



## **Voicing China's Stance: A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis of Government Interpreters' Mediation at Report on the Work of the Government**

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### **Abstract**

With China increasingly enhancing its strength and cementing its status in the international stage, it has attracted more and more attention around the world. The annual major conference document *Report on the Work of the Government* is an essential chance to present China's images. Different from other genres, such political discourses feature attitude-rich and ideology-laden. While most translation studies center on linguistic aspects, exploring hidden ideologies and relations remains relatively under-explored. In this case, this paper will conduct a corpus-based study of political translation by investigating the latest ten years' *Report on the Work of the Government* from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Through text description, discourse practice interpretation, and social practice explanation of the collected data, it uncovers that such political documents are ideology-governed and translation-mediated and interpreters tend to mediate and intervene the source text. There are complex factors resulting in such phenomena, ranging from translators' and interpreters' identity, assumptions of readers' expectations to agents and institutions stance.

**Keywords:** China, political discourse translation, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

### **INTRODUCTION**

Study of political discourse translation has been a scholarly popular topic with a myriad of discussions. However, the phenomenon of translators and interpreters reproducing and reconstructing such source texts and reasons behind it have been relatively under-explored. Nowadays, in global translation-mediated communication (O'Hagan & Ashworth, 2002), what is carefully presented and stated in translated political discourse contains a lot of information and connotations. "There is no such thing as a 'pure', unbiased statement: the process of verbalizing thoughts and transmitting ideas involves the simultaneous signaling of purposes, aims and wishes along with the message itself" (Agar, 1989: 95). Bielsa (2009: 14) also points out, "the important role played by translation in the production and circulation of global information flows has been fundamentally neglected". That leads to such assumption that "information circulate unaltered across different linguistic communities and cultures" (ibid.,). But the translated texts, especially political translation, are actually manipulated by translators or other agents to some extent. As Schäffner (2004, 2012) stresses that translators and interpreter

are actually opaque agents in terms of political discourse translation. Wang & Feng (2018) also contend that in translation and interpretation research, “the conceptualisation of T&I as socially situated activities and translators and interpreters as agents of not only linguistic and communicative, but also cultural and ideological, mediation.” On the other hand, more often than not, translation is taken as granted with little attention to investigate the mediation behind the translated text. Under this background, this corpus-based paper will analyze the political discourse, China’s *Report on the Work of the Government*, from the perspective of CDA which posits discourse as social practice and investigates the potential hidden connections between language, power and ideology, coupled with quantitative data and qualitative analysis. To delve into how source texts are mediated, what implied attitudes and ideologies are hidden behind, and what factors influence translators and interpreters’ interventions in translation,

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Research of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) arises from **Critical Linguistics** which places emphasis on connections between linguistic structure and social structure (Fowler, 1979: 185). They suggest that natural language bears **social meanings**. Linguistic meaning is influenced by ideology, and behind them is social structure, so **linguistic analysis should** dig out ideological processes which “mediate relationships of power and control.” On the other hand, **uncritical readers tend to** get used to language conventions and take given language patterns as granted. In that case, they state that it is necessary for a linguistics “which is **critical**, aware of the assumptions on which it is based and prepared to **reflect critically** about the underlying causes of the phenomena it studies, and the nature of the society whose language it is” (Fowler, Kress & Hodge, 1979:185).

Likewise, Fairclough (1989: 15-23) also emphasizes that language and society is an internal and dialectical relationship where “language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology.” Drawing upon previous research, Fairclough states that **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)** “sets out to make visible through analysis, and to criticize, connections between **proprieties of texts and social processes and relations** (ideologies, power relations).” He suggests that such relations are generally taken as granted and unseen for people who produce and interpret those texts (Fairclough, 1995a: 97). Going further, Fairclough (1995a: 135) points out that CDA aims to “systematically explore the usually hidden relationships between “discursive practices, events and texts” on the one hand, and “wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes” on the other hand, coupled with the intention to unfold how such relationships are formed and what are the causal factors.

In the following researches, Fairclough further investigates CDA from different perspectives and publishes other remarkable books. For instance, Fairclough (1995b) uncovers media discourse from CDA; Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999) further explore discourse in late modernity based on CDA and aim to unfold a number of theoretical problems as well as considerable social issues, such as in the media, politics, law, the workplace and so forth.

Beyond the above researches, there are also other studies of CDA from different perspectives. Wodak & Meyer (2001: 15, 70) maintain that one important characteristic of CDA is that all “discourses are **historical** and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context.” They suggest the **discourse-historical approach** which does not purely rely on the ‘meta-data’ but embraces the historical knowledge, like contrasting one report with the related comments or the historical facts.

Leeuwen (2008) contends that discourses can not only be realized, linguistically, but also by means of other semiotic modes. He hence combined critical discourse analysis with **multimodal semiotics**. His approach to CDA is the recontextualizing principles that link to key elements of social practices: actors and their roles and identities, actions and their performance styles, settings, and timings, and show how social actors can be recontextualized visually. van Dijk (2009) discusses critical discourse studies from a **sociocognitive approach**. Different from others’ usage of the term Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), he favors Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) which embraces psychology, critical linguistics, social cognition, social and mental phenomena, etc.

### **Research of political discourse translation from CDA**

After Bassnett & Lefevere (1990) integrating translation with culture which Snell-Hornby (1990) puts as “the cultural turn”, translation research pays more attention to socio-cultural contexts. As Schäffner (2012: 136) suggests:

Modern Translation Studies is no longer concerned with examining whether a translation has been ‘faithful’ to a source text. Instead, the focus is on social, cultural, and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors. Schäffner (2012: 136)

Placing much emphasis on wider societal and cultural background, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been largely used in the critical analysis of political discourse (e.g. Chilton, 2004; Fairclough, 1995a; Van Dijk, 1997; Munday 2012). There also have been increasing studies about Chinese political discourse translation from CDA in recent years. Some scholars pay close attention to exploring the government interpreters’ mediation to discourse translation with corpus data and from the perspective of CDA (e.g. Gu, 2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c), other researchers investigate political discourse translation based on CDA from different perspectives, which also provide valuable insights on how translators and interpreters mediate the original text and what hidden ideologies lie behind it.

In order to explore how Chinese government is interpreted from Chinese to English and reveals how ideology is decontextualized, Wang & Feng (2018) conduct a corpus-based study of stance-taking in interpreted political discourse from CDA. By combining the critical discourse analysis and descriptive translation studies, it uncovers that the interpreters’ lexical choices reflect the government’s attitude and stance on various political and social issues and explicates the hidden attitudes and ideologies. Proceeding further to specific details, Li & Pan (2020) conducts a corpus-based study to explore how the image of China is (re)shaped in the English translation of Chinese political discourse.

The results show there are shifts in the English translation of Chinese political. China is more negatively portrayed in the translated than in the source Chinese texts, in which ideological factors play an important role in shaping the translation of Chinese political discourse.

Moving beyond delving into the fact of portraying the image of Chinese government, there are researchers attempt to dig out how translators and interpreters impose effects on shaping the image. For instance, to investigate interpreters' mediation of political discourse on different levels, Gu & Tipton (2020) explore China's premier's annual press conferences by conducting a corpus-based analysis from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis. It showcases that interpreters frequently add self-referential terms (e.g. we, our, government, China) in English translation. It concludes that it is useful to adopt a critical approach to the complex discourses to dig into interpreter behaviour and uncover its impact on influencing receivers' perceptions.

Beyond investigating what translators and interpreters have done and how they do so in translation, there are some researches interested in unfolding the reasons behind it. To some extent, in political discourse translation, translators and interpreters are government-affiliated and there are complex factors behind their behavior. For investigating what influence translators' mediation of position in news translation, Pan & Liao (2020) adopt the three-dimensional procedure of Critical Discourse Analysis and analyze the news translation with corpus data. It reveals that the translators' institutional role, the political stance of the news institutions, expectation for the target audience's reactions, among other factors, exact effects on the motivation of the translators reframing and mediating the text.

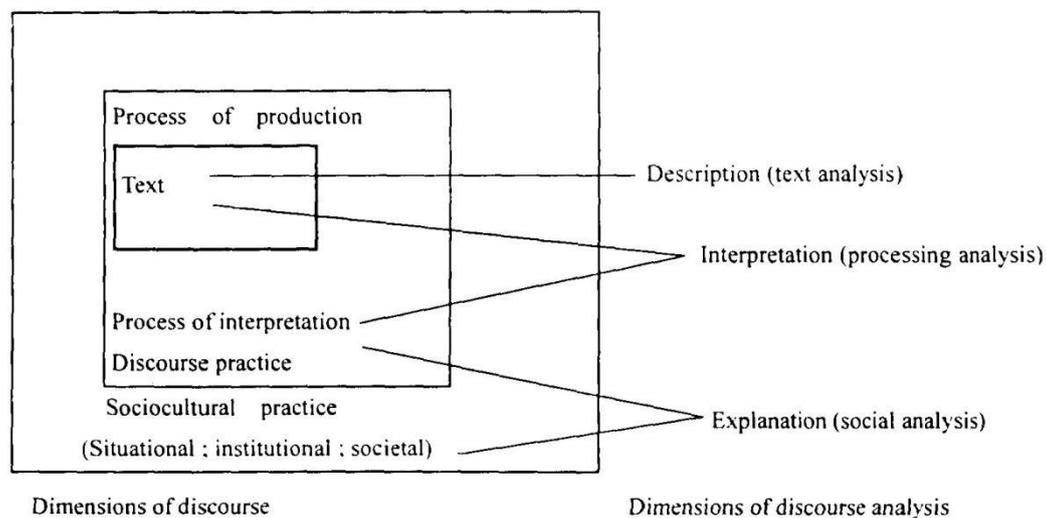
On top of adopting CDA to uncover translators and interpreters mediation of discourse as well as factors and reasons behind it, there are also researchers going further to evaluate translators and interpreters' critical language awareness (CLA). As Fairclough (1992: 7) points out that critical language study stresses "how language conventions and language practices are invested with power relations and ideological processes." Paying attention to cognitive perception which Chilton (2005) criticize most CDA studies ignore, Pan & Yun (2017) conduct a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of translators' professional practice in a Chinese-to-English news translation task to analyze the criticality of the translators' language awareness. It reveals that CDA contributes to raising the translator's critical language awareness which help improve news translation quality. It concludes that CDA principles could be beneficial to news translation research and training program design.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Proceeding from critical linguistics, Fairclough (1995a: 23) contends that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) explores the linkages between **language, ideology and power**, integrating "(a) analysis of text, (b) analysis of processes of text production, distribution and consumption, and (c) sociocultural analysis of the discursive event.

Following the three aspects, Fairclough (1995a: 97) then puts forward the approach of CDA and constructs a three-dimensional method to conduct critical discourses analysis:

**text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice.** Corresponding to the three dimensions, Fairclough (1989: 26) distinguishes three dimensions, or stages, of critical discourse analysis: **Description** relates to formal properties of the text; **Interpretation** has something to do with the relationship between text and interaction; **Explanation** concerns with the relationship between interaction and social context.



**Figure 1.** Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language. (Fairclough, 1995a: 98)

### Analysis of text

Fowler and Kress (1979: 198-210) suggest that critical analysis should be practical analysis. They then offer a checklist for critical analysis research: the grammar of transitivity; the grammar of modality; transformations (especially including nominalizations and passivizations); the grammar of classification, and coherence, order and unity of the discourse. Similarly, Fairclough (1993: 75) contends that the analysis of text can be organized from vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. In his later research, drawing upon Halliday's (2014) functional grammar, Fairclough (1995: 133-134) further explains that the text analysis is form-and-meaning and can be investigated from the three meanings of Halliday: ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings. Specifically, the analysis in this regard involves **vocabulary, transitivity, mood and modality, cohesive relations, dialogic organization**, etc. Bearing in mind the chosen texts' properties, this paper will mainly discuss texts from vocabulary, transitivity, mood and modality as well as cohesive relations.

### Analysis of discourse practice

Fairclough (1989: 22-25) makes a distinction between **"text"** and **"discourse"**: the former is a product and a part of discourse analysis while the latter is a process and has something to do with "language use conceived as social practice". By explaining discourse as social practice, he means that language is closely lined to society and is a socially conditioned process, limited by other (non-linguistic) factors. Hence, he further points out that "text analysis is just one part of discourse analysis" (ibid.: 109).

Following that, Fairclough (1992a: 1) points out that **discourse practice** relates to practices of producing, distributing, and consuming texts. Fairclough (1993: 75) further suggests that the analysis of discursive practice involves the ‘force’ of utterances, i.e. what sorts of speech acts (promises, requests, threats etc.) they constitute; the ‘coherence’ of texts; and the ‘intertextuality’. It corresponds to Fairclough’s perspective of a historical orientation in critical discourse analysis in which the priority should be given to realize how changes of discourse practices are linked to social and cultural changes. As Fairclough (1992b: 67) suggests that text can’t be interpreted solely since it is inseparable from other texts. Hence, it is necessary to know “how the text is placed in the context of other texts--intertextuality.”

### **Analysis of social practice**

Fairclough (1989: 163) states that the explanation of social practice aims to “portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice,” digging out how a discourse is determined by social factors and what impacts and changes it will bring. The explanation of social practice involves two dimensions, focusing on **process and structure**--on processes of struggle or on relations of power. For one thing, the explanation of social practice can be regarded as part of social struggles, and contextualize them in broader struggles. This concentrates on **social effects** of discourse. For another thing, the explanation showcase “what power relations determine discourse”. This part pays attention to **social determination** of discourse. Both parts are required to explore from three levels of social organization: **the societal level, the institutional level, and the situational level**. That suggests the analysis of social practice should consider different contexts, including the situational, the institutional, and the wider societal context. We need to bear in mind that context is crucial for CDA and extralinguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology are necessary to be taken into consideration in CDA.

### **METHODOLOGY AND DATA**

This paper leverages both quantitative and qualitative method to explore Chinese official annual document *Report on the Work of the Government* which provides valuable insights into how the government and its affiliated interpreters present the image of China. In terms of the quantitative method, five years Reports are collected from Chinese official site ENGLISH.GOV.CN. Then, the tool AntConc is employed to investigate the selected quantitative data. The results show that in reports personal pronoun “we”, modal adjuncts “will” and “should” and normalized word “development” are frequent words (see figure 2), which hints that there is a potential that the interpreter places much attention to present Chinese government’s dominant presence and achievements. Beyond that, by searching the KWIC and N-Grams which are linked to common expressions, the result showcases that most expressions center on action, like “we should improve/ strengthen/continue”, etc (see figure 3 and 4). Based on that, the qualitative analysis take a closer look on these findings. Specifically, this paper will intend to uncover how interpreters render such political discourses, what are the related factors. It will mainly center on the following questions:

What are the features of these Reports’ translation?

What strategies interpreters adopt to render such political discourses?

What are the ideologies hidden behind these Reports?

What are the related factors behind interpreters' mediation and intervention?

KWIC Plot File Cluster N-Gram Collocate Word Keyword					
<b>Types</b> 5946/5946		<b>Tokens</b> 146626/146626		<b>Page Size</b> 100 hits	1 to 100 of 5946 hits
	Type	Rank	Freq	Range	
1	and	1	9778	1	
2	the	2	7600	1	
3	of	3	4997	1	
4	to	4	4445	1	
5	we	5	4070	1	
6	will	6	3066	1	
7	in	7	3013	1	
8	for	8	1809	1	
9	a	9	1666	1	
10	development	10	1216	1	
11	on	11	1037	1	
12	with	12	940	1	
13	be	13	865	1	
14	that	14	816	1	
15	people	15	797	1	
16	s	16	777	1	
17	china	17	707	1	

**Figure 2** *The most frequent words in the Work of the Government*

KWIC	Plot	File	Cluster	N-Gram	Collocate	Word	Keyword
Total Hits: 4070 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 100 of 4070 hits							
	File	Left Context				Hit	Right Context
1	政府工作报告汇总.docx	belt tightened and keep spending low to benefit the people.				We	will improve the mix of government spending so as
2	政府工作报告汇总.docx	be carried out in fiscal systems below the provincial level.				We	will improve the tax collection and administration system and
3	政府工作报告汇总.docx	medium banks, and move faster to deal with nonperforming assets.				We	will improve the system for supporting debt financing by
4	政府工作报告汇总.docx	and leverage the strengths of universities, colleges, and research institutes.				We	will improve the approval procedures for major science and
5	政府工作报告汇总.docx	develop e-commerce and express delivery services in rural areas.				We	will improve the quality of products and services, better
6	政府工作报告汇总.docx	renovation of public facilities for the convenience of senior citizens.				We	will improve the systems for providing basic public services
7	政府工作报告汇总.docx	reducing emissions, and ensure greater harmony between humanity and nature.				We	will improve the environment with a holistic approach. We
8	政府工作报告汇总.docx	resolve issues that are of common concern to the people.				We	will improve the fairness and quality of education. We
9	政府工作报告汇总.docx	and medical insurance funds will be placed under strict oversight.				We	will improve the policy on directly settling medical expenses
10	政府工作报告汇总.docx	diseases and better ensure the supply of medicines for these.				We	will improve the disease prevention and control network, increase
11	政府工作报告汇总.docx	of both elderly care programs and the elderly care sector.				We	will improve the supporting measures for the three-child
12	政府工作报告汇总.docx	senior citizens and people with disabilities will also be improved.				We	will improve the system for handling public complaints, identify
13	政府工作报告汇总.docx	continue easing the burdens on those working on the ground.				We	will improve the mechanisms for providing incentives and protections
14	政府工作报告汇总.docx	strict discipline, and promote high-quality development of the military.				We	will improve the layout of defense science, technology and

Search Query  Words  Case  Regex Results Set All hits Context Size 10 token(s)

we Start  Adv Search

Sort Options Sort to right Sort 1 1R Sort 2 2R Sort 3 3R Order by freq

Figure 3 The most collocations of “we” in the Work of the Government

KWIC	Plot	File	Cluster	N-Gram	Collocate	Word	Keyword
N-Gram Types 1079 N-Gram Tokens 4070 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 100 of 1079 hits							
	Type	Rank	Freq	Range			
1	we will improve	1	152	1			
2	we need to	2	145	1			
3	we will work	3	141	1			
4	we will continue	4	138	1			
5	we will strengthen	5	109	1			
6	we will promote	6	88	1			
7	we will ensure	7	76	1			
8	we will deepen	8	74	1			
9	we will make	9	71	1			
10	we will support	10	57	1			
11	we will encourage	11	53	1			
12	we will develop	12	51	1			
13	we will move	13	47	1			
14	we will implement	14	45	1			
15	we will take	15	43	1			
16	we will increase	16	41	1			
17	we will fully	17	35	1			

Search Query  Words  Case  Regex N-Gram Size 3 Open Slots 0 Min. Freq 1 Min. Range 1

we Start

Figure 4 Collocations of “we” in the Work of the Government

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### Analysis of text

#### *Transitivity*

According to Geoff Thompson (2014: 94-117), the transitivity classifies the world of experience into six process types, among which the material process will be employed in the analysis of this paper. The material process involves actions a process of physical actions, such as jumping, running, drawing, etc. It focuses on what participants have done and in what circumstances. In this section we will analyze what Chinese government had done in the past year and what implied values are hidden behind the following translation.

四是**强化**创新引领，**稳定**产业链供应链。 **加强**国家实验室建设，**推进**重大科技项目实施。 **改革**完善中央财政科研经费管理，**提高**间接费用比例，**扩大**科研自主权。延续**实施**研发费用加计扣除政策，将制造业企业研发费用加计扣除比例提高到100%。

We **promoted** innovation-driven development and **stabilized** industrial and supply chains. We **boosted** the development of national laboratories and **promoted** implementation of major science and technology programs. We **reformed** and refined the management of central government funding for scientific and technological research, **increased** the proportion of indirect expenses for research projects, and **gave** institutes more decision-making power over their research. We **continued** the additional tax deduction for R&D expenses and **increased** this deduction to cover 100 percent of such expenses for manufacturing enterprises.

五是**推动**城乡区域协调发展、不断**优化**经济布局。 **落实**区域重大战略和区域协调发展战略，**出台**新的支持举措，**实施**一批重大项目。 **推进**以县城为重要载体的城镇化建设。 **加强**农业生产。 **保障**农资供应，对种粮农民一次性**发放**200亿元补贴。 **推动**乡村振兴，**确定**160个国家乡村振兴重点帮扶县。 **实施**农村人居环境整治提升五年行动。

We **promoted** coordinated development between urban and rural areas and between regions and **improved** the structure of the economy. To **ensure** implementation of all major regional development strategies and the strategy for coordinated regional development, we **rolled out** new supporting measures and launched several major projects. Urbanization with the focus on county seats **was promoted**. To help **bolster** agricultural production, we **ensured** agricultural supplies and issued one-time subsidies totaling 20 billion yuan to grain growers. We **advanced** rural revitalization and designated 160 key counties to receive assistance in pursuing rural revitalization. A five-year program to improve the rural living environment also **got under way**.

The original text employs a series of material processes to uncover what Chinese government had done in the previous year. A wealth of verbs, such as “推动”, “优化”, “落实”, etc, work together to intensify vivid actions which highlight the efforts and contributions of the government. In the target text, the translator also represent such material processes, leveraging bountiful verbs such as “promoted”, “improved”, “rolled out” to stress the government’s commitment. On top of that, the usage of past tense also indicate such contributions had already been made, which further implies that the Chinese government is practical and these efforts are not futile but really dedicated to bettering people’s life and promoting national development. That accords with this agent’s core value of serving for the people.

### ***Mood and modality***

According to Geoff Thompson (2014: 41-53), mood plays a special role in carrying out the interpersonal functions of the clause, including declarative mood, exclamatory mood, imperative mood, and interrogative mood. Besides, Thompson (2014: 70-72) also puts it, “Modality can thus be seen as constructing a kind of interpersonal ‘aura’ of the speaker’s attitude around the proposition”, employing devices like modal operators (e.g. “must”, “will”) and Mood Adjuncts (e.g. “necessarily”, “willingly”). Mood and modality contribute to uncovering what attitudes speakers and reporters hold.

面对新的形势和任务，各级政府要全面贯彻落实党的十九大和十九届历次全会精神，深刻认识“两个确立”的决定性意义，增强“四个意识”、坚定“四个自信”、做到“两个维护”，自觉在思想上政治上行动上同以习近平同志为核心的党中央保持高度一致。

Facing new developments and tasks, **we in government at all levels must** fully act on the guiding principles from the Party’s 19th National Congress and the plenary sessions of the 19th Party Central Committee. **We should acquire** a deep understanding of the decisive significance of the establishment of both Comrade Xi Jinping’s core position on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole and the guiding role of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, and boost our consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership. **We should** stay confident in the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. **We should** firmly uphold Comrade Xi Jinping’s core position on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole and uphold the Central Committee’s authority and its centralized, unified leadership. **We should** closely follow the Party Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core in thinking, stance, and action.

The source text has only one modal adjunct “要 (need to/should)” and without any personal pronoun. The target text, however, adds five plural pronoun “we” and five modal adjuncts, including “must” and “should”. In terms of the added pronoun “we”, although there is a chance that such shift is partly resulting from the difference between the two languages with both Chinese and English bearing their characteristics, it should be noticed that there does exist extra addition in the target text even when there is already an obvious subject in the source text, such as “各级政府要...(we in government at all levels must...)”. On top of that, skillfully selecting the adjuncts such as “should” and “must” with higher level commitment over the lower level adjunct such as “need to” reveals the strong involvement of the translator. That indicates the strong personal attitudes to explicitly present the government’s high level of commitment in working for its people and country while also attempting to enhance alignment with its addressees.

While such high level of modal adjuncts calling up government at all levels to firmly follow the central government, construing a more explicit and forceful orientation to addressees, the plural pronoun functions to appeal for more solidarity and alignment by shortening the distance with readers. Meanwhile, for some special expressions, like “四个自信 (stay confident in the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics)”, the target text also places much efforts to explicate the specific connotations so as to prompt addressees to better understand the obligation of Chinese government at all levels. There are more examples of the translator’s subjective reproducing the original text:

全国上下毕力同心、苦干实干，就一定能创造新的发展业绩。

**As long as** all of us throughout the country are working as one **to the best of our abilities**, we will undoubtedly accomplish new achievements in pursuing development

坚持**尽力而为、量力而行**，不断提升公共服务水平，着力解决人民群众普遍关心关注的民生问题。

**We will do everything within our capacity** to keep enhancing public services and resolve issues that are of common concern to the people.

**深入**实施外资准入负面清单，落实好外资企业国民待遇。

We will see that the negative list for foreign investment is **fully** observed and ensure national treatment for **all** foreign-invested enterprises.

各方面**要**共同努力，装满“米袋子”、充实“菜篮子”，把14亿多中国人的饭碗牢牢端在自己手中。

Everyone **must** work together to ensure that the country’s “rice bag” and “vegetable basket” are well-filled, and that we have a secure food supply for more than 1.4 billion Chinese people.

要坚持把教育这个关乎千家万户和中华民族未来的大事办好。

We **must ensure** that education, which is important to millions of families and the future of our nation, is well-run.

These examples further demonstrate how the translator reorganizes and reproduces the source text to more effectively deliver conceptions. For instance, “苦干实干” has not been literally rendered as “hardworking”, but intensified the effect by adopting “working... to the best of our abilities” as a way to explicate the Chinese government always tries its best to promote development. Similarly, “尽力而为、量力而行(do what we could do)” is leveled to a higher commitment in the target text “We will do everything within our capacity to...”. Likewise, in the source text, the modal adjunct “要(need to)” is further stressed in the target text “must”. All of these intervention illustrates the translator’s hidden ideologies, emphasizing the high level of Chinese government’s obligation and commitment. Meanwhile, the added plural pronoun *we* tries to involve readers to the conversation and further imposes perceptions.

### ***Vocabulary***

As Richardson (2007) puts it, “the selection of facts is a subjective process involving choice between alternatives.” He suggests that such choices are influenced by propaganda and are linked to editorial policies of different newspaper. Likewise, the lexical selection is not random but deliberately chosen, indicating some intended information, which can tell a lot about ideologies behind it.

坚决反对“台独”分裂行径，坚决反对**外部势力干涉**。两岸同胞要和衷共济，共创民族复兴的光荣伟业。两岸同胞要和衷共济，共创民族复兴的光荣伟业。

We firmly oppose **any** separatist activities seeking “Taiwan independence” and firmly oppose **foreign interference**. **All** of us, Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, **should** come together to advance the great and glorious cause of China’s rejuvenation.

In the source text, “外部势力干涉” is quite ambiguous. Without context and some knowledge about China’s condition, one may feel confused about its meaning. Instead of literally translating it as “external force interference”, here the translator carefully chooses the expression “foreign interference” to expose the real connotation. Compared with the source text, the target translation is more specific and targeted, directing readers’ attention to foreign forces and considering what interference they have exercised. On top of that, there are also additions in the target text. The added “any” stresses the sharp opposition to any separatist activities; the added words “all” and “should” indicate the call for united

actions. Overall, the reproduced text showcases the hidden ideologies which emphasize the strong objection to separatists and the call for unity.

There are more examples which demonstrate the translator's intervention of original texts:

充分利用**两个市场两种资源**...

we will make full use of **international and domestic markets and resources**...

高质量共建“一带一路”。坚持**共商共建共享**。

We will promote high-quality cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative. We remain committed to the principle of **achieving shared growth through consultation and collaboration**.

The source text “**两个市场两种资源**” has not been literally translated as “two markets and two resources” but carefully rendered as “international and domestic markets and resources” as a way to explicitly express China's willingness to openness and engagement in international market; in the same vein, “**共商共建共享**” is not directly translated as “jointly consult, construct and share”, but “reproduced as “achieving shared growth through consultation and collaboration” which deeply dig out the real point, stressing the prerequisite of consultation and collaboration before sharing fruits. That corresponds to China's government call for cooperation and joint contribution to the Belt and Road Initiative. Such reconstructed texts highlight the government's attitude and stance while showcasing important role the translator plays in conveying implied ideologies.

### ***Cohesive relations***

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976: 4), “Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another.” Cohesive relations relate to how to logically organize information into a text. It can be discussed from the theme system, cohesion, and coherence. Theme is “the first constituent of the clause”, the stating point of the message (Geoff Thompson, 2014: 147). Cohesion refers to a textual devices which serve as cohesive function. Coherence, on the other hand, is “in the mind of the writer and reader” (ibid, 215). Fairclough (1993: 83) states that “A coherent text is a text whose constituent parts (episodes, sentences) are meaningfully related so that the text as a whole ‘makes sense’.” In the following reports, we are going to explore how the text reproduce and restructure information to realize logical linkage, which then contributes to voice values.

一是**保持宏观政策连续性针对性**，推动经济运行保持在合理区间。宏观政策适应跨周期调节需要，**保持对经济恢复必要支持力度**，同时考虑为今年应对困难挑战预留政策

空间。建立常态化财政资金直达机制，将2.8万亿元中央财政资金纳入直达范围。优化地方政府专项债券发行使用。有效实施稳健的货币政策，两次全面降准，推动降低贷款利率。有序推进地方政府债务风险防范化解，稳妥处置重大金融风险事件。强化稳岗扩就业政策落实，扎实做好高校毕业生等重点群体就业工作，推进大众创业万众创新。加强大宗商品保供稳价，着力解决煤炭电力供应紧张问题。 **We** kept macro policy consistent and targeted and kept the major economic indicators within the appropriate range. **Our** macro policies facilitated cross-cyclical adjustments and sustained the level of support necessary for economic recovery. **We** also took into account the need to leave ample policy space for meeting difficulties and challenges this year. **We** established a regular mechanism to directly allocate budgetary funds to prefecture-and county-level governments and placed 2.8 trillion yuan of central government funding under this mechanism. **We** also improved the way local governments issue and use special-purpose bonds. **We** implemented a prudent monetary policy to good effect and lowered required reserve ratios twice to facilitate the reduction of loan interest rates. **We** took well-considered steps to defuse local government debt risks and dealt prudently with major financial risks. **We** intensified policies to stabilize and expand employment, took solid measures to ensure employment for key groups like college graduates, and encouraged business startups and innovation. **We** took stronger steps to keep supply and prices of major commodities stable and to tackle supply shortages in coal and electric power.

四是强化创新引领，稳定产业链供应链。加强国家实验室建设，推进重大科技项目实施。改革完善中央财政科研经费管理，提高间接费用比例，扩大科研自主权。延续实施研发费用加计扣除政策，将制造业企业研发费用加计扣除比例提高到100%。

**We** promoted innovation-driven development and stabilized industrial and supply chains. **We** boosted the development of national laboratories and promoted implementation of major science and technology programs. **We** reformed and refined the management of central government funding for scientific and technological research, increased the proportion of indirect expenses for research projects, and gave institutes more decision-making power over their research. **We** continued the additional tax deduction for R&D expenses and increased this deduction to cover 100 percent of such expenses for manufacturing enterprises.

Brown & Gilman (1960: 252) maintain that the striking feature of pronouns are “their close association with two dimensions fundamental to the analysis of all social life—the dimensions of power and solidarity”. Pronouns are very useful device in presenting the addresser’s viewpoints and involving addressees in the communication. It is one of important ways to achieve interpersonal meaning (Thompson, 2014: 72). As Lakoff (1990: 90) puts it, in English, there are two major uses of the plural pronoun *we*: inclusive and exclusive, with the former including hearers and the latter excluding hearers. Both inclusive and exclusive *we* have symbolic meanings. The former indicates “a powerful

emotional force, bringing speaker and hearer together, united and sharing common interests. Exclusive *we* bears “the power and authority of numbers”.

Here the two source texts barely use any pronouns, while the target texts considerably employ a wealth of *we*. Considering the English version of the *Report on the Work of the Government* mainly involves foreign readers and Chinese English learners, there are two possibilities of the translator's intention to add a flood of *we* in the target texts. For one aspect, it has the potential that the exclusive *we* stresses the importance of maintaining the authority of the government. As Lakoff (1990: 90) suggests that the pronoun *we* bears loyal and editorial feature. For another aspect, the inclusive *we* tends to include readers in the communication. Beyond that, it should be noticed that the usage of this pronoun also has risks, as Fowler & Roger (1979: 201-203) state that *we* “used by a superior partner in an interaction, and which confidently, unquestioningly and unchallengeably includes the other, inferior partner.” Nevertheless, whether it features impersonal, authoritarian or warm, friendly egalitarian, such personal resource contributes to showing the authoritarian characteristics of the official document while negotiating relations and engaging readers into this conversation. Such personalised, inclusive, and directive language is beneficial to better reaching interaction, strengthening intimacy, solidarity, and involvement. It contributes to realizing interpersonal function in which the speaker's viewpoint is further delivered.

## 5.2 Analysis of discourse practice

As stated before, Fairclough (2003:17) stresses that one important part for exploring discourse practice is intertextuality which focuses on “how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize and dialogue with other texts. What is ‘said’ in a text is always said against the background of what is ‘unsaid’—what is made explicit is always grounded in what is left implicit.” By investing how the interpreter inviting others already existing texts and mixing different genres helps uncover what ideologies these chosen voices connote.

面对新的形势和任务，各级政府要全面贯彻落实党的十九大和十九届历次全会精神，深刻认识“两个确立”的决定性意义，增强“四个意识”、坚定“四个自信”、做到“两个维护” ...

Facing new developments and tasks, we in government at all levels must fully act on the guiding principles from the Party's 19th National Congress and the plenary sessions of the 19th Party Central Committee. We should acquire a deep understanding of the decisive significance of the establishment of both Comrade Xi Jinping's core position on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole and the guiding role of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, and boost our consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership. We should stay confident in the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with

Chinese characteristics. We should firmly uphold Comrade Xi Jinping's core position on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole and uphold the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership. We should closely follow the Party Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core in thinking, stance, and action.

The source text contains a lot of special expressions which are unique in China, like “四个自信(stay confident in the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics). Such ideologies-laden expressions are actually used for many times, showcased in a myriad of Chinese official documents. In order to prompt addresses to better understand the real connotations, the target text places much efforts to explicate the specific meanings so as to uncover the obligation of Chinese government at all levels. On top of that, it should notice that the original government's document features official, impersonal, and serious, consolidating its authority identity. Compared with the source text which barely uses any personal pronouns, the interpreter frequently adds self-referential term *we* in English translation. That showcases the interdiscursive mix in target text: integration of authority and promotional genres. As Fairclough (1993: 146) states that an obvious promotional element is the personal pronouns of the reader (*you*) and the institution (*we*). Such intertextually indicates the interpreter's meditation of the source text. While helping readers to grasp the connotations of special terms by maintaining the official expressions, the translated text also reframes the original one by considerably adding personal pronouns and intensifying the level of modal adjunct--changing “要” (“need to”) to “should”.

我们要坚持**独立自主的和平外交政策**，坚定不移走和平发展道路，推动建设新型国际关系，推动构建**人类命运共同体**。推进落实**全球发展倡议**，弘扬全人类共同价值。

China will continue to pursue **an independent foreign policy of peace**, stay on the path of peaceful development, work for a new type of international relations, and endeavor to build **a human community with a shared future**. We will pursue **the Global Development Initiative** and promote the shared values of all humanity.

我们要坚持对台工作大政方针，贯彻新时代党解决台湾问题的总体方略，坚持**一个中国原则**和“**九二共识**”，推进两岸关系和平发展和祖国统一。

We remain committed to the major principles and policies on work related to Taiwan, to the Party's overall policy for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era, and to the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus. We will advance the peaceful growth of relations across the Taiwan Strait and the reunification of China.

On top of Chinese special expressions mentioned above, there are also some terms recognized by the international community, such as “**人类命运共同体** (a human community with a shared future), “**全球发展倡议**(the Global Development Initiative)”, “

九二共识 (the 1992 Consensus)", etc. The translator directly borrows the already existing terms, which, for one thing, are more convenient for readers to compensate. For another thing, it contributes to the legitimacy of the government and consolidating alignment with addressees by adopting such international consensus.

### **Analysis of social practice**

As stated previously, the analysis of social practice is required to consider different contexts, including **the situational, the institutional, and the wider societal context**. We need to bear in mind that context is crucial for CDA and extralinguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology are necessary to be taken into consideration in CDA. However, more often than not, most studies tend to focus on singly reaching faithfulness in translation without much attention to other factors. Pan & Yun (2017) point out that to some extent the dialectical relationships between "translation situations, ST and TT textual properties, and translators' institutional identities" are undervalued or even ignored. Pérez-González (2012: 172) also points out that the society bears a myriad of misconceptions about translation and interpretation, assuming that translation and interpreting only involve semantic transition across languages and that this meaning-matching process is uncritical and without the participation of agency. However, more often than not translator or interpreter speaks for particular agent which exact impacts on how translators and interpreters conduct translation.

Translation and interpretation are complex processes, especially for rendering the attitudes-rich and ideologies-laden political discourse. A myriad of factors motivate translators and interpreters' recontextualisation, reproduction and mediation, ranging from the position of translators and interpreters, expectation for the target audience's reactions, to the stance of government-affiliated agents and institutions, social-cultural context, etc. As Baker (2006: 322) contends that "it is far more productive to examine contextualisation as a dynamic process of negotiation and one that is constrained by the uneven distribution of power which characterises all exchanges in society, including those that are mediated by translators and interpreters."

In terms of the situational context, *Report on the Work of the Government* usually consists of three sections: a review of the work of last year, requirements and policy as well as major tasks for this year. When reviewing what had been reached in the previous year, the target text adopts the pass tense and hasn't used personal pronouns. That indicates that the achievements already exist and the government really succeed in promoting the country's development and people's life. It also accords with the objective nature of existing facts. For instance:

经济保持恢复发展。

The economy continued to recover and grow.

经济结构和区域布局继续优化。

The economic structure and regional development priorities were refined.

生态文明建设持续推进。

Ecological conservation was enhanced.

Different from what have mentioned above, when presenting what had been done in the previous year, the translated text tends to frequently add self-referential terms like *we* and *our*. That foregrounds the government's role and consolidates the solidarity with addressees. For instance:

...主要做了以下工作。

Our main work over the past year was as follows.

一是保持宏观政策连续性针对性，推动经济运行保持在合理区间。宏观政策...

**We** kept macro policy consistent and targeted and kept the major economic indicators within the appropriate range. **Our** macro policies...

二是优化和落实助企纾困政策，巩固经济恢复基础。

**We** refined and implemented policies for easing the difficulties of businesses and consolidated the foundation of economic recovery.

三是深化改革扩大开放，持续改善营商环境。加强市场体系基础制度建设...

**We** deepened reform, expanded opening up, and continued to improve the business environment. **We** worked harder to...

While specific situation gives some clues of such shifts in translation, it is worthwhile noticing that the mediation prompted by situational context is only part of reasons. For instance, if the addition of "we" is only resulting from the differences that Chinese tends to be more subjectless than English, then why interpreters still chooses to add an extra subject "we" when there is already existing one? For instance, "中国人民..." is rendered as "**We** the Chinese people..." instead of "the Chinese people...". Hence, beyond linguistic differences, other aspects are necessary to take into consideration to see the bigger picture.

The institution as well as government-affiliated interpreter's stance can also provide valuable insights on the explicit discursive interventions, which contributes to conveying intentions and legitimize the government's behavior. As Baker (2006: 322-325) states that there are two approach to understand translation context: "cognitive" approach which pays attention to "assumptions of target readers" and "social/interactive approach". Both contexts exact impacts on the making of specific translation decisions to transfer the source language into the target language. For one aspect, translators and

interpreters may assume it is important to cement the friendly relationship with readers since *Report on the Work of the Government* has the intention to showcase and promote China's advantages. Such personal and solidary discursive strategies drive the closer relations with readership and hence promote its reception. Like the added "we" in the translated text "**We the Chinese people** have the courage, vision and strength to overcome any obstacle or difficulty." ("中国人民有战胜任何艰难险阻的勇气、智慧和力量") Beyond that, with China increasingly rising its strength, it has attracted wider attention from the rest of the world. How to present Chinese principles and achievements are a challenging and essential task. It is understandable that translators and interpreters use much space to elaborate special terms bearing Chinese unique characteristics, such as "四个意识" is not translated word-for-word but explicated as "consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership."

## CONCLUSION

The translated texts, especially political translation, have the potential to be manipulated by translators and other agents who may impose ideologies on translation. Ideologies, however, are usually "naturalized and automatized" and "people may find it difficult to comprehend that their norm practices could have specific ideological investments" (Fairclough, 1993: 90). It is hence necessary to move beyond language itself and investigate political discourse translation in a bigger picture. Focusing on investigating Chinese annual official document *Report on the Work of the Government* and uncovering how interpreters and translators make mediation and intervention in translation, this paper conducts a critical discourse analysis of the latest **ten** years Reports by combining quantitative and qualitative method. Through text description, discourse practice interpretation, and social practice explanation of the collected data, it unfolds that the translated texts tend to foreground the government's dominant presence, stress the government's commitment and achievements in various fields, present its ideologies of serving for the people and the country as a dominant agent holding the leading role and authority. The government-affiliated interpreters and translators are apt to take various discursive strategies, such as representing the government's powerful actions, consolidating its alignment with addresses, explicating special ideology-laden terms, combining different discourse genres, borrowing already existing expressions, etc, to portray a more positive image of Chinese government and appeal to further recognition and approval. Behind such ideology-governed and translation-mediated political discourses are complex factors, ranging from translators and interpreters identity, assumptions of readers' expectations to agents and institutions stance, etc. By taking a wider societal context into consideration and investigating such discourses from the perspective of CDA provides valuable insights on the hidden relations and ideologies.

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