# Interpreters’ Ideological Positioning through Evaluative Language in Conference Interpreting

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# ABSTRACT

The concept of ideology is closely related to one's self 'social-cognition' which manifests itself in text/talk. Conference interpreters' ideology, being socially acquired, assimilated, conditioned, shared and used in institutional and (trans-) national contexts, finds its way, *in situ* the conference, into interpreters' moment-by-moment discourse-reconstruction via linguistic means. This thesis intends to uncover conference interpreters' ideological positioning manifested textually with a focus on changes in evaluative language, which is susceptible to interpreting shifts, succumb to discourse manipulation, and revealing of interpreters' values in terms of stance-alignment with 'us' – the country/government of affiliation.

With interpreting shifts of evaluative language as the lynchpin, the present study addresses three research questions: 1) what are the linguistic signs that point to interpreters' ideological intervention in simultaneous conference interpreting? 2) how do they relate to discourse structures, and 3) why do they occur in the light of interpreters' ideological positioning (or stance-taking)?

This investigation is based on a corpus with ideologically-laden discourses from the 2016 World Economic Forum (WEF) in China (commonly known as the 'Summer Davos' meeting), which amalgamates world-leading voices in business, society and politics. The 2016 World Economic Forum in China becomes a 'multi-voiced' site of political/ideological contestation due to several geopolitical and economic-political upheavals and initiatives intercepted temporarily and transnationally. The discourses of source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs) thereof provide a profitable source to empirically investigate conference interpreters' ideological positioning.

Methodologically, corpus-driven/based methods are synergised the with CDA frameworks, as a 'meta approach', for the purpose of generating

meaningful patterns at a global level, and describe, interpret and explain examples at a local level. Appraisal theory (J. Martin & White, 2005) that develops and extends from the systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is the main linguistic toolkit that enables forensic analyses, contrasting systematically the STs and TTs in the self-built parallel interpreting corpus. Additionally, relevant theories and methods are imported from phonetics and phonology with the aim of analysing intensified evaluative meaning in the paralinguistic data.

Main findings are summarised in four points: (1) there exists a lopsided 'us'-vs.-'them' construct where interpreters' 'solitary-us' ideology is more prominent than their 'alien-them' ideology, the latter of which is yet discovered in conference interpreting research; (2) local linguistic shifts of evaluation (in terms of Appraisal expressions) accumulatively alter the entire ST value orientation, discursively constructing a more positive-'us'-and-negative-'them' presentation in the TTs; (3) conference interpreters' ideology and cognitive processing stand in reciprocal relations, with the former hypothetically overseeing, monitoring and engaging with the latter in allocating cognitive resources for the working memory in the simultaneous interpreting process; (4) conference interpreters have a propensity to render the ST paralanguage of intensification through verbal means of adding lexical items.

These findings bear original values because they add to our existing knowledge about conference interpreting with empirical evidence from ecologically valid data. In addition, the corpus, methods and approaches in this study, not least to the corpus-driven/based methods, the adaptation of Appraisal systems, and interdisciplinary methods for analysing paralinguistic data, are, by no means, restricted to the investigation here; they could potentially benefit future studies of relevant research avenues.

**Keywords**: conference interpreting, World Economic Forum, ideology, evaluative language, Appraisal theory, corpus-based/driven CDA, paralinguistic factors

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# ABBREVIATIONS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CIR: Conference Interpreting Research

CL: Corpus Linguistics

ST(s): Source Text(s)

TT(s): Target Text(s)

T&I: Translation and Interpreting Studies

WEF: World Economic Forum

AF: Absolute Frequency

RF: Relative Frequency

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 The Problem

In translation/interpreting, there are language items that are sensitive, value-rich, and ideologically-laden. They are conceptualised as 'critical points'[1] that point to how ideology is expressed and changed textually from the source texts (STs) to the target texts (TTs) (Munday, 2012, 2018).

> *[…] those points of lexical features in a text that in translation are most susceptible to value manipulation; those points that most frequently show a shift in translation, and those that generate the most interpretive and evaluative potential; those that may be most revealing of the translator's values. (Munday, 2012: 41)*

A major contributor to the textual shifts at critical points of STs is the translator/interpreter subjective intervention or agency. Translators/interpreters are not mere 'conduit' of meaning (Reddy, 1979) and the translated/interpreted output does not function "seamlessly as part of the discourse" (Kang, 2009: 144); rather, translators/interpreters are active agents who potentially contribute to the 'promotion of stability or subversion of social structures' (Perez-Gonzalez, 2012: 169). As such, they tend to apply "their particular beliefs to the productions of certain effects in translation" (Fawcett, 1998: 107). Their beliefs, world views and values are forms of their ideologies, which are encapsulated by notions of, among others, "beliefs and value-systems" (Simpson, 1993: 5), "evaluative beliefs" (van Dijk, 1998: 48), and, fundamentally, self 'social-cognition' in a non-pejorative sense (van Dijk, 1998, 2006). Translator/interpreter ideology, as

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[1] Inspired by Michael Agar (1994) and 'rich points' in the PACTE (Procés d'Adquisició de la Competència Traductora i Avaluació) model (Albir, 2017: 109-111).

value systems of a particular group, is subsumed under this broad, neutral conceptualisation of ideology. Translator/interpreter ideology is essentially social – it is not only acquired and shaped by their upbringing, education, socio-cultural conditions of a societal/national group, on one hand, but his/her internalised professional ethics, norms and codes of conduct from a professional body, institution or affiliated government. Fundamentally, the two external aspects contribute to translators/interpreters' internalisation of their value systems, or ideology, prior to their delivering translation/interpreting practices.

Translator/interpreter ideology, be it societal, national or institutional, is reified as *their ideological positioning*[2], or stance-taking, which substantiates itself in the discursive practices of translation/interpreting and textual manifestations in the output discourse. In transnational meetings, changes in renditions are not only passed onto immediate audiences but subsequently fed into a chain of multiple media discourses circulating widely, potentially leading to social-political actions or inactions.

Nevertheless, textual manifestations – in both written and spoken forms – of translator/interpreter ideological positioning are usually overlooked. Most prominently, in translation/interpreting practices, 'ideational' meanings (cf. Halliday, 1994) that reflect the world reality (or factual information) is over-prioritised – "[a]s a general rule, 'translation equivalence' is defined in ideational terms", but not adequately in interpersonal or attitudinal terms (Halliday, 2001: 16). In other words, the interpersonal or attitudinal meaning is

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[2] The use of 'positioning' in this study embraces Mason's (1999) proposal of substituting the static concept of 'role' with 'positioning' that shows the dynamic way interpreters discursively position themselves in relation to other communicative participants, for example, the way interpreters demonstrate solidarity with one side. Mason imports this concept from social psychology: Davis and Harre's (1990) Positioning Theory, in which, the emphasis is placed upon the relational nature of communicative practices. Then, in conference interpreting, interpreters' ideological positioning is viewed as the way interpreters position themselves in relation to speakers in terms of ideological beliefs.

considered secondary, if not unimportant at all, in translation/interpreting. The likely implications of the under-valued interpersonal meaning, then, could either be stronger changes made to the ST interpersonal, attitudinal, or stance-related meaning, or oblivion of such changes on the recipient side. For example, alterations relating to attitude and stance in the TTs, particularly in the political context, tend to "pass unnoticed" unless a meticulous ST-TT comparison is implemented (Munday, 2007: 197). In addition, the spoken texts bear interpersonal and attitudinal meaning, such as speaker emphasis, which is often overlooked in research in interpreting studies. How the 'sound-borne' emphatic meaning is transferred in conference interpreting is largely unknown.

Example 1 demonstrates the relative stability of ideational meaning but fluidity and subtlety of ideological elements in the interpreting process. The excerpt is taken from the self-built interpreting corpus of the 2016 WEF in China. This is an example of a Chinese interpreter's rendition for an American speaker. The underlined parts are value-rich (or evaluation-rich) and they constitute critical points of ideology. The value of the chunk (in bold) is intensified phonetically by the speaker. The changes of evaluative meaning between the source text (ST) and target text (TT) can only be identified when texts are examined punctiliously.

Example 1. (ID = 1.52-55; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)[3]

ST: I mean the Chinese government has been looking <u>far and wide</u> to find countries that would support their position, on the South China Sea. They found a few. I mean Laos, central Africa Republic, I mean, you know, this <u>sort of small far-flung dictatorships</u> that are economically <u>dominated</u> by the Chinese government. ~~So they gave them the political word.~~ But keep in mind,

[3] An 'ID' is assigned to every sentence-level segmented corpus data. The ID number indicates the data location in the corpus. The speaker information includes his/her national and professional backgrounds. The professional Chinese interpreters are given two codes: M (male) or F (female) and a distinctive number (e.g. '1.1': the 1st panel, interpreter 1).

you know, that China ~~didn't use to have~~ ~~**the same level of support**~~ **on Taiwan** (*words in bold are 'hyper-articulated', i.e., phonetically intensified*). But China become economically more important, they will able to, overtime, tick off one, two then, 10 then, 20 then, 30 countries before you know it.

TT: 中国政府要找很多国家来支持中国的立场。实际上他没有太多的人支持，像中非共和国呀，都是些很小的这种独裁国家，而且专门对经济，主要是由中国的领导。但是，我们是，中国就像在台湾的立场上…。它们越来越多，中国越来越重要，而且，可能会有 20，30 个国家最终会支持中国的立场。

Gloss: *The Chinese government wants to find many counties to support their position. Factually, they didn't find many, like Central Africa Republic, all are small countries of dictatorship, and particularly in terms of economy, mainly led by China. But, we are, China just like on Taiwan's position. They increasingly, China increasingly more important, and, possibly there will be 20, 30 countries in support of China's position.*

Differences between the STs and TTs can be primarily seen at the critical points of value-rich linguistic items, which point to the changed ideological values manifest themselves textually. The factual information remains similar; however, changes of meaning seem to concentrate on evaluative locutions. They constitute critical points of interpreter intervention and point to their ideological positions. Generally speaking, the covertly negative values in STs are neutralised and even changed into explicitly positive values (e.g. *dominated > 领导 (led), tick off > 支持 (in support)).* The ideologically-charged sentence, [*s*]*o they gave them the political word*, with which relations between China and other small countries are politicised, is omitted. Moreover, in the face of the politically sensitive issue of Taiwan, a part of the sentence with negative evaluation is omitted, even if this part is phonetically intensified via which the speaker intends to emphasise China's failed attempt in eliciting the same level of support from other countries for its position on Taiwan as on the South China Sea issue. It is likely, as a contrary case, the speaker emphatic meaning realised phonetically could be delivered by the interpreter if the emphatic 'voice' is not placed upon

China-negative discourse. On the whole, negative elements that contradict China and Chinese government's interests are effaced or diluted in this example.

Then, a list of relevant and derivative questions may arise through the glimpse into Example 1, such as: what are the linguistic items that are susceptible to change? Why are some negative locutions substituted by positive ones in case of the China-related discourse, and what if the discourse relates to other countries? Will the Chinese interpreters change meaning if speakers evaluate positively about China and other countries? Do they have a propensity to omit sensitive or negative elements about China, even if in the event of speaker paralinguistic intensification? Do they add evaluative items in their renditions, and what and why do they add despite time/cognitive constraints in the simultaneous mode? What are they likely to do if speakers raise his/her volume or intonation to emphasise things of perceived importance?

These questions can be boiled down to the problem for the present study – in simultaneous conference interpreting, what are the language items that point to interpreters' ideological intervention, how they relate to discourse structures, and why they occur?

With a focus on the problem, the following section discusses the aims and objectives.

## 1.2 Aims and Objectives

The overarching aim of this study is to uncover how ideological factors relate to textual *shifts* in conference interpreting through examining *evaluative language* at critical points.

Whilst the notion of 'shifts' in translation/interpreting is originally captured as "departures from formal correspondence" from STs to TTs (Catford, 2000/1965: 141), this study anchors 'shifts' at the semantic stratum rather than the formal lexicogrammatical one (cf. Halliday, 1994), more specifically, at interpreting shifts of evaluative meaning, ‘evaluative shifts’ for short. Such shifts of meaning in the interpreting process could be attributed to interpreters’ “motivations behind” linguistic selections (Munday, 2013: 100), which index the interpreter ideological positioning. In other words, evaluative shifts constitute manifestations of the interpreter stance in TTs, which is the core of the present study. Figure 1 below briefly presents the four research aims surrounding this core.

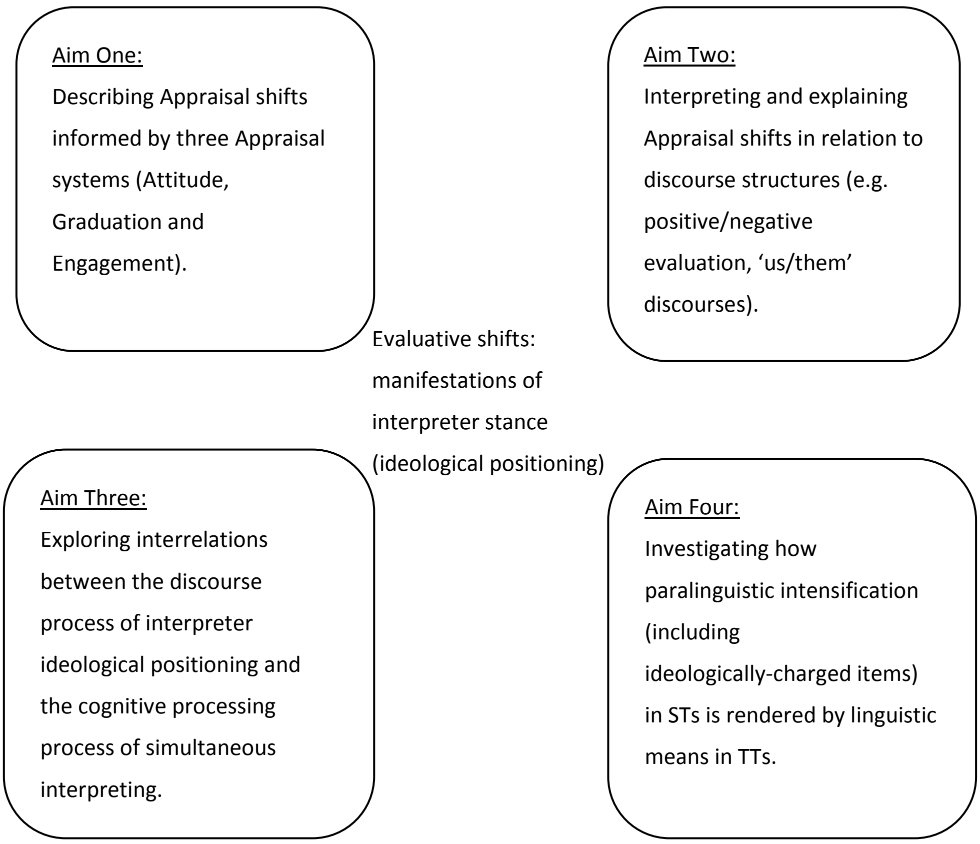


Figure 1. Four research aims surrounding the core

The first aim of this study, therefore, is to systematically examine evaluative language in the corpus with the well-known Appraisal theory (J. Martin & White, 2005) with an emphasis on describing interpreting shifts of Appraisal expressions, ‘Appraisal shifts’ for short. Appraisal shifts refer to how TTs departure from STs in terms of evaluative meaning accounted for by the

Appraisal theory; they are textual differences in forms of interpreting omissions, additions and substitutions of Appraisal lexis, phraseologies, and value-rich sentences. The three-system linguistic theory (see Table 1) accounts for different ways the speaker expresses feelings and viewpoints (Attitude), the strength of that attitude (Graduation), and ways that the speaker aligns him/herself with and invite others to agree with positions advanced (Engagement). Broadly speaking, the Attitude and Graduation systems are more focused on the evaluation 'proper', i.e., subjective evaluative values and their intensity. The Engagement system, on the other hand, is more concerned with the evaluation 'supra', i.e., the interpersonal positioning "with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position" (J. Martin & White, 2005: 36).

Table 1. Three systems of Appraisal in relation to SFL strata

| SFL strata | Discourse semantics | Lexicogrammar | Phonology |
|---|---|---|---|
| Appraisal | − Attitude<br>− Graduation<br>− Engagement | 'evaluators' − lexical and grammatical forms of evaluative meanings | –loudness<br>–pitch movement<br>–speech rate |

Appraisal theory develops from and is embedded in the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (e.g. Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014), which links linguistic signs of lexico-grammar and phonology with their functions in contexts (discourse semantics) at different language strata (see Table 1). Appraisal theory relates to the SFL's Interpersonal meta-function, which conceptualises the linguistic functions of speaker-audience (and writer-reader) relationships.

The second aim is to uncover how Appraisal shifts at the textual level correspond to the ideological factors embedded the discourse structures, such as positive/negative evaluations and assertive/tentative positions for discourses regarding 'us/them' (China/other countries). This is achieved by linking evaluative functions with the discursive construction of ideology in interpreting. Evaluation goes beyond "the expression of a speaker's individual attitude towards the subject matter of his discourse" and constructs the "ideological space of a discourse" in which writer and speaker position themselves in relation to the viewpoints advanced (Voloshinov, 1929/1973: 105). The approach for the present study is to interpret and explain this link by deploying Fairclough's (1989, 1995a) three-level CDA model, with which, the discursive processes and contexts can be integrated into the textual analysis of critical points of ideology.

The third aim is to explore interrelations between the discourse process of interpreter ideological positioning and the cognitive processing process of interpreting. Interpreting shifts of evaluative meaning in the interpreting 'product' is anything but gratuitous, reflecting, on one hand, interpreters' ideological positioning in relation to positive/negative evaluations on 'us/them' discourses, and on the other, cognitive functions that process these discursive elements. The former relates to the discursive reconstructions of ideologically-charged discourse by Chinese conference interpreters. The latter, then, concerns the cognitive processing of ideologically-laden discourses in the cognitively- demanding, complex simultaneous interpreting (Gile, 1995, 1999). Specifically, the focus is on the interpreting shifts in forms of long/short omissions, lexical additions or substitutions of evaluative language, which are supposedly partly ideologically motivated and partly cognitively conditioned. The two important dimensions of interpreting are explored through a connectionist lens in the present study.

The fourth aim is to push the boundary of Appraisal theory by investigating how paralinguistic intensification in STs is rendered by linguistic means in TTs. The video/audio data from the WEF panels are also value-rich in terms of the ‘sound’ language, from which, loudness, pitch movements and speech rate also convey evaluative meanings. Though these acoustic variables are only mentioned in passing in J. Martin and White (2005: 35) and Munday (2012), questions like – how speakers use phonetic properties to implement evaluative functions, how interpreters render the ST paralinguistic intensification, and how ideologically-charged paralinguistic intensification are dealt with – are addressed empirically, in the hope of extending the agenda of Appraisal theory beyond written texts.

The four aims are matched with objectives at a more operational and practical level. First, an interpreting corpus is compiled from the ST and TT videos published on the World Economic Forum (WEF) official website[4]. Second, corpus methods and CDA frameworks are integrated in such a way that the analysis is accommodative of relatively large data size, objective, critical and revealing. Third, Appraisal systems are adapted and operationalized for the analysis of evaluative shifts at the critical points of ideology. Fourth, statistical relations are engendered between interpreting shift types (such as short/long omissions, additions and substitutions) and positive/negative evaluations. Fifth, relevant and useful concepts and methods from phonetics and phonology are imported for the purpose of investigating acoustic data for interpreting studies.

Through delivering these aims and objectives, the present study intends to yield original values in empirical findings, methods and corpus data. Appraisal shifts are harnessed as a linguistic anchor, which stands in relational configurations with discourse structures, cognitive processing process, and paralinguistic elements. Spelling out their intricate relational patterns, hopefully, will lend empirical credibility to, add or overturn existing understandings and knowledge. Meanwhile, the methods developed and the corpus built for this

[4] https://www.weforum.org/events/annual-meeting-of-the-new-champions-2016

study are by no means restricted thereof; they are expected to add to relevant research avenues in the future.

## 1.3 Research Questions

The fundamental question is concerned with the relations between evaluative shifts occurred in the simultaneous interpreting process and ideological factors manifested textually. To disentangle their relations, the 'what', 'how' and 'why' overarching questions are used to guide the investigation:

A. What are the evaluative shifts (or 'Appraisal shifts', in terms of Appraisal systems: Attitude, Graduation and Engagement), and in what ways 'evaluators' (or evaluative locations) are omitted, added and substituted in the simultaneous interpreting process?

B. How do evaluative shifts correlate with discourse structures in terms of positive/negative values and countries/regions under discussion?

C. Why do evaluative shifts occur – how does the interpreter ideological positioning contribute to the textual shifts, and how does interpreter ideology relate to the ideological factors embedded in the discourse?

As shown in table 2, the three guiding research questions lead to four levels of research inquiries: i) global patterns of textual evaluation, ii) evaluation 'proper', iii) evaluation 'supra', and vi) paralinguistic evaluative meaning of intensification. Research questions at the global level (Level i) do not address 'why', but the findings feed into the other levels; research questions at the other three levels address 'what', 'how' and 'why' by describing Appraisal shifts, interpreting them in relation to discourse structures, and explaining them in light of ideological factors embedded in the discourse. Detailed research questions are delineated in data-analysis chapters (See 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1).

Table 2. Three overarching questions at four investigating levels

| | A 'What' (description) | B 'How' (interpretation) | C 'Why' (explanation) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Level i. global patterns of textual evaluation (Chapter 4) | √ | √ | |
| Level ii. evaluation 'proper' (Chapter 5) | √ | √ | √ |
| Level iii. evaluation 'supra' (Chapter 6) | √ | √ | √ |
| Level vi. paralinguistic intensification (Chapter 7) | √ | √ | √ |

## 1.4 Thesis Structure and Outline

Figure 2 illustrates the thesis structure. After the first three chapters that perform their due functions, Chapter 4 reveals meaningful patterns at a global level and generates results that are entailed by the other three data-analysis chapters. Chapter 5 and 6 correspond to the three systems of Appraisal with different focuses on, respectively, the ideological and positioning aspects of conference interpreting. Chapter 7 intends to push the textual boundary of Appraisal to include the 'sound' aspect of language in interpreting. Chapter 8 brings the whole study to a conclusion.

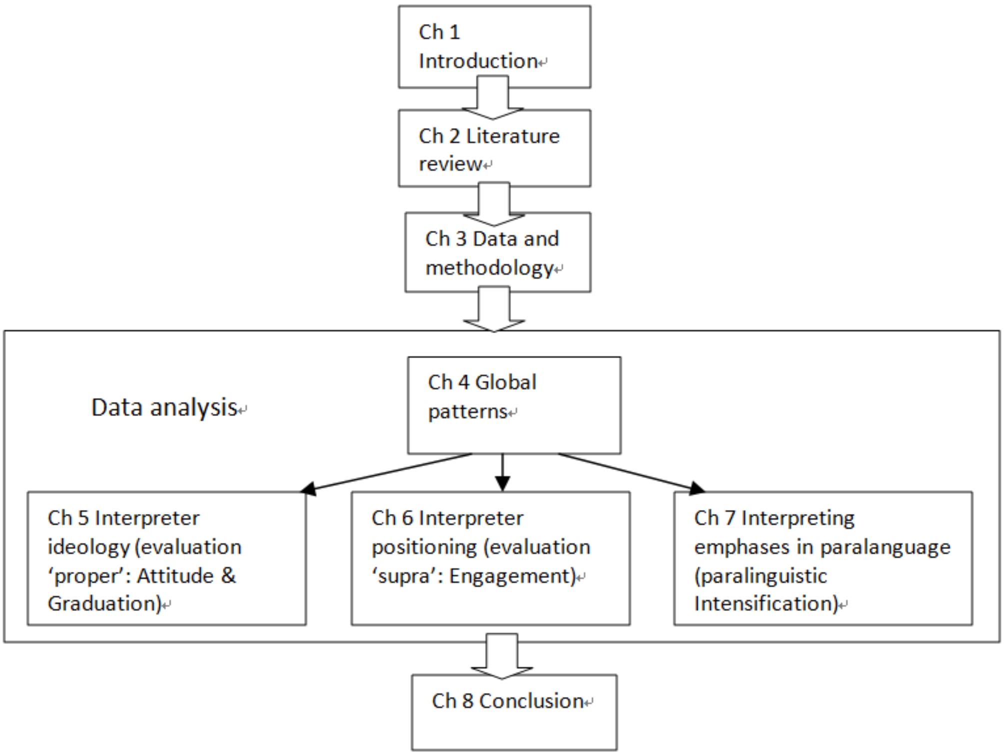


Figure 2. Thesis structure

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the entire study and shows its place in relevant research domains. After introducing the problem, a data example is given to illustrate how the problem relates to areas of interest and the object of study. Research aims are discussed in relation to the Appraisal theory (as the main linguistic toolkit for analysis), the theoretical boundary, ideological issues and cognitive processing in interpreting. Objectives are presented at a more operational and practical level. Three overarching research questions are blue-printed at four investigating levels that correspond to four data analysis chapters.

Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature and points to the areas that the present study can contribute. The review starts with the notion of ideology, a higher-level order concept, for which, important definitions and conceptualisations are discussed with a view to relevant interpreting studies. Then, the review focuses on the core linguistic function – evaluation that constitutes linguistic manifestations of ideology and translator/interpreter ideological intervention. The

Appraisal theory and its applications in T&I are reviewed in detail with the aim of identifying utilities and gaps in the existing literature.

Chapter 3 offers details regarding the data, the corpus, and the overarching methodology. The data is sourced from the 2016 WEF in China, which is a particular 'multivoiced' site of ideological contestations. The first part of the chapter focuses on the corpus itself. The second part constructs a 'meta approach' that synergizes corpus-based/driven methods with CDA.

Chapter 4 is the first data-analysis chapter, which treats the corpus in its entirety and maps out quantitative patterns at the global level. Quantitative corpus methods are integrated with the Appraisal systems. The results feed into the following chapters.

Chapter 5 sets out investigating ideological shifts manifested textually through examining evaluative language in STs and TTs. Two Appraisal systems (Attitude and Graduation) are leveraged as a linguistic apparatus to identify, interpret and explain ideological shifts in light of the 'us-and-them' discourses. Interpreters' cognitive processing (reflected in interpreting omissions, additions and substitutions) is also considered in examining evaluative shifts.

Chapter 6 turns to the Engagement system of Appraisal with a focus on the interpreter interpersonal positioning in relation to ideological factors in China-related discourses. While Chapter 5 looks into the evaluation 'proper' in the discourse; Chapter 6 is more about the evaluation 'supra', i.e., how much the speaker/interpreter discursively invests in the proposition or argument and the way they invite the audience to dis/align with the discourse positions. Ideology is, presumably, also a pivotal motivator for the positioning shifts. Interpreters' tentative/assertive positioning in relation to ideological factors are analysed through examining how shifts in Contractive/Expansive locutions relate to positive/negative discourses regarding China-related issues.

Chapter 7 intends to extend the boundary with the ‘sound’ of language: how the phonetic properties construe intensified Appraisal meanings and how the speaker phonetic emphasis is rendered verbally. Relevant concepts and methods are imported from phonetics and phonology. Equally important is the ideological factor, whose effects are examined in the ‘sound’ data. This part also serves as a triangulation of the effects of ideology from the previous two chapters.

Chapter 8 concludes the present study by offering a general summary, highlighting main findings, and presenting original values. It also explains the limitations that await futures researchers to tackle. Finally, relevant research lines are blue-printed, interdisciplinary agendas are set out, and recommendations are made for future investigations.

# Chapter 2 Literature Review: Ideology and Evaluation in Translation and Interpreting Studies

## 2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to foreground relevant theories, review how they are applied in T&I studies, and identify how this study fits in with existing research domains.

Section 2.2 introduces the concept of ideology and its main theorisations, which are the upper-order theories that provide guiding principles for discourse analysis. Ideology is an appealing topic in T&I for which the review only focuses on relevant interpreting studies. Then, 2.3 concentrates on the notion of evaluation that is most revealing of translator/interpreter ideology. Different theories on evaluation are examined with a focus on Appraisal theory, which is the linguistic framework utilised for this study. Relevant studies in both translation and interpreting research are reviewed due to a very limited number in interpreting studies alone and some useful approaches in translation studies. Finally, 2.4 identifies from foregoing reviews the gaps that point to how this study could contribute.

## 2.2 Ideology and Interpreting

### 2.2.1 Ideology

Ideology is commonly understood as values or worldviews. Theorisations of ideology, however, are as complex and diverse as the notion of worldviews suggests. There are, notably, three historical phases and three dominant strands of theorisations. The term *idéologie* was first coined in 1796 (in the secularised society of post-revolutionary France), by the French philosopher, Antoine de Tracy, who combines the French words *idée* (idea) and *logie* (suffix for scientific areas) with the intention to establish the 'science of ideas' as an epistemologically objective study domain of *faculty-based sensations* (De Tracy, 1817–1818), which, has a modern correspondence of psychology or 'minds' (cf. Koerner, 2001). De Tracy argues for, from a philosophical perspective, the paramount status of *idéologie* for all other scientific areas of inquiry, where the understanding of our minds precedes the understanding of other ontological and epistemological objects of study.

This neutral conceptualisation of ideology shifts towards political negativeness in its second historical phase, when Marx and Engels (1978) conceptualise ideology, at the level of the *superstructure,* as the "false class consciousness" from the observation of relations between political-economic basis and class clashes of their epoch. Associated with *power* and *dominance*, ideology, is then utilised by the ruling class to disseminate ideas, justify inequality, legitimise forces of hegemony and obfuscate the violence and exploitation of those being ruled. Their theorisation continues to influence the neo-Marxist view and its variants in social and cultural studies, in which hegemonic ideologies are associated with elite groups in possession of socio-economic and symbolic powers. These negative definitions and connotations of ideology persist and even penetrate into today's general negative understandings as distortion, concealment or manipulation, for which, van Dijk (1998: 2) summarises as "Ours is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology". That is, ideology is considered as an *antagonist belief system* of false, distorted, unjustified or misguided ideas, prototypically in *their beliefs*.

In the third strand, ideology is re-defined neutrally, with a much broader scope. Akin to its genesis of neutral *idéologie*, ideology, in our globalised and diversified modern era, is theorised as "a belief system" (van Dijk, 1998: 3) in different guises, such as "neutral sense of world view" (Fowler, 1985: 65), "the taken-for-granted assumption, beliefs and value-systems" (Simpson, 1993: 5), "evaluative beliefs" (van Dijk, 1998: 48) and "implicit social knowledge" (ibid: 102). Modern-time conceptualisations are thus broader than its origin (that focuses on *minds*) and cover many sociological, philosophical and cognitive terrains.

While the neutral conceptualizations of ideology as beliefs or value systems may ostensibly seem abstract and intractable, van Dijk (1998) posits that such mental models are presupposed or shaped by language use (or discourse[5]) as concrete, tangible representations on the part of language users, and in return, mental models contribute to the discourse in socially situated activities. He establishes the link between discourse and society through the interface of one's self-social cognition in his three-dimensional theory for ideology: (1) *cognition*, group members' social knowledge, thoughts and beliefs; (2) *society*, societal and political interests, conflicts and struggle that characterise in/out-group dynamics; (3) *discourse*, language use that expresses and re-produces ideologies in society through concealment, legitimisation or manipulation (ibid). As such, he highlights "mind is social – socially acquired, shared, used and changed" through discourse (ibid: 235).

### 2.2.2 Ideology in relevant interpreting studies

The investigation of ideology in interpreting studies is relatively new but is growing exponentially. This is largely down to the fact that many conference interpreting researchers empirically find in the interpreting 'products' that interpreter agency, mediation, intervention and stance-taking in political and institutional contexts seem to, directly or indirectly, contradict, to some extent, the 'corner-stone' professional norm of impartiality (e.g. Beaton, 2007; Beaton-Thome, 2013, 2014; Wang & Feng, 2017; Gu, 2018). There is however a

5 Despite different schools of CDA, CDA scholars generally understand 'discourse' as language use in speech and writing (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

traditional line that is inspired by Toury's (1995: 56) descriptive approach where norms are viewed as 'regularities of translation behaviours' and Chesterman's (1993) operation norms; interpreting researchers are primarily concerned with strategy-oriented norms, which are closely interconnected with strategies interpreters deployed to cope with cognitive overloads, such as 'maximizing information recovery', 'minimizing recovery inference', and 'maximizing the communication impact of the speech' (Gile, 1995, 1999). The professional norm of impartiality seems, arguably, an upper-level concept over the strategy-oriented norms at an operational level. In the discussions regarding the overarching professional norm of impartiality, a number of survey-based studies (e.g. Angelelli, 2004; Diriker, 2004; Zwischenberger, 2015) also report the professional 'supernorm' of impartiality, loyalty to the speaker speech – promoted by International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC), probably the most influential norm-setting authority in the field – is evidently challenged. In this respect, the survey results are in conformity with product-oriented studies in conference interpreting. In other words, conference interpreters are not mere 'conduit' or 'honest spokesperson', but rather, they could take side by aligning their ideological positioning with the organisation/institution of their affiliation, thus working 'within' a particular ideology (Pöchhacker, 2006) despite constraints of norms.

What distinguishes interpreting studies from written translation research is the *embeddedness* of the contextualized interpreting activity set in the *sameness* of time and space. It is characterized by 'immediacy' (e.g. Kade, 1968) as well as "context-dependency" (Setton & Motta, 2007); it is the sameness of time and space that convenes multi-background agents (speakers and interpreters), and hence makes possible the happening of such encounters characterized by clashes of different ideologies.

The realm of interpreting studies is described as a "complex and multi-faceted an object of study" (Pöchhacker, 2011: 22), and thus studies on ideologies often have blurred boundaries in terms of the negative political end, and the general neutral end of the theoretical continuum. There are topics between the two ends, slanting towards one (either Marxist sense or the neutral sense). There are also studies that look into the ideological relations between the interpreter-self and the group of his/her affiliation.

First, a few relevant studies view ideology in a more Marxist sense where ideology is largely used pejoratively as a political tool to wield power and legitimate institutional dominance. Interpreters, in this regard, manipulate the level of the political power of dominant institutions or groups through their renditions. Relevant studies include Pöchhacker's (2006: 191) investigation of the "'within'" ideological stance by German interpreters in the Third Reich and the Cold War and Takeda's (2010) discussion of interpreters with different ethnic origins at the Tokyo Tribunal.

Second, the general neutral slant of ideology (as a belief system) pertains to interpreting studies investigations on interpreter roles, norms and relations of the two. Studies of community/dialogue interpreting set the research foci on role issues and ethics in relation to asymmetrical powers of participants (such as in court, police, asylum, conflict and war-zone settings) (e.g. Wadensjö, 2000; Hale, 2004; M. Baker, 2006, 2007; Inghilleri, 2005, 2008, 2010; Maryns & Blommaert, 2006). Contributions on conference interpreting tend to focus on the actual and perceived roles and norms (e.g. Diriker, 2004; Angelelli, 2004; Diriker, 2008; Boéri, 2008).

The third cluster of interpreting studies investigations considers ideologies as both neutral world views and in the sense political powers in light of self-group relations. In doing so, some scholars deliberate on the *dilemma* confronting interpreters whose personal values are in conflict with ideologies of the dominant political powers (e.g. Shlesinger, 2011; Beaton-Thome, 2013). Some other studies, on the contrary, reveal, from the in-group perspective, the ideological *alignment*, that is, interpreters align their stance with that of in-groups (institutions or counties of their affiliation) by manipulating ideology-laden linguistic resources (e.g. Beaton, 2007b; Beaton-Thome, 2014; Wang, 2012; Wang & Feng, 2017; Gu, 2019).

Some studies fruitfully harness language features concentrated in certain lexical or rhetorical groups for the purpose of examining ideological issues. For example, Schäffner's (2012, 2015) studies encompass a variety of linguistic features, including interpersonal expressions, EU-specific terminology, naming choices, formal or informal pronoun selections and turn-taking mechanisms. Beaton (2007b) and Beaton-Thome (2014) examine lexical repetitions and conceptual metaphors. Munday (2012, 2015, 2018) investigate Appraisal locutions that cover a wide range of words and phrases that express speaker/writer feelings, attitude, viewpoints and stances.

## 2.3 Evaluation and Appraisal Theory

### 2.3.1 Evaluation and relevant conceptualisations

Evaluation is pervasive in communication. Voloshinov (1929/1973: 105) argues:

> *No utterance can be put together without value judgement. Every utterance is above all an evaluative orientation. Therefore, each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value.*

Evaluation is notably described as a linguistic mechanism of authorial opinion. It is not only a superordinate term but a broad cover concept for expressing "speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoints on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Hunston & Thompson, 2000: 5). Relevant and widely-cited theorisations of the notion of evaluation can be epitomised in seven strands:

- Affect (e.g. Leech, 1974; Besnier, 1993; Arnold, 2011)
- Hedging (e.g. Hyland, 1994; Crompton, 1997)
- Subjectivity (e.g. Benveniste, 1971; Finegan, 1995; Scheibman, 2002)
- Evidentiality (e.g. Chafe & Nichols, 1986; Aikhenveld, 2004)
- Evaluation (e.g. Hunston, 2010; Hunston & Thompson, 2000; Bednarek, 2006, 2010)
- Stance (e.g. Biber & Finegan, 1988, 1989; Biber et al., 1999; Conrad & Biber, 2000; Jaffe, 2009)
- Appraisal (e.g. J. Martin, 2000; J. Martin & Rose, 2003; J. Martin & White, 2005)

These terms are in effect synonymous and cover slightly overlapping semantic areas. **Affect** is concerned with the expression of emotions or feelings. Interest in this linguistic phenomenon stems from Leech (1974: 15-18) who separates affective meaning from connotative meaning that refers to expressions of real-world experience. Multitudes of studies with varying approaches and focuses follow this line of study (e.g. Arnold, 2011; Besnier, 1993). It is worth pointing out that affect constitutes the fundamental type of evaluation. **Hedging**, notably in studies of academic writing discourse, is largely realised by epistemic modality that marks the varying degree of confidence in the truth value of the proposition (cf. Hyland, 1994; Crompton, 1997). **Subjectivity** covers wider terrains of evaluation. Deriving from Benveniste's (1971) subjective features of the language, subjectivity is realised by the epistemic status of the proposition or the expression of modality (Finegan, 1995: 4). More speaker-centred, it focuses on the notion of 'subject' and projects the speaker towards the hearer (Scheibman, 2002). **Evidentiality** is a linguistic system that signposts the source of information (Aikhenveld, 2004) and it specifies the way attitudes are expressed towards knowledge via linguistic vehicles of reliability, belief, hearsay, sensory evidence and expectations (Chafe & Nichols, 1986). **Evaluation**, with broader cover meaning (Hunston & Thompson, 2000), is captured by Bednarek (2006, 2010) and Hunston (2010) as values specifically embedded in lexical patterns or phraseologies. Overlapping evaluation is the notion of **stance**, which is defined as speaker attitudes, feelings, judgment and varying degrees of commitment to the truthfulness of the message conveyed (Biber & Finegan, 1988). The broadened concept of stance covers three categories, i.e. epistemic considerations, attitudes and style (Biber et al., 1999).

There are some degrees of overlapping and tensions between these conceptualisations of evaluation as a linguistic phenomenon. Affect and hedging seem narrower in scope and are considered as constituent categories of evaluation. Subjectively, evidentiality, evaluation and stance seem to cover a wider scope and share some common ground; yet, evaluation seems to be more systematically conceptualised and delineated by functional linguists.

Functions of the evaluative language weigh significantly in socially significant speech acts (Hunston, 2010). Under the overarching concept of evaluation, functions of the evaluative language are usefully summarised in three points by Hunston and Thompson (2000: 6):

> *(1) to express the speaker's or writer's option, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community;*
>
> *(2) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader;*
>
> *(3) to organize the discourse.*

These functions are captured by a linguistic theory – Appraisal theory – a framework developed, most notably, by J. Martin and White (2005) from the SFL's Interpersonal system. The Appraisal systems do not only relate to the function of authorial attitude (ibid: 42-91) and the axiological and ideological values (ibid: 211-212) but also the function of constructing and maintaining addresser and addressee relations (ibid: 92-135). The following section introduces the Appraisal theory and its application in T&I research.

### 2.3.2 Appraisal theory

#### 2.3.2.1 Situating Appraisal theory with SFL

Appraisal theory, as a linguistic model of evaluation, evolves and extends from the broader theoretical systems of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (e.g. Halliday, 1978, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The core of SFL is concerned with language in use, i.e., the functional and communicative rather than the formal aspects of language. In particular, SFL provides intricate systems for the analysis of *texts in context* through a linking concept of 'realisation'; that is, specific lexical and grammatical choices realise discourse semantics in a broader sociocultural or political context. See Figure 3, there are three strands of discourse semantics as the meta-functions of language. They collectively construe meaning in "virtually every act of communication" (J. Martin & White, 2005: 7).

(1) Ideational, which is concerned with experiential and logical meanings;

(2) Interpersonal, enacts and negotiates personal and social relationships between speaker/writer–listener/reader; and

(3) Textual, which encompasses thematic structure, information structure and cohesion.

Appraisal theory situates with the Interpersonal metafunction at the content level of lexicogrammar and semantics. The Interpersonal metafunction is mainly realised by linguistic resources of mood and modality, attitudinal epithets, and projection (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Appraisal theory expands the scope and fills out the details of the interpersonal function of language, systematically accounting for how feelings, values and stances are communicated.

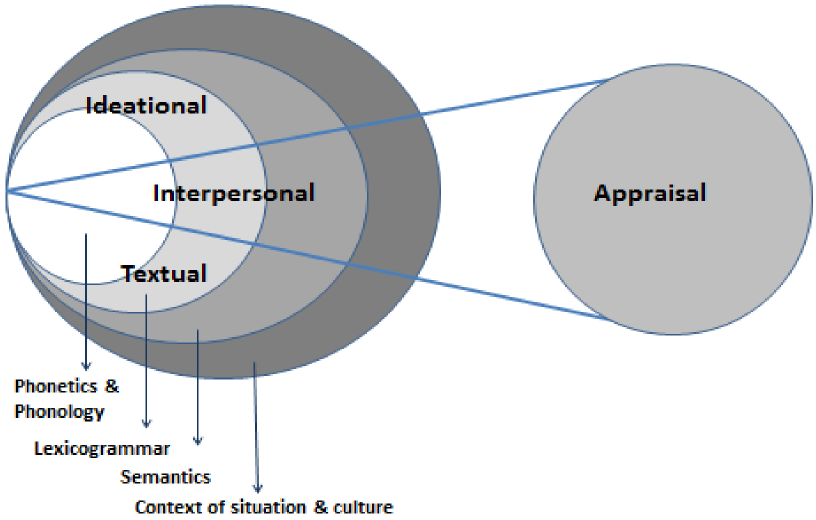


Figure 3. Appraisal theory projected to three metafunctions of SFL; adapted from J. Martin and White (2005: 34) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 26)

The multi-strata view of SFL is central to the analysis of Appraisal locutions in context. Appraisal locutions (spoken or written) are instances of social meaning situated a particular context of the situation. As Figure 3 illustrates, the 'meaning potential' of an Appraisal utterance or text in a given context is realised by their corresponding linguistic forms on the phonological and lexico-grammatical strata. Hence, the close analysis of Appraisal locutions, as discourse semantics, entails a multi-strata view to investigate the Appraisal resources across strata, i.e. phonologically, lexico-grammatically, semantically and contextually.

#### 2.3.2.1 Appraisal theory: a tripartite framework for analysing lexicogrammatical evaluators

Stemming from some early works of functional linguists (e.g. Eggins & Slade, 1997; J. Martin, 2000) in Australia, research on Appraisal theory starts from theorising the attempt to disambiguating texts by positioning readers in certain ways (Bednarek, 2006), then evolves from the early focus on attitudinal resources (being positive or negative with amplification or not) (J. Martin & Rose, 2003), adoption of stance through positioning subjects (P. R. White, 2003) to a more full-flung system for analysing evaluative resources in three broad categories by Martin and White (2005). Martin (2000: 143) earlier argues that attitudinal sources are not simply "a personal matter" but rather "a truly interpersonal matter" where advancing opinions means eliciting responses of solidarity from the audience. Then, the early forms of attitude-oriented frameworks develop into three-axes Appraisal systems accounting for the variations of the inter-subjective stance and "they operate rhetorically to construct relations of alignment and rapport" between the writer/speaker and actual or potential respondents (J. Martin & White, 2005: 1-2).

Appraisal theory is, therefore, concerned with the semantic resources for negotiating attitudes alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations. As encapsulated in Figure 4, there are three broad semantic categories in Appraisal theory: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. Attitude and Engagement are both gradable. Attitude is concerned with ways of feeling. Engagement concerns the scalability of the space (Contraction and Expansion) for introducing and managing other voices and positions. Graduation mainly concerns the gradability of attitudinal meaning by Force and Focus.

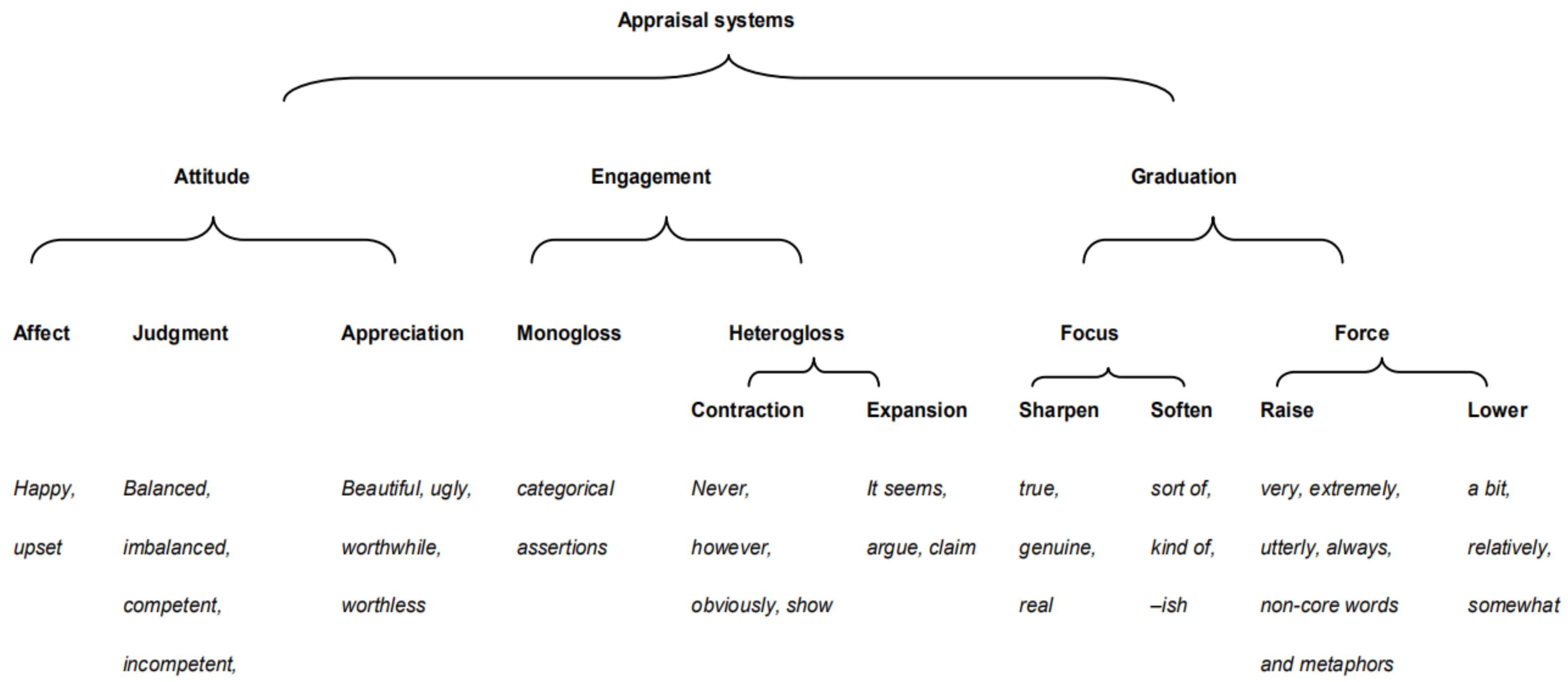


Figure 4. Appraisal framework (adapted from J. Martin & White (2005))

**Attitude**, as the most basic and early form of evaluation, is prototypically realised through attitudinally loaded adjectives, or "evaluative epithets" (Halliday, 1994: 184). The lexicogrammatical resources for the realisation of attitudinal meanings are ample and diverse, and they can be mapped onto a cline of positive and negative polarities. Attitude can be further categorised into feelings (Affect), moral evaluation of behaviour (Judgment) and evaluation of the aesthetic quality of things or processes (Appreciation).

(1) Affect systems can represent authorial emotions as in the example '*I'm happy to be here in this forum*.' It can also project authorial emotional responses attributed to other social actors, as in the example *'These businesses may get upset by the new policy.'*

(2) Judgment constitutes two categories: judgments of social esteem (normality, capacity and tenacity) and judgments of social sanction (veracity, propriety). Examples of lexicogrammatical realisations of judgment are numerous, particularly represented in polarised epithets, such as *fortunate/unfortunate, balanced/imbalanced, competent/incompetent, rational/irrational*, and so forth.

(3) Appreciation includes resources to evaluate the aesthetic quality of phenomena and processes. It is manifested in our 'reaction' to things (whether they are *exciting* or *boring*, *beautiful* or *ugly*), their 'composition' (*simple* or *complex*, *symmetrical* or *asymmetrical*) and their 'value' (how *profound* or *shallow*, *worthwhile* or *worthless*) (J. Martin & White, 2005: 56).

**Engagement** concerns specifically linguistic resources of inter-subjective positioning (White, 2003), i.e., the authorial stance adopted towards entities or propositions in relative position to the intended audience. The Engagement category draws on the Bakhtin's (1981/2010) notion of 'dialogism' and is defined by J. Martin and White (2005: 36) as "[…] position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position”. Its semantic meanings can be realised by diverse lexicogrammatical resources such as polarities, modality, reporting verbs and comment adverbials (ibid). As shown in Figure 5, Engagement is subdivided into two systems: Monogloss or Heterogloss, being mapped on a cline of either restricting dialogism or expanding dialogism as shown in the following figure.

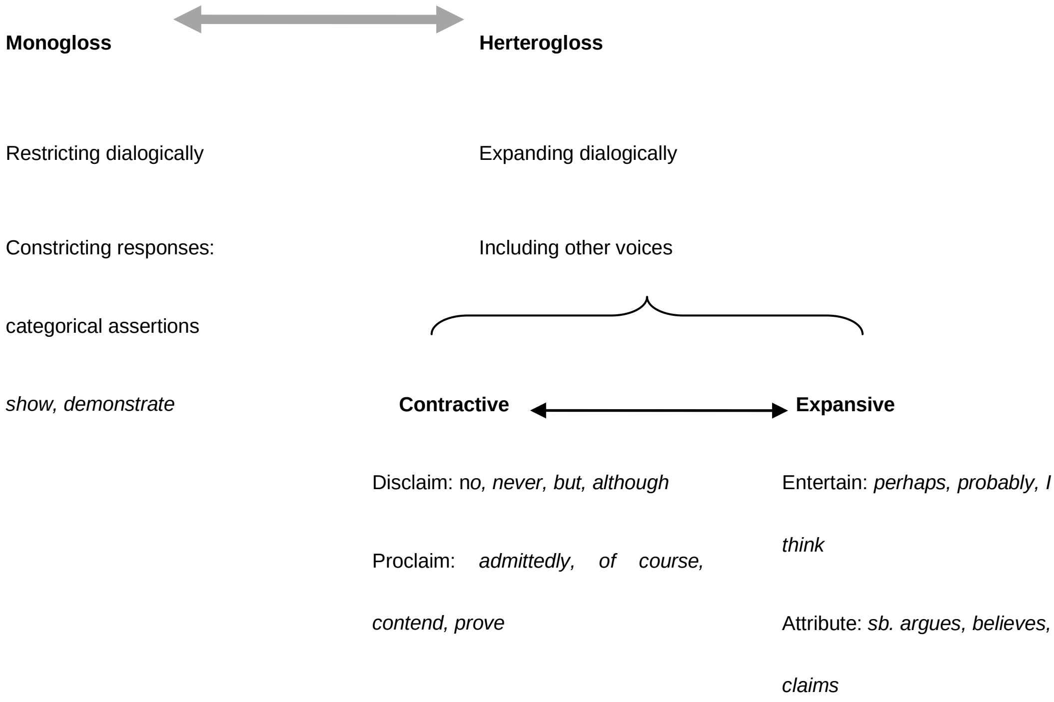


Figure 5. Engagement systems (adapted from J. Martin and White (2005: 104))

(1) Monogloss resources are characterised by dialogic restriction; no alternative voices or viewpoints are made. It constricts responses through categorical assertions, restrictive reporting verbs such as *show* and *demonstrate*, by which disagreements cannot be easily advanced.

(2) Herterogloss, in stark contrast, acknowledges the possibility of alternative voices or responses by either dialogically contracting possible responses or dialogically expanding to include other voices. Dialogic Contractive meanings fall into disclaiming (alternative responses are ‘rejected’ or ‘supplanted’ via denying, e.g. *no, never*, or counter-expectant lexis such as *but*,

*yet* and *although*) and proclaiming (dialogic alternatives are challenged via, for instance, modal expressions such as *admittedly, of course, sure* etc. and reporting patterns such as *contend, prove* and *the fact that*) (ibid: 117-134). On the other end of the cline situates the Expansive resources which are pivotal to inviting lexicogrammatically other voices by, again, modality and reporting patterns. Entertaining is concerned with authorial expanding the space for discussion through modal expressions (e.g. *perhaps, it's probable that, it may/might be that*) and reporting patterns (e.g. *I think, it seems to me*) (ibid: 134). Attribution is concerned with projection (in SFL's term), and its resources mainly stem from reporting patterns such as *sb. argues, believes, claims* and so forth (ibid).

**Graduation** systems are related to the gradability of both attitudinal meanings and engagement values with the scalable degrees of authorial intensity and the degree of investment in the proposition. Their semantic values are realised by the scalable axis of Force and Focus.

(1) Focus is dichotomised into prototypicality and non-prototypicality of phenomena, which can be up-graded as being *true, genuine, real* or down-graded as being *sort of, kind of* or *–ish*. More binary than scalar, Focus is often manifested in becoming sharper or more blurred in semantics (ibid).

(2) Force differs from focus, assessing, quantitatively or in terms of degrees, the authorial investment or stance by either intensifying the value invested or down-toning it. Meanings of Force or 'scalability' can be realised by lexical items such as intensifiers of *very, extremely, utterly, always* etc. or down-toners of *a bit, relatively, somewhat* and so forth.

Another important realisation of force is embedded in the employment of non-core words and metaphors (J. Martin & White, 2005: 67). These evaluative resources should be 'double-coded' as Attitude and Graduation since they express attitudinal meanings with intensified force. Examples of such permeate written and spoken English discourses, such as *a blue-chip company,* *skyrocketing prices, crystal clear, pinnacle of his career* and so forth. The use of non-core resources is a means of intensification and constitutes a significant part of invoked meaning (ibid).

Appraisal theory as such an extravagant linguistic apparatus that classifies resources of interpersonal meaning lends itself, particularly, to discourse-analytical purposes. Rather than focusing on the study on the language of emotion, or cognitive aspect of the language (as in cognitive linguistics or psycho-linguistics), Appraisal focuses on language in its communicative and social function. The next section reviews how Appraisal theory is utilised in T&I, emblematic of the cross-language/culture aspects of social communication.

### 2.3.3 Applications of Appraisal theory in translation and interpreting studies

Despite Appraisal theory's wide application in the dominant tradition in English mono-lingual studies, it is only recently that some cross-language investigations that employ this theory have been implemented and have proven feasible.

The Attitude system of Appraisal seems most appealing to many translation researchers. Pérez-González (2007) borrows the Attitudinal systems of Appraisal from Martin's (2000) model and unveils translation shifts in dubbed conversations from English to Spanish. For the English and Chinese language pair, Zhang's (2009) work on social context and translation of public notices in English and Chinese sheds light on how the attitudinal meanings may shift cross-culturally towards text functions. In a similar vein, Zhang (2013) investigates attitudinal polarities in trans-editing news headlines in which she connects translator mediation and manipulation with stance-taking of news agencies. Concentrating on attitudinal values in the context of situation and culture, her studies harness discourse analysis as a predominant analytical perspective.

The Engagement and Graduation systems have also been employed in relevant T&I studies. For example, Vandepitte et al. (2011) analyse shifts of epistemic modals in two versions of Dutch translation of Darwin's *On the Origins of Species* (1859). With the help of an adapted version of Martin and White's epistemic scale of ranking, they demonstrate a stronger alignment with the truth value with higher degrees of certainty in TTs. Also with a focus on Engagement resources, Qian (2012) investigates speaker's positioning in STs and TTs of the Q&A section of the Vice President Cheney's speech at Fudan University. The findings, contrary to Vandepitte et al. (2011) results, reveal reduced Engagement resources in the TTs, leaving the Chinese TT vaguer in stance-alignment. Munday (2015) concentrates on the Engagement and Graduation systems through probing reporting verbs, deictic positioning and intensifiers in STs and TTs of the international organisation. He tentatively depicts a distancing trend from the deictic centre and proposes downscaled intensification in engagement in TTs.

The three systems of Appraisal are taken together as an analytical framework only by a few studies. Notably, are Munday's (2012, 2018) investigations of the 'critical points' of translator/interpreter intervention. With a dedicated book *Evaluation in Translation*, Munday (2012) provides the most comprehensive application of Appraisal and fine-grained analysis in political-speech interpreting, technical and literary translation. The book is a seminal contribution since it systematically links Appraisal theory with evaluative meanings in the discourse and critical points of translator/interpreter decision-making. In Munday's (2018) study, he proposes a model of Appraisal for T&I using President Trump's address and corresponding renditions. Both studies argue convincingly that the Appraisal theory is powerful in revealing translator/interpreter values in the discourse.

Methodologically, discourse analysis and corpus methods are usefully integrated with the Appraisal theory in T&I in a few studies. Appraisal theory affords discourse analysts an extravagant linguistic toolkit to identify and interpret discourse structures, power relations and ideological issues (e.g. Zhang, 2009, 2013; Munday, 2012; Zhang & Pan, 2015; Wang & Feng, 2017). For example, Wang and Feng (2017) examine Appraisal items as keywords, through which, they explore how values and ideology of the Chinese state are rendered and re-contextualized in conference interpreting. Meanwhile, the lexis-based Appraisal theory also offers concrete examples of evaluations, with which, corpus methods that extract linguistic forms become useful in extracting Appraisal items in a corpus. For example, Peng et al. (2012) feed Appraisal systems into UAM Corpus Tool and develop the AMParaConc (APPRAISAL Meanings Parallel Concordancer) for the automatic retrieval of Appraisal expressions.

## 2.4 Gaps that Point to Where the Present Study Fits in

Through reviewing relevant literature in the field, gaps are identified and summarized in four points. They point to the places where the current research can contribute.

First, there are a limited number of conference interpreting studies that examine the interpreter ideological positioning based on the close analysis of the ‘interpreting product’. Close analyses in the few existing studies tend to rely on the researcher introspection/intuition to ‘cherry-pick’ points of interest, rather than to systematically and objectively interrogate a pervasive linguistic phenomenon like evaluation. Munday’s (2012, 2015, 2018) contributions are, arguably, the most systematic in terms of evaluative language. Nonetheless, relations between evaluation and ideological factors are delicate and subtle because the dataset (US presidential speech STs and TTs) he uses are not highly ideologically charged. Moreover, the cognitive processing aspect is yet to be considered with the discourse process of conference interpreting in CIR.

Second, there are only limited studies in T&I that utilize the Appraisal systems whose applications are well-established in mono-lingual studies. Particularly, few T&I researchers apply Appraisal's three systems (Attitude, Engagement and Graduation) with a focal point in one study.

Third, in the face of increasingly large datasets in T&I, few attempts are made to take advantage of quantitative corpus methods that map out global patterns, reveal hidden discourse structures, single out critical points of translator/interpreter intervention and inform qualitative analysis critically. In terms of investigating textual shifts of Appraisal meanings, existing studies are at an exploratory stage in integrating corpus methods with discourse analysis.

Fourth, the 'sound' aspect of evaluative meanings in interpreting is neglected. Though the medium of conference interpreting is predominantly the language in its spoken form, current studies only rely on the transcriptions in the written form, where the speaker/interpreter acoustic presence is absent.

# Chapter 3 Data and Methodology

This study problematizes the critical linguistic signs that point to interpreters' ideological intervention. The problem itself is premised on the 'not-in-between' role of conference interpreters, which is discussed in a number of CIR studies (e.g. Pöchhacker, 2006; Munday, 2007, 2012, 2018; Apostolou, 2009; Wang, 2012; Wang & Feng, 2017; Beaton, 2007a; Beaton-Thome, 2014; Schäffner, 2012; Beaton-Thome, 2013; Bartłomiejczyk, 2017; 2015; Liao & Pan, 2018; Gu, 2018; Fu & Chen, 2019). A major finding is that the expectation of impartiality and neutrality on professional interpreters is only idealized because interpreters 'take sides' rather than to mediate 'in-between'.

Meanwhile, the solution to the problem entails examining both textual and extra-textual data of the STs and TTs, which need to be considered in the 'discourse process' of translator/interpreter intervention or agency. For this purpose, CDA offers useful approaches for analysing translated/interpreted texts embedded in the historical, social or political context where texts are generated and circulated (e.g. Schäffner, 2012, 2015; Munday, 2015; Zhang & Pan, 2015; Wang & Feng, 2017; Gu, 2018, 2019).

This chapter first looks into the historical and socio-political embedding of the World Economic Forum (3.1), particularly the immediate contextual features in China (3.2.1), which is followed by detailed accounts for corpus compilation, corpus structures and corpus methods for analysis (3.2.2-3.2.4). Then, relevant theories are foregrounded in terms of beliefs/values of interpreters as the agent data and adapted Appraisal frameworks to be operationalized with the data-set of the present study (3.3). Most importantly, the CDA-and-corpus synergised methods are presented as a 'Meta approach' for analyses in later chapters (3.4).

## 3.1 Selection of Data: World Economic Forum as a Worthy Site of 'Multi-voiced' Discourse Studies

The data the present study uses has significant scholarly value in its own right. The World Economic Forum's Annual Meeting is organised by the WEF, which has evolved and emerged as an influential global agenda-setting, crisis-management and initiative-championing organisation, not only in world economics but in politics, through its roles as of "'champions', 'global leaders', 'global shapers'" over almost half a century (Garsten & Sörbom, 2016: 19). For example, back in the first World Economic Forum in January 1974, world political leaders were invited to deliberate on the collapse of the Bretton Woods fixed the exchange rate mechanism and the Arab-Israeli War, which led to the expansion of its focus from world economic to political issues (ibid). Since 2008, focal discussions at WEF has been dominated by crisis containment of the various kinds, including economic, financial, social, political and geopolitical upheavals and challenges the world has been confronted with (Sagers, 2012). In effect, World Economic Forums amalgamate world-leading voices not only from broad businesses but politics across the board. Therefore, the *de facto* influence on world issues cannot be underestimated (Graz, 2003).

What is unique about the WEF Annual Meetings is that it provides what is known as a most 'multivoiced' platform for high-profile world leaders in one discursive event. The 'multivoiced' platform created by the WEF is unparalleled in that, arguably, few non-governmental organisations could attract such high-level attendees from both political and diverse non-political domains on a global scale. There are two dimensions to the 'multivoiced' nature: multi-national and multi-professional. 'With its mission statement "engag[ing] the foremost political, business and other leaders of society to shape global, regional and industry agendas"[6] from a wide-reach of counties and regions,

[6] https://www.weforum.org/about/world-economic-forum

WEF provides a dialogue, solution-finding and decision-making platform, where world academics, political and economic leaders, with diverse ideological backgrounds, hobnob and argue over issues germane to regional, international and transnational issues. As such, the WEF intends to play a pivotal role in aligning different or divergent interests and values through convening groups and people from different spheres of society (cf. Cerny, 2009). This pivotal position in the global business and political landscape occupied by the WEF is unique, because like few other organisations, WEF acts at a transnational level, relatively unhampered by regional or national boundaries.

What is more discursively multi-voiced, if not divergent, is the World Economic Forum's Annual Meeting in China, alternating between two major cities of Dalian and Tianjin. Since its inception in 2007, the China Forum has become the most successful WEF spawn-off event that has been offering great opportunities for "big cheeses from the rest of the world to get to know their Chinese peers" ("The summer Davos", 2012: 65). In other words, WEF Annual Meetings in China bring together the 'new-champion' countries like China and other Asian countries, and major 'power-house' countries or regions (such as US, UK and European countries) in one discursive event that multi-actors co-construct discourses about world issues.

Behind the multi-voices are multi-stakeholders who collectively contribute to discourses of WEF's Annual Meetings. The WEF activities are underpinned by the 'stakeholder theory', which highlights the importance that multi-stakeholders of public and private sectors, academic institutions and political organisations are accountable to all parts of society. Speakers of these stakeholders are, in discursive terms, actors in the WEF panel discussions. Their ideological backgrounds differ; yet, they are united on the WEF platform by a 'harmony ideology' reflected in much of contemporary political discourse (Garsten & Sörbom, 2016). It seems that, for the WEF actors, harmony and win-win solutions override divergences and confrontations inherent in the actor ideological backgrounds. Nonetheless, it is inevitable that multifarious discourse dimensions are manifested in speeches, discussions and arguments (by multi-background actors/stakeholders, conventionally convened in The WEF panels), which ultimately, constitute ideological contestations.

## 3.2 Corpus Data

There is a strong interest in the WEF discourses in political, economic and media studies (e.g. Graz, 2003; Sacks, 2002; Bennett et al., 2004; Cerny, 2009; Garsten & Sörbom, 2016), yet in T&I, there lack relevant studies from a comparative perspective. One obstacle is the compilation of an interpreting corpus from the spoken STs and TTs, which entails extremely time-consuming and labour-intensive transcription and annotation. The other is the immense difficulty in systematically describing and interpreting linguistic data from ideologically-charged WEF discourses. This section first introduces the embeddings of the 2016 WEF in China from which the corpus for the present study was built and then expounds on the corpus-building, corpus features and corpus methods.

### 3.2.1 Data background: 2016 World Economic Forum in China as a site of ideological contestations

The data is sourced from the 2016 WEF in China, which is a particular 'multivoiced' site of ideological contestations due to two reasons. First, the discourse thereof is of unprecedented levels of political sensitivities because the 2016 WEF in China takes place against the backdrop of the Brexit referendum, US presidential election, increasing pressures of economic stagnation, the territorial dispute over the South China Sea, and Beijing's promotion of the Belt-and-Road geo-economic policy. These topics easily become tipping-points of ideological contestations; the speaker discourses constituted surrounding these topics are politically and ideologically saturated. Second, this event convenes speakers with extremely diverse national profiles; panel speakers are leading figures from six national/regional backgrounds (Chinese, American, British, Canadian, European and South Korean). They are high-profile figures politics, businesses, academics and media (details of speaker identities, job titles and affiliations are also available on the WEF website). Their ideologies are shaped by institutional stances and national interests of their affiliations. Such speaker heterogeneity tends to generate clashes of different ideological beliefs and even competing voices for in-group interests.

Professional interpreters, employed by the Chinese government body[7] for organising the 2016 WEF, are 'caught between' their dual identities as (a) interpreting professionals, who are expected, arguably by the conference interpreting profession, to be 'faithful' to the STs and neutral in stance-taking on one hand, and (b) on the other, 'in-group' persona, or government 'spokespersons', who tend to align personal positions with dominant ideologies of the Chinese government (e.g. Wang & Feng, 2017; Gu, 2018; Fu & Chen, 2019).

### 3.2.2 Data selection criteria

[7] The Chinese central government and the host-city government have worked jointly for the organisational work of the Summer Davos Forum in China since 2007. One of their pivotal tasks is to provide language services implemented by Chinese-English simultaneous conference interpreters. From non-governmental sources (including media reports, the profiles of Davos interpreters available online, and personal contacts by the author), it is learned that the simultaneous interpreters for these panels are highly qualified, experienced professionals who are also 'good citizens' by the Chinese government's standard. Many of the professionals have worked for previous Davos Forums in China and they are either active free-lancers or active practitioners who also teach conference interpreting. They are not in-house conference interpreters directly reporting to the Chinese government. The WEF's language section that oversees the work on the Chinese side and provides interpreting services for other language-combinations regards highly of the Chinese conference interpreters (Tianjin TV, 2018).

Four criteria are applied in data selection to guarantee the corpus fits the current research and is feasible to compile given the time-expensiveness for orthographic data transcription and annotation.

(1) Session topics are related to politics, such as geopolitics and politico-economy. The discourse is politically and ideologically laden.

(2) Panel sessions are participated by speakers with different national/regional backgrounds. The discourse is featured by ideological differences.

(3) The mode of interpreting for the panel discussions is simultaneous and un-scripted. Therefore, the mode of interpreting is homogenous across the board in the selected data.

(4) Videos of panel sessions are publicly available online (see WEF official website) for the source language and the target language, despite that no text transcriptions are provided.

### 3.2.3 Corpus structure and size

The 2016 WEF-in-China Interpreting Corpus is compiled after the selection process. Table 3 presents the corpus details and structure in terms of the breakdown of the eight sessions selected. The WEF official website provides topics and summaries, which show some guiding questions. A fuller picture of discussion contents and key discourses are engendered in the Keyness analysis (see Chapter 4). The number of national/regional backgrounds of speakers is between the ranges of two to four, which suggests political or ideological differences in the discourses for each session. Among the eight panels, five are interpreted from the interpreters' B language (English) to the A language (Chinese), and three panels are done in both directions. For each panel discussions, two professional Chinese interpreters work alternatively. Interpreter genders are relatively balanced (female: 9, male: 7). The total time length of the corpus is around 13.48 hours (809’05’’).

Table 3. Details and structure of the 2016 WEF-in-China Interpreting Corpus

| Corpus ID No. for 8 panels | Guiding topics on the WEF's website | Question summaries on the WEF's website) | Actual topics generated from corpus procedures ('keyword' function)[8] | Speaker backgrounds | Directionality (A: Chinese, B: English) | Video lengths |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Asia's Shifting Alliances | How are regional trade and investment strategies adjusting to uncertainties linked to unresolved territorial and maritime disputes? | South China Sea dispute, relations between China, US, Japan and other Asian countries/regions | Chinese, American, Korean, British | B→A | 128'16'' |
| 2 | China's G20 Agenda | Identifying new drivers for growth; Improving international policy coordination; Reforming global | G20, issues in global economy, Brexit, US presidential election | Chinese, Turkish, American | A→B; B→A | 86'08'' |

8 The 'Keyword' function generates actual main topics by revealing 'aboutness' (Baker, 2010: 133) and mapping out semantic domains in a given corpus (Rayson, 2008). For the actual topics in the 8 panels, the sub-corpus of each panel is placed against the TenTen 2015 corpus as the reference corpus through the Sketch Engine corpus manager (Jakubíček et al., 2013) (see https://app.sketchengine.eu/). The topics extracted for the eight panels have salient 'political properties' in the discourses.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | governance bodies | | | | |
| 3 | China's Global Ambitions | Resource vs. know-how strategies; Public vs. private investment tendency; From traditional industries to high-tech investment | Global expansion of Chinese business in relation to the rest of the world, Davos in China, Brexit | Chinese, American, EU countries | A→B; B→A | 120'10'' |
| 4 | Global Economic Outlook: The View from Asia | In every region of the world, economic growth has failed to return to the rate it averaged before the Great Recession. What are the priorities for reinvigorating and rebalancing the global Economy & Business? | Globalisation, EU, Brexit, world instability, imbalanced economic growth | Chinese, American, Turkish | B→A | 121'29'' |
| 5 | Into the Fourth Industrial Revolution | What have we learned from the Annual Meeting of the New Champions about the transformational impact of the Fourth Industrial Revolution? | The Fourth Industrial Revolution, governmental policies of different countries | Chinese, Canadian, EU countries | B→A | 89'26'' |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | One Belt, One Road, Many Winners? | The Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road represent China's long-term vision to transform the economic core of Eurasia. What are its economic prospects in the current political reality? | The Belt-road geo-economic policy, Beijing's initiatives, diplomatic relations, Brexit | Chinese, American, EU countries | A→B; B→A | 128'35'' |
| 7 | After the Brexit 1 | With the United Kingdom's historic decision to leave the European Union, what are the short-term implications for the markets, the medium-term impact on geopolitics and, long term, what does it mean for the international order? | Geopolitical changes due to Brexit, relations between EU and UK | British, American | B→A | 66'56'' |
| 8 | After the Brexit 2 | | Uncertainties of post-Brexit UK, UK relations with EU, US and China | British, American, EU countries | B→A | 68'16'' |

The size of the corpus (textual transcription) is 168,487 tokens, which is divided between the ST subcorpus (85,100 tokens) and the TT subcorpus (83,387 tokens). Considering the two directions of interpreting, the size of B→A (English → Chinese) data is larger than that of A→B (Chinese → English), with 131, 036 and 37,451 tokens respectively[9]. There are no significant differences between the two directions in terms of rendering Appraisal meanings (see Chapter 4 for statistical results).

In addition to the textual data (transcriptions) in the corpus, there are metadata recorded for discourse analysis. Figure 6 illustrates the corpus structure for the data on three dimensions. Contextual data record the main topics and issues in panel discussions. Agent data include speaker and interpreter profiles. Data in the two dimensions belong to the metadata, which are gathered from the WEF website and extracted from textual data through corpus techniques. Metadata are stored in separate files. Appendix I presents excerpts of the metadata and the transcribed data of the STs and TTs. There are two groups of linguistic data –a) full texts orthographically transcribed from downloaded videos, and b) audio data of selected speech segments (details in Chapter 7).

[9] This imbalance reflects two important points: i) while the imbalance shows Davos in China is a highly international event with the English as the working language in most panels, it tellingly points to an Anglophonic predominance and the associated 'Western power' in international communication, and ii) the dominant B→A directionality is in conformity with AIIC's (2012) general principle of working into the interpreters' A language. There are no significant differences between the two directionalities in terms of rendering Appraisal meanings (see 4.3.1).

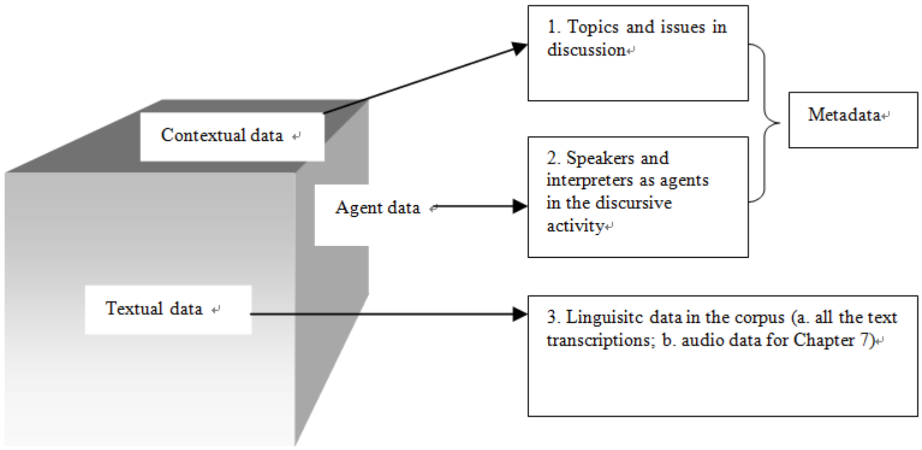


Figure 6. The 2016 WEF-in-China Interpreting Corpus on three dimensions

### 3.2.4 Corpus procedures and semantic annotation

To compile the corpus and prepare data for analysis, five corpus procedures are implemented:

(1) Transcribing STs and TTs orthographically from video recordings downloaded from the WEF official web.

(2) Recording contextual factors in the metadata files, which include speaker profiles, panel themes, and discussion summaries (available from the WEF website). The metadata gives information on participants and topics that constitute important contextual information in the discourse analysis.

(3) Aligning STs and TTs at the sentence level; commas and periods are assigned according to the pauses in the natural speech in conjunction with semantic units.

(4) Annotating evaluative expressions with an emphasis on the evaluative shifts in terms of omissions, additions and substitutions (see details below).

(5) Loading corpus files to corpus software, such as GraphColl (Brezina et al., 2015) and Paraconc (Barlow, 1995) for data searching, concordancing, and extraction.

The annotation of evaluative expressions is done manually because the focus is on the information, i.e. evaluative meanings and their informational shifts. Reliability is guaranteed by two methods. First, Appraisal theory is used as the linguistic framework for the semantic annotation. An annotation scheme (see Appendix II) is developed based on three Appraisal systems: Attitude, Graduation and Engagement (J. Martin & White, 2005). In addition, the lexical examples are referenced from J. Martin and White (2005) for the English language, Peng et al. (2015) for the Chinese language, and Munday (2012) for Appraisal shifts in translation/interpreting. The three books are widely cited and referenced for analysing Appraisal meanings in the English and Chinese languages and translation/interpreting studies. While most of the Appraisal expressions (and their synonyms) in the corpus can be referenced in these books, expressions with invoked Appraisal meaning cannot fully reference themselves thereof as exact matches due to their wide variety. However, invoked Appraisal items fall into set categories: metaphors, non-core lexis, and ideational tokens (J. Martin & White, 2005: 67; Munday, 2012: 30), with which, invoked Appraisals in the corpus can be correspondingly identified and annotated. It is important to note that invoked expressions required double-coding, as a) positive/negative attitudes and b) intensified evaluation (ibid). For instance, the metaphor for Brexit as a 'painful divorce' is double-coded as a) negative affect with b) intensification.

Second, the inter-coder and intra-coder agreement tests are conducted to ensure the reliability of the semantic annotation. The recommended portion of 20% corpus data (Brezina, 2018: 120) was tagged. This is a vital process to increase the robustness of quantitative results, yet it is often neglected in previous CIS studies that are interested in language meanings and functions. The inter-coder agreement test requires manual tagging by two trained coders (the author and her colleague); the intra-coder test entails one coder (the author) tagging the data twice with a reasonable time interval (5 months). Test results[10] show high levels of agreement (91.44% and 89.26% respectively; recommended threshold: above 80% (ibid: 89)), thus offering a reliable prerequisite for data extraction, description, interpretation and explanation.

## 3.3 Theoretical Accounts for Analysing Agent and Textual Data

### 3.3.1 Ideology and axiology: making sense of beliefs/values of Chinese conference interpreters (agent data)

Chinese conference interpreters are treated as the agent data (see 3.2.3), whose ideological beliefs as 'social cognition' (cf. van Dijk, 1998) and individual subjectivity as 'axiological values' (cf. Grant, 2007) are inextricably interconnected. Van Dijk (1998: 148) argues from a social psychology perspective that ideology is essentially social –socially acquired, shared, generated beliefs with the well-known force of conformity, "enforce[ing] ideological alignment of members, … adherence to a core ideological proposition by all members". In other words, van Dijk underscores the shared mental objects of social cognition. From a perspective of communicative uncertainty, Grant (2007: 53) draws on Bakhtin's (1953/1986) notion of "axiological accentuation" of language, and conceptualises it as "subjective evaluation … a belief system which is particular to a world view of a language…located amidst tensions of centripetal and centrifugal forces of

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[10] Since the annotation involves multiple levels and complex Appraisal sub-systems, test results derive from the formula for raw agreement test (= cases of agreement/total cases). If the semantic annotation is binary, more sophisticated inter-coder measures apply, such as Cohen's Kappa (κ) (κ = (raw agreement-agreement by chance)/(1-agreement by chance)) (Brezina, 2018: 90).

discourse. As Figure 7 illustrates, social communication systems present such a persistent centripetal/centrifugal tension between ideology and axiology (Grant, 2007: 161) through the language of evaluation. While evaluation performs the function of constructing the “ideological space of a discourse” (Voloshinov, 1929/1973: 105) where speakers/writers and audience/readers are positioned in dialogic practices, the centripetal force of ideology and axiology contracts space, whereas, the centrifugal force expands the space in social communication. Different from van Dijk’s monolithic conceptualisation of ideology as individual’s social cognition, Grant (2007: 165) distinguishes two levels of evaluation in communication – a) societal ideology and b) subjective axiology, emphasising that “axiology as a subject value sphere is irreducible subjectivity of evaluation in a social context”.

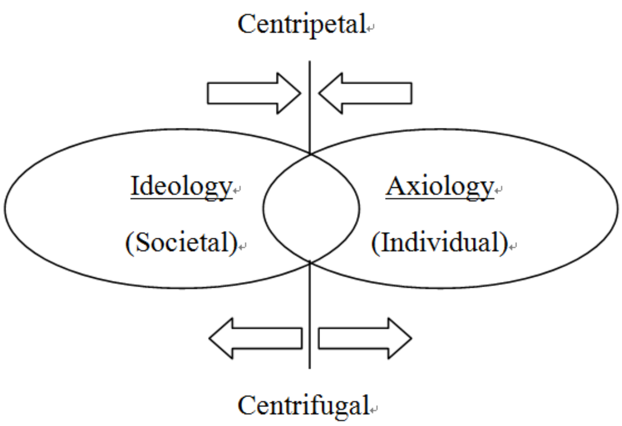


Figure 7. Illustration of the centripetal/centrifugal tension between ideology and axiology (based on text descriptions (Grant, 2007))

Chinese conference interpreters in this study have dual group-identities – a) Chinese nationals and b) professional conference interpreters employed by the Chinese government that organises this event. These group identities are, arguably, sufficiently compelling that individual interpreters’ axiology is subsumed under, assimilated into, or subject to their group cognition, i.e., ideology; that is, the centripetal forces could prevail in the discourse manifestations of TTs. Primarily, their social identity as Chinese nationals/citizens render them ‘given’ bonds of shared territory, ethnic identity, language, history and culture (cf. Geertz, 1973; Gusfield, 1996), for which, they may discursively protect and promote interests of China, as their home-nation. Further, their professional identity assigns them quasi-official status, working usually “with politicians, ambassadors, and other senior public figures” (Jones, 2002: 129). As such their affiliation with the Chinese government ‘requires’ them, among others, to protect and promote interests and images of the Chinese government (e.g. Wang & Feng, 2017; Gu, 2018; Fu & Chen, 2019). Fundamentally, their ideology (as group belief systems) and axiology (as individual values) are centripetally pulled to a force to discursively achieve positive-self (China and the Chinese government) presentation; that is, homogenous beliefs and values that align Chinese interpreters’ stance with the country and institution of their affiliation.

### 3.3.2 Adapting Appraisal systems for text-data analysis

Appraisal theory offers an extravagant analytical framework, yet its wholesale importation is neither feasible nor plausible when specific data-set is under investigation. The corpus data for the present study is bi-lingual and is built to address interpreters’ ideological manifestations in the texts. The analytical focus is not on linguistic resources that fit into the typological classification of Appraisal, but on *Appraisal shifts in relation to discourse structures*. Therefore, adaptations are made for catering the Appraisal systems to the textual data and for operationalizing the analysis with discourse structures and configurations.

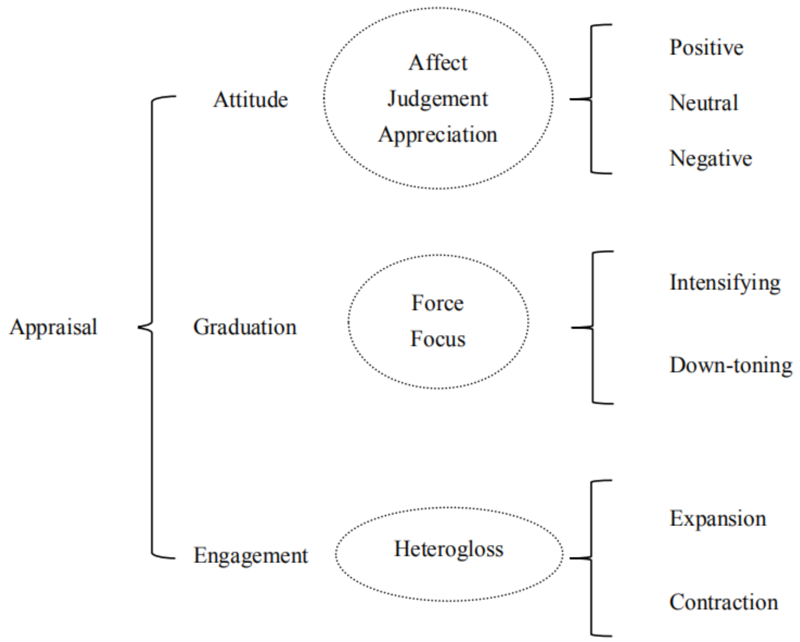


Figure 8. An Appraisal-based analytical framework

As demonstrated in Figure 8, Appraisal's three main systems (Attitude, Graduation and Engagement) are used as a discourse-semantic anchor for textual analysis. The second-tier sub-systems (listed in circles in the middle column) are utilised as linguistic references rather than the actual categorisations for Appraisal shifts in analytical procedures. The categorisations (on the right), parallels or sub-systems of the second-tier systems, are operationalized as analytical frames that accommodate discourse structures (such as positive/negative presentations in relation to the 'us/them' polarisation, discussed in later chapters). First, three sub-systems of Attitude (Affect, Judgement and Appreciation) spread on a polar cline of positive, neutral and negative attitudinal meanings (J. Martin & White, 2005), the ST-TT differences of which are connected with self-and-other presentations in the discourse. For instance, interpreting shifts from negative values to neutral values for self-presentation index discursive acts of neutralisation, suppressing or concealing negative elements in the discourse. Second, linguistic resources of Force and Focus are spread on a continuum of intensification on one end and down toning on the other (ibid), which constitute gradable weights attached to positive/negative attitudinal meanings. Third, out of two distinctive sub-systems of Engagement – Monogloss and Heterogloss, Monogloss is removed from the analytical framework because it does not apply to the corpus data that is essentially dialogic in nature. Heteroglossia resources are then dichotomised into Expansion and Contraction (ibid); the former renders discourse position more tentative, whereas the latter tilts discourse position towards assertion. In a nutshell, Appraisal's sub-systems (on the right) are deployed in both quantitative and qualitative analyses in later chapters; details of analytical methods and how they relate to discourse structures are discussed thereof.

## 3.4 Methodology: Synergising CDA and Corpus Methods as a 'Meta Approach'

### 3.4.1 Rationales

#### 3.4.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): usefulness and insufficiencies

Discourse is socially constructed and constructive (Fairclough, 1989, 1995a), which suggests an underpinning connection between the discourse and the broader institutional, social and political structures (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). That is, discourse reflects socio-politically realities, and meanwhile, is shaped and conditioned by it. Political discursive communication is revealing of such connections because "political activity does not exist without the use of language" (Chilton, 2004: 6).

Taking a critical position to discourse analysis, CDA has been used to systematically unravel and deconstruct otherwise opaque power structures embedded in political discourse (e.g. Fairclough, 1989, 1995b; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1997; Chilton, 2004). Discourse analysts perceive the language use as discursive means by the dominant power to "produce, maintain and reproduce" the ideological dominance (van Dijk, 2001: 96), and CDA-oriented approaches/models become analytical tools that "make[s] the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them more visible" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258). CDA "is problem- or issue-oriented, rather than paradigm-oriented", with a particular emphasis on "the underlying ideologies that play a role in the reproduction of or resistance against dominance or inequality" (original emphasis) (Fairclough, 1995a: 17-18). Thus, CDA can be seen as a means for deconstructing and revealing ideologies embedded in text.

CDA is a dynamic and interdisciplinary tradition, comprising many different approaches (cf. Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Fairclough et al., 2011). Despite these divergences, Fairclough's (1989, 1995a) model for CDA is a widely used and well established one, consisting three inter-related processes of analysis of 1) the text (description), 2) the discourse process (interpretation), and 3) social, historical or political conditions that govern the former two (explanation).

Nonetheless, CDA studies are often criticized as 'cherry-picking' (e.g. Partington, 2004, 2006), or being anecdotal due to the limited amount of text fragments selected for analyses (Chilton, 2005). For example, working with Fairclough's (1989, 1995a) model alone inevitably involves researcher subjectivity in 'cherry-picking' the textual data in favour of his/her own positions. Hence, criticisms on CDA could be penetratingly summarised by Widdowson's (1998: 148) remark: "your analysis will be the record of whatever partial interpretation suits your own agenda" and "what is distinctive about Critical Discourse Analysis is that it is resolutely uncritical of its own discursive practices" (ibid: 151). For large corpus data-set, in particular, the qualitative methods used in CDA "proved ill-suited to handling the sizeable corpus that formed the basis of the study" (Hardt-Mautner, 1995: 1). However, these demerits can be offset by the use of corpus techniques.

#### 3.4.1.2 Advantages of synergizing corpus techniques with CDA

Corpus linguists P. Baker et al. (2008) argue convincingly for the strength of combining CDA and CL in analysing political discourse. Such strength is predominantly attributed to three intrinsic properties of corpus approach: 1) data-authenticity of the naturally occurring discourse, 2) the large scope otherwise not feasible, and 3) (semi) automatic tools for analysis. In Partington's (2003: 12) scalar view of CL use, he advances a rationale for the employment of CL methods to conduct CDA analysis:

> *At the simplest level, corpus technology helps find other examples of a phenomenon one has already noted. At the other extreme, it reveals patterns of use previously unthought-of. In between, it can reinforce, refute or revise a researcher's intuition and show them why and how much their suspicions were grounded.*

The methodological strength of integrating CDA and CL are also summarised in four advantages (P. Baker, 2006:10-17). first, "reducing researcher bias", where discursive events are analysed in favour of empiricism and objectivity; second, "the incremental effect of discourse", where the cumulative effect achieved by patterns is examined in co-occurring words in the corpus; third, "resistant and changing discourses", where evolving views are illustrated by changing word-frequencies in a diachronic corpus; fourth, "triangulation", where multiple corpus procedures are utilized. Multiple CL techniques, such as frequency, concordance, collocation and keyness, are often operationalized to give "a much more detailed insight into the working language in use" (Baker & McEnery 2015:10) to assist the CDA analysis.

#### 3.4.1.3 Linking linguistic forms with discourse functions

In CL, meaning interpretations of linguistic forms usually rely on the co-text and researcher intuition; problems incurred by such contextualization could be remedied by analysing the context of the entire text and context of the situation (Sharoff, 2010). This is the place where CDA could efficaciously come in. Yet, a common criticism by T&I scholars is that CDA is a "holistic" perspective, "dealing with entire constituents of an act of communication" (Munday & Zhang, 2015: 327). There lacks a link between linguist forms and discourse functions. However, at the most fundamental level, all are premised on the socially embedded nature of discourse – that is, language as social semiotic (Halliday, 1978).

The concept of *stratification* and *realization* in systemic functional linguistics (SFL) deals with the links between different levels of the semiotics (lexicogrammar stratum, semantics stratum and the context stratum); the higher levels of abstraction (semantics and context) are realized through the lower levels of description (lexicogrammar) (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In other words, the understanding of discourse hinges upon how the lexicogrammar *choices* are interpreted in a given context.

The 'choice' is conceptualised as the actualisation of "meaning potential", which is realised by lexicogrammatical items, which are open to the text producer, yet constrained by text-type conventions (Halliday, 1978: 109). Translator/interpreter choices are decisions made "between near-synonymous lexical items, between ideologically charged naming practices, between different configurations of transitivity, modality or thematic structure" (Munday & Zhang, 2015: 326). This involves a selection process on the part of the translator/interpreter. The analysis of the selected and unselected linguistic items in a particular context reveals translator/ interpreter's agency, stance-taking and the influences by the dominant power.

The link between CDA and SFL is traced back to Norman Fairclough's (1989) Language and Power, in which, his Dialectical–Relational Approach takes a rather grand-theory orientation while heavily drawing upon a particular linguistic theory – SFL (e.g. Halliday, 1994). SFL analyses language as shaped (even in its grammar) by the social functions it has come to serve. Therefore, the operationalization of Fairclough's critical discourse approach relies on SFL linguistic systems. Three commonalities between CDA and SFL are reasonably assumed as the rationale bases for combining them in discourse analysis. First, both of them position the language in a social context. Second, both acknowledge the reciprocal effects between individual discourse and the context where they take place. Third, both approach the analysis of language with an emphasis on the contextually construed meaning. Then, Appraisal theory evolves and extends from the interpersonal meta-function of SFL. The SFL concept of 'realization' is also central to the Appraisal theory because Appraisal locutions (spoken or written), on the expression stratum, realise the 'meaning potentials' of evaluative functions in a given context (J. Martin & White, 2005). In other words, CDA that strongly relies on concrete linguistic forms in linguistic categories (cf. Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) can rely on the concrete Appraisal expressions in (sub)categories of Appraisal theory with a view to studying interpreters' ideological positioning, as a contextualised social practice.

For T&I, an influential SFL scholar (Halliday, 2001: 5) prioritises semantic (or 'informational') and contextual factors in analysing translation discourses. He proposes a generalised hierarchy of equivalence priority towards a "good translation":

> *...equivalence at different strata carries differential values; that in most cases the value that is placed on it goes up the higher the stratum -- semantic equivalence is valued more highly than*

*lexicogrammatical, and contextual equivalence perhaps most highly of all…*

Though the notion of 'equivalence' has become cliché and problematic, Halliday's main principle for "good translation" is useful in T&I. In view of this priority hierarchy, target texts (TTs) are compared with source texts (STs), not in terms of corresponding linguistic forms, but rather, in terms of the informational contents and discourse functions. Thus, in this corpus-based CDA study, such a focus can be legitimately investigated through interrogating linguistic forms/patterns in STs and TTs, and subsequently interpreting and explaining them with contextual factors.

### 3.4.2 The 'Meta approach': a synergized corpus and CDA approach

To achieve synergistic power, it is pivotal to integrate corpus methods that treat corpus data as a whole and CDA that reveals discursive structures behind critical points in the corpus data. On one hand, corpus methods (e.g. keyness, collocation) can provide "a general 'pattern map' of the data" (P. Baker et al., 2008: 248), pointing out areas of interest for subsequent discourse analysis. Moreover, corpus methods generate frequencies for certain linguistic features indicative of thematic key points, based on which, contrastive/comparative analysis of different discourses can be carried out. These corpus methods consider the corpus data as a quantitative entirely under investigation, in the "principle of total accountability" (Leech, 1992: 112).

On the other hand, CDA affords upper-order structures or frameworks at different levels, usefully informing and guiding data analysis. The core of CDA remains the systematic and explicit analysis of the various structures and strategies of different levels of text and talk (van Dijk, 2006). Structures and levels of text talk are, among other things, are theoretically informed by sociology and political sciences (e.g. Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001;

Chilton, 2004). The use of such frameworks with corpus data makes the analysis more revealing in terms of the level of 'criticalness'.

The analysis of translation/interpreting data requires different treatments of the ST and the TT sub-corpora and entails a comparative lens to examine translation/interpreting shifts. For this study with the WEF interpreting corpus, three steps are implemented back-and-forth to identify, describe, and interpret the critical points of ideology in the STs and TTs.

Step a. Use the corpus-driven approach (corpus methods: keyness, collocation) to identify key contents, topics and countries/regions in the discourse of the ST sub-corpus.

Step b. Use the corpus-based approach with the Appraisal theory to map out and compare differences between the ST and TT Appraisal profiles, interpret shifts of Appraisal meanings with respect to discourse structures.

Step c. Operationalize Fairclough's (1989, 1995a) CDA model with corpus results (from step a, b) through describing evaluative shifts, interpreting these shifts by the interpreters, and explaining them in light of the social-political contexts. Extra-textual factors, such as topics, countries under discussion and speaker/interpreter backgrounds, are used as variables for the analysis of the textual data extracted via the corpus methods.

In the following data-analysis chapters, the 'Meta approach' is utilised as an overarching framework. The details of the analytical methods are provided in each data analysis chapter.

### 3.4.3 Analysing the 'sound' of language with the 'Meta approach'

The 'sound' of language is a distinctive feature that separates interpreting studies from translation studies. It is a vital form of language as social semiotic (Halliday, 1978); how the information embedded in the 'sound' is rendered is pivotal in re-constructing the TT discourse.

To investigate how interpreters render evaluative values embedded in the ST ‘sound’ in a more focused and systematic way, Chapter 7 concentrates on the paralinguistic emphasis, i.e., intensification (Appraisal category: Graduation: Force). In deploying the ‘Meta approach’ for this interdisciplinary chapter, three additional considerations are given to methodology. First, concepts and methods are imported from phonetics and phonology for the systematic description and interpretation of paralinguistic values. Second, a smaller text-audio sub-corpus is built (from the 2016 WEF-in-China corpus) for extracting both textual and acoustic data. Third, both acoustic values and discourse structures are taken into account in the CDA informed analysis, where, in particular, ideology is taken as a variable that affects the interpreter renditions for the phonetically intensified evaluative meaning.

# Chapter 4 Global Analysis of Appraisal Patterns

## 4.1 Introduction

Quantity is central to the global analyses in this chapter because meaningful, significant patterns need to be identified and established not least to inform later chapters. For corpus linguistics, quantity is essentially about word/lemma frequencies, keyness scores/rankings, collocation strengths, type-token ratios (TTRs), and their variations (Brezina, 2018). In corpus-based interpreting studies, the centrality of quantity is not only manifested in the description of data forms, i.e., linguistic features, such as overriding patterns in interpreting products, or 'universals' in the *interpretese* (e.g. Shlesinger, 1998; Shlesinger & Ordan, 2012), but more powerfully in terms of exploring *meanings* in the corpus data, such as Appraisal meanings.

What is lacking are not attempts of pure quantitative description of interpreting corpus data, but informed interpretation of countable forms in terms of meanings to determine significant patterns (cf. Sharoff, 2010). Therefore, interpreting corpus data are treated with more systematic approaches that describe, interpret and explain linguistic and extra-linguistic variables and their relationships. This process can be captured by moving from numbers to meanings, for which, an *a-priori* theory (Appraisal theory, for the present study) is entailed to engender meanings derived from corpus statistics.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse corpus data at the global level, from which, meaningful patterns will be revealed and some results will feed into the following chapters. Quantitative corpus methods are integrated with the Appraisal systems for addressing four research questions at the global level. They are, in effect, *prerequisite* questions before I can delve into more focused analysis at the local level in the ensuing chapters. The four questions relate to the 'Level i' questions in 1.3:

RQ (1) Are the two interpreting directionalities (B → A: English → Chinese; A → B: Chinese → English) more different or similar in terms of rendering Appraisal meanings?

RQ (2) How the three categories of Appraisal meanings (Attitude, Graduation and Engagement) differ from one another from the product-oriented perspective?

RQ (3) How does the TT Appraisal profile depart from ST Appraisal profile? What are the salient patterns that point to a need for more focused analysis?

RQ (4) What are the 'keyness' evaluative targets (countries or regions), topics associated with them, and how they are evaluated at a global level?

## 4.2 Analytical Methods

### 4.2.1 Comparison: a perspective for analysing interpreting/translation data

Comparison, an analytical perspective of dualism, enables researchers to make sense of one thing by casting it in relation to another. It provides "a fundamental tool of analysis…sharpens our power of description" for social sciences (Collier, 1993: 105). In translation studies, comparison offers "a perspective that increases our understanding of the whole picture, and also of how this picture related to other pictures" (Chesterman, 2004: 33). The comparative analysis is widely applied to corpus-based interpreting studies, where the quantitative comparison is fruitfully implemented between STs and TTs.

All the global analyses in this chapter are carried out with a comparative perspective. The following parts set out comparing renditions of Appraisal meanings between B→A and A→B directionalities, compare differences in rendering three categories of Appraisal meanings, contrast STs and TTs against subcategories of Appraisal, and then compare topics related to China vs. other countries in discourse for the global examination of evaluative values.

### 4.2.2 Analytical steps

#### 4.2.2.1 Comparing two directionalities

In enquiring how similar/different Appraisal meanings are rendered between B→A and A→B directionalities, independent T-tests are conducted. This statistical technique compares the means between two unrelated groups on the same continuous, dependent variable, that is, how different STs and TTs are in terms of Appraisal meanings (quantified in percentages). The 22 subcategories of Appraisal systems (see Appendix I) are used as individual observations.

Two aspects of comparisons are considered. The first T-test considers all data of Appraisal meanings; the second considers how much Appraisal meanings are interpreted accurately in two directionalities. That is, both overall textual manifestations and interpreting accuracy in terms of Appraisal are investigated.

Testing the differential level of B→A and A→B directionalities is an essential analytical procedure for bi-directional interpreting corpora. Ensuing analyses are predicated on its results, based on which, decisions can hence be made for homogenous or heterogeneous treatments of bi-directional interpreting data.

#### 4.2.2.2 Corpus-based quantitative methods: frequency-based contrastive analysis informed by Appraisal theory

With the corpus-based approach, there are "*priori* theories" used for developing semantic annotation schemes (P. Baker, 2010: 150). The Appraisal theory is the linguistic theory that systematically conceptualises evaluative meanings realised through lexical or phraseological forms of the natural language (J. Martin &

White, 2005). That is, it firstly builds in high delicacy systems of semantic resources with increasing abstraction; different levels of delicacy can be flexibly applied and geared towards research aims. This theory links meanings with linguistic forms, thus allowing researchers to annotate, with reduced levels of coder subjectivity, and subsequently interpret semantic values from formal linguistic data.

Frequency is the essence of corpus-based research as it is the "bedrock of corpus linguistics" (P. Baker, 2010: 19). At the simplest level, frequency descriptively quantifies the number of times the item of interest (a word, a lemma, a multiword expression or an n-gram) occurs in a corpus. Quantitative analysis of corpus data inevitably involves operationalization on the basis of frequencies (Brezina, 2018). Frequencies of such are reported as absolute frequencies (AF) together with relative (or normalised/standardised) frequencies (RF)[11], for which, normalization uses one million as the basis, and it is a "common baseline in corpus linguistics" (ibid: 43).

Therefore, frequencies of tagged Appraisal items in the corpus are, among others, computed in the frequency terms for the purposes of addressing the first three questions of this chapter (see 4.1).

#### 4.2.2.3 Corpus-driven quantitative methods: keyness and collocation networks

The corpus-driven approach is often used as an exploratory corpus tool. For example, key-words (or 'keyness' analysis) is often used to map out semantic domains in a given corpus (Rayson, 2008). Keyness provides "a point of entry" for discourse analysis (P. Baker, 2010: 133), and is a useful CL method of "highlighting lexical saliency" by comparing relative frequency between two

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[11] Relative frequencies allow cross-corpora comparisons. However, they "should never be used to hide absolute frequencies", and both should be reported together (Brezina, 2018: 44).

corpora, often one corpus under investigation with a much larger general corpus (ibid: 26). Keyness scores are generated through chi-squared or log-likelihood tests, and statistically 'signposting' key contents and topics in the corpus. In particular, key nouns, adjectives and verbs, alternatively, multiword expressions (MWEs), reveal the statistically significant 'aboutness' of the corpus data. Keyness procedure is often conducted at the macro level of corpus studies, informing, identifying and enabling ensuing analyses at the micro-level in CL and CDA integrated studies (P. Baker, 2010; P. Baker et al., 2008).

Collocation is often coupled with keyness to inform CDA. Firth (1957: 6) seminally identifies that collocates, or the "company that words keep", can reveal co-text meanings and subtle meanings in the discourse. Different algorithms are applied to association strength between collocates, i.e. measuring frequency and exclusivity. Mutual information (MI) score calculates the strength of such association by stressing exclusivity and de-emphasising frequency, through which, researchers unearth associated discourse meanings, rather than identifying grammatical chunks or colligations (P. Baker, 2010). Collocation network is an extended 'multiple' form of collocation analysis; it organises collocates of a node word into lexical patterns, presenting "multiple comparisons of mutual attraction between different pairs of words" (Brezina et al., 2015: 142).

With keyness and collocation network analyses operationalised in tandem in the ST subcorpus, three aims are achieved at the global level: (i) identifying evaluative targets (countries or regions under discussion), (ii) uncovering main topics or issues that associate with evaluative targets, and (iii) understanding, globally, how countries or regions with associated topics are evaluated in the WEF discourse.

## 4.3 Results and Discussion

### 4.3.1 More similar than different between B→A and A→B directionalities

The independent T-test shows there is no significant difference between B→A and A→B directionalities in terms of overall Appraisal profiles ($t$ (42) = 1.152, $p$ = 0.256, $n$ = 22). Similar statistical pattern is also found with respect to the interpreting accuracy for Appraisal meanings ($t$ (42) = 1.342, $p$ = 0.187, $n$ = 22). Therefore, the null hypothesis of no differences cannot be rejected in both cases. As shown in Figure 9, the box plot (a) (overall Appraisal profiles) depicts high levels of similarity between the two directions of interpreting in terms of the median, interquartile range and spread. Likewise, the box plot (b) (interpreting accuracy of Appraisal meanings) also shows greater similarities than differences, in particular for the median values.

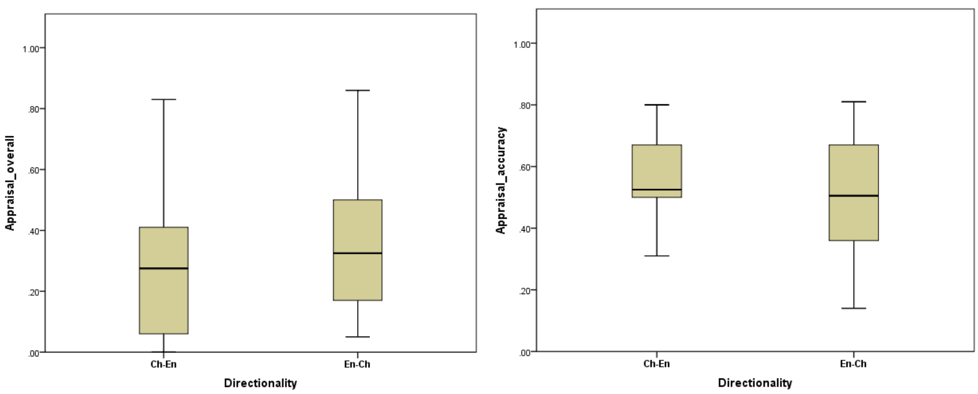


Figure 9. Box plots of comparing B→A and A→B directionalities for a (left): overall Appraisal profiles and b (right): interpreting accuracy of Appraisal meanings

High levels of similarity between two directions seem to be unexpected scenarios, for which, Western European conference interpreting "prescribed working exclusively into the mother tongue" (A. Martin, 2016: 230), and AIIC's convention and practice guide also prefer B→A directions, on the assumption that working into B languages compromise rendition quality. Nonetheless, statistical tests for Appraisal meanings (on the semantic tier) provide evidence for the performance homogeneity between B→A and A→B directionalities, insofar as the English and Chinese combinations are concerned.

The statistically insignificant results prove that the two directionalities are more similar than different, thus warranting similar treatments to the B→A and A→B directions in the subsequent analyses of Appraisal meanings in corpus data.

While similar treatments in terms of two directionalities do not seem impossible at the micro- linguistic level, the marked imbalance (see 3.2.3: B. English →A. Chinese (131, 036 tokens), A. Chinese →B. English (37,451 tokens)) between them signals important ideological implications at the macro-socio-political level. The Anglophonic dominance in international (political) communications is nothing but obvious – not only the speakers from EU countries but many Chinese speakers opt to use English that seems to be the preferred working language for the Summer Davos. In addition, non-English/Chinese speakers from other Asian counties are left with no other choices but English as their lingua franca. Indeed, English as a lingua franca (ELF) – arguably a global phenomenon in international conferences – points to an ideological Anglo-centralism that could be a legacy from the old world order, perpetuating itself into today's global landscape and conditioning how the world political, business and academic voices are exchanged on the WEF platform. ELF in international conferences not only hinders the non-native speakers to articulate their views and attitudes, but poses possible challenges to interpreters due to non-native accents (Chang & Wu, 2014), and thus the voices from China and other Eastern countries may suffer unnecessary obfuscation. The ostensibly linguistic-level imbalance, then, is likely to widen the persistent ideological/political divide between Anglophone countries and most ‘Eastern’ countries.

### 4.3.2 Differences in rendering three categories of Appraisal meanings

The lexico-semantic oriented Appraisal meanings are subject to considerable shifts in interpreting (cf. Munday, 2012, 2015, 2018). To capture a fuller picture of evaluative shifts, on top of interpreting accuracy, another two measures are also applied in this study: inclusion and precision. Thus, the three measures for assessing how Appraisal meanings are rendered: accuracy, inclusion and precision. As Figure 10 illustrates, the three measures respectively gauge the proportions of those lexico-semantic Appraisal items that are rendered correctly out of the total (indicated by A), included in the rendition (not omitted, even if rendered incorrectly) out of the total (indicated by B), and rendered correctly out of those included in the rendition (indicated by C).

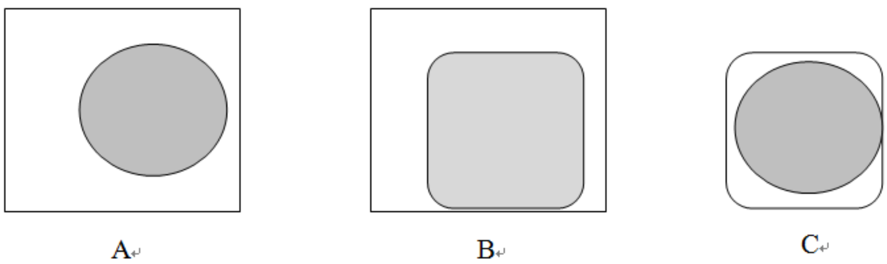


Figure 10. Three measures for assessing how Appraisal meanings are rendered; A: Accuracy, B: Inclusion, and C: Precision

The aims of the three measures differ. Accuracy is a commonly recognized measure for the quality of interpreting products. Inclusion measures the sensitivity level of the Appraisal categories, that is, how likely Appraisal items are processed rather than being omitted in the interpreting process. Precision reveals how likely processed items are rendered correctly.

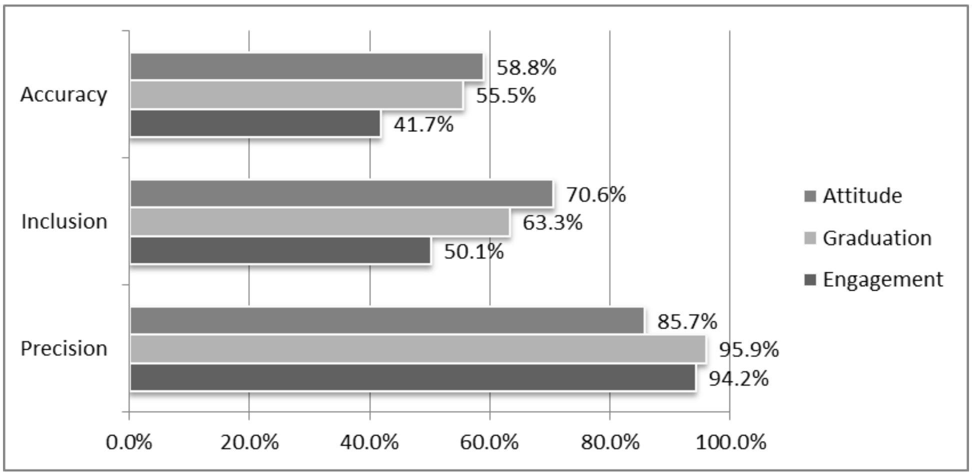


Figure 11. Assessing the renditions of Appraisal meanings in terms of accuracy, inclusion and precision

As shown in Figure 11, in terms of interpreting accuracy, the Attitude category is the most accurately rendered, followed by Graduation and Engagement. In terms of inclusion, the overall proportions are higher given the incorrect items included, yet, the hierarchy is similar to that of accuracy, with Appraisal items of the Attitude category exceed those of Graduation and Engagement. Precision shows a drastically different picture, with the proportions of Graduation and Engagement excel that of Attitude.

These differences in light of the three assessment measures point to the ways interpreters render the three distinct categories of Appraisal. Attitude is the most accurate and included category, but least precise. This may due to the fact the attitudinal values are inseparable from factual/propositional discourses that cannot be easily omitted, yet, the Attitude category is highly lexico-grammatically diverse (J. Martin & White, 2005) which indicates a higher level of interpreting difficulty. Graduation tops the precision measurement and ranks second in terms of accuracy and inclusion. The high precision level suggests Force and Focus items are relatively easier to render given the lower lexical range in the Graduation category. Engagement differs noticeably from Attitude and Graduation because almost half of the Engagement items are omitted but those that are rendered are likely to be correct. This difference indicates that Engagement is a highly sensitive category that is least prioritised by interpreters even if Engagement items are not lexico-semantically difficult to render.

### 4.3.3 ST/TT Appraisal profiles and salient patterns

Table 4 presents both AF and RF of seven Appraisal sub-categories that pertain to discourse analysis in later chapters. Frequency values are then visualised in Figure 4 that juxtaposes the ST and TT Appraisal profiles featuring seven sub-categories under three Appraisal systems. The contrastive analysis of categorical Appraisal meanings, at the global level, enables the observation, identification and description of salient patterns that point to quantitative features worth further attention, thus usefully reducing data complexity to interpretive structures and informing more focused analyses in later chapters.

Table 4. Absolute frequencies (AF) and relative frequencies (RF) of relevant Appraisal sub-categories in the ST and TT Appraisal profiles (one million as the basis for RF normalisation)

| Appraisal systems | Sub-categories | TT Appraisal profile (AF) | TT Appraisal profile (RF) | ST Appraisal profile (AF) | ST Appraisal profile (RF) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attitude | Positive | 1,132 | 6,612 | 1,263 | 7,377 |
| | Negative | 691 | 4,036 | 1,037 | 6,057 |
| | Neutral | 244 | 1,425 | 304 | 1,776 |
| Engagement | Expansion | 599 | 3,499 | 931 | 5,438 |
| | Contraction | 606 | 3,539 | 961 | 5,613 |
| Graduation | Intensifying | 1,338 | 7,815 | 1,759 | 10,274 |
| | Down-toning | 57 | 333 | 139 | 812 |

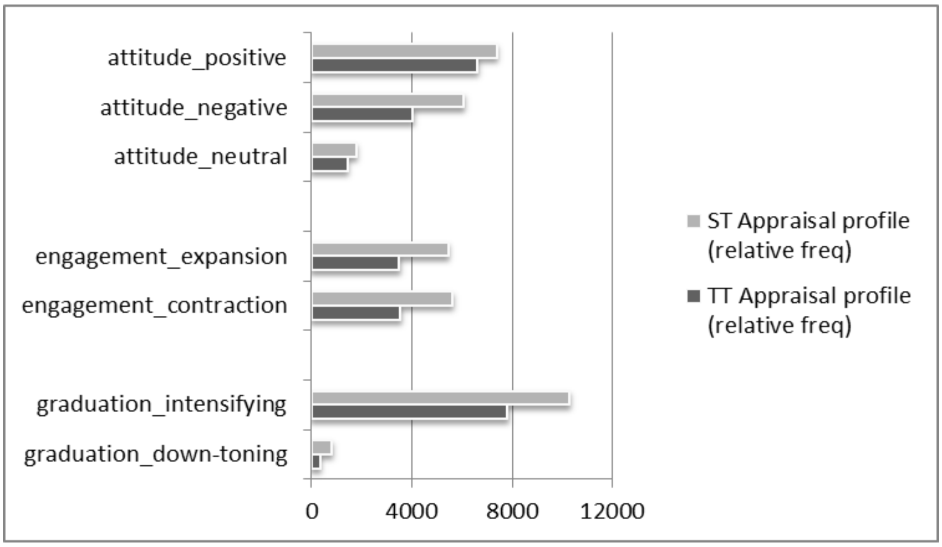


Figure 12. Contrasting the ST and TT Appraisal profiles measured in relative frequency

Three quantitative patterns are distinguished in Figure 12. First, there is a general reduction from STs to TTs of all Appraisal subcategories investigated. This means, considering all cases of TT omissions, additions and substitutions of Appraisal meanings, TT frequencies of Appraisals are still noticeably fewer than those of ST. The quantitative reduction is understandable in terms of Effort Model that largely attributes reductions to cognitive saturation in simultaneous interpreting (Gile, 1995). The second noticeable pattern is the more substantial reduction in the category of negative Attitude, which portrays TTs as more positively evaluated than STs. The third pattern worthy of note is high levels of reduction in both Engagement subcategories (Expansion and Contraction), as well as in Intensification. The latter two patterns cannot be immediately understood or interpreted, thus requiring further investigations with an increased level of focus (see Chapter 5 and 6).

### 4.3.4 ‘Keyness’ countries/regions, topics and global Appraisal

The keyness analysis first engenders evaluative targets (countries/regions in the WEF discourse) via focusing on nouns and nominal MWEs. This is done with the Sketch Engine interface[12] against two 10-billion-word general English and Chinese corpora compiled with 2015 online texts (enTenTen 2015 and cnTenTen 2015)[13]. Table 5 presents the first five high ranking keyness countries and regions (ordering from higher to lower keyness scores): China, UK, US, Europe and Asia. Relevant keywords and MWEs are categorised and listed in the right side column accordingly.

Table 5. 'Keyness' evaluative targets (countries/regions) indicated by keywords and MWEs

| Keyness ranking | Evaluative targets | Keywords and MWEs in the corpus |
|---|---|---|
| **1** | **China** | China, Chinese, Beijing |
| **2** | **UK** | UK, British, London, Scotland, Irish |
| **3** | **US** | US, USA, Americans, United States, Fed, Washington |
| **4** | **Europe** | Europe, European, EU, Turkey, Turkish, German, Norway, Switzerland, Greece, single market, Eurozone, EU |
| **5** | **Asia** | Asia, Asian, Japan, Russia, Russians, Soviet, Philippine, East Asia, North Korea, Egyptian, Kazakhstan, Tokyo, Singapore, India |

Collocation networks of these evaluative targets offer useful insights into topics surrounding them. GraphColl 1.0[14] (Brezina et al., 2015) is utilised to generate visual representations of major targets (*China*, *UK*, *US* and *Europe*, as

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[12] https://app.sketchengine.eu/

[13] The corpus en/ch TenTen 2015 are two of the TenTen corpora, a set of comparable web text corpora, i.e. collections of texts that have been crawled from the World Wide Web in thirty-five languages. They are made available as often-used comparable corpora through the Sketch Engine corpus manager. (Jakubíček et al., 2013) (see https://app.sketchengine.eu/)

[14] This corpus tool is available at http://www.extremetomato.com/projects/graphcoll.

the first four ranking items) as nodes in association with other lexical items in the corpus. The word *Asia* is not analysed in the collocation network because it is represented by multiple Asian countries, and they are found to be associated with the topic of the South China Sea dispute through the concordance lines. The other four evaluative targets, however, are more centralised with single lexical items that can be used as nodes in collocation networks.

Figure 13, 14 and 15 present graphically collocation networks of the keyness evaluative targets, which are placed in the centre as the nodes as ‘vertex’. Both content and function words are kept in order to present a full picture of how node words are related to other words in a meaningful way. Interpretations are based on the lines running from the node to its collocates, “their length representing the strength of the collocation. Shorter lines indicate higher values of the association measure, and thus stronger collocational bonds” (ibid: 149). MI is the statistic for measuring collocation strength (Span: 5-5| Collocation freq. threshold: 5.0| Statistic value threshold: 4.0).

As seen in Figure 13, two topics emerge from the collocation network: the South China Sea (SCS) dispute and China politics and economy. The former is indicated by stronger collocates like *south, sea, claim,* and *japan*; the latter is signposted by numerous words, like *policy, power, economic, investments,* and *development*.

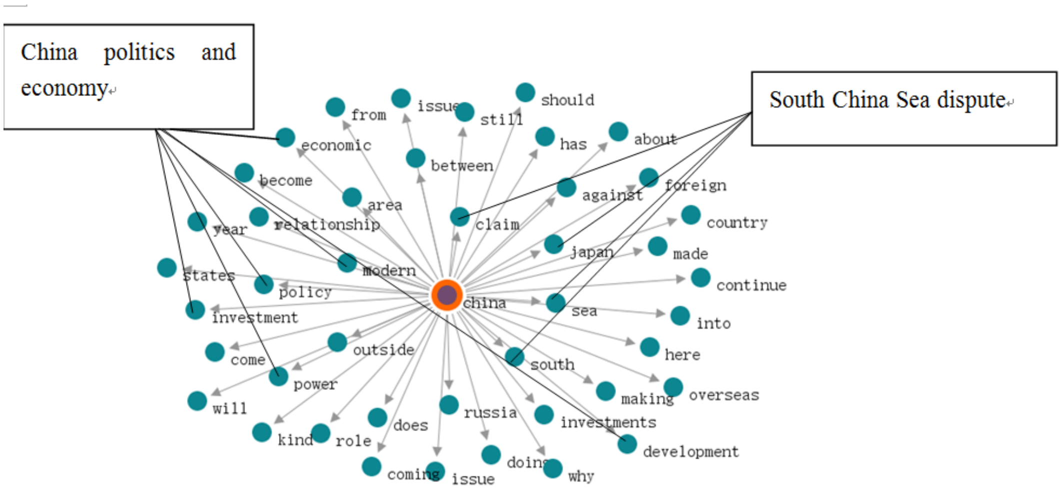


Figure 13. Topics emerged from the collocation network of *china* (graph generated by GraphColl 1.0; the same with later illustrations of collocation networks)

Figure 14 exhibits collocation networks of two strongly associated nodes, *UK* and *Europe*, as indicated by the short line connecting them. The Brexit referendum is the most salient topic germane to *uk*, three collocates (*eu, referendum,* and *relationship*) are in the vicinity of *uk*. Interrelational issues between UK and Europe is a prominent topic in the timing of the Brexit referendum, with collocates of *part, relationship, eu,* and *between*. The regional economy of Europe is also an important topic surrounding the two nodes, collocates like *trade, economic* and *economy* are indicative of its saliency.

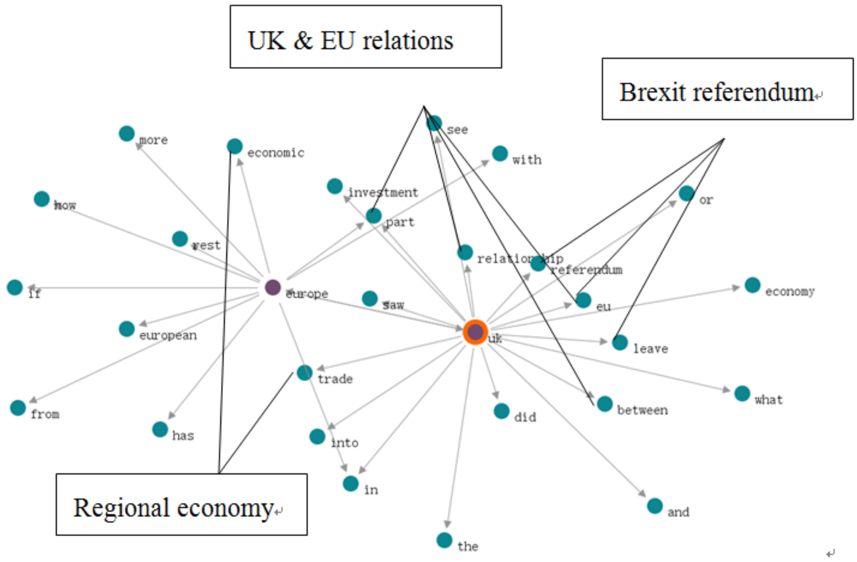


Figure 14. Topics emerged from the collocation networks of *uk* and *europe*

As shown in Figure 15, US presidential election is a major topic in the discourse (indicated by *president* and *next*). The other topic is pertinent to US politics and economy, as suggested by *power*, *dollar*, *percentage*, *investment*, and *investment*.

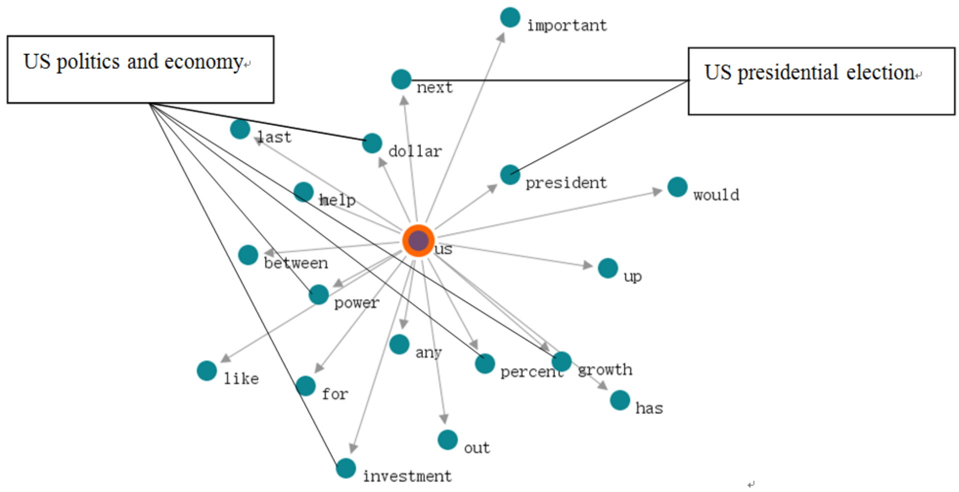


Figure 15. Topics emerged from the collocation network of *us*

Collocation networks of keyness countries (as nodes) signal vital insights into major topics surrounding them, or dominant discourse enveloping them. They are leveraged as useful indicators for subtopics and clusters of various keywords and

MWEs into topic domains. As listed with the order of keyness rankings in Table 6, these keywords and MWEs are not only linguistic evidence for how salient these topics are in the WEF discourses, but they also connect topic domains to how these topics are evaluated, which otherwise cannot be observed from collocation networks. As such, more meaningful insights are gained via observing Appraisal expressions (e.g. *win-win, dynamism, steady, pessimistic, crisis, uncertainty* and so forth), which are in forms of nouns, verbs and mainly epithets. From this process, global Appraisal tendencies in light of the five topic domains can be obtained.

Table 6. 'Keyness' topics and positive/negative evaluations [15] surrounding evaluative targets (countries/regions)

| **Topic domains** | **Key words and MWEs**<br>(Subtopics are marked in **bold**, positive evaluation in boxes and negative evaluation in shadows). English gloss is provided in brackets. | **Global positive/negative evaluations** |
|---|---|---|
| **China politics and economy** | RMB, Yuan, overcapacity, **surplus capacity**, **outbound investment**, Teda Group, **Belt and Road Initiative**, Silk Road, AIIB, development zone, Egyptian, Kazakhstan, WEF, President Xi, Jinping, Tianjin, Huangzhou, investment, Shanghai, SOE, infrastructure, headwind, dynamism, structure reforms, steady transition, reasonable growth, Chinese investment, inclusive growth, innovation, win-win, 泰达 (Teda), 达沃斯 (**Davos**), 主席国 (chair country), 双赢 (win-win), 主厨 (chef), 合作区 (cooperation zone), **丝绸之路** (Silk Road), 桥头堡 (bridge fortress), 财大气粗 (exuberantly rich), 小巨人 (little giant), 经贸 | Overwhelmingly positive |

[15] The detailed annotation plan (see 3.2.4) also applies to the assignment of positive/negative values to corpus tokens listed below. It is important to note that both explicit evaluative expressions (such as *innovative growth* and *win-win*) and implicit (evoked) evaluative expressions (such as *divorce remorse*, *ramification* and *uncertainty*) are annotated. However, proper nouns (such as *nationalism* and *populism*) that could be imbued with negative evaluative values (depending upon the situation) are not assigned positive/negative values, since they fall out the remit of Appraisal theory.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 区 (economic and trade zone), **海外工程** (overseas projects), 沿线国家 (countries along the Silk Road), 创新增长 (innovative growth), 金融治理 (financial reform), 过剩产能 (overcapacity) | |
| **South China Sea Territorial Dispute** | South, Sea, Diaoyu, territorial dispute, Japanese, Japan, US, Nine Dash Line, Philippine, flashpoint, UN, international ruling, Vietnam, Tokyo, Hague, military, backlash, misperception, overact | Negative |
| **Brexit referendum** | Brexit, minister, ministry, UK, British, London, Scotland, July, June, Eurozone, Euro, trade war, Republican, Osborne, Irish, MP, City, Brexiteers, Boris, referendum, populism, breakup, divorce remorse, conservative, disintegration, destabilising, ramification, single market, free migration, free moving, passport holder, 脱欧 (Brexit), 退欧 (disintegrated from EU), 天有不测风云 (unexpected blizzard) | Negative |
| **US presidential election** | Trump, Hillary, Clinton, President, hawkish, unpredictability, uncertainty, political uncertainty | Negative |
| **World politics and economy** | **Industrial Revolutions**, GDP, World Economic Forum, Eurasia, **Globalisation**, Bank, TPP, **Transpacific Partnership**, volatility, WTO, NATO, German, Merkel, KPMG, Transpacific, slow down, stabilise, Silicon, tightening, pessimist, **global financial crisis,** banking sector, market volatility, digital economy, international currency, low productivity, 国债券 (bond), 二十国集团 (**G20**), 首脑级 (head of states), **并购** (merger and acquisition), 恐怖主义 (terrorism), 金融危机 (financial crisis), 就业机会 (employment opportunities) | Largely negative |

Two keyness topic domains directly pertain to China. The first topic domain, China politics and economy, exhibits positive Appraisal overwhelmingly.

Despite three negative items (*overcapacity, headwind,* and *过剩产能 (overcapacity)*) that are in the keyness list, other Appraisal items are overtly positive, such as *dynamism, steady transition, reasonable growth, inclusive growth, innovation,* and *win-win.* These attitudinal expressions construct positive evaluation of China politics and economy in the WEF discourse. The topic of the South China Sea issue is apparently negatively evaluated. It is seen from direct negative items (*territorial dispute, misperception,* and *overact*) and indirect, or invoked negative attitudinal items, like *flashpoint* and *backlash*.

Two keyness topic domains are related to UK and US. The Brexit referendum is geographic event happened just one week before the 2016 WEF meeting in China. Much negative value can be seen from, say, *destabilizing* and *ramification*. Additionally, negativity could arguably be heightened with uses of metaphors like *trade war, breakup, divorce remorse,* and *天有不测风云 (unexpected blizzard)*. The topic on the US presidential election is not as salient as the previous topics though, the negativity of uncertainty is seen from *unpredictability, uncertainty, political uncertainty,* which, repeatedly, render the overall Appraisal of the event into negative evaluation.

World politics and economy subsume subtopics (such as Industrial Revolutions, globalisation, and Transpacific Partnership). The global Appraisal is marginally positive with items like *stabilise* and *employment opportunities*, yet, largely negatively evaluated with numerous attitudinal items, such as *volatility, slowdown, tightening, pessimist, market volatility, low productivity, and 金融危机 (financial crisis).*

## 4.4 Summary

Analyses at the global level of the data in this chapter have achieved dual purposes: having i) mapped out meaning global patterns for the present study and ii) answered *prerequisite* questions which set the ground for, usefully guide, and enable the ensuing chapters with more focused analysis. Four research questions are addressed quantitatively at the global level, and some results will feed into later chapters. First, there are no significant differences between B→A and A→B directionalities in terms of Appraisal meanings, which 'green-lights' relatively homogenous treatments for interpreting data of B→A and A→B directions in the subsequent analyses (RQ (1)). In terms of interpreting accuracy, inclusion and precision, the Engagement category is notably different from those of Attitude and Graduation, which entails different treatments in later analyses (RQ (2)). Differentials between ST and TT Appraisal meanings map out salient patterns (e.g. TTs more positive than STs), pointing to the sites worthy of further investigation (RQ (3)). Finally, CL statistics of keyness and collocation strength are utilised for identifying key 'aboutness' of evaluative targets (countries or regions), topics associated with them, and how they are evaluated at the global level. They inform later critical discourse analyses in the present study (RQ (4)).

What is highlighted in this chapter is the methodological integration, at the global level, between quantitative corpus techniques and systems of the Appraisal theory. On one hand, the use of corpus methods enables (semi) automation, efficiency, and objectivity with sizeable corpus data, for which, qualitative analysis alone is incapable of handling. On the other hand, the use of Appraisal systems makes the global analyses theoretically informed and guided.

# Chapter 5 In/Out-group Ideological Positioning through Attitude and Graduation

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter starts the close examination of ideological shifts manifested textually in conference interpreting through investigating evaluative language in STs and TTs. As discussed in earlier chapters, ideological shifts are primarily rendered by interpreters' stance, not least to their ideological positioning in line with the interests of China and the Chinese government ('us'). The focus of this chapter is on the evaluation-'proper' in the discourse, for which, two Appraisal systems (Attitude and Graduation) are leveraged as a linguistic toolkit to identify, interpret and explain ideological shifts in light of the 'us' and 'them' discourses. In particular, textual shifts of positive/negative evaluations and corresponding degrees are discussed with a view to interpreter ideological positioning in relation to China and other countries.

This chapter intends to address two research questions that relate to the 'Level ii' questions in 1.3:

RQ (1) What are the salient Appraisal patterns (in terms of Attitude and Graduation) of interpreting shifts, and how do these patterns relate to the positive/negative evaluations of China and other countries in the discourse?

RQ (2) In what ways does the interpreter 'us/them' ideological positioning contribute to the reconstruction of discourses about China and other countries in the simultaneous interpreting process?

## 5.2 Analytical Methods

### 5.2.1 Van Dijk's Ideological Square

Van Dijk (1998) seminally takes a multidisciplinary approach to ideology, for which, he constructs a three-dimensional theory of ideology:

(1) *Cognition*, individual and group knowledge, thoughts and beliefs that are theorized from the perspective of psychology;

(2) *Society*, societal and political interests, conflicts and struggle that characterize in/out-group dynamics;

(3) *Discourse*, language use that expresses and re-produces ideologies in society through concealment, legitimisation or manipulation.

By "cognition", van Dijk essentially refers to the individual/group ideology. "Cognition' is the interface between "society" and "discourse'. Central to their relations is the 'us/ them' ideological dichotomy.

This dichotomous concept is proposed in van Dijk (1998: 267) as the *Ideological Square*, which highlights the ideological polarization between 'ingroups' and 'outgroups'. Figure 16 illustrates the way "members of ingroups typically emphasize their own good deeds and properties and the bad ones of the outgroup, and mitigate or deny their own bad ones and the good ones of the outgroup" (van Dijk, 2006: 115). This polarized square allows discourse analysts to explore ideologies in relation to the actors (or agents) and the community or society they are in.

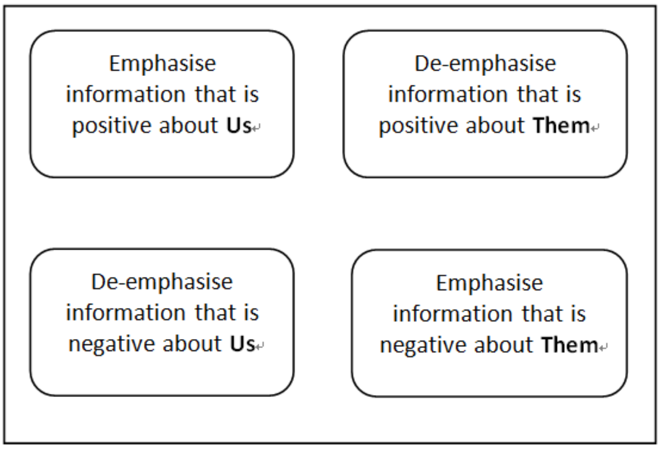


Figure 16. The *Ideological Square*; configured based on its textual descriptions (van Dijk, 1998: 267; 2006: 115)

Nevertheless, like many other theories on ideology, van Dijk's (1998: 320) theories are only "sketched out", in his own words, and remain mere theoretical assumptions until they should be tested and validated in empirical studies. The corpus for the present study provides empirical data for corroborating the 'us/them' assumptions as a potentially reliable theoretical model.

### *5.2.2* Linguistic framework: combined systems of Attitude and Graduation

Attitude, the fundamental form of evaluation, is prototypically realised through attitudinally loaded adjectives or "evaluative epithets" (Halliday, 1994: 184), which also correspond to *positive* and *negative* polarities, such as *(un)happy, (dis)honest, powerful/less, (un)balanced* and so forth (J. Martin & White, 2005: 45-56). Graduation system is related to gradability of attitudinal meanings with scalable degrees of authorial intensity and the degree of investment in the proposition. The semantic values are largely realised by adjective/adverbial modifiers as "Force" (scaling based on intensity or amount), such as *many, more, very, extremely, little, slightly* and etc., and, as Focus (grading according to prototypicality), like *real, genuine* and *sort of* (ibid: 135-144).

The two dimensions of Appraisal values, often, coexist in discourse (See Table 8). Each value can be positive or negative and intensified or downtoned. The most explicit and direct way is the intensifiers/downtoners that function as modifiers of openly evaluative epithets, which express attitudinal meanings by "direct inscription" (ibid: 61). For instance, *extremely powerful* and *most reliable* construe intensified positive evaluation.

However, Appraisal values are also implicit and indirect in the sense that they are "implied" (J. Martin, 2000: 172) or invoked. There are two levels of invoked evaluation. First, the use of metaphors may 'provoke' or trigger positive/negative audience responses (White, 2006: 40). The prevailing Brexit metaphors in the 2016 WEF meeting in China, such as *divorce* and *thunderstorm*, provoke negative and regrettable responses in the audience. Another level of invoked evaluation is the 'afforded' or evoked attitude, which is mixed with ideational (factual) meanings or informational content. For example, beneath the informational surface of *suffer* lies a subjective evaluation of a painful experience. The evoked attitude is a potent form of evaluation since it exerts the effects of intensifying feelings by 'naturalizing' itself into the ideational content that seems factual.

Table 7 provides some examples of evaluative expressions adapted from corpus data. They are categorised in the cross-tab of Attitude and Graduation systems.

Table 7. Combined Attitude and Graduation systems (with examples adapted from corpus data)

| | | Attitude | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Positive evaluation | Negative evaluation |
| **Graduation** | Intensified | *very good, extremely powerful, more welcome, most reliable, very strong leadership, contribute* | *very dangerous, much misunderstanding, significantly undermine, high level of tension, a blow, shock, Brexit divorce/thunderstorm, suffer* |
| | Down-toned | *a little optimistic, slightly hopeful, a bit comfortable with, sort of effective, kind of advantage* | *sort of incompetent, kind of misperception, somewhat problematic, a little insufficient, slightly distorted picture* |

### 5.2.3 Analytical steps

Analytical steps of this chapter are embedded in the overarching methodology that integrates CDA, Appraisal systems and corpus techniques (see 3.2). This product-orientated study utilises the ST and TT linguistic manifestations with the aim of describing, interpreting and explaining the relations of evaluative shifts, interpreter ideological positioning and issues discursively constructed surrounding different countries. Quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted in five steps:

**Quantitative analysis**

Step 1: Map out global patterns of evaluative shifts of Attitude and Graduation in terms of interpreting omissions and additions & substitutions.

Step 2: Test how these patterns of interpreting shifts relate to interpreter ideological positioning in light of ‘us/them’ dichotomy.

Step 3: Calculate proportions of long omissions of sentences that are ideologically charged.

**Qualitative analysis**

Step 4: Critically analyse interpreting shifts of Attitude and Graduation locutions that relate to the positive/negative evaluation of China.

Step 5: Critically analyse interpreting shifts of Attitude and Graduation locutions that relate to the positive/negative evaluation of other countries.

## 5.3 Quantitative Analysis: Strong 'Solidary-us' and Moderate 'Alien-them' Ideological Positioning

### 5.3.1 Omissions, additions and substitutions of Attitude and Graduation expressions at a lexical level

The quantitative analysis first focuses on the 1238 occurrences[16] of evaluative shifts of Attitude and Graduation at the lexical level. As can be seen from Table 8, the omission ratio of evaluative words (76.9%) outnumbers that of additions and substitutions (23.1%), which is reasonable in the simultaneous mode since the latter tends to necessitate more cognitive efforts for inserting new information or recoding information.

[16] This dataset is taken from a total of 7964 evaluative expressions extracted from the corpus.

Table 8. Appraisal shifts (in terms of Attitude and Graduations systems) with respect to interpreters' 'us-vs.-them' ideological positioning

| | **Omissions** | | | | **Additions & Substitutions**[17] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | China ('us') | | Others ('them') | | China ('us') | | Others ('them') | |
| | *Freq.* | *%* | *Freq.* | *%* | *Freq.* | *%* | *Freq.* | *%* |
| Positive evaluation | 32 | 2.6 | 259 | 20.9 | 176 | 14.2 | 22 | 1.8 |
| Negative evaluation | 513 | 41.4 | 148 | 12.0 | 5 | 0.4 | 83 | 6.7 |
| Total | **76.9%** (*n* = 952) | | | | **23.1%** (*n* = 286) | | | |

Worthy of note are three patterns: (1) negative evaluative words disfavouring China are omitted significantly (41.4%, *n* = 513), which is the highest percentage; (2) over half of additions and substitutions are cases of positive evaluations on China (14.2% out of 23.1%); (3) the negative evaluation for 'them' is also notable, not least in the addition & substitution category (6.7%, *n* = 83). For the first two patterns, the noticeably high numbers concentrate on topics about China; they suggest a strong tendency of the interpreter in-group ideology with the country of affiliation. The third pattern, though quantitatively less prominent, still reflects interpreters' outgroup ideological positioning.

To test the association between the 'us/them' variable (topics on China vs. other countries) and the interpreter's discursive tendencies, Chi-square test is

[17] Additions and substitutions of evaluative words are considered as one category in the quantitative analysis, because a) the quantity of either is not ideally large enough to generate meaningful statistical result, and b) substitutions of evaluative meanings require extra cognitive efforts to 'recode', which is similar to evaluation additions that entail increased cognitive efforts.

performed with Cramer's *V* gauging the association strength between two categorical variables.

See Table 9, for omissions of Attitude and Graduation words, the difference between China vs. other countries for interpreter ideological positioning is statistically significant ($\chi2$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 952) = 284.732, $p$ < 0.001). The association strength is moderate ($V_1$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 952) = .547, $p$ < .001). This means the Chinese interpreters are moderately likely to omit evaluative words either negative towards China or positive towards other countries discursively.

For additions and substitutions, the 'us/them' difference for the interpreter ideological positioning is also statistically significant ($\chi2$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 286) = 181.538, $p$ < 0.001). The association strength is strong ($V_2$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 286) = .797, $p$ < .001). This high value indicates that the Chinese interpreters are markedly prone to adding or substituting evaluative words either in favour of China or antagonizing other countries discursively.

Table 9. The difference between Omissions and Additions & Substitutions measured by Cramer's *V* (association strength between the 'us/them' dichotomy and interpreting shifts of positive/negative evaluations)

| | **Omissions** | **Additions & Substitutions** |
|---|---|---|
| *V* | **0.547 (moderate)** | **0.797 (strong)** |
| *p* | < 0.001 | < 0.001 |
| *n* | 952 | 286 |

Worthy of note is the value difference between the pattern omissions and that of additions & substitutions (0.547 < 0.797). It seems that the ideological motivation for adding or substituting evaluative words eclipses that for omitting evaluative words in the simultaneous interpreting process.

### 5.3.2 Long omissions of attitudinal information at a sentence level

Sentence omissions are anything but trivial. Among the total 145 occurrences of sentence omissions, there are 89 instances (61.4%) are sentences that contain attitudinal information germane to political issues, which accounts for the largest proportion of sentence omissions in the corpus. The remaining are grouped into long omissions of sentences that pose interpreting difficulties[18] (22.1%, *n* = 32), interactional and transitional sentences (10.3%, *n* = 15), and sentences that are redundant or repetitive semantically (6.2%, *n* = 9).

The 'us/them' dichotomy further divides sentence omissions of evaluative information into two categories; omissions regarding China (53.8%, *n* = 78) overwhelmingly outnumber those regarding other countries (7.6%, *n* = 11). The former pertains to negative evaluations about China, or China-related socio-politically sensitive topics; examples range from the South China Sea dispute, China's diplomatic relations, to China's nationalism and populist orientations. The latter relates to politically sensitive issues like Brexit, and conflicting political agendas between different countries. Hence, the Chinese interpreters are most likely to omit sentences when they discern negative information, criticisms, or socio-politically sensitive messages about China, the country of their affiliation.

## 5.4 Qualitative Analysis: 'Us/Them' Ideological Positioning Manifested in Attitude and Graduation Locutions

### 5.4.1 'Solidary-us' manifested in the added or intensified positive evaluations about China

[18] Difficult words, terminologies, culture-specific metaphors, strange accents, and fast speed fall into this category.

The four examples below pertain to China's political and economic issues. In line with the global positive evaluations on China-related topics, excluding the South China Sea issue (see 4.3.4), the ST utterances here all cast China in a positive light. The TT renditions heighten the level of positiveness by adding positive attitudinal terms.

Example 2 and 3 centre on the topic of China's economic-political issues, on which, the British and Korean speakers evaluate positively on the Chinese leadership and economic policy. The interpreters intensify the positive evaluation by adding attitudinal and gradable evaluators[19] (*in a very good way*, *good news*). In Example 4 and 5, interpreters add inscribed evaluations (*积极* (*actively*), *advantage*) to specifically modify how Chinese enterprises go about doing business overseas.

Example 2. (ID = 1.264; speaker: South Korean government official; interpreter: M1.1)

ST: She is the leader, and a reliable party to lead the common growth in the region as a whole. ("She" refers to China.)

TT: 中国可以能**<u>很好</u>**[20]地展现她的领导，是一个可靠的伙伴，她就可以来领导这个地区的共同发展。

Gloss: *China can show her leadership* ***<u>in a very good way</u>****, is a reliable partner, so she can lead the common growth in the region.*

Example 3. (ID = 1.127; speaker: British media moderator; interpreter: F1.2)

ST: So I will come back to One Belt One Road and AIIB, which, which are positive developments.

TT: 一会儿我会再讲 AIIB 还有一带一路，这些都是**<u>好消息</u>**，好的进展。

Gloss: *Later, I'll talk about AIIB and One Belt One Road, these are* ***<u>good news,</u>*** *good developments.*

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[19] There are no marked paralinguistic intensifications in STs for the TT additions of verbal intensifiers in this chapter.

[20] Additional locutions in TTs are in bold and underlined.

Example 4. (ID = 6.126; speaker: European CEO; interpreter: F6.2)

ST: That the big ones, the 170 or 180 biggest SOEs, they are going outside of China and build projects.

TT: 还有最大的 170 个、180 个中国的国企也都**积极**的在"一带一路"方面找到自己的一些工程。

Gloss: *The biggest 170 or 180 biggest Chinese SOEs are all* ***actively*** *finding projects along "Belt and Road" areas.*

Example 5. (ID = 3.236; speaker: Chinese government official; interpreter: F3.1)

ST: 在这个过程当中我们开放市场、在这个过程当中，我们走出去利用我们的企业对中国市场的了解。

Gloss: In the process of our opening the market, our going outside makes use of our knowledge about the Chinese local market.

TT: *So when we go abroad, our enterprise has the* ***advantage*** *of knowing the local market.*

These four examples of adding positive attitudinal evaluators, thus, apparently show interpreters' 'solidary-us' ideological positioning. The additions and intensifications of positive evaluations may also suggest a strong ideological motivation of the interpreters, who spare extra cognitive effort for the additional message in the simultaneous interpreting process.

Similar patterns of the 'solidary-us' positioning are also observed when China-related topics are discussed in relation to other countries. In Example 6, the comparative intensifier *more* is added, up-toning the positive value of UK and EU in welcoming China's investment. Interestingly, the interpreter omits *not to be feared* altogether (cognitive saturation might contribute to this omission though), discursively diluting the negative prosody. In Example 7, the Chinese interpreter recodes the general neutral verb *provide* into the specific positive verb *contribute*. The shift seems subtle though, the word *contribute* is inscribed with the positive connotation that emphasises the value of China's tax contribution to the Egyptian government.

Example 6. (ID = 3.136; speaker: Chinese CEO; interpreter: F3.1)

ST: And we are able to persuade UK and EU market that the Chinese investment is to be welcomed, not to be feared.

TT: 所以我觉得英国与欧盟国家来说，他们会**更加**欢迎中国的投资。

Gloss: *So I feel for UK and EU countries, they will* ***more** welcome* *Chinese investment.*

Example 7. (ID = 6.174; speaker: Chinese business chairman; interpreter: M6.1)

ST: 我们每年为埃及政府提供两个多亿的税收。

Gloss: We every year **provide** 2 hundred million tax to the Egyptian government.

TT: *We can* ***contribute*** *about 2 hundred million tax to the Egyptian government.*

### 5.4.2 'Solidary-us' manifested in reduced or neutralised negative evaluations about China

As discussed in the quantitative analysis, omissions concentrate on the negative connotations about China. This directly leads to reduced negativity concerning China-related discourses. In Example 8, the discourse derives from discussions on the territorial dispute over the South China Sea, on which the overall toning is negative. The speaker first comments on the risk of *military conflict*, and continues to evaluate its negative repercussions as *a blow* to the China-US economic relations. The interpreter neutralises the evaluative meaning by omitting the negative invoked evaluation *a blow*, as well as changing *undermining* into *影响* (*influence*). The actual negative value in the discourse is diluted and minimised.

Example 8. (ID = 1.81-82; speaker: Chinese academic; interpreter: M1.1)

ST: If we accidentally just reacting in a way, very unreasonable and emotional. Then there will be some sort of military conflict. That will be undermining and **~~a blow~~** to the China-US economic relations.

TT: 如果擦枪走火的话，那么它可能是，你如果出现情绪呀，或者是得出现，可能就会引起了军事冲突。而且也会影响中美之间的经济影响。

Gloss: *If there is gunfire, then it could be, you if are emotional, or have* *to, possibly will give rise to military conflicts. And it will influence China-US economic relations.*

Sentence omissions are more revealing of the interpreter ideological positioning because they are less likely to be induced by the temporal constraints and cognitive saturation due to the longer time span available locally. Example 9 also sets in the discourse context of the South China Sea dispute, where an American political scientist surmises in a pejorative way about China's nationalism and *much more populist orientation*, which are politically-sensitive topics in China, and the intensity is heightened by the gradable expression *much more*. His comments are obviously disfavouring China's domestic politics, in a sense, criticising Chinese political issues in front of the WEF audience and the foreign media on site. The Chinese interpreter halts after he hears the politically sensitive phrase *nationalist flag*, and then, even if the time allows the full rendition (with a temporal span of 6 seconds), omits the latter sentence, possibly, with the purpose of avoiding such negative discourse.

Example 9. (ID = 1.232-233; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

ST: Because then the Chinese are acting out of insecurity, ~~and they need to raise the nationalist flag, and they need to play to a much more populist orientation~~.

TT: 那么，如果中国，出于安全问题，呃，那么

Gloss: *Then, if China, out of security reasons, err, well,* (sentence omitted; halting with two voiced fillers)

(Temporal information: The omitted ST length is 6 seconds from 39'44'' to 39'49''; the corresponding TT halting spans 6 seconds from 39'46'' to 39'51''. The ST *nationalist flag* ending at 39'46'' could be the prompt for the interpreter to omit this sentence.)

Example 10. (ID = 6.257-258; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: F6.2)

ST: ~~There are reasons why China and Russia didn't talk about it~~, when Putin came to visit Xi Jinping. ~~It's not because it's not important just because~~

~~they don't agree~~.

TT: 比如说，呃，普京刚刚见了习近平，呃，但是，似乎，我们也没有看到在这方面有非常好的一个进展。

Gloss: (sentence omitted) *For example, err, Putin just visited Xi Jinping,* (sentence omitted)*, err, but, it seems, we didn't see there is a very good development in that regard.*

(Temporal information: The ST length with 2 TT omissions is 8 seconds from 50'10'' to 50'17''; the corresponding TT spans 10 seconds from 50'15'' to 50'24'' with many voiced fillers. The ST *didn't talk about it* (ending at 50'16'') that concurs with the TT first filler *呃 (err)* could be the prompt for the interpreter to omit and re-code.)

Example 10 is a similar case of the sentence omission due to negative connotation and political sensitivity. When the American speaker talks about Putin's state visit to China in 2016 and their different views towards the US presidential election, he is blunt in pointing out their disagreement. The Chinese interpreter starts omitting the politically sensitive message when she hears the ST *China and Russia didn't talk about it*; this utterance could a prompt because the synchronised TT item at that temporal point is a voiced filler *(err)*, which indicates her hesitation. The interpreter then uses multiple voiced fillers and re-coded them into neutral messages, in a likely attempt to eschew the ST message regarding such political sensitivity and negativity (in terms of Sino-Russia relations). In doing so, the TT only mentions Putin's visit to China in passing, concealing at all the ST message regarding the disagreement between two heads of state of Russia and China.

A prominent neutralising pattern is identified on issues with pejorative connotations about China. In line with the global negative discourse on the topic of South China Sea (see 4.3.4), the ST negative discourses examined closely also concentrate on the topic of this territorial dispute. In Examples (11, 12 and 13), the ST utterances (from both Chinese and American speakers) construct negative prosodies by using specific negative expressions (*misperceptions* of western media, *dangerous period*, *difficult time* and *subvert …relations*). The Chinese interpreters, nevertheless, change the negative values, or neutralise them, by using more general terms that are devoid of negative connotations (*perspectives* of western media, *special period*, *particular point of time* and *involves…relations*). As such, these substitutions discursively wipe out the negative values about China and pass on the neutralised evaluation to the audience. Moreover, similar to the information additions (in 5.4.1), the re-coding process may require extra cognitive capacity in the simultaneous interpreting process. The substitution of neutral terms is also indicative of interpreters' ideological motivation for positioning with their home country.

Example 11. (ID = 1.23; speaker: Chinese academic; interpreter: M1.1)

ST: Of course, I think, that there exist a wide range of **misperceptions** in the western media coverage to South China Sea.

TT: 当然了，就是现在，有很多不同的**观点**，在西方的媒体对南海报道中。

Gloss: *Of course, now, there are many different* ***perspectives,*** *in the Western media report on the South Sea.*

Example 12. (ID = 1.98; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

ST: At that point, you know, that, that was quite a **dangerous** period. ("that" refers the disputed time in the South China Sea)

TT: 因此，这确实是一个**非常**的一个时期。

Gloss: *So, this is indeed a* ***special*** *period.*

Example 13. (ID = 2.149; speaker: Chinese government official; interpreter: F2.1)

ST: But they don't want conflict, they don't want to find a fundamental conflict that **subverts** the economic relations with the South China Sea.

TT: 但是他们也不希望有任何冲突，这**涉及到**一些，这个，一些小国家的一些经济关系。

Gloss: *But they don't want conflict either, and this* ***involves*** *some, some economic relations with small countries.*

### 5.4.3 ‘Alien-them’ manifested in intensified negative evaluations about other countries

The ‘alienated-them’ pattern is epitomised by interpreting shifts towards negative evaluations, insofar as topics on other countries are concerned. The interpreter in Example 14 changes the factual (or ideational, in Halliday’s words) message *1.2 percent or 1.3 percent* to the evaluative epithet *insufficient* that portrays economies in *the rest of the world* with a negative tone. Example 15 demonstrates, tellingly, interpreter’s ‘alien-them’ stance, where he changes the neutral utterance *be influenced* to an ideational token *suffer*, intensifying a negative impact on other countries.

Example 14. (ID = 3.217; speaker: Chinese CEO; interpreter: F3.2)

ST: China is still growing at 6 and a half percent, whereas the rest of the world, you know, is growing at, you know, **1.2 percent or 1.3 percent**.

TT: 中国仍然是在不断发展 6.5%的增长率，世界其他地方增长率还是**不足**的。

Gloss: *China is still growing at 6.5%, the rest of the world’s growth rate is* ***insufficient****.*

Example 15. (ID = 2.231; speaker: Chinese academic; interpreter: M2.2)

ST: 这类投资如果有的话会，它受**影响**，但是，我相信这类投资根据我的观察非常之少，在东欧很多，在罗马尼亚、匈牙利很多。

Gloss: *If there are these investments, they will be* ***influenced****, but I see such investments very rare, mostly in Eastern Europe, Romania and Hungary.*

TT: Investment, it may **suffer**, but I see such investments mostly concentrating on Romania and central and Eastern Europe.

Example 16 illustrates the ‘alienated-them’ pattern with intensified negative values about the US presidential election. Trump’s potential victory has stirred international debate and discussions about the impact on China, for which concerns about it overwhelm public discourse (e.g. Shirk, 2017; Oyen, 2018). Therefore, in light of the negative attitudinal evaluation of the event, the Chinese interpreter additionally describes the negative affect as *this is worrying*. The addition is evidence of the 'alien-them' stance on the part of the interpreter.

Example 16. (ID = 1.163; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: F1.2)

ST: There's been some talking in the Western press that will be good for China. It seems you are saying actually no. ( "that" refers to Trump becoming the president)

TT: 但是在西方媒体，也有人说创普成为总统，对中国是有利的，但是你是反对的，你但，你说**<u>这是令人担心</u>**的。

Gloss: B*ut the Western media, people say Trump becoming the president is good for China, but you oppose it, you say* ***<u>this is worrying</u>***.

On the topic of the Brexit, there are additional negative evaluations and polarity shifts with negative values. When the speaker mentions, in Example 17, the British *want the second referendum*, the Chinese interpreter explicates the implied meaning by adding the negative evaluation of affect *regret*. Similarly, in Example 18, the ST affect *painful* is additionally rendered as *prices are really very high*, intensifying through a metaphor (invoked evaluation) the negativity of Brexit's consequences, which Example 19 is also about. This is another case of an increased level of TT specificity from ST generosity in evaluative meanings, where the general neutral values in *影响* (*influences*) are recoded as negative evaluations in metaphorical uses of *pains* and *blow*, both invoking negative values regarding the Brexit repercussions.

Example 17. (ID = 6.280; speaker: Chinese government official; interpreter: F6.2)

ST: Brexit, a lot of people in UK were very much emotional, you know, and they see the reality, and some people say we want the second referendum.

TT: 比如说，脱欧的这件事情，可能英国人非常的情绪化，然后脱欧之后又**<u>觉得后悔</u>**了，说我们要进行第二次的公投。

Gloss: *Say, Brexit, maybe people in UK were very emotional, then, they* ***<u>fell regret</u>****, say we want the second referendum.*

Example 18. (ID = 8.38; speaker: European academic; interpreter: F8.1)

ST: We should try to negotiate a treaty for a divorce that is painful.

TT：所以我们可以说，这个离婚的**代价真的是很高**。

Gloss: *So we say, the divorce's* ***prices are really very high***.

Example 19. (ID = 2.223; speaker: Chinese government official; interpreter: M2.2)

ST: 但是总体来讲它的规模，是有**影响**，短期毫无疑问，这对信心、对市场都有**影响**。

Gloss: *But on the whole, its scale, there will be* ***influences****, in the short term undoubtedly,* ***influences*** *on confidence and market.*

TT: So there will be **pains and impact**, and **blow** to its full confidence and it's also for market activities.

## 5.5 Summary

The quantitative analysis corresponds to RQ (1) and reveals three global patterns of interpreting shifts of Attitude and Graduation: i) the 'solidary-us' pattern is more salient than the 'alien-them' pattern in terms of evaluative shifts (see Table 8), ii) interpreters' 'us/them' ideological motivation for adding or substituting evaluative words is stronger than that for omitting evaluative words (0.797 > 0.547 ($V$, $p < 0.001$)), and iii) long omissions of attitudinally negative or politically sensitive sentences regarding China overwhelmingly outnumber those regarding other countries (78 > 11 ($n$)).

The qualitative analysis largely addresses RQ (2) and discloses that evaluative shifts (Attitude and Graduation) of Chinese interpreters' in/out-group ideological positioning through three ways: i) adding or intensifying positive evaluations about China, ii) reducing or neutralising negative evaluations about China, and iii) intensifying negative evaluations about other countries.

Based on the results, three points can be drawn at a discourse level, a linguistic level and in terms of interrelations between interpreter ideological positioning and the cognitive processing in simultaneous interpreting.

(1) Interpreters' *in/out-group* ideological positioning

This polarized tendency of in/out-group positioning found in this chapter empirically validates and confirms what van Dijk (1998) proposes theoretically as the 'Ideological Square', where people tend to discursively favour the in-group interest but disfavour that of the out-group. However, the results indicate a stronger in-group motivation than out-group motivation for the interpreter ideological positioning.

In the empirical studies of translation/interpreting, the findings are in line with studies that identify evaluative lexical items as 'critical points', being "most susceptible" to ideological manipulation and "most revealing" of interpreter ideology (Munday, 2012: 41). Additionally, the results corroborate the observations of several authors, who find interpreter's omissions of negative words or criticisms, and alternations of lexical items are ideologically motivated in the political conference context (e.g. Wang, 2012; Gu, 2018; Liao & Pan, 2018). However, 'critical points' of evaluative shifts identified also point to a notable 'alien-them' stance, which is seldom discussed in existing T&I studies.

(2) Linguistic realisations of interpreter ideological positioning through Attitude and Graduation locutions

Evaluative shifts of Attitude and Graduation manifest linguistically, realising the interpreter ideological positioning. For the expressions of Attitude, negative attitudinal expressions (on topics about China) are neutralised through using general neutral terms (e.g. *misperceptions* > *perspectives*, *dangerous period* > *special period*, *subverts…relations* > *involves… relations*). Additionally, interpreters also achieve their in/out-group positioning through adding explicit attitudinal expressions (e.g. added evaluators: *actively*, *good news* and *advantage* with topics on China; *regret* on the Brexit, *very worrying* on Trump's victory). The shifts in Attitude found in this chapter are arguably more multi-typical than other studies examining attitudinal discourse in conference interpreting (Munday, 2012, 2018; Wang & Feng, 2017).

In terms of Graduation, intensifiers (such as *very*, *more*), mostly in the Force-Graduation category, are added in TTs, which discursively strengthen positive evaluations on topics germane to China. This empirical evidence seems to provide different evidence for Munday's (2012: 157) findings, where "intensification was lessened…and not increased in any" in Obama's speech TT. A possible reason for the difference is that the dataset used in the previous study is less ideologically charged than the ST discourses of the WEF in China, where the interpreters are more likely to add intensifiers for positive/negative ideological values.

Another shift type of linguistic realisations of the interpreter ideological positioning lies beneath explicit evaluative expressions. Shifts are implicit since they either insinuate Appraisal values into the factual information or involve lexical metaphors. The substitution of a neutral word (*influences*) with metaphorical uses of *pains* and *blow* regarding the Brexit may invoke negative responses in the audience. Unlike Munday's (2012, 2018) findings that such shifts concentrate on 'cultural-specific' items, many shifts, discussed in this chapter, are evidently associated with ideological motivations.

(3) Interactions between interpreters' cognitive processing process and their ideological positioning

The interrelations between micro-level cognitive processing processes and macro-level socio-cognitive discourse processes could shed new light on the disconnected traditions in conference interpreting studies. I tentatively make three points regarding the interrelated nexus between the micro-macro dimensions of conference interpreting. First, Chinese interpreters' 'us/them' ideological positions correlate with omissions of evaluative words, particularly for the case of China-negative evaluations. Second, long omissions of sentences seem to be undergirded by strong ideological motivations on the part of the Chinese interpreters, given the time and cognitive capacities locally available, where they are inclined to omit and wait in lieu of rendering negative or politically-sensitive messages about China. Third, the pattern of additions and substitutions is more strongly associated with interpreter ideology than the pattern of omissions (of evaluative words) (0.797 > 0.547 (*V*, *p* < 0.001)), see Table 9), which suggests interpreters are more likely to be ideologically motivated to add or recode evaluative information, even at the cost of potentially taxing more cognitive efforts.

These points may lend empirical support to the 'holistic' socio-cognitive perspective (Pöchhacker, 2005: 692) proposes theoretically with an aim to reconcile "the overall discourse process" and "the mental operations". They also feed into conceptual hypotheses regarding 'co-functioning' of simultaneity and discourse factors in conference interpreting (cf. Apostolou, 2009; Munday, 2018).

# Chapter 6 Positioning ‘Us’ through Engagement

## 6.1 Introduction

After examining the interpreter ideology manifested textually with the Attitude and Graduation systems, this chapter turns to the Engagement system of Appraisal. While Chapter 5 looks into the evaluation ‘proper’ in the discourse; Chapter 6 focuses on the evaluation ‘supra’, i.e., how much the speaker/interpreter discursively ‘invest’ in the proposition or argument and the way they ‘invite’ the audience to dis/align with the discourse reconstructed in the TTs.

Engagement is the “cover-all term of resources of interpersonal positioning” that brings together “a lexically and grammatically diverse selections of locutions” (J. Martin & White, 2005: 94-95). Therefore, Engagement system is complex and tend to be more sensitive than the Attitude and Graduation systems in the process of interpreting (cf. Munday, 2018). The high level of sensitivity is also evidenced in the simultaneous conference interpreting, where, despite a high number of Engagement locutions, both the overall interpreting accuracy and the inclusion rates are the lowest (see 4.3.2). One important contributor to the high-level interpreting shifts in this Appraisal category relates to interpreter positioning.

Positioning, what the Engagement system is utilised for analysis, literally refers to an act of placing or arranging a relative place, situation or standing. This concept is metaphorically used for describing discursive practices, in which, speakers invite the audience to dis/align themselves with certain propositions or worldviews.

In translation and interpreting studies, the issue of positioning is an emerging topic and has increasingly "become much more central in translation studies" (Munday, 2008: 150). Positioning in the interpreter-mediated conferences is highly complex because it transcends the mono-lingual realm of a two-way speaker-listener positioning. In the interpreter-mediated conferences, the speaker-self positioning, or rather, intended positioning by the speaker, is discursively negotiated and is '*re-positioned*' via the interpreter interpersonal intervention. In other words, it is the interpreter positioning that re-constructs the speaker-listener relations and, ultimately, the discursive event of conference communication.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to investigate how interpreters change the way speakers invite the audience to dis/align themselves with ideologically charged discourses. The main method is to examine evaluative shifts of Engagement. With the focus on China-related[21] discourses, this chapter intends to answer two research questions that relate to the 'Level iii' questions in 1.3:

RQ (1) What are salient Appraisal patterns (in terms of Engagement) of interpreting shifts, and how do these patterns relate to the positive/negative evaluations of China in the discourse?

RQ (2) In what ways does the interpreter in-group ideology contribute to the reconstruction of the negative/positive discourses about China in the simultaneous interpreting process?

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[21] One reason for the focus on China-related issues is that the quantity of interpreting shifts of Engagement for other countries, in the 2016 WEF-in-China Interpreting Corpus, is not ideally large enough for statistical analysis. The focus on data of China-related discourses affords sufficient data size for more meaningful quantitative analyses.

## 6.2 Analytical Methods

### 6.2.1 Linguistic framework: Engagement system

Discursive positioning is achieved *linguistically*. Linguistic resources that are used for realising interpersonal functions of positioning are categorised into Engagement system of Appraisal theory (J. Martin & White, 2005: 36):

> *Broadly speaking, engagement is concerned with the ways in which resources […] position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position.*

More specifically, Engagement is concerned with linguistic means through which speakers "negotiate relationships of alignment/disalignment" in view of various value positions advanced in text and talk, and hence, attitude and beliefs of social groups (ibid: 95). Negotiation of value positions, via text and talk, is *dialogic* in nature. The discursive ground of Engagement is based on Bakhtin's/Voloshinov's (1929/1973) influential notion of 'dialogism' and 'heteroglossia', where all verbal communication is dialogic in the sense that the verbal performance "responds to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support, and so on" (Voloshinov, 1995: 139). Linguistic resources of Engagement discursively construct varying positions, be it "as standing with, as standing against, as undecided, or as neutral with respect to these other speakers and their value positions" (J. Martin & White, 2005: 93).

The Engagement system orients towards discourse semantics and functionalities of linguistic items, rather than lexico-grammatical forms (P. R. R. White, 2003; J. Martin & White, 2005). Therefore, this framework systematically accounts for a plethora of linguistic resources of positioning, meanings which have elsewhere been considered as "modality, polarity, evidentiality, hedging, concession, intensification, attribution and consequentiality" (J. Martin & White, 2005: 94). As illustrated in Table 10, linguistic resources of engagement are primarily categorised into 'monogloss' or 'heterogloss'. 'Monogloss' bonds with discourse receivers by using categorical assertions that present an idea as being true and having no alternative. By contrast, 'heterogloss' acknowledges the possibility of alternative viewpoints in potential responses of discourse receivers. Heterogloss is further dichotomised into 'dialogically contractive' (restricting possible responses of different viewpoints) and 'dialogically expansive' (opening up spaces to other viewpoints). Linguistic resources for Contractive (engagement) include diverse 'high-probability' markers explicitly 'proclaiming' viewpoints, propositions, and stances as highly likely, valid, and with little room for alternative voices. Expansive (engagement), then, mainly uses a range of 'low-probability' modality – modal auxiliaries, adjuncts, and attributes – for the allowance for alternative positions and voices. In sum, speakers use Contractive linguistic resources to show high commitment to the viewpoint advanced, expecting discourse receivers adopt the same position; whereas, speakers use Expansive linguistic resources to reduce commitment to the viewpoint advanced, expecting different voices.

Table 10. Monogloss and Heterogloss of the Engagement system with examples (adapted from J. Martin and White (2005))

| | Category | Dialogic positioning | Illustrations |
|---|---|---|---|
| Engagement | Monogloss | Single-voiced | Categorical assertion (no recognition of dialogic alternatives) |
| | Heterogloss | Contraction | *of course, obviously, surely, certainly, indeed, admittedly, really, have to, should, must, I contend, I believe, etc.* |
| | | Expansion | *could, may, might, possible, likely, probably, perhaps, it seems, I think, I suspect/doubt, etc.* |

### 6.2.2 Munday's Engagement Positioning for T&I

The investigation of positioning in this chapter entails a model of Engagement that connects discursive positioning with linguistic resources. The main reason is that "often, the interpreting of these interpersonal features is unsystematic or inconsistent" (Munday, 2007: 190). For example, many of the contributions tend to 'cherry-pick' sites of preeminent positioning shifts, not being guided by analytical frameworks. A few T&I studies focus on the interpersonal features by harnessing Hallidayan (e.g. 1994) theory on modality (Li, 2018; Fu & Chen, 2019), or, interrogate pronoun shifts between STs and TTs (Zhan, 2012). However, the issue of positioning goes beyond the use of modal words or pronouns; rather, it is a complex network of multiple elements, including, not least, speakers' modulation of their (de)attachment to/from the propositions, positive/negative evaluations, and the discursive events being constructed.

In T&I research, Munday (2015, 2018) incorporate the Engagement system with Chilton's (2004: 58) "deictic positioning" model for investigating *engagement positioning* of Obama and Trump in their speeches. With an emphasis on discourse space in the representation of political stance, Chilton (2004) locates the speaker at the centre, and maps opponents/enemies/opponent values at a distance on the three axes of (1) time, (2) space, and (3) modality. Munday (2015, 2018) extend the original axes with, predominantly, the Engagement system and other attitudinal expressions (J. Martin & White, 2005). Figure 17 presents Munday's (2015) positioning model. The new model excels the original at capturing how STs position the speaker–hearer relationship in terms of Appraisal (i.e. positive/negative evaluations shown by axis 3). For example, his studies find that speaker positive evaluation, through interpreting, is slightly up-scaled by overt contractive markers (like 'certainly'), and is rendered slightly stronger with *afirmado* ('affirmed') (Munday, 2015: 416).

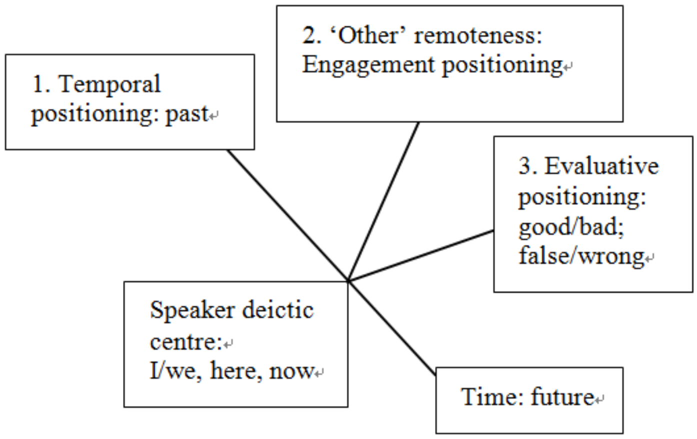


Figure 17. Deictic positioning model with dimensions of evaluation (adapted from Munday 2015: 416)

The main advantage of this model lies in its analytical connectedness, that is, the analysis of Engagement locutions is done in close relations with how things/propositions are evaluated and what is evaluated. The utility is seen in analysing qualitatively political speeches and their renditions (Munday, 2015, 2018). However, the utility of this model is yet to be tested in quantitative analysis. This analytical part of this chapter combines the quantitative and qualitative procedures in investigating how interpreting shifts of Engagement are related to positive/negative evaluations for China-related discourses.

### 6.2.3 Analytical steps

The quantitative and qualitative analyses are operationalized with the overarching framework of corpus and CDA synergised approach (see Chapter 3). Patterns of Engagement shifts from the corpus data are described and interpreted, and more importantly, how such pattern(s) emerge are explained in relation to discursive factors. The quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted in sequential order so that proportional and association patterns from the former can be used to inform data selection for the latter.

**Quantitative analysis**

Step 1: Map out the global pattern of shifts of Engagement (for the Contractive and Expansive sub-systems) in terms of interpreting omissions and additions & substitutions.

Step 2: Test how these interpreting shifts of Engagement locutions relate to the China-related positive/negative discourses.

**Qualitative analysis**

Step 3: Critically analyse interpreting shifts of Contractive locutions, which make the discursive positioning more assertive for propositions about China-related issues.

Step 4: Critically analyse interpreting shifts of Expansive locutions, which make the discursive positioning more tentative for propositions about China-related issues.

## 6.3 Quantitative Analysis: Omissions, Additions & Substitutions of Engagement Expressions

The quantitative analysis focuses on the 1015 occurrences of evaluative shifts of Engagement that relates to China-related discourses. As can be seen from Table 11, the omission ratio (70.4%) outnumbers that of additions & substitutions (29.6%), which is similar to the patterns of Attitude and Graduation (see 5.3). The high omission ratio here again reflects not only the elusive nature of Engagement locutions but the evanescent nature of simultaneous interpreting.

Table 11. Engagement shifts in terms of positive/negative discourses about China

| | **Omissions** | | | | **Additions & Substitutions** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Positivity | | Negativity | | Positivity | | Negativity | |
| | *Freq.* | *%* | *Freq.* | *%* | *Freq.* | *%* | *Freq.* | *%* |
| Contractive (Assertive) | 151 | 14. 9 | 214 | 21.1 | 165 | 16.3 | 5 | 0.5 |
| Expansive (Tentative) | 236 | 23.3 | 114 | 11.2 | 6 | 0.6 | 124 | 12.2 |
| Total | 70.4% ($n$ = 715) | | | | 29.6% ($n$ = 300) | | | |

What is notable is the difference between the category of omissions and that of additions & substitutions. The cross-tab proportions of omissions are relatively evenly distributed, whereas those of additions & substitutions gravitate heavily towards Contractive-positivity and Expansive-negativity for China discourses. This uneven distribution indicates interpreters' intentional efforts in changing the truth value of positive/negative discourses about China.

This global pattern is corroborated by the Chi-square test with Cramer's *V* gauging the association strength between categorical variables. The Chi-square test shows that there is significant difference between China positive and negative discourses in terms of Contractive/Expansive shifts for both categories (omissions: $\chi2$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 715) = 48.864, $p < 0.001$; additions & substitutions: $\chi2$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 715) = 256.850, $p < 0.001$). Nevertheless, as shown in Table 12, the association strength for omissions is merely weak ($V_1$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 715) = .261, $p < .001$). In contrast, the association strength for additions & substitutions is strong ($V_2$ ($df$ = 1, $n$ = 300) = .925, $p < .001$). The low value for omissions suggests interpreter's minimal efforts in using omission (as an intentional interpreting strategy) to achieve positioning purposes. The high value for additions & substitutions, however, indicates that the Chinese interpreters are highly likely to add or substitute Engagement expressions for the purpose of constructing assertive positivity and tentative negativity for the China-related discourses.

Table 12. The difference between Omissions and Additions & Substitutions measured by Cramer's *V* (association strength between the positive/negative polarity and Engagement locutions)

| | **Omissions** | **Additions & Substitutions** |
|---|---|---|
| *V* | **0.261 (weak)** | **0.925 (strong)** |
| *p* | $< 0.001$ | $< 0.001$ |
| *n* | 715 | 300 |

## 6.4 Qualitative Analysis: More Positive Positioning through Changing Engagement Locutions

### 6.4.1 Shifting towards an assertive positioning for 'positive-us'

Following the results from the quantitative analysis that only the category of additions and substitutions associates strongly with discursive shifts of Engagement, the qualitative analysis, thus, only focuses on data in this category.

The first three examples relate to the Road and Belt Economic Initiative, an important political and economic initiative by the Chinese government. Though speaker backgrounds and interpreting directionalities differ, interpreters in the three examples take a more assertive positioning in the face of positive evaluations regarding the Chinese policy. Example 20 and 21 present two Chinese → English cases of interpreter positioning shifts towards assertiveness by adding Contractive expressions. In Example 20, one Chinese government official speaks about the benefits of the policy. The speak uses *我觉得* (*I think*) twice for the domestic benefits and overseas benefits. The locution (*I think*) acts to indicate an 'epistemic judgement' that points to the speaker's "tentativeness and uncertainty" about the 'factual' information (J. Martin & White, 2005: 108). The two instances of *我觉得* (*I think*), therefore, expand the dialogic space for other voices in the ST. The interpreter keeps the first one as *I think*, and then, changes the second one into *I do believe*; both "I believe" and the grammatical marker "do" suggest a strong commitment to the viewpoint (cf. ibid: 107) advanced positively regarding the inclusiveness of the policy. Additionally, the interpreter further enhances the discursive positivity by inserting positive judgement (*very good*) and a contractive marker (*indeed*). In Example 21, the Chinese media moderator summarises the positive comment by a European business director. The interpreter then adds two contractive words (*clearly* and *really*), emphasising the truth value of the positive evaluation. Thus, for the positive evaluation of the Chinese policy, the speaker position of uncertainty is shifted to assertiveness by the interpreter.

Example 20. (ID = 6.55-57; speaker: Chinese government official; interpreter: M6.1)

ST: 所以，<u>我觉得</u>，"一带一路"战略的提出对中国企业、对天津企业是一个机遇。那么，对沿线的各国也<u>是一个机遇</u>。[…] 当然，**我觉得**，我们这里做"一带一路"也不是排斥非"一带一路"国家。

Gloss: *<u>I think</u>, One Belt One Road Initiate to Chinese enterprises, to Tianjin's enterprises, is an opportunity. Then, to coastal-line countries, it is also <u>an opportunity</u>. […] Of course, **I think**, our here One Belt One Road Initiate does not exclude non- One Belt One Road countries.*

TT: So <u>I think</u> that One Belt One Road strategies launching, so for Chinese corporations and Tianjin corporations, is <u>**indeed** a very good opportunity</u>. It is the same for the One Belt One Road regions and countries. […] Of course, **I do believe** that One Belt One Road is not going to exclude all the other countries that are not along the road.

Example 21. (ID = 6.136; speaker: Chinese media moderator; interpreter: F6.2)

ST: 谢谢索波特的分享。从这个方面来说，您所代表着哈萨克斯坦欧亚集团，将"一带一路"的倡议，变成<u>一个事实</u>。

Gloss: *Thank Sobotk for sharing. From this perspective, you represent the Eurasia Resources Company, turn the Belt-and-road Initiative, into <u>a reality</u>.*

TT: So, thank you for the sharing of information. Clearly, you are just representing the Eurasia Resources Company and you believe that it is now <u>**really** a reality</u>.

Analogously, in Example 22 (English → Chinese), one European speaker casts the Chinese policy in a positive light, evaluating policy-implementation by the Chinese government as *systematic*. The interpreter increases the speaker commitment to the positive discourse, by adding *我们能够看到* (*we can see*) which suggests the statement is valid and factual and allows little room for other voices. The discursive positioning in the TT, thus, shows a stronger inclination towards a positive evaluation of the policy, while contracting dialogic space for different views.

Example 22. (ID = 6.124; speaker: European business director; interpreter: F6.2)

ST: It is not just the fact that there is a concept, there is an idea, there is a strategy. But then how systematic the government in China has gone about implementing a strategy. ("It" refers to the Belt-road economic policy.)

TT: 对你们来讲，呃，说的是一个倡议，可是，**我们能够看到**，中国的政府已经把它实实在在的把它做到了落到实处。

Gloss: *For you, eh, it is an initiative. But, **we can see**, the Chinese government has already tangibly and factually implemented it.*

Example 23 and 24 are cases where interpreters position more assertively than the speakers when China's diplomatic relations with other countries are positively constructed. Both assertive positions in the TT are achieved by interpreter increasing the modal intensity. In Example 23, a Chinese government official expresses willingness or possibility for helping the UK, but uses the low-intensity modality *will*. The interpreter, then, adds a discourse contractive marker *肯定* (*surely*) that heightens the modal intensity, thus positioning with a stronger commitment to the positive discourse about China-UK relationship. In Example 24, similarly, a Chinese business director envisions the China-Japan cooperation with a low-intensity modal auxiliary *could*, which, indicates an insufficient commitment to the truth value of the proposition (J. Martin & White, 2005: 105). The interpreter substitutes *could* with a high-intensity modal auxiliary *应该* (*should*), shifting the speaker's tentative position towards a more assertive position regarding the cooperation discourse.

Example 23. (ID = 2.203-205; speaker: Chinese government official; interpreter: F2.1)

ST: And also we want to see the prosperity and growth of the economy in UK, […] we want to develop a long-term relationship. So, that means that once you are in difficulties, your partners **will** help you.

TT: 我们也希望看到英国的经济实现繁荣和增长，[…] 我们希望能够与它们发展长期的关系。这就意味着，一旦你是处于困境当中，伙伴**肯定会**帮助你。

Gloss: *We also want to see UK's economic prosperity and growth, […] we want to develop a long-term relationship with them. That means, once you are in difficulty, partners* ***surely will*** *help you.*

Example 24. (ID = 3.198; speaker: Chinese business director; interpreter: F3.2)

ST: Chinese companies and Japanese companies tend to be competing on the same projects, but there is actually a lot of opportunity for cooperation, and I hope that, that **could** happen in the future.

TT: 中日公司实际上在很多的项目上在国外都是在竞争的,但是实际上也有很多机会使两国公司进行合作，我觉得在未来这个**应该**发生。

Gloss: *Chinese and Japanese companies actually compete on many projects overseas, but there is actually a lot of opportunity for cooperation, I think that* ***should*** *happen in the future.*

### 6.4.2 Shifting towards a tentative positioning for 'negative-us'

In Example 25, the speaker raises a concern about *许多风险* (*many risks*) of Chinese businesses investing overseas. The word *risk* invokes negative attitudes in the potential audience. The interpreter, then, re-positions the 'risk' more tentatively, through adding an epistemic modal adjunct *possibly* that reduces commitment to the truth value in the negative discourse.

Example 25. (ID = 3.42; speaker: Chinese media moderator; interpreter: F3.1)

ST: 我们这一次走出去海外收购，**应该**避免上一次许多，许多错误，避免上次的许多风险。同时这次又有一些新的问题，比如说收购的比重在增加。

Gloss: *Our going out for overseas merger and acquisition,* ***should*** *avoid many mistakes previously, avoid many risks previously. Meanwhile this time there are new problems, like increasing numbers of merger and acquisition.*

Interpreter: So this round of overseas investments, we should try to avoid, **possibly**, risks in this round of investment overseas. There are more and more cases of merger and acquisition.

Example 26 and 27 relate to the South China Sea territorial dispute, which is a recurrent theme being cast overwhelmingly in a negative light on the 2016 WEF-in-China platform. In Example 26, when the American government official comments on the destructive repercussions of this territorial dispute on the China-Japan relations, he uses contractive locutions *truly* and *very expectedly* to position himself affirmatively towards the negative value in the discourse. The interpreter, however, reverses the speaker affirmative position into a tentative position in the TT, through substituting contractive locutions with two expansive epistemic modalities – *可能会* (*probably will*) and *有可能* (*it is probable*). Thus, the changed speaker position manifested in the TT discourse, signals reduced commitment to the truth value of the negative discourse, opening up dialogic spaces for other viewpoints.

InExample 27, the ST constructs a negative discourse with an overt sense of political sensitivity. The Chinese speaker comments on China's stance towards claiming sovereignty of the *entire South China Sea* and turning it into a *battlefield* against the US. The speaker, at the start of the sentence, signals to counteract stance towards the politically sensitive moves by stating factually *there is no such thing*. Yet, the interpreter, in the face of such political sensitivity constructed negatively, fragments the rendition possibly due to hesitation or indecision at the split of a second, then, inserts expansive markers repeatedly, *好像* (*it seems*) and *像是* (*seems*), the functions of which re-position the speaker in a more indecisive and tentative stance towards the viewpoint advanced in the discourse.

Example 26. (ID = 1.345-347; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: F1.2)

ST: So then I see Diaoyu Senkaku, **truly**, remain very bad case to take Beijing and Tokyo part. […] Of course, it's geopolitically. It is also **very expectedly**, distressing Tokyo-Beijing relations.

TT: 我认为钓鱼岛这个地方，是**可能会**导致中国和日本政府出现纷争的。［…］那从地缘政治的角度来讲，**有可能**这个会影响到，负面地影响到中日的关系。

Gloss: *I think Diaoyu Island this place, is* ***probably will*** *lead to a dispute between the Chinese and Japanese governments. […]From the geopolitical perspective,* ***it is probable*** *it will influence, negatively influence China-Japan relations.*

Example 27. (ID = 1.36; speaker: Chinese academic; interpreter: M1.1)

ST: So then, there is no such thing for China to intend to claim the entire South China Sea, or China wants to take it as some strategic battlefield and challenge US.

TT: 因此，没有，**好像**说中国在整个，**像是**宣誓对整个，对整个南海的主权，而且中国把这个地区，作为一个战场来与美国作对。

Gloss: *So, there is no,* ***it seems*** *that China in the entire,* ***seems*** *like* *claiming sovereignty of the entire, entire South Sea, as a battlefield against the US.*

In Example 28, the American government official uses a negative evaluation (*undermines*), positioning himself antagonistically against China's economic influence on the sovereignty of Southeast Asian countries. The interpreter makes the negativity tentative by adding expansive words (*possibly will*), diminishing the truthfulness in the proposition.

Example 28. (ID = 1.217; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

ST: What will see happening is that one by one, you'll see countries in this region start to shift their position in a way that is more friendly to the Chinese, as the Chinese just have so much more economic influence and undermines the political sovereignty. (These "countries" refer to countries in Southeast Asia.)

TT: 那么我们看到今后，因为这个地区每个国家，他们的立场不断的发生转变，对中国更加友好，因为中国经济影响太大了，**可能会**影响这些国家的主权。

Gloss: *Then we see the future, because every country in this region, their positions are constantly shifting, to more friendly to China, because China's economic influence is huge,* ***possibly will*** *influence these countries' sovereignty.*

## 6.5 Summary

The quantitative analysis corresponds to RQ (1) and discloses two global patterns of interpreting shifts of Engagement locutions: i) there is a significant difference between China positive and negative discourses in terms of Contractive/Expansive expressions, and ii) interpreters are highly likely to add or substitute Engagement expressions for the purpose of constructing assertive positivity and tentative negativity for the China-related discourses.

The qualitative analysis addresses RQ (2) and discusses two ways in which interpreters change speaker positioning for China-related discourses: i) shifting towards assertive positioning for the 'positive-us' by using Contractive expressions, and ii) shifting towards tentative positioning for the 'negative-us' by using Expansive expressions.

Based on the results, three points can be made at a discourse level, a linguistic level and in terms of interrelations between interpreter positioning and the cognitive processing in simultaneous interpreting.

(1) Interpreter's assertive/tentative positioning favouring in-group: towards a model

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses present a strong pattern of interpreters' favouring in-group positioning through changing Engagement locutions. The findings of interpreter positioning in favour of in-group resonate with, to different degrees, findings of Chapter 5 and several other studies. The strong in-group ideological positioning manifested in the shifts of Attitude and Graduation locutions is, particularly for interpreting additions & substitutions, is similar to the shifts of Engagement locutions. This, again, verifies the in-group part of van Dijk's (1998) conceptual 'Ideological Square'. The correlational pattern also attests to the interpersonal and ideological importance of Engagement items, especially 'modality', which has long been recognised in discourse analysis (e.g. Kress & Hodge, 1979; Fairclough, 1992; Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Moreover, the overall pattern of conference interpreters' favouring in-group is similar to that of other studies on conference interpreting (e.g. Pöchhacker, 2006; Wang & Feng, 2017; Fu & Chen, 2019; Gu, 2019).

A two-axis positioning model can be distilled from empirical findings of this chapter. As schematised in Figure 18, at the positioning centre is the discourse subject, 'us' (representing in-group positioning). The Engagement axis crosses the centre, extending to the Contractive/Expansive poles. The Evaluation axis intercepts with the Engagement axis at the centre, extending to the positive/negative poles. The correlational relation of the two axes point to the interpreter's favouring in-group, which emerges between two spaces as two trends: a) assertive positioning for the 'positive-us' and b) tentative positioning for the 'negative-us'.

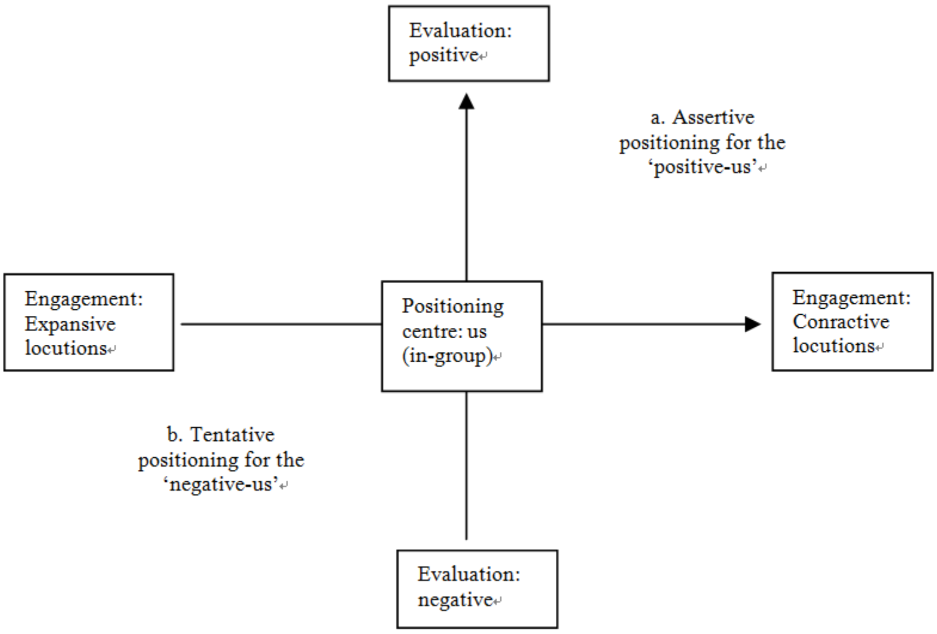


Figure 18. An in/out-group positioning model for analysing interpreter/translator discursive choices realised by evaluative language

This in/out-group positioning model can be used for analysing interpreter/translator stances taken discursively. Positioning patterns might occupy different spaces between the two axes depending on different discourse structures, extra-textual aspects or contextual factors.

(2) Linguistic realisations of favouring in-group positioning through Engagement locutions

Interpreter's positioning favouring in-group is realised by changing Engagement locutions in China-related discourses. Such positioning shifts are as sensitive as linguistic changes in Engagement. On one hand, Schäffner (2015: 437) describes the effect of positioning shifts as "subtle impact on negotiating speaker roles, agenda management, and interactional organisation". On the other, Munday points out that Engagement locutions that realise positioning are most sensitive (Munday, 2018). Therefore, the forensic analysis at the word level examines closely how interpreters change Engagement locutions in relation to evaluative polarities.

Linguistic shifts uncovered in this chapter reveal a concentration on modal expressions, which extend beyond modal verbs (in a narrow sense) to include formulations that modulate the truth value speakers invest in the proposition. For example, for the Contractive category, interpreters change the intensity of mental projection (e.g. *I think* > *I do believe*), increase the modal intensity (e.g. *could* > *should*), and add contractive intensifiers (e.g. *do, indeed, clearly, really* and *surely*) for the purpose of making the discursive positioning more assertive. For the Expansive category, interpreters tend to add low-intensity modal words (e.g. *possible*, *probable* and *it seems*) and lower the modal intensity (e.g. *truly* > *probably*) to make the discursive positioning more tentative.

The broad-sense 'modality' covers a range of linguistic formulations, not only reflect the broad coverage of the Engagement locutions (J. Martin & White, 2005) but the proposal to extend the 'modality' category (cf. Stubbs, 1996: Chapter 8; Hunston, 2010: Chapter 5).

For studies on interpreting, the findings generally confirm Munday's (2015, 2018) results in terms of sensitivity of Engagement locutions in the interpreting; meanwhile, the findings add to his tentative results by showing statistically how Engagement locutions shift in relation to positive/negative evaluations.

(3) Interactions between interpreters' cognitive processing process and their positioning via Engagement locutions

In the simultaneous interpreting of the WEF meeting, the Engagement locutions are highly susceptible to omissions and other forms of changes. On one hand, the time and cognitive pressures account for such a high degree of change because interpreters might de-value Engagement expressions do not carry ‘concrete’ factual messages. Evidence can be seen from the corpus data. Despite the highest omission rate (among the three categories of Appraisal), the omissions are only weakly associated with evaluative polarities. This means interpreters tend to omit Engagement locutions as a coping strategy, or ‘coping tactics’, in times of heavy cognitive load (e.g. Gile, 1995, 1999; Napier, 2004).

On the other, when interpreters allocate cognitive capacity for rendering Engagement locutions, they are strongly motivated to add or substitute ST Engagement values for the purpose of achieving the in-group positioning.

The different treatments of Engagement locutions point to the fact that the Engagement category is sensitive in simultaneous interpreting; omissions of these locutions may save cognitive capacity, meanwhile, the in-group positioning motivation may also cost cognitive capacity to re-code Engagement values.

# Chapter 7 Interpreters' Verbal Compensation for Speaker's Paralinguistic Intensification

## 7.1 Introduction

The utility of Appraisal systems, as an extravagant toolkit, has been demonstrated by the previous chapters that examine evaluative meanings embedded in the morphologically transcribed texts of the interpreting corpus. This chapter, however, departs from the texts (in the written form) and investigates evaluative meanings encoded in the 'sound' of the language.

J. Martin and White (2005: 35) posit that *paralinguistic*[22] factors (such as loudness, pitch movement and tone) bear Appraisal meanings, for instance, raised intensity of Graduation values. However, they leave the gap of phonetic Appraisal values in their theorisations wide open. Thus, this chapter intends to narrow this gap and extends the Appraisal theorisation to the realm of the 'sound' of language by investigating empirical phonetic data from conference interpreting.

This chapter problematizes relations between ST paralinguistic properties and the corresponding TT rendition. The main interest in this chapter is in the nexus between 'emphatic meanings' (or Intensification in terms of Appraisal) implemented phonetically in ST and their renditions in TT in simultaneous interpreting. That is, the ST speaker considers the message important and wants the audience to consider it equally significant, thus spending more articulatory effort in realising its semantic importance, i.e. being 'emphatic' (Gussenhoven,

[22] The label 'paralinguistic' is used in this study. This usage is in line with interpreting studies literature related to vocal elements in interpreting, notably, Stenzl (1983) and Shlesinger (1994, 1998). Its definition in terms of phonetics and phonology is discussed in 7.3.1, the theoretical section.

2004); the interpreter, on the other hand, perceives the phonetic prominence in ST and intends to pass on the intended emphasis, without wanting to sound ‘loud’ or ‘screechy’, through inserting additional verbal items to ‘compensate’ for the paralinguistic intensification, with the aim at achieving similar emphatic function.

In the WEF corpus data, however, ideology is also an important factor that affects interpreter renditions (see Chapter 5 and 6). In other words, if the ST discourse is both para-linguistically emphatic and ideologically charged, both factors may affect interpreter renditions. Therefore, the main problem in this chapter is how the ST ‘emphasis-bearing’ phonetic properties and ideological factors in these ST locutions affect TT renditions. The problem is addressed through three research questions that relate to the ‘Level vi’ questions in 1.3:

RQ (1) How does the speaker intensify evaluative meanings with paralinguistic means? And how do ST phonetic variables of speaker paralinguistic emphases (perceived as the level of *intonation changes*, *loudness* and *speech rate*; measured as *pitch range*, *intensity* and *duration*, see 7.3.1) correlate with interpreter verbal compensation in TTs?

RQ (2) How do interpreters implement verbal compensation for speaker paralinguistic emphases?

RQ (3) If the ST emphatic locutions (realised through paralinguistic means) are ideologically charged, how do interpreters render them?

## 7.2 Para-linguistics in interpreting studies

The “sound of language” expresses meanings and constructs meanings (Halliday & Greaves, 2008: 9-10). It is very true in oral communication; the meaning is encoded in the sound of language that manifests in phonetic properties such as intonation, loudness and speech rate (Gussenhoven, 2004).

Analogous to the ‘sound’ of language in mono-lingual oral communications, ‘spokenness’ is one of the most salient meaning-making mechanisms in interpreting. In the same way as the oral communication where the exchanges of information are realised through phonetic implementations of semantic meanings (e.g. Gussenhoven, 2004; Kohler, 2013), the interpreter-mediated oral communication impinges upon the way interpreters construe and re-construct meanings through phonetic implementations. For example, intonation structures messages and thus affecting interpreter’s perception of the ST (source text) and production of the TT (target text) (Nafá Waasaf, 2007). Prosodic features like pauses, speech rate and pitch movements affect the way interpreters and audience understand the *structure* and *prominence* in ST and TT messages (Ahrens, 2004, 2005) because these “non-verbal phenomena” have a “complementary-compensatory function”, that is, they complement what is being said and compensate for what is not being said (Ahrens, 2017: 65).

The link between paralinguistic properties and semantics has been increasingly acknowledged by T&I scholars who benefit from well-established linguistic theories. For example, Hallidayan linguists conceptualise linguistic resources as a semiotic whole with semogenic (meaning-making) power, from which phonetic substances realise semantic values (e.g. Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Greaves, 2008; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Extending Halliday’s (e.g. 1978) *Interpersonal Meta-function*, J. Martin and White (2005: 35) point out the association between phonetic resources (such as loudness, pitch movement and tone) and Appraisal meanings. Influenced by monolingual literature, the scholars of interpreting studies begin to recognise the importance of paralinguistic elements in meaning-making. Pöchhacker (1994) suggests para-verbal means used by a speaker have to be rendered linguistically in TTs, since the verbal language is inextricably linked with paralanguage (such as volume, pitch, voice quality and articulation). Munday (2012: 67) points out "prosody and voice quality reinforce or even convey the attitudinal position", and then stresses the worthiness of investigating the acoustic presence of the ST speaker in rendering the message. Gao and Wang (2017) contend that phonetic resources constitute an essential part that complements other semiotic sources in meaning-making.

Despite the acclaimed importance of the link between meanings and phonetic properties, few studies actually spell out this link with phonetic variables and acoustic measures entailed for analysing empirical sound data in interpreting. After Gerver's (1971, 1976) experimental findings that flat intonation and elimination of natural pauses in STs contribute to the loss of the message in TTs, it is only recently that a few authors empirically pick up this line in simultaneous conference interpreting research (Ahrens, 2005; Naf à Waasaf, 2007; Kučiš & Majhenič, 2018). Ahrens (2005) identifies that ST pauses, speech rate, and pitch movements affect the way interpreters understand the *structure* (how messages are organised) and *prominence* (what constitute important messages). Naf à Waasaf (2007) finds that speaker intonational patterns organise information structures, thus affecting interpreter's perception and reproduction of ST messages. Kučiš and Majhenič (2018: 40) explore TT "stress-related manifestations" in the politically controversial discourse, from which the authors observe that interpreters mirror the ST rising intonation.

Methodologically, a major breakthrough in these interdisciplinary studies is the importation of methods from acoustic phonetics, a discipline that investigates physical features of speech sounds, in particular, those that are linguistically relevant (cf. Stevens, 2000). For example, Naf à Waasaf (2007) and Ahrens (2005) apply acoustic measurements for the identification of salient patterns, for which, acoustic data are categorised and described in percentages.

However, two areas need to be further developed in terms of going interdisciplinary. Though these contributions borrow things from phonology that belongs to theoretical linguistics, and from phonetics that belongs to descriptive linguistics, the borrowing seems insufficient to address related issues in interpreting studies. First, there lack the theoretical foundation from phonology to usefully guide, inform, and justify methods for describing acoustic data in interpreting. Second, raw acoustic data, which are collected though, are not fully utilised in analyses − pitch movements (that are not normalised) are described and annotated as 'rising' or 'falling' contours, yet, raw data for pitch movements are only used as evidence for describing changing pitch contours, but not moralised or entered into statistical models for analysing variable relations.

## 7.3 Concepts and Tools for Analysis

### 7.3.1 Relevant concepts and tools in phonetics and phonology

The main purpose of this section is to import relevant and useful theories and methods from phonetics and phonology for interpreting studies, not least, for this study. First, some often misused concepts are clarified. Second, the Effort Code Model (Gussenhoven, 2002, 2004), which is widely cited in disciplines of phonology and phonetics, is introduced as a main theoretical model for data analysis. Third, key acoustic measurements for emphatic meanings are explained.

#### 7.3.1.1 Clarifying key concepts

Phonetics and phonology are the scholarships from which interdisciplinary-minded interpreting studies researchers could import tools. Phonetics focuses on the physical aspect of the production and the perception of human sounds; phonology is more concerned with the use of sound patterns in languages (of both linguistic and paralinguistic) to create meanings (Lass, 1984). The two interdependent disciplines have crossovers along their descriptive lines;

phonology provides theoretical principles to account for phonetic evidence, while relies on phonetics for descriptive methods (cf. Yallop & Fletcher, 2007).

In relevant interpreting studies that are concerned with paralinguistic aspects, there are confusions and misuses of concepts and terminologies, among which, *stress*, predominately defined in phonetics as a property of a particular *syllable* (cf. de Jong, 2004), is often erroneously used in interpreting studies to denote phonetic highlighting of word meaning, or meaning units above word levels.

The phenomenon of highlighting is predominantly captured by two concepts: *focus* and *emphasis*. The main distinction between *stress* and these two concepts is stress is conventionalised and lexicalised attention modulation, while focus and emphasis are actively controlled by the on-going discourse (Gussenhoven, 2004). *Focus* is characterised by the enhanced prominence (or saliency) of the focus constituent with the informational "highlighting", such as "contrastive focus" (ibid).

*Emphasis* is a more unifying concept because it captures both the formal prominence in sound and the highlighted meaning. Experimental investigations on the phenomena of emphasis show that emphasised items are hyper-articulated and phonetically marked, and thus requiring more speaker's attending to and attracting more audience attention (de Jong, 2004; Gussenhoven, 2004; Y. Chen, 2006). Therefore, the conceptualisation of emphasis explicitly links the phonetic saliency (in the form) with the highlighting intention (in meaning), which is realised *not* by the syllabic stress in the grammaticalised phonetic structure, but through the *non-grammaticalised paralinguistic* implementation of emphasis.

#### 7.3.1.2 The model of Effort Code: theorising the paralinguistic ‘sound’ of emphasis

Paralanguage refers to non-grammaticalised phonetic phenomenon; it modifies meaning, generates nuanced meaning, or conveys emotion, through using techniques such as prosody, volume, and non-codified intonation (cf. Gussenhoven, 2004; Ladd, 2008). *Paralanguage universal* is the theoretical base for the model of Effort Code (Gussenhoven, 2002, 2004). Languages are different, but paralanguage is *similar* because it is “rooted in anatomical and physiological factors” that are shared by humans (Gussenhoven, 2016: 245). Therefore, paralinguistic communication gives rise to meaning universals that stem from the biologically coded speech production mechanism (Gussenhoven, 2004, 2016). Halliday and Greaves (2008: 42) espouse this perspective: “[…] we share the same brain and bodily structure, there is much in common both to the sounds we can produce and hear and to the meanings we can express and understand.” The “bodily structure”, or the biological mechanism, affects the way the larynx and the pulmonic air-stream produce vocal fold vibrations. The homogenous structure of the human body is, therefore, the physiological base that allows human to produce and perceive paralinguistic intonation similarly.

The main tenet of Effort Code is concerned with the paralinguistic intonation for *emphasis*; that is, “a larger pitch movement” signals more emphatic information.

> *[W]hen we are more than usually concerned to get our message across, we will expand more physical effort on pronouncing the word or words that express it. While in the neutral situation, every word or word group might have weak rising-falling pitch envelope, in the emphatic case, the words pronounced with more effort would have* ***a larger pitch movement enveloping them****. (Gussenhoven, 2004: 49; author’s emphasis)*

The pitch movement is measured by *pitch range*, the distance from the highest pitch point to that of the lowest in a speech constituent (a word or a few words). Effort Code associates a wide pitch range with speaker's emphatic intention that important messages should get across; in other words, wider pitch ranges signal more important information the speaker intends to convey. Additionally, affective factors, such as insistence and enthusiasm, also contribute to speaker emphatic intentions, which consequently give rise to wider pitch ranges (Gussenhoven, 2004). For example, when speakers are enthusiastic about certain messages, and want to emphasise them, listeners are likely to hear both notably high and low pitches within a span of a word or a few words.

The intentional use of extra articulatory effort in realising the emphatic meaning is not specific to *a language*, but universal to the phonetic implementation of the *paralanguage*. The purposeful variation in the phonetic implementation is understood as the universal paralinguistic intonation, which differs from the structural intonation that is "morphologically and phonologically" encoded as part of the grammar of certain languages (ibid: 57-58). In other words, the biological mechanism of human speech production provides the possibility of communicating through paralinguistic universals; the uses of paralinguistic intonation are "remarkably similar across languages" (Chen et al. 2004: 312).

The model of Effort Code has been tested and validated mono-linguistically with a number of world languages (e.g. A. J. Chen et al., 2004; Y. Chen, 2006; S. Chen, 2012; Y. Chen & Gussenhoven, 2008; del Mar Vanrell et al., 2013). In other words, the main paralinguistic proposition − increased pitch range is used to signal and signals emphatic meaning − applies to many languages, not least to English, of which, acoustic data are closely examined in this study. Another two paralinguistic factor − loudness measured by intensity, and, speech rate measured by duration − are also theoretically accounted for and empirically corroborated to express emphatic meaning. The following part discusses three acoustic measurements in relation to the paralinguistic emphasis.

#### 7.3.1.3 Key acoustic measurements for paralinguistic emphases

Three acoustic measurements are predominantly utilised to investigate the paralanguage of emphases: pitch range, duration, and intensity. They are proposed as main acoustic indicators for informational emphasis (e.g. Ladd & Morton, 1997; Gussenhoven, 2002, 2004; de Jong, 2004; Y. Chen & Gussenhoven, 2008).

This chapter deals with acoustic data of English in STs (see 4.1 for more details); Chinese renditions in TTs are only analysed textually. Studies on the English language have empirically evidenced that pitch range, intensity, and duration are important factors of phonetic prominence that correlates with informational focus or emphases (e.g. Gussenhoven, 2002, 2004, 2008; Choi et al., 2005; Xu & Xu, 2005; Okobi, 2006; Freeman, 2014; Freeman et al., 2014).

*Pitch range* ($F_{0\ range}$) is the major acoustic measurement for informational emphasis based on Effort Code. Pitch is measured as the fundamental frequency ($F_0$) and its movements are perceived as *intonation*. $F_0$ range measures the pitch excursion size (how the $F_0$ maximum departs from $F_0$ minimum) between the onset and the offset of the target constituent. As discussed above, it is investigated in terms of informational emphasis with a number of languages, and "[p]robably all languages, even those with many tone contrasts, will have sufficient phonetic space left for expressing degrees of emphasis of this kind" (Gussenhoven, 2004: 85).

*Intensity* is the second acoustic measurement for this chapter. It is the physical power of sound, being perceived as *loudness*. Loudness variation can be intuitively felt to signal prominence distinctions and be measured by intensity (Heldner, 2003). Freeman et al. (2014) correlate increased intensity with more important information and a stronger stance. In proposing Effort Code cross-linguistically, Gussenhoven (2004: 51) also associates the intensity of sound signal with the intensity of meaning, "in the sense of speaking more loudly" when the speaker wishes to emphasise certain items. Augments in loudness can be measured by intensity peak (the maximum loudness level), or mean (the average loudness level), which are reliable acoustic measurements in general (Heldner, 2003: 51).

*Duration* is the third acoustic measurement. Durational properties, perceived as *speech rate*, affect the production and perception of emphatic meaning. Duration measures the time interval between the onset and offset of the constituent. The durational enhancement is proposed as an indicator for emphasis realisation in Effort Code, where the increased articulatory effort also results in expanded duration (Gussenhoven, 2004). Despite the fact that English has long and short vowels, duration is still a robust measurement for phonetic prominence of important information (e.g. Halliday & Greaves, 2008; Gussenhoven, 2002, 2004; Freeman, 2014; Freeman et al., 2014).

### 7.3.2 Text-audio Data

From the overall corpus that affords context for analysis, a smaller text-audio corpus is built for this chapter (texts: 9, 846 tokens; audio length: 62 minutes 29 seconds). The text-audio corpus is composed of an ST sub-corpus of original speech (American English) by one American political scientist[23], and an ST

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[23] The American native speaker is Ian Bremmer, who is a panellist at 3 panel sessions and an active contributor to discussions. Ian Bremmer is recognised as a 'guru' political scientist, and he is the president and founder of Eurasia Group, a political risk research and consulting firm that provides advices to the US governmental organisations (see, https://www.eurasiagroup.net/people/ibremmer).

sub-corpus (Mandarin Chinese) by four professional Chinese interpreters[24]. The ST speech is not one/several script speech(es) but audio strings of spontaneous discussion contributions by the American speaker, for which, the text-audio data are collected and compiled together in the corpus.

There are two considerations for compiling this text-audio corpus for this study. First, the simultaneous mode rather than the consecutive mode is chosen, because the capacity of phonetic working memory is only temporal; traces of acoustic input decay after about 2 seconds (Baddeley, 2000). This means only the simultaneous mode of interpreting provides feasible data for this study. Second, STs are chosen from one native speaker of English. The rationale is to ensure the homogeneity in the ST accent/voice input for the interpreters, which follows the accent-control method in perception research (e.g. Y. Chen & Gussenhoven, 2008).

Data in the text-audio corpus are orthographically transcribed, annotated, aligned with audio strings in speech analysis software – Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2005). From the ST data, there are altogether 132 Praat-processed audio clips and 132 Praat TextGrid transcripts, from which, acoustic data are extracted (see 7.3.3). From the TT data, the 132 corresponding renditions are transcribed in texts.

### 7.3.3 Steps for data processing

#### 7.3.3.1 Collecting acoustic data

[24] Unlike experiment-based studies where subject-related variables (such as age, gender, and the proportion of speech they render) can be controlled, the interpreter-related variables in this study are 'given' by the ecologically valid scenario which makes the interpreter-related variables relatively uneven and not practical to test the inter-interpreter differences. While there might be differences between individual interpreters in terms of their renditions for paralanguage, I report the professionals' renditions as it is without distinguishing inter-interpreter differences.

Raw acoustic data are collected by using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2005). As shown in Figure 19, for example, the spectrogram visually presents acoustic information for an emphatic constituent *worried* in terms of the pitch contour (indicated by the blue line), the intensity level (the yellow line), and the duration (the time bar at the bottom). On the Text-tier, the audio data is orthographically transcribed, synchronised with the audio, and divided by word boundaries.

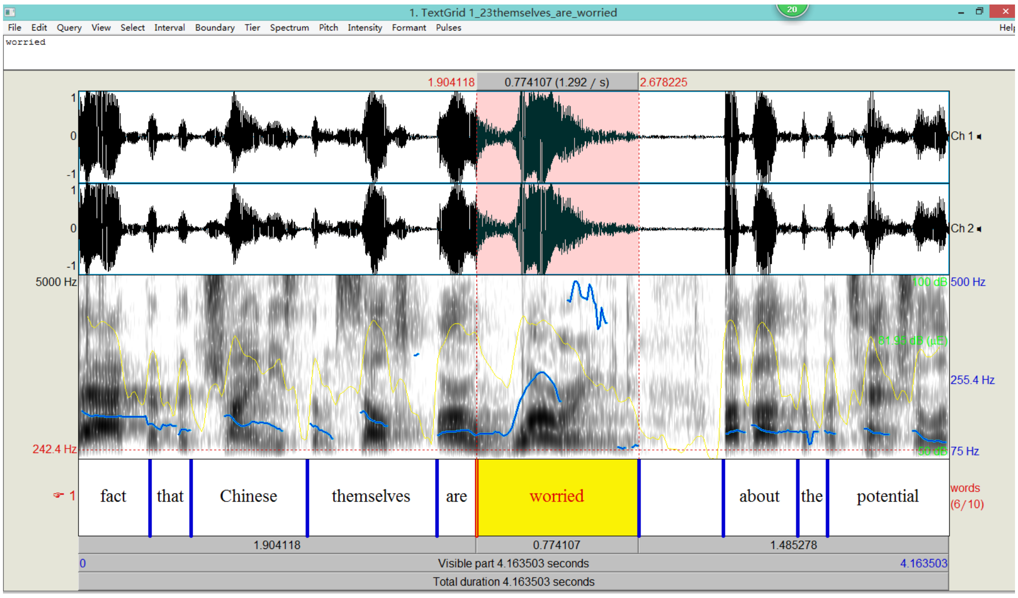



Figure 19. An example of collecting raw acoustic data from Praat (a screen-shot)

Three groups of raw data are collected for subsequent procedures. First, the calculation for $F_0$ *range* requires collecting raw data of $F_{0\ max}$ and $F_{0\ min}$, which is done via the drop-down menu from 'Pitch' on the top menu bar. Second, *Intensity mean* is taken from the drop-down menu from 'Intensity' on the top menu bar. Third, for the calculation of *Duration*, the temporal raw data of the constituent duration (measured in seconds) can be directly read from the time-bar beneath the spectrogram. Collecting acoustic data for the 132 phonetic items result in numerical ST acoustic data; each of the three phonetic variables also has 132 numerical data entries that take the total to 396 (132 * 3 = 396).

Table 13 presents raw acoustic data for 10 samples of ‘sound-borne’ emphasis constituents of STs.

Table 13. Raw acoustic data collected (an excerpt)

| No. | Paralinguistic emphasis constituents | Intensity $_{mean}$ (dB) | $F_{0\ max}$ (Hz) | $F_{0\ min}$ (Hz) | Duration $_{constituent}$ (s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *worried* | 81.95 | 486.36 | 99.46 | 0.77 |
| 2 | *most importantly* | 79.42 | 480.96 | 132.82 | 1.02 |
| 3 | *globally* | 79.20 | 258.15 | 101.55 | 0.69 |
| 4 | *suddenly* | 78.05 | 231.60 | 83.13 | 0.94 |
| 5 | *insecure* | 80.26 | 150.33 | 94.10 | 0.89 |
| 6 | *reasonably* | 79.71 | 337.18 | 106.14 | 0.71 |
| 7 | *advantaged* | 74.96 | 447.76 | 93.82 | 1.29 |
| 8 | *politics here* | 81.23 | 456.30 | 76.81 | 1.07 |
| 9 | *good* | 79.50 | 491.75 | 84.25 | 0.47 |
| 10 | *dive* | 77.56 | 435.58 | 75.95 | 0.56 |

#### 7.3.3.2 Normalising acoustic data

Then, raw acoustic data are calculated and normalised for statistical analysis. For acoustic analysis, intensity values can be directly used, whereas, raw acoustic data for pitch and duration cannot be used until they are normalised (cf. Y. Chen & Gussenhoven, 2008; Freeman, 2014).

The values of $F_0$ range are converted from Hertz to Semitone with the formula (1), and the $F_0$ max and $F_0$ min are taken from the same constituent marked with onset and offset word boundaries:

(1) $F_{0\ range} = 12\log_2 (F_{0\ max} / F_{0\ min})$

For example, for the first emphatic item *worried* in Table 1, its $F_0$ range value is:

$F_{0\ range} = 12\log_2 (486.36 / 99.46) = 27.48$ semitones

The values of duration are normalised by calculating the speech rate (constituent duration being subdivided by the number of syllables) with the formula (2). The same normalising procedure is performed in relevant interpreting studies, such as Yu and Heuven (2017).

(2) Duration = Duration $_{constituent}$ / syllable number

Using the same example '*worried*' in Table 1, its duration value is:

Duration = 0.77 / 2 = 0.39 seconds

For the 132 items, normalised acoustic data in terms of three phonetic variables result in 396 numerical data entries (132 * 3 = 396).

## 7.4 Quantitative Analysis

The overall rendition pattern on the target side is mapped out in Figure 20. Apart from the ST items that are rendered with only textual correspondences and omissions, a noticeably large proportion (34.09%, $n$ = 45) of the items are rendered with additional words that compensate for the ST phonetic emphases, whereas there is a small proportion (9.85%, $n$ = 13) of the cases for which interpreters implement phonetic intensification in terms of the hyper-articulation similar to the speaker.

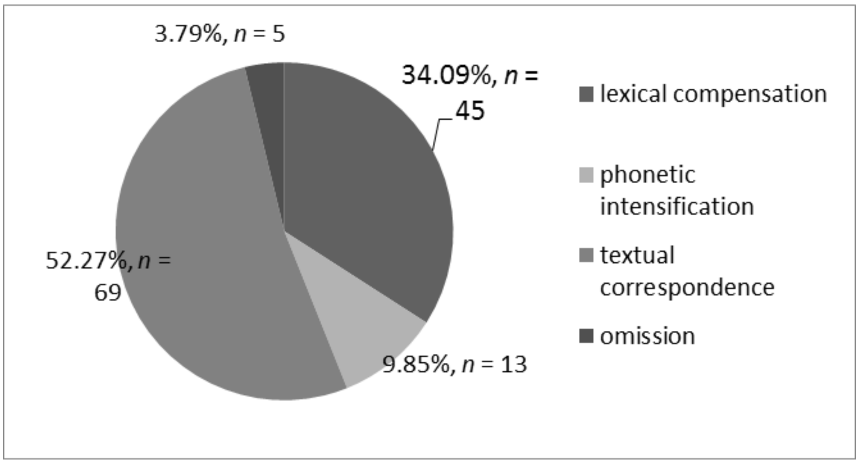



Figure 20. The overall pattern on the target side

The following quantitative analysis only focuses on lexical compensation since the number for phonetic implementation is too low to generate meaningful statistical patterns. However, for future studies with larger sample sizes, it is worthwhile to look into this category not least the phonetic intensification on the target side does empirically exist.

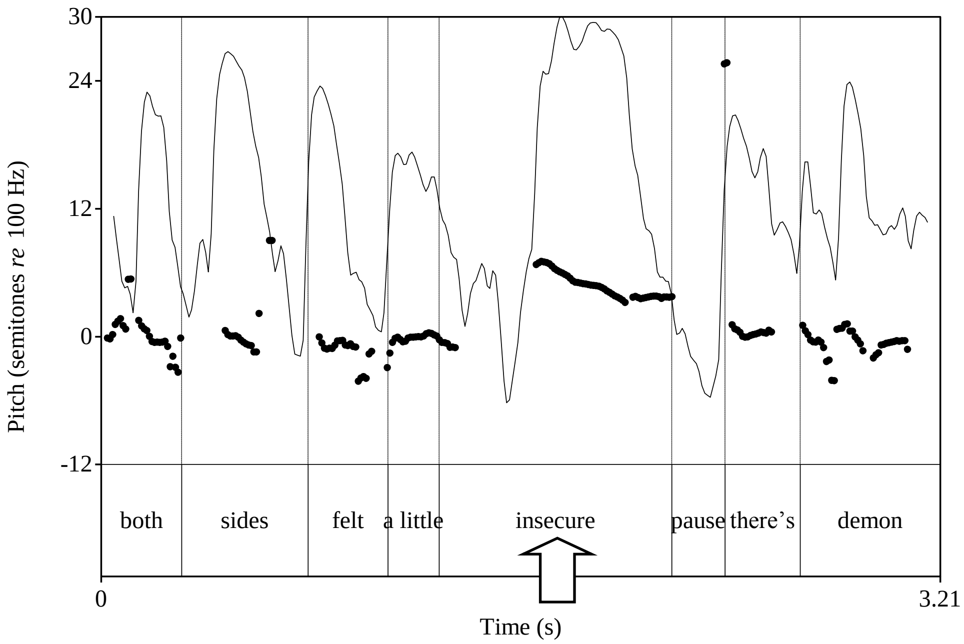
### 7.4.1 Comparing ST acoustic data in two groups: with and without verbal compensation

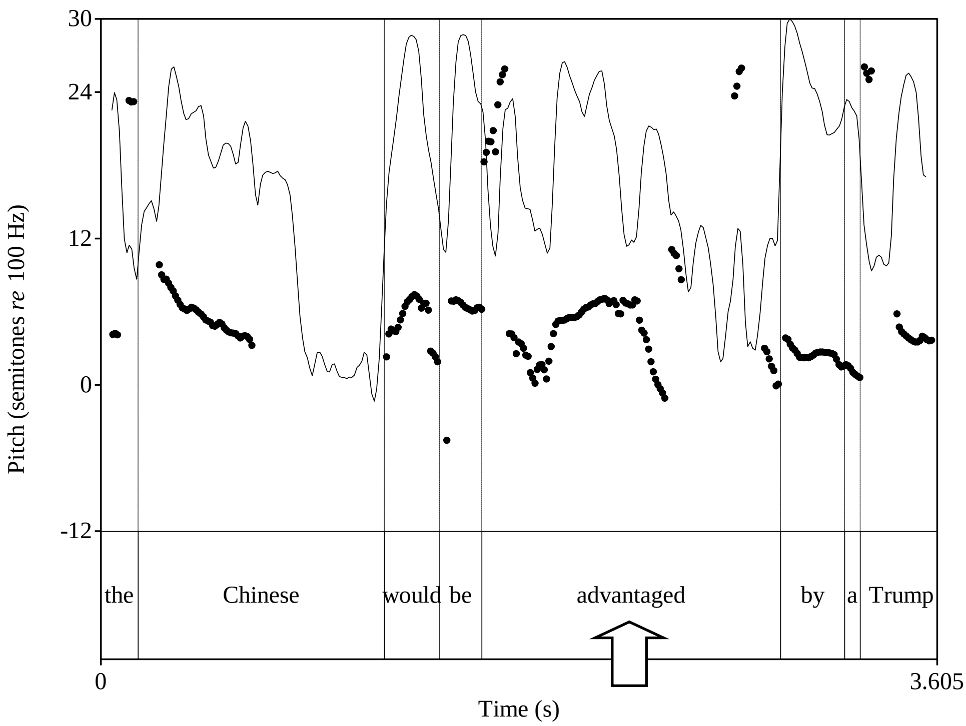
Table 14 categorises ST acoustic data based on two groups: a) renditions with no verbal compensation and b) renditions with verbal compensation. The former outnumbers the latter. For the three phonetic variables, the values of those with verbal compensation are notably higher than those without. This difference suggests a higher likelihood of interpreters' implement verbal compensation for these speaker hyper-articulated items.

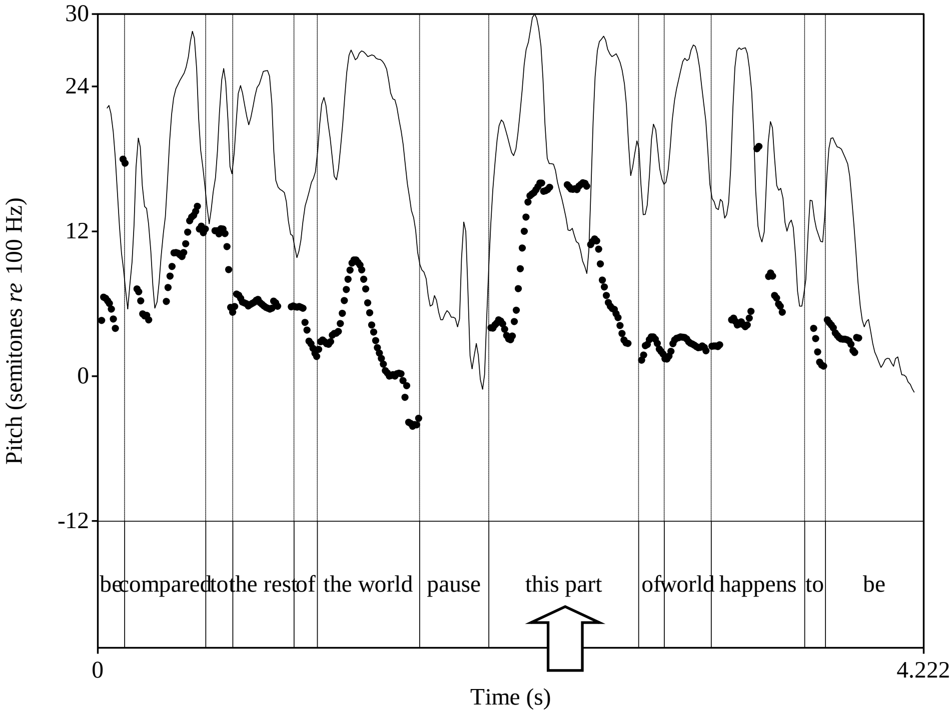
Table 14. Differences of acoustic data between two groups (a. renditions with no verbal compensation; b. renditions with verbal compensation)

| | a. with no verbal compensation | | b. with verbal compensation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *mean* | *sd* | *mean* | *sd* |
| $F_{0\ range}$ (semitones) | 7.85 | 4.13 | 22.85 | 6.40 |
| Intensity (Hz) | 73.35 | 6.05 | 77.21 | 5.38 |
| Duration (seconds) | 0.22 | 0.13 | 0.32 | 0.12 |
| *% (n)* | 65.9% (87) | | 34.1% (45) | |

Figure 20 shows visualisations for four examples of ST hyper-articulated items from the group b (with verbal compensation). In the graphs extracted from files of Praat TextGrid, $F_0$ values are indicated by the dark pitch speckles; Intensity-mean values are shown by the thinner intensity lines; Time intervals are given by the time axes at the bottom. It is obvious that the ST phonetic data (*insecure*, *advantaged*, *this part*, and *gone* from the group with verbal compensation) have higher values in terms of the three variables. How they correlate with the TT variable of verbal compensation is examined in the next section.


30
24
12
0
-12
Pitch (semitones re 100 Hz)
both
sides
felt
a little
insecure
pause
there's
demon
0
3.21
Time (s)


30
24
12
0
-12
Pitch (semitones re 100 Hz)
the
Chinese
would
be
advantaged
by
a
Trump
0
3.605
Time (s)



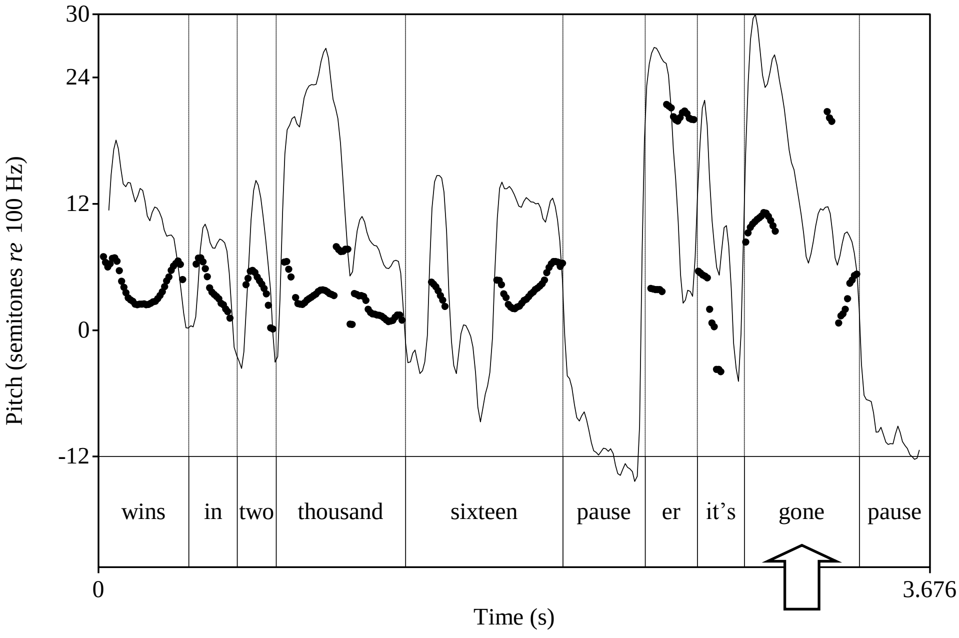




Figure 21. Pitch speckles, Intensity lines, and Time axes for the ST phonetic data from the group with verbal compensation (four examples extracted from Praat TextGrid: *insecure*, *advantaged*, *this part*, *gone*)

### 7.4.2 Correlations between speaker paralinguistic emphases and interpreter verbal compensation

To test the relations between the ST variables and the TT variable, three sets of Spearman's Rank-Order Correlation[25] are used to test whether and how the three ST phonetic variables (*pitch range, intensity*, and *duration*) correlate with the TT variable *(verbal-compensation*). As Table 15 presents, results show there is a *strong*, positive correlation between ST *pitch range* and TT *verbal-compensation* ($r_{s1}$ = .781, $n$ = 132, $p_1 < .001$). For the other two ST variables, their positive correlations with the TT variable are only *moderate* (*intensity*: $r_{s2}$ = .401, $n$ = 132, $p_2 < .001$; *duration*: $r_{s3}$ = .421, $n$ = 132, $p_3 < .001$).

Table 15. Correlation strengths between the ST phonetic variables and the TT rendition variable

| | $F_{0\ range}$ | Intensity | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***$r_s$*** | **0.781 (strong)** | **0.401 (*moderate*)** | **0.421 (*moderate*)** |
| *p* | < .001 | < .001 | < .001 |
| *n* | 132 | 132 | 132 |

The statistical results reveal overall relations between ST paralinguistic factors and the corresponding TT verbal compensation. First, all three phonetic variables correlate with the variable of verbal compensation with statistical significance; this means when speakers increase the level of intonation, changes loudness, or speak slower, interpreters are significantly likely to add some words that convey emphatic meaning, hence, verbal compensation. Second, comparing

[25] This nonparametric test is applied because the ST numerical variables are not normally distributed. The assumption that there are monotonic relationships between ST variables and the TT variable is met.

likelihood degrees of verbal compensation in view of the three ST phonetic variables, results reveal that only high levels of pitch movements strongly motivate interpreters to verbally compensate for the speaker emphatic meaning encoded in the 'sound', the other two ST phonetic factors (speaking louder and slower), however, only moderately make interpreters implement verbal compensation.

## 7.5 Qualitative Analysis

This section focuses on specific instances of interpreter verbal compensation for speaker paralinguistic emphases. The instances closely examined are taken from data validated in the foregoing statistical analysis, which means they belong to the data group with statistical significance and are not chance events. Acoustic data are provided so that higher values (for phonetic intensification) can be seen by referring to mean values (see 7.4.1).

Two types of verbal compensation can be distinguished: (i) verbal intensification of degrees, and (ii) textual lengthening through explicitation. The former involves interpreter's adding lexical intensifiers; the latter entails interpreter's inserting more information to ensure the speaker paralinguistic emphasis should get across. Both compensation strategies necessitate *verbal additions* to corresponding STs.

### 7.5.1 Interpreting strategies of verbal compensation for speaker paralinguistic emphases

#### 7.5.1.1 Verbal intensification of Graduation values for speaker paralinguistic emphases

Intensification of Graduation values tends to occur when speaker paralinguistically emphasise information coded in adjectives and nouns. In such cases, interpreters insert adjective/adverbial intensifiers, such as *very* or *extremely* (Appraisal category: Graduation: Force: Intensification), as modifiers, before the phonetically emphasised constituents. Examples are illustrated below.

In Examples 29 and 30, the speaker phonetically emphasises affective adjectives *insecure* and *worried*, via increased pitch range, loudness, and duration; there is a sense of intensified feeling encoded in the 'sound'. Then, the interpreter inserts the intensifying adverbs *很* (*very*) and *非常* (*extremely*) before the affective terms to convey the intended emphatic meaning. The verbal additions in both cases, in effect, convey emphatic messages, thus compensating for the speaker emphasis delivered paralinguistically. Another likely reason for verbal additions of intensifiers could be the out-group (or 'alien-them') ideological positioning on the part of interpreters (see Chapter 5). Either factor could associate with the strategy of verbal compensation here.

Example 29. (ID = 1.98-99; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 13.36, Intensity = 80.26, Duration = 0.39)[26]

ST: That was that was quite a dangerous period. And in part, it was because both sides felt a little **insecure**. There were demonstrations.

TT: 这确实是一个非常的一个时期，一方面，是双方认为心里<u>很</u>**不安**，看到一些抗议、示威。

Gloss: *This indeed is a special period, on one hand, two sides feel physiologically* ***<u>very</u>*** ***insecure****, see certain demonstration.*

Example 30. (ID = 1.150; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: F1.2)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 27.48, Intensity = 81.95, Duration = 0.39)

ST: And so, I think that the Chinese themselves are **worried** about the potential of the Trump.

TT: 但是，我觉得中国人也**<u>非常</u>担心**创普成为美国的总统。

Gloss: *But, I think the Chinese also are* ***<u>extremely</u>*** ***worried*** *that Trump becomes President of the United States.*

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[26] Values of acoustic data are given in brackets (in semitones, dB, and seconds) for the ST phonetically intensified items, which are marked in bold. Corresponding TT renditions are marked in bold, and additional items are underlined.

In Example 31, the speaker metaphorically describes the decreased prices as a *dive*, and meanwhile, magnifies levels of pitch range, loudness, and duration to emphasise it. The interpreter, therefore, keeps the lexical metaphor and inserts a frequency intensifier *不断* (*constant*) before the emphasis constituent *跳水* (*dive*).

Example 31. (ID = 6.235; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: F6.2)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 30.24, Intensity = 77.56, Duration = 0.56)

ST: But the other thing that is happening is that the commodity prices have taken a **dive**.

TT: 另外，国际大宗商品价格**在<u>不断</u>地跳水**。

Gloss: *Additionally, the commodity prices are taking* ***<u>constant</u>*** ***dive****.*

In Example 32, when the speaker uses paralinguistic means to emphasise *would be advantaged*, the interpreter adds an adverbial expression *实际上* (*in actual fact*). The textual addition in the TT serves as an intensifier that upgrades the truthfulness of the proposition the speaker puts forward.

Example 32. (ID = 1.136; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: F1.2)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 27.06, Intensity = 74.96, Duration = 0.32)

ST: So, I do think that on the one hand, tactically, the Chinese would be **advantaged** by Trump administration.

TT: 一方面来讲，从战术的角度来讲，如果创普登，登上这个总统这个位置，对中国**<u>实际上</u>是有利的**。

Gloss: *On the one hand, from a tactical angle, if Trump ascends the post of President, is,* ***<u>in actual fact</u>, advantageous*** *to China.*

#### 7.5.1.2 Textual lengthening through explicitation

Explicitation is an interpreting strategy where interpreters deliberately render segments of the ST more explicit (Shlesinger, 1995; Gumul, 2006). This interpreting strategy is used as another type of verbal compensation for paralinguistic emphasis; that is, interpreters add information, locally surrounding the emphasis constituents, with the purpose of passing on the intended emphasis at higher levels of clarity to the audience. The direct result of such explicitation is the textual lengthening of emphatic constituents.

In Examples 33, the paralinguistic emphasis is placed on a deictic reference *this part*, and then, it is explicated with what is exactly referred to in the contexts *亚洲这块地方* (*Asia this piece of place*) by the interpreter. The local addition of the noun *亚洲这块* (*Asia this piece of*) lengthens the duration of the emphatic part. In addition, the clarified meaning is more likely to catch audience attention and pass on the speaker emphasis.

Example 33. (ID = 1.103; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: F1.2)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 13.36, Intensity = 82.42, Duration = 0.39)

ST: Compared to the rest of the world, **this part** of the world happens to be reasonably well and strong govern, strongly governed.

TT: 和其他的地方相比，**亚洲这块地方**，应该是要得到很好的治理。

Gloss: *Compared to other places,* ***Asia this piece of place,*** *must have received very good governing.*

In Example 34, the speaker emphasises the cancellation of the Transpacific Partnership by paralinguistically highlighting the word *gone*. To convey the speaker emphatic meaning, the interpreter substantiates the somewhat abstract meaning as *所有的一切都会取消* (*all of these will be cancelled*). Similarly to Example 5, the rendition in Example 6 is of longer duration than the ST, and is of higher clarity. On top of this, the added *所有* (*all*) − as a maximum quantifier − intensifies the degree of the emphasis. Thus, the rendition, with verbal compensation, conveys the speaker emphatic intention in the textual lengthening.

Example 34. (ID = 1.65; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 20.07, Intensity = 79.91, Duration = 0.51)

ST: Because, of course, the Transpacific Partnership, […] If Trump wins in 2016, it's **gone**.

TT: 因为跨太平洋的这个贸易自由贸易协议，[…]川普如果当选的话，**所有的一切都会取消**。

Gloss: Because the Transpacific Partnership, […] If Trump is elected, **<u>all of these</u> will be cancelled**.

### 7.5.2 Verbal omissions due to ideological reasons for speaker paralinguistic emphases

Even though some speaker evaluative locutions are intensified through paralinguistic means, they are omitted due to ideological reasons. These omissions either result in incomplete sentences or sentence omissions. It seems that ideology is a stronger motivator than the speaker paralinguistic means in re-constructing ideologically loaded discourses.

Example 35 relates to military and security issues in the South China Sea region; the discourse is sensitive and ideologically-loaded. The American speaker positively comments on the American's military role in the region as *active, robust*, which have obvious positive values. Meanwhile, the speaker intensifies the discourse degree through phonetic means of hyper-articulating the two positive words. The Chinese interpreter only keeps the intensification value in *非常* (fairly), but omits the attitudinal locution (*active, robust*) entirely, even leaving this sentence incomplete.

Example 35. (ID = 1.58-61; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 29.83, Intensity = 78.72, Duration = 0.43)

ST: And one place that I had small disagreement, is that I do believe America's fairly **~~active, robust~~** military role in the region, and its willingness to escalate, actually makes this more incremental. But Chinese are risk-averse here. […] They don't want to find a fundamental conflict that subverts the economic relations with South China Sea literal states.

TT: 一方面，有些小的争议，我确实认为美国非常，他们在这个地区的军事力量，而且这样可能会升级。但是中国，他们不喜欢这样的危险。[⋯]但是他们也不希望有任何冲突这涉及到一些，这个，一些小国家的一些经济关系。

Gloss: *On one hand, there are small disagreements, I do believe America* *is fairly, their military presence in this region, in this way might escalate. But China, they do like such risks. […] But they don't wish to have any conflicts involving some, this, economic relations with some small states.*

In Example 36, the American speaker describes how the Chinese government seeks support from small counties on their position on the South China Sea, arguing that *China didn't use to have the same level of support on Taiwan*. The discourse is highly politically-charged in the sense that Taiwan is a sensitive issue on which views from China and the West often conflict. The speaker emphasises the discourse phonetically though, the interpreter only keeps *台湾的立场* (*Taiwan's position*), omitting the negative discourse constructed with regard to China's failed attempt to elicit support from other countries for its position on Taiwan. Therefore, the rendition seems neutral, yet it is rather ambiguous insofar as other countries' attitudes towards Taiwan are concerned. Like the previous example, the interpreter omits the phonetically intensified locutions due to ideological reasons, at the cost of achieving syntactic and semantic completeness.

Example 36. (ID = 1.53; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 26.93, Intensity = 80.07, Duration = 0.43)

ST: I mean the Chinese government has been looking far and wide to find countries that would support their position, on the South China Sea. They found a few. I mean Laos, central Africa Republic, I mean, you know, this sort of small far-flung dictatorships that are economically dominated by the Chinese government. So they gave them the political word. But keep in mind, you know, that China ~~didn't use to have the~~ **~~same level of support~~ on Taiwan**.

TT: 中国政府要找很多国家来支持中国的立场。实际上他没有太多的人支持，像中非共和国呀，都是些很小的这种独裁国家，而且专门对经济，主要是由中国的领导。但是，我们是，中国就像在台湾的立场上。

Gloss: *The Chinese government wants to find many counties to support their position. Factually, they didn't find many, like central Africa Republic, all are small countries of dictatorship, and particularly in terms of economy, mainly led by China. But, we are, China just like on Taiwan's position.*

In Example 37 the American speaker surmises in a pejorative way about China's nationalism, which is a politically sensitive topic in China. The intensity is heightened phonetically in the locution *nationalist card*. The Chinese interpreter halts after she hears the whole sentence, and then, even if the time allows the full rendition, omits the sentence (the phonetically intensified locution included) to avoid such ideologically sensitive discourse.

Example 37. (ID = 1.69-70; speaker: American political scientist; interpreter: M1.1)

(Acoustic data: $F_{0\ range}$ = 20.02, Intensity = 79.33, Duration = 0.32)

ST: The other big risk is that the Chinese, if we start to see here that the economic deterioration continues~~, starts playing a more **nationalist card**~~. Right now, sitting in the middle of 2016, we don't worry about either of those things, we have to understand both of the approximate dangers.

TT: 而且，我们看中国，如果要是中国经济情况继续恶化, …。那么目前，我们是的 2016 年中，我们没有看到任何这些风险的因素的出现。

Gloss: *In addition, we see China, if the Chinese economy continues deteriorating, … Then now, we are in the middle of 2016, we haven't seen any these risks emerging.*

## 7.6 A Brief Note on the Implications for Inter-semiotic Analysis of Interpreting

Interpreting is a multimodal communicative practice involving an ensemble of semiotic resources (Gao & Wang, 2017), not limited to visual, auditory and verbal-textural (transcribed verbatim into written words; tentatively termed 'verbal-text', excluding the accompanying 'sound' of language). The quantitative and qualitative analyses in this chapter provide some empirical evidence pointing to the fact that the conference interpreting practice presents such an ensemble – albeit visual aspects are beyond the current remit – in which the auditory semiotic signs are converted into the text-proper from STs into TTs, as illustrated as the case (a) in Figure 22.

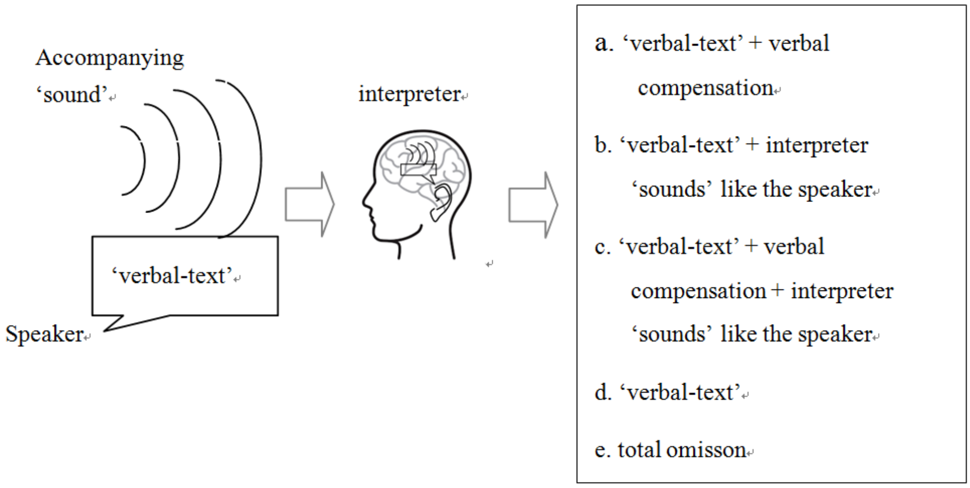


Figure 22. Possibilities for rendering speaker utterance with two types of semiotic resources – verbal and paralinguistic (illustration drawn by the author)

Interestingly, inclusive of the two possible cases discussed – (a) verbal compensation and (e) total omissions – there could be five possibilities. The speaker utterance encompasses both the 'verbal-text' and the accompanying 'sound', also as a carrier of the text as it were. Both semiotic resources are received and processed by the interpreter. The interpreter, then, could a) deliver the 'verbal-text' and verbally render the meaning borne by the 'sound', b) deliver the 'verbal-text' and try to 'sound' like the speaker (cf. Kirchhoff, 1976: 67) in order to retain the sound-borne message, c) combine the previous two, d) only deliver the 'verbal-text', or e) omit the utterance due to, for instance, ideological reasons. While this chapter only focuses on two of them, the inter-semiotic perspective provided here could be an interesting point of departure for analysing other possibilities in interpreting studies.

## 7.7 Summary

In terms of overall relations between ST paralinguistic emphases and TT verbal compensation (RQ (1)), results show that (i) interpreters are significantly likely to implement verbal compensation for speaker paralinguistic emphases, which applies to the three ST phonetic variables (pitch range, intensity, and duration); (ii) pitch range is *strongly* correlated with verbal compensation ($r_{s1}$ = .781), whereas, intensity and duration are *moderately* correlated ($r_{s2}$ = .401, $r_{s3}$ = .421), which means, interpreters are notably more inclined to verbally compensate when the speaker increases intonation change levels (larger pitch movements) of the emphatic constituent than when the speaker speaks louder or slower.

Close examination of data discloses two interpreting strategies, with which interpreters implement verbal compensation (RQ (2)): (i) verbal intensification of degrees, where interpreters add lexical intensifiers before emphatic constituents, and (ii) textual lengthening through explicitation, where interpreters insert clarifying information surrounding emphatic constituents to render them longer textually, and, to convey speaker paralinguistic emphases in a more explicit manner. If the ST emphatic locutions (realised through paralinguistic means) are ideologically charged or sensitive, interpreters tend to omit them (RQ (3)).

As the last data-analysis chapter, it contributes to the present study by exploring the paralinguistic dimension of evaluation in CIR, triangulating results in previous chapters, and pushing the boundaries of Appraisal theory. Based on the results, three points can be made.

(1) Significance of uncovering relations between linguistic-paralinguistic dimensions in CIR

The usefulness of interpreter verbal compensation for speaker paralinguistic emphases cannot be underestimated. In monolingual literature, Halliday and Greaves (2008: 9-10) stress the importance of the “sound of language” in expressing and constructing meaning. Many interpreting studies researchers also espouse this tenet, believing that, inter alia, meaning is inextricably linked with paralanguage (e.g. Stenzl, 1983; Setton, 1999), speaker acoustic presence “convey[s] the attitudinal position” (Munday, 2012: 67), and phonetic resources constitute an essential part in the meaning-making process of interpreting (Gao & Wang, 2017). Interpreter verbal compensation for speaker paralinguistic emphases, empirically examined in this study, provides a viable solution to convey ST messages encoded in the ‘sound’ of speech.

These findings correspond to the hitherto few relevant studies on paralinguistic elements in CIR. In terms of interpreter’s perception of speaker intonation prominence, the overall pattern is in line with findings by Ahrens (2005) and Naf à Waasaf (2007). Meanwhile, results also suggest that interpreters do not necessarily have to ‘sound’ like speakers (Kirchhoff, 1976: 67) or mirror ST pitch contours (Kučiš & Majhenič, 2018); rather, they have verbal means to achieve synonymous effects. Moreover, the nuanced differences between the three acoustic variables identified in this study add to existing empirical findings in interpreting studies.

(2) Effects of ideological factors: a triangulation of previous chapters

Even though some speaker evaluative locutions are intensified through paralinguistic means, they are omitted due to ideological reasons. It seems that interpreters’ ideological motivation overrides their strategic motive to render or compensate for the ST paralinguistic intensification. These omissions either result in incomplete sentences or sentence omissions. Some examples in 7.4.2 have been discussed in previous chapters, where parts of sentences are omitted due to ideological reasons. Findings from this chapter add to previous chapters by revealing that that ideology could be a stronger motivator than the speaker paralinguistic means in re-constructing the ideologically loaded discourses. This finding also serves as a triangulation of previous data-analysis chapters.

(3) Theoretical extension: the ‘sound’ of Appraisal

There is also an original value in extending the Appraisal Theory (Martin & White 2005) to the domain of ‘sound of language’ (in Hallidayan (2008) term). Though Appraisal Theory is biased towards written texts, the fine-grained systems have great potentials to account for Appraisal meanings in the ‘sound’ of spoken texts. This chapter demonstrates how its sub-system Graduation is fruitfully harnessed for such analytical purposes with authentic spoken data.

# Chapter 8 Conclusion

## 8.1 Summary of the 'Intellectual Journey'

Evaluation is omnipresent in every utterance that has a value orientation (Voloshinov, 1929/1973). This is the underpinning belief this thesis leveraged as a 'way-in' to interrogate value-rich linguistic signs of evaluation in ideologically-charged discourses.

Embedded in the evaluative language are the values or worldviews held by the writer/speaker and translator/interpreter. The linguistic choices made by the authorial voice are not gratuitous, indexing an ideological position in relation to discourse structures and situational/social/political contexts. This is a reciprocal process. On one hand, linguistic choices are made from competing and equivalent (or synonymous) items. The selected items realise the 'meaning potential' that construe discourse semantics in a given context. The decision-making in translation/interpreting is a similar (un)selecting process in the sense that translators/interpreters are constantly comparing potential TT equivalents against the STs. This is through the (un)selecting process that translators/interpreters intervene, injecting his/her ideological values into the TT discourse. On the other hand, the translator/interpreter ideology contributes to the TT selection results, yet, it does not function alone. The ST discourse structures and context that the translation/interpreting activity sets in also shape the reconstruction of the TT discourse imbued with linguistic choices. For instance, the translator/interpreter in-group ideology (cf. van Dijk, 1998, 2006), institutional/national power relations and positive/negative values in the ST discourse could, jointly, affect the (un)selection of linguistic items at critical points of translator/interpreter decision-making.

With the foci on the critical points of interpreter decision-making, this thesis investigated relations between evaluative shifts and ideological factors in the 2016 WEF Forum in China, a highly 'multi-voiced' event mediated by professional conference interpreters. The investigation synergised the corpus-driven/based methods with CDA frameworks, as a 'meta approach', for the purpose of mapping out global patterns, objectively identifying key discourse structures, and distilling critical points of evaluative shifts for close analysis (Chapter 3 and 4). The three Appraisal systems, Attitude and Graduation (Chapter 5) and Engagement (Chapter 6) were applied for the systematic investigation of evaluation 'proper' and 'supra', respectively, in forms of written transcription of ST and TT videos. The paralinguistic properties of Intensification (in the Graduation system) in the spoken data were examined in an attempt to extend Appraisal agendas to cover the 'sound' of language (Chapter 7).

## 8.2 Answers to Research Questions

While answers to the overarching 'what', 'how' and 'why' research questions (set out in Chapter 1) spread in the four data-analysis chapters, they are summarised respectively here for clarity.

A. What are the Appraisal shifts? (see 1.3 for the fully spelt out research question; the same with B and C below) – Appraisal shifts in the conference interpreting data occur in forms of omissions, additions and substitutions of Appraisal lexis, phraseologies, and ideologically-charged sentences. Appraisal locutions that are susceptible to shifts include attitudinal expressions (such as *welcomed, painful, feared* and etc.), degree modifiers (such as *very, more, most, a little* and etc.), and interpersonal positioning expressions with respect to the value position being advanced (such as *might, should, possible, certainly, indeed, I think/doubt, it seems* and etc.). They respectively fall into the three Appraisal systems – Attitude, Graduation and Engagement. On the whole, in the 'product' of simultaneous interpreting, there are noticeable omissions in all Appraisal categories, among which, the omission pattern is the most salient in sub-categories of negative Attitude and Intensification. This renders the overall TTs more positively evaluated than the STs, and less potent considering the global discourse intensity. Additions and substitutions of Appraisal meanings are quantitatively less prominent, yet, they highly concentrate on positive/negative evaluations regarding China, the country of interpreters' affiliation. For the ST paralinguistic intensification (in the Graduation system), there is a strong tendency of verbal additions in the TTs.

B. How do Appraisal shifts correlate with discourse structures? – The discourse of the WEF meeting data for this study is structured upon three layers: countries/regions, issues under discussion, and how they are evaluated (positive/negative/neutral). First, long (sentence) omissions concur with negative values about China or political/ideological sensitivity (such as nationalism, populism, Sino-Russian relations and the Taiwan issue) in the discourse. Second, lexical omissions of Appraisal items are weakly or moderately with the discourse structure. Third, additions and substitutions of evaluators are strongly associated with positive/negative values, for which, i) China-positiveness is strengthened, ii) China-negativeness is neutralised or diluted, and iii) negative values of other countries are intensified. Fourth, despite the evidenced verbal additions for the ST paralinguistic emphases, omissions occur in the face of the politically/ideologically sensitive information.

C. Why do Appraisal shifts occur? – Ideology is a primary contributor to Appraisal shifts. Two types of ideological factors work in tandem in shaping and conditioning the TT discourse: a) the interpreters' ideological positioning and b) ideological stimuli embedded in the ST discourses. On one hand, the professional interpreters are Chinese nationals and government-employed professional who align their positions with their country/state of affiliation. This is evidenced, among others, in their adding and re-coding Appraisal values in favour of China in the simultaneous process. The ideological values embedded in the ST discourses, on the other hand, function as stimuli that motivate the interpreters to change the evaluative values surrounding or inscribed in factual messages. For example, in the discourse on the South China Sea dispute, negative values are re-coded as neutral ones ( such as *misperception* > *perspective*, *dangerous period* > *special period*). The Appraisal shifts of linguistic items, thus, become critical points of interpreters' decision making and reflect their ideological positioning.

## 8.3 Main Findings

### 8.3.1 Interpreters' 'us/them' ideological positioning rather than impartiality

The 'in-between' (cf. Tymoczko, 2003) position has been the cornerstone for the interpreting profession. Particularly for high-profile transnational events like the World Economic Forum Annual Meetings, professional conference interpreters are expected to be impartial and neutral. Nonetheless, interpreters' 'us/them' ideology manifests itself predominantly in the WEF-in-China corpus, overriding the position of impartiality. This is demonstrated by the Chinese interpreters' textual intervention, if not overt manipulation, of value-rich locutions that construct discourses in favour of China but disfavouring other countries.

Theoretically, the finding of the interpreter 'us/them' ideological positioning attests to van Dijk's (1998, 2006) *Ideological Square* that models the ideological polarization between 'ingroups' and 'outgroups'. The in/out-group values of oneself is deeply-entrenched, socially acquired, shaped, conditioned by values of one's community and contacts with other communities (ibid). Conference interpreters are no exception – their national/institutional affiliation with China and the government organizer re-enforces the 'us/them' ideological positioning while suppressing the impartial positioning, in their discursive practices.

Empirically, the finding of the interpreter 'us/them' position adds to existing findings pertaining to ideology in CIR. The 'us-solidified' position, or ingroup ideology, among the WEF interpreters, resonates with the interpreter stance-alignment with country/institution of affiliation in a number of CIR studies (e.g. Pöchhacker, 2006; Beaton, 2007a; Beaton-Thome, 2013, 2014; Wang & Feng, 2017; Gu, 2018, 2019; Fu & Chen, 2019). The interpreter in-group positioning is not only achieved by emphasizing positive or de-emphasizing negative discourses of the affiliated government/country, but also by mitigating, if not eschewing at all, politically or ideologically sensitive discourses that could potentially spark squabbles or lead to diplomatic deadlocks on the inter/trans-national The WEF platform with leading authorities. The present study echoes the former while sheds fresh light on the latter empirically.

The interpreter 'them-alienated' position (or outgroup ideology), however, seems to be a new pattern that has yet been discussed in the previous CIR literature. Though this interpreter 'them'- ideological positioning is found less cogent than the 'us'- ideological positioning in the textual manifestations of interpreting shifts (such as additions & substitutions of positive Appraisal items: 'us' ($n$ = 176) > 'them' ($n$ = 5); see 5.3 for more details) in the corpus, such pattern has a clear ideological motivation because it entails interpreter's extra efforts in adding or re-coding value-rich languages enveloping the 'them'-discourses. For example, intensifiers are added for the negativity of Trump's possible presidency (*worried* > *非常担心* *(extremely worried*)), numerical information regarding the economic growth in other countries is converted into a negative evaluator *insufficient*, and the neutral term *影响* *(influence*) is re-coded as *pains* and *blow* for the UK Brexit referendum (Chapter 5).

### 8.3.2 From subtle linguistic shifts to value re-construction

Appraisal shifts at a linguistic level may seem subtle or trivial if examined in isolation; yet, when considered in a discursive whole, such linguistic shifts constitute critical points of interpreter decision-making, accumulatively giving rise to the value re-construction of TT discourses. Such shifts are identified from the conference interpreting data of the 2016 WEF-in-China that constitutes a ‘multi-voiced’ site of ideological contestations (see 3.1.1). Despite quite different even contesting ideologies among the WEF panel speakers, overt distortion or manipulation of values is uncommon because it could be highly marked linguistically and recognised as blatant interpreting ‘errors’. However, values are changed and reconstructed through changes of evaluative language in interpreting. Indeed, lexical features of evaluation are “most susceptible to value manipulation” (Munday, 2012: 41).

Accumulatively and covertly, the value re-construction (of the almost 14-hour long corpus data) is achieved through multiple instances of interpreting shifts of evaluative language (at the lexical level, $n$ = 2253[27]; at the sentence level, $n$ = 89). Such evaluative shifts are wide-spread, permeating and infusing ‘factual’ (or ideational, in Halliday’s term) messages. It is only through a forensic ST-TT comparison informed by the well-established Appraisal systems (J. Martin & White, 2005) that the changed attitudes, values, positions and ideologies, which could otherwise “pass unnoticed” (Munday, 2007: 197) at a discourse level are captured, described and interpreted at a linguistic level. Appraisal shifts of lexical features can be categorised in terms of Appraisal systems (Attitude, Graduation and Engagement).

First, Attitude locutions change their polarity values (positive/negative/neutral) through the interpreting process. There are many

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27 This figure excludes lexical shifts of Engagement expressions for the ‘them’ discourse, which is beyond the remit of this study.

lexical cases of moving from negative to neutral values for China-related discourses ($n$ = 176), and, conversely for other-countries-related discourses ($n$ = 83) (see Chapter 5). Omissions of attitudinal expressions are relatively low since they are closely intertwined with factual messages. Substitutions (or value re-coding), however, are much more frequent, for which interpreters use a non-equivalent rather than an equivalent of the target language. Additions of attitudinal locations are not frequent; they tend to intensify the existing ST positive/negative prosody (e.g. *actively*, *good news* and *advantage* are inserted in China-positive discourses) rather than diverting it into an opposite direction. Moreover, a few lexical shifts are extremely subtle since they implicitly invoke positive/negative audience responses via lexical metaphors. For example, the neutral usage of *influences* is replaced by the metaphorical uses of *pains* and *blow*, thus reconstructing the Brexit discourse in a more negative tone.

Second, the intensity of positive/negative discourses undergoes notable changes due to a high-degree (around half of the intensifying and downtoning expressions) of interpreting shifts in the Graduation category. Generally speaking, degree modifiers (including both explicit markers of Force and Focus) suffer a marked reduction due to the simultaneous nature of conference interpreting. This is in line with Munday's (2012, 2018) findings from the US presidential speech interpreting data. Nonetheless, degree modifiers, particularly markers of Force, easily become sites of value alterations in the TT discourses. For example, intensifiers (such as *very*, *more* and *most*) are added in China-positive discourses and omitted in negative ones. Though such additions and omissions of Force markers do not change the discourse value in its own right per se, considering the high-degree shifts in this category, they accumulatively alter the overall weight of positive/negative values in the discourse.

Third, shifts of Contractive and Expansive locutions (in the Engagement category) evidently change the speaker position with respect to the discursive value position being advanced and with respect to audience responses to that value position. In other words, shifts in Engagement change the speaker 'investment' into and the 'control' over the audience regarding values in the discourse. In this study, such shifts concentrate on China-related discourses. Being re-positioned by the Chinese interpreters, speakers of diverse backgrounds sound more aligned with the China-positive position while more disaligned from the China-negative position. As such, re-positioning is predominantly achieved via linguistic re-formulations of the broad-sense 'modality' (cf. Stubbs, 1996; Hunston, 2010). For example, interpreters alter the intensity of mental projection (e.g. *I think* > *I do believe*), increase the modal intensity (e.g. *could* > *should*), and add Contractive markers (e.g. *indeed, clearly, really* and *surely*) for the purpose of making the value position more assertive for China-positive discourses. For China-negative discourses, conversely, interpreters have the propensity to add low-intensity modal expressions (e.g. *possible, probable* and *it seems*) and reduce the modal intensity (e.g. *truly* > *probably*) to render the negative value position more tentative.

### 8.3.3 Interactions between ideological factors and the cognitive processing process

Simultaneous conference interpreting is an amalgam of, primarily, the macro-level discourse process and the micro-level cognitive process. Despite a long-recognized cleavage between "the overall discourse process and the cognitive processing operations" in CIR (Pöchhacker, 2005: 692), the value-rich and ideology-laden discourses of the WEF interpreting data offer empirical evidence that the two crucial aspects do interact, commingle, and engage with each other.

The language choices made by the conference interpreter are anything but stochastic, reflecting a cognitive processing status onsite, revealing an interpreter ideological position, and signalling the way interpreters respond to the ideological stimuli embedded in discourses. In view of the interpreting ‘product’ of the WEF data in this study, the intermingled effects of ideology and cognitive processing are mainly manifested in three ways:

(1) Long omissions concentrate on politically/ideologically sensitive sentences. Even sufficient time and cognitive capacities are locally available in the simultaneous process, interpreters flounder on such sensitivity, which contributes to a moment of hesitation, ambivalent indecision or intentional omissions.

(2) Short omissions of evaluators are ideologically motivated. Though omissions of lexical items may be ideologically motivated and/or result from cognitive saturation, and examinations of individual cases could not pin-down any definite causes, yet the quantitative analyses point to a clear relational pattern where lexical omissions (of markers of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement) are linked, with statistical significance, to negative values of China-related discourses (Chapter 5 and 6). This pattern reveals the ingroup ideology on the part of Chinese interpreters.

(3) Additions and substitutions of evaluators that may tax extra cognitive efforts reveal, in terms of association strength, a strong ideological motivation. Such interpreting shifts are more marked than evaluator omissions that are considered reasonable or legitimised in view of performance norms given the high cognitive demand in simultaneous interpreting. Moreover, they contribute to added or altered evaluative meanings in relation to discourse structures. In the WEF dataset, additions and substitutions of evaluators are strongly associated with positive/negative values embedded in the ST discourse. For example, interpreters are highly likely to add intensifiers for positive values about China or negative values about other countries, substitute negative evaluators with neutral ones for China-related discourses, and re-code modal intensity that alters the speaker ‘investment’ into positive/negative values in the discourse.

These findings lend empirical support to a 'holistic' socio-cognitive perspective (Pöchhacker, 2005: 692) that proposes theoretically with an aim to reconcile "the overall discourse process" and "the mental operations". They also feed into conceptual hypotheses regarding 'co-functioning' of simultaneity and discourse factors in conference interpreting (cf. Apostolou, 2009; Munday, 2018).

### 8.3.4 Verbal means for rendering paralinguistic intensification

Paralanguage is a crucial vehicle for expressing and constructing meanings (Halliday & Greaves, 2008). For interpreting practices, phonetic components that constitute paralanguage are a primary medium for the cross-language/culture communication mediated by interpreters. How interpreters render meanings embedded in the ST 'sound' properties is crucial in conveying the intended meanings by the speaker.

With a focus on how interpreters render the ST paralinguistic emphases (Intensification in terms of Appraisal), results show that interpreters are highly likely to implement verbal compensation, particularly, for cases with greater intonation changes in STs. This is achieved through two interpreting strategies: (i) interpreters add lexical intensifiers before the phonetically emphatic locutions, and (ii) interpreters insert clarifying information surrounding emphatic locutions to render them longer textually, and, to convey speaker paralinguistic emphases in a more explicit manner. Both strategies involve the additions of lexical/phraseological items that are non-existent in the STs.

Rendering paralinguistic intensification by verbal means recognises the inextricable relations between ST paralanguage and meaning, which are discussed by several interpreting studies scholars (e.g. Stenzl, 1983; Setton, 1999; Munday, 2012: 67; Gao & Wang, 2017). Meanwhile, the use of verbal strategies suggest that interpreters do not necessarily have to "sound" like speakers (Kirchhoff, 1976: 67) or mirror ST pitch contours (Kučiš & Majhenič, 2018);

rather, they have verbal means to achieve synonymous effects of semantic intensification. This is also significant on the praxis side because 'pleasant voice' is deemed an important factor in interpreting performance assessment (e.g. Chiaro & Nocella, 2004: 287; Shlesinger, 1997: 129). In addition, professional protocols or good practice guides for conference interpreters resonate with the 'voice' criteria. For instance, AIIC's (1999) *Practical Guide for Professional Conference Interpreters* discourages them from speaking in a loud voice, contending that it "will create a sense of agitation and nervous energy" to the audience. Therefore, unlike speakers, interpreters are expected not to use hyper-articulated means to achieve intensified meanings. However, interpreter verbal means for the speaker paralanguage circumvents, strategically, the issue of 'unpleasant voice'.

## 8.4 Tentative Conceptualisation of the Conference Interpreters' Ideology

Conference interpreters' ideology could be subsumed under discourse-analyst scholars' broad conceptualisation of ideology – being non-pejorative beliefs or values of a social group. Fundamentally, conference interpreters' ideology can be conceptualised in the light of their ideological positioning (or stance-taking) in relation to discourse factors, such as positive/negative discourse structures and 'us/them' configurations. For example, their ideological alignment with China and the Chinese government is a predominant pattern of ideological positioning by the Chinese conference interpreters at the WEF; such an ingroup positioning manifests itself in the textual shifts concerning positive/negative discourses about China.

Conference interpreters' ideology can also be conceptualised in terms of time and space. It is pegged to a multivalent constellation of interactions *prior to* and *in situ* the conference event. Quintessentially, conference interpreters' ideology germinates from their self-social cognition, being stimulated, activated and enacted, and then, working live and reifying interpreters' beliefs and values discursively in a conference embedding.

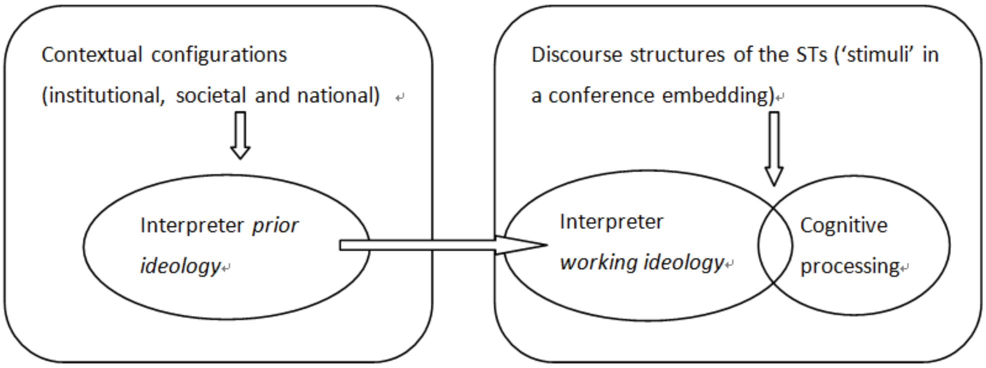



Figure 23. Relations of conference interpreters' *prior* ideology and *working* ideology

The 'prior' and 'working' facets of interpreter ideology can be tentatively conceptualised (as illustrated in Figure 23). Conference interpreters' *prior ideology* is, over time, socially acquired, shaped, conditioned and embedded in institutional, societal and national contexts. It is a tacit consent of the interpreter's value position within a set of institutional, national and socio-political configurations. An interpreter comes to a conference context, not without a pre-supposed value stance, but with that prior social-cognition, which gives him/her a non-neutral value position to work with. Then, the moment-by-moment rendition, or discourse reconstruction in light of value changes in TTs, is precipitated and monitored by interpreters' *working ideology* as a real-time 'executive mechanism'. The working ideology activates interpreters' prior ideology, reacts to ideological stimuli in discourses, counteracts ideological elements that clash with his/her own prior beliefs and values, while working in tandem with the 'central executive' (Liu, 2001; Timarova, 2008; Čeňková et al., 2014) of interpreters' working memory in the cognitive processing process. The *working ideology* serves to monitor, licence or inhibit expenditures of cognitive capacities in real-time, according to a value hierarchy of, particularly an ‘us’-more-important-than-‘them’ ordering.

On the whole, the investigation of conference interpreters’ ideology affords, from translation/interpreting studies, a perspective, a contrastive approach, or a concrete case to the discourse-oriented understanding of ideology in general.

## 8.5 Original Contributions

### 8.5.1 Originalities in empirical findings and heuristic values

Original points are first and foremost engendered from empirical findings. They add to our existing knowledge with empirical evidence from ecologically valid conference interpreting context. Based on the discussions in 8.3, four points are summarised below:

(1) The interpreter ‘us’ position is solidified while the ‘them’ position is alienated by the interpreter intervention. For one thing, interpreters’ in/out-group value orientation overrides what professionalism prescribes an impartial position. For another, the interpreter intervention goes beyond the ‘us’-alignment position with country/institution of afflictions, stretching to the ‘them’ discourses where negative values are emphasized but positive values are deemphasized. A ‘lopsided’ construct of ‘us-them’ emerges in ways where manifestations for a solidary-‘us’ position overshadows an alien-‘them’ position.

(2) Local linguistic shifts of evaluation accumulatively alter the entire value orientation in the TT discourse irrespective of their subtle or trivial roles played individually. In interpreting (also true with translation, perhaps), the value alteration of discourse does not necessarily entail a shift of factual (or ‘ideational’ in terms of SFL) information that is prioritised by default; an increase/decrease of intensifiers that modify positive/negative evaluations,

neutralisation of negative attitudes, and changes in modal intensities, for example, suffice it to veer the ST values of negativity to the TT values of neutrality.

(3) For simultaneous conference interpreters, two ‘cognitions’ – social cognition and cognitive processing operations – stand in reciprocal relations. The former is concerned with the interpreter ideology (or self-social cognition); the latter refers to the cognitive processing process. The interpreter ideology hypothetically oversees, monitors and engages with the latter in allocating cognitive resources for the working memory in the simultaneous interpreting process. Their interconnected nexus is reflected in the sentence omissions, lexical omissions, lexical additions and substitutions associated with ideologically-charged locutions.

(4) Conference interpreters have a propensity to render the ST paralanguage through verbal means, which are strongly associated with greater intonation movements in ST speech. The interpreter verbal additions of lexical items effectively compensate for meanings borne by the ST ‘sound’ of language but non-existent verbally.

On top of these original points from the findings, there are also heuristic or didactic implications for interpreter practice and education. The traditional emphasis on ‘hard’ facts for ‘translation equivalence’ should shift towards ‘soft’ aspects of interpersonal, attitudinal and value-rich utterances. The seemingly ‘soft’ utterances constitute what Munday (2012, 2018) define as critical points of translator/interpreter decision-making. Interpreting shifts of these utterances may alter the value orientation and, *de facto*, re-construct the entire discourse. Perhaps, textbook entries could be devoted to evaluation-related lexical features (e.g. J. Martin, 2000; J. Martin & White, 2005) and ‘local grammars’ (e.g. Hunston, 2010; Hunston & Su, 2017); strategies for dealing with politically/ideologically sensitivity are also expected for interpreter education/training.

Another heuristic-worthy implication derives from point (4) above – rendering paralanguage through verbal means. This strategy is particularly useful for conference interpreters for two reasons. First, conference audiences often solely rely on the interpreter voice from their headsets where the speaker voice is inaccessible. For instance, when the speaker emphasizes an utterance by means of hyper-articulation (e.g. greater intonation movements), his/her emphatic intention is lost if the interpreter renders only literally with verbal equivalences. Second, practice guides (e.g. AIIC, 1999) for conference interpreters discourages them from speaking in a loud voice or with steep intonations. Verbal strategies, such as adding intensifiers for the speaker paralinguistic emphases, indeed, help avoid the 'unpleasant voice' and could achieve similar ST paralanguage effects.

## 8.5.2 Methodological originalities

### 8.5.2.1 CL-CDA synergy informed by Appraisal for T&I

Notable originality of the 'meta approach' (see 3.2) used in this study is the systematic integration of Appraisal systems (J. Martin & White, 2005) with CL and CDA approaches, particularly with a comparative lens of T&I. For one thing, the application of Appraisal systems demonstrates the utility of the mono-lingually established theory in translation/interpreting studies. Meanwhile, the combination of CL and CDA has increasingly gathered momentum in the last decade with the dominant monolingual studies. In T&I research, however, the CL-CDA combination remains an incipient phenomenon. Moreover, applications of Appraisal theory in T&I is only a recent trend (see Chapter 2).

The operationalization of the 'meta approach' informed by the Appraisal theory demonstrates three profitable points of synergies that could enrich this line of research in T&I.

(1) Synergy between corpus-driven and corpus-based methods. They are complementary with no binary distinction (McEnery & Hardie, 2011).

Corpus-driven methods (such as keyness and collocation) ‘drive’ the identification of salient linguistic patterns that point to key topoi, agents (countries/regions) and their connections in the discourse of ST sub-corpus. The results, then, usefully inform corpus-based methods that reveal Appraisal features of the topoi, agents and their connections in both ST and TT sub-corpus with a comparative lens.

(2) Synergy between corpus-based methods and Appraisal systems. The integration of the intricate and systematic Appraisal theory with corpus-based methods allows the study to map out and compare differences between the ST and TT Appraisal profiles (by comparing frequencies), interpret shifts of Appraisal meanings in the contexts (by concordancing).

(3) Synergy between CL and Fairclough’s three-level CDA model. Through concepts of *stratification* and *realization* in SFL (Halliday, 1994), linguist forms that CL relies on are meaningfully linked with other semiotics in the social/political context. This means, Fairclough’s three levels of CDA model – text description, discourse-process interpretation, and conditions/contexts-oriented explanation – can be analysed with lexicogrammar constructions in the corpus. For a contrastive analysis of STs and TTs, translation/interpreting shifts at a linguistic level can be meaningfully investigated with other factors at a discourse level.

#### 8.5.2.2 Interdisciplinary methods for investigating paralinguistic dimensions in interpreting studies

Methods used for investigating *paralinguistic* dimensions of selected data (see Chapter 7) serves methodological inventory and broadens the research avenue of interpreting studies. Through harnessing phonology-oriented Effort Code as the theoretical foundation, in tandem with descriptive methods from acoustic phonetics, Chapter 7 demonstrates the usefulness of a toolkit from phonology and phonetics. Such a toolkit not only instrumentally allows this study to tap into a hitherto incipiently explored area in interpreting studies, but also will potentially enable interpreting studies researchers to explore paralinguistic elements with a number of language pairs, since the theory of Effort Code accounts for universal features of paralanguage (Gussenhoven, 2002, 2004). As such, "intrinsic evanescence" and "concomitant *paralinguistic* dimensions" of interpreting, as well-cited research challenges (Shlesinger, 1998: 488-489, original emphasis), can hence be tackled through capturing, quantifying, describing, and analysing systematically paralinguistic data using relevant toolkit from phonetics and phonology.

### 8.5.3 Original corpus data

The WEF-in-China interpreting corpus used in this study is original in its own right. The self-built parallel simultaneous interpreting corpus derives data from the WEF official website, which only provides videos of panel discussions but not accompanying texts. This is quite different from popular interpreting corpora, such as EPIC/EPTIC/EPICG (from the European Parliament interpreting data) and CEIPPC (from Annual Chinese Premier Press Conferences) that are aided by edited texts from official websites for corpus compilation. The high cost (in time and labour) for text-transcriptions (e.g. Shlesinger, 1998; Setton, 2011), from scratch, for this 13.48 hour-long corpus (with 168,487 tokens), possibly, is the main hindrance for interpreting studies researchers to tap into valuable and interesting data of panel discussions on this high-profile event.

A high-concentration of value-laden utterances and politically/ideologically-charged discourses in the corpus offers fertile ground for the present research and future studies. The year 2016 is a most eventful year; the 2016 WEF-in-China takes place in times of a series of world-shaking events, such as the Brexit referendum, US presidential election, territorial dispute over the South China Sea, and the upcoming G20. Panel discussions surrounding these topics constitute sites of ideological contestations, giving rise to numerous critical points of interpreter intervention.

Another original value inherent in the corpus data is the ‘multi-voiced’ nature of the discourse. Summer Davos panels convene speakers with diverse national/regional backgrounds (Chinese, American, British, Canadian, European and South Korean). They bring together ideologies from many value systems, and notably, value systems of ‘East’ and ‘West’. In addition, professional diversity of panellists is also remarkable; they are high-profile figures in politics, businesses, academics and media. They collectively construct the ‘multi-voiced’ discourse in ways that other transnational events are just unmatchable.

## 8.6 Limitations and Future Studies

The present study did not fully achieve Aim Three and Four (see 1.2) largely due to the reliance on the orthographically transcribed corpus data plus a small amount of acoustic data. For Aim Three, this study only presents a broad-brush picture of interrelations between the discourse process and cognitive processing process in conference simultaneous interpreting. For Aim Four, the investigation with a small-sized data-set offers an incipient attempt for understanding renditions of paralanguage with limited generalizability. The following section discusses the causes of such lacunae and possible solutions for future research.

When the ‘product’-oriented approach is used to explore interrelations between the cognitive processing process and the discourse process of conference interpreting, the investigation is indirect and results are non-conclusive (Chapter 5 and 6). This approach hinges on the assumption that the interpreting output is not fortuitous, but, reflects both interpreter ideology (in response to value-rich utterances as ‘stimuli’) and cognitive processing operations. Even though association strengths between relevant variables are strong (in statistical terms), caveats should be made because I cannot accurately measure, say, to what extent, interpreter ideology contributes to increased/decreased cognitive efforts spent to, among others, achieve the in/out-group positioning, or simply reflecting their cognitive state of indecision, or, motivations of 'risk'-avoidance (Pym, 2015; Pym & Matsushita, 2018) or 'self-preservation' (Monacelli, 2009), which lead to long omissions of politically/ideologically sensitive utterances. Future researchers could complementarily take post-task interviews with the interpreters. Alternatively, they could triangulate results with controlled experiments.

Another limitation is concerned with limited size and coverage of the text-audio sub-corpus used to investigate paralinguistic elements (Chapter 7). Findings cannot be safely generalised to another interpreting data. This is largely due to the method for controlling input homogeneity of speaker accents from an ecologically-valid inventory − using audio data of one American native speaker in STs. Moreover, only one language pair (English-Chinese) is considered. Though this method efficaciously eschews confounding factors, for instance, idiosyncratic voicing preferences or language specificities, it limits the generalizability of claims to, among other things, a larger speaker population, or, more language combinations. Future researchers, hopefully, can replicate analytical procedures by leveraging relevant concepts, theories, and techniques in phonetics and phonology, with a larger and more complex dataset from conference interpreting settings. Alternatively, again, experiment-based studies (with controlled variables) can be carried out to triangulate results.

On top of the lacunae the present study leaves for future endeavours, there are other relevant promising perspectives and lines of research. First and foremost, the Appraisal theory profitably utilised for this study "provides a systematic, detailed and elaborate framework of evaluative language" (Bednarek, 2006: 32). Applications of Appraisal systems demonstrate 'elasticity' of the framework in terms of their applicability. Its elastic nature could enable future

T&I scholars to systematically examine a plethora of language phenomena, such as modality, intensification, pronoun usage, evaluative epithets, positive/negative polarities and lexical metaphors. Thus, it could be fruitful to utilize Appraisal systems with their different levels of delicacy and different system combinations, to interrogate the value-rich, permissive and complex evaluative language in T&I studies.

Equally promising and interesting could be the CL and CDA combined approach in T&I. Though this approach has come of age in monolingual humanities, its utilization is still incipient in the face of complexities of two, at least, languages/cultures/value systems in T&I. It would be interesting to advance methods, techniques and tools geared towards translation/interpreting corpora. Hopefully, interdisciplinary initiatives among CL researchers, computer scientists, linguistics and T&I scholars, for example, could lead to more versatile, sophisticated and enabling methods to address cross-language/cultural/social issues within CDA paradigms.

Last but not least, a reception study and a circulation-impact investigation would be worthwhile pursuits. This study only focused on evaluative shifts that point to the altered discourses and interpreter's ideology manifested textually. How far the changed values in TTs would impact audience perceptions and views, feed into subsequent media discourse about the 2016 Summer Davos panels, circulate into other discursive activities, and even incur political, geopolitical or economic-political (in)decisions? These are unanswered but important questions. It is hoped that the present study will contribute to future relevant pursuits by underscoring the significance of evaluative meaning in translation/interpreting and by opening up (or just ajar) stimulating and promising scholarly avenues for the future.

# Appendix I: Excerpts of metadata and the text data of the STs and TTs in the corpus

## a. An excerpt of metadata:

Topic: Asia’s Shifting Alliances

The central question: How are regional trade and investment strategies adjusting to uncertainties linked to unresolved territorial and maritime disputes?

Speakers:

Zhu Feng (Chinese): Executive Director, China Centre for Collaboration

Ian Bremmer (American): Political scientist; President, Eurasia Group; Serving on the US President Council

Rachel Morarjee (British; the moderator of Panel 1): China Columnist, Breakingviews, Thomson Reuters Group

Kil Jeong-Woo (South Korean): Member of National Assembly (2012-2016), Korean National Assembly

## b. Excerpts of the English ST data (plain; annotated in Notepad, a screenshot)

Morning, everybody. Thank you all for getting up so early and joining us the first panels of this world Economic Forum Meeting of the new champions.

We are here this morning to discuss Asia's shifting alliances.

And with us are Ian Bremmer, president of the Eurasia group who is over here from the US, representing the Chinese viewpoint and its many nuances.

We have Zhufeng, who is the head of the China Centre for Collaborative Studies at the South China Sea at Nanjing University.

And we have a former member of the South Koran Parliament, Kil Jeong-Woo, Korean Global agenda Committee.

So, well, without further ado, I am gonna ask each of our panellists, in turn, we obviously all read a lot about the South China Sea and we all know it's a flashpoint and it's an area of growing tension.

What's from the US's perspective, I’ll start on the outside and move inwards, are the biggest risks you think?

And what would be the best-case scenario for how this could play out over the next few years?

The biggest stress is pretty obvious, I mean it's a part of the world the South China Sea, that I mean, as we have the world's population lives on the small circle around it.

It's absolutely critical in terms of global supply chain, it's the chock-point, which means if you were to have real security tension, the impact is immediate and global.

And so in my concerns, given the fact that the Chinese, the Americans and America's allies in the region have very different perspectives, about the way, territorial disputes should be resolved should be managed.

And clearly those tensions are not being either addressed, or being improved over time. Then all you need is a big accident, and suddenly the markets go nuts.

But I tell you I am hopeful and I'm hopeful because, unlike so many things unlike, for example, the British referendum, in the case of the South China Sea, and particularly the rise of China.

Every person in Washington that cares about America's trajectory thinks about the rise of China, the concerns they have about the rise of China. There is no surprise this is here.

In China, the view of the United States is the same, they are thinking strategically, they do understand how important the stakes are.

And most importantly, the sides actually respect each other. The Americans look at Russians, we say this is the country in decline, we don't really care about their upset bias.

And we are gonna punish them, we are gonna isolate them.

The American would never treat the Chinese with that level of contempt, and the Chinese don't treat the Americans that way, either.

So despite the fact the tensions are rising, the Chinese are building their artificial islands in the region. The Americans are increasing their military presence in the region.

I actually think it's quite a bit resilience built into this great power alliance that ultimately as what create a level of order in the system.

Zhu Feng, before we started this panel, you were saying that if you read the Western media, you get a slightly distorted picture of the level of tensions.

Can you sort of expand upon that point, how do you actually see the tensions in reality versus the part we might be reading the papers?

Of course, I think, that there existing a wide range of misperceptions in the western media coverage to South China Sea.

For example, so, almost all the media coverage definitely point to the China's some sort of over claiming of South China Sea's water area.

And almost all the international media say, look at China's claim, it's almost, just how to say, claim 85% of water area of South China Sea, or almost entire area of South China Sea.

But I have to say it's totally wrong. So, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman repetitively said again. So China's claim to South China Sea is a maritime feature and is adjacent to water areas.

So China has no claim over some sort of in Thai water area framed by you, ship line.

And there is a point, I think probably relating to, lingering, lasting misperception, that means, the China's islands construction, reclamation, probably just signal, China's intended dominance of South China Sea.

I also have to say it's a wrong.

China's policy of South China Sea is not perfect, and somehow it's problematic.

But it doesn't mean that South China Sea's move is some sort of a big indicator, Beijing wants just to strategically expanding, and also squeezing US,…Asian neighbour, and so pushing forward China's dominance.

I have to say my country, the China is very diversified, we have a rationalist, we have populists, we have realists, we have international realists, so the China's argument of South China Sea is inevitably pluralistic.

But, the promise of the mainstream of this country remains very stable and very very expected.

So while we wanna claim the South China Sea, one hand it's 45 of China's southern claim.

On the other hand it also expand some China's presence at the maritime areas in reasoned way.

So then, there is no such thing for China to intend to claim the entire South China Sea, or China wants to take it as some strategical battle field and challenge US.

The power disparity between China and US remain very very big and stable.

So I don't think China will be at any position to challenge US,

and particularly US-Japan allies. It absolutely overwhelms the China in all the sense.

So, from the Korean perspective, we were just talking ahead of time about this decision in the Hague, it's coming up.

And, what the Philippine's brought a case against China in 2013, about their actions in South China Sea.

Form north Asia, when we looking, when you looking at the situation in south-east Asia. What, what is it that really worries you?

Well, actually, we are waiting for the kind of decision made by the court arbitration in the Hague in the coming weeks.

But the problem to us, is most Asian countries are depending on the navigation of freedom, the freedom navigation, in their trade, depending on those kind of freedom navigation.

But this kind of South China Sea issues, seem to be projected as the dispute between the United States and China. I think that is wrong.

For the last couple of weeks, US has, has played the kind of broad scale maritime drill in eastern part of the Philippines, participating, participated by two aircraft carriers, more than 300 thousand active service men in the region for the period of time.

Another disturbing fact is China, China's government is also, made it clear before the final decision by the court, China is not binding by the kind of, the court's arbitration decision.

I think this is two disturbing issues. US military is flexing its muscles in the region, in a broad scale. And China is made it clear in advance, that she is not binding by the decision by the court.

So I am really concerned about this issues, territorial and militarily issues, seem to be projected to all Asian countries that the dispute between the US and China.

We know that this decision in the Hague is not binding. It's, it's simply sort of indication, passes new point, But, I mean in your perspective, does, does it matter?

Well, I mean it matters in the court of the international opinion, of course, in all of the countries here trying to, to make that matter.

I mean the Chinese government has been looking far and wide to find countries that would support their position, on the South China Sea.

They found a few. I mean Laos, central Africa Republic, I mean, you know, this sort of small far-flung dictatorships that are economically dominated by the Chinese government.

So they gave them the political word. But keep in mind, you know, that China did n't use to have the same level of support on Taiwan.

But China become economically more important, they will able to, overtime, tick off one, two then, 10 then, 20 then, 30 countries before you know it.

You know Taiwan basically is, has lost majority of international influence. And I think the China's strategy in South China Sea makes a lot of senses in that regard.

Look, this is a gradualist, incrementalist’s game.

And one place that I had small disagreement, is that I do believe America's fairly active robust military role in the region and its willingness to escalate, actually makes this more incremental.

But Chinese risk-adverse here,

that more than happy to shake the branches to see if any fruit falls off.

But they don't want conflict, they don't want to find fundamental conflict that subverts the economic relations with South China Sea, literal States.

They don’t want the United States.

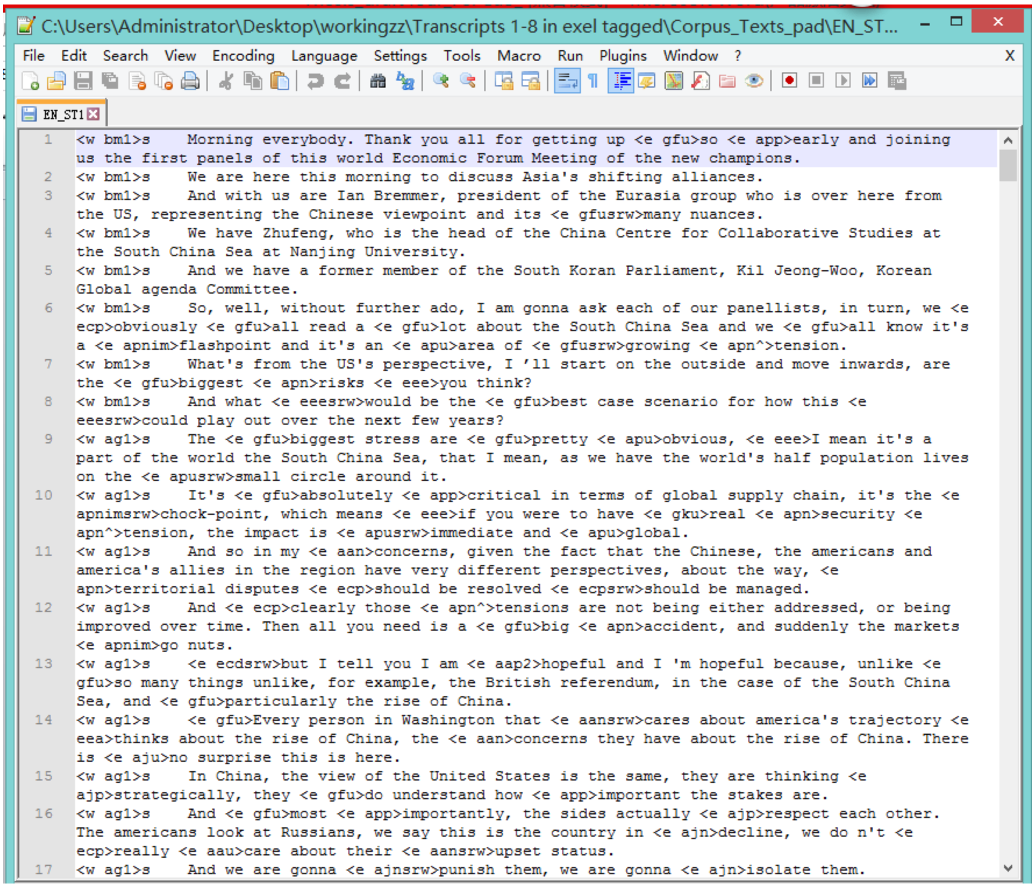
I would argue, if the US would suddenly, truly abdicate in the region, things would become more unstable.

And there is danger of that, because, of course, the transpacific partnership, which is, one would argue, the most important US initiative, not only in the region, but in recent years, probably globally.

If Trump wins in 2016, it's gone.

…

## A screenshot of a part of the data above annotated in Notepad:



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C:\Users\Administrator\Desktop\workingzz\Transcripts 1-8 in exel tagged\Corpus_Texts_pad\EN_ST...
File Edit Search View Encoding Language Settings Tools Macro Run Plugins Window ?
EN_ST1
<w bm1>s    Morning everybody. Thank you all for getting up <e gfu>so <e app>early and joining
us the first panels of this world Economic Forum Meeting of the new champions.
<w bm1>s    We are here this morning to discuss Asia's shifting alliances.
<w bm1>s    And with us are Ian Bremmer, president of the Eurasia group who is over here from
the US, representing the Chinese viewpoint and its <e gfusrw>many nuances.
<w bm1>s    We have Zhufeng, who is the head of the China Centre for Collaborative Studies at
the South China Sea at Nanjing University.
<w bm1>s    And we have a former member of the South Koran Parliament, Kil Jeong-Woo, Korean
Global agenda Committee.
<w bm1>s    So, well, without further ado, I am gonna ask each of our panellists, in turn, we <e
ecp>obviously <e gfu>all read a <e gfu>lot about the South China Sea and we <e gfu>all know it's
a <e apnim>flashpoint and it's an <e apu>area of <e gfusrw>growing <e apn^>tension.
<w bm1>s    What's from the US's perspective, I ’ll start on the outside and move inwards, are
the <e gfu>biggest <e apn>risks <e eee>you think?
<w bm1>s    And what <e eeesrw>would be the <e gfu>best case scenario for how this <e
eeesrw>could play out over the next few years?
<w ag1>s    The <e gfu>biggest stress are <e gfu>pretty <e apu>obvious, <e eee>I mean it's a
part of the world the South China Sea, that I mean, as we have the world's half population lives
on the <e apusrw>small circle around it.
<w ag1>s    It's <e gfu>absolutely <e app>critical in terms of global supply chain, it's the <e
apnimsrw>chock-point, which means <e eee>if you were to have <e gku>real <e apn>security <e
apn^>tension, the impact is <e apusrw>immediate and <e apu>global.
<w ag1>s    And so in my <e aan>concerns, given the fact that the Chinese, the americans and
america's allies in the region have very different perspectives, about the way, <e
apn>territorial disputes <e ecp>should be resolved <e ecpsrw>should be managed.
<w ag1>s    And <e ecp>clearly those <e apn^>tensions are not being either addressed, or being
improved over time. Then all you need is a <e gfu>big <e apn>accident, and suddenly the markets
<e apnim>go nuts.
<w ag1>s    <e ecdsrw>but I tell you I am <e aap2>hopeful and I 'm hopeful because, unlike <e
gfu>so many things unlike, for example, the British referendum, in the case of the South China
Sea, and <e gfu>particularly the rise of China.
<w ag1>s    <e gfu>Every person in Washington that <e aansrw>cares about america's trajectory <e
eea>thinks about the rise of China, the <e aan>concerns they have about the rise of China. There
is <e aju>no surprise this is here.
<w ag1>s    In China, the view of the United States is the same, they are thinking <e
ajp>strategically, they <e gfu>do understand how <e app>important the stakes are.
<w ag1>s    And <e gfu>most <e app>importantly, the sides actually <e ajp>respect each other.
The americans look at Russians, we say this is the country in <e ajn>decline, we do n't <e
ecp>really <e aau>care about their <e aansrw>upset status.
<w ag1>s    And we are gonna <e ajnsrw>punish them, we are gonna <e ajn>isolate them.
```

## b. Excerpts of the Chinese TT data (plain; annotated in Notepad, a screenshot)

我先来问您第一个问题吧，Ayse，我们知道土耳其，是刚刚，成功地去年举办 G20 峰会。

那么现在，我们有这个 Troika 机制，那么现在，中国、土耳其和德国，共同承担这个机制。

现在中国是能够向土耳其选择三架马车的机制 ,那么中国可以从土耳其主办 G20 峰会的时候学到什么样的经验？

如何在全球舞台上，发挥更加重要的作用？

非常感谢，我要首先感谢您邀请我在这里发言。

今天的讨论主题非常的重要，我们现在是在 G20 框架之下来开展工作，是在李部长的领导之下一起，我们是努力确保在杭州举办的 G20 峰会能够取得圆满成功。

我们已经看到了，中国已经取得了非常好的进展，涉及到多个领域，都取得了很好的进展。

其实啊，这也是 G20 的一个传统了，那就是我们并没有一个固定的、永久的秘书处。

其实，我们在引导、引领整个 G20 在全世界的工作并没有一个固定的一个主席国，所以我们要继续源，传承这样的一个传统。

所以我们成立了这样一个三架马车的机制，我们要确保这种延续性、确保 G20 机制的延续性。

当然了，每一个主席国都会提出新的想法、新的观点，而且是新鲜的，会与时俱进地，适应新形势的一些主题，尤其是涉及到一些新兴的风险。

比如说去年，土耳其在担任主席国期间，我们是，这么说吧，我们是确定了，首要重点主题是确定为三个“I”。

那么中国也是延续了这种做法，只不过是把重点放在不同的议题上，也是把重点放在四个“I”上面。

当时土耳其重点提出一个议题“I”就是包容性增长，中国也是延续了这个主题。

因为包容性，我们之所以非常重视，原因就是包容性非常重要，这个包容性，不光在国内非常重要，而且跨国界也是非常的重要。

由于不平等越来越加重，这种现象不仅是影响了社会政治，这方面产生了一些后果，社会政治上的后果，而且也会影响经济增长。

这也是为什么中国继续把重点放在包容性增长上。

当然了，这是一个动态发展的过程，有些人提出批评意见，有人就说 G20 没有一个固定的、稳定的，这个秘书处。

这也是 G20 的动态支柱，因为每个主席国都希望 G20 峰会能够取得成功，所以你会拼尽全力。

我知道，根据我们土耳其的实践经验，在过去一年半当中，我没有任何周末。

我相信，中国也是同样的情况。我们中方的同事肯定也是非常的辛苦。

这是唯一的独特之处，这是 G20 峰会的独特之处。

那么，中国今年也是这样的，我们当时是，现在面临两个问题，毛利率非常低、增长非常低。

有了这个新的“I”，像创新、技术创新，等等这些新的主题，中国提出了新的，为 G20 机制注入新的活力。

我们展望未来、展望全球经济的未来。

我认为这种延续性、持续性非常重要。

而同时每一个新的主席国都会为 G20 的议题增加一些新的内容。

谢谢 Ayse 部长。

Ayse，我想问一个问题，索罗斯刚刚警告了全世界，可能，脱欧之后，最糟糕的情景就是欧元区的崩溃。

你觉得这是脱欧之后，最有可能发生最糟糕的情况吗？能否给我分享一下您的观点？

这确实是一个猜测了。我们这么说，每个人有不同的解读来理解脱欧的影响，比如说今天我就听了鲁本斯先生，他的解读。

那么我看到是会产生影响，有多长时间？有多大的影响？我们拭目以待，这是一个不断发展的局势。

我想，这也是为什么 G20，在危机时候大家才会想起来 G20 的重要性。

因为在 2008 年全球金融危机之后，我们已经是在口头上表示出了，这是成为一个全球领导人的一个峰会。

2008 年金融危机的时候这是一场全球的危机，没有任何人能够幸免于难。每个人，国家都受到了危机的影响。

但是我们建立起了一个更加稳固的金融体系。

我觉得 G20 是在这方面发生了非常重要的作用，我觉得 G20 对这方面成功做出贡献。

我们可以继续在 G20 的框架下开展这种多边合作。

就像刚才李部长讲了，我们已经是在，协调人会议上谈到了这个问题，还有财政部长的会议上也都讲到了这个问题。

因为有很多新的风险，新的挑战都是 G20 峰会框架下需要探讨到的。

我觉得是这和 2008 年金融危机相比，我觉得，这次我们非常有信心能够共同来应对解决这个问题。

我的问题是提给四位，在过去 15 年里头，中国投了大概十亿欧元的金额。每年投在英国，英国也是中国对外，或者说在欧洲投资的最大目的国。

那，我觉得中国企业会不会对这样的一个脱欧事件做出反应？

比如说把他们的资本从这个英国撤出，然后把他们的区域总部从欧洲撤出，那你怎么去看中国对欧、对英投资的趋势？

问题提的很好，但是我不觉得四位发言人，都是 B20 的成员，可能保东部长能不能很快的回答一下？

非常感谢，我觉得这是一个非常重要的问题。

大家也想看一看中国将会做出怎样的反应。

我不能够代表工商界发言，但是我觉得总体的感受就是，我们非常重视与英国的关系。

我们也希望看到英国的经济实现繁荣和增长，我们对于英国的经济基本面也是有信心的。我们对于欧盟的经济基本面也是有信心的。

总体来讲，我们希望能够与它们发展长期的关系。

这就意味着，一旦你是处于困境当中，伙伴肯定会帮助你。

就好像中国，一直认为的，我们不能够在困难的时候放弃我们的伙伴。

所以，我们需要的就是相互帮助和团结，我相信中国的工商界也会做出非常负责任的行为。

总的来说我们还是对长期以来是有信心的。

我们认为，中国和英国之间的经贸关系，以及中国，这个，和英国的工商界的关系，以后都会是很好的，这也是一个双向的过程。

我们也希望英国也能够做出专业的反应，能够保持冷静。

我相信，肯定，能够有解决的方式，无论是在 G20 还是其他的组织都可以有解决的方式，希望能够缓和一下当前的局势。

我们的财长和央行行长将要很快举行他们的会议。

在下个月初，我们将会举行，贸易部长会议，在上海举行。

我也相信，这些会议，也会有助于，澄清现在的情况，并且重树大家的信心，帮助提振市场的信心。

我想问四位的问题说，你们怎么去来评判中国作为主席国今年 G20 会议有没有开成功？

非常简短的一个判断，或者说你的最大的期待，是在哪个方面？

实际上，我非常有信心，就是中国的杭州会议会非常的成功，因为在中国的主席国领导下，已经采取了一些非常务实的行为。

已经做出了一些，很多的方案安排，因为二十国峰会最重要的一点，就是把我们的话变成行动，中国就在饯行于这样的一些工作。

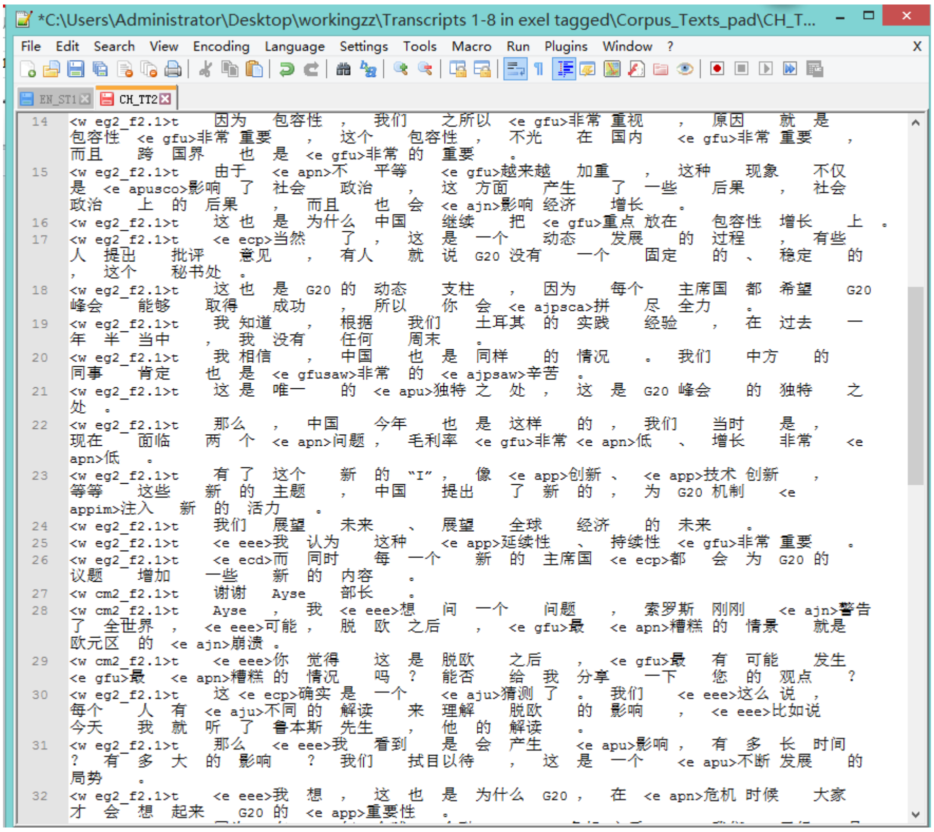
我们很多的工作组也在开会，一起讨论去拿出行动方案。这些行动方案对于我们的首脑去讨论，是一个很好的基础。

这个团队，它来这边工作是非常重要的，因为它为我们未来的经济去出谋划策，它蓝图非常的重要。

这个团队，它来这边工作是非常重要的，因为它为我们未来的经济去出谋划策，它蓝图非常的重要。所以我觉得中国讲的这些正好是非常重要的一些未来的问题。

…

A screenshot of a part of the data above annotated in Notepad:



## Appendix II: (Sub-) Appraisal systems used as the scheme for manual annotation

| **Three systems of Appraisal** | **Sub-systems of Appraisal** | | **Examples** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitude | Affect | Positive | *happy, glad, love to hear, pleased to have, hopeful, optimistic, exciting* |
| | | Negative | *unhappy, sad, worried, worrisome, concerned, upset, disturbing, scared, feared, pessimistic, angry* |
| | | Neutral | *care/concern about, concern about not surprising, feelings, the general feeling is …* |
| | Judgment | Positive | *powerful, great prospect, stable development, healthy growth, maturity, active and robust role, risk-averse, well and strongly governed, managed well, peace-loving, successful* |
| | | Negative | *struggling, unreliable, over-react, mislead, unpredictable, uncertainty, weakness, indecision, misunderstanding, a bad case, ability to hurt us, not competitive, unfairly* |
| | | Neutral | *just reacting in a way…, influences, perspectives, thoughts, viewpoints,* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *average Canadian* |
| | Appreciation | Positive | *beautiful, important, efficient, balancing, remains stable, in a reasoned way, steadily increasing, growth rate (be)… sound, positive developments, a stronger country, value and significance of Asia, good mechanism* |
| | | Negative | *unstable, dangerous, fragmenting, recession, hostility, less economically stable, instability, bad loans, over blurred, disruption to our relations, ambiguity, obstacle* |
| | | Neutral | *obvious, impact is immediate, sort of interesting transformation, essentially different, traditional fishing ground, similarly minded* |
| | Invoked evaluation[28] (Non-core lexis, Metaphors) | Positive | *embrace this, capitalise on China's People's patriotism, whole host of innovation can be unleashed, wonderful tool for rebooting the European Union* |
| | | Negative | *Flashpoint, Headache, bubble gets bigger, the collapse of the EU, struggling will linger, simmering* |

[28] Invoked evaluation belongs to "the borderline categories" that "allow for double codings" (J. Martin & White, 2005: 68) in the annotation stage.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *populism in China, backlash against globalisation* |
| | | Neutral | *ebbs and flows, black and white, steer the work, get that bridge to Europe, throw open to the floor* |
| Engagement | Contraction | Disclaim | *however, but, yet, although, never, I don't think* |
| | | Proclaim | *of course, naturally, obviously, surely, really, indeed, it shows/demonstrates* |
| | Expansion | Entertain | *maybe, perhaps, it seems, it is possible/probable, could, would, may, might, possibly, probably, I think* |
| | | Attribute | *Sb. believes /argues* |
| Graduation | Force | Up-toning (lexical) | *very, extremely, more, most, a lot, many, must, ultimate, quite a bit, almost, totally* |
| | | Up-toning (by Infusion) | *startled, terrified* |
| | | Up-toning (by repetition) | *I am hopeful and I 'm hopeful …, very very stable, many many bigger things than…* |
| | | Down-toning | *a little, a few, a little bit, slight(ly), somewhat, partly* |
| | Focus | Up-toning | *real, true, truly* |
| | | Down-toning | *sort of, kind of* |

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