitudes. In contrast, the change of limited attitudinal items in INTER-JOs leads to an obvious and steady rise of positive attitude distribution, explaining that, due to the limited presence of attitudes in INTER-JOs, the interpreters' choices of attitudes for JOs could be important. In reference to INTER-JOs' approximately 50% of positive attitudes distribution, the rise of positive attitudinal instances and its consequential distributive rates in the interpretations actually change the tone of appraisal in the original speeches of JOs. That is, by giving more positive meanings to JOs to make negative and positive attitudes look more balanced in INTER-JOs, the slightly negative tone in the source speeches of JOs are neutralised in a delicate manner. The way that the interpreters manage attitudinal positivity suggests that INTER-PMs and INTER-JOs are reflective to two distinctive interpreting approaches in the CTSPC corpus.

In order to understand different levels of rhetorical forces carried by attitudes in interpretation, Table 5.35 and Figure 5.40 summarise the application and management of the attitudinal grading in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

Table 5.35 firstly presents the distributive rates of the attitudes that are not graded, namely they are neither intensified nor mitigated, in the interpretations.

Ungraded	M1-03	F1-04	F2-05	M2-06	M2-09	F3-10	F3-12
INTER-PM	90.53%	90%	91.5%	92.31%	92.21%	94.58%	91.55%
INTER-JM	100%	87.5%	88.89%	69.23%	90.91%	87.5%	93.75%
INTER-JO	100%	68.18%	82.61%	95.24%	88.89%	90.63%	92.86%

Table 5.35: Distribution of Ungraded Attitudes in Interpretation

As is seen in Table 5.35, the lowest distributive rate of ungraded attitudes is 68.18% in INTER-JOs at the session F1-04. That is, regardless of the distributive difference of ungraded attitudes in the source speeches or in the interpreting sessions, at least 68.18% of attitudes are ungraded. This suggests that a majority of attitudes in the interpretations are neither upscaled, nor downscaled for attitudinal forces. In the table, the distribution of ungraded attitudes ranges from 90% to 94.58% in INTER-PMs, from 69.23% to 100% in INTER-JMs and from 68.18% to 100% in INTER-JOs, suggesting that the primary use of ungraded attitudes is more consistent in INTER-PMs than in the interpretations for journalists. As is suggested in Table 5.35, the graded attitudes are unlikely to prevail in the interpretations, particularly in INTER-PMs.

Focusing on the graded attitudes in the interpretations, Figure 5.40 demonstrates the distributive rate change of graded attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs.

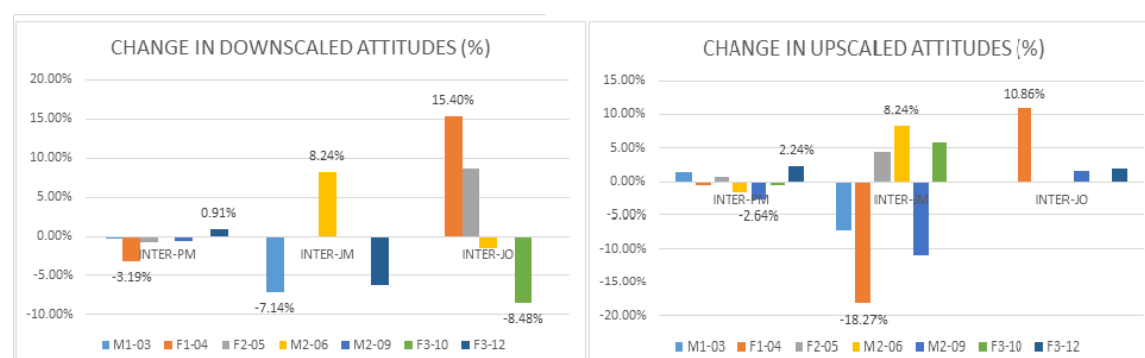


Figure 5.40: Distributive Change of Graded Attitudes in Interpretation

As is seen in Figure 5.40, the distributive change of downgraded and upscaled attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs presents different patterns. In INTER-PMs, the distributive rate change of both downgraded and upgraded attitudes appears exceedingly small, meaning that graduation is not commonly used by the interpreters for PM's attitudes. In both INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs, however, the distributive rate change of graded attitudes appears significantly random. Yet, despite all the randomness, the changes of upscaled attitudes seem to cluster more in INTER-JMs, which betrays that the interpreters tend to change the intensified attitudinal value, but such a change may be very discursive.

5.3.4.2 Summary of the Interpreters' Management of Attitudes

Based on the contrastive study on the attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs of the CTSPC corpus, some patterns on the interpreters' management of attitudes for the three types of speakers could be generalised.

Firstly, as is indicated by the distributive change of attitudes and the change of attitudinal instances in the interpretations, there are three different approaches adopted in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. To be specific, the density of attitudes is slightly reduced in INTER-PMs but raised up in INTER-JMs, suggesting that the interpreters intend to give different levels of personal attachment to PMs and JMs. As compared to INTER-PMs and INTER-JMs, the nearly unchanged attitudinal distributive rate and less attitudinal instances in INTER-JOs suggest that the interpreters may be sensitive to some specific attitudinal instances expressed by JOs, but still can manage to

remain professionally detached from some noticeable changes on their attitudinal aggregate.

Secondly, the interpreters tend to highlight different types of attitudes in INTER-PMs, INTER-JMs and INTER-JOs. The pattern of choices suggest that the interpreters are strongly sensitive to and then selective with institutionalised opinions, particularly those in relation to social sanctions and social esteems, for speakers in practice. For example, Judgement tends to be absent in INTER-JMs; Affect is carefully maintained in INTER-JOs, but Appreciation is largely retained or even boosted in the interpretations regardless of the speakers' social or geographic background. That is, the interpreters carefully represent PM's own choices of opinion but divert the attitudes of JMs further away from being judgement-related in interpretation. In INTER-JOs, the interpreters try to keep up with JOs on the application of all opinion-related attitudes. This practice somehow makes their avoidance of judgement instances in interpretation less obvious.

Thirdly, the general tendency towards positive attitudes is reflected in all interpretations. The interpreters tend to change negative attitudes expressed in the original speeches of JOs into more positive attitudes in INTER-JOs. INTER-PMs greatly increase the number of attitudinal instances, but still manage to be close to the original distribution of positive attitudes. Although the distributive change of attitudinal positivity appears selective in INTER-JMs, its rise in positive attitudinal instances is still evident.

Finally, although the interpreters use more inscribed attitudinal instances for PM, the distribution of inscribed attitudes in INTER-PMs remains close to that in the source speeches. In other words, the way that the interpreters manage attitudes does not make PM's attitudes more explicit to the audience.

As is discussed, the contrastive study of attitudes reveal some generalised patterns in the interpreters' choices of attitudes for different speakers. More importantly, these patterns suggest that the interpreters situate themselves in different interpersonal relationships when the speaker changes.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter firstly reveals different linguistic features of the discourse of PM and that of the journalists from Mainland China and other foreign countries. Given the formality and social/political significance of the interpreting event, it is reasonably believed that all

parties apply the linguistic resources carefully so that different speakers' identities can be appropriately reflected in their respective discourses, including the social status and different interpersonal roles assigned by the communicative event. Thus through interpretation, any faithful representation or rectification on the speakers' roles presented via the utilisation of different linguistic resources becomes responsive to how the interpreters choose to project their roles in the event.

Using speakers from different cultural, social, political and geographic backgrounds as an analytical parameter, this chapter focuses on the interpreter-speaker relationship and testifies how the interpreters' performance is affected in the dynamics of different interpreter-speaker relationships. What is manifested from the interpreters' various interactions with the speakers are their choices for professional identities or more specifically their social positioning in China's two-session press conferences.

To assess the linguistic variations in interpretation, the linguistic features are summarised and compared, which are associated with the expression of interpersonal meaning in grammatical structures, modal expressions and attitudinal resources of appraisal in particular. Through the perceived reservation or revision on the linguistic features in the interpretations, the interpreters' roles in communication are reconstructed.

5.4.1 Summary of the Changes on Linguistic Features

In the CTSPC corpus, the speakers of the two-session press conferences are categorised into three different groups, namely PM, JMs and JOs. The analysis on the linguistic features of the interpretations on the speeches of the three categories of speakers suggests that there is a general resemblance to the source speeches in the interpretations regarding the expression of various interpersonal meanings. However, despite all the similarities, a graduation of change is seen in linguistic features from grammar to semantics in the interpretations.

Firstly, the interpretations simplify the grammatical structure of the source speeches, particularly those from JOs. The consequence is that the linguistic structure of the interpretations is generally simpler than those of the original speeches at the grammatical-syntactic level. This practice of the grammatical-syntactic simplification suggests that there is an effort of the interpreters to re-present the message in a more orally manner. In doing so, the interpreters present a general tendency to facilitate the oral communication between the two primary parties.

Grammatically, the variation between the interpretations and the source speeches remains subtle. That is, the interpersonal roles of speakers in communication including PM's information giving and the journalists' information requesting are faithfully re-realised through grammatical means. In addition, the choice of grammatical realisation for PM's interpersonal role is highly consistent across all 7 individual sessions conducted by the five interpreters. However, subtle as it is, some meaningful differences have emerged in the interpretations of the journalists' speeches. For example, in the interpretations of journalists' speeches, more statements are used possibly due to the increase in explications to be made to frame the expected question. There are two types of questions involved and the proportion between these two is constantly adjusted possibly for two different purposes: highlighting or mitigating the urgency of the journalists' information request. Yet, it is also noticed from the analysis that the interpretations for JOs generally contain less changes than the interpretations for JMs do, which suggests that the interpreters are generally more cautious on the issue of fidelity when their interpreting subjects are JOs.

Thirdly, the analysis on the application of modal expressions shows that the change in the interpretations is generally made to highlight a specific aspect of modal meaning and such an emphasis varies, depending on different interpreting subjects. To be specific, modal expressions are generally used more frequently in the interpretations than in the original speeches, which is possibly indicative of the interpreters' strategy for deceptive concerns on the accuracy of messages. However, as the rise of modality in the interpretations for JOs is exceedingly low, it is reasonable to speculate that, unlike interpreting for PM or JMs, the interpreters are more conscious of the norm of equivalence in the interpreting process so as to ensure the determinacy of the message from JOs. Except for retaining the use of subjective and implicit orientation, the interpretations carefully differentiate themselves from the source speeches on modulation and modalisation for different purposes. For example, the distributive rise of possibility in INTER-PMs is intended for more space of inter-determinacy. The bulge of inclination and the obvious exclusiveness from obligation in INTER-JMs makes the journalists' proposition much more tentative. In contrast, the distribution of obligation as the type of modal expressions in INTER-JOs is lifted up to give more rhetorical force in the discourse of JOs. In this regard, it is possible to argue that the interpreters' choices of modal expressions are selective and responsive to the change of the interpreting subjects.

Lastly, the analysis of attitudinal resources in the appraisal system presents most differences of meaning changes regarding the three types of interpreting subjects. For example, the general distribution of attitudinal resources is changed conservatively in INTER-JOs, down moderately in INTER-PMs, and up only largely in INTER-JMs. In addition, the linguistic disparity is most evident in the attitudinal type of judgement. That is, the distribution of judgement is consistent and restrained in INTER-PMs. INTER-JMs possibly intend to refrain from adding any change. INTER-JOs appear restrained but also selective in interpreting judgement. Regarding the positivity of attitudes, the general distribution of positive attitudes rises perceptibly in interpretation. Among all interpreting subjects, the management of positive attitudes in INTER-JOs is the most deceiving because the limited distributive increase of positive attitudes actually neutralised the negative-prone tone in the source speeches of JOs. Meanwhile, the high level of consistency in the interpreting change among all individual sessions of INTER-PMs is very distinctive from other two types of interpreting subjects. In summary, the analysed changes in the linguistic feature of attitudes in interpreting is reflective to the interpreters' prudence and cautiousness with PM and JOs as their interpreting subjects. In other words, the attitudinal meaning in the speeches of PM and JOs is highlighted but also processed differently in interpretation.

From grammar to semantics, the interpretation of CTSPC contains a series of changes at every stratification, being either subtle or obvious, in response to the three types of interpreting subjects. The comprehensiveness of the change in linguistic features and more variations identified in attitudes suggests that although interpreting is basically a semantic-based linguistic activity, the scope of this trans-linguistic service is far more comprehensive, particularly regarding the expression of interpersonal meanings.

5.4.2 The Interpreters' Social Positioning with Speakers

Like any live broadcast interpreting event, interpreters' performance in the CTSPC corpus is received by different groups of subjects. At the scene, the interpreting serves for the immediate but one-way communication between PM and the journalists. Meanwhile, the audience of the event includes the invited journalists and government officials and also millions of TV viewers from all walks of life and possibly different countries. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that the CTSPC interpreting practice is positioned in a complex of interpersonal relationships. However, the analysis on the linguistic changes regarding the expression of interpersonal meanings in the speech/interpretation of PM and the

journalists shows that the transmitting media of live broadcasting does not change the formality of this interpreting service. That is, the audience, either at the scene or in front the TV are unlikely to be prioritised for communicative concerns. It is the interpreting subjects, particularly PM and JOs, that are given primary focus by the CTSPC interpreters, and the high level of prudence and cautiousness the interpreters have demonstrated are reflected in their performance, together with their selectiveness in management of all relationships.

Focusing on the interpretations of PM's speeches, the five interpreters present a high level of uniformity across the 7 sessions, which demonstrates the feature of the community of practice in such a linguistic service. Generally, their performances are faithful to the meaning expressions in the source speeches. This practice suggests the interpreters' professional neutrality. In addition, the changes made in the interpretations of PM's speeches are generally faithful to the source speeches and consistently similar in the way of difference across the 7 interpreting sessions. This might be well explained by the constant communication and practice within the interpreting group as is reported previously in the news on the in-house interpreters in the Department of Translation and Interpretation under MFA of China. In other words, the interpreting practice on PM's speeches in CTSPC aims for a uniformed linguistic performance and thus is presented accordingly. With such a community of practice presented and analysed, it is reasonable to speculate that the faithful and consistent interpretations of the five interpreters are basically supported by the stable interpersonal relationship between PM as the government leader, and the interpreters as the public servant of the government. The role of a professional interpreter and the position of the country's public servant are well blended in the government in-house interpreters' service for PM.

Thirdly, the interpretation on the speeches of JMs and JOs reveals two different interpreter-speaker relationships.

As for JOs, the interpretations of their speeches give much emphasis to the accuracy of meaning and appear to be the most cautious with changes in the interpersonal meaning. When we focus on the limited changes in INTER-JOs such as the increase of modal expressions of obligation and the neutralisation of negative attitudes, we speculate that the interpreters' linguistic choices are possibly driven by slightly different mentalities. On one side, they are detached from two parties of communication and thus

behave neutral to the interpersonal meaning in exchange. On the other, they intend to change or highlight some aspects of meaning. Thus, the struggle between their detached fidelity to meaning and expected manipulation on the interpersonal meaning leads to the interpreters' intriguing practice on some details. Eventually, the interpreters' participation appears inevitable and such a participation is managed carefully by all interpreters. Among all the participatory activities, the neutralisation of JOs' negative-prone attitudes through the interpreting process is the most deceiving but significant. With PM's prevailing positive attitudes in source speeches, we see the interpreters' practice on JOs' attitudinal positivity arguably serves for one purpose: tuning up the tone to make it closer with PM's positive key setting so that JOs' negative appraisal appears less prominent in communication. Moreover, given the arrangement of the press conference as one-way communication between PM and the journalists, the interpreters' positivity adjustment in practice shows the perceivable alignment with PM rather than the journalists. In the sense, we understand the projection of the interpreter's role in this interpreter-speaker relationship appears to be mostly in tense. This is because the interpreters' detached neutrality is always challenged by a tentative alignment with one particular party in communication.

As with JMs who are believed within the similar social institution, the management of linguistic changes in interpreting process appears mostly selective and less restrained than it is in INTER-JOs and INTER-PMs. More detailed elaboration for questions, exclusiveness from modal expression of obligation and the expression of institutionalised feelings of judgement as well as the moderate rise of positive attitudinal instances in interpretations all suggest that the interpreters are more comfortable in their participatory practice with JMs and thus appear to be most functional in their facilitating role in communication.

To summarise, we see three different interpreting styles for interpersonal-meaning expressed in CTSPC. This is reflective to the three different interpreter-speaker relationships. The most stable relationship is with PM who appears to be the absolute locus of the event. The most sensitive relationship is found with JOs who are socially and culturally different from the CTSPC interpreters. And the most comfortable relationship is established with JMs who live in the similar social and political institutions with the interpreters. In this regard, what is also reflected in different management of meaning in

interpretation is that the role of speakers affect the interpreter-speaker relationship and eventually the interpreters' own conceptualisation of their roles in practice.

Thus, as we believe the interpreters' performance and their role settings in practice varies with the change of interpreting subjects, we certainly need to realise that the interpreters are participatory in communication. Furthermore, their participation cannot be generalised and explained simply with the role of a communication facilitator because what they project for themselves, in various degrees of participation or detachment, is a far more complex and dynamic identity in professional practice.

Chapter 6: Interpreters' Role and the Change of Addressee

To understand the interpreter's social positioning in Premier's two-session press conferences, this study as a whole focuses on the comparative analysis of the linguistic changes between the interpretations and the source speeches in the CTSPC corpus. The issue of making changes in interpreting practice is assumed to be relevant with three contextual parameters: the interpreter-speaker relationship, the interpreter-addressee relationship, and the topics or the themes of the interpreting discourse.

After the different patterns of linguistic changes regarding the interpreter-speaker relationship being analysed in Chapter 5, this chapter chooses to explore the interpreter's linguistic choices of interpersonal meanings under different interpreter-addressee relationships.

By analysing the grammatical structure of the questions raised by the journalists from foreign countries at the event, the application of different modal features and the adjustment of the attitudinal resources from the source speeches into the interpretations, Chapter 6 intends to reveal the interpreters' choices of their social positioning in relation to the different addressees in this interpreter-mediated event.

6.1 Language-Direction Shifts for the Change of Interpreting Addressees

As is reviewed in the literature, interpreting serves as a linguistic medium for two communicative parties. While interpreting for one party to the other, the interpreter actually targets a specific group of audience by positioning him/herself in relation to both the speaker and the addressee in the communication.

In order to investigate the influence of the interpreter-addressee relationship in interpreting service on the interpreter's linguistic choices, it is necessary to understand the composition of audience on the one hand, and the speaker on the other in the communicative event.

As is stated in Chapter 4, the two languages used in the Premier's two-session press conference are English and Chinese. The Premier (PM) and the journalists from Mainland China (JMs) use Chinese exclusively in their speeches while some journalists from other countries (JOs) have to use English in their speeches. In the Q&A session of

the CTSPC corpus, PM, JMs and those JOs who speak Chinese were able to understand one another well. Yet, some JOs use English for communication possibly because they do not have competent mastery of the Chinese language. Thus, it becomes extremely important for the act of interpreting to take place when these journalists are involved in communication at the scene. Under this situation, when the speeches of PM are interpreted into English, the interpreting will not be practically meaningful to the Chinese-speaking journalists since they understand PM in the first place. In other words, the interpreting from Chinese into English serves only for the English-speaking JOs. In contrast, when a journalist talks in English, the Chinese interpretation becomes essentially important to PM and other Chinese-speaking journalists, but not to those English-speaking JOs. Such being the way of communication, the shift of language direction in interpreting practice actually leads to the shift of addressee of the interpreting service. Thus, the interpreting practice stored up and recorded in the CTSPC corpus actually serves two types of audience at the press conference: PM and Chinese-speaking journalists in English-Chinese interpreting on the one hand, and the English-speaking JOs in Chinese-English interpreting on the other.

Aiming at the immediacy of the information request in communication, the interpreting service rendered for the journalists is more pragmatically important. Since it is only possible for some foreign journalists to choose English as the language to raise questions to PM, their choice of language determines not only, the pragmatic functionality of the interpretation, but also the addressee of the interpreting service. When these journalists raise questions in Chinese, the interpretation becomes functionally secondary to the both communicative parties as PM understands them. However, when English is used, the communicative function of the interpreting practice is escalated since the response from PM has to wait until the meaning is properly and fully rendered in the English-Chinese interpretation. In the Q&A session, the English-Chinese interpretation for some JOs addresses PM as the primary agent in communication for immediate response of the question. In contrast, as the Chinese-English interpretation of PM's answers to the questions raised by JOs serves only for the non-Chinese speaking journalists, the addressee of the interpreting is no longer PM. As is stated previously in this section, the language difference in the speeches of JOs does not only determine the interpreting direction, but more importantly who are the addressee of the interpreting, thus the practical functionality of the interpreting practice. In such a setting, CTSPC

interpreters have to situate themselves well in dealing with two different types of interpreting addressees in practice: PM as the real interviewee to answer questions and those non-Chinese speaking JOs who are not really addressed as the primary agent in the source speeches. In short, the change of language directionality in interpreting actually leads to two different interpreter-addressee relationships, where the interpreter's social positioning in communication could be affected accordingly.

6.2 Interpreters' Choices with the Change of Addressees

The objective of this chapter intends to find out how interpersonal meanings are changed in interpretations with the change of addressees caused by the shift of language direction in interpreting practice.

Focusing only on comparing the speeches of JOs with the corresponding interpretations, the contrastive study is conducted on the turn between two language directions in the CTSPC corpus to investigate on the patterns of linguistic differences where whether and how interpersonal meanings have changed. By drawing only on the interpretations of JOs in the CTSPC corpus, the analysis is conducted on the similar number of clauses in speech as against that in interpretation, and more importantly with the similar political-geographic backgrounds of the speakers in comparison. To facilitate analysis and comparison, the source speeches of JOs and their interpretations are classified as being either Chinese-English (C-E) direction or English-Chinese (E-C) direction.

6.2.1 Choices of MOOD in the Interpretations

For the ease of comparison and given the communicative role of JOs in the press conference, the grammatical investigation in this section focuses only on the speech function of questions. The reason for choosing questions only for analysis is that it is mainly through questions that the journalist can request information or comments from PM and thus initiate a specific Q&A turn in the press conference. After all, it is the question that is the locus of the journalists' speeches to instantiate their communicative role with PM.

As is stated in Chapters 3 and 4, questions can be realised in lexicogrammar, either congruently through wh-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives or metaphorically through declarative clauses. Table 6.1 displays the grammatical feature of questions in the source speeches and the interpretations and summarises the change in the questions and

the types of their grammatical realisations between C-E and E-C interpretations from JOs' speeches. In the table, both the totalities and the distributive rates of different grammatical realisations of questions are presented for the comparison. The language direction is abbreviated with the initial letter of the languages, which is widely acknowledged in translation and interpreting studies.

		Source		Interpretation		Difference	
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
C-E	Wh-	48	66.24	32	62.69	-16	-3.55
	Polar	22	31.63	19	33.51	-3	1.88
	Declarative	2	2.13	3	3.8	1	1.67
	Total	72		54		-18	
E-C	Wh-	28	49.41	30	55.56	2	6.15
	Polar	26	47.66	24	44.44	-2	-3.22
	Declarative	2	2.93	0	0.00	-2	-2.93
	Total	56		54		-2	

Table 6.1: Choices of MOOD in C-E and E-C Interpretations

As is shown in Table 6.1, the number of questions decreases in both directions. Regardless of different language directions, the interpretation tends to synthesise or simplify meanings of questions raised in the source speeches. It is also noticed that more questions are reduced in C-E than E-C interpretation. That means that the speech function of question in E-C interpretation is far more condensed than it is in C-E interpretation. In other words, the heavier reduction of question numbers in the C-E interpretation indicates a higher level of generalisation or summarisation of meaning in the interpreting process.

Focusing on the grammatical realisation of questions, the number of polar-interrogatives decreases in both language directions. Since the polar-interrogative often leads to a very direct information request, this decrease of polar-interrogatives suggests that the interpretation in both directions tends to be less confrontational with the way that the information is requested from PM. Yet, the difference of the interpreting choices starts to present in the distributive ratio of three types of grammatical realisations. Firstly, the declarative clauses increase by 1.67% in C-E interpretation but decrease by 2.93% in E-C interpretation, caused respectively by a drop of two declarative questions in E-C interpretation and the rise of one declarative question in C-E interpretation as listed

above. Such a change may arguably be caused by the linguistic influence of the source language. This is because the question realised in the form of declarative clause is comparatively common in Chinese although it is not grammatically congruent, whereas English questions in declarative forms are rare in formal occasions. Yet, the possible consequence of the changes is that the English questions are more congruently realised in their E-C interpretation while the Chinese question appears more oral and informal in its English interpretation.

Secondly, the change in two congruent realisations of the questions varies in a very contrastive manner between two language directions. That is, C-E interpretation contains the deduction of 16 or 3.55% wh-interrogatives. On the contrary, E-C interpretation has an increase of wh-interrogatives in number and distribution. Furthermore, the decrease of polar-interrogatives in interpretation is also contrastive in distributive rates between two language directions. More specifically, E-C interpretation has a lower distribution of polar-interrogatives in questions while C-E interpretation has a slightly higher distribution of the polar-interrogative. In the grammatical realisation of questions, different approaches are found from two language-directions. In E-C interpretation, by significantly bumping up wh- interrogatives and cutting down polar-interrogatives, the speakers' requests for information appear much less confrontational and more informative in nature to the audience.

Thus, the change of JOs' questions and the grammatical realisation of these types of questions in the interpretations from two different language directions can be summarised with some common features.

Firstly, when questions are raised by JOs in Chinese, these questions tend to be synthesised or simplified in English interpretation. The choice of a declarative question in interpretation also suggests that the interpreters are easily influenced by the structure of the original language use or actually prefer a causal style in their choices of wording. Secondly, when a question is raised in English, or when the interpreting into Chinese becomes really necessary for PM in communication, the reduction of questions in use becomes small. This makes the whole Chinese interpretation of JOs' questions look detailed and complete because 1) each questions express a specific information question of the speaker in the source speeches and 2) those requests used in the interpretations are very close in numbers to the source speeches. Moreover, when interpreting into Chinese,

the interpreters choose to mitigate the directness in the original information request through less frequent use of polar interrogatives. Such a practice also helps to highlight the informative element in their requests. These choices suggest that the interpreters manage JOs' questions differently when the language direction changes. More importantly, different choices demonstrate two consistent interpreting patterns between two language directions.

In consideration of the relationship between the language in use and the target audience in the event, different interpreting approaches towards the journalists' questions are used, suggesting the consistent influence of the addressee in the interpreters' grammatical choices. When PM needs to be addressed directly in the interpretations, the interpreters pay more attention to the detailed information and project the questions to PM in a much less confrontational manner. With the adaptation of different interpreting approaches presented, the interpretations show that PM, as the addressee of the interpreting service, is given much more importance in the interpreters' practice, thus reflecting how the interpreters make their choices of social positioning.

6.2.2 Choices of Modality in the Interpretations

This section focuses on the interpreters' choices of modality and more specifically different modal features for JOs. It is expected that the comparison on the use of modality and modal features in different directions of interpretation will reveal how target audience may affect the interpreters' choices of professional roles in practice.

Table 6.2 summarises the number of occurrences and the distributions of modal expressions in the source speeches and interpretations in two directions. In the table, the distributive rate of modality is expressed with the totality of modal expressions in use being divided by the totality of clauses in the relevant speech/interpretation. The rate reveals the frequency of the modality application in the speech/interpretation. The higher the rate is, the more frequently the modal expression is used and thus the more space of inter-determinacy is created in the relevant discourse.

	Source		Interpretation		Difference	
	Count	/cl	Count	/cl	Count	/cl
E-C	42	0.19	72	0.3	30	0.11
C-E	66	0.23	60	0.21	-6	-0.02

Total	108		132		24	
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Table 6.2: Modality in the Speeches of JOs and their Interpretations

As is presented in Table 6.2, there are 108 modal expressions used in the source speeches of JOs and 132 modal expressions in the relevant interpretations. Regardless of the difference in language direction, the interpretations of JOs' speeches contain more modal expressions. Yet, the two language directions demonstrate a sharp contrast in terms of modal expressions used in the interpretations. The use of modality increases with 30 instances in E-C interpretation but decreases with 6 instances in C-E interpretation. Accordingly, the distributive rate of modality also increases at 0.11 per clause in E-C interpretation and decreases slightly at 0.02 per clause in C-E interpretation.

The data indicate that two different patterns of modality change are at work in the interpretations. That is, with the limited number of change in the modal expressions and a very low distributive rate change, the English interpretations are faithful to their Chinese source speeches regarding the deployment of modal expressions. On the contrary, the extra modal instances and higher distributive rate of modality in individual clauses in E-C interpretation obviously creates larger space of inter-determinacy for the English speaking JOs than in their own speeches. When the interpreters interpret for PM to request an instant response in a Q&A set, they present a higher level of uncertainty with the meaning in practice. Yet, when C-E interpretation functions as a mere formality in the Q&A session, the speaker's certainty with meaning is largely preserved or even slightly enhanced through the interpreters' modal choices. As the change of modality in C-E interpretation is not at all significant, it is unreasonable to relate the drastic rise of modality use in E-C interpretation to the interpreters' professional incompetency. It can thus be argued that the rise of modality in C-E interpretation is intentional. Given the language change and the change of addressee, it is speculated that such an intentional rise of meaning uncertainty in the interpreters' practice is largely affected by the change of interpreting addressee, namely the presence of PM here.

To offer a more comprehensive understanding on the modality change, the following tables and figures are used to display the change of different modal features in the interpretations from two language directions. The distribution rate indicates the contribution of a specific modal feature among all modal instances and is calculated in such a way where the instance with a specific feature is divided by the totality of modal expressions in use. As the comparative study concerns respectively 108 and 132 modal

instances from the speeches and their interpretations and some changes in the number of occurrences may be quantitatively insufficient to capture a general trend in the use of modal features in interpretation, the comparison then focuses more on the distributive rate change of different modal features through the interpreting practice for patterns of modality use.

Table 6.3 focuses on the different types of modality and displays the application of these features in the interpretations from two language directions.

		Source		Interpretation		Difference	
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
C-E	probability	30	45.45%	38	63.33%	8	17.88%
	usuality	3	4.55%	1	1.67%	-2	-2.88%
	obligation	5	7.58%	2	3.33%	-3	-4.25%
	inclination	28	42.42%	19	31.67%	-9	-10.75%
E-C	probability	19	45.24%	11	15.28%	-8	-29.96%
	usuality	1	2.38%	2	2.78%	1	0.4%
	obligation	3	7.14%	13	18.06%	10	10.92%
	inclination	19	45.24%	46	63.89%	27	18.65%

Table 6.3: Application and the Change of Modality Types in C-E and E-C interpretations of JOs' Speeches

As is shown in the table, the application of four types of modal expressions is quite different in the interpretations from two language directions. In C-E interpretation, the significant rise of probability at 17.88% is accompanied by the uniform decrease of other types of modality. In E-C interpretation, the application of probability decreases by 29.96% while the application of three other types of modality increases. The change of modality types shows that C-E interpretation tends to highlight the likelihood of information in propositions while E-C interpretation focuses more on the meaning ambiguity in action-related proposals. More specifically on the two types of modulation, the change of inclination is found more prominent than the change of obligation in the interpretations from two language directions. This suggests that the interpretations of JOs' speeches, regardless of the difference between the language directions, enjoy a higher level of flexibility with the inclination.

In C-E interpretation, the decrease of usability and obligation is limited. The largest distributive change actually comes from the probability and the inclination, suggesting a shift of interpersonal attachment on the likelihood of actions to statements in the interpreting process itself. In comparison, the rise of obligation in E-C interpretation is quite significant both in the number of occurrences and in the general distribution, indicating that a stronger rhetorical force is also intended in the relevant discourse.

With respect to the four types of modal expressions, different interpreting approaches are identified in use for both C-E and E-C interpretations of JOs' speeches. Firstly, E-C interpretation appears more flexible with the change of modality types than C-E interpretation does. Secondly, C-E interpretation focuses more on the likelihood of information in propositions whereas E-C interpretation does not. The information in English interpretations is more frequently rated within the intermediate ground between the positive and negative polarity. Thirdly, E-C interpretation is more radical with the use of obligation whereas C-E interpretation seems to be very cautious to make a change in this regard.

Figure 6.1 illustrates the distributive rate change of the modality with different values in the interpretations from both language directions. In the figure, the change of the number of modal expressions is demonstrated with the column and the distributive rate change of different values is expressed by a tendency line.

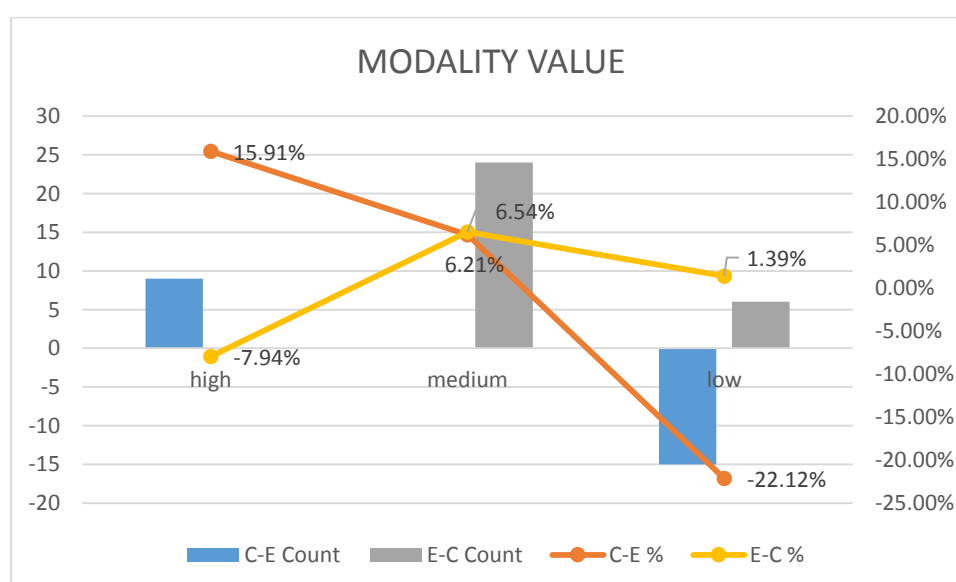


Figure 6.1: Change of Modality Values in C-E and E-C Interpretations of JOs' Speeches

As is seen in this figure, C-E and E-C interpretations differ greatly in the change of three modality values. In C-E interpretation, the increase of the high-value modal expressions is accompanied by the decrease of the low-value modal instances, suggesting a general trend towards higher values of modal expressions. In E-C interpretation, the rise of medium- and low-value modality is significantly evident. Although the high-value modality does not change in the number of instances in E-C interpreting process, its distribution among three modal values still drops by 7.99%. This indicates that E-C interpretation tends to contain more modal expressions with lower values than the source speech does.

As the modal value is used to scale the speaker's modal commitment to the validity of his/her discourse, the two different trends of modal value change clearly indicate that C-E interpretation aims to project a higher level of modal commitment of the speaker and E-C interpretation is intended to create a larger space of meaning ambiguity in communication.

Table 6.4 focuses on the features of the orientation/manifestation of modal expressions and displays the change of modality in both E-C and C-E interpretations of JOs' speeches regarding their subjectiveness and implicitness. Following the analytical procedure in Chapter 4, Table 6.4 reports only on the subjective orientation and the implicit manifestation. The data are reflective of the change of all features as each feature contains two polarised variables.

	subjective		implicit	
	Count	%	Count	%
E-C	17	-14.09	31	3.37
C-E	-5	0.31	-9	-5.61

Table 6.4: Change of Orientation of Modal Expressions in the C-E and E-C Interpretations of JOs' Speeches

As is presented in Table 6.4, the change of modal orientation/manifestation is generally smaller in C-E interpretation than in E-C interpretation. Particularly on the change of the distribution of different modal features, the change of rate is generally very limited except for 14.09% from the subjective-oriented modality in E-C interpretation. This practice suggests a significant translational trend of the modal subjectivity from E-C interpretation.

Specifically, the subjective modality decreases with 5 instances in C-E interpretation but increases with 17 instances in E-C interpretation. In addition, the distribution of subjective modality decreases by 14.09% in E-C interpretation but increases merely by 0.31% in C-E interpretation. The limited change of subjective modality in C-E interpretation makes the change of modal orientation appear insignificant. In such a case, the increase of subjective modal instances is assumed to be much fewer than the increase of objective modal instances in E-C interpretation, thus suggesting a general preference towards objectively-oriented modal expressions in Chinese interpretations.

Secondly, the implicitly featured modality also shows the different interpreting trends from the two language directions. That is, the implicit modality increases with 31 instances or by 3.37% in E-C interpretation but decreases with 9 instances or by 5.61% in C-E interpretation, indicating that the modal commitment tends to be implicit in the Chinese interpretations but more explicit in the English interpretations.

In terms of the orientation and manifestation of modality, the change in the interpretations from the two language directions shows that E-C interpretation is generally more flexible with the application of modal features. Moreover, such a flexibility of choices on the orientation and manifestation makes the modal meaning in E-C interpretation more implicitly objective.

With the comparison of the change of modal features in the interpretations of JOs' speeches from two language directions, some significant findings can be outlined as the following:

- Firstly, E-C interpretation expresses more inter-determinant feelings and a lower level of modal commitment than the relevant speech does.
- Secondly, E-C interpretation shows a higher level of flexibility with the change of modal features, including the choice of different modality types and orientation features than C-E interpretation does.
- C-E interpretation focuses more on the likelihood of information in propositions whereas E-C interpretation shows more interest on the modulation.
- The rhetorical force carried by the obligatory modal expressions is mitigated in C-E interpretation, but largely emphasised in E-C interpretation.

- Finally, E-C interpretation tends to project modal expressions as if they are objective but C-E interpretation displays a slight preference on subjective modal expressions.

Thus, the change of modal expressions in interpretation shows that different interpreting approaches are applied to the two language directions. As such a change of linguistic choices in interpreting is closely associated with the change of interpreting addressees, it is suspected that the interpreters' choices of modal features are affected by the addressee of their interpreting service. To be more specific, the presence of the addressee in E-C interpretation seems to bring more pressure on the interpreters' decisions of making changes on the presentation of the journalists' modal commitment. That is, although E-C interpretation projects the modal meaning more objectively and maintains or even slightly raises up the strong rhetorical force in the modality type of obligation from the relevant speech, it is actually achieved at the expense of the speakers' personal commitment to the definiteness of meaning. Eventually, one possible consequence of such a practice is that it gives the Chinese speaking audience in general, and PM to be addressed as the interviewee from the Q&A session in particular, a much more communicative leeway than the original speech does. In contrast, when the interpreting service is aimed to address the English-speaking JOs, the interpreters closely follow the presentation of the modal meanings in the source speeches. Although the English interpretation demonstrates a higher level of modal commitment, the interpretations still raise up the meaning ambiguity because the subjectiveness is highly emphasised in the interpreting process. The interpreters are found rather relaxed when interpreting for the English-speaking JOs. More importantly, as the interpreters choose to claim a higher level of subjectivity for the speakers in communication and use a mitigated rhetorical force, the speakers' intended claims for the truthfulness of the information in their own modality use are re-addressed to the English-speaking JOs as if being very subjective and bland.

The deployment of modality in the interpretations of JOs' speeches for the Chinese-speaking audience including PM and the English-speaking audience including JOs indicate that the interpreters tend to give more importance to PM as the primary addressee of the communication. In practice, the interpreters address PM in a very intriguingly participative manner, where their modal choices for the meaning participation offer PM a larger space of the meaning interpretation, thus placing him in an

advantageous position in the Q&A session. As a result, they socially align themselves to PM.

6.2.3 Choices of Attitudes in the Interpretations

In this section, the analysis focuses on the application of various attitudinal resources in the speeches of JOs and their interpretations from two language directions. It is expected that the comparison on the change of attitudes and attitudinal features in details from the interpretations of JOs' speeches with two language directions will reveal the possible influence of the interpreting addressees on the interpreters' choices of their role(s) in practice.

Table 6.5 summarises the attitudinal resources used in the speeches of JOs and their interpretations in two language directions. Meanwhile, the table displays the density of attitudes used in discourse (i.e. the number of the attitudes in use against the number of clauses in the speech/interpretation). In this analysis, the higher the rate is, the more attitudes an individual clause contains. Table 6.5 includes the change of attitudes and their attitudinal density used in the interpretations from two language directions.

	Source		Interpretation		Difference	
	Count	/cl	Count	/cl	Count	/cl
E-C	85	0.33	66	0.26	-19	-0.07
C-E	71	0.21	78	0.26	7	0.05
Total	156		144		-12	

Table 6.5: Attitudinal Resources in JOs' Speeches and Interpretations

As is shown in Table 6.5, where there are 156 attitudes identified in the source speeches and 144 attitudes discovered in the interpretations, the number of attitudes decreases with 12 instances regardless of the difference of language directions. Such a decrease of attitudinal instances is actually composed with the increase of 7 attitudinal instances in C-E interpretation and the decrease of 19 attitudinal instances in E-C interpretation. The C-E interpretation contains more attitudes than the relevant speeches do, whereas there are fewer attitudes in E-C interpretation than in the source speeches. As a result, the distributive density of attitudes in clauses increases by 0.05 per clause in C-E interpretation and decreases by 0.07 per clause in E-C interpretation.

Based on the data in Table 6.5, two findings can be summarised regarding the change of attitudes in both C-E and E-C interpretations of the JOs' speeches. Firstly, there are different interpreting patterns applied to the two language directions. C-E interpretation tends to contain more attitudes and be more attitudinally evaluated than the source speech does. E-C interpretation tends to reduce the use of attitudes, thus making the interpreted text less attitudinally evaluated than the source speech does. In all, the change of attitudes suggests that E-C interpretation is likely to be less appraised with attitudes while C-E interpretation tends to be more elaborative with attitudinal resources. Secondly, the change of attitudes is generally small in the number of occurrence and particularly in the distributive rate, indicating that the general deployment of attitudes in the interpretations is closely similar to that in the source speeches.

With regard to the changed attitudes in interpretation, the following figures and tables illustrate the linguistic features of these changes in more details, specifically in relation to the types of attitudes, their positivity and explicitness for appraisal. All tables are used to display the change of attitudinal instances and all figures to illustrate the distributive rate changes of attitude. To highlight the difference in language directions, the distributive rate changes in figures are presented on the basis of C-E and E-C interpretations, with the highest and the lowest distributive rates labelled near the relevant session columns to mark the range of distributive change.

According to the network of Attitude explained in Chapters 3 and 4, attitudinal resources can be classified into three types: AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. Focusing on three types of attitudes, Table 6.6 to 6.8 and Figure 6.2 to 6.4 report on the change of these attitudes in the interpretations from two language directions.

Affect	2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012
E-C	-1	-4	-1	0	0	-1	0
C-E	0	1	1	1	-1	0	-1

Table 6.6: Change of Affect instances in C-E and E-C interpretations

As is shown in Table 6.6, the change of the occurrence of affect is generally insignificant in interpreting. More specifically, the decrease of affect items in E-C interpretation is consistent.

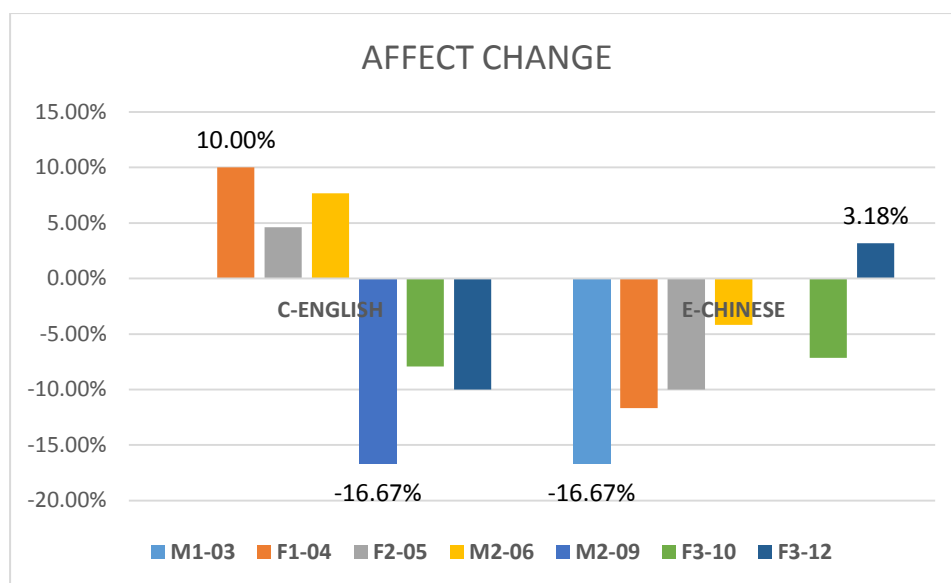


Figure 6.2: Change in the Distribution of Affect in C-E and E-C Interpretations

Despite that, as is demonstrated in Figure 6.2, the distribution of affect rises in three sessions and decreases also in three sessions in C-E interpretation, showing no significant pattern to be read at all. As such, it seems that the attitude of Affect is unlikely to be applied or rendered during the E-C interpreting process while C-E interpretation is relatively more selective in its rendition of affect. To clarify the presentation of data, it might be necessary to mention that the target languages in interpretation presented in Figure 6.2 and all the following figures in this chapter are not abbreviated. The full spelling of English and Chinese as the target language here is simply for the ease of the chart reading.

Table 6.7 describes the change of judgement instances in both E-C and C-E interpretations.

Judgement	2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012
E-C	1	-4	0	-1	0	0	-1
C-E	0	0	0	-4	0	2	0

Table 6.7: Change of Judgement instances in C-E and E-C interpretations

As is seen in the table, the change of Judgement instances, particularly in C-E interpretation, is rare except in the 2006 session. According to the table, the interpretation in 2006 session reduces the use of attitudes in Judgement with 1 instance in E-C direction and 4 instances in C-E direction. As the interpretation is completed by one interpreter in one press conference, the decrease in Judgement indicates this interpreter's personal

preference towards non-Judgement attitudes in practice. Meanwhile, as most interpreting sessions contain no change in the number of Judgement attitudes, it is safe to claim that the interpretations in general are faithful to the original deployment of Judgement in the source speeches.

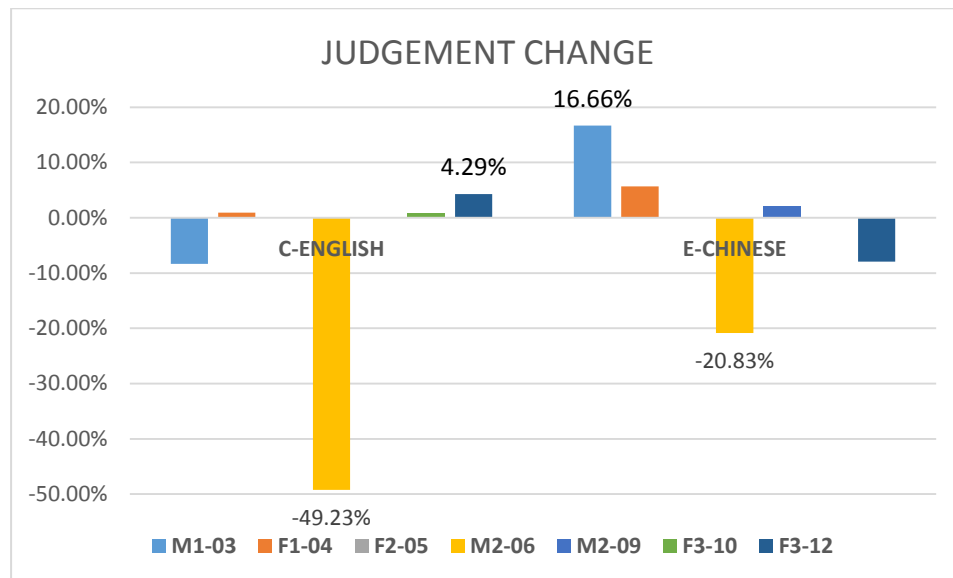


Figure 6.3: Change in the Distribution of Judgement in C-E and E-C Interpretations

Accordingly, Figure 6.3 illustrates the distributive rate change of judgement in the two language directions. As is shown in the figure, the distributive rate change of Judgement in both directions is limited except for the session M2-06. In the session M2-06, the decrease of judgement distribution reaches 49.23% in C-E interpretation and 20.83% in E-C interpretation. The results suggest a strong tendency towards non-judgement attitudinal appraisals in this individual session and that the interpreter M2 is at pains to avoid the use of judgement in his practice. Apart from these two exceptional decreases, the distributive change of judgement remains as small as below 10% in C-E interpretation and 16.66% in E-C interpretation, suggesting that the change of judgement is not common in the interpretations from both language directions.

According to the data on the judgement change, the drastic change of Judgement in the session M2-06 is merely a rare case and may thus be irrelevant to the general interpreting pattern of judgement. That being said, it may also indicate that the use of non-Judgement appraisal is a highly individualised practice of the interpreter M2. Meanwhile, the change of Judgement also shows that such a type of attitude is unlikely to

be changed in the interpretations regardless of the change in language direction and that the attitudes of judgement is generally preserved in interpretation.

Table 6.8 focuses on the attitudinal type of appreciation and summarises the change of appreciation items in both language directions.

Appreciation	2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012
E-C	0	-5	-3	3	-2	1	-1
C-E	2	-2	2	6	0	3	-2

Table 6.8: Change of Appreciation Instances in C-E and E-C interpretations

As is seen in the table, the change of Appreciation instances is limited from both language directions. Yet, the instance of appreciation tends to decrease more often in E-C interpreting sessions but increases more often the other way around.

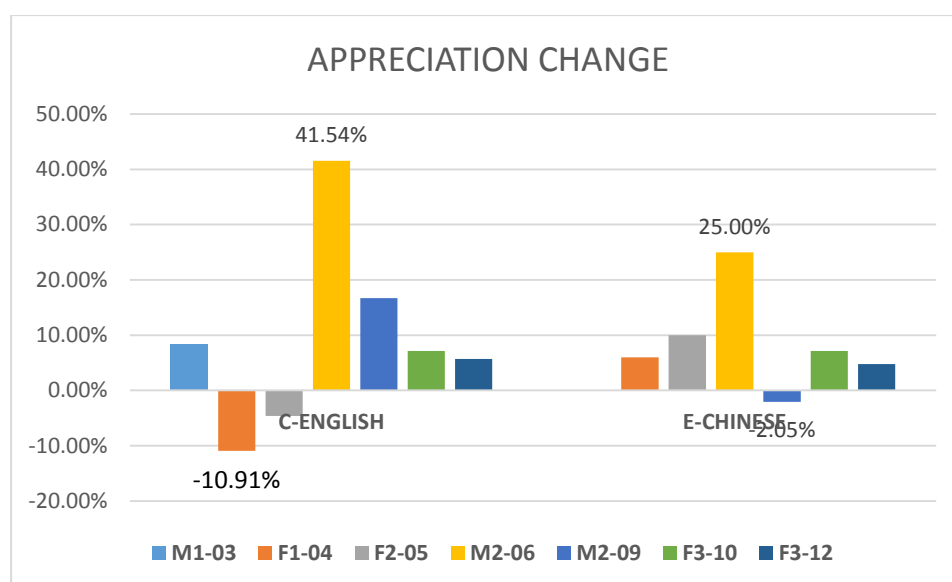


Figure 6.4: Change in the Distribution of Appreciation in C-E and E-C Interpretations

Figure 6.4 displays the distributive rate change of appreciation in the interpretations of JOs from both directions. As is seen in the figure, among individual sessions, the distributive rate change of appreciation mostly increases in both C-E and E-C interpretations. The rise of appreciation's distribution prevails in 5 out of the 7 selected interpreting sessions from both directions. Among all increased distributive rates, the distributive rate change in the session M2-06 stands out from all other interpreting sessions as being the highest in both directions, which responds well to the joint decrease of judgement in Figure 6.3. As for other sessions where the rise of appreciation

distribution is found, the rate change consistently remains around 10%. This shows that the rise of Appreciation in the interpretations is consistent and restrained. In this regard, the interpretations tend to be more appraised with Appreciation regardless of the difference in language directions. Yet, comparing to the decreased distributive rate at two C-E interpreting sessions, a drop of appreciation distribution in E-C interpretation by only 2.05% appears to be really small. This makes the rise of appreciation particularly evident in E-C interpretation.

The change of three types of attitudes in interpretation helps to outline some similarities between the two language directions. Firstly, the change of three types of attitudinal instances in interpretation is generally limited and particularly rare in Judgement, suggesting that the interpretations tend to contain the same type of attitudes and are particularly sensitive to the change of Judgement. Secondly, the distribution of Appreciation is elevated while the distribution of Judgement general remains unchanged from both language directions. In other words, the interpretations display a preference primarily for institutionalised aesthetic standards. However, the interpretations on those judgement-type opinions, namely the appraised behaviours relating to the social esteem or the social sanction, are refrained from changes. Thirdly, exceptional cases of the attitudinal type change in the interpretations indicate that the individuation of interpreters exists in both language directions.

There are also differences in the interpretations between two language directions. Firstly, the difference on the change of affect is evident. That is, there is a consistent decrease of affect in E-C interpretation while none in C-E interpretation, suggesting that E-C interpretation tends to project more institutionalised attitudes, but not the natural feelings of the speaker in communication.

Secondly, although the distribution of judgement is unlikely to be changed in both language directions, the distributive rate change still suggests that E-C interpretation presents more inconsistent variations than C-E interpretation does. The change of judgement in E-C interpretation appears to be more reflective of the interpreters' own choice of appraisal. When the interpretation is used to address the Chinese-speaking audience including PM as the direct participant in the Q&A session, the change of judgement is intended while the choice of such an attitudinal change is selective.

Table 6.9 and Figure 6.5 deal with the positivity of the attitude and display the change of the attitudinal positivity in the interpretations of the JOs' speeches in both language directions.

Positive	2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012
E-C	-1	-4	-1	3	2	0	0
C-E	1	-2	2	3	0	5	0

Table 6.9: Change of Positive Attitudes in C-E and E-C Interpretations

As is shown in Table 6.9, the change of positive attitudes is limited. More specifically, the decrease of positive attitudes exists in 3 E-C interpreting sessions but only in 1 C-E interpreting session. In contrast, the increase of positive attitudes is identified in 4 C-E interpreting sessions but 2 E-C interpreting sessions. That is, C-E interpretation tends to carry more positive attitudes while E-C interpretation does not.

Figure 6.5 demonstrates how positive attitudes among all individual sessions of JOs' speeches are distributed differently in both language directions.

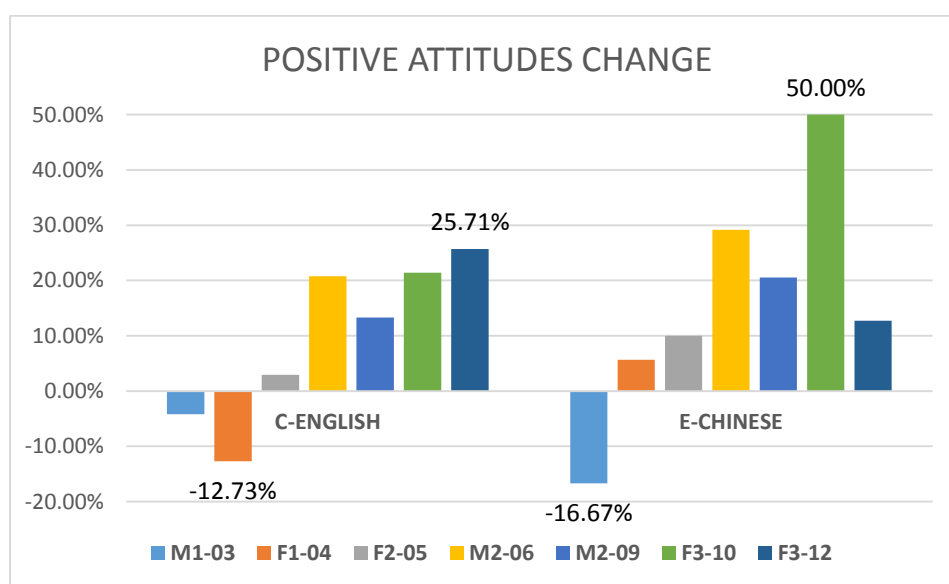


Figure 6.5: Change in the Distribution of Positive Attitudes in C-E and E-C Interpretations

As is shown in Figure 6.5, although the rate change varies in percentage, the distributive increase of positive attitudes obviously prevails in the interpretations from both directions. There are 5 sessions in C-E interpretation and 6 sessions in E-C interpretation being identified with a higher distribution of positive attitudes than their original speeches. This finding suggests a general pattern towards more positively

appraised content in both C-E and E-C interpretations of the speeches of JOs. Given the change of positive attitudes in Table 6.9, Figure 6.5 basically suggests that the decrease of negative attitudinal instances is generally evident in both language directions.

Focusing on the distributive rate change of positive attitudes, Figure 6.5 shows that the rise of positive attitudes in E-C interpretation seems to be more prominent than that in C-E interpretation. When the Chinese-speaking audience, including PM as the primary participant in Q&A sessions is addressed, the interpretations of JOs' speeches become far more positively appraised than the interpretations when English speaking audience is targeted.

Table 6.10 and Figure 6.6 reveal the orientation of attitudes and demonstrate the change of inscribed attitudes in both language directions.

Inscribe	2003	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2012
E-C	-1	-9	0	0	-1	-1	1
C-E	-1	0	1	4	-1	0	1

Table 6.10: Change of Incribed Attitudes in C-E and E-C Interpretations

As is seen in Table 6.10, the decrease of inscribed attitudes are identified in 4 E-C interpreting sessions and 2 C-E interpreting sessions. In contrast, the increase of inscribed attitudes is found in 3 C-E interpreting sessions and only 1 E-C interpreting session. The findings suggest that C-E interpretation tends to increase the use of inscribed attitudes than E-C interpretation does.

Figure 6.6 shows the distribution change of inscribed attitudes in the interpretations of JOs' speeches from two language directions.

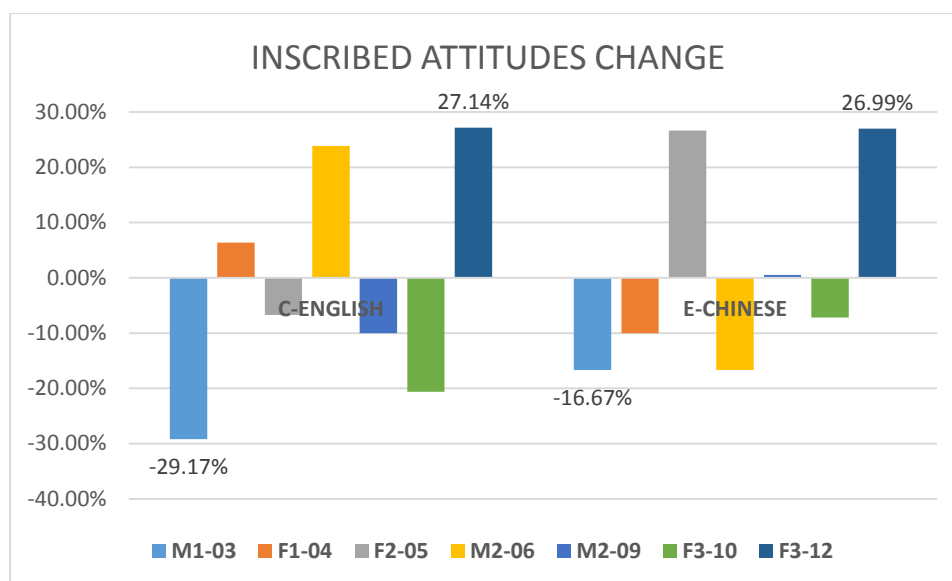


Figure 6.6: Change in the Distribution of Inscribed Attitudes in C-E and E-C Interpretations

As is seen in the figure, both the increase and the decrease of the inscribed attitudes in interpretation are evident with the change of rate values. However, the increase and the decrease in both C-E and E-C interpretations take place rather irregularly among individual sessions. This suggests a higher level of randomness on the interpreters' management of inscribed attitudes. The language direction of the interpretation, or in other words, the addressee of the interpretation may not be a vital concern for the interpreters to make choices on the explicitness of attitudinal expressions.

Apart from these features concerning attitudes, the resources of gradation on attitudes, which are applied in interpretation to differentiate various appraisal forces, may also vary from the source speeches to the interpretations. Following the analytical procedure stated in Chapter 4, different appraisal forces can be graded as being high, median and low. When the high appraisal force is used, the attitudinal resources are actually upscaled from their original evaluation. When the low appraisal force is used, the attitudinal resources are then downscaled from their original meaning. Thus, by summarising the totality of graded attitudes applied in the source speech and its interpretation in both languages, Table 6.11 reports on the change of rhetorical strength projected on attitudes in both language directions.

		Source	Interpretation	Difference
C-E	Upscale	4	5	1
	Downscale	5	3	-2

E-C	Upscale	2	3	1
	Downscale	2	7	5

Table 6.11: Quantity of Graded Attitudes in JOs' Speeches and Interpretations with Language Difference

As is seen in Table 6.11, the upscaled and downscaled attitudes in both the source speeches of JOs and the interpretations remain approximately at 5 instances, suggesting that attitudes are not generally enforced or mitigated by the speakers/interpreters for rhetorical effect. Besides, with the maximum number change at 5 instances, the difference of the graded attitudes in the interpretations looks limited. Given the limited presence of the graded attitudes in the table, it becomes hard to generalise any valid patterns of attitudinal graduation from either the source speeches or the interpretations, which leads us to argue that more focus be placed on delicate features in the system of Attitude.

The comparison on the change of attitudes and various attitudinal features in the interpretations of JOs' speeches from both directions provides some significant findings outlined as follows:

- Firstly, E-C interpretation tends to reduce the use of attitudes in both quantity and frequency while C-E interpretation tends to increase the application of attitudes.
- Secondly, the change of three types of attitudes in the interpretations shows a higher level of consistence and thus appears to be one of the locus in the interpreters' practice.
- Focusing on the change of attitudinal types, the emphasis of the interpretations on the institutionalised feelings offers a consistent preference towards the increase of appreciation. More specifically, such a preference is more evident in E-C interpretation rather than C-E interpretation.
- The rise of positive attitudes in the interpretations is obvious. More specifically, E-C interpretation is more positively appraised than C-E interpretation.
- Finally, the interpretations appear rather selective in the choice of explicitness to project the attitude for audience.

6.2.4 Summary of the Interpreters' Linguistic Choices

Examining the lexical-grammatical and semantic choices in both C-E and E-C interpretations of the JOs' speeches, the contrastive study shows that E-C interpretation is given more importance in the interpreters' practice.

Firstly, the questions in E-C interpretation are grammatically structured in such a way that the informative aspect of information request is highlighted. In interpreting questions, the interpreters tend to use more wh-interrogatives than polar-interrogatives. Such a practice with wh-interrogatives in E-C interpretation eventually overwrites the confrontational tone in JOs' informational requests to PM and thus arguably creates more addressee-friendly communicative effect. Secondly, the change of the modal expressions in E-C interpretation gives more interpersonal leeway to the addressee as the indeterminacy in the original speeches is amplified greatly with the distributive rise of modal expressions. In addition, the rise of lower value modalities also suggests that JOs' claim on the likelihood of both information and actions may appear much weaker through the interpreters' rendition. Thirdly, E-C interpretation tends to reduce the attitudinal instances, having less evaluative meanings transmitted from the source speeches. Furthermore, the prominence of institutionalised feelings is still highlighted in E-C interpretation with interpreters' unanimous preference towards the attitudinal type of appreciation and selective change on judgement. Given the general trend towards positive attitudes in the interpretations for all JOs, E-C interpretation of attitudes, with the choice in combination of types and positivity, conveys much more positive appraisal particularly on the appraised objects or phenomena, than the source speeches do for the target audience, including the direct addressee of PM. Finally, E-C interpretation tends to present a higher level of flexibility with the linguistic change than C-E interpretation does.

Apart from all these changes of lexical-grammatical and semantic features discovered in E-C interpretation as discussed above, the interpreters' high commitment to faithful performance can also be identified from the limited range of linguistic change at the following aspects. Firstly, the number of questions is basically preserved in E-C interpretation, suggesting that the linguistic choices are made with the interpreters' highest respect to the speakers' choices on the organisation of the unit of meaning in each questions. Secondly, the change of judgement in E-C interpretation is random and restrained. This suggests that the interpreters possess a high level of cautiousness to the speakers' appraisal use regarding recognised social standards.

In contrast, the E-C interpretation, which is mainly used to address English-speaking audience including those bilingual journalists and other TV viewers who may

not present at the venue, demonstrates different interpreting patterns on the presentation of interpersonal meanings in practice.

Firstly, C-E interpretation appears much more grammatically synthesised in instantiating the speech function of questions. The units of meaning for questions in the source speeches are largely re-organised with 18 questions being sacrificed in interpretation. The possible explanation for this is arguably either that some questions are simply omitted during interpreting or that C-E interpretation uses more clause complexes to convey the journalists' requests for information from PM. Whatever the reason may be, the change on the totality of questions interpreted for the English-speaking audience largely weakens the emphasis on the meaning accuracy in C-E interpretation for not being able to retain the original units of information-requests. Otherwise, this practice can make the original meaning less accessible for the audience's listening comprehension if the interpreters choose to synthesise multiple units of information requests into only one question.

In contrast, the rise of metaphorical realisation of questions with declarative clauses through C-E interpreting process resets the journalists' questions in a much more causal style to other English audience. As a result, C-E interpretation becomes less audience-friendly due to a higher level of grammatical-syntactical complexity and the formality of language.

Secondly, as the data in modality reveals, C-E interpretation has been delivered more faithfully regarding the distribution of modal expressions and modality types than the other way around. However, there is a tendency in C-E interpretation that the modal expressions tend to carry with higher values than the modality in the source speeches does. In addition, C-E interpretation tends to orient the modality in a more objective manner by using less subjective-oriented modal expressions. This practice seems to have narrowed the inter-determinacy of meaning and makes the journalists' claims sound more definite only for the English-speaking audience.

Thirdly, although C-E interpretation appears statistically more faithful to the original application of attitudes than E-C interpretation does. In particular, the distribution of the attitudinal type of judgement in C-E interpretation is extremely close to that in the source speeches except the drastic decrease in one session. The rise of positive attitudes is also more limited in C-E interpretation than in E-C interpretation. Yet, due to the more

evident change of appreciation, a significant preference towards the institutionalised feeling of appreciation is demonstrated in C-E interpretation. The change of the attitudinal features in C-E interpretation leads to an intriguing presentation of attitudes to the English-speaking audience. That means that the selectiveness of the faithfulness is disguised under the seemingly similarities on the occurrence of attitudinal expressions and particularly the rare change of Judgement.

Given the close link between the addressee change and the language direction, these changes of the realisation of interpersonal meanings at different levels suggest very different interpreting approaches with the addressee of the Chinese-speaking PM and all English-speaking JOs as two principal parties in communication. As the direct addressee of JOs' speeches, the Chinese PM is consistently situated in a favorable situation through the interpreting process, where the interpreters facilitate his communication in a more comprehensive manner. On the contrary, the English-speaking JOs are generally addressed in a seemingly faithful manner through the realisation of interpersonal meanings at different levels. The condensation of questions in interpreting is obviously audience-unfriendly, as the approach may either sacrifice the completeness of the original meaning or make the information less accessible. The tendency to change for casual style in projecting these questions can hardly reflect the original formality to other English-speaking journalists. It appears that the CTSPC interpreters do not intend for a clearer rendering of the message. In addition, the uncertainty of information in the source speeches is generally reduced in the interpretation, creating less meaning indeterminacy for the English-speaking journalists at the scene. Yet, as the addressed journalists enjoy no speaking turns in the Q&A session following the procedure of the press conference, the slight rise of certainty in C-E interpretation cannot be pinpointed and thus appears rather insignificant for causing no difference to the effect of the one-way communication. In comparison, the change of attitudinal features is less evident than these changes on the lexical-grammatical feature. Apart from following a general trend towards positive attitudes and the preference towards Appreciation, C-E interpretation is faithful to the original deployment of attitudinal resources.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter reveals the changes of different linguistic features on Mood, Modality and Attitude in the interpretations of JOs' speeches from two language directions. The difference of the language directions in interpretation is believed being related to the

change of the target audience of the interpreting service in such a one-way communicative process of the press conference. The study compares the changes of lexical-grammatical and semantical features in the presentation of the interpersonal meaning in both language directions and investigates possible interpreting patterns under the influence of different interpreter-addressee relationships. The linguistic findings are expected to testify whether and how the CTSPC interpreters position themselves differently in their linguistic performance in line with addressee participants from different social and political backgrounds.

More specifically, with the role of JOs and PM identified in the event respectively as the interviewer and the interviewee of the Q&A session of the press conference, the difference of the language direction in interpreting changes the transmitting channel of journalists' messages and eventually defines who the primary addressees are in the event. When the interpretation is delivered in Chinese, PM as the only interviewee of the occasion and all Chinese-speaking audience are exclusively addressed. When the interpretation is delivered in English, the message is definitely not intended for PM whose knowledge of English language is limited as is indicated in his curriculum vitae. Hence, different interpreting patterns identified in both C-E and E-C interpretations of JOs' speeches are believed related with the change of interpreting addressees, namely either PM or the English-speaking audience.

As is summarised in section 6.2.4, the linguistic findings through contrastive studies on the realisation of interpersonal meaning at different levels show that the change in both C-E and E-C interpretations of JOs' speeches on different aspects of the meaning presentation. When the Chinese-speaking audience, namely PM as the direct communicative party, is addressed, the interpretations tend to be friendlier, more positively-appraised, creating more communicative space for the addressee. When the English-speaking audience is addressed, the interpretations lose the formality and simplicity in information requests, along with the communicative space contracted and attitudes cautiously conveyed in a more positive manner. The change of focus suggests that the interpreters' practice of interpersonal meaning changes when the language-direction shifts. With the close link between the change of language direction and that of addressee, it is safe to argue that the addressee does affect the interpreters' rendition of interpersonal meanings. When PM is given a communicative advantage while the English-speaking audience is very much neglected with information incompleteness, it is

possible to argue that the interpreters strive to forge an alliance with PM in the press conference. Thus, it is impossible not to believe that their employment as government in-house interpreters does not play any roles in their decision-making during the act of interpreting.

Apart from generally being faithful to the source speeches, as demonstrated in analysis and required by the professionalism of any interpreting services, the interpreters constantly adjust their linguistic choices in different patterns for different addressees. While it is true that these interpreters are acting as the communicative facilitators between the two parties, they are also cautiously selective with the level of participation in line with who is the addressee. With an authoritative status assigned by the institution, PM always enjoys a more favourable communicative conditions. As is explained previously in Chapter 4, the linguistic elasticity presented in the interpretations regarding the addressee change suggests that the facilitating role of these interpreters actually is dynamic and covers a rather wide spectrum. In short, the positioning of the CTSPC interpreters in their performance is shifting and can be very sensitive to the interpreter-addressee relationship.

Chapter 7 : Interpreters' Role and the Change of Content

Following the analysis of the interpreters' choices of interpersonal meaning with the change of speakers and addressees in Chapter 5 and 6, Chapter 7 examines the influence of the topic change in different Q&A sets on the interpreters' linguistic choices of social positioning. In this chapter, the linguistic analysis focuses on the selected topics which are constantly raised in the seven press conferences to examine whether the content or theme of the speech for interpreting affect the interpreters' performance regarding how the interpersonal relationship is re-established in communication.

Following the analytical procedure explained in Chapter 4, the analysis on the interpreters' choices of interpersonal meaning under the selected seven topics is conducted at different linguistic levels, and what follows is relevant discussions.

7.1 Overview of Selected Topics

As is explained in Chapter 4, seven topics are selected from 20 Q&A sets for comparative analysis due to their consistent appearance in the 7 press conferences of the CTSPC corpus. These topics are categorised into three theme groups: 1) China's diplomatic relationships; 2) the cross-Straits relationship and 3) some of political sensitive topics concerning China's human rights or democratic development. Given the macro political and social context, the grouping of topics is mainly based on the relevance of themes carried by the speeches in each Q&A sets. By introducing these selected topics for interpreting, an awareness is raised to understand that the shift of topics in different Q&A sets of the press conference can lead to different influence of 'field of discourse' in context to such an interpreter-mediated communication.

7.1.1 China's Diplomatic Relationships

In terms of China's international policy, it is generally believed that China is promoting a notion of new security to highlight its democratisation of international relations (Deng & Moore, 2004, p. 125). In the spirit, the grand strategy taken by the Chinese government is to promote China's gradual rise in the international community by placing China's interdependence with different nations at varying degrees. Yet, while working for such multilateralism, China's diplomatic focus is also placed on its great power diplomacy (Deng & Moore, 2004; Goldstein, 2001). That is, by cultivating different partnerships with influential countries, China tries to "enhance its attractiveness to the other great

powers while retaining flexibility by not decisively aligning with any particular state or group of states” (p. 846).

Among all the world’s major powers, China’s efforts to cultivate ties with Russia and the U.S. appear vital. Based on the information provided by the list of China’s current strategic partners at the international stage (Feng & Huang, 2014), the Sino-Russia relationship was officially defined in 1994 as being a “constructive partnership featuring good neighbourliness and mutually beneficial cooperation” and upgraded into a “partnership of strategic coordination based on equality and mutual benefit and oriented toward the 21st century” in 1996 (p. 18). In its latest version of 2011, the Sino-Russia relationship was officially launched as a “comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination” (p. 18). The evolution of the semantic terms on the Sino-Russia relations actually suggests a robust strategic partnership between these two countries and further emphasises China’s preferred diplomatic approach or a close tie with Russia.

In contrast, the Sino-Japan relation has been generally regarded as a very troubled relationship (Deng & Moore, 2004; Goldstein, 2001). Deng and Moore (2004) believed that the stagnancy of two countries’ bilateral relations is largely “due to disputes over issues concerning Japanese wartime responsibility and a severe lack of confidence in each other’s strategic intention” (p. 129). Goldstein (2001) further recognised that China’s displeasure with Japan might also be contributed by “the disputed Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, thinly veiled China-threat references inserted in Tokyo’s Defense White Papers, Japan’s characterisation of its conduct in China during the Second World War, and especially the possible Taiwan implications of the revised US-Japan security relationship” (p. 856). Accordingly, with the troubled history and all kinds of political disputes unsolved, the problematic bilateral relations between China and Japan are positioned by the Chinese as being only strategic and of mutual benefits (Chen, 2014). In this way, the spirit of partnership is totally missed out in the diplomatic politics between China and Japan.

As the Sino-India relations being defined as a “strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity” from the previous “constructive partnership” in 2005 (Feng & Huang, 2014, p. 19), China’s diplomatic circumstances with Russia, India and Japan may well be classified into three tiers based on the varying degrees of interdependence as suggested in the relevant official labelling. That is, by appraising the

Sino-Russia partnership as being both comprehensive and strategic, the close tie between these two countries could be viewed as a form of soft alliance. In contrast, the definition of the non-partnership between China and Japan reflects and contextualises serious diplomatic difficulties in the Sino-Japan relationship.

7.1.2 China's Cross-Strait Relationship

The expression of the cross-Strait relations generally refers to the China-Taiwan relations, or even the PRC-ROC relations. Since the victory of the China's Communist Party (CPC) in Chinese Civil War leads to the establishment of PRC (People's Republic of China) government in Mainland China and the retreat of the ROC (Republic of China) government to Taiwan in 1949, the cross-Strait relationship has eventually moved from "intense hostility" towards "a state of economic interdependence" (Chao, 2003, p. 303). Given the historical background, "growing socioeconomic interaction and political antagonism" become two distinctive features that define today's cross-Strait relations (Keng & Schubert, 2010, p. 287).

Politically, if the previous hostility is marked with a competition of both political entities for the legitimate governance over China, the recent antagonism is more directly related to China's sovereignty claim over Taiwan and Taiwan's split advocacy of independence.

For Mainland China, the former leader of Taiwan government, Chen Shui-bian's victory in Taiwan's 2004 presidential election and his explicit appeal to Taiwanese nationalism over the nationalistic campaign exacerbated the political tension in the cross-Strait relations (Clark, 2004). In the campaign, Chen raised a series of initiatives including two vital steps which were viewed by the Mainland as threatening "institutional steps toward Taiwanese independence", namely holding a referendum on Taiwan's policy toward Mainland China during the presidential election and planning for a constitutional change (p. 31). As was claimed by Clark (2004), although Chen's advocacy of a referendum was still disguised with his strategic ambiguity and did not involve a direct declaration of independence, Chen's victory over re-election in 2004 did indicate a change in Taiwan politics towards a more separated position. Consequently, Chen's political pursuit for Taiwanese nationalism was inevitably seen by PRC as a serious jeopardising act and thus was responded in a harsher and more threatening manner (Clark, 2004, p. 33; Keng & Schubert, 2010). In response, the Anti-Secession Law was drafted

between 2003 and 2004 and promulgated by the then PRC President Hu Jintao in 2005. Yet, it is still believed that “the Anti-Secession Law is only part of a broader Taiwan policy framework [of the Mainland], the ‘last resort’ if all other means to keep Taiwan within the limits of the one-China principle have been exhausted” (Keng & Schubert, 2010, pp. 292-293). The Anti-Secession Law of the Mainland and the referendum in Taiwan both reflected the political tension along the Strait.

After Chen’s reign in Taiwan from 2000 to 2008, the victory of Ma Ying-jeou in Taiwan’s 2008 president election led to the change of government and more importantly the Taiwan politics with Ma’s claimed dedication towards “the promotion of increased interaction and economic integration across the Taiwan Strait” (Keng & Schubert, 2010, p. 287). As was believed by Keng and Schubert (2010), Ma’s emphasis on the socioeconomic interaction was expected to cause “political rapprochement and, eventually, a peace agreement between Taipei and Beijing” (p. 287). Meanwhile, PRC’s policies also targeted the economic interests and visioned a positive future of the economic integration between the Mainland and Taiwan. As a consequence, the joint emphasis on the economic and social integration from both sides of the Strait relegated the issue of Taiwan’s political appeal for nationalism and the Mainland’s allegation over sovereignty and unification to backstage for the time being and brought about a strong impact on the tensed cross-Strait relations. Probably as both sides expected, the integration might alter the state of separation, even though nobody knew how and in what direction the relations fared (Keng & Schubert, 2010). In the sense, the talks on the shared goal of economic and social integration was apparently much less controversial to both sides than conversing on different political pursuits.

In general, the conversation on the cross-Strait relations between two sides of the Strait focused more on the political claims when Chen Shui-bian was in office and more on the economic integration when Ma Ying-jeou was elected as the leader of Taiwan in 2008. Thus, both centring the cross-Strait relations, talks for the political claims and on the theme of economic integration actually represented two different aspects of the complicated Mainland-Taiwan relations and thus set up very different interpersonal contexts for communication, one being controversial and the other being agreeable.

7.1.3 Topics with Political Sensitivity

In this study, the Q&A sets on the social development in Tibet and the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989 (also known as the June Fourth Incident) are classified together as being political sensitive. The grouping is made generally because there is the limited access to relevant information on these two topics in China's domestic social media.

The research by Bamman, O'Connor and Smith (2012) on China's social media practice under the active censorship discovered a set of terms whose presence leads to a higher rate of deletion or spam of messages. As authors believed that the practice of censorship is presented in mixed spam, the limited information access in the social media often suggests a form of censorship. Specifically, some terms such as 'Tiananmen Square protest', 'Dalai Lama', 'persecution in Tibet and Qinghai' and 'the human rights' are enlisted with higher deletion rates from China's social media. Meanwhile, two lists of the blacklisted keywords in China's social media provided by Wikipedia (Wikipedia, 2015) and China Digital Times (2015) also include terms in relevance to the Tiananmen Square protest such as 'June Forth incident/movement', 'Eight-nine incident/movement', 'Zhao Ziyang' as the Premier involved in the incident etc., and the Tibet such as 'Dalai', 'self-immolation', 'demonstration', 'Tibet freedom', and 'independence', etc. In contrast, both topics are widely reported and discussed outside China, which will not be reviewed in this study due to the limitation of its research interest. In all, the limited media coverage and public discussion on the historical incident of Tiananmen Square protest in 1989 and the social development in Tibet suggests that there is a censorship practiced. Accessing information on these two topics may be deemed as, if not totally forbidden, at least highly undesirable in China's domestic official and social media by the government, and therefore politically sensitive in the Chinese social life.

Finally, as is explained in this section, the seven selected topics under three general themes for analysis actually are related to different political or social contexts in communication. The varying communicative contexts under different topics then may pose different challenges to the interpreters' perception of the interpersonal relationships in practice. Accordingly, the contrastive analysis on the linguistic differences under these topics is conducted both within each category and among three categories to investigate on the influence of communicative context on the interpreters' practice. More specifically, the analysis investigates on the potential patterns of the interpreters'

linguistic choices regarding their social positioning in this politically high-profile event of the two-session press conference.

7.2 Interpreters' Choices with the Change of Different Topics

Focusing on the 7 selected topics in the CTSPC corpus, the contrastive study in this section probes into the possible interpreting patterns from the interpreter's choices regarding the realisation of interpersonal meanings at different linguistic dimensions. More specifically, based on the categorisation and specification of the selected topics as is explained in Section 7.1, the linguistic analysis and comparison on the realisation of interpersonal meanings is expected to reveal the impact of different communicative context on the interpreters' presentation of professional identity at the scene.

7.2.1 Interpreters' Choices of Statements and Questions under Different Topics

In consideration of the primary roles taken by the Premier (PM) and the journalists in the Q&A session in the proceeding of the press conference, the grammatical investigation in this section focuses only on the difference that occurs in the statement in PM's speeches/interpretations and the questions in the journalists' speeches/interpretations simply to highlight the expected interpersonal functions of the speakers in press conferences.

For the purposes of comparison, all tables in this section will include the data under the 7 selected topics.

Table 7.1 focuses on the speech role of statement in the corpus and summarises the realisational forms of statements in PM's speeches and their interpretations under the 7 selected topics. In the table, all metaphorical realisations of the statement are abbreviated as "NON-" to symbolise non-declarative forms since the statement is congruently realised only by the declarative clause.

STATEMENT		Taiwan 1	Taiwan 2	Russia	India	Japan	Tianan	Tibet
PM	Declarative	87	81	53	63	59	34	54
	NON-	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
INTER	Declarative	81	80	45	48	49	34	55
	NON-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 7.1: Grammatical Realisation of Statements in PM's Speeches and Interpretations on Analysed Topics

As is presented in Table 7.1, regardless of the topic change, the interpretations maintain a high level of preservation of the congruent realisation of statements from PM's source speeches. The exclusive focus on the congruent realisation of the statements in interpretation suggests that the change of interpreting content is unlikely to divert the interpreters' grammatical realisation for PM's interpersonal role as an information provider in the press conference.

Yet, according to the table, the difference in the interpreting practice lies in the change of the number of statements used under the 7 selected topics. In this analysis, the interpretations of PM's statements are of the same language direction. Yet, the change of number of statements used in the interpretations varies among three themes. The totality of statements used in the interpretations concerning the cross-Strait relationships and two political sensitive topics is very close to that in their source speeches. The number of statements used in the interpretations concerning China's diplomatic relations with Russia, India and Japan are much less than the amount of the statements used in PM's source speeches.

The consistent decrease of statements under the topics of China's diplomatic issues suggests that the units of meaning in these speeches are either largely omitted or grammatically synthesised through interpreting. To support this claim, two samples are selected from the relevant corpus.

1. 中日是近邻///啊...发展世代友好是我们坚定不移的对日外交方针/// (source speech from 2006pm/94/1-2)

Zhōng rì shì jìn lín a... fā zhǎn shì dài yǒu hǎo shì wǒ men jiān dìng bù yí de duì rì wài jiāo fāng zhēn (Pinyin)

China and Japan are close neighbours ah, develop lasting friendship is our unswerving Foreign policy. (Google Translate)

As China and Japan are close neighbours// we... have an unswerving policy of developing friendship with Japan/// (interpretation from 2006pm/95.1-2)

2. 啊...目前...中日关系的发展确实遇到很多困难///这是我们不意见到的///啊造成目前这种状况的原因不在中国//也不在...日本人民//而在日本领导人/// (source speech from 2006pm/90/2-2006pm/92/1)

A...mù qián... Zhōng rì guān xì de fā zhǎn què shí yù dào hěnduō kùnnán zhè shì wǒ men bù yuàn yì jiàn dào de (Pinyin)

ah ... now ... the development of Sino-Japanese relations are indeed a lot of difficulties. This is what we want to see. (Google Translate)

Indeed, the China-Japan relationship has run into many difficulties which we do not hope to see /// (interpretation from 2006pm/93/2-3)

In Sample 1, two clause simplexes are synthesised into one clause complex in interpretation, obviously by making the first clause as a unit of meaning an additional reasoning to the following clause. In Sample 2, the source speech consists several clause simplexes. In the interpretation, the two simplexes are synthesised neatly into one clause complex. So, when the original meaning segments are densely constructed into a grammatically more complicated structure, it is possible to believe that the orality or the improvisation of the interpreting practice is partially sacrificed.

Table 7.2 focuses on the questions raised by the journalists and displays the change of the grammatical realisation of the questions in the interpretations of the journalists' speeches under the 7 selected topics.

In the table, the coding of "JX" is applied to generalise all journalists since the questions under one topic may be initiated by the journalists including JOs, JMs or JHMTs, from different geographic areas. Accordingly, the interpretation of these questions is marked as "INTER-JX". Meanwhile, wh-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives are abbreviated as "Wh-" and "Polar-".

QUESTIONS		Taiwan 1	Taiwan 2	Russia	India	Japan	Tianan	Tibet
JX	Declarative	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
	Wh-	4	2	6	2	9	2	3
	Polar-	7	7	1	2	1	2	3
INTER-JX	Declarative	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
	Wh-	7	3	1	3	7	1	4
	Polar	2	5	4	2	1	2	4

Table 7.2: Grammatical Realisation of Questions in the Journalists' Speeches and Interpretations on Analysed Topics

As is presented in Table 7.2, nearly all questions are realised by interrogative clauses in both source speeches and interpretations, suggesting a high level of consistency in the interpreters' choices of preserving the grammatical congruency of the questions from the source speeches. In other words, the interpersonal role of the journalists established via their choices of the questions in communication is widely recognised and

respected in interpretation. Thus, regardless of the topic change, the interpreters generally shadow the journalists' interpersonal role of informative requester.

Yet, between the two congruent forms of questions, the change of wh-interrogatives and polar-interrogatives in number through interpreting, as is shown in the table, suggests that the difference of topics can bring about a difference of impact on the interpreters' choices of interrogative forms.

Firstly, focusing on the cross-Strait relations, it is noticed that the choice of the grammatical realisational forms of the questions in the interpretations varies greatly between two different contexts. Regardless of their different emphases on the political or economic aspects of the cross-Strait relations, journalists' questions are mostly realised by polar-interrogatives in the source speeches. Yet, such a polar-interrogative pattern for the questions is only preserved in the interpretations of Taiwan 2, where the content for interpreting concerns the economic cooperation of the cross-Strait relationship. That is, when the journalists request the information from PM on the issues concerning the political status of the cross-Strait relations, such as Taiwan independence or its referendum under the topic coding of Taiwan 1, the corresponding interpretations on these questions tend to change into the wh-interrogatives rather than keeping the polar-interrogative pattern of questions presented in the source speeches. In doing so, the interpretations of the questions tune down the confrontational tone of the original questions and replace them with a more informative style.

Similarly, focusing on China's diplomatic relationships, Table 7.2 shows that the interpretations of questions on the Sino-Russia relation change the focus of the source speeches on the wh-interrogative to the polar-interrogative. Yet, such a shift of interrogative focus is absent from the interpretations for Sino-Japan and Sino-India relations. Furthermore, as is shown in the table, the number of questions in the interpretations on the Sino-Russia relationship is found perceivably decreasing while the number of questions in the interpretations on the diplomatic relations between China and other two countries and their grammatical realisation remain close to those in the source speeches. The way that the questions on China's diplomatic relations are interpreted suggests that different interpreting approaches are taken under the topic of China's diplomatic relationships. That is, the interpretations of the questions on the Sino-India and Sino-Japan relationship tend to preserve the original informative nature whereas the

interpretations on the Sino-Russia relationship become more concise and direct than the source speeches do.

Thirdly, between the two topics concerning China's internal issues that are politically sensitive, some differences are also identified. According to Table 7.2, the number of questions used for the topic of the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989 decreases in the interpretations. Specifically, one wh- interrogative question and one declarative question are omitted.

3. 您会不会要求针对赵紫阳先生<<就是你以前曾经帮忙工作过的以前中华人民共和国的总理>>要求取消对他个人的自由的一些限制?/// 让他恢复正常工作?/// (Source speech from 2003pm/218/6-9)

Nín huì bù huì yāoqiú zhēnduì zhào zǐyáng xiānshēng, jiùshì nǐ yǐqián céngjīng bāngmáng gōngzuòguò de yǐqián zhōnghuá rénmin gònghéguó de zǒnglǐ, yāoqiú qǔxiāo duì tā gèrén de zìyóu de yīxiē xiànzhi? Ràng tā huīfù zhèngcháng gōngzuò? (Pinyin)

You cannot ask for Mr. Zhao Ziyang, that you had previously worked for former Prime Minister to help the People's Republic of China, to cancel some of the restrictions on his personal freedom? Let him resume normal work? (Google Translate)

Would it be possible for it to remove the restrictions of freedoms placed on Zhao Ziyang, the former Prime Minister for once you worked for?/// (Interpretation from 2003pm/219/3-4)

As is seen in Sample 3, the source speech contains two questions realised by a polar interrogative and a declarative clause. Yet, in the interpretation, the polar interrogative question is retained with a change of subject, but the declarative question which is used as an elaboration of the previous question is totally deleted. In this way, the original questions are synthesised in interpretation.

4. What's the government's response to this? ///and how is China going to address people's concerns about this?/// And also are you going to declare the 1989 demonstrations a patriotic movement?/// (Source speech from 2004pm/111/11-13)

那么, 您觉得中国政府方面对于这些人的个关切应该采取什么立场呢? ///您会把这个 89 年发生的事情宣布为一个爱国的活动吗?

/// (Interpretation from 2004pm/114/5-6)

Nàme, nín juédé zhōngguó zhèngfǔ fāngmiàn duìyú zhèxiē rén de gè guānqiè yīnggāi cǎiqǔ shénme lǐchǎng ne? Nín huì bǎ zhège 89 nián fāshēng de shìqíng xuānbù wéi yīgè àiguó de huódòng ma? (Pinyin)

So, do you think the Chinese government for a concern that these people should take what position do? You put this thing happened 89 years declared a patriotic event? (Google Translate)

In Sample 4, the source speech contains three questions, namely two wh-interrogatives and one polar interrogative. In its interpretation, two wh-interrogatives are synthesised into only one interrogative question although the last polar-interrogative is preserved. As compared with the three questions in the source speech that are arranged in a row by the journalist, the synthesised interpretation basically keeps the pattern of the journalist's information request to PM but also brings down the rhetorical force with the intensive tempo of three relevant questions.

In contrast to the decrease of questions in the interpretations for Tiananmen Square protest, Table 7.2 also displays the increase of the number of questions used in the interpretations for the journalists' information request on Tibet issues. Moreover, such an increase is achieved simultaneously through two types of interrogatives, suggesting either a repetition of meaning or an elaboration of the previous questions in interpreting practice. The rise of interrogatives in the interpretations of questions on Tibet issues highlights the difference in the interpreting approaches towards the questions on politically sensitive issues. The strong rhetorical force and the explicitness of the journalists' information requests is more likely to be reduced to a bare minimal in interpretation.

The linguistic analysis on the shifts concerning the speech functions and their realisational forms under different topics can be summarised as the following:

Firstly, by focusing on the congruent realisational forms of both speech functions of the statement and the question in interpretation, the interpreters consistently preserve the interpersonal roles expected for and practiced comfortably by PM and the journalists in the press conference. The change of the topic in the source speeches is unlikely to exert a major impact on the interpreters' role performance in that all CTSPC interpreters practice strictly within the interpersonal boundaries drawn by the speakers in their

presentation of speech roles. The interpreters are mostly non-participatory in that they follow closely to the speakers' communicative positioning.

Secondly, the nuance of the grammatical change in the interpretations under the 7 selected topics may still suggest a certain level of influence from the topic interpreted and the interpreters' selective participation. For example, when PM's statements are concerned with the Chinese domestic affairs such as the cross-Strait cooperation and the Tibetan issue, the speakers' choices on clauses are largely preserved in the interpretations. However, when the topic concerns the China's diplomatic relationship, the units of meanings presented by clauses in PM's statements are largely re-structured in the interpretations. Even if they are not omitted completely, some independent meaningful units are synthesised into fewer statements in interpretation. In this regard, the interpretations are believed containing more highly complex grammatical structures than the source speeches do. Thus, with the presented structural complexity, the interpretations of PM's statements on China's diplomatic relationship may sacrifice the natural spontaneity of the source speeches for being orally improvised. The sense of formality is raised up in the interpretations to stretch the interpersonal distance further in the language use between PM and all journalists.

In addition, the selective change in the interpretations of the journalists' questions appear to be more obvious with the topical change in the source speeches. For example, the number of the polar-interrogative questions used in the source speeches decreases largely on Taiwan 1 concerning the political disputes over the cross-Strait relations, but is basically preserved on Taiwan 2 concerning the economic and cultural cooperation along the Strait. So, it seems that via the massive deduction of polar interrogatives, the interpreters make their choices on the grammatical realisation of questions only to mitigate the directness in the journalists' information requests when the political antagonism of the cross-Strait relations is concerned.

Thus, with the discussion on the change or preservation of speech functions and their grammatical realisations identified in interpretation, we have found that the interpreters' role-choices possess the following characteristics. Firstly, with the interpreters' following closely to the speakers' interpersonal roles in communication, the preservation of the speakers' primary speech functions appears as a prerequisite for the interpreters' practice in these press conferences. Secondly, the interpreters do constantly

participate and then change the interpersonal meaning in the speakers' source speeches in line with the change of topics in Q&A sessions. When the topic of the source speeches is on domestic issues that are more politically sensitive, the interpreters display a high level of faithfulness to PM's statements, but mitigate the explicitness in the questions raised by the journalists. On diplomatic or international issues, though the interpreters tend to be more faithful to the way that questions are raised by the journalists, they are more likely to formalise PM's statements to extend the social distance between the two parties in communication.

In summary, the interpreters' linguistic choices of Mood patterns may vary with the change of the topical content or the field of discourse in context. More importantly, as such a variation in the interpreters' linguistic performance focuses grammatically on the presentation of the interpersonal relationship of all participants in communication, it is suggested that the interpreters' constantly social positioning is affected by the change of interpreting topics. Yet, it also needs to be noticed that the grammatical adjustment made in the interpreters' role-choices is comparatively subtle as all context-related changes are not at all substantial. In this regard, it appears to be reasonable to claim that the role of 'communication facilitator' in the interpreters remains the paramount in their professional practice. In addition, this facilitating role of the interpreters can hardly be changed by the shift of different interpreting topics. However, it is also worth mentioning that the interpreting patterns summarised from the realisation of speech functions with the topic change also involve the change of the speakers in communication. Thus, different contextual variables in communication may work collaboratively to exert influences on the interpreters' role-choices.

7.2.2 Interpreters' Choices of Modality under Different Topics

This section focuses on the interpreters' choices for the use of the modality and different modal features in the interpretations under the seven selected topics. It is expected that comparative analysis on the modality and modal features between the interpretations and the source speeches with different topics will be able to reveal the possible influence of the context on the interpreters' performance of their interpersonal relationships in communication.

Table 7.3 displays the change of the totality of modal expressions used in the interpretations concerning the 7 selected topics. As the table focuses only on the change

of topics in interpreting practice, the data in Table 7.3 are presented to summarise the totality of modal expressions in the source speeches and the interpretations under different topics. Again, the data presented in Table 7.3 are not intended to investigate any additional variables such as the speaker-interpreter relationship in this section. Yet, as PM's speeches/interpretations take up a dominant share of the CTSPC corpus, it is reasonable to assume that the data are mostly reflective of how PM's speeches are interpreted.

MODALITY	Taiwan 1	Taiwan 2	Russia	India	Japan	Tianan	Tibet
Speech	27	51	13	22	23	6	16
Interpretation	38	66	13	25	28	15	31
CHANGE	11	15	0	3	5	9	15

Table 7.3: Modality Applied Under Selected Topics

As is presented in Table 7.3, under all topics except for the Sino-Russia relationship, more modal expressions are used in the interpretations than in the source speeches. In the table, the rise of modality is limited under the topics concerning China's diplomacy, showing that the interpretations are generally constrained to expand the space of inter-determinacy for the speakers. As compared with the limited use of modality in the source speeches on two politically sensitive topics of Tiananmen Square protest in 1989 and Tibet, the increase of modal expressions in the interpretations becomes significant. The table 7.3 shows that the number of modal expressions in the interpretations of these two topics is more than doubled or nearly doubled, leaving more communicative space for meaning inter-determinacy.

To understand the nature of the change of modality in interpretation, the following tables are used to focus on different modal features, and present the changes of modal features in percentage rate in order to capture a pattern in interpretation. The features are presented by following the order of the modality type, the value and different orientations.

	Taiwan 1	Taiwan 2	Russia	India	Japan	Tianan	Tibet
Probability	17.64%	22.55%	7.69%	25.27%	21.90%	13.34%	13.31%
Obligation	-1.65%	-14.88%	-7.69%	-1.64%	-4.97%	-13.33%	-24.19%
Inclination	-22.32%	-5.71%	0%	-31.64%	-16.14%	-20%	10.69%

Table 7.4: Distributive Change of Modality Types in the Interpretations of Related Topics

As is displayed in Table 7.4, the modality type of probability increases in the interpretations under seven selected topics with only a decrease in obligation. According to the table, the increase of probability is generally around 15% under most of the topics with only one exception of 7.69% under the topic of the Sino-Russia relationship. This practice suggests that the change of topics in interpreting may not stop the interpreters from channeling more modal resources to position the likelihood of information in interpretation.

Yet, with a decrease in the distributive rate of obligation, the data shows a large amount of variation among the selected topics. For example, the distributive rate decrease of obligation appears to be less obvious in the interpretations concerning the political antagonism of the cross-Strait relations (in Taiwan 1) and the China's diplomatic relationships, particularly with India and Japan. In contrast, the decrease of the modality with obligation is much more obvious in the interpretations concerning the issues of the cross-Straits socioeconomic interaction, the Tiananmen Square protest and especially Tibet. The distributive change of obligation in interpretation varies perceptibly with the change of the theme of the source speeches from what is called China's internal issues to China's diplomatic relationships at large and specifically from the topic on the political status of the cross-Strait relations to that of the cross-Strait socioeconomic interaction. Thus, the distributive rate change of the obligation seems to suggest that the use of this type of modal expressions can be affected by the change of topics with varying degrees of the political sensitivity. In interpreting practice, the rhetorical force carried by the obligatory modal expressions in the source speeches concerning the cross-Strait socioeconomic interaction, the political sensitive topics of Tiananmen Square protest and Tibet is largely compromised.

In addition, Table 7.4 presents differences in the change of inclination with the change of topic. For example, under the theme of the cross-Strait relations, the distributive rate decrease of inclination is high when the speeches touch on issues leading to political disputes, but becomes very low when the speeches deal with the socioeconomic interaction. More interestingly, the use of inclination in interpretation increases at the rate of 10.69% when the issue of Tibet is raised in the source speeches, but decreases by 20% when the speeches discuss the Tiananmen Square protest, showing the greater or less extents to which different politically sensitive issues may trigger in the change of inclination.

To investigate more on the variant interpreting patterns with the change of topic, the use of two types of modalisation is now discussed more by focusing on the two related, yet different topics under the theme of the cross-Strait relations.

As is shown in the table, the interpretations concerning the cross-Strait relations (in Taiwan 1) tend to be more preservative with the modality in obligation rather than in inclination. In contrast, the interpretations concerning the cross-Strait socioeconomic interaction (Taiwan 2) choose to be more restrained with the decrease of the inclination rather than the obligation.

5. During your last visit to Washington, President Bush clearly indicated his caution to both sides of the Taiwan Straits against taking unilateral steps that may change the status quo. (Source speech from 2004pm/20/9)

您上一次访问美国期间，布什总统明确表示了，两岸，海峡两岸任何一方都不**应该**采取单边的行动改变台海现状。(Interpretation from 2004pm/21/2-4)

During your last visit to the US, President Bush made it clear that, on both sides of the Taiwan Strait **should not** be any party to take unilateral action to change the status quo. (Google Translate)

6. 我没有用什么力量吓唬布什先生..... (Source speech from 2004pm/24/14-15)

I did not use any force to frighten Mr. Bush..... (Google Translate)

I **have to** say that I did not use any kind of power or force.....
(Interpretation from 2004pm/27/16-17)

7. 我们正在密切注视情况的发展..... (Source speech from 2006pm/24/8)

We are closely monitoring the situation..... (Google Translate)

We **need** to stay alert against the fact..... (Interpretation from 2006pm/25/7-8)

To illustrate the preservation or even the enhancement of an obligatory force in the interpretations on the cross-Strait relations, Samples 5-7 are selected on the topic of Taiwan 1. The modality of obligation is marked in bold letters for easy reading. As is

seen in these three samples, the interpretations add the modal expression of obligation which actually is not expressed in the source speeches.

8. the modal expressions of inclination in 2012pm/27 under the topic of Taiwan 2:

Cl. ID	Speech:	Google Translate:
27	难道几千年的文化的恩泽就 不能 消弭几十年的政治恩怨?	Is culture thousands of years of grace cannot eliminate decades of political scores?
30	至于我在退休以后 能不 能到台湾去自由行, ……我 愿 意去。	As far as I can retire in the future to go to the free exercise of Taiwan ... I am willing to go.
42	祖国统一和民族振兴的大业一定 能够 实现。	Reunification of the motherland and the great cause of national rejuvenation will be able to achieve

9. the modal expressions of inclination in 2012pm/28 under the topic of Taiwan 2:

Cl. ID	Interpretation:
15	Well, I would like
24	so that banks will be able
41	that I could have been able
43	I cannot help
45	Why can't the nourishment of our common cultural bond that has stretched several thousand years resolve the political grudges between the two sides that have lasted just for several decades?
50	if I would like
52	Well honestly I would really love
55	I would like
58	At this moment, I cannot help
69	And that is something that all Chinese can take pride in.

To illustrate the rise of inclination in the interpretations concerning the cross-Strait socioeconomic interaction (Taiwan 2), the modal expressions identified as inclination in the two speaking turns, namely 2012pm/27 and 2012pm/28 are displayed as sample 8 and 9. As is seen in these two samples, the source speech of Sample 8 contains only 4 modal expressions of inclination while the interpretation of Sample 9 has 11 modal expressions as inclination. By using 7 additional modal expressions of inclination, this

turn of interpretation on the cross-Strait socioeconomic interaction highlights the speaker's interpersonal meaning regarding ability and willingness.

Thus, the different focus of modality use in the interpretations concerning the cross-Strait relations highlights the enabling or the regulatory nature in the discourse on the Taiwan's political appeal for nationalism and independence. In the meantime, it also prioritises the willingness for actions under the topic of the cross-Strait cooperation. Given the two-session press conference as a high-profile political event and the different political contexts set up by these two topics, particularly regarding the Mainland's assertion of one China and determination for unification, it is possible to assume that the interpreters' choices of using obligatory modal expressions on Taiwan's political pursuit for independence is affected by the general context of the two-session press conference at the time.

In this regard, it is also reasonable to argue that the interpreters are very concerned with the political context of the interpreting practice rather than just concentrating on the linguistic practice of meaning rendition. In short, the interpreters' performance is constrained by the social and political contexts of the communicative scene. In this specific case, they do not only decipher the linguistic codes in the source speeches but also transmit their personal concerns on the communicative context by selecting the appropriate interpersonal meaning to stress in practice. Thus, it suggests that the content of the source speeches can affect the interpreters' choices of the interpersonal meaning when there is a communicative tension raised at the event.

In all, the application of different types of modal expressions in interpretation with the topic change is characterised with two features. Firstly, the interpretations of all selected topics tend to present a higher level of uncertainty in propositions, suggesting a more cautious attitude to and less confidence of the interpreters with the likelihood of the information in practice. Secondly, it is the use of the modulation that is likely to vary in interpretation when the topic of the source speeches changes.

Table 7.5 shows the distributive rate change of the modal expression with different values in the interpretations of the speeches under the 7 selected topics.

	Taiwan 1	Taiwan 2	Russia	India	Japan	Tianan	Tibet
High	16.67%	17.38%	61.54%	24.73%	34.62%	3.33%	10.89%
Medium	10.33%	-6.86%	-53.85%	2.55%	-20.81%	-10%	-17.74%

Low	-30.7%	-10.52%	-7.69%	-27.27%	-13.82%	6.67%	6.85%
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Table 7.5: Distributive Change of Modality Value in the Interpretations of Related Topics

As is seen in Table 7.5, the high-value modality increases in the interpretations under all topics, ranging from the highest distributive rate increase on the topic of the Sino-Russia relationship to the lowest increase on the Tiananmen Square protest. The general tendency of modality towards the high value in the interpretations is to re-project the original meaning with more certainty and thus shows more confidence than the speakers really present in their source speeches.

Yet, apart from the unanimous rise of high-value modality in the interpretations, the application of the medium and low modality value shows some differences with the change of topics. For example, under the theme of the cross-Strait relations, the application of the medium-value modal expression in the interpretations varies largely for the two related topics. In the interpretations of the cross-Strait political disputes, the medium-value modality increases by 10.33%. In the interpretations of the cross-Strait socioeconomic interaction, the medium-value modality drops by 6.86%. In consideration of the similar distributive rate increase in the high-value modal expressions and the drops of low-value modality under the two topics, the interpretations on the cross-Strait socioeconomic interaction boost the value of modal expressions in an overall scale while the interpretations concerning the political disputes over the cross-Strait relations present the rise of modal values in both high- and medium-value modality.

On the contrary, the interpretations on the Tiananmen Square protest and Tibet present similar patterns regarding the distributive rate change of the medium- and low-value modality. That is, by using more high-value and low-value modal expressions at the cost of the medium-value modality, the interpretations under these two topics tend to position the modal expressions at either a high or low end, showing similar approaches to the modality interpretation.

For the interpretations of China's diplomatic relationships, the changes on the modality value present two patterns. Firstly, due to the rise of the high-value modality and the decrease of the medium- and low-value modality, the interpretations on the Sino-Russia and Sino-Japan relations push the modal expressions with low values in the source speeches toward higher values and thus make them sound more definite than those in the

source speeches. Secondly, with the considerable decrease of the low-value modality, the medium- and high-value modality both rise in the interpretations on the Sino-India relationship, projecting the modal expressions in a less confident manner.

In summary, the change of topic in the source speeches has no effect on the general tendency of the rise of higher value modality in interpretation. However, the change of topic in the source speeches does exert an influence on the level of the modality value rise. The interpreters' practice of modality values on the political disputes over the cross-Strait relations, and the two political sensitive issues on the Tiananmen Square protest and Tibet indicate that the political tension raised in the speeches may constrain the interpreters' choices for higher value modality in this high-profile political event.

Table 7.6 focuses on the two features in the modality orientation/manifestation and presents the distributive rate change on the subjectiveness and the implicitness of the modal expressions in the interpretations under the 7 selected topics.

	Taiwan 1	Taiwan 2	Russia	India	Japan	Tianan	Tibet
Subjective	16.96%	17.02%	7.69%	-10.36%	5.9%	-26.67%	5.65%
Implicit	-5.75%	-3.21%	7.7%	-2.91%	-2.79%	-13.33%	-0.2%

Table 7.6: Distributive Change of Modality Orientation in the Interpretations of Related Topics

As is seen in Table 7.6, the distribution of subjectively oriented modal expressions decreases only in the interpretations on the topics of the Sino-India relations and the Tiananmen Square protest, reflecting the rise of objective orientation in the interpretations on both topics. That is, the subjectiveness claimed by the modal expressions is intended to be re-projected as if it is objective in the interpretations. More specifically, with the drop of subjective orientation by 26.67%, the objective disguise on modal expressions appears to be much more intensive in the interpretations of the speeches on the Tiananmen Square protest. Indeed, the rise of objective modality will make the proposition in the interpretations much less personal than it should have been perceived in the source speeches.

In Table 7.6, the distribution of implicitly-manifested modal expressions in the interpretations decreases under the 6 selected topics except for the one on the Sino-Russia relation. Yet, the distributive rate decrease of the modal implicitness is generally small, only less than 13.33%. In the sense, the interpretations concerning most selected topics

may intend for a more direct way of modal meaning expression but still preserve the manifestation of the modality in the source speeches.

Focusing on both features, the change of modal orientation/manifestation in the interpretations on the Sino-Russia relation and the Tiananmen Square protest becomes hugely distinctive. To be specific, the rise of subjective and implicit modal features in the interpretations on the Sino-Russia relationship suggests that the interpretations tend to clarify the modal meaning as being very subjective. In contrast, the substantial decrease of subjective and implicit modal features in the interpretations on the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989 reflects the rise of objective and explicit modal expressions. In so doing, the interpretations re-project the modal meaning as if they were objective in a very explicit manner. In other words, the speakers' modal responsibility is largely reduced via the interpreters' rendition. In consideration of the different political contexts involved by the topics of the Sino-Russia relation and the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989, the interpreters' choices of the modal orientation seem to be affected more specifically by the politics involved in the interpreting discourse.

The investigation on the modality orientation in the interpretations under the 7 selected topics suggests that the application of modality orientation in interpretation can be highly responsive to the speech content and its dynamism with the context in the event. In other words, the interpreters' choices of the interpersonal meaning can be affected by the politics in the discourse they are interpreting.

To summarise, the detailed analysis on the different application of modality in interpretation and their specific modal features is indicative of the following interpreting patterns.

Firstly, the application of modal expressions is generally more frequent in the interpretations than in the source speeches, creating larger space of inter-determinacy in the meaning expression under all selected topics. Particularly, the distribution of the modal expressions regarding probability, which is used to define the determinacy on propositions, is exclusively raised up under all selected topics. One possible effect caused by the rise of such modal expressions is that the interpretations appear less certain with the likelihood of the rendered information. The interpreters' inclination towards less confident articulation in communication also suggests that these interpreters do not intend to fake the information ownership and appear accordingly in a facilitating role in practice.

Thus, this facilitating role could be always aimed and maintained by the interpreters regardless of the topic change in the source speeches.

Yet, although the rise of modal expressions prevails in the interpretations under all selected topics, the distributive rate change in the modality values varies with the change of the topic. The difference of such a value change indicates that the mitigation of meaning indeterminacy is generally intended in the interpretations concerning China's diplomatic relationships. This practice also suggests a level of active meaning participation of the interpreters in interpreting these topics. In addition, the modality value change on the political issues of the cross-Straits relations, the Tiananmen Square protest and the Tibet suggests that the political context of the interpreting practice may constrain the interpreters' choices for higher value modality, thus defining the level of their participation in communication.

Thirdly, the rise of probability and the decrease of obligation in the interpretations under all selected topics indicates a common feature in the interpreters' choices for modal expressions for different topics. The detailed analysis on the distributive rate change of different modality types in the interpretations also suggests that a topic may affect the interpreters' decision-making process. More specifically, the change of the type of modal expressions in the interpretations suggests that the tension raised in the source speeches may consistently affect the interpreters' linguistic choices of interpersonal meanings via different modal expressions.

After reviewing the change of modal features in the interpretations of selected topics in a more comprehensive manner, it is found that the interpreters' choices are heavily influenced by the dynamism in the interpreting discourse and the context of the interpreting event.

For example, the modal expressions in the source speeches concerning the cross-Straits relations are interpreted with different approaches. On the issue of Taiwan independence or referendum, the interpretations basically preserve the obligatory modal expressions and raise the high and medium modal values at the same time, bringing a stronger rhetorical force into the interpreted topic. On the issue of the cross-Straits socioeconomic interaction, the interpretations stress on the high-value modality and increase the distributive use of the modal type of inclination, setting a more affirmative tone on the action in the interpreted discourse. Similarly on the two politically sensitive

topics concerning China's social and democratic development, the interpretations vary with the choices of modal features. On the topic of the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989, the interpretations leverage the use of the modal type of the probability and heavily stress on the objective-explicit orientation, labelling the definiteness of the information from a more impersonal perspective. On the issue concerning Tibet, the interpretations raise the distribution of the inclinational type of modal expressions with higher subjectivity, diverting the emphasis of the speaker's modal commitment to the personal understanding of the likelihood of actions.

By stressing different modal features in practice for topics under the similar theme, the interpreters actually define their participation through the linguistic choices they make. Interestingly, as the interpreters' participation can be reflective of their understanding of the communicative event, their choices of interpersonal meanings suggest that they must stand in line with the Chinese government.

In all, the analysis and the discussion on the change of the interpreting context in relation to the change of interpreters' choices of different modal features in interpreting process suggests that the interpreters are constantly adjusting their communicative participation while interpreting different topics. Though they are committed to facilitating in the communication, they are still affected by the politics unfolding in the event. More specifically, any political tension raised in interpreting sensitive topics will eventually define how the interpreters participate in such a high-profile political event.

The participatory adjustment made for politics-charged topics by the interpreters and their political knowledge of these topics, as is illustrated previously in section 7.1, indicates that the interpreters try to establish a level of interpersonal alignment with the government speaker regarding the political stance in communication. This claim can be argued from the following aspects.

Firstly, the interpreters are very cautious in expanding the space of inter-determinacy for the topics concerning China's diplomacy. The cautious use of modal expressions here for meaning inter-determinacy in interpretation is found being in line with the general attitudes of the government in its public articulation of foreign policies.

Secondly, the interpreters choose to maintain the regulatory power to the interpretations of the Taiwan independence-related speeches, which secures the legitimacy of the interpreted content. Since most of the modal expressions for analysis are

identified from PM's speeches, the legitimacy is actually secured in interpreting to manifest the Chinese government's political legitimacy.

On the topic of the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989, the interpreters choose to highlight the modal feature concerning the likelihood of the information and to minimise the modality's subjective orientation in an explicit manner. In this case, with the general absence of the topic in Chinese social media and in consideration of PM as the primary source of modal expressions in the speeches, the interpreters' choices inevitably carry a sense of authority and more importantly bring objectiveness to PM's information feeding at the conference.

In all, with their linguistic choices on modal features, the interpreters give more importance to PM's political expressions, thus situating PM in a more advantageous position for communication. It is then reasonable to argue that the role of these in-house interpreters is no longer confined by the limited functionality of communicative facilitation. They are employed as government's public servants, which plays a crucial role in making their linguistic choices when the source speeches are political sensitive. After all, they are not only professional interpreters but also civil servants from China's MFA, working under the leadership of PM.

7.2.3 Interpreters' Attitudinal Choices with the Topic Change

This section focuses on the application of various attitudinal resources in the speeches and interpretations under the 7 selected topics in the CTSPC corpus. It is expected that the comparison on the change of attitudes and attitudinal features in detail with different themes and topics of the interpreted discourse will reveal the possible influence of the context on the interpreters' choices of their social positioning in practice.

Table 7.7 focuses on the application of the attitudinal expressions and displays the number of occurrence of the attitudes used under the 7 selected topics. Meanwhile, the table also summarises the change of the attitudinal instances in the interpretations.

	Topic	Speech	interpretation	Change
1	Taiwan 1	56	72	6
2	Taiwan 2	58	62	4
3	Sino-Russia	34	38	4
4	Sino-India	40	44	4
5	Sino-Japan	44	59	15
6	Tianan Men	43	32	-11

7	Tibet	46	42	-4
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Table 7.7: Totality of Attitudes Applied under the Related Topics

As is suggested by the number of changed attitudes in Table 7.7, the interpretations on the cross-Strait relations and the China's diplomatic relations contain more attitudinal resources than the source speeches do. When the speeches are concerned with the Sino-Japan relations, the increase of attitudinal resources in the interpretations amounts to 15 instances, suggesting either a much stronger accumulation of attitudinal force or a constant linguistic revision for the expression of specific attitudes in interpreting. In contrast, the interpretations on the politically sensitive topics concerning the Tiananmen Square protest and Tibet contain fewer instances of attitudes than the source speeches do. On the topic of the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989, attitudes decrease by 11 instances. With fewer attitudinal instances, the interpretations under these two topics appear to be less appraised personally and look more factual or less opinionated than the source speeches sound like. Thus, Table 7.7 suggests that there is a different interpreting approach taken when the theme of the interpreting discourse changes. More specifically, the interpreters appear very careful in translating attitudes when the topics in the source speeches become politically sensitive.

To understand the nature of the change of attitudes in interpretation under different topics, the appraisal analysis on linguistic features of attitudes is conducted and the comparison is made on different topics under three general themes: the cross-Strait relations, China's diplomacy and the political sensitive issues. The change in features of the attitude is displayed in distributive ratios in order to capture the possible pattern of change in interpreting. Moreover, due to the limited number of attitudinal instances in individual topics, the data are presented in three tables (Tables 7.8-7.10) to focus on three different themes and to highlight the changes caused by the contextual tension due to the different topics.

Table 7.8 displays the change of various attitudinal features in the interpretations on the political aspects of the cross-Strait relations (see Taiwan 1) and the socioeconomic interaction of the two sides (see Taiwan 2).

	Taiwan 1	Taiwan 2
Affect	-3.18%	-8.45%
Judgement	-10.32%	9.65%
Appreciation	13.49%	2.22%

Positive	-2.18%	2.28%
Inscribe	-5.15%	9.85%

Table 7.8: Distributive Change of Attitudes in the Interpretations for Taiwan Issues

As is shown in Table 7.8, the interpretations under the topic of Taiwan 1 contain less distribution of judgement by 10.32% but more distribution of appreciation by 13.49%. The change indicates an attitudinal shift in the interpretations from the evaluation on behaviours based on the standards of social sanction and social esteem towards the aesthetics-related opinions on objects or phenomena. In addition, the table also shows that the distributive decrease of affect, the attitudinal positivity and explicitness in the interpretations of Taiwan 1 is very small. In the sense, the whole interpreting process becomes mostly sensitive to the choices of opinions. In other words, the institutionalised feeling in the speeches regarding the political disputes over the cross-Strait relations is liable to trigger the interpreters' personal intervention into the meaning communication via the linguistic choice for semantic appraisal.

In Table 7.8, the highest distributive rate change in the interpretations regarding the socioeconomic interaction of the cross-Strait relations is the rise of judgement by 9.65% and the rise of inscribed attitudes by 9.85%. Most of the changes on the attitudinal features in the interpretations under Taiwan 2 are very prominent.

As is seen in Table 7.8, the changes of attitudinal features in the interpretations on the two topics regarding the cross-Strait relations have two features in common, namely the extremely limited change of attitudinal positivity and the decrease of affect. In the sense, the small distributive rate change of attitudinal positivity indicates that the interpretations under both topics try to preserve the original positive or negative stance presented with the accumulation of attitudes in the source speeches. To some extent, such a high level of linguistic fidelity to the positive/negative attitudes in the source speeches may also indicate the interpreters' commitment to the meaning in the source speeches regardless of the topic change as well as their cautious management of the attitudinal positivity in practice. Regarding the decrease of affect, such a change on the types of attitudes means the rise of the institutionalised feelings under both topics, saying that the interpretations become more focused on transmitting opinions rather than emotions to the audience of the press conference.

Yet, some differences on the change of the attitudinal features in the interpretations under two topics are also evident. Firstly, although attitudes in the interpretations tend to be more opinion-related due to the distributive decrease of affect, the opinions in the interpretations under the topic of Taiwan 1 shows a tendency of being less related with the social esteem or social sanction but more registered for the feelings based on the sense of aesthetics. In contrast, the distributive change of the institutionalised feeling in the interpretations of Taiwan 2 gives more strength to the attitude of judgment for being social-esteem or social-sanction based.

Secondly, the attitude in the interpretations is oriented in different ways for these two topics. To be specific, with the inscribed attitude experiencing 9.85% distributive increase in the interpretations under Taiwan 2 but 5.15% decrease under Taiwan 1, all attitudes in the interpretations, including their subordinate types and positivity, seem to be more explicitly oriented when the source speeches concern the socioeconomic interaction of the cross-Strait relations. Yet, when the source speeches are related to Taiwan's appeal for nationalism, the attitudinal explicitness in interpretation decreases as the meaning has to be invoked with the view of the audience. In the sense, the attitudes regarding the political disputes are obscured through the interpreters' practice. In such a case, some audience may not be able to receive each single attitudes that are expressed in the interpretations, including those institutionalised feelings, their positivity and explicitness based on the interpreters' linguistic choices.

Table 7.9 summarises the distributive change of attitudes in the interpretations concerning China's bilateral relationships with Russia, India and Japan. As these three bilateral relationships were respectively labelled in the Chinese official media as being "the comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership", "the strategic cooperative partnership" and "the strategic relations of mutual benefit", three different diplomatic contexts are actually created for the relevant interpreting practice.

	Russia	India	Japan
Affect	1.71%	-5.68%	2.73%
Judgement	1.40%	1.59%	-0.66%
Appreciation	-3.09%	4.09%	-2.08%
Positive	0.31%	5.45%	7.67%
Inscribe	14.24%	-2.27%	0.23%

Table 7.9: Distributive Change of Attitudes in the Interpretations for the China's Diplomatic Relationship

As is seen in Table 7.9, the distributive rate change of the attitudinal feature in the interpretations is generally small, suggesting that there might be only a few changes made on attitudinal features.

Firstly, the distributive application of three types of attitudes, particularly the type of judgement, is changed very lightly from the source speeches' distribution. Yet, there are some differences regarding the way that these small changes are made. According to the data presented in Table 7.9, with the 5.68% decrease of affect in the interpretations on the Sino-India relationship, the distribution of the institutionalised feeling takes up a larger share in the interpretations than in the source speeches. In contrast, the distribution of affect in the interpretations for the Sino-Japan relationship increases as the distribution of both types of institutionalised feelings decrease at very small rates, suggesting that the interpreters have no intention to highlight the speaker's intended opinions. Indeed, the distributive change of the three types of attitudes is little. Yet, such a subtle variation on the distribution of the emotions and the opinions between the interpretations concerning the Sino-India and the Sino-Japan relationships may still indicate the application of different interpreting approaches. In the end, the interpreters choose to release more emotions on the Sino-Japan relationship to the audience, but more opinions on the Sino-India relationship.

Secondly, Table 7.9 also shows a gradual increase in the distribution of positive attitudes among the three diplomatic relationships. The rate of increase is merely 0.31% on the Sino-Russia relations, 5.45% on the Sino-India relations, and the most prominently 7.67% on the Sino-Japan relations. In spite of a general trend towards more positive attitudes in the interpretations, the locus of the positive increase obviously is placed on the interpretations of the Sino-Japan relationship, the only diplomatic non-partnership being defined as "the strategic relations of mutual benefit". In contrast, the distributive rate of positive attitudes on the Sino-Russia "comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership" is hardly changed in the interpretations.

10. 但是虽然我们两国之间人员交流、贸易数量**不断扩大**, 但是有人指出, “政治冷, **经济热**”的关系最近变成了“政治冷, 经济也凉快的情况”, 那么, 温总理你怎么看待这些情况? 还有, 这个情况, 需要打开这个情况的话, 中方对日方期待着什么? 还有, 中国用什么样的做法解决这个情况? 第二个问题是关于能源和环境的问题。现在这个, 中国的**快速发展**带来了给各国家带来了**很好的机会**, 这是我们的共识的。(source speech from 2005pm/60/10-20)

But while personnel exchanges between our two countries, the number of trade **continued to expand**, but it was noted that "cold politics, **hot economics**" relationship has recently become a "cold political and economic situation is also cool," then how do you look at these Premier Wen Happening? Also, this situation, you need to open the case, then we look forward to your comment on it? Also, what kind of approach with China to resolve this situation? The second question is about energy and environmental issues. Now this, **China's rapid development** has brought the countries to bring **a good opportunity**, this is our consensus. (Google Translate)

But talking about relations between China and Japan, despite **the ever expanding** personnel exchanges and trade, people usually characterise our political relationship as "cold", economic relationship as "**hot**". But recently this situation has changed to one that our political relationship is "cold", and even economic ties have cooled down. What is your comment on such a situation? Moreover, what does China expect from Japan in order to solve these problems? My second question is about energy and the environment, **the rapid development** of China has brought about **good opportunities** for other countries, especially the neighbors. We **are glad** about it. (Interpretation from 2005pm/61/7-16)

Now, Sample 10 is selected to illustrate the rise of positive attitudes in the interpretations on the speeches concerning the Sino-Japan relation. In the sample, the positive attitude is marked in bold. As is seen in the Chinese source speech, four positive attitudes are used by the speaker to appraise the economic bonding between China and Japan, and China's economic development. In the interpretation, apart from preserving the original positive attitudes, the interpreter adds one more positive affect at the end of the speaking turn to declare a sense of satisfaction on China's economic development for the speaker. This positive concluding helps to light up the speaker's gloomy evaluation on the Sino-Japan economic interactions expressed in the source speech. In doing so, the speaker's attitudes towards the Sino-Japan relation are gradually rated up through the interpretation towards a more positive spectrum.

Thirdly, the change of the inscribed attitudinal distribution in the interpretations on the Sino-Russia relation appears to be very different from that on the Sino-India and the Sino-Japan relations. As is seen in the table, the rise of inscribed attitudes is significant in the interpretations on the Sino-Russia relationship, suggesting a much more explicit manner taken by the interpreters for expressing attitudes. However, the distributive rate change of inscribed attitudes is very limited in the interpretations on both the Sino-India and the Sino-Japan relationships, indicating that no specific intention is attempted to mark these attitudes and their features more explicitly or implicitly in interpreting practice. In this regard, the interpretations are rather selective in providing the

audience with an easier access to the attitudinal resource applied on the Sino-Russia “comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership”.

Focusing on the political sensitive issues, Table 7.10 summarises the distributive change of attitudinal features in the interpretations on the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989 and Tibet.

	Tianan Men	Tibet
Affect	-6.17%	-1.97%
Judgement	7.93%	6.11%
Appreciation	-1.74%	-4.14%
Positive	6.83%	12.12%
Inscribe	3.63%	16.88%

Table 7.10: Distributive Change of Attitudes in the Interpretations for China’s Politically Sensitive Issues

As is seen in Table 7.10, the distributive rate changes of different attitudinal features in the interpretations of two topics are in similar pattern. Under both topics, the distributive rate decrease in the attitudinal types of affect and appreciation is found in the interpretations, while the distributive rate increase prevails in the interpretations of attitudinal resources regarding the type of judgement, their positive appraisals and the inscribed orientation.

Yet, with the similar change patterns on the distribution of attitudinal features, the varying degrees of the distributive rate change in some attitudinal features may be indicative of subtle differences.

According to the data in Table 7.10, the difference in interpreting practice mostly concerns the change of attitudinal positivity and implicitness. That is, the distributive rise of positive and inscribed attitudes is much higher in the interpretations on the Tibetan issues than on the Tiananmen Square protest. For example, while the distributive rate increase of positive attitudes is only 6.83% in the interpretations of the Tiananmen Square protest, the rate of positive attitudes is nearly doubled in the interpretations on Tibet. In addition, the distributive rate increase of inscribed expressions in the interpretations is only 3.63% concerning the Tiananmen Square protest, but reaches 16.88% on Tibet. The interpretations on the Tibet-related issues present a stronger preference for using more positively-appraised meanings, and choose to orient the attitudes in a much more explicit manner. Thus, the distributive increase at different rates seems to suggest that the

interpreters' meaning participation can be more effective under the Tibet-related topic rather than the topic of the Tiananmen Square protest.

To summarise, the contrastive study of attitudes and attitudinal features used in the source speeches and the interpretations regarding three themes reveals some interpreting patterns in response to the change of the topics or the field of discourse in context.

Firstly, the interpretations of attitudes on China's two politically sensitive issues demonstrate several similarities regarding the change of various attitudinal features. For example, under both topics, the distributive application of the attitudinal type of judgement does not decrease in interpretation. Meanwhile, with the distributive increase of positive attitudes in the interpretations, the speakers' attitudes are inevitably re-projected as being more positive through interpreting. So, it is reasonable to speculate that the interpretations of two politically-sensitive topics contain a higher level of positive judgement than the source speeches do.

However, the analysis also recognises that the difference lies in the level of distributive change. The distributive rate change of attitudinal features in the interpretations is generally more conserved under the topic of Tiananmen Square protest than the Tibet-related topic. For example, as compared with the rate change in the interpretations under the topic of Tiananmen Square protest, the distribution of positive attitudes and the inscribed attitudes increases significantly in the interpretations on Tibet, suggesting a general tendency towards a more positively- and directly-appraised communication of attitudes in interpretation.

In reference to the decrease of the attitudinal instances in the interpretations as is displayed previously in Table 7.7, the distributive change of attitudinal features in Table 7.10 suggests that the interpretations on Tiananmen Square protest is particularly sensitive to the application of certain attitudes or attitudinal features.

In terms of the cross-Strait relations, the interpretations on Taiwan 1 and Taiwan 2 indicates two different interpreting patterns. To be specific, the distributive rate change of attitudinal features in interpretation is generally small when the source speeches are on the socioeconomic interaction, but comparatively prominent when the source speeches deal with the political disputes. Meanwhile, although the interpretations on both topics lay attitudinal emphasis on the institutionalised feeling, the one on the political disputes over

the cross-Strait relations seems to present a stronger preference towards the type of appreciation rather than the type of judgement. In addition, it also appears that the interpretations on the cross-Strait relations tend to use meaning expressions more indirectly while the interpretations on the socioeconomic interaction prefer to be more direct and explicit. In this way, all attitudes focusing on the political antagonism between the Mainland and Taiwan are projected implicitly in the interpretations as being more opinion-related, more specifically, as being non-judgement-related. In contrast, the attitude on the socioeconomic interaction of the cross-Strait relations is less likely to be changed in interpreting practice. Instead of giving the audience an easier access to attitudes of the speaker, the interpretations actually obscure the meaning of attitudes and also divert the attitudinal focus from the appraisal on the social-sanction or social-esteem related behaviours towards the different aesthetic understandings. By using more direct expressions, the interpretations on the cross-Strait cooperation enhance the transparency of attitudes and show no hesitation to reinforce the speaker's judgement to the audience.

Thirdly, the interpretations on the Sino-Russia, India and Japan relations present some distinctive patterns. Generally speaking, the change of attitudinal features is very limited in the interpretations, suggesting that the interpreting practice tries to avoid excessive attitudinal instances. Such a cautious interpreting style is also reflected on the small distributive rate change of three attitudinal types, suggesting no preference or avoidance given to a particular type of attitudes by the interpreters. Yet, what is the most distinctive in the interpretations is the distributive change of the attitudinal positivity and explicitness. For example, the distributive rate change of positive attitudes in the interpretations increases the least on the Sino-Russia relationship but the most on the Sino-Japan relationship. In other words, it is possible that the Sino-Japan relationship is over-praised in the interpretations to the audience while the Sino-Russia relationship is not. In addition, with the highest distributive increase of the inscribed attitude in the interpretations on the Sino-Russia relationship, the attitude of the speaker on the Sino-Russia relation becomes much more direct and accessible to the audience through the interpreting practice. In consideration of the different official labelling of the Sino-Russia and the Sino-Japan relations, using more positive attitudes in the interpretations on the Sino-Japan relationship might be attempted to mitigate the communicative tension. At the same time, the Sino-Russia strategic partnership may also contribute to the interpreters' evident choices for explicit attitudinal expressions. Thus, by giving an easier access to the

speaker's attitudinal meaning, the interpreters' choices on the Sino-Russia relationship highlights the interpreters' facilitating function in communication.

In all, as is discussed in this section, the contrastive analysis on the changes of attitudes in different interpreting contexts suggests that the topic or the content of the speeches for interpretation at this specific interpreting event exerts an influence on the interpreters' choices of interpersonal meanings, thus helps in shaping the interpreters' social position in communication. More specifically, the political sensitivity in the source speeches may trigger a conflict of interest with the interpreters as government officials. The tension raised by the interpreting event's political significance, the government's political stance, and the specific field of discourse for interpreting all contribute to constrain the interpreters' communicative participation and eventually define their linguistic performance regarding the professional role at work.

7.2.4 Summary of the Interpreters' Choices

From the grammatical construction of the clauses to the application of various modal features and semantically the attitudinal resources within the appraisal system, the changes of the linguistic features presented in the interpretations suggest a series of features of the contextual influence on the interpreters' linguistic choices.

Regarding the grammatical construction of the speech function, the interpretations well preserve the speech functions of statements for the Premier and questions for the journalists. This practice shows that the speaker's social positioning in the press conference is fully understood and faithfully re-projected by the interpreters. Indeed, some changes of the grammatical features in the interpretations suggest that the interpreters' linguistic performance varies with the topic change. Yet, the grammatical adjustments appear to be comparatively subtle in that they contain limited statistic variations and the grammatical re-construction of clauses is not significantly sensitive to the change of contexts in the source speeches, which also suggests that there is no significant influence of the context change on the interpreters' grammatical practice.

In contrast, the analysis on the change of modal expressions and attitudinal resources in the appraisal system shows that it is actually from a more semantic level that these contextual influence caused by different topics start to shape the interpreters' role-performance.

For example, the interpretations focusing on the political disputes over the cross-Strait relations maintain the regulatory power through the obligatory modal expression to highlight the legitimacy of the speaker's claims. On Tiananmen Square protest, the interpretations minimise the subjective modal orientation to create a sense of objectiveness for the speaker's discourse. Those changes of the modal features in the interpretations suggest that the interpreters' linguistic choices are affected by the political context of the interpreting event. As a result, the interpreters' modal choices constantly position the Premier in a more comfortable communicative position.

Furthermore, the analysis on the modal expressions also finds that, although the interpretations use more modal instances to create a larger space of inter-determinacy, they tend to contract the meaning inter-determinacy when the topics concern China's diplomatic relations. In addition, the interpretations tend to use more higher-value modalities for the topics on China's diplomatic relationships to establish a more affirmative tone for the speaker in communication. The use of modal expressions in the interpretations on China's diplomatic relations seem to be very cautious in showing the interpreters' uncertainty on the information likelihood. In other words, the interpretations on China's diplomatic relations demonstrate the interpreters' prudence on the issues at the political press conference.

Focusing on the attitudinal resources listed in the appraisal system, the analysis generally supports the finding on the modal expression regarding the prudent interpreting practice on China's diplomatic relations. The speaker's attitudes are generally preserved in the interpretations. Yet, some changes on the attitudinal feature are still made.

For example, when the concerned diplomatic relationship is labelled as being 'comprehensive', 'strategic' and 'partnership', the interpretations use more explicit expressions to convey the speaker's attitudes. In this way, the interpreters' linguistic choices make the meaning more expressive to the audience. When the concerned diplomatic relationship is defined as being 'non-partnership', with implied political tension in the context, the interpretations increase the distribution of the positive attitudes to a certain level arguably to mitigate the possible tension in the communication.

Furthermore, the changes of the attitudinal features under politically concerned topics are also evident. Most obviously, the interpretations reduce the use of attitudinal instances only for two politically sensitive topics. In terms of the cross-Strait relations,

the interpretations concerning the political antagonism between two sides of the Strait gives a linguistic preference towards the attitudinal type of appreciation and raises the distribution of invoked attitudes to re-project the speaker's attitudes as being vague and non-judgement related. It appears that the interpreters' choices of attitudinal resources are inevitably affected by the topic change in interpreting practice. More specifically, the social and political contexts of the interpreting discourse constrain the interpreters' choices of the interpersonal meaning re-presentation.

In all, the analysis on the change of the grammatical feature, the modal features and the attitudinal features in the interpretations under the 7 selected topics shows that the interpreters' choices of interpersonal meanings are constantly affected by the content of the interpreting discourse. Different social and political contexts raised in the source speeches bring different challenges to the linguistic choices and thus the interpreters' social positioning in communication. The interpreters have to have a full understanding of the communicative event and then evaluate the significance of the topic to both parties in communication in order to adjust their own level of and way of communicative facilitation or meaning participation. As is illustrated in section 7.2, the interpreters' participation with various choices regarding the realisation of the interpersonal meaning becomes more obvious at the semantic level rather than the grammatical level.

With more political significance attached on the speeches in the press conference, the interpreters are less likely to make any participatory moves in an explicit manner unless it is necessary. Meanwhile, when the content of the source speeches is likely to cause conflictive views in communication, the interpreters' assumed personal detachment or neutrality appears to be greatly challenged. Instead, their linguistic choices reflect more on their claimed public service to the administration leader. In this regard, it is safe to state that the interpreters are actually fulfilling two roles in communication simultaneously, namely their services to the country as a public servant and their services to the interpreting profession as a communicative facilitator.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter reveals the interpreters' choices of interpersonal meaning at different linguistic levels in response to the change of seven selected topics. In this chapter, the social and political background of the seven selected topics is firstly introduced under three contextual themes focusing on the cross-Strait relations, China's diplomacy and

politically-sensitive issues. Then, the contrastive analysis is conducted to reveal changes of lexical-grammatical and semantical features in the interpretations regarding the presentation of the interpersonal meaning and to explore possible patterns in the interpretations under seven selected topics. That is, the linguistic finding is expected to examine the possible influence of the topic change in the source speeches on the government in-house interpreter's social positioning in such a politically significant event.

Thus, focusing on the interpretations of the modal instances and attitudinal resources, the patterns presented among various changes in relation to three different contextual categorisation of interpreting discourse are indicative to the following argument on the in-house interpreters' performance.

Firstly, the in-house interpreters facilitate the communication by faithfully representing the speech roles of the communicative parties in the event. Secondly, the interpreters' interpersonal relationship in practice is affected by the change of the interpreting discourse, particular when some political topics are concerned. Under the tension caused by the political sensitive issues concerned in the source speeches, the government in-house interpreters choose to constantly align with the government speaker in the presentation of interpersonal meanings. This practice emphasises the interpreters' employment status as being a government staff. Meanwhile, the prudence presented in the interpreters' choices with China's diplomatic relations seems to specify the duty of a diplomat working in the country's MFA. In this regard, the government in-house interpreters seem to possess dual-roles in communication, namely the communication facilitator and the government official who are aiming to establish a more positive relationship with the administration.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The preceding three chapters have reported on the findings of the analysis of the interpreter's linguistic choices for interpersonal meanings. Based on these findings, the interpreter's role in practice was discussed in relation to the change of speakers, addressees, and topics of the speech, in each of the three chapters. This concluding chapter will summarise these findings and make a further discussion about them. In addition, the benefits and limitations of the study will be explored, and recommendations proposed for studies in the future.

8.1 Objectives Revisited

The aim of the present study is to understand the role of those interpreters who are institutional insiders in China's high-profile communicative event, the two-session press conference. To conduct the linguistic investigation into the interpreter's role choices manifested in the interpersonal relationships in communication, the study draws on systemic functional linguistic theory, and in particular its function-rank matrix (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). To understand the interpreter's role in practice, the analysis is then conducted by focusing on the realisation of the interpersonal meanings used in such an interpreter-mediated event.

For these objectives, there are two overarching questions the study aimed to pursue:

1. What role(s) do professional interpreters in a socially- or politically-constrained setting, such as China's Two-session Press Conference?
2. How do these Chinese in-house interpreters situate themselves linguistically in these events?

More specifically, these questions can be reformulated as:

- Will interpreters' language production be influenced by a series of communicative factors?
- What are the possible contextual elements affecting interpreters' choices for social positioning?

Within a more systemic functional-oriented perspective, these research questions can be specified as:

How and why are the interpreter's linguistic choices, specifically in the Mood elements, Modality and Attitudinal elements, for the expression of interpersonal meanings affected by the following factors?

- 1) the speakers from different social and political backgrounds, namely journalists from Mainland China and other countries, and of the Premier of China;*
- 2) the interpreting addressees, namely the Chinese-speaking Premier and English-speaking journalists; and*
- 3) the content or the theme of the discourse regarding China's social and political environment.*

8.2 Main Findings

Interpreter's role is one of the most prominent topics in interpreting studies. Various studies have been conducted from either linguistic or sociolinguistic perspective (e.g. Angelelli, 2004a/b; Tebble, 2008; Wadensjö, 1998), using an array of research methods to examine the interpreter's choice of social positioning at different workplace settings (Angelelli, 2004a/b; Boivin & Rosenberg, 2010; Katan & Straniero-Sergio, 2001; Leanza, Le et al., 2009; Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008, Setton & Guo, 2009; Sun, 2014; Takeda, 2009; Wadensjö, 2008a&b). The complexity of interpreting practice and the diversity in these studies both suggest that the interpreter's role in practice, namely the professional identity an interpreter chooses to claim in workplace, needs to be understood within a specific context. In large, any cultural or social identities are dynamically constructed and can be claimed through discursive acts in particular social context (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Danesi, 2014; Van Dijk, 2011). That is, the role of an interpreter chooses in various workplace settings makes a considerable impact on the ways the interpreter chooses to interact with different communicative parties in real practice. For an interpreter in workplace, his or her professional identity is best demonstrated through his or her linguistic activities, as for example, their choices made among all linguistic resources available for communication. In the sense, the interpreter's role in practice can be explored by examining the interpreter's discursive acts in a specific context of the workplace.

The current study chooses to take a systemic functional linguistic approach to examine the interpreter's role in practice as such an approach emphasises the correlation between the linguistic realisation of interpersonal meaning in text and the situational

context. From the linguistic perspective, the study of the interpreter's role in practice becomes well related to the study of linguistic choices for the realisation of interpersonal meanings in situational context, particularly the choices involving tenor of activity. Focusing on selected five Chinese in-house interpreters, the analysis of their' linguistic choices for interpersonal meaning from the CTSPC corpus is conducted and then leads to four major findings:

- The interpreters employ various linguistic resources, grammatically and semantically, to perform their communicative roles in practice. Their participation is manifested at all linguistic levels.
- The social and political status of the speaker and the change of the interpreting addressees do affect the interpreters' linguistic choices of interpersonal meaning. Specifically, the interpreting of the government in-house interpreters is Premier-centered.
- The content of the source speech can also influence these in-house interpreters' linguistic choices regarding their intended social positioning, particularly when the speech concerns socially or politically sensitive issues.
- The government in-house interpreters perform a dual role in press conferences, that of a professional interpreter and of a civil servant. While practicing interpretation, these interpreters try to balance these two roles in making their linguistic choices.

8.2.1 Interpreters' Mediation of Linguistic Resources

The CTSPC interpreters' social positions are manifested in the linguistic choices at different levels. As is specified in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the interpreters' mediation of interpersonal roles in communication are found in different patterns, where the interpreters become grammatically and semantically impartial in the communication.

8.2.1.1 Preservation of Speech Functions

The speech functions taken by the speakers in the communication rarely change through interpreting practice. The interpreters well preserve the speech roles of the Premier as the interviewee and the journalist as the interviewer in two-session press conferences. Even when the target audience or the topic for interpreting changes, the interpreters consistently preserve or even reinforce the interpersonal relationship pre-determined for all speakers in the communication.

However, while preserving the speech roles assigned in the source speech, the interpreters change the grammatical realisation of different speech functions. For example, in Chapter 5, the distribution of the congruent realisation of the Premier's statements is generally found to be higher in interpretations than in the relevant source speeches (see Table 5.9). This suggests the change towards more congruent grammatical realisation for the Premier's statement in interpreters' practice. In Chapter 6, however, none of the questions by journalists is realised metaphorically via declarative clauses in interpretation, but in fact there were two questions realised by declarative clauses in the corresponding source speech of the journalists (see Table 6.1). Such a change, although minor, suggests that a difference does exist in interpretation when the language direction changes.

8.2.1.2 Flexibility in MODALITY & ATTITUDE

The interpreters tend to be flexible in the use of MODALITY and ATTITUDE. According to the data in Chapters 5 to 7, the changes among resources of MODALITY and ATTITUDE in interpretation are quite frequent. However, such changes appear random but still responsive to different contextual variables related to the interpreting event.

Firstly, the use of the modal and attitudinal features in interpreting is very sensitive to the contextual variables detected in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. For example, there is only a small increase in modal instances and their distributive frequency in interpretation when 1) the speaker is an overseas journalist (see Table 5.12), 2) the topic of the speech is China's diplomatic relations (see Table 7.3), or 3) the intended addressee is an English-speaking journalist (see Table 6.2). Similarly, there is only a moderate rise in attitudinal instances in interpretation when the speaker is a journalist from overseas countries (see Table 5.29) or when an English-speaking journalist is the intended addressee only in interpretation (see Table 6.5). On the contrary, the number of attitudinal expressions decreases in interpretation when the related source speech concerns the topics, the Tiananmen Square Incident and Tibet. This constitutes a sharp contrast with the rise in instances of attitude choices in the interpretation of other topics (see Table 7.7).

Secondly, the changes of modal features and attitudinal features in interpretation are frequent. The interpreters tend to emphasise a specific feature in the system of MODALITY, and particularly ATTITUDE, so that some modal and attitudinal meanings

can be stressed under particular contextual variables. For example, the change in modal values in interpretation seems to be in close association with the change in addressees and the topics in speech. As shown in Chapter 6, the interpretation of overseas journalists' utterances is found to have much lower modal values when the Premier is addressed, but more high-value modality when the English-speaking journalists become the target audience (see Figure 6.1). In Chapter 7, the modality value is raised to a much higher level only when the speech concerns issues of China's diplomatic relations (see Table 7.5).

In the system of ATTITUDE, there are two prominent changes made in interpretation: 1) the interpreters' consistent avoidance of judgement, the institutionalised feeling regarding social esteem and social sanction; and 2) the uniform increase in positive attitudes concerning all contextual variables discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. In more detail, the use of Judgement by these interpreters is very selective when the mainland journalist speaks or when the Premier is addressed in interpretation (see Table 5.31, Figure 5.32, Table 6.7 and Figure 6.3). In particular, when the source speech is on the Sino-Japan relationship, the only diplomatic relationship defined as being a non-partnership in the CTSPC corpus, the attitude of judgement is used less frequently in interpretation (see Table 7.9). However, the rise in positive attitude still prevails, even when the degree of such a positive-attitude rise varies in the main according to the change of speakers, addressees and the topics from the speech.

In summary, while interpreting practice is regarded as mainly a semantic-based activity, we cannot deny, at least for the realisation of interpersonal meaning as is reported in this study, that the interpreters' choices of interpersonal meaning are conducted at all linguistic levels. Through analysis, it has been confirmed that, like translation practice, all translational shifts involved in the described interpreting process are also conditioned.

8.2.2 The Interpreter's Mediation with the Two Parties: the Premier VS the Journalists

The Premier and the journalists are the two primary communicative parties in the press conference. They act as both the speaker and the audience in the conference's Q&A sessions, where the interpreter is also an active agent of the communication. From the speaker's perspective, an interpreter takes different positions, with respect to the Premier

on the one hand, and to the journalists from Mainland China and foreign countries on the other.

When the speaker is the Premier, all five interpreters involved in this study interpret in a very similar way. They highly prefer the congruent realisation for the Premier's statement (see Table 5.9). They use more probability but less inclination for modal expressions (see Figures 5.22 and 5.24). They prefer using attitudes with more positive and inscribed orientation (see Figures 5.37 and 5.39). More importantly, their interpersonal lexicogrammatical choices are very similar to the Premier's. The consistency to the meaning choices in the Premier's source speech suggests that these interpreters pay close attention to the Premier's language use and tend to be faithful to the Premier's linguistic choices regarding the interpersonal meaning. Furthermore, the interpreters' consistency suggests that they try to be 'invisible' and thus behave with a personally-detached attitude in practice when the Premier speaks.

When interpreting for the journalists, the five interpreters exercise different degrees of faithfulness to the speaker's choice of interpersonal meaning. In particular, when interpreting for mainland journalists, they appear to be very flexible with the ways that the original meaning is re-constructed in interpreting, and act as a communication facilitator in practice. When interpreting for the overseas journalists, however, the interpreters show little flexibility in rendering the journalists' utterances. However, their selection of linguistic resources for interpersonal meaning is usually very close to the speaker's, suggesting a high level of commitment to the accurate rendering of the source speech. However, some choices do shift the original meaning significantly in interpreting. For example, as is discussed in Chapter 5, the interpretation for the overseas journalists contains more positive attitude (see Table 5.34 and Figure 5.38). Although such an increase looks statistically insignificant, it does help to neutralise the negative-prone attitude in the relevant source speech. This suggests that the interpreters are actually very cautious with the type and the level of the meaning change in practice. With a delicate balance between meaning participation and meaning preservation, the interpreters disguise their selective meaning participation and project an appearance of a 'conduit' image in the mediated event. Furthermore, the practice also suggests that when they interpret for overseas journalists, the interpreters are torn between a personal detachment and a strong urge to participate.

Conversely, from the addressee's perspective, the use of interpersonal meaning by the interpreters reflects a change in the role choice. As is reported in Chapter 6, the addressee-related difference can be best demonstrated from the interpretation for the overseas journalists in two language directions. By using the E-C interpretation to address the Chinese-speaking Premier for a direct response in the Q&A turn, the interpreters faithfully preserve the number of questions in the speech of the overseas journalist, but tactically use more *wh*-interrogatives to tone down the confrontational expression in the journalists' information requests (see Table 6.1). In addition, the rise of modality use and the preference for lower modal values in these interpretations construes a high level of uncertainty for the information in the journalists' speech (see Table 6.2 and Figure 6.1). This practice helps to create more space for meaning indeterminacy for the Premier to respond to in communication. Furthermore, while reducing the total number of attitudinal instances, the interpreters increase the use of positive attitude and the type of appreciation, and become very selective in the use of Judgement (see Table 6.5 and Figures 6.3-6.5). All of these moves help to make the journalists' speech appear more optimistic and less critical, or at least less judgmental by the standards of social esteem and social sanction in interpretation, and demonstrate a stronger intention of the interpreters to facilitate for the Chinese-speaking Premier a more agreeable communicative environment.

By using the C-E interpreting to address the English-speaking journalists in the one-way communication of the two-session press conference, the interpreters firstly sacrificed many meaningful units of questions, compromising the completeness of the information from the speech of the overseas journalists (see Table 6.1). The interpreters, in addition, chose to use more declarative questions in the act of interpreting, fitting the source speech into a more causal style and showing little effort to maintain the level of grammatical formality of the source speech (see Table 6.1). Regarding the use of modal expressions, the interpreters tended to choose higher values and objective orientation, contracting the original space of indeterminacy and disguising its subjectivity with a seeming objectivity (see Figure 6.1 and Table 6.4). Meanwhile, the distributive change in attitudinal features, including the rise in instances of positive attitude, is generally smaller in the C-E interpretation than in E-C interpretation (see Table 6.9). All these changes represent a sense of cautious detachment by the interpreters from the concerned interpreter-addressee relationship. In other words, the interpreters pay less attention to

facilitating the English-speaking journalists with meaning comprehension in the one-way communication of the press conference than they do for the other journalists.

Thus, as is discussed more specifically in Chapter 6, the interpreters differentiate their linguistic choices when addressing a different audience. When the Premier is addressed, the interpreting practice facilitates the Premier's communication with an emphasis being placed on completeness and accuracy of meaning. Nevertheless, the interpreters' linguistic choices also create an agreeable communicative condition for the Premier. In contrast, when facing the English-speaking audience, the interpreters present less interest in securing the audience's access to completeness of original meaning and, it is clear, create a less agreeable communicative environment. In summary, the interpreters' addressee-oriented linguistic choices for the Premier and English-speaking journalists in communication demonstrate the social positioning they aim to achieve, of becoming a better linguistic aid to the government speaker.

To summarise, the interpreters always give greater importance to the Premier in delivering their services. When the Premier speaks, the interpreters emphasise the meaning accuracy in a very consistent manner, and act tactically as if they were invisible. When the Premier is addressed for an immediate response in Q&A turns, the interpreters make all effort possible to ensure that all the information can be delivered in faithful rendition. More importantly, they try to give the Premier an agreeable communicative environment. On the contrary, the interpreters attach importance to representing the original speech only when overseas journalists speak. However, they behave rather carelessly where the interpreting becomes a mere pragmatic practice in Q&A turns, because the English-speaking overseas journalist is addressed only. In consideration of the proceeding of the Q&A session in the press conference, the interpreters' differentiated linguistic choices suggest that the interpreters' practice is intended to centralise the Premier's communicative needs or intention, rather than to achieve a balance of interpersonal relationship between two communicative parties.

8.2.3 Interpreter's Politically Constrained Mediation: The Institution

To investigate the impact of social and political parameters on these interpreters in practice, in the present research seven different topics concerning China's external and internal issues were selected, including the cross-Strait relationship, the sensitive topics of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protest and Tibet, and China's diplomacy with Russia, India

and Japan. As is reported in Chapter 7, the interpreters manage the linguistic features concerning the realisation of the interpersonal meanings differently under the seven selected topics. Specifically, changes in interpersonal features are made more frequently on the modal expressions and the attitudinal resources.

When the speech touches on issues with political sensitivity, the interpreters' choices of modal and attitudinal resources seem to favor the Premier in communication. For example, the interpreters' use of more objective-oriented modal expressions makes the Premier's stance on the Tiananmen Square protest in 1989 seem less argumentative but more factual to the public (see Table 7.6). More importantly, the interpreters also chose to use less attitudinal resources for the two politically sensitive topics (see Tables 7.7). This change largely reduces the audience's accessibility to the Premier's real attitudes, and blocks the interpersonal information released in the Premier's speech; which is in line with the absence of information on these topics from China's social media.

In interpreting diplomacy-related topics, the interpreters chose to increase the distribution of positive attitudes by 7.67%, for example when the speech concerned the Sino-Japan relationship (see Table 7.9). In doing so, the interpreters mitigate the negative evaluation of this diplomatic non-partnership and minimise the chance of political tension raised in communication. These choices lower the risk of communicative tension on this formal occasion of the political press conference. In addition, the interpreters also limit the increase of modal expressions and use higher-value modality in three diplomatic relationships (see Table 7.3 and Table 7.5), showing much more confidence with either the proposition or the proposal in interpretation. Thus, in a more affirmative and reassuring tone, the interpretation on China's diplomatic relationships with Russia, India and Japan, as discussed in Chapter 7, suggests that the interpreters themselves also possess a profound knowledge of China's political and particularly diplomatic affairs and are able to predict potential risks to the communication.

Indeed, the interpreters' linguistic choices can be also related to their mastery of the social and diplomatic knowledge of China's current events, and further, to their positioning in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). As is specified in Chapter 4, these interpreters are public servants, in practical terms institutional insiders of China's political system, because the Department of Translation and Interpretation of MFA mainly

provides language support to different government agencies. As is indicated in Setton and Guo's (2009) survey from Chapter 2, the interpreters' cautious choices for different socially and politically concerned topics demonstrate that the in-house interpreters are vulnerable in maintaining neutrality when political sensitivity is touched upon. In this case, the CTSPC interpreters, tasked by the duties of a public servant or a diplomat to serve China's national interest, are practicing under the institutional constraints in the press conference. As professional interpreters, they struggle with institutional influence over their professional roles in practice. To them, there seems to be no such thing as neutrality or impartiality in interpreting practice. As institutional insiders and institutional aides, the government in-house interpreters in CTSPC corpus must align with the system and protect the institutional and national interest.

8.2.4 The Interpreter's Dual Roles

It is generally acknowledged that the interpreter's role in practice is a personal choice from a dynamic continuum of social-linguistic power (e.g. Angelelli, 2004 a/b; Davidson, 2000; McIntire & Sanderson, 1995; Hale, 2005). The linguistic findings of this study support this claim. These interpreters are not invisible or being a conduit in communication. More specifically, the findings suggest that these interpreters have multiple roles to play and need to balance these in practice. In China's two-session press conferences, the CTSPC interpreters, as social agents, are active participants in the mediated event and, as suggested by Setton and Guo (2009), they are unique: although the interpreter's role is practically a personal choice, all the five in-house interpreters in this study demonstrate a strong sense of their social position in the press conference. In the present study, the interpreters not only act as language professionals but at the same time as a civil servant of their country (namely a diplomat from MFA).

As is stated previously, the choice of the role to play is primarily determined by the interpreter's evaluation of the power-relationship in the communicative event. Since in-house interpreters are institutional insiders, their choices of role in practice will inevitably be affected by institution itself, its interest, function and importance. Their struggle to balance out their roles are inevitably reflected in their practice in general and linguistic choices in particular.

In addition, when the in-house interpreters participate in the communication, their visibility is determined primarily by their evaluation of the power-relationship of the

parties involved in the communicative event, as well as their association with them. For these Chinese in-house interpreters, the Premier is not only a client but also a representative of the institution. As part of the institution themselves, the in-house interpreters need to pledge their primary allegiance to the institution by prioritising the Premier's communicative needs or intention in their interpreting. Specifically, they choose to make constant interpersonal alignment with the Premier, to create a more agreeable communicative environment in the Q&A turns for the Premier, and to ensure an accurate rendition of the Premier's information. By contrast, the interpreters become selective with the interpersonal meaning choices for the journalists both when they speak and when they are addressed. In summary, the in-house interpreters do not facilitate the communication to both parties in the same manner in the communication.

That being said, the in-house interpreters are professionals, although greatly constrained by their institutional roles. They need to subordinate their participatory activities, such as linguistic choices and interpersonal relations, to the preservation of professional face and professional survival in the long run (Monacelli, 2009). Moreover, the means of media, namely the live broadcast of the press conference to the world, could make the interpreters on stage more conscious of their linguistic choices in practice (Katan & Straniero-Sergio, 2001). Eventually, it is both the linguistic fidelity in communication and the institutional interest that govern the CTSPC interpreters' linguistic choices for their role presentation. When the tension between the linguistic fidelity and the institutional interest arises, and in order to properly respond to the emergence of different contextual factors, these in-house interpreters have to find a way to balance out their dual responsibilities. As is reported in and synthesised from the findings in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, when the possibility of a political tension rises in communication where the Premier is addressed, the likelihood of the in-house interpreter behaving as an institutional aide becomes much greater, than if the political sensitivity is touched in communication only, or simply when the journalist speaks or is addressed in communication.

In summary, the in-house interpreters choose to embrace two roles in their interpreting for the two-session press conference, and their struggle over how to balance these two roles is reflected in practice. As part of the institution, they pledge loyalty to the institutional interest by centering the Premier in practice. Meanwhile, as language professionals, they are also very conscious of the norms within which their linguistic

choices should be made to minimise the impartiality in communication and to protect their professional image.

8.3 Contributions and Future Work

8.3.1 Main Contributions

The current study focuses on China's two-session press conference, a politically and socially high-profile communicative event. The linguistic findings on those in-house interpreters' linguistic choices in interpersonal meaning suggest that there are various contextual and institutional constraints on the interpreter's role choices. More importantly, the findings also suggest that the in-house interpreter is often found to be struggling between linguistic professionalism and institutional needs in real practice.

To understand the interpreter's role in practice, the present study, due to its interdisciplinary nature, draws heavily on and thus also makes contributions to the following four areas:

- 1) a more practical and flexible understanding of the interpreter's role in actual communication;
- 2) the application of SFL in interpreting and translation studies, and more specifically for the assessment of the interpreter's linguistic performance at a more comprehensive level;
- 3) interpreting studies from a sociolinguistic perspective; and
- 4) corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS).

By assessing the interpreters' linguistic choices for their relative social positioning in the mediated communication event, the study argues for the inevitability of the interpreter's visibility, supported with empirical data. Within a descriptive approach, the study acknowledges the complexity in describing the interpreter's role in practice. In particular, an interpreter's role is not preordained in communication. Instead, it is implemented flexibly and dynamically in the whole interpreting process, and shaped by various contextual factors in the communication. Accordingly, the role of an interpreter cannot be over-simplified as being visible or participatory only. Since the role of an interpreter responds to various contextual factors, it becomes necessary for both the researcher and the practitioner to have a sufficient understanding of the nature of the communicative event within which the interpreter's role is performed.

The study of the interpreter's role is often related to quality assessment, which focuses on the analysis of interpreter's performance (Pochhacker, 2004). Since the quality assessment is traditionally situated within the linguistic or sociolinguistic framework of interpreting studies, where the interpreting is viewed as a product or a communicative event, the study of the interpreter's role can also benefit from different disciplines within linguistic or sociolinguistic frameworks.

It is with this in mind that the current study takes a sociolinguistic perspective, using systemic functional linguistics (SFL) as its theoretical framework. By viewing language as "a sociocultural resource constituted by a range of possibilities, and open-ended set of options in behaviour that are available to the individual in his existence as social man" (Halliday, 1973, p. 49), the study uses the analytical tools developed within the SFL model of linguistic meaning to depict the interpreter's linguistic choices of interpersonal meaning, and furthermore to relate those interpreters' discursive acts with their decisions of social positioning in communication against various contextual factors. The analysis highlights the potential of SFL for future interpreting studies, and more specifically the feasibility of using its analytical framework as a descriptive tool to assess the interpreter's performance in the real world. By systemically assessing the interpreters' actual performance, namely their actual linguistic choices of social positioning against various social contexts, rather than only focusing on experiments on their cognitive capacities, the study highlights the importance of the social context in which interpreting is practiced, and thus provides a meaningful response to various sociodemographic surveys on the interpreter's role, such as Setton and Guo's survey (2009) and Angelelli's IPRI (2004a), in interpreting studies.

Lastly, the study explores the newly established area of corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) by compiling an open corpus of CTSPC. Given that, currently, the development of CIS still faces several obstacles, the compilation of the CTSPC will help in seeking feasible solutions in this area. Meanwhile, as the CTSPC corpus is on China's two-session press conferences, it also diversifies the genre of the corpus in CIS and thus makes a contribution to the development of CIS at large. In addition, using a corpus helped this study to harvest quantitative evidence of the interpreter's participatory activities, making the argumentation of the interpreter's dynamic social positioning less intuitional but more empirically valid.

Overall, the study contributes to understanding of the interpreter's choices of social positioning with empirical data on their decisions of linguistic choice. Based on the designed corpus, the interpreter's linguistic choices are investigated in a more systematic manner and from a more descriptive approach. In this context, the study is a meaningful attempt to assessing the interpreter's real practice.

8.3.2 Limitations

The study investigates the interpreter's role in practice through empirical data. By taking a sociolinguistic perspective, it applies the analytical tools under the theoretical framework of the systemic functional linguistics, and draws upon the development of the corpus linguistics. Yet, as a direct consequence of the theoretical and methodological approach taken in the present study, there are a number of limitations to be noted.

As is discussed in Chapter 4, the development of corpus-based translation studies (CTS) does give inspiration to the formation of CIS as a viable and revelatory branch of interpreting studies (Bendazzoli & Sandrelli, 2009; Shlesinger, 1998). However, the development of CIS faces more challenges than CTS does regarding the compilation of the corpus (Bendazzoli & Sandrelli, 2009). As is widely acknowledged, the two main obstacles in corpus compilation lie in the representativeness and the presentation of the data.

Since interpreting is an oral practice and the transcribing process is analytical, the transcribed data for analysis cannot give a complete and panoramic view on the interpreting events. Since the transcribing process is conducted only for specific analytical aims, some features, which might be important to the shaping of the communicative event, may be neglected in the transcribing process.

In addition, due to the limited time of the study, the CTSPC corpus, although designed as an open corpus, consists of only seven press conferences, which focus solely on the two-session press conferences held by one Premier, WEN Jiabao. Admittedly, the compilation of more press conferences from different Premiers will be able to enrich the current analysis and thus provide a better opportunity to examine the interpreter's choices of social positioning at such politically significant events, in an extended longitudinal manner.

Secondly, to explain how and why language works in different social contexts, the study follows the SFL model, which is claimed to be “one of the most well-tried, comprehensive and competent” in response to criteria relating to “observational, descriptive and/or explanatory adequacy” (Hasan, 2005, p. 37). However, for the same reason, the study inevitably inherits the limitations of the SFL approach itself.

For example, by using the analytical tools under the theoretical framework of SFL, the study investigates the grammatical and semantic features of the language use in China’s two-session press conferences. Following the description of the language features closely, the analysis is based on the rather uni-variable system network, which is often found to be problematic with classification and coding. Accordingly, scientific objectivity is inevitably compromised to a certain extent, as is often the case with human science projects, particularly where the phenomena examined are abstract as is the case with semiotic phenomena.

As the study is designed to focus only on the interpreter’s language (linguistic choices and decisions) it has to rely solely on the SFL model to explain the language in different social contexts. Without any follow-up interviews of interpreters and speakers, which could not be conducted due to political and institutional constraints, the study cannot verify its arguments through such non-linguistic analysis means.

Finally, the present study investigates only three contextual variables in such an interpreter-mediated communication. What also needs to be addressed is other variables pertinent to the communicative event. These variables may include gender differences, interpreters’ training background, interpreting experiences, and even familiarity with the press conference interpreting conventions. Although the study does not aim to make an exhaustive list of possible variables or testify as to their possible impact on the interpreter’s communicative acts, it must be acknowledged that there are more than the three contextual variables investigated in the present study which exert influence on the interpreter’s linguistic performance and their social positioning in communication.

Indeed, variables in actual communication may influence one another and also the interpreter’s performance as a whole (Toury, 2004). However, as a descriptive and observational research, the present study evaluates the limited number of contextual variables independently, and does not claim a holistical reflection of the influence of

context on the interpreter's linguistic choices. All variables reported in the study are only conditional rather than deterministic of the interpreter's behaviour.

8.3.3 Suggestions for Future Research

Based on the findings and limitations of the present study, recommendations for further studies can be proposed as follows.

Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is used in interpreting studies to assess the interpreter's linguistic performance in relation to various social contexts, such as the realisation of interpersonal meaning regarding the register variable of tenor in this study. In future work, the SFL model could be applied to assess the realisation of the other metafunctions in language, in order to understand more comprehensively how interpreter's choices respond to various social factors. Meanwhile, future work can also be conducted to investigate the analysis of the same texts from different coders for reliability testing, in order to verify the interpersonal alignment achieved in the interpreting process. Also, when conditions permit, it is recommended that surveys and follow-up interviews on the interpreter in practice be conducted to complement the linguistic analysis, for unobservable and intrinsic understanding of the interpreter's responses against different social factors.

Secondly, this study uses a small-scale corpus of the CTSPC to investigate the interpreter's choices of interpersonal meaning. The limitation raised by such a small scale corpus could be overcome by a larger corpus in the future. As the CTSPC is an open corpus, it can be and is being expanded. The enriched data can be approached from other sociological and discourse perspectives.

Thirdly and finally, although the study investigates the impact of three contextual variables on the interpreter's role in practice, the interpreter's choices might be affected in a more dynamic process and by other social factors that are not investigated in the present study. Thus, it would be valuable for future work to be conducted to address other social factors, as well more detailed socio-demographic categorisation.

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Appendix (1-4):

The study uses a personalised corpus for analysis. As the data and the analyses in this study cannot be submitted in the printed version. A CD-ROM contained in a plastic wallet is used to accompany the thesis as submitted to the examiners. The disk contains the following Excel files:

1. CTSPC
2. Speech Function
3. Modality
4. Attitude