Research on Interpreters' Strategies and Roles in Online Conferences Based on Goffman's Participation Framework

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Abstract—At the beginning of 2020, the raging COVID-19 pandemic spread around the world, which severely harmed people's health and lives. Confronted with the pandemic, many onsite conferences were held via video links, which had unique features and brought tremendous challenges to interpreters. Under these circumstances, this research, based on Goffman's Participation Framework, takes the interpreter Zhang Lu's interpreting in the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021 as study cases, analyzes participation frameworks in the two online conferences, the interpreter's interpreting strategies, and roles demonstrated by these strategies, and further explores underlying reasons for these strategies and roles, so as to propose sound suggestions for interpreters to improve their interpreting performances in online conferences in the post-pandemic era. This research finds that the dominant communications were talks between Premier Li and journalists and the subordinate communications were two kinds of byplays between Premier Li and Zhang Yesui and between the hosts and journalists in the two conferences. As the interpreter Zhang Lu played the role of hearers, apart from the traditional role of unaddressed hearers, she further played the sub-role of addressed hearers. When she played the role of speakers in interpreting, she performed as the following specific sub-roles: (1) repeaters and verbatim re-tellers as animators; (2) explainers, reducers, supplementers, order adjustors, doorkeepers of words, doorkeepers of logic, and generalizers as authors; (3) cognitive supplementers, expressers of the speakers' feelings, disseminators of national cultures, expressers of national stances, and beautifiers of national images as principals. Underlying the interpreter's complicated roles in online conferences amid the pandemic, there are six influential factors, among which the former four are common ones for all interpreting activities: differences of sentence structures between Chinese and English, constriction of code of professional conduct for interpreters, interpreting's being cross-cultural communications, interpreters' interactional powers in interpreting, complexity of participation frameworks in online conferences, and more strict modulation of political powers on interpreters in diplomatic interpreting amid the pandemic. This research implicates that when interpreters are interpreting, they should focus on dominant communications among main speakers in online conferences, be highly aware of speakers' political powers in diplomatic interpreting, pay attention to differences of sentence structures between Chinese and English, nurture their cross-cultural communication awareness and ability, and exercise their own interactional powers in a sound manner.

Keywords—Goffman, interpreting, participation framework, roles, strategies

I. Introduction

At the end of 2019, the COVID-19 pandemic hit China by surprise and then swept across the whole world, causing tremendous impacts on people's health and lives around the globe. Due to high infectivity of the virus, many of onsite conferences and meetings were cancelled, and they were held via video links to meet COVID-19 prevention and control requirements set by the government. Also, because of tremendous impacts that the pandemic had on people's daily lives and their health, the virus was always addressed more or less in many online conferences that were held amid the pandemic.

The above conditions were also true for the Press Conference for the Two Sessions in 2020 (also called the Press Conference for the Third Session of the 13th National People's Congress) and the Press Conference for the Two Sessions in 2021 (also called the Press Conference for the Fourth Session of the 13th National People's Congress). Against the backdrop of the pandemic, the two Press Conferences were held on May 28th, 2020 and March 11th, 2021 respectively. At the invitation of Zhang Yesui, Chief Minister of Foreign Affairs Committee of the 13th National People's Congress and one of the hosts in the two conferences, Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council, attended the two Press Conferences in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing and answered questions from journalists from both China and other countries. To meet the requirements of COVID-19 prevention and control, the two Press Conferences were held via video links, in which journalists were all in the Media Press Center and Premier Li answered their questions from the Great Hall of the People, thus being totally different from traditional onsite conferences.

During the conferences, Premier Li answered questions from journalists from home and abroad, covering such areas as origin tracing of the COVID-19 pandemic, economic development, and deepening reform related to people's lives. It should be emphasized that there were many contents about the pandemic and a lot of new terms related to it were used in the conferences, such as resumption of work and production, WHO expert team, and origin tracing of the virus. What is more, Premier Li used many expressions related to Chinese cultures and policies like "民生在勤, 勤则不匮 (A good life hinges on diligence)."

All the above circumstances, contents, and terms posed great challenges to the interpreter Zhang Lu. Faced with these challenges, Zhang, with her solid foundation of interpreting, rich knowledge, and good interpreting strategies such as generalization, supplement, explanation, and manifestation of Premier Li's feelings, performed well in her interpreting, thus being a good example for other interpreters in the post-pandemic era. Therefore, this research takes Zhang Lu's interpreting in the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021 as study cases to investigate interpreters'

interpreting strategies and roles in online conferences amid the pandemic and explore relevant underlying reasons, in order to provide suggestions for future interpreters to improve their interpreting performances in online conferences in the post-pandemic era.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this part, Goffman's Participation Framework is first introduced. Next, some previous studies, which investigate interpreters' roles based on the Participation Framework, are reviewed.

A. Goffman's Participation Framework

In 1981, in the book *Forms of Talk*, Goffman Erving, a distinguished sociologist and sociolinguist from the United States, proposed his Participation Framework, a well-known theory in sociology. In this theory, important concepts such as dominant communications, subordinate communications, production format, reception format, and footing are introduced. In this framework, communications are divided into "dominant/dominating communications" and "subordinate communications". Dominant communications refer to ideal dyadic communications, in which there is one speaker and one ratified recipient/hearer during a certain period of time with no interference from unaddressed recipients/hearers [1]. However, these ideal communications are not easy to be maintained, because there are always disturbances of utterances or other interactions from other people like passersby. As for subordinate communications, they are "talk that is manned, timed, and pitched to constitute a perceivedly limited interference to what might be called the 'dominating communication' in its vicinity" (ibid, p.133).

Participants in dominant communications or subordinate communications of the same communication have their own status. In his book *Forms of Talk*, Goffman stated: "When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it" (ibid, p.3). The "participation status" here means that participants in a communication framework are either under the "production format", which concerns the "speakers", or the "reception format", which is closely related to "hearers/recipients/listeners" in the communication (ibid). The framework is further illustrated by Fig. 1.
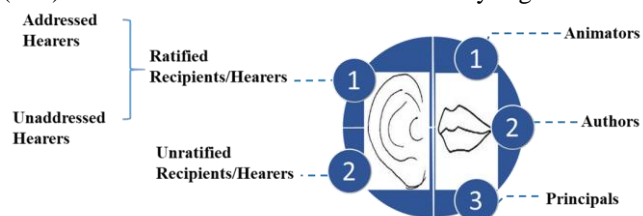

Fig. 1. Goffman's participation framework.

First, "speakers" in a communication are the core elements in producing conversations, and they consist of three different general roles: The first role is "animator", who is like a "sounding box" or "talking machine". Speakers as animators produce sounds together with facial and bodily gesticulations, but they do not express their meanings or feelings and are not responsible for what they say. The second role is "author", who selects "the sentiments" being expressed by the speakers and uses his/her own words to

encode these sentiments so as to convey them to the hearers. As authors, people bear responsibility for the usage of their languages rather than the contents and ideas of what they express. The last role is "principal", who establishes his/her positions, tells his/her beliefs through the spoken words he/she uses in conversations, and thus assumes responsibility for what he/she says. Sometimes, what principals say not only represents the positions and beliefs of themselves, but also indicates the positions and beliefs of the organizations they are affiliated to or the groups that they are in (ibid). For instance, what salespersons say or do may represent their companies' positions because they need to work for their companies' interests, even though they may totally disagree with what their companies say or do.

For "hearers/recipients/listeners", they are further divided into "ratified recipients", whose participation in the communication is ratified and encouraged, and "unratified recipients", whose participation in the communication is inadvertent and not ratified. Ratified recipients comprise "addressed recipients", whom the speakers address their verbal or visual attention to and whom the speakers want to give their speaking roles to, and "unaddressed recipients", who are those among the ratified recipients except addressed recipients (ibid).

When participants, either as speakers or hearers, in communications have some alignments, in the production and reception of utterances, they have "footings", which reflect the interrelations in their speech interactions. And shifts of footing imply shifts of roles of participation in the communication, such as from speakers to hearers and from hearers to speakers. For participants in communications, their roles often change, like change among animators, authors, and principals as speakers and change between ratified hearers and unratified hearers (ibid).

B. Previous Studies Abroad and at Home

After Goffman put forward his Participation Framework, researchers, both abroad and in China, have carried out some studies on interpreting like court interpreting and conference interpreting based on this framework.

First, researchers abroad have conducted some researches based on Goffman's Participation Framework. Keith analyzed escort interpreters' two footings based on Goffman's concept of footing [2]. Edmonson studied the sub-roles of conference interpreters with the help of Participation Framework [3]. Wadensjö deconstructed the role "speakers" into three sub-roles, which are responders who take the speech turn and say what they want to say, recapitulators who summarize the contents of others' utterances, and reporters who repeat others' words and utterances [4]. Lee, through analyzing the performance of two non-professional court interpreters participating in the expert testimony in a simulation Korean criminal court, the participation of onsite court participants, and the court trial results, concluded that non-professional court interpreters would usually encounter difficulties in interpreting in court trials such as professional technical words related to laws [5]. Also, Lee stated that interactions among interpreters, criminals, plaintiffs, defendants, lawyers, and judges would make the originally complex trial even more complicated (ibid). Ng, by analyzing real courtroom trial in the High

Court of Hong Kong based on Goffman's Participation Framework, studied how interpreters initiated speech turns with speakers so as to change their own roles and how these interventions affected court actors [6]. Aranda, Gutiérrez, and Li examined excerpts from real interpreter-mediated medical consultations that took place at a public hospital in Madrid over a period of five months based on the production format of Goffman's Participation Framework [7]. They found that interpreters and healthcare providers would work in a collaborative manner in medical consultations and that interpreters acted as clinical and therapeutic allies, patient empowerers, and metalinguistic negotiators (ibid).

Researchers at home have also done some researches based on Goffman's Participation Framework. Ren, a professor of Beijing Foreign Studies University, reviewed the development history of the Participation Framework and explained the reception format, production format, and footing [8]. Also, she thought interpreters could play the roles of animators, authors, and principals as speakers and unaddressed recipients/hearers as recipients/hearers in general (ibid). Feng used her own interpreting practice as a study case to analyze sub-roles of interpreters [9]. She divided interpreters' roles of speakers into repeaters, responders, question raisers, co-interlocutors, explainers, and turn guides, and then she reconstructed these roles into animators, authors, and principals (ibid). Guo analyzed the interpreter Zhang Lu's interpreting strategies when she was interpreting in the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2017, 2018, and 2019, explained what sub-roles these interpreting strategies suggested as animators, authors, and principals, and further studied the motivations underlying these strategies and sub-roles [10]. Zhang and Wang analyzed what interpreting strategies medical interpreters used when interpreting for medical diagnosis, what roles were demonstrated, and motives behind these interpreting strategies by investigating two clinical practices in 2017 [11]. Jiang carried out an empirical study and analyzed multiple roles of community telephone interpreters based on the Participation Framework [12]. Wang analyzed interpreters' roles based on her own business interpreting practice from the perspective of Goffman's Participation Framework [13]. Wang, Chao, Ren, and Ren analyzed interpreters' roles as speakers and hearers in clinical interpreting of COVID-19 based on Participation Framework and proposed related suggestions for future interpreters about how to perform better clinical interpreting against the backdrop of the pandemic [14]. Jiang, Yang, and Luo used public court hearing as study cases to analyze court interpreters' multiple roles based on Goffman's Participation Framework [15–17].

After surveying the previous studies, the authors of this research found that since the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021 were held via video links against the backdrop of the pandemic, thus the way in which they were held and their contents were relatively new compared with Press Conferences for the Two Sessions that were held previously, which led to the interpreters' special interpreting strategies and roles. However, researchers have not conducted researches on the participation frameworks, interpreters' strategies, and roles in these conferences in the contexts of the pandemic based on Goffman's Participation Framework.

Therefore, this research aims to study the participation frameworks of these two conferences, interpreting strategies that the interpreter Zhang Lu used, and roles that were demonstrated by these strategies when she was interpreting in the two Press Conferences, and further analyzes the reasons underlying these interpreting strategies and roles so as to propose sound suggestions for future interpreters to improve their interpreting performances in the post-pandemic era.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this part, research methodology is elaborated. First, four research questions are raised. Next, research methods and procedures are presented.

A. Research Questions

According to Goffman's Participation Framework, communications can be divided into dominant communications and subordinate communications, which can happen in the same communication framework. In the same dominant/subordinate communication or between dominant communications and subordinate communications, participants can influence others' and their own roles as hearers and speakers by certain communication skills. Therefore, in order to analyze interpreting strategies the interpreter Zhang Lu used and related roles in her interpreting in the two Press Conferences in 2020 and 2021, we need to first figure out what dominant and subordinate communications were in the two conferences. What is more, due to the fact that in interpreting, interpreters often need to listen to speakers of source languages when the speakers are talking, and then interpret the speakers' meanings after speakers finish their talks, they often play the roles of hearers first and then speakers. Therefore, the authors will analyze Zhang's roles of hearers first and then her roles of speakers after analyzing the communication frameworks. Given the above reasons, the authors of this research propose four questions as follows:

(1) What were dominant communications and subordinate communications in the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021?

(2) What sub-roles of hearers did the interpreter Zhang Lu play in the two online conferences?

(3) What sub-roles of speakers did Zhang Lu play in the two online conferences, especially against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic?

(4) Why did the interpreter Zhang Lu play these roles of hearers and speakers? Apart from linguistic elements, are there any other underlying reasons and motives for these complicated roles?

B. Research Methods

In this part, methods to transcribe what the speakers and interpreter said in the two conferences, analyze the interpreter's interpreting strategies and roles, and visualize the research results are introduced. First, utterances of the speakers and the interpreter Zhang Lu were transcribed through Wangyijianwai Studio. This research aims to analyze the interpreting strategies which were used by Zhang Lu and roles that were demonstrated by these strategies through analyzing utterances of all speakers and Zhang Lu in the two conferences. However, all these utterances were included in

two videos, with one lasting one hour and 50 minutes and the other one hour and 51 minutes, which required to be transcribed. Therefore, the authors transcribed the utterances in these two videos into texts with the help of Wangyijianwai Studio. First and foremost, these two videos were downloaded from the website. Then, the videos were uploaded to the platform for automatic transcription. After the transcription, the authors made some manual corrections when necessary since this platform cannot accurately transcribe video speeches into texts.

Second, to analyze the interpreting strategies and roles of Zhang Lu in the two conferences and relevant underlying reasons, qualitative method was used. Every sentence in these the conferences was analyzed to figure out what interpreting strategies Zhang Lu utilized and what roles were demonstrated by these strategies.

Third, quantitative method was used to show the overall distribution of all general roles and their sub-roles. After all the interpreting strategies and roles were analyzed in all sentences in these two conferences, the numbers of all general roles and sub-roles of the interpreter Zhang Lu as a speaker were input into Excel, and then relevant figures were drawn automatically to clearly present frequencies and ratios of these general roles and sub-roles.

Finally, when writing this paper, case study method was employed. Typical sentences indicating each interpreting strategy and role were presented as examples to explain why these strategies and roles were implied by these examples.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this part, the communication frameworks in the two Press Conferences in 2020 and 2021 are first analyzed. Then, Zhang Lu's interpreting strategies and roles as hearers and speakers are analyzed with each explained by one typical example. Following the previous steps, all the results about frequencies and ratios of Zhang Lu's interpreting roles are presented. Finally, the reasons behind these interpreting strategies and roles are explored based on this research and previous studies.

A. Analysis of Participation Framework

The Participation Framework divides communications into dominant communications and subordinate communications. Dominant communications, according to Goffman, as in Ref. [1], refer to the ideal dyadic communications in which there are two sides, one of which is speakers and the other side is ratified recipients/hearers, during a certain period of time with no interference from others; as for subordinate communications, they are manned and pitched talks which form limited disturbance to dominant communications. Talks among ratified recipients/hearers, among unaddressed recipients/hearers and between ratified recipients/hearers and unaddressed recipients/hearers can all form subordinate communications. According to Goffman, subordinate communications are further divided into "byplays" (i.e., talks among ratified participants), "crossplays" (i.e., talks between ratified participants and bystanders), and "sideplays" (i.e., hushed words that are exchanged among bystanders) (ibid).

Given the fact that communication frameworks are significantly influenced by their participants, the authors first introduce the conversation participants in the two

conferences before analyzing dominant and subordinate communications: The main speaker was Premier Li, who took questions from journalists and answered them during the whole Press Conferences, and he was also a ratified recipient, an addressed hearer specifically, when journalists were asking questions. Then, Zhang Yesui, as the host in the Great Hall of the People, and the two hosts in the Media Press Center were important speakers and ratified recipients, who were mainly unaddressed recipients and sometimes addressed recipients. For journalists, they were main speakers and important ratified recipients, both addressed and unaddressed under concrete conditions. As the interpreter of the two conferences, Zhang Lu was mainly a ratified recipient and a speaker. Apart from the aforementioned people, others like photographers and other staff members of the two conferences were unaddressed recipients as ratified recipients. Based on the above analysis, the participation frameworks in the two conferences are illustrated by Fig. 2.
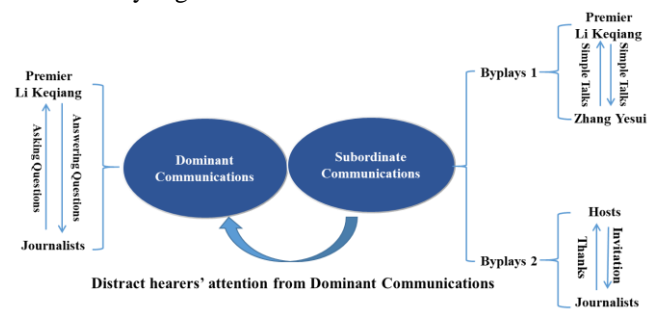

Fig. 2. Participation frameworks in the two press conferences.

The dominant communications in the two Press Conferences were talks between Premier Li and journalists, because these communications continued during the whole conferences. For subordinate communications, there were three kinds, i.e., byplays, crossplays, and sideplays. Given the fact that crossplays and sideplays as subordinate communications did not influence Zhang Lu's interpreting strategies and roles, they are not analyzed. Therefore, influential subordinate communications were the following two kinds of byplays: The first kind talks between journalists and the three hosts, namely Zhang Yesui in the Great Hall of the People and the other two in the Media Press Center. The three hosts sometimes greeted and called the names of journalists to ask them to start asking questions, and journalists sometimes in return thanked the three hosts, interfering with the dominant communications between Premier Li and journalists and thus being one kind of byplays. The other kind of byplays was communications between Premier Li and Zhang Yesui. Although Zhang Yesui seldom talked with Premier Li, only with a few greetings at the beginning of the two conferences and reminder utterances at the end, their talks were indeed interference in the dominant communications and influenced Zhang Lu's interpreting strategies and roles, which thus was another kind of byplays.

B. As Hearers

In his Participation Framework, Goffman, as in Ref. [1], divides hearers/recipients into unratified hearers/recipients and ratified hearers/recipients, who can be further classified into addressed hearers/recipients and unaddressed hearers/recipients. According to Ren, as in Ref. [8],

interpreters are often unaddressed hearers as ratified hearers in interpreting, because they are allowed to listen to contents of the present conversations but often ignored in conversations. However, interpreters' role as ratified hearers are often more complex in real interpreting activities. In his book *Forms of Talk*, Goffman, as in Ref. [1] states that "sound alone is at issue, when, in fact, it is obvious that sight is organizationally very significant" (p. 129) and sight or visual attention, as an important way to manage turn-taking in communications, is crucial for the speakers and hearers. Based on this viewpoint and our daily experiences, it is apparent that when a speaker, who is previously addressing one of his/her hearers with sight and words who is, at this moment, the addressed hearer, shifts his/her sight to another hearer and pauses for several seconds with even a question raised or a nod of his/her head, he/she actually is expecting the hearer to take the conversation turn to speak. On this occasion, the role of the latter hearer shifts from an unaddressed hearer at first to an addressed hearer later. Therefore, visual attention or eyesight can change conversation participants' roles as hearers.

The above phenomenon was also witnessed in the two Press Conferences. In these two conferences, the interpreter Zhang Lu's role as a hearer was an unaddressed hearer most of the time because she was often sitting still during the conferences, taking notes, and interpreting for speakers, thus being ignored like a "transparent glass". However, her role as a hearer sometimes changed when she was addressed by others' visual attention. For example, at the beginning of the Press Conference for the Two Sessions in 2021, after Zhang Yesui delivered his greetings and opening remarks to all, he turned his head toward Zhang Lu and looked at her. At this moment, he was actually communicating with Zhang Lu with his eyesight and expecting her to start interpreting. Therefore, Zhang Lu was the focus of his visual attention, thus being an addressed hearer though not addressed by his utterance. Also, when Premier Li sometimes finished his answers to questions from journalists in the two conferences, he paused, turned his head, and then looked at Zhang Lu, by which he was expecting Zhang to start interpreting. Zhang Lu's role as a hearer also changed to an addressed hearer from an unaddressed hearer at the time.

C. As Animators

According to Goffman, as in Ref. [1], animators in the Participation Framework are like a "talking machine" with sounds in their mouths and facial expressions in communications. Although they are active in utterance production, they are not responsible for their usage of languages. Based on this definition, researchers like Guo, as in Ref. [10], later regard repeaters, who repeat the original sounds of speakers, and re-tellers, who interpret the exact meanings verbatim contained in the source languages into the target languages, as animators. Based on the definition of animator and previous studies, the authors of this research also divide interpreters' sub-roles of animators into repeaters and verbatim re-tellers. After analyzing Zhang Lu's interpreting strategies and roles in the two conferences, the authors present the statistics about her sub-roles of animators in Fig. 3.
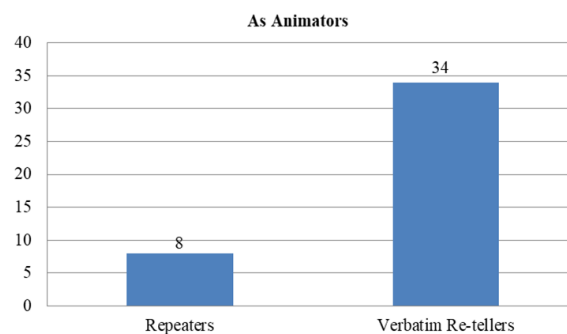

Fig. 3. Frequencies of interpreter's sub-roles of animators.

In the two conferences, the interpreter Zhang played the role of animators for 42 times, 8 of which were repeaters and the rest 34 were verbatim re-tellers. These two roles are further analyzed with typical examples in the following part.

1) As repeaters

First, the interpreter Zhang Lu was a repeater sometimes in her interpreting, which means that she directly repeated the original words or sentences of speakers without any change like change of words or utterances and change of sentence orders. This role is indicated in the following example.

Example 1:

Journalist from NBC News: 美国全国广播公司，NBC News. After the United States continues to blame China for the global pandemic, there is more and more talk of a Cold War between the US and China.

Zhang Lu: 美国全国广播公司: 在美国继续将新冠肺炎疫情全球大流行归咎中国之际,当前出现了更多关于中美之间"新冷战"的言论和说法。

In this example, when a journalist from NBC News asked questions, he told his hearers which news media he was from. Considering most of his hearers were Chinese, he started his introduction in Chinese by saying "美国全国广播公司" and then the English name of this media "NBC News" to help his hearers better understand his meaning and narrow the emotional distance between himself and his hearers. When interpreting, Zhang Lu repeated the Chinese part "美国全国广播公司" without any change, so she was a repeater at this moment.

2) As verbatim re-tellers

Re-tellers, based on previous literature works, are divided into different general roles of Goffman's Participation Framework. Some researchers regarded this role as a sub-role of animators and others saw it as a sub-role of authors. Whether it should be regarded as a sub-role of animators or authors, it depends on which perspective researchers see it from. According to Oxford English Dictionary, "retell" means to tell a story again, often in a different way. Based on this definition, if interpreters tell the information in the source languages again word by word only in a different language, then they do not change any information contained in the source languages or word orders of the source sentences. In this case, the role of a verbatim re-teller should be a sub-role of animators. In the two conferences, Zhang Lu was a re-teller sometimes in her interpreting, because she interpreted the exact meanings of the original language into the target language verbatim and kept the orders of the original utterances.

Example 2:

Journalist from Reuters: As well as: Does China have sufficient policy options to deal with a prolonged global pandemic and rising tensions with the United States? Thank you!

Zhang Lu: 那么从更长远看,中方是否有足够的政策工具来应对全球疫情持续蔓延和不断紧张的中美关系?谢谢!

In example 2, when a journalist from Reuters finished his question, he thanked Premier Li by saying "Thank you". Zhang Lu interpreted "Thank you" in English into "谢谢" in Chinese, which has the exact same meaning with "Thank you". In this example, Zhang retold the exact source information only in a different language. Therefore, she was a re-teller.

D. As Authors

Authors in the Participation Framework refer to those speakers who select other speakers' sentiments which mean feelings or opinions, especially those based on emotions, and use their own words to express these sentiments in communications, as in [1]. On this occasion, they are responsible for their use of language. Based on this viewpoint, researchers have further divided interpreters' role as authors into different sub-roles according to their interpreting strategies and other interactional measures in interpreting. In this research, interpreters' general role as authors are further deconstructed into explainers, reducers, supplementers, order adjustors, doorkeepers of words, doorkeepers of logic, and generalizers. The statistics about these sub-roles in the conferences are presented in Fig. 4.
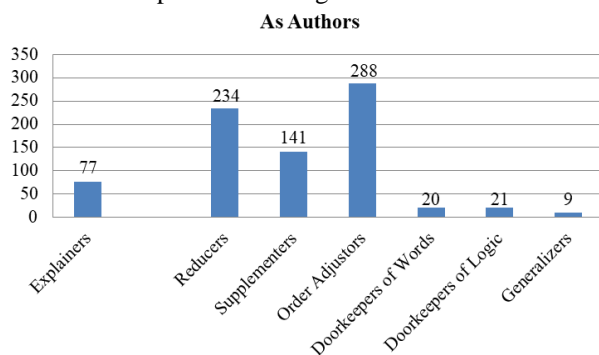

Fig. 4. Frequencies of interpreter's sub-roles of authors.

Overall, Zhang Lu played the sub-roles of explainers, reducers, supplementers, order adjustors, doorkeepers of words, doorkeepers of logic, and generalizers as authors, the frequencies of which are 77, 234, 141, 288, 20, 21 and 9 respectively. In the following part, each sub-role is illustrated with one concrete example.

1) As explainers

When interpreters are explainers, they explain some expressions given by speakers that are difficult to understand, like Chinese idiomatic expressions. They do this in order to help the audience better understand the meanings which the speakers are conveying.

Example 3:

Premier Li: 这是一次前所未有的冲击,我们不可能轻车走熟路,只能是大车行难路,所以我们在政策上要注重创新。

Zhang Lu: In coping with the current round of economic shocks, I am afraid we do not have ready experience to draw from. It is not something we can manage with ease, and we will have to blaze a trail with hard efforts. We must be creative in crafting and delivering our policies and measures.

In example 3, when Premier Li was answering a question concerning COVID-19 prevention and control measures, he used an idiomatic expression "不能轻车走熟路,只能是大车行难路 (a situation in which one cannot tackle the difficulties and challenges facing him easily and he has to make hard efforts)" to show that China was encountered with great difficulties in COVID-19 response because there was no experience China could draw from. When interpreting this expression, Zhang Lu rendered it into "It is not something we can manage with ease, and we will have to blaze a trail with hard efforts". In this case, the interpreting strategy explanation is used to get rid of the structure of this idiomatic expression and convey its meaning to the audience.

2) As reducers

In Oxford English Dictionary, "reduce" means making something less or smaller in size, quantity, price, etc. Based on this definition, a "reducer" means someone/something who/which makes something less or smaller in size, quantity, price, etc. In interpreting, a reducer refers to an interpreter who cuts or omits part(s) of meanings of source languages. In the two conferences, Zhang Lu played the role of reducers 234 times, which are exemplified by example 4.

Example 4:

Zhang Yesui: 请继续提问。

Host 2: 谢谢!请北区第六排第三位男士提问,谢谢!

Journalist from Xinhua News Agency: 谢谢主持人!总理,您好!

In this example, Zhang Yesui, the host in the Great Hall of the People, invited journalists to keep asking questions with a sentence "请继续提问" after last journalist finished a question and Premier Li answered it. After hearing Zhang's utterance, one of the two hosts in the Media Press Center invited the rest of journalists to continue question-raising and then invited a journalist from Xinhua News Agency to raise her question by saying "谢谢!请北区第六排第三位男士提问,谢谢!". After hearing this, the journalist from Xinhua News Agency stood up and thanked the host in the Media Press Center by saying "谢谢主持人!" and greeted Premier Li with the sentence "总理,您好!". These utterances except for the last one were all byplays between Zhang Yesui and journalists and between the host and journalists, which were subordinate communications and not necessary compared with the dominant communications between Premier Li and the journalist. Therefore, Zhang Lu cut these byplays in her interpreting in order not to make the audience distracted from the dominant communications.

3) As supplementers

When interpreters are supplementers in their interpreting, they supplement or add something without new opinions and ideas to the utterances of speakers. Interpreters do this mainly for the sake of connecting different parts of the utterances or making something hidden more apparent, as is shown in example 5.

Example 5:
Zhang Yesui: 有请李总理。
Zhang Lu: First, some opening remarks from Premier Li.

In the example, after Zhang Yesui finished his opening remarks, he invited Premier Li to take questions from journalists with the sentence "有请李总理". This sentence is general and the real meaning or goal is hidden. Actually, Zhang was inviting Premier Li to give his opening remarks for the Press Conference. Therefore, Zhang Lu specified the hidden meaning of the sentence in her interpreting through adding "some opening remarks".

4) As order adjustors

As order adjustors, interpreters do not interpret the source language according to its original word or sentence orders. Instead, they adjust the orders of words and one sentence or orders of different sentences for certain reasons. Example 6 is typical of this role.

Example 6:
Premier Li: 我们保持中国经济的稳定运行,是至关重要的。
Zhang Lu: It is essential that we keep China's economic development on a steady course.

When answering a question about people's well-being and economic development amid the pandemic, Premier Li said that we (China) should maintain the stability of China's economy, which is crucial. When Zhang Lu interpreted this sentence, she adjusted the orders of the former part and latter part, which means she put the latter part "是至关重要的 (It is essential.)" first and the former part "我们保持中国经济的稳定运行 (We keep China's economic development on a steady course.)" second.

5) As doorkeepers of words

When interpreters are doorkeepers of words, they cut some repeated or misused words or sentences of speakers and correct some words which are misused by speakers if necessary. Example 7 is one example of cutting repeated and misused words or sentences.

Example 7:
Premier Li: 我们会进一步主动地对外开放,继续扩大外商来华投资负面清单……额继续缩减外资来华负面清单,继续推动包括服务业在内的对外开放。
Zhang Lu: China will continue to take the initiative to open itself further to the rest of the world. We intend to further cut the negative list on market access for foreign investors and further open up our services sector.

In the above example, a journalist from Lianhe Zaobao of Singapore asked Premier Li about the dual circulation with the domestic circulation as the mainstay and the domestic and foreign circulations reinforcing each other and what influence it may have on foreign capitals. One part of Premier Li's answer was "we (China) will further opening-up for the rest of the world actively, keep expanding the negative list for foreign capitals in China… continue to shorten the negative list for foreign capitals in China, and further open up sectors like the services sector to the world.)". In the original sentences, the part "继续扩大外商来华投资负面清单 (keep expanding the negative list for foreign capitals in China)" actually was misused because the negative list for foreign capitals in China will be further cut given the wider reform and opening-up across the board in China. Also, this part was repetitive for "额继续缩减外资来华负面清单". Therefore, Zhang Lu cut this part in her interpreting.

6) As doorkeepers of logic

If interpreters are doorkeepers of logic, they use two interpreting strategies, i.e., manifestation of logic and correction of logic. Sometimes, speakers' utterances are not organized in clear logic, and interpreters will make the logic apparent in English. Also, if the logic of utterances of the source languages is wrong, interpreters will correct them. The following example can well suggest interpreters' role as doorkeepers of logic.

Example 8:
Premier Li: 尤其是和明年、后年的目标要相衔接,不能造成大起大落,反而会扰乱市场的预期。
Zhang Lu: The target should also be fully aligned with the possibilities and conditions for what we can accomplish next year and the year after next. We must avert wild swings in economic performance because that will de-anchor market expectations.

When asked about the economic policy for 2021, Premier Li emphasized that consistency between economic policies for 2021 and the following years should be maintained with the sentence "The target of our economic policy for 2021 should be aligned with those of the next year and the year after next. We should also prevent wild swings in our economic performance. This will disturb our market expectations". In her interpreting, Zhang Lu added the word "because" between the second sentence and the third one to show that severe consequences, i.e., disturbance of market expectations, would be triggered if there were "wild swings in economic performance" or inconsistencies in economic policies.

7) As generalizers

If interpreters are generalizers in their interpreting, they will generalize the information which is provided by speakers and then convey it to target hearers due to some reasons. Example 9 is used to explain this role.

Example 9:
Premier Li: 我们政策的制定和实施啊,还是要继续围着市场主体转,这是需要继续推进"放管服"改革,让市场主体不仅生存,而且活跃。
Zhang Lu: We will continue to keep our policies well-aligned with the needs of market entities. This year, we will continue with reform of government functions to better help market entities survive and thrive.

In this example, when talking about China's government policies regarding unleashing market entities' vitality amid the pandemic, Premier Li promised that the government would keep reforming itself. Here, "'放管服'改革" originally means that the government will delegate power, streamline administration, and upgrade services to better perform its roles in terms of contributing to the development of market entities. In her interpreting, Zhang Lu rendered this phrase into "reform of government functions". Compared with original meaning contained in "'放管服'改革", meaning of "reform of government functions" is much more general. Therefore, Zhang Lu at this moment was a generalizer.

E. As Principals

"Principals" establish their positions and express their beliefs through using their own words or sentences, and they assume responsibility for what they say, as in [1]. When interpreters are principals in their interpreting activities, they may express speakers' feelings, disseminate their national cultures, manifest the speakers' national stances, and beautify their national images, by which their positions and beliefs are revealed. Statistics about Zhang Lu's sub-roles as a principal are presented in the following figure.
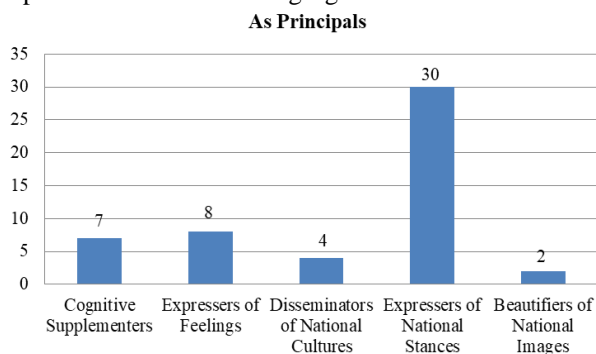

Fig. 5. Frequencies of interpreter's sub-roles of principals.

In the two conferences, the interpreter Zhang Lu played sub-roles of principals as cognitive supplementers, expressers of speakers' feelings, disseminators of Chinese cultures, expressers of China's national stances, and beautifiers of China's national images 7, 8, 4, 30 and 2 times respectively. In the following part, each sub-role of principals is exemplified with one typical case.

1) As cognitive supplementers

When interpreters are cognitive supplementers in their interpreting, they supplement some cognitive information like background information in their target language that does not exist in the source language or make the general information in the source language more specific in the target language. This role is different from the role of supplementers, who add some words/structures for the purposes of connecting different parts of sentences or making the hidden information/meanings more apparent, in that cognitive supplementers add new information like background information, which might be right or wrong, to help target hears better understand what the speakers say or/and get more new information about something. Therefore, cognitive supplementers are responsible for the information they add.

Example 10:

Premier Li: 首先，感谢媒体朋友们在特殊时期，而且克服了特殊的困难，对中国两会进行报道。

Zhang Lu: I wish to thank the media for covering China's NPC and CPPCC Sessions at this unusual time despite much inconvenience and difficulty.

In the example, the phrase "两会 (i.e., the Two Sessions, which refers to the National People's Congress and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference)" was interpreted by Zhang Lu into "NPC and CPPCC Sessions". The phrase "NPC and CPPCC Sessions" is much more specific than "两会" or "the Two Sessions". Therefore, Zhang Lu's specification of the phrase actually adds background information about it and can help journalists on spot better

understand what "两会" refers to.

2) As expressers of speakers' feelings

If interpreters are expressers of the speakers' feelings, they will manifest the speakers' feelings or make the speakers' deeply hidden feelings more apparent by adding or using some words that contain certain meanings or feelings, which are not contained in the source utterances. These feelings can be happiness, sorrow, satisfaction, sadness, and other kinds of feelings about someone or something. To explain this role, example 11 is used.

Example 11:

Premier Li: 去年在疫情肆虐的时候,当时很多街面上都见不到行人了,多数店铺都关了。当时我们最担心的就会,就是出现大规模的失业。

Zhang Lu: In the raging times of COVID-19 last year when many bustling commercial streets were deserted and many shops were closed, our biggest concern was massive job losses.

After the COVID-19 pandemic hit China by surprise at the end of 2019, people's lives and businesses in China were severely influenced. People across the country coordinated themselves to block-down measures, and business activities were almost shut down. On these horrible occasions, streets were empty of people and businesses, as described in Premier Li's utterance "Last year, when the COVID-19 pandemic was raging across China, many commercial streets were deserted and many shops were closed." in example 11. When interpreting this utterance, Zhang Lu added one word "bustling" before "commercial streets" to the source utterance. This word showcases the scene of crowded commercial streets and prosperous business activities before the pandemic. However, compared with the scene before the pandemic, these commercial streets during the pandemic were empty of people and businesses due to quarantine and block-down measures, which caused tremendous impacts on people's lives and business activities. Zhang Lu's addition of the word "bustling" shows Premier Li's sorrow for people's and businesses' suffering from the pandemic.

3) As disseminators of national cultures

Since interpreting is a shift between two cultures, in addition to rendering the meanings of the source languages, interpreters also communicate cultures between the source languages and the target languages. When it comes to interpreting of utterances closely intertwined with one country's cultures, interpreters may use some interpreting strategies to help target hearers better understand the cultures. For instance, interpreters add some words/structures to remind the target hears that something that is being mentioned is related to the country's cultures. What is more, they may explain some cultural elements in details which are originally hard to understand, or they just directly interpret the cultural elements literally for the target hearers. All these interpreting strategies can help facilitate target hearers' understanding about and the dissemination of national cultures. This is why interpreters are also called disseminators of national cultures. This role is suggested by example 12.

Example 12:

Journalist from China Times Daily: 今年的两会因为疫

情的因素,延到5月才举行,这个时间点刚好跟"5.20"非常接近。

Zhang Lu: Because of COVID-19, the Two Sessions this year were postponed to be held in May, which is quite close to the date of May 20th.

In example 12, a journalist from China Times Daily raised a question, in which there was a phrase "两会". This phrase refers to the National People's Congress (NPC) and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), which are also called the NPC and CPPCC Sessions in China's unique political system. Zhang Lu, as an interpreter, should have used some strategies like cognitive supplement to help the target hearers better understand this cultural elements. However, since China's NPC and CPPCC Sessions have become a hotspot issue for the rest of countries in the world and many journalists have been paying their attention to these two sessions in recent years, the phrase "两会" has been one of China's symbols for the world. What is more, this phrase was explained previously in the same Press Conference. Therefore, it is not necessary to explain it or add some cognitive information to it again, and the literal translation of the phrase can disseminate this cultural element to other countries directly. Given the above reasons, Zhang Lu interpreted "两会" into "the Two Sessions".

4) As expressers of national stances

On the occasion of the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021 which were of high diplomatic importance, the interpreter Zhang Lu was no longer a representative of herself but a representative of the whole country, and she had her ideology which could influence her interpreting. According to Hatim's definition of ideology in the book *The Translator as Communication*, it means the tacit assumptions, beliefs, and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups [18]. For Zhang Lu, her ideology such as patriotism requires that she should promote China's national interests by means of expressing or manifesting China's national stances in her interpreting, which may be hidden or not expressed directly by speakers. This role is exemplified by example 13.

Example 13:

Premier Li: 这需要用智慧去扩大我们的共同利益,管控分歧、矛盾。

Zhang Lu: We must use our wisdom to continue to expand common interests and properly manage differences and disagreements.

In the example, when answering a question regarding China-US relations, Premier Li highlighted that it requires that we (China and the US) tap into our wisdom to expand our common interests and manage differences and disagreements. Zhang Lu, in her interpreting, added a word "properly", which was not included in the source utterance. Why did Zhang do so? China, as a major responsible country in the international community, has always stated that it will handle all differences and disagreements with other countries through friendly dialogue and consultation under the guidance of the Principle of Peaceful Co-existence and based on international laws. This stance is of great significance and it has always been expressed and emphasized in diplomatic occasions. As an important part in diplomatic events, interpreters play a significant role in this regard through such interpreting strategies as manifesting friendships with other countries and erasing differences. Therefore, Zhang Lu added the word "properly" to show China's attitude toward the China-US relations: China always stands ready to cooperate with the US and handle the differences between the two countries.

5) As beautifiers of national images

As the last sub-role in the principal classification, interpreters sometimes are beautifiers of their countries' images. As was pointed out by Wang, interpreters tended to create positive images for their companies or employers [19]. This is the same for interpreters in diplomatic events, who tend to create positive images for their countries or beautify the images of their countries, as is suggested by example 14.

Example 14:

Journalist from Asahi Shimbun: 那我的问题是:世界经济因为新冠肺炎的蔓延正在遭受严重打击,数次控制住疫情的中国今后计划同包括日本在内的周边各国开展什么样的经济合作?

Zhang Lu: The COVID-19 disease…COVID-19 has taken a big hit on the global economy, but China has been successful in bringing the spread of the virus under control in a short stand of time. How does China plan to do to advance economic cooperation with Japan and other neighboring countries?

In example 14, a journalist from Asahi Shimbun, when asking a question, mentioned "数次控制住疫情的中国 (China has brought the spread of the virus under control.)". This utterance is originally a fact-based description. However, in her interpreting, Zhang Lu added "successfully" and "in a short stand of time". The addition of the two parts reflects that China took quick response measures after the pandemic broke out at the very beginning and contained the spread of the virus effectively in a short period of time. Therefore, the above addition helps to promote a shining national image for China to the rest of the world in front of a major global disease.

F. Overall Data about Interpreters' Roles

Interpreters in their interpreting activities are mostly unaddressed hearers, who are invisible. Even though they sometimes change their roles as hearers from unaddressed hearers to addressed hearers, the shift of roles as hearers is mainly influenced by speakers and this shift seldom takes place. Compared with their roles as hearers, the changes of their roles as speakers are mainly influenced by their interpreting strategies, which are under their proactive control and take place very frequently. Therefore, in this part, the authors only present statistics about the interpreter Zhang Lu's roles of speakers, and statistics about her roles of hearers are not shown.

First, statistics about frequencies of her general roles of speakers, i.e., animators, authors, and principals, are presented in Fig. 6. Statistics in the figure show that Zhang Lu played the role of authors most of the time in the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021, the frequency of which is 790. Following the role of authors are the roles of principals and animators, the frequencies of which are 51 and 42 respectively.

Fig. 6. Frequencies of interpreter's general roles as speakers.

The ratios of her general roles of speakers, i.e., animators, authors, and principals, are presented in Fig. 7. The figure shows that Zhang Lu's role of authors takes the largest proportion, accounting for 89.47% of all roles. This role is followed by the roles of principals and animators, which occupy 5.78% and 4.76% of all general roles respectively.
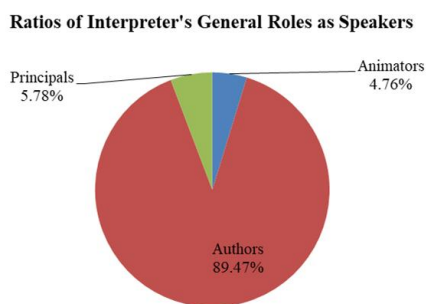

Fig. 7. Ratios of interpreter's general roles as speakers.

Then, statistics about the interpreter's all sub-roles of speakers are presented in Fig. 8.
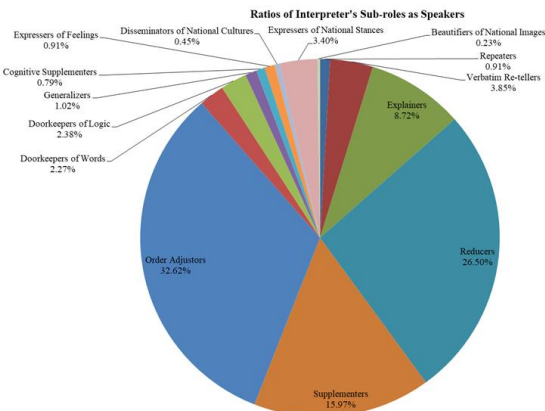

Fig. 8. Ratios of interpreter's sub-roles as speakers.

As is shown in the figure, the interpreter Zhang Lu in the two conferences mainly performed the sub-roles of order adjustors, reducers, supplementers, and explainers, with each accounting for 32.62%, 26.50%, 15.97%, and 8.72% of all sub-roles respectively. Her sub-roles following the above are re-tellers, expressers of national stances, doorkeepers of logic, doorkeepers of words, and generalizers, which occupy 3.85%, 3.40%, 2.38%, 2.27% and 1.02% of the total respectively. The last group of sub-roles, the ratios of which are below 1%, are repeaters, expressers of feelings, cognitive supplementers, disseminators of national cultures, and beautifiers of national images, with each occupying 0.91%, 0.91%, 0.79%, 0.45%, and 0.23% of all sub-roles respectively.

G. Reasons for the Interpreter's Complicated Roles

In this part, reasons for why the interpreter Zhang Lu

played these general roles and sub-roles of both hearers and speakers are analyzed. Based on the results of this research and previous studies, the authors discuss about these roles mainly from such perspectives as participation frameworks in online conferences, differences of sentence structures between Chinese and English, interpreters' professional code of conduct, cultures, and powers in interpreting.

1) Complexity of participation frameworks in online conferences

Since the break-out of the COVID-19 pandemic at the end of 2019, many onsite conferences have been prohibited due to requirements of COVID-19 prevention and control measures. To tackle this problem, many conferences have been held online via video links, which are also called online/virtual conferences. For these conferences, their participation frameworks differ from those of traditional onsite conferences. In one traditional onsite conference, there is usually only one meeting room. Under this circumstance, the host and speaker(s) can talk to their audience directly with the help of their eyesight and gestures, without disturbance from other hosts or speakers. In this case, there is only one dominant communication between the main speaker(s) and the audience and sometimes subordinate communications between the host and the audience that may influence the interpreter's interpreting strategies and roles. Compared with onsite conferences, participation frameworks of online conferences are more complex. In online conferences, especially those with more than one simultaneous meeting room connected via video links to the main meeting room, there are always several hosts, with one as the main host in the main meeting room and others as co-hosts in other simultaneous meeting rooms. Sometimes, these hosts may talk at the same time and interfere with each other due to lack of eyesight and gestures to help them take the conversation turns or delay of network signals. What is more, if there are several simultaneous meeting rooms, which means the main speaker may be separated from the hearers, communications can happen in each separate room between co-hosts and the audience, interfering with interpreters' interpreting strategies and roles.

Take the Press Conference for the Two Sessions in 2020 as an example. Participants of this conference were divided into two rooms, one group in the Great Hall of the People and another group in the Media Press Center. Peoples' communications in each room and across rooms, namely Premier Li's communications with Zhang Yesui, Zhang Yesui's communications with Zhang Lu through his eyesight, and Premier Li's communications with Zhang Lu through his eyesight in the Great Hall of the People, all of which were subordinate communications, the two hosts' communications with journalists in the Media Press Center as subordinate communications, and Premier Li's communications with journalists across the two rooms as dominate communications, all influenced the interpreter Zhang Lu's interpreting strategies and roles of hearers and speakers. Zhang Lu, for the sake of keeping the audience not distracted from the main communications, often cut those subordinate communications between the hosts and the main speaker and communications between the hosts and hearers in her interpreting, and she often only interpreted the communications between the main speaker and the hearers.

Therefore, more divisions of meeting rooms in online conferences can lead to more complicated communications and participation frameworks, which further contribute to interpreters' more complicated roles in their interpreting.

2) Political powers in diplomatic interpreting

Whether we admit or not, our society is governed by many kinds of powers, and people have to be subject to these powers in many aspects of our life. In certain kinds of interpreting, of course, there are also many powers which influence interpreters' interpreting strategies and roles. One of these powers is political powers in diplomatic interpreting, with interpreting in Press Conferences for the Two Sessions as its typical representative.

Previously, researchers have conducted studies on influences of political powers on diplomatic interpreting. Ye analyzed influential political factors such as national status and policies which affected interpreters' interpreting strategies in diplomatic occasions [20]. Also, Wang, as in [19], when analyzing why shell nouns were used in Chinese-English political interpreting, pointed out that the use of shell nouns could construct national stances in an exact and efficient way. What is more, Li and Zhang stated that additional explicitation in the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions could express the integrity and accuracy of political terms after studying the additional explicitation in the Press Conferences from 1998 to 2014 [21].

Based on previous studies, it can be stated that there are high-level political powers of different countries and also of political leaders of one country in diplomatic interpreting. On this occasion, national stances are often expressed, and the interpreting of them may affect one country's international relations with other countries and the country's images. Therefore, formality, faithfulness, and accuracy should be maintained during the whole interpreting process [22]. This is why interpreters will use such strategies as verbatim re-telling, repeating, and correcting misused words and logic because they can keep the interpreted information as accurate and faithful to the source meanings as possible. Also, since national stances regarding international and domestic affairs are often expressed in diplomatic interpreting, interpreters sometimes will express national stances or make them more apparent if they are implicit in the source languages for such purposes as showing the image of the country as a major responsible one and the country's people-centered policies. Most importantly, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, China has always held all along such national stances as protecting Chinese people's health and lives against the pandemic, taking effective measures to cope with impacts of the pandemic on the economy and society, cooperating with other countries to contain the spread of the virus and so on. On political occasions, expressing them or make them more apparent can help to shape a good image for China in both China and the international community. Therefore, the interpreter Zhang Lu played the role of expressers of national stances very often when interpreting in conferences against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic.

3) Differences between English and Chinese sentence structures

The fact that Chinese sentence structures differ a lot from those of English is another important reason for interpreters'

complicated interpreting strategies and roles. First, English and Chinese differ from each other in terms of logical connection of sentences. For English, it often contains many long sentences. For each long sentence, there are several short sentence fragments which are connected by such linguistic elements as conjunctions, non-predicates, and subordinate clauses. For Chinese, it often has many short sentences, and these short sentences are mainly connected by meanings instead of conjunctions or subordinate clauses [23]. Because of this difference of sentence structures, interpreters often need to cut some words and phrases like "and" when they render English into Chinese, and they need to supplement some words and phrases when interpreting Chinese into English so that their outputs can follow the rules governing English sentences, contributing to their roles of reducers and supplementers.

Second, Dong, as in [23], stated that Chinese are influenced by substantial thinking and people speaking English are influenced by abstract thinking, people who speak English often use prepositions and abstract nouns, and Chinese often use concrete nouns. In English, prepositions like "of" are often used as postpositive attributives to place adjectives after the nouns which are modified by the adjectives. Therefore, when interpreting Chinese into English, interpreters often use prepositions together with other words and structures to place the adjectives after the nouns as postpositive attributives, which make interpreters play the role of order adjustors.

4) Requirements of code of conduct for interpreters

Interpreters are governed by professional requirements when conducting interpreting, such as requirements of the Code of Professional Conduct set by UK's National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI)[1]. Based on these professional requirements, interpreters will interpret the source languages as faithfully as they can. They will not change, omit, supplement, and distort the information contained in source languages by using such interpreting strategies as repeating and verbatim re-telling, which demonstrate their roles of repeaters and verbatim re-tellers as animators.

However, given the differences of sentence structures between English and Chinese and complexity of participation frameworks in online conferences, interpreters cannot always fully abide by these professional requirements. In cases where interpreters cannot fully follow these requirements, they will try their best not to be too distant from these requirements, and they will use such interpreting strategies as cutting some words in source languages, supplementing necessary information, explaining phrases in source languages, adjusting orders of sentences, and generalizing the source information to keep their outputs as faithful as possible to the source information.

5) Interpreting as cross-cultural communications

Interpreting and translation are not only about rendering the contents contained in one language into another language, but also about transmitting the cultural elements contained in one language to other cultures. Han and Xu pointed out that

[1]See NRPSI.
http://www.nrpsi.org.uk/for-clients-of-interpreters/code-of-professional-con duct.htmml [2017-3-26].

translation was also about shifts of cultures apart from shifts of languages [24, 25]. Guo, as in [10], stated: "interpreting was a form of social and cultural practice" (p. 47). According to previous studies, it is well recognized that interpreting and translation are closely intertwined with cultures, and cultural elements contained in one language should be conveyed into other cultures.

However, realizing this goal is hard. In order to achieve full and good transmission of cultural elements contained in one language to another culture, interpreters may use such interpreting skills as cognitive addition, which means supplementing cognitive and cultural backgrounds, to help their target hearers better understand the cultural elements contained in source languages. At this moment, interpreters play the role of disseminators of national cultures. In some cases, speakers may speak their target hearers' languages or use/quote utterances/expressions containing cultural elements of their target hearers so as to narrow the emotional distance between themselves and their target audience. In this situation, interpreters may repeat the original utterances to narrow the emotional distance between speakers and their target hearers. At all these moments, the interpreters are animators.

6) Interpreters' interactional powers in interpreting

In their interpreting activities, interpreters themselves have certain interactional powers, no matter whether they are in diplomatic interpreting or other kinds of interpreting. For example, in their paper about powers in face-to-face interpreting, Ren stated that interpreters in face-to-face interpreting have interactional powers, and there are three methods for exercising these powers, i.e., being a co-interlocutor in conversations, being an empowerment figure, and taking a non-neutral stance [26]. When interpreters are co-interlocutors in their interpreting, they have "text-ownership", that is, they use some interpreting strategies, like explaining cultural differences and being doorkeepers to cut some information in source languages such as cultural taboos for certain purposes (ibid). When interpreters in face-to-face interpreting are empowerment figures, they empower people who are weak in conversations to better secure information, get the right to speak, and decide on their own to do something or not. If interpreters in face-to-face interpreting are distant from neutral stances, which should be held by them, their cultural identities, cultural orientation, sense of belonging to some communities and so on lead them away from this neutral stance (ibid).

Compared with usual face-to-face interpreting like tour escort interpreting, conference interpreting is more formal. Though interpreters in conference interpreting are not so interactive, they still sometimes play the roles of co-interlocutors, empowerment figures, and figures distant from neutral stances. In the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021, the interpreter Zhang Lu utilized this interactional power through being a seemingly co-interlocutor and a figure distant from neutral stances. When she was a doorkeeper of logic and words to convey the right information to the audience, she was a seemingly co-interlocutor. Also, Zhang Lu was distant from neutral stances sometimes when she was a disseminator of national cultures, an expresser of national stances, an expresser of the speaker's feelings, and a beautifier of national images.

V. CONCLUSION

In this part, the major findings are provided through answering the four research questions which are proposed in part 3.1. Next, significance of this research is presented.

First of all, as for what the dominant communications and subordinate communications were in the Press Conferences for the Two Sessions in 2020 and 2021, there were one kind of dominant communications and two kinds of subordinate communications. For the dominant communications, they were talks between Premier Li and Journalists. As for the two kinds of subordinate communications, they were two kinds of byplays which were talks between journalists and the three hosts and between Premier Li and Zhang Yesui. These two kinds of byplays influenced Zhang Lu's interpreting strategies and roles such as a reducer because Zhang Lu cut these byplays in order to prevent them from distracting the target hearers' attention from the main speakers.

Second, regarding what sub-roles of hearers Zhang Lu performed in the two Press Conferences, she played as both an unaddressed recipient and addressed recipient. As a ratified recipient, Zhang was usually not addressed when interpreting in the two Press Conferences since the speakers often payed their attention to their target audience and neglected her. Therefore, Zhang was an unaddressed recipient most of the time. However, when the speakers shifted their attention, such as verbal and visual attention, to her, they were expecting her to take the conversation turn to talk. At this moment, she was addressed and thus her role as a hearer shifted from an unaddressed hearer to an addressed hearer.

Third, in terms of Zhang's sub-roles of speakers, she played the sub-roles of animators as repeaters and verbatim re-tellers, sub-roles of authors as explainers, reducers, supplementers, order adjustors, doorkeepers of words, doorkeepers of logic, and generalizers, and sub-roles of principals as cognitive supplementers, expressers of speakers' feelings, disseminators of national cultures, expressers of national stances, and beautifiers of national images. Against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic, she frequently played the roles of expressers of speakers' such feelings as their sorrow and sympathy for people's sufferings and hardships that were caused by the pandemic, expressers of national stances like China's proactivity to promote cooperation with other countries to contain the pandemic, and beautifiers of national images who demonstrated China's quick and effective response to the COVID-19 pandemic after it broke out, which reflected China's image as a major country.

Finally, as for why the interpreter Zhang Lu played the above complicated roles, there are mainly six reasons: (1) Participation frameworks of the two online conferences were more complex than those of onsite conferences, especially when there were several simultaneous meeting rooms and hosts. In this situation, these hosts sometimes talked, which distracted hearers' attention. To keep the hearers' attention on the main speaker(s), the interpreter used such interpreting skills like omission of hosts' words or utterances, which led to her roles such as reducers. (2) Political powers in diplomatic interpreting required that the interpreter should express speakers' feelings, express national stances, and beautify national images apart from finishing her routine

interpreting tasks. (3) Differences of language structures between Chinese and English also caused changes of her roles because these differences required her to take such interpreting strategies as adjusting word/sentence orders. (4) Code of professional conduct for interpreters required that the interpreter should be faithful when interpreting, which forced her to play the sub-roles of authors most of the time. (5) Interpreting's being a kind of cross-cultural communication called on the interpreter to adopt such strategies as keeping cultural elements and adding cultural backgrounds, which made her play such roles as repeaters and supplementers. (6) The interpreter had interactional powers in her interpreting, and she used this power in a sound manner to facilitate communications between speakers, contributing to the changes of her roles.

For the significance of this research, it helps interpreters to comprehensively and profoundly understand their complicated interpreting strategies, roles in interpreting, and complex reasons underlying these strategies and roles in online conferences. Also, it suggests that future interpreters should pay attention to differences of language structures between Chinese and English and nurture their cross-cultural communication awareness and ability. Most importantly, when interpreting in online conferences in the post-pandemic era, they should know clearly the participation frameworks, focus on dominant communications among main speakers, be aware of speakers' political powers in diplomatic interpreting, and use their interactional powers properly, so as to deliver good interpreting performances.

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