

**INTERPRETERS' MEDIATION OF GOVERNMENT PRESS CONFERENCES IN CHINA:
PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK, FOOTING AND FACE-WORK**

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2011

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**CENTRE FOR TRANSLATION AND INTERCULTURAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES, LINGUISTICS AND CULTURES**

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ABSTRACT

Research on interpreting has traditionally focused on ‘simultaneous conference interpreting’, and only more recently on ‘community interpreting’ (also referred to as ‘public service interpreting’ or ‘dialogue interpreting’ elsewhere) (e.g. Edmondson 1986, Jones 1998, Diriker 2004, Wadensjö 1998, Mason 1999).

The government press conference, a special genre of interpreter-mediated events, has so far received little scholarly attention from the discipline of translation and interpreting studies - with the exception of one recently completed doctoral thesis which focuses on the impact of audience reception on interpreters’ strategies in press conferences (Liu 2010) and a few publications on related areas such as interpreters’ performance in question and answer sessions in conference interpreting (Chang and Wu 2009) and interpreting in political interviews (Baker 1997; Wadensjö 2000, 2009). As is the case with interpreting in political interviews, government press conference interpreting is likely to have far reaching consequences for the lives of very large numbers of people across the globe, and to play a major role in constructing cultural images and aiding or obstructing world peace (Baker 1997: 124).

Drawing on the work of Erving Goffman (1972, 1981a) as a source of theoretical insight, this study attempts to explore the way in which interpreters, with their background as civil servants, position themselves in government press conferences in China through choices that effect changes in footing and participation framework and reveal their involvement in face-work, based on video-transcribed data collected from a series of 6 government press conferences held in 2003 in response to the outbreak of the SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) epidemic.

This study reveals that interpreters in Chinese government press conferences position themselves mainly through their negotiation of institutional alignment and protection of ‘face’, primarily for their institutional superiors. This finding supports the argument that interpreters do not function as a language “voicebox” (Davidson 2002: 1275), or “an impartial, self-effacing conduit” (Cronin 2006: 90); they are rather proactively engaged in the construction of interactional meaning, and may even function as “institutional insiders and ally themselves as such” in certain circumstances (Davidson 2010: 152). In the present study, the analysis reveals that interpreters adopt a distinctive position as ‘semantically neutral’ but ‘emotionally/pragmatically partial’.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was made possible by the help and support of many people. My deepest thanks go to Professor Mona Baker for her excellent supervision. Thank you for your encouragement, your respect, your valuable insights, and the time you spend on reading and commenting on the drafts. Your professional and personal generosity has set me a fine example that I shall always remember and seek to emulate. I also owe special thanks to Dr Luis Pérez-González for his helpful guidance in the first year of my study. It has been a privilege to work with you.

The wonderful research environment at the Centre for Translation and Intercultural Studies, the University of Manchester made my years of study the most enriching experience of my life. I'm especially grateful to my academic advisors, Dr James St. André, Dr Morven Beaton-Thome and Dr Maeve Olohan for their insightful guidance at various stages of the study. My thanks also go to all my colleagues at CTIS and friends I made in the UK who provided support, each in his/her own way, especially Yuehui Zhang, Sofia Malamatidou, Monica Morales Moreno and Wenwen Liang.

I am also grateful for the generous support I received from the Overseas Research Scholarship Scheme and the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures at the University of Manchester, which funded my research and living in the UK for three years.

Finally, my thanks go to all my family for their love and support. I'm particularly indebted to my husband, Sheng, for believing in me and being patient with me all these years, and to my mother-in-law and sister-in-law for looking after my son and giving me time to work.

Mum and dad, thank you for your love and encouragement which allowed me to embark on this long, tough and ultimately fruitful journey; and Jialin, thank you for putting up with a busy mum.

NOTE ON ABBREVIATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

JNL: Journalist

ST: Source text

TT: Target text

(.): a micro pause

[]: my translations or backtranslations

<>: my comments or elaboration

CHAPTER 1

FOCUS OF THE STUDY: RATIONALE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.1 Background

On April 3rd 2003, the first nationwide televised press conference on the epidemic of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) was held in Beijing, against the backdrop of an increasing number of reported deaths in China and many other parts of the world and a mounting fear among the general public of this unknown disease, giving rise to complaints from both inside the country and foreign media about the government's lack of transparency in the handling of the epidemic. This press conference was the first public occasion on which a Chinese senior official (Minister of Health) met the press to brief it on the SARS situation in China. The event attracted a large number of foreign journalists and was mediated throughout by a consecutive interpreter. A series of similar SARS press conferences were held over the following weeks, until the epidemic was reported to be subsiding in June. Significantly, since the SARS incident, government press conferences in China have been held in a more regular, professional and timely manner, especially in critical situations. In effect, these press conferences have become one of the few official platforms through which the Chinese government interacts actively with the public, and in particular with the outside world. They reflect a broader pattern characterising China's current foreign publicity policy, or what is generally termed 'public diplomacy'.¹ This study uses the SARS press conference series as its core data.

China has long been aware of the importance of favourable foreign perceptions and the crucial role of developing a positive public image of the country in order to shape reactions to its economic growth and political rise in the world. However, China's public diplomacy has undergone significant transformations since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. In the early years of the new Republic, there were almost no formal mechanisms for external publicity, apart from random practices such as inviting foreign journalists and academics to visit and write

¹ 'Public diplomacy' is defined as "the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented" (Sharp 2005: 106, quoted in d'Hooghe 2007: 5).

about China and producing foreign language versions of selected publications about China's development programmes and its political system (d'Hooghe 2005: 91). As China began to introduce reforms, adopt a market-oriented economy and open up its doors to the outside world in the late 1970s, its traditional mechanisms of public diplomacy began to take a more pragmatic turn, in line with and in support of its rapid economic growth. Thanks to the development momentum driven by the reform and open-door policy, China has now grown into a world economic powerhouse and has been playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. However, at the beginning of the reform period and for a long period after the reform was initiated, China's publicity work lagged behind its economic and social achievements, a situation widely understood as leading to continued misreporting of China's affairs in the foreign media² and to widespread misconceptions of China among foreign publics. Today, the Chinese government realises the importance of communicating effectively with foreign media and acknowledges that it "cannot expect foreign media to portray China justly, or close the opinion gap they have created. China must present an accurate picture of itself to the world...not only listen, but talk back" (Zhao 2007). The past few years have witnessed a diplomatic move on the part of China, from "the back to the front stage", and the deployment of "an ever more proactive, assertive and effective" publicity campaign to communicate with the outside world, a campaign which involves different levels of institutional actors and channels (d'Hooghe 2005: 89).

The State Council Information Office (SCIO), established in 1991, is regarded as the prime example of China's endeavour to become more open and communicative (d'Hooghe 2008: 41), and one of the major venues for articulating China's programme of public diplomacy today. SCIO's work did not formally begin until 1998, when ZHAO Qizheng was appointed as the Minister responsible for that office. Zhao introduced a number of new initiatives to enhance China's foreign publicity work (d'Hooghe 2007: 22). He doubled the frequency of official press conferences, and began to arrange for interpretation into and out of English in those settings; he encouraged Chinese officials to be more accommodating to journalists and adopted the more challenging western style of giving press conferences in which

² See 'Beijing Lashes Out at Western Media Coverage of China', *Agence France Presse*, 22 August 2003, available from the *Factiva database*, <http://global.factiva.com/sb/default.aspx?fcpil=en&lnep=hp&>. Access is restricted to subscribed users.

officials speak off the record in front of the media (ibid.). As a result, SCIO-organised press conferences have become one of the most visible channels for the Chinese government to interact with the outside world and one of the most accessible and authoritative sources of information allowing the outside world to follow what is happening in the world's most populous and fastest growing country.

Given the rising status of China in the international arena, official press conferences organised by the SCIO often attract a large number of foreign journalists. Interpreters, most of whom are in-house government interpreters, therefore become indispensable in these events and consequently visible, recognised and talked about by the public, mainly because government press conferences are broadcast.³ This study sets out to examine the contribution that interpreters make to the functioning of such events.

Due to the favourable socio-economic conditions and increased contact between China and the rest of the world, the profession of interpreting is thriving in China. However, interpreters and the interpreting profession as a whole in the Chinese context are quite different from those in many other countries. In countries with a large number of immigrants, court and community interpreting is a highly developed and visible activity. Interpreters in these contexts often have diverse backgrounds, and many are "second-generation immigrants belonging to ethnic minority groups" (Baker 2009: xv). In contrast, although China has become a central hub for investment, business and other types of social and cultural exchange, the number of immigrants in the country is still relatively small compared with popular immigrant destinations such as the U.S, Australia, Britain and other European countries. Community and court interpreting in China are therefore not as developed as in those countries with a large number of immigrants. Interpreters in the Chinese market are mostly employed by government agencies (thus there is a significant presence of institutional in-house interpreters) (Setton 2009: 109), and less often by various organisations and businesses. Simultaneous and consecutive interpreters quite often need to mediate interactions between groups of professionals, e.g. between officials and journalists, and among conference participants of a particular

³ Even though simultaneous conference interpreters are now widely used in China at international conferences, they are not as visible to the general public as those working in televised government press conferences.

professional area. In addition, unlike early European and current EU interpreters who are often bilingual or multilingual and who travel extensively and are thus regularly exposed to foreign cultures, the majority of Chinese interpreters (about 98%) are Chinese native speakers (ibid.), equipped with one or two foreign working languages which are often acquired through formal schooling. Fewer than one in five have ever lived for more than a month or two in a foreign country (Setton and Guo, forthcoming). Bidirectional interpreting is the norm in the Chinese market, and hardly any professional support for the interpreting community is offered at official quarters. What professional ethos has developed so far is essentially cultivated by a small but growing number of freelance conference interpreters with experience of working in such international organisations as the UN and a burgeoning private market (Setton 2009: 109). This background information about Chinese interpreters and the interpreting profession in China is instrumental to understanding the behaviour of interpreters working in all interactional contexts in China, including government press conferences, the subject of the current study.

1.2 Rationale

The main objective of this study is to explore the way in which interpreters, as institutional insiders, position themselves in Chinese government press conferences through choices that effect changes in footing and participation framework and reveal their involvement in face-work. The study focuses in particular on the six SARS-related press conferences held in early 2003 and draws on the work of Erving Goffman as a source of theoretical insight.

Press conferences are often held at times of emergencies, e.g. earthquakes and the breakout of epidemics, or when significant events have just taken or are about to take place, e.g. an actual or impending declaration of war. With the world becoming increasingly interconnected, any natural disaster, large incident or significant decision made in one part of the world tends to influence the rest sooner or later, and in one way or another. Interpreters are hence becoming indispensable in these encounters, allowing major stakeholders to convey messages of significant bearing, in real time, across the world.

Press conference interpreting can be seen as a distinct type of interpreting compared to the more commonly known ‘public service/community/dialogue interpreting’⁴ and ‘conference interpreting’. First, it diverges from public service interpreting in that it is not undertaken in community settings such as courtrooms, hospitals, doctors’ practices, educational establishments, and police stations, where most public service interpreting takes place. Moreover, the primary participants in press conferences are often institutional representatives and journalists, both domestic and foreign. Although enjoying unequal institutional and political power, they are nevertheless treated as equal professionals involved in information sharing and information seeking, respectively. Moreover, like conference interpreters, press conference interpreters are often well-trained professionals who have received formal training in conference interpreting and are expected to deliver high quality interpreting services (either in consecutive or simultaneous mode), and generally have a strong awareness of a professional ethics centred on notions of neutrality and impartiality. In public service interpreting, interpreters need to mediate interactions between institutional agents and lay people, for example, police officers and immigrants, doctors and patients, and lawyers and defendants in the case of legal interpreting (e.g. Berk-Seligson 1990, Angelelli 2004, Wadensjö 1992, Barsky 1996, Maltby 2009), with one party often having insufficient knowledge of the ‘host country’ and normally considered as belonging to a cultural minority. Thus interpreters in community settings quite often play the role of a ‘cultural broker’ or ‘gatekeeper’. In addition, for a long time, interpreters working in community settings were not well-trained,⁵ and the activity could be (and sometimes still is) performed by bilingual volunteers, friends and even relatives, including children who are referred to as ‘language brokers’ (Hall 2004), or as ‘natural translators’ (Harris 1990). Second, press conference interpreting also distinguishes itself from ‘conference interpreting’ in that face-to-face interaction, typically consisting of an exchange of questions and answers in a relatively dynamic and spontaneous manner,

⁴ Although emphasising different aspects of interpreter-mediated encounters, the terms ‘public service interpreting’, ‘community interpreting’ and ‘dialogue interpreting’ are used interchangeably in this study to refer to a relatively established profession and research area (see Mason 1999, 2009; Wadensjö 1998, 2009) which is distinct from conference interpreting.

⁵ Generally speaking, the level of funding for community interpreter training still fluctuates in response to developments on the political and economic fronts. However, community interpreter training has expanded at undergraduate and postgraduate levels since the early 1990s; this is especially true of legal interpreting (Wadensjö 2009).

seems more prominent in the former than in the latter where the discourses mediated by interpreters are primarily prepared, ready-to-be-read monologues (see Greatbatch 1988, Schegloff 1989, Jones 1998, Diriker 2004), featuring fewer spontaneous and unpredictable sequences.⁶

Research on interpreting has traditionally focused on simultaneous conference interpreting, and only more recently on community interpreting (e.g. Edmondson 1986; Roberts 1997; Jones 1998; Diriker 2004; Beaton 2007a, 2007b; Wadensjö 1998; Mason 1999, 2009). Given the importance of press conferences as a site for reporting on highly critical events and influencing the domestic and foreign public's response to them, and given the growing visibility of interpreters in such venues and their indispensability for ensuring the successful conduct of this type of event, press conference interpreting must represent an important focus of research. And yet, as a special genre of interpreter-mediated communication, it has so far received little scholarly attention. What literature there is on the subject is restricted to one recently completed doctoral thesis which focuses on the impact of audience reception on interpreters' strategies in press conferences (Liu 2010) and a few publications on related areas such as interpreters' performance in question and answer sessions in conference interpreting (Chang and Wu 2009) and interpreting in political interviews (Baker 1997; Wadensjö 2000, 2009). Press conference interpreting may not be as common as community-based public service interpreting or conference interpreting. As is the case with interpreting in political interviews, however, it is likely to have far reaching consequences for the lives of very large numbers of people across the globe, and to play a major role in constructing cultural images and aiding or obstructing world peace (Baker 1997: 124).

Although China has witnessed a surge in the number of interpreter training institutions and publications on interpreting recently, published research on interpreting is still in its infancy and suffers from a number of weaknesses. One is the inherent shortcomings in methodologies (Wang and Mu 2009: 279). For example, some research is based on anecdotal experiences of interpreters (e.g. Du 1997, Dai 2004), and some is written by authors who are former language teachers and have little or no interpreting experience (Wang and Mu 2009: 279). Although recent years

⁶ Except for the question and answer sessions at the end of some international conferences.

have seen an increased interest in data-driven methods of research among Chinese scholars of interpreting,⁷ most studies continue to focus on interpreting strategies for rendering difficult expressions and genres, including Chinese idioms and poems (Li 2008), or interpreting quality assessment (Huang 2009). The majority are based on the analysis of several random examples drawn from one or two sessions of press conferences where general topics are discussed (e.g. Li and Zhao 2009, Li 2010, Jin and Chen 2008). Thus the conclusions drawn from these investigations are not necessarily reliable or amenable to being extrapolated to other instances and types of interpreting data.

Chinese scholars of interpreting thus continue to be preoccupied with issues such as interpreter training, quality criteria and assessment (e.g. Liu 2005, Yi 2000, Huang 2009), and most studies are language specific in orientation (Wang and Mu 2009),⁸ with many focusing on interpreting infelicities and strategies influenced by cognitive processing and psycho-social pressures (e.g. Fu 2010, Sun 2010, Xu 2010). The social dimension of interpreter-mediated encounters, and issues such as power, agency, ideology, role and positioning, which are receiving increased attention from the international scholarly community, are scarcely explored in the Chinese context. This is despite the fact that both professional interpreting and scholarly research on interpreting in China are attracting more interest internationally, as evidenced by a special issue of *Interpreting* (2009, volume 11/2) devoted to China.

1.3 Data

In retrospect, the breakout of the SARS epidemic in late 2002 and early 2003 has changed the landscape of the Chinese public health system. Beyond the health system, it has had significant impact on the development of China's official

⁷ Mainly focusing on the popular press conference setting, largely due to the availability of data. As explained earlier, community and courtroom interpreting are not well developed areas of activity in China and thus there is little data available from these settings. Conference interpreting is thriving as a profession but the collection of data in this setting requires real-time recording and permission is often denied. The most publicly accessible genre of interpreter-mediated interaction in China is thus government press conferences, most of which are broadcast via TV and the internet, with transcripts and video footage of these press conferences readily accessible and available in the public domain.

⁸ See Figure 1 in Wang and Mu (2009: 278) for a detailed breakdown of the topics covered in journal articles in interpreting studies published from 1979 to 2007, based on China Academic Journals Full-text Database.

conference system and its public diplomacy as a whole, making the latter more transparent and proactive (see Chapter 3).

SARS first broke out in China in late 2002, but it was not until the following April that the first official press conference was held in Beijing to report on the status of the disease. During that period, a large number of deaths were reported in China and in many other parts of the world, together with increasing numbers of suspected cases. The government's slow response and alleged cover-up of the situation, which some scholars regard as creating the conditions for the opening of the 'Two Sessions'⁹ and the transfer of leadership¹⁰ in early 2003 (Brady 2006: 69), angered both the domestic and international society. Rage "soon appeared on the Internet, on the street and even within official media" (Segura 2009) and the public started to blame the government for the rapid spread of the epidemic. The Chinese government responded fairly swiftly. Starting from April 3 2003, a series of SARS-specific press conferences and daily briefings were held by the SCIO; the press conferences were all attended by ministerial level officials, the decision-makers in the respective ministries. These sessions were broadcast live and consecutively interpreted into and out of English all the way through for the benefit of the international media. The official records show that it is during the SARS crisis that the Chinese government began to modernize its 'public voice' (Segura 2009). Reflecting on the SARS experience, DONG Guanpeng, a Chinese media guru, describes the dilemma of the government at that time as follows:

They <foreign media> said that China had a lot of secrets to hide. But that's not true...there were not many things to hide. The problem was that we didn't have the experience to communicate because we had not done it before (quoted in Segura (2009)).

The SARS incident made the Chinese government realise the importance of responsiveness and transparency to a country's image as a trustworthy international player. After that, China seemed to adopt a much more open and proactive attitude

⁹ The National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) are considered the top decision-making body and top advisory body in China respectively. Their conferences are held consecutively in March every year and are generally referred to as the 'Two Sessions' in Chinese.

¹⁰ From the government headed by President JIANG Zemin and Premier ZHU Rongji to the current Chinese government headed by President HU Jintao and Premier WEN Jiabao whose positions were confirmed during NPC in March 2003.

towards reporting Chinese events and policies to the rest of the world, especially in times of crisis, mainly through organising timely press conferences, e.g. during Wenchuan and Yushu earthquakes in 2008 and 2009 respectively.

It is also since the SARS series of press conferences in 2003 that interpreters have become officially and visibly involved in mediating critical encounters in the Chinese context. This study aims to investigate interpreters' positioning in such critical encounters, drawing on all six SARS-related press conferences held in the early half of 2003, covering the period from the peak to the subsidence of the crisis. The basic details of the six press conferences are summarised in Table 1. A more detailed description of the data is provided in Chapter 3.

Session	Date	Ministry Represented	Duration of the Conference
SARS 1	03/04/2003	Ministry of Health	1 hour & 35 minutes
SARS 2	10/04/2003	Ministry of Health	1 hour & 23 minutes
SARS 3	20/04/2003	Ministry of Health	2 hours
SARS 4	15/05/2003	Ministry of Agriculture	1 hour & 30 minutes
SARS 5	30/05/2003	Ministry of Health	2 hour & 10 minutes
SARS 6	25/06/2003	Ministry of Science and Technology	1 hour & 30 minutes

Table 1 Brief Information on the Six SARS-Related Press Conferences

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Among the socially oriented theories that scholars of translation, and particularly of interpreting, have drawn on in relatively recent years, Goffman's sociological framework, which focuses on investigating face-to-face interaction, has proved particularly relevant to the exploration of the dynamic aspects of interpreter-mediated encounters (Keith 1984, Edmondson 1986, Wadensjö 1998, Mason 2009). His conceptualisation of 'participation framework', including different speaking and hearing roles, and 'footing', understood as the "alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (1981a: 128), are two of the most widely applied concepts in this respect. For example, Edmondson (1986) focuses on distinguishing different participant roles of interpreters. He sub-divides the speaking and hearing roles of conference interpreters and argues that interpreters assume different sets of participant role from those available to monolingual speakers. Wadensjö's work

(1998) is pioneering in its application of Goffman's notions of role analysis and participation framework to the study of authentic interpreted-mediated encounters in community settings. She proposes two main types of 'actual role performance' or 'footing' of interpreters: translating the message and coordinating the talk. Mason (2009) makes an insightful distinction between the notions of 'role' and 'positioning' (the former is a matter of individual choice, and is thus relatively static; and the latter emphasises the dynamic nature of encounters and highlights the contribution that all parties make to the 'positioning' of each participant). The concept of positioning is similar to that of 'footing' in this respect. Mason also investigates the various 'contextualisation cues'¹¹ that trigger the evolving positioning of participants in a series of televised immigration interviews. A number of recently completed doctoral theses (Seferlis 2005, Monacelli 2005, Liu 2010) also draw on Goffman's sociological framework in investigating interpreters' performance in various genres.¹²

'Face-work', used to designate all means or actions taken by a speaker in social encounters in order to counteract face-threatening incidents and "make whatever he is doing consistent with face", is another key notion in Goffman's framework (1972: 12). Members of any social circle are expected to have some knowledge of the basics of face-work, described by Goffman as "tact, savoir-faire, diplomacy or social skill" in social communication (ibid.: 13). Most studies that draw on the notions of face and face-work focus on community settings (e.g. Wadensjö 1998, Krouglov 1999), especially courtroom interpreting (e.g. Berk-Seligson 1990, Angermeyer 2005, Jacobson 2008). A few have investigated interpreters' face management in simultaneous interpreting (Monacelli 2009). Very little work has been done to investigate face-work strategies in interpreted interaction in the Chinese context, where the values of face-giving and face-saving are deeply rooted as part of the culture.

¹¹ First introduced by Gumperz (1977), the term refers to the signalling mechanisms that allow us to encode and interpret conversational meaning (see more discussion in Chapter 2).

¹² Seferlis (2005) considers change of footing and management of face in interpreted dialogues in the Greek context; Monacelli (2005) deals with interpreters' self-regulation in simultaneous interpreting, drawing on Goffman's work on participation framework and Brown and Levinson's theory of linguistic politeness; and Liu (2010) focuses on the receptive end of participation status and investigates the impact of audience design (Bell 1984) on face and information management in interpreted press conferences.

The above studies have demonstrated the relevance and vigour of Goffman's conceptualisations with respect to the study of interpreter-mediated events in both community and conference settings. However, whether this framework is extendable to the study of government press conference interpreting, a distinct genre of interpreter-mediated encounters, is a question that has not yet been systematically addressed. This study sets out to examine interpreters' involvement in Chinese government press conferences during the SARS crisis, drawing on Goffman's social theory on face-to-face communication, with particular reference to participation framework, footing, role analysis, face and face-work.

1.5 Research Questions

In light of Goffman's social communicative theory and given the focus of this study, the overarching research question that motivates the thesis is as follows:

- *How are interpreters situated and how do they negotiate their role in government press conferences in China, with particular reference to participation framework, footing, face and face-work?*

This question is posited with the awareness that Goffman's sociological approach to face-to-face interaction has long been adapted to research communicative phenomena in sociolinguistic and media studies (c.f. Levinson 1988, Clayman 1992). Although grounded in monolingual interactive settings, Goffman's approach does not resist extension to the study of multilingual encounters, including those mediated by interpreters. Indeed, Goffman himself acknowledges briefly the complexity of analysing participant roles for simultaneous interpreters (1981a: 146).

The above overarching question can be further divided into several specific and interconnected questions that guide the research and the structure of the thesis.

- *How are government press conferences organised in China and what patterns of participation framework are typical of these events?*
- *What contextualisation cues are used by interpreters to signal shifts in footing?*

- *How do interpreters negotiate threats to primary interlocutors' face and to their own face in this context?*

1.6 Organisation of the Thesis

In order to lay a solid theoretical foundation and identify a suitable set of analytical tools for this study, Chapter 2 provides an overview of the core concepts of Goffman's social communicative theory (1981a, 1972). Key conceptualisations, including 'participation framework', 'footing', 'role analysis', 'line', 'face' and 'face-work', as well as relevant terms that are in tune with Goffman's theory but are developed by other scholars – such as 'contextualisation cues' (Gumperz 1977) – are introduced and elaborated, with an emphasis on their application in neighbouring disciplines in general (Levinson 1988, Bell 1984), and their relevance to interpreting research in particular (Edmondson 1986, Wadensjö 1998, Baraldi and Gavioli 2008, Hale 2001). The evaluation and limitations of Goffman's model are also discussed in this chapter in an attempt to adapt it to the research purpose of this study.

Chapter 3 reviews the history and the organisation of the Chinese government press conference system against the historical background of the overall Chinese public diplomacy drive, which has developed over the past few years from a passive and under-developed system to a much more open, proactive and multifaceted mechanism. The milestone incident of the SARS epidemic is then introduced and its implications for the Chinese government press conference system and China's attitude towards its communication with the outside world are discussed. The rationale for selecting SARS-related press conferences as the core data of this study is laid out. The chapter then provides a detailed description of the 6 press conferences that constitute the data for this study, including length, participants (Chinese officials present, the news agencies and their representatives who raise questions and interpreters), the background of each press conference pertaining to the specific stage of the SARS epidemic, as well as examples of question and answer sequences from each session through which interactional tension in each press conference can be perceived. Drawing on Goffman's notions of participation framework (including production and reception format) and role analysis (including normative role, typical role and actual role performance) in particular, the final part

of Chapter 3 aims to discuss the evolving participation frameworks and social roles assumed by various interlocutors (including Chinese officials, chairpersons, journalists and the interpreters) as interactional meaning is constructed and negotiated moment by moment by these participants.

The bulk of this study consists of a sustained textual analysis of the six SARS-related press conferences aimed at presenting and discussing linguistic devices that signal interpreters' mediation of footing and management of face among different participants in this type of event. Chapters 4 and 5, together with the last section of Chapter 3 (on the participation framework of Chinese government press conferences), constitute the analytical core of the thesis. Chapter 4 attempts to establish how interpreters negotiate participants' 'footing', a key notion of Goffman's social communicative theory, in critical government press conferences in the Chinese context. In particular, this chapter examines whether interpreters in this context can still adopt a neutral positioning in negotiating conversational, often confrontational, sequences between Chinese officials and foreign journalists during the SARS crisis. Given their background as civil servants or 'institutional insiders', I try to establish what specific footing interpreters take in the sessions under examination, and how this footing is signalled by different contextualisation cues.

Chapter 5 considers the management of 'face', another key aspect of Goffman's analytical model for face-to-face communication, in the Chinese government press conferences under examination. In particular, it explores how interpreters negotiate threats to face for primary interlocutors, whether they engage in face-work equally for the benefit of Chinese officials and the journalists, and what types of face-work they usually employ in order to achieve certain ends. This chapter begins by reviewing Goffman's conceptualisation of interactional equilibrium of face and comparing it with the binary theory of politeness developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Combining the merits of the two models, the analysis adopts Goffman's comprehensive model of face as the analytical blue print (including protective and defensive orientations of face-work), and complements it with Brown and Levinson's detailed textual strategies of politeness, such as terms of address and hedges, where appropriate, in order to identify the face-work devices employed by interpreters, and when and how they are used in the data.

Chapter 6 concludes the study by revisiting the rationale and research objectives and presenting the main findings of the research based on qualitative data analysis. The study is then assessed in terms of its contributions and limitations, and suggestions for future research are offered.

CHAPTER 2

GOFFMAN'S SOCIAL COMMUNICATION THEORY: PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK, FOOTING, FACE AND FACE-WORK

2.1 Introduction

Social communication never takes place in a vacuum, in the sense that communicative encounters are always context-based and their unfolding reflects the larger social structures and variables that underpin interaction. The press conference is an increasingly frequent and interactionally complex social communicative event, where multiple agendas are pursued and/or negotiated at the same time.

Erving Goffman, the Canadian-born American sociologist, has devoted much of his scholarly work to the study of human behaviour by examining social interaction and has approached his subject matter, i.e. face-to-face interaction, from a dramaturgically dynamic perspective. Goffman's ultimate goal was to develop the study of face-to-face interaction as "a naturally bounded, analytically coherent field — a sub-area of sociology" (1969: ix) because social interaction, as Goffman notes, is a dynamic process that shapes our social world:

...it is in social situations that individuals can communicate in the fullest sense of the term, and it is only in them that individuals can coerce one another, assault one another, importune one another gesturally, give physical comfort and so forth. Moreover, it is in social situations that most of the world's work gets done (1979: 5-6).

Goffman's insights into social life are pioneering and distinctive in a number of ways. Firstly, Goffman sees social interaction as the interplay of different agendas pursued by interactants whose behaviour is determined by various social factors such as power relationships, social class, age, gender and the like (1983: 2). This has, to a certain extent, addressed an important concern in social science, i.e. the connection between social structures and everyday language use.

Secondly, Goffman treats social interaction as drama. The underlying metaphor he uses in investigating social interaction equates human behaviour with theatre performance. He contends explicitly that social life can be compared to the plays staged in the theatre, and that the communicative rules governing social interaction are similar to the fundamental requirements of theatrical performances. Along these lines, Goffman elaborates the concept of participation framework to describe the roles individuals assume in interaction and explain how changes in participant roles can effect changes in ‘footing’, i.e. the alignment that participants take in social interaction as they negotiate their respective agendas (more on this in section 2.3 below).

Thirdly, Goffman perceives social interaction as a dynamic and ongoingly negotiated process, insofar as the unfolding of conversation is managed on a moment-by-moment basis within the constraints imposed by the prevalent social ‘frame’.¹³ In Goffman’s words,

We face the moment-to-moment possibility (warranted in particular cases or not) that our settled sense of what is going on beyond the current social situation or within it may have to begin to be questioned or changed (1981b: 68).

As I will attempt to demonstrate in the following sections, it is these distinctive features of Goffman’s approach that lend his interactional sociology particularly appropriate as a framework for studying the interactional setting of Chinese government press conferences.

Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 set out to offer a critical discussion of the main concepts I will be drawing on from Goffman’s work, with examples from both published studies that have engaged with his work and from government press conferences in the Chinese context where appropriate. Section 2.2 will focus on Goffman’s conceptualisation of participation framework: several key notions are explored under this heading, including production format, participation status, reception format, social roles and role distance. Section 2.3 will examine Goffman’s conceptualisation of footing and embedding, and how shifts in footing can be

¹³ ‘Frame’ and its related terms such as ‘framework’ and ‘framing’ generally refer to ‘a sense of what activity is being engaged in’ and ‘how speakers mean what they say’ (Tannen and Wallat 1999: 348).

signalled linguistically as well as by other means, both by interpreters and by primary interlocutors. In section 2.4, I will examine Goffman's concepts of face and face-work, with particular reference to their implications for studying interpreter-mediated encounters. Finally, Section 2.5 will provide a critical assessment of Goffman's modal of social interaction.

2.2 Participation Framework

As briefly mentioned above, Goffman's theoretical approach to social interaction adopts a dynamic interactional model which draws on the metaphor of theatre performance and is built on the interplay among three elements: participants (actors), agenda negotiation (the evolving performance) and framing constraints/strategies (on-site performing skills). This section aims to introduce the participant (actor) dimension of Goffman's theoretical framework. It further discusses how interpreters mediate the participation framework in triadic exchanges, and what participant role the interpreter assumes or is expected to assume in face-to-face interaction in general.

2.2.1 Production format and reception format

In order to present a viable basis for the discussion of participant roles in face-to-face interaction, Goffman starts by revisiting the primitive concepts of 'speakers' and 'hearers'. For him, these commonly used terms are so easy to adopt in describing talk and conversation that he himself cannot resist the temptation of using them from time to time. However, he notes that they are vague, and hence not always productive when investigating social interaction. As Hymes had aptly pointed out, "the common dyadic model of speaker-hearer specifies sometimes too many, sometimes too few, sometimes the wrong participants" (1974: 54, cited by Goffman 1981a: 144).

Goffman thus proceeds to problematise the speaker-hearer dichotomy and proposes a series of more specific units of analysis. From the perspective of utterance production, the speaking role may be performed by three different incarnations: 'animator', the role which a speaker assumes when performing as a sounding box or talking machine, responsible only for the reproduction of someone else's message; 'author', the role performed by a speaker who selects what ideas to

express, and what words to be used in order to encode the utterance; ‘principal’, the role which a speaker plays when he or she is committed to or assumes responsibility for the content of the utterance being delivered and when his or her image is invested in that utterance.

Goffman stresses that the three speaking roles are separated only for analytical purposes, and are not real social roles performed by actual speakers in any given speech event. For example, in analysing a speech event such as an academic conference, a speaker may play the role of ‘animator’ when he reads out a colleague’s paper in his or her absence; at the same conference, the same speaker may play the role of ‘author’ when giving a summary, in his own words, of an experiment conducted by someone else; and finally, the same speaker may play the speaking roles of both ‘author’ and ‘principal’ at the same time when reporting the findings of his/her own research. These are rather simple illustrations. However, in more complex social communicative encounters such as press conferences, the different speaking roles may overlap significantly in one single utterance. At times, they may be embedded within each other in order to advance the speaker’s interactional agenda, as in example 1 below. This is an excerpt from the press conference given by Premier WEN Jiabao on March 14, 2005 after the annual National People’s Congress (NPC). Here, a Chinese journalist from *People’s Daily* asks Premier Wen a question on the recurrent issue of agriculture, rural areas and farmers, often known as the ‘three agriculture’ problem in China.

Example 1

People’s Daily JNL: 您在政府工作报告中指出，解决‘三农’问题，仍然是全部工作中重中之重，并提出了明年全部免征农业税等具体措施。您认为怎样才能根本解决‘三农’问题？有什么长远的打算？

[You mentioned in the government report that solving the ‘three agriculture’ problem is still the priority of all government agendas, and you proposed measures such as waiving agricultural tax for all in the following year. In your opinion, how can the ‘three agriculture’ problem be completely solved? Do you have a long term plan?]

WEN Jiabao: 我想起了诺贝尔奖获得者、美国经济学家舒尔茨的一句话。他说，世界上大多数人是贫穷的，所以如果我们懂得了穷人的经济学，也就懂得许多真正重要的经济学原理。世界上大多数穷人以农业为生。因而，如果我们懂得了农业，也就懂得了穷人的经济学。我不是经济学家，但我深知农业、农民和农村问题在中国的极端重要性。。。。。

[This reminds me of what the Nobel laureate, US economist Schultz once said: most of the people in the world are poor; if we knew the economics of the poor, we would understand many of the really important theories of economics; most of the poor people in the world depend on agriculture, and therefore, if we knew agriculture, we would understand the economics of the poor. *I am not an economist, but I know deep in my heart the extreme importance of agriculture, farmers and rural areas to China...*]

Each move in this question-answer exchange contains more than one speaker incarnation, i.e. more than one speaker role. The journalist starts by referring to what Premier Wen once said about the *three agriculture* issue in China, thus performing the role of ‘animator’, and probably ‘author’ as well. He then moves onto his real interactional purpose by asking how the three agriculture problem can be addressed and whether there is a long term plan for this. The journalist is obviously incarnating the roles of both ‘author’ and presumably ‘principal’ here (assuming that the question represents his own views rather than those of his news agency).¹⁴ Likewise, when Premier Wen answers the question, he starts by quoting US economist Schultz on the economics of the poor, thus performing the speaker role of ‘author’ (since he cannot be quoting Schultz verbatim);¹⁵ he then introduces his own argument about the importance of the *three agriculture* to China (the italicised sketch above in the answer), acting both speaking roles of ‘author’ and ‘principal’. The use of the pronoun 我 *wo* (I) clearly indicates the speaker role assumed at this point in his answer, where he shifts from ‘author’ (see the non-italicised part of the answer) to ‘principal’ (the italicised part) (More discussion of shifts in speaking roles and footing is provided in section 2.3).

As illustrated in example 1, the three speaking roles, i.e. animator, author and principal, are by no means intended as static categories. They have porous boundaries and change constantly during an interaction, shifting from one incarnation to another, and together or separately enabling speakers to fulfil their communicative goals. This conceptualisation of speaking roles is in line with the way Philips depicts participant structure – as “possible variations in structural arrangements of interaction...or ways of arranging verbal action” (1972: 377).

¹⁴ The difficulty here lies in separating the personal goals/agendas/voice of the journalist from those of his employer, the news agency.

¹⁵ An interesting issue here is whether summarising someone’s views in another language and/or translating someone’s words into another language fit into Goffman’s notion of ‘animator’, since in both cases the actual words are never the original speaker’s. This also raises the issue of whether the interpreter can ever play the role of ‘animator’ as such.

The three speaker roles constitute what Goffman termed ‘production format’,¹⁶ one of the two major categories of interactional roles participants assume in speech events. Hearer roles, as opposed to speaking roles in Goffman’s production format, constitute the other category of participant roles that individuals may assume in interaction. Although Goffman did not devote as much attention to the conceptualisation of hearer roles as he did to speaker roles, he did propose a categorisation of roles played by hearers in the social interactive ensemble.

Goffman approaches interactional encounters as social gatherings with multiple hearers, whom he divides into ‘ratified hearers’ (acknowledged participants in the audience) and ‘unratified hearers’ (unacknowledged participants in the encounter). Ratified hearers are further divided into ‘addressed recipients’ (those to whom the speaker pays visual attention, and who may sometimes be expected to take up the conversational floor) and ‘unaddressed recipients’ (the other participants in the audience who are not expected to take the conversational floor, and whom the speaker only addresses on a collective basis or does not address at all). Unratified hearers are likewise divided into ‘eavesdroppers’ (unacknowledged hearers who intentionally access the reception sphere of the encounter) and ‘overhearers’ (unacknowledged hearers who unintentionally come into the reception sphere of the encounter).

Having distinguished thus between speaker and hearer roles, Goffman uses the term ‘participation status’ to refer to the role assumed by, or allocated to, any participant, as categorised above, and the term ‘participation framework’ to refer to the constellation of participant roles assumed by all the individuals in the communicative encounter at any point in time. A snapshot of the various participant roles in multi-party interaction, as discussed by Goffman (1981a: 131-146), is provided in Table 2.

¹⁶ In Levinson’s study (1988), the term ‘production roles’ is used to refer to Goffman’s ‘production format’.

Production format (speaking roles)

- Animator: someone who acts as a “sounding box” or “talking machine” (Goffman 1981a: 144)
- Author: someone who “selects sentiments” and actual words (ibid.)
- Principal: someone who is responsible for, or committed to, the content of an utterance

Reception format¹⁷ (hearing roles)*Ratified participants*

- Addressed recipients: the ones “to whom the speaker addresses his <or her> visual attention, and to whom, incidentally, he <or she> expects to turn over the speaking role” (ibid.: 133)
- Unaddressed recipients: the other participants in the auditing circle to whom the speaker addresses his <or her> remarks as a whole, and whom he <or she> encompasses in his <or her> glance during the talk, “according them something like equal status” (ibid.)

Unratified participants

- Eavesdroppers: unacknowledged participants who have intentionally entered the reception sphere of the talk (ibid.: 132)
- Overhearers: unacknowledged participants who unintentionally come into the reception sphere of the talk

Table 2 A Snapshot of Participant Roles in Face-to-Face Interaction

The reception format takes various forms in different communicative genres, and the metaphor of theatre is particularly helpful in allowing us to perceive such variety. In particular, Goffman complements the various roles summarised in Table 2 with the notion of ‘audience’. In the case of TV/radio broadcast talk, on-site audience (the audience who are present at the scene of the talk) and broadcast audience (the audience who are absent from the scene of the talk, watching or listening to the talk through TV or radio) may coexist. Speakers in broadcast encounters style their talk mainly for on-site audiences if there are any, and occasionally for broadcast audiences; only by making sense of the subtle tone of the speaker can one realise that there is another recipient entity involved (Goffman 1981a: 138). Goffman also explores the genre of podium talks, in which the audience is physically removed from the podium, and is in a better position to

¹⁷ The term seems to have first appeared in Wadensjö (1998), who introduces further distinctions in modes of listening (c.f. section 2.2).

examine the performance of the speaker from a distance. Here, apart from the question/answer sessions, “the role of the audience is to appreciate remarks made, not to reply in any direct way” (ibid.: 138). There are some communicative encounters which Goffman termed ‘binding events’, such as trials and auctions, where the audience is more committed to what is said and is more entitled to be heard than audiences in podium talks (ibid.: 140). In the case of press conferences, the event may be considered as both a form of podium talk and a type of binding event in that the question-takers are normally standing or sitting behind the podium and the speaking floor is expected to be taken alternatively by question-takers and journalists. Despite the many features that audiences in podium talks and in binding events may share, they differ fundamentally in the fact that the former is normally expected not to interact or take the floor, whereas the latter is expected to do so from time to time, and the ‘audience’ in press conferences obviously belongs to the latter.

Goffman’s participation framework has aroused a great deal of scholarly debate across different disciplines. Some scholars have extended or modified the framework to suit their specific research purposes (e.g. Levinson 1988, Bell 1984). In terms of reception format, for instance, Bell (1984) makes further distinctions between the recipient roles of ‘addressees’ (those directly addressed and ratified), ‘auditors’ (those indirectly addressed and ratified), ‘overhearers’ (whose presence is known to the speaker but are unratiated), ‘eavesdroppers’ (whose presence is not known to the speaker and are unratiated) and ‘referees’ (individuals or groups who are not present at the speech event but with whom the speaker tries to identify while speaking).

Bell’s framework of audience design modifies Goffman’s participant roles by proposing the use of ‘auditors’ to refer to what Goffman categorised as unaddressed ratified participants and a further group, that of ‘referees’, who might also influence the language style of a speaker (for example, a lecturer might imitate a different French accent associated with a particular ethnic group for the purpose of illustrating French language variations; and similarly in example 1 above, Premier Wen identified himself with US Nobel laureate, Schultz, by quoting his principle of economics. Bell further argues that the language style of writers or speakers is greatly influenced by audience design, in other words by the nature of the reception format. In addition, Bell lists the different groups of audience in the descending

order of their ‘potential influence’ on the language style of the writer or speaker, i.e. he argues that what we write or say is influenced mostly by addressees, less so by auditors, minimally by overhearers or eavesdroppers, and least of all by referees.

The audience design framework is productively applied by Mason (2000), who noted that significant translational shifts can be accounted for in terms of the differences between source and target audience design (in the case of face-to-face interaction) and text design (in the case of written text). Based on Bell’s proposed category of ‘referee’, Mason makes further distinctions between ‘in-group referees’ (the group of receivers that the speaker also belongs to) and ‘out-group referees’ (the group of receivers that the speaker does not belong to). He starts by comparing the audience design of an original speech by Ayatollah Khomeini with that of its translation in *The Guardian*¹⁸ in order to explain shifts in the translated text and their implications. He also identifies and describes different categories of audience groups¹⁹ in the translations of two French history books (one by Braudel and one by Laurie), and uses this description to explain why the conventionally ‘authoritative’ and ‘distant’ tone of Braudel’s book has been substituted by a less formal register and dialogical style with readers in the English translation (2000: 7) and why an entire discourse is missed out or downplayed in the translation of Laurie’s work (ibid.: 11). Mason’s application of audience design is particularly helpful as a model for the study of translated text. However, audience design in interpreting events is very different. Translation can take place a long time after the original text has been written, and hence the audience design of original and translated texts can be vastly different, especially given variables such as historical and cultural distance. Interpreting, by contrast, is a real-time event in which speakers and interpreters address almost the same group of receivers, and speakers and receivers change roles constantly.

¹⁸ According to Mason (2000:3), the audience design for the original speech by Ayatollah Khomeini is as follows: instructors in seminaries (addressees), students in seminaries (auditors), listeners to Tehran Radio (overhearers) and BBC monitoring service (eavesdroppers); the audience design for the translated speech, on the other hand, seems to be as follows: employer, the BBC monitoring service which commissioned the translation and is the primary end-user (addressee), those to whom the translated speech is normally made available, such as in-house users and government personnel (auditors), and *The Guardian* readers (eavesdroppers).

¹⁹ Based on Mason (2000: 14-15), the audience design for the original history books is as follows: French intellectuals in general (addressees), other source language readers (auditors) and historians in the *Annales* school (in-group referees); and the audience design for their translations is as follows: General target language readers (addressees) and specialist readers, e.g. English-language historians (auditors).

Also drawing on the notion of participation framework, Kang (1998) proposes to use the term ‘triadic exchange’ to refer to the multi-party interaction in which the speaker addresses more than one type of addressee at once.²⁰ Based on a discussion of the instantiations of two different types of addressee (‘mediating addressee’/mediator, and ‘target addressee’) in her case study, she argues that one of the social functions of a triadic exchange is to provide the interactional participant with “a strategy of inclusion” (ibid.: 385), and that the influence of including third-party addressees (mediators in this instance) on interactional dynamics has often been underestimated. On this basis, Kang points out that the notion of participation framework does not seem adequate to account for multi-addressee interactional sequences.

Irrespective of the various perspectives adopted and attempts to refine weaker aspects of the concept of participant roles or participation framework, scholars ultimately accept that the interactional framework is negotiated by participants in an ongoing and dynamic process.²¹ As Clark (1996) puts it, the use of language in any speech event constitutes more than an interaction between a speaker talking and a listener listening; it is part of a joint and concerted action carried out by an ensemble of people, with individuals responding to and influencing one another. As interactants negotiate their individual agendas on an ongoing, moment-by-moment basis, the language they use “embodies both individual and social processes” (1996: ix).

2.2.2 Interpreter-mediated participation framework

As broad as the range of encounters that Goffman’s participation framework may allow us to explore, his fundamental arguments are largely based on monolingual interactional settings, and little discussion is offered with respect to bilingual or multilingual settings that involve the mediation of interpreters, without whom the primary interlocutors in such settings would not be able to communicate. Interestingly, Goffman did mention the analytical complexity of speaking roles

²⁰ The notion of ‘triadic exchange’ seems to be interpreted differently in translation and interpreting studies; in the latter, ‘triadic exchange’ is defined as an interaction during which utterances by primary interlocutors are mediated by a third-party, such as the interpreter (Mason 2001).

²¹ The dynamic feature of participation framework is manifested in shifts in footing; see section 2.3 of this chapter.

assumed in simultaneous interpreting, but only in passing (Goffman 1981a: 146). On the whole, his model does not account for the participation of mediators like interpreters in interaction. Nevertheless, this ‘oversight’ on his part does not undermine the significant contributions that his work has made and can still make to translation and interpreting studies. In particular, it encourages scholars to consider issues such as how interpreters fit into the interactional framework of face-to-face interaction, and what types of roles interpreters assume, or are expected to take up in such events. Edmondson (1986) is one attempt to address this issue.

Focusing on conference interpreting, Edmondson (1986) divides ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ roles into different sets of sub-roles. In terms of speaker role, Edmondson makes a distinction between the ‘producer’ (who is “responsible for the sounds”), the ‘encoder’ (‘responsible for the formulation’), the ‘meaner’ (“responsible for the speaker-meaning”) and the ‘responder’ (“responsible for the social consequences of the communication”). The hearer role is further subdivided into the uptaker (“responsible for the ‘uptaking’”), the ‘recorder/sampler’ (“responsible for ‘getting the message’”), the ‘understander’ (“responsible for ‘getting the gist’ of the utterance”) and the ‘responder’ (“responsible for responding to the communication”) (132-135). Edmondson argues that although interpreters seem to assume both speaker and hearer roles during the interaction, in practice they have limited sub-roles compared with monolingual interlocutors. According to Edmondson’s categorisation, monolingual interactants seem to take the four sub-roles of the speaker or the hearer at the same time. In other words, if a monolingual participant needs to make a speech, he or she will be responsible for all the work of producing, encoding, meaning and responding to the ‘message’ he or she is expressing. However, bilingual or multilingual mediators such as interpreters are limited to certain sub-roles that are assumed in a certain order, i.e. from reception to production format, as shown in the Figure 1 below. From a cognitive perspective, Edmondson argues that fundamental differences do exist in the speaking and hearing processes in the case of interpreters and monolingual (primary) interlocutors, and further concludes that with the limited roles they can assume in interaction, interpreters are not involved in the actual “negotiation of meaning in the talk” in which they are mediating (ibid.: 135).

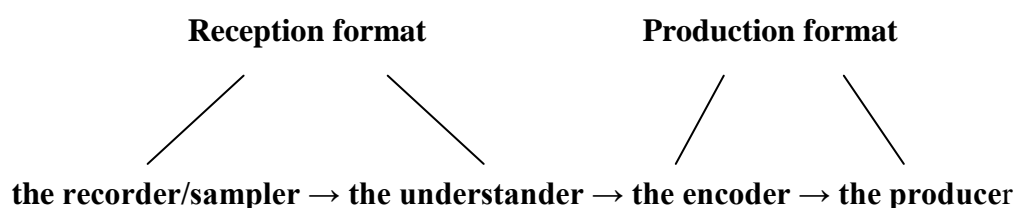


Figure 1 Interpreter’s Participation Roles (Based on Edmondson 1986: 135)

Edmondson’s attempt to refine the notions of speaker and hearer role(s) played by the interpreter is interesting and potentially productive, but his conclusion is problematic; indeed, many recent studies have shown that interpreters are not ‘conduits’ that simply transfer the meaning being negotiated by primary interlocutors, but are rather ‘active’ participants in the negotiation of conversational meaning (e.g. Keith 1984, Wadensjö 1998, Roy 1993, Diriker 2004).

Another interesting attempt to describe the interpreter’s participation in social interaction is offered by Wadensjö (1998). Also taking the concept of participation framework as a point of departure, Wadensjö adopts a dialogical approach²² to the study of participation in general, and the interpreter’s participation in particular, in face-to-face interaction. She argues that Goffman’s analytical categorisation of hearer roles does not take into account the various types of listening, and goes on to distinguish between three hearing roles. These are: the ‘reporter’ (the hearer who listens in order to repeat or report, e.g. student hearers in a foreign language class, where the teacher might ask ‘read after me’), the ‘responder’ (the hearer who listens in order to respond, e.g. an interviewee in the case of a job interview), and the ‘recapitulator’ (the hearer who listens in order to recapitulate, e.g. a chairperson in a conference who needs to recapitulate what speakers have just said) (ibid.: 91).

The various attempts at refining categories of production and reception roles have provided a wider range of analytical resources that can shed further light on the involvement of interpreters in mediated encounters. For example, drawing on Wadensjö’s categories, we could say that in medical interviews, the interpreter may participate as ‘recapitulator’ from time to time since it is noted in short medical

²² In contrast with the monological approach to language and mind (e.g. Reddy 1979, Marková and Foppa 1990), which traditionally sees speaking and listening as opposite and mutually exclusive activities, Wadensjö stresses that speaking and listening are intertwined activities. As she puts it, “When I argue that meaning is established in interaction, and that interaction is constituted by interlocutors’ active speaking and listening, this reflects a dialogical view on language and mind” (Wadensjö 1998:87).

interviews that interpreters often talk with the patients first for several minutes, and then provide a summary type of interpreting to the doctors or nurses (Gavioli and Maxwell 2007); at times interpreters may even assume the active role of ‘primary interlocutor’ (or ‘responder’) by directly responding to the preceding remark of the principal interlocutor (Baraldi and Gavioli 2008). In courtroom interpreting, however, interpreters are more likely to assume the role of ‘reporter’ (Goffman’s ‘animator’ and/or ‘author’) as courtroom interpreters are generally required to provide literal interpretation (Hale 2001).

The nature of the interpreter’s participation in an encounter varies across different settings, but the interpreter’s role is increasingly acknowledged as involving two types of activity: ‘translating the message’ (the traditional conception of what interpreters do), and ‘coordinating the interaction’ (an aspect of the interpreter’s role that has only been acknowledged in more recent years; it has also been gaining increasing momentum, particularly in studies of dialogue interpreting). The terms used by different scholars to describe what interpreters do reflect these two aspects of their activity: they include ‘translator’ and ‘coordinator’ (Wadensjö 1998), ‘language facilitator’ and ‘cultural mediator’ (Roy 1993, 2000) and ‘mediator’ and ‘spokesperson’ (Mason 2004).

2.2.3 Social roles and the interpreter’s role as mediator, coordinator and gatekeeper

Speaking and hearing formats, as outlined by Goffman, allow us to examine participation roles in face-to-face interaction from a linguistic perspective, since the focus is very much on a participant’s production or reception of verbal material. Goffman’s discussion of social roles and his notion of ‘role distance’ enable us to investigate interactive participation from a social perspective. In *Encounter* (1961), Goffman reviews Linton’s social role theory (1936) and develops his own argument on role distance in the context of focused gatherings or ‘focused interactions’.²³

²³ At the outset of his book, Goffman (1961) challenges the traditional division of face-to-face interaction into eventful and routine. Instead, he proposes a different division into unfocused and focused interaction, with the former referring to those episodes of interpersonal communication which arise solely from people’s co-presence, as when two strangers appreciate each other’s clothes in a hotel lobby, and the latter referring to those cases in which participants agree to sustain the interaction for a certain amount of time and for a specific purpose, as in a board meeting.

Taking Linton's social-anthropological tradition as a starting point, Goffman redefines role as the "typical response of individuals in a particular position" (1961: 93) and proposes a distinction between the 'normative aspect of role', 'typical role' and 'actual role performance' (1961). According to traditional role theory, role is defined as activities that individuals would engage in if they were to perform solely according to the normative demands imposed on them in given positions (ibid.:75). Goffman seems to refer to this as the 'normative aspect of role' which specifies 'what people should do' given their position in a particular context. Normative aspects of role affect people insofar as they belong to a particular group. For example, the normative role of doctors is to provide patients with adequate health care, and the normative role of journalists is to formulate an enquiry and try to establish the truth behind it. 'Typical role', on the other hand, concerns the typical response of individuals, or 'what people usually do' in a particular position (irrespective of what they are normatively expected to do). As Goffman explains, "complex forces at play upon individuals" lead to some departure from the normative aspect of role "despite the tendency in social life to transform what is usually done to what ought to be done" (ibid.: 82). 'Role performance' is what individuals actually do in a given circumstance. Differences between 'typical role' and 'role performance' may arise due to the fact that individuals perceive and define their situations differently. For example, if a doctor perceives a specific peer meeting as a chance to learn from his peers' experiences, s/he may act as a student, spending most of his time listening rather than sharing the speaking floor with his peers, as he would normally do in typical peer meetings. Likewise, in the case of government press conferences with highly controlled schedules, the general practice is that journalists are only allowed one question each. However, in actual performance, journalists may choose to formulate multiple questions when the floor is given to them, as illustrated in example 2 below. This is an extract from a press conference given by the Beijing Organising Committee for 2008 Olympics Games (the italicised part) in one single turn in order to elicit as much information as possible on how the Chinese authorities plan to clamp down on piracy of official Olympic merchandise.

Example 2

JNL: ...my first question is how much revenues have been collected so far from the sales of the officially franchised Olympics products if you have the figure and if you have the projection for the final total...My other question, pirate Olympic merchandise seems to be proliferating recently in Beijing... What effect do you think the increasing sale of pirate merchandise is going to have on the final total revenues collected...What are you planning to do about what would probably become a problematic piracy situation as the Games approach? And finally, how many police do you think are going to be needed in Beijing to take care of the full range of problems that might be happening including the people who want to sell the pirate products?

Individuals cannot enact their roles in a social encounter without interacting with their 'role others' (Goffman 1961: 85). For instance, a doctor's role others include patients, nurses and peer doctors in a 'situated activity system'; and a journalist's role others can be interviewees, peer journalists and interpreters in a certain communicative context. The interaction between role selves and role others in any given encounter provides an alternative method of analysing participation in social interaction.

Even so, there are circumstances in which individuals pointedly deviate from their role selves. This results in "a wedge between the individual and his role, between doing and being" or 'role distance', in Goffman's terms (ibid.: 108). The notion of 'role distance' is used to refer to acts which effectively display a certain detachment of participants from the roles they are actually assuming. Goffman illustrates the notion of role distance with the example of adults riding a merry-go-round along with their children. Their stiff performance and the anxious face they wear often show that the adults do not enjoy the ride as an event, but that they do so as a way of protecting their children (ibid.: 109). The adults therefore perform deliberately or inadvertently in a way that deviates from the role they are actually playing.

Previous work within social science had identified similar problems and proposed concepts like 'role strain' and 'role conflict' to account for the stress and ambiguities that individuals are subject to in performing social roles in specific situations (Chriss 1999: 70). However, Goffman's point of departure is quite different; he regards the problem (role conflict or role strain) not as a limitation of role analysis but as a valuable inspiration to explore methods which could help us

avert such conflicts or deal more productively with unavoidable ones (1961: 91). Role distance is introduced against this background to account for the discrepancy between an individual's 'being' and 'doing'. The idea of role distance can also be accounted for in terms of Goffman's fundamental metaphor of drama. Although life experience provides 'scripts' for actors to play their role, there are often circumstances in which they forget their 'lines' or make mistakes which lead them to improvise new lines to keep the performance going. Therefore, role distance is analogous to improvisation in theatrical performance. In reality, role distance can become one of the solutions to which an individual may resort in an effort to "remedy, downplay or deny" what he or she perceives to be a faulty self in front of role others during social encounters (Chriss 1999: 72). It can be argued that instances of role distance may be found more frequently in informal occasions such as daily conversations than in formal encounters such as news broadcasting and press conferences, but they are not unknown in the latter.

So far, the discussion of social roles has been based on monolingual settings; however, Goffman's role theory seems equally relevant to the analysis of interpreter-mediated bilingual or multilingual encounters. In such encounters, interpreters are normally expected to simply translate the message and facilitate communication between monolingual interlocutors. In real life circumstances, however, interpreters may play a variety of social roles, including those of 'gatekeeper' between lay witnesses and lawyers in courtroom interpreting (Brennan 1999), between refugees and immigration officers during asylum-seeking interviews (Jacquemet 2010) as well as between doctors and patients in medical interviews (Davidson 2010); and 'coordinator' of talk (e.g. coordinating turn taking) as in the case of medical interviews, and interviews in immigration offices (e.g. Valero Garcés 2005; Wadensjö 1992, 1998). To a large extent, the dual roles of 'translator' and 'coordinator' combined constitute the actual role performance of interpreters in real-world dialogue interpreting settings. In other words, the linguistic and social functions of interpreters in interactional events are not exclusive of each other; rather, they are simultaneously assumed by interpreters in situated activity. However, the analysis of interpreter role in press conferences may vary slightly. For instance, in interpreter-mediated government press conferences in the Chinese context, the interpreter is probably expected to stick more closely to the role of 'translator',

rather than assume that of a ‘coordinator’ or ‘gatekeeper’ since the latter roles are often assumed by co-participants such as chairpersons of the event, as in example 3 below. This is a contribution from the chairperson, Mr. GUO Weimin during the SCIO-organised press conference attended by Mr. Xiangbapingcuo, Chairman (Governor) of Tibetan Autonomous Region on April 9 2008. Before this extract, a CNN journalist had asked three questions in a row in his allocated time slot and Mr. Xiangbapingcuo had answered two of the three-part question.

Example 3

GUO Weimin: 刚才你问到的第三个问题，外交部发言人昨天已经做过答复了。继续提问。

[As for your third question, the spokesperson from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs already gave a response yesterday. Next question please.]

Overall, Goffman’s discussion of social roles and role distance, together with his conceptualisation of the production and reception formats, provide us with multiple perspectives and tools to (1) investigate how individuals are involved and behave in face-to-face interactive encounters; and (2) analyse the participative roles played by the different actors in government press conferences.

2.3 Footing and Line

The discussion of different speaking and hearing roles in Goffman’s participation framework serves as an analytical basis for the conceptualisation of ‘footing’. Although it was first outlined in 1974, Goffman’s notion of footing was explored in more detail in his later book *Forms of Talk* (1981a), in which a whole chapter was devoted to it. Based on Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) concept of code-switching,²⁴ Goffman introduced the notion of ‘footing’ to refer to “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (1981a: 128). Example 4 below (Gumperz 1976: 8-9; reproduced by Goffman 1981a: 127, emphasis added) is a transcription of three sequential moves by a teacher talking to his class. There is no change in bodily orientation or tone while the teacher is delivering his speech. It is very easy to

²⁴ Gumperz later noted that apart from the most commonly studied code-switching instances involving intersentential or intrasentential language variation (as in the case of dialect shifts), there are other instances of switching behaviour in conversation, including shifting from direct speech to reported speech. Gumperz refers to the latter forms of shift as ‘code-switchinglike behaviour’ (1976).

understand the three moves as continuous talk while missing the fact that there are significant changes in the speaker's footing vis-à-vis the hearers. In move (1), the teacher is addressing all the students in class and the footing of the teacher versus students is clearly distinguished; in sentence (2), the teacher alters his footing, aligning himself more closely with the students, as indicated by his repeated use of the inclusive pronoun *we*; in sentence (3), as the teacher shifts his target audience from the whole class to a particular student who seems to be absent-minded – evident in the use of the second person pronoun *your* – the teacher realigns differently with hearers, thus altering his footing again.

Example 4

- (1) Now listen everybody.
- (2) At ten o'clock *we*'ll have assembly. *We*'ll all go out together and go to the auditorium and sit in the first two rows. Mr. Dock, the principal, is going to speak to *us*. When he comes in, sit quietly and listen carefully.
- (3) Don't wiggle *your* legs. Pay attention to what I'm saying.

As participants realign themselves throughout the ongoing process of interaction, their footing shifts along the way; the notion of footing and the details of how shifts in footing are effected offer us a useful apparatus for analysing the dynamics of participant behaviour in interaction, including interpreter-mediated interaction.

2.3.1 Signals of shifts in footing

In social encounters, individuals tend to act out what Goffman designates as 'line'. A line is "a pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts" by which individuals express their views of the situation and through these their evaluations of other participants (1972: 5). The notion of line can thus be understood as the various 'performing acts'²⁵ through which participants display their position or stance towards certain aspects of the ongoing interaction. In effect, interactants always take a line in an encounter, whether they intend to do so or not, and whether they are conscious of the line they are taking or not.

Shifts in footing can be effected through various signalling mechanisms, with some indicating shifts in speaker/hearer roles and others indicating shifts in terms of

²⁵ 'Performing act' is a term I use here to refer to all forms of behaviour of individuals engaged in social interaction. It may include verbal utterances, facial expressions, body language, physical movements, etc.

interactants' line or stance. Both types of shift depend in part on the use of 'contextualisation cues',²⁶ a term later introduced by Gumperz (1977, reproduced in 1999) to refer to the signalling mechanisms that allow us to encode and interpret conversational meaning, and in this sense is broader than the notion of code shifting or code switching. Contextualization cues include changes in the tempo of speech, pitch, intonation, semantic and syntactic choices, and use of idiomatic or formulaic expressions such as greetings and interjections, among other things (Gumperz 1999: 102). Gumperz gives the example of a West Indian bus-driver in London who announces periodically 'exact change, please' as passengers get onto the bus. If a passenger happens not to have the correct change, the driver repeats his announcement with a louder voice and higher pitch, pausing after 'exact change' before spelling out 'please' with a falling intonation (ibid.: 101). For British passengers, the prosodic variation within the driver's utterance clearly signals his dissatisfaction with their non-cooperative action. For the Indian driver, however, the same features are meant to signal politeness and deference. In this case, different interactants interpret the same contextualisation cues differently. At any rate, variation in the driver's pitch and tone signals a shift of footing, in this case in terms of the line he is taking towards other passengers and the event.

Pronouns are another type of contextualisation cue which can signal shifts in footing, as we saw in Example 4 above. The use of *we*, *he* and *they*, for instance, can indicate the speaker's differing alignments with other participants, and also mark clearly the different speaking roles that he or she is assuming in relation to that moment of utterance.²⁷ Other contextualisation cues include pauses or delay (Gavioli and Maxwell 2007)²⁸ and interjections (Schiffrin 1999), which may signal shifts in speaker/hearer roles specifically. For example, having examined the different functions of the discourse marker 'oh', one of the conclusions that Schiffrin (1999) draws is that 'oh' may make evident "the division of conversational labour between speaker and hearer"; as back-channel marker, 'oh' not only marks "information

²⁶ Goffman did not draw specifically on the notion of contextualisation cues though.

²⁷ More discussion on the use of pronouns as markers of shifts in footing is provided in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.

²⁸ A shift in footing may be signalled by a delay between a primary participant's talk and an interpreter's translation, as in example 9 below where a delay (in I1) is immediately followed by a shift in the interpreter's footing, evident in his translation (I2).

receipt” but also signals a particular interactant as “an occupant of a specific participation status (active recipient)” (ibid.: 286).

Code-switching is another important type of contextualisation cue and can thus function as an effective signal of a shift in footing which usually indicates the stance or line of the speaker. People conversing in a local dialect (e.g. Shanghai dialect of Chinese) may change their language code into the lingua franca (Mandarin Chinese in this case) in order to include a new participant who does not speak their dialect into the conversation. The change in language code usually marks a change in the speaker’s alignment towards the new conversationalist and other hearers, which also expresses the speaker’s line in relation to the event as a whole.

Contextualisation cues are not limited to variations in language code and linguistic or paralinguistic structures; they may also take the form of non-verbal interactional behaviour such as gaze, gesture, facial expressions and body orientation, as do the signalling mechanisms for shifts in footing. In her analysis of the way principal interlocutors may include multiple addressees at the same time in multi-party conversations, Kang (1998) proposed that the principal interlocutor may use different interactional markers such as gaze and body movement (apart from prosody and delivery) to frame the triadic exchange and address multiple hearers (ibid.: 393-403). These non-verbal signals are used by interactants to introduce changes in the way they align themselves and others in conversation, as well as changes in the participation framework.

Apart from contextualisation cues, the concept of ‘embedding’ — which describes the sort of linguistic pattern in which one construct of meaning is made an integral part of another (is embedded within it) — is indispensable for a comprehensive analysis of footing. Goffman (1981a) highlights several types of embedding resources in real life interaction. First, embedding can be effected by the use of linguistic devices such as hedges or qualifiers in the form of performative modal verbs (e.g. think, wish, could) as well as certain tenses which help to introduce some distance between the speakers and their statements (ibid.: 147). For instance, by using the past tense in the utterance ‘I disliked eggplants’, the speaker distances him/herself from the act he or she was once associated with. Secondly, embedding may be found in an utterance such as ‘whoops, I got that wrong...’

(when someone admits he or she has committed a slip of the tongue or a ‘faux pas’) or ‘I meant to say...’ (when someone intends to correct what has been said). In both cases, the speaker explicitly intends to distance the animator of the talk from the real ‘addressing self’ (ibid.: 148). Thirdly, multiple embedding is also possible in a single utterance, as in clause (3) of example 5 below (based on Goffman 1981a: 151). Clause (1) features a present speaker who animates an utterance; clause (2) presents one embedded animator who is the past incarnation of the present speaker; and clause (3) features a doubly embedded figure, i.e. there is an even earlier incarnation of an earlier incarnation.

Example 5

- (1) I think that...
- (2) I said...
- (3) I had once lived that sort of life.

This shows that embedding can be realized in different forms, and a single utterance may involve different layers of embedding. With each form or layer of embedding, there is a change in footing. Likewise, changes between different speaking roles within the production format, which may be signalled through the use of various types of contextualisation cue, will also trigger shifts in footing. In real life communication, different signalling mechanisms are often used simultaneously in one utterance to indicate ongoing shifts in footing in response to a complex interactional agenda, as illustrated in example 6 below. This is an extract from Premier’s press conferences held after the annual National People’s Congress on March 14 2005. Here, Premier WEN Jiabao responds to a question posed by the CNN journalist on the newly passed Anti-Secession Law and the possible conflict across the Taiwan Straits.

Example 6

WEN Jiabao: 。 。 。 。 。 。 记者先生，你可以翻开 1986 年贵国制定的两部反分裂法，不也是同样的内容吗？中国有一句古话：一尺布，尚可缝；一斗粟，尚可舂。同胞兄弟何不容？台湾同胞是我们的骨肉兄弟，我们希望全体台湾同胞能够理解我们的立法用意。 。 。 。 。 。 。 至于你谈到的中国军事力量的加强，我想在这里多讲两句。 。 。 。 。 。 。 至今，中国没有派过一兵一卒去占领任何国家一寸土地。台湾问题纯属中国的内政，不容外国干涉，我们不希望外国干涉，但也不怕外国干涉！

[...*Mr. Journalist*, you can refer to the two Anti-Secession Laws passed in your own country in 1986, don't they have similar content to that of the Anti-Secession Law in China? *There is an old saying in China going like this: one chi <a measure of length in China> of cloth can be shared to clothe people, one dou <a measure of grain in ancient China> of grain can be shared to feed people, why the brothers of the same parents cannot coexist peacefully in the world? Taiwan compatriots are our brothers and sisters, we hope that all the Taiwan compatriots can understand the purpose of our legislation...* as for what you mentioned about the military strength of China, I would like to elaborate on this. ... *So far in history, China has never sent troops to occupy any inch of territory of other countries. Taiwan issue is China's domestic affair. We do not hope to see, and by no means allow, any interference by another country into the domestic matter, and we are not afraid of any either.*]

The Premier's footing in this extract shifts constantly through various signalling mechanisms such as the use of pronouns, semantic choice of terms of address, embedding (see the italicised part). At the beginning of his response to this sensitive question, Premier Wen chose a closer alignment with the journalist by addressing him directly, as seen in his use of professional title and pronoun 记者先生 *jizhe xiansheng* (Mr. journalist) and 你 *ni* (you); the Premier then elaborated on the purpose of China's Anti-Secession Law by embedding a Chinese idiom, realigning himself thus with traditional Chinese values and the people of China. He then went on to address the people of Taiwan directly by the use of 台湾同胞 *Taiwan tongbao* (Taiwan compatriots) while posing as representative of all the Chinese people through his choice of pronoun 我们 *women* (we); this is followed by a shift of footing back to the particular journalist through the use of 你 *ni* (you) in order to respond to the second-leg of the question on military power. The Premier ends by reaffirming China's position, addressing his remarks to the largest possible audience, including both present and absent, ratified and unratified hearers. Such constant shifts in footing using multiple signalling mechanisms are frequent in complex instances of social interaction. As Goffman put it, the ability to effect shifts in footing can be regarded as "the capacity of a dexterous speaker to jump back and forth, keeping different circles in play" (1981a: 156).

2.3.2 Footing shifts in different types of discourse

Goffman's concept of footing has been widely debated. It remains one of the most influential legacies of Goffman's interactional sociology and has informed research

in various fields of study beyond sociology, particularly sociolinguistics and media studies (e.g. Levinson 1988, Tannen and Wallat 1999, Clayman 1992, Straniero Sergio 1999, Lauerbach 2007).

Work informed by Goffman's notion of footing has included discourse studies in different settings, ranging from sermons (Smith 1993) to 'sportscasting play' where boys mimic a sports caster's voice and comment on each other's performance while playing ping-pong (Hoyle 1993), and from lectures delivered in American Sign Language (Locker McKee 1992) to media and medical interviews (Clayman 1992, Wadensjö 2001). Of particular relevance to the present study is work done on footing in the field of media studies. For example, Clayman (1992) demonstrates how footing can be applied to the study of highly interactive encounters such as news interviews, paying particular attention to the relation between shifts in footing and journalistic neutrality. Clayman contends that the concept of footing requires much refinement. Goffman largely focused on the diverse footings of speakers in monological forms of talk, such as formal lectures and radio announcements, but paid little attention to how footing shifts in much more interactive settings such as news interviews. In order to investigate how footing is "achieved, sustained and altered" over the interactional course of an encounter (ibid.: 167), Clayman focuses on exploring how journalists alter their footing during the questioning process to signal their neutrality and how interviewees cope with such shifts of footing in their response. By means of different types of shifts in footing, journalists are able to "give voice to controversial points of view" without openly endorsing them (ibid.: 196). The study also suggests that interviewees assume the neutral position taken by journalists as a default and in effect collaborate with their shifts in footing. Together, journalists and interviewees thus reinforce journalistic practice as interactionally adversarial and officially neutral. Overall, Clayman's study offers an example of how Goffman's ground-breaking concept of footing can be substantiated in real life interactive encounters and extended in order to deal empirically with the analysis of conversation in context. In a related recent study, Lauerbach (2007) shows that footing in political shows can be established, re-established and changed moment-by-moment by or between either conversationalist, and that "through subtle changes of footing, and with support of the host", politicians are able to pursue their political agendas (ibid.: 1417).

2.3.3 Footing shifts in interpreter-mediated interaction

As explained in earlier sections, there are various means available for the establishment and realignment of interactants' footing in different types of discourse, but these have mainly been investigated within monolingual settings. Studies on interpreter-mediated encounters may provide us with an alternative perspective for looking at how footing functions in multi-party interaction. Though the notion of footing has recently attracted the attention of scholars interested in examining the dynamics of dialogue interpreting in particular (Metzger 1999; Wadensjö 1992, 1998, 2001), there is as yet no comprehensive account of typical means of introducing shifts in interpreters' footing (in relation to primary interlocutors) nor of the potential functions or impact of such shifts. The following discussion aims to explore these two issues in more detail.

Before moving on to discussing shifts in footing in interpreter-mediated interaction, it is necessary to examine the interpreter's typical footing vis-à-vis other interactants. Wadensjö (1992) identified two main activities in which interpreters are involved during dialogue interpreting, namely, translating/relaying talk and coordinating talk, and argued that face-to-face interaction is influenced by the form and content of interpreters' output (interpreter-generated utterances). According to Wadensjö (1992), interpreter-generated utterances can be generally categorised into 'renditions' (utterances that are translations of the primary interlocutors' message), 'lack of rendition' (omission in translating part of the primary interlocutors' talk) and 'non-renditions' (additional utterances generated by interpreters that do not originate from any of the primary interlocutors). Proceeding from Wadensjö's description of the interpreter's activities as relaying and coordinating talk and her three sub-categories of interpreter-generated utterances, Metzger (1999) investigated sign-language interpreting with special reference to 'non-renditions' in interpreter-generated utterances in both a mock medical interview (where a student interpreter is involved) and an actual medical interview (where a professional interpreter is employed). Her study shows that in relaying primary interlocutors' talk, interpreters assume the role of 'author' and 'principal' from time to time by producing three types of non-renditions in the case of the mock medical interview: (1) source attribution (e.g. by adding a third-person pronoun in the translation or pointing to the

primary interlocutor in sign language interpreting), (2) explanations (e.g. by inserting *the nurse came in* or *the doctor asked me a question just now* to explain the situation to the patient in medical interviews) and (3) repetitions (repeating utterances in relaying a message). Metzger also identified three slightly different types of non-renditions in the case of the actual medical interview: (1) source attribution, (2) repetition and (3) request for clarification (e.g. the interpreter may use *pardon* to indicate the need for clarification by the primary speaker). The difference in the results of mock and actual medical interviews in terms of ‘relaying activity’ can be partly explained by the fact that the former involves a student interpreter and the latter a professional interpreter. In the case of mock interviews the student interpreter’s footing, Metzger concluded, appears to be related to his goal of providing access to the interaction while minimizing his own participation in it (ibid.).

Metzger’s study also suggests that in terms of coordinating the interaction (Metzger refers to ‘interactional management’), the student interpreter in the mock medical interview produces three types of non-renditions: (1) introduction (the interpreter introduces himself to the primary speakers before the interpretation begins), (2) responses to questions (the interpreter responds directly to the prior talk of the primary speaker, c.f. example 11 below), and (3) interference (e.g. the interpreter inserts an utterance to direct the child patient’s mother to *look at* (the baby’s underarm thermometer) which is sliding down from the baby). The professional interpreter in the actual medical interview was found to produce three types of non-renditions: (1) responses to questions, (2) interference and (3) summonses (or attention-getting strategies such as indexing, touching or waving a hand in front of addressees in signed language interpreting). Interestingly, what Wadensjö (1992) had identified as the interpreter’s main activities (relaying and coordinating) are interpreted alternatively by Metzger (1999) as different types of interpreter footing (‘relaying’ and ‘interactional management’) towards the event he is mediating. These different types of interpreter footing are closely related to the different participant roles that interpreters may assume in interaction. As illustrated in section 2.2 above, interpreters assume the ‘animator’ role when relaying messages and the roles of ‘author’ or ‘principal’ while managing interaction. As the interpreter

shifts between different participant roles and different mediating activities (relaying and coordinating), his footing shifts accordingly.

In their study of medical interviews in an Italian hospital, Baraldi and Gavioli (2008) found that the interpreter tends to construct or be allocated a ‘we-identity’, taking a similar footing to that of either the institution (hospital in their case, where the interpreter is allocated in-group identity with the institution, see italicised part of example 7), or the guest culture (African community in their case, see italicised part of example 8), thus departing from their professional neutral footing as mediators (ibid.), i.e. from the ‘normative aspect of their role’. Examples 7 and 8 are based on extract 2 and 3 in Baraldi and Gavioli (2008: 198) respectively. The conversation in these two examples are conducted between an Italian doctor (D) and an African ethnic patient (P), mediated by an African ethnic interpreter (I). In example 8, the doctor seems to talk about the height of the patient.

Example 7

D: Allora, eh: ... la lettera gliela vuoi spiegare? Tanto sai già le cose!

[*so do you want to explain the letter to her? Anyway, you already know how things are!*]

I: Sì. [yes]. This is the letter for your baby, the discharge letter.

Example 8

D: Uno e sessantotto: dai.

[one metre sixty-eight: come on.]

I: (ride) eh eh (.) No:: nessuno guarda questo in Africa. Quanto è alta, quanto pesi,...

[(laughs) eh eh (.) No:: *nobody looks at this in Africa. How tall she is, your weight...*]

Another key issue in interpreter-mediated events is how interpreters and primary interlocutors shift their footing in order to construct the frame of the event. The following discussion attempts to highlight the different ways in which interpreters and primary interlocutors introduce shifts in footing, specifically how these shifts in footing are effected through various verbal and non-verbal means.

A large proportion of interpreters’ shifts in footing are achieved through linguistic devices since interpreters are involved in interaction mainly through their

linguistic output. Shifts in pronoun use are among the most frequently used devices (Metzger 1999, Gavioli and Maxwell 2007). For example, in a study of interpreter-mediated business talk, Gavioli and Maxwell (2007: 150) noted that “third person reference indicators and ... conjugating verbs in the third person” may signal a particular footing taken by the interpreter (for instance assuming an animator’s role) as illustrated by the italicised part of I2 in example 9 below. This is based on extract 3 in Gavioli and Maxwell (2007: 150-151). The conversation is between an English shoe designer (D) and an Italian shoe manufacturer (M), mediated by an English interpreter (I).

Example 9

D: I can do it. If we... I yeah I don’t want to make a mistake on it...

I1: *ah:* (0.6)

ye [ah

I2: *lui dice che sa farlo ma mon vuole sba(h) gl (h) ia (h) re huh huh huh...*

[*he says that he knows how but he doesn’t want to make a mistake huh huh huh...*]

Similarly, in Metzger’s (1999) investigation of sign language interpreting, ASL (American Sign Language) interpreters are found to make regular use of a ‘pointing’ gesture, which is comparable in function to the third person pronoun, to indicate the source of the utterance; see italicised part of example 10 (Metzger 1999: 101).

Example 10

Doctor: And how are you feeling this morning?

Interpreter: (signing) *point right*, HOW FEEL ALL RIGHT MORNING?

[*She said*, “How are you feeling? Are you all right this morning?”]

This use of third person pronouns to signal a change in alignment at any moment in relation to the primary interlocutors is at odds with normative expectations and professional recommendations. According to Harris (1990, also noted in Gavioli and Maxwell (2007: 152), interpreters are expected to use first person pronouns for the speaker as a default, and only use third person pronouns (s/he or they) in contexts where confusion might arise in relation to the source of utterance.

Shifts in interpreter footing can also be signalled by the interpreter abandoning the animator's role and responding directly to one of the principal participants, as illustrated by the italicised and bolded part in example 11. This example is cited from part of extract 10 in Gavioli and Maxwell (2007: 159). The setting is a business exhibition held in Germany. The interaction is conducted between a Dutch exhibitor (E) and an Italian stand visitor (V), and mediated by an Italian interpreter (I).

Example 11

V1: siamo della (company name) hem. sei l'interprete per caso?

[we are from (company name) ehm are you the interpreter by chance?]

I2: *Sì parlate pure con me.*

[yes talk with me]

V3: proprio fortuna. non parliamo una parola di tedesco.

[what luck we don't speak a word of German]

I4: *comunque loro sono olandesi. con me parlano inglese.*

[anyway they're Dutch with me they speak English]

V5: inglese qualcosa. poco però.

[English a little not much though]

I6: *ah, non vi preoccupate.*

[ah don't worry]

E7: **You might want to translate.**

I8: **nothing important.**

This is a clear example of an interpreter mediating an interactional event by assuming the role of principal participant. It suggests that at that moment of the event, the interpreter aligns himself with the visitor, with whom he is "less closely affiliated", as reported by Gavioli and Maxwell (2007: 159) below:

In our business data we observe that the interpreters respond directly to talk produced by the principal participants to whom they are less closely affiliated more frequently than to talk produced by the principal participants to whom they are more closely affiliated. At this stage we are not able to fully account for this behaviour.

Body movements and the physical position of the interpreter can also signal shifts in footing, without necessarily being accompanied by specific verbal behaviour. For example, an interpreter may physically move slightly away from a primary interlocutor to signal that he or she (the interpreter) is taking a different footing from the interlocutor (subtly stressing his or her role as animator rather than a potential co-principal) and a different line towards what is being said by the primary interlocutor. Based on the analysis of two interpreter-mediated therapeutic encounters, Wadensjö (2001) suggested that the physical location of interpreters and their non-verbal behaviour can sometimes make a difference to the communicative effectiveness of a therapeutic encounter. She observes that the closer the interpreter is physically positioned towards the centre of the 'communicative radius', and the more he or she shares gaze with the patient, the more positive the impact on the interactional encounter. This observation may be interpreted from the perspective of footing and line. Being positioned more closely to the communicative radius, or even more closely to the patient, and maintaining eye contact with him or her, may signal a particular alignment on the part of the interpreter (e.g. empathy with the patient, solidarity and interest in their well being), which in turn could help ensure that the patient is more cooperative in the interaction and secure a more positive result of the treatment.

There is also the question of how the primary interlocutors indicate shifts in footing towards other participants, including the interpreter, and how this may affect the participant framework. The signalling mechanisms reviewed in the previous sections (2.3.1 and 2.3.2) are also relevant here. However, body movements and paralinguistic means are particularly amenable to use by the primary participants in order to realign themselves with the interpreter. For example, the primary interlocutors may physically lean towards the interpreter and/or talk in a low pitch, thus signalling affiliation with the interpreter or that they wish to treat the interpreter as an in-group participant. This practice can be occasionally found in government press conferences in the Chinese context, for example, where interpreters often sit next to the government officials at the front of the stage and are mostly government employees themselves. Primary interlocutors may also indicate a shift in footing towards their counterparts (the other primary interlocutors) through paralinguistic means such as gaze, as reported in interpreted business talk by Gavioli and Maxwell

(2007), to signal a certain distance between the speaker and the utterance at that moment in time or between the speaker and the other primary participants.

In summary, every individual involved in social interaction adopts a particular footing at any moment in time in order to frame the interactional event. Footing and shifts in footing can be signalled by a wide range of mechanisms, including both linguistic and non-linguistic contextualization cues, embedding and interactional arrangements as discussed above. In terms of interpreter-mediated interaction, shifts in footing are effected using the full range of devices available in monolingual encounters, by both primary interlocutors as well as interpreters, including non-linguistic signalling mechanisms and interactional arrangements (such as physical proximity, body movement and direct response), reported to be characteristic devices for indicating shifts in footing between principal participants and interpreters.

Shifts in footing reflect the participants' reframing of the social communicative events. Insofar as changes in footing are frequent in real-life interactional encounters, analysing these shifts should provide us with a clearer understanding of the dynamic nature of contextualisation and the way participants manage their agendas in face-to-face interaction (Tannen and Wallat 1999).

2.4 Face and Face-work

Another important concept in Goffman's model is that of 'face', which he defines as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for him <or herself> by the line others assume he <or she> has taken during a particular contact" (1972: 5). Goffman draws on the Chinese understanding of face,²⁹ which is closely related to the theatrical sense of the term. Smith (1894) argued, more than a century ago, that Chinese culture has a deeply rooted passion for theatre; according to him, the importance of theatrical entertainment for the Chinese is analogous to that of sports for Britons and bullfights for the Spaniards. This explains why so many aspects of Chinese life are described using the theatrical metaphor. For example, Chinese

²⁹ Substantial research has been undertaken on the subject of face and politeness (e.g. Lakoff 1973, Brown and Levinson 1987, Leech 1983) and many studies have addressed culture-specific issues (Ho 1976, Blum-Kulka 1987, Ide 1989, Gu 1990, Pan 1995). For the purpose of this chapter, the discussion of face and politeness is based on Goffman's framework, and hence the Chinese conceptualisation of face is highlighted.

people use the expression ‘上台 shangtai’ (get onto the stage) or ‘下台 xiatai’ (get off the stage) to refer to officials ‘taking office’ or ‘leaving office’. This passion for theatre has a strong bearing on the Chinese conceptualisation of face. For example, if people manage to ‘perform well’ at some point in their lives, i.e. in a way that society regards as appropriate or successful, they are said to ‘have face’ (similar to having a good reputation or name); by contrast, if they fail to perform well, they may be held to ‘lose face’ (similar to losing one’s reputation or name). The concept of face is so embedded and valued in Chinese society that Smith even concluded that “face will be in itself key to the combination lock of many of the most important characteristics of the Chinese” (1894: 17). Face-giving remains a complex notion in the Chinese context. For example, when someone receives a dinner invitation, the very fact of attending will be considered as giving the host face.

Goffman argues that to ‘give face’ is to arrange for someone to “take a better line than he might otherwise have been able to take” (1972: 9). In this sense, instead of being something that one claims for oneself (as in Brown and Levinson 1987), face may be likened to a loan from other members of one’s culture. For Goffman, therefore, as in the Chinese context, face appears to be something that one can only claim with effort; it is a loan given by other members of society, only after the recipient has demonstrated that he or she possesses the relevant attributes.

Just as everyone wants to have, maintain and save face in social encounters, they are also expected to consider the face of other co-participants. According to Goffman, society regards the act of showing no feelings towards the loss of face or humiliation of others as ‘heartless’ (1972: 11). There is thus a tendency in social communication for participants to act in accordance with the combined rules of self respect and consideration to others. Moreover, the more power the other party has, or the more prestigious s/he is, the more consideration will be given to his/her feelings. This is particularly true in institutional settings such as government press conferences, where the question takers often come from government agencies, which seemingly grants them more interactional power. In this context, journalists are conventionally expected to design their questions carefully, thus fulfilling duties (a necessary goal for maintaining their own face) without threatening the face of their

special group of interviewees.³⁰ In the context of Chinese government press conferences, for example, the questions addressed to the Premier appear to be very carefully designed and more tactfully formulated than those used in other press conferences where the interviewees are less senior in rank.

In example 12 below, a journalist from Taiwan ERA News poses a sensitive question about the anti-secession law that has just been adopted by China's National People's Congress (NPC) to Premier WEN Jiabao at a press conference held on March 14, 2005. In this exchange, the journalist seeks to ascertain whether this new piece of legislation will affect the citizens of Taiwan living in mainland China. Instead of raising this question directly, the journalist starts with a tentative formulation 不晓得这个新的法律对于这些广大台商的权益是不是会造成任何影响 (*I am wondering whether this new law will affect the interests of the Taiwan businessmen in mainland China*) and then moves on to suggest a possible positive effect the law might bring about 或者相反，而是对他们的权益有进一步保障 (*or rather it will better protect their interests*). By doing this, the journalist leaves all options open to his role other (the Premier) whose face is thus considered, and the face of self is potentially protected as well.

Example 12

Taiwan ERA News JNL: 在刚刚结束的人大会议上，我知道以非常高的票数通过了反分裂国家法。。。。。。我们知道在大陆各个城市有很多很多的台商在这里做生意，甚至是安身立命，不晓得这个新的法律对于这些广大台商的权益是不是会造成任何影响；或者相反，而是对他们的权益有进一步保障。

[In the recently closed NPC session, I know the Anti-secession Law was passed with an overwhelming majority of votes... We know there are many people from Taiwan who are doing business in mainland cities and some have even settled down for life here. *I am wondering whether this new law will affect the interests of the Taiwan businessmen in mainland China, or rather it will better protect their interests.*]

The combined consideration of face in relation to self and others in social interaction can be regarded as a ritual. In order for this ritual to be performed, participants have to be able to take their respective lines freely. The mutual

³⁰ Note however that several studies have shown that modern journalism is becoming increasingly adversarial, particularly in political interviews and government press conferences (e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002, Sun 2010).

acceptance of line between interactants, according to Goffman, is a fundamental feature of social encounters, particularly in face-to-face interaction (1972: 11).

Face can be threatened when the line taken by participants in social interaction is challenged by their co-interactants. There are two different perspectives to look at face-threat in social interaction. Three types of face-threat may occur during an interaction: (1) a participant's face can be threatened by him/herself as a result of inappropriate behaviour in certain circumstances (such as laughing in a memorial service); (2) a participant's face can be threatened by others (e.g. when s/he is ordered to do something); (3) a participant may also threaten the face of other participants (e.g. by giving other co-interactants an order). Each of these three types of face threat may be: (1) unintended, but still recognised as a threat or gaffe; (2) intended and recognised as an open insult; (3) unplanned, but in such a manner that it can be anticipated as a by-product of the initiator's first move. The interaction between journalists and official interviewees in Chinese government press conferences contains examples of these patterns. The questions asked by journalists may threaten the face of the official interviewees if they are perceived to represent a challenge to the line chosen by the latter, as in example 13 below. This is an extract from the press conference given by the Executive Vice Minister of Health (Mr. GAO Qiang) on 20 April 2003 related to the SARS epidemic. Here, an ABC journalist poses a series of questions to Mr. Gao after the latter has explained that the number of SARS victims has been miscalculated. The journalist challenges the line expressed by the minister in his previous explanation for the inaccurate number of SARS victims, by questioning whether the figure has been miscalculated by mistake or deliberately withheld from the general public and the WHO inspection team.

Example 13

ABC JNL: On the information of SARS cases, was the information deliberately withheld, particularly was it deliberately withheld from the WHO team that is here in town? There have been reports that some SARS victims were hidden in ambulances or hotel rooms when the WHO team was inspecting, do you believe those reports are accurate? Or is there some investigation that could determine whether information is intentionally withheld from the public?

GAO Qiang: 我认为对疫情数字统计不准和有意隐瞒有本质的不同。我们既要求各地能够如实的、准确的、及时的把实际发生的疫情统计上来、报告上去、如实向社会公布。。。。。。到目前为止，我还没有发现哪个地方是有意隐瞒。

[I believe there is a difference in nature between miscalculation and the deliberate withholding of information. We demand accurate and timely reports on SARS cases from all localities and we will also disclose the information honestly...So far, we haven't found out a single case of deliberate withholding of information.]

In many episodes of social interactions like the above, the face of an individual will be threatened when the line that they take is not accepted by others — example 13 is a somewhat extreme case in point. However, there are ritualised ways for people to counteract or negotiate incidents of threat to their face. ‘Face-work’ is the term used by Goffman to designate all means or actions taken by a speaker in social encounters in order to counteract face-threatening incidents and “make whatever he is doing consistent with face” (1972: 12). Face-work practices are often as standardised as the traditional steps of a dance or the conventional procedures of a wedding. For example, the most commonly implemented face-work strategy when arriving late for an appointment is to give an explanation of the reason for the delay. Members of any social circle are expected to have some knowledge of the basics of face-work, defined by Goffman as “tact, savoir-faire, diplomacy or social skill” in social communication (ibid.: 13). ‘Poise’ is an important type of face-work, through which people are able to control their own embarrassment as well as the embarrassment that their loss of face might cause to other participants. Going back to example 13, the Executive Vice Minister of Health counteracts the face-threatening question tactfully. Specifically, he displays poise by differentiating between miscalculation and the deliberate withholding of information in the first place (see the italicised part in example 13 above).

There are generally two orientations in face-work, i.e. ‘defensive’ and ‘protective’. Those face-work practices that aim to save one’s own face are considered by Goffman as defensive, whereas those that seek to preserve the face of others are regarded as protective (ibid.: 14). The defensive orientation is clearly illustrated in example 14. This example consists of excerpts which are taken from Tony Blair’s Iraq interview on *Newsnight* on 6 February 2003. The interviewer, Jeremy Paxman, persistently questions the line taken by Tony Blair and the government with respect to the decision of going to war with Iraq. Correspondingly, Tony Blair defends his line and face in each turn-at-talk. The italicised fragments at the beginning of the former Prime Minister’s answers in turns (2), (4) and (6) are

examples of face-work, intended here to justify the government's decision to go to war. Earlier in the interview, Tony Blair had claimed that Iraq represents a threat to the region and that even Britain could be threatened if Iraq is allowed to develop chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

Example 14

- (1) **Jeremy Paxman:** But right now there is no danger, it's a danger some time in the future.
- (2) **Tony Blair:** *I've never said that Iraq was about to launch an attack on Britain but if you look at the history of Saddam Hussein there is absolutely no doubt at all that he poses a threat to his region.... And that is precisely why we have had 12 years of United Nations resolutions against him.*
- (3) **Jeremy Paxman:** Well, you said of those UN resolutions and the sanctions which followed them in the year 2000, you said that they had contained him. What's happened since?
- (4) **Tony Blair:** *I didn't actually, I said they'd contained him up to a point and the fact is ...*
- (5) **Jeremy Paxman:** I'm sorry Prime Minister. We believe that the sanctions regime has effectively contained Saddam Hussein in the last ten years; you said that in November 2000.
- (6) **Tony Blair:** *Well, I can assure you I've said every time I'm asked about his, they have contained him up to a point and the fact is the sanctions regime was beginning to crumble...*

As illustrated above, some types of face-work are primarily defensive. Others are primarily protective, i.e. they are used to show respect or politeness to a participant's role others. For example, if someone knows that they will have to leave a party before it ends, he may tell the host in advance, so that the host does not feel that his or hers face is being threatened. In most cases, the two orientations of face-work are carried out simultaneously, which is consistent with the interactional rule of combined consideration of face claimed by oneself and one's role others.

Apart from these two orientations, Goffman also noted that face-work generally involves two processes: 'avoidance' and 'correction' (1972: 18-19). Avoidance refers to those practices that prevent face-threats from occurring, such as changing the topic in conversations to get around a potential threat to the face of an interactant. The corrective process, as the name itself suggests, refers to those actions carried out by participants when avoidance practices fail and the face of one party has been

threatened. Goffman also refers to this process as ‘interchange’. A complete corrective process or interchange involves four basic moves: challenge (calling attention to the misconduct), offer (giving the offender a chance to correct), acceptance (of correction), and thanks (for forgiveness) (ibid.: 20). The phases of the corrective process provide us with a model for ritual interactional behaviour. In real life situations, however, interactants may deviate from the model in a number of ways. For example, the offender might not heed the warning and instead continue behaving offensively; in this case, the corrective cycle will most probably go back to the challenge again. This is quite a common scenario between adults and children, when the latter ignore their parents’ warning, continue behaving badly and are eventually punished by their parents. Further, the nature of certain encounters may not allow a full corrective process to be completed. Going back to example 14 above, Paxman acknowledges and simultaneously intensifies his offensive questioning to Tony Blair by saying *I’m sorry Prime Minister*, and goes on challenging Blair’s line as shown in turn (5). The corrective cycle in such cases is unlikely to be completed.

On the whole, face-work is a dynamic process through which participants attempt to work towards the achievement of interactional equilibrium. For Goffman, face-saving is shorthand for “the traffic rules of social interactions” (1972: 12). In Chapter 5, I will be revisiting Goffman’s concepts of face and face-work, and comparing and supplementing them with some detailed categories derived from Brown and Levinson (1987) in order to explore how interpreters manage face and face-work in government press conferences in China, in particular in their mediation of confrontational sequences.

2.5 Assessment of Goffman’s Model

The influence of Goffman’s interactional theory has reached far beyond the field of social science. Due to space restrictions and given the scope of the present research, this section can only deliver a succinct outline of selected applications of Goffman’s theory within and outside sociology and present some key critical evaluations of Goffman’s approach to social interaction.

2.5.1 Applications in sociological studies and beyond

Goffman's work on interaction has helped generations of scholars to adopt a more sensitive viewpoint towards the study of social encounters. His influence is partly responsible for the increasing number of studies on the dramaturgical aspects of interactional behaviour in social settings (Brissett and Edgley 1990). Other researchers such as Cahill (1994) have taken Goffman's distinction between focused and unfocused interaction as a starting point for their sociological study of interactional behaviour in public places. Goffman's concepts of footing and participation are key constituents of his overall framework. Many of his followers find these notions extremely helpful as a basis for the discussion of related issues in their respective fields of study, particularly in linguistics and media studies (e.g. Levinson 1988, Clayman 1992, Straniero Sergio 1999, Lauerbach 2007). Clayman's study (1992) is an excellent example of how Goffman's ground-breaking concepts can be substantiated in real life interactional encounters and applied in order to deal empirically with the analysis of conversation in context. Goffman's notion of face has been particularly instrumental in linguistics, specifically in the development of linguistic accounts of politeness (Lakoff 1973, Brown and Levinson 1987, Leech 1983).

As reviewed earlier in the chapter, an increasing number of studies into dialogue interpreting have also been significantly informed by Goffman's sociology of face-to-face interaction, in particular notions of participation framework, footing and face, which have been applied in empirical research to deal with various aspects of interpreting in community settings (Mason and Stewart 2001) and their participant roles (Wadensjö 1998).

Frame analysis,³¹ which I cannot explore in detail here due to length restrictions, is worth mentioning as part of Goffman's legacy. The notion of frame is one of the central tenets of Goffman's interactional sociology. Frame analysis has been widely applied by sociologists and scholars in related fields. It has considerably influenced

³¹ Frame analysis is a multi-disciplinary research method used in the domain of social science, proposed by Goffman in his book *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience* in 1974 to analyse how people understand situations and activities. This concept has been applied in social movement theory, political studies and elsewhere (e.g. Snow and Benford 1988, Butler 2009, Fairhurst and Sarr 1996).

social movement theory (Benford and Snow 2000) and media discourse studies, e.g. Scheufele (1999), Reese (2001) and Tankard (2001). Since it was first proposed, the notion of frame has covered such a wide range of disparate approaches that the original concept of frame is sometimes said to have become diluted (e.g. D'Angelo 2002, Maher 2001), a critique which nevertheless attests to its wide adoption and influence.

2.5.2 Critical evaluation

Whilst Goffman's interactional sociology has had a considerable influence on the wider field of social studies, specialists have often found it difficult to use Goffman's framework systematically in some types of research. In the remainder of this section, I will focus on what the literature regards as inherent inadequacies of Goffman's approach to the study of social life.

A common criticism of Goffman's theoretical framework relates to his failure to connect his own theory with those of other scholars sharing similar interests. As noted in Psathas and Waksler (1973) and Psathas (1980), Goffman failed to acknowledge Schütz's³² approach to the study of the essential structures of face-to-face interaction at all in his own writings on interaction, and his understanding of some key concepts departed from the way in which other scholars such as Schütz had used them. In this light, it has been argued that Goffman's originality must be celebrated, but his disconnection with other developments in philosophy and the social sciences must also be lamented (Psathas 1996).

Another major criticism of Goffman's work is his failure to put in place a systematic methodology that allows followers to trace his footsteps. It is widely held that Goffman's work is interesting to read but difficult to follow and apply. Many specialists have frequently used the term 'enigma' to describe, or rather to assess, Goffman's inventive framework of social interaction (e.g. Lemert 2003, Smith 2006). For critics like Smith (2006), Goffman was "too empirical in his preoccupations to be considered a theorist", and "too theoretical to be regarded as simply an ethnographer" (ibid.: 110). This statement lends further support to the perception

³² Alfred Schütz is an Austrian-American sociologist and philosopher who is also famous for his research on social interaction. It is often argued that Goffman's model of social interaction partly overlaps with elements of Schütz's framework, though each has its own limitations (Mote 2001).

that Goffman's writings often fail to present his data collection criteria and data interrogation principles in sufficiently transparent terms. For example, Gamson (1975), while appreciating Goffman's original insights into social interaction, explicitly discusses the difficulties he comes across when teaching Goffman's scholarly practices to students. From a different perspective, Schegloff (1988) contends that Goffman has skilfully presented his theory in a concisely empirical way but left all the missing details for his readers to fill in on the basis of their own background knowledge. More generally, there is a widely held consensus that Goffman has provided us with a conceptual framework to admire, rather than a systematically applicable method to follow. This criticism is acknowledged in my decision to supplement Goffman's model of face-work with some elements from Brown and Levinson to allow for a more systematic textual analysis of the data to be conducted.

An even more serious criticism of Goffman's approach is that it fails to provide a genuinely systematic theory to account for the various interactional phenomena in social life. This criticism is raised from two different perspectives. From the social science perspective, many specialists find it difficult to map Goffman's framework on to a set of clearly articulated principles which can be regarded as the foundation of a sound theory (Smith 2006). Goffman's approach seems to be more descriptive in nature, and some critics fault him for not providing a detailed discussion of his data. For instance, Colomy and Brown (1996), in developing a theory of citizenship based on Goffman's interaction order, criticised Goffman's approach for being too descriptive to adequately account for social problems. From a similar standpoint, after acknowledging Goffman's enormous contributions, Meltzer et al (1975: 70-71, quoted in Smith 2006: 111) offered an incisive evaluative summary of Goffman's work:

We find in this work no explicit theory, but a plausible and loosely organized frame of reference; little interest in explanatory schemes, but masterful descriptive analysis; virtually no accumulated evidence, but illuminating allusions, impressions, anecdotes, and illustrations; few formulations of empirically testable propositions, but innumerable provocative insights. In addition, we find an insufficiency of qualifications and reservations, so that the limits of generalization are not indicated.

From a philosophical point of view, Goffman's writings do not seem to have provided much by way of new explanations to social communication phenomena. Quite a number of scholars find it disappointing that what Goffman's conceptual framework tells us are mostly the things we already know about social life, e.g. the importance of face and politeness, as well as the existence of different roles of participation in interaction. Psathas (1996), one such critic, notes that Goffman's work does not seek to test hypotheses, nor to propose theoretical variables that might account for what he claims to have observed. At the very front of this critical evaluation is Cioffi (2000), who pointedly argues that Goffman's work has not yielded any original findings; instead, he has left us with a very sophisticated terminological apparatus catering for the description of very simple social phenomena. Probably, to many scholars such as Smith (2006: 128), Goffman's way of approaching sociology "has proved just too tough for almost anyone" but Goffman himself.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to provide an overview of Goffman's main theoretical contributions and explore the potential relevance of a specific set of concepts to the study of social encounters, including interpreter-mediated press conferences. It specifically focused on Goffman's key theoretical constructs of participation framework, footing, line, role analysis, face and face-work and summarised the critical reception of his model. The data analysis offered in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 will involve applying the set of analytical concepts reviewed in this chapter to explain certain facets of the interpreter's mediation in government press conferences, a special genre of interpreter-mediated interaction that is yet to be systematically explored in the literature.

CHAPTER 3

GOVERNMENT PRESS CONFERENCES IN CHINA: DATA, METHODOLOGY AND PARTICIPATION FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology and data of the study. Section 3.2 offers an overview of the background, development and current functioning of the Chinese government press conference system. Drawing on the background information introduced in section 3.2, section 3.3 further discusses the rationale and criteria for data selection. Section 3.4 provides a detailed description of the data, which consists of six SARS-related press conferences held in the early half of 2003, and provides examples of question-answer sequences that demonstrate the growing interactional tension at each conference as the outbreak progresses. Finally, section 3.5 explores the nature of the participation framework that characterises interpreter-mediated Chinese government press conferences and the kind of speaker and social roles assumed by individual interactants, in particular the interpreters, in this fairly rigid institutional setting.

3.2 Background, Organisation and Management of Chinese Government Press Conferences

As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, the government press conference system in China developed and took its current shape against the backdrop of a proactive public diplomacy campaign that China has been increasingly involved in over the past decades. d'Hooghe (2008: 43-44) explains that the goals of China's public diplomacy campaign at this historical juncture are fourfold: first, China wants to be regarded as a country striving to achieve a harmonious society and providing its people with a better quality of life; second, it wants to be seen as a reliable and dynamic country whose economic rise will benefit the rest of the world, rather than posing a threat to it; third, it wants to be seen as a responsible player in world political affairs, a player working as a force for peace; and finally, China wants to be regarded and respected as a country with an ancient but still vibrant cultural tradition. These foreign-audience-targeted objectives are echoed in the remarks made by Mr.

ZHAO Qizheng, spokesman for the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and the former head of China's State Council Information Office (SCIO), when trying to distinguish between China's propaganda policy and policies adopted by other governments which take "very aggressive and hegemonic postures to disseminate their ideologies throughout the world and even to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries"; by contrast, he argues, what China is doing is just trying to "explain to the world its cultural traditions, social development, and internal and external policies, and to answer foreigners' questions about the country" (Ma and Li 2011). China has now developed a number of strategies and policies to carry out its publicity campaign, including the establishment of Confucius Institutes overseas, the introduction of English versions of media programmes (e.g. CCTV-9),³³ sponsoring various publication initiatives and hosting events such as the Beijing Olympic Games and Shanghai Expo (d'Hooghe 2007). Of all the various strategies pursued, media work and the formal mechanism of the press liaison system, i.e. government press conferences, is now considered one of the most effective tools at the disposal of the Chinese government.

The earliest Chinese government press conference can be traced back to the mid-20th century. However, it is only since 1982 that the government press briefing system as we know it today began to take shape.³⁴ The initial plan of the government press liaison system was three-tiered, as it is today. However, at the early stages, positions such as 'government spokesman' or 'Public Information Officer' (PIO)³⁵ did not exist, and Chinese officials were not used to being directly questioned by journalists face-to-face. As a result, few government officials were willing to attend press conferences at the time, and the goal of establishing a comprehensive government press release system was very hard to achieve in the absence of an adequate government spokesperson mechanism. The first recorded

³³ CCTV-9 is the English language channel of China's Central Television and can be accessed through satellite signals overseas.

³⁴ In early 1982, the Public Information Office of the Central Committee of Communist Party of China, the predecessor of China's State Council Information Office, drafted a *Proposal on Setting-up and Institutionalising Public Information Officers*, which was later legalised as *Opinion on Implementing Government Public Information Officer System and Improving Public Relation with Foreign Media*, in February 1983. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs organised the first press conference of this kind on 1 March 1982 (Zhao 2006: 35).

³⁵ These positions are discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

ministerial-level press conference was held on 1 March 1983 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which officially launched the government press conference system. Later that year, several official press conferences were held, with two senior officials appointed as spokesmen after the annual “Two Sessions” (Shi 2004: 226). Even though a spokesman mechanism had been set up in most ministries and commissions at the central level of government by 1995 (ibid. 228), regular press conferences were still not held at that time, and many journalists had to turn to the leaked information in the absence of authoritative sources of information (ibid.: 233).

Since the incumbent government took office in early 2003, stepping up the development of the Chinese government press release system has come to be seen as an integral part of the government’s institutional reform, which is aimed at developing an image of Chinese government as more open, honest and efficient. The SARS outbreak in early 2003 was the first challenge that the new government had to face, one which made both the government and Chinese people realise the extreme importance of efficient government news release and information sharing systems (Shi 2004: 1, Jiao 2006: 152). Against this background, the SARS epidemic in 2003 is widely recognised as a catalytic event for the development of the Chinese government press conference system (e.g. Wang 2006: 50, Guo 2006: 67, Shi 2006: 227), and as having driven the government to reform its media system to make it more transparent and responsive, especially in times of crises (Womack 2006, Saich 2003, d’Hooghe 2007, Brady 2006, Information Bureau of SCIO 2007).

Based on lessons and experiences at home and abroad, China issued a National Plan for Emergency Response in January 2006, which stipulates, among other things, that information should be disclosed to the public as early as possible following an emergency, and that news briefings should consequently be conducted in a timely manner to confirm casualties and give details of government response measures and public prevention strategies (Information Bureau of SCIO 2007: 58). The government public information release system in China developed rapidly from that point onwards, and by the end of 2006, the position of ‘government news spokesman’ had been established in 74 ministries and central government agencies, and in all of the 31 provincial authorities (ibid.: 3). In response to the deadly earthquake which hit Sichuan Province in May 2008, immediate and effective response on the part of

the Chinese government was demonstrated through its specially arranged, daily news briefing mechanism.

The current system of Chinese government press conferences is basically three-tiered: press conferences are held by the State Council Information Office (SCIO, the chief information office of Chinese government), by the information offices of individual Ministries and Commissions at central level, and by the information offices of local government (Information Bureau of SCIO 2007: 1). In the current three-tier system, the press conferences organised by the State Council Information Office are considered the highest-level of their kind (Shi 2004: 226), and as d'Hooghe (2005: 98) explains, “in developing and deciding upon China’s public diplomacy activities, a major role is reserved for <SCIO>”. These press conferences are more frequently held and reach the widest audience through various means of media broadcast. They are often attended by senior Chinese officials, and even officials at ministerial level in the case of particularly important events. Because of their supreme position in the government press conference system in China and the availability of data,³⁶ this study will focus on press conferences organised by SCIO.

There are normally five types of SCIO-held press conferences (Guo 2006: 59-60): (1) regular conferences planned at the beginning of each year, in order to report the work of different central departments and commissions; (2) occasional conferences that are held in order to publicise and explain major and newly issued government policies; (3) post-major event press conferences such as the launch of a new satellite; (4) press conferences held in response to specific contingencies; and (5) press conferences held to respond to rumours and slander. A typical SCIO-sponsored press conference starts with a brief introduction by a chairperson, usually the Chief or Deputy Chief of the Information Division of SCIO, but depending on the importance of the topic and the (high) profile of invited speakers, the Director General or Deputy Director General of SCIO may chair the press conference. The floor is then given to invited government officials who deliver a short prepared briefing on the topic under discussion. This is normally followed by one hour or so of a question-answer session in which invited speakers and accredited journalists

³⁶ SCIO data is available on the SCIO-sponsored website *China Net* in the form of video clips and transcripts of exchanges in Chinese (including original utterances in Chinese and those interpreted into Chinese), but not exchanges conducted in other languages.

interact. These press conferences are often broadcast live via TV, radio and/or the internet.³⁷

Announcements of government press conferences can be found on the notice board of the official website of SCIO and its subsidiary government portal, 中国网 (*China Net*).³⁸ They are also sent to accredited journalists by e-mail. In the case of press conferences announced at short notice (e.g. those that are decided upon in the morning and held in the afternoon), points of contact of major registered news agencies are informed by phone (Information Bureau of SCIO 2007: 31).

These press conferences are open to all registered media agencies both at home and abroad, although some press briefings may cater more to foreign media and some cater to domestic media, according to the nature of the event (as some topics are of more interest to foreign journalists than others) (Guo 2006: 75). Journalists need to show a Press Card issued by SCIO in advance in order to enter the press conference hall. There are three groups of journalists who are able to obtain a Press Card: Chinese and foreign journalists who are registered with China's General Administration of Press and Publication and China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, respectively, and Chinese support employees working for foreign news agencies. Only the first two categories of registered journalists are entitled to ask questions during the press conferences.

Journalists are encouraged to send their questions to SCIO beforehand in order to enhance efficiency and allow invited speakers to provide adequate answers during the press conference.³⁹ However, this is not compulsory, and journalists are free to raise undeclared questions on the spot. Since each journalist is normally allowed to raise questions only once during the press conference, many journalists tend to seize the opportunity to ask multiple questions in their allocated time slot.

The official languages used in the press conferences under study are Chinese and English. Simultaneous interpreting (from Chinese into English) is usually

³⁷ SCIO-held press conferences are often broadcast live by CCTV (China Central TV) International and English Channels, Phoenix TV (Hong Kong), China Radio International (broadcast in English) as well as *China Net* and *Xinhua Net* (Wang 2006: 51).

³⁸ <http://www.scio.gov.cn/> and <http://www.china.com.cn/>, last accessed on 17 March 2009.

³⁹ Relevant information can be found on the press conference online notice board. http://www.china.org.cn/government/briefings/node_1197379.htm, last accessed 19 March 2009.

provided for the introduction and briefing parts of the conference⁴⁰ and consecutive interpreting (between Chinese and English) for the question-answer sessions. Based on the availability of data, this study will focus largely on the consecutively interpreted parts of the press conferences selected for analysis. Interpreting is normally provided by professional interpreters from the translation office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (whose interpreting service is generally regarded as the most professional in China) or other corresponding Ministries. Interpreters render all English questions into Chinese and all Chinese briefings, questions and answers into English for the benefit of monolingual foreign journalists and foreign audiences at large. But participants cannot necessarily always be categorised into strictly monolingual Chinese- and English-speakers. A small section of the audience present at the conference can access both languages; some non-English-native foreign journalists ask questions in English; and some foreign journalists who have a good command of Chinese choose to ask questions in Chinese.

3.3 Milestone Event: SARS Outbreak

This study focuses on interpreters' mediation of press conferences, particularly in times of crisis. Given the number of people affected and the political sensitivity which surrounded it – even involving the dismissal of senior government officials – as well as the significance it has had for the entire development of the Chinese government press conference system, as briefly mentioned above, the core data for analysis will be drawn from press conferences set up to respond to the SARS outbreak.

Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome, known as SARS, first broke out in Guangdong Province of China at the end of 2002 and, at the time, was only publicised in local media. Most Chinese people outside Guangdong Province, and the rest of the world, knew nothing about it. However, the epidemic quickly spread

⁴⁰ Based on the online archive of SCIO-held press conferences, it would seem that simultaneous interpreting was not used at the early stages. Only consecutive interpreting was provided throughout the conference, for the introduction and briefing sessions as well as question-answer sessions. It is only since 23 October 2003 SCIO press conference that simultaneous interpreting has been used for the introduction and briefing session for the benefit of TV audiences (as explained in the introductory remarks of chairpersons at SCIO press conferences held on 23 October 2003, 11 October 2003 and 1 December 2003), while consecutive interpreting continues to be used during the question-answer session.

to Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China and eventually affected many other parts of the world. According to figures released by the World Health Organisation,⁴¹ by 31 March 2003 there were 806 cumulative SARS cases and 34 fatalities in mainland China, and the disease had spread to 15 countries and regions, including Hong Kong and Taiwan. As the SARS situation worsened day by day, fear and anger grew among the general public and the international community, who felt they were not kept sufficiently informed of developments on this front. International media criticised the Chinese government for its slow response to the SARS outbreak and for covering-up information which indirectly led to its quick spread to other areas. For example, on 17 March 2003 the *Guardian*⁴² claimed that “Beijing may have more than five times as many SARS cases than it has admitted ... but ... Chinese officials had forbidden the release of details”. And the Hong Kong-based *South China Morning Post* (Editorial, 27 March 2003) also reported that “the mainland authorities’ reluctance to provide data on the disease has helped it to spread both nationally and beyond China’s borders”. It was against this critical backdrop that the first government press conference on SARS (at the central government level) was held on 3 April 2003 by SCIO, with the then Health Minister (who was dismissed afterwards, most probably because of his inefficient handling of the SARS epidemic) in attendance. Five follow-up press conferences were held afterwards, with the last one on 25 June 2003, when the World Health Organization officially announced that China was no longer a SARS-epidemic area.

The influence of the SARS epidemic on China extended far beyond its economic impact, which was estimated at a 0.1-0.5 cut in GDP forecast in 2003 (Saywell et al. 2003). It was described as “China’s Chernobyl” (Saich 2003) and a “highly political, policy-related and sensitive matter” (Brady 2006: 69). It is believed that the SARS incident helped accelerate the process of political modernisation in China by demonstrating the exercise of punitive personnel management publicly, including removing officials from their positions when they failed to carry out their duties adequately in relation to crucial issues. During the SARS event, two high-ranking officials were removed from office because of

⁴¹ *Epidemic and Pandemic Alert and Response (EPR)*, WHO, http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/2003_03_31/en/index.html, last accessed on 11 March 2009.

⁴² *Guardian*, world news, 17 April 2003, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/apr/17/sars.unitednations>, last accessed on 11 March 2009.

negligence during the crisis (Chen 2006: 19-20). The events also alerted the government to the need to find effective means to bring about its promise of an open and transparent government committed to “putting the people first” (ibid.: 26) in real terms; one of the difficult lessons that the government has learned from this health crisis is the crucial importance of responsive and accurate information sharing with all parties concerned in emergency situations (Cheng n.d., Wang 2006: 50). It is also during, and presumably as a result of, the SARS crisis that China’s leadership has been noted to show “a pattern of response for public opinion” and an eagerness to interact meaningfully with foreign media (Womack 2006: 137). It is thus widely accepted that the SARS incident led to effective enhancement of the Chinese government press conference system and its overall media work (Wang 2006: 188).

3.4 Data Description and Method

The data selected for this study consists of the above-mentioned six SARS-related press conferences organised by China’s State Council Information Office (SCIO) in the first half of 2003 in Beijing. The six press conferences are numbered chronologically, in the order in which they were held, i.e. SARS 1 (3 April 2003), SARS 2 (10 April 2003), SARS 3 (20 April 2003), SARS 4 (15 May 2003), SARS 5 (30 May 2003) and SARS 6 (25 June 2003). The Chinese version of the official portal *China Net* has a relatively complete archive of transcripts and footage of SCIO-sponsored government press conferences, and the transcripts of all six SARS press conferences (SARS 1-6) can be downloaded from this website.⁴³ However, footage for only five of the six SARS press conferences is available on the internet, and these five press conferences (SARS 2-6), with both footage and transcripts, will thus constitute the core data of this study. The first press conference (SARS 1, the footage of which is not available to download) will still be included in the corpus

⁴³ *China Net* has 10 language versions, including Chinese and English (http://www.china.com.cn/zhibo/node_7030558.htm, and <http://www.china.org.cn/e-news/nextpage/n53.htm>, respectively, last accessed on 21 June 2011).

The Chinese version has a relatively complete archive of SCIO press conferences, with most footage and Chinese transcripts available. The English version archive mainly contains the English version of government official briefings or press releases, but the footage and complete English transcripts of questions and answers are not available there, with one exception. The English transcript of question-answer exchanges for the SARS 2 press conference (held on 10 April 2003) is available on the website. This study mainly relies on the Chinese version of the website.

and treated as secondary data given its significance in the discussion of the entire event.

The six press conferences under study are chaired by the same chairperson. Two-way consecutive interpreting (between Chinese and English) is provided throughout the press conferences, including both briefing and question sessions. Since only Chinese transcripts are available on the website, certain sequences that appear and are audible in the footage need to be transcribed in order to access exchanges conducted or interpreted into English but which are not included in the transcripts. Moreover, available transcripts in Chinese also need to be checked against the footage to ensure they are complete and are not ‘cleaned up’ or condensed.

The first SARS press conference (SARS 1) held on 3 April 2003 was attended by representatives of many press agencies. The then Health Minister ZHANG Wenkang, together with three other colleagues, was invited to address the delegates. The conference lasted one hour and thirty-five minutes. Fourteen questions were raised on the spot, two from Chinese news agencies and twelve from representatives of the foreign press (a list of speakers and representatives of news agencies who posed questions can be found in Table 3).

At this point, 1190 cumulative cases and 46 fatalities had been reported in mainland China, and 2270 cumulative cases and 79 fatalities across the world.⁴⁴ According to the online transcripts (since the footage of this press conference is not available), questions at this press conference largely focused on the government’s accountability for the slow response to SARS and for covering-up information. Some sequences appear to be fairly frictional, as in example 15.

Example 15 (Based on online Chinese transcript of SARS 1)

CTV JNL: 中国应该说是世界上唯一一个隐瞒非典型肺炎确切发病人数的政府，现在您又说，到中国来是安全的，您怎样让别人相信您把真实的情况都告诉大家了呢？

[The Chinese government seems to be the only government in the world that covers up the exact number of SARS cases. Just now you said it was safe <for

⁴⁴ Source: the briefing given by the Chinese official at the SCIO-held press conference (SARS 1) on 3 April 2003.

visitors> to come to China. How can you make people believe that you are telling the truth?]

ZHANG Wenkang: 我刚才说了，我们根据中国自己的国情，以及中国有关的法律，适时地向公众，向国际报告了我们的疫情。而且根据世界卫生组织的要求，从4月1号开始，每天要向他们报告疫情。这位先生似乎没有参加上半时的新闻发布会。对不起。

[I said earlier, we have been reporting on the SARS situation to the public and the international community based on China's reality and relevant laws of China. Also, in line with the WHO's requirement, we started daily reporting to the WHO from 1 April. This gentleman seems to have been absent from the early half of today's news briefing. I feel sorry for that.]

Date	03/04/2003
Length	1h35m
Chairperson	Deputy Director-General of SCIO: Mr. WANG Guoqing
Chinese Officials Present	1. Health Minister: Mr. ZHANG Wenkang 2. Vice Minister of Health: Mr. MA Xiaowei 3. Director of Disease Control Department of the Ministry of Health: Mr. QI Xiaoqiu 4. Director of Chinese Centre for Disease Control and Prevention: Mr. LI Liming
Representatives of Chinese News Agencies	C1: CCTV (China Central Television) C2: China Daily
Representatives of Foreign News Agencies	F1: UPI (United Press International, U.S. A.) F2: Le Figaro (France) F3: unidentified French media F4: unidentified German media F5: unidentified Dutch media F6: unidentified F7: unidentified F8: The Straits Times (Singapore) F9: Time Magazine F10: CTV (Canada) F11: unidentified F12: Sankei Shimbun (Japan)
Interpreting	Interpreter A (Ms. DAI Qingli, ⁴⁵ from the Department of Translation and Interpretation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs).
Notes	Video footage is not available on the official website, but Chinese transcripts are available there.

Table 3 China SCIO Press Conference on SARS (1)

⁴⁵ This particular piece of information is drawn from an article written by the interpreter herself, reflecting on her experience of interpreting for SARS press conferences (Dai 2004). The article confirms that she interpreted for five SARS related press conferences, all attended by officials from the Ministry of Health; and that two of them are SARS 1 and 2 press conferences, another press conference she interpreted at was held on 22 June, organised by Beijing municipal government and is not included in the data. Based on the strong similarity of the voice of the interpreters in the footage, the other two press conferences she interpreted at could be inferred, i.e. SARS 3 and 5.

The second SARS press conference (SARS 2) was held on 10 April, about one week after the first one. The number of SARS cases had risen dramatically during the intervening period, with 1290 accumulative cases and 55 fatalities in China,⁴⁶ and 2781 and 111, respectively across the world.⁴⁷ At the previous press conference, Health Minister Zhang had stressed that the SARS situation in China was under effective control and China was safe for foreign visitors. However, the sharp increase in the number of SARS cases led to panic among the general public and the international community, who began to challenge the credibility of the government. Possibly in order to provide more authoritative and updated information on the situation, the invited speakers for the second SARS press conference included more medical experts, with Vice Health Minister Ma as the highest-ranking official present (see Table 4).

The conference lasted one hour and twenty-three minutes. Altogether, nine questions were raised from the floor: three from Chinese news agencies and six by foreign correspondents. The footage of this press conference is not complete: two questions from foreign media and corresponding responses are missing for unknown reasons. However, the Chinese transcript of this press conference is complete. The footage shows the interpreter (A) located at the very left end of the podium, next to the speakers, facing the floor. Based on the footage and the transcript, the questions raised at the conference on the whole do not appear as confrontational as those raised in SARS 1, focusing more on clarifying information and knowledge sharing of the prevention and treatment of the disease, as in example 16.

Example 16 (Excerpt from SARS 2 footage)

UPI JNL: <I'm from> UPI. I have a request and a question for you. Could you give us daily briefings on each province in China, listing suspected cases and known cases and name of the health officials responsible for the accuracy of the report? And then my question is (.) there seems to be some difference between the Ministry of Health figures for the number of cases of SARS in Beijing and a recent report that came out from the Peoples' Liberation Army. And I'm hoping that you can explain and elaborate the difference between the two. Thank you.

There is one instance of a more confrontational exchange, however (example 17).

⁴⁶ This figure and others that follow do not include SARS cases in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan.

⁴⁷ The figures are based on a WHO report, *Epidemic and Pandemic Alert and Response (EPR)*, available at http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/2003_04_10/en/index.html, last accessed on 4 March 2009.

Example 17 (Excerpt from SARS 2 footage)

CNN JNL: I'm with CNN. I just want to step back from details for a while and ask do you really believe in all the reports and statistics that you get from the field? What incentives do officials have, to accurately and promptly report bad news? Don't you think that they typically cover up or water down bad news and bad statistics, not only for fear of losing face, but also for fear of losing their jobs? Don't you think it is time for China to institutionalise genuine transparency in public health matters by giving access to free information to the public and the press? If so, what do you do, to do that?

Date	10/04/2003
Length	1h23m
Chairperson	Deputy Director-General of SCIO: Mr. WANG Guoqing
Chinese Officials Present	1. Vice Minister of Health: Mr. MA Xiaowei 2. Member of Chinese Academy of Engineering and Head of Guangzhou Institute of Respiratory Disease: Mr. ZHONG Nanshan 3. Director of Disease Control Department of the Ministry of Health: Mr. QI Xiaoqiu 4. Director of Chinese Centre for Disease Control and Prevention: Mr. LI Liming
Representatives of Chinese News Agencies	C1: CCTV C2: Xinhua News Agency (China) C3: Daogongpo of Hong Kong
Representatives of Foreign News Agencies	F1: UPI (U.S.A.) F2: AFP (Agence France Presse) F3: Wall Street Journal (U.S.A.) F4: CNN (U.S.A.) D1: unidentified German media D2: follow-up of D1
Interpreting	Interpreter A (Ms. DAI Qingli from the Department of Translation and Interpretation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), consecutive, sitting next to speakers, appears on camera very occasionally, no close-up.
Notes	1. The final part of the answer to questions raised by C2, in addition to two following questions and answers prior to question C3, are missing from the footage, although they are still available in the transcript. According to the transcript, which may well have been edited, the first deleted question (D1) was raised by an unidentified foreign journalist representing a German news agency; the second deleted question (D2), from an unidentified news agency, seems to be a follow-up of D1. 2. Only when the interpreter clarified certain details with the official sitting next to her in the middle of the official's answer to question C2 did the interpreter's face show up on the footage.

Table 4 China SCIO Press Conference on SARS (2)

The third press conference on SARS (SARS 3) took place ten days later, on 20 April. By then, the number of cumulative SARS cases had increased to 1512 in China and 3547 around the world.⁴⁸ More strikingly, the number of SARS cases in Beijing increased to 339, including 18 fatalities.⁴⁹ Given that Beijing is the capital of China, home to more than 10 million people and many international enterprises and organisations, the sudden increase in SARS cases in the city caused panic (many journalists present at the conference were wearing face masks that day).

Meanwhile, there were rumours that the Health Minister and the Mayor of Beijing had been sacked because of their poor handling of SARS crisis. Coincidentally, the official who was originally billed to attend this conference (Health Minister Zhang) had been replaced by Executive Vice Minister of Health Gao (who was later appointed Health Minister, after the SARS crisis was over). The last-minute change of spokesman at this sensitive period of time made the public wonder whether something was indeed going wrong and whether individual officials or the government as a whole were failing in their duties. Not surprisingly, this press conference (SARS 3), which lasted for two hours, proved particularly tough, not only for the officials, but also for the interpreter. The interpreter (A) seems to be the same person who interpreted in the SARS 2 conference, and sat here next to Mr. Gao at the very left end of the podium. Fourteen questions were raised by the journalists: four by representatives of the Chinese press and ten by members of the foreign press (a list of officials present and news agencies whose correspondents raised questions is provided in Table 5).

⁴⁸ Based on the WHO report *Epidemic and Pandemic Alert and Response (EPR)*, http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/2003_04_18/en/index.html, last accessed on 8 March 2009.

⁴⁹ These figures were released at the government press conference on April 20, 2003 (SARS 3).

Date	20/04/2003
Length	2h
Chairperson	Deputy Director-General of SCIO: Mr. WANG Guoqing
Chinese Officials Present	1. Executive Vice Minister of Health: Mr. GAO Qiang 2. Vice Minister of Health: Mr. ZHU Qingsheng
Representatives of Chinese News Agencies	C1: CCTV C2: Taiwan Dongsun TV C3: CRI (China Radio International) C4: China Daily
Representatives of Foreign News Agencies	F1: unidentified news agency F2: Sky TV (U.K.) F3: unidentified Dutch media F4: American Broadcasting Company F5: Australian Broadcasting Company F6: National Broadcasting Company (U.S.A.) F7: UPI F8: Voice of America F9: Far Eastern Economic Review F10: CNN
Interpreting	Interpreter A (Ms. DAI Qingli from the Department of Translation and Interpretation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), consecutive, sitting next to speakers, appears on the footage very occasionally, no close-up.
Notes	1. The preface to the question from C2 is missing from the online Chinese transcript, but is still available in the footage. And the question itself has been slightly trimmed in the transcript. 2. The question from C4 and its corresponding answer, together with part of the answer to F6, are missing from the footage, but still available in the transcript. 3. Questions from F2 and F3 and their corresponding answers are missing from the footage, but available in the transcript.

Table 5 China SCIO Press Conference on SARS (3)

Probably due to the specific sensitive timing of this event, journalists tended to pose highly confrontational questions, challenging the accountability and credibility of the government head on. It is also worth noting that questions from the foreign press are far more face-threatening (see example 18) than those from their Chinese counterparts (see example 19).

Example 18 (Excerpt from SARS 3 footage)

Australian Broadcasting Company JNL: For whatever reason, the statistics seem wrong until now. Why should we believe you today that these statistics you've given us today are correct?

GAO Qiang: 你有什么理由不相信呢?

[What reason do you have for not believing?]

Interpreter: What reasons do you have for not believing such figures?

GAO Qiang: 我怎样才能让你相信呢?

[How can I make you believe?]

Interpreter: How can I make you believe?

Example 19 (Excerpt from SARS 3 footage)

CCTV JNL: 您好，我是中央电视台的记者。从你刚才介绍的情况来看，北京目前的疫情是严重的，我想请问中央政府和北京市政府目前采取哪些措施来控制疫情的发展？

[Hello, I'm from CCTV. From your briefing, Beijing's SARS situation is serious. I want to ask what measures the central government and Beijing municipal government have taken to contain the spread of the epidemic.]

Interpreter: I'm with CCTV. I can see that the current situation with respect to the epidemic is very serious in Beijing from what you have told us. I would like to know what specific measures that the central government and the Beijing municipal government have adopted to cut the spread of the epidemic.

The fourth SARS press conference (SARS 4) was held almost one month later, on 15 May 2003. The topic of the fourth SARS news briefing is slightly different: the briefing was intended to focus on the SARS situation in rural areas. The Deputy Agriculture Minister Mr. Liu was invited to address the press, together with three colleagues from the Ministry of Agriculture, Health and Finance (see Table 6 for a list of officials and news agencies present at the conference).

The interpreter (B, different from the one who interpreted for SARS1, 2 and presumably 3) is also located at the far left side of the podium, sitting next to Mr. Qi from the Ministry of Health. Probably due to the topic being discussed on this occasion (SARS in the countryside), and the backgrounds of invited speakers,⁵⁰ the thirteen questions raised at this press conference (ten from foreign press and three from Chinese press) appear less confrontational than questions raised in previous sessions and more focused on updating and sharing information as in example 20.

⁵⁰ The ministerial-level official comes from the Ministry of Agriculture, a less prominent government agency as far as dealing with the SARS crisis is concerned. By contrast, in the previous three press conferences the ministerial officials all came from the Ministry of Health, the government agency primarily responsible for fighting the epidemic.

Example 20 (Excerpt from SARS 4 footage)

The Knight-Ridder Newspapers JNL: Thank you, I'm with the Knight-Ridder Newspapers. Much of the concern about the spread of SARS in rural areas is centred on movement of more than 100 million migrant workers. I'm wondering if there are any measures that have been taken or contemplated to restrict the movement of these workers, and if so what economic impact that will have on those rural areas and the cities in which they work? Thank you.

Date	15/05/2003
Length	1h30m
Chairperson	Deputy Director-General of SCIO: Mr. WANG Guoqing
Chinese Officials Present	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vice Agricultural Minister and Head of the Agricultural Working Group under the National Chinese Headquarters for SARS Control and Prevention: Mr. LIU Jian 2. Director of Rural Economic System, Operation and Management Department of the Ministry of Agriculture: Mr. CHEN Xiaohua 3. Director of Disease Control Department of the Ministry of Health: Mr. QI Xiaoqiu 4. Director of Social Security of the Ministry of Finance: Ms. LU Heping
Representatives of Chinese News Agencies	C1: CCTV C2: CRI C3: China Daily
Representatives of Foreign News Agencies	F1: New York News Daily F2: UPI F3: The Knight-Ridder Newspapers (U.S.A.) F4: Asahi Shimbun (Japan) F5: Associated Press (U.S.A.) F6: Los Angeles Times F7: Voice of America F8: Focus Magazine (Germany) F9: A Japanese journalist (no news agency identified) F10: APTN (Associated Press Television News, U.S.A.)
Interpreting	Interpreter B, consecutive, appears on the footage a number of times, with 17 seconds of close-up starting from 12'32'' into the footage

Table 6 China SCIO Press Conference on SARS (4)

The fifth press conference on SARS (SARS 5) was held on 30 May 2003, at which point the SARS epidemic in China had been generally contained, with new cases daily reported averaging 14, compared to 151 at the end of April and early May 2003. By then the cumulative recovery rate in China stood at 58.6%.⁵¹ Only the Executive Vice Minister of Health, Mr. Gao, was invited, for the second time, to

⁵¹ Figures released at the government press conference held on 30 May 2003 (SARS 5).

address the press. The conference lasted two hours and ten minutes, the longest in the SARS press conference series. Fourteen questions were posed: eight questions from foreign media and six from Chinese media (see Table 7 for the relevant list of news agencies).

Date	30/05/2003
Length	2h10m
Chairperson	Deputy Director-General of SCIO: Mr. WANG Guoqing
Chinese Officials Present	Executive Vice Minister of Health and Head of the Prevention and Control Working Group under the National Headquarters for SARS Control and Prevention: Mr. GAO Qiang
Representatives of Chinese News Agencies	C1: WenhuiPo of Hong Kong C2: CCTV C3: CtiTV of Taiwan C4: China News Service C5: China Daily C6 CRI
Representatives of Foreign News Agencies	F1: an unknown Financial news agency F2: Kyodo News (Japan) F3: UPI F4: CNN F5: Columbia Broadcasting Company (U.S.) F6: Asahi Shimbun (Japan) F7: Sanke Shinbun (Japan) F8: Associate Press of Pakistan
Interpreting	Interpreter A (Ms. DAI Qingli from the Department of Translation and Interpretation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) consecutive, appears occasionally on the footage, with no close-up. The interpreter rendered the title of Mr. Gao Qiang as “Executive Vice Minister of Health”.

Table 7 China SCIO Press Conference on SARS (5)

The interpreter for this conference seems to be the same person who interpreted at SARS1, 2 and 3. She is again positioned next to Mr. Gao, at the very left end of the podium. Although the epidemic had been controlled at this stage and the number of new cases had been reduced, journalists continued to raise fairly aggressive questions that challenged the government in terms of its capacity and accountability, as illustrated by example 21.

Example 21 (Excerpt from SARS 5 footage)

UPI JNL: Good afternoon, Mr. Gao, I have two questions for you. Last time we saw you, the next day, the Health Minister ZHANG Wenkang and Mayor MENG Xuenong both lost their jobs. I was wondering if you can tell us according to law what their punishment is for concealing the truth about the

SARS situation. Also I have a second question, perhaps you could tell us what lessons have been learned at the highest level of the Chinese government into SARS in relation to openness and accountability. Thank you.

The final press conference in the SARS series (SARS 6) was held on 25 June 2003, shortly after the WHO removed China from the list of epidemic-prone areas. As a result, the tone of the conference was somewhat more relaxed, the topic being SARS prevention in the future. Invited speakers for this press briefing all came from the area of science and technology, with Mr. Li, Deputy Minister of Science and Technology, as the highest-level official present (a list of relevant officials and news agencies is provided in Table 8).

Date	25/06/2003
Length	1h30m
Chairperson	Deputy Director-General of SCIO: Mr. WANG Guoqing
Chinese Officials Present	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vice Minister of Science and Technology and Deputy Head of the Science and Technology Working Group under the National Headquarters for SARS Control and Prevention: Mr. LI Xueyong 2. Vice President of Chinese Academy of Sciences and Deputy Head of the Science and Technology Office of Chinese Headquarters for SARS Control and Prevention: Mr. CHEN Zhu 3. Vice President of Chinese Military Science and Deputy Head of the Science and Technology Office of Chinese Headquarters for SARS Control and Prevention Academy: Mr. HUANG Peitang
Representatives of Chinese News Agencies	C1: CCTV C2: China Chemical Industry News C3: Tianjin Daily (China) C4: Dagongpo of Hong Kong
Representatives of Foreign News Agencies	F1: Wall Street Journal
Interpreting	Interpreter C, consecutive, appears on the footage occasionally; two short close-ups, showing her busy reading notes and interpreting.

Table 8 China SCIO Press Conference on SARS (6)

A different interpreter (C) is employed to work for this press conference, and again appears seated at the left end of the podium, next to the chairperson. This is a fairly short press conference, lasting for one hour and a half. Among the five questions asked, only one came from the foreign press. On the whole, the six SARS press conferences held by SCIO in response to the SARS outbreak tended to cater

more to foreign journalists than local ones due to the nature of the event. More questions came from foreign media agencies and these were framed in a more challenging and face-threatening manner than questions posed by Chinese journalists. In this series of press conferences, more frictional sequences can be observed at events attended by senior officials from the Ministry of Health, around the peak time of the epidemic (i.e. SARS 1, 2, 3 and 5) than at events attended by officials from other ministries (i.e. SARS 4 and 6).

The five core press conferences (SARS 2-6) feature a large number of interpreter-mediated exchanges and question-answer sequences. Drawing primarily on Goffman's notions of participation framework, footing, face and face-work (1972, 1981a), I intend to prioritise those sequences that reveal more of the dynamics of participation framework in government press conferences, in particular those where there is evidence of interpreters' shifts in footing that signal their alignment towards primary interlocutors and indicates their negotiation of face and face-work for either primary participants or themselves.

To this end, the entire SARS 5 press conference has been transcribed and included in Appendix 1 in order to illustrate the overall context of the participation framework and interpreter's mediation of footing and face-work in this type of event. The reason for choosing the SARS 5 press conference is that it was held at the juncture when the epidemic was believed to be still around its peak⁵² but the number of new SARS cases in China had begun to fall, with 7 new cases reported in mainland China compared to 52 reported at the last press conference (SARS 4).⁵³ It was also the longest-running SARS press conference (about 2 hours and 10 minutes) among the 6 press conferences in the series. Moreover, Mr. GAO Qiang, the Executive Vice Minister of Health (who was appointed the Minister of Health shortly after the SARS crisis subsided) attended this press conference alone; Mr. Gao had received a new title as the Head of Prevention and Treatment Working Group under the National Headquarters for SARS Prevention and Treatment after he attended the SARS 3 press conference in April, during which his predecessor (the

⁵² Source: resource net of Socialist Theoretical System with Chinese Characteristics, Southwest Jiaotong University of China, <http://210.41.95.14:82/uploadfiles/1015/onews.asp?id=289>, last accessed 21 June 2011.

⁵³ Source: The WHO Global Alert and Response Archives: Cumulative Number of Reported Probable Cases of SARS, http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/2003_05_30/en/index.html, and http://www.who.int/csr/sars/country/2003_05_15/en/index.html, last accessed on 21 June 2011.

former Health Minister) was dismissed, allegedly due to improper handling of the SARS outbreak. This signalled that Mr. Gao was presumably the most senior person in charge of SARS treatment and control in China among all the officials ever to attend SARS press conferences. Sequences from other core SARS press conference sessions in the data (SARS 2, 3, 4 and 6) that illustrate the interpreter's footing and face-work strategies have also been transcribed, some used as examples in the analytical chapters and others included in the appendices.

3.5 Participation Framework and Social Roles in Government Press Conferences in China

As a special type of interpreter-mediated event, the government press conference is managed by a variety of participants, including official speakers, one chairperson in each event, journalists, one interpreter, on-site technicians, cameramen, internet broadcasting personnel and conference organisers. The typical spatial positioning of participants and language access routes in the six SARS-related press conferences examined in this study are illustrated in Figure 2.

The chairperson (C) typically opens the press conference in Chinese, and his message is consecutively interpreted into English. He then gives the floor to the official speaker (OS) (usually the highest-ranking official, at ministerial level), who delivers a short briefing; this is also interpreted consecutively into English. The question-answer session then begins. The chairperson selects the journalists (either CJ or EJ) to be given the opportunity to raise questions, in either Chinese or English, and the questions are then consecutively interpreted into either English or Chinese. The official speaker (OS) responds to each question in Chinese, and his response is consecutively interpreted into English. Although more than one invited speaker may be present, it is often the highest ranking official present who delivers the briefing and answers questions; other invited speakers, where there are any, only add comments where necessary, unless the questions are particularly addressed to them. This is roughly the sequence of contributions and direction of interpretation in the data under study.

Unlike simultaneous interpreting, where interpreters work in pairs and take turns at interpreting (Monacelli 2005), only one interpreter is provided in the Chinese

press conference data under study.⁵⁴ Conversational sequences between primary interlocutors (OS, EJ and CJ) are constantly mediated by a single interpreter (I), and coordinated by the chairperson (C) in terms of turn-taking, whereas the chairperson's contributions are only occasionally mediated by the interpreter (I) (see more discussion in data analysis chapters).

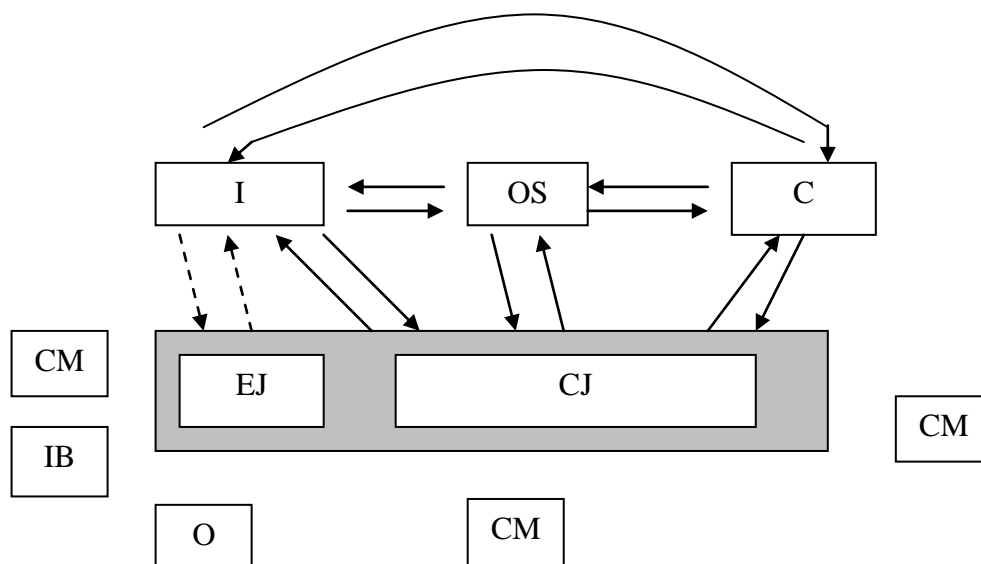


Figure 2 Spatial Positions and Language Access Routes in Interpreter-Mediated SARS Government Press Conferences in China⁵⁵

(I: Interpreter;⁵⁶ OS: Official Speaker; C: Chairperson; EJ: English-Speaking Journalists; CJ: Chinese-Speaking Journalists; CM: Cameramen; IB: Internet Broadcasting Staff; O: Organiser; Solid arrow: Chinese access route; Dotted arrow: English access route)

The interaction in China's government press conferences can be described as both pre-planned and at least part-improvised. The institutional nature of the event

⁵⁴ The *China Net* archive of recent SCIO press conferences does show that two consecutive interpreters were used for the press conference held on 9 August 2007, and attended by government officials from the Chinese Central Bank. However, the provision of two consecutive interpreters is not typical for SCIO press conferences in China and is not the case for the selected data in this study.

⁵⁵ It is interesting that the chairperson (a function assumed in the selected data by the Deputy Chief of the SICO) always sits next to the highest ranking official speaker, with the latter always positioned at the middle of the podium. Other invited speakers, if there are any, often sit next to each other, with the higher-ranking official sitting nearer to the middle of the podium. The layout of the positions of English-speaking journalists (EJ) and Chinese-speaking journalists (CJ) in the grey box of Figure 2 is simplified for illustration purposes. The actual position of EJ and CJ at the press conference is not rigid, and journalists can sit wherever they want (within the grey area), whereas the position of other participants is fairly rigid, as shown in the Figure.

⁵⁶ With simultaneous interpreting formally introduced for the introduction and briefing session of SCIO press conferences since 23 October 2003, the interpreter is no longer positioned on the podium. Footage of recent SCIO press conferences shows that the interpreter is located on the left-hand side of the hall, between the cameraman and the internet broadcasting personnel, when interpreting consecutively during the question and answer session. Interpreters do not appear on the camera apart from very occasional close-ups.

means that the opening remarks of the official speakers often consist of prepared monologues (rendered into English by the interpreter), and each journalist can only ask one question and cannot comment on the response he or she receives to it. Nevertheless, the question-answer session itself is fairly dynamic, with primary speakers (official speakers and journalists) producing fairly spontaneous utterances. This combination of rigidity and dynamism is also reflected in the participation framework of the events.

Various speakers in Chinese government press conferences, whether primary or secondary (the latter including the chairperson and interpreters), are embedded in a particular participation framework within which each interlocutor assumes different sets of speaker or social roles at different moments in time. Invited official speakers generally assume the speaking role of ‘animator’ at the briefing session when they read out a press release which is unlikely to have been prepared by the officials themselves. However, they often assume the complete range of speaker roles, i.e. ‘animator’, ‘author’, and ‘principal’, when they respond to questions, and the typical social role of ‘government spokesman’ throughout the conference, a role that is sensitive to the audience design of the event. Thus, bearing in mind the potential audience of the conference, the invited speakers moderate their speech to accommodate particular receiver groups from time to time, as in examples 22 and 23.

In example 22, the speaker takes both the domestic and international community into consideration with regard to the campaign against SARS and addresses his gratitude (and that of the government and professionals he represents) to all the supporting parties concerned. Note the interpreter’s omission of the reference to ‘Chinese’ communities (which she replaces with ‘social’ communities).

Example 22 (Excerpt from SARS 5 footage, sequences 72-74 in Appendix 1, the final remark of the opening speech given by the Executive Vice Minister of Health Mr. GAO Qiang)

GAO Qiang: SARS 是人类面临的共同敌人。

[SARS is the enemy faced by all mankind.]

Interpreter: SARS is a common enemy for all mankind.

GAO Qiang: 在我国防治 SARS 的工作中，得到了各国政府、人民和中国社会各界的理解、支持和帮助。

[In our country's prevention and control work against SARS, <our country> has gained understanding, support and assistance from various countries, people and Chinese social communities]

Interpreter: In the course of our fight against SARS, we've received outstanding support and assistance from many governments, people and social communities.

GAO Qiang: 我代表中国卫生部和全国 600 万医疗和卫生工作者表示诚挚感谢。

[On behalf of Chinese Ministry of Health and 6 million medical workers of China, I would like to express sincere thanks.]

Interpreter: I would like to express sincere thanks for that on behalf of the Ministry of Health and also on behalf of the 6 million medical workers in this country.

In example 23, the Executive Vice Minister of Health clearly targets his response at the people of Taiwan, who are likely to be the 'overhearers' of the press conferences.

Example 23 (Excerpt from SARS 5 footage, sequences 275-277 in Appendix 1, part of the response of the Executive Vice Minister of Health to a question raised by a journalist on whether the SARS situation in Taiwan is caused by the mainland)

GAO Qiang: 对于台湾的疫情，中国政府和中国人民都非常关心。

[With regard to the epidemic in Taiwan, both the Chinese government and people are very concerned.]

Interpreter: The Chinese government and people are very much concerned about the SARS outbreak on Taiwan.

GAO Qiang: 我们两岸都是中国人，都是炎黄子孙。

[People on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are Chinese and descendents of Yan and Huang <common ancestors>]

Interpreter: People on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are Chinese, we are brothers and sisters and the common descendents of our ancestors.

GAO Qiang: 无论是大陆人民患病，还是台湾人民患病，我们都感到很痛心。

[Irrespective of whether the infection affects the mainland people or the Taiwanese people, we feel equally sad.]

Interpreter: And we felt quite sad about the SARS infection no matter it occurs on mainland or on Taiwan.

Journalists, as the other group of primary interlocutors, largely assume the three incarnations of speaker roles at the same time, with some leaning more towards assuming only the ‘animator’ and ‘author’ roles when the questions they raise reflect the tone or message of their news agencies, not necessarily the thoughts and opinions of the journalists themselves. This is particularly the case for journalists representing government controlled news agencies such as Xinhua News Agency and China Central Television (CCTV). One rare instance (see example 24) in the data also shows that a journalist can sometimes assume the speaker role of ‘animator’ and ‘author’ and perform the social role of ‘interpreter’, in this case to help another journalist from another news agency, who is not fluent in either official language to frame his or her contribution.

Example 24 (This is an excerpt from SARS 5 footage, sequence 340 in Appendix 1. Prior to the contribution quoted here, a Japanese journalist from Sanke Shimbun had tried very hard but failed to pose her question clearly in either Chinese or English. Even the chairperson intervened to help clarify the question to the official speaker, Executive Vice Minister of Health Mr. GAO Qiang. At this juncture, a journalist from another Japanese news agency (Asashi Shimbun) seems to have understood her question and volunteered to help formulate it.)

Asashi Shimbun JNL : 高部长, 高部长<tries to get the attention of Mr. Gao>, 我的汉语也不好但是我明白她的意思, 她要说的是, 除了现部长外, 有多少(.) 部级(.)人要对这个问题(.)负责任, 谢谢。

[Minister Gao, Minister Gao <tries to get the attention of Mr. Gao>, my Chinese is not good either but I understand what she means, she wanted to say, apart from the current Minister, how many(.) provincial level(.) people should be, regarding this issue(.) held accountable. Thank you.]

The chairperson in any conference setting is normally expected to start and conclude the session and coordinate turn-taking. Thus, he typically assumes all speaker roles (‘animator’, ‘author’ and ‘principal’) at the same time. This is equally valid in the selected data of Chinese government press conferences, where the chairperson, a role taken up by the Deputy Director-General of SCIO, is typically responsible for introducing the topic, outlining the rules, introducing the invited speakers, coordinating turn-taking during the question and answer session and concluding the conference, consequently assuming all three incarnations of the speaker role most of the time. However, it is worth noting that the chairperson sometimes deviates from his typical role as a coordinator (secondary interlocutor in

the data under study) and assumes the role of a primary interlocutor, as in example 25, where he comments on the response given by the invited speaker.

Example 25 (This is an excerpt from SARS 3 footage. Prior to this, Executive Vice Minister of Health Mr. GAO Qiang had just responded to a question from a Chinese journalist asking whether all SARS patients, irrespective of their financial status, have been accepted and treated in hospitals and whether there is any incidence of hospitals rejecting rural or disadvantaged patients).

Chairperson: 我想刚才高部长说的不仅是北京，反正包括所有发现非典型肺炎病例的地方。 <Looking at Gao to confirm this comment>

[I think what Minister Gao has mentioned does not specifically refer to Beijing. <It should> include all areas where SARS cases have been identified.]

The chairperson, (being a government official himself) typically makes contributions in Chinese, which are rendered into English by the interpreter. However, it is interesting to note that the chairperson tends to code switch in his contributions, occasionally using short stretches of simple English and even making remarks directly in English at some points, as shown in Examples 26 and 27 respectively. In such cases, he may assume the social role of ‘coordinator’ and at the same time bypass the interpreter by addressing a primary interlocutor directly in his or her own language.

Example 26 (This is an excerpt from SARS 3 footage. In his contribution, the chairperson addresses someone who is most possibly a foreign journalist in English before giving the floor to a Chinese journalist from CCTV for the immediate turn to pose a question)

Chairperson: You will be the next. CCTV 这位记者。

[You will be the next <probably referring to a foreign journalist>. This gentleman from CCTV <please>]

Example 27 (This is an excerpt from SARS 3 footage. This contribution follows the response of the Executive Vice Minister of Health to a question posed by a foreign journalist. At that point, the press conference had run for one hour and forty minutes, already beyond the normal time frame. The chairperson seems to manage the timing of the event here and addresses journalists directly in English)

Chairperson: Since our two ministers are very busy. I think last two questions.

One possible reason why the chairperson addresses the journalists in English is that this role (i.e. that of the chairperson) is taken up by the Deputy Director-General of SCIO, who is also the organiser of the event. He is thus interested in ensuring that information is exchanged smoothly and efficiently, for example by providing

comments or additional relevant information, and that the event is organised within the scheduled time frame. Moreover, the SARS conference series caters more to foreign than local constituencies, which may explain why the chairperson occasionally chooses to address the foreign correspondents in English, perhaps as a gesture of acknowledgement.

Goffman's concepts of participation framework and social role have shed some light on the way individuals may be involved in social interaction, in terms of the way an interlocutor produces and receives utterances (participation status) and his or her social functions in the event. However, neither of the two conceptualisations seems to accommodate the engagement of mediators such as interpreters in these events, although Goffman mentioned in passing the extremely tricky instances of simultaneous interpreting in terms of the interpreter's speaker roles (1981a: 146).

It is often taken for granted, particularly by those not familiar with the interpreting profession, that interpreters merely animate what others say. However, real life experience suggests that the interpreter's behaviour is by no means as simple as that. Interpreters operate under considerable pressure (Diriker 2004) and have to negotiate non-cognitive constraints from time to time, particularly in sensitive and political contexts (Baker 1997). Interpreters arguably always assume the role of 'author', given that a switch in language necessarily means that they choose the form of rendition in the target language. But interpreters also play the role of 'principal' when their output originates from themselves, rather than from a primary interlocutor, as in example 28. Here, the interpreter is seeking clarification from the primary interlocutors.

Example 28 (This is an excerpt from SARS 2 footage. In this excerpt, the invited speaker Mr. LI Liming is responding to a question from a Chinese journalist which is originally addressed to Vice Minister of Health Mr. MA Xiaowei. As the question is quite technical, and concerns the latest research on the cause of SARS, Mr. Ma gives the floor to Mr. Li to provide a response)

LI Liming: 。 。 。 。 。 第一个阶段主要是排除那些烈性的、法定传染病里的那些传染病。第二个阶段，我讲到我们和香港离得很近，所以我们怀疑有禽流感，所以要排除禽流感，第三个阶段我们对可疑的各种病原进行全面的寻找和发现。

[The first stage was to rule out those heavily infectious and statutory contagious diseases. <In> the second stage, I mentioned that we <the mainland> and Hong

Kong are <geographically> close, so we doubted the possibility of this being bird flu, so <we had to> rule out the possibility of bird flu. In the third stage, we conducted extensive research, and investigation into, possible medical causes.]

Interpreter: <turning to Mr. ZHONG Nanshan, another invited speaker who is sitting next to her> 他讲的法定传染病是什么？

[What did he mean by statutory contagious disease?]

ZHONG Nanshan: 就是那些传染性很强的。

[It is those with highly contagious potential...]

In theory, the role of the professional interpreter is normally restricted to translating what primary speakers say as closely and as accurately as possible, i.e. to the role of ‘language facilitator’. In real circumstances, however, interpreters may assume various social roles, such as coordinator, cultural/social mediator, gatekeeper, and even both conversationalist and language facilitator at the same time (Maxwell 2000). In the press conferences under study, the interpreters mostly assume the double identities of ‘interpreter’ and ‘government official’.⁵⁷ Their specific background, as civil servants, leads them naturally to assume the double role of ‘language facilitator’ and ‘government representative’, which is typical of these events. Nevertheless, given the frictional nature of sequences in the data and the pressure it puts on the interpreters, the intervention of the interpreters appears to be relatively subtle, and they seem by and large to assume the canonical role of neutral interpreters, even though the source utterance is sometimes face-threatening, as illustrated by example 29.

Example 29 (This is an excerpt from SARS 5 footage, sequence 187 in Appendix 1. This contribution was addressed to the Executive Vice Minister of Health, Mr. GAO Qiang, who was invited to meet the press for the second time in the SARS press conference series, at a point when the epidemic had reached its peak.)

CNN JNL: Thank you, with CNN. I remember. It was in this very room when the former Health Minister ZHANG Wenkang told the press in April that SARS epidemic has been effectively controlled even though it turned out SARS epidemic was spreading widely in China. So I don’t understand why you were saying that he did not try to conceal the epidemic. My other question is although a lot of information are⁵⁸ not being collected pertaining to SARS, some experts complained that much of the information are still not being shared not just with

⁵⁷ Interpreters employed at these events are often civil servants from relevant ministries. This is quite different from many senior-level conference interpreting events in other countries, where free-lance interpreters are often employed.

⁵⁸ The journalist’s question is reproduced here verbatim. No attempt has been made to correct grammatical errors.

the outside world such as agencies like the WHO, but also among the Chinese agencies involved in the prevention and treatment of the SARS. Specifically, they complain that information pertaining to and coming from the military establishments are not being shared. Is that the case? If so, why is it so difficult to enforce the sharing of information which you will know is very critical in the treatment and prevention of SARS? Thank you.

Interpreter: 我是 CNN 的记者. 我记得呢在 4 月份, 也是在这个房间里, 张文康先生呢, 告诉各位记者说, SARS 疫情在中国已经得到了有效的控制, 但是事实上呢, 非典在中国应该说在很大程度上已经大规模的蔓延了。所以呢, 我就不能理解为什么您刚才讲他并没有有意的去隐瞒事实真相。而另外一个问题呢, 就是涉及到信息的问题。当然呢, 现在中国也在收集信息方面做了不少工作。但是呢, 仍然有不少的专家在抱怨, 说这些信息呢交流得还不够, 比如说呢, 中国不仅没有向外界, 比如说向世界卫生组织提供一些有关的信息, 甚至呢在中国有关的负责防治非典的医疗机构内部呢也没有非常好地共享信息。他们的一个具体的抱怨呢, 就是来自军队方面的医疗信息没有很好地在信息网络中被大家所共享。我想问一下, 是否确有其事, 如果真的是这样, 为什么信息通畅对于中国来说这么难做到? 而信息通畅对于 SARS 的防治工作来说是至关重要的。

[I'm with CNN. I remember (ne)⁵⁹ in April, also in this room, Mr. ZHANG Wenkang (ne) told all journalists that SARS epidemic in China was under effective control. But the fact is (ne) SARS in China, should say, to a big degree, has spread in a large scale. So (ne) I don't understand why nin <polite you> just said that he Mr. Zhang did not deliberately cover up the truth. Another question (ne) is related to information sharing, of course (ne), China has now done much work in information gathering, however (ne), many experts are complaining that information exchange is not sufficient. For example (ne), China hasn't provided adequate information for the outside world such as the World Health Organisation. Even (ne), within the country (ne), information has not been properly shared among relevant medical institutions. One of their specific complaints (ne) is that medical information coming from military circles has not been well shared. I would like to ask a bit, is this true? If so, why is free information flow so difficult for China? However, smooth information flow is critical to SARS prevention and treatment.]

Nevertheless, the background of the interpreter as a government employee of the host country does suggest a closer alignment with the government. This alignment is occasionally revealed in certain choices, as in example 30 (more discussion of this is provided in the next chapter).

⁵⁹ ‘呢 ne’ is a Chinese tone particle. More discussion of its usage and effect is provided in Chapter 5.

Example 30 (This is an excerpt from SARS 5 footage, sequence 284 in Appendix 1. This contribution by Executive Vice Minister of Health Mr. GAO Qiang on the SARS situation in Taiwan is offered in response to a request for the Minister to comment on the claim that the mainland is responsible for the spread of SARS in Taiwan)

GAO Qiang: 我们希望台湾当局真正能够从关心台湾人民福祉和健康出发, 增强两地的交流与合作, 尽快地在两岸消灭疫情。

[We hope Taiwan authorities will actually take the wellbeing and health of *Taiwanese people* as a point of departure and enhance exchange and cooperation across the Straits and eliminate the epidemic on both sides as soon as possible.]

Interpreter: We very much hope that the Taiwan authorities will create exchanges, will promote more exchanges and cooperation across the Taiwan Straits out of the care for the wellbeing and health of our *Taiwan compatriots*. So by working together we can eliminate SARS on both sides of the Taiwan Straits as soon as possible.

In this example, the interpreter uses ‘Taiwan compatriots’ (see the italicised part) in her rendition into English when the original Chinese was literally ‘Taiwanese people’ (see the italicised part). This lexical choice reveals the interpreter’s line (i.e. Taiwan is seen as part of China), which is certainly in tune with the position of the government. In this case, the interpreter seems to assume the role of ‘government representative’.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the history and organisation of the Chinese government press conference system in order to contextualise the selection of data for this study. In light of its significance in the development of the Chinese government press conference system and the potential frictional nature of the sequences exchanged during these conferences, SARS-related press conferences held in the early half of 2003 have been selected as the core data. Altogether six SARS-related press conferences (SARS 1-6) have been selected, with five press conferences (SARS 2-6) as primary data and one (SARS 1) as secondary data; the division of these press conferences into primary and secondary data is based on the availability of footage and online Chinese transcripts (SARS 1 is problematic in this respect). A detailed description of all six press conferences has been provided. Drawing on Goffman’s notions of participation framework, footing, face and face-work, sequences that reveal shifts in footing and speaker roles, and interpreter’s involvement in face

management will be prioritised for analysis in the following chapters. The chapter has also discussed and exemplified the participation framework typical of these events in terms of the speaker and social roles assumed by individual interactants, particularly the roles of interpreters, in such a rigid institutional setting. The next chapter will focus on the interpreter's footing and explore some of the ways in which interpreters shift footing and negotiate their social roles under various contextual constraints in the context of Chinese government press conferences.

CHAPTER 4

INTERPRETERS' FOOTING IN GOVERNMENT PRESS CONFERENCES IN CHINA: NEGOTIATION OF (NATIONAL) IDENTITIES AND INSTITUTIONAL ALIGNMENT

4.1 Introduction

The dynamics of participation framework in any instance of social interaction are revealed in the various ways in which individual participants manage shifts in footing, and the way they align or do not align with others, both individuals and institutions, through their management of the production and reception formats. As discussed in section 2.3, Chapter 2, conversationalists resort to various contextualisation cues to signal shifts in footing, with some cues indicating shifts in speaker/hearer roles and others indicating shifts in interactants' line or stance. Generally speaking, the notion of contextualisation cues covers both verbal means such as semantic and syntactic choices, changes in the tempo of speech, pitch and intonation, and non-verbal means such as body movement and gaze. Previous studies on political interviews conducted monolingually, rather than through an interpreter (Clayman 1992, Lauerbach 2007), suggest that linguistic elements such as choice of pronoun, aphorisms, quotations and hesitation are often employed by interlocutors to distance themselves from the remarks being made or from the protagonists in the interaction.

With respect to interpreter-mediated events, the main issue is how interpreters, who are normally expected to translate source utterances as closely and accurately as possible, negotiate their footing. Previous studies on dialogue interpreting suggest that the typical role assumed by dialogue interpreters in community settings is often that of both language 'relayers' and conversational 'coordinators' (Wadensjö 1992: 115), in other words, that they often manage both linguistic and social aspects of the conversation (Keith 1984). This seems natural in community settings, where the interaction is often between laymen (such as immigrants, patients and asylum seekers) and institutional agents (such as police officers and doctors) in a relatively dynamic conversational context, where interpreters are tempted and often expected to perform as language mediators as well as coordinators, or sometimes managers of

the conversational exchange. In this context, much evidence can be found of shifts in interpreter footing through various means such as the use of the third person pronoun (rather than the canonical first person) to refer to one of the participants, pointing gestures (in the case of sign language interpreting) and physical movement, perhaps to indicate that the interpreter is distancing him/herself from the remarks being made (Wadensjö 1992, Metzger 1999).

In fairly rigid interactional settings such as government press conferences, it might be expected, the interpreter's choice of contextualisation cues is likely to be more restricted, and likewise the frequency with which such cues may be deployed, given the formality of the occasion and the heightened pressure on the interpreter to mediate sensitive political statements and align with institutional players. Not surprisingly, the data examined in the present study do suggest that interpreters often replicate the patterning of the original (for instance the use of pronouns), but that where they deviate from this default mode, their choices are meaningful, consistently deviating in a specific direction, namely, that of strengthening the institutional presence of the Chinese government, or casting it in a positive light. This chapter aims to examine such attempts by interpreters to negotiate their national identities and their institutional alignment in China's government press conferences through their shifts in footing, with particular reference to the linguistic devices they employ to achieve this end, including the addition and substitution of personal pronouns and intensifiers.

4.2 The Addition and Substitution of Personal Pronouns

Research conducted within discourse analysis and interpreting studies has identified the choice of pronouns as a device used to signal one's closeness to or detachment from other interactants (e.g. Gumperz 1976, Clayman 1992, Metzger 1999, Gavioli and Maxwell 2007). For example, teachers may use different pronouns (such as 'we', 'your' and 'I' in example 4 of Chapter 2, page 40) to align themselves with different students in the classroom (Gumperz 1976: 8-9), and sign language interpreters may resort to a 'pointing' gesture, comparable to a third person pronoun ('he', 'she' or 'they') in function, to indicate the source of utterance, thus distancing themselves from the remark being made (Metzger 1999: 101). Similarly, in the government

press conferences examined in this study, as we shall see, the addition and substitution of a pronoun can sometimes signal the interpreter's alignment with various participants and/or a shift in his or her footing and line.

A number of studies have focused on the inclusive and exclusive use of the first person plural pronoun 'we', and its implications for identity construction and the expression of politeness (Brown and Gilman 1960, Brown and Levinson 1987, Ilie 2005, Iñigo-Mora 2004). For example, Members of Parliament's use of the first person plural pronoun 'we' could signal their identification with a particular party, i.e. inclusion or exclusion from a specific group, in the British Parliamentary community (Iñigo-Mora 2004). Brown and Gilman (1960) have also noted that the inclusive function of 'we' seems to have a mitigating effect by comparison with the use of the first-person singular pronoun in particular in parliamentary settings, and can thus be considered as a strategy of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987: 201-202).

Other studies of interpreter-mediated discourse have investigated the use of pronouns by various participants and the implications that this may have for the negotiation of identity and the perception of roles being played by different parties to the interaction (Beaton-Thome 2010, Bot 2005, Diriker 2004, Wadensjö 1998). These studies have engaged with interpreter-mediated interaction in both modes in conference interpreting (simultaneous and consecutive) and in both conference and public service settings. In one of the few available studies that examine the relationship between pronoun use and identity issues in conference interpreting, Beaton-Thome (2010) investigates the role of simultaneous interpreting in the European Parliament, with particular reference to the construction and negotiation of identities through the use of the first person plural pronoun 'we'. Drawing on Iñigo-Mora's (2004) categorisation of 'we' groups in British Parliament discourse, she put forward a revised version of this categorisation in the context of the European Parliament. Her categories consist of *exclusive we* (I + my political community, including 'we', the parliamentary community) and *inclusive we* (I + you, including generic 'we', which may refer to I + all people, or normally I + all Europeans) (Beaton-Thome 2010: 122). These categories offer a good starting point for examining some aspects of the construction and negotiation of identity in

interpreter-mediated discourse, as well as processes of alignment and realignment among participants, and will be deployed in the analysis that follows.

Preliminary data analysis suggests that the use of the first person plural pronoun in government press conferences in the Chinese context is far more complex than that in British and European parliamentary settings. Although a rough division of ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ positioning (van Dijk 1998: 267) or ‘inclusive we’ and ‘exclusive we’ (Iñigo-Mora 2004: 49, Beaton-Thome 2010: 122) can be identified, there are various distinctions under each group with respect to different primary interlocutors (i.e. official speakers, and journalists representing foreign and Chinese news agencies respectively). Table 9 below is a modified version of the categorisation of the first person plural pronoun, offered in Beaton-Thome (2010), as observed in the government press conference setting in the Chinese context.⁶⁰

The Chinese government press conferences on the outbreak of the SARS epidemic, under examination here, have revealed rich data that captures various types of shift in the use of pronouns. The first type of shift involves the **addition of first person plural pronoun (‘we’), or one of its possessive or objective cases (‘our’ and ‘us’)**.

Drawing on text linguistics (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981) and Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) work on cohesion, Beaton-Thome (2010) provides an interesting discussion of the use of ‘we’ as either an ‘anaphoric’ reference or an ‘exophoric’ reference⁶¹ in the discourse of the European Parliament. The pronoun ‘we’ may anaphorically, less frequently cataphorically, refer to a determinate term or expression, thus functioning as a cohesive device. In the case of ‘exophoric we’, described as “a situational rather than textual reference” (ibid.: 120), the referent can only be retrieved when the ideological identities salient in a given context are recognised. Exophoric uses of ‘we’ are of more interest here, as “it is exactly the lack of a determinate textual referent that is significant in the construction and negotiation of identities” (ibid.: 121).

⁶⁰ Example sequences drawn from SARS 2, 3 and 4 press conferences in this table, and thereafter in this chapter, are contained in Appendix 2.

⁶¹ Anaphoric reference occurs when an author needs to refer back to persons or objects that have been previously identified in the text and thus it can be used as a cohesive device. Exophoric reference is defined as “references to things outside the text”, thus not creating cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 18)

	Exclusive ‘we’	Inclusive ‘we’
Official Speakers (including the chair)	I + my affiliated institution ⁶² I + Chinese government officials ⁶³ I + my professional community ⁶⁴	I + you, i.e. the Chinese, including all the Chinese from across the Taiwan Straits ⁶⁵ I + you, i.e. the audience, including all the journalists ⁶⁶
JNL from foreign news agencies	I + the foreign journalists ⁶⁷ I + all press representatives present, including both Chinese and foreign journalists ⁶⁸ I + the international community ⁶⁹	
JNL from Chinese news agencies	I + the press people, including both Chinese and foreign journalists	I + you, i.e. the mainland Chinese ⁷⁰

Table 9 Categorisation of the First Person Plural Pronoun in Chinese Government Press Conferences

⁶² For example, when the Deputy Agriculture Minister says “农村发病情况的统计是动态的。统计这个数字我们跟卫生部进行了反复商量” [Getting the statistics of the SARS patients in rural areas is a dynamic process. We have discussed several times with the Ministry of Health on this issue], he means ‘I’ and the Ministry of Agriculture (SARS 4_1_LIU).

⁶³ For example, when the chair says “我们最后再回答一个问题” [We are going to answer one last question], he means government officials present, including himself (SARS 5_283_WANG).

⁶⁴ For example, when the Chinese academician of Engineering and Head of Guangzhou Institute of Respiratory Disease says “因为这个病大概到目前为止，50%以上的病人都发生在广东，WHO对广东是怎样诊断和治疗的，特别是早期治疗，降低死亡率这方面，他们非常感兴趣，我们做了很好的交流” [so far, more than 50% of SARS patients are located in Guangdong. The WHO is very interested in the diagnosis and treatment practices in Guangdong, in particular the early treatment which can reduce the mortality rate. We have conducted very good exchanges on these fronts], he means the medical community, including experts from WHO (SARS 2_2_ZHONG).

⁶⁵ For example, when the Executive Vice Minister of Health says “我们两岸都是中国人，都是炎黄子孙” [We, people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, are Chinese and descendants of Yan and Huang], he means all the Chinese across the Taiwan Straits (SARS 5_272_GAO).

⁶⁶ This is noted only in the opening remarks of the chair. See example 38 on page 103.

⁶⁷ For example, when a CNN journalist says “I hope that you will understand why there is a healthy dose of scepticism among us in the Beijing press because ... two weeks ago the Ministry of Health told us that the epidemic is under effective control; a week ago, we were told that there are only 37 cases in Beijing”, he means the foreign press in Beijing. (SARS 3_4_CNN JNL)

⁶⁸ For example, when a foreign journalist asks “for whatever reason, the statistics seem wrong until now, why should we believe you today that the statistics you’ve given us today are correct”, he means the journalists present today (SARS 3_2_AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING COMPANY JNL).

⁶⁹ For example, when a foreign journalist asks “turn to the question of medical worker being transferred into the rural areas, what kind of incentives are you giving for them, monetary incentives, or career incentives because as we know it is a dangerous and arduous work. So we would like to know what sort of compensation they will be receiving”, he means the international community as a whole (SARS 4_2_ASSOCIATED PRESS JNL).

⁷⁰ For example, when a Chinese journalist asks “我想问一下现在咱们对非典型肺炎的病因的研究有什么新的进展？另外，据说世界卫生组织对我们中西医结合的治疗方法有积极的评价，你能不能谈谈这方面的具体情况” [I’m wondering what is the latest development in our research on the cause of SARS. Also it is reported that the WHO has positive comments on our combinational use of western and Chinese medicines. Could you elaborate more on this], he means the mainland Chinese (SARS 2_4_XINHUA NEWS AGENCY JNL).

In the present study, the use of ‘we’ as exophoric reference, as demonstrated in example 31 is much more salient than its use as a cohesive device or anaphoric reference. The speaker here is the Executive Vice Minister of Health, Mr. GAO Qiang. He is speaking at the fifth of the SARS series press conferences, the second SARS-related press conference he had attended since he took charge of the Ministry of Health. In sequences prior to this, Mr. Gao had talked about the measures that the Chinese government has adopted in response to the SARS epidemic. Where they are included, items in angle brackets in the literal back translations offered throughout this chapter do not appear in the Chinese utterance (and are generally not required in Chinese syntax). They are added where appropriate to ease comprehension.

Example 31 (SARS 5_73_GAO)

ST: 在我国防治 SARS 的工作中，得到了各国政府、人民和中国社会各界的理解、支持和帮助。

Literally: In our country’s prevention and control work against SARS, <our country> has gained understanding, support and assistance from various countries, people and Chinese social communities

TT: In the course of our fight against SARS, *we*’ve received outstanding support and assistance from many governments, people and social communities.⁷¹

In this example, the original Chinese utterance is a zero-subject sentence with the subject likely to be interpreted as *our country* in this case. The interpreter, however, needs to add a subject in her English rendition in order to conform to the syntactic rules of the target language. Here, the interpreter opts for the exophoric pronoun *we* as the subject, with *we* likely to be interpreted as referring to the Chinese government, whose efforts have been supported by various parties – especially in view of the fact that the preceding discourse had focused on the government’s efforts in addressing the SARS crisis. In addition to suppressing reference to the country as a whole (by omitting ‘country’ in the target utterance), the introduction of (exophoric) ‘we’ thus further strengthens the voice of the Chinese government as the main identity in the interaction, as well as signalling, albeit subtly, the interpreter’s alignment with the government (rather than the country as a whole).

⁷¹ This and other English stretches such as original journalist questions in English, and including other target utterances in this thesis, are my transcripts of the sound tracks in the video audible on the site, as no transcripts of English utterances are generally included.

It could be argued that the addition of ‘we’ in the English interpretation is a by-product of the syntactic differences between Chinese and English, since Chinese syntax allows a zero subject structure where the subject can be recovered from the context, whereas such structures are not normally allowable in English. It is thus not uncommon for interpreters working from Chinese to add a pronominal subject in their English rendition, as seen in example 32 below. However, this would not explain why the interpreter in example 31 omitted any reference to ‘country’ in the first part of the sentence, thus allowing ‘we’ to be interpreted as referring to the Chinese government rather than the country as a whole.

In the following example, Mr. Gao is responding to a foreign journalist who has just asked him a question about the situation of people living with HIV/AIDS who have also contracted SARS, particularly in Henan province.

Example 32 (SARS 5_93_GAO)

ST: 同时在河南也建立了一些集中收治艾滋病患者的医疗中心，

Literally: Meanwhile, in Henan <the government> also established some dedicated medical centres <for> admitting and treating AIDS patients.

TT: *We* have set up a number of medical centres in Henan to admit and treat those AIDS patients.

The ST in this example is an active sentence with no subject, and the interpreter therefore has to add one. She opts to add the pronoun ‘we’ as the subject (rather than, for example, ‘China’ – a subject used in the previous sequence; see sequence 92 in Appendix 1). In the current context, ‘we’ is likely to be taken to refer to the Chinese government. Again, the use of the pronoun here not only emphasises the institutional presence of the Chinese government but, more importantly, signals the interpreter’s alignment with it.⁷² The pattern observed in the present study is slightly different from that reported in Beaton-Thome with respect to simultaneous interpreting in the European Parliament, where one way of introducing ‘we’ in interpreted utterances is through a shift from a passive to an active construction (Beaton-Thome 2010: 130; but see example 33 below which is an exception to the pattern).

The addition of ‘we’ to strengthen the institutional presence of the Chinese government and signal the interpreter’s alignment with it is a common pattern across

⁷² The interpreter could have opted for ‘the government’ as subject.

the corpus of press conferences that constitute the data for this study. Example 33 is an extract from the answer given by Mr. QI Xiaoqiu, Director of the Department of Disease Control in the Ministry of Health, in response to a question posed by a Wall Street journalist regarding the number of suspected SARS cases and their distribution among different provinces.

Example 33 (SARS 2_3_QI)

ST: 。 。 。 。 。 。 大家有的可能没有注意到，就是原来我们湖南报告的病例之中，现在减少了二个，就是由于我们过去是作为一个疑似病人，现在又排除了诊断，所以减少了二人，所以这个数字呢还是要进一步更新的。

Literally: ...Some of you may not have noticed that <the number of> *our* original Hunan reported cases <is now> reduced by two, that is because in the past we regarded <them> as suspected patients, and now have removed them <from the list> of SARS patients, so <now the figure> is reduced by two. So this figure will further be updated.

TT: ...And so I'm not sure you noticed it or not. But the number of SARS cases in Hunan has been cut by two. That is because the suspected cases have been cleared of the possibility for SARS. And so that shows that *we* are updating *our* figures.

In this example, the interpreter suppresses *we* and *our* where they occur earlier in Mr. Qi's answer (*our* Hunan reported cases...*we* in the past regarded ...) but adds them later, where they feature in a more positive context for the government (*we* are updating our figures). The exclusive *we* and its possessive *our*, referring to the 'in group' identity of the Chinese government, is therefore associated with positive action on the part of the institutional player in this interaction. More significantly, the interpreter actively signals her alignment with the government and plays the role of its spokesperson by replacing the passive structure *the figure still needs to be updated* with an active one, *we are updating our figures*, which presents the government in a positive light. This interpreter is thus not playing the traditional role of conduit (Reddy 1979) but is an active participant engaged in the negotiation of the interactive message.

It is interesting to observe that interpreters also use 'we' in parallel structures where the primary speakers introduce a list of policies or use subjectless sentences, as in example 34. The speaker here is Mr. Gao, Executive Vice Minister of Health, who is introducing a series of measures that the Chinese government has taken in response to the SARS crisis.

Example 34 (SARS 5_37-58_GAO)

37 **ST:** 第一, 加强法制建设, 严格依法管理。

Literally: First, strengthen legal construction, strictly legalise management

TT: One, *we* have strengthened the legislative work, to bring the management of this epidemic strictly onto the legal track.

42 **ST:** 二、加强组织领导, 统一协调指挥。

Literally: Second, strengthen organisation leadership; unify coordination <and> command <system>

TT: Two, *we* have strengthened organisation and leadership and put in place a unified and coordinated command system

45 **ST:** 三、加强农村防治, 实行群防群控。

Literally: Three, strengthen rural prevention <and> control, carry out mass prevention <and > mass control < of SARS>

TT: Three, *we* have worked vigorously at SARS control in rural areas by encouraging mass participation in SARS prevention and control.

50 **ST:** 五、集中优势资源, 积极收治患者。

Literally: Five, put together competitive resources, <and> actively admit <and> treat patients.

TT: Five, *we* have put together the best resources to actively admit and treat patients.

52 **ST:** 第六、坚持中西医结合, 提高治疗水平。

Literally: Six, stick to the combination of Chinese and Western medicine, improve treatment level

TT: Six, *we* try very hard to treat patients by a combination of traditional Chinese and western medicine to improve treatment.

54 **ST:** 七、加大政府投入, 实行医疗救助。

Literally: Seven, increase government input <and> exercise medical treatment and aid.

TT: *We* have intensified government input and instituted a system to provide medical aid and remuneration.

58 **ST:** 八、开展技术交流, 加强科技攻关。

Literally: Eight, undertake technical exchanges, enhance scientific and technological breakthrough

TT: Eight, *we* have been undertaking technical exchanges and enhancing scientific research and development.

In this long stretch of interaction, the interpreter starts every round of interpretation with *we* rather than other options such as ‘the Chinese government’ (which appears as the subject in the previous sequence; see sequence 36 in Appendix 1), or, more simply, the third person singular pronoun ‘it’. This repeated use of *we* in consecutive sequences strengthens the institutional presence of the Chinese government considerably and signals the interpreter’s alignment with the institution, whether that alignment is conscious or not on her part. For those participants and overhearers who can only access English, the exclusive in-group identity of the Chinese government becomes extremely salient as the focal point of the interaction.

The speaker in example 35 is Mr. Gao, who is trying to answer a question asked by a journalist from Asahi Shimbun of Japan about a letter by a member of the medical staff in Beijing that revealed reasons why the government was unwilling to disclose the information in the first place.

Example 35 (SARS 5_118_GAO)

ST: 在这场斗争中，有几十万医务工作者投入了这项工作。

Literally: In this battle <against SARS>, there are hundreds of thousands of medical workers <who> have participated.

TT: In this battle, hundreds of thousands of *our* medical workers are really fighting on the frontline.

The addition of *our* before *medical workers* here constructs an exclusive in-group identity of ‘the Chinese’ as opposed to other interactants at the press conference, and also signals the interpreter’s own positioning as part of the group. A similar pattern can be observed in example 36. This is an extract from Mr. Gao’s answer to a question posed by a Chinese journalist on the impact of SARS on the Chinese economy.

Example 36: (SARS 3_3_GAO)

ST: 我想中国经过二十多年的改革开放，已经有比较雄厚的经济基础，当前整个的财政经济形式比较好，一季度中国的财政收入增长 26%，我想不会因为资金的问题影响防疫工作的开展。

Literally: I think China after more than 20 years of reform and opening up has had a relatively solid economic foundation. Currently, the entire fiscal condition

is fairly good. In the first quarter China's fiscal revenue rose by 26%, I think funding will not be a problem affecting the progress of epidemic prevention work

TT: So thanks to more than 20 years of reform and opening up in this country, China has accumulated a very solid economic foundation, and naturally *our* economic and fiscal performance for this year has been very good. In the first quarter, the fiscal revenue grew by 26%. So I don't think the shortage of funding will be a problem for coping with this disease....

In this example, the addition of *our* again cumulatively helps to strengthen the exclusive in-group identity of the 'Chinese' and reveals the interpreter's stance as part of that group. This cumulative effect can be seen to emerge from numerous such choices across the corpus, as in example 37 below. Here, Mr. Gao, the Executive Vice Minister of Health, is responding to a CNN journalist who is probing into the reason behind Mr. Gao's defence of his predecessor, who had told the press that the epidemic had been effectively controlled – a statement which turned out to be unreliable. The journalist is also questioning the adequacy of Chinese procedures for disclosing information.

Example 37 (SARS 5_201_GAO)

ST: 至于你说到，张文康同志 4 月初在这儿宣布中国的疫情得到有效的控制，我想不是有意地隐瞒疫情，而是由于当时的信息渠道不畅，难以掌握到准确的数字。

Literally: As far as what you mentioned, Comrade ZHANG Wenkang in early April in here announced China's epidemic has been effectively controlled, I think it is not because he deliberately <wanted to> cover up the epidemic, but because at that time the information channel was not open and free enough, it was difficult to get exact figures.

TT: You talked about Mr. Zhang saying that, saying at the early of April this year that the epidemic has been effectively contained in China. I must say that that does not represent an intentional effort to conceal the truth. It is only that at that time because of the lack of good information collection system, it was quite difficult for *us* to lay *our* hands on the exact figures.

In the last part of this rendition, the introduction of both *us* and *our* is not triggered by anything in the ST nor required by English syntax – the interpreter could just as easily have rendered this as 'it was difficult to obtain exact figures'.

To sum up, the addition of the first person plural pronoun (in its various forms – 'we', 'our' and 'us) in the target discourse, often with no corresponding triggers in the source utterances and without being required by English syntax, has proved to be

a common pattern in Chinese government press conferences. Apart from the examples analysed above, a similar pattern can be observed in sequences 124, 138, 148, 227, 282, 359, 366, 367, 368 in Appendix 1 and all the examples in Appendix 3. Whether these patterns are introduced by the interpreter consciously or subconsciously, the cumulative effect of the increased use of the first person plural pronoun, including its repetition in parallel structures (as in example 34 above, and sequence SARS 4_4_LIU in Appendix 3), strengthens the institutional presence of the Chinese government considerably and simultaneously signals the interpreter's alignment as an institutional agent.

Apart from shifts in footing signalled by the addition of the first person plural pronoun, the interpreter's footing may also be revealed through **the addition and substitution of second and third person pronouns**. Example 38 is an extract from the second SARS series press conference. The speaker here is the chairperson, Mr. WANG Guoqing, Deputy Director-General of the State Council Information Office, in charge of coordinating all the SARS series press conferences held around this period of time, and is thus well-informed of the context of each press conference. Below is part of his opening remark in SARS 2 press conference.

Example 38 (SARS 2_1_WANG)

ST: 所以大家可能也就很清楚了，我们今天主要是一个请马晓伟副部长介绍一下目前非典型肺炎防治的工作情况，另外我们也请钟南山先生给我们简要地介绍一下和世界卫生组织专家组在广东工作的情况。。。。。。

Literally: So everybody is perhaps clear, today we will first invite Vice Minister MA Xiaowei to introduce the current situation regarding SARS prevention and treatment, we will also invite Mr. ZHONG Nanshan to give *us* a brief introduction to their collaborative work with the WHO expert group in Guangdong...

TT: So today, the press conference (.) what about (.) as what the press conference is about is quite clear. Vice Minister MA Xiaowei will tell *you* about some latest development about *our* prevention and treatment of SARS. Mr. ZHONG Nanshan will briefly talk to *you* about China's cooperation with the WHO expert group in Guangdong...

In the Chinese original, the chairperson's use of *us* signals an attempt to adopt an inclusive stance towards his audience (both Chinese and foreign journalists) by suggesting that the invited speakers will share some information on SARS with the entire group – both other Chinese officials, including himself, and all those present

in the room. However, in the English rendition, the interpreter's addition of *you* refers exclusively to the journalists present, thus restricting the addressees of Mr. Ma at a point where the nature of these addressees is suppressed in the original utterance. This is then followed by another significant choice, namely the replacement of the in-group pronoun *us* (referring to all those present at the press conference) with *you* (referring only to the journalists present). The combined use of first and second person pronouns in the rendition clearly signals the interpreter's self positioning as part of the 'information holding' body (the Chinese government), as opposed to the 'information seeking entity' (the press).

Similar instances can be found in the interpreter's rendering of the invited speakers' utterances, as illustrated in example 39. It is worth noting that this is an extract from the SARS 3 press conference, held on 20 April 2003. This was the peak period of the epidemic, when the number of SARS cases reported daily had risen sharply. Moreover, the former Health Minister who had originally been invited to address this press conference was replaced by his successor, Mr. GAO Qiang, at short notice. This unexpected change of officials to be present at the press conference provides credence to the rumour, then circulating widely, that the Health Minister, together with the Mayor of Beijing, were asked by the central government to offer their resignations because of their improper handling of the SARS crisis. The extract is the final part of Mr. Gao's response to a very sensitive question raised by a journalist from the American Broadcasting Company, who focuses on the issue of whether China had deliberately covered up the number of SARS cases, particularly in its declaration to the World Health Organisation.

Example 39 (SARS 3_1_GAO)

ST: 。 。 。 。 。 。 我们现在已经向一些地区派出了督察组，督察组的任务之一也包括核实各地的疫情。 。 。 。 。 。 当然大家如果能够掌握有些信息，希望大家能够提供给我，但是我要求是准确的。

Literally: ... We have now sent out monitoring teams to some areas, one of their tasks is to verify the local epidemic situation... of course if *everybody* can have some information, <I> hope *everybody* can offer <it> to *me*, but I ask <for it to be> accurate.

TT: ... we have sent out these supervisory groups to some localities in China as I have mentioned. One of the tasks of these groups is really to get to see the true extent of this epidemic and the accuracy of the figures that had been submitted... Of course if *you* have any information in *YOUR* hand, *we* would

appreciate that *you* give the information to *us*, but that information again has to be accurate.

The interpreter once again makes interesting use of a combination of first and second person pronouns to distinguish between the ‘in-group’ of Chinese officials and the ‘out-group’ of journalists, particularly foreign correspondents. First, the interpreter uses the second person pronoun *you* to address the journalists directly, whereas in the original utterance the primary speaker used 大家 (*everybody*)⁷³ to signal a broader group of addressees who might have access to relevant information. She then adds the first person plural pronoun *we* in her rendering of the subjectless sentence 希望大家能够提供给我 (<*I*> *hope everybody can offer <it> to me*) and replaces the first person singular pronoun 我 (*me*) with the first person plural pronoun *us*, rendering that stretch as *we would appreciate that you give the information to us*. Subconsciously or otherwise, the choice of various pronouns in her rendition suggests that the interpreter not only aligns herself with the government, but also effects realignment between the primary speakers (Chinese government officials and the journalists present) and imposes an ‘in-group’/‘out-group’ structure on the encounter. The stress on *your* in *any information in YOUR hand* (signalled here through the use of capitals) further strengthens the distinction between ‘us’ and ‘you’ and assigns the blame for withholding any information to the journalists.

As in the repetition of ‘we’ in parallel structures (example 34 above), which I argued strengthens the presence and visibility of the Chinese government, the repetition of other personal pronouns in similarly parallel structures may also serve to reinforce the importance and centrality of Chinese officials in these encounters. In example 40, the speaker, Mr. Wang, is chairing the press conference and introducing the official entrusted with responding to questions from the floor.

Example 40 (SARS 5_6_WANG)

ST: 所以我想高强先生的头衔其实不用介绍大家也都知道，他是全国防治非典型肺炎指挥部防治组组长，卫生部常务副部长。

⁷³ The Chinese word ‘大家’ has different meanings in different contexts. Here, it means everyone in a certain group, perhaps those who happen to watch or hear the conference. More details on the use of ‘大家’ can be found in the Modern Chinese Dictionary (2005).

Literally: So I think Mr. GAO Qiang's title is known to everybody without my introduction. *He* is the head of prevention and treatment group under the national command headquarters for SARS prevention and treatment, and Executive Deputy Minister of Health.

TT: I don't think I need to introduce Mr. Gao here to you. *He* is the leader, *he* is the head of the prevention and control working group under the national headquarters for SARS control and prevention, *he* is also the Executive vice Minister of Health.

The repeated use of the third person singular pronoun *he* in the English rendition is rhetorically significant as it emphasises the importance and seniority of the speaker being introduced, the Executive Vice Minister of Health, thus indirectly strengthening the presence of the Chinese government and suggesting the interpreter's alignment with the invited speaker and the institution as a whole.

Interpreters normally use the first person singular pronoun 'I' or 'me' to render the speaker's own use of 'I'; they may also use the first person plural pronoun 'we' or 'us' as subject, thus signalling a closer alignment with a particular group with which the speaker is identified (most often the Chinese government in this context). Given the formality of the setting and the sensitivity of the topics under discussion, it is surprising that the interpreter opts in a few rare but meaningful instances to use the first person singular pronoun where the original subject is different, as seen in example 41. The extract is part of Mr. GAO Qiang's answer in response to a question posed by a foreign journalist who highlights the heroic role of Mr. JIANG Yanyong, a Chinese doctor who revealed the probable cover-up of SARS information by the Chinese government to the media.

Example 41 (SARS 5_117_GAO)

ST: 我们认为，中国抗击 SARS 是在中国共产党和中国政府的领导下，发动全国人民依靠科学，依靠群众，群防群控取得的成果。

Literally: *We* believe, China's battle against SARS is led by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government, <who> have mobilised people across the country based on science, based on mass participation; mass prevention <and> mass control, has yielded positive results.

TT: *I* believe in this on-going battle against SARS the Communist Party of China and Chinese government have mobilised all *our* people in this country. And *we* have scored quite some achievements in this respect by relying on science and by relying on the participation of the people.

As in previous examples examined above, the interpreter not only introduces *our* and *we* where they do not occur in the original, thus reinforcing Chinese identity, but also opts for the first person singular pronoun *I* as the subject whereas the first person plural pronoun *we* is used in the original utterance. This change of pronoun interestingly signals a very subtle shift in the interpreter's footing, from aligning with the broader in-group of Chinese civil servants to adopting the narrow, canonical role of mouthpiece for the current speaker. The speaker is thus depicted as personally responsible for the views being expressed; the identity being established and negotiated here is shifted slightly, from the collective identity of Chinese civil servants to that of a single official.

4.3 Addition and Substitution of Intensifiers

Baker (1997) argues that in highly sensitive and acrimonious encounters such as political interviews, the main concern of the interpreter is accuracy, given the potential implications of any semantic errors. However, opting for literal translation as a strategy does not necessarily preclude the interpreter's employment of linguistic devices such as intensifiers or repetition to signal his/her identity as 'a member of the host community' (ibid.: 118). This pattern is also evident in the current data, where interpreter footing is often signalled through the addition of intensifiers such as 'really', 'very much' and 'indeed', as well as through repetition. Examples 42 and 43 below are both extracts from the SARS 5 press conference, where Mr. Gao, the Executive Vice Minister of Health, is the invited speaker. In example 42, Mr. Gao pays tribute to all the medical workers involved in the treatment of SARS patients. He also rejects the suggestion that Mr. JIANG Yanyong (a Chinese doctor who wrote to the press claiming that the figures released by the government relating to the number of SARS patients might not be accurate) should be regarded as a hero, as implied in an earlier question by a journalist from Asahi Shimbun of Japan.

Example 42 (SARS 5_118_GAO)

ST: 在这场斗争中，有几十万医务工作者投入了这项工作。

Literally: In this battle <against SARS>, there are hundreds of thousands of medical workers <who> have participated.

TT: In this battle, hundreds of thousands of our medical workers are *really fighting on the frontlines*.

The interpreter's addition of the intensifier *really* before *fighting on the frontlines* suggests that she is emotionally involved in the argument and supportive of the speaker's implied suggestion that it is the medical workers involved in providing treatment for SARS patients who are the real heroes. Similarly, in example 43, where Mr. Gao urges the press to provide the outside world with an accurate picture of the SARS situation in China, the interpreter also seems to lend her own voice to the speaker's appeal through her addition of the intensifier *very much* before *hope that...*

Example 43 (SARS 5_159_GAO)

ST: 我希望诸位新闻界的朋友能够向世界上准确地、具体地介绍中国疫情的分布情况，使各方面都能准确地了解，做出判断。

Literally: I *hope* that you, friends from the press, can convey accurately and specifically the message on the distribution of SARS in China, so that all parties can have an accurate understanding of China's SARS situation and come to their <informed> judgement.

TT: I *very much hope* that friends from the press will convey the distribution of the SARS outbreak in China to the rest of the world in an accurate and specific manner so that people in other places will also get an accurate understanding and come to their own judgment about this situation.

The interpreter's footing is also signalled elsewhere through repetition, as illustrated in example 44. Here, Mr. Gao is expressing his gratitude for the support and assistance offered by various parties during China's SARS campaign. The interpreter's repetition of the prepositional phrase *on behalf of* and the resulting parallel structure subtly enhance the tone of gratitude expressed by the speaker, and hence the image of the institutional and professional group he represents.

Example 44 (SARS 5_74_GAO)

ST: 我代表中国卫生部和全国 600 万医疗和卫生工作者表示诚挚的感谢。

Literally: I *on behalf of* China's Ministry of Health and the 6 million medical and hygienic workers, <would like to> express <my/our> sincere thanks.

TT: I would like to express our sincere thanks for that *on behalf of* the Ministry of Health of China and also *on behalf of* the 6 million medical workers in this country.

The interpreter's alignment with the institution is also evident in her use of intensifiers and other emphatic markers in renditions into Chinese, as seen in

example 45. This is an extract from a fairly long and sensitive question raised by a journalist from Kyodo News of Japan on the inadequacy and inefficiency of the work of the government.

Example 45 (SARS 5_97_KYODO NEWS JNL)

ST: I work for Kyodo News. I think many people *appreciate the efforts* the governments at local and national level have been making to stop the spread of SARS. But there has been some criticism that the efforts have been in some way concentrated more directed at being seen to be doing something (.), rather than being directed at small practical measures...

TT: 我是日本新闻社的一个记者。我想现在很多人都 *非常赞赏* 中国中央政府以及地方各级政府为了防治非典所做出的 *大量的* 这个工作和努力，但是呢，也有一些人呢也在批评，说中国政府呢，这个努力呢，可能工作没到点子上去。而是说呢，在有很多实际的这个工作呢，当然有时候比较小，但是呢没有到位。。。。。

[I'm with Kyodo News. I think now many people *appreciate very much the great deal of* (zhege) efforts the Chinese governments at central and local level have made. However (ne), some people (ne) also criticised, saying that the Chinese government (ne), (zhege) efforts (ne) perhaps, the work is not to the point. Also say (ne), much specific (zhege) work (ne), although sometimes relatively small, still (ne) is not to the point either...]⁷⁴

Although the intention behind this question is to challenge the inadequate performance of the Chinese government, and particularly its preoccupation with appearing to be doing the right thing (rather than actually doing the right thing), the journalist first engages in some face-work and expresses appreciation of what has been done so far. In the Chinese rendition, the interpreter emphasises the appreciative tone of the question by adding the intensifier *very much* (before *appreciate*) and *a great deal of* (before *efforts*). She also strengthens the element of appreciation rhetorically through the use of the synonyms *effort* and *work* (where the original utterance only used *work*). These linguistic devices cumulatively help to diffuse tension and make the question sound more positive and less confrontational. For further examples of intensification, see example 31 (addition of *outstanding*), example 34 (sequence 52, addition of *try very hard*), example 36 (substitution of *relatively* and *fairly* in the original utterance with *very* repeatedly) and example 39 (addition of *really*) above, repeated here for convenience.

⁷⁴ The use of *zhege* (a Chinese discourse marker) and *ne* (a Chinese tone particle) as face-work strategies is discussed in section 5.3.1 of Chapter 5.

Example 31 (SARS 5_73_GAO)

ST: 在我国防治 SARS 的工作中，得到了各国政府、人民和中国社会各界的理解、支持和帮助。

Literally: In our country's prevention and control work against SARS, <our country> has gained understanding, support and assistance from various countries, people and Chinese social communities

TT: In the course of our fight against SARS, we've received *outstanding* support and assistance from many governments, people and social communities.

Example 34 (SAR 5_52_GAO)

ST: 第六、坚持中西医结合，提高治疗水平。

Literally: Six, *stick to* the combination of Chinese and Western medicine, improve treatment level

TT: Six, we *try very hard to* treat patients by a combination of traditional Chinese and western medicine to improve treatment.

Example 36: (SARS 3_3_GAO)

ST: 我想中国经过二十多年的改革开放，已经有比较雄厚的经济基础，当前整个的财政经济形式比较好，一季度中国的财政收入增长 26%，我想不会因为资金的问题影响防疫工作的开展。

Literally: I think China after more than 20 years of reform and opening up has had a *relatively* solid economic foundation. Currently, the entire fiscal condition is *fairly* good. In the first quarter China's fiscal revenue rose by 26%, I think funding will not be a problem affecting the progress of epidemic prevention work

TT: So thanks to more than 20 years of reform and opening up in this country, China has accumulated a *very* solid economic foundation, and naturally our economic and fiscal performance for this year has been *very* good. In the first quarter, the fiscal revenue grew by 26%. So I don't think the shortage of funding will be a problem for coping with this disease....

Example 39 (SARS 3_1_GAO)

ST: 。。。。。。。我们现在已经向一些地区派出了督察组，督察组的任务之一也包括核实各地的疫情。。。。。。当然大家如果能够掌握有些信息，希望大家能够提供给我，但是我要求是准确的。

Literally: ...We have now sent out monitoring teams to some areas, one of their tasks is to verify the local epidemic situation...of course if everybody can have some information, <I> hope everybody can offer <it> to me, but I ask <for it to be> accurate.

TT: ... we have sent out these supervisory groups to some localities in China as I have mentioned. One of the tasks of these groups is *really* to get to see the true

extent of this epidemic and the accuracy of the figures that had been submitted...Of course if you have any information in your hand, we would appreciate that you give the information to us, but that information again has to be accurate.

4.4 Discussion

The present study has revealed a prominent pattern in which interpreters tend to use first person plural pronoun *we (our/us)* and intensifiers in their renditions where often have no corresponding triggers in the original utterances, and ultimately help strengthen the insituational presence of the Chinese government and argue for its 'line'. Table 10 below summarises the distribution of instances where interpreters use *we/our/us* and various intensifiers across different sessions of the press conferences that constitute the core data of this study. It is worth noting that SARS 2, 3 and 5 are presumably interpreted by the same person, whereas SARS 4 and 6 are interpreted by a different interpreter each. The table shows that the SARS 5 press conference features more instances of the interpreter's use of first person plural pronouns and its variants as well as intensifiers than other sessions of press conferences that constitute the core data of this study: SARS 5 features 55 and 20 instances in the two categories, respectively. For SARS 5, this means use of *we/our/us* at the rate of 12.7 instances per half hour stretch, compared to 5.2 instances and 3.5 instances per half hour stretch in SARS 2 and 3, respectively. This pattern highlights the significance of the SARS 5 press conference and supports my rationale for choosing to transcribe this particular session in full to demonstrate the linguistic devices employed by interpreters in their mediation of footing and face-work in Chinese government press conferences. The only exception to this pattern is SARS 6, which features 52 instances of the interpreter's use of *we/our/us*. This could be explained in terms of the particular interpreter's style, but given that no further data by the same interpreter is available it is not possible to pursue this issue. However, what is interesting and demonstrates the significance of SARS 5 is that – if I am correct in assuming that it is interpreted by the same interpreter as for SARS 1, 2 and 3 (see footnote 45, page 72), the interpreter uses many more instances of *we/our/us* in SARS 5 than in other sessions she has interpreted in the same series. If so, this would suggest that the repeated use of these pronouns is not an issue of

interpreter style but a feature of this specific interaction and the demands it makes on the interpreter to align in one or the other direction.

		SARS 2 83 minutes	SARS 3 120 minutes	SARS 4 90 minutes	SARS 5 130 minutes	SARS 6 90 minutes
<i>we/our/us</i>		14	14	12	55	52
intensifiers	<i>really</i>	1	1	nil	3	nil
	<i>very (much)</i>	nil	2	nil	6	1
	<i>lots of</i>	nil	1	nil	nil	nil
	<i>ever</i>	nil	1	nil	nil	nil
	<i>a great deal of</i>	nil	nil	nil	1	nil
	<i>indeed</i>	nil	nil	nil	2	nil
	<i>so</i>	nil	nil	nil	1	nil
	<i>most</i>	nil	nil	nil	1	nil
	<i>totally</i>	nil	nil	nil	1	nil
	<i>highly</i>	nil	nil	nil	3	nil
	<i>effectively</i>	nil	nil	nil	1	nil
	<i>outstanding</i>	nil	nil	nil	1	nil
Total		1	5	nil	20	1

Table 10 Distribution in Interpreted Utterances into English of First Person Plural Pronouns *We/Us/Our* and Various Intensifiers across SARS Press Conferences (Unit: Number of Instances)

Apart from SARS 5, SARS 3 also features slightly more instances of the interpreter's use of intensifiers (5 instances) than SARS 2, 4 and 6 press conferences (1, nil and 1 instance, respectively). This could be explained by the fact that both SARS 3 and SARS 5 press conferences are attended by the Executive Vice Minister of Health, who is considered the most senior and responsible official present at the SARS press conference series; more difficult questions may thus be expected to be posed by journalists at these two sessions than at other sessions. The more tense the interaction, the more likely it is for interpreters to be actively involved in negotiating the line taken by primary participants, and hence the more instances are likely to occur of features that signal their own footing as institutional agents.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that while attempting to remain invisible and to interpret as literally as they can, interpreters in Chinese government press conferences do take a ‘line’ with respect to the topics discussed and a distinctive footing vis-à-vis different participants from time to time. The focus has been on examining the various devices used by interpreters in this context to signal shifts in footing. These shifts reveal the interpreters’ involvement in the negotiation of speaker identity and their alignment with the institution. Devices such as the addition and substitution of personal pronouns and the addition of intensifiers are used extensively across the data, in particular in the press conferences (SARS 2, 3 and 5) attended by officials from the Ministry of Health. Through the cumulative use of these linguistic devices, the interpreters subconsciously position themselves as members of the relevant institutional body,⁷⁵ and significantly strengthen institutional presence and ideology. This supports the findings of Beaton (2007) with respect to conference interpreting. Beaton argues that an institutional ideology such as EU hegemony is strengthened by the mediation of simultaneous interpreters in the context of the European Parliament.

The next chapter will attempt to investigate interpreters’ engagement in the negotiation of face and face-work among different participants (including themselves), as well as their strategies for self-protection in the politically sensitive context of government press conferences in China.

⁷⁵ This can be partly explained by interpreters’ background as civil servants.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETERS' MEDIATION OF FACE AND FACE-WORK IN CHINESE GOVERNMENT PRESS CONFERENCES

5.1 Introduction

Goffman's theoretical model of face and face-work, discussed in Chapter 2, has inspired many subsequent studies on politeness practices in social interaction, among which the theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) has probably been the most influential. Both Goffman and Brown and Levinson have acknowledged the French sociologist Durkheim as their source of inspiration in articulating the notion of face, but Brown and Levinson (1987) draw more directly on Goffman's reworking of the concept in developing their linguistic theory of politeness. They nevertheless define face quite differently and approach the phenomenon of politeness from a perspective that diverges in important ways from Goffman's.

As explained in Chapter 2, Goffman's concept of face, defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume s/he has taken during a particular interaction, originates largely from China (Goffman 1972, Bargiela-Chiappini 2003: 1454). Here, face is understood as some sort of loan that society extends to individuals, thus emphasising its social value — as illustrated by the concept of face-giving in Chinese and articulated in the expression ‘给脸’ or ‘给面子’, literally ‘giving face’. Although inspired by Goffman's notion of face, Brown and Levinson's two dimensional framework of positive and negative politeness (1987) largely reflects values dominant in Anglophone cultures, such as individualism, and has been criticised as unsuitable for accounting for politeness phenomena in Chinese cultures (Gu 1990), where collectivism and “the reciprocity of obligations, dependence and esteem protection” are much emphasised (Ho 1976: 883). Brown and Levinson's model also differs from Goffman's in being speaker-centred, projecting the speaker as involved in a communicative encounter where the priority is ultimately protecting his or her own face; this results in a model that is less attentive to the interactive nature of conversations.

Goffman's model of face-work revolves around defensive and protective practices which are aimed at saving one's own as well as another party's face simultaneously. This implies that the self must fit within the social setting, and that one's face cannot be separated from that of others. Speakers' simultaneous engagement in these two practices, and the fact that they are difficult to extricate from each other analytically, reflects the inherently social nature of face as understood in Goffman's work. Furthermore, Goffman's analysis of avoidance and corrective processes (see Chapter 2) highlights the fact that interlocutors ultimately aim to reach interactional equilibrium and that everyone involved has a role to play in this regard. Social interaction is thus seen as dynamic and collaborative, with all interactants engaging in ritualised behaviour to maintain social balance. Brown and Levinson's dichotomy of positive and negative politeness, on the other hand, assumes an individualistic urge on the part of speakers to satisfy their own wants and feelings above all else. Speakers in this model are presented as constantly striving to avoid face-threatening acts, thus emphasising only the 'self' and the defensive dimension of the interactional ritual described by Goffman. Heavily informed by Anglophone cultures, Brown and Levinson approach politeness from a "conflict avoidance" perspective (Eelen 2001: 3) and depict a "Model Person" who is manipulative, who does not engage in reciprocal, ritualised aspects of social interaction to maintain social equilibrium but seeks only to satisfy their own wants and protect their own territory. In contrast, Goffman's politeness theory offers a more holistic framework, catering for the dual consideration of the face of self and the face of others in an unfolding process of communication. For Goffman, face is the main principle of the ritual order (Goffman 1972: 44), and doing face-work means following the "traffic rules" of communication (ibid.: 12).

It is worth noting that whatever their relative merits or limitations, neither Goffman's nor Brown and Levinson's models have engaged with multilingual interactional settings. But because Goffman's social framework accommodates audience design in communication (for example by identifying different hearer roles), his conceptualisation of face and face-work appears more robust and more amenable to being extended to the study of multilingual, interpreter-mediated interaction, where interpreters are situated within triadic (rather than dyadic)

exchanges and are expected to attend to the face of both primary interlocutors and themselves, as well as engage in face-work involving other participants.

Despite its strengths and sophistication, Goffman's politeness theory is often invoked but seldom applied in a sustained manner in analysing real life cases, perhaps because its sophistication precludes clear dichotomies or the identification of watertight politeness choices and the linguistic devices associated with them; the only broad distinction Goffman offers is between defensive and protective orientations and avoidance and corrective processes of doing face-work. By contrast, Brown and Levinson developed a streamlined framework that encompasses a set of clear choices and textual devices associated with each choice, for example hedging strategies associated with negative and positive politeness. This renders their framework more amenable to being operationalised than Goffman's.

Bearing in mind the limitations of the two frameworks, this chapter attempts to combine the strength of both models by adopting Goffman's conceptualisation of face and face-work as a broad blueprint, combined with Brown and Levinson's discussion of specific linguistic devices where appropriate, in order to explore interpreters' engagement with face-work as they attempt to protect their own face and the face of primary interlocutors in Chinese government press conferences.

In what follows, and given the dynamic and fluid nature of Goffman's model, which does not lend itself to a systematic analysis of a body of textual data, the analysis will not be organised under orientations (protective and defensive) and processes (avoidance and correction) of face-work, but in terms of linguistic devices such as terms of address and hedges, through which interpreters mediate politeness in the formal, often tense and politically sensitive setting under examination.

5.2 Terms of Address

Terms of address have been widely recognised as an important site of face-work. In a book devoted to reviewing the literature on politeness theory, Eelen proposes two concepts of politeness: *politeness 1*, a lay concept that refers to what people say or think they do when they engage in politeness; and *politeness 2*, a scientific concept used to refer to what scientists say or think people do when they exercise politeness

(2001: 35). He further distinguishes three types of *politeness 1*: *expressive*, *classificatory* and *metapragmatic*⁷⁶. *Expressive politeness 1* refers to “politeness-encoded in speech, to instances where the speaker aims at ‘polite’ behaviour: the use of honorifics or terms of address in general”, among other devices (ibid.). Other studies have similarly commented on the close relationship between terms of address and politeness-in-action (e.g. Gu 1990 and Watts 1992).

One of Gu’s politeness maxims in the Chinese context is the *address maxim*, which states: “address your interlocutor with an appropriate address term...based on the notions of respectfulness and attitudinal warmth” (1990: 248). Watts also points out that “wherever volition supersedes discernment in the choice of specific linguistic forms such as honorifics, terms of address ... we are dealing with politeness phenomena” (1992: 52). These studies confirm that terms of address have become “one of the central topics in politeness research” (Eelen 2001: 38). Terms of address have also recently featured as an important topic in interpreting research, with a number of studies investigating politeness phenomena in interpreted discourse in simultaneous conference interpreting (e.g. Pöchhacker 1995). Chang and Wu (2009) also look at politeness phenomena in interpreted discourse but focus specifically on interpreted question and answer sessions in the press conference setting.

The current study adopts Chao’s definition of ‘terms of address’ as a term used to “describe (1) *vocatives*, or terms of direct address to call persons by, and (2) *designatives* or mentioning terms which one uses as part of connected discourse in speaking of persons” (1976: 217). Chinese has different categories of terms of address, including official, social and occupational titles, pronouns, proper names and kinship terms. It also has honorific markers⁷⁷ and “solidarity boosters”⁷⁸ (Gu 1990: 249). Appropriate use of address in specific interactional settings constitutes part of one’s “tact, savoir-faire, diplomacy or social skill” (Goffman 1972: 13), and

⁷⁶ According to Eelen (2001), classificatory politeness 1 “refers to politeness used as a categorisational tool: it covers hearers’ judgement (in actual interaction) of other people’s interactional behaviour as ‘polite’ or ‘impolite’”, and metapragmatic politeness 1 “covers instances of talk about politeness as a concept, about what people perceive politeness to be all about” (Eelen 2001: 35).

⁷⁷ Such as ‘老 lao’, for example in ‘老张 laozhang’, which is used to address a Chinese person with the surname ‘张 Zhang’, usually senior in age or rank, in a respectful way.

⁷⁸ Such as ‘同志, tongzhi’, meaning ‘comrade’.

is influenced by the power structure that operates in a given instance of social interaction. Eelen argues that the “practice of social positioning not only operates on the abstract philosophical and psychological level, but also in the concrete reality of every day interaction”, and that the use and choice of terms of address can thus “establish, acknowledge, challenge, dismiss or dissimulate differences in social power” (2001: 237). Polite forms of address are generally believed to be used by interlocutors with less power and lower social status towards interlocutors with more power and higher social status (Berk-Seligson 1990, Gu 1990). If terms of address are used inappropriately, and without mediation, the face of both parties may be threatened. In the context of courtroom interpreting, research shows that when a mismatch or error occurs in the use of terms of address, generally because the witness or defendant will use terms of address that match the gender of the interpreter rather than that of the attorney or judge, the interpreter tends to either interpret “the address term incorrectly so that the gender of the address terms matches the sex of the lawyer” or drop “the address terms altogether in the interpretation of the answer of the witness” (Berk-Seligson 1990: 151).

In formal institutional settings such as government press conferences, question and answer sequences may involve quite frequent use of official, social and occupational titles,⁷⁹ as well as honorific markers, to address various participants. This section attempts to examine interpreter’s mediation of face and face-work, in the data under scrutiny, with respect to these categories of address.

5.2.1 Titles

According to Gu, one of the features of Chinese use of terms of address in settings characterised by unequal distribution of power (e.g. in interaction involving the young and the aged, or a lower and higher ranking official) is that inferiors tend to choose more formal terms of address in order to show respect to the addressee (1990: 251). Government press conferences fall into the category of such unequal settings, where the Chinese officials are considered to have more institutional power and

⁷⁹ Examples of official titles are ‘部长 buzhang’ (minister) and ‘市长 shizhang’ (mayor); examples of social titles are ‘先生 xiansheng’ (Mr.), ‘女士 nvshi’ (lady), and ‘小姐 xiaojie’ (Miss); examples of occupational titles include ‘医生 yisheng’ (doctor), ‘记者 jizhe’ (journalist), ‘老师 laoshi’ (teacher) and ‘修阳伞的 xiu yangsan de’ (a person who repairs umbrellas) (Chao 1976: 223-227).

interpreters and journalists as a whole are considered to have less institutional power. In such a context, interpreters, who are themselves part of the institution, are expected to use more formal terms of address, in effect maintaining or giving face to their superiors, namely the Chinese officials. My data yield quite complex results with respect to different sessions of the press conferences. In three press conferences (SARS 2, SARS 3 and SARS 4), there is a tendency for interpreters to address Chinese officials by using their official titles, generally considered more formal, where their social titles are used in the original utterance, as in examples 46 and 47. Example 46 is an extract from the opening remarks of the chairperson in the SARS 2 press conference. After introducing the Vice Minister of Health Mr. Ma to the press conference, the chairperson adds that the Vice Minister flew to Guangzhou directly after his press conference last Thursday, suggesting that the Minister attaches great importance to this event.

Example 46 (SARS 2_WANG)

ST: 马先生上星期四在这里参加记者招待会晚了以后, 就带着工作组飞广州去工作了.

[Last Thursday *Mr. Ma* flew to work in Guangzhou with his team immediately after attending the press conference here.]

TT: As a matter of fact, immediately after the press briefing of last Thursday, *Vice Minister Ma* led a group to Guangzhou.

Possibly due to his in-group relationship to and close acquaintance with the Vice Minister, the chairperson refers to the latter with his social title, *Mr. Ma*. This is substituted with his official title, *Vice Minister Ma*. The official title here sounds more formal than the social title, and conveys a higher degree of deference, hence giving face to the Chinese official. The same pattern occurs in the interpreter's rendition from English into Chinese, as in example 47. In this extract from the SARS 4 press conference, a journalist from UPI asks Vice Premier Wu to meet the press and poses a question to the Vice Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Liu, about the ministry's response to SARS and AIDS.

Example 47 (SARS 4_UPI JNL)

ST: Good morning, UPI. I have one request and a question for *Mr. Liu*. We've had a lot of press conferences about SARS. Isn't it about time that we heard from *the leader WU Yi* on the issue? Could *you* pass on the request for her to speak to the press? And my question to *Mr. Liu* is for *him* to compare the

Ministry of Agriculture's response to SARS to its handling of the AIDS crisis. There are a lot of real cases of AIDS. What efforts are going to be put into that issue as well as the SARS issue? Thank you!

TT: 我是来自国际合众社的记者。我有一个要求, 然后呢, 有一个问题想问一下 *刘副部长*。我刚才提出的这个请求呢, 就是现在开了很多的关于防治非典的新闻发布会, 那么现在能不能让 *我们的新闻发言人* 向我们的 *吴副总理* 传递一个信息, 就是让她能够与媒体见面。我的第二个问题呢, 就是想请 *刘副部长* 做一个对比, 就是现在农业部对于防治非典所做出的努力以及在农业部国家在防治艾滋病扩散方面所做出的处理方面呢做一个对比。现在我们看到呢, 在中国有很多的艾滋病患者, 那么在这两个方面都做出了什么样的工作?

[I'm with UPI. I have a request and then (ne),⁸⁰ a question I would like to ask *Vice Minister Liu*. The request I would like to ask (ne), is that, now many press conferences have been held on SARS prevention and control. Then now could *our spokesperson* convey a message to *our Vice Premier Wu*? That is to let her meet the press. My second question (ne) is to ask *Vice Minister Liu* to make a comparison, that is, between the efforts the Minister of Agriculture has made in terms of dealing with SARS and AIDS (ne). Now we can see (ne) there are many AIDS patients in China. Then what efforts have you made with respect to these two aspects?]

The journalist addresses Vice Minister Liu using his social title (Mr. Liu) all the way through; he refers to the Vice Premier using her full name, WU Yi. Furthermore, the journalist addresses the Chinese official as a third party,⁸¹ as indicated in his use of *for him to compare* to refer to the Vice Minister of Agriculture, who is the immediate, present question taker. In contrast, the interpreter replaces all social titles with official titles (Vice Minister Liu), and addresses the Vice Premier with her official title followed by her surname only, which conveys more respect towards the relevant officials in this context. In Goffman's terms, the interpreter is involved in protective face-work, using terms of address carefully to convey more deference than in the original English. Interestingly, the interpreter also adds *our* before *Vice Premier Wu* and substitutes *you* (possibly referring to the Chinese officials present as a whole) with *our spokesperson*, thus lending support to the argument outlined in Chapter 4 with respect to interpreters' institutional alignment.

More instances of this type can be found in other sessions, as in example 48 (SARS 5). Here, the journalist from UPI poses a fairly confrontational question to

⁸⁰ The use of the tone particle (ne) is discussed below under 5.3.1.

⁸¹ More discussion of third party address can be found in section 5.2.3.

Executive Vice Minister of Health, Mr. Gao about the dismissal of two senior Chinese government officials and the issue of accountability in central government.

Example 48 (SARS 5_164_ UPI JNL)

ST: Good afternoon, *Mr. Gao*, I have two questions for you. Last time we saw you, the next day, the *Health Minister ZHANG Wenkang* and *Mayor MENG Xuenong* both lost their jobs. I was wondering if you can tell us according to law what their punishment is for concealing the truth about the SARS situation?

TT: 我是合众国际社的记者。我想问高部长两个问题。您上次来给我们作新闻发布会之后的第二天，卫生部张部长和北京市的孟市长就被解职了，因为他们没有向公众宣布 SARS 非典疫情在中国的真相。我想问一下，根据法律，对于他们的惩罚到底是什么样的？

[I'm from UPI. I have two questions for *Minister Gao*. The day after nin⁸² <polite you> gave us a press conference last time, *Health Minister Zhang* and *Mayor Meng* of Beijing were both fired because they didn't tell the public the truth about the SARS epidemic in China. I would like to ask according to law what punishment they will receive?]

The journalist first addresses the Vice Minister vocatively as *Mr. Gao*, and then refers to the two dismissed officials using their full names prefixed with their official titles, thus showing modest acknowledgment of the position of the two officials. In the Chinese rendition, the interpreter omits the vocative address, substitutes the social title of the Executive Vice Minister of Health (*Mr. Gao*) with his official title (*Minister Gao*), then refers to the allegedly guilty officials by their official titles suffixed by their surname only (*Health Minister Zhang* and *Mayor Meng*), which is a common form of address in Chinese culture (Chao 1976: 225).⁸³ These subtle and yet normative shifts in the choice of terms of address convey deference and respect towards the interpreter's institutional superiors and acknowledge their social status, thus granting them more face than would be the case if the original utterance had been rendered more literally.⁸⁴

In some cases, the interpreter omits a vocative altogether and in effect softens the challenging tone of the original utterance, thus protecting the face of the

⁸² Pronominal choice is the subject of section 5.2.2 below.

⁸³ In a recent study on Chinese terms of address among public servants, Yan (2002) found that using surnames plus official titles is one of the most common ways of address in Chinese institutional settings. It is particularly common to address senior officials by their surnames plus their official titles, and such usage is more favoured by female speakers than male speakers (ibid.: 70).

⁸⁴ The combination of official title plus surname only, rather than the use of full names, can also be interpreted as an interpreting strategy of compression as it may be more demanding on memory to reproduce full names in this context.

addressee, as in example 49, where a CBS journalist overtly criticises the Chinese government's handling of the SARS reporting and likens it to *playing with figures*.

Example 49 (SARS 5_241_CBS JNL)

ST: *Mr. GAO Qiang*, I have an expression I would like to share with you too. If you torture data, it could be anything you want. How do we believe this epidemic is actually fading away given that the World Health Organisation says underreporting is still going on in Beijing given how China handles underreporting with HIV/AIDS epidemic?

TT: 我是 CBS 电视台的记者。我也想跟您讲个俗语，也就是说呢，如果你们想去在数字上玩一些把戏的话呢，其实是没有用的。因为刚才您也提到呢，现在疫情呢正在稳中有降，但是呢，现在根据世界卫生组织方面，有人表示呢，中国仍然在这个漏报和瞒报疫情的一些情况。

[I'm with CBS, I also want to tell nin <polite you> a saying. That is to say (ne), if nimen <plural you> want to play with figures (ne), it is actually useless. Because just now nin <polite you> mentioned (ne) the epidemic at the current stage (ne) is getting less serious in a stable way. However (ne), according to the World Health Organisation, some people say (ne), China is still (zhege) underreporting and concealing some situation about the epidemic.]

Here, the foreign journalist challenges the Executive Vice Minister of Health directly by vocatively addressing him as *Mr. Gao* then overtly criticising the government's report on the SARS epidemic by likening it to torturing data. This style of questioning sounds confrontational to an English-speaking audience. However, the Chinese rendition omits the vocative address (*Mr. Gao*), thus subtly diverting the criticism away from the individual official, and revealing the protective face-work in which the interpreter engages for the benefit of the Chinese official.⁸⁵

In the tense working environment that characterises government press conferences during crises such as SARS, the easiest solution for interpreters may reasonably be assumed to consist of providing literal renditions. However, the above examples show that instead of replicating features such as the use of social titles in the original utterance, interpreters will often opt for mediating the level of politeness, for instance by using the more formal and respectful official titles to refer to or

⁸⁵ The frictional tone of the original utterance in this example is also softened by the interpreter's constant use of 呢 *ne*, which signals hesitation in this context, 您 *nin* (honorific form of single you), 你们 *nimen* (plural form of you) and 这个 *zhege* (literally 'this', a discourse marker indicating tentativeness). Detailed discussion of these politeness devices is provided later in this chapter, under 5.2.2 and 5.3.1.

address Chinese officials, with the ultimate effect of mitigating the confrontational tone of the original utterances and protecting the face of their official superiors.

However, this pattern is not adopted in the case of non-governmental professional speakers, whose social titles in the original utterance are generally maintained in the rendition. For example, in the SARS 2 press conference, after introducing the invited speaker 钟南山院士, *Academician*⁸⁶ ZHONG Nanshan, the Chairperson says 钟先生也是专程来北京参加这个记者招待会 (*Mr. Zhong has also come to Beijing especially for this press conference*). The social title (*Mr. Zhong*) but not the official title (*Academician Zhong*) is maintained in the English rendition (*Mr. Zhong has also come here especially for this purpose*). This suggests that the issue of politeness is closely bound up with that of institutional alignment: interpreters tend to show more deference towards government officials who represent the institution which employs them.

It is also interesting to note that the preference for using official titles rather than social titles and surnames only rather than full names (both of which express more deference towards the addressee) does not seem to be so common in the other 2 press conferences (SARS 5 and SARS 6), where a mixed pattern of using social and official titles as well as full names of government officials is evident, as in example 50 and example 51 below. Both are extracts from the chairperson's opening remarks in SARS 5 and SARS 6 respectively, where the chairperson is introducing the invited government officials (Executive Vice Minister of Health GAO Qiang for SARS 5 and Vice Science and Technology Minister LI Xueyong for SARS 6) to the audience.

Example 50 (SARS 5_4_WANG)

ST: 所以现在一个多月了，我们觉得这几天的疫情有些变化，所以我想我们请高彊先生需要来跟我们新闻界见一次面。

[So now one month has passed, the epidemic situation has undergone some changes, so I think it is necessary for us to invite *Mr. GAO Qiang* to talk to our press.]

⁸⁶ The original word used by the interpreter is retained here. It is commonly used to address a member of the Chinese Academy of Engineering or of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the holders of this title are regarded as the most distinguished scholars in China.

TT: It has been more than four weeks since the last press conference. And in the past few days, the epidemic situation in China has been changing. So we think it is quite necessary for us to have *Mr. GAO Qiang* here with us once again to talk to us about the relevant situation.

Example 51 (SARS 6_1_WANG)

ST: 下面先请 *李学勇副部长* 给大家简要介绍一下有关情况。

[Now I would like to invite *Vice Minister LI Xueyong* to give everybody a briefing.]

TT: Now I would like to give the floor to *Mr. LI Xueyong* to give you a brief introduction of the state of affairs.

In these two examples, the chairperson refers to the two vice ministers by their full names, preceded by their social title in example 5 and their official title in example 6. The use of full names as a term of address is common and acceptable in the Chinese context, especially in cases where the speaker is addressing or referring to a person with whom he/she is familiar and indicates closeness between the speaker and the addressee or the person being referred to (in this example, they are both government officials and probably close in rank). Unlike the interpreters' choices in SARS press conferences 2, 3 and 4, i.e. their preference for official titles and surnames only prefixed with titles, in SARS 5 and 6 press conferences they either maintain the original social title (Mr.) as in example 50, or replace the original official title (Vice Minister) with the social title (Mr.) as in example 51; there is only one more instance of the latter in my data (sequence 187 of SARS 5).

5.2.2 Use of honorific and solidarity markers

In addition to titles, honorifics and solidarity markers constitute another prominent type of polite terms of address observed in the data. Honorifics may be considered one of the most conspicuous language phenomena associated with expressing deference (Brown and Levinson 1987: 179). According to Comrie (1976, also cited in Brown and Levinson 1987: 180), there are three main types of honorifics, based on the axes on which interactional relations are built: (1) the speaker-addressee axis (the relation of speaker to hearer), (2) the speaker-referent axis (the relation of speaker to things or persons referred to), and (3) the speaker-bystander axis (the relation of speaker or hearer to bystanders or overhearers).

As mentioned earlier, Chinese terms of address include various honorific markers such as ‘您 *nin*’ (the polite form of the second person singular pronoun ‘you’) (e.g. Chao 1976, 1968; Li and Thompson 1981) and “solidarity boosters” such as ‘同志 *tongzhi*’ (literally ‘comrade’) (Gu 1990: 249) and ‘朋友 *pengyou*’ (friend). The use of *nin* as an honorific form of ‘你 *ni*’⁸⁷ (you, singular form) is very common in spoken Chinese, especially in Beijing,⁸⁸ as in “这是您的车吗” (is this *nin*de <polite form of ‘your’> car) (Chao 1968: 939). One of the common honorific markers that Chinese shares with other languages is the pluralisation of pronouns, also referred to as the “principle of respectful plurality” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 202), or “defocalisation” strategy, as a means of conveying deference (Haverkate 1992: 516). The use of plural you ‘你们 *nimen*’ for singular you ‘你 *ni*’ in the Chinese context, referred to as T/V variants in many other languages (see Brown and Gilman 1960), sounds more formal and non-intimate, and in many instances may help divert hostile remarks away from the addressee. This echoes the observation in Brown and Levinson that the preference for plural pronouns in addressing a singular addressee may be motivated either by the wish to provide a “conventional out” for the addressee, or to treat him/her as a representative of a particular group to whom the speaker attaches “deference or distance” (1987: 199). For Brown and Levinson, no other pronominal honorifics are more stable in use than plural pronouns, which can be “productively and strategically used to satisfy just such motives” (*ibid.*).

In official and institutional settings such as the government press conferences held in Beijing, these honorific markers and solidarity boosters are expected to be used frequently to address participants holding higher positions. It comes as no surprise therefore that my data features prominent use of *nin* and *nimen* across different sessions of the SARS press conferences. *Nin* is commonly used by both Chinese-speaking journalists and interpreters to address Chinese officials. However, due to linguistic differences between Chinese and English (as there is no honorific form of ‘you’ in English), the degree of politeness and respect conveyed by the use of *nin* is somewhat lost when rendered into English, as in examples 52 and 53. In

⁸⁷ The plural form (您们 *ninmen*) does not occur in my data. Its status in modern Chinese is the subject of some debate (see Zhao 1995, Zhao 1999).

⁸⁸ Originated as an honorific marker in late Qing Dynasty in Beijing dialect, ‘您 *nin*’ has now become widely used in modern Chinese as a polite form of address (e.g. Nie 2009, Guo 2008).

example 52, a Chinese journalist poses a question to the Executive Vice Minister of Health on the specific measures taken by the Central and Beijing Municipal governments to contain the SARS epidemic.

Example 52 (SARS 5_298_CHINA DAILY JNL)

ST: 高部长，我是中国日报社记者。首先请允许我感谢您和您的同事自 4 月份临危受命以来所做的卓有成效的工作。是这样啊，刚才您也提到，我们这次非典疫情暴露了我们国家在公共卫生建设这方面的一些问题。刚才您也提到了问题的几个方面。我想其中也应该包括农村人口和城市贫困人口医疗保障问题，刚才您简单提了一下，我现在想知道，我们在这方面有什么具体的打算？就是在公共卫生建设和其他相关方面。谢谢。

[Minister Gao, I'm from China Daily. First of all, please allow me to thank *nin* <polite you> and *ninde* <polite 'your'> colleagues for the effective efforts made since <you> were entrusted with this arduous mission at the critical and difficult moment in April. It is like this (ah) <tone particle>, Just now, *nin* mentioned that this SARS epidemic revealed some problems in our country's public health system. *Nin* also mentioned the several aspects of these problems. I think the problems should also include the health care issues with respect to the rural population and urban disadvantaged people. *Nin* mentioned them briefly just now. Now I would like to know what specific plan we have in this regard, that is in the area of the public health system development and some other related areas. Thank you.]

TT: I'm with China Daily. First of all, I would like to express my thanks to *you* and *your* colleagues for the effective work *you* have been doing since April when *you* were given such a weighty responsibility at a very difficult time. Indeed, *you* have mentioned about a number of aspects where the public health system in China was lacking since the SARS outbreak. And *you* also talked about measures to provide medical assistance and aid to farmers and city dwellers. I wonder what specific ideas or plans *you* have in mind in these respects.

The question is formulated carefully in the original utterance by using the honorific marker *nin* five times to refer to the Executive Vice Minister of Health. However, the polite tone is somewhat lost in the English rendition, where the default *you*, unmarked for deference, is used throughout (given the lack of a corresponding pronoun in English, similar in function to *nin*). Therefore, Chinese and English-speaking audiences may perceive the level of deference and degree of 'face' given to the Chinese official differently. This example also demonstrates how the in-group 'we' is used by Chinese journalists and thus how Chinese identity is strengthened in this interactional setting (c.f. Chapter 4).

Similarly, the degree of deference expressed through the use of *nin* also seems to disappear in rendering questions posed by foreign journalists in Chinese, as in Example 53, where a Japanese journalist asks Vice Agriculture Minister Liu about the SARS situation in the cities of Zhangjiakou and Tangshan as well as in the rural areas of the Hebei province.

Example 53 (SARS 4_ ASAHI SHIMBUN JNL)

ST: 谢谢，我是日本朝日新闻。请问现在河北省的情况比较厉害。我看这个河北省的数目来说，现在张家口和这个唐山病例比较。请您解释就是张家口和唐山的情况。就是，还是有没有农村的问题。

[Thanks. I'm with Asashi Shimbun of Japan. I'm wondering now the situation in Hebei is relatively serious. Considering the figures of Hebei province, to compare the epidemic situation in Zhangjiakou and Tangshan, could *nin* <polite you> explain, that is, the situation in Zhangjiakou and Tangshan. That is, and do they have rural problems <in terms of SARS>?]

TT: I'm with Asashi Shimbun. I would like to know about the question of the SARS situation in Hebei province, particularly it is said there is a large number of SARS cases in Zhangjiakou and Tangshan. Would *you* like to share some information about these above mentioned two cities?

Going in the other direction, when the interpreter renders English questions into Chinese, the polite form *nin* is very commonly used, as in example 54, and in particular in rendering frictional questions as in examples 49 and 55. Example 54 is an extract from the SARS 3 press conference, where an NBC journalist asks Executive Vice Health Minister Gao several questions in a row regarding symptoms associated with the confirmed and suspected SARS cases and the exact number of patients under hospital observation who are categorised as neither confirmed nor suspected cases.

Example 54 (SARS 3_ NBC JNL)

ST: NBC. Mr. Gao, *you* mentioned confirmed cases and suspected cases, what are the symptoms for these cases? What are the symptoms for suspected and confirmed? Do *you* have the same criteria as the World Health Organisation? Secondly, some WHO experts mentioned that there will be a larger number of people under observation, not confirmed, not suspected, but under observation. Do *you* have figures for this category in Beijing?

TT: 我是美国 NBC 的记者。我想您刚才提到疑似的这个病例，我想问一下这个疑似病例临床上主要有哪些表现呢？哪些症状呢？那么中国在疑似病例方面的这个诊断标准跟世界卫生组织的标准是否一致？第二点呢，世界卫生组织的专家也提到在北京还有很多人现在是在医院里面观察当中，

既没有证实是已经患病的病人也没有证实说是疑似的病人，那么这些人到底有多少？您能够提一下数字吗？

[I'm with NBC of the U.S. As for the suspected cases *nin* <polite you> just mentioned, I would like to ask a bit⁸⁹ what the main clinical manifestations are, and what are the symptoms? Then are the criteria China has adopted for diagnosing suspected cases the same as those of the WHO? Second point (ne), the WHO experts also mentioned that in Beijing there are still many people under observation in hospitals which are diagnosed neither as confirmed cases nor suspected cases. Then how many are these people? Could *nin* give the figure?]

In this example, as in several other instances in the data, the interpreter opts for the honorific form of the singular 'you', *nin*, thus raising the level of politeness in the interaction and showing more deference towards their official superiors, whereas in the original utterance *you* is unmarked for deference.

Significantly, the data reveals a tendency for interpreters to employ *nin* and *nimen* more proactively, in particular in rendering questions formulated frictionally in English, as in example 49 above (repeated here for convenience), where the foreign journalist is challenging the Executive Vice Minister of Health directly about China's potential covering-up of SARS information.

Example 49 (SARS 5_241_CBS JNL)

ST: *Mr. GAO Qiang*, I have an expression I would like to share with *you* too. If *you* torture data, it could be anything *you* want. How do we believe this epidemic is actually fading away given that the World Health Organisation says underreporting is still going on in Beijing given how China handles underreporting with the HIV/AIDS epidemic?

TT: 我是 CBS 电视台的记者。我也想跟您讲个俗语，也就是说呢，如果你们想去在数字上玩一些把戏的话呢，其实是没有用的。因为刚才您也提到呢，现在疫情呢正在稳中有降，但是呢，现在根据世界卫生组织方面，有人表示呢中国仍然在这个漏报和瞒报疫情的一些情况。

[I'm with CBS, I also want to tell *nin* <polite you> a saying. That is to say (ne) if *nimen* <plural you> want to play with figures (ne) it is actually useless. Because just now *nin* mentioned that the epidemic at the current stage (ne) is getting less serious in a stable way. However (ne), according to the World Health Organisation, some people say (ne) China is still underreporting and concealing some situation about the epidemic.]

⁸⁹ Similar to 'I would just like to ask' and 'I would kind of like to ask' in English. Further discussion of this hedge can be found under section 5.3.1.

In the original English question, the journalist uses the vocative address *Mr. GAO Qiang*, followed by the designative address *you* several times, and poses the question in explicitly critical terms. Preceding the potentially impersonal or plural *you* (perhaps address to the audience as a whole) with a vocative restricts the meaning to second person singular *you*, thus directing the criticism at Mr. Gao. This formulation reveals no particular attempt to attend to the face of the addressee. In the Chinese rendition, however, the interpreter omits the vocative address and replaces all the deferentially unspecified *you* with either *nimen* or *nin*, thus mitigating the effect of directing the criticism and suspicions at Mr. Gao. The question thus sounds less direct and more deferential to the Chinese audience, and reveals the interpreter's contribution to safeguarding the 'face' of the Chinese official. It should be noted however, that any attempt at mitigating face threat to Chinese officials simultaneously gives face to the journalists, an observation which is fully compatible with Goffman's treatment of interaction as fluid and of face-work as serving the goals of the interaction rather than merely the interests of one party.

Similarly, in example 55 below, the combined use of *nin*, *nimen* and the official title plus surname alone serves to buffer the hostile questioning by a foreign journalist. This long extract is from the SARS 3 press conference, where the CNN journalist starts by explaining the reason why the foreign press representatives in Beijing were sceptical about the accuracy of information released by the Chinese government before challenging its accountability.

Example 55 (SARS 3_CNN JNL)

ST: I'm with CNN. I hope *you* will understand why there is a healthy dose of scepticism among *us* in the Beijing press because in the past few weeks, we have been lied to and misled. Right here, two weeks ago the Minister of Health told us that the epidemic is under effective control. And a week ago, we were told that there were only 33 cases in Beijing and when asked; we were told that it included cases in the military hospitals. Why it's been so difficult to squeeze out accurate information from *you*? *President HU Jintao* himself had said that no undercounting, no delay and cover-up of information will be tolerated. Today, *you* are giving us information that is two days old. Why? Why not give us the most accurate and prompt information, *you* added 7 just now. Are we giving this enough importance?

TT: 我是美国 CNN 的记者。我想问一下呢，就是，首先我希望呢 *你们* 能够理解为什么驻华的这些新闻记者这一段时间以来对北京方面，对中国方面显示出了怀疑的这个态度，因为呢，这个几个星期以来，我们已经很多

次的这个收到了不正确的信息，也是在我们当中引起了一些混乱，误导了我们。比如呢，两个星期以前，张部长呢，就说曾经说呢，疫情已经得到有效控制，一个星期以前呢，你们说北京只有 37 个病例，而且呢，当我们问你们这 37 个病例是否包括军事医院的病例的时候，你们说是包括的。那么为什么从你们这儿拿到正确的信息呢，那么困难呢？胡主席他亲自曾表示过，绝对不允许有意隐瞒或者是缓报、瞒报、漏报这个疫病的这个情况，但是比如刚才您所报告的这个发布的有关的信息呢，已经是二天前的信息了，同时刚才您又说有 7 个这个新的病例，为什么不一下子把所有的这个病例的这个情况都报道出来呢？是不是因为对这个工作不够重视呢？

[I'm with the CNN. I would like to ask a bit (ne), that is, first I hope (ne), *nimen* <plural you> will understand why these foreign journalists resident in Beijing expressed a sceptical (zhege) attitude towards Beijing and towards China these days because (ne) over the past few weeks, we have for many times (ne) received incorrect information. This has caused some confusion among us and misled us. For example (ne), two weeks ago, Minister Zhang (ne), once said (ne), the epidemic had been effectively controlled; a week ago (ne), *nimen* said there were only 37 cases in Beijing, and (ne), when we asked *nimen* whether these 37 cases included the ones in military hospitals, *nimen* said yes. Then why is it so difficult to get accurate information from *nimen* (ne)? President Hu himself once expressed that (zhege) situations of (zhege) epidemic such as deliberate hiding or slow reporting, covering up of the epidemic will never ever be tolerated. But just now, for example, the information (ne) *nin* <polite you> released was two days old. Later *nin* said there were 7 (zhege) new cases; why not report the whole (zhege) SARS cases at once? Isn't it because less importance is attached to the work?]

The English question above sounds quite adversarial and direct, attributing the various problems to *you*, presumably the Executive Vice Minister of Health. However, in the Chinese rendition, all instances of *you* are translated as *nimen* (the plural form of *you*, referring to the Chinese government collectively) and the Chinese president is addressed designatively by using his official title and surname, whereas the English journalist had used his full name. Moreover, there is repeated use of *ne* and *zhege* (signalling hesitation and tentativeness). Together, these choices demonstrate that the interpreter is actively involved in protective face-work for the benefit of the Chinese official. As a result, the direct and confrontational feel of the original question is toned down in the Chinese rendition.

Another characteristic term of address in Chinese which has a bearing on interactional politeness is what Gu terms 'solidarity booster', i.e. '同志, tongzhi' (comrade) (1990: 249). This term is somewhat old-fashioned today, but it does appear several times in the data, in particular in the SARS 5 press conference, when the epidemic was considered at its peak, and signals a sense of solidarity and

closeness on the part of the speaker towards his addressee, as in example 56. This is an extract from the answer provided by the Executive Vice Health Minister in response to a question posed by the CNN journalist regarding the inaccurate information provided by the previous Health Minister (Mr. Zhang) and the reason behind the difficulty in putting in place a free and effective information disclosure system in China.

Example 56 (SARS 5_201_GAO)

ST: 至于你说到，张文康同志 4 月初在这儿宣布中国的疫情得到有效的控制，我想不是有意地隐瞒疫情，而是由于当时的信息渠道不畅，难以掌握到准确的数字。

[As for what *you* mentioned that *Comrade ZHANG Wenkang* said in early April in this place that the epidemic has been effectively controlled, I think he did not intend to hide the real situation. It is because at that time there was a lack of effective information flow, and it was difficult to get the exact figures.]

TT: *You* talked about *Mr. Zhang* saying that at the early of April this year that the epidemic has been effectively contained in China. I would like to say that, that does not represent an intentional effort to conceal the truth. It is only that at that time because of the lack of good information collection system, it was very difficult for us to lay our hands on the exact figures.

It is interesting to note that 你 *ni* (singular form of ‘you’, no honorific implication) is used by the Executive Vice Minister of Health to address the foreign journalist, whereas the majority of instances of singular *you* in Chinese utterances (either interpreters’ renditions into Chinese or journalists’ questions formulated in Chinese) take the form of 您 *nin* (the honorific marker; see examples 49, 53, 54 and 55). As Eelen observes, “appropriateness of address indexes the hearer’s social status, role and the speaker-hearer relationship” (2001: 10). The honorific marker is commonly used by an inferior in addressing a superior, and therefore there is no particular reason why the Executive Vice Minister of Health in this context should wish to address the journalist with particular deference. This neutral expression of deference is recaptured in the English rendition through the unspecified *you*. More importantly, the Executive Vice Minister of Health uses 同志 *tongzhi* (comrade) to refer to the previous Health Minister, who had been dismissed a short time ago,⁹⁰ thus expressing due respect towards his predecessor and solidarity with him. This

⁹⁰ Here, 同志 *tongzhi* belongs to the type of honorifics that is based on ‘the speaker-referent axis’ in Brown and Levinson’s terms (1987: 180).

sense of solidarity is again lost in the English rendition, where the social title (Mr.) is used. It may be that the interpreter considers *Mr.* easier to comprehend than *comrade* by the English-speaking audience or avoids the latter because of the negative political and social connotations of this term in English. Nevertheless, the protective face-work done by the speaker in the original utterance is not conveyed in the English rendition.

The use of *comrade* as an expression of solidarity seems to be restricted to the SARS 5 press conference, featuring four times in this particular event. This might be explained by the peak of the epidemic at that stage and the dismissal of two senior officials shortly before the press conference took place, against which backdrop the Executive Vice Minister of Health may have felt obliged to express solidarity and align with his institution and colleagues.

The use of alternative solidarity boosters is also evident in the remarks of the chairperson in other SARS press conferences, as in example 57. This is a contribution from the chairperson immediately after a question posed by a UPI journalist who asks Vice Premier Wu to meet the press.

Example 57 (SARS 4_WANG)

ST: 我想有关第一个请求的问题，不光是 *UPI* 朋友的请求，其他中外媒体都有这个请求，我们一定负责转达到。

[I think regarding the first request, this is not only the request of a *friend from UPI*; other domestic and foreign media also have this request. We will ensure that the message will be conveyed.]

TT: For your request, I believe this is not only *your* request, I will report your message to Madam Wu Yi.⁹¹

In this example, the chairperson uses the affiliation of the journalist plus the solidarity booster *朋友 pengyou* (friend) to address the UPI journalist. This signals an attempt on the part of the chairperson to align with the foreign press. However, this friendly gesture is somewhat lost in the English rendition, where the interpreter uses the deferentially unspecified *your request* to render *the request of a friend from UPI*. Similar instances are also observed in other sessions of press conferences, as in example 58. This is an extract from the SARS 6 press conference, held during a

⁹¹ The choice of ‘report’ rather than ‘convey’ is unfortunate in this instance—it can be interpreted as somewhat threatening.

period when the epidemic had generally subsided and the World Health Organisation had just removed Beijing from the list of SARS-affected regions. Below is the opening remark of Mr. LI Xueyong, the Vice Minister for Science and Technology.

Example 58 (SARS 6_LI)

ST: 这两个月以来，科技攻关的部署是怎么样的？有哪些主要的进展？特别是昨天，刚才王主任已经讲了，这个世界卫生组织宣布对北京双解除，那么在这种情况下，科技攻关下一步如何部署，我想这也是新闻界朋友所关心的问题，我在这里把有关情况向大家介绍一下。

[Over the past two months, what has been done on the scientific and technological front <for SARS control>? What is the main progress? Yesterday in particular, as stated by General Director Wang, (zhege) WHO declared the lifting of the ‘double ban’ on Beijing. Against this backdrop, what is the next step in terms of scientific and technological breakthroughs? I think this is also a concern for *friends from the media*. I would like to offer *everybody* a briefing here.]

TT: Now two months have passed, what have *we* achieved? How things have been deployed in this regard? I would like to brief you on those areas. And since WHO lifted Beijing from two affected lists yesterday, I believe *you* are also quite concerned about what *we* are going to do next stage. So I’m here today to brief *you* on those issues of interest.

In this example, the Chinese official tries to establish rapport with the journalists by addressing them as *friends from the media*, suggesting a tone of deference and warmth. However, this closeness seems not to be reproduced in the English rendition, where only the deferentially unspecified *you* is used to refer to the journalists. In addition, the interpreter’s institutional alignment is clearly evident here in her use of the in-group *we* twice, as discussed earlier in Chapter 4.

Apart from titles, honorific and solidarity markers, third party reference terms are also employed by interpreters as face-work strategies, particularly in mediating frictional sequences, as discussed in the next section.

5.2.3 *Third party reference*

Braun (1988) proposes two perspectives, psychological and communicative, that need to be adopted in order to understand why people use linguistic expressions of politeness. From the psychological perspective, the use of the third person, like the use of the plural form of the second person pronoun, signals “a less direct appeal to

the addressee” than the use of the second person singular pronoun, and thus can be regarded as an attempt “to keep a distance from the addressee” (ibid.: 54). This is compatible with Brown & Levinson’s notion of negative politeness; as Braun (1988: 54) argues, “avoidance of the direct pronoun of address...is part of avoiding an undue closeness”. Braun further suggests three main solutions to the need to avoid ‘you’: (1) another pronoun is used, e.g. the third person pronoun; (2) a nominal term or reference is used; (3) reference to the addressee is avoided completely, e.g. through the use of the passive or impersonal constructions (ibid.: 55).

Similarly, in Brown and Levinson’s discussion of the strategy of impersonalisation, under negative politeness, the authors argue that the third person singular is often used to avoid the disrespectful second person singular pronoun ‘you’ (or its equivalents in other languages). Thus, they point out that there is a tendency to use the third person singular pronoun instead of ‘you’ to show respect to the addressee in many languages, and that this may derive from the same origin as the use of titles for addressees, as in “Would His Highness prefer tea in the pink or the lavender room” (1987: 201).

In Ilie’s investigation into politeness as expressed in forms of address, she argues that addressing the interlocutor in the third person is a distancing strategy used to convey deference, and that this explains its use in the parliamentary setting (2005: 177). She further points out that such institutionalised distancing strategies, involving indirectness, may derive from the fact that members of the parliament address each other through the speaker (chairperson) as intermediary (ibid.).

Similarly, in the Chinese context the use of the social title ‘先生 xiansheng’ (literally the person born before you, generally translated as Mr. or Gentleman) and surname plus ‘先生 xiansheng’ is more deferential than the use of ‘您 nin’ (singular you in the polite form) and ‘你 ni’ (singular you), so is the use of the social title ‘小姐 xiaojie’ (Miss) and ‘女士 nvshi’ (Lady) (Chao 1976: 224). My data contains a number of instances where the Chinese speakers use social titles as a form of third person address to avoid addressing journalists directly, in a sense making the whole audience the primary addressee; the interpreters tend to substitute such stretches with ‘you’, as in examples 59 and 60. These are two extracts from the Executive Vice Minister of Health Mr. Gao’s remarks in response to a question posed by a

Taiwanese journalist (example 59) regarding a rumour that there is likely to be a surge in the number of SARS cases in Beijing, and a question posed by a UPI journalist (example 60) with respect to the budget for the SARS campaign.

Example 59 (SARS 3_GAO)

ST: 至于刚才这位小姐问到北京会不会暴发非典型肺炎，我还不知道“暴发”指的具体是什么概念，我认为北京已经发现了 300 多例非典型肺炎的患者，已经很严重了。

[As for what *this xiaojie* <Miss> just now asked, if Beijing will see a surge in SARS cases, I am not sure about the specific meaning of ‘surge’. I think Beijing has discovered more than 300 SARS cases, which has already been very serious.]

TT: *You* also asked whether there will be a peak period of SARS in Beijing. I don’t know what *you* mean specifically. But I think with such a situation of more than 300 confirmed patients in Beijing. The situation has already been very serious.

Example 60 (SARS 3_GAO)

ST: 至于这位先生刚才问到卫生部有多少钱来用于 SARS 病防疫问题，这可是我的强项，因为我在财政部当过多年的副部长。

[As for the question *this xiansheng* <Mr.> asked just now about the budget of the Ministry of Health for coping with SARS, this is my special area as I worked as Vice Minister of Finance for many years.]

TT: Just now *you* also asked about the budget for the MOH in terms of dealing with SARS; this is my special area because I worked as the Vice Minister of Finance for many years.

In these two examples, the Executive Vice Minister of Health starts by addressing the journalists using social titles *小姐 xiaojie*, *先生 xiansheng* prefixed with the designative pronoun *这位 zhewei* (‘this’ plus person quantifier).⁹² By addressing the journalist non-vocatively with a third party reference, the Chinese official potentially includes the wider audience as his addressee and thus the participation status of the journalist shifts from that of the sole addressee to a member of the collective addressees. The third party address, being indirect, can be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the Chinese official to express deference

⁹² In Chinese, the use of the quantifier ‘位 *wei*’ (normally referring to human beings) is generally considered more polite than the use of the quantifier ‘个 *ge*’ (normally referring to objects), although the latter may also be used to refer to human beings when the speaker is extremely angry at the referent, as in ‘他是个畜生!’ (He is a beast) it may also indicate no particular politeness or impoliteness towards the referent, as in ‘你这个人有问题’ (literally ‘you, this person, have a problem’).

towards the journalists by using a “distancing strategy” (Ilie 2005: 177), thus helping protect the journalists’ negative face in Brown and Levinson’s terms. However, in the English rendition, the interpreter replaces the third party references with the deferentially unspecified pronoun *you*, addressing the journalist directly and treating him as the primary “addressed recipient” (Goffman 1981a: 133). The distancing and deferential tone encoded in the original Chinese utterances is missing. Similar instances are also found in other sessions of the SARS press conferences, as in example 57 of SARS 4 above where what the Chairperson refers to as *the request of a friend from UPI* is rendered into *your request*, and in example 61 below. This is an extract from Mr. Gao’s response to a question posed by a UPI journalist who asks about the lesson China’s high-level government had learned from the handling of the SARS crisis, prefaced by information about the resignation of Gao’s predecessor a short while ago.

SARS 61 (SARS 5_166_GAO)

ST: 首先, 我应该, 我不认同这位记者刚刚提出来的张文康先生, 张文康同志是因为隐瞒疫情而被免职的。

[First of all, I should, I don’t agree with *this journalist* in that Mr. ZHANG Wenkang, Comrade ZHANG Wenkang was removed from his office because of concealing the epidemic.]

TT: First of all, I cannot agree with *you* that Mr. ZHANG Wenkang is released of his duty because of his concealing the truth about the epidemic.

The Executive Vice Minister of Health displays ‘poise’ here by defending the position of the Chinese government and his predecessor, despite the pressure he is under. He further frames his argument in a deferential manner by using a third party reference (*this journalist*)⁹³ to refer to the journalist and solidarity marker (*comrade*) to refer to his predecessor. But this subtle face-work undertaken by the Chinese speaker for the journalist (by distancing) and his predecessor (by solidarity) is not reproduced in the English rendition, where the deferentially unspecified *you* and social title *Mr.* are used instead.

Similar linguistic choices are also made by interpreters in the opposite direction (when they interpret from English into Chinese), again engaging in protective face-

⁹³ This third party reference may appear less deferential in English, but in Chinese addressing a person by his profession signals acknowledgement of the social status of the referent, and may avoid targeting him for direct disagreement in this context.

work for the benefit of Chinese officials, as in example 62. Here, a foreign journalist poses a question to the Vice Agriculture Minister and other Chinese officials present regarding the government's plan to improve medical conditions in rural areas, in particular, in terms of finding qualified medical staff and improving their remuneration package.

Example 62 (SARS 4_NEWS TODAY JNL)

ST: News Today in New York. *Your* ambitious plan laid out widespread amount of construction. But who exactly will be staffing these facilities, where are *you* instantaneously going to find skilled health workers, nurses and physicians who are capable of working in these rural clinics and willing to do so? And what kind of wages are *you* going to be offering them compared to the typical wages provided to health workers in the rural areas?

TT: 我是来自纽约今日新闻的记者。我的问题是这样的，现在 *中国政府* 呢已经提出了十分雄心勃勃的要在农村建立更多的医疗设施的这种计划。那么我想问一下， *中国政府* 将从哪里找到一些具有高技术的，而且有能力 的医务人员来在这些新建立的医疗设施和医院中进行工作呢？他们是不是愿意在这些诊所中进行工作？那么 *中国政府* 将对他们提供什么样的工资，特别是相比现在在农村这些医疗医护人员所享受到的工资来比较的话。

[I'm with the News Today, New York. My question is like this, now *the Chinese government* (ne) has raised an ambitious plan to construct more medical facilities in rural areas. Then I would like to ask a bit where will *the Chinese government* find skilled and capable medical workers to work in these newly built medical facilities and hospitals? Are they willing to work in these clinics? Then how much salary will *the Chinese government* pay them, especially compared to those medical workers who are now working in the rural areas.]

The foreign journalist uses the deferentially unspecified (and in English both singular and plural) pronoun *you* (and *your*), to refer to the Vice Agriculture Minister or Chinese officials as a group. However, in the Chinese rendition, the interpreter replaces all the second person pronouns with the third party referent *中国政府 zhongguo zhengfu* (the Chinese government). The Chinese rendition suggests that the question is primarily addressed to the Chinese government, not to this specific Chinese official, thus diverting attention from the individual to the collective and protecting the face of the Chinese official. This example also features the hedging expression *I would like to ask a bit*, framing the rendition in a more deferential way, and thus further demonstrates the interpreter's concern for saving the face of the Chinese official (see more discussion of this under section 5.3.1).

Interpreters' mediation of face and face-work through the use of terms of address, then, seems complex in the current data. In terms of the use of titles, three (SARS 2, 3 and 4) out of the five core press conferences under examination reveal a common pattern of substituting social titles with official titles in addressing Chinese officials, the latter terms of address generally being considered more formal and deferential; this demonstrates that interpreters engage in 'face-giving' work for the benefit of their institutional superiors. Meanwhile, the other two press conferences (SARS 5 and 6) yield a fairly mixed result,⁹⁴ with interpreters replacing social titles with official ones in some instances, while retaining them in others, and even in one instance replacing an official title in the original with a social title in the interpretation.

In terms of honorific markers and solidarity boosters, interpreters show a clear tendency to replace the deferentially unspecified 'you' in original English utterances with the honorific marker *您 nin* (polite singular you) or *你们 nimen* (plural you) to address Chinese officials and Chinese-speaking journalists when interpreting into Chinese. Solidarity boosters such as *同志 tongzhi* (comrade) also appear a number of times in the data, but seem to be restricted to the SARS 5 press conference and used solely by the Executive Vice Minister of Health (Mr. Gao) to refer to his predecessor (four times). Another solidarity booster, *朋友 pengyou* (friend), is used occasionally by both the chairperson and Chinese speakers to address foreign journalists as a form of positive politeness, in Brown and Levinson's terms; This is usually rendered as 'you' or 'your' in English, inevitably losing the gesture of politeness expressed by the speaker.

The data also reveals a significant pattern in terms of interpreters' choice between the second person pronoun *you* and a third party reference such as *这位小姐 zhewei xiaojie* (this Miss), *这位先生 zhewei xiansheng* (this gentleman), *这位记者 zhewei jizhe* (this journalist) and *中国政府 zhongguo zhengfu* (Chinese government). In most cases, interpreters tend to use the deferentially unspecified *you* in the English rendition in connection with journalists where the original Chinese

⁹⁴ The SARS 6 press conference was held around the period when the epidemic had generally been contained in China and the WHO had just removed Beijing from the list of SARS-affected zones, whereas SARS 2, 3, 4 and 5 press conferences were held at the peak of the outbreak. Therefore, SARS 2, 3, 4 and 5 press conferences may feature more adversarial sequences than SARS 6.

utterances (largely contributions by Chinese officials) feature the third party address. Interpreters thus mediate the relationship between the interlocutors, subtly changing the tone of the interaction – from less direct, more distanced to more direct and potentially confrontational. At the same time, when they render English questions into Chinese, the interpreters tend to replace *you* with a third party reference, thus diverting criticism from the particular Chinese official to the government as a whole. Whichever direction interpreters work into, their choice of reference terms thus indicates awareness of the face of the Chinese officials, and less so of the face of journalists and other members of the audience. Their protective face-work is thus primarily undertaken for the benefit of their institutional superiors.

5.3 Hedging

Besides terms of address, hedges constitute the other main body of devices employed by the interpreters in their mediation of face and face-work in the data under examination. In explaining the avoidance process as an aspect of face-work, Goffman observes that although many cultures know “the value of voluntarily making a gracious withdrawal” before any possible threat of face takes place, there is still a chance that avoidance efforts may fail (1972:15). Participants in interaction then need to learn how to present themselves to their role others in a low key and skilfully moderate their utterances. In this context, the importance of hedging for an interlocutor is explained by Goffman as follows:

Any claims regarding self may be made with belittling modesty, with strong qualifications, or with a note of unseriousness; by hedging in these ways he will have prepared a self for himself that will not be discredited by exposure, personal failure, or the unanticipated acts of others. And if he does not hedge his claims about self, he will at least attempt to be realistic about them, knowing that otherwise events may discredit him and make him lose face. (ibid.: 16)

In linguistic terms, a hedge is “a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial, or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 145). In the Chinese government press conference setting, interpreters do use quite a

significant number of hedges from time to time, unsurprisingly to protect the face of Chinese officials. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Goffman's framework lacks detail in terms of specifying a set of linguistic devices for close textual analysis in empirical research; the discussion of interpreters' mediation through hedging in this section will therefore mainly draw on Brown and Levinson's treatment of negative politeness strategies.

The data shows that interpreters in the Chinese press conference setting often combine the use of different hedges in a single turn of rendition, which serves to minimise the threat to the face of their interlocutors, primarily the Chinese officials. The most frequently used hedges found in the data are those that mediate the illocutionary force of utterances and Grice's conversational maxims (1967), including quality and quantity hedges (termed slightly differently in this study, see below). The following analysis will focus on these categories of hedging.⁹⁵

5.3.1 *Hedges on illocutionary force*

The largest category of hedges adopted by interpreters in this context mediate illocutionary force; they include the Chinese particle *呢* *ne*, discourse markers such as *这个* *zhege* (literally this or this one), *就是说* *jiushishuo* (that is to say), *我想问* *wo xiang wen* (I would like to ask) and *我想* *wo xiang* (I think), as well as the modal verb *might*, and the adverb *perhaps*.

The status of particles is under-theorised and insufficiently discussed in the literature, as observed by Brown and Levinson, who argue that particles are often among "the most commonly used words in a language, but are typically omitted from dictionaries and given little theoretical attention" (1987: 146). Since then, particles have received much more attention in scholarly work, particularly in linguistic and discourse studies (Schiffrin 1987, Stenström 1994, Aijmer 2002), and some English discourse particles such as 'well' and 'sort of' are regarded as important devices of hedging and "politeness markers" (Aijmer 2002: 163) that can

⁹⁵ Hedges are discussed in the theoretical context of their use in English, not in Chinese, but the examples analysed in this chapter are from Chinese. This is inevitable given the lack of relative literature on the use of hedging in Chinese. Little is available on the subject in Chinese, and what is there tends to be based on theories of hedging developed by western scholars (e.g. Wang 2008, Huang 2010).

moderate the illocutionary force of an utterance in various contexts. The Chinese particle *ne* may appear either at the end of a question, therefore functioning as a question marker, or in the middle of declarative sentences, softening the tone of the statement. This study mainly focuses on the use of *ne* when placed in the middle of declarative sentences. In Chinese grammar (Chao 1968, Liu et. al 2007), *ne* is largely categorised as a “tone particle”. When used in declarative sentences, its function is mainly to indicate a deliberate pause (Chao 1968: 802, *Collins Chinese Dictionary* 2006: 236) or to soften the tone of the utterance (Liu et. al 2007: 422). *Ne* can also function in the same way as the hesitation particles ‘umms’ and ‘ahhs’ or ‘as for’ and ‘in the case of’ in English in different contexts.

The current study reveals a tendency for interpreters to add *ne* in Chinese renditions, particularly in interpreting frictional or potentially confrontational questions, thus softening the tone of the original utterance, as in examples 63 and 64. Example 63 is an excerpt from the SARS 2 press conference, held at the time when both the Chinese and international community began to be seriously concerned about the situation and started to challenge Chinese officials and the government as a whole on its handling of the epidemic. Here, a journalist from *Wall Street Journal* poses several questions in a row to Chinese officials about the distribution of suspected cases in China and the inadequate disclosure of information in this regard.

Example 63 (SARS 2_WALL STREET JOURNAL JNL)

ST: I’m with the Wall Street Journal. I’m wondering if *you* could tell us how many suspected cases of SARS there are in China and the breakdown by province and region. Many countries are reporting the number of suspected cases, although China has not yet reported them. According to China’s Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, there is a medical definition for ‘suspected case’. And the World Health Organisation expert team that were⁹⁶ within Guangdong told us that Guangdong Province is collecting information on suspected cases but isn’t publicly releasing that information. Why isn’t the information being released and could *you* tell us what those figures are?

TT: 我是华尔街日报记者。我想问一下呢，中国有没有数字来显示疑似病例到底有多少？那么每个省和地区的分布又是什么？另外一点呢，中国关于疑似病例应该说呢是没有发布什么消息，很多国家呢在发布这方面的消息。据中国疾病预防控制中心来表示呢，关于疑似病例呢在医学上还是有一个诊断标准。在广东进行考察的世界卫生组织的有关专家呢也告诉我们，

⁹⁶ The journalist’s question is reproduced here verbatim. No attempt has been made to correct grammatical errors.

广东省方面 呢在收集疑似病例的这个信息方面 呢做了不少的工作，但是 呢没有发布这方面的信息。我想问一下 呢，为什么没有发布这个信息，那这个信息的内容是什么？

[I'm with Wall Street Journal. I would like to ask a bit (*ne*) whether China has the exact figure of suspected cases. What is the distribution by province and region? Another point (*ne*), it should be said (*ne*) that China hasn't released much information on suspected cases while many countries (*ne*) are releasing information on this. According to China Disease Prevention and Control Centre (*ne*), as for suspected cases (*ne*) there is not a medical definition of it. The WHO experts working in Guangdong (*ne*) also tell us Guangdong Province (*ne*) in the area of collecting information on suspected cases (*ne*) has made lots of efforts, but (*ne*) hasn't released relative information. I would like to ask a bit (*ne*) why the information hasn't been released? What's the content of the information?]

In this example, the original English utterance clearly addresses the questions to the Chinese official, using the second person pronoun *you*, and sounds quite forceful, with no noticeable pauses. In the Chinese rendition, however, the direct address *you* is either suppressed or replaced by the third party referent *China*, which again seems to divert the challenge away from the individual Chinese official to the collective Chinese government, thus reducing the face threat to the Chinese speaker, as discussed in 5.1.3 above. Of more relevance to the current discussion is that the interpreter uses a large number of *ne* at various places, which is semantically unnecessary and gives the rendition a much more hesitant tone. Hesitation is a form of “prosodic and kinesic hedges” and signals “tentativeness or emphasis” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 172). The rendition also features other devices of hedging of illocutionary force, such as 应该说 *yinggai shuo* (should say) 想问一下 *xiang wen yixia* (want to ask a bit), which further moderate the tone of the utterance (more on these specific hedging devices below). In this example, the multiple use of the tone particle *ne*, combined with other hedges in the Chinese rendition, subtly mitigate the threat to the face of the Chinese official. Further such instances are found in SARS 3, 4 and 5 press conferences, which were held at a time when the SARS crisis was becoming increasingly critical. In example 64, from SARS 5, a similar combination of different hedges is used. The SARS 5 press conference was held at a point when the epidemic had reached its peak stage. The foreign journalist poses a question to the Executive Vice Minister of Health about the fact that some measures against SARS are impractical and unnecessary.

Example 64 (SARS 5_97_KYODO NEWS JNL)

ST: I work for Kyodo News. I think many people appreciate the efforts the governments at local and national level have been making to stop the spread of SARS. But there has been *some* criticism that the efforts have been *in some way* concentrated, more directed at being seen to be doing something, rather than being directed at small practical measures. For instance, there is a big meeting of SARS next week. And the requirement for the journalists to attend is that they've had medical checks. This involves not only checking temperatures, but also taking blood tests and doing X-ray examination. And the WHO actually said these measures are not necessary, but it will be appropriate enough just to have temperature checked on the day. And just comparing this with the situation at Beijing train station where I went last week. And you know the toilet there has no soap and that means people are unable to wash their hands. And just considering that, I believe SARS is spread very easily through human contact, and that seems to be something you've missed there. Ok, thank you.

TT: 我是日本新闻社的一个记者。我想现在很多人都非常赞赏中国中央政府以及地方各级政府为了防治非典所做出的大量的这个工作和努力，但是呢，也有一些人呢也在批评，说中国政府呢，这个努力呢，可能工作没到点子上去。而是说呢，在有很多实际的这个工作呢，当然有时候比较小，但是呢没有到位。比如说呢，下一个星期呢，将会召开一个很大的关于非典的一个研讨会，会有很多的这个记者参与。我们就听说呢，这些要参与会议采访的这些记者要经过很多的这个检查，不光是要查体温，而且还要查血，还要照 X 光。世界卫生组织也说呢，像这样的这个措施呢其实是没有必要的。就当天查体温就够了。我现在还想跟您再对比另外一个情况。就是，我前不久，在北京火车站所看到的情况。在北京火车站的厕所里面没有肥皂，然后也就是说呢，这个，人们就无法洗手，要这样的话呢，通过人跟人之间的接触呢，非典就比较容易传染。像这样小的和实际的地方是不是工作还有做得不够之处？

[I'm with Kyodo News. I think now many people appreciate very much the great deal of (*zhege*) efforts the Chinese governments at central and local level have made. However (*ne*), *some* people (*ne*) also criticised, saying that the Chinese government (*ne*), (*zhege*) efforts (*ne*) *perhaps*, the work is not to the point. Also say (*ne*), much specific (*zhege*) work (*ne*), although sometimes relatively small, still (*ne*) is not to the point either. For example (*ne*), next week (*ne*) a big SARS meeting will be held. There will be many (*zhege*) journalists attending. We heard (*ne*) the journalists are required to undergo many (*zhege*) checks, not only temperature checks, but also blood test and X-ray examinations. The WHO also said (*ne*), such (*zhege*) measures (*ne*) are actually not necessary. Temperature check on the day will be just enough. I also want to compare another situation with *nin* <polite you>. *That is*, the other day, what I saw in the Beijing Train Station. In the Beijing Train Station, there is no soap in the toilet. Then *that is also to say* (*ne*), (*zhege*), people are unable to wash their hands. If this is so (*ne*), through human contact (*ne*), SARS is easily transmitted. Aren't the efforts good enough in such small and practical areas?]

The foreign journalist does incorporate hedges in his question, for example *some criticism* and *in some way*, and this is recaptured in the Chinese rendition by the use of *some people criticise* and *perhaps*. But the interpreter further hedges the questions by adding several instances of *ne* in the rendition, which again makes the rendition sound hesitant and less face-threatening to the Chinese officials. This example also features other Chinese expressions that work as hedges on illocutionary force, and that do not mirror similar hedges in the original, such as 这个 *zhege* (literally this or this one) and 就是说 *jiushishuo* (that is to say), which also feature in other examples in the data.

Recent research suggests that *zhege* is increasingly used as a discourse marker, as opposed to its conventional use as demonstrative pronoun in spoken Chinese (Liang 2002, Jiang 2005, Li 2008, Guo 2009, Yin 2009). According to Liang's (2002) corpus-based study of the pragmatic and discourse functions of *zhe-* (this) and *na-* (that), in terms of general 'impromptu functions', the two discourse markers are used to signal a short pause while searching for the correct words, appropriate formulation of ideas, and as emotional gap fillers (ibid.: 60-62). Liang (2002) also found that the Chinese tend to use *zhege* (this or this one) more frequently than *nage* (that or that one), compared with Koreans, in order to fill discourse gaps in daily conversations. Similarly, other scholars focusing on the Beijing dialect also found that *zhege*, together with *nage* have a distinctive function as discourse markers in improvised utterances, where their general demonstrative function is completely irrelevant in that particular context, and that in its function as discourse marker *zhege* is often accompanied by a short pause, which either precedes or follows it (Li 2008, Guo 2009), signalling the "thinking while talking process" of the speaker (Guo 2009: 436). This may also be accompanied by "incoherence, repetition or even slips of tongue" in utterances that feature this pattern (ibid.).

Unlike *ne* and *zhege*, the pragmatic usage of 就是说 *jiushishuo* (that is to say) and 就是 *jiushi* (that is) receives no systematic description in the literature. Among the limited number of recent studies on this subject, Xu regards *jiushishuo* and *jiushi* as falling under "verbosity phenomena" in spoken Chinese (2003: 36), and Sheng and Qiu (2009) suggest that *jiushishuo* has a semantically procedural function and may reflect an affirmative attitude on the part of the speaker towards the content of

the message. The discourse markers *zhege* and *jiushishuo* are used particularly frequently by interpreters as hedges in the Chinese government press conferences under study; both have a similar effect as *ne*, indicating hesitation and tentativeness, as in examples 65 and 66. In example 65, a journalist from United Press International asks the Vice Health Minister for a daily briefing mechanism and also to explain the inconsistency in the SARS statistics.

Example 65 (SARS 2_ UPI JNL)

ST: 合众国际社 UPI. I have a request and a question for you. Could you give us daily briefings on each province in China, listing suspected cases and known cases and the name of the health official responsible for the accuracy of the report? And then my question is there *seems to be some* difference between the Ministry of Health figures for the number of cases of SARS in Beijing and a recent report that came out from the People's Liberation Army. And I'm hoping that *you* can explain and elaborate the difference between the two. Thank you.

TT: 我是国际合众社的记者。我想问您一个问题，首先呢，就是说，关于每一个省的这个非典型肺炎的病例，包括疑似病例和已经发现的、确认的这个病例，能不能每天做一个通报？另外一个方面呢，也能不能同时呢告诉我们负责的这个卫生局有关官员的名字，因为呢，他应该为他所报的数字的准确性呢来负责。那么另一个问题呢，就是说呢，关于这个卫生部所给出来的，关于在北京的这个非典型肺炎发病的病例的这个数字呢，跟我们这个几天前呢从一家解放军医院里面所了解到的这个北京的这个病例的这个数字呢有一定的出入，那么您如何解释这数据上的不同？

[I'm with the UPI. I would like to ask *nin* <polite you> a question. First (*ne*), (*jiushishuo*) <that is to say>, regarding (*zhege*) SARS cases in every province, including suspected cases and discovered, confirmed (*zhege*) cases, could <you> or not carry out a daily briefing? On the other hand (*ne*), also, could <you> or not at the same time (*ne*) tell us responsibly (*zhege*) the name of the relevant official in the health bureau because (*ne*) he should be responsible for the accuracy (*ne*) of the figures he reported. Then another question (*ne*), (*jiushishuo*) (*ne*), regarding (*zhege*) what the Ministry of Health has released, about Beijing's (*zhege*) SARS's case (*zhege*) figure, compared with what we have learned the other day (*ne*) from a military about (*zhege*) Beijing's (*zhege*) SARS case (*zhege*) figures (*ne*), there is *some* inconsistency. Then how would *nin* <polite you> explain the difference in the statistics?]

The original question features an attempt to hedge in *seems to be some difference*, and this is reproduced in the Chinese rendition as *some inconsistency*.⁹⁷ However, the interpreter introduces much more hedging in Chinese compared to the

⁹⁷ There seems to be another hedge in *I'm hoping* in the last sentence of the original utterance. Its equivalent is not found in the target utterance, however the interpreter uses other and many more devices to hedge her rendition, e.g. *nin*, *zhege* and *jiushishuo*.

English utterance, through the multiple use of *zhege* and *ne*, the honorific form of *you*, and *jiushishuo*, thus making the rendition sound much more tentative and less direct in Chinese. Similar instances are found in other sessions of SARS press conferences, as in example 66 from SARS 3. Here, the same UPI journalist questions the Vice Health Minister about what mechanism the government will introduce to ensure a daily briefing, the budget for the SARS campaign, and its distribution among regions.

Example 66 (SARS 3_UPI JNL)

ST: From UPI. *You* are promising to be more open with the numbers of the suspected SARS cases and actual SARS cases. *I'm wondering*, *you've* also mentioned there will be a daily report, what is the mechanism for that report? And also, since *you* are going to be open with the numbers, could *you perhaps* be more open with the numbers on the cost? For example, how much, what is the budget for the Ministry of Health right now? How much money you have budgeted for SARS? And how it is going to be divided between the central and the local government, especially the west which doesn't have the money? Thank you.

TT: 我是合众国际社的记者。我想您刚才也提到了 *中国方面* 在报告有关的这个疫病的患者数字方面 *呢*, 既包括已确诊的病人, 也包括疑似病人, 在报告方面会更加开放。您刚才也提到了以后每天都要发布有关的数据, 我想问一下您准备是通过哪一种机制来这样每天的发布? 那既然您能在患者的数目方面能做到更开诚布公, 那关于涉及到的费用的问题能不能也谈一点 *呢*。 *也就是说*, 卫生部现在已经有这么大的这个预算来处理有关这个非典的这个情况, *也就是说呢*, 这个专门的拨款数额有多大, 这个专门的拨款 *呢* 在中央政府和地方政府之间怎样分配? 尤其是那些比较贫困的西部的地区, 他们将得到怎样财政方面的支持?

[I'm with the UPI. I think just now *nin* <*polite you*> mentioned that *China*, regarding the report on (*zhege*) number of the SARS patients including both confirmed and suspected cases, will be more open. *Nin* <*polite you*> also mentioned just now the reporting will be conducted on a daily basis. I would like to ask a bit what mechanism *nin* are going to adopt to conduct the daily briefing. And since *nin* are able to be more open with the number of patients, then could <*you*> or not elaborate a bit (*ne*) on the relevant cost, (*ye jiushishuo*) <that is also to say>, how much is (*zhege*) budget in the Ministry of Health to cope with (*zhege*) SARS (*zhege*) situation? (*Ye jiushishuo*) <That is also to say> (*ne*), how much is (*zhege*) special appropriation? How is (*zhege*) special appropriation (*ne*) to be divided between the central and local governments, especially those relatively poor western regions? What fiscal support will they get?]

In this example, the interpreter acknowledges the hedges in the original utterance, such as *I'm wondering* and *perhaps*, through renderings such as *I would*

like to ask a bit and *could you or not elaborate a bit*. But once again, the interpreter introduces several additional hedges at various points; apart from using the polite form of *you*, the interpreted utterance also features *ne*, *zhege*, and *jiushishuo*. Together, these hedging devices serve to render the question less direct and face-threatening to the Chinese officials. It should be stressed here that the hesitant delivery of the interpreters does not reflect any lack of language competence: these are the most professional interpreters in China and are recruited by the government to work mainly as in-house interpreters. Moreover, their delivery is not characterised by hesitation throughout the various press conferences, where it is generally fluent and articulate. The repeated use of hedges is a feature of their rendering of tough questions posed by journalists and can therefore be interpreted as a strategy, designed either to allow them some extra time to think about how to organise their renditions, or as an expression of protective face-work, primarily for the benefit of the Chinese officials.

Other hedging devices such as *I would like to ask a bit*,⁹⁸ *I think* and *I wonder*, which are documented in the literature as linguistic hedges to mitigate the assertive force of utterances (Haverkate 1992: 511, Brown and Levinson 1987: 147), are also found in the data, as in examples 67 and 68. In example 67, a foreign journalist poses a question to the Vice Minister for Agriculture on how to find qualified medical workers to work in the rural areas.

Example 67 (SARS 4_ NEWS TODAY JNL)

ST: News Today in New York. *Your* ambitious plan laid out widespread amount of construction. But who exactly will be staffing these facilities, where are *you* instantaneously going to find skilled health workers, nurses and physicians who are capable of working in these rural clinics and willing to do so?

TT: 我是来自纽约今日新闻的记者。我的问题是这样的，现在 *中国政府* 呢已经提出了十分雄心勃勃的要在农村建立更多的医疗设施的这种计划。那么 *我想问一下*，中国政府将从哪里找到一些具有高技术的，而且有能力的医务人员来在这些新建立的医疗设施和医院中进行工作呢？

[I'm with the News Today, New York. *My question is like this*, now *the Chinese government (ne)* has raised an ambitious plan to construct more medical facilities in rural areas. Then *I would like to ask a bit* where will *the Chinese*

⁹⁸ 'I would like to ask a bit' is a literal backtranslation of an expression that has a similar function in Chinese to the English 'I wonder'.

government find skilled and capable medical workers to work in these newly built medical facilities and hospitals?]

Here, the original question is formulated without conspicuous hedges whereas in the Chinese utterances, the interpreter not only uses the tone particle *ne*, the third party referent *the Chinese government*, but also expressions such as *my question is like this*, and *I would like to ask plus a bit*; the latter may be considered as one of Brown and Levinson's 'diminutivizing adverbs' (1987: 157). All these items are used to mitigate the assertive force of the original utterance, thus minimising the threat to face of the Chinese official. Similar instances are found in other press conference sessions, as in example 68 where a CNN journalist asks the Executive Vice Minister of Health about the inconsistency in the SARS-related statements released by him and his predecessor and the possible cover up of SARS cases in military hospitals.

Example 68 (SARS 5_187_CNN JNL)

ST: Thank you, with CNN. I remember, it was in this very room when the former Health Minister ZHANG Wenkang told the press in April that SARS epidemic has been effectively controlled even though it turned out SARS epidemic was spreading widely in China. So I don't understand why you were saying that he did not try to conceal the epidemic. My other question is although a lot of information are⁹⁹ being collected pertaining to SARS, some experts complained that much of the information are still not being shared not just with the outside world such as agencies like the WHO, but also among the Chinese agencies involved in the prevention and treatment of the SARS. Specifically, they complain that information pertaining to and coming from the military establishments are not being shared. Is that the case? If so, why is it so difficult to enforce the sharing of information which you will know is very critical in the treatment and prevention of SARS? Thank you.

TT: 我是 CNN 的记者。我记得呢在 4 月份，也是在这个房间里，张文康先生呢，告诉各位记者说，SARS 疫情在中国已经得到了有效的控制，但是事实上呢，非典在中国应该说在很大程度上已经大规模的蔓延了。所以呢，我就不能理解为什么您刚才讲他并没有有意的去隐瞒事实真相。而另外一个问题呢，就是涉及到信息的问题。当然呢，现在中国也在收集信息方面做了不少工作。但是呢，仍然有不少的专家在抱怨，说这些信息呢交流得还不够，比如说呢，中国不仅没有向外界，比如说向世界卫生组织提供一些有关的信息，甚至呢在中国有关的负责防治非典的医疗机构内部呢也没有非常好地共享信息。他们的一个具体的抱怨呢，就是来自军队方面的医疗信息没有很好地在信息网络中被大家所共享。我想问一下，是否确有其

⁹⁹ The journalist's question is reproduced here verbatim. No attempt has been made to correct grammatical errors.

事，如果真的是这样，为什么信息通畅对于中国来说这么难做到？而信息通畅对于 SARS 的防治工作来说是至关重要的。

[I'm with CNN. I remember (*ne*) in April, also in this room, Mr. ZHANG Wenkang (*ne*) told all journalists that SARS epidemic in China was under effective control. But the fact is (*ne*) SARS in China, should say, to a big degree, has spread in a large scale. So (*ne*) I don't understand why *nin* <*polite you*> just said that he Mr. Zhang did not deliberately cover up the truth. Another question (*ne*), is related to information sharing, of course (*ne*), China has now done much work in information gathering, however (*ne*), many experts are complaining that information exchange is not sufficient. For example (*ne*), China hasn't provided adequate information for the outside world such as the World Health Organisation. Even (*ne*), within the country (*ne*), information has not been properly shared among relevant medical institutions. One of their specific complaints (*ne*), is that medical information coming from military circles has not been well shared. *I would like to ask a bit*, is this true? If so, why is free information flow so difficult for China? However, smooth information flow is critical to SARS prevention and treatment.]

In this example, the direct challenging tone of the original utterance is significantly hedged by the interpreter's repetitive use of *nin*, *ne*, and *I would like to ask a bit* in the Chinese rendition.

In addition, the modal **might** and other expressions of modality are also common hedges used by the interpreter when rendering Chinese utterances into English to mitigate their illocutionary force, as in examples 69. This is an extract of Vice Health Minister Ma's response to a question posed by a CNN journalist with respect, among other things, to the credibility of the information collected from local areas.

Example 69 (SARS 2_MA)

ST: 同时呢，卫生部还要进行关于疫情数据漏报的调查工作。

[Meanwhile (*ne*), the Ministry of Health will also carry out investigation into *the covering up of the epidemic figures*.]

TT: And in the meantime, the Ministry of Health will also carry out investigation into *the possibilities that the figures might not be accurate*.

Here, the interpreter hedges the comment on the cover up of statistics by adding the noun *possibilities* and the modal verb *might*, suggesting a tentative tone, whereas the original utterance seems to acknowledge the cover-up as a matter of a fact. The subtle use of hedges once again serves to protect the face of both the Chinese official and the interpreter herself.

5.3.2 *Hedges on quality and quantity*

Another main category of hedges found in the data concerns hedging quality (or nature) and quantity (or degree) of the subject matter. Based on Grice's maxims (1967), Brown and Levinson identify the following set hedges: "non-spuriousness" (quality), providing no more or less information than is necessary (quantity), "being to the point" (relevance) and avoiding ambiguity and vagueness (manner) (1987: 164). The data reveals quite a number of instances where interpreters adopt quality and quantity hedges. Quality hedges suggest that "the speaker is not taking full responsibility for the truth of (the) utterance" (ibid.: 164), where the nature of the subject matter is framed with qualifications; and quantity hedges function as giving notice "that not as much or not as precise information is provided as might be expected" (ibid. 166). **Hedging quality** allows interpreters to engage in protective face-work for the benefit of the Chinese officials, as in example 70. This is an extract of the response of the Vice Minister for Health Mr. Ma to a question posed by a CNN journalist with respect to the credibility of the SARS statistics collected from local areas.

Example 70 (SARS 2_MA)

ST: 从目前专家组所到之处反馈的信息。。。。。。各地方的疾病控制部门也正在做好预防工作，并且积极、准确、科学地上报疫情。

[According to the current feedback from the dispatched expert group to different regions of China...the disease control agencies in the localities are progressing with the prevention and control work, and are reporting to the higher-level agency in an active, accurate and scientific manner.]

TT: So as of now, the expert group that we have sent out to different parts of China, have come back with report...the effort by the disease control agencies of different regions of China at prevention and disease containment, these localities, *as far as we know*, have been submitting information in an active, well-prepared and scientific manner, and an accurate manner.

Here, the Chinese official hedges his own remarks with *according to the current feedback from the dispatched expert group*, and this is reproduced in the rendition with *so as of now*. But the interpreter adds another hedge, *as far as we know*, suggesting that the speaker is responsible for the truthfulness of this remark based on the information collected up to a certain point in time, but is not directly responsible for the information that might emerge beyond this point. This hedging strategy may

help avoid potential criticism of the remark made by the Chinese speaker at a later stage, if the information proves unreliable.

Quality hedges occur elsewhere in the data, as in example 71. Here a journalist from the Australian Broadcasting Company challenges the accuracy of the figures released by the Executive Vice Minister of Health.

Example 71 (SARS 3_AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING COMPANY JNL)

ST: The Australian Broadcasting Company. For whatever reason, *the statistics has been wrong until now*. Why should we believe you today that the statistics you are giving us today are correct?

TT: 我是澳大利亚广播公司的记者。我想到今天为止，以前你们所给出来的数据现在看来都不是很全面的，那么我们有什么理由相信您今天所给出的这个数据是准确的数据呢？

[I'm with the Australian Broadcasting Company. *I think until now, the figures nimen <plural you> have given us seem not very complete*. Then based on what reasons shall we believe (zhege) figures nin <polite you> gave us today are accurate figures.]

In addition to the honorific markers (*nimen* and *nin*), the interpreter's intervention also features several hedges such as *I think* and *seem*, which do not exist in the original utterance. The interpreter further hedges the reliability of the figures released by the government with *seem not very complete*, where the original utterance is *the statistics has been wrong*; and even though the rendition reproduces the hedge *until now* in the original utterance. Again, such hedging strategy protects the face of the Chinese official by suggesting that the government does provide figures, but they are just incomplete. It is worth noting that these hedges also serve to reinforce the line taken by the government and may further be interpreted as evidence of the interpreter's institutional alignment.

Most instances of hedging are used by interpreters when they render English utterances into Chinese, but there are also a few instances where interpreters adopt hedges in their rendition into English, as in example 72. This is an extract from the SARS 5 press conference where a Japanese journalist asks the Executive Vice Minister of Health to verify the content of a letter written by a doctor working in the military hospital who disclosed the reason behind the possible cover-up of the epidemic.

Example 72 (SARS 5_292_ ASASHI SHIMBUN JNL)

ST: 日本朝日新闻。他写信的时候说为什么不想发表的原因，说 *那时的数字是不对的*。那时候，他同时指出 3 月中旬真实的情况，他说卫生部找了各个医院的领导去开会，意思是北京已经有了此病，但作为纪律不许宣布，要为开好两会创造安定的条件。我要问这样的事情真的存在吗？说卫生部要求不要告诉非典的事件，有没有这样的情况。谢谢。

[Asahi Shimbun of Japan. He wrote why he didn't want to publicise the figures and said that *the figures at that time were not correct*. He pointed out the real situation in Mid-March. He said the Ministry of Health organised a meeting for all hospitals. The purpose was to tell that there were already SARS cases in Beijing. But as a rule, the hospitals were not allowed to publicise the information because there was a need to create a sound atmosphere for the opening of the Two Sessions. I am wondering if this is true. It is said that the Ministry of Health does not allow hospitals to report incidents of SARS. Is this true? Thank you.]

TT: I'm from Japan. I also have a question about Mr. JIANG Yanyong. In April, he wrote a letter to various media organisations saying that *the actual figure of SARS patients was not exactly the same as the officials have been saying*. And I learned that in the beginning of last March, the Ministry of Health organised a meeting for the presidents of hospitals in Beijing to talk about this situation. And the ministry, at that time, there were already SARS cases. And the Ministry of Health required that the hospitals should not publicise the information about their patients because of the need to create a sound atmosphere for the NPC and CPC sessions. I *wonder could* you confirm this.

In this example, the original question is already understood by the Chinese officials and the Chinese speaking audience without the interpreter's English rendition. Therefore, any threat to the face of the Chinese official has already occurred. However, the interpreter still employs a quality hedge in relation to the SARS information disclosure by using the more elaborate syntactic structure '*the actual figure of SARS patients was not exactly the same as the officials have been saying*' rather than the much more direct *the figures were not correct*, suggesting that the figures are slightly inconsistent, but not totally wrong. Again the interpreter appears to do the protective face-work for the Chinese official vis-à-vis the English-speaking audience. Other hedges include *I wonder* and the modal verb *could* in the last sentence.

The data also reveals instances where interpreters' interventions involve **quantity hedges** such as *some kind of*, which moderates degree and extent, as in example 73. This is an extract from the Executive Vice Minister of Health's response to a question posed by a Japanese journalist with respect to the number of

government officials, apart from his predecessor, who should be held accountable for improper handling of the SARS crisis.

Example 73 (SARS 5_346_GAO)

ST: 确实有一些人因为擅离职守，因为工作不力，因为不守纪律，或者由于不服从分配，确实受到了不同的处分。

[Indeed, there are some people who got different degrees of punishment because of their negligence of duty, ineffective work, and failure to observe rules or to do the job they are assigned to.]

TT: Indeed, *what I know* is that *quite a number of* officials from *different public service*, got *some kind of* punishment to *different extent* as a result of negligence of duty, ineffective implementation of their work, inability to observe various disciplines or failure to do the job they are assigned to.

Here, the Chinese speaker does acknowledge that some officials have been punished because of the mishandling of the SARS crisis and hedges his remark with *some* before *people* and *different degrees of* before *punishment*. These quantity hedges are recaptured in the English rendition with the interpreter's use of *quite a number of* (which in this case is stronger than *some*, strengthening the impression that the government is taking the matter seriously)¹⁰⁰ and *some kind of*. The interpreter further hedges on the degree and quantity of the punishment by using *from different public service* and *to different extent*. These various devices of hedging frame the English rendition in a simultaneously more forceful (*quite a number*) and more cautious manner, preempting potential future challenge to the line taken by the Chinese official.

As discussed earlier, the interpreters often combine the use of different hedges in order to tone down the threat to face in relation to the primary interlocutors, as in example 74. In this example, a CNN journalist challenges the Vice Health Minister about the credibility of the figures collected by the government, local government official's willingness to report accurate statistics as well as institutional procedures for the free flow of information in China.

¹⁰⁰ In this case, 'quite a number of' is considered as an "accuracy-oriented hedge" (Hyland 1996: 436, Li 2007: 162).

Example 74 (SARS 2_CNN JNL)

ST: I'm with CNN. I just want to step back from details for a while and ask that do you really believe in all the reports and statistics that you get from the field, what incentives do officials have, to accurately and promptly report bad news. Don't you think that they typically cover up or water down bad news and bad statistics, not only for fear of losing face, but also for fear of losing their jobs? Don't you think it is time for China to institutionalise genuine transparency in public health matters by giving access to free information to the public and to the press? If so, what do you do, to do that?

TT: 我是 CNN 的记者。我想现在先不谈具体的涉及到的这些问题。我想问您另外一个问题呢, 就是说, 您认为在有关的这些疫区所收集到的这些数据, 它的可信度到底有多大? 也就是说呢, 地方的官员有什么样的这个意愿, 就是有没有确切的意愿, 能够既准确又及时地汇报这种非常糟糕的流行病传播的这种数字呢? 因为一般的来讲呢, 他们会要么就是出于怕丢面子, 要么呢, 怕失去自己的工作, 他们可能呢会掩盖一些事实, 可能会虚报一些数据, 那您觉得现在中国方面是不是应该进一步的以机制化的方式来使卫生部门搞高度的真正的透明化呢? 因为卫生部门呢, 应该向公众也向媒体呢, 要提供很多这样免费的信息, 促使这个信息呢自由地流动起来, 您是不是认为中国应该采取这方面的措施?

[I'm with CNN. Now I don't want to talk about specific information. *I would like to ask nin* <polite you> another question (*ne*), (*jiushishuo*) <that is to say>, how credible do *nin* think are the figures collected from relevant epidemic regions? (*Ye jiushishuo*) <That is also to say> (*ne*) what (*zhege*) incentives do the local government officials have, or do they have genuine willingness, to be able to report the very bad epidemic figures accurately and promptly? Because generally speaking (*ne*), either out of the fear of losing their face or (*ne*) out of the fear of losing their jobs, they will *perhaps* (*ne*), hide some facts, and will *perhaps* cover up some figures. Do *nin* think China should institutionalise genuine, high degree of transparency because public health sectors (*ne*) should provide the public and the press (*ne*) a lot of free information to keep the information flow? Do *nin* think China should adopt measures of this kind?]

The original utterance features little or no attempt to mitigate the threat to face arising from the question. However, in the Chinese rendition the interpreter uses a variety of hedges all the way through, including discourse markers *I would like to ask*, *jiushishuo*, *ye jiushishuo* and *zhege*, the tone particle *ne* and the modal *perhaps*. *Perhaps* can be used to politely reduce “the impact and urgency of questions and conditions” (Quirk et al. 1985: 620). Further, the interpreter hedges suspicion relating to the reliability of information by using *some* twice, in *they will perhaps* (*ne*), *hide some facts, and will perhaps cover up some figures*, whereas the original utterance features no hedging in *they typically cover up or water down bad news and bad statistics*. The combined use of various hedges here reveals that the interpreter

actively engages in upholding the line of the government and minimising any face-threatening statements directed at the Chinese officials.

5.4 Discussion

The analysis of data under examination shows an interesting pattern in which interpreters tend to adopt various linguistic devices such as terms of address and hedges in their renditions, particularly into Chinese, which in effect downplay the confrontational tone of the original utterances and save ‘face’ primarily for the Chinese officials. Table 11 offers a sample of face-work strategies adopted by interpreters in my data when rendering English questions into Chinese across the different press conferences.

		SARS2 83 minutes	SARS3 120 minutes	SARS4 90 minutes	SARS5 130 minutes	SARS6 90 minutes
Terms of address	Honorific markers (您 <i>Nin</i>)	9	22	11	28	4
	Third party reference (中国政府 <i>Chinese government</i>)	nil	nil	3	nil	nil
Hedging	Illocutionary force (呢 <i>ne</i>)	30	28	14	36	1
	Illocutionary force (这个 <i>zhege</i>)	12	29	nil	9	nil
	Illocutionary force (就是 <i>jiushi</i> /就是 是说 <i>jiushishuo</i> / 也就是说 <i>ye</i> <i>jiushishuo</i>)	5	9	6	8	2

Table 11 Face-Work Strategies in Interpreted Utterances into Chinese across SARS Press Conferences (Unit: Number of Instances)

The table shows that the use of hedges varies across different sessions of SARS press conferences. More hedges are used in SARS press conferences 2, 3, 4 and 5, where the epidemic situation was getting more serious and the interaction between

the official Chinese speakers and their audience became more tense than in the final session (SARS 6). By the time SARS 6 was held, the epidemic had been brought under control and there was less tension between speakers and audience. In terms of the distribution of individual hedging devices, *ne* is used more frequently to hedge the illocutionary force of English original questions than other hedging devices such as *zhege* and *jiushi*. Again, the SARS 5 press conference surpasses other SARS press conference sessions in terms of the frequency of use of the honorific marker *nin* and the tone particle *ne* (featuring 28 and 36 instances, respectively). The SARS 3 press conference features 22 and 28 instances in these two categories respectively, second only to the SARS 5 press conference, and strikingly more instances of the use of the discourse marker *zhege* (29) than other sessions. The results support the argument made earlier that more instances of the interpreter's negotiation of footing and face-work are likely to occur in these two press conferences than the rest, which can be accounted for by the seniority and importance of the official present at these two sessions. This finding is in line with reports in the literature on the face-work strategies adopted by simultaneous interpreters, who have been found to mitigate the illocutionary force of the source texts, mainly through avoidance or omission, in order to minimise any face-threat to target text receivers (Monacelli 2005).

It is worth noting that little evidence has emerged in the data to suggest that interpreters pay particular attention to the face of journalists.¹⁰¹ This can be partly explained by the interpreters' background as institutional insiders. However, any attempt at mitigating the threat of face to Chinese officials may simultaneously depict the journalists as less aggressive, thus giving them face. This explanation is compatible with Goffman's approach, which focuses on politeness as a condition of interaction.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated interpreters' mediation of face and face-work in the Chinese official press conferences under examination, with particular reference to their deployment of terms of address (including the use of titles, honorific forms,

¹⁰¹ Except for one instance in the SARS 4 press conference where the interpreter uses *Nin* to address a Chinese-speaking foreign journalist when asking for clarification: “请您重复一下第二个问题行吗? (Could *nin* <polite you> repeat the second question?)”

solidarity boosters and third party reference) and hedges. The analysis offered suggests that despite the fact that interpreters in this case are working in a fairly tense and highly regulated interactional encounter conducted in a rather rigid institutional setting, they are proactively involved in negotiating ‘face’ between interlocutors, and significantly doing protective face-work primarily for the benefit of the Chinese officials.

With respect to terms of address, the data has revealed a rather dominant pattern in which the interpreters tend to use polite forms of address such as official titles instead of social titles, honorific forms (such as *nin*, polite you and *nimen*, plural you) to refer to or address Chinese officials, although there is a rather mixed picture in terms of the use of titles across different sessions of the press conference (with SARS 2, 3, 4 presenting a dominant pattern of using official titles instead of social titles and SARS 5 and 6, a mixed one). Interpreters’ mediation of third party reference suggests that they give significant consideration to the face of the Chinese officials, vis-à-vis the journalists.

The data also suggests that interpreters frequently mitigate the illocutionary force of utterances and frame them in a more tentative and hesitant manner in order to minimise the threat to face to Chinese officials and project a positive image of the government through the use of various hedging devices such as the Chinese tone particle *ne*, discourse markers 这个 *zhege* and 就是说 *jiushishuo*, expressions like 我想说 *wo xiang shuo* and 我想问一下 *wo xiang wen yixia* and *might* and *perhaps* in English. In all these cases, the interpreters seem to be concerned with upholding the line taken by the Chinese officials and mitigating any potential face-threatening acts directed at their institutional superiors.

The next and final chapter will attempt to summarise the findings of the study and outline areas for future research.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Objectives Revisited

The aim of this study has been to explore how interpreters, as institutional insiders, position themselves in Chinese government press conferences. In order to address this question, the study drew on Goffman's social communication theory, with particular reference to participation framework, footing, face and face-work, to investigate interpreters' behaviour in government press conferences in the Chinese context, an increasingly popular interpreter-mediated genre that is yet to be systematically investigated in interpreting studies.

The overarching question addressed by this study is:

- *How are interpreters situated and how do they negotiate their role in government press conferences in China, with particular reference to participation framework, footing, face and face-work?*

Based on this broad question, three more specific research questions were formulated to pursue the objectives of the study:

- *How are government press conferences organised in China and what patterns of participation framework are typical of these events?*
- *What contextualisation cues are used by interpreters to signal their shifts in footing?*
- *How do interpreters negotiate threats to primary interlocutors' face and to their own face in this context?*

The answers to these questions were outlined in detail in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 and are summarised below.

6.2 Main Findings

6.2.1 *Interpreters' mediation of participation framework and footing*

The data analysed in this study reveals a prominent pattern in which interpreters tend to adopt an institutional footing by employing various linguistic devices such as the use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns, including the addition of the first person plural pronoun *we* and its variants, mainly to refer to China or the Chinese government. Such use is not necessarily triggered by the content of the original utterances or the requirements of syntax. This is also true of the addition and substitution of second and third person pronouns, as well as the addition of intensifiers such as *really*, *very much* and *indeed*, in particular in rendering Chinese remarks and questions into English.

Interpreters' repeated use of the first person plural pronoun serves to strengthen the presence of the Chinese government as the main player in the interaction; the addition of intensifiers, in the meantime, helps safeguard the positive image of the Chinese government by emphasising its efforts in dealing with the crisis. Moreover, there is one instance in the data where the interpreter's specific choice of the expression *our Taiwan compatriots* to refer to the people in Taiwan (sequence 284 of the SARS 5 press conference) signals clearly her alignment with Chinese institutions and the Chinese nation as a whole. This data reveals a strong pattern of institutional alignment on the part of interpreters in Chinese press conferences, and their investment in the dominant national ideology.

6.2.2 *Interpreters' mediation of face and face-work*

Two main linguistic features have been observed in the data as an important site of face-work on the part of interpreters: terms of address and hedges. The former includes the use of titles, honorific and solidarity markers such as *您 nin* (polite single you), *你们 nimen* (plural you), *comrade* and *friend*, and third party reference. The latter includes hedges on illocutionary force, such as the Chinese tone particle *呢 ne*; discourse markers *这个 zhege* and *就是说 jiushishuo*; expressions such as *我想说 wo xiang shuo* and *我想问一下 wo xiang wen yixia*, and *might* and *perhaps* in

English; and hedges on quality and quantity such as *some* and the use of syntactic structures to hedge on the nature of event.

Deferential appeal conveyed in the original Chinese utterances, e.g. through the use of the honorific marker *nin* and third party reference, is usually lost in the English rendition, which is inevitable given the lack of an equivalent politeness marker in English. Significantly, the majority of face-work strategies discussed in this study are employed by interpreters when rendering English questions into Chinese. In order to better contextualise these strategies, it is helpful to refer to the definition of ‘translation strategy’ in Chesterman (1997:88), who explains that

Strategies are ways in which translators seek to conform to norms ... not to achieve equivalence, but simply to arrive at the best version they can think of, what they regard as the optimal translation. A strategy is thus a kind of process, a way of doing something. To speak of translation strategies is thus to look at translation as an action.

Due to the contingent and unscripted nature of the topic discussed in the press conferences under examination, interpreters are constantly involved in negotiating frictional or confrontational exchanges; and due largely to their institutional background, they predictably choose to uphold the line taken by the institutional players (Chinese officials) and mitigate the threat to the face to their institutional superiors. The face-work strategies adopted by interpreters in this context seem to conform to the norm of upholding ‘interactional equilibrium’ in this type of encounter and are probably the “best version” interpreters can think of in the interest of all parties (Chesterman 1997: 88).

It should also be noted that although the delivery of the interpreters may be perceived as hesitant as a result of using hedges such as *zhege* and *ne*, this does not reflect any lack of language competence on their part in this context. These interpreters are highly qualified and recruited as in-house interpreters for government agencies; they are generally considered the most professional interpreters in China. What is important is that their presentation is not characterised by hesitation throughout the press conference series, where it is generally fluent and articulate. Their employment of hedges at various places can be perceived as an interpreting strategy which gives them some extra time to organise their rendition under stressful circumstances, and which at the same time serves to downplay the

confrontational tone of the original English utterances and thus can also be regarded as the expression of protective face-work, primarily for the benefit of Chinese officials.

It is worth mentioning that there is little evidence to suggest that interpreters pay particular attention to the face of journalists (there is only one instance where the interpreter uses 您 *Nin* to address a Chinese-speaking foreign journalist when asking her for clarification). This seems to diverge from the findings of Wadensjö (1998: 177-179), who observes that three dimensions of face-work are simultaneously in operation on the part of the interpreter, based on her data in a medical setting: first, the patient wishes to preserve his or her ‘face’ in discussing embarrassing aspects of a given disease, and the interpreter reflects the patient’s wish to avoid any threat to face when she speaks on his or her behalf; second, the interpreter wishes and endeavours to gain the trust of the primary interlocutors by projecting herself as a capable professional; and third, the interpreter’s social identity – in addition to her professional role as an interpreter – often requires her to engage in further face-work as and when the situation requires it.¹⁰² This suggests that interpreters in the kind of medical setting examined by Wadensjö may be more alert to the patient’s and their own face than the face of the medical practitioner, who represents the institution in this case.

In the present study, any attempt by interpreters to mitigate the threat to face of one party (Chinese officials) simultaneously helps depict the other party (journalists) as less face-threatening, so that the latter’s positive face is also protected. This is compatible with Goffman’s conceptualisation of face, which assumes that face is a condition of interaction and that face-work involves consideration of the face of all parties. There is also little evidence to suggest that the interpreters are involved in doing defensive face-work to save their own face. This again does not necessarily contradict what Goffman articulates as simultaneous consideration of ‘face’ for one’s self and one’s role others in face-to-face communication. Given that interpreters and translators are “generally accorded the grace of invisibility” (Cronin 2003: 64),¹⁰³ suggesting that they are commonly believed to perform best when they can make themselves as invisible as possible, their own ‘face’ and position are

¹⁰² In Wadensjö’s study, the interpreter also identifies with the patient as a fellow countrywoman. Her shared awareness of having not been exposed to sex education in school in her former home country leads to her hesitant rendition, revealing a sense of embarrassment on her part (1998: 179).

¹⁰³ Although both researchers and practitioners have increasingly challenged this assumption (ibid.)

presumably best maintained if they strive to ensure a smooth communication between the primary interlocutors without the face of any party being threatened or their line being undermined.

6.2.3 Interpreters' role and positioning in Chinese government press conferences

Following Davies and Harré (1990), Mason (2009) proposes the term 'positioning' as an alternative to the commonly used term 'role' in order to better reflect the evolving and constantly negotiated nature of interactional meaning among various participants in interpreter-mediated encounters. Based on Goffman's distinction between 'activity role' and 'footing' (1981a: 128), Mason explains 'role' as "a fairly static concept" that implies a set of "pre-determined patterns of behaviour" of participants who might lock themselves into performing the role (2009: 53), whereas 'positioning' reflects the dynamic nature of interaction and is "the result of joint negotiation among all the participants". With ongoing interactional moves, "participants position themselves and others and in turn <are> positioned by others" (ibid.). Although similar, positioning differs from footing in that the former is of an interactional collective nature where the position of one participant can be endorsed or rejected by others, whereas the latter highlights the individual nature of one's alignment (ibid.: 71).

As discussed in Chapter 2, Wadensjö (1998) talks of two main activities in the context of interpreters' involvement in face-to-face interaction, i.e. relaying and coordinating. In terms of relaying, interpreters in this study reveal their institutional alignment and the priority they give to the 'face' of their institutional superiors through their use of a range of linguistic devices (as analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 and summarised above). As coordinators of talk, however, they are constrained largely by the rigid structure of the event as well as their limited institutional agency, especially compared to face-to-face dialogue interpreters in less official settings, such as healthcare institutions (Wadensjö 1992, Metzger 1999).

Interpreters in the present study remain calm even when there is momentary confusion. As highly qualified professionals, they display poise, sometimes by refraining from taking control of the interaction where interpreters in a variety of

other contexts might feel at liberty to do so. This is evident in example 75, which comes from a long sequence from the SARS 5 press conference where a Japanese journalist has difficulty in framing her question in either Chinese or English, and as a result, the Chairperson, the invited Chinese official (the Executive Vice Minister of Health) and her Japanese colleague representing another News Agency all come in to help her out. Notably, however, the interpreter does not intervene.¹⁰⁴

Example 75 (SARS 5_ 333-340_ SANKE SHINBUN JNL)

SANKE SHINBUN JNL: 谢谢。我是日本的财经新闻。谢谢高副部长，我想问的是，卫生部内，除了张文康原部长以外，应当(.)或者免职的方式承担责任的官员是，一共几个人(.)除了张原部长以外，没有人承担责任的话，那卫生部应当承担责任的是张部长一个人吗？另外我想问高副部长本人，几月几号知道北京的情况，啊，在哪里，怎样的方式知道。

[Thank you. I'm with Sanke Shimbun. Thank you Vice Minister Gao. I want to ask, within Ministry of Health, apart from former Minister ZHANG Wenkang, should (.) or the way of getting dismissed, be responsible, how many people altogether (.) <barely heard>, besides the former Minister Zhang, if no one else is responsible, is Minister Zhang the only one who should be held accountable? Also I want to ask Vice Minister Gao in person, in which month and on which date did you know the epidemic situation in Beijing? (.) where and how?]

GAO: 我听不懂。

[I can't understand <you>.]

SANKE SHINBUN JNL: 听不懂<smiling>, 真不好意思。<smiling timidly>我想问的是，卫生部内应对的方式，(.)张部长，好像张部长一样，应对应急方式(.)

[<You> can't understand, <I'm> very sorry. I want to ask, within Ministry of Health, the response mechanism, umm, Minister Zhang, like Minister Zhang, the emergency response mechanism]

GAO: 你讲英文，她来翻译好吗？<pointing at the interpreter> Second question用英文讲。

[You speak English, it is ok for her <pointing at the interpreter> to interpret, second question, say it in English.]

SANKE SHINBUN JNL: <trying to speak in English> I want to know, umm, how many, umm, how many official, Chinese Health Ministry (.) <not able to continue in English, looks anxious and nervously touches her hair>

¹⁰⁴ The interpreter's distancing herself from the chaotic exchanges and refusal to coordinate the interaction at that juncture could arguably be regarded as unprofessional practice by codes of conduct in western countries.

WANG: 第一个问题已经听懂了。First question 已经懂了。

[<I> understand your first question. First question is understood.]

GAO: <to Wang> 你听懂了，我没有听懂。

[You understand, but I don't.]

<There is laughter from the audience. Wang interprets the question for Mr. Gao in Chinese in a loud voice. The scene is somewhat chaotic.>

ASASHI SHIMBUN JNL: 高部长，高部长<tries to get the attention of Mr. Gao>，我的汉语也不好，但是我明白她的意思，她要说的是，除了现部长以外，有多少人要对这个问题(.) 负责任，谢谢。

[Minister Gao, Minister Gao, my Chinese is not good either but I understand what she means. She wanted to say, besides the incumbent minister, how many, provincial level, people in this regard, (.) should be held accountable. Thank you.]

INTERPRETER: I'm from Japan. Apart from ZHANG Wenkang, who else got to blame within the Ministry of Health, or is Mr. ZHANG Wenkang the sole person to get punished for the outbreak situation in Beijing?

This is an extreme case in the data. It is interesting to note that during the three minutes or so of chaotic exchanges among various speakers, the interpreter seems to be allocated (or she assumes) the role of an 'unaddressed recipient', and makes no particular attempt at facilitating or managing the interaction. This may be due to the fact that during this process the chairperson plays the role of interpreter from time to time and the intended message is not clear to the interpreter until after another journalist manages to reformulate the question. It may also be the case that the interpreter is aware that she has the least institutional power among the institutional players present (the invited speakers and the chairperson), and thus regards herself as the least responsible for coordinating the interaction. Such awareness of her constrained position would encourage her to play a passive and restrained role when communication breaks down. This diverges from the active role played by interpreters in other face-to-face communicative encounters. For instance, in asylum registration interviews, interpreters may actively manage the interaction even before the interview proper has started, playing the role of "communicative detectives" that represent "the first line of defence against unobstructed narratives" (Jacquemet 2010: 133- 134).

Nevertheless, the data features several instances where interpreters do intervene and become more ‘visible’ in institutionally sanctioned ways. In these cases, interpreters’ footing shifts from that of ‘animator’ and ‘author’ to that of ‘principal’, e.g. when seeking clarification;¹⁰⁵ and from an ‘unaddressed recipient’ to an addressed one, e.g. when corrected by primary speakers.¹⁰⁶

It is also worth noting that allocating or taking control of turns, a function fulfilled by interpreters in community settings (e.g. Angermeyer 2005, Valero Garcés 2005, Merlini and Favaron 2005), is not attested in the data under discussion. Neither is any attempt made by the interpreters to offer cultural or linguistic advice to the primary participants,¹⁰⁷ whereas acting as a cultural broker is quite frequently attested in community settings (e.g. Cooke 2009, Barsky 1996). This could be partly explained by the fact that the topic under discussion in the data (the SARS epidemic) is fairly technical and may involve fewer culture-specific terms, concepts or expressions than more general and culturally sensitive topics discussed in other press conferences, or in interpreter-mediated encounters which involve participants from minority groups, e.g. asylum registration interviews (Jacquemet 2010), and medical and police settings (Baraldi and Gavioli 2007, 2008; Davidson 2010; Maltby 2009).

Interpreters in this study appear to be comfortably situated as ‘institutional aides or insiders’, a role seemingly endorsed by most interactional participants by default, whereas in public service interpreting genres, interpreters are generally required to engage “a high level of neutrality and detachment” (Wadensjö 2009: 44), and in most cases, positioned as “outsider<s> to institutional structures” in the interpreting policy adopted by the employing institution in order to ensure that they “maintain a sense of distance from the institution and <are>, thus, more immune to

¹⁰⁵ For instance, in the SARS 6 press conference, while a Wall Street Journal representative was posing his question, the interpreter intervened by asking “can you speak louder please?” (See also the example in footnote 101 where the interpreter asked a journalist to repeat the question). However, it should be emphasised that the interpreters seek clarification sparingly throughout the various press conferences (altogether four occurrences in the data) and only do so when it is absolutely necessary.

¹⁰⁶ For instance, in the SARS 2 press conference, the interpreter was interrupted and corrected by the invited Chinese official several times when rendering proper nouns and technical terms. This incidence is also mentioned in a self-reflective article written later by the interpreter herself (Dai 2004: 63).

¹⁰⁷ However, drawing on a single Chinese press conference on general diplomatic topics attended by Premier Wen on 16 March 2008, Li and Zhao (2009) argue that the interpreter plays the roles of “message conveyer”, “cultural communicator” and “diplomatic participant” at the same time.

institutionalisation” (Maltby 2009: 204). However, little evidence is available to suggest that interpreters in the present study play the role of institutional gatekeepers or cultural brokers, such roles being commonly found in other formal or less formal institutional settings (e.g. Jacquemet 2010, Barsky 1996) and may give rise to a series of ethical challenges (Davidson 2010). For example, in the medical setting, an interpreter’s “wholesale alignment with the institution” and their covert involvement as “co-diagnosticians” are regarded as “both unethical and a truly poor form of interpretive practice”, and the discrepancy between what interpreters are expected to do for service recipients and what they actually do points to the necessity of monitoring this professional practice (ibid.: 153).

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 above, interpreters in the current study tend to be restrained and cautious in interactional management and seem to aim at quite literal rendition of ‘content’; however, they are heavily involved in shaping the ongoing interaction within an organisationally rigid communication framework. They position themselves mainly through their negotiation of institutional alignment and protection of ‘face’, primarily for their institutional superiors. This finding supports the argument that interpreters do not function as a language “voicebox” (Davidson 2002: 1275), or “an impartial, self-effacing conduit” (Cronin 2006: 90); they are rather proactively engaged in the construction of interactional meaning, and may even function as “institutional insiders and ally themselves as such” in certain circumstances (Davidson 2010: 152). In the present study, I would argue that interpreters adopt a distinctive position as ‘semantically neutral’ but ‘emotionally/pragmatically partial’.

6.3 Assessment of the Study

6.3.1 Main contributions

Because of its interdisciplinary nature, this study draws heavily on, and may therefore make original contributions to, at least three areas of research, namely, interpreting studies, Goffman’s socio-communicative theory and studies of China’s foreign publicity mechanisms.

Like legal interpreting, press conference interpreting can be defined as a distinct type of interpreter-mediated encounter compared to community and conference interpreting, often taking place at times of emergent situations or crises, during which all face-to-face interaction – including officials’ briefing and the bulk of spontaneous question and answer sequences between officials and journalists – is constantly mediated by professionally trained interpreters. In response to the call for examining all forms of interpreting as “they are grounded in the economic, political and cultural conditions of people’s lives” (Cronin 2002: 391), this study has attempted to contribute to existing scholarship by describing and investigating press conference interpreting, a rather unexplored area in interpreting research, by situating it within the social and political landscape of contemporary China.

Anderson (1976) was among the first to highlight the necessity for future research to address the broader social issues involved in interpreter mediated interaction, including issues of class, gender and age, all of which may ultimately influence the role played by interpreters. This call for a ‘social turn’ in interpreting research has particularly been emphasised by Cronin (2002). Consequently, there has been growing interest among researchers in issues of power, identity, ideology and activism (e.g. Beaton 2007a, 2007b, Pöchhacker 2006, Boéri 2008). Nevertheless, this interest is yet to be translated into a robust programme of research, and many more studies still need to be conducted to examine the impact of agency, ideology and positioning on the behaviour of interpreters and the dynamics of interaction (Diriker 2009). Based on a relatively large corpus of data, compared to data typically compiled in interpreting research, this study considered interpreters’ agency, role and positioning in Chinese government press conferences held during the SARS crisis, where various socio-political factors have been shown to impact the behaviour of interpreters. In this respect, the study has contributed to the body of empirically and sociologically oriented work in interpreting research by providing an alternative insight into interpreters’ behaviour in a less-represented setting (government press conferences) and in a less-represented culture (the Chinese context). In addition, since all the press conferences held during the SARS epidemic, some of which constitute the data for this study, have been televised and since they were conducted at a critical juncture where tensions among participants were

running high, this research could also shed some light on some aspects of media interpreting and on interpreting at times of crisis.

Goffman's sociological work has attracted a great deal of interest from researchers seeking to re-examine social life with methods that had not been available before the elaboration of his theory. Research into dialogue interpreting has particularly benefited from his models. Wadensjö (1992) probably represents the first systematic attempt to apply Goffman's social communicative theory to the study of translation, and to interpreting research in particular. Until then, Goffman's theories had been applied primarily in monolingual encounters. Since the publication of Wadensjö's pioneering work, interest in Goffman's work has grown among interpreting researchers, who have drawn in particular on his notions of footing, participation framework, role analysis and face, to investigate interpreter behaviour, especially in community settings (e.g. Mason and Stewart 2001, Wadensjö 1998, Seferlis 2005, Mason 2009). This interest may be largely explained by the focus on face-to-face communication in Goffman's theory, a focus which lends itself readily to being applied to community and public service interpreting. Once again, despite this growing interest in Goffman's work, little research has been done to apply it in press conference interpreting, an increasingly important and visible genre involving interpreter mediation, in particular in the Chinese context. The current study may thus also contribute to extending the application of Goffman's socio-communicative framework to examining interpreters' involvement in the negotiation of footing and face in the press conference setting in China.

Last but not least, another area that this research may contribute to is the study of China's policy of foreign publicity in modern times. As witnessed by a number of sinologists (e.g. Brady 2006; d'Hooghe 2007, 2008), China has now embarked on a much more proactive public diplomacy campaign than it has ever considered in the past. Following the SARS crisis in 2003 (c.f. section 3.3 of Chapter 3), and given China's rise as a major international player in both economic and political terms, a new and modern foreign publicity system has now been put in place. China's top leaders can increasingly be seen on national TV and have a prominent presence in international media. On the one hand, they increasingly participate in international events and initiatives, thus projecting China as an important and responsible player in the world, and on the other hand, they are seen talking and shaking hands with

local people, showing interest in their welfare, especially in the aftermath of disasters and crises (such as earthquakes and floods). At the same time, China has had to offer more access to foreign media to report on various aspects of the country, including the way people live, social and economic development, and on high profile events that China is proud to host, such as the Beijing Olympic Games 2008 and Shanghai Expo 2012. The Chinese State Council Information Office (SCIO) is one of the major players in implementing China's policy of foreign diplomacy. In an article that calls on Chinese officials to learn how to better interact with news media, especially foreign media, Cai Wu, the Minister of SCIO, summarises the importance of active publicity in establishing a positive image of China thus (quoted and translated in d'Hooghe 2008: 41):

What is China doing, how is it doing it, what problems is it facing, what dilemmas? What are the Chinese preparing to do, what goals are they pursuing? Stating these things clearly can actually go a long way to building a more objective international opinion environment.

SCIO-sponsored government press conferences, mediated by interpreters throughout, are among the most influential venues for China to interact officially with the outside world, especially in times of crisis. As indispensable players in this context, interpreters' mediation may have particular implications for the negotiation of interactional meaning among Chinese officials and journalists. A systematic investigation into interpreter behaviour in this context may thus contribute to the study of the Chinese foreign publicity system by providing an alternative insight into how China reports itself and interacts with the rest of the world, from the perspective of those who mediate this process.

6.3.2 *Limitations*

Participation framework and shifts in footing in face-to-face communication can be triggered by various kinds of signalling mechanisms which can be initiated by different participants, as reviewed in Chapter 2. At the outset, this study sought to investigate interpreters' all-round involvement in Chinese government press conferences, including their use of both verbal and non-verbal contextualisation cues. However, the footage collected for inclusion in the data set does not afford much

visual access to interpreters, nor to the interaction between primary speakers and interpreters, except for a number of close-ups of interpreters who are shown as either taking or reading notes attentively. Thus, the analysis focuses only on interpreters' verbal production and does not take account of their facial expressions, kinesic movements and their occasional interaction with Chinese officials, whether this interaction is initiated by them or the officials.

It is also unfortunate that no footage is available of the SARS 1 press conference, the first televised SARS press conference held by SCIO and the only session attended by the Minister for Health (the allegedly guilty Minister who was dismissed later as the outbreak worsened). Therefore, the exchanges conducted in English and interpreters' engagement throughout this session are not available. Nevertheless, the Chinese transcripts of both the briefing and question sessions are available on the internet and are included in the corpus as secondary data, given the significance of this event as a backdrop to the development of the epidemic and the subsequent press conferences.

Another limitation of this study concerns the lack of sufficient background information about the three interpreters involved in the data, because these press conferences took place some four years before this project started. Interpreters tend to move around and work with different clients, and it was therefore difficult to locate them after such a relatively long interim. However, what remains relevant and available to the researcher is the fact of the interpreters' affiliation with government institutions as public servants and the detail of one interpreter who is an in-house interpreter from the Department of Translation and Interpretation of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and who has interpreted in at least two if not all four press conferences attended by the officials from the Ministry of Health (SARS1, 2, 3 and 5; see footnote 45, page 72, on the identity of the interpreter of SARS 5). This last piece of information helps to some extent in explaining the findings, summarised in Table 10 above, in that the significant occurrence of interpreters' use of *ne* and *zhege* in SARS 2, 3 and 5 press conferences (compared to SARS 4 and 6 press conferences) to mitigate the illocutionary force of some potentially face threatening stretches could potentially be seen as a feature of one interpreter's personal style.

6.4 Suggestions for Future Research

Goffman's social communicative framework has proved insightful in addressing the research questions posed by the current study. However, the same set of data could be approached from other sociological and discourse perspectives, for example by drawing on critical discourse analysis or narrative theory to investigate other interesting aspects of the interaction and the positioning of interpreters within it. These may include the following: potential gender differences in relation to interpreting strategies, especially face-work strategies; the ideological foregrounding or backgrounding of certain issues or facets of the crisis; the interplay of narratives constructed by various participants (Chinese officials, both Chinese and foreign journalists) and how these are mediated by interpreters.

Future work could examine government press conferences, or press conferences in general, based on a larger corpus or on different topics that are similar to the SARS crisis in terms of their urgency (e.g. earthquakes and food safety) or less urgent ones (e.g. protection of intellectual property rights and the Beijing Olympic Games). A different set of data may reveal different patterns of interaction. For example, press conferences on sensitive topics might produce more frictional or confrontational exchanges, requiring a greater level of negotiation of face on the part of interpreters. Press conferences on less urgent and sensitive topics might reveal different patterns of negotiation and construction of narratives by various participants.

The model applied in this study could also be extended to comparative research involving different cultures and languages. For example, it would be very interesting to conduct a comparative study of interpreters' mediation in government press conferences in Chinese and Japanese contexts, two cultures that share certain modes of behaviour and assumptions but still diverge considerably in others. Ethnographic research on press conference interpreting would also be desirable, not least because it can account for non-verbal contextualisation cues employed by interpreters in this context.

Although I have attempted to incorporate into the discussion of interpreters' institutional alignment and face-work strategies some sample counts of a number of key contextualisation cues adopted by interpreters, such as the use of the first person

plural pronoun *we* and illocutionary hedges such as *ne* and *zhege*, this study is primarily based on qualitative analysis. However, future research might approach similar data from a quantitative perspective, highlighting the distribution of interpreting strategies across different sessions of press conferences on a given topic, or attempting to link certain choices to individual interpreters, as a contribution to the study of interpreter style.

Finally, this study is based on data in which consecutive interpreting is used and the interpreter is located next to the invited speakers, on the front stage in the Chinese press conference setting.¹⁰⁸ It would be potentially interesting for future work to investigate interpreters' involvement in press conferences held by pan-organisations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and to establish, for example the impact of the interpreting mode, i.e. consecutive or simultaneous interpreting, on interpreter strategies, and what difference the physical proximity of interpreters to institutional speakers makes in relation to patterns of institutional alignment.

¹⁰⁸ Recent years, however, have witnessed some changes in the setting up of SCIO-sponsored government press conferences, where simultaneous interpreting is used for the briefing session of press conferences in order to achieve a more time-efficient organisation of the events. The question and answer session is still interpreted in the consecutive mode. Interpreters are no longer physically positioned at the front of the stage, sitting next to the invited speakers, and are now normally seated on one side of the hall or in the booth and are rarely visible on TV. This lends further support to the need for ethnographic studies to be conducted in this context in future.

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APPENDIX 1: TRANSCRIPT OF SARS 5 PRESS CONFERENCE

Chair: Mr. WANG Guoqing, Deputy Director-General of SCIO

Invited speaker: Mr. GAO Qiang, Acting Deputy Health Minister and Head of the Control and Prevention Office of Chinese Headquarters for SARS Control and Prevention

JNL representing the Chinese news agencies:

C1: Wenhuipo of Hong Kong

C2: CCTV

C3: CtiTV of Taiwan

C4: China News Service

C5: China Daily

C6 CRI

JNL representing the foreign news agencies

F1: an unknown Financial news agency

F2: Kyodo News (Japan)

F3: UPI

F4: CNN

F5: Columbia Broadcasting Company (U.S.)

F6: Asahi Shimbun (Japan)

F7: Sanke Shinbun (Japan)

F8: Associate Press of Pakistan

Interpreter A (Ms. DAI Qingli), consecutive, appears occasionally on the footage, with no close-up. The interpreter rendered the title of Mr GAO Qiang as “Executive Vice Minister of Health”.

1. WANG: 女士们、先生们下午好！
Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon.
TT: Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.
2. WANG: 非典型肺炎的防治工作已经进行了相当的一段时间，
It has been quite some time since SARS prevention and treatment work was launched.
TT: It has been quite some time since we launched the prevention and control effort against SARS in this country.
3. WANG: 高强先生上次是 4 月 20 号在我们这儿举行的新闻发布会。The last time that Mr GAO Qiang attended our press conference was on April 20.
TT: Last time Mr GAO Qiang was here for this press conference was on April 20.
4. WANG: 所以现在一个多月了，我们觉得这几天的疫情有些变化，所以我想我们请高强先生需要来跟我们新闻界见一次面。
So now one month has passed, we think the epidemic situation has some changes these days, so I think it is necessary for us to invite Mr GAO Qiang to talk to our press.
TT: It has been more than four weeks since the last press conference. And in the past few days, the epidemic situation in China has been changing. So we think it is quite necessary for us to have Mr GAO Qiang here with us once again to talk to us about the relevant situation.

- 5 WANG: 现在我们先请高强先生给大家介绍疫情。
Now I would like to give the floor to Mr GAO to brief to us the epidemic situation.
TT: Now I would like to give the floor to Mr GAO Qiang for the statement.
- 6 WANG: 所以我想高强先生的头衔其实不用介绍大家也都知道, 他是全国防治非典型肺炎指挥部防治组组长, 卫生部常务副部长。
So I think people know the title of Mr GAO Qiang without my introduction. He is the head of prevention and treatment group under the national headquarter for SARS prevention and treatment, and Executive Deputy Minister of Health.
TT: I don't think I need to introduce Mr GAO here to you. He is the leader, he is the head of the prevention and control working group under the national headquarters for SARS control and prevention, he is also the Executive Vice Minister of Health.
- 7 GAO: 女士们、先生们, 下午好。
Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon.
TT: Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon.
- 8 GAO: 很高兴有机会再次同大家见面。
I'm very glad to have the chance to meet you all again.
TT: It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity to meet with you once again.
- 9 GAO: 对大家踊跃的参加今天的新闻发布会我表示欢迎。
I would like to welcome you for your active participation in today's press conference.
TT: I would like to here welcome your active participation in this press conference.
- 10 GAO: 近几个月来, 大家对中国的 SARS 防治情况进行了大量报道。
In recent months, you have been giving a lot of coverage on China's SARS prevention and treatment situation.
TT: In the past several months, you have been giving a lot of coverage to different aspects of the SARS prevention and control work in China.
- 11 GAO: 对于我们预防和控制疫情发挥了积极作用。
This plays an active role in our prevention and control work.
TT: This is quite helpful to our work in this respect.
- 12 GAO: 中国的一位先师, 荀子有一句名言。
The ancient Chinese sage, Xun Zi has a famous saying.
TT: There is a famous philosopher in China, also a famous sage, Xun Zi has this saying.
- 13 GAO: 叫“非我当者, 吾师也”。然后我再和你细说啊
It goes something like this: “those who give me appropriate criticisms can be seen as my teachers” I will come back and explain to you later turning to the interpreter.
TT: oh. I will come back to this idiom saying in a minute.
- 14 GAO: “非我当者, 吾师也; 是我当者, 吾友也”。这句话什么意思呢? 就是对我提出适当批评的人是我的老师, 对我提出适当鼓励的人, 是我的朋友。
What does this idiom mean? It means that those who give me appropriate criticisms can be seen as my teachers; those who give me appropriate encouragement can be regarded as my friends.
TT: This idiom goes something like this: all those people who can give me appropriate criticism can be considered my teachers and all those who can give me appropriate encouragement can be considered my friends.

- 15 GAO: 我代表中国卫生部对大家的关心支持和大家辛勤的劳动表示衷心的感谢。
On behalf of China's Ministry of Health, I would like to thank all of you for your concern, support and the unremitting effort.
TT: Here, on behalf of the Ministry of Health, I would like to thank all of you for your concern and support and the hard work you have put in.
- 16 GAO: 下面我简单地介绍一下近几个月来中国疫情的发展情况, 然后回答大家的问题。
Now I would like to brief to you the latest development of SARS in China and then answer your questions.
TT: Before I open the floor for questions, I will give you a brief analysis of the patterns of SARS development in China in past few months.
- 17 GAO: 过去几个月, 中国的 SARS 疫情发展情况大致经历了三个阶段。
In the past several months, the SARS epidemic in China has roughly gone through three stages.
TT: In the past few months, the epidemic situation has roughly gone through three stages.
- 18 GAO: 一季度, 疫情主要集中在广东省。
In the first quarter of this year, the epidemic was largely concentrated in Guangdong province.
TT: In the first quarter of this year, SARS epidemic was largely concentrated in Guangdong province.
- 19 GAO: 三月底, 全国内地累计报告确诊病例 1190 例。
By the end of March, the number of accumulative confirmed cases in the mainland was 1190.
TT: And at the end of March, the mainland of China has reported accumulative total of 1190 probable cases.
- 20 GAO: 其中广东有 1153 例, 占 97%;
Among which, 1153 cases were in Guangdong, accounting for 97% of the total.
TT: Out of these, 1153 cases, or 97% of the total, were in Guangdong;
- 21 GAO: 这是第一阶段。
This is the first stage.
TT: This is the first stage.
- 22 GAO: 第二个阶段是四月份, 疫情开始向其他多数省份扩散, 并逐步集中向北京、山西、内蒙古、河北和天津市集中。
The second stage happened in April when the epidemic started to spread to most other provinces and gradually concentrated in Beijing, Shanxi province, Inner Mongolia, Hebei province and Tianjin.
TT: The second stage was in April. In April, SARS began to spread to most other provinces, and gradually the cases were building up in Beijing, Shanxi province, Inner Mongolia, Hebei province and Tianjin municipality.
- 23 GAO: 四月底, 全国累计报告确诊病例 3460 例,
By the end of April, the total number of confirmed cases in China was 3460.
TT: And in the end of April, the total number of probable cases on mainland grew to 3460.
- 24 GAO: 其中华北五省市区和广东省一共有 3368 例, 占 97.3%;
Among which, 3368 cases were in the above-mentioned five provinces and cities in Northern China and Guangdong province, accounting for 97.3% of the total.

- TT: Out of these, 3368 cases, or 97.3% of the total, were found in the above mentioned five provinces and cities in Northern China and Guangdong.
- 25 GAO: 第三阶段是五月份。
The third stage was in May.
TT: May is the third stage.
- 26 GAO: 全国疫情出现稳中有降态势。
The epidemic situation in China was getting better and stabilised.
TT: In May, the epidemic situation has been stabilised and showed a downward trend.
- 27 GAO: 五月上旬，全国的平均每天新增病例是 151 例；
In the early period of May, there was an average daily increase of 151 cases.
TT: in the early part of May, there was an average daily increase of 151 cases.
- 28 GAO: 五月中旬，平均每天新增病例是 45 例；
In the middle of May, the average daily increase of cases was 45.
TT: in the second part of May, the figure was 45 cases.
- 29 GAO: 五月下旬，平均每天新增病例 14 例，
In the last 10 days of May, the average daily increase of cases was 14.
TT: in the last 10 days of May, the average daily increase of cases was 14.
- 30 GAO: 并呈逐步下降趋势，疫情开始得到有效控制。
And the number of cases gradually started to decrease and the epidemic was starting to be effectively controlled.
TT: and the number of cases has been decreasing and the epidemic started to be effectively contained.
- 31 GAO: 截止 5 月 29 日，全国累计报告诊断病例 5325 例，
By 29th of May, the accumulative number of 5325 cases was reported in China.
TT: and of the 29th of May, the accumulative total of 5325 probable cases were reported on the Chinese mainland.
- 32 GAO: 其中，广东华北 5 省市区共有 5153 例，占全国累计报告总数的 96.8%。
Among these, 5153 cases were reported in Guangdong and the five provinces and cities in Northern China, accounting for 96.8% of the national total.
TT: among these, 5153 cases, or 96.8% of the total, were reported in Guangdong province and the five provinces and cities in Northern China.
- 33 GAO: 全国累计已治愈出院 3121 例，占报告病例总数的 58.6%；
Altogether 3121 cases have been recovered and discharged from hospital, accounting for 58.6% of the total cases.
TT: Altogether 3121 SARS patients, or 58.6% of the total, has been recovered and has been discharged from hospital.
- 34 GAO: 死亡 327 例，病死率为 6.1%。
There were 327 dead cases with the mortality rate 6.1%.
TT: with 327 death, the mortality rate stand at 6.1%.
- 35 GAO: 目前还有 1877 例患者在医院接受治疗。
At the moment, 1877 patients are still being treated in hospitals.
TT: At this moment, 1877 SARS patients are still being treated in hospitals.
- 36 GAO: 中国政府控制疫情扩散和蔓延，主要采取了以下措施
To cope with the spread of the epidemic, the Chinese government has mainly adopted the following measures.

- TT: To cope with the spread of this epidemic, the Chinese government has mainly adopted the following measures.
- 37 GAO: 第一，加强法制建设，严格依法管理。
First, strengthen legislative work and strictly enforce management according to law.
TT: One, we have strengthened the legislative work, to bring the management of this epidemic strictly onto the legal track.
- 38 GAO: 中国政府将非典型肺炎列入法定传染病，依照传染病防治法进行管理。
The Chinese government has listed SARS as notifiable infectious disease, and will manage it according to Law on Infectious Disease.
TT: The Chinese government has listed SARS as notifiable infectious disease and brought the management of this epidemic into the framework of the PRC law on Notifiable Diseases.
- 39 GAO: 国务院颁布了《突发公共卫生事件应急条例》，
The State Council formulated the Regulation on Public Health Emergency.
TT: The State Council formulated the Regulation on Public Health Emergency.
- 40 GAO: 卫生部制订了《传染性非典型肺炎防治管理办法》，
The Ministry of Health formulated Guidelines for Prevention and Control of Infections Atypical Pneumonia.
TT: The Ministry of Health formulated Guidelines for Prevention and Control of Infections Atypical Pneumonia.
- 41 GAO: 完善了疫情信息报告制度和预防控制措施，把防治工作纳入法制化轨道。
Have improved the epidemic information reporting system, prevention and control measures, and legalised the prevention and control work.
TT: We have also acted to improve the epidemic information reporting system so a law based system of prevention and control has taken place in China.
- 42 GAO: 二、加强组织领导，统一协调指挥。
Second, strengthen organisation and leadership and put in place a unified and coordinated command system.
TT: Two, we have strengthened organisation and leadership and put in place a unified and coordinated command system.
- 43 GAO: 国务院成立了防治非典型肺炎指挥部，吴仪副总理任总指挥。
The State council has set up the headquarters for SARS prevention and control, and Vice Premier WU Yi is the general commander.
TT: The State Council set up the national headquarters for SARS prevention and control, and Vice Premier Madame WU Yi is the commander of the headquarters.
- 44 GAO: 各级地方政府都把防治工作作为当前最主要的任务，明确责任，集中力量，实行统一指挥，整合医疗卫生资源，加大防治力度。
Local governments at all levels put SARS prevention and control at the top of their agenda. Responsibility has been clearly assigned, strength put together with a unified command system. Medical resource has been integrated in intensified battle against SARS.
TT: Local governments at all levels have taken SARS control as their top priority, responsibility has been clearly assigned, strength put together, command system unified and medical resources consolidated in an intensified fight against SARS.
- 45 GAO: 三、加强农村防治，实行群防群控。

Three, strengthen rural prevention and control, and carry out mass participation in SARS prevention and control.

TT: Three, we have worked vigorously at SARS control in rural areas by encouraging mass participation in SARS prevention and control.

- 46 GAO: 对返乡农民和学生采取严格的监测措施, 控制传染渠道。

In order to cut off transmission channels, strict surveillance measures are adopted among farmers and students who returned to their home towns.

TT: strict surveillance measures are adopted with regard to farm workers and students going back to their home town to cut off transmission channels.

- 47 GAO: 到目前为止, 全国累计报告农民确诊患者 241 人, 没有发生大面积的扩散。

To date, there has been a total of 241 confirmed farmer patients and no large-scale spread reported in the country.

TT: And of now, there has been a total of 241 probable farmer patients of SARS, and no large scale outbreak is reported in the countryside.

- 48 GAO: 四、加强交通检疫, 建立追踪寻访的制度。

Four, strengthen transport quarantine and establish a tracing and contact mechanism.

TT: Four, re-strengthen quarantine measures in the area of transport and establish a contact tracing mechanism.

- 49 GAO: 民航、铁路、轮船、长途汽车等都建立了旅客监测、登记和跟踪制度, 发现患者立即隔离, 控制传染源。

Passenger monitoring, registering and tracking mechanism has been established on civic planes, trains, ships and long-distance coaches. Once reported, passenger patients will be isolated immediately to control source of communication.

TT: Measures to monitor register and track passengers on planes, trains, ships and long-distance buses were taken. Once reported, all passenger patients will be isolated immediately to control sources of infection.

- 50 GAO: 五、集中优势资源, 积极收治患者。

Five, put together best resources, actively admit and treat patients.

TT: Five, we have put together the best resources to actively admit and treat patients.

- 51 GAO: 在有条件的医院设立发烧门诊, 对病人进行鉴别, 并确定定点医院集中收治患者, 防止医院内感染。

Those well-equipped hospitals have set up fever out-patient departments to examine and identify patients. SARS-only hospitals are designated to admit SARS patients to prevent infection within hospitals.

TT: Well-conditioned hospitals have set up fever out-patient departments to examine and screen patients, SARS-only hospitals are also designated to admit SARS sufferers. Efforts have also been made to prevent infection within hospitals.

- 52 GAO: 第六、坚持中西医结合, 提高治疗水平。

Six, continue to treat patients by combining traditional Chinese and western medicine to improve treatment.

TT: Six, we try very hard to treat patients by a combination of traditional Chinese and western medicine to improve treatment.

- 53 GAO: 集中最优秀的中、西医专家密切合作, 研究有效治疗的治疗方法, 提高治愈率。

Bring together outstanding traditional Chinese and western medical experts to closely collaborate in an effort to develop effective treatment plans and enhance recovery rate.

TT: We have brought together outstanding traditional Chinese and western medicine experts to closely collaborate in developing effective treatment plans raising the recovery rate.

- 54 GAO: 七、加大政府投入，实行医疗救助。

Seven, increase government input and exercise medical aide.

TT: We have intensified government input and instituted a system to provide medical aide and assistance.

- 55 GAO: 中央政府和地方政府已拨付 100 多亿元资金，用于购置医疗设备、药品，防护用品和医院的改造。

The central government and local government have allocated more than 10 billion Yuan for purchasing medical equipment, drugs, protective material and renovating hospitals.

TT: The central government and local government have invested a total of more than 10 billion Yuan so far in purchasing medical equipment, medicine, various protective materials and renovating hospitals.

- 56 GAO: 今后还将拨付巨额资金用于加强疾病预防控制体系的建设、信息网络的建设和医疗救治体系的建设。

In future, substantial funds will be also allocated for strengthening disease prevention and control system, information network, and medical treatment system.

TT: In future, massive funds will be made available for strengthening the system for prevention and control infectious diseases, and development of medical treatment system.

- 57 GAO: 对农民和城镇困难居民实行免费救治政策。

Policy is made for farmers and poor urban residents to receive free treatment of SARS.

TT: The farmers and urban residents living in poverty, they are eligible for free treatment of SARS.

- 58 GAO: 八、开展技术交流，加强科技攻关。

Eight, undertake technical exchanges and enhance science and development.

TT: Eight, we will be undertaking technical exchanges and enhancing science research and development.

- 59 GAO: 我们与世界卫生组织和有关国家保持了密切良好的合作，交流情况，改进工作。

We have maintained close cooperation with the WHO and relevant countries to share information and improve work.

TT: We maintain close cooperation with the WHO and various countries to share information and improve our work.

- 60 GAO: 我们与香港、澳门、台湾等地的医学专家多次开展学术交流，相互传递诊断、治疗经验，共同研究防治 SARS 的有效手段和措施。

We have conducted academic exchanges with medical experts from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan many times to share experiences in diagnosis and treatment and jointly study effective means and measures for SARS prevention and control.

TT: We've also undertaken academic exchanges with medical experts from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan many times, to share experiences in diagnosis

- and treatment and jointly study effective means and measures for SARS prevention and control.
- 61 GAO: 我们集中国内最优秀专家学者积极探索病因, 研究诊断、治疗技术, 取得了一定成果。
We have gathered the best Chinese experts to study the cause of the disease and technique of diagnosis and treatment, which has yielded some results.
TT: We have also put together a team of excellent scholars all over China to actively study the cause of the disease and technique of diagnosis and treatment, which has yielded some results.
- 62 GAO: 当前, 我国的疫情出现了缓解的势头, 大家都为之高兴。
At present, the SARS situation in China has been on the mend, and we are all happy about this.
TT: At present, the SARS situation has been easing in China, and all of us are happy about this.
- 63 GAO: 但是, 我们清醒地认识到, 防治工作形势依然很严峻,
However, we are clearly aware that prevent and control tasks remains serious.
TT: However, we know clearly the situation remains serious.
- 64 GAO: 最终消除非典型肺炎疫情还有一段相当长的路要走。
There is still a long way to go before eventual elimination of SARS.
TT: There is still a long way to go towards eventual elimination of SARS.
- 65 GAO: 我们不能因为新发病例减少而放松警惕。
We cannot relax our vigilance because of reduced number of new cases.
TT: We can't relax our vigilance because of lower number of new cases.
- 66 GAO: 人类对 SARS 病至今尚未完全认识, 其流行特点还没有完全掌握,
Mankind has yet to fully understand about SARS, and hasn't got a complete knowledge of its epidemiological features.
TT: Mankind has yet a full knowledge about SARS, and we have only started to understand its epidemiological features.
- 67 GAO: 诊断治疗还比较困难, 还没有研制出特效的预防疫苗和治疗药物,
Diagnosis and treatment are still difficult; there is no effective vaccine and medicine available.
TT: Diagnosis and treatment are still difficult with no effective vaccine and medicines available.
- 68 GAO: 特别是建立健全疾病预防控制体系, 完善突发公共卫生事件应急处理机制还需要一个过程。
In particular, it will take time to establish and improve disease prevention and control system as well as the system of managing public health contingency.
TT: The establishment and improvement of disease prevention and control system and management system for public health contingency will take time.
- 69 GAO: 因此, 我们要总结经验教训, 在疫情逐步缓解的情况下, 我们要保持清醒的头脑。
Therefore, we need to sum up lessons and experiences, and we need to keep a clear mind as the disease is subsiding.
TT: Therefore, we must sum up our experiences and lessons and cannot afford to be less watchful when the disease is subsiding.
- 70 GAO: 坚持思想不能麻痹, 防治力度不能减弱, 工作不能松懈,
Continue to keep a clear mind, not to relax prevention and control effort.

- TT: We must not relax leadership, or relax our effort, and we must make continuous effort.
- 71 GAO: 继续做好各项预防控制工作, 不断巩固和扩大已有的成果, 再接再厉, 一鼓作气地夺取最后的胜利。
Continue to do a good job in all aspects of prevention and control work, and continue to consolidate and expand the current results; efforts cannot be relaxed until the final victory is achieved.
TT: And we will continue to do a good job on prevention and control, and work to consolidate and expand the results and we will not stop until we win the final victory.
- 72 GAO: SARS 是人类面临的共同敌人。
SARS is the common enemy faced by all mankind.
TT: SARS is the common enemy for all mankind.
- 73 GAO: 在我国防治 SARS 的工作中, 得到了各国政府、人民和中国社会各界的理解、支持和帮助。
In our country's prevention and control work against SARS, <our country> has gained understanding, support and assistance from various countries, people and Chinese social communities
TT: In the course of our fight against SARS, we've received outstanding support and assistance from many governments, people and social communities.
- 74 GAO: 我代表中国卫生部 and 全国 600 万医疗和卫生工作者表示诚挚感谢。
On behalf of China's Ministry of Health and the 6 million medical workers, I would like to express sincere thanks.
TT: I would like to express our sincere thanks for that on behalf of the Ministry of Health in China and also on behalf of the 6 million medical workers in this country.
- 75 GAO: 希望进一步加强交流与合作, 为最终战胜 SARS 而共同奋斗。
<I> hope <we> will further strengthen exchanges and cooperation and work together to eventually win the battle against SARS.
TT: I very much hope that we will further strengthen exchanges and cooperation and work together to eventually win the battle against SARS.
- 76 GAO: 下面我愿意回答各位记者的问题, 但是如果是特别专业的医学问题我可能回答不出来。
Next, I am willing to answer your questions. But if the questions are very technical, I am afraid I may not provide satisfactory answers.
TT: Now I'm ready to take your questions, but I'm afraid I am not able to provide you with satisfactory answers with respect to technical questions.
- 77 WANG: 请各位在提问前, 先通报自己所在的新闻单位。
Before raising questions, please tell us the news agency you represent.
TT: Please identify your media organisation.
- 78 WANG: 穿白衬衣的。
The one in white shirt please
NO TT.
- 79 A non-native English speaking journalist: I would like to rectify a couple of rumours with you. One is that when doctors are treating SARS patients, they are used to work two weeks and rest a week, and now somebody said that they are working three weeks and resting only one week. And the second rumour is about some AIDS patients who have been affected also by SARS, and related to this, I

would like to ask the stages of these people in China, particularly in Henan Province. Thank you.

TT: 我想问您几个问题。首先,我想让您澄清,这个,一些传言,有一种传言呢,就是说,治疗 SARS 患者的一些医生原先是连着工作几个星期,然后休息几个星期,现在的一种说法,好像是,他们连续工作三个星期也很难得到一个星期的休息。另外一个问题呢,还有一种传言,有的艾滋病患者也得上非典了,您能不能证实一下这种情况。还有一个问题,您能不能谈一下现在河南艾滋病村的情况到底如何?

I would like to ask nin several questions. First, I want you to clarify, umm, some rumours. There is a rumour, that is to say, the doctors treating SARS patients used to work several weeks consecutively, and then took some rest for several weeks. Now it is said, it seems that they work for three weeks consecutively and hardly get one week's rest. Another question, another rumour goes like this that some AIDS patients have also contracted SARS. Could you please confirm this? Another question, could you please tell us the actual situation now in Henan AIDS villages.

80 GAO: 为了保护广大医护人员的健康,我们还是坚持严格的轮休制度, In order to protect the health of medical workers, we will still strictly adhere to our rotating rest system.

TT: To protect the health of our medical workers and doctors and staff, we will strictly adhere to our rotating rehabilitation system.

81 GAO: 医务人员坚持工作半个月以后轮休一段时间。

The medical workers have some time off after two consecutive weeks of duty.

TT: That means the medical workers should have some time for rest after two consecutive weeks of duty.

82 GAO: 但是,为了防止这些医务人员可能受到的感染,传染给他人,对这些轮休下来的医务人员安排到我们租下的一些宾馆和饭店进行休息。

However, to prevent these medical staffs from presumably contracting the disease and transmit it to other people, we have arranged for the medical staffs to rest in hotels we have rented.

TT: However, to prevent the possibility that such rotating medical staff might transmit the disease to some other people, we arranged for them to rest in hotels and places we have rented.

83 GAO: 据我的统计,从 5 月 7 号以后,北京还没有发生一个医务人员被感染。

According to my statistics, since May 7th, there is no single case of medical staff contracting SARS in Beijing.

TT: As far as I know, after May the 7th, there is no single case of medical staff contracting SARS in Beijing.

84 GAO: 至于说到艾滋病患者患了 SARS 病的事情,确有其事。

As for the report that some AIDS patients have also contracted SARS, I can confirm yes on this.

TT: Here I can also confirm that there have been AIDS patients who came down with SARS.

85 GAO: 大概是 24 号,

It was around 24th.

TT: So far as I can remember, it was on 24th.

86 GAO: 有一个山西的患者送到北京来治疗。

A patient from Shanxi was transferred to Beijing for medical treatment.

TT: On that day, a person from Shanxi was transferred for medical treatment in Beijing.

87 GAO: 这个人是一个艾滋病患者，去年曾经在北京的佑安医院进行了一段时间的治疗。

This person is an AIDS patient, and last year he was treated in Beijing You'an Hospital for some time.

TT: And this particular person is indeed an AIDS patient, and last year he stayed in You'an hospital in Beijing for some time for medical attention.

88 GAO: 今年又出现了一些发烧的症状。

This year this person showed some fever symptoms.

TT: And this year, this person showed some fever symptom.

89 GAO: 他的全家租了一辆出租车到了北京，

His family rented a taxi and came to Beijing.

TT: His family rented a taxi which transported him to Beijing.

90 GAO: 由于曾经在佑安医院住过院，所以他从山西过来直接就到了医院，中途没有下车，也没有传染给其他人。

Since he had stayed in You'an Hospital before, he came directly to the hospital from Shanxi. He did not stop on the way; neither did he transmit the disease to others.

TT: Since this person has stayed in You'an Hospital before, so this time the taxi went directly to You'an Hospital with this person. They did not stop on the way, nor did they transmit the disease to other persons.

91 GAO: 河南是中国艾滋病发病比较多的一个地方。

Henan is a province with high incidence of AIDS cases in China.

TT: Henan is a province with high incidence of AIDS in China.

92 GAO: 中国为了救治艾滋病的患者，投入了大量的资金和人力。

China has invested huge human and financial resources to treat AIDS patients.

TT: China has invested heavily in human and financial resources to treat AIDS patients.

93 GAO: 同时在河南也建立了一些集中收治艾滋病患者的医疗中心，

Meanwhile, in Henan <the government> also established some dedicated medical centres <for> admitting and treating AIDS patients.

TT: We [have also set up some medical centres in Henan to admit and treat those AIDS patients.

94 GAO: 而且，卫生部还特别提醒地方的卫生部门在防治 SARS 的同时绝对不能放松对其他传染病的防治。

Also, the Ministry of Health has particularly reminded the local health authorities in Henan that they should not relax their attention in other transmittable diseases while fighting SARS.

TT: The Ministry of Health has particularly reminded the medical authorities in Henan that they should not relax their effort at other transmittable diseases while fighting SARS.

95 GAO: 不仅是对于艾滋病，对于中国一些地区比较容易发生的肺结核、痢疾等等传染病，我们都采取了严格的措施。

Not only to AIDS, such strict measures are also applied to places with high incidence of TB, diarrhoea and other transmittable disease.

TT: Such measures do not apply to AIDS, such strict measures also apply to places with high incidence of tuberculosis and diarrhoea. Thank you.

96 WANG: 中间, 中间这位, 第四排中间这位。

The middle, the one in the middle, the one in the middle of the fourth row.

NO TT

97 Kyodo News: I work for Kyodo News. I think many people appreciate the efforts the governments at local and national level have been making to stop the spread of SARS. But there has been some criticism that the efforts have been in some way concentrated, more directed at being seen to be doing something, rather than being directed at small practical measures. For instance, there is a big meeting of SARS next week. And the requirement for the journalists to attend is that they've had medical checks. This involves not only checking temperatures, but also taking blood tests and doing X-ray examination. And WHO actually said these measures are not necessary, but it will be appropriate enough just to have temperature checked on the day. And just comparing this with the situation at Beijing train station where I went last week. And you know the toilet there has no soap and that means people are unable to wash their hands. And just considering that, I believe SARS is spread very easily through human contact, and that seems to be something you've missed there. Ok, thank you.

TT: 我是日本新闻社的一个记者。我想现在很多人都非常赞赏中国中央政府以及地方各级政府为了防治非典所做出的大量的这个工作和努力, 但是呢, 也有一些人呢也在批评, 说中国政府呢, 这个努力呢, 可能工作没到点子上去。而是说呢, 在有很多实际的这个工作呢, 当然有时候比较小, 但是呢没有到位。比如说呢, 下一个星期呢, 将会召开一个很大的关于非典的一个研讨会, 会有很多的这个记者参与。我们就听说呢, 这些要参与会议采访的这些记者要经过很多的这个检查, 不光是要查体温, 而且还要查血, 还要照 X 光。世界卫生组织也说呢, 像这样的这个措施呢其实是没有必要的。就当天查体温就够了。我现在还想跟您再对比另外一个情况。就是, 我前不久, 在北京火车站所看到的情况。在北京火车站的厕所里面没有肥皂, 然后也就是说呢, 这个, 人们就无法洗手, 要这样的话呢, 通过人跟人之间的接触呢, 非典就比较容易传染。像这样小的和实际的地方是不是工作还有做得不够之处?

I'm with Kyodo News. I think now many people appreciate very much the great deal of (zhege) efforts the Chinese governments at central and local level have made. However (ne), some people (ne) also criticised, saying that the Chinese government (ne), (zhege) efforts (ne) perhaps, the work is not to the point. Also say (ne), much specific (zhege) work (ne), although sometimes relatively small, still (ne) is not to the point either. For example (ne), next week (ne) a big SARS meeting will be held. There will be many (zhege) journalists attending. We heard (ne) the journalists are required to undergo many (zhege) checks, not only temperature checks, but also blood test and X-ray examinations. The WHO also said (ne), such (zhege) measures (ne) are actually not necessary. Temperature check on the day will be just enough. I also want to compare another situation with nin <polite you>. That is, the other day, what I saw in the Beijing Train Station. In the Beijing Train Station, there is no soap in the toilet. Then that is also to say (ne), (zhege), people are unable to wash their hands. If this is so (ne), through human contact (ne), SARS is easily transmitted. Aren't the efforts good enough in such small and practical areas?

- 98 GAO: 6月3号到6月4号,我们要召开东盟和中日韩三国共同的一个防治SARS的论坛。
On the third and fourth of June, we are going to hold a SARS symposium between ASEAN countries, China, Japan and Korea.
TT: Indeed, on third and fourth of June, we are going to hold a SARS symposium between ASEAN countries and three countries in East Asia.
- 99 GAO: 届时要有很多国家的卫生部长,副部长,和医学专家到会。
At that time, ministers and vice ministers of health as well as medical experts from many countries will attend the symposium.
TT: Many ministers and vice ministers of health and medical experts will be attending the symposium.
- 100 GAO: 为了保证与会代表的安全,我们确实采取了比较严格的措施。
In order to ensure the safety of the participants, we have indeed adopted relatively strict measures.
TT: We have indeed adopted very vigorous measures to ensure safety of the participants.
- 101 GAO: 这些措施也不是中国独创的,
These measures are not China's original creation.
TT: These measures are not the original creation of China.
- 102 GAO: 据我所知很多国家也采取了类似的,甚至比我们更加严格的措施。
As far as I know, many other countries have adopted similar measures, if not more strict.
TT: As far as I know, many other countries adopted similar measures, if not more vigorous.
- 103 GAO: 目的是为了保障与会代表的安全,同时也是为了保证各国记者先生们的身体健康。
The purpose of such measures is to ensure the safety of all participants and also to ensure the health of Mr. Journalists from various countries.
TT: The purpose of such measures is to ensure safety of all participants and also to ensure the health for the journalists themselves.
- 104 GAO: 其实这些措施真正掌握起来是很难的,
In fact, enforcing these measures is very difficult.
TT: In fact, such measures, they are quite difficult.
- 105 GAO: 如果检查措施宽松了,大家会认为很不安全,措施严格了,大家又感到很不方便。
106 If the preventive measures are too relaxed, people will feel insecure; if too vigorous, people will feel inconvenient.
TT: In fact, taking such measures is very difficult to such a degree of SARS measures. For example, if the preventive measures are too light, people will not have a sense of security. And if the measures are too vigorous, and people will feel inconvenient.
- 107 GAO: 但是无论如何,我想还是要把大家的健康放在第一位。
Nevertheless, I think we should put people's health first
TT: Nevertheless, health and safety of people must come first.
- 108 GAO: 但是我想,我们应该尽量地提高效率,给大家尽量地提供方便。
But I think, we should try to improve efficiency and try our utmost to make things easier for people.

TT: But I think there is a question of higher efficiency and a question of trying our utmost to make things easier for the people.

109GAO: 比如说，刚才这位记者先生提出来的，有些基层的一些卫生措施还不到位，车站的一个厕所没有香皂，我觉得这种可能性是存在的。

Just now, Mr. Journalist proposed that the hygienic measures in some grass root places are not sufficient and that there is no soap provided in the toilet of the train station. I think the possibility of such situation does exist.

TT: Just now you talked about the recent...<not audible> hygienic measures in some grassroots places. You talked about the absence of soaps in the toilet of the train station. Such situations do exist.

110GAO: 我们将进一步的加强各方面的工作，为大家提供方便。

We will strengthen our work in all respects to provide more convenience to people.

TT: We will strengthen our work in this respect to provide people with more hygienic situation.

111WANG: 我们来一位女士吧。

Let's have a female journalist to ask a question.

NO TT

112Wenhuipo of Hong Kong: 您好！我是香港文汇报记者。

Hello! I'm from Wenhuipo of Hong Kong.

NO TT

113WANG: 行行，先你来吧。

Ok. You go first.

NO TT

114Wenhuipo of Hong Kong: 境内外的很多媒体对于蒋彦永先生都是很关注的，对他的评价也很高，有的是称他为英雄。《中国妇女报》前几日刊出了一个抗击非典英雄榜，其中把蒋彦永、王歧山、钟南山、吴仪并列在一起。官方呢一直没有对蒋医生作出过明确的评价。我想请问高部长，您是如何看待蒋彦永他率先披露疫情这件事情的，并且您对他本人有什么评价？谢谢。

Many media both at home and abroad have showed a great deal of Interest in Mr. JIANG Yanyong and have highly recognised his work. Some even regarded him as hero. China Women's Daily the other day list Mr. JIANG Yanyong among others such as Mr. WANG Qishan, Mr. ZHONG Nanshan and Madam WU Yi, as heroes in the fight against SARS. However, there has been no official comment on Mr JIANG so far. I would like to ask you Minister GAO, how do nin <polite you> comment on the fact that Mr. Jiang had disclosed the epidemic situation first? And how do nin <polite you> comment on him as a personality? Thank you.

TT: I'm with Wenhui Time of Hong Kong. I think many media organisations have a great deal of interest in Mr. Jiang Yanyong and have highly recognised his work, and some even called him a hero. China Women's Daily a few days ago listed Mr. JIANG Yanyong among others such as Mr. WANG Qishan, Mr ZHONG Nanshan and Madam WU Yi as heroes in the fight against SARS. However, so far, there has been no official comment on Mr. JIANG Yanyong himself. I wonder how you look at the whistle-blower role of Mr. JIANG and how do you comment Mr JIANG as a personality?

115GAO: 我知道已经有很多记者在不同的场合问过这个问题。

I know many journalists have asked this question on different occasions.

TT: I know many journalists have asked this question on different occasions.

116GAO: 我不知道为什么大家对蒋彦永教授如此感兴趣。

I don't know why people have such a great interest in Professor Jiang.

TT: I don't know why people have such a high degree of interest in Professor Jiang.

117GAO: 我们认为，中国抗击 SARS 是在中国共产党和中国政府的领导下，发动全国人民依靠科学，依靠群众，群防群控取得的成果。

We believe that China's battle against SARS is led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese government who have mobilised all Chinese people by relying on science and mass participation. Fruitful results have been achieved in this respect.

TT: I believe in this on-going battle against SARS, the Communist Party of China and Chinese government have mobilised all our people in this country. And we have scored quite some achievement in this respect by relying on science and by relying on the participation of the people.

118GAO: 在这场斗争中，有几十万医务工作者投入了这项工作。

In this battle <against SARS>, there are hundreds of thousands of medical workers <who> have participated.

TT: In this battle, hundreds of thousands of our medical workers are really fighting on the frontlines.

119GAO: 他们救死扶伤、无私奉献、舍生忘死，被大家公认为新时代最可爱的人。

They have demonstrated the spirit of putting life and patients first, devotion, selflessness, and have been widely recognised as the most lovable people in China.

TT: And they have demonstrated the spirit of self-devotion and all-out effort to save the patients. And they are recognised as the most lovable people in China.

120GAO: 还有大量的卫生检疫人员昼夜工作在机场、码头、车站。

There are also a great number of quarantine workers who have been working around the clock at airports, seaports and bus stops.

TT: There are also many, many quarantine workers who have been working around the clock in airports, in seaports and also in bus stops.

121GAO: 他们不辞辛劳，日夜工作，充当了无名的英雄。

They are working so tirelessly, day and night. They are the unknown heroes.

TT: And they have been working so tirelessly without rest, and they are really the unsung heroes.

122GAO: 还有大量的农民坚持村自为战，乡自为战，严防疾病扩散到他们自己的地方。

There are also many farmers who have been fighting SARS based on their own villages and township, keeping a very vigilant watch to prevent the spread of SARS into their communities.

TT: There are also many farmers in this country who have been fighting SARS on the basis of their villages and townships. They have been keeping a very vigilant watch to prevent the spread of SARS into their communities.

123GAO: 在这场斗争中，我深深地感到人民的力量是无穷的，个人的力量是有限的。

In this battle, I feel deeply that the strength of people is inexhaustible and the strength of individuals is limited.

TT: In this battle, I feel most deeply that the strength of the people is inexhaustible while the strength of individuals is quite limited.

124GAO: 中国有 600 万医务工作者和卫生工作人员, 蒋彦永先生只是其中之一。

China has 6 million medical and health workers and Mr JIANG Yanyong is just one of them.

TT: In China, we have 6 million medical and health professionals, and Mr. Jiang Yanyong is one of them.

125CCTV of China: 高部长您好! 我是中央电视台的记者。现在有很多人都在分析和预测, 就是说, 非典型肺炎对于中国经济带来的影响, 有的人认为这种影响很大的, 也有人认为这种影响是暂时性的, 我想请问您对这种影响有什么看法? 另外呢, 就是说, 您认为我们要怎样做才能尽快消除这种影响?

Hello nin <polite you> Minister GAO! I'm with CCTV. Now many people are analysing and predicting, (jiushishuo) the impact of SARS on China's economy. Some people think the impact is significant, some others think the impact is temporary. I would like to know how nin <polite you> look at the impact? That is to say, how do nin <polite you> think should we eliminate such impact as soon as possible?

TT: I'm with CCTV. I think many people are now analysing and forecasting the economic impact of SARS on China. Some people believe that such impact will be very significant, while others think that such impact will be short-lived. So I want to assure with you about this. To what extent that SARS will have an impact on our economy and what shall we do to eliminate such an impact as soon as possible?

126GAO: 应该说, SARS 疫情到目前为止对中国经济的最基本的方面还没有造成很大的影响。

We should say that so far there has been no significant impact on the fundamentals of Chinese economy as a result of SARS.

TT: It is fair to say that so far there has been no significant impact on the fundamentals of the Chinese economy as a result of SARS.

127GAO: 1 季度中国的 GDP 增长 9.9%,

In the first quarter, Chinese GDP grew at 9.9%.

TT: In the first quarter of this year, Chinese GDP grew at 9.9%.

128GAO: 4 月份, 在中国疫情发展最厉害的一个月, GDP 也增长了百分之八点几,

In April, the toughest month for China concerning the situation of the epidemic, the GDP grew more than 8%.

TT: In April which is considered the hardest month for China concerning the situation of SARS, the economy still grew by 8.9%

129GAO: 4 月份中国的外贸进出口依然增长了 30% 以上。

In April, Chinese foreign trade grew by more than 30%.

In April, foreign trade in China has still gone proactive by more than 30%.

130GAO: 受影响比较大的是旅游业、交通运输业、餐饮业和服务业。

The hardest-hit sectors include tourism, transportation, catering and service industry.

TT: Those sectors which are relatively hard hit include tourism, transportation, catering industry and various services.

131GAO: 这些行业是中国经济最近几年最活跃、增长最快的行业，但是在 4 月份都出现了不同程度的下降。

These sectors represent the most dynamic and fastest-growing sectors in Chinese economy in the past few years. However, in April, they all suffered different extent of shrinkage.

TT: These sectors represent the most dynamic and fastest-growing of the economic sectors in China in the past few years. In April, these sectors have all experienced different extent of shrinkage.

132GAO: 做经济工作的人都懂得，当一个重大的事件产生以后，对于经济的影响往往经过一段时间才能反映出来。

People who are in the field of economics will know that when some significant event happened, it will take some time for its economic impact to show.

TT: for people who know something about economics will know that when after something quite significant happened, there will be some time for the economic impact to show.

133GAO: 比如说，最近一段时间我们的对外经贸往来受到了一定的影响，有些国家限制中国的经贸人员入境，也限制本国的一些人员到中国来。

For example, recently, our foreign economic and trade have been affected to a certain degree. Some countries are restricting Chinese economic and trade personnel to enter their countries and also restricting their related personnel to visit China.

TT: For example, in the recent time period, trade and various activities in China have been affected. For example, some countries are restricting the economic and trade people from Chinese entering their countries, and they are also restricting the visit to China by their economic and trade people.

134GAO: 如果时间很长的话，肯定会对经贸的发展产生影响。

If this lasts, it will have an impact on China's trade and economy.

TT: If this should, it will have an impact on trade and economy in China.

135GAO: 有些国家为了防止 SARS 病的输入，采取了严厉的措施，是可以理解的，

It is understandable for some countries to have adopted strict measures in order to prevent the SARS epidemic entering their territory.

TT: I think it is understandable for some countries to adopt strict measures to prevent the SARS epidemic entering their territory.

136GAO: 但是对中国 SARS 病疫情分布情况缺乏一个具体的了解。

However, some countries are lacking a good understanding the distribution of SARS infection in China

TT: However, I have to say that in some cases, some countries do not have a good understanding of the distribution of SARS infection in China.

137GAO: 刚才我讲了，中国的疫情到目前为止主要集中在广东和华北五省区。

As I mentioned earlier, the epidemic so far is mainly concentrated in Guangdong and the five provinces and cities in Northern China.

TT: As I said, so far the main branch of the epidemic was born in Guangdong province and the five provinces and cities in Northern China.

138GAO: 这六个省占全国累计报告确诊人数的 97%，

These six provinces together accounted for 97% of the total probable cases in China.

TT: These six province together account for 9% <error, it should be 97%> of the total probable cases in our country.

- 139GAO: 而其他的 20 多个省只占 3%。
Whereas the other 20 plus provinces account for only 3% of SARS patients.
TT: whereas the rest more than 20 provinces account for only about 3% of SARS patients
- 140GAO: 这六个省的人口只有 1.4 亿, 占全国总人口的 18.5%。
These six provinces have 140 million population, accounting for 18.5% of the nation's total.
TT: And these six provinces and cities only account for 140 million people in this country or 18.5% of the total population.
- 141GAO: 也就是说占中国总人口 81.5%的地区, 它的疫情只占 3%。
In other words, regions accounting for 81.5% of the total population only have about 3% of the total SARS patients in China.
TT: In other words, regions accounting for 81.5% of the total population only have about 3% of the total SARS patients in China.
- 142GAO: 而目前, 广东已经被世界卫生组织解除了旅游警告。
And at present, the WHO has lifted the travel warning against travelling to Guangdong.
TT: And also the WHO has lifted the travel advisory against travelling to Guangdong.
- 143GAO: 现在目前仍在医院住院的患者, 华北五省区占总数的 96.5%。
Right now, the five provinces and cities in Northern China account for 96.5% in terms of the total number of SARS patients being treated in the hospital.
TT: At present, for those SARS sufferers who are now hospitalised for treatment, these five provinces and cities in Northern China have about 96.5% of them.
- 144GAO: 其中广东现在仍在医院住院的病人只有 15 个。
Among which, Guangdong only has 15 patients being hospitalised.
TT: In Guangdong, for example, Guangdong only has 15 patients in hospitals.
- 145GAO: 为什么对所有的中国人都限制旅行,
Why they restrict travelling by all the Chinese?
TT: Why they should do the case of restricting travelling by all the Chinese?
- 146GAO: 为什么所有的中国地区大家都不敢来呢?
Why people are afraid of travelling to all the places in China?
TT: Why people should be afraid of travelling to all the places in China?
- 147GAO: 其实有一些省, 比如福建、湖南、山东已经连续 40 多天没有发生病例。
There has been no single case reported in some provinces such as Fujian, Hunan and Shandong for more than 40 days.
TT: And there had been no single reported case of SARS in Hunan province, Fujian and Shandong provinces for more than 40 days.
- 148GAO: 还有七八个省份已经连续 20 天以上没有发生病例。
Also, there are seven to eight provinces which haven't reported new cases for more than 20 days
TT: And also we have seven or eight provinces which do not report any new cases for more than 20 days.
- 149GAO: 包括疫情比较严重的天津市也已经连续 13 天没有新增病例。
Even in the case on Tianjin where the situation is relatively serious, there has been no new case reported for 13 days.
TT: Even in the case on Tianjin which is relatively hard hit and Tianjin has not reported new cases for 13 days.

150GAO: 我的意思就是,希望大家不要把中国看成铁板一块。

So my point is that you should not take China as a monolithic whole.

TT: So my point of finding these figures is that you should not take China really as a monolithic whole.

151GAO: 有些地方的疫情现在比较严重,大家被限制旅行我认为必要的,但是有些地方疫情很轻,一个省只有一两个人,或者两三个人,而且这已经是十几天,二十几天以前的事情了,还有的地方根本就没有疫情,大家为什么这么紧张呢?

In the places where the epidemic is relatively serious, it is necessary to restrict travelling. However, in some places where only one or two, or no more than three case were reported even about a dozen or twenty days ago, and where there has been no cases reported at all, why people are getting so panic about these places?

TT: Some areas are indeed hard hit, it is necessary to restrict travel in some means. However, there are place with relatively better situation in SARS. For example, there are provinces which only have one or two, or no more than three cases. These cases were more than a dozen or even twenty days ago. So there are places which do not have cases even at the beginning. So why people panic about all these cases?

152GAO: 我认为对这个问题应该从两方面看。

I think there are two angles to look at this matter.

TT: I think we should look at both aspects of this situation.

153GAO: 既不能因为发展经济而忽视 SARS 病的防治,同时也不能因为对 SARS 疫情的轻重不了解而影响经济。

We cannot neglect SARS prevention and control because of the need to develop the economy. Meanwhile, we cannot have the economy affected because of our lack of understanding of the severity of the SARS epidemic.

TT: On the one hand, we need to avoid the situation whereby the SARS control work is neglected because of the need to develop the economy; on the other hand, we cannot see our economic activities get affected because of our lack of understanding of the severity of the SARS epidemic.

154GAO: 对于一些一直没有发现疫情的地区,对一些疫情并不严重,并且已经采取了严格控制措施的地区,我们希望尽快地恢复对外经济贸易往来。

We hope that the economic and trade activities can be resumed as soon as possible in regions which has never reported SARS cases, and also in regions which hasn't reported serious outbreak of SARS and has adopted stringent measures to stop the epidemic.

TT: We hope that economic and trade activities can be resumed as soon as possible in regions which has no SARS patients and also in regions which has not reported very serious outbreak of SARS which has adopted stringent measures to stop the spread of the epidemic.

155GAO: 但前提是现在已经采取的预防控制措施不能放松。

But the prerequisite is that now the existing preventive and control measures cannot be relaxed.

TT: The prerequisite here naturally is that we cannot relax the existing control and preventive measures.

156GAO: 我知道,中国和世界各国的经贸往来发展到现在,是经过了几十年的努力得来的结果。

I know that the economic and trade exchanges between China and the rest of the world at present are the result of decades of effort.

TT: I know the economic and trade exchanges between China and the rest of the world is obtained based on decades of effort.

157GAO: 如果很长时间不往来，对双边或多边之间的经贸关系必然要受到影响。

If such economic and trade exchanges are interrupted for a long time, this will inevitably affect bilateral or multilateral economic and trade relations.

TT: If such economic and trade exchanges are interrupted for quite a long time, this inevitably would affect bilateral or even multilateral economic exchanges and relationships.

158GAO: 且这个影响是相互的，既影响中国，也影响世界。

And this impact is mutual, affecting both China and the rest of the world.

TT: And this impact will come both ways, both impact China and also the rest of the world.

159GAO: 我希望诸位新闻界的朋友能够向世界准确地、具体地介绍中国疫情的分布情况，使各方面都能准确地了解，做出判断。

I hope that you, friends from the press, will convey the distribution of SARS epidemic in China to the rest of the world in an accurate and specific manner so that other parts of the world will get an accurate understanding of the situation and come to their own judgement.

TT: I very much hope that friends from the press will convey the distribution of the SARS outbreak in China to rest of the world in an accurate and specific manner so that people in other places will also get an accurate understanding and come to their own judgement about this situation.

160GAO: 为了减少 SARS 疫情对中国经济的影响，中国政府已经提出了一手抓防治 SARS，一手抓经济发展的方针，

In order to mitigate the impact of SARS on Chinese economy, the Chinese government has put forward the policy of handling SARS prevention and control and one hand and developing the economy on the other.

TT: And to mitigate the economic impact of the epidemic, the Chinese government has already put forward the policy of dealing with SARS prevention and control on the one hand and promoting economic growth on the other.

161GAO: 而且采取一系列的通过信贷、财政税收等措施来促进经济的发展。

And a series of polices has been adopted to stimulate economic growth in terms of credit and loans and fiscal policy.

TT: And a series of polices has been adopted to stimulate economic growth in terms of monetary practices and also in terms of fiscal policy.

162GAO: 我们相信，经过全国人民的努力，今年年初预定的增长 7% 的目标能够实现。

We believe that through the effort of all Chinese, the 7% growth target set at the beginning of the year can be realised.

TT: We trust that through the effort of people throughout this country, the 7% growth target set at the beginning of this year will be realised.

163WANG: 好，你，UPI 的这位朋友。你现在已经成了我们的电视明星了，再给你一次机会。

Ok, you, the friend from UPI. You have now become our TV star. I will give you another chance.

TT: This journalist from UPI has now become our quite famous figure.

164UPI: Good afternoon, Mr GAO, I have two questions for you. Last time we saw you, the next day, the Health Minister ZHANG Wenkang and Mayor MENG Xuenong both lost their jobs. I was wondering if you can tell us according to law what their punishment is for concealing the truth about the SARS situation? Also I have a second question, about the provincial or higher level government official, perhaps you could tell us what lessons have been learned at the highest level of the Chinese government into SARS regarding openness and accountability in government. Thank you.

TT: 我是合众国际社的记者。我想问高部长两个问题。您上次来给我们作新闻发布会之后的第二天，卫生部张部长和北京市的孟市长就被解职了，因为他们没有向公众宣布 SARS 非典疫情在中国的真相。我想问一下，根据法律，对于他们的惩罚到底是什么样的？第二点，您是中国政府的高级官员，所以我想问一下，中国政府的最高层，由于非典的疫情，中国政府的最高层政府应该怎么样的开放，政府应该怎么样的贯彻一种责任制方面有没有汲取什么样的教训？

I'm from UPI. I have two questions for Minister Gao. The day after nin <polite you> gave us a press conference last time, Health Minister Zhang and Mayor Meng of Beijing were both fired because they didn't tell the public the truth about the SARS epidemic in China. I would like to ask according to law what punishment they will receive? Second, nin <polite you> are a senior government official in China. So I would like to ask a bit, the highest level of government, because of the SARS epidemic, how should the highest level of Chinese government open up. What kind of lessons has the government learned in terms of enforcing accountability?

165 GAO:这个问题已经超出了 SARS 防治问题的范围。

This question has gone beyond the scope of SARS prevention and control.

TT: I think this question has gone beyond the scope of SARS control prevention aspect.

166GAO: 首先，我应该，我不认同这位记者刚刚提出来的张文康先生，张文康同志是因为隐瞒疫情而被免职的。

First of all, I should, I don't agree with this journalist in that Mr ZHANG Wenkang, Comrade ZHANG Wenkang was removed from his office because of this concealing of the epidemic.

TT: First of all, I cannot agree with you that Mr ZHANG Wenkang is released of his duty because of his concealing the truth about the epidemic.

167GAO: 中国政府没有隐瞒过疫情。

The Chinese government hasn't concealed the truth.

TT: The Chinese government did not conceal the truth.

168GAO: 如果大家翻一翻过去的资料，中国官方第一次公布 SARS 疫情是 2 月 11 号，大家翻一翻 2 月 12 号的人民日报。

If you look at the previous material, the first time that China officially reported the SARS epidemic was on 11th February. You may look at Peoples' Daily of 12th February.

TT: If you go back to check the record, <interrupted by Mr. Gao>

169GAO: People's Daily.

TT: the first time the epidemic appeared in the official news paper reporting was on 11th of last February. And we can see that on February 12th's issue of the Peoples' Daily.

- 170GAO: 在新华社播发的报道中已经明确提出来, 在广东一些地区出现了一个叫非典型肺炎的疾病, 当时还没有 SARS 这个名称。
The Xinhua News clearly reported that in Guangdong province there appeared a disease called atypical pneumonia and SARS was not used at that time.
TT: And you can see from Xinhua News Report that there appeared in Guangdong province a serious atypical pneumonia disease and at that time the SARS word was not used.
- 171GAO: 我记得当时报道的是广东到 3 月 9 日为止发生病例 305 例, 死亡 5 人。
I remember that according to the report on March the 9th, Guangdong reported a total of 305 cases with 5 fatalities.
TT: I still remember that according to the report on March the 9th, Guangdong reported a total of 305 cases with 5 fatalities.
- 172GAO: 而且在报道中介绍这个病发烧、咳嗽、肺部有阴影、全身乏力等症状, 和现在的症状是吻合的。
Also, the reported introduced the some symptoms of this disease such as fever, cough, and shadows in the lung and fatigue, which are consistent with the symptoms of SARS.
TT: The report also listed some of symptoms of atypical pneumonia such as fever, cough, shadows in the lung and fatigue, which are consistent with the symptoms we have come to be familiar now.
- 173GAO: 我想提醒大家的一句就是, 在中国第一次发布疫情的时候, 世界上任何地方还没有发生 SARS 病。
I want to remind you that the first time China publicise SARS, SARS has not come to any other parts of the world.
TT: I want to remind you that the first time China publicise some information about this, the SARS problem has not come to any other country in the world.
- 174GAO: 这个发布既是对中国本身的警告, 也是对世界的警告。
This publicity is both a warning for China itself and also a warning for the rest of the world.
TT: Such publicity is both a warning for China itself and also a warning for the rest of the world.
- 175GAO: 对张文康同志的免职, 我在这里不愿意做过多的做置评。
With regard to Comrade ZHANG Wenkang's release of office, I don't want to make more comment.
TT: I do not want to comment too much about the fact that Mr ZHANG Wenkang has been fired.
- 176GAO: 但是, 从这一次 SARS 疫情反映出来的情况看, 中国的公共卫生建设确实很薄弱。
But, this SARS epidemic has exposed that China's public health system is indeed very fragile.
TT: But this latest SARS outbreak has indeed exposed some problems with the public health system in this country.
- 177GAO: 我们应对公共卫生突发事件的能力比较弱, 信息传递不通畅, 疾病预防控制的体系不健全, 或者说我们医疗机构的布局不合理, 造成了在防治 SARS 初期的一些被动。
Our response capacity toward public health emergency is relatively weak; information flow is not fluid; disease prevention and control system is not sound, in other words, our medical institutions are not rationally distributed. These

contributed to our passiveness in SARS prevention and control when it is still at the initial stage of outbreak.

TT: Our preparedness for public health emergency is not very strong. The information flow, for the flow of information is not very open or fluid. And we do not have a sound system for prevention and control of infective diseases. And our medical institutions are not distributed on a rational pattern. These factors contributed to the awkward situation of China when SARS was on its initial period of outbreak.

178GAO: 这些正是我们今后在加强公共卫生建设方面急需着力做好的工作。

These are exactly the aspects that we need to improve urgently in an effort to strengthen public health system.

TT: And these are exactly the aspects which urgently need our attention and need our improvement and for our continued effort to build up the public health system in China.

179GAO: 前几天, 我还专门去看望了张文康同志,

A few days ago, I paid a special visit to Mr ZHANG Wenkang.

TT: A few days ago, I went especially to visit Mr Zhang Wenkang.

180GAO: 和他就今后加强中国的公共卫生建设问题进行了深入的探讨。

I had a very deep discussion with him about strengthening China's public health system in future.

I had a very pleased conversation with Mr Zhang about our effort in the future for strengthening the public health system.

181GAO: 他对我们的工作也提出了很多很好的建议。

He gave us a lot of good advice for our work.

TT: He gave us a lot of good advice for our work.

182GAO: 他本人也表示, 愿意利用自己从事卫生工作 40 年的经验继续帮助我们加强今后的公共卫生建设。

He himself also expressed that he is willing to utilise his 40 years of experience in health area to continue to help us to strengthen the public health system in future.

TT: He also said to us that he is ready to bring further use his more than 4 decades of experience in health area in China to continue to help us to strengthen this health system.

183GAO: 至于责任问题, 我想在国务院颁布的《突发公共卫生事件应急条例》中也做了明确的规定。

As for the question of accountability, I think the State Council Regulation on Public Health Emergency has very clear provisions on this.

TT: As for the question of accountability, I think the State Council Regulation on Public Health Emergency has very clear provisions on this.

184GAO: 今后我们就要严格地按照《条例》的规定依法办事, 明确各个方面、各个岗位, 每一个工作人员的具体责任。

In the future, we will strictly act according to this Regulation and clearly define the specific responsibilities of every aspect, every position and even every personnel.

TT: In the future, we will act in strict appliance with these regulations and with other laws. We will very clearly define the responsibilities of every agency, every position and even gone to all the people.

185GAO: 无论是哪个环节出现问题, 我们都要追究. Looking at the interpreter When problem occurs in whatever aspect, we will hold whoever to account.

TT: And we will hold whoever to account when any problem should occur.

186WANG: 刚才这位，对，就是你。

This gentlemen just now, yes. It is you.

NO TT

187CNN: Thank you, with CNN. I remember. It was in this very room when the former Health Minister ZHANG Wenkang told the press in April that SARS epidemic has been effectively controlled even though it turned out SARS epidemic was spreading widely in China. So I don't understand why you were saying that he did not try to conceal the epidemic. My other question is although a lot of information are¹⁰⁹ not being collected pertaining to SARS, some experts complained that much of the information are still not being shared not just with the outside world such as agencies like the WHO, but also among the Chinese agencies involved in the prevention and treatment of the SARS. Specifically, they complain that information pertaining to and coming from the military establishments are not being shared. Is that the case? If so, why is it so difficult to enforce the sharing of information which you will know is very critical in the treatment and prevention of SARS? Thank you.

TT: 我是 CNN 的记者。我记得呢在 4 月份，也是在这个房间里，张文康先生呢，告诉各位记者说，SARS 疫情在中国已经得到了有效的控制，但是事实上呢，非典在中国应该说在很大程度上已经大规模的蔓延了。所以呢，我就不能理解为什么您刚才讲他并没有有意的去隐瞒事实真相。而另外一个问题呢，就是涉及到信息的问题。当然呢，现在中国也在收集信息方面做了不少工作。但是呢，仍然有不少的专家在抱怨，说这些信息呢交流得还不够，比如说呢，中国不仅没有向外界，比如说向世界卫生组织提供一些有关的信息，甚至呢在中国有关的负责防治非典的医疗机构内部呢也没有非常好地共享信息。他们的一个具体的抱怨呢，就是来自军队方面的医疗信息没有很好地在信息网络中被大家所共享。我想问一下，是否确有其事，如果真的是这样，为什么信息通畅对于中国来说这么难做到？而信息通畅对于 SARS 的防治工作来说是至关重要的。

I'm with CNN. I remember (ne) in April, also in this room, Mr. ZHANG Wenkang (ne) told all journalists that SARS epidemic in China was under effective control. But the fact is (ne) SARS in China, should say, to a big degree, has spread in a large scale. So (ne) I don't understand why nin <polite you> just said that he Mr ZHANG did not deliberately cover up the truth. Another question (ne), is related to information sharing, of course (ne), China has now done much work in information gathering, however (ne), many experts are complaining that information exchange is not sufficient. For example (ne), China hasn't provided adequate information for the outside world such as the World Health Organisation. Even (ne), within the country (ne), information has not been properly shared among relevant medical institutions. One of their specific complaints (ne), is that medical information coming from military circles has not been well shared. I would like to ask a bit, is this true? If so, why is free information flow so difficult for China? However, smooth information flow is critical to SARS prevention and treatment.

188GAO: 我同意你最后一句话。。。。。。

I agree with your last sentence...

¹⁰⁹ The journalist's question is reproduced here verbatim. No attempt has been made to correct grammatical errors.

- TT: I agree with...
- 189GAO: 信息通畅对于防治 SARS 来讲是非常重要的。
I agree with your last sentence that information flow is very important to SARS prevention and control.
TT: I agree with your last point that information flow are very critical to SARS prevention and control.
- 190 GAO: 而你前面说的那些信息和我掌握的信息好像不大一样。
But the information you mentioned earlier seems not to be consistent with the information I have gathered.
TT: But the information you provided earlier is not consistent with my information.
- 191GAO: 我们和世界卫生组织进行了非常有效的合作,
We have had very effective cooperation with the WHO.
TT: We have been having very effective cooperation with the WHO.
- 192GAO: 而且向世界卫生组织提供的信息也越来越广泛, 越来越具体。
And the information we are providing to the WHO is getting more and more extensive and specific.
TT: And we have been providing ever more extensive and ever more specific information to the World Health Organisation.
- 193GAO: 对此, 世界卫生组织驻华代表处表示满意。
The resident office of the WHO has expressed satisfaction with regard to this.
TT: The resident office of the WHO in China has expressed satisfaction with this.
- 194GAO: 而且我已经和世界卫生组织驻华代表处进行了多次的交谈, 我没有听到他对我有什么抱怨。
I have had many conversations with the representative of the WHO in China. I did not hear any complaints from him to me about this.
TT: I have many conversations with the representative of the WHO in China and I did not hear his comments to me directly at this.
- 195 GAO: 不知道为什么大家对中国的数字这么感兴趣。
I don't know why people are so interested in the figures coming from the Chinese Military Units.
TT: I did not hear his complaints to me to that effect myself. And I am not sure why there has been so much interest in the figures coming from the military establishments.
- 196GAO: 大家知道解放军总后勤部的 302 和 309 医院是专门收治 SARS 病人的,
As you know that the military hospitals No. 302 and 309 which are affiliated with the General Logistics Department of the PLA are designated to receive and treat SARS patients.
TT: And as you know the military hospitals No. 302 and 309 which are affiliated with the General Logistics Department of the PLA are SARS-specific hospitals.
- 197GAO: 收治的病人中, 绝大部分是地方的患者, 当然也有一些军队医院中的义务人员。
Most of the patients here are from civilians and medical staffs from military hospitals who have contracted SARS.
TT: Most of the people on these hospitals are civilians and there are also medical staffs from military hospitals who are contracted with SARS.
- 198GAO: 军队的武装力量没有受到影响。
Our Arms Forces have not been affected.
TT: Our Arms Forces have not been affected.

199GAO: 受到感染的一些医务人员现在陆续已经出院了。

And the infected medical workers are discharged from the hospitals effectively.

TT: And the infected medical workers have been discharged from the hospitals effectively.

200GAO: 对于军方的具体数字，中国有自己的发言权。

As for the specific figures from the military units, China has its own right to speak.

TT: As for the specific figures from the military, China has its own law.

201GAO: 至于你说到，张文康同志 4 月初在这儿宣布中国的疫情得到有效的控制，我想不是有意地隐瞒疫情，而是由于当时的信息渠道不畅，难以掌握到准确的数字。

As for what you mentioned that Mr. Zhang Wenkang said at the early of April in this place that the epidemic has been effectively controlled. I think he did not intend to conceal the truth. It is because that at that time there was a lack of good information flow system, it was difficult to get exact figures.

TT: You talked about Mr Zhang saying that...saying at the early of April this year that the epidemic has been effectively contained in China. I must say that that does not represent an intentional effort to conceal the truth. It is only that at that time because of the lack of good information collection system, it was quite difficult for us to lay our hands on the exact figures.

202GAO: 我不知道这位先生是否参加过 4 月 20 号我在这儿的新闻发布会。

I don't know if this gentleman has attended the press conference that I gave here on April 20th.

TT: I am not sure if you personally attended the press conference on April 20th.

203GAO: 当时我公布的北京市的数字比前一天发布的数字增长了十倍，

The figures I released on that day about the number of SARS patients in Beijing was 10 times more than the figures of the previous day.

TT: At that time, the figures that I was here to announce to you about SARS patients were 10 times more the figures of the previous day.

204GAO: 而且我分析了几方面的原因。

And I analysed that there are several reasons behind this.

TT: And these are a number of reasons behind this.

205GAO: 主要是因为北京的医疗机构分散在各个方面，不同的部门、不同的企业、不同的单位来管理，所以一时很难掌握准确的数字。

And the main reason is that the medical institutions in Beijing are under the jurisdiction of different government agencies, enterprises and units. So it is very difficult to get the exact figures from all these places at once.

TT: And the main problem lays in the fact that hospitals in the capital city are under different jurisdictions. For example, they are under the jurisdictions of different government agencies, local authorities and sometimes different enterprises. So it is very difficult to get the information from all of them at once.

206GAO: 后来我们采取了一个措施，对医疗资源实行北京市属地化统一管理，
Later we adopted a measure of putting the medical resources in Beijing under unified management.

TT: So later on, we adopted a measure of putting the medical resources in Beijing city under unified leadership.

207GAO: 所有的医院收治的病人都要统一向北京市来报告。

All hospitals must report to Beijing municipal government about the patients they have admitted.

- TT: And all hospitals must report to Beijing municipal government about patients they have admitted.
- 208GAO: 就是这样，也是经过了好几天的时间才逐步把数字搞准确。
Even in this way, it was still after quite a few days that figures gradually got accurate.
- TT: And it was after quite a few days of hard work that we were able to gradually put together precise figures.
- 209GAO: 我想由于“情况掌握不准确”和“有意隐瞒疫情”有本质的不同。
In my opinion, getting inaccurate information and intentionally concealing the truth are different in nature.
- TT: I believe on the one hand the lack of ability to get accurate figures, and on the other hand the intentional effort to conceal the truth are totally different in nature. Thank you
- 210 GAO: 那位姑娘举了半天手了。
That girl raised her hand for quite a while.
NO TT
- 211 WANG: 好，这位，是吧。呵呵
Ok, this <lady>, isn't she.
NO TT
- 212CtiTV of Taiwan: 谢谢部长。台湾中天电视。两个实际的问题想请教。。。。。
Thank you, Minister. [I'm with] Taiwan CtiTV. I would like to have your opinion on two practical issues...
NO TT
- 213GAO: 哪个电视，中天电视是吧。
Which TV? CtiTV, isn't it?
NO TT
- 214CtiTV of Taiwan: 台湾中天电视，谢谢部长。
Taiwan CtiTV. Thank you, minister.
NO TT
- 215WANG: 中天电视，台湾。
CtiTV, Taiwan.
NO TT
- 216GAO: 中天电视台
CtiTV.
NO TT
- 217CtiTV of Taiwan: 是。部长，想请教您刚才提到5月7号以后再没有医护人员有新的感染疫情。我想请教实际上在医院里面，究竟采取了什么样的机制，才能有效地让医务人员免除被感染的问题？
Yes, Minister. Nin <polite you> mentioned earlier that after May 7th, there was no case on medical workers contracted with the epidemic any more. <I> would like to have your opinion that in hospitals what exact mechanism has been adopted to prevent medical staff from infecting the disease.
NO TT <but compensate later at the beginning of sequence 219>
- 218GAO: 我开始讲了，你这个问题太专业了。这个，(.) 我也可以简单介绍。
I mentioned earlier. Your question is too technical. (.) I can still manage to answer briefly.
NO TT

219CtiTV of Taiwan: 第二个问题哦，可能也有点专业。不过我们想知道大陆的经验。因为我们知道大陆在目前没有药物可以治疗 SARS 的情况之下，有部分医院采用血清治疗的方式，目前这个问题在台湾内地有些讨论，不知道卫生部这边的经验如何？谢谢。

The second question is also a bit technical. But I would like to know the experience of the mainland. Because we know that at present there is no medicine to cure SARS, some hospitals in mainland have adopted serological therapies. We have some discussion about this on Taiwan. I wonder what experience the Ministry of Health has gained regarding this. Thank you.

TT: I'm from Taiwan. You mentioned the fact that after 7th of May, there was no single case of SARS on medical staff in China. I wonder what specific system or mechanism you have put in place in hospitals to protect medical workers from being affected by SARS. My second question is also quite technical. It is that at present, there is no specific medicine to address SARS. In mainland you have experimented serological therapies. And we have some discussion about this on Taiwan. I wonder whether you have gained some experience in using these therapies.

220GAO: 这个，很遗憾，我今天没有请医学专家来。

Regrettably, we haven't invited a medical expert to be present today.

TT: Regrettably, I do not have a medical expert with me today.

221GAO: 因为我最开始讲了，如果你问一些特别专业的医学问题我就很难回答。

As I said at the very beginning that if you asked me some particularly technical medical questions, it would be difficult for me to answer.

TT: That is why I made it clear in the beginning it would be difficult for me to address quite medical problems.

222WANG: 高部长，我介入一下，我们可以把它记下，我们安排一下，让他们组织采访一个在这方面做得比较好的医院，介绍这方面的经验。

Minister GAO, apologise for interruption. We can take a note of this and arrange their visit to a hospital which has good experience in this respect and introduce their experience.

TT: What we can do is to arrange your TV, to actually visit a hospital which has good experience in this respect so that you can introduce this method back to Taiwan.

223GAO: 据我所知，我可以简单介绍一下。

Based on what I know, I can make some brief comment here.

TT: But to myself, I can also make some brief comment to the extent that I know.

224GAO: 关于防止医院医护人员感染问题，我们采取了非常严格的防护措施。

As for protecting medical staff in hospitals from contracting the disease, we have adopted very stringent protective measures.

TT: To prevent SARS infection among medical workers in hospitals, we have adopted very stringent protective measures.

225GAO: 第一，我们按照国际标准确定了防护的口罩、面罩、眼罩、手套以及防护服装的生产定点单位。

Firstly, according the international standard, we have designated some enterprises to specifically produce protective outfit including mask, face mask, blinkers, gloves and protective garment.

TT: And firstly, we designated some enterprises according to international standards for specifically producing the protective gears and outfits for the medical staff which include face mask, mask, blinkers and garment.

226GAO: 对于企业生产的防护用品严格按照标准进行检验,

Will conduct strict quality control on these protective products

TT: And there will be strict quality control with all such products.

227GAO: 而且对那些不符合标准的企业, 假冒伪劣的企业进行严格处理。

Will strictly punish those enterprises which are not up to standards and produce fake products

TT: And we will strictly punish those enterprises which are not up to standard and which produce fake products.

228GAO: 据我所知, 有关部门对一些以次充好的企业进行了处罚, 已经罚款 6000 多万元。

As far as I know, some authority concerned has charged fines from those unqualified enterprises and the total fine has amounted to 60 million Yuan.

TT: As far as I know, the fining executed from those enterprises which turned out unqualified, which turned out goods that are not in good quality, have amounted to 60 million Yuan.

229GAO: 这样做的目的就是为了保证医务人员所用的防护物品必须要合乎质量标准。

The purpose of doing this is to ensure that the protective outfit for medical workers is up to standard.

TT: The purpose to ensure the medical outfit for our medical workers were up to standards.

230GAO: 第二, 我们严格规定医院采购这些防护用品必须到符合条件的, 经过批准生产的, 产品经过检验合格的企业去采购, 不允许到市场上随便采购。

Second, we strictly require hospitals to purchase these protective outfits from those enterprises which have obtained licence and whose products have passed quality control. Hospitals are not allowed to purchase randomly from the market.

TT: Secondly, there is strict requirement for hospitals to purchase the relevant equipment and material only from those companies and manufacturing facilities which are up to the qualification, which obtained certificate and licence and whose products have received strict quality control. And they may not go randomly to the market for such purchases.

231GAO: 对违反规定的医疗机构要进行处罚, 目的就是保证医务人员的身体健康。

Those medical entities which have failed to do this will get punished. The purpose is to ensure the healthy condition of medical workers.

TT: And any medical institution which has failed to do this will also be punished. The idea is to protect the safety of our medical workers.

232GAO: 第三, 我们在防治 SARS 的工作中, 一边进行科学的研究, 一边进行经验的总结。中日友好医院已经专门出了一本 SARS 病护理的小册子。

Thirdly, in our campaign against SARS, we are doing scientific research while summing up experiences. The Sino-Japan Friendship Hospital has specifically published a pamphlet for caring for SARS patients.

TT: And so thirdly, in this fight against SARS, we are doing scientific research and development at the one hand, and trying to sum up the experience on the

other. For example, the Sino-Japan Friendship Hospital has specifically published a pamphlet about caring for SARS patients.

233GAO: 这本书里面介绍了一些医务人员自身保护的一些规则, 还有护理患者的一些操作规范。

This pamphlet has introduced some rules and methods for self-protection of medical workers and also for caring for the patients.

TT: This booklet has listed the procedures and rules for self-protection of medical workers and also for caring for the patients.

234GAO: 我还为这个小册子专门做了序言, 如果这位小姐感兴趣的话, 我可以送给你一本。

I wrote a preface especially for this pamphlet. If this lady is interested, I can give you a copy.

TT: I personally wrote a preface for this pamphlet. If you are so interested, I can show you a copy of this book.

235GAO: 总之, 我觉得防止医务人员感染既是我们政府的责任, 也是医院主管部门的责任, 也是医务人员自身保护的责任。

All in all, I think preventing SARS infection among medical workers is the responsibility of both our government and the higher authority of hospitals. It is also the responsibility of medical staff themselves.

TT: So all in all, preventing SARS infection among medical workers is both the responsibility of our government and the responsibility of the higher authority of the hospital itself. It is also the responsibility of the medical workers for themselves.

236GAO: 至于血清疗法问题, 这个太专业了,

As for the question relating to serological therapies, it is too technical for me.

TT: As for serological therapies, I am afraid it is too technical for me.

237GAO: 我们有些医院的一些医生也进行了探索, 并取得一定的效果。

Some doctors in hospitals have made some exploratory study on this and have yielded some results.

TT: There are some doctors in hospitals made some exploratory studies on this, and have got some results.

238GAO: 也有一些专家有一些不同的看法。

Some experts have different views.

TT: But some experts have their own views.

239GAO: 我想台湾医学界如果对这个问题感兴趣, 我们可以通过多次的视讯会议进行交流, 由专家去研究这个问题。

I think if the medical community in Taiwan is interested in this, we can hold several video conferences to have experts involved to discuss this.

TT: If Taiwan medical community is interested in this. I think we can hold discussions, to have experts from both the Straits to hold discussion about this through audio conferences which we have already held several.

240WANG: 刚才那位, 那位吧, 带红带子的那位小伙子。

The one who raised his hand just now, the young man wearing a red string

NO TT

241CBS: CBS. Mr GAO Qiang, I have an expression I would like to share with you too. If you torture data, it could be anything you want. How do we believe this epidemic is actually fading away given that the World Health Organisation says underreporting is still going on in Beijing given how China handles

underreporting with the aids epidemic? And thirdly just a month ago they lied to us in this room as ... and ... said? Thank you.

TT: 我是 CBS 电视台的记者。我也想跟您讲个俗语，也就是说呢，如果你们想去在数字上玩一些把戏的话呢，其实是没有用的。因为刚才您也提到呢，现在疫情呢正在稳中有降，但是呢，现在根据世界卫生组织方面，有人表示呢中国仍然在这个漏报和瞒报疫情的一些情况。另外一个问题呢，也就是涉及到刚才 CNN 记者提到的...

I'm with CBS, I also want to tell nin <polite you> a saying. That is to say (ne), if nimen <plural you> want to play with figures (ne), it is actually useless. Because just now nin <polite you> mentioned (ne) the epidemic at the current stage (ne) is getting less serious in a stable way. However (ne), according to the World Health Organisation, some people say (ne), China is still (zhege) underreporting and concealing some situation about the epidemic. The other question, that is related what the CNN journalist just now mentioned that...

TT: So what is your last question more than a month ago?

242CBS: ...the journalist didn't hold the microphone and his voice cannot be heard.

TT: Ok, ok. Sure. 刚才 CNN 记者也提到了这个问题。一个月前，你们说疫情已经得到了有效控制，但是事实上不是这样，那么今天我们怎么能相信你们现在所说的内容呢？

Ok, ok. Sure. Just now the CNN journalist also mentioned the same problem. A month ago nimen <plural you> said the epidemic had been effectively controlled, but it was not true. So how we can believe what nimen <plural you> have said today?

243GAO: 这个我到卫生部工作以后啊，对这个传染病的问题有了深刻的认识。

After I came to work in the Ministry of Health, I obtained a deep understanding about infectious diseases.

TT: Since I came to work in the Ministry of Health, I have obtained a basic understanding about infectious diseases.

244GAO: 传染病要瞒是瞒不住的，

Infectious diseases are impossible to cover up.

TT: That is infectious diseases are impossible to cover up.

245GAO: 因为数字可以隐瞒，但是病毒你隐瞒不了。

You may cover up figures, but you are not able to cover up viruses.

TT: You may be able to cover up figures, but you can never cover up viruses.

246GAO: 所以我对这个传染病来说,我不从数字上看问题,

That is why I do not look at infectious diseases from the standpoint of figures.

TT: That is why I do not look at infectious disease from the standpoint of figures.

247GAO: 不能认为数字一增加就说失去控制，数字下降了，就认为不真实。

You cannot say that if figures go up, then the epidemic is out of control; if the figures go down, then it relevant information is not true.

TT: You cannot say that once the figures go up, then the outbreak is out of control, and if the figures go down, then it is not true.

248SPEAKAER: 希望大家看现在中国的疫情，要注意三点。

I hope you will bear three points when looking at the epidemic situation in China.

TT: I hope you will bear the following three points in mind when looking at the epidemic situation in China.

249GAO: 第一要看中国政府现在确定的预防和控制措施是不是有力，是不是落到实处。

The first point to look at is whether the preventive and control measures adopted by the Chinese government are effective and are well implemented.

TT: So first, the first point to look at is whether the measures adopted by the Chinese government are effective and are implemented on the ground.

250GAO: 如果各个环节对我们制定的这些措施能够真正落实到位，我想疫情的下降是必然的。

If these measures can be well implement in all respects, then I think the improving situation with the epidemic is inevitable.

TT: If these measures can be implemented down every level to the ground, then I think the lowering of the epidemic goal is inevitable.

251GAO: 如果我们放松控制，那疫情的反弹也是可能的。

If we relax our control effort, then it is possible that the epidemic will come back.

TT: But we let down such efforts, it will be highly possible that the epidemic will come back.

252GAO: 据我所知，现在各个方面对中国政府采取的预防和控制措施都是肯定的。

As far as I know, various parties have expressed affirmative opinion about the preventive and control effort by the Chinese government.

TT: As far as I know, various parties and various many countries have expressed their highly affirmative opinion about the treatment, prevention and control effort by the Chinese government.

253GAO: 第二，要看医院的情况。

The second, we need to look at hospitals.

TT: The second point to look at is hospitals.

254GAO: 现在医院的情况和一个月以前医院的情况完全不同。

The situations in hospitals now and a month are completely different.

TT: The situation in hospitals at this point and the situation in hospitals a month ago are quite different.

255GAO: 一个月前北京的医院是告急，有很多的病人住不进医院去，有很多人打 120 找急救中心，但是派不出车来。

A month ago, hospitals in Beijing were overwhelmed by SARS patients so that many patients cannot be admitted into hospitals. Many people called emergency number 120 for emergency medical assistance but there were no sufficient ambulances to transport them.

TT: So about a month ago, many hospitals are under the verge of being overwhelmed by the SARS epidemic so that many patients cannot get admitted into the hospitals, and there are no sufficient ambulances to transport people who have called the emergency number 120 for emergence medical assistance.

256GAO: 后来北京集中了 19 家医院作为定点医院专门收治 SARS 病人。

Later on Beijing designated 19 hospitals as SARS-only hospitals.

TT: Later on Beijing designated 19 hospitals as SARS-only hospitals.

257GAO: 但是最近，北京市要把医疗机构做一些调整，要把定点医院从 19 所减少为 7 所，

But Beijing will make some adjustments of its medical institutions quite soon, to reduce the number of designated hospitals from 19 to 7.

TT: But Beijing authority will enforce some adjustment of its medical institutions quite soon. It sets to reduce the number of designated hospitals from 19 to 7.

258GAO: 这 7 所医院现在还有空的病床 1000 多张。

Even in the 7 SARS-only hospitals, there were still about 1000 beds vacant.

TT: Even in the case of 7 SARS-only hospitals, there were still about 1000 hospital beds vacant.

259GAO: 说明北京新发病例明显减少了，出院的患者明显增加，现在在医院住院的逐日在减少。

This shows a marked decrease of new cases in Beijing and a marked increase of patients discharged from hospitals. The number of patients still being treated in hospitals is going down day by day.

TT: So this shows a marked decrease new cases and a marked increase in the number of patients discharged from hospitals. And the number of patients still in hospitals for medical treatment is going down on a daily basis.

260GAO: 第三，要看整个北京社会的气氛。

Thirdly, we need to look at the overall social atmosphere in Beijing.

TT: The third aspect to look at is the social atmosphere in Beijing.

261GAO: 一个月以前，我记得开记者招待会的时候，差不多有一半的记者是戴着口罩来的。

A month ago in my last press conference, I remember almost half of the journalists were wearing face mask.

TT: About a month ago, in my last press conference, I remember that almost half of you wearing face mask.

262GAO: 这个我看今天前面的记者基本都没有戴，

Today, few of the journalists sitting in front rows are wearing face mask.

TT: Today, particularly for those of you sitting in the front rows, you are not wearing face mask.

263GAO: 几位戴口罩的记者都站在后面了。

Several journalists wearing face mask are standing in the back.

TT: Only those of you standing in the back, some of you are wearing face mask.

264GAO: 其实我要传染的话，最快会传染给前面这几位。

Actually if I carry infection, then journalists sitting front rows will be my first victim

TT: If I were to infect any of you, and probably people sitting in front rows will be my victim.

265GAO: 我相信大家对北京的疫情是相信的。

I believe people are confident about the epidemic situation in Beijing.

TT: So all in all, I trust all of you have confidence about the present situation in Beijing.

266WANG: 那位。

That journalist

NO TT

267China News Service: 我是中新社记者。现在台湾的疫情还在发展，有人认为，台湾岛内的疫情是由大陆引起的，应由大陆负责，请您对这个说法给出评论。

I'm with the China News Service. The epidemic situation is still developing now in Taiwan. Some people believe that the epidemic in Taiwan is caused by the mainland and the mainland should be held accountable. How do you comment on this?

TT: I'm with the China News Service. The epidemic situation in Taiwan is still developing. And some people believe that such scale of SARS on Taiwan is caused by the mainland and the mainland should assume responsibility for this. How do you comment on this?

268GAO: 我注意到台湾一些人发表了这种言论。

I noticed that some people in Taiwan expressed such view.

TT: I noticed that the view you have cited come from some people on Taiwan.

269GAO: 但我认为这种言论本身就是不负责任的,

However I believe such view in itself is irresponsible.

TT: However, I believe such self in itself is irresponsible.

270GAO: 是一种转移视线、推卸责任、嫁祸于人的手段。

It is a means to divert attention and shift the blame onto others.

TT: It is an attempt to divert attention and shift the blame onto others.

271GAO: 我刚才讲了, 中央的疫情最早的官方发布是在 2 月 11 日。

I mentioned earlier that the earliest official report on SARS epidemic was published on February 11th.

TT: And I mentioned a moment earlier the earliest instance for this SARS situation to appear on the official report was on February the 11th.

272GAO: 而台湾的首例发布是 3 月 15 日。

And the first case reported on Taiwan was on March 15th.

TT: And the first reported case on Taiwan was on March 15th.

273GAO: 已经过了一个多月的时间, 难道台湾的情报机构就这么不灵通吗?

It was more than one month in this interval. Is it true that the intelligence agency is not working efficiently?

TT: That means more than one month has passed in this interval. Is it really true that the information and intelligence agencies in Taiwan are not working properly?

274GAO: 怎么能说是因为中国隐瞒疫情而造成台湾的扩散呢?

How can you say that it is China's covering up that caused the outbreak of the epidemic in Taiwan?

TT: How can this argument hold water that because the mainland is concealing the truth of the epidemic so that Taiwan has fallen victim to it.

275GAO: 对于台湾的疫情, 中国政府和中国人民都非常关心。

With regard to the epidemic in Taiwan, both the Chinese government and people are very concerned.

TT: The Chinese government and people are very much concerned about the SARS outbreak on Taiwan.

276GAO: 我们两岸都是中国人, 都是炎黄子孙,

We, on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, are Chinese and are both descendents of Yan and Huang.

TT: People on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are Chinese, we are brothers and sisters and we are the common descendents from our ancestors

277GAO: 无论是大陆人民患了这个病, 还是台湾人民患了这个病, 我们都感到很痛心。

Irrespective of whether the infection affects the mainland people or the Taiwanese people, we feel equally sad.

TT: And we felt quite sad about SARS infection no matter whether it occurs on mainland or on Taiwan.

278GAO: 对于增强两地的交流和合作, 我们在北京召开过两岸的医学专家的技术交流会,

As for strengthening the exchange and cooperation between mainland and Taiwan, we have held twice technical symposiums among medical experts from across the Straits in Beijing

TT: In the interest of strengthening the exchange and cooperation between two sides o the Taiwan Straits, we convened some technical symposiums between experts on both sides of the Taiwan Straits in Beijing.

279GAO: 也组织了两岸三地的多次电视电话会议, 由专家交流诊断治疗经验。Have also organised several video and telephone-conferences among mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong to let experts exchanges their experiences in diagnosis and treatment

TT: We have also organised quite a number of tele-conferences for experts on both mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan so that they can have discussions and exchanges on ways of diagnosis and treatment.

280GAO: 我们还同意世界卫生组织派专家到台湾进行考察和指导。

We also agreed to let the WHO send their experts to visit Taiwan and provide guidance.

TT: We also agreed to the WHO sending experts to Taiwan to study the outbreak and also to give technical guidance.

281GAO: 我们还准备了一些医务人员的防护物资, 高标准的手套、口罩、鞋套等运到台湾。

We also prepared a number of protective outfits such as high quality gloves, face masks and shoe covers to transport to Taiwan.

TT: We have also prepared some protective equipment such as gloves, face masks and shoe covers to transport to Taiwan.

282GAO: 我们还准备派国内最有经验的, 最优秀的医疗专家赴台进行技术指导和交流。

We are also planning to send a team of the most experienced and the best of medical experts from mainland to Taiwan for technical guidance and exchange.

TT: We have also prepared a team of the most experienced and the best of our medical experts to go to Taiwan to give technical guidance and to hold technical exchange.

283GAO: 这些都表达了中央政府和大陆人民对台湾人民的关心。

All these expressed the concern and care for Taiwan people from the central government and people of mainland.

TT: All these are expressions of concern and care of the Chinese government and people for the outbreak situation in Taiwan.

284GAO: 我们希望台湾当局真正能够从关心台湾人民福祉和健康出发, 增强两地的交流和合作, 尽快地在两岸消灭疫情。

We hope Taiwan authorities will actually take the wellbeing and health of Taiwan people as a point of departure and enhance exchange and cooperation across the Straits and eliminate the epidemic on both sides as soon as possible.

TT: We very much hope that the Taiwan authorities will increase the exchanges, will promote more exchanges and cooperation across the Taiwan Straits out of the care for the wellbeing and health of our Taiwan compatriots. So that by working together we can eliminate SARS on both sides of the Taiwan Straits as soon as possible.

285GAO: 我们也希望台湾当局多做一些实实在在的事情,

We also hope that the Taiwan authorities will do more practical deeds.

TT: We also hope that the Taiwan authorities will do more in concrete deeds in this respect.

286GAO: 嫁祸于人、转移视线对于减轻或者缓解台湾的疫情是没有好处的。

Shifting blame onto others and diverting attention will do no good for alleviating or relieving the epidemic in Taiwan.

TT: Shifting blame onto others or diverting attention will do no good for the alleviation of the outbreak in Taiwan. Thank you.

287WANG: 最后我们再回答一个问题。Turning to GAO

Let us take one last question.

NO TT

288GAO: 没事，大家问吧，随便问。还是到5点吧

It is ok. Let people ask, you can ask anything, we still end at 5pm.

NO TT

289WANG: 好，前边这位。

Ok, this journalist in the front.

NO TT

290Asahi Shimbun of Japan: 谢谢！我是日本朝日新闻的。5月6日蒋彦永先生的信件 holding a newspaper, 他4月份给媒体写了信，

Thank you. I'm from Japan Asahi Shimbun. The May 6th letter of Mr JIANG Yanyong reads like this. He wrote a letter to the media in April.

NO TT

291GAO: 右手拿一下，我看不到你是哪位。你是哪里的记者？

Could you remove your right hand, I cannot see you. Which news agency do you represent?

NO TT

292Asahi Shimbun of Japan: 日本朝日新闻。他写信的时候说为什么不想发表的原因，说那时的数字是不对的。那时候，他同时指出3月中旬真实的情况，他说卫生部找了各个医院的领导去开会，意思是北京已经有了此病，但作为纪律不许宣布，要为开好两会创造安定的条件。我要问这样的事情真的存在吗？说卫生部要求不要告诉非典的事件，有没有这样的情况。谢谢。

Asahi Shimbun of Japan. He wrote why he didn't want to publicise the figures and said that the figures at that time were not correct. He pointed out the real situation in Mid-March. He said the Ministry of Health organised a meeting for all hospitals. The purpose was to tell that there were already SARS cases in Beijing. But as a rule, the hospitals were not allowed to publicise the information because there was a need to create a sound atmosphere for the opening of NPC and CPPCC. I am wondering if this is true. It is said that the Ministry of Health does not allow hospitals to report incidents of SARS. Is this true? Thank you.

TT: I'm from Japan. I also have a question about Mr. Jiang Yanyong. In April, he wrote a letter to various media organisations saying that the actual figure of SARS patients was not exactly the same as the officials have been saying. And I learned that in the beginning of last March, the Ministry of Health organised a meeting for the presidents of hospitals in Beijing to talk about this situation. And the ministry, at that time, there were already SARS cases. And the Ministry of Health required that the hospitals should not publicise the information about their patients because of the need to create a sound atmosphere for the NPC and CPC sessions. I wonder could you confirm this.

293GAO: 你这个问题让我很难回答。

Your question is very difficult for me to answer.

TT: I'm afraid this is very difficult for me to answer.

294GAO: 因为你说的都是我还没到卫生部。

Because the problems you have talked about happened in time when I had not come to work in the Ministry of Health.

TT: Because what you talked about happened in time when I have not been transferred to the Ministry of Health.

295GAO: 但是我也不相信你提出的这个问题。

But I don't believe the issue you have said.

TT: But I am afraid I do not believe what you said.

296GAO: 如果是由卫生部去布置医院严格保密的话, 我想广东的疫情怎么会对外公布呢?

If the Ministry of Health had asked the hospitals to keep the information secret, how could Guangdong have been publicising the epidemic to the public?

TT: If the Ministry of Health indeed asked the hospitals to keep the information secret. How was it that Guangdong had already been publicising the relevant information?

297WANG: 好, 下一个问题。前面这位。

Ok, next question. This one in the front

NO TT

298China Daily: 高部长, 我是中国日报社记者。首先请允许我感谢您和您的同事自4月份临危受命以来所做的卓有成效的工作。是这样啊, 刚才您也提到, 我们这次非典疫情暴露了我们国家在公共卫生建设这方面的一些问题。刚才您也提到了问题的几个方面。我想其中也应该包括农村人口和城市贫困人口的医疗保障问题, 刚才您简单提了一下, 我现在想知道, 我们在这方面有什么具体的打算? 就是在公共卫生建设和其他相关方面。谢谢。

Minister Gao, I'm from China Daily. First of all, please allow me to thank you and your colleagues for the effective efforts made since you were entrusted with this arduous mission at the critical and difficult moment in April. It is like this [ah] tone particle, Just now, you mentioned that this SARS epidemic revealed some problems in our country's public health system. You also mentioned the several aspects of these problems. I think the problems should also include the health care issues with respect to rural population and urban disadvantaged people. You mentioned them briefly just now. Now I would like to know what specific plan we have in this regard, that is in the area of the public health system development and some other related areas. Thank you.

TT: I'm with China Daily. First of all, I would like to express my thanks to you and your colleagues for the effective work you have been doing since April when you were given such a weighty responsibility at a very difficult time. Indeed, you have mentioned about a number of aspects where the public health system in China was lacking since the SARS outbreak. And you also talked about measures to provide medical assistance and aid to farmers and city dwellers. I wonder what specific ideas or plans you have in mind in these respects.

299GAO: 首先, 我不大认同你的“临危受命”这个词。

First of all, I don't agree with the expression you used that suggests we were entrusted with an arduous mission at a very critical time.

TT: First of all, I must say that I don't quite agree the formulation you have used suggesting that we are given a weighty responsibility at a difficult time.

300GAO: 我认为我是在一个特殊时期受命的。

I think I was given this job a special time.

TT: For me, I was called at a line of duty at a special time.

301GAO: 因为在我受命之前，党中央和国务院已经采取了一系列的决策和部署。

Because before I took the present office, the central party and the state council have already made a series of decisions and arrangements.

TT: Before I accepted my position, working in my present position, the central party and the state council have already made major decisions and arrangements.

302GAO: 国务院已经召开过全国的 SARS 防治工作会议，

The state council had already held a nation-wide meeting on SARS prevention and control.

TT: The state council had already called a nation-wide meeting on SARS prevention and control.

303GAO: 各个地方也已经行动起来了。

All localities had taken action.

TT: And all localities in China had been organised to act.

304GAO: 在我上任的时候，全党动员、全民动员共同防治 SARS 的局面已经形成。

By the time I took the current office, the situation that the whole nation and the whole population had been mobilised to fight against SARS had taken shape.

TT: So by the time I took my position, the situation whereby the whole nation and the whole population had been mobilised to fight against SARS had taken shape.

305GAO: 所以这点可以说我的工作是在全国人民的支持下，各个部门的支持下，在各级政府的支持下开展的。

This can make me say that I have been carrying out my duty with the support of all Chinese, with the support of various agencies and the support of governments at all levels.

TT: So I have to say that I have been doing my duty with the support of people all over China, with the support of various agencies and the support of governments at all levels.

306GAO: 但是，我感到随着疫情的逐步缓解，我的担子越来越重，

But I feel that as the epidemic is easing gradually, my duty is getting heavier and heavier.

TT: But I feel that with the gradual easing of this outbreak situation, my responsibility has grown.

307GAO: 因为我不只是要考虑当前的问题，还要考虑以后的问题。

Because I need to consider not only the current issues but also the long-term issues.

TT: Because I must think about first how to deal with the immediate problems. I also have to look at the long-term.

308GAO: 随着疫情的缓解，人民正常的生产、生活秩序的恢复，各级政府的工作力度会逐步缩小。

With the easing of the epidemic and the recovering of peoples' normal life and work, governments at all levels will gradually relax their effort.

TT: Because as the outbreak subsides, the normal orders of life and production and work will continue, and various governments might want to shift their priorities.

309GAO: 防疫工作的担子、责任最终还是要落到卫生部门身上。

The task and responsibility of preventing the epidemic will finally be on the shoulder of health agencies.

TT: And the responsibilities for epidemic control and prevention...

310GAO: 所以公共卫生的建设, 疾病预防控制体系的建设, 是摆在我们面前的一个非常紧迫的任务。我们不允许历史重演, 不允许再出现前一段出现的情况。

So developing public health system and disease prevention and control system has become a very urgent task on our agenda. We must not allow history to happen again and must not allow the earlier situation occur in future.

TT: <is not available on the footage>

311GAO: 卫生部正在和财政部、国家发展改革委员会紧密地协商安排今后的公共卫生体系建设工作。

The Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance and the State Commission on Development and Reform of China are working closely to discuss the arrangements and plans for public health system in China.

TT: The Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance and the State Commission on Development and Reform of China have been holding much discussion about various arrangements and plans for the development of the public health system in China.

312GAO: 第一, 我们要建立一个从中央到地方, 机构健全、人员责任明确的疾病预防控制中心。

First, we will establish disease prevention and control centres both at central and local levels that have complete institution and clear defined responsibilities.

TT: Firstly, we need to put in place a system for the prevention and control both at the central level and down to the local levels that have complete institution and clearly defined responsibilities.

313GAO: 国家、省、市、县都要建立 CDC。

The state, provinces, municipalities and counties all need to establish CDC.

TT: And CDC must be set up both at the national level, and the provincial, municipal and down to the county level.

314GAO: 乡和村以及城市和社区也要设立负责疾病控制的人员。

Special personnel responsible for disease prevention and control should also be arranged in townships, villages, cities and communities.

TT: For townships, for villages and urban neighbourhood, they must designate special people responsible for disease control.

315GAO: 为了加强地方 CDC 的建设, 国家已经安排了 29 亿元。

In order to strengthen the establishment of CDC in localities, the central government has appropriated 2.9 billion Yuan.

TT: The central government has already set aside 2.9 Yuan for the development and establishment of CDC in localities.

316GAO: 加强国家 CDC 的建设, 国家已经安排了 17 亿。

The central government has set aside 1.7 billion Yuan for the development and establishment of CDC at the central level.

TT: And for the development of national CDC, the country has earmarked 1.7 billion Yuan for it.

317GAO: 这项工作我们要在今明两年完成。

We are planning to finish this work in two years.

TT: And this work should be completed before the end of next year.

318GAO: 第二是要建立一个快捷、畅通、准确、及时的信息传递网络。

Second, we must set up an information flow network that is rapid, unimpeded, precise and timely.

TT: And secondly, we must put in place an information flow system that is rapid, precise and timely.

319GAO: 不仅是对 SARS 病的疫情, 对其他所有传染病的疫情我们都要做到及时发现、及时报告、及时控制、及时治疗。

Not only with SARS, but also with all other contagious diseases, we must discover them, report them, control them and treat them in a timely manner.

TT: And this applies not just to SARS, but rather to all infectious diseases. We must ensure early detection, early reporting, early control and early treatment.

320GAO: 第三, 我们要完善医疗救治体系, 对现在医疗机构的布局进行一些调整。

Third, we must improve the medical treatment system and adjust the layout of the existing medical institutions.

TT: Thirdly, we must improve the system of medical treatment and medical institutions themselves. And we need to reorganise the various medical institutions.

321GAO: 直辖市、省会城市和地级城市都要建立专门收治传染病患者的医院。Municipalities under the central government, capitals cities of provinces and prefectural level cities must all designate special hospitals to admit and treat infectious disease patients.

TT: For municipalities directly under the central government, for capitals of various provinces and for prefecture level cities, and these cities must all designate special hospitals for admitting infectious disease patients.

322GAO: 县一级也要把某些医院改建成一些传染病的隔离病房或隔离病区, 传染病的隔离病房或隔离病区。

Counties must renovate some hospitals into infectious disease isolation wards or sections.

TT: County level hospitals must also renovate themselves so that they will have isolation wards or special isolation sections for infectious disease.

323GAO: 同时, 我们对农村的乡卫生院的改造设备购置也要给予大力的支持。At the same time, we have given vigorous support for village clinics so that they can renovate themselves and buy more equipment.

TT: Vigorous support will also be given to clinics in various townships in China, so that they can renovate themselves and they can get more equipment.

324GAO: 对每年新增的财政用于卫生事业发展的经费主要的钱用于农村卫生部门。

The annual increase in fiscal budget for public health development will be mainly allocated to rural health development.

TT: And also the main part of the new increase in the budgetary outlet for health should be devoted to building the health undertakings in rural areas.

325GAO: 第四，我们在省一级要建立一个设备齐全、技术高超，能够机动灵活的医疗救治队伍。

Fourth, at provincial levels, we will establish a flexible and mobile medical team with complete equipment and superb skills.

TT: Fourthly, at provincial levels, we have to put together medical teams which have access to complete equipment, and which have very advanced technique and technology and which are highly mobile.

326GAO: 不管在城市还是在农村，发现疫情就可以紧急调动这支队伍前去救治。

Once an epidemic is reported no matter in cities and rural areas, this medical team can be mobilised on emergent call to treat patients.

TT: So no matter the epidemic is reported in cities and the countryside, this team can be mobilised very rapidly to actually go down to see the situation and to address the situation.

327GAO: 这项任务我们要在一两年内完成。

We will finish this task in one or two years.

TT: We should accomplish this task within a couple of years.

328GAO: 我想，经过这次 SARS 斗争的考验，中国人会变得更加聪明。

I think after this SARS experience, the Chinese people will become wiser.

TT: I think the Chinese people will emerge from this SARS test wiser.

329GAO: 卫生部工作职能和工作思路也要进一步转变，

The Ministry of Health will also readjust its functions and mindset.

TT: The Ministry of Health will also need to undergo some changes of its assumptions and its mindset.

330GAO: 中国的公共卫生体系的建设一定会得到改善。

I'm sure Chinese public health system will be improved.

TT: I'm sure the public health system in China will be improved.

331WANG: 那位小姐。

That lady

NO TT

332GAO: 多找一些外国记者。

Give the floor to more foreign journalists.

NO TT

333Sanke Shinbun of Japan: 谢谢。我是日本的财经新闻。谢谢高副部长，我想问的是，卫生部内，除了张文康原部长以外，应当。。。。。。或者免职的方式承担责任的官员是，一共几个人。除了张原部长以外，没有人承担责任的话，那卫生部应当承担责任的是张部长一个人吗？另外我想问高副部长本人，几月几号知道北京（非典）的情况，啊，在哪里，怎样的方式知道。

I'm with Sanke Shimbun. Thank you Vice Minister Gao. I want to ask, within Ministry of Health, apart from former Minister Zhang Wenkang, should, ... or... be responsible how many people altogether... (barely heard), also I want to ask Vice Minister Gao in person, on which month and which date do you know Beijing's epidemic. Umm...how?

NO TT

334GAO: 我听不懂。

I can't understand you

NO TT

- 335Sanke Shinbun of Japan: 听不懂<smile>, 真不好意思。<With a shy smile> 我想问的是, 卫生部内应对的方式 (.) 张部长, 好像张部长一样, 应对应急方式。。。。。
- < Smile> can't understand, very sorry. with a shy smile I want to ask, within Ministry of Health, response mechanism, (.) Minister Zhang, Like Minister... the same, response emergency mechanism...
- NO TT
- 336GAO: <close-up>你讲英文, 她来翻译好吗? <signing to the interpreter> second question 用英文讲。
- You speak English. Is it ok for her to interpret? Second question, say in English
- NO TT
- 337Sanke Shinbun of Japan: <she seems unwilling to speak in English> I want to know (.) how many (.) how many officials, Chinese Health Ministry (.) <not be able to continue in English, with a very anxious look and gestures such as bending her upper body and touching her hair>
- 338WANG: 第一个问题已经听懂了. First question 已经懂了。
- I understand your first question. First question is understood.
- NO TT
- 339GAO: <to WANG> 你听懂了, 我没有听懂。<There is laughter from the audience, WANG interprets the question for Mr.GAO in Chinese with a loud voice. The scene is a bit chaotic.>
- You understand, but I don't.
- NO TT
- 340Asashi Shimbun of Japan: (Another Japanese journalist, but with Asashi Shimbun) 高部长, 高部长<tries to get the attention of Mr Gao>, 我的汉语也不好, 但是我明白她的意思<smile>, 她要说的是, 除了现部长以外, 有多少人要对这个问题 (.) 负责任, 谢谢。
- Minister Gao, Minister Gao tries to get the attention of Mr Gao, my Chinese is not good either but I understand what she means smile, she wanted to say, besides the minister, how many (.) provincial level (.) people should be held accountable in this regard. Thank you.
- TT: I'm from Japan. Apart from ZHANG Wenkang, who else got to blame within the Ministry of Health, or is Mr ZHANG Wenkang the sole person to get punished for the outbreak situation in Beijing?
- 341Sanke Shinbun of Japan: <without a microphone>, 还一个是 (.) <Then microphone comes> 目前为止, 一共多少个人用承担责任, 免职<with a restored confidence in the Chinese delivery, but her Chinese collapsed soon again. The sponce is a bit chaotic.>
- Another <question> is (.) so far, altogether how many people should be held accountable.
- NO TT
- 342WANG: yeah, <seems to get the point of her question, turning to Mr Gao and explaining with a audible voice> 全国到目前为止, 从中央到地方还有多少官员被撤了的, 免了的。
- So far, nationwide, from central to local governments, how many officials have been sacked Smile.
- NO TT

- 343GAO: <smile> 这个, 张文康同志任卫生部长的时候, 卫生工作出了问题, 当然应该由他负责任。
When Comrade ZHANG Wenkang was the Health Minister, he should be responsible for the related health problems.
TT: So when Minister ZHANG Wenkang was the Minister of Health, so he should be responsible for the problems with the health area while he was the minister.
- 344GAO: 我到卫生部工作以后, 如果再出问题, 我来负责。
After I came to work in the Ministry of Health, I should be held responsible for any problems that occur.
TT: After I came to the Ministry of Health, I should be held responsible for any new problems initiated or occur.
- 345GAO: 至于全国有多少人应该为此负责, 我很难准确的讲这个数字, 我搞不清楚。
As for how many nationwide should be held responsible, it is very difficult for me to give the figures. I don't know.
TT: I'm afraid I could not provide you with an accurate figure for how many officials were like what you have said.
- 346GAO: 确实有一些人因为擅离职守, 因为工作不力, 因为不守纪律, 或者由于不服从分配, 确实受到了不同的处分。
Indeed, there are some people who got different degrees of punishment because of their negligence of duty, ineffective work, and failure to observe rules or to do the job they are assigned to.
TT: Indeed, what I know is that quite a number of officials from different public service, got some kind of punishment to different extent as a result of negligence of duty, ineffective implementation of their work, inability to observe various disciplines or failure to do the job they are assigned to.
- 347GAO: 今天《人民日报》有一篇文章, 题目我忘了。<Looking at the interpreter>
Today's Peoples' Daily published an article, and its title I forgot.
TT: I think today's Peoples' Daily carried an article, I'm afraid I forgot its title.
- 348GAO: 它就是讲在防治 SARS 的斗争中, 有些医务人员舍生忘死、日夜奋战, 救死扶伤、无私奉献。
It reported that in the fight against SARS, some medical staff worked day and night and devoted all themselves to save and treat patients.
TT: This article talked about quite a number of medical workers devoted themselves tirelessly to the work of saving the patients.
- 349GAO: 但也有一些人擅离职守, 临阵脱逃。
But still there are some people negligent of their duties.
TT: But there are also some other people who neglect their duty and do not show their responsibilities.
- 350GAO: 有一些党政干部昼夜奋战在防治的第一线, 甚至牺牲了自己的生命。
There were some party and government officials fighting on the frontlines and some even lost their lives.
TT: Quite some party and government officials were fighting on frontlines day and night and some of them even lost their lives.
- 351GAO: 但是也有一些工作不力, 落实防治措施不严, 而受到了处分。

But some got punished because they have not done their jobs properly and have not implemented preventive and control measures strictly.

TT: But there were also some got punished and penalised because they have not done their jobs properly and have not implemented preventive measures strictly.

352GAO: 虽然受到处分的人是极少数的, 但是也给我们敲响了警钟。

Although the number of people that got punished is limited, it still sounds a warning for us.

TT: Although those that got penalised only represent a very small number of officials, they do sound a warning for others.

353GAO: 我们要注意在防治 SARS 的斗争中, 要加强我们的卫生和医疗队伍的建设。

Therefore, in our fight against SARS, we need to strengthen the development of our health and medical teams.

TT: That is we must lay more emphasis on the cultivation of people who are working in health authorities and medical institutions.

354GAO: 我们要大力的弘扬那种无私奉献的精神和革命的人道主义的精神,

We must promote and develop the spirit of selfless devotion and revolutionary humanitarianism of those people.

TT: We must promote and cultivate the spirit of selfless devotion and revolutionary humanitarianism about these people.

355GAO: 我在部里和大家讲, 我们一定要牢记希泼克拉底的一句话, <then turn to the interpreter and added> 希泼克拉底的一句名言。

I told my colleagues in the ministry that we have to remember well one remark from Hippocrates, a saying from Hippocrates.

TT: Ok. I told my colleagues at the ministry that all of us have to remember most clearly one remark from Mr Hippocrates.

356GAO: 这是一位希腊古代医学的创始人,

He is a Greek, the founder of ancient medicine.

TT: Actually, this person is a Greek person; he is the forerunner in the medical area.

357GAO: 他说: 我唯一的目的: 一切为病人谋利益。

He said that the only purpose of all my work is for the interest of patients.

TT: He said that the only purpose of all of my work is to work for the patients.

358GAO: 同时也要注意克服我们队伍中的一些不良作风。

At the same time, we should pay attention to overcoming some harmful style of work in our teams.

TT: At the same time, we need to pay attention to overcoming some of the bad habits that some people might have.

359GAO: 通过这场斗争能够把我们的医疗卫生队伍能够锻炼成一支全心全意为人民服务的、技术高超的, 群众能够信得过的卫生队伍。

Through the test of fighting against SARS, our health and medical staff can turn themselves into a very good team that can work all heartedly for the people, and that have super skills and can be trustworthy by the people they serve.

TT: So we hope that through this SARS struggle and test, our medical professionals in this country will turn themselves into really a very good team that devote entirely to serving the people, and that have very high techniques and technology and enjoy the confidence of the people they serve.

360GAO: 谢谢。

Thank you.

- TT: Thank you.
- 361WANG: 好, 最后一个。。。。。
- Ok. The Last one...
- NO TT
- 362GAO: 我看就三个吗, 没有多少人, 最后三个就都满足吧。
- I see there are only three journalists yet to ask, there are not many. I can answer them all.
- NO TT
- <WANG uses hand gesture to pick up one journalist.>
- 363Associated Press of Pakistan: Thank you very much. I'm from Associated Press of Pakistan. You have made some positive remarks on the results for SARS; can you give us some ideas on when you can finally get rid of SARS? Thank you.
- TT: 我是巴基斯坦美联社的记者。我想您刚才介绍了这一段时间防治非典的一些情况, 以及所取得的各种积极成果。我想问您一下, 您觉得将来什么时候可以完全地把 SARS 消灭掉?
- I'm with Associated Press of Pakistan. Just now you briefed the prevention and control work on SARS recently and various positive results. I would like to ask a bit when you think you can finally eliminate SARS in future.
- 364 GAO: 哎哟, 我可不是预言家。
- Oh, I'm not a prophet.
- TT: I'm afraid I cannot be a fortune-teller.
- 365GAO: 我只能讲在某一个时期, 这个病得到了控制。
- I can only say that at some period of time, the disease got contained.
- TT: I can only say that at some specific time, the disease might get effectively contained
- 366GAO: 最终战胜这次 SARS 疫情还要依靠科学。
- Final elimination of the SARS threat has to rely on science.
- TT: To finally eliminate the SARS threat, we have to rely on science.
- 367GAO: 当人类还没有研究出有效的预防疫苗和有效的治疗药物以前, 不能宣布彻底地战胜了这种疾病。
- Before the development of effective vaccine and medicine, victory against this disease cannot be declared.
- TT: Before the development of the effective vaccine and medicines, we cannot declare victory about the war against SARS.
- 368GAO: 有一些传染病已经发现了一百多年, 人们也研制出了有效的治疗药物, 但是它还存在。
- Some infectious diseases was discovered more than a hundred ago and effective medicine was developed too, however the diseases still exist.
- TT: Some diseases have been existing and have been with us for more than a hundred years. And sometimes we do have effective medicine to treat them; they still do not go away.
- 369GAO: 所以我们现在是一方面要科学攻关, 不仅是中国的科学家, 也要依靠世界各国的科学家来共同集中全力研制药物。
- So now on the one hand we need to make scientific breakthroughs by putting together scientists from both home and abroad in a jointly effort for the research and development of medicines.

TT: And so on the one hand, we need to intensify scientific research not only by Chinese scientists, but also by scientists throughout the world so that we can concentrate our efforts at really developing a cure.

370GAO: 同时也要对疾病采取严格的预防控制措施, 发现了以后就要立即进行隔离或治疗, 防止扩散。

On the other hand, we need to adopt stringent preventive and control measures with respect to the disease. Once a case reported, we must isolate and treat the patient immediate to stop the spread of the disease.

TT: While on the other hand, strict prevention and control effort must be continued so that we might isolate any cases that might emerge...

371GAO: <Start his next remark before the interpreter had finished her intervention> 我想这两条线如果能够取得一个圆满的成果, 我们就可能宣布战胜 SARS。

If we can do a good job on both fronts, we are able to declare victory over SARS.

TT: If we were to do well on both fronts, we might be able to say we win the victory over SARS.

372GAO: 我希望这一天尽快地到来。

I hope that day can come as soon as possible.

TT: I hope this day will not be far away.

373WANG: 好, 后边这位。

Ok, you on the back.

NO TT

374China Radio International: 高部长您好! 我是中国国际广播电台记者。我们现在知道中国的 SARS 疫情已经得到了初步有效的控制, 现在社会上也出现了一些放松的心理。随着大批以前在 SARS 疫情严重时期出去的民工又陆续回到城市, 随着大中小学的开学和高考的临近, 我想问一下, 您认为今后一段时期如何进一步采取措施搞好 SARS 疫情的控制工作? 另外, 目前已经有很多 SARS 患者治愈出院, 已经有 3000 多人了。<Then online transcript is more concise, combining the previous two clauses together 'right now more than 3000 SARS patients have been treated and discharged from hospitals'.> 社会上对这些人有一些歧视、回避的心理, 有的人甚至因此失去了工作, 我想问一下, 有没有进一步的措施, 能够保证这些治愈出院的 SARS 病人能够回到他们正常的工作生活中去? 如果遇到一些部门或单位解雇出院以后的 SARS 患者, 有没有一些具体的解决办法或处罚措施? 谢谢。

375 Hello Minister Gao, I'm with China Radio international. We are now aware that the SARS epidemic in China has been preliminarily under effective control and there has been a relaxing feeling among people at present. Given that those migrant workers who left cities during the serious period of the SARS epidemic are returning to the cities; primary and secondary schools are about to start their new terms; and the national college entrance examination is pending, I would like to ask a bit, how you <the polite you> think further measures can be adopted to prevent and control the epidemic? Also, so far there have been more than 3000 patients been cured and discharged from hospitals. But there some discrimination against these people and as a result some even lost their jobs. I would like to ask a bit, whether there are some further measures to ensure that those patients discharged from hospitals can return to their normal work and life. If some agencies or workplace fire those discharged patients, are there any measures or punishment to deal with them. Thank you.

TT: I'm with China Radio international. As you mentioned some initial effective containment has been achieved with respect to SARS situation in China. For now many people have become more relaxed. And more migrant workers are coming back to the cities, and students are coming back to classes and we are going to have college entrance examination quite soon, I so wonder what measures you will continue to take to cope with this spread of the situation. And my second question concerns the fact that you mentioned that more than 3000 people have been discharged from hospitals, but there have been instances of them being discriminated against, and people are trying to avoid them, and so even lost their job. Do you have any measures to ensure that these people once discharged can return to their normal life and get back to their work?

376GAO: 你提出的问题也是我们现在非常关注的一个问题。

The question you raised is also of much concern to us at the moment.

TT: Actually you have touched upon a question that is of much concern to all of us.

377GAO: 就像一个月前，大批的民工返乡或者学生回家，我们担心会把疫情带到农村一样。

We concern this as much as the situation a month ago when a large number of migrant workers and students going back to their home towns who might bring the epidemic to the countryside.

TT: Like about a month ago, we were very much worried that such a large number of migrant workers and students going back to their home towns to avoid SARS might bring the virus back to their home towns.

378GAO: 随着城市疫情的逐步缓解，一些返乡的民工或者学生陆续返回城里工作或学习。

With the gradual easing of the epidemic in the cities, some migrant workers and students are coming back to the cities for work and study.

TT: With the gradual alleviation of the situation in the cities, some migrant workers and students are coming back to their cities.

379GAO: 第一，对这些返乡的学生和民工在离开农村的时候要采取一些严格的检测措施，

First, with respect to these returning students and migrant workers, some strict examination measures need to be adopted before they leave the countryside.

TT: Firstly, strict examination measures should be taken with respect to the migrant workers and students upon leaving their villages and places.

380GAO: 保证他们身体健康，没有带菌，才能回来。

Allow them come back to the cities, we have to make sure that they are in good health condition without carrying the virus

TT: We have to ensure that they are healthy when they left and they do not carry the SARS virus.

381GAO: 第二，对于回城的民工，要由他所在企业、单位或社区进行密切的观察。

Second, with respect to the migrant workers, their enterprises and local communities must closely observe their situation.

TT: Secondly, their enterprise and their local communities must closely observe their situations

382GAO: 发现可疑情况要及时报告。

Once suspicious situation is observed, it should be reported immediately.

TT: Anything suspicious should be reported and dealt with promptly.

- 383GAO: 同时要明确他们所在单位的责任,
Meanwhile, need to clarify the responsibilities of their enterprises.
TT: We also need to fully clarify the responsibilities for their institutions.
- 384GAO: 如果是哪一个单位发现有可疑情况而不报告, 引起疫情扩散的话, 要严格追究这个单位负责人的责任。
Relevant responsible person of whichever enterprise must be held accountable if the spread of the disease occur as a result of their failure to report suspicious cases promptly.
TT: Either of the working unit must be held to responsibility if the spread of the epidemic should occur as a result of their failure to report promptly any possible effective cases.
- 385GAO: 在这些方面, 北京市政府已经制定了非常周密严格的一些规定。
In this regard, the Beijing municipal government has already formulated very careful and strict measures.
TT: Concerning these aspects, the Beijing municipal government has already formulated very forceful and strict measures.
- 386GAO: 对出院的 SARS 患者不能歧视的问题是非常重要的问题。
No discrimination against discharged SARS patients is a very important issue.
TT: As for the problem of discrimination, and of course, there shouldn't be any such discrimination and this is a very important question.
- 387GAO: SARS 患者是受害者, 包括他传染别人的患者也是受害者,
SARS patients are victims, so are the people infected by them.
TT: And so SARS patients are victims themselves, and those people who got the SARS virus from them are also victims.
- 388GAO: 我们对这些患者要给予高度的理解、同情、帮助和保护。
We should provide full understanding, sympathy, help and care for these patients.
TT: We should show much understanding, sympathy, help and support to all these people.
- 389GAO: 然而现在有一些单位对出院的患者采取了让他在家里休息一段时间的方式, 防止他再次再传染。
But some enterprises take the measure of allowing those discharged patients to rest for a while at home in order to prevent any transmission.
TT: Naturally, some institutions have asked their employees who were discharged from hospital for SARS to rest more in their homes to prevent any transmission.
- 390GAO: 对这个问题呢我认为要讲科学,
I think we should rely on science when looking at this issue.
TT: I think we need to look at this scientifically.
- 391GAO: 既然医院同意他出院, 就说明他已经符合卫生部制定的出院的参考标准。
Since the hospitals agree to discharge the patients, this means that they are in line with the discharging criteria formulated by the Ministry of Health.
TT: Since the hospitals have agreed to let them go, that means their conditions have already complied with the reference criteria formulated by the Ministry of Health.
- 392GAO: 现在我还没有发现治愈出院的病人再次感染或传染其他人的情况。
So far, I haven't found any cases of cured and discharged patients transmitting the virus to others again.

TT: So far, there has been no instance of recovered patients transmitting the virus to other people again.

393GAO: 至于某些单位开除 SARS 病患者的情况是绝对不允许的。

As for the possibility that some enterprises fire their SARS patients, this cannot be allowed.

TT: For the possibility that some people might get fired because they come down with SARS, this situation can not be allowed.

THE VIDEO ENDS HERE

APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLE SEQUENCES FROM SARS 2, 3 AND 4 PRESS CONFERENCES

SARS 2_1_WANG

ST: 所以大家也可能很清楚了，我们主要是请马晓伟副部长介绍一下目前非典型肺炎防治的工作情况，另外也请钟南山先生给我们简要地介绍一下和世界卫生组织专家组在广东工作的情况.....

So you are probably clear. Today we will mainly invite Vice Minister MA Xiaowei to briefly introduce the current work on SARS prevention and control. Also we will invite Mr ZHONG Nanshan to briefly introduce to *us* the cooperative work they have conducted with the WHO expert group in Guangdong

TT: So today as what the press conference is about is quite clear. Vice Minister MA Xiaowei will tell *you* about the latest development about *our* prevention and treatment of SARS, Mr ZHONG Nanshan will briefly talk to *you* about China's cooperation with the WHO expert group in Guangdong...

SARS 2_2_ZHONG

ST: 。。。。。。。因为这个病大概到目前为止，50%以上的病人都发生在广东，WHO 对广东是怎样诊断和治疗的，特别是早期治疗，降低死亡率这方面，他们非常感兴趣，我们做了很好的交流。

...so far, more than 50% of SARS patients are located in Guangdong. The WHO is very interested in the diagnosis and treatment practices in Guangdong, in particular the early treatment which can reduce the mortality rate. We have conducted very good exchanges on these fronts.

TT: So up to date, more than half of the incidences of the disease occurred in Guangdong province. So the WHO has shown a great deal of interest in the diagnosis, in the treatment, particularly the early treatment in an effort to lower the mortality rate in Guangdong province. And we have conducted very good exchanges on this topic.

SARS 2_3_QI

ST: 。。。。。。。大家有的可能没有注意到，就是原来我们湖南报告的病例之中，现在减少了二个，就是由于我们过去是作为一个疑似病人，现在又排除了诊断，所以减少了二人，所以这个数字呢还是要进一步更新的。

Some of you may not have noticed that <the number of> our original Hunan reported cases <is now> reduced by two, that is because in the past we regarded <them> as suspected patients, and now have removed them <from the list> of SARS patients, so <now the figure> is reduced by two. So this figure will further be updated.

TT: ...And so I'm not sure you noticed it or not. But the number of SARS cases in Hunan has been cut by two. That is because the suspected cases have been cleared of the possibility for SARS. And so that shows that *we* are updating *our* figures.

SARS 2_4_ XINHUA NEWS AGENCY JNL

ST: 马部长您好！我是新华社记者。我想问一下现在咱们对非典型肺炎的病因的研究进展有什么新的情况？另外，据说世界卫生组织对我们中西医结合的治疗方法有积极的评价，你能不能谈一谈这方面的具体情况？谢谢。

Hello, Minister Ma! I'm wondering what the latest development in *our* research on the cause of SARS is. Also it is reported that the WHO has positive comments on our combinational use of western and Chinese medicines. Could you elaborate on this?

TT: I'm with the Xinhua News Agency. My question is about how much *you* have progressed in terms of finding the cause for SARS epidemic. The WHO has very positively commented on China's combination of western and traditional Chinese medicine in treating this disease, could you also comment further on this aspect?

SARS 3_1_ GAO

ST: ...我们现在已经向一些地区派出了督察组，督察组的任务之一也包括核实各地的疫情...当然大家如果能够掌握有些信息，希望大家能够提供给我，但是我要求是准确的。

...We have now sent out monitoring teams to some areas, one of their tasks is to verify the local epidemic situation...of course if *everybody* can have some information, <I> hope *everybody* can offer <it> to *me*, but I ask <for it to be> accurate.

TT: ... we have sent out these supervisory groups to some localities in China as I have mentioned. One of the tasks of these groups is really to get to see the true extent of this epidemic and the accuracy of the figures that had been submitted...Of course if you have any information in *YOUR* hand, *we* would appreciate that you give the information to *us*, but that information again has to be accurate.

SARS 3_2_ AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING COMPANY JNL

ST: For whatever reason, the statistics seem wrong until now. Why should we believe you today that the statistics you are giving us today are correct?

TT: 我是澳大利亚广播公司的记者。我想到今天为止，你们以前给出的数据现在看来都不是很全面的，那么我们有什么理由相信您今天所给出的数据是准确的数据呢。

I'm with Australian Broadcasting Company. I think so far the statistics you have given us before now doesn't seem to be very complete. Then what reasons can we have to believe the figures *nin* <polite you> give us today are accurate?

SARS 3_3_GAO

ST: 。。。。。我想中国经过二十多年的改革开放，已经有比较雄厚的经济基础，当前整个财政的形式比较好，一季度中国的财政收入增长 26%，我想不会因为资金的问题影响防疫工作的开展。谢谢。。。。。

... I think China after more than 20 years of reform and opening up has had a relatively solid economic foundation. Currently, the entire fiscal condition is fairly good. In the first quarter China's fiscal revenue rose by 26%, I think funding will not be a problem affecting the progress of epidemic prevention work.

TT: ...So thanks to more than 20 years of reform and opening up in this country, China has accumulated a very solid economic foundation, and naturally *our* economic and fiscal performance for this year has been very good. In the first quarter, the fiscal revenue grew by 26%. So I don't think the shortage of funding will be a problem for coping with this disease....

SARS 3_4_CNN JNL

ST: I hope you will understand why there is a healthy dose of scepticism among us in the Beijing press because the past few weeks we have been lied and misled. Right here two weeks ago the minister of health told us that the epidemic was under effective control; a week ago, we were told that there were only 37 cases in Beijing. And when ask, we were told it included cases in the military hospitals. Why it's been so difficult to squeeze out accurate information from you? President Hu Jintao himself has said that no undercounting, no delay and cover-up of information will be tolerated. Today you are giving us information that is two days old. Why? Why not give us the most accurate and prompt information? You added seven just now. Why? Are we giving this enough importance?

TT: 我是美国 CNN 的记者。我想问一下呢，我希望首先你们能够理解为什么驻华的这些新闻记者一段时间以来对北京方面，对中国方面显示出了怀疑的态度，因为呢几个星期以来，我们已经很多次的收到了不正确的信息，也是在我们当中引起了一些混乱，误导了我们。比如说呢两个星期以前，张部长就曾经说呢这个疫情已经得到有效控制，一个星期以前呢你们说北京只有 37 个病例，而且呢当我们问你们这 37 个病例是否包括军事医院的病例的时候，你们说是包括的，那么为什么从你们这拿到正确的信息那么困难呢？胡主席他亲自曾经表示过，绝对不允许有意隐瞒或者缓报、瞒报、漏报这个疫病的情况，但是比如刚才您所报告的发布的有关的信息已经是二天前的信息了，同时刚才您又说还有 7 个新的病例，为什么不一下子把所有病例的情况都报道出来呢？是不是因为对这个工作不够重视呢？
I'm with the CNN.I would like to ask, first of all I hope you will understand why these journalists resident in China have shown sceptical attitude towards Beijing and China recently. The reason is that in the past several weeks, we have received incorrect information many times. This has aroused some confusion among us and has misled us. For example, two weeks ago, Minister Zhang said this epidemic had been effectively controlled; a week ago, you said there were only 37 cases in Beijing. And when we asked you if these 37 cases

included the cases from military hospitals, you confirmed so. Why is it so difficult to get accurate information from you? President Hu himself once said that no deliberate concealing <of information> or delay of reporting, covering-up and reporting with omission are allowed. But for example the figure you gave us just now was two days old. You also added 7 new cases just now. Why not give the exact figure to us all at once? Is it because the work hasn't been attached enough importance to?

SARS 4_1_LIU

ST: 农村发病情况的统计是动态的。统计这个数字我们跟卫生部进行了反复商量。。。。。。

Getting the statistics of the SARS patients in rural areas is a dynamic process. On the statistics, we have discussed several times with the Ministry of Health...

TT: However, the statistics for the SARS cases in the rural area of China has been mobile or sometimes a changing one. We have discussed this matter with the Ministry of Health...

SARS 4_2_ASSOCIATED PRESS JNL

ST: From Associated Press, can I just ask Xinhua News agencies and other media have reported on quite a few riots, or other disturbances in the countryside, there was one Chengdu, there was one outside Tianjin. Can you tell us what is the scale of this sort of disturbances, how many people have been involved, or arrested, damages done, and what measures have been taken to prevent these things from breaking out? And also return to the question of medical workers being transferred into the countryside, what sort of incentives are you giving for them, monetary incentives, or career incentives because as we know it is a dangerous and arduous work. And we would like to know what sort of compensation they will be receiving? Thank you.

TT: 我是来自美联社的记者。那么我们看到新华社和其他媒体呢都报道了很多由于非典疫情引起的暴动现象，比如在承德和天津。我想了解一下这些暴动现象出现的规模到底有多大，涉及的人数有多少，有什么样的人被逮捕，有什么样的人被拘留，造成的损失是怎样的？针对这些问题采取了什么样的措施？第二个问题呢，还是关于被下放到农村的，被调到农村的一些医护人员的问题，中国政府将采取什么样的刺激措施来使他们在农村安心的工作？比如说在事业发展方面是不是有什么刺激措施？因为我们知道呢在这里工作抗击非典是一项非常危险而且任务艰巨的工作，我想问一下在这方面采取了什么有力措施？

I'm with Associated Press. So we find that the Xinhua News Agency and other press agencies have had a great deal of coverage on the riots caused by the epidemic, such as in Chengde and Tianjin. I am wondering what the scales of the riots are, the number of people involved. What people are arrested, what people are detained and what are costs of these? What measures have been taken in response to this? Second question is also related to the medical staff assigned to work in the countryside. What incentives has the Chinese government introduced to make them feel comfortable working in the rural areas? For example, is there any incentive mechanism in their career

development? As we now it is a very dangerous and arduous job to work there, I'm wondering what effective measures has been taken in this respect?

APPENDIX 3: ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF ADDITION OF *WE/OUR/US* IN THE DATA

SARS 2_1_MA

ST: 在今后的防治工作中，卫生部将分期分批地组织有关专家，奔赴疫区进行现场指导和督导，确保各项防治工作正常有序地开展。

In future's work of prevention and treatment, the Ministry of Health will dispatch relevant experts by stages and in groups to provide guidance and supervision on the spot to make sure all preventions and treatment work will be conducted in order.

TT: So for the next stage of *our* work, the Ministry of Health will assign relevant experts to the various affected areas where it's become necessary for on the spot guidance and supervision in an effort to ensure that all efforts at prevention and treatment will proceed in a normal and orderly fashion.

SARS 2_2_MA

ST: 对于早发地区类似像广东省，主要的工作是总结经验，巩固成果，防止反复。

As for the areas where the cases are reported earlier such as Guangdong, *the main work* is to sum up experiences, continue with the good practices to prevent case reoccurrence.

TT: And so for those affected areas where the cases are detected early such as Guangdong, *our* main focus is to sum up the experience and strengthen good practices and to prevent reoccurrence.

SARS 2_3_MA

ST: 对于新发疫情的地区，主要是采取早发现、早报告、早隔离、早治疗，积极开展病人的救治和预防工作。

As for those areas with newly reported cases, *the main solutions* are early detecting, early reporting, early isolation and early treatment, and actively carrying out patient treatment and prevention of affection.

TT: And for those affected areas with more new cases, so *our* emphasis is on early detection, early reporting, early isolation and early treatment. And we will spare no effort at treating those existing patients and preventing new cases.

SARS 2_4_MA

ST: 对于未发病的地区，主要工作是保持高度警觉，做好防病预案，狠抓工作的落实。

For those areas with no reported cases, *the main work is to maintain high vigilance, put in place preventive plans and enforce the implementation of work.*

TT: And for those areas which have no reported cases of SARS, *we will focus on maintaining high vigilance and formulating emergency plans and to prevent the spread of the epidemic to these regions.*

SARS 2_5_ZHONG

ST: 我们实际上是共同交流了三方面的问题，一个是关于对病人的诊断和治疗的问题，第二是有关流行性病学的一些规律,第三个是病原学的探讨。
12'00

We actually had exchanges on three subjects. First is about patient diagnosis and treatment, second is *about some rules of epidemiology*, third is the discussion of its aetiology.

TT: and so our exchanges and discussions took place around three issues. First is diagnosis and treatment of patients, second is to *lay our hands on the laws of epidemiology*, and third refers to the effort to find the causative virus.

SARS 2_6_ZHONG

ST: 第二个跟 WHO 交流了这个疾病非常突出的特点，一个是它的传染性，一个是它的致命性。

Second is the exchange conducted with the WHO about the striking feature <of this outbreak>, one is high infectious nature, and the other is its fatal nature.

TT: secondly, *we have also discussed with the WHO colleagues about the outstanding features of this outbreak. One is its high infectious nature, and secondly its fatal nature.*

SARS 2_7_ZHONG

ST: 所以这样的话，进一步从 WHO 的角度要考虑最重要的一个预防呢是室内的通风和一些清洁，洗手和个人的清洁，这是头等重要的。

So in this way, in line with the WHO, the most important preventive measures are ventilation of rooms and hygiene, washing hands and personal hygiene. These are of utmost importance.

TT: And so from the WHO understanding, and also from *our* considerations, *we* believe that top priority should be given to such preventive measures as ventilation of room, and the good hygiene conditions, including personal hygiene such as washing hands frequently. So this is of utmost important.

SARS 2_8_MA

ST: 中国有句俗语，叫“不怕一万，就怕万一”。作为扩大一定范围的隔离，对医护人员是安全的，对控制疫情也是有效的，近期也会有一些解除隔离的接触者离开医院。

China has a saying which goes the similar line as ‘it is always wise to play safe’. The expansion of quarantine to a certain extent is safe to the medical staff and is also effective for the epidemic control. And there are some people who will be released from quarantine soon.

TT: Because in China, *we* have an age old fear of something often very bad occurring, and so in that case *we* have *really* expanded the scope for the isolation so that the isolation covers not only the medical personnel but also the people who have history of contact with SARS cases. Quite soon, *we* would expect discharge from hospitals some people who have outlived their isolation phases and they will go back to their communities.

SARS 2_9_MA

ST: 从目前专家组所到之处反馈的信息...各地方的疾病控制部门也正在做好预防工作，并且积极、准确、科学地上报疫情。

According to the feedback from the dispatched expert group to different regions of China...the disease control agencies in the localities are working well with prevention, and are reporting to the higher-level agency the epidemic situation in an active, accurate and scientific manner.

TT: So as of now, the expert group that *we* have sent out to different part of China, have come back with report ...that effort by the disease control agencies of different regions of China at prevention and disease containment, these localities, as far as we know, have been submitting information in an active, well-prepared and scientific manner, and an accurate manner.

SARS 3_1_GAO

ST: 以引起各级政府和广大人民群众对防疫工作的重视，共同努力，控制疫情。

So that government at all levels and the general public can attach great importance to the endeavour against the epidemic and work together to contain the epidemic.

TT: so that government at all levels and the people will give their attention and importance to this endeavour and will join *us* against this SARS epidemic.

SARS 3_2_GAO

ST: 在非典型肺炎防治工作中，我们同世界卫生组织进行了积极有效的合作，对世界卫生组织提出的一些工作建议，我们给予高度重视。这对于推动防治工作的开展发挥了积极作用。

In the effort against SARS, we have conducted active and effective cooperation with the World Health Organisation. With respect to the advice given by the WHO, we have attached great importance. And this plays a very active role in promoting the effort against SARS.

TT: In *our* effort to prevent and treat SARS, we have conducted active and cooperative cooperation with the World Health Organisation. We attach high priority to the suggestion and advice given to *us* by the WHO. This has played a positive role in *our* effort to advance *our* endeavour in this regard.

SARS 3_3_GAO

ST: ...我们对医务人员也实行了发放保健补贴的保障措施,有关费用由财政开支。

... We also provide health subsidies to medical staff and workers as a safeguard measure, and relevant expenditure will be proved by the fiscal resources.

TT: ... another safeguard measure is to give health subsidies to *our* medical staff and workers, and this kind of subsidy will be funded by *our* financial resources of the government.

SARS 3_4_GAO

ST: 并加大救助的力度，使更多的患者能够治愈出院。

And to intensify the treatment and assistance efforts so that more patients will be treated and discharged from hospitals.

TT: And secondly, *we* of course need to intensify out effort at medical treatment of those patients so that more patients will recover and will get released from hospitals.

SARS 3_5_GAO

ST: 北京作为一个千万人以上的大城市、一个国际大都市，每天来往的人很多，每天仅流动人口就有 400 多万。

Beijing as mega city with tens of millions of people, an international metropolis, every day, and many people come and go and every day the floating population is more than 4 million.

TT: Beijing is an international metropolis with tens of millions of people and every day a lot of people come and go in Beijing. And *we* have a four million strong floating population every day.

SARS 3_6_GAO

ST: 目前还没有发现中国农村有比较大面积的 SARS 病的病情。

So far there are not a large number of SARS cases identified in China's rural areas.

TT: As of now, *we* have not detected the spread of the SARS virus in large areas of China, in large areas of the rural China.

SARS 3_7_GAO

ST: 我刚才已经讲，我是组织了几十个人、几百个人经过一周的紧张时间才把过去分散在好多医院里没有发现的病人把它统计出来，应该说现在通报的数字比过去有所上升。

I mentioned just now I organised tens and hundreds of people collect the figures intensively for a week about the number of patients that were scattered in many hospitals and had not been counted before. It can be said that the figure reported now has risen from the past.

TT: As I mentioned, hundreds of people have been working for about a week in a most intense manner to go to all the hospitals which have the SARS cases or suspected SARS patients to count in their number, and many of these patients have not been previously discovered. And so in effect, what has risen dramatically is the number *we* have reported to *you*.

SARS 3_8_GAO

ST: 我想在这种统一领导的体制下，不会再出现像前一段类似的情况。

I think under this unified leadership system, the situation that has been experienced in the past will not be repeated.

TT: I think such problem that *we* have had for some time now will not be repeated once this unified command system is put to work.

SARS 4_1_LIU

ST: 我先给大家简单介绍一下。当前的农村除了发生少数的病例以外，整体上来讲，中国农村没有出现 SARS 的大面积蔓延。

I would like to introduce to you briefly. At the moment, except for few cases found in rural areas, on the whole, there is no wide spread of SARS in China's countryside.

TT: I would like to tell you that in general *we* have not found a large scale of SARS cases in rural areas of China except for few found in very limited areas.

SARS 4_2_LIU

ST: 要防止 SARS 向农村蔓延，最根本的要预防为主，对一些患病和疑似病人要确实的收治，减少它的传染源。

In order to prevent the spread of SARS to rural areas, the key is to adopt preventive measures. Suspected and confirmed patients should be ensured to be admitted to hospitals for treatment so as to cut the source of transmission.

TT: In order to halt SARS spreading to the countryside, the key is to do a good a job in the prevention of SARS in rural areas among the confirmed and suspected cases of SARS. *We* must do a good job in admitting those patients to hospitals so as to cut the transmission route of it.

SARS 4_3_LIU

ST: 国家规定了一条政策，农民和农民工当中的 SARS 患者，包括疑似病人一律实行免费治疗、隔离、一切对他们的检查，包括他们的看费和住院费，一切都免费。。。。。

The state has issue a policy to allow free treatment, isolation and examination services to the farmer and migrant worker SARS patients including suspected cases. These include in-and-out patient fees, all are free...

TT: The first principle *we* have adopted is to provide free examination, treatment and isolation services to confirmed and suspected SARS cases among farmers and migrant workers including free hospitalisation and boarding service for those people...

SARS 4_4_LIU

ST: 为了解决这个问题呢，我们第一就是要对农民进行宣传，消除他们的恐惧心理。第二在选址的时候呢要尽量科学、合理，既要有利于隔离，又要有利于收治病人，搞好环境保护。第三要宣传《传染病防治法》，政府

要依法行政，人民也要依法办事。对于，其中呢，当然也有一些少数这个违反了治安条例和违反了其他法律的一些做法呢，我们还是要依法办理。

In order to resolve this problem (ne), *we* first need to publicise <the work> to farmers in order to get rid of their fear. Second, when choosing the site (ne), try to be as scientific and reasonable, not only conducive to isolation but also conducive to the admission of patients and environment protection. Third, need to publicise *the Law on Preventing Infectious Diseases*, the government needs to act according to law and the general public also needs to abide by the law. Among these (ne), there are a few (zhege) law-breaking instances (ne), *we* will deal with them according to law.

TT: This problem can be addressed by the following three measures. Firstly, *we* will set up the publicity work among farmers to eradicate their panic over SARS. Secondly, in choosing the sites of those facilities, *we* will resort to a scientific and rational manner for the construction site choosing in order to both ensure proper quarantine and high rate of admission of SARS patients. And thirdly, *we* will implement earnestly the law on infectious diseases of the Peoples' Republic of China. Both the government and the people will be governed or regulated by relevant laws. For the small number of instances they will be held accountable under relevant regulations and laws.

SARS 4_5_LIU

ST: 国家明确，就是绝不能因为经费问题把一个疑似患者或确诊患者推向社会。

The state clearly regulates that no suspected or confirmed SARS patient should be rejected due to <their> financial problems.

TT: The state has one clear principal, that is, *we* must not even leave out one suspected case due to financial reasons.

SARS 4_6_LIU

ST: 我们准备采取三条措施。第一呢，就是对农民工比较多的一些省份呢要尽量做好一些工作，动员一些农民工不要到一些 SARS 疫情正在流行的一些城市去。

We plan to adopt three measures. First (ne), that is, for those provinces (ne) that have relatively more migrant workers, need to do some work to persuade migrant workers not to go <back> to SARS-stricken cities.

TT: We will take three measures, firstly, for those provinces with a concentration of migrant workers, *we* will do work on those migrant workers to persuade them not going back to the cities which are still affected by SARS.

SARS 4_7_LIU

ST: 帮助这些农民呢，进一步调整农业结构，调整农村产业结构，寻求新的就业门路。

To help these farmers (ne) to further restructure agricultural industry and find new employment opportunities.

TT: *We* will adopt measures to help those people in the period, during the process for agricultural restructuring to find new ways or new job opportunities.

SARS 4_8_LIU

ST: 第二呢，当然任何事情都不是百分之百的，如果有些农民工重新返回一些城市以后，再返回的过程当中，我们已经注意了，这些城市对重新返回的外来人员，包括农民工要进行检查、登记、跟踪。

Second (ne), of course nothing is 100%. Some migrant workers have returned to the cities, in that process, we have noticed that these cities have conducted inspection, registration and tracking procedures for those returning workers or visitors.

TT: However, *we* cannot guarantee 100% no return of migrant workers back to cities. If there are some migrant workers who are strongly willing to go back, *we* have put in place inspection, registration and following measures in those cities going to those people.

SARS 4_9_LIU

ST: 第三条，他如果确实已经返回了，而且找到了工作，同样呢对他们的生活、预防等工作同样呢要加以关注。

Third, if someone has already returned and found a job, equally (ne) it is necessary to follow closely their live and prevention work.

TT: Thirdly, if those people have returned to working places and have been employed, *we* will continue to follow closely their life and prevention and control of SARS.

SARS 4_10_QI

ST: 当然和其他一些发达国家相比，中国的卫生工作力量还是比较薄弱的，尤其是在预防工作这方面。

Of course, compared with some other developed countries, *Chinese* public health strength is still relatively weak, especially in terms of disease prevention.

TT: However it is true that compared with the situation in some developed countries, *our* capability of public health especially on the front of preventing those epidemics is still relatively weak.

SARS 6_1_LI

ST: 这两个月以来，科技攻关的部署是怎么样的？有哪些主要的进展？特别是昨天，刚才王主任已经讲了，这个世界卫生组织宣布对北京双解除，那么在这种情况下，科技攻关下一步如何部署，我想这也是新闻界朋友所关心的问题，我在这里把有关情况向大家介绍一下。

Over the past two months, what has been done on *the scientific and technological front* <for SARS control>? What is the main progress? Yesterday in particular, as said by General *Director Wang*, (zhege) WHO declared the lifting of ‘double ban’ on Beijing. Under this backdrop, what is the next step for scientific and technological breakthrough? I think this is also the concern for *friends from media*. I would like to give you a briefing here.

TT: Now two months have passed, what have *we* achieved? How things have been deployed in this regard? I would like to brief you on those areas. And since WHO lifted Beijing from two affected lists yesterday, I believe *you* are also quite concerned about what we are going to do next stage. So I’m here today to brief you on those issues of interest.

SARS 6_2_LI

ST: 回顾这两个月的历程，我想从四个方面这个来概括一下整个工作和部署的特点。

To reflect the experience in the past two months, I would like to (zhege) summarise the entire work and deployment from four perspectives.

TT: In retrospection of what has happened in the past two months, I think I can best summarise what *we* have achieved in the following four areas.

SARS 6_3_LI

ST: 第一，就是明确了目标，突出了重点，这是非常重要的。

First, that is targets have been identified and priority has be emphasised. This is very important.

TT: The first area is *we* have identified a clearly defined target with focal priorities. This is of crucial importance.

SARS 6_4_LI

ST: 科技攻关组急临床所急，应防治所需，确定了“立足近期，兼顾中长，突出应用，为临床一线服务”的指导思想和“集中优势，整合资源，协同攻关，求真务实”的工作方针。

The science and technology task force aiming at the serving the clinical needs and the demand of prevention and control has set up the guiding principle of considering both the immediate and long-term concerns and focusing on application and serving the clinical needs, and working rule of focusing on the advantages and integrating resources, coordinating efforts and being practical.

TT: With regard to the demand and requirement of clinical treatment, and the deputy of prevention and control, *we* have established such guidelines, taking into consideration those medium and long-term results and try to solve those most immediate problems and focussing on application and serving the clinical treatment as well as the working principal of centralised advantageous and integrated resources as well as coordinated settlement of difficult problems by sticking to the facts.

SARS 6_5_LI

ST: 特别提出了第一阶段也就是应急阶段的重点任务：为临床救治、防治疫情扩散、有效防护，特别是为一线医护人员防护提供科技支持。

In particular, priority tasks for the first stage, i.e. urgent stage have been identified for clinical treatment, effective prevention especially providing technical support for protecting medical staff working at the fore front.

TT: On the basis of these guidelines and principles, *we* have identified the priority areas in the first stage of our battle against SARS, namely to provide technical support to clinical treatment, prevention of the spread of the epidemic and effective prevention, especially to provide support for the effective prevention of those medical workers working at the fore front of the battle.

SARS 6_6_LI

ST: 第二，紧急应对，全面部署。科技攻关组迅速组织全国的优势科研力量，形成了科技攻关的队伍和研究网络。大家都知道，紧急筹措了 1.2 亿元的攻关经费，紧急起动 95 个项目，这个三千多名科技工作者夜以继日地在科技攻关的第一线紧张战斗。

Second, emergency response and comprehensive deployment; The Science and technology task force quickly mobilised national advanced science and research resources and has established a scientific research team and network. As you know, 120 million RMB have been urgently appropriated for science and

research and 95 programs have been especially launched involving more than 3000 science workers working relentlessly at the forefront.

TT: And second area is emergence reaction measures and comprehensive deployment of scientific and technological resources. *We* have mobilised the advanced science forces throughout China to form a scientific task force regarding SARS research and we have established a research network in this regard. As you have probably known, *we* have allocated 120 million RMB for emergency funds to launch 95 programs, involving more than 3000 science workers to work night and day to resolve the difficult problems relating to SARS.

SARS 6_7_LI

ST: 第三，就是大力协同、联合攻关。克服了条块分割，各自为战的矛盾，形成了部门之间紧密配合，科研机构、高等院校、医疗单位和有关企业通力协作的攻关局面。

Third, to carry out large scale coordination; the traditional problems with isolation have been overcome and different departments are able to coordinate closely. The research institutes, universities, hospitals and related enterprise all come to work together to solve problems.

TT: Third area I would like to mention is that *we* have been able to have coordinated effort to make collective effort to solve the difficult problems. By so doing, *we* have overcome the old problems of separated administration and conflicting interests and resulting in a scenario where all agencies and departments can work closely and those science institutes and higher institutions, hospitals and other related enterprise and pull their effort to together solve the most difficult issues.

SARS 6_8_LI

ST: 第四，特别强调在科技攻关中尊重科学，求真务实。既要有紧急应对的精神状态，又要严格按照科研工作的规律办事，从项目的选择论证到每一项成果，每一个结论的提出，都要有充分的科学依据。

Fourth, special emphasis is made on respecting science and truth. It is necessary to have both mental preparation for emergency response and orderly practice according to scientific rules. All stages from choosing programs to drawing conclusions should be fully scientifically founded.

TT: The fourth area is *our* spirit of respecting science and adopting a factual spirit in our practice. *We* have been engaging in a mentality of contingency reaction and *we* have been seriously observing rules of science and research.

From the choice of each program and project to the making of the conclusion of each scientific result, there is a fully scientific foundation.

SARS 6_9_LI

ST: 第二个方面，我想介绍一下前一个阶段科技攻关取得的成果和重要进展。有不少具体的进展，这个已经通过科技攻关组举行的这个四次新闻通报会做了发布。

The second area is that I would like to introduce the major progress that been made in the previous stage. Some of the progress (zhege) has been publicised through (zhege) four press briefings held by the science and technology task force.

TT: next, I would like to touch upon the main achievements *we* have scored in technological research. And I believe you have already learned about the technological progress *we* have made through the press briefing held by the task force.

SARS 6_10_LI

ST: 比如中西医结合治疗的这个研究，比如开发了生物防护攻关的用品，为减少一线医护人员的感染提供了有力的帮助。

For example, (zhege) research on the combined treatment of Chinese and western medicine and the newly development biological prevention utilities have great helped reduce the infection among medical workers at the fore front.

TT: The results are the following. For instance, there has been a notable effect of the combined therapy of Chinese and western medicine and *we* have also developed a series of prevention utilities to provide effective assistance to reduce the infection among medical workers at the forefront.

SARS 6_11_LI

ST: 第二，就是在目前世界尚未取得突破，也就是尚未破解的难题面前，科技攻关比如在疫苗、药物和早期诊断方面也取得了关键性的进展，为下一步工作奠定了重要基础。

Second, as for those areas where breakthroughs are yet to be made in the world, that is, in face of difficulties, scientific and technological research has yield crucial result such as in vaccines, drugs and early stage diagnosis which has laid a significant foundation for next stage.

TT: And secondly, in those areas where breakthroughs are yet to be made, for instance, development of vaccine, drugs and early stage diagnostic methods, *we*

have had crucial progress, laying a solid foundation for our research in the next period.

SARS 6_12_LI

ST: 这里面我想给大家举几个例子，比如灵长类动物的感染性模型已经取得了突破性的进展。

Here I'd like to share some examples with everybody. For example, there has been breakthrough in the infection model of primate animals.

TT: I would like to give you two examples to take the point of this regard. Firstly, *we* have made breakthroughs in establishment of primate animal infection model.

SARS 6_13_LI

ST: 两项灭活疫苗的研究已经完成了实验室制备，动物实验进展顺利。

Laboratory preparation is ready for researching inactivated vaccine, and the animal experiment is going on well.

TT: And *we* have completed laboratory preparation for two kinds of inactivated vaccine and the lab tests are going on smoothly.

SARS 6_14_LI

ST: 筛选和发现了一批具有自主知识产权的候选药物。

A number of drugs that have independent intellectual property rights have been selected and discovered.

TT: *We* have selected and discovered a number of proprietary drugs for SARS where we have independent intellectual property rights.

SARS 6_15_LI

ST: 诊断试剂和基因芯片的研制取得新进展，目前正在抓紧进行临床评价。

New progress has been made in making diagnosis reagents and genetic chips. And right now they are under urgent clinical assessment.

TT: New progress has been made in the progress of diagnostic reagents and genetic chips. Right now *we* are wasting no time to apply it clinically.

SARS 6_16_LI

ST: 第三，初步建立起防治 SARS 的研究平台。

Third, the research platform for SARS prevention and treatment has been preliminarily set up.

TT: And thirdly, *we* have initially launched a scientific research platform related to SARS control

SARS 6_17_LI

ST: 第四，加强了防治 SARS 研究的生物安全管理，这是非常重要的。

Fourth, bio-security management for the research of SARS prevention and control has been strengthened. This is very important.

TT: and fourthly, *we* have strengthened our bio-security management related to SARS control and research. This is of crucial importance.

SARS 6_18_LI

ST: 第五，积极开展了有效的国际合作。

Fifth, effective international cooperation has been carried out actively.

TT: Fifthly, *we* have actively carried out international cooperation.

SARS 6_19_LI

ST: 第三个大问题，关于下一阶段的工作。下一阶段工作重心将由近期目标、应急安排转向重点突破、中长期部署上来，突出解决三大关键问题，做好五项重点工作。

The third big issue is about work for next stage. The focus of work for next stage will be shifted from immediate targets, contingent arrangements to priority breakthroughs, medium and long-term arrangements. The priorities will be based on three key issues and five key projects.

TT: And thirdly, I would like to touch upon what *we* are going to do in the next period. The focal point of *our* work in the next period will be shifted from immediate target and contingency arrangement to trying to make breakthroughs in priority areas and medium and long-term deployment and *our* focus will be on settlement of three key issues and doing a good job in five two areas.

SARS 6_20_LI

ST: 因为要真正能够从根本上来应对突发的卫生公共事件、突发的传染性疾病，必须按照党中央、国务院的要求，要依靠科技，来有效应对。

In order to cope with contingent public health emergencies and the outbreak of infectious disease, it is necessary to rely on science and technology based on the

requirements of the Central Party Committee and the State Council in order to cope with <contingencies> effectively.

TT: If *we* are to solve the sudden outbreak of infectious diseases and other health contingencies based on the requirements of Central Party Committee and State Council, it is crucial for *us* to rely on science and technology to come to effective ways to launch *our* counter strike.

SARS 6_21_LI

ST: 所以建立这样的科技支撑体系，才能够保证、才能够支持国家应对紧急突发的卫生公共事件。

Therefore, establishing such a scientific supporting system can guarantee and can support the country in responding to public health contingencies.

TT: Only by setting up such a scientific support mechanism for national public health contingency management system, can *we* effectively guarantee and support the functioning of such mechanism.

SARS 6_22_LI

ST: 这里面很重要的一个就是国家生物安全保护实验室的这个研究的网络，真正遇到问题，不是凭个别科学家的判断，而是在中心网络可能平行开展诊断和试剂。

One important thing is the establishment of national laboratory research network for bio-safety protection. When an emergency occurs, the conclusions is not made based on individual scientific research, but on the parallel research and diagnosis carried out through the research network.

TT: And the most important area is the establishment of a national bio-safety laboratory research network. So when cases of emergencies occur, *we* will not decide *our* conclusions on the individual conclusion. Certain scientists will carry out parallel research and diagnosis by utilising this centralised network of research.

SARS 6_23_LI

ST: 当然还包括我刚才强调的检测分析的技术平台、药物疫苗诊断试剂的研发平台，包括生物防护方面的检测装备开发的平台，也包括在研究方面、信息交流和资源共享的平台。

Of course, there will include what I just emphasised a technological platform for diagnosis and analysis, a research platform for drug, vaccine and diagnostic reagent, a development platform for bio-protective and diagnostic equipments as well as a platform for research and resource sharing.

TT: And *our* network will include platform for diagnosis and analysis, a platform of research and development for drug, vaccine and diagnostic kit, as well as a platform for the bio-prevention measures and control measures. We will also include another platform of information exchange and sharing inside this whole network.

SARS 6_24_LI

ST: 当然，在这样的平台上来工作，在这个系统中发挥作用，根本的还是要靠人，所以要有一支能够快速响应的这样的研究队伍和组织体系。

Of course, in order for these platforms and networks to function well, the essence is to reply on people. Therefore, there is a need to have a rapidly responsive research team and organisation system.

TT: However, to make these platforms and networks functioning, the most crucial factor will be the people inside them. So *we* will lose no time to launch a rapid reaction science task force to provide related services.

SARS 6_25_LI

ST: 我想您提出的问题呀，由消毒剂和消毒剂的使用，确实引申出一个科学防治的问题。

I think the question *nin* <polite you> raised regarding disinfectants and their utilisation will surely lead to the issue of scientific prevention and control <of SARS>.

TT: And likely, your question of the utilisation of these disinfectants surely can bring *us* to think about the scientific utilisation and usage of SARS prevention and control.

SARS 6_26_LI

ST: 因此，我们必须加强公共卫生体系的建设，必须建立起紧急应对突发公共卫生事件的体系的能力。

Therefore, we must strengthen the construction of public health system and must establish a public health emergency response system.

TT: That is why we should lose no time to launch a public health contingency mechanism to boost up *our* capability to react to that emergency.

SARS 6_27_CHEN

ST: 我们是从近百种候选的中成药当中，根据这个 SARS 的发病原理，根据病理、生理的机制，最后临选出三十种方子，进一步应用科学的实验手

段，这个进行了大量的筛选工作。那么这部分的成果，实际上在以前的新闻发布会当中已经有所介绍。

Based on the pathological and physiological characteristics of SARS, we have screened and selected 30 kinds of traditional Chinese medicine out of near hundred, and have conducted further screening by applying scientific laboratory methods. Some of these results have been presented in previous press briefings.

TT: We have screened more than a hundred categories of traditionally Chinese produced medicines, and by applying those pathological and physiological standards. *We* have screened and selected more than 30 kinds of traditional Chinese medicine to be applied. And *we* have used a scientific laboratory method to make this massive selection. I believe you have already learned about relevant information from *our* previous press briefings.

SARS 6_28_LI

ST: 你提了三个问题，一个关于这个疫苗的问题，一个关于中国的科学家是否集体打了败仗的问题，一个是存在各自为战的问题。我想把这个问题呢交给我们攻关组的副组长黄培堂先生。因为，第一，他是病毒学家；第二，他是攻关的组织者，但他也是攻关的战士，更有理由来说是打了败仗还是打了胜仗。

You raised three questions. One is about (zhege) vaccine, one is about whether *Chinese scientists* collectively lose the battle against SARS, and one is on whether *they* are working separately. I would like to refer these questions (ne) to our Vice Director of the task force Mr. Huang Peitang because he is a virologist, an organiser of the task force and a soldier in this battle. He is in a better position to tell whether this battle is a loss or win.

TT: You have three questions. The first one is on vaccine, the second one is if *we* are collectively losing the battle, and thirdly if *we* are separating our efforts. I would like to refer these questions to Mr. Huang Peitang who is a virologist and who is both the organiser of the task force as well as a real soldier at the fore forefront of the battle. So I believe he is the most authorised person to say whether *we* are losing the battle or not.

SARS 6_29_HUANG

ST: 科技攻关组从一成立，对疫苗的问题相当重视，先后部署了灭活疫苗...目前的进展已经布置了两个项目组在进行这方面的工作。一个攻关组免疫了 15 只猴子，另外一个攻关组免疫了 20 只猴子，在前期已经完成了灭活疫苗的实验室研究...

Since the launch of science and tech task force, great importance has been attached to the development of vaccine, and research on inactivated vaccine was

then on the agenda...at the moment, two teams have been involved in this project. One has given vaccine to 15 monkeys; the other has given vaccine to 20 monkeys. The laboratory research on inactivated vaccine has been completed...

TT: Since the launch of *our* task force, *we* have been attaching great importance to vaccine development. Inactivated vaccines are mostly for immediate target... Right now *we*'ve got two project teams working on vaccine program. One team has got 15 monkeys and another team has got 20 monkeys in it. *We* have begun our lab test on inactivated vaccine...

SARS 6_30_HUANG

ST: 关于第二个问题，中国科学家在防治 SARS 是否都打了败仗的问题。我认为每一个科学家都想争世界第一，这个心情是非常可以理解的...

With respect to the second question whether Chinese scientists are fight a losing battle against SARS, I believe every scientist wants to be the number one in their field. This is understandable...

TT: And secondly, if *we*'re fighting a losing battle or not, I believe it is quite understandable that scientists all over the world would like to be the number one in their own field, and *we* share the same mentality...

SARS 6_31_HUANG

ST: ...经过一段努力之后，经过科技攻关组的协调，大家也认识到这一个新的冠状病毒是一个新的病原体，必须有一个实验条件、一定的实验设施。科技攻关组相继进行了协调和导向，逐渐集中到几个方面，在李副部长的介绍当中已经讲了，后来逐渐能够在几个攻关点进行一些统筹的规划。我想后期是比较明显的，出现各自为战的现象不是那么明显的。在今后能够把一些机制方面、管理体制方面调整得更好，这个现象会减少一些。

...after certain period of efforts and under the coordination of the Science & Tech task force, scientists also realised that coronation virus is a new type of virus, <The study of it> requires certain lab conditions and experimental facilities. The Science & Tech task force has coordinated and guided the priority of the work in several areas as mentioned by *Vice Minister Li* just now. The later stage of scientific breakthroughs was better coordinated and the phenomenon of separation was not obvious. In future, separation phenomena will reduce if institutional mechanism can be further readjusted.

TT: ... after a period of time thanks for the national-level coordination, *we* have realised that since the coronation virus is a new type of virus that would ask for appropriate degree of lab facilities and equipments to investigate. Some efforts have been made in the following areas to coordinate *our* plan and identify certain priority areas as mentioned by *Vice Minister Li* just now. So in the late

stage, *our* plans are better coordinated, and in the future *we* are going to do some fine tuning of *our* mechanism to readjust the whole functional system and reduce the occurrence of separation and integrate the research of different research institute.