

A Corpus-based CDA Study of Ideological Mediation through  
Translation Shifts: An Analysis of the Official Chinese-English  
Translation of *The Governance of China*

By

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## Abstract

This study aims to explore the extent to which President Xi's ideological message is mediated in the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China* via various translation shifts and analyze the possible ideological reasons behind it. Unlike previous studies whose interpretation of translation shifts has been restricted to either the linguistic level or the speech situation, this research project focuses on exploring the translation shifts' ideological significance within the broader sociopolitical context. It adopts a mixed-methods approach, merging critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus-based translation studies. A parallel corpus based on the source and target texts of President Xi's domestic speeches to officials and Party members, published in *The Governance of China*, was built to ensure a quantitative and qualitative analysis. It is also noteworthy that this study concentrates on the key Chinese modality markers, transitivity processes, metaphorical expressions, and referring terms that stand out in the present research corpus compared to general Chinese discourse instead of all the existing or the most frequent ones. The overall results suggest that translation shifts in modality, transitivity, metaphor, and reference have slightly increased the ideological significance of strengthening the government and the Party's self-discipline compared to other national issues, and exhibited a tendency to contextualize considering the foreign audiences' ideological positions. Such shifts may be related to the translation agency's commitment and the state's current foreign policy. Ultimately, this study reveals subtle ideological translation shifts that will be buried if researchers treat source and target texts separately. It calls for translators to raise awareness of textual features' ideological potential and encourages audiences to pay attention to the institutional and sociopolitical background of translated texts.

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## **Abbreviations and Glossary**

ST: Source Text

TT: Target Text

LT: Literal Translation

ENG: English language

CHI: Chinese language

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CPC: Communist Party of China

CICG: The China International Communications Group, which is also known as the China Foreign Languages Publishing Administration, was formerly known as the China International Publishing Group (CIPG).

SFG: Systemic Functional Grammar

# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background and research aim

Since former leader Deng Xiaoping introduced the policy of reform and opening up in 1978, China has transformed from a closed state to an active participant and essential contributor to international exchanges and cooperation (Gu, 2019a). Thus, there has been a growing demand for various translation services at home and abroad, including the translation of Chinese political discourse. Political discourse generally refers to the context in which politicians talk or write politically, such as parliamentary sessions and cabinet meetings (Van Dijk 1997). It is universally accepted that politicians frequently resort to language to build alliances, shape opinions, and gather approval and support. Moreover, it has been increasingly recognized in recent decades that the translation of political discourse may be ideologically motivated or constrained. For instance, Schöffner (2004a, p.145) suggested four strategic functions of political translation, “coercion, resistance, dissimulation, and (de)legitimation.” The former three rely on translation’s availability, while the last is achieved by the positive self-representation and negative representation of others in translation. Besides, it has been demonstrated in various studies (e.g., Ayyad 2012; Koskinen 2014; Gagnon and Kalantari 2017) that many political translations are subject to the influence of the translating institution’s ideologies and policies.

Against such a background, the overarching aim of the present study is to examine whether and to what extent the ideological message of President Xi expressed in the Chinese version of *The Governance of China* is mediated (strengthened, downplayed, or transformed) in the English version through the official Chinese-English translation. This study also aims to investigate the possible ideological factors influencing the translation, editing, and publication processes by taking the institutional background and the broader sociopolitical context into consideration.

Accordingly, four specific research objectives are formed as follows:

- (1) creating a parallel corpus based on the source and target texts of President Xi's domestic speeches to officials and Party members, published in *The Governance of China*
- (2) identifying ideological shifts within the corpus
- (3) differentiating obligatory translation shifts from non-obligatory translation shifts
- (4) analyzing the patterns of optional ideological shifts according to the institutional background and the broader sociopolitical context.

## **1.2 An overview of the research data**

*The Governance of China* was chosen over other Chinese political discourses because of its distinctiveness. President Xi Jinping is not the only Chinese political leader whose discourse was systematically collected, compiled, and published. It appears to have become a tradition since *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* was published in 1951 by the People's Publishing House. Nevertheless, *The Governance of China* is notably different from other similar works in terms of its unique nature and promotion strength. Firstly, it is an ongoing project along with President Xi's governance rather than a final summary of his past endeavors. Volume I was first published in 2014, soon after he took office in 2013, while previous political leaders Mao Zedong's, Deng Xiaoping's, Jiang Zemin's, and Hu Jintao's works came out either at the end of their tenure or after their retirement. Four volumes have been published, and more can be expected in the future. Secondly, it has been strongly promoted worldwide, displayed in international book fairs such as the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2014, the London Book Fair, and the BookExpo America in 2015, translated into over 20 foreign languages, and available in digital versions for the first time. Considering its wide availability, it is reasonable to say that *The Governance of China* can reach a broader foreign audience than previous political leaders' works. Huang Youyi (2018), one of the finalizers of *The Governance*

*of China* also the vice president of the Translators Association of China and the former vice president of the CICG, pointed out that with China's rapid development in the context of globalization in recent decades, the primary audience of Chinese political translation has expanded from few foreign Chinese Studies experts to people around the world from all walks of life who relatively have limited knowledge of Chinese culture, politics, and history and are not familiar with the Chinese discourse system. Xu Mingqiang (2014), one of the finalizers of the book also the former editor-in-chief of the Foreign Languages Press and the Long River Press, showed that Chinese political discourse that communicates effectively with domestic audiences if translated without mediation may lead to confusion or even misunderstandings among foreign audiences. In such circumstances, translators, facing a considerable challenge in bridging the ideological and cultural gaps between Chinese political leaders and foreign audiences, were likely to introduce ideological shifts in the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China*.

It is also worth noting that the book, as stated in the Publisher's Note at the beginning of the first volume, is not an autobiography but a compilation of President Xi's spoken and written works, aiming to "respond to rising international interest and to enhance the rest of the world's understanding of the Chinese government's philosophy and its domestic and foreign policies." Hence, it is a valuable resource to gain insight into the CPC and the Chinese government's most recent political ideas and policies. More crucially, the book represents more than just an editorial endeavor; it also carries significant political implications. The book offers an important platform for improving China's public diplomacy. It enables direct communication and engagement between the Chinese political leader and foreign public audiences, without the mediation of the foreign government or non-government agents. In addition, Jiang and Ren (2019) suggested that the English version fits in with President Xi's appeal to improve China's cultural soft power and amplify its voice on the international stage under the slogans of

“better telling China’s stories” and “making China’s voice heard.” However, their study is purely qualitative with limited generalizability. Therefore, further investigation is required. Considering the above, it is reasonable to assume that ideological mediation may have been intentionally adopted in the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China* under the influence of sociopolitical factors.

Generally speaking, the translation of official political discourse in China demonstrates the following features: Firstly, it is usually conducted by state-run institutions, such as the Foreign Languages Press and the Central Translation Bureau, rather than individual translators. Moreover, it was proposed that, under the leadership of the CPC, the vast majority of professional translators employed by the government are also members of the CPC and therefore uphold the prevailing ideologies (Li and Li 2015, p.426). Secondly, it tends to be carried out in a collective way involving “translators, revisors, and polishers working as a team with the role of the polisher often assumed by native English speakers” to “make up for the inadequate command of the English language” (Cheng 2002, p.194). Thirdly, although accuracy and faithfulness remain the priority of political translation, increasing attention has been given to the discussion of foreign audiences’ reception in recent decades, highlighting the pivotal role of translators, not just as linguistic converters but also as cultural and ideological mediators. This can be seen from the publications of professional translators who have participated in the translation of official political writings themselves (Huang 2004; Huang 2015; Chen 2014; Yin 2016) and the academic research carried out by scholars majoring in translating and interpreting studies (Li and Li 2015; Zheng and Ren 2018; Gu 2019a; Gu 2019b).

Under such circumstances, it is noteworthy that the translation, editing, and publication procedures of the English version of *The Governance of China* are also institutionalized. Participants, organized and guided by the Party and state institutions, are responsible for incorporating personal insights into the institutionalized models, translating the

ideological message into textual representations, and striving for the established objective of the translation project which is the effective international communication of President Xi's ideas. The book was published by the state-owned Foreign Languages Press. It was edited by three government or CPC institutions together: the State Council Information Office, the Party Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee, and CICG affiliated with the CPC Central Committee. The translation process features a multi-level multi-step collaboration within the government and CPC's institutional framework. According to the translators of the first and second volumes of the English version (Huang Youyi cited in Areddy 2015, Liu Kuijuan, Li Yang, Wang Mingming, and David Ferguson cited in China.org.cn 2017), the translation process could be summarized into three major steps: The work was first roughly translated from Chinese to English by Chinese translators. Then, translation was proofread by foreign experts who "polished the work to make it more reader-friendly". The translation was finalized by senior Chinese experts who came in to "make sure there were no misunderstandings or political errors" in the product. Two points should be noted here. Firstly, it seems that senior Chinese experts assume the greatest authority and responsibility as finalizers. Secondly, it appears that foreign experts and senior Chinese experts diverge in terms of work focus. The former focuses more on linguistic style, readability, and naturalness while the latter is more concerned with ideological accuracy and appropriateness. However, this does not mean that style is disregarded by Chinese experts, nor does it suggest that foreign experts are indifferent to ideological nuances.

In my view, the Chinese version of *The Governance of China* is marked by a style that frequently employs repetition. Comparatively, the English version is characterized by a more concise linguistic style. This difference is likely a result of the translation team's stylistic considerations, particularly those of the foreign experts, as mentioned above. Generally speaking, Chinese political discourse often employs the recurrent usage of identical or synonymous words, phrases, clauses, or syntactic structures throughout the text to convey emphasis and assertions. However, this could be a bit of a turn-off in

English. Linguistic conciseness is highly valued in English writing, facilitating readers' comprehension and holding readers' attention. Too much repetition in Anglophone political discourse can produce a counterproductive effect, exhausting audiences rather than engaging and persuading them. This has been illustrated by Pinkham (2007, 6th edition p.32) as the "deadening effect" within *The Translator's Guide to Chinglish*:

This problem of the "deadening effect" often arises in English versions of political documents. When all tasks are "arduous," when it is "imperative" to perform them all, and when we are constantly exhorted to execute them "conscientiously," "diligently," "resolutely," "energetically," "vigorously," "unswervingly," "persistently," and "unremittingly," the reader, exhausted at the end of the first page, mentally throws up his or her hands and stops listening.

Given the above, the translation team is likely motivated to adopt translation techniques such as omission to improve the target text's effective communication with foreign audiences. Nevertheless, it should not be neglected that similar repetitive expressions may experience different degrees of omission in the translation process because they have various ideological significance. For instance, Kang (2007) found that negative referring terms of others display a higher level of omission triggered by repetition than the neutral referring terms of others and thus help reduce the ideological antagonism between "we" and "them." Therefore, both stylistic and ideological factors should be taken into consideration during the analysis.

In addition, although the names of the translation team members were not listed in the English edition, information about them could be discovered through the interviews they gave and their published papers. Huang (2018) noted that the translation team was organized and guided by the CICG, including both experienced Chinese translators specializing in government and CPC documents and foreign experts familiar with China's policies. For example, David W. Ferguson, who took charge of reviewing the

English version, had worked in the subsidiaries of CICG before, covering the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and reviewing the translation of Chinese government white papers. He firmly believed the book is vital for people worldwide to learn about China (Zhao 2018). Huang himself (2018) argued that the book represents telling Chinese stories and building Chinese international discourse. He (cited in Han 2018) stressed that translators should raise three types of awareness in translating the political leader's work: linguistic awareness, political awareness, and global audience awareness. Liu Kuijuan and Li Yang, professional translators of the English Department of the Foreign Languages Press, both joined the rough translation phase. They (cited in Zhao 2018) also stressed the book's importance in communicating China's message to the world. Besides, Wang Mingjie (2020), former vice president of CICG and finalizer of the English version of *The Governance of China*, said that the quality of this translation has been assured through the formulation of *Guidelines on the Publication Format and Consistent Lexical Choices for the English Translation Project (The Governance of China)* by Foreign Languages Press.

Overall, it can be argued that CICG played a central role as it joined the editing process, organized and guided the translation team, and led its subordinate institution, the Foreign Language Press, in publication. As stated on the institutional website, CICG, formed in 1949 under the leadership of revolutionaries such as Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, is tasked with enhancing the Party and the state's international communication, mainly through translating varied Chinese political and cultural works (Huang 2021). It is recognized as the oldest and largest professional international communication organization in the country (Pan and Tang 2018). According to China.org (2016), CICG publishes over 5,000 titles of books and 30 periodicals in more than 40 languages and operates [www.china.org.cn](http://www.china.org.cn) and another 30 websites every year. In addition, it is said that in 2010, CICG completed restructuring eight subsidiary publishing houses from public institutions to corporations (CNTV 2010). This marketization means that the CICG is paying more attention to the broader public than a few experts in foreign

countries and leaning toward a more target-oriented translation approach. In a word, it is vital to consider the ideological position and the social relations of the institutions responsible for the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China* when analyzing ideological mediation through translation shifts.

*The Governance of China* is a diverse collection, encompassing various political discourse genres (such as speeches, talks, interviews, instructions, and correspondence) and a broad array of topics. Given the repetition of presidential discourse patterns as well as the scope limitations of the thesis, I chose to merely focus on the translation of President Xi's domestic speeches addressed to government officials and Party members collected in the first and second volumes of *The Governance of China* (91 in total). It is also noted that most speeches in the book are not complete transcripts or scripts, but rather summaries or extracts of the main points, as indicated in the book's footnotes. Tables 7 and 8 in Chapter 3 provide an overview of the selected speeches for building the research corpora. It is shown that the research data encompass speeches delivered at various Party/government conferences, seminars, meetings, and study sessions, as well as during inspection visits. These speeches span a broad range of topics, including political philosophy, social undertakings, environment, law, culture, economy, armed forces, foreign relations, and so on.

### **1.3 Influences and limitations**

*The Governance of China* holds considerable significance as it offers insight into the contemporary political thought and governance model of China. However, most existing translation studies on it are confined to the linguistic level or the context of the speech situation (Deng and Zeng 2020). While there has been a growing interest in exploring the English version's translation shifts' ideological significance within a broader sociopolitical context, these analyses have predominantly been qualitative

rather than quantitative (Jiang and Ren 2019). Hence, there is a need for a more objective and comprehensive analysis. In the present study, I intend to further investigate the relationship between translation shifts and the institutional and sociopolitical background by integrating corpus-based translation studies with CDA.

Critical discourse analysts have already shown that modality, transitivity, personal reference, and metaphor can indicate ideological stance in political discourse (Fowler 1991; Simpson 1993). Nevertheless, most of them approach these aspects with a negative definition of ideology which concentrates on reproducing unequal power relations. As far as I am concerned, this could to some extent restrict the scope of CDA and may lead to the potential problem of opposing for the sake of opposing. More importantly, without direct consultation with participating translators, it is hard to ascertain whether observed translation shifts were made consciously or unconsciously. Consequently, I choose to adopt a more neutral definition of ideology as a system of beliefs with the potential to change or maintain current social relations of power and mainly concentrate on understanding and explaining the translation shifts' possible ideological reasons based on the institutional and sociopolitical context.

One limitation of this study concerns the overall methodology. This study is product-oriented, depending heavily on the textual analysis of existing translations. It also endeavors to interpret the identified potentially ideological translation shifts based on the institutional and sociopolitical contexts. However, it is a loss that participating translators who can provide valuable insights about the translation project were not consulted directly in this study. To mitigate this limitation, I sought their comments about the translation project online, but publicly available information has been limited. For instance, I was unable to find specific comments from foreign experts about the concrete translation issues that they faced during the translation process. Another limitation concerns the tagging's validity. This study provides detailed tagging procedures and schemes for analyzing translation shifts in modality, transitivity,

metaphor, and referring expression with concrete illustrations. However, it is essential to note that the tagging schemes are limited to observed translation shifts within the current research corpora. Moreover, they were set and applied by just one researcher alone. Thus, the problem of subjectivity in judgment is somewhat inevitable.

## **1.4 Organization of the thesis**

The thesis consists of five chapters, and the other four chapters are organized as follows:

Chapter 2 offers a critical review of the literature associated with the research project. Firstly, the definition of ideology is revisited, and various CDA theoretical frameworks are introduced and evaluated. Then, it offers an account of the development of the audience design theory, which provides a critical theoretical framework to understand the different ideologies and power relations involved in translating, editing, and publishing the English version of *The Governance of China*. Next, an essential theoretical justification for the choice of a set of ideologically charged linguistic features, namely modality, transitivity, metaphor, and referring expressions, is provided. They are widely noted as major rhetorical conventions in monolingual discourse and essential windows to examine ideological mediation in translation by pragmatic, political, and critical discourse analysts, translation studies scholars, and professional translators. Lastly, it reviews the development of relevant studies on translation shifts, a central concept in the current research project.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology adopted and is divided into five sections. The chapter begins by describing the corpus-based CDA approach and discussing its strengths and weaknesses. The second part of the chapter introduces the corpus tools used in the present study, followed by Section 3.3, which describes the criteria adopted to sample source texts. Section 3.4 outlines the concrete steps taken to prepare electronic texts for the research corpora. Section 3.5 outlines the composition of all

corpora that constitute the data for the current study. The last part of the chapter provides an introduction to the overall data analysis steps and a detailed description of the tagging procedures and schemes according to varied translation shifts in modality, transitivity, metaphor, and referring expression, laying a solid foundation for subsequent quantitative analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the quantitative and qualitative textual analysis as well as conclusive discussions. Firstly, it looks at ideological mediation in translating Chinese modality, focusing on three groups of modal auxiliary verbs, “要/就要(should/must/need to/will),” “必须/务必(must),” and “能(can)/能否(whether can)/决不能(can never).” Secondly, it investigates ideological mediation from the perspective of transition shifts in transitivity, with a focus on the top five processes in the keyword list, including “发展(develop),” “坚持(adhere to),” “建设(build),” “改革(reform),” and “领导(lead).” Thirdly, it examines the ideological mediation in translating the metaphor POLITICS IS A CONFLICT. Fourthly, it analyzes ideological mediation in translating referring expressions, concentrating on the top 10 referring expressions in the keyword list. They are “党(Party),” “人民(people),” “干部(cadre),” “群众(the masses),” “领导(leader),” “我国(our country),” “国家(country),” “中国(China),” “同志(comrade),” and “我们(our/us/we).”

Chapter 5 constitutes the research project’s conclusion. It revisits the research aims and objectives and discusses the study’s main findings and contributions. It also suggests improvements and future studies that can be conducted based on the present study to enrich the research field further.

## **Chapter 2 Literature Review**

### **2.1 Critical discourse analysis (CDA)**

CDA informs this research because it argues that ideologies are inscribed in discourses, thereby offering a productive theoretical framework to connect translation patterns with the socio-political context of the translation activity. This section reviews similarities and differences between core critical discourse analysis theories, the general strengths and weaknesses of CDA, and significant developments of CDA in Translation Studies. It helps justify the adoption of a more neutral definition of ideology as a system of beliefs with the potential to change or maintain current social relations of power and the usage of Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework in this study.

#### **2.1.1 A review of core critical discourse analysis theories**

Critical discourse analysts adopt different views and approaches, but it is generally acknowledged that CDA is developed from critical linguistics and distinguished from discourse analysis in that: (1) it defines language as socially shaped and socially shaping instead of a mere representation of the state of affairs (Fairclough 1992); (2) it deals with the relationship between language and macro-structural issues such as ideologies and social relations of power (domination, discrimination, resistance). Consequently, CDA is problem-oriented rather than linguistically motivated (Wodak 2001b, p.69), and it is, in essence, explanatory rather than descriptive (Fairclough 1995, p.43); (3) it is not confined to a specific discourse theory, model, school, or discipline (Van Dijk 1993, p.252). On the contrary, it involves "a multidisciplinary approach" (Van Dijk 1993, p.279) or "an interdisciplinary debate" (Fairclough. 1995, p.189; Wodak. 2001b, p.64). According to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000, p.454), "core CDA" generally means the work of Teun Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak.

Their definitions of ideology are not exactly the same. Van Dijk (1998; 2006) explained ideology from a multidisciplinary view as a general, abstract, and foundational system of beliefs that underlies the shared social representations of certain social groups, expressed and acquired by discourse. For Wodak and Fairclough, ideology refers to “particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduces unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.275). It is “embedded in features of discourse which are taken for granted as matters of common sense” (Fairclough 1995, p.77). Wodak and Fairclough’s definition of ideology, in my opinion, focused on reproducing unequal power relations and thus might to some extent restrict the scope of CDA. I would argue that ideology need not necessarily be negative. CDA is able to offer people explanations and insights, which go beyond mere criticism. For instance, there are cases where social actors on a relatively equal footing communicate ideologies with each other to expand consensus and erase misunderstandings, and cases where ideologies are promoted for the common good of all like environmentalism. Thus, based on Van Dijk’s definition, I interpret ideology as a general, abstract, and foundational system of beliefs that underlies the shared social representations of certain social groups in accordance with their interests and goals, expressed by discourse and acquired by discourse, with the potential to shift or maintain social relations of power.

They also adopted different approaches to CDA, which could be applied to translation studies to varying degrees. Van Dijk (1993) approached CDA from a socio-cognitive perspective. At the macro level, he singled out access to discourse as a significant social resource to relate power to discourse. At the micro level, he added a cognitive interface of models to analyze the relationship between the two. On the one side, he argued that discourse production is related to power enactment. People produce speeches according to their context model of the circumstance, participants, and communicative action, reflecting their individual-based and possibly biased interpretation of the incident. For

example, when sexist individuals speak to women, they tend to construct partial context models that result in ideologically marked discourse structures (e.g., impolite forms). On the other side, it was said that discourse understanding influences the reproduction of dominance since discourse properties can activate or produce episodic mental models that confirm the audience's preconceptions. Then, such social representations will, in turn, be used to form new context models that result in unfair discourse production. For example, racist discourses focus on "our" tolerance and "their" threats to construct a polarized model that will justify and sustain existing negative attitudes and form new negative attitudes toward ethnic communities. For translation studies, Van Dijk's model is most suitable for process-oriented translation studies which focus on analyzing the cognitive activities of translators with empirical methods such as retrospective surveys and eye-tracking. Its applicability in product-oriented translation studies is, however, limited as the latter prioritizes textual analysis over the cognitive aspects.

Wodak (2001a) formulated a discourse-historical approach. Her major contribution is elaborating the concept of context at four levels: "(1) the immediate language or text internal co-text (2) the intertextual and inter discursive relation between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (3) the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific context of the situation (middle range theories) (4) the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (grand theories)" (ibid. p.67). In her analysis of the 'Austria first' petition, an anti-immigration populist petition proposed by FPÖ (The Freedom Party of Austria), a right-wing populist party, during 1992-1993, she first gave a brief historical description of the major topics covered by the party based on texts produced by itself and public discourse on it. Then, she elaborated on the historical value of the particular text, a petition in the Second Austrian Republic. Subsequently, she moved on to the sociopolitical level, outlining the evolution of the discourse on the "Austria first" petition in six fields of political activity around sixteen topics and six genres. She then illustrated interdiscursive and intertextual relationships between the Austrian discourse

on the petition and the Austrian discourse on national security. Lastly, the text was further investigated in three dimensions: the contents or topics with “racist, anti-Semitic, nationalist, or ethnicist” features, specific discursive strategies, and their contextualized linguistic realizations. I would argue that Wodak’s approach is too complicated to be applied to translation studies given the extensive ethnographic explorations required.

Another key theory in the field of CDA is the three-dimensional framework proposed by Fairclough (1995) based on Halliday’s systemic functional grammar. The first dimension involves analyzing spoken or written language texts. The textual analysis encompasses not only the conventional linguistic analysis of phonology, grammatical-syntactic, and lexical-semantic language characteristics but also various aspects of the structure of the text, like the organization of turn-taking in transcripts. The second dimension examines discourse practice: text production, distribution, and consumption. In this respect, Fairclough (1995 p.188) highlighted intertextual analysis as to how text producers and interpreters draw and work upon “orders of discourse,” which is defined as “the particular configurations of conventionalized practices (genres, discourses, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances.” The third dimension refers to connecting discursive events with sociocultural practices. For instance, Fairclough (1995, p.130) investigated the phenomenon of “marketization - the reconstruction on a market basis of domains that were once relatively insulated from markets, economically, in terms of social relations, and terms of cultural values and identities.” He did this by analyzing the discursive practices of universities, comparing advertisements for academic posts that appeared in the Times Higher Education Supplement on 22 May 1992 by the newer universities and those by the older universities. The findings indicate that posts from newer universities display more linguistic features resembling job advertisements in the business sector. Given the above, I consider Fairclough’s approach promising for product-oriented translation studies, which concentrate on integrating textual and context analysis.

### **2.1.2 Criticism of critical discourse analysis and countercriticism**

The criticism of CDA could be summarized into three aspects. First, Hammersley (1997) doubted the possible founding assumptions of CDA and critical approaches in general, including orthodox Marxism (the narrative is not empirically contingent in a positivist sense), the Frankfurt critical theory (theorists criticized orthodox Marxism but failed to offer an effective alternative philosophical basis), decisionism (it has a pessimistic implication that all forms of political practice are irrational) and Habermas' universal pragmatics (discourse does not necessarily lead to a rational consensus even without structured inequalities). Nevertheless, it would be unfortunate to give up the strength of CDA in bridging the gap between language and the workings of ideologies and social relations of power due to theoretical flaws (Breeze 2011). It is not a coincidence that populist politicians such as Jörg Haider, a former leader of FPÖ, and Donald Trump, the 45<sup>th</sup> president of the United States, both associate immigrants with unemployment and criminality in order to promote anti-immigration campaigns, and it seems that only CDA enables researchers to investigate such linguistic phenomenon systematically.

Second, critical discourse analysts have drawn upon a range of theories and methods, including systemic functional linguistics, transformational generative grammar, Grice's cooperative principle, pragmatics, namely, speech act analysis, and cognitive structures. Widdowson (1998, p.137) warned against using a collection of expedient practices as a toolkit without a sufficient theoretical warrant. Still, I would like to argue that this can represent the strength of CDA in terms of methodological and theoretical flexibility and openness.

Third, Stubbs (1997) raised the circularity problem against CDA: (1) analysts stress that there is no deterministic relation between form and function. Still, they pursue analysis by reading ideology from texts according to their knowledge. So, over what criteria analysts put prominence on a phrase remains elusive; (2) since every text is

subject to the impact of ideology and social power, CDA analyst's interpretation must be biased as well; (3) although CDA stresses discourse production, distribution, and consumption, the analysis concentrates on texts while the producers and consumers are seldom defined and consulted. Nevertheless, I would argue that the validity of the CDA should not be blamed for practitioners' misinterpretation of texts. CDA is a theoretical framework constructed to address research questions related to real-life issues, but it is not essentially deterministic or pessimistic. It is the practitioners who may fall short of a well-rounded contextual and textual analysis because of their preconceived notions. Moreover, CDA practitioners do not always claim to be neutral or objective. Many are explicit about their ideological and political commitments and encourage readers to remember that. Ultimately, every individual comes to language with an underlying ideological background. In addition, although the circularity issue could not be solved entirely, there have been enormous efforts to strengthen CDA with the help of corpus linguistics. Corpus has been proven helpful in "reducing researcher bias, discovering the incremental effect of discourse, and exploring resistant and changing discourses" (Baker. 2006, p.10) and in extensive ethnographic studies (Wodak 2001a).

### **2.1.3 The application of CDA to Translation Studies**

The relationship between CDA and translation studies has been touched upon in several studies (Schäffner 2004a; Al-Hejin 2012; Pérez 2001; Olk 2002; Munday 2007; Hatim and Mason 1997). On the one side, it is widely held that translation as discourse is also laden with ideologies, socially-shaped and socially-shaping. The cultural turn (Snell-Hornby 2006) and the ideological turn (Leung 2006) within Translation Studies, which reexamined translation as a form of cultural exchange and sociopolitical action rather than simply linguistic substitution, have laid a solid foundation for the integration of CDA and translation studies. On the other side, it is stressed that the relation among translation discourse, ideology, and social relations of power is non-deterministic. CDA

analysts can never predict with certainty that translated texts will change in a specific way due to the deliberate intention of certain social agents.

The research on CDA within Translation Studies is still new. Thus, there are limited theoretical attempts to link them together. Hatim and Mason's (1997) work is regarded as relevant and seminal in providing insights about incorporating critical linguistic and discourse analysis in translation studies (Al-Hejin 2012; Calzada Pérez 2001; Munday. 2007). Hatim and Mason (1997, p.144) interpreted ideology as "the tacit assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups" and suggested distinguishing between the translation of ideology and the ideology of translating. The former emphasized transformations in translated texts at a micro-level, while the latter highlighted the translating act in relation to the social context at a macro-level. In terms of the translation of ideology, they found that the underlying ideology in the source text is subject to changes in translation through shifts in lexical choice, cohesion, transitivity, style, and so on. In terms of the ideology of translating, they put forward degrees of mediation, that is, "the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text" consciously or unconsciously. There are minimal, maximal, and partial mediations, demonstrating the degree of changes to the source text ideology. In my opinion, Hatim and Mason have made an outstanding contribution in distinguishing the translation of ideology from the ideology of translating. Still, their definition of the ideology of translating is reduced to the role of translators, failing to account for other factors involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of the translated texts and the overall social context. The translating institution, for example, has been proven to be pivotal (Mossop 1988;1990; Koskinen 2011).

Translation studies of political texts could benefit from CDA approaches due to the significance of translation as a part of the development of the political text on the international stage and the strong connection between political texts and identity, power,

and ideology issues that belong to the scope of CDA. Recent decades have seen some tentative attempts to adopt CDA approaches to analyze different types of translated political texts. It has been found that the ideology manifested in the source text is subject to changes in translation, and such ideological shifts are closely associated with the political position or the political agenda of the translating institutions and the socio-political background. For example, regarding translating political speeches, Gagnon and Kalantari (2017) compared the English speeches addressed at the Economic Club of New York between 1978 and 2006 by Canadian prime ministers with their respective French translations. It was discovered that the Canadian federal government resorted to textual translation strategies at the lexical level to manage the identity issue between Quebec's nationalist discourse and Canadian nationalist discourse. In terms of news media translation, Kang (2007) constructed a comparative analysis of three original news stories in *Newsweek* published in the US and their translations in *Newsweek Hankuk Pan* published in Korea. The study revealed that the negative representations of North Korea were mitigated through translation as the South Korean government was implementing the "Sunshine Policy," which advocated reconciliation with North Korea. Accordingly, news media in South Korea started to build an embracing discourse at the turn of the century. In terms of the translation of the political document, Ayyad (2012) compared the Hebrew and Arabic translations of the "Roadmap Plan," a peace initiative drafted by the "Quartet" (the United Nations, the United States, Russia, and the European Union) in English to address Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It was found that government agencies, supranational organizations, and news media all opted for translation strategies according to their political affiliation. To summarize, there has been growing research on the translation studies of political texts with CDA approaches. Against this backdrop, my research on the English translation of President Xi Jinping's speeches to government officials and Party members collected in *The Governance of China* could help provide some new insights and continue to enrich the field of study.

#### **2.1.4 The relevance of CDA to this research**

This research is based on Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework because it is most suitable for product-oriented translation studies. Consequently, this study is dedicated to locating translation patterns with self-established corpora and analyzing the translation shifts against the ideological and power frame of the social agents and institutions involved in the translation, editing, production, and consumption of the English version of *The Governance of China* with the help of audience design theory. This research also examines the translation shifts against China's present sociopolitical background.

### **2.2 Audience design theory**

As we have mentioned in Section 2.1.2, one of the major criticisms against CDA is that the producers and consumers of the text are seldom defined and consulted. Since this research focuses on the translation of political speech's edited texts, it involves an oral communication between President Xi Jinping and government/CPC members, a written communication between the Chinese version of *The Governance of China* and domestic readers, and a written communication between the English version *The Governance of China* and foreign English-speaking readers. Audience design theory was designed to analyze oral communication, but translation scholars have applied it to analyze written communication as well (Hatim and Mason 1997). Thus, audience design theory allows me to define different types of social agents and institutions involved and facilitate later investigation of their relationship to the translation process.

#### **2.2.1 Bell's audience design theory**

Drawing on Giles' (1975 cited in Bell 1984, p. 161) accommodation theory from a sociopsychological perspective, Bell (1984) put forward audience design theory to explain style variation from a sociolinguistic perspective. Bell doubted the empirical foundation for Labov's (1972 cited in Bell 1984, p. 150) view that the amount of attention paid by a speaker is directly associated with the degree of formality of the speech and argued that attention is a mechanism rather than an influencing factor. Instead, he believed that intraspeaker style variation is derived from interspeaker social variation in order to cater to varied audiences.

Besides, Bell's theory is formulated based on Goffman's participation framework and production format, as Bell (2002, p.158) himself acknowledged audience design theory as an attempt to further simplify Goffman's work. Goffman (1981, p. 3) defined the participation framework as follows: "When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in the perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it." Accordingly, he (ibid. p. 133) distinguished audience based on whether they were directly addressed, ratified, and expected to reply to the speaker. In terms of production format, Goffman (ibid. p. 144) outlined three forms of the speaker: "(1) animator, who is the sounding box from which the utterances come; (2) author, who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded; (3) principal, whose position is established by the words that are spoken". Goffman's most significant contribution lies in challenging the dyadic verbal interaction model and breaking down the common notions of speaker and hearer. Although his categorization was criticized by Levinson (1988, p.169) as empirically inadequate, lacking explication, and unsystematic, it laid a solid foundation for Bell's later reclassification of the audience. It also complements Bell's insufficient analysis of the side of the speaker.

Bell (1984. p.159) divided persons in speech situations based on their roles into five categories. The last four categories are presented in descending order in accordance with qualitative implication and quantitative effect on the speaker's style:

- 1) Speaker: the first person, primary participant at the moment of speech, qualitatively apart from other interlocutors. However, speakers design their style for their audience.
- 2) Addressee: the second person, present, known, ratified, and addressed.
- 3) Auditors: the third person, present, known, and ratified, but not directly addressed.
- 4) Overhearers: the third parties, present, known, but not ratified participants or directly addressed
- 5) Eavesdroppers: other parties, present, unknown, unratified, not directly addressed.

Moreover, Bell acknowledged the strategic essence of audience design, which means that the speaker could take the initiative to redefine the relationship between the speaker and addressee rather than merely passively adapting his style according to their current relationship. It is possible for the speaker to even diverge from the addressee to identify with an absent in-group to challenge the addressee or strengthen his argument, which he termed “the referee design” (Bell 1984, p.186; Dickson and Turner, 2015). In his later work, Bell (2002) continued to stress the significance of the referee design, suggesting that referee design is pervasive and concurrent. Bell’s understanding of audience design and referee design is similar to CDA’s claim that discourse is socially shaped and socially shaping at the same time.

## **2.2.2 The application of audience design theory to Translation**

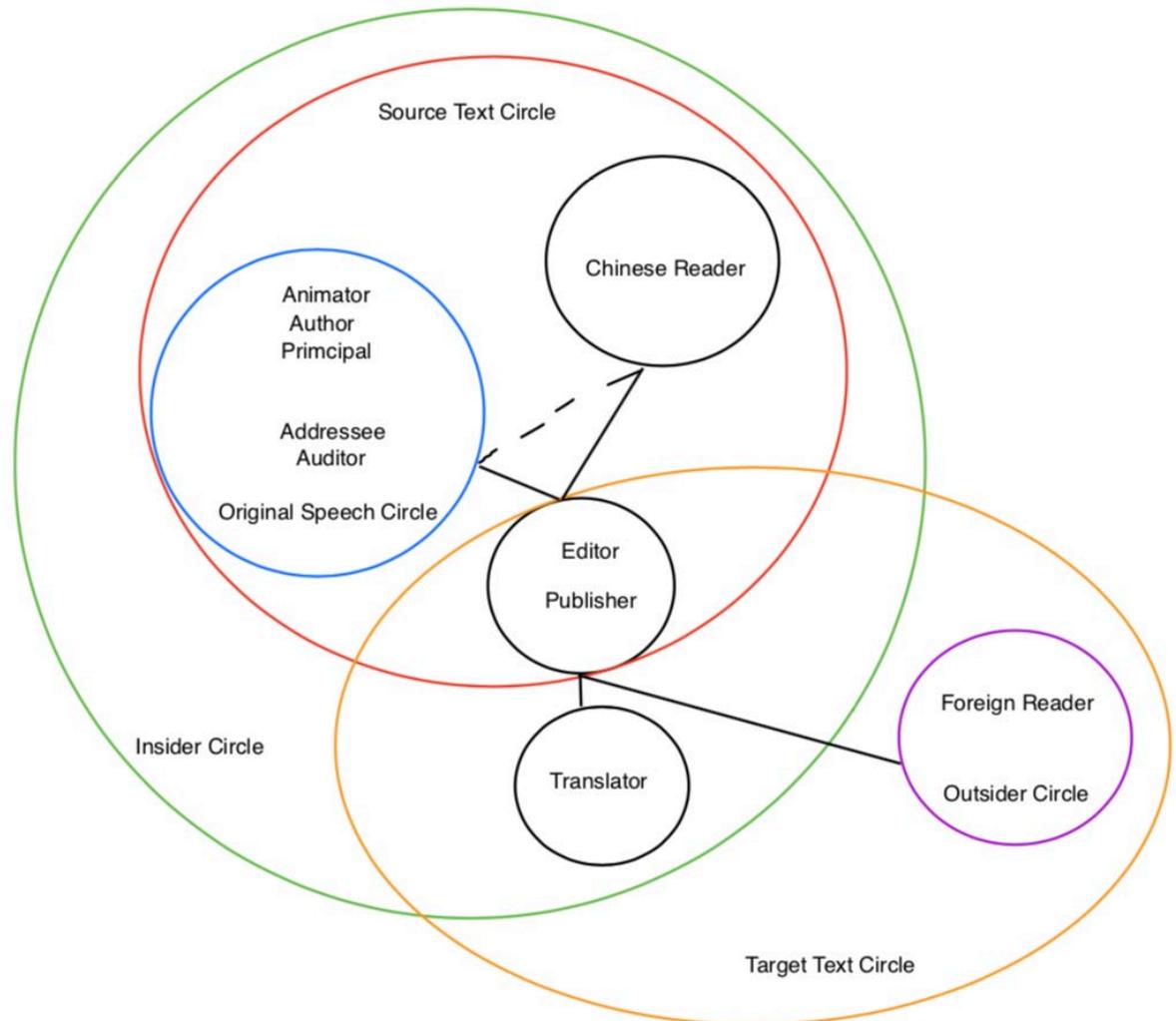
### **Studies**

Hatim and Mason (1997) proposed that audience design theory was vital to translation as a form of communication and considered it a valuable skill to be incorporated into

translator training. According to Hatim and Mason (ibid, p.214), audience design means “the adaptation of output by text producers to the perceived receiver group” and can be applied to analyze various interpreting and translating activities. For instance, in terms of simultaneous interpreting, interpreters were classified as overhearers because they were responsible listeners and sympathetic relayers of the speakers, but they were not recognized by the speakers as ratified interactive participants in the speech situation (ibid, p.62). When discussing screen translating, it was emphasized that, based on the referee design principle, the subtitle translator’s overriding priority should be to build coherence for cinema audiences by ensuring easy readability and connectivity, instead of preserving coherence for the communication between fictional characters (ibid, p.82). Regarding ideology translating, it was emphasized that translational shifts meant to enhance reader acceptability should be distinguished from those intended to revise an ideology (ibid, p.161). Mason (2000) further illustrated that translation shifts could reflect systematic differences between the audience design of the source text and that of the target text through two case studies of translating in historical genres. It is noteworthy that he singled out two problems in the application of audience design theory to translation studies: “(1) representativity: on what conditions can we legitimately state that a phenomenon observed in a text is typical of the whole text or is even significant within it (2) motivational: even if we are able to establish that something is representative of a whole text, how can we be sure that it is attributable to a particular motivation on the part of the text producer/translator, given that the analyst has no direct access to the text producer’s thought process” (2000, p.17). In response, he also gave potential solutions to these two questions respectively: “(1) conducting quantitative studies with the help of corpora or manual processing (2) offering plausible accounts of choices made by users of texts by placing these choices within the real-world conditions which have given rise to them” (2000, p.17). The work of Hatim and Mason has shown that audience design theory could and should be applied to translation studies. Based on their insights, this research aims to adapt audience design to examine the translation of edited written texts of political speeches.

### 2.2.3 The relevance of audience design theory to this research

Figure 1 The audience design of *The Governance of China* (English Version)



Based on the audience design theory, I mapped all social agents involved in producing, distributing, and consuming the English version of *The Governance of China* in Figure 1 above. It illustrates that foreign audiences form an excluded out-group. The producers, editors, translators, and domestic audiences, however, create a relatively homogenous in-group who are highly familiar with the prevailing ideology of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and subject to the leadership of the CPC and the Chinese government.

## **2.3 A review of Chinese and Anglophone political discourse's rhetorical conventions**

Existing literature on CDA, political discourse analysis, and pragmatics has shown that modality, transitivity, metaphor, and referring expressions are essential to conveying ideologies (Wilson 1990; Fowler 1991; Simpson 1993; Van Dijk 1998; Chilton 2004; Schäffner 2004b; Charteris-Black 2018, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Moreover, several translation scholars and professional translators also suggested that translation shifts in these aspects are likely to indicate ideological mediation (Huang 2004; Munday 2007; Mason 2012 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; Tong 2013; Xu 2014; Yu and Wu 2016; Yu and Wu 2018; Fu 2018; Li 2018; Fu and Chen 2019; Gu 2019b; Li and Li 2021).

### **2.3.1 Modality**

Modality is generally recognized as a linguistic device revealing the speaker/writer's stance on the proposition. In linguistics, a variety of methods have been proposed to study modality. Sulkunen and Törrönen (1997, p.44) identified two basic orientations, the semantic and the morphological approaches, which focus on identifying different modal meanings (probability, obligation, necessity, etc.) and exploring their linguistic realizations in various languages. In addition, Halliday (1994, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) interpreted modality in relation to the interpersonal function of language within the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) framework. Halliday's theory exerted enormous influence on varied discourse analytic approaches to modality. CDA is best known for associating modality with ideology and the social relations of power. It stresses that modality not only indicates a communicator's attitudes, beliefs, and judgments but also demonstrates his social position and connections with other communicators (Fowler 1991). Political discourse analysts have also acknowledged modality as a significant tool of political agents in expressing different degrees of uncertainty or conviction beyond knowledge

and truth to accomplish specific purposes, such as winning the election and persuading the public to support policies (Charteris-Black 2018, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition; Chilton 2004).

The ideological potential of modality has long been studied in monolingual discourse analysis. It has also attracted increasing attention within Translation Studies in recent decades. Though limited, most existing studies on modality shifts in the context of translating political texts between Chinese and English share a similar theoretical framework, methodology, and conclusion. Firstly, most of the research followed the framework developed by Halliday (1994, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), categorizing modality from four aspects, including modality type (probability, usuality, inclination, and obligation), value (low, medium, and high), orientation (subjective and objective) and manifestation (implicit and explicit). Halliday's framework is comprehensive and systemic and, more importantly, applicable to Chinese to some degree (Halliday and McDonald 2004), thereby setting a solid foundation for not only identifying modality shifts in Chinese-English translation but also comparing modality usage in these two languages. For instance, Wang et al. (2011) compared modality across Chinese and English political speeches delivered by political leaders to university students, finding that the frequency of modality in Chinese speeches is lower than in English speeches. However, Chinese politicians are more prone to use strong modality markers than American politicians to stress the government's obligation and willingness. Secondly, concerning methodology, much research is corpus-based, though the criteria for categorizing modality markers and their translation shifts are not always identical. Lastly, about the findings, it is agreed that translators and interpreters do more than simple code-switching. Conversely, they take an active part in conveying official stances and constructing interpersonal relations. Nevertheless, there exist some differences in terms of the scope of the study in detail. For instance, Li (2018) offered a holistic picture of varied translation shifts in all modality markers instead of merely concentrating on certain modal words like the most frequent modal verbs in the source texts (Fu 2018) or a specific type of translation shift like the addition of modal elements in interpreting (Fu and Chen 2019). Besides,

some research is concerned with the difference between the usage of modality presented in the translated English political discourse and native English political discourse (Li and Hu 2013), while others look at modality shifts in translation (Li 2018).

All these past research projects have informed the present study, especially regarding the general assumption that modality markers are subject to ideological mediation in translation and their different ways of using corpus linguistic tools. However, the present study is distinct from prior studies from four perspectives. Firstly, it uses Simpson's (1993, p.43-47) much simpler framework, which is suitable for locating and classifying translation shifts in modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs, evaluative adjectives and adverbs, and generic sentences and verbs of knowledge, prediction, and evaluation:

- 1) Deontic modality refers to the modal system of obligation and duty, realizing a continuum of commitment from permission, through obligation, to requirement. It is of crucial relevance to the strategies of social interaction, especially to tactics of politeness and persuasion. (be permitted to do; be obliged to do, etc.)
- 2) Boulomaic modality refers to the modal system of wishes and desires of the speaker (hope; wish; regret; it is good that; hopefully, etc.)
- 3) Epistemic modality is the modal system of knowledge, belief, cognition, and perception. It can be used to indicate varying degrees of confidence in the truth of a proposition (could; may; must; might; should; I think; I believe; it is certain that..., etc.)

Secondly, it concentrates on the translation shifts in the Chinese modality markers that are ideologically significant within President Xi's *The Governance of China* compared with Chinese discourse in general rather than examining all modality markers or the modality markers that only appear on the top of the frequency list. Thirdly, it provides new insights by exploring the ideological implications of modality shifts within a

broader socio-political context, unlike previous research, which restricted the analysis to the linguistic level or the speech situation. Fourthly, this study includes modality shifts but is not limited to them. It also investigates ideological translation shifts in transitivity, metaphor, and referring expressions to form a comprehensive analysis. In summary, this research can provide a more targeted and complete in-depth analysis of ideological mediation by translation shifts in the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China* to develop the research field further.

### **2.3.2 Transitivity**

In traditional linguistics, transitivity is used to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs depending on whether they can take a direct object, but Halliday (1967; 1994, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) interpreted it differently. Firstly, he defined transitivity as related to the semantics and syntax of various clause elements rather than the grammatical category of the verb alone. According to him, transitivity refers to “a network of systems whose point of origin is the ‘major’ clause, the clause containing a predication, (1967, p.38)” and is concerned with “the type of process expressed in the clause, with the participants in this process, animate and inanimate, and with various attributes and circumstances of the process and the participants (ibid.)” Secondly, he accentuated the ideational (experiential) function of transitivity on the basis of the SFG framework (1994, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition). To be more precise, he conceived transitivity as a means of representation, offering people various alternatives to express their mental image of reality in language. This new definition of transitivity has been proven illuminating in critical linguistics. Scholars like Fowler (1991) and Simpson (1993) further argued that given the varied ways available to represent the same event, the one chosen by the speaker/writer becomes ideologically meaningful. In other words, transitivity choice is inherently ideological because it deals with the fundamental question of “who does what to whom, and how” (Machin and Mayr. 2012, p.104). It allows the speaker/writer

to represent the situation from a particular standpoint and communicative intent and accordingly influence the reader/hearer's perception of that situation. Considering its ideological potential, transitivity becomes highly instrumental in political discourse analysis as well. For instance, Charteris-Black (2018 2nd edition, p.113) showed that varied transitivity structures were employed in David Cameron's 2012 party conference speech to stress concrete achievements and gather support. Matu and Lubbe (2007) demonstrated that the transitivity system enabled Kenyan media to give positive representations of in-groups and negative out-group presentations according to their political affiliation. The use of transitivity is equally important in Chinese political discourse. Fang (2001) investigated the similarities and dissimilarities between the Chinese news reports from Taiwan *Central Daily News* and Mainland *People's Daily* about the civil unrest in South Africa on 21 March 1985. It was shown that *People's Daily* mainly utilized animate actors which could highlight the police's negative role in the suppression of the anti-apartheid struggle (e.g., “南非警察...开枪打死十名黑人 [South African police...opened fire, killing ten black people]”) instead of inanimate actors which could background the police's direct responsibility for the deaths (e.g., “...这场暴乱, 迄今已造成 29 人丧生[...these riots, until now, have already caused 29 people to lose their lives]”). By contrast, the *Central Daily News* used both animate and inanimate actors, showing no particular preference for either.

In recent decades, translation studies have also begun to recognize and explore the ideological potential of the transitivity system. For example, Kuo and Nakamura (2005) compared different newspapers' translations of an identical English text about Taiwan. The transitivity choice in translation was found to be closely tied to the institution's political position. Apart from news translation, Li and Li (2021) argued that the negative description of Chairman Mao in the English literary work *Wild Swans* was relatively mitigated in its Chinese translation by employing the transitivity network to reduce the agency of Chairman Mao and highlight the agency of other social actors.

As Bartley (2018) noted, the most extensively used model for studying transitivity in discourse was proposed by Halliday (1994, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), who later partnered with Matthiessen (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) to refine the theory further. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, p.175), any given clause is formed out of three components, “a process unfolding through time, the participants involved in the process, and circumstances associated with the process.” Moreover, it is argued that process and participants are obligatory central elements of the clause, while circumstances are optional and peripheral (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, p.177). For instance, as shown in (1), “the government” and “income inequality” represent two essential participants directly engaged in the reduction process, while “in the past five years” serves as a circumstance adding information about the process’s timing.

- (1). The government (Participant One) has reduced (Process) income inequality (Participant Two) in the past five years (Circumstance).

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, p.281) introduced two separate models to provide a complete account of the transitivity system network and analyze the varied configurations of these three components within clauses. They are the transitive and ergative models. The transitive model was designed to classify the world of experience into six process types: material process (the clauses of doing and happening), mental process (the clause of sensing), relational process (the clauses of being and having), behavioral process (the clauses of physiological and psychological behavior), verbal process (the clause of saying) and existential process (the clause of existing). Table 1 below displays that each type of process is associated with distinct participant roles. Some participants are obligatory, like the Actor, referring to the participant that leads to the unfolding of a material process. Others are optional, like the Goal, referring to the participant directly affected by the unfolding of a material process.

Table 1 Transitive model

Process type	Example
Material process	We (Actor) have reduced (Process) income inequality (Goal).
Mental process	People (Senser) want (Process) income equality (Phenomenon).
Relational process	Income inequality (Carrier) is (Process) harmful (Attribute).
Behavioral process	She (Behaver) sang (Process) a song (Behaviour).
Verbal process	We (Sayer) discussed (Process) income inequality (Verbiage).
Existential process	Income inequality (Existent) remains (Process).

By contrast, the ergative model was designed to classify the world of experience into three different clauses: the middle, the operative, and the receptive clause, as follows:

Table 2 Ergative model

Clause Type	Example
Middle clause (Intransitive)	Income inequality (Medium) decreased (Process).
Middle clause (Transitive)	People (Medium) want (Process) income equality (Range).
	Income equality (Range) is wanted (Process) by people (Medium).
	Income equality (Range) is wanted (Process). (Here, the Medium is not stated but implied through the passive voice).
Operative clause	The government (Agent) significantly reduced (Process) income inequality (Medium).
Receptive clause	Income inequality (Medium) was significantly reduced (Process) by the government (Agent).
	Income inequality (Medium) was significantly reduced (Process). (Here, the Agent is not stated but implied through the passive voice)

The middle clause covers two scenarios. One indicates the intransitive clauses in which a participant (Medium) is presented to carry out a process on its own initiative without

involving or affecting any other participant. The other refers to the transitive clauses in which a participant (Medium) is presented in an active or passive voice to carry out a process involving but not directly affecting other participants (Range). For example, Table 2 above shows that the intransitive clause belongs to a middle clause because it depicts the reduction of income inequality as a spontaneous process without specified influence on others. The subsequent three transitive clauses are also classified as middle clauses because the wanting process can convey people’s desires but can not directly affect changes in income inequality. In other words, “income equality” specifies the domain over which the wanting process takes place but is not directly subject to the influence of the wanting process.

The operative clause means that a participant (Agent) is presented in an active voice to carry out a process to cause actual changes in others (Medium). The receptive clause means a participant (Medium) is presented in a passive voice to be directly influenced by a process conducted by other clearly stated or implied participants (Agent). As Table 2 shows, the operative and receptive clauses explicitly or implicitly state that income inequality was subject to reduction, which is not an automatic natural consequence but brought about by an external agent, the government.

It is important to note that Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004) transitive and ergative models have been adopted and improved by numerous scholars over the years. For example, Dreyfus (2017) noticed that his three-year-old son voluntarily selected the middle clause “The pot broke” over the alternative operative clause “I broke the pot” to hide agency and avoid responsibility. Inspired by this insight, he further proposed a cline of responsibility, as in Table 3, to facilitate discourse analysis based on Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) ergative model (2017, p.379).

Table 3 Cline of responsibility

Maximum responsibility	Operative clause	I broke the pot.
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 Minimum responsibility	Receptive clause with agent	The pot was broken by me.
	Receptive clause without agent	The pot was broken.
	Middle clause	The pot broke.

Note. Adapted from “‘Mum, the pot broke’: Taking responsibility (or not) in language,” by S. Dreyfus, 2017, *Discourse and Society*, 28(4), p.379. Copyright 2017 by Sage.

Also, when discussing transitivity, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) focused on clauses with only one verb or one lexical verb. However, Fontaine (2013) pointed out that identifying the process is less straightforward when the clause has more than one verb or lexical verb. Thus, she proposed various tests to help identify the process systematically and consistently. As in (2), it was argued that processes generally take finite verb forms unless modified by a modal verb or an aspect verb that brings additional meaning to the main event in terms of, for instance, time (ibid.). Besides, I consider “developed” in the last example in (2) as a process as well because although it is non-finite, it serves as an abbreviation of a separate attribute clause with a new subject governing the unfolding of the process, “which (the tax policy) was developed by the CPC.”

(2). We should (Modal verb) reduce (Process) income inequality.

We started to (Aspect verb) reduce (Process) income inequality.

We reduced (Process) income inequality to improve people’s well-being (Circumstance: Cause).

We reduced (Process) income inequality by introducing a new tax policy (Circumstance: Manner).

Sticking to the new tax policy (Circumstance: Manner), we reduced (Process) income inequality.

We implemented (Process) the tax policy developed (Process) by the CPC.

In addition, some critical linguists have provided new insights based on Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) models. For instance, Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid.) subdivided the material process into action and event processes according to whether the clause is transitive or intransitive in traditional terminology. But Simpson (1993, p.82) proposed classifying the material process into action and event processes based on whether the actor is inanimate or animate. His proposal shed new light on transitivity analysis.

(3). The government (Agent) reduced (Process) income inequality (Medium).

The government's tax policy (Agent) reduced (Process) income inequality (Medium).

The tax policy (Agent) reduced (Process) income inequality (Medium).

Based on Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) and Dreyfus's (2017) studies, the three examples in (3) all belong to operative clauses showing the maximum level of responsibility alike. However, inspired by Simpson's proposal, I find that, in the three examples, social actors exhibit different levels of responsibility due to the difference in the choice of the agent. In my view, the social actors assume the highest degree of responsibility when they directly serve as the animate agent, as in the first sentence in (3). The social actors assume less responsibility when they modify the agent, forming a partially animate agent, as in the second sentence in (3). They assume an even lesser responsibility when their role is merely implied through the inanimate agent, as in the last sentence in (3). Therefore, it is vital to take to what degree the agent is animate into consideration as well.

Additionally, Fowler (1991, p.77) suggested passivization and nominalization as two syntactic variations with enormous ideological potential. For instance, he illustrated that the passive construction within "Robber's son, five, killed in his bed" allowed the

narrative to focus on the victim rather than the killer, leaving the agency unspecified. In terms of nominalization, he compared the fully spelled-out proposition “X has alleged against Y that Y did A and B” with the noun “allegations.” The comparison demonstrated that by replacing predicates (adjectives, adverbs, and verbs) with nouns, writers/speakers could delete participants and any indication of time and modality. Thus, nominalization provides opportunities for the concealment and mystification of certain information. Van Leeuwen (1996) also argued that nominalization could background agency to some extent by transforming a process into a thing and social actors’ participation into possession. Arguably, discourse analysis through nominalization and passivization can be less ambiguous than transitivity models. Bartley (2018) doubted that the classification criteria regarding process types and participant roles are not always clear-cut and consistent. However, studies on nominalization and passivization can be more restrained and less comprehensive. Given the above, I intend to integrate nominalization and passivization into transitivity models.

Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) transitivity models have already been applied to analyze the Chinese-English language pair, bringing several issues to light (Li 2020; Li and Li 2021; Yu and Wu 2016; Yu and Wu 2018). Firstly, the subject is obligatory in English, apart from imperative clauses expressing orders, instructions, or requests. By contrast, the subject is not a mandatory component of Chinese clauses. In Chinese, non-subject clauses are commonly used for conciseness, regardless of circumstances. Besides, Yu and Wu (2018) argued that non-subject clauses in Chinese political discourse could reduce the distance between political leaders and domestic audiences. Therefore, change is inevitable when it comes to translating Chinese non-subject clauses. Still, it is noteworthy that multiple options are available for translators, such as adding an appropriate noun or pronoun as the subject, changing the sentence from the active to the passive voice, using the sentence structure of “There + be...”, “It + be... to...”, and so on. Secondly, as Xiao, McEnery, and Qian (2006) noted, the English passive constructions are marked by a copular verb (be, seem, get, etc.)

followed by a past participle, while the Chinese passive constructions are signified in various ways. According to their study, Chinese passivity consists of two types: syntactic passive (SP) and lexical passive (LP). Syntactic passive is signified by particular words (“被”; “由”; “叫”; “让”; “给”) or constructions (“为...所...”; “是...的”) when they function as neither verbs nor prepositions in clauses but as words without any inherent meaning other than signifying passivity. Comparatively, lexical passive is marked by words with inherent passive meaning, including “遭到/遭/挨/受/受到,” which means “suffer/endure/meet with.” In addition, Li and Thompson (1981, p.499) argued that Chinese topic-comment constructions in which the verb’s direct object serves as the sentence’s topic are equivalent to English passive sentences, which can be called unmarked passive (NP).

To date, translation studies on transitivity have mainly been carried out based on either one of Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) models or both. Calzada Pérez (2001) applied the transitive model to analyze European Parliament speeches in Spanish and English, summarizing five transitivity shifts: dematerialization, materialization, expansion, contraction, and change across different material processes. Moreover, it was found that the five transitivity shifts worked together to produce a cumulative effect of ideological simplification in translation. Yu and Wu (2018) used the ergative model to analyze the English translation of annual work reports by the Chinese government. The findings suggested that compared to the middle clauses, the proportion of operative and receptive clauses increased in the review section after translation, resulting in the Chinese government’s more active and responsible image. Li (2020) endeavored to combine the two models in his analysis of the Chinese translation of the English literary work *Wild Swans* and concluded an overall reduction, implication, and omission of Chairman Mao’s agency.

In my opinion, Halliday and Matthiessen’s (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) ergative model has more potential in discussing the presentation of social actors’ agency through the transitivity

system network in discourse due to two reasons:

Table 4 Transitive model vs. Ergative model (1)

	Income inequality decreased.	The government reduced income inequality.
The transitive model	The material process: Income inequality (Actor) decreased (Process).	The material process: The government (Actor) reduced (Process) income inequality (Goal).
The ergative model	The middle clause: Income inequality (Medium) decreased (Process).	The operative clause: The government (Agent) reduced (Process) income inequality (Medium).

One reason is that the ergative model is better than the transitive model at explaining the clauses in which a noun phrase can simultaneously serve as the subject and the direct object of the same process. Table 4 above demonstrates the two sentences are fundamentally different based on the ergative model. The first sentence represents a middle clause, where the reduction of income inequality appears as an autonomous process without specified influence on others. By contrast, the second sentence is an operative clause, highlighting the government as the external cause of the decrease in income inequality and thus better demonstrating the government’s contribution and achievements. However, according to the transitive model, both belong to the material process, with “income inequality” and “the government” functioning as the Actor alike.

Table 5 Transitive model vs. Ergative model (2)

	He surprised me.	I like him.
The transitive model	The mental process: He (Phenomenon) surprised (Process) me (Sensor).	The mental process: I (Sensor) like (Process) him (Phenomenon).

The ergative model	The operative clause: He (Agent) surprised (Process) me (Medium).	The middle clause: I (Medium) like (Process) him (Range).
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The other reason is that the ergative model manifests that the clauses belonging to the same process type based on the transitive model can still show different levels of social actors' cause-and-effect agencies and responsibilities in discourses. For example, Table 5 above shows that the two sentences are fundamentally different based on the ergative model. The initial sentence represents an operative clause, emphasizing one's direct emotional influence on the other, either deliberately or unintentionally. By contrast, the second sentence is a middle clause, focusing on elaborating on one's liking instead of affecting other participants. Nonetheless, the transitive model classifies both as mental processes, with "me" as the Sensor and "him" as the phenomenon, expressing the same degree of agency and responsibility.

Li (2020) noted that translation studies on transitivity are still limited and insufficient. In this research, I intend to contribute to further enriching the research field. I am interested in examining whether the agency and responsibility of social agents (the Party and government officials, Chinese people, foreign countries, etc.) are subject to mediation after translation and possible ideological implications attached given the broader sociopolitical background. In addition, I plan to further develop Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) ergative model to benefit future corpus-based Chinese-English translation studies.

### **2.3.3 Metaphor**

The definition of metaphor has changed over time. Traditionally, it was primarily perceived as an ornamental figure of speech, transferring a linguistic item from one domain (tenor) to another (vehicle) based on shared properties and relations (ground)

(Leech 1969). Yet Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued for metaphor's ubiquitousness in everyday conceptualization. They took metaphor as a means of conceiving an abstract *target* domain of thoughts and experiences through a more physical *source* domain, differentiating conceptual metaphor from metaphorical linguistic expression. In their opinion, conceptual metaphor refers to the cognitive mapping of SOURCE DOMAIN IS TARGET DOMAIN. In contrast, metaphorical linguistic expression refers to conceptual metaphor's verbal instantiation or realization. For instance, "save time" and "waste time" are both metaphorical linguistic expressions that manifest the deeper conceptual metaphor "TIME IS MONEY." Since then, the cognitive view of metaphor has been widely adopted and developed further (Fauconnier and Turner 2002; Kovecses 2010).

Meanwhile, the cognitive view of metaphor has crucial implications for translation studies. Schäffner (2004b p.1253) noted that metaphor had been mainly discussed within the discipline of Translation Studies from two aspects: translatability and translation procedures. Regarding translatability, it is argued that metaphor translation is greatly influenced by interlingual and intercultural variations (Dagut 1976). In terms of translation procedures, Table 6 below shows that some researchers such as Vinay et al. (1995, p.210-211), Newmark (2001, p.84-96), and Van den Broeck (1981, p.77-78) tended to categorize metaphorical expressions according to the degree of conventionality and proposed various translations procedures accordingly from either prescriptive or descriptive perspectives. However, there are two potential problems. First, metaphor was treated as individual linguistic expressions under the traditional view, which regarded metaphor as deliberate linguistic decorations of objective external realities. Second, as Dickins (2005, p.36) noted, "points established along the continuum correspond to relatively intuitive categories." In other words, a metaphor is generally considered dead when it fails to surprise or compare effectively after constant use. However, it is hardly possible for all to agree on the "deadness" of a metaphor,

which relies heavily on individuals' own linguistic experience, knowledge, and the discourse context.

Table 6 Early Metaphor Translation Studies

<p>Dead  Live</p>	<p>Vinay, Darbelnet, Hamel and Sager</p>
<p>1) If metaphors between two languages correspond exactly or almost, the translator can maintain the SL metaphor</p> <p>2) If metaphors between two languages do not correspond, the translator can look for an equivalent metaphor in TL for a dead metaphor and look for an equivalent metaphor in TL or translate the idea for a live metaphor.</p> <p>3) The translators must not translate a dead metaphor into a live one, which would be a case of over-translation.</p>	
<p>Dead  Cliché Stock  Recent  Original</p>	<p>Newmark</p>
<p>1) Dead: it is not considered a translation problem</p> <p>2) Cliché: get rid of the SL metaphor in informative text or maintain the metaphor in authoritative text</p> <p>3) Stock: (1) reproduce the same image (vehicle) in TL (2) replace the image in the SL with a standard TL image (3) translate metaphor by simile (4) translate metaphor by simile plus sense (5) convert metaphor to sense (6) deleting (7) combine metaphor with the sense.</p> <p>4) Recent/Original: if there is no accepted equivalent, the translator has either to describe the object or to attempt a translation label in inverted commas</p>	
<p>Lexicalized  Conventional  Private</p>	<p>Van den Broeck</p>
<p>1) Translation “sensu stricto”: SL tenor and vehicle are transferred into the TL. For lexicalized metaphors, this mode of translating may give rise to idiomatic, or anomalous/innovative TL metaphors.</p>	

2) Substitution: the SL vehicle is replaced by a different TL vehicle with more or less the same tenor.	
3) Paraphrase: SL metaphor is rendered into TL non-metaphorical expression	

Following Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) influential work, *Metaphors We Live By*, translation procedures suggested by past literature have been further developed to fit the growing cognitive theory of metaphor. Mandelblit (1995) put forward a cognitive translation hypothesis, distinguishing similar mapping conditions (SMC) from different mapping conditions (DMC). Schäffner (2004b p.1267) put forward five translation strategies through her examination of political translation between German and English:

- 1) the conceptual metaphor in ST and TT are identical at the macro-level without each individual manifestation having been accounted for at the micro-level;
- 2) structural components of the base conceptual schema in the ST are replaced by expressions that make entailments explicit in the TT;
- 3) a metaphor becomes more elaborate in the TT than in the ST;
- 4) ST and TT employ different metaphorical terms which can be combined under a more abstract conceptual metaphor;
- 5) the expression in the TT reflects another aspect of the conceptual metaphor.

However, as Schäffner (2004b p.1267) points out, these five cases were only offered as tentative solutions. They need further testing and refinement based on larger corpora.

Additionally, an essential consequence of the conceptual view of metaphor is revising the notion of the dead metaphor. A dead metaphor may be overly familiar and easily applied, but that does not mean it has lost its energy in thought and is no longer alive. Instead, it becomes so deeply entrenched that it naturally governs our thinking and is

taken for granted (Kovecses 2010 p.xi). Moreover, the “deadness” of a conceptual metaphor differs from that of a metaphorical linguistic expression, complicating the issue further. Kovecses (2010, p.35) illustrated this point with Robert Frost’s poem *The Road Not Taken*. He demonstrated that novel metaphorical linguistic expressions such as “two roads diverged” and “I took the one [road] less traveled by” were created based on a rather conventionalized conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. By contrast, in my view, President Xi Jinping’s claim of “cracking down on both tigers and flies [老虎蒼蠅一起打]” is novel in terms of both the conceptual metaphor (CORRUPT OFFICIAL IS ANIMAL/INSECT) and the metaphorical linguistic expression (“tigers and flies”). Given the above, some suggested alternative ways to classify metaphors. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguished structural, ontological, and orientational metaphors based on cognitive function. Others, like Cameron (1999), proposed improving the validity of metaphor research by establishing precise criteria and providing explicit decision-making in the stage of metaphor identification, which will be discussed in detail later in Section 3.6.3.

The cognitive theory has also led to the revelation of metaphor’s ideological potency and significance. Fairclough (1992, p.194) incorporated conceptual metaphor into critical discourse analysis, arguing that “When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way.” Charteris-Black (2004, p.9) suggested integrating cognitive semantic and pragmatic approaches, stressing that the metaphor also plays an interactive role apart from being integral to thinking and understanding. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.160) and Chilton (2004, p.52) also stressed distinguishing the metaphors that evolved in culture over a long period from those deliberately created by people in power, such as political leaders, media advertisers, business leaders, and so on. In other words, it is essential to note that metaphor can be used consciously to present, highlight, and persuade a specific reality, eliminate

alternative points of view, express evaluations, and communicate ideologies. Its effectiveness lies in eliciting unrecognized emotional connections, taking advantage of familiarity and known experiences, and transforming abstract ideas into something concrete and tangible.

The fact that metaphor constitutes part of the text's ideology makes metaphor especially relevant to political discourse analysis because it enables researchers to analyze how politicians construct or convey their ideologies. For example, Lu and Ahrens (2008) investigated how the leaders of the Democratic Progressive Party and the Chinese Nationalist Party in Taiwan utilized the BUILDING metaphor differently to their respective political advantages. Gabrielatos and Baker's (2008) study showed that emotionally charged metaphors with negative connotations helped create and maintain a moral panic about refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants within the UK based on press articles between 1996 and 2005. The ideological potential of metaphor is so significant that Charteris-Black (2004, p.41) alerted political leaders to exercise caution when selecting metaphorical expressions to guarantee that metaphors do not "kill". For instance, he reiterated Lakoff's (1991) proposition that although using the cost-and-benefit metaphor enables politicians to justify the Gulf War, it mitigates people's suffering, which cannot and should not be measured quantitatively. He also argued that the metaphor comparing poor market conditions to nuclear disasters could provoke public anxiety and destabilize the market further.

Empirical studies have shown that political leaders with different ideologies tend to use different conceptual metaphors or metaphorical expressions (Sun and Chen, 2018; Lu and Ahrens, 2008). Likewise, politicians who want to express similar ideologies may employ similar metaphors. For example, Margret Thatcher and Mao Zedong both once employed the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor to highlight the confrontation between different political groups:

And to extend the right to council tenants, we had to fight the battle, as you know, the battle in Parliament every inch of the way. Against Labor opposition. And against Liberal opposition.

(Margret Thatcher's speech at the conservative party conference in 1987 cited in Charteris-Black 2011, 2nd edition, p. 2)

(ST) 社会主义阵营和资本主义阵营之间的斗争，不是西风压倒东风，就是东风压倒西风。

(TT) In the struggle between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp, either the West Wind prevails over the East Wind, or the East Wind prevails over the West Wind.

(Mao Zedong's speech to Chinese students and trainees in Moscow in 1957 cited in Sun and Chen 2018, p. 636)

Margaret Thatcher compared the parliamentary debate with a battle to demonstrate the antagonism between the conservative party and other parties. Similarly, Mao Zedong compared the relationship between socialism and capitalism to the struggle between two separate military camps and to the wind directions to convey that socialism and capitalism are incompatible.

We have people coming into the country or trying to come in, we're stopping a lot of them, but we're taking people out of the country. You wouldn't believe how bad these people are. These aren't people. These are animals.

(Donald Trump's comment during a White House discussion about sanctuary cities in 2018 cited in Korte and Gomez 2018)

You have got a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain because Britain has got jobs. It's got a growing economy. It's an incredible place to live.

(David Cameron's comment on the Calais crisis in an interview with ITV News in 2015 cited in Elgot 2016)

In addition, the underlined shows that David Cameron and Donald Trump both likened immigrants to animals to highlight their similar anti-immigration stances in different situations. Moreover, they were both criticized by rival politicians, human rights groups, and the media who pointed to using such a metaphor as irresponsible and dehumanizing (Korte and Gomez 2018; Elgot 2016). Thus, the similarities and differences in the employment of metaphors between various political discourses are equally worthy of study from an ideological perspective.

So metaphor's ideological potential has been relatively fully discussed in monolingual discourse from the angles of critical discourse, political discourse, or metaphor studies. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of translation literature seems to have overlooked the ideological shifts through metaphor, except for AI-Harrasi's (2003) and Pan and Huang's (2021) latest studies. The former discovered a de-masculinizing trend in the official government translation of political leaders' speeches; the latter suggested three types of stance mediation based on different media outlets' varied translations of political leaders' speeches. Both studies help to reveal that metaphor is an enormous challenge and a valuable resource for translators, and translating a specific conceptual metaphor and its corresponding linguistic realization is subject to the influence of ideological factors apart from linguistic and cultural considerations. This research intends to contribute in three ways: 1) further developing the cognitive theory of metaphor; 2) complementing the lack of discussion on the relationship between metaphor and ideology in translation studies; 3) offering a detailed corpus tagging scheme to study metaphorical ideological shifts in Chinese-English political translation.

#### **2.3.4 Referring expression**

Referring expression is the nominal expression in discourse that denotes an object or an individual in the real world. Many studies have revealed that the referring terms of social actors can be used consciously or unconsciously to reflect the speaker or writer's belief, attitude, and social standing beyond linguistic or formal categorical concerns. For instance, Wilson (1990, p.50) suggested that politicians are aware of the effect of pronouns in developing and indicating their ideological position on specific issues. He held that the listener/reader-exclusive "we" allowed politicians to transform individual voices into institutional voices, indicating solidarity with certain groups and presenting a unified picture while blurring the degree of personal commitment and responsibility for the outcome of political decisions. Conversely, the listener/reader-inclusive "we" enabled politicians to show involvement with the audience to strengthen faith, solidarity, and allegiance. It is not uncommon for politicians to align themselves with the state or the citizens to evoke nationalism and win political support, although the degree of this usage varies from one individual to another (Proctor and Su 2011). Besides, it is worth mentioning that subtle variations may exist when it comes to the use of referring expressions among different cultures. For instance, in comparison to Anglophone political discourse, Chinese political discourse seems less likely to employ the first-person singular "I," which is probably due to the reason that Chinese culture leans more towards reservedness and collectivism than uniqueness and individualism (Fokina. 2019, p.1226).

Chilton (2004), and Machin and Mayr (2012) further highlighted the importance of considering the co-text of the referring expressions in revealing the speaker/writer's ideologies. In other words, the adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and nouns used to describe the behaviors and attributes of the entity are equally crucial as the referring expression denoting the entity. To mention just one classic example, Leudar et al. (2004) found that after the attacks on the Pentagon in Washington and the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, on the one hand, George W. Bush built an "us/them" distinction in moral and sociopolitical terms: "We" refers to the United States, which

symbolizes “democracy, freedom and opportunity”, together with its “allies and friends” who desire “peace and security in the world”; by contrast, “they” refers to the “inhuman” terrorists who “motivate, plan, and carry out the attacks” and all those “enemies” who “align themselves with terrorists and support them”. On the other hand, Bin Laden built an “us/them” distinction in religious terms: “We” was used to refer to the “martyrs” who devoted themselves to “defend” Islam and Muslim brothers who have suffered “humiliation, contempt, and oppression”; by contrast, “they” refers to the United States and its allies, described as “infidels, hypocrites, Jewish crusaders, and aggressors of Pakistan and Afghanistan”. As Van Dijk (1998, p. 69) said, “Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation seem to be a fundamental property of ideologies.” This confrontational representation can also be found in Chinese political discourse (Fokina, 2019, p. 1226).

The study by Van Leeuwen (1996) offers probably the most comprehensive analysis of the representation of social actors in discourse. Before his work, the majority of studies on referring expressions had focused on examining one particular type, like the usage of personal pronouns in political speeches. But Van Leeuwen focused on introducing a systemic framework capable of identifying, classifying, and evaluating all referring expressions in varied discourses. For instance, his framework incorporated the analysis of excluded and included social actors by comparing the representations of the same social practice in different texts. It also allows researchers to study how social actors are represented from syntactic-grammatical and lexical-semantic perspectives. On the one hand, it involves identifying the active or passive roles that social actors are given to play. On the other hand, it enables people to thoroughly examine the lexical choices for referring expressions, such as unique identity (nomination: Mr. X) or shared identity (e.g., categorization: employer).

All the above shows that the ideological potential of referring expressions has been relatively fully discussed within the monolingual discourse analysis from the angles of

pragmatics (Wilson 1990), political discourse (Chilton 2004; Machin and Mayr 2012), and critical discourse analysis (Van Leeuwen 1996; Van Dijk 1998). Nevertheless, few translation studies have been wholly devoted to examining ideological mediation via referential expressions, except for the latest ones by Kang (2007) and Gu (2019b). Kang (2007) discovered reduced negative representations of Kim Jong Il and North Korea through English-Korean translation by substituting neutral referring expressions (e.g., “Kim Jong Il,” “North Korea”) for referential terms with negative connotations (e.g., “the North Korean dictator,” “this desperately poor land”). Besides, adding the official title of Chairman in translation was beneficial to recognizing and legitimizing the official status. Gu’s (2019b) study demonstrated that Beijing’s people-oriented image was highlighted after translation via the addition of “people” and the replacement of culture-specific referring expressions with “people.” These two studies, however, are focused on one or two particular social actors. The present study intends to contribute from two aspects. One is that this research project can help expand the research field further utilizing a mixed method. By proposing a tagging scheme grounded in existing literature, it seeks to quantitatively analyze ideological shifts in referring expressions in Chinese-English political translation. The other reason is that the analysis of this research project is more well-rounded than prior literature, as it encompasses multiple prominent actors within Chinese political discourse.

## **2.4 A review of translation shift studies**

There have been linguistic and descriptive approaches to identifying and analyzing translation shifts. However, in this study, as mentioned in Section 2.1, I am particularly concerned with translation as a discourse that is socially shaped and socially shaping. Therefore, translation shifts need to be defined and analyzed differently.

### **2.4.1 Linguistic approaches to translation shifts**

Catford took a formal and contrastive linguistic approach, defining translation as “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (1965, p.20) and introducing translation shifts as “departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL to the TL” (1965, p. 73). He summarized and illustrated two types of translation shifts as follows: (1) level shift, which transforms a grammatical structure in one language to lexis in another (e.g., English deictic “this” translated into French lexical equivalent “ce mot”); (2) category shift, which includes shifts in grammatical structure (e.g., English “He gave it to me” translated into French “Il me l'a donné”), shifts in part of speech (e.g., a verb translated into a noun), shifts in rank (a word translated into a clause), and intra-system shift (e.g., French definite article translated into English indefinite article). Catford is recognized as a pioneer for introducing the term ‘translation shift’ and setting the groundwork for subsequent research in this field. Nonetheless, his analysis showed certain weaknesses. It was later critiqued by Delisle (1982 cited in Munday 2016, 4th edition, p.97) for its static contrastive linguistic basis and by Munday (2016, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, p. 97) due to the translation examples not being extracted from actual translations and being restricted to the level of the sentence.

Before Catford, though Vinay et al. (1995) did not employ the exact term “translation shifts,” they also examined linguistic changes during the transfer from the source text (ST) to the target text (TT) with the concept of equivalence at the core. They identified two strategies in translation: direct translation and oblique translation. Direct translation constituted three methods: borrowing (directly using an ST word or expression in TT), calque (using the expression form of ST but translating its elements literally), and literal translation (translating word for word). Oblique translation encompasses four methods: transposition (replacing a word class with another without changing the meaning of the message), modulation (changing the form of the message by shifting the point of view),

equivalence (rendering the same situation with a wholly different stylistic and structural approach) and adaptation (creating a new case that can be considered as equivalent to the type of situation being referred to by the SL message). The importance of their study lies in taking extra-linguistic elements, which they termed as metalinguistic (the totality of relationships that link social, cultural, and psychological facts to linguistic structures) into consideration. Furthermore, they make a critical distinction between servitude and option. Servitude means that translators are compelled to resort to transpositions and modulations because of the differences between language systems, while option means that translators choose among various alternatives to suit their stylistic preference or to shift the emphasis (Munday. 2016, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, p. 93). Although the model was initially established for the French-English pair, it was said to have been successfully applied to examine English-Spanish and French-German pairs (Munday, 2016, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, p. 88). However, Zhang and Pan (2009) argued that the model appears less applicable for non-European languages like the Chinese-English pair and advocated Loh's (1958) model instead.

It is also worth noting that Nida made a crucial distinction between 'formal equivalence,' which strives to reproduce the source text's surface structure as closely as possible, and the preferred 'dynamic equivalence,' which aims to evoke identical reader responses in the target audience as those found in the source audience (Nida and Taber 1969 p.24). This distinction highlights a key difference between Nida and Catford: While Catford's approach to translation shift is mainly concerned with changes in linguistic form, Nida's approach to translation shift focuses on changes in the communicative function. Nida's theory was formulated in the context of Bible translation and has been successfully applied within Bible translation circles to support the Christian mission, most notably in the American Bible Society's *Good News Bible* (Stine 2012). The value of dynamic equivalence could extend beyond Bible translation. Just as Newmark (1988, p.88) stated, dynamic equivalence is desirable and essential in translating vocative texts, such as persuasive and eristic writings. Nonetheless, all the linguistic approaches discussed

so far view translation shifts as inevitable and somewhat undesirable. In other words, it is prescribed that translators only resort to shifts if a literal translation compromises the well-formedness or naturalness of the target text (Cyrus 2009).

### **2.4.2 Descriptive approaches to translation shifts**

As the limits of the prescriptive, faithfulness-oriented, and equivalence-based linguistic approach to translation shift studies became more and more evident, from the 1970s, along with the development of the cultural turn in translation studies (Snell-Hornby 2006), translation shift studies began to move towards a more descriptive, goal-oriented, and similarity-based approach.

Toury (1980; 1995; 2014) advocated descriptive translation study because it represents studies of actual translational action set within the framework of translation studies itself rather than research based on preconceived hypotheses generated from contrastive linguistics or comparative stylistics. Besides, descriptive translation studies prioritize the exploration of in-depth functional-relational concepts over surface-level textual-linguistic realizations. According to him, every translation's formation and formulation is driven by the ultimate goal of serving as a message in the target culture. In addition, translation is a norm-governed activity and every translator is faced with the tension of the initial norm. That is, the translator needs to choose between a more source-oriented adequate approach and a more target-oriented acceptable approach:

- (1) The need to establish relationships between TT and ST under certain invariance conditions, which they take to be obligatory. In its maximal form, this will mean the reconstruction of the maximal relevant features of ST (i.e., the realization of a construct of maximal translatability), which may be termed "adequacy."

- (2) The need to formulate a text in TL or a specific textual subsystem of TL, i.e., the “acceptability” factor.

Toury (1980, p.113) replaced the previously rigid, narrow, and prescriptive definition of equivalence with a more flexible, broad, and changing one, which means that instead of asking whether the translation observes equivalence, the researcher is concerned about the type or degree of equivalence displayed in the translation. Therefore, shifts are encountered during the process of comparing the ST and TT and manifested in the gap between the adequate translation (a hypothetical construct) and the translation equivalence (the realized actual equivalence). Moreover, like Vinay, he also suggested distinguishing between those shifts that are obligatory, governed by linguistic rules, and the optional ones, governed by norms. As the first type is obligatory, it should not be considered as interfering with the adequacy of TT. He invented a methodology for descriptive translation studies as below: (1) study TT concerning its position and function in the systems of the target culture; (2) map TT onto ST, which results in a series of coupled pairs of replacing and replaced segments, identify translation shifts and examine the relationships between respective pairs (3) make a generalization about the kind of translation equivalence and underlying norms (4) verify the generalizations and provide a descriptive account of the author, etcetera by applying the methodology to a corpus of similar pairs of texts (1995). Nevertheless, Hermans (1999, p.57) criticized the model as labor-intensive, flawed, and unworkable. Basic concepts are also questioned in terms of their clarity and validity. For example, the definition of adequate translation depends on the researcher’s personal interpretation of textual function and relation, thus making the concept unstable and the research less objective and repeatable (Hermans, p.57). The initial norm that the translator needs to choose between acceptability and adequacy is reductionist as it involves multiple factors, for instance, “how the source text is viewed, whether it or similar texts have been translated before, whether the translation is made for import or export, by a speaker of which language, for what audience or purpose, and so on” (ibid., p.77). Besides, “invariance” appears

dubious “not only due to the asymmetry between languages and cultures but also the intervention of a norm concept which draws attention to the coloring, the slant, the ideological weighting of translation” and “equivalence” seems inappropriate given the contexts where translation takes place between power differentials (ibid., p.97).

Drawing from Toury’s (1980) initial norm, which highlighted the pivotal role of the translation’s main goal in the translation process, Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) introduced a new method to analyze “the differences between a translation and its original,” which she termed “shifts,” during the translation of fictional narrative texts. The method is comprised of two components: a comparative model and a descriptive one. The former aims to establish and categorize shifts on the microstructural level. Notably, only those shifts that exert a substantial impact on semantic, pragmatic, or stylistic meanings are considered. It is carried out in three steps. First, randomly selected passages are divided into “transeme,” defined as “a comprehensible textual unit” (1989, p.155). Second, transemses in ST and TT are mutually compared to establish the architranseme (ATR), which denotes the similarity between the ST and TT transemses, and then individually compared to the ATR to identify their relationships. The association is synonymic if no difference exists between the ATR and respective transemses, and hyponymic if either transeme is a form/class/mode of the ATR. Third, Van Leuven-Zwart summed up three main categories of microstructural shifts: modulation (the target-text transeme has a hyponymic relationship with the ATR); modification (both the ST and the TT transemses have hyponymic relationships with the ATR); mutation (it is impossible to establish an ATR). The latter aims to investigate consistent and frequent microstructural shifts’ impact on macrostructural levels, such as on the level of discourse, story, and history in narrative prose. Hermans (1999, p.62) described Van Leuven-Zwart’s models as “the most extensive and detailed ever designed for the purposes of translation analysis” but raised criticism from two aspects: first, in the comparison of transemses, interpretations based on dictionary definitions seem insufficient, especially in the case of stylistic shifts.

Second, it remains unclear as to the quality and quantity of microstructural changes needed to exert an effect on the macrostructural level.

### **2.4.3 The relevance of translation shifts to this research**

In recent decades, there has been a growing argument that translation studies are under an ideological turn (Leung 2006). Without framing their studies with the exact term “translation shifts,” numerous researchers were devoted to examining the relationship between linguistic changes during the transfer from ST to TT and ideology and social relations of power. As shown in Section 2.1.3, Hatim and Mason (1997) have played a significant role in the integration of critical discourse analysis and translation studies. For example, by comparing the text about Mexican history presented in Spanish and English bilingual format in the UNESCO Courier, Mason (2010) found that the source text and the target text relayed two different ideologies. The source text constructed “a humanist discourse of people striving to forge their destiny, and within an institutional framework for promoting indigenous cultures” (ibid. p.91). However, these ideologies are downplayed in the translation through shifts in lexical cohesion, theme/rheme arrangement, and textual structure. Venuti (1995, p.20) drew on Schleiermacher’s work and replaced the pre-existing dichotomy between source-oriented and target-oriented approaches with foreignization and domestication strategies. Foreignization refers to preserving the foreign text to retain the source-text language and cultural values. In contrast, domestication means reducing the foreign text to comply with the target-text language and cultural values. He criticized the traditional domesticating method which over-emphasized the notion of fluency and naturalness because it made the translator “invisible” and implied a form of “ethnocentrism, racism, cultural narcissism, and imperialism.” Instead, he supported the foreignizing method which intervened with the unequal cultural exchanges initiated by English-language nations. Postcolonial and gender-based studies have also begun to recognize the significance of translation. Von

Flotow (1991) discovered that alongside the development of experimental feminist writing in Canada, which aimed to deconstruct the conventional misogynist patriarchal language, feminist translators also applied supplementing, prefacing, footnoting, and hijacking to rewrite and make the feminine visible in language. For example, David Ellis translated the “Ce soir, j’entre dans l’histoire sans relever ma jupe” as “this evening I’m entering history without pulling up my skirt,” while the feminist translator Linda Gaboriau translated the sentence into “this evening I’m entering history without opening my legs” to make women’s repressed status more obvious (ibid. p. 69).

In this study, I view translation shifts as the observed lexical and syntactic changes from the source text that hold the potential to influence ideological connotations associated with the source text. In Section 2.3, I outlined a series of rhetorical conventions often used to express ideology in Chinese and Anglophone political discourse. Consequently, my focus is on the shifts occurring in these rhetorical conventions during the translation to identify whether the translation exhibits a certain degree of mediation of ideologies. There are obligatory shifts which mean that translators have to mediate the ideological connotations to comply with the linguistic rules of the target language. There are also non-obligatory shifts which means it is possible to maintain the original ideological sense. Still, the translators did not do so either consciously or unconsciously. Nevertheless, it is essential to remember that the division between obligatory and optional translation shifts is not definite or clear-cut. Non-obligatory shifts can also be embedded in mandatory shifts. For example:

(ST) 准确定位和把握使市场在资源配置中起决定性作用和更好发挥政府作用，必须正确认识市场作用和政府作用的关系。 (Xi, 2014b, p.117)

(LT) To accurately locate, grasp, and let the market play a decisive role in allocating resources and the government better perform its functions, (the implied social agent) must correctly understand the relationship between the market’s and the government’s roles.

(TT) To let the market play a decisive role in allocating resources and the government better perform its functions, we must have a good understanding of the relationship between the role of the market and the role of the government.

(Xi, 2014a, p.129)

Since the first sentence is a non-subject sentence in Chinese, a subject is required in the English translation. Thus, it can be classified as an obligatory shift. However, in a more strict sense, which subject should be added is a question of non-obligatory shift. In the target text, adding the first plural is beneficial in underscoring the united position and joint responsibility of the president, Chinese government officials, and CPC members in taking advantage of both the government's and the market's active roles in economic development. Comparatively, other alternatives, such as adding a dummy subject "there must be a good understanding.../it is essential to have a good understanding...", adding a concrete subject "the Party/government must have a good understanding...", or using passivization, all fail to convey similar united position and joint responsibility. Therefore, the researcher should always keep an open mind toward the differentiation between obligatory and optional shifts during the analysis.

## Chapter 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Corpus-based critical discourse analysis

In this research, critical discourse analysis is introduced into corpus-based translation studies to form a mixed-methods approach. Baker (1996) first put forward the corpus-based translation study to refer to the branch of translation studies featuring statistical analysis of translated texts' features using corpora. Its rapid development in recent decades is generally attributed to the raised status of translation as a language system itself and translation studies' turn away from conventional prescriptive approaches to descriptive approaches. The latter focuses on describing existing translation products and processes and generalizing translation strategies, principles, and norms based on cultural, sociopolitical, and ideological contexts. Corpora have already been proven useful in multiple research areas of translation studies, such as universal translation features, translator's style or voice, and translation norms. For example, Baker (1992; 1996) defined translation universals as the translation features resulting from the translation process itself rather than the source or target language's influence and highlighted four types of translation universals, including explicitation, simplification, normalization, and leveling out. Recent decades have witnessed the application of Baker's categorizations to varied corpora, supported by some (He 2003; Klaudy and Karoly 2005) but challenged by others (Tirkkonen-Condit 2002). The translator's style or voice has also become one of the topics of interest in translation studies since Venuti (1995) criticized the invisibility of translators in past translation studies that downplayed the translator's subjectivity and reduced the translator's roles to simply seeking equivalence between the source and target texts. A corpus-based approach allows researchers to quickly identify translators' voice or style by investigating the lexical and syntactic features that typically occur in the corpus formed by the translator's translated texts compared to other corpora created by non-translated texts

or other translators' translated texts (Li, Zhang, and Liu 2011). Additionally, studies on translation norms have also benefited from the corpus-based approach. Toury (1995, p.55) defined norm as “the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group – as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into specific performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to specific situations” and viewed translation as a norm-governed activity. In other words, translation norms can be interpreted as socially formed and generally agreed rules imposed on translators in terms of what to translate and how to translate. Accordingly, with sizable and representative corpora, translation norms that dominate a social community over a certain period can be reconstructed and studied. It is fair to say that the increasing recognition and usage of corpus-based translation studies within academia have paved the way for integrating critical discourse analysis and corpus-based translation studies.

Combining critical discourse analysis with a corpus-based translation study is possible because both methods stress the significance of contextualization. Critical discourse analysis aims to explore the interplay between language and ideological or social factors by connecting linguistic features of the spoken or written texts with the immediate communicative context and broader cultural, sociopolitical, or historical context (Van Dijk 1993; Fairclough 1995; Wodak 2001a). Corpus-based translation studies, under the influence of the cultural turn, which also views translation as a form of cultural transfer (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990), and the manipulation school, which regards translation as a form of rewriting (Hermans 2014), also show growing interest in connecting translation norms or idiosyncrasies with extralinguistic contextual variables (Hu and Zhu 2008; Li, Zhang and Liu 2011; Ayyad 2012). Besides, critical discourse analysis and corpus-based translation studies are not mutually exclusive. Just as Hu (2016) and Olohan (2004) said, corpus-based translation studies tend to merge quantitative research with qualitative research. Corpora provides ways for researchers to obtain statistical data regarding lexical and syntactic features of specific texts. Still, it then relies on researchers to interpret obtained results against the cultural,

sociopolitical, and ideological backdrop. This latter part can benefit from drawing support from the typically qualitative critical discourse analysis approach. For example, previous critical discourse analyses have already demonstrated that modality, transitivity, personal reference, and metaphor likely indicate ideological stance in political discourse (Fowler 1991; Simpson 1993).

The integration of critical discourse analysis and corpus-based translation study is mutually beneficial. For corpus-based translation studies, critical discourse analysis broadens its research scope by emphasizing the role of ideological and social factors in translation. Olohan (2004) pointed out three areas of critical linguistics that can be carried out on corpora of translations: “underlying patterns of language usage that translators may not be overtly aware of; conscious lexical and grammatical choices over available options that may reveal translators’ ideologies; extratextual data relating to the production and reception of translation product.” Hu and Li (2018) suggested the term “corpus-based critical translation studies ” to cover translation studies which are dedicated to investigating the relationship between translation and ideology within the framework of descriptive translation studies and with a corpus-based methodology. They suggested four major research areas of “corpus-based critical translation studies,” including gender, nationality, politics, and the translator’s individual or personal ideology, and five viable approaches, including transitivity, nominalization, modality, classification, and sensitive keywords. For critical discourse analysis, corpus-based translation studies allow researchers to analyze large quantities of authentic texts and obtain statistical results, thereby reducing subjective judgment, avoiding possible bias, and revealing interesting patterns undetectable by manual analysis alone. However, researchers such as Mason (2010) and Van Leuven-Zwart (1990, p.88) cautioned that the number of translation shifts does not always represent their significance. Consequently, it is essential to note the following aspects when trying to integrate critical discourse analysis with corpus-based translation studies: Firstly, although statistically significant patterns remain the focus of the investigation, statistically

insignificant patterns should not be neglected entirely. Secondly, it is reasonable to make use of a combination of corpus tools (word list based on frequency, collocation and concordance lines based on context, keyword list based on relative significance) to analyze linguistic patterns rather than generalizing based on the result of just one corpus tool. Thirdly, linguistic patterns should always be examined in relation to co-textual (ranging from concordance lines to the whole text) and contextual factors. To summarize, we can see that combining critical discourse analysis and corpus-based translation studies requires further adaptation and refinement. Still, it seems promising to help researchers, translators, and audiences gain an in-depth understanding of the relationship between translation, ideology, and social relations.

### **3.2 Corpus tools**

Four corpus analysis tools were adopted in this study to facilitate quantitative analysis. Firstly, the word list tool was employed to generate frequency lists of words, displaying each word's frequency and frequency rank in the research corpora. It was also used to calculate the research corpora's total number of words (commonly referred to as the total number of "tokens") and their total number of different words (commonly referred to as the total number of "types"). Secondly, the concordance tool was used to see all the occurrences of a particular word in its immediate co-texts in the research corpora. Thirdly, the cluster tool was employed to search for a specific word's common phrases (continuous sequences of words of a specified length) in the research corpora. Fourthly, the keyword list tool was employed to discover critical concepts, topics, or attitudes discussed in a text or corpus that distinguish the text or corpus from other texts or corpora (Gabrielatos 2018, p.225). In corpus linguistics, keywords refer to words whose frequencies are unusually high or low in the research corpus compared to a reference corpus (Hu 2016). Positive keywords appear significantly higher within the research corpus than within the reference corpus, while negative keywords appear considerably lower within the research corpus than in the reference corpus. Besides, keywords are

usually sorted according to the statistics by a particular measuring method (keyness), and only those words with the most significant values are examined. The keywords of a smaller, more specialized corpus can be identified by comparing its frequency list with that of a larger, more general corpus (Olohan 2004). The log-likelihood measure is conventionally implemented in corpus software such as Antconc and Lancsbox to establish whether there is enough evidence in the corpus to say that the frequencies of the same word differ between the focus corpus and reference corpus. However, researchers like Kilgarriff (2009) have recently questioned its utility from two angles. Firstly, relatively small frequency differences between focus and reference corpus can still reach statistical significance in large enough corpora. As a result, log-likelihood statistics work well on small corpora and words with low raw frequency instead of large corpora and words with high raw frequency. Secondly, log-likelihood tests the amount of evidence we have for the existence of an effect, but it does not tell us the size of that effect. According to these concerns, Kilgarriff suggested moving away from statistical significance to effect size measures and looking at the ratio between the relative frequencies of words in the focus corpus and reference corpus. He developed a brand-new simple maths procedure adopted by many corpus software such as Sketch Engine and LancsBox. Given the above, this study considered the usage of both the log-likelihood and the simple maths measuring methods when identifying keywords.

### **3.3 Data sampling**

In this research, data were sampled from the Chinese and the English versions of *The Governance of China Volume I 2<sup>nd</sup> edition* and *Volume II. The Governance of China* is essentially heterogeneous, covering a wide range of political discourse genres (speeches, talks, interviews, instructions, and correspondence) and including a wide assortment of topics. According to Wang's (2017) proposal that it is unnecessary to go through all presidential discourse because "most of the patterns for the representations of these political ideologies are repetitive and the general patterns can be found in the

discourse in the contexts requiring more official ideologies than others,” and due to limited scope of the thesis, I only selected President Xi’s domestic speeches addressed to government officials and CPC members (91 pieces in total) to form my research corpora because they are most ideologically salient, thereby more likely to display noticeable ideological translation shifts. It is important to note that the majority of speeches are not full transcripts or scripts of original speeches but the main points of the original speech or part of the original speech, as indicated in the footnotes of the book. Tables 7 and 8 below offer an overview of the selected speeches for building the corpora.

Table 7 An overview of the speeches in *The Governance of China Volume I* used to build the corpora

Genre	Title of the Chapter	Title of the speech
Speech at the Party/government’s conferences, seminars, assemblies, and other regular meetings, as well as the president’s address to the National People’s Congress	Socialism with Chinese characteristics	Uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics
		Carry on the enduring spirit of Mao Zedong Thought
	The Chinese dream	Address to the first session of the 12 <sup>th</sup> National People’s Congress
	All-round and deeper-level reform	Improve governance capacity through the socialist system with Chinese characteristics
		Align our thinking with the guidelines of the third plenary session of the 18 <sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee
	Economic development	Revolutionize energy production and consumption
Rule of law	Promote social fairness and justice, ensure a happy life for the people	

	Culturally advanced China	Enhance publicity and theoretical work
	Social undertakings	Build China into a cyber power
		A holistic view of national security
	National defense	Build up our national defense and armed forces
		Build people's armed forces that follow the Party's commands, are able to win battles, and have fine conduct
	Neighborhood diplomacy	Diplomacy with neighboring countries characterized by friendship, sincerity, reciprocity, and inclusiveness
	Close ties with the people	The mass line: fundamental to the CPC
		The guiding thoughts and goals for the program of the mass line education and practice
		Establish and promote the conduct of "three stricts and three earnestness"
	Combat corruption	Power must be "caged" by the system
		Improve party conduct, uphold integrity, and combat corruption
	The CPC leadership	Train and select good officials
		Study for a brighter future
		Follow a good blueprint
Speech at the routine group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central	Socialism with Chinese characteristics	Study, disseminate, and implement the guiding principles of the 18th CPC National Congress
	All-round and deeper-level reform	Reform and opening up is always ongoing and will never end

Committee, which the president presided over	Economic development	The “invisible hand” and the “visible hand”
	Rule of law	Develop a law-based country, government, and society
	Culturally advanced China	Enhance China’s cultural soft power
		Cultivate and disseminate the core socialist values
	Social undertakings	Accelerate the development of housing security and supply
		Safeguard national security and social stability
	Ecological progress	Usher in a new era of ecological progress
	Peaceful development	Strengthen the foundation for pursuing peaceful development
Combat corruption	Historical wisdom helps us combat corruption and uphold the integrity	
Speech during the president’s inspection visit to the local governments	Social undertakings	Eliminate poverty and accelerate development in impoverished areas
		Always put people’s lives first
	National defense	Build strong national defense and powerful military forces

Table 8 An overview of the speeches in *The Governance of China Volume II* used to build the corpora

Genre	Title of the Chapter	Title of the speech
Speech at the Party/government’s conferences,	Socialism with Chinese characteristics and	A bright future for Socialism with Chinese characteristics
		Complete a moderately prosperous

seminars, assemblies, and other regular meetings, as well as the president's address to the National People's Congress	the Chinese dream	society and realize the Chinese dream
	A moderately prosperous society in all respects	The decisive stage in achieving the first centenary goal
		How to resolve major difficulties in realizing the first centenary goal
		Take targeted measures against poverty
		Eliminate poverty in severely impoverished areas
	Deeper reform	Make solid efforts to advance reform
		Further reform must be systematic, integrated, and coordinated
	Rule of law	Promote socialist rule of law
		Officials must set a good example in observing the law
	Governing the Party with strict discipline	Be a good county Party secretary
		Observe discipline and rules
		Keep in line with the CPC Central Committee
		Enhance Party conduct, uphold clean government, and fight corruption
		A national supervision system covering state organs and public servants
		Stronger discipline inspection tours make for stricter Party self-governance
Party leadership is the unique strength of SOEs		
Tighten political activities within our Party		
Reinforce the Party's internal security		

		The four consciousnesses and the authority of the Central Committee
New development concepts		Guide development with new concepts
		A deeper understanding of the new development concepts
		Implement the new development concepts
The new normal of economic development		Economic work should be adapted to the new normal
		The new normal: How to respond and adapt
		What is the new normal in China's economic development
		Promote supply-side structural reform
		Promote the healthy development of diverse forms of ownership
		Sound, circular, and healthy development of the economy and finance
Socialist democracy		Confidence in the political system of Chinese Socialism
		Broad, multilevel, and institutionalized consultive democracy
		Improve the work of the United Front
		The Party's work with social organizations
Cultural Confidence		Improve all aspects of the Party's media leadership
		Let a healthy internet guide and reflect

		public opinion
		Develop philosophy and social sciences with Chinese characteristics
	The well-being of the people	Expanding the middle-income group
		Promote a healthy China
		Secure the people's basic needs
		Towards world-class universities and disciplines
		Keep hold of the strategic initiative for our national security
	Military development	Strengthen and improve the political work of the military
		Strengthen the armed forces through reform
		Deeper civil-military integration
		Continue to strengthen our military
	China's diplomacy as a major country	China's diplomacy must benefit its major-country status
The Belt and Road Initiative	The Belt and Road Initiative benefits the people	
Speech at the routine group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, which the president presided over	Socialism with Chinese characteristics and the China dream	Develop and popularize Marxism in the modern Chinese context
	Deeper reform	Implement the free trade zone strategy
	Rule of law	Reform the judicial system
		The rule of law and the rule of virtue
Beautiful China	Green development model and green way of life	

	China’s diplomacy as a major country	Improve our ability to participate in global governance
	The Belt and Road Initiative	Promote the Belt and Road Initiative, extend reform and development
Speech during the president’s inspection visit to the local governments	Deeper reform	Make targeted efforts in reform
	Beautiful China	Eco-environmental protection is an integral component of development

### 3.4 Data preparation

To begin with, the Chinese source texts and English target texts of the selected speeches collected in *The Governance of China* were all converted into TXT format. The Chinese source texts were then segmented and POS-tagged with the NLPPIR-ICTCLAS Chinese lexical analysis system founded by Dr. Kevin Zhang, the associate professor at the Beijing Institute of Technology and the director of Big Data Search and Mining Laboratory. The system is easy to use and effective, widely applied to corpora for translation studies on the Chinese-English language pair, such as the English-Chinese Parallel Corpus of Shakespeare’s Plays (Hu and Zou 2009) and CE-PolitDisCorp (Gu 2019b), with an alleged accuracy of 97% (Hu 2016, p.53). Segmentation is essential to corpora involving Chinese because unlike English words, which are formed by a string of letters and separated from each other by blank space, Chinese words are formed by one or more characters (e.g., “你” means “you,” “国家” means “country,” “新加坡” means “Singapore”) and standardly written without spaces between words. Well-educated Chinese speakers are able to discern words from continuous strings of characters naturally in their minds, but this systematic linguistic difference in Chinese presents difficulties for corpus software to carry out the analysis. Therefore, segmenting software is usually employed to split the text into a sequence of words with space markers according to specific word segmentation standards. To further improve the

accuracy and reliability of the segmentation outcome, a manual correction was carried out at the end of automatic segmentation based on the researcher's knowledge of Chinese. The next step of data preparation was related to POS-tagging, which refers to assigning pre-determined parts of speech tags to individual words to facilitate the later retrieval and study of specific grammatical structures. Since this research involves grammatical categories such as modality, nominalization, and passivity, the Chinese source texts were tagged with the NLP-ICTCLAS system, while the English target texts were tagged with Tree tagger, one of the most popular English POS taggers.

After editing source texts and target texts, respectively, alignment was carried out in order to establish a translation relationship between the two at the sentence level. Alignment at the sentence level is more complicated than the paragraph level since a one-to-one match is not always possible between sentences in the source and target texts: A single sentence in the source language may be translated into multiple target language sentences and vice versa due to linguistic difference and translation strategies (Hu 2016, p.54). This alignment difficulty is especially evident in the current research as Chinese political speeches tend to contain large quantities of long sentences. Therefore, splitting up sentences is inevitable in translation. Given these, the sentences in the source text and target text were aligned based on the following principles: 1) full stop, question, and exclamation mark indicate a complete sentence while dash and semicolon are not considered as sentence breakers; 2) source and target sentences are aligned with the former as the benchmark, allowing for one-to-none and one-to-more correspondence and vice versa; 3) the alignment is first done automatically with the help of the Tmxmall online alignment platform and then checked manually by the researcher.

### **3.5 Corpora composition**

In the end, three corpora were formed for this research. Corpus C is made up of Chinese source texts. It is important to note that these Chinese source texts were segmented, POS-tagged, and aligned texts rather than raw texts. All the text files were named in the format of <Language+ Volume number+ Chapter number+ Speech number>. For example, <CN010102> refers to the text file in Corpus C, which is formed by the second speech of the first Chapter collected in the first volume of the Chinese version of *The Governance of China*. Likewise, Corpus E is made up of processed English target texts and is named in the same manner as Corpus C. For instance, <EN010102> refers to the text file, which is formed by the second speech of the first Chapter collected in the first volume of the English version of *The Governance of China*. Corpus C2E, a parallel corpus, is a combination of Corpus C and E. Every single text is made up of processed Chinese source text along with its corresponding processed English target texts aligned at the sentence level. Text files in corpus C2E were named in the format of <Volume number+ Chapter number+ Speech number>. For example, <010102> refers to the text file formed by the source and target text of the second speech of the first Chapter from the first volume of the Chinese and English versions of *The Governance of China* aligned at the sentence level. Figures 2 to 4 below demonstrate what a text looks like in Corpus C, E, and C2E. At the same time, Table 9 below briefly summarizes the composition of these three corpora (the number of types refers to the total number of different words in corpora, while the number of tokens refers to the total number of words in corpora and type/token ratio is often used as an indicator of lexical variety).

Figure 2 Sample text file of Corpus C

File Edit Format View Help  
 党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz报告\_n勾画\_v了\_ule在\_p新\_a的\_ude1历史\_n条件\_n下\_f全面\_ad建成\_v小康\_n社会\_n〔wk  
 中央\_n已经\_d发出\_v关于\_p认真\_ad学习\_v宣传\_v贯彻\_v党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz精神\_n的\_ude1通知\_n，\_wd各级\_r  
 党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz强调\_v要\_v高举\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n伟大\_a旗帜\_n，\_wd强调\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主  
 可以\_v说\_v，\_wd坚持\_v和\_cc发展\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n是\_vshi贯穿\_v党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz报告\_n的\_ude  
 我们\_rr要\_v紧紧\_d抓住\_v这\_rzv条\_q主线\_n，\_wd把\_pba坚持\_v和\_cc发展\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n作为\_v学习\_v贯  
 为\_p什\_ng么\_nr1我\_rr要\_v强调\_v这\_rzv一点\_mq?\_ww  
 这\_rzv是\_vshi因为\_c，\_wd党\_n和\_cc国家\_n的\_ude1长期\_b实践\_vn充分\_ad证明\_v，\_wd只有\_c社会主义\_n才\_d能\_v我  
 只有\_c高举\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n伟大\_a旗帜\_n，\_wd我们\_rr才\_d能\_v团结\_an带领\_v全党\_n全国\_n各族\_rz人民\_r  
 紧紧\_d围绕\_v坚持\_v和\_cc发展\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n学习\_v宣传\_v贯彻\_v党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz精神\_n，\_wc  
 第一\_m，\_wd深刻\_ad领会\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n是\_vshi党\_n和\_cc人民\_n长期\_d实践\_v取得\_v的\_ude1根本\_a成

Figure 3 Sample text file of Corpus E

File Edit Format View Help  
 [The\_DT political\_JJ report\_NN to\_TO the\_DT 18th\_JJ National\_NP Congress\_NP of\_IN the\_DT CPC\_NP has\_VHZ charted\_V  
 The\_DT CPC\_NP Central\_NP Committee\_NP has\_VHZ issued\_VVN a\_DT notice\_NN on\_IN conscientiously\_RB studying\_VV  
 It\_PP was\_VBD emphasized\_VVN at\_IN the\_DT 18th\_JJ National\_NP Congress\_NP that\_IN we\_PP should\_MD uphold\_VV s  
 uture\_NN for\_IN developing\_VVG China\_NP 's\_POS socialism\_NN \_SENT  
 In\_IN fact\_NN ,\_ adhering\_VVG to\_TO and\_CC developing\_VVG socialism\_NN with\_IN Chinese\_JJ characteristics\_NNS wa  
 We\_PP must\_MD always\_RB stick\_VV to\_TO this\_DT theme\_NN ,\_ continue\_VVP to\_TO develop\_VV socialism\_NN with\_IN  
 Why\_WRB have\_VH I\_PP emphasized\_VVD this\_DT ? \_SENT  
 Because\_IN only\_JJ socialism\_NN can\_MD save\_VV China\_NP ,\_ and\_CC only\_RB Chinese\_JJ socialism\_NN can\_MD lead\_V  
 Only\_RB by\_IN upholding\_VVG socialism\_NN with\_IN Chinese\_JJ characteristics\_NNS can\_MD we\_PP bring\_VV together\_I  
 To\_TO study\_VV ,\_ disseminate\_VV and\_CC implement\_VV the\_DT guiding\_JJ principles\_NNS of\_IN the\_DT 18th\_JJ Natio

Figure 4 Sample text file of Corpus C2E

File Edit Format View Help  
 党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz报告\_n勾画\_v了\_ule在\_p新\_a的\_ude1历史\_n条件\_n下\_f全面\_ad建成\_v小康\_n社会\_n〔wk  
 The\_DT political\_JJ report\_NN to\_TO the\_DT 18th\_JJ National\_NP Congress\_NP of\_IN the\_DT CPC\_NP has\_VHZ charted\_V  
 中央\_n已经\_d发出\_v关于\_p认真\_ad学习\_v宣传\_v贯彻\_v党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz精神\_n的\_ude1通知\_n，\_wd各级\_r  
 The\_DT CPC\_NP Central\_NP Committee\_NP has\_VHZ issued\_VVN a\_DT notice\_NN on\_IN conscientiously\_RB studying\_VV  
 党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz强调\_v要\_v高举\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n伟大\_a旗帜\_n，\_wd强调\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主  
 It\_PP was\_VBD emphasized\_VVN at\_IN the\_DT 18th\_JJ National\_NP Congress\_NP that\_IN we\_PP should\_MD uphold\_VV s  
 uture\_NN for\_IN developing\_VVG China\_NP 's\_POS socialism\_NN \_SENT  
 可以\_v说\_v，\_wd坚持\_v和\_cc发展\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n是\_vshi贯穿\_v党\_n的\_ude1十\_m八大\_nz报告\_n的\_ude  
 In\_IN fact\_NN ,\_ adhering\_VVG to\_TO and\_CC developing\_VVG socialism\_NN with\_IN Chinese\_JJ characteristics\_NNS wa  
 我们\_rr要\_v紧紧\_d抓住\_v这\_rzv条\_q主线\_n，\_wd把\_pba坚持\_v和\_cc发展\_v中国\_ns特色\_n社会主义\_n作为\_v学习\_v贯  
 We\_PP must\_MD always\_RB stick\_VV to\_TO this\_DT theme\_NN ,\_ continue\_VVP to\_TO develop\_VV socialism\_NN with\_IN  
 为\_p什\_ng么\_nr1我\_rr要\_v强调\_v这\_rzv一点\_mq?\_ww  
 Why\_WRB have\_VH I\_PP emphasized\_VVD this\_DT ? \_SENT

Table 9 Corpora composition

Corpus C	Corpus E	Corpus C2E
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speeches in Chinese	speeches in English	speeches in Chinese and English (sum of Corpus C and Corpus E)
8857 types	7864 types	16721 types
117215 tokens	150531 tokens	267746 tokens

### 3.6 Data analysis procedures

The first step in analyzing data is motivated by the research question of which words are ideologically essential in President Xi’s speeches. As mentioned in Section 3.2, positive keywords, which appear remarkably higher in a smaller and more specialized research corpus than in a larger and more general reference corpus, can indicate the critical concepts, topics, or attitudes that make the research corpus distinguishable. Therefore, as shown in Appendix A, a keyword list was generated to ascertain the ideologically significant words within President Xi’s speeches to government officials and Party members by comparing Corpus C (source texts) with the UCLA Corpus of Written Chinese (2nd Edition) through the Antconc software by the log-likelihood measure. The keyword list was not generated through Lancsbox’s simple maths and log-likelihood measures because Lancsbox required the importation of the entire corpus. However, due to the copyright issue, the UCLA Corpus only provided its word list instead of the entire corpus. The UCLA Corpus of Written Chinese (2nd Edition), created by Hongyin Tao, was chosen as the reference corpus since it is one of the most recent, balanced corpora of modern Mandarin Chinese. Secondly, to select the words most likely to show ideological shifts, obtained keywords were briefly analyzed by looking through their concordance lines to assess each word’s ideological intent. In this step, special attention was paid to terms associated with modality, transitivity, metaphor, and referring expression because according to past literature (Section 2.3), they are most likely to convey ideologies in monolingual political discourse and undergo

ideological mediation in political translation. Thirdly, the selected keywords were tagged according to the procedures and schemes listed below from Section 3.6.1 to 3.6.4. Lastly, the tagging result was analyzed quantitatively, using more corpus tools to identify statistically significant translation patterns, and qualitatively, using critical discourse analysis to elaborate on specific ideological implications at length, as shown in the subsequent Chapter 4.

### **3.6.1 Tagging modality shifts**

The tagging process consists of five steps: 1) examining the keyword list (Appendix A) to locate the words of interest which can function as modal auxiliary verbs in the Chinese source texts; 2) extracting all the Chinese concordance lines containing the word of interest together with their corresponding translations after importing Corpus C and Corpus E into the multilingual concordancer software Paraconc; 3) eliminating all instances where the word of interest is not used as a modality marker in the source text; 4) confirming the range of verbs the modality marker modifies in the source text; 5) analyzing the modality marker and its correspondent translated form and tagging various types of modality shifts in the research corpora according to the tagging scheme (Table 10) developed based on Simpson's (1993, p. 43-47) modality system explained in Section 2.3.1.

It is important to note two points in step four. Firstly, when the concordance line is not enough to ascertain the category of the modality marker, the whole speech content (extracted by searching in Corpus C2E with Antconc), the speech circumstance (listed in Tables 7 and 8), and the broader Chinese sociopolitical background were taken into consideration. Secondly, if the modality marker is translated into multiple different modality markers, the modality marker in the target text, which is in the same modal system (deontic; boulomaic; epistemic) and with the highest degree of emphasis, was preferentially selected as the correspondent translated form for tagging and analysis.

Figure 5 below illustrates the tagging process, while Table 10 below demonstrates the detailed tagging scheme of the abovementioned Chinese modality markers, explained with examples retrieved from the parallel Corpus C2E. However, it is essential to note that Table 10 is not designed for tagging all modality shifts within Chinese-English translation because it only covers the shifts discovered in the current research corpora. Besides, Table 10 merely briefly touches upon the ideological significance of various modality shifts. In what follows, Section 4.1 will present a more thorough examination of ideological mediation based on the broader sociopolitical background

Figure 5 A tagging example of “要(should/must/want/will)” with Paracon

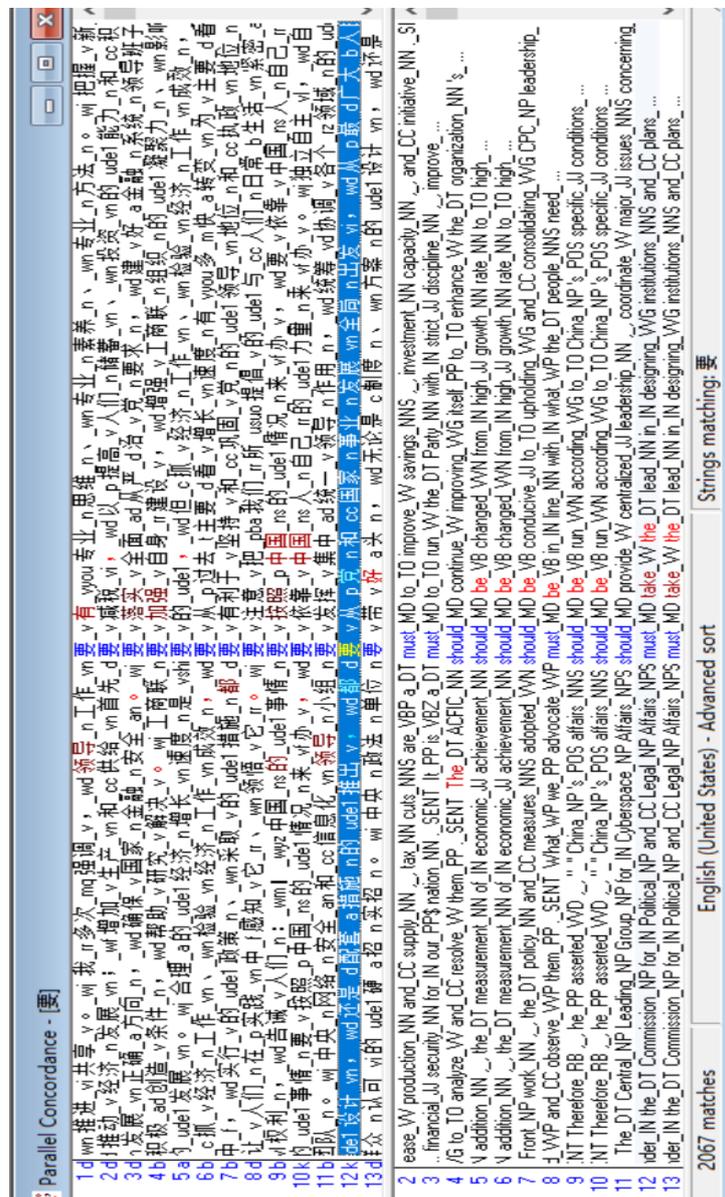


Table 10 The tagging scheme for modality shifts in translation

Source Text	Target Text		Tag	Example
Deontic	Deontic	Must	D	<p>(ST) <u>要</u> 按照 政治 过硬 、 业务 过硬 、 责任 过硬 、 纪律 过硬 、 作风 过硬 的 要求 ， 教育 和 引导 立法 、 执法 、 司法 工作者 牢固 树立 社会主义 法治 理念 ， 恪守 职业道德 ， 做到 忠于 党 、 忠于 国家 、 忠于 人民 、 忠于 法律 。</p> <p>(LT) Based on the requirement of high political integrity, professional competence, responsibility, discipline, and good conduct, (implied agent) <b><u>must/need to/should</u></b> educate and guide legislators, law enforcers, and judicial workers to firmly establish a socialist rule of law concept, uphold professional ethics, and remain loyal to the Party, the country, the people, and the law.</p> <p>(TT) In line with the requirement that our legislative, law enforcement and judicial personnel are politically upright, professionally competent, highly accountable, and strongly disciplined in their conduct, we <b><u>must</u></b> educate and guide these people to firmly embrace the socialist rule of law and strictly observe professional ethics, ensuring that they are loyal to the Party, the country, the people, and the law.</p>

				(Explanation) The Chinese deontic modality marker “要(must/need to/should)” is rendered as “must,” underscoring the Party/government's obligation to educate and guide legislative, law enforcement, and judicial staff. Moreover, “树立(establish)” is rendered as “embrace,” which could stress the significance of these personnel’s emotional and psychological commitment to the socialist rule of law.
		Inevitable/imperative /necessary	G	<p>(ST) <u>要</u> 加大对 维护 国家 安全 所需 的 物质 、 技术 、 装备 、 人 才 、 法律 、 机制 等 保障 方面 的 能力 建设 ， 更 好 适应 国家 安 全 工 作 需 要 。</p> <p>(LT) (Implied agent) <b><i>must/need to/should</i></b> enhance capacity building in terms of materials, technology, equipment, talent, laws, mechanisms, and other guarantees required to protect national security to better adapt to the needs of national security work.</p> <p>(TT) <b><i>It is also imperative to</i></b> enhance our capacity to provide the materials, technologies, equipment, expertise, legal guarantees, and mechanisms required for safeguarding national security.</p> <p>(Explanation) The Chinese deontic modality marker “要(must/need to/should)” is translated into “it is also imperative to...” to express the Party/government’s duty</p>

				with regard to national security. Ideologically, the usage of a dummy subject shifts the emphasis from subjective requirement to objective necessity. Stylistically, this enhances syntactic diversity. It's also interesting to note that the phrase “更好适应国家安全需要”, meaning “to better adapt to the needs of national security work”, is omitted in the official translation, likely to improve the target text’s readability and style as well.
		(Utmost/Paramount) important/vital/ essential/key	E	<p>(ST) 他 反复 强调 , <u>要</u> 把 人民 拥护 不 拥护 、 赞成 不 赞成 、 高兴 不 高兴 、 答应 不 答应 作为 制定 方针 政策 和 作出 决断 的 出发点 和 归宿 。</p> <p>(LT) He emphasized time and again that (implied agent) <b><u>must/need to/should</u></b> take the support or opposition, approval or disapproval, happiness or dissatisfaction, and consent or dissent of the people as the starting point and destination for formulating guidelines, policies, and making decisions.</p> <p>(TT) Deng repeatedly stressed that <b><u>it is of paramount importance to</u></b> take the support, approval, satisfaction, and consent of the people as the prime purpose and ultimate goal of all policies and decisions.</p>

				<p>(Explanation) The Chinese deontic modality marker “要(must/need to/should)” is rendered into “it is of paramount importance...” to stress the Party/government’s responsibility in implementing people-oriented governance. From an ideological perspective, the dummy subject shifts the emphasis from subjective requirement to objective significance. Stylistically, this usage enhances syntactic diversity. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the antithesis rhetorics (support or opposition, etc.) are not maintained in translation, probably also to improve conciseness and readability from the perspective of style.</p>
		<p>Need to/require/be required to/be obligated to/have to</p>	A	<p>(ST) <u>要</u> 按照 协商 于 民 、 协商 为 民 的 要求 ， 大 力 发 展 基 层 协 商 民 主 ， 重 点 在 基 层 群 众 中 开 展 协 商 。</p> <p>(LT) In accordance with the requirements of consultation in and for the people, (implied agent) <b><i>must/need to/should</i></b> vigorously develop consultative democracy at the community level, with a focus on conducting consultations among the masses living in local communities.</p> <p>(TT) In line with the principle of consultation among the people and for the people, we <b><i>need to</i></b> redouble our efforts in developing consultative democracy at the</p>

			<p>community level, with a focus on conducting consultations among community members.</p> <p>(Explanation) The deontic Chinese modality marker “要(must/need to/should)” is translated into “need to” to emphasize the obligations of government officials and Party members in developing consultative democracy at the community level.</p>
		Should/ought to	<p>B</p> <p>(ST) <u>要</u> 按照 绿色 发展 理念 ， 实行 最 严格 的 生态 环境 保护 制度 ， 建立 健全 环境 与 健康 监测 、 调查 、 风险 评估 制度 ， 重点 抓好 空气 、 土壤 、 水污染 的 防治 ， 加快 推进 国土 绿化 ， 切实 解决 影响 人民 群众 健康 的 突出 环境 问题 。</p> <p>(LT) Based on the idea of green development, (Implied agent) <b><u>must/need to/should</u></b> implement the strictest ecological and environmental protection system, establish and improve the environmental and health monitoring, investigation, and risk assessment system, and focus on the prevention and control of air, soil, and water pollution, accelerate homeland afforestation, and solve prominent environmental problems affecting the health of the people effectively.</p> <p>(TT) To practice the philosophy of green development, we <b><u>should</u></b> implement strict eco-protection mechanisms; improve monitoring, investigation, and risk</p>

			<p>evaluation mechanisms for environment and public health; focus on addressing air, soil, and water pollution; accelerate afforestation across the country, and resolve serious environmental problems affecting public health.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined deontic modality marker “<u>要</u>(must/need to/should)” is translated into “should” to emphasize the obligations of government officials and Party members in environmental protection.</p>
		Can (permission/ requirement/ allowance)	<p>J</p> <p>(ST) 坚持党性原则，关键是立规矩、讲规矩、守规矩。有些事<u>能</u>做、有些事不<u>能</u>做，有些事该这样做、有些事该那样做，都要规定得明明白白。</p> <p>(LT) In adhering to the principles of the Party spirit, the key lies in establishing, communicating, and observing the rules. What <u>can</u> be done, what <u>cannot</u> be done, how certain things should be done, and how other things should be done, all should/need to/must be clearly defined.</p> <p>(TT) The key to upholding Party spirit and principles is to set up rules, apply them fairly, and abide by them. There should be clear rules on what <u>can</u> be done and how, and what <u>cannot</u> be done.</p>

				<p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined deontic Chinese modality marker, “能(can),” is rendered as “can” without any shift. According to the <i>Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners</i>, the English term “can” embodies various modality meanings: (1) Boulomaic (expressing ability), as in “I can swim,” (2) Epistemic (expressing possibility/probability), as in “The hotel can’t be far from here,” (3) Deontic (expressing permission/allowance/requirement), as shown in “You can borrow my calculator,” “Can I have another piece of cake?,” and “People under 18 can’t vote in a general election.” In this example, it is used in the target text as a deontic modality marker, expressing the president’s emphasis on establishing clear Party rules regarding what Party members are allowed and not allowed to do. It conveys the president’s requirement for all Party members to observe the rules and improve self-discipline. However, it is important to bear in mind that “cannot” is relatively weaker in tone compared to some other modality markers such as “must not.”</p>
	Boulomaic	Will/shall/can(ability)/be to do/expect/aim to/mean	F	<p>(ST) <u>要</u>建立 责任追究 制度，对 那些 不顾 生态环境 盲目 决策、造成 严重后果 的人，<u>必须</u> 追究 其 责任，而且 <u>应该</u> 终身 追究。</p> <p>(LT) (Implied agent) <b><u>must/need to/should</u></b> establish an accountability system, and</p>

		<p>to/reluctant/urge/seek /have the ability to/ the to-infinitive</p>	<p>those who make reckless decisions regardless of the ecological environment and cause serious damage <b>must</b> be held responsible, and <b>should</b> be held accountable throughout their lifetime.</p> <p>(TT) We <u>will</u> establish an accountability system and call to account officials whose ill-judged decisions have caused serious ecological damage.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined deontic modality marker “要(must/need to/should)” is translated into “will”, shifting the emphasis from the Party/government’s duty to their plan or determination to build an accountability system for environmental protection. Furthermore, “必须(must)” and “应该(should)” are also omitted in the target text, keeping the focus on the Party/government’s plan or determination.</p> <p>(ST) 既然 开展 活动 ， 当然 <u>要</u> 取得 成效 ， 而且 成效 越多 越好 。</p> <p>(LT) Now that (implied agent) has launched activities, (implied agent) <u>must/need to/should</u> achieve results for sure, and the more results, the better.</p> <p>(TT) When we organize these activities, we naturally <u>expect</u> them to produce results, and the greater, the better.</p>
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			(Explanation) The underlined deontic modality marker “ <u>要</u> (should/must/need to)” is translated into “expect” which shifts the emphasis from the Party/government’s responsibility to their expectation for the activities’ great success.
	Epistemic	Can (probability /possibility)/will	<p>R</p> <p>(ST) 开展党的群众路线教育实践活动，就是<u>要</u>把为民务实清廉的价值追求深深植根于全党同志的思想和行动中，夯实党的执政基础，巩固党的执政地位，增强党的创造力凝聚力战斗力，使保持党的先进性和纯洁性、巩固党的执政基础和执政地位具有广泛、深厚、可靠的群众基础。</p> <p>(LT) Carrying out the Party’s mass line education and practice means that (implied agent) <u>must/need to/should</u> let the pursuit of serving the people, being practical, and being upright take deep root in the thoughts and actions of all Party comrades, consolidate the Party's governing foundation and position, enhance the Party's creativity, cohesion, and fighting capability, and ensure that keeping the Party's advanced nature and integrity and consolidating the Party's governing foundation and position have broad, deep and reliable mass support.</p> <p>(TT) We have launched the program of mass line education and practice so that the values of honesty, serving the people, and remaining down-to-earth <u>can</u> take</p>

			<p>root in the hearts and actions of all Party members. In this way, we can consolidate the Party's governing status, increase the Party's creativity, cohesiveness, and professional capabilities, maintain its progressive nature and its integrity, and consolidate its position through broad, profound, and reliable public support.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined deontic modality marker 要(should/must/need to),” is translated into “can” which shifts the emphasis from Party leaders’ obligation to let all Party members adopt the value, to the fact that the likelihood of values taking root in all Party members relies on the implementation of the program of mass line education and practice. This change could render the target text less subjective and more objective, potentially enhancing persuasiveness.</p>
	Omission not due to repetition	X	<p>(ST) 作风 是否 确实 好转 ， <u>要</u> 以 人民 满意 为 标准 。</p> <p>(LT) (Regarding) whether or not the work style has been improved, (implied agent) <b><u>must/need to/should</u></b> judge by people’s satisfaction.</p> <p>(TT) The people's satisfaction is the standard for measuring progress in changing our way of work.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined deontic modality marker “要(should/must/need to)” functions to stress the Party/government’s obligation to improve their work style</p>

		<p>based on people’s feedback. This translation shift could to some extent downplay government officials and Party members’ subjective requirements and highlight the objective facts in a less personal tone.</p> <p>(ST) 一是 <u>要</u> 牢记，坚决听党指挥是强军之魂，<u>必须</u> 毫不动摇坚持党对军队的绝对领导，<u>任何时候任何情况下都坚决听党的话、跟党走</u>。二是 <u>要</u> 牢记，<u>能打仗、打胜仗是强军之要，必须按照打仗的标准搞建设抓准备，确保我军始终能够召之即来、来之能战、战之必胜</u>。三是 <u>要</u> 牢记，<u>依法治军、从严治军是强军之基，必须保持严明的作风和铁的纪律，确保部队高度集中统一和安全稳定</u>。</p> <p>(LT) Firstly, <u>(implied agent) must/need to/should keep in mind that resolutely following the Party’s commands is the soul of a strong army. (Implied agent) must never falter in adhering to the Party’s absolute leadership over the army, listen to it, and follow its steps all the time regardless of the situation.</u> Secondly, <u>(implied agent) must/need to/should keep in mind that being able to fight and win battles is the key to a strong armed force. (Implied agent) must build and prepare the</u></p>
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		<p><i>armed forces according to wartime standards to ensure that our armed forces can always come, fight, and win wars.</i> Thirdly, (implied agent) <b>must/need to/should keep in mind that imposing strict discipline over the army according to the law is the foundation of a strong army.</b> (Implied agent) must maintain a steely strict, transparent working style and self-discipline to ensure that the armed forces are secure, stable, highly unified, and centralized.</p> <p>(TT) The armed forces <b>must</b> never falter in upholding the Party's absolute leadership, and all service persons <b>must</b> be well-disciplined so as to ensure that the armed forces are secure and stable.</p> <p>(Explanation) It is shown that all underlined parts, including the deontic modalities in bold, are omitted in the target text. The underlined clauses in the first and third points seem to be intentionally left out to prevent redundancy as the meanings of upholding the Party's leadership and ensuring the armed force's self-discipline are already maintained in the target text. Nevertheless, the italicized underlined clause under the second point, expressing the idea of reforming armed forces based on wartime standards, is entirely omitted. This omission may stem from ideological considerations, perhaps aiming to reduce emphasis on China's military reform in</p>
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			the context of the “China Threat Theory.”
	Omission triggered by repetition	K	<p>(ST) 各地区 <b>要</b> 建立健全党委统一领导的国家安全工作责任制，强化维护国家安全责任，守土有责、守土尽责。<b>要</b> 关心和爱护国家安全干部队伍，为他们提供便利条件和政策保障。</p> <p>(LT) Each region <b>must/needs to/should</b> establish and enhance a national security responsibility system under the unified leadership of Party committees, stressing the duty of protecting national security and ensuring its fulfillment. (Implied agent) <b><u>must/need to/should</u></b> be concerned with and take good care of the national security cadre team and provide them with convenient conditions and policy guarantees.</p> <p>(TT) All regions <b>must</b> establish and improve a national security responsibility system under the leadership of Party committees, stress the roles and duties of all participants, be concerned with people working for national security, and provide necessary conditions and policies.</p> <p>(Explanation) The deontic Chinese modality marker “要(should/must/need to)” is found twice in the source text, stressing all regions’ duties to develop a national security work responsibility system and show concern for relative workers. The</p>

		<p>two modality markers are combined into one in the target text, but the modality meanings are essentially preserved. As such, the omission of the second modality marker is likely driven by stylistic rather than ideological reasons. That is to say, the omission is implemented to improve textual conciseness and readability for the target readership.</p> <p>(ST) 邓小平同志高度关注世界和平与发展问题，提出“应当把发展问题提到全人类的高度来认识，<u>要</u>从这个高度去观察问题和解决问题”（23）。</p> <p>(LT) Comrade Deng Xiaoping paid significant attention to the problems of global peace and development, proposing that “(implied agent) <b>should</b> understand the development issue at the level of all mankind, and <u><i>must/need to/should</i></u> examine and address it from this perspective” [23].</p> <p>(TT) Paying great attention to global peace and development, he emphasized <b>the need to</b> “regard the problem of development as one that concerns all mankind and study and solve it on that level.” [25]</p>
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		<p>(Explanation) The first bold deontic Chinese modality marker, “应当(should),” is used to emphasize the obligation to understand the development issue from the perspective of all humankind. The second underlined deontic Chinese modality marker, “<u>要</u>(should/must/need to),” further emphasizes the duty to study and solve this issue through collective human effort. Similarly, the two different modality markers are merged into one in the target text without compromising the original meanings. Given the above, the omission is likely driven by stylistic considerations to avoid redundancy and enhance readability for target audiences.</p> <p>(ST) 面对新形势新挑战，<u>要</u>发扬斗争精神，既要敢于斗争，又要善于斗争，在事关中国特色社会主义前途命运的大是大非问题上坚定不移，在改革发展稳定工作中敢于碰硬，在全面从严治党上敢于动硬，在维护国家核心利益上敢于针锋相对，不在困难面前低头，不在挑战面前退缩，不拿原则做交易，不在任何压力下吞下损害中华民族根本利益的苦果。</p>
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		<p>(LT) Facing new situations and challenges, (implied agent) <u><i>must/need to/should carry forward the fighting spirit</i></u>, <b>must/need to/should</b> dare to fight, <b>must/need to/should</b> be skilled in fighting, and be unwavering on major issues concerning the future and destiny of socialism with Chinese characteristics, dare to tackle hard tasks in reform, development, stability work, dare to take tough actions in imposing strict Party discipline, dare to confront head-on in safeguarding the country's core interests, do not bow down in the face of difficulties, do not retreat in the face of challenges, do not compromise on principles, and do not swallow the bitter fruit that harms the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation under any pressure.</p> <p>(TT) Facing new circumstances and challenges, we <b>should</b> have the courage and the capacity to confront difficulties, take a firm stance in major matters of principle concerning the future of Chinese socialism, tackle tough issues in promoting reform, development, and stability; crack hard nuts in strengthening Party self-governance; and confront the tough with toughness in safeguarding core national interests. We <b>should</b> never bow our heads in the face of difficulties, never flinch from challenges, never compromise our principles, and never damage the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation under any pressure.</p>
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				(Explanation) The underlined clause, inclusive of the Chinese deontic modality marker “要(should/must/need to),” is entirely omitted, probably due to the reason that “having the courage and the capacity to fight” covers the meaning of “carrying forward the fighting spirit.” Consequently, from the stylistic angle, the omission is beneficial to improving the conciseness and readability of the target text.
Boulomaic	Boulomaic	Will/would like to/be to do sth.	N	<p>(ST) 我们的干部 <u>要</u> 上进，我们的党 <u>要</u> 上进，我们的国家 <u>要</u> 上进，我们的民族 <u>要</u> 上进，就 <b>必须</b> 大兴学习之风，坚持学习、学习、再学习，坚持实践、实践、再实践。</p> <p>(LT) (If) our cadres <u>want to</u> progress, our Party <b>wants to</b> progress, our country <b>wants to</b> progress, our people <b>want to</b> progress, (implied agent) <b>must</b> strongly encourage a learning culture, insist on learning, learning, and learning again, and practicing, practicing, and practicing again.</p> <p>(TT) If our officials, our Party, our country, and our people <u>are to</u> make progress, we <b>must</b> be advocates of learning. We <b>must</b> study, study, then study some more, and we <b>must</b> practice, practice, then practice some more.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined boulomaic Chinese modality marker “要(want)” is translated into the boulomaic phrase “be to do” to convey the Party/government’s</p>

			plans to make progress in the target text.
		Cherish/demand/long for/want to/enthusiastic/ purpose/ask for/in a bid to/try to/angle for/intention/expect/ be bent on/desire to	Q (ST) 中国 <u>要</u> 飞得高、跑得快，就 <b>得</b> 依靠十三亿人民的力量。 (LT) If China <u>wants to</u> fly high and run fast, it <b>has to</b> rely on the power of the 1.3 billion people. (TT) If China <u>wants to</u> fly high and run fast, it <b>must</b> rely on the strength of its 1.3 billion people. (Explanation) The underlined boulomaic Chinese modality marker “ <u>要(want)</u> ” is translated into “want to” to state China’s desire for rapid growth and development without ideological or stylistic change.
		Can (ability)	I (ST) 这意味着我国出口增速拐点已经到来，今后再 <u>要</u> 维持出口高增长、出口占国内生产总值的高比例是不大可能了。 (LT) This indicates that our national export growth inflection point has arrived, (and) it is hardly possible even if (implied agent) <u>wants to</u> maintain the high export growth or the high proportion of exports to GDP in the future.

			<p>(TT) This means that our exports have come to the point of inflection, and it is unlikely that we <u>can</u> maintain high-speed growth in our exports and a high proportion of exports in our GDP.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined boulomaic Chinese modality marker “要(want)” is translated into “can” to state the Party/government’s limited capacity to maintain the export level in the future.</p>
		The to-infinitive/in order to/for	<p>U</p> <p>(ST) <u>要</u>承担起这个职责和使命，<b>必须</b>把政治方向摆在第一位，牢牢坚持党性原则，牢牢坚持马克思主义新闻观，牢牢坚持正确舆论导向，牢牢坚持正面宣传为主。</p> <p>(LT) (If the implied agent) <u>wants to</u> assume this responsibility and mission, (the implied agent) <b>must</b> prioritize political orientation, adhere to the Party’s spirit and principles, adhere to the Marxist view of journalism, adhere to the right tone in guiding public opinion, and adhere to focusing on positive publicity.</p> <p>(TT) <b>To</b> fulfill this mission, we <b>must</b> keep to the right political orientation and take it as our top priority, remain committed to the Party spirit and principles, adhere to the Marxist view of journalism, maintain the right tone in guiding public opinion, and put focus on positive publicity.</p>

				(Explanation) The underlined boulomaic Chinese modality marker “ <u>要(want)</u> ” is translated into the to-infinitive which could serve to express the intent of the Party members. Ideologically, the modality meaning of the source text is preserved in the target text without significant mediation. Stylistically, using the to-infinitive renders the translated text more natural and lucid for English-speaking audiences.
	Deontic	Demand/need to/should/must	T	<p>(ST) 全面 从严治 党 <u>要</u> 在 国 有 企 业 落 实 落 地 ， <u>必 须</u> 从 基 本 组 织 、 基 本 队 伍 、 基 本 制 度 严 起 。</p> <p>(LT) (If the implied agent) <b>wants to</b> exercise full and strict governance over the Party in SOEs, (the implied agent) <b>must</b> start with basic organizations, basic teams, and the basic system.</p> <p>(TT) The strict governance of the Party <b><i>should</i></b> be applied to SOEs, branch organizations, groups of ordinary Party members, and the basic enterprise system.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined boulomaic Chinese modality marker “<u>要(want),</u>” which expresses the Party/government’s intention is converted into “should” to highlight their responsibilities. This shift in translation could function to increase the emphasis on the necessity of exercising full and strict governance over the Party in state-owned enterprises.</p>

	Omission not due to repetition	C	<p>(ST) <u>要</u> 把 我 国 发 展 得 更 好 ， 离 不 开 理 想 信 念 的 力 量 。</p> <p>(LT) (If the implied agent) <u>wants to</u> develop our country better, (the implied agent) is inseparable from the power of ideals and beliefs.</p> <p>(TT) Sound national development is inseparable from the support of firm ideals and convictions.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined boulomaic Chinese modality marker “<u>要(want)</u>” in the source text is omitted in the target text. This translation shift to some extent downplays government officials and Party members’ subjective desire for national development and highlights the objective fact that national development depends on people’s firm ideals and convictions.</p>
	Omission triggered by repetition	H	<p>(ST) 如 果 不 <u>能</u> 给 老 百 姓 带 来 实 实 在 在 的 利 益 ， 如 果 不 <u>能</u> 创 造 更 加 公 平 的 社 会 环 境 ， 甚 至 导 致 更 多 不 公 平 ， 改 革 就 失 去 意 义 ， 也 不 可 能 持 续 。</p> <p>(LT) If (the implied agent) <b>cannot</b> bring tangible benefits to people, if (the implied agent) <u>cannot</u> create a fairer social environment or even lead to more unfairness, reform will lose its meaning and cannot persist.</p> <p>(TT) If we <b>cannot</b> deliver tangible benefits to the people and create a fairer social</p>

				<p>environment, and, worse still, if we cause more inequality, then our reform will lose its meaning and cannot be sustained.</p> <p>(Explanation) The boulomaic Chinese modality marker “能(can)” appears in the negative form twice in the source text, emphasizing government officials’ and Party members’ capacities to improve people’s livelihood and social fairness, respectively. The second one is omitted here obviously for stylistic rather than ideological reasons. The translation shift is beneficial to improving textual conciseness and lucidity for the target readership.</p>
Epistemic	Epistemic	Can (probability/ possibility)	Z	<p>(ST) 纵观世界历史，依靠武力对外侵略扩张最终都是 <u>要</u> 失败的。</p> <p>(LT) Examining world history, all foreign expansion and aggression through force <u>would</u> ultimately fail.</p> <p>(TT) Looking back on history, we <u>can</u> see that those who launched aggression or sought expansion by force all ended in failure.</p> <p>(Explanation) The epistemic Chinese modality marker “要(will)” used to describe the impossibility of success for foreign expansion and aggression through force in the source text is translated into “can” in the target text to highlight the probability</p>

			<p>of people naturally finding out this fact when looking back on history. Overall, the source and target text convey similar epistemic ideological meanings. However, it is worth noting that the target text is stylistically better than the literal translation. In the literal translation, information is dense at the front but sparse toward the end, which is not a good English style.</p>
		Will	<p>V</p> <p>(ST) 邓小平同志高度重视人民群众的地位和作用，他强调：“群众是我们力量的源泉，群众路线和群众观点是我们的传家宝。党的组织、党员和党的干部，必须同群众打成一片，绝对不能同群众相对立。如果哪个党组织严重脱离群众而不能坚决改正，那就丧失了力量的源泉，就一定<u>要</u>失败，就会被人民抛弃。”（7）</p> <p>(LT) Comrade Deng Xiaoping attached great importance to the status and role of the masses. He emphasized: “The masses are the source of our strength. The mass line and the mass viewpoint are our family heirloom. Party organizations, Party members, and Party cadres must integrate with the masses and must never stand opposed to them. If any party organization <b>severely detaches from</b> the masses and does not resolutely correct this, it will lose the source of its strength, it <u>will</u> surely</p>

			<p>fail, and will be abandoned by the people.”</p> <p>(TT) Deng gave priority to the status and role of the people. He once emphasized: “The masses are the source of our strength, and the mass viewpoint and the mass line are our cherished traditions. The Party's organizations, its rank-and-file members, and cadres must be one with the masses and never stand against them. Any Party organization that <b>deplorably loses touch with</b> the masses and does not mend its ways is forfeiting the source of its strength and <b>will</b> invariably fail and be rejected by the people. " [ 8 ]</p> <p>(Explanation) The epistemic Chinese modality marker “要(will)” is translated into “will” to convey the original meaning that without people’s support, the probability of the Party failing is definite. Besides, it is notable that in this example, “严重,” which means “severely” is translated as “deplorably,” highlighting the political leader’s disapproval of a disconnection between the Party and the people. Besides, it is noteworthy that “surely” is translated into “invariably.” Both terms could convey the inevitability of failure, but “invariably” emphasizes that the outcome applies to all cases alike regardless of the Party organization’s type or level, while “surely” is a more general way of expressing certainty.</p>
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	Deontic	should	S	<p>(ST) 共产党人 拥有 人格 力量 ， 才 <u>能</u> 无愧于 自己 的 称号 ， 才 <u>能</u> 赢得 人民 赞誉 。</p> <p>(LT) Only with the force of personality <u>can</u> Communists live up to their title, and <u>can</u> they win the praise of the people.</p> <p>(TT) Party members of noble character <u>should</u> live up to the name of Communists and are loved by the people.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined Chinese epistemic modality marker “能(can)” is transformed into the English deontic modality marker “should” to emphasize living up to the Communist’s reputation as a matter of responsibility rather than a matter of possibility.</p>
	Boulomaic	The to-infinitive/ in order to/for	O	<p>(ST) 只有 坚持 这 一 基本 原理 ， 我们 才 <u>能</u> 把握 历史 前进 的 基本 规律 。</p> <p>(LT) Only by adhering to this basic principle <u>can</u> we grasp the basic laws of historical progress.</p> <p>(TT) We must adhere to this principle <u>in order to</u> grasp the basic laws governing the advance of history.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined Chinese epistemic modality marker “能(can)” in the</p>

			source text is translated into an English boulomaic modality marker “in order to” in the target text. This shift changes the emphasis from the Party/government’s potential ability to their goal to master the basic laws of historical advancement.
	Omission not due to repetition	Y	<p>(ST) 当前 我国 国家 安全 内涵 和 外延 比 历史 上 任何 时 候 都 <u>要</u> 丰富 ， 时 空 领 域 比 历史 上 任何 时 候 都 <u>要</u> 宽 广 ， 内 外 因 素 比 历史 上 任何 时 候 都 <u>要</u> 复 杂 ， <b>必须</b> 坚 持 总 体 国 家 安 全 观 ， 以 人 民 安 全 为 宗 旨 ， 以 政 治 安 全 为 根 本 ， 以 经 济 安 全 为 基 础 ， 以 军 事 、 文 化 、 社 会 安 全 为 保 障 ， 以 促 进 国 际 安 全 为 依 托 ， 走 出 一 条 中 国 特 色 国 家 安 全 道 路 。</p> <p>(LT) Today, our national security issue’s connotation and denotation <b><i>must</i></b> be richer than at any time in history, its spatial and temporal range <b><i>must</i></b> be broader than at any time in history, (and) its internal and external factors <b><i>must</i></b> be more complex than at any time in history, (implied agent) must adhere to a holistic view of national security, take people’s security as the goal, political security as the core task, economic security as the foundation, the military, cultural, and social security as the safeguard, and the enhancement of international security as the basis, and carve out a path of national security with Chinese characteristics.</p>

			<p>(TT) At present, the national security issues facing China encompass far more subjects, extend over a greater range and cover a longer time scale than at any time in the country's history. Internally and externally, the factors at play are more complex than ever before. Therefore, we must maintain a holistic view of national security, take the people's security as our ultimate goal, achieve political security as our fundamental task, regard economic security as our foundation, with military, cultural, and public security as means of guarantee, and promote international security so as to establish a national security system with Chinese characteristics.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined Chinese epistemic modality marker “要(must)” used in comparisons to indicate an estimate in the source text is omitted in the target text, transforming a matter of calculation into a matter of fact.</p>
	Omission triggered by repetition	W	<p>(ST) 只有全党本领不断增强了，“两个一百年”的奋斗目标才<u>能</u>实现，中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦才<u>能</u>梦想成真。</p> <p>(LT) Only through the continuous improvement of the entire Party's skills <u>can</u> (the implied agent) achieve the Two Centenary Goals, (and) <u>can</u> (the implied agent) realize the China dream of national rejuvenation.</p> <p>(TT) Only by doing this <u>can</u> we achieve the Two Centenary Goals and make the</p>

		<p>China Dream of national rejuvenation come true.</p> <p>(Explanation) The Chinese epistemic modality marker “能(can)” appears twice in the source text, stressing that the possibility of realizing the Two Centenary Goals and the China Dream relies on the whole Party’s skill development. The second one is omitted in the translation likely due to stylistic considerations to avoid redundancy and improve the readability of the text for the target readership.</p>
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### 3.6.2. Tagging transitivity shifts

The transitivity processes were first retrieved and identified in four steps: 1) examining the keyword list (Appendix A) to locate the words of interest that can function as verbs in the Chinese source texts; 2) identifying and extracting all the Chinese concordance lines where the word of interest represents a process in the Chinese source text and the corresponding English translations of the Chinese concordance lines; 3) comparing the process in the source text and its corresponding translated form in the target text based on the modified cline of responsibility of social actors shown in Table 11 below which I developed based on Dreyfus's (2017) study and Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) ergative model (Section 2.3.2). Specifically speaking, I first examined whether there is a shift in the type of the clause based on the ergative model. If the type of the clause remains the same in translation, I then investigated whether there is a shift in the form of the agent. It is important to note that the Chinese and English examples in Table 11 are not from the research corpora. Instead, I constructed them purely for illustrative purposes.

Table 11 Modified cline of responsibility of social actors

Cause-effect agency and responsibility of social actors	Step 1: the ergative model	Step 2: the evaluation of the agent
Maximum responsibility	The operative clause: CHI:政府 <u>减少</u> 了收入不平衡。 ENG: The government <b>reduced</b> income inequality.	An animate agent (social actors serve as the agent directly): CHI:政府 <u>减少</u> 了收入不平衡。 ENG: <b>The government</b> reduced income inequality.
	The receptive clause:	A partially animate agent (social

 <p>Minimum responsibility</p>	<p>CHI: 收入不平衡<u>被政府减少</u>了。</p> <p>ENG: Income inequality <u>was reduced by</u> the government.</p>	<p>actors serve as the agent indirectly):</p> <p>CHI:<u>政府的税收政策</u>减少了收入不平衡。</p> <p>ENG: <u>The government's tax policy</u> reduced income inequality.</p>
	<p>The circumstantiation and nominalization of operative/receptive clauses:</p> <p>CHI: 政府出台新税收政策<u>以减少</u>收入不平衡。</p> <p>ENG: The government implemented a new tax policy <u>to reduce</u> income inequality.</p> <p>\</p> <p>CHI: 政府对收入不平衡的<u>减少</u>至关重要。</p> <p>ENG: The government's <u>reduction</u> of income inequality is critical.</p>	<p>No agent (social actors' responsibility and agency are implied through the active or passive voice):</p> <p>CHI: <u>减少</u>收入不平衡。</p> <p>ENG: <u>Reduce</u> income inequality. (Chinese non-subject or English imperative clause, implying the agency of social actors through the active or passive voice)</p>
	<p>The middle clause and its circumstantiation and nominalization:</p> <p>CHI: 收入不平衡<u>减少</u>。</p> <p>ENG: Income inequality <u>reduced</u>. (the intransitive middle clause, which presents a self-engendered and self-influence process)</p>	<p>An inanimate agent (social actors' responsibility and agency are more indirectly implied)</p> <p>CHI: <u>出台税收政策</u>可以减少收入不平衡。</p> <p>ENG: <u>The introduction of the tax policy</u> can reduce income</p>

	<p>CHI: 政府<u>关注</u>收入不平衡。  ENG: The government <b><u>paid attention to</u></b> income inequality.  (the transitive middle clause, in which the government carried out a mental process within a specific range of income inequality without directly affecting change in it)</p> <p>CHI: 政府发现收入不平衡<u>减少</u>。  ENG: The government discovered a <b><u>decrease</u></b> in income inequality.  (the nominalization of the middle clause)</p>	<p>inequality.</p> <p>CHI: <u>税收政策</u>减少了收入不平衡。  ENG: <b><u>The tax policy</u></b> reduced income inequality.</p> <hr/> <p>An irrelevant agent (social actors are completely irrelevant to the inanimate agent)</p> <p>CHI: <u>疫情</u>减少了收入不平衡。  ENG: <b><u>The pandemic</u></b> reduced income inequality.</p>
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Fourthly, based on the comparison result, the processes were tagged according to their respective transitivity shifts in translation, as shown in Table 12 below, illustrated with examples extracted from the present corpora. It is important to note that Table 12 is not designed for tagging all transitivity shifts in Chinese-English translation because it only covers the shifts discovered in the current research corpora. Besides, Table 12 merely briefly touches upon the ideological significance of various transitivity shifts. In what follows, Section 4.2 will present a more thorough examination of ideological mediation based on the broader sociopolitical background.

Table 12 The tagging scheme for transitivity shifts in translation

Tag	Source Text	Target Text	Example
No shift	A	Operative (animate agent)	<p>(ST) 为此，<b>我们</b> 必须 坚持 对外开放 的 基本 国策， 奉行 互利 共赢 的 开放 战略， 深化 人文 交流， 完善 对外开放 区域 布局、 对外贸易 布局、 投资 布局， 形成 对外开放 新 体制， <u>发展</u> 更 高 层次 的 开放 型 经济， 以 扩 大 开放 带 动 创新、 推进 改革、 促进 发展。</p> <p>(LT) To this end, <b>we</b> must adhere to the basic national policy of opening up, pursue a win-win opening-up strategy, deepen cultural exchanges, improve the layout of opening up regions, external trade, and investment, form a new system of opening up, <u>develop</u> a higher level of open economy, and promote innovation, reform, and development.</p> <p>(TT) To this end, <b>we</b> must uphold the basic national policy of opening up, implement an opening-up strategy characterized by mutual benefit, strengthen cultural exchange, and improve the layout of opening-up regions, of foreign trade, and of investment. With such efforts, <b>we</b> can form a new system for opening up, <u>develop</u> an open economy at a higher level, and drive innovation, reform, and development.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined operative clause indicated by “发展(develop)” with “我们(we)” in bold as the direct agent is translated without any transitivity shift in the</p>

		target text.
B	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	<p>(ST) ( 2 ) 见邓小平《<u>建设</u>有中国特色的社会主义》(《邓小平文选》第3卷, 人民出版社1993年版, 第63页)。</p> <p>(LT) [2] See Deng Xiaoping, <u><i>Build</i></u> <i>Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping</i>, Vol. III, People’s Press, 1993, p.63</p> <p>(TT) 3 Deng Xiaoping: “<u>Building</u> a Socialism with a Specifically Chinese Character,” <i>Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping</i>, Vol. III, Eng . ed . , Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p.72.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined non-subject operative clause, which implies an animate social actor as the agent through the active verb “建设(build),” is translated without any transitivity shift in the target text.</p>
W	Operative (an inanimate agent)	<p>(ST) 这样一套制度安排, 能够有效保证人民享有更加广泛、更加充实的权利和自由, 保证人民广泛参加国家治理和社会治理; 能够有效调节国家政治关系, <u>发展</u>充满活力的政党关系、民族关系、宗教关系、阶层关系、海内外同胞关系, 增强民族凝聚力, 形成安定团结的政治局面; ……。</p> <p>(LT) <b>Such an institutional arrangement</b> can effectively ensure that people enjoy broader</p>

		<p>and more substantial rights and freedoms and that people widely participate in national and social governance; <b>(it)</b> can effectively regulate national political relations, <b><u>develop</u></b> a vibrant relationship among parties, ethnic groups, religions, social groups, and compatriots at home and abroad, enhance national cohesion, and foster a stable, united political situation.</p> <p>(TT) <b>This institutional arrangement</b> has demonstrated the following strengths: - It performs well in allowing the people to enjoy more extensive and more substantial rights and freedoms and share more opportunities to participate in national and social governance.</p> <p>- <b>It</b> can effectively regulate the country’s political relations, <b><u>promote</u></b> a vigorous and vital relationship among political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social groups, and compatriots at home and abroad, enhance national cohesion, and form political stability.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined operative clause indicated by “发展(develop)” with “这样一套制度(such an institutional arrangement)” in bold as the inanimate agent is translated without any transitivity shift. The inanimate agent is a nominalization, implying government officials and the CPC’s role.</p>
	<p>D Receptive (without agents)</p>	<p>(ST) 这些 经验 来之不易 、 弥足珍贵 ， 是 做好 今后 工作 的 重要 遵循 ， 一 定 要 认真 总结 、 长 期 坚 持 ， 并 在 实 践 中 不 断 丰 富 和 <b>发展</b> 。</p> <p>(LT) These hard-won and valuable experiences are an important guide for future work and</p>

		<p>must <b>be</b> carefully encapsulated, adhered to over the long term, and continuously enriched and <b>developed</b> through practice.</p> <p>(TT) Hard-earned and extremely precious, this experience serves as major guidance for our future work and should <b>be</b> thoroughly reviewed and carried forward on a long-term basis and continuously enriched and <b>developed</b>.</p> <p>(Explanation) The example shows that the underlined Chinese unmarked receptive clause with responsibility implied by the passive verb “发展(be developed)” rather than explicitly stated is translated without any transitivity shift.</p>
C	Middle	<p>(ST) 经过二十多年实践，我国社会主义市场经济体制不断<b>发展</b>，但仍然存在不少问题，仍然存在不少束缚市场主体活力、阻碍市场和价值规律充分发挥作用的弊端。</p> <p>(LT) After more than two decades of practice, <b>our socialist market economy system <u>has continued to develop</u></b>, but there are still numerous issues - there remain many drawbacks that restrict the vitality of the market entities and hinder the full realization of the laws of the market and value.</p> <p>(TT) For more than two decades, <b>our socialist market economy <u>has been developing</u></b>, yet there are still quite a number of problems and drawbacks that inhibit the vitality of market</p>

			<p>entities and prevent the laws of the market and value from fully playing their roles.</p> <p>(Explanation) The example shows that the underlined intransitive middle clause indicated by “发展(develop)” in the source text is translated without any transitivity shift in the target text.</p>
<p>Obligatory shift: Increased responsibility</p>	J	<p>Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)</p>	<p>Operative (using “we” as the animate agent)</p> <p>(ST) 要坚持人民主体地位，顺应人民群众对美好生活向往，不断实现，维护好、<u>发展</u>好最广大人民根本利益，做到发展为了人民、发展依靠人民、发展成果由人民共享。</p> <p>(LT) (<b>Implied agent</b>) should/must/need to adhere to the people’s principal position, meet the people’s expectation for a better life, constantly realize, protect, and <b><u>develop</u></b> the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, (and) ensure that development is for the people, that development relies on the people, that development fruits are shared by the people.</p> <p>(TT) We should maintain the people’s principal position in the country and fulfill the people’s expectations for a better life. <b>We</b> should continue to realize, safeguard, and <b><u>develop</u></b> the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. We should ensure that development is for the people, that it is reliant on the people, and that its fruits are shared by the people.</p>

			<p>(Explanation) In this example, the source text is a typical non-subject sentence. It is shown that the underlined operative clause with the responsibility implied through the active verb “发展(develop)” is translated into an operative clause with ”we” as the direct agent in the target text. The first-person plural pronoun here denotes the addressees of the speech, that is, the Chinese government officials and Party members. It could function to stress their consolidated stance on people-oriented governance.</p>
R	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Operative (using the third person as the animate agent)	<p>(ST) 要推出具有独创性的研究成果，就要从我国实际出发，坚持实践的观点、历史的观点、辩证的观点、发展的观点，在实践中认识真理、检验真理、<u>发展</u>真理。</p> <p>(LT) To produce original research results, (<b>implied agent</b>) should/need to/must set out from our national reality, adhere to practical, historical, dialectic, and developmental viewpoints, and understand, test, and <b>develop</b> truth in practice.</p> <p>(TT) To achieve original results, <b>Chinese researchers</b> must ground themselves in the reality of China, cleave to the practical, historical, dialectic, and developmental perspectives, and discover, test, and <b>advance</b> truth through practice</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the source text is a typical non-subject sentence. It is shown that the underlined operative clause with the responsibility implied through the active verb</p>

			<p>“发展(develop)” is rendered into an operative clause with “Chinese researchers” as the direct agent. Since the previous sentence discusses foreign research, adding “Chinese researchers” here is likely driven by stylistic considerations, that is, to achieve semantic coherence and improve readability for foreign audiences, rather than ideological reasons.</p>
	K	Operative (non-subject clause without agents)	<p>Receptive (without agents)</p> <p>(ST) 三是要着力加快公共服务体系建设，支持建立面向民营企业的共性技术服务平台，积极 <u>发展</u> 技术市场，为民营企业自主创新提供技术支持和专业化服务。</p> <p>(LT) Third, (<b>implied agent</b>) should/need to/must strive to accelerate the construction of a public service system, support the building of a universal technology service platform for private enterprises, actively <u>develop</u> the technology market, (and) provide technical support and professional services to facilitate the independent innovation of private enterprises.</p> <p>(TT) Third, we need to accelerate the establishment of a public service system. The creation of a generic technology service platform for private companies should be supported. The technology market should <u>be</u> vigorously <u>developed</u> to provide technological support and professional services for innovative private companies.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the source text is a typical non-subject sentence. The underlined operative clause with the responsibility of social actors implied through the active</p>

			verb “发展(develop)” is translated into a receptive clause with the responsibility of social actors implied through the passive verbal group “be developed.” Using the receptive clause could shift the emphasis from the developing process to the technology market, potentially slightly downplaying state intervention in the market economy as well as the development of private companies.
M	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Middle	<p>(ST) 抓 改进 工作 作风 ， 各项 工作 都 很 重要 ， 但 最 根 本 的 是 要 <u>坚持</u> 和 发 扬 艰 苦 奋 斗 精 神 。</p> <p>(LT) Concerning improving the work style, every effort matters, but the most fundamental aspect is that (<b>implied agent</b>) should/must/need to <u>adhere to</u> and promote the spirit of hard work.</p> <p>(TT) Regarding the task of improving our working style, each effort counts, but carrying on and furthering the spirit of hard struggle <u>is</u> of fundamental importance.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the source text is a non-subject sentence. The underlined operative clause with the responsibility of social actors implied through the active verb “坚持(adhere/stick to)” is rendered as a transitive middle clause, indicated by “is,” representing a process of specifying attribute rather than a process of one participant directly affecting the other.</p>

	<p>L Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)</p>	<p>Circumstance</p>	<p>(ST) 贯彻 落实 总体 国家 安全 观 ， 必须 既 重视 外部 安全 ， 又 重视 内部 安全 ， 对 内 求 发展 、 求 变革 、 求 稳定 、 <u>建设</u> 平安 中国 ， 对 外 求 和 平 、 求 合作 、 求 共 赢 、 建 设 和 谐 世 界 ； ...</p> <p>(LT) To implement an overall view of national security, <b>(the implied agent)</b> must attach equal importance to external safety and internal safety, seek development, reform, stability, and <b>build</b> a safe China internally, (and) seek peace, cooperation, mutual benefits, and build a harmonious world externally...</p> <p>(TT) To implement a holistic view of national security, <b>we</b> should attach equal importance to internal and external security - promoting development, reform, and stability and <b>building</b> China into a safe country domestically while seeking peace, cooperation, and mutual benefits and building a harmonious world internationally.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the source text is a non-subject sentence. It is shown that the underlined operative clause is translated into a circumstantial element to stress the concrete manners to protect internal and external security. Ideologically, this could function to render the responsibility of the implied social actor in “building China into a safe country” less direct. Using the dash along with this transitivity shift could also enhance the logic of the target text, making it clearer to foreign audiences that “attaching importance to internal</p>
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			security” is best embodied in “promoting development, reform, and stability, and building China into a safe country.”
T	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Omission triggered by repetition	<p>(ST) <u>要坚持“两点论”和“重点论”的统一</u>，善于厘清主要矛盾和次要矛盾、矛盾的主要方面和次要方面，区分轻重缓急，在兼顾一般的同时紧紧抓住主要矛盾和矛盾的主要方面，以重点突破带动整体推进，在整体推进中实现重点突破。</p> <p>(LT) <b>(Implied agent)</b> <u>should/must/need to adhere to integrating the doctrine that everything has two aspects with the doctrine that everything has its key points</u>; be good at clarifying the main and secondary challenges, the major and minor aspects of these challenges; distinguish the important and urgent matters; firmly grasp the main challenges and the main aspects of the challenges while taking into account the general tasks; drive overall progress with key breakthroughs, and vice versa.</p> <p>(TT) We should be capable of separating the main problems from less pressing ones and the main aspects of the problems from the minor aspects so that priorities in action are clarified. While attending to general tasks, we should firmly grip the main problems and their main features and promote holistic progress with breakthroughs in key areas.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the source text is a non-subject sentence. It is shown that the</p>

				underlined operative clause indicated by “坚持(adhere to)” is omitted in the translated texts. Given that the remaining part of the sentence is a more detailed elaboration of the underlined part, the transitivity shift is likely driven by stylistic rather than ideological reasons to avoid redundancy and improve readability for target audiences.
	X	Operative (non-subject clause without agents)	Omission not triggered by repetition	<p>(ST) 《 建议 》 提出 要 <u>坚持</u> 创新 、 协调 、 绿色 、 开放 、 共享 的 发展 理念 。</p> <p>(LT) The Proposal suggests that (<b>implied agent</b>) should/need to/must <b>adhere to</b> innovative, coordinated, green, open, and sharing development concepts.</p> <p>(TT) These Recommendations put forward the concepts of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and inclusive development.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the source text is a non-subject sentence. It is shown that the underlined operative clause indicated by “坚持(adhere to)” is omitted in the translation. The omission is not triggered by repetition, potentially mitigating government officials and Party members’ agency and obligation to never give up the development concept.</p>
Optional shift: Reduced responsibility	Y	Operative (animate agent)	Receptive (an inanimate agent)	(ST) 我们 要 <u>坚持</u> 发展 是 硬 道理 的 战略 思想 ， 坚持 以 经济 建设 为 中心 ， 全面 推进 社会主义 经济 建设 、 政治 建设 、 文化 建设 、 社会 建设 、 生态 文明 建设 ， 深化 改革 开放 ， 推动 科学 发展 ， 不断 夯 实 实现 中国

			<p>梦的物质文化基础。</p> <p>(LT) We should/need to/must <b>adhere to</b> the strategic idea that development is the absolute principle, adhere to taking economic construction as the center, comprehensively promote socialist economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological civilization construction, deepen reform and opening up, promote scientific development, and continuously consolidate the material and cultural foundation for realizing the China dream.</p> <p>(TT) We should <b>be guided</b> by <b>the strategic thinking</b> that only development will make a difference and steadfastly take economic development as the central task. We should comprehensively promote socialist economic, political, social, and ecological advancement, further reform and opening up, boost the scientific way of development and continue to lay a solid material and cultural foundation for realizing the China Dream.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined operative clause marked by “发展(develop)” with “我们(we)” in bold as the direct agent is translated into a receptive clause marked by “be guided” with “the strategic thinking” as the inanimate agent. This translation shift could shift the emphasis from the Party/government’s active agency to the strategic thinking about development’s significance.</p>
F	Operative	Circumstance	(ST) 我们要坚持和完善基层群众自治制度， <b>发展</b> 基层民主，保障人

	(animate agent/ partially animate agent)		<p>民依法直接行使民主权利，切实防止出现人民形式上有权、实际上无权的现象。</p> <p>(LT) <b>We</b> should/need to/must adhere to and improve the system of community-level self-governance, <u>develop</u> community-level democracy, ensure that people exercise democratic rights directly according to the law, (and) effectively prevent the phenomenon that people have rights in form but have no rights in reality.</p> <p>(TT) <b>We</b> must uphold and improve the system of community-level self-governance <u>by improving</u> local democracy, and see that the people directly exercise their democratic rights in line with the law and that their rights are genuine.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined operative clause marked by “发展(develop)” with “我们(we)” in bold as the direct agent is translated into a circumstantial element. From an ideological perspective, this could function to render the agency of the Party/government, referred to as “we,” in improving community-level democracy less direct. Besides, it could stress “improving local democracy” as a manner of “improving the system of community-level self-governance,” making the logic of the text much clearer for foreign audiences to understand.</p>
H	Operative	Nominalization	(ST) 新中国成立后，我们党 <u>领导</u> 人民开始大规模工业化建设。

	(animate agent)		<p>(LT) After the PRC was established, <b>our Party led</b> the people to start large-scale industrial construction.</p> <p>(TT) Following the founding of the PRC in 1949, the people started large-scale industrial development under the <b><u>leadership of the CPC.</u></b></p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the operative clause indicated by “领导(lead)” with “我们党 (our Party)” as direct agent is translated into the noun form “leadership of the CPC.” This translation shift could change the emphasis from the CPC’s agency in leading the people to the people’s active role in commencing industrial development instead. Just as Van Leeuwen (1996) stated, nominalization could background agency to some extent by transforming a process into a thing and social actors’ participation into possession. This transitivity shift has the potential to relatively mitigate the Party’s active agency.</p>
I	Operative (animate agent/an inanimate agent)	Omission triggered by repetition	<p>(ST) 十九世纪末二十世纪初，资本主义进入垄断阶段即帝国主义阶段，<b>列宁</b>在总结俄国无产阶级革命和社会主义建设经验的基础上，创造性地 <b><u>发展了马克思主义</u></b>，把马克思主义推进到一个新阶段——列宁主义阶段。</p> <p>(LT) During the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, when capitalism entered the monopoly stage, also known as the imperialist stage, <b>Vladimir Lenin</b> creatively <b><u>developed</u></b></p>

			<p><b>Marxism (and)</b> upgraded Marxism to a new stage-Leninism on the basis of summing up the experiences of the Russian proletarian revolution and socialist construction.</p> <p>(TT) In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, when capitalism entered the stage of monopoly, which would be imperialism, <b>Vladimir Lenin</b> drew on the experience of the proletarian revolution and socialist construction in Russia and creatively upgraded Marxism to a new stage-Leninism.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined operative clause marked by “发展(develop)” with “列宁(Vladimir Lenin)” in bold as the direct agent is omitted in the target text. Given that “develop Marxism” and “upgrade Marxism to a new stage” express similar meanings, the omission is more likely caused by stylistic than ideological concerns. To be more precise, it is beneficial to improving linguistic conciseness and enhancing the readability of the text for target readership.</p>
S	Operative (animate agent)	Omission not triggered by repetition	<p>(ST) 在全面深化 改革 进程中，<b>我们</b> 要 积极 稳妥 推进 政治 体制 改革，以 保证 人民 当家作主 为 根本，以 增强 党 和 国家 活力、调动 人民 积极 性 为 目标，不断 <u>建设</u> 社会主义 政治 文明。</p> <p>(LT) In the process of comprehensively deepening reform, <b>we</b> should/need to/must advance political system reform proactively and steadily, take ensuring people’s principal position as</p>

			<p>the foundation, take improving the Party and the state’s vitality and mobilizing people’s enthusiasm as the goal, and continuously <b>build</b> socialist political civilization.</p> <p>(TT) While promoting reform in all respects, <b>we</b> should actively and steadily advance political reform, take the people’s position as masters of the country as a fundamental principle, enhance the vitality of the Party and the country, and keep the people fully motivated.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined operative clause marked by “建设(build)” with “我们(we)” in bold as the animate social agent is omitted in the target text. Given that the concept of “socialist political civilization” is largely unique to Chinese political discourse and not commonly employed in Anglophone political discourse, the omission here might be an attempt to prevent foreign audiences’ confusion and misunderstanding or to downplay the relative significance of socialist political civilization.</p>
E	Operative (animate agent)	Operative (partially animate agent or an inanimate agent)	<p>(ST) 邓小平同志开创了中国特色社会主义，第一次比较系统地初步回答了在中国这样经济文化比较落后的国家如何建设社会主义、如何巩固和发展社会主义的一系列基本问题，用新的思想观点，继承和<u>发展</u>了马克思主义，开拓了马克思主义新境界，把对社会主义的认识提高到新的科学水平。</p>

			<p>(LT) <b>Comrade Deng Xiaoping</b> founded socialism with Chinese characteristics and provided for the first time a relatively systematic and preliminary answer to a series of basic questions about how to build socialism, how to consolidate and develop socialism in a country where the economy and culture are relatively backward, inherited and <u>developed</u> Marxism with new ideas, opened up a new realm of Marxism, and upgraded the understanding of socialism to a new scientific level.</p> <p>(TT) He provided for the first time clear systematic answers to several basic questions about how to build, consolidate, and develop socialism in China, an economically and culturally underdeveloped country. <b>His answers</b> <u>brought a new perspective to</u> Marxism, opened up new realms, and raised the understanding of socialism to a new scientific level.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined operative clause marked by “发展(develop)” with “邓小平同志(Comrade Deng Xiaoping)” in bold as the direct agent is translated into an operative clause with “his answers” as the agent, which is an inanimate agent modified by the social actors. From an ideological perspective, this could function to render Deng Xiaoping’s agency in innovating Marxism less direct in translation. It might be adopted by the translation team to present Deng Xiaoping’s achievements in a more modest and thus more persuasive way to foreign audiences. However, stylistically, the transitivity shift is</p>
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			more likely adopted to simply avoid repetitive referential terms to improve the readability of the text for foreign audiences.
P	Receptive (partially animate agent or no agent)	Middle	<p>(ST) 我国 非公有制 经济 ， 是 改革 开放 以来 在 中国 共产党 的 方针 政策 指 引 下 <u>发展</u> 起来 的 ， 是 在 中国 共产党 领 导 下 开 辟 出 来 的 一 条 道 路 。</p> <p>(LT) Our private sector <b><u>has been developed</u></b> since the reform and opening up under the guidance of <b>the guidelines and policies</b> of the CPC, (and it) is a path carved out under the CPC’s leadership.</p> <p>(TT) China’s private sector <b><u>has flourished</u></b> since the adoption of reform and opening up in 1978 in keeping with the CPC’s guidelines and policies, a trail blazed under the Party’s leadership.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined receptive clause signaled by “发展(be developed)” with the CPC indirectly acting as the agent within “在中国共产党的方针政策指引下(under the guidance of CPC’s guidelines and policies)” is translated into an intransitive middle clause indicated by “flourished.” It is also noteworthy that the circumstantial element about time “since reform and opening up” in the source text is translated into “the adoption of reform and opening up in 1978” in the target text to explain to foreign audiences that reform and opening up stands for a specific policy adopted by the Party in 1978. Although “adoption”</p>

			<p>also implies the Party’s influence on the development of the private sector, the agency and responsibility in the target text could appear less evident compared to directly using a passive structure in source text. Therefore, I find this transitivity shift possible to slightly downplay CPC’s intervention in the development of the private sector. Moreover, “发展” is rendered as “flourish” rather than “be developed,” expressing a more positive connotation of thriving or prospering. This translation shift could serve to highlight the progress of the private sector in China.</p>
Z	Receptive (without agents)	Circumstance	<p>(ST) 大家要以党的基本路线为根本遵循，认真领会和正确把握党的理论和路线方针政策，多从人类发展大潮流、世界变化大格局、中国发展大历史来认识和把握党的基本路线，深刻领会为什么基本路线要长期 <u>坚持</u>。</p> <p>(LT) Everyone should/must/need to adopt the Party’s basic line as the fundamental guidance, thoroughly understand and correctly implement the Party’s theories, guidelines, principles, and policies, and understand and grasp the Party’s basic line according to the great trends of human development, the great patterns of world changes, and the great history of China’s development, (and) deeply understand why the Party’s basic line should/must/need to <b><u>be adhered to</u></b> for a long time.</p>

			<p>(TT) We must abide by the Party's basic line and correctly understand and implement the Party's theories, guidelines, principles, and policies. Based on the development trends of humanity, the evolving international situation, and China's development history, we should have an in-depth understanding of the Party's basic line and the reasons to <b>uphold</b> it.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined receptive clause without agents indicated by "坚持(adhere to)" is translated into a circumstantial element to specify the reasons, rendering the agency of the Party/government less direct and the implied logic in the source text clearer to the foreign readers.</p>
N	Receptive (animate agent)	Receptive (an inanimate agent)	<p>(ST) 我国 司法 制度 是 党 领导 人民 在 长期 实践 中 建立 和 <u>发展</u> 起来的，总体上与我国国情和我国社会主义制度是适应的。</p> <p>(LT) Our country's judicial system <b>was</b> established and <b>developed as the Party led the people through a long period of practice</b> (and it) is generally suitable for our country's national conditions and our country's socialist system.</p> <p>(TT) Our country's judicial system <b>was</b> established by the people under Party leadership and <b>developed through a long period of practice</b>; generally speaking, it suits our national conditions and the socialist system.</p> <p>(Explanation) The example shows that the underlined receptive clause indicated by “发展</p>

			(be developed)” with “党领导人民在长期实践中(Party leads the people through a long period of practice)” in bold as the direct agent is translated into a receptive clause with an inanimate agent, “practice,” which implies the Party and the people’s efforts in judicial development. This transitivity shift could potentially slightly downplay the agency of the CPC along with the people in developing the judicial system to further highlight the people’s significant role in establishing the judicial system.
G	Operative (social actors as the direct agent)	Operative (an inanimate agent)	<p>(ST) 党的 十 八 大 提 出 的 党 的 建 设 总 要 求 ， 既 是 着 眼 于 继 承 和 弘 扬 <b>我 们 党</b> 九 十 多 年 来 保 持 和 <b>发 展</b> 马 克 思 主 义 政 党 先 进 性 的 根 本 点 提 出 来 的 ， 又 是 着 眼 于 顺 应 和 应 对 新 形 势 下 世 情 、 国 情 、 党 情 的 新 变 化 提 出 来 的 。</p> <p>(LT) The overall requirements for Party building put forward at the Party’s 18<sup>th</sup> National Congress were aimed at inheriting and carrying forward the fundamentals by which <b>our Party</b> has preserved and <b>developed</b> the progressive nature of the Marxist Party for over 90 years. They were also aimed at complying with and responding to new changes in the world, country, and Party conditions.</p> <p>(TT) The overall requirements for Party building set forth at the 18th National Congress are derived from the need to inherit and develop <b>the fundamentals</b> that have <b>shored up</b> the</p>

			<p>advanced nature of our Party, a Marxist party, for over 90 years. They respond to changes in the world, in our country, and within our Party.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined operative clause marked by “发展(develop)” with “我们党(our Party)” as the direct agent is translated into an operative clause marked by “shored up” with an inanimate agent, “the fundamentals.” According to former president Hu Jintao’s speech at the CPC’s 90th-anniversary gathering, the fundamentals include that the Party should free up the mind, serve the people, appoint officials on their merits, and impose strict discipline on its members. Therefore, the inanimate agent, “the fundamentals,” implies the Party’s fine conduct. Still, the agency and responsibility appear relatively less direct compared to the employment of “the Party” in the source text. Ideologically, it might be adopted by the translation team to mediate ideological differences. Stylistically, it might be adopted to avoid repetitive references to the Party, hence further improving the textual readability for foreign audiences.</p>	
Optional shift: increased responsibility	Q	Receptive (without agents)	Operative (using “we” as the animate agent)	(ST) 党的 十 八 大 强 调 要 高 举 中 国 特 色 社 会 主 义 伟 大 旗 帜 ， 强 调 中 国 特 色 社 会 主 义 是 党 和 人 民 九 十 多 年 奋 斗 、 创 造 、 积 累 的 根 本 成 就 ， 必 须 倍 加 珍 惜 、 始 终 坚 持 、 不 断 <u>发 展</u> ， 号 召 全 党 不 懈 探 索 和 把 握 中 国 特 色 社 会 主 义 规 律 ， 永 葆 党 的 生 机 活 力 ， 永 葆 国 家 发 展 动 力 ，

		<p>奋力 开拓 中国 特色 社会主义 更为 广阔 的 发展 前景 。</p> <p>(LT) The Party’s 18th National Congress stressed that (implied agent) should/need to/must hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics and noted that Chinese socialism with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental achievement of the Party and the people through more than 90 years of struggle, creation, and accumulation, which must <b>be</b> highly cherished, constantly upheld, and continuously <b>developed</b>, (and) called on the entire Party to constantly explore and grasp the laws of socialism with Chinese characteristics, maintain the vitality of the Party, maintain the momentum of national development, and strive to broaden the development prospect of socialism with Chinese characteristics.</p> <p>(TT) It was emphasized at the 18th National Congress that we should uphold socialism with Chinese characteristics, that the socialist system with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental accomplishment made by the Party and the people during the arduous struggle over the past 90 years, and that <b>we</b> must cherish what has been accomplished and never deviate from it but rather continue to <b>enrich</b> it. The Congress has called on the whole Party to explore and master the laws of socialism with Chinese characteristics, ensure that the Party is always full of vigor and that China never lacks the driving force for development, and that we must strive for a bright future for developing China’s socialism.</p>
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			<p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined unmarked receptive clause indicated by “发展(be developed)” without explicit agents is translated into an operative clause indicated by “enrich” with “we” as the direct agent. The first-person plural pronoun here refers to the addressees of the speech, that is, the Chinese government officials and Party members. It could function to highlight a united image of the political leaders, all the Party members, and government officials in developing Chinese socialism.</p>
O	Receptive (partially animate agent)	Receptive (animate agent)	<p>(ST) 这条道路是在 <b>党</b> 探索中国特色社会主义工会发展道路、中国特色社会主义青年运动方向、中国特色社会主义妇女发展道路的长期实践中形成和 <b>发展</b> 起来的，符合我国国情和历史发展趋势。</p> <p>(LT) This path <b>is</b> formed and <b>developed</b> in <b>the Party’s long-term practice</b> of exploring the trade union development path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the youth movement direction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the women development path of socialism with Chinese characteristics in line with our country’s national condition and the historical development trend.</p> <p>(TT) It is a path formed and <b>developed</b> by <b>the Party</b> over long years of experience in the development of trade unions, youth movements, and women’s federations. This is commensurate with China’s national conditions and historical development trend.</p>

			(Explanation) The underlined receptive clause with “the Party’s long-term practice” in bold as the agent is translated into a receptive clause with the Party as the agent. Ideologically, this transitivity shift could make the Party’s role in developing the social group development path of socialism with Chinese characteristics slightly more direct. However, it is significant to note from a stylistic perspective that the transitivity shift is likely simply intended to make the text more concise, smooth, and reader-friendly for international audiences.
	G	Operative (inanimate agent)	Operative (animate agent)
			<p>(ST) 新闻舆论工作各个方面、各个环节都要 <u>坚持</u> 正确舆论导向。</p> <p>(LT) <b>All aspects and parts of publicity work</b> should/need to/must <b>adhere to</b> the right tone.</p> <p>(TT) <b>We</b> must <u>maintain</u> the right tone in all aspects of publicity.</p> <p>(Explanation) The example shows that the underlined operative clause with “新闻舆论工作 (publicity work)” with an inanimate agent is translated into an operative clause with “we” as the direct agent. The first-person plural pronoun here refers to the addressees of the speech, that is, the Chinese government officials and Party members. From an ideological perspective, this transitivity shift could function to highlight the united agency and responsibility of government officials and Party members in maintaining the right tone in publicity.</p>
Optional shift:	U	middle	noun
			(ST) 我在去年的中央统战工作会议上强调，非公有制经济要健康发

Responsibility unaffected			<p>展，前提是非公有制经济人士要健康成长。</p> <p>(LT) At last year's Central Conference on the United Front, I emphasized that (if) <b>the private sector</b> wants to <b>develop</b> healthily, the prerequisite is that individuals in the private sector should/need to/must grow healthily.</p> <p>(TT) I emphasized at the Central Conference on the United Front last year that the healthy <b>development of the private sector</b> depends on those working in the sector.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined intransitive middle clause marked by “发展 (develop)” is translated into a noun. Given that the middle clause does not express any direct cause-effect responsibility of social actors, the nominalization does not cause any difference to the presentation of social actors in the target text.</p>
	V	Middle	<p>Omission triggered by repetition</p> <p>(ST) 无论时代如何 <b>发展</b>、形势如何 <b>变化</b>，我们这支军队永远是党的军队、人民的军队。</p> <p>(LT) No matter how the times <b>change</b> and the circumstances <b>change</b>, our armed forces will always be the Party's armed forces and the people's armed forces.</p> <p>(TT) However the situation <b>changes</b> with the times, our military will always be the military of the Party and of the people.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined intransitive middle clause marked by “发展(develop)” in the</p>

			<p>source text is omitted in the target text, likely for stylistic reasons. In the source text. “发展(develop)” is collocated with “时代(times/eras),” signifying cultural, societal, technological, or historical changes that occur over time. Given this context, “发展(develop)” might be considered redundant to “变化(change),” so it might be omitted to enhance the succinctness and the readability of the target text.</p>
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### 3.6.3 Tagging metaphor shifts

The metaphor was first identified and retrieved in two steps: To start with, I examined the keyword list and looked for candidate metaphorical linguistic expressions within it, primarily focusing on the words that do not originate from the political domain. Then, I extracted the full-text context of candidate figurative linguistic expressions with the help of Paraconc and Antconc software to further ascertain whether or not they are used metaphorically in Chinese source texts. To work with precise criteria and uphold explicit decision-making, I established five steps in the second stage of metaphor identification and retrieval based on Cameron's (1999) etymology criteria, the Pragglejaz Group's (2007) MIP method, and Steen's (2010) MIPVU method. Cameron (1999) put forward four standards concerning metaphor identification: etymology, speech community norms, personal background knowledge, and individual reception on a particular occasion. Nevertheless, I only took etymology as a crucial criterion because this research is product-oriented, focusing on textual analysis rather than process-oriented, relying on interviews and surveys. Pragglejaz Group's (2007) MIP method and Steen's (2010) MIPVU method have already proved to be practical and systematic in past literature (Ding, Noël, and Wolf 2010; Lu and Wang 2017) but, in my view, need to be adjusted and expanded slightly to apply to Chinese discourse:

- 1) establish the word's meaning and grammatical category in the context, i.e., how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text, and take into account what comes before and after the word
- 2) check if the word has a more basic meaning within the same grammatical category in a contemporary user's dictionary (a basic meaning refers to a more concrete, specific, and human-oriented sense)
- 3) when a word is used indirectly (the contextual meaning is different from the basic meaning) and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain

mapping from the more basic meaning of that word to the contextual meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorical (e.g., We know how to *fight* this disease)

4) when a word is used directly (the contextual meaning is the basic meaning), and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as metaphorical (e.g., One's family is like his *harbor* where one can rest and relax)

5) when the researcher is unsure whether the contextual meaning is metaphorical or literal or whether the cross-domain mapping works, the researcher makes decisions by referring to contemporary users' dictionaries and existing literature on metaphor. First, if a dictionary says that the contextual meaning is figurative or etymologically linked to a more basic sense of that word, it is considered metaphorical; otherwise, it is not metaphorical. Chinese reference dictionaries include *Xiandai Hanyu Guifan Cidian* 现代汉语规范词典 [A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese] (Li 2014) and *Xiandai Hanyu Xuexi Cidian* 现代汉语学习词典 [A Learner's Dictionary of Modern Chinese] (Commercial Press Dictionary Research Center 2010). They have been generally considered authoritative, comprehensive, and up-to-date (Lu and Wang 2017, p.673). For English, reference dictionaries include the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Second, if most research considers the word's contextual meaning metaphorical, it is marked as such. For instance, “赢得 (win),” meaning “succeed in getting something,” is marked metaphorical according to the PSU Chinese metaphor corpus developed by Lu and Wang (2017), the METALUDE English metaphor corpus developed by Lingnan University Department of English and Charteris-Black's (2004) corpora studies.

After retrieval and identification, metaphorical expressions were analyzed from the perspective of conceptual metaphor first and then tagged based on translation strategies shown in Table 13, illustrated with examples extracted from the research corpora (e.g, Table 29 in Section 4.3.2).

Table 13 The tagging scheme for metaphor shifts in translation

Tag (Translation Strategy)		Example
A Reproducing the conceptual metaphor	It means that the metaphorical expression of interest in the source text is translated into a corresponding figurative expression in the target text, which may not be the exact word-to-word literal translation of the expression in the source text, but conveys the identical conceptual metaphor.	<p>(ST) 要通过多种形式，积极引导社会力量广泛参与深度贫困地区脱贫攻坚，帮助深度贫困群众解决生产生活困难。</p> <p>(LT) (Implied agent) should/need to/must actively guide social forces through various forms to participate widely in poverty relief in deeply impoverished areas, (as if) <b><i>attacking a fortification</i></b>, (and) help the masses in deeply impoverished areas solve difficulties in production and daily life.</p> <p>(TT) We should also solicit extensive non-governmental strength to <b><i>combat poverty</i></b> in severely impoverished areas and resolve poor people’s difficulties in production and daily life.</p> <p>(Explanation) In the source texts, efforts to solve the poverty issue in severely impoverished areas are compared to military combat, highlighting the seriousness of poverty alleviation and governmental and non-governmental organizations and personnel’s joint responsibility. Strictly speaking, “combat” in the target text is not a word-to-word direct translation of the “攻坚 (attacking a fortification),” but it can convey an identical conceptual metaphor.</p>
B	It indicates that the	(ST) 全军要以高度的历史自觉和强烈的使命担当，以踏石留印、抓

<p>Deleting the conceptual metaphor triggered by repetition</p>	<p>metaphorical expression of interest in the source text is converted to a non-metaphorical expression or even omitted in the target text. But other figurative expressions in the same source text sentence that convey the same conceptual metaphor are translated into corresponding metaphorical expressions.</p>	<p>铁有痕的精神，坚决打 <b>赢</b> 改革这场 <b>攻坚仗</b>，努力交出让党和人民满意的答卷。</p> <p>(LT) The entire armed forces should/need to/must use the high sense of history and mission, and the spirit of “leaving a mark when stepping on a stone and leaving a trace when grasping iron” to <b>win</b> the reform <b><i>battle of attacking fortification</i></b> with determination and strive to deliver a satisfactory answer to the Party and the people.</p> <p>(TT) With a strong sense of history and of mission, and in a spirit of “leaving a mark in the iron tools we clutch and footprints in the stones we tread,” the whole armed forces should <b><i>address</i></b> this <b>crucial <i>battle of reform</i></b> with determination and achieve results that will satisfy the Party and the people.</p> <p>(Explanation) Here, “赢,” meaning “win,” and “攻坚仗,” meaning “the battle of attacking fortification,” both help describe reform as a brutal battle that needs to be won. In the target text, “赢” is translated into the non-metaphorical expression “address,” while “攻坚仗” is translated figuratively into “the crucial battle.” Consequently, the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION(REFORM) IS FIGHTING is affected at the word level but not at the sentence level. The addition of “crucial” helps to relatively compensate for the loss of ideological emphasis due to metaphorical changes. Overall, the seriousness of reform is still highlighted in the target text</p>
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		sentence, but the degree of emphasis is slightly reduced through the metaphor shift in translation.
C Deleting the conceptual metaphor not triggered by repetition	It indicates that the metaphorical expression of interest in the source text is converted to a non-metaphorical one or omitted in the target text. Moreover, no other metaphorical expressions in either source or target text sentences convey the same conceptual metaphor.	<p>(ST) 对那些 <u>盘根错节</u> 的复杂问题、年代久远的遗留问题、长期形成的惯性问题，要以 <u>燕子垒窝</u> 的恒劲、<u>蚂蚁啃骨</u> 的韧劲，<u>老牛爬坡</u> 的拼劲，坚持不懈，<u>攻坚</u> 克难，善作善成。</p> <p>(LT) (Implied agent) should/need to/must tackle historical issues, entrenched bad habits, and the complex problems which are <u>as tangled as gnarled branches</u>, with the persistence of <u>swallows building nests</u>, the tenacity of <u>ants gnawing on bones</u>, and the determination of <u>old oxen climbing slopes</u>, show persistence, overcome difficulties (like) <u>attacking a fortification</u>, and achieve good results.</p> <p>(TT) For complex and historical problems and problems that have lingered for a long time, we must persevere and solve them one by one till all are addressed.</p> <p>(Explanation) There are five metaphorical expressions in the source text. The first one likens the Party's misconduct problems to plants. The next three draw on animal behaviors to emphasize the Party/government's dedication to solving the misconduct problem. The last one compares solving the problem to attacking a fortification, stressing the seriousness of the situation and the obligations of Party members and government officials. Nevertheless, all these metaphors are omitted in the target text. Stylistically, the metaphor shift might be adopted to avoid overloading</p>

		<p>the sentence with multiple novel metaphorical expressions in order to make the target text more concise, clear, and reader-friendly for foreign audiences. Ideologically, given that not a single metaphor is maintained in the target text, the metaphor shift might to some extent downplay the Party's misconduct problem.</p>
<p>D Replacing the conceptual metaphor with a completely different new conceptual metaphor</p>	<p>It indicates that the metaphorical expression in the source text is converted to a non-metaphorical one or omitted in the target text. Moreover, no other metaphorical expressions in either source or target text sentences convey the same conceptual metaphor. Furthermore, a new conceptual metaphor is added to the target text.</p>	<p>(ST) 深度贫困地区脱贫 <u>攻坚</u>，尤其要加强工作第一线的组织领导。</p> <p>(LT) To relieve poverty in deeply impoverished areas (like) <u>attacking a fortification</u>, (implied agent) should/need to/must particularly strengthen organizational leadership at the front line of the work.</p> <p>(TT) To help severely impoverished areas <u>shake off</u> poverty, we must strengthen organization and leadership at the forefront.</p> <p>(Explanation) The source text compares poverty reduction to military combat to stress the project's seriousness. This martial conceptual metaphor is replaced by a new one in the target text: POLITICAL ACTION IS A MOVEMENT, and POVERTY AREA IS A PERSON (like A NATION IS A PERSON). The newly added metaphors stress the agency and unity of all the people, organizations, and industries within poor areas. Besides, this translation shift potentially slightly downplays the seriousness of poverty alleviation since a military conceptual metaphor is more intense than a daily behavioral metaphor.</p>

### 3.6.4 Tagging shifts in referring expressions

The referring expressions were identified, retrieved, and tagged following five steps: 1) reviewing the keyword list (Appendix A) and locating the words of interest that can be used to denote social actors in source texts; 2) extracting all the Chinese concordance lines containing the word of interest together with their corresponding translations after importing Corpus C and Corpus E into the multilingual concordancer Paraconc; 3) eliminating all instances where the word of interest is not used as a referring expression in the source text; 4) comparing the referring expression in the source text with its correspondent translated form in the target text and tagging the changes in the referring expression based on Table 14 below; 5) comparing the top 10 most frequent clusters (e.g., Table 37 in Section 4.4.1) of the referring expression which expresses a complete lexical meaning in the source text with their correspondent translated form in the target text to explore changes in the referring expression's common phrases. It is important to note that the difference between step 4 and step 5 lies in that step 4 focuses on the translation shifts of the referring term itself. In comparison, step 5 investigates the translation shifts of the referring term's co-text, which is also ideologically significant, as explained in Section 2.3.4.

Table 14 below outlines the tagging scheme for shifts in referring expression in translation mentioned in the fourth step, illustrated with examples retrieved from the parallel Corpus C2E. It is also essential to note that Table 14 is not designed for tagging all shifts in referring expressions in Chinese-English translation because it only covers the shifts discovered in the current research corpora. Besides, Table 14 merely briefly touches upon the ideological significance of various modality shifts. In what follows, Section 4.3 will present a more thorough examination of ideological mediation based on the broader sociopolitical background.

Table 14 The tagging scheme for shifts in referring expression in translation

Source Text	Target Text	Tag	Example
Ideologically loaded words	Ideologically loaded nouns/adjectives	A	<p>(ST) <u>同志们</u>，再过几天，你们这期县委书记研修班就要结束了。</p> <p>(LT) <b>Comrades</b>, in a few more days, your current workshop for county Party secretaries will end.</p> <p>(TT) <b>Comrades</b>, you have only a few days left at this class for county Party secretaries.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志们(comrades),” carrying socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, in the source text is maintained in the target text without any ideological shift.</p>
	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	B	<p>(ST) 中央政治局的 <u>同志</u> 要抵制特权思想，不搞特殊化，加强对亲属子女和身边工作人员的教育管理。</p> <p>(LT) <b>Comrades</b> of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee should/must/need to resist privilege mentality, not pursue special treatment, (and) strengthen the education and management of relatives, children, and staff around them.</p> <p>(TT) <b>Members</b> of the Political Bureau must resist the temptations of privileges and provide good guidance for and exercise proper management of their relatives and immediate staff.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations in the source text, is translated as the ideologically neutral “members” in the target text.</p>

			Ideologically, this change in referring expression might be target-oriented, bridging potential ideological gaps between the Chinese political leader and foreign audiences.
First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	C	<p>(ST) 总之，推进供给侧结构性改革，是适应和引领经济发展新常态的重大创新，是适应国际金融危机发生后综合国力竞争新形势的主动选择，是适应我国经济发展新常态的必然要求，希望 <u>同志们</u> 共同努力，把这件大事抓好。</p> <p>(LT) In summary, advancing supply-side structural reform is a major innovation to adapt to and lead the new normal of economic development, an active choice to adapt to the new situation of competing comprehensive national power after the international financial crisis, and a necessary requirement to adapt to the new normal of our country's economic development. I hope that <b><u>comrades</u></b> can work together to do this important task well.</p> <p>(TT) To sum up, it is essential that we adapt to the new normal. Supply-side structural reform is an ideal innovative means of doing this. It is also the choice we have made to adapt ourselves to the new demands of international competition in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. Let <b><u>us</u></b> work together to achieve this goal.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations in the source text, is translated into the first-person plural pronoun in the target text.</p>	

			<p>This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences' ideologies. Moreover, using the first-person plural pronoun highlights the president's unity with all government officials, Party members, and the broader Chinese people in structural reform. It is also noteworthy that this united image is further amplified in the target text through the addition of the first-person plural pronouns, as seen in the phrases "it is essential that we adapt to..." and "It is also the choice we have made..." compared to the literal translation.</p>
	Second-person pronoun/possessive adjective	D	<p>(ST) 有的<u>同志</u>在发言中谈到了，要做政治坚定的明白人、绿色发展的铺路石、体察民情的大脚掌、地方团队的领头雁、作风建设的打铁匠，归纳得很好。</p> <p>(LT) Some <b>comrades</b> mentioned in speeches that (implied agent) should/need to/must be politically steadfast, clear-headed people, the paving stones for green development, the big feet that experience and observe people's conditions, the leading geese of local teams, (and) the blacksmiths that build Party discipline, (this is) a very good summary.</p> <p>(TT) In the speeches just now, some of <b>you</b> mentioned that one should be clear-minded in one's political convictions, and be a paving stone for green development, a down-to-earth practitioner of close ties with the people, a pioneering leader of the local team, and a blacksmith that hammers hard in observing the Party discipline. Nice analogy.</p>

		<p>(Explanation) The example shows “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is translated into the second-person pronoun. This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences’ ideologies. Moreover, using the second-person pronoun highlights the president’s intimate interaction with domestic Party officials and government officials. It is also interesting to note that while conceptual metaphors, PARTY MEMBERS/GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE BUILDING MATERIAL/BLACKSMITH, are maintained, PARTY MEMBERS/GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE BODY-PART/ANIMAL are omitted in translation. This likely stems from a stylistic choice to avoid overwhelming the target text with numerous novel metaphors, making it more concise, clear, and reader-friendly.</p>
	<p>Third-person pronoun/possessive adjective</p>	<p>E</p> <p>(ST) <u>邓小平 同志</u> 一贯 反对 特权 、反对 腐败 ， 对 亲属 和 身边 工作 人员 总 是 严 格 要 求 。</p> <p>(LT) <b><u>Comrade Deng Xiaoping</u></b> always opposed privileges and corruption, and always set strict demands on relatives and staff around him.</p> <p>(TT) <b><u>He</u></b> opposed corruption and privileges of any kind and set strict rules for his relatives and his immediate staff.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is translated into a third-person pronoun. This alteration in the referring expression is</p>

			likely driven by the stylistic requirements of English reference chains, aiming to avoid repetition and enhance readability for international audiences.
Demonstrative pronoun/adjective	F	<p>(ST) 希望在这个岗位上的<u>同志</u>不辱使命，把党交给的光荣任务全面完成好。</p> <p>(LT) (Implied agent) hope <b>comrades</b> in this position will not fail the mission (and) fully complete the glorious tasks entrusted by the Party.</p> <p>(TT) I hope <b>those</b> concerned will not fail the mission they have been entrusted by the Party.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade),” a term laden with socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is translated into a demonstrative pronoun. This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences’ ideologies. Moreover, it is crucial to note that, compared to personal pronouns, the demonstrative pronoun “those” could reveal the spatial distance between the president and “comrades in this position,” which refers to Party committees and governments at the local level.</p>	
Indefinite pronoun or indefinite adjective + ideologically	G	<p>(ST) 二是必须维护党的团结，决不允许在党内培植私人势力，要坚持五湖四海，团结一切忠实于党的<u>同志</u>，团结大多数，不得以人划线，不得搞任何形式的派别活动。</p> <p>(LT) Second, (the implied agent) must safeguard the unity of the Party, never allow the cultivation</p>	

	neutral nouns		<p>of personal forces within the Party, should/must/need to adhere to uniting individuals from different backgrounds, uniting all <b>comrades</b> who are loyal to the Party, (and) uniting the vast majority, instead of drawing lines based on individuals or being engaged in any form of factional activities.</p> <p>(TT) Second, we must safeguard the unity of the Party. No one is permitted to foster private forces within the Party. We need to unite with <b>everyone</b> loyal to the Party regardless of their origin and background. We need to unite with the great majority rather than differentiate people in light of personal preference and forge any form of factions.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is translated into an indefinite pronoun. This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences’ ideologies. Moreover, compared to other types of pronouns like the first-person pronoun, the indefinite pronoun could help stress the unity of everyone who upholds CPC leadership in a less personal and more neutral tone.</p>
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective + ideologically loaded nouns	H	<p>(ST) ( 2 ) “两个务必”，指“务必使 <b>同志们</b> 继续地保持谦虚、谨慎、不骄、不躁的作风，务必使 <b>同志们</b> 继续地保持艰苦奋斗的作风”。</p> <p>(LT) 2. The “two musts” refer to that “(implied agent) must let <b>comrades</b> continue to maintain a modest, prudent, unassuming, and composed style, (and) must let <b>comrades</b> continue to maintain a hardworking style.”</p>

		<p>(TT) 2 The “two musts” refer to “<b>our comrades</b> must remain modest and prudent, neither conceited nor rash, in our working practices, and <b>our comrades</b> must remain hard-working despite difficulties in our working practices.”</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade)” is translated as “comrade” modified by the first-person plural possessive adjective. The addition of the first-person plural form indicates President Xi’s solidarity with government officials and Party members in adhering to a good working style in national governance.</p>
First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	I	<p>(ST) 对这样的人，同志们、组织上要帮助他们“洗洗澡”。</p> <p>(LT) For such people, <b>comrades</b> and organizations should/must/need to help them “take a bath.”</p> <p>(TT) In such cases, <b>our colleagues</b> and our Party organizations should provide them with some help.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is translated into an ideologically neutral term, “colleagues,” modified by the first-person plural possessive adjective. This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences’ ideologies. Moreover, adding the first-person plural possessive adjective could reflect the president’s solidarity with Party members and government officials in improving self-discipline.</p>
Second-person	J	<p>(ST) 农村基层的<u>同志</u>，工作在第一线，条件也不好，一年到头操劳得很，</p>

	pronoun/ possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns		<p>很辛苦，很不容易，我向你们表示诚挚的慰问。</p> <p>(LT) <b>Comrades</b> working in grassroots organizations in rural areas are at the forefront, face poor conditions, (and) toil all year round, which is very tough and difficult; I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to you.</p> <p>(TT) <b>You, local officials</b>, work in the forefront, face poor conditions, and toil all year round. It's not easy for you. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to you all.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is translated into an ideologically neutral term, “officials,” modified by the second-person pronoun. This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences’ ideologies. Moreover, adding the second-person pronoun could demonstrate President Xi’s intimate interaction with domestic audiences.</p>
	Third-person pronoun/ possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	K	<p>(ST) 做人要实，就是要对党、对组织、对人民、对 <b>同志</b> 忠诚老实，做老实人、说老实话、干老实事，襟怀坦白，公道正派。</p> <p>(LT) (If) (the implied agent) wants to be an honest person, (the implied agent) should/must/need to be loyal to the Party, the organization, the people, and <b>the comrades</b>, be candid, speak honestly, do honest things, (and) be open-hearted, fair and upright.</p> <p>(TT) Being earnest in upholding personal integrity means that leading officials should remain loyal</p>

		<p>to the Party, to the organization, to the people, and to <b>their colleagues</b>. They should be honest and truthful, do sound work, be aboveboard, and be just and upright.</p> <p>(Explanation) The underlined “同志(comrade),” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is translated into an ideologically neutral term, “colleagues,” modified by the third-person possessive adjective. This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences’ ideologies. Moreover, adding the third-person pronoun improves cohesion and style.</p>
Omission triggered by repetition	L	<p>(ST) 现在，一些地方出现干部作用发挥有余、<b>群众</b>作用发挥不足现象，“干部干，<b>群众</b>看”、“干部着急，<b>群众</b>不急”。</p> <p>(LT) There is a phenomenon where the role of cadres is overplayed and the role of <b>the masses</b> is insufficient nowadays in some places, “cadres work, (whereas) <b>the masses</b> watch,” “cadres are busy, (whereas) <b>the masses</b> are not anxious.”</p> <p>(TT) Now, in certain places, village officials are really busy, whereas <b>farmers</b> remain indifferent.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, it is noteworthy that the first two clauses containing the underlined “群众(the masses)” with a class-based connotation are entirely omitted in the translation. Given that the three clauses express similar meanings, this change in referring expression is highly likely due to the stylistic reason to reduce repetition and improve readability for foreign audiences.</p>
Omission not	M	<p>(ST) <b>同志们</b>，全面推进依法治国是一个系统工程，是国家治理领域一场广</p>

	triggered by repetition		<p>泛而深刻的革命，必须加强党对法治工作的组织领导。</p> <p>(LT) <b>Comrades</b>, the comprehensive advancement of the rule of law is a systematic project, (and) an extensive and profound revolution in the field of national governance, (implied agent) must enhance the Party’s organizational leadership over the work of the rule of law.</p> <p>(TT) The comprehensive advancement of the rule of law is a systematic undertaking and a profound and far-reaching revolution in the governance of our country. It is imperative that we strengthen the Party's organizational leadership over initiatives pertaining to the rule of law.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined “同志们(comrades),” carrying socialist, communist, and Marxist connotations, is wholly omitted in the target text. This change in referring expression might be made considering foreign audiences’ ideologies.</p>
Ideologically neutral words	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	N	<p>(ST) 党内监督缺位，必然导致 <b>党</b> 的领导弱化、党的建设缺失、全面从严治党不力。</p> <p>(LT) The lack of supervision within the Party will inevitably result in the weakening of <b>the Party's</b> leadership, deficiency in Party building, and inefficiency in the Party’s comprehensive and strict self-governance.</p> <p>(TT) The absence of such scrutiny will inevitably lead to the weakening of <b>Party</b> leadership, a failure to develop the Party, and inefficiency in the self-governance of the Party.</p>

			(Explanation) In this example, “党(Party),” an ideologically neutral term referring to the CPC in the source text, is maintained in the target text without any ideological change.
First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	O	<p>(ST) <u>党</u> 要 团结 带领 人民 进行 伟大 斗争 、 推进 伟大 事业 、 实现 伟大 梦想 ， 必须 毫不动摇 坚持 和 完善 党 的 领导 ， 毫不动摇 推进 党 的 建设 新 的 伟大 工程 ， 把 党 建设 得 更加 坚强 有力 。</p> <p>(LT) <b><u>The Party</u></b> must unite and lead the people in the great struggle, advance the great cause, (and) realize the great dream, (the Party) must unswervingly adhere to and improve the Party's leadership, unswervingly promote the new great project of Party building, (and) make the Party stronger.</p> <p>(TT) To unite and lead the people in pursuit of our major tasks, causes, and dreams, <b><u>we</u></b> must firmly uphold and improve the Party's leadership, develop the Party, and make it stronger.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the ideologically neutral word “党(Party)” referring to the CPC is translated into the first-person plural pronoun. The change in referring expression could function to stress the president’s solidarity with all Party members in upholding and improving Party leadership and self-development.</p>	
Third-person pronoun/possessive adjective	Q	<p>(ST) 党 坚强 有力 ， <u>党</u> 同 人民 保持 血肉 联系 ， 国家 就 繁荣 稳定 ， 人民 就 幸福 安康 。</p> <p>(LT) (If) the Party is strong and <b><u>the Party</u></b> maintains a blood-and-flesh relationship with the people,</p>	

			<p>the country will be prosperous and stable, and the people will be happy.</p> <p>(TT) The Party's strength and <b>its</b> close ties with the people have ensured China's prosperity and stability and the Chinese people's peace and happiness.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the ideologically neutral word “党(Party)” referring to the CPC is translated into the third-person possessive adjective. Given that the two “党(party)” stand close to each other in the source text, the change here is likely driven by purely stylistic reasons to reduce repetition and improve the readability of the target text for foreign audiences.</p>
	Demonstrative pronoun/adjective	R	<p>(ST) 这是因为，对我们这么一个大党来讲，不仅要靠党章和纪律，还得靠 <b>党</b> 的优良传统和工作惯例。</p> <p>(LT) This is because, for such a large party as ours, (implied agent) should/need to/must rely not only on the Party's Constitution and discipline but also on <b>the Party's</b> fine traditions and working habits.</p> <p>(TT) This is because, as a party with a very large membership, we need to rely not only on the Constitution and discipline of the Party but also on <b>those</b> traditions and working practices.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined neutral word “党(Party)” referring to the CPC is translated into a demonstrative adjective. Demonstrative pronouns/adjectives enable translators to</p>

			express a sense of temporal distance. The use of “those” here has a distancing effect, highlighting that Party traditions and working practices were formed in the past.
Indefinite pronoun or indefinite adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	S	(ST) 网络空间天朗气清、生态良好，符合 <u>人民</u> 利益。 (LT) A clean and sound cyberspace is in the interest of <b><u>the people</u></b> . (TT) A clean and sound online environment is in the best interests of <b><u>all users</u></b> . (Explanation) In this example, the underlined neutral word “人民(people)” is translated into an indefinite adjective with an ideologically neutral noun “all users” to specify people and increase ideological emphasis on considering everyone’s interest in a relatively neutral tone.	
First-person plural pronoun/possessive + ideologically neutral nouns	T	(ST) 老百姓看 <u>党</u> ，最集中的是看县委一班人特别是县委书记。 (LT) (When) the common people look at <b><u>the Party</u></b> , (they) focus on looking at the Party’s county committees, especially the secretaries of the Party’s county committees. (TT) The people judge <b><u>our Party</u></b> by judging the county leadership, particularly the Party secretary. (Explanation) In this example, the underlined neutral word “党(Party)” referring to the CPC is translated into a neutral word modified by the first-person plural possessive adjective. Adding the first-person plural possessive adjective conveys the president’s solidarity with all Party members. It is also worth mentioning that, in this example, “看(look at)” is translated into “judge” in the target text, which could specify the people’s active role in overseeing the Party.	

	Third-person pronoun/possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	U	<p>(ST) 建设 生态 文明 ， 关系 <u>人民</u> 福祉 ， 关乎 民族 未来 。</p> <p>(LT) Building an ecological civilization is related to <b><u>the people's</u></b> welfare and the future of the nation.</p> <p>(TT) Ecological progress is of vital importance to the future of the nation and the well-being of <b><u>its people.</u></b></p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the underlined neutral word “人民(people)” is translated into a neutral word modified by the third-person possessive adjective. Adding the third-person pronoun improves cohesion and style.</p>
	Omission triggered by repetition	V	<p>(ST) 我们 党 来自 人民 、 植 根 人民 、 服务 人民 ， <u>党</u> 的 根基 在 人民 、 血脉 在 人民 、 力量 在 人民 。</p> <p>(LT) Our Party originates from the people, is rooted in the people, and serves the people; <b><u>the Party's</u></b> foundation is in the people, its lifeblood is from the people, and its strength relies on the people.</p> <p>(TT) Our Party comes from the people, is rooted in the people, and serves the people.</p> <p>(Explanation) In this example, the latter part of the sentence containing the underlined neutral word “党(Party)” referring to the CPC is wholly omitted in the translation. This change in referring expression is likely driven by the stylistic concern to reduce repetition and improve readability, as the latter part of the sentence expresses a similar meaning to the former one.</p>
	Omission not	W	<p>(ST) 同时 ， 在 现实 生活 中 ， 一 些 领 导 干 部 法 治 意 识 比 较 淡 薄 ， 有 的 存 在 有</p>

	<p>triggered by repetition</p>	<p>法不依、执法不严甚至徇私枉法等问题，影响了<u>党</u>和国家的形象和威信，损害了政治、经济、文化、社会、生态文明领域的正常秩序。</p> <p>(LT) At the same time, in real life, some leading cadres have a relatively weak awareness of the rule of law; (and) some show problems such as not following the law, not strictly enforcing the law, and even bending the law for personal gain, which has affected the image and credibility of <b><u>the Party</u></b> and the state and damaged political, economic, cultural, social, and ecological civilizations' normal order.</p> <p>(TT) Nevertheless, some officials have a weak awareness of the rule of law; problems such as laws being ignored or not being strictly enforced and even bending the law for personal gain have disrupted the political, economic, cultural, social, and ecological order.</p> <p>(Explanation) The clause containing the underlined neutral word “<u>党(Party)</u>” referring to the CPC is wholly omitted in translation, not triggered by repetition. This change in the referring expression potentially reduces the ideological emphasis on the image and credibility of the Party and the state.</p>
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## Chapter 4 Data Analysis

### 4.1 Ideological mediation by modality shifts

This section concentrates on ideological mediation from the angle of modality. The keyword list (Appendix A), generated from comparing Corpus C (source texts) with the UCLA Corpus, as outlined in Section 3.6, contains seven modal auxiliary verbs, which can be grouped into three categories. The first group includes “要” and “就要,” meaning “should/must/need to/want/will.” Both have rich modal meanings and flexible modal strength depending on the context. The second group includes “必须” and “务必.” Both refer to the English modality marker “must,” expressing a strong deontic sense in the text. The third group consists of “能(can),” “能否(whether can),” and “决不能(can never),” conveying various modal senses depending on the context but in a relatively weak tone.

#### 4.1.1 “要/就要(should/must/need to/want/will)”

The Chinese modality marker “要” is particularly research-worthy. It ranks second in the keyword list (Appendix A) and is also one of the most frequent words in Corpus C, with 2054 out of 2067 functioning as modal auxiliary verbs in source texts. Moreover, the modality value or strength of “要” is fuzzier than others because it is polysemous, leaving room for ideological mediation. Chinese words are formed by one or more characters (e.g., “你” means “you,” “国家” means “country,” “新加坡” means “Singapore”). Usually, a one-character word’s semantic meaning is more general and vague than a more-than-one-character word. Therefore, the semantic meaning of “要” changes with contexts, while those of “需要(need to),” “想要(want),” and “要求(request)” are usually more fixed regardless of contexts. When “要” is used as a modal

verb, it can express a deontic sense like “should/need to/must,” a boulomaic meaning like “want/determined/request,” or an epistemic meaning like “will (prediction)/ must (estimation), according to *the Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Kleeman and Yu 2010). In terms of strength, translation studies researchers such as Li (2018) and Li (2017) classified “要” (deontic) as medium or medium-high modality, equating “要” with “should” and considered the rendering of it into “must/have to/need to” a phenomenon of strengthening. However, linguists like Zhu (1996) and Kleeman and Yu (2010) equated “要” with the high modality “must.” To sum up, the translation of “要” is worthy of investigation because “要” appears statistically significant in the current research corpora and is rich in ideological meanings and ambiguous in strength, providing translators with opportunities to make strategic choices that lead to ideological shifts.

In addition, it is essential to mention that “就要(should/must/need to/will)” appears 26 times in the present research corpora, ranking 622<sup>nd</sup> in the keyword list. The NLP-IR-ICTCLAS system automatically segmented “就要(should/must/need to/will)” as a single word. However, it can also be viewed as a combination of the Chinese adverb “就,” a function word signifying a more assertive tone, and the Chinese modal verb “要,” meaning “should/must/need to/will.” Compared to the strongest Chinese modal verbs like “务必(must)” and “必须(must),” the emphasis expressed through the Chinese adverb “就” is negligible. Therefore, I chose to conflate the Chinese modality markers “要” and “就要” together in my analysis.

Table 15 below presents the statistical result of the tagging according to the procedure and scheme established in Section 3.6.1. It is shown that modality can be mobilized in translation to mediate ideologies from a quantitative perspective. Firstly, Table 15 shows that most “要/就要” in the Chinese source texts were identified as deontic modality markers, including 1990 total instances, among which 1609 cases present no shift in modality type in the English target texts. “Must” and “should” stand out as the

two most frequent translation alternatives, accounting for 25.4% and 43.8%, respectively. In comparison, Fu (2018) looked into the interpretation of “要” based on a corpus of verbatim transcripts of 10 sessions of real-life Chinese government press conferences hosted by the State Council Information Office between 2008 and 2013. His study reported that “要” was mostly translated into boulomaic “will” (31%), while the deontic “must” and “should” constituted only 3.8% and 8.8%, respectively. This difference reflects that modality markers of obligation are preferred to those of intention when translating President Xi’s domestic speeches to government officials and CPC members. Such speeches aim to clarify job responsibilities and ask government officials and CPC members to implement the guidelines and plans. In this case, the deontic modality marker in translation could build a responsible image of the CPC and the government. In contrast, public press conferences aim to introduce and explain government plans to people at home and abroad to gain understanding. It is not used to arrange work or force opinions on audiences. Therefore, boulomaic modality markers are used more frequently than deontic modality markers, potentially contributing to establishing a consultative image of the CPC and the government.

Table 15 The tagging result of “要/就要(should/must/need to/want/will)”

Source Text		Target Text	Tag	Frequency (Proportion=Frequency/ Total)	
Deontic	Deontic	Must	D	528 (25.4%)	1609 (77.2%)
		Imperative/necessary	G	9 (0.4%)	
		Need/require/be required to/have to	A	147 (7%)	
		(Utmost/Paramount) important/vital/essential	E	13 (0.6%)	
		Should	B	912	

				(43.8%)	
	Boulomaic	Will/shall/can(ability)/be to do/expect/ reluctant/mean to/ aim/ urge/seek/the to-infinitive	F	104 (5%)	
	Epistemic	Can (probability/possibility)/will	R	7 (0.35%)	
	Omission not triggered by repetition		X	107 (5.2%)	270 (13%)
	Omission due to repetition		K	163 (7.8%)	
Boulemaic	Boulomaic	Will/be to do/would like to	N	6 (0.3%)	63 (3.1%)
		Cherish/demand/long for/want/enthusiastic/ purpose/ask for	Q	16 (0.8%)	
		Can (ability)	I	4 (0.2%)	
		The to-infinitive/in order to/for	U	37 (1.8%)	
	Deontic	Demand/need to/should/must	T	4 (0.2%)	
	Omission not triggered by repetition		C	9 (0.45%)	
Epistemic	Epistemic	Can (probability)	Z	4 (0.2%)	8 (0.4%)
		will	V	4 (0.2%)	
	Omission not triggered by repetition		Y	6 (0.3%)	6 (0.3%)
Total				2080 (100%)	

Secondly, although “must” and “should” are both used frequently to refer to obligation and commitment, they differ in the degree of emphasis, which makes it interesting to explore under what circumstance “要” is more likely to be translated into “must,” not “should.” As mentioned earlier, the modality value or strength of “要” is vague and

thus leaves room for ideological mediation. The keyword tool was used to answer this further research question. As introduced in Section 3.2, positive keywords stand for those with unusually high frequencies in a smaller and more specialized research corpus than in a larger and more general reference corpus. Therefore, they indicate the critical concepts, topics, or attitudes that distinguish the research corpus from the reference corpus. Accordingly, I first compiled two sub-corpora, one focus corpus formed by all the Chinese concordance lines tagged as D (must) extracted from Paraconc and another reference corpus formed by all the Chinese concordance lines classified as B (should) retrieved from Paraconc. The concordance context was set at 40 words, the maximum range, in Paraconc. Considering that the average sentence length in Corpus C is 32 words, each extracted concordance line can cover about a sentence before and after the modality marker of interest. I then employed both the simple maths and the log-likelihood measures in LancsBox software to generate lists of keywords, as shown in Table 16 and Table 17, respectively. I selected the keywords mainly functioning as nouns in the source texts from the keyword list for analysis because they can better reflect the topics of the concordance lines. Based on the similarity between the positive and negative keywords in Tables 16 and 17, it could be argued that, on the one hand, when the discourse concerns power restriction, “要” is more likely to be translated into “must.” On the other hand, when the discourse is related to health, economy, and culture, “要” is more likely to be translated into “should.”

To summarize, close readings of Tables 16 and 17 suggest modality shifts could play a critical role in differentiating the degree of emphasis of President Xi’s ideologies to stress further his strong determination to regulate the Party members as well as the government officials’ power and influence such as combatting corruption compared to other issues such as health, economic and cultural affairs. It is shown that the former issue represents a particular focus of President Xi’s statecraft and his contribution based on past political leaders’ achievements. These patterns can be seen in the overall

quantitative result. They can also be seen from the qualitative analysis of individual instances according to the broader sociopolitical background.

Table 16 Top 20 nominal concordance keywords of “要” translated into “must” in comparison to “should” with Lancsbox (simple maths)

Keywords (Literal translation) +		Keywords (Literal translation) -	
1	就业 (employment)	1	价值 (values)
2	部队 (the armed forces)	2	资金 (investment)
3	腐 (corruption)	3	卫生 (health/healthcare)
4	反腐倡廉 (combating corruption and upholding integrity)	4	健康 (health)
5	收入 (income)	5	扶贫 (poverty alleviation)
6	对策 (solutions)	6	人士 (personages)
7	检察官(prosecutors)	7	调控 (macro-control)
8	法官(judges)	8	事实 (facts)
9	治军 (the running of the military)	9	传播 (communication)
10	准备(preparation)	10	非公有制 (non-public ownership)
11	宗旨 (fundamental purpose)	11	分 (part)
12	导向 (orientation)	12	实力 (capability)
13	权力 (power)	13	保险 (insurance)
14	腐败 (corruption)	14	同胞 (compatriot)
15	占有 (acquisition)	15	商量 (discussion)
16	子弟 (children of Party officials)	16	用地 (land-use)
17	学派 (school of thought)	17	贸易区 (trade zone)
18	请示 (instruction)	18	心理 (mentality)
19	账 (interest)	19	项目 (project)
20	选举 (election)	20	传统(tradition)

Table 17 Top 20 nominal concordance keywords of “要” translated into “must” in comparison to “should” with Lancsbox (log-likelihood)

Keywords (Literal translation) +		Keywords (Literal translation) -	
1	思考 (thinking)	1	健康 (health)
2	报道 (report)	2	扶贫 (poverty alleviation)
3	制约 (restraint)	3	脱贫 (poverty relief)
4	概念 (concept)	4	贫困 (poverty)
5	实话 (truth)	5	资金 (investment)
6	居住 (housing)	6	卫生 (health/healthcare)
7	全局 (the broader picture)	7	价值 (values)
8	纪律 (discipline)	8	文化 (culture)
9	纪检 (discipline and inspection)	9	传播 (communication)
10	新闻 (news)	10	发展 (development)
11	大学 (college)	11	人士 (personages)
12	天地 (heaven and earth)	12	调控 (macro-control)
13	失业 (unemployment)	13	事实 (fact)
14	实战 (actual combat)	14	项目 (project)
15	愁 (worry)	15	传统 (tradition)
16	收入分配 (income distribution)	16	攻坚 (attack the fortification)
17	政令 (policies and orders)	17	非公有制 (non-public ownership)
18	有禁不止 (sidelining of prohibitions)	18	价值观 (value)
19	权限 (power)	19	经济 (economy)
20	独创性 (originality)	20	人口 (population)

Here are some examples retrieved from the corpora to qualitatively illustrate the ways translation shifts in modality potentially influence ideologies originally inscribed in source texts:

Example 1 (Tag D)

(ST) 要 大力 加强 反腐倡廉 教育 和 廉政 文化 建设 ， 坚持 依法 治 国 和 以 德 治 国 相 结 合 。

(LT) (The implied agent) should/must/need to strengthen education on *opposing corruption* and advocating integrity vigorously, improve *the construction of a culture of clean government*, (and) insist on governing the country according to the law and the virtue.

(TT) We must raise public awareness of the need to *combat corruption* and uphold integrity, promote *a culture of clean government*, and combine the rule of law with the rule of virtue.

In Example 1, the underlined deontic modality marker “要(should/must/need to)” is rendered into “must.” which, as mentioned above in the quantitative analysis, exhibits a higher modality value or emphasis than the alternative translation option “should.” This could function to comparatively raise the significance of anti-corruption within President Xi’s ideology regarding national governance. Moreover, the ANTI-CORRUPTION IS CONSTRUCTION metaphor in the source text by “廉政文化建设 (the construction of a culture of clean government)” is transformed into the ANTI-CORRUPTION IS BATTLE metaphor in the target text through “combat corruption,” which also elevates the ideological emphasis on anti-corruption. Therefore, the example shows that the ideological emphasis on the anti-corruption campaign increases to a certain degree through the translation shifts of modality markers and other textual elements like the metaphor.

Example 2 (Tag X)

(ST) 在 市场 作用 和 政府 作用 的 问题 上 ， 要 讲 辩证 法 、 两 点 论 ， “ 看 不 见 的 手 ” 和 “ 看 得 见 的 手 ” 都 要 用 好 ， 努 力 形 成 市场 作用 和 政府 作用 有 机 统 一 、 相 互 补 充 、 相 互 协 调 、 相 互 促 进 的 格 局 ， 推 动 经 济 社 会 持 续 健 康 发 展 。

(LT) On the issue of the roles of the market and the government, (implied agent) **should/must/need to** refer to dialectics and two-point theory. Both the “invisible hand” and the “visible hand” **should/must/need to** be used well, striving to create a situation where the role of the market and the role of government organically integrate, complement, coordinate with, and promote each other (in order to) drive the continuous, sound development of the economy and society.

(TT) We **should** make good use of the roles of both the market, the “invisible” hand, and the government, the “visible” hand. The market and the government should complement and coordinate with each other to promote sustained and sound social and economic development.

The deontic modality marker, “要(should/must/need to),” appears twice in Example 2. The first one requires government officials and Party members to refer to the dialectics and two-point theory. The second asks government officials and Party members to make the most of both the market and the government in economic development by comparing them to the invisible hand and the visible hand, respectively. The second is translated into “should,” which, as mentioned earlier, expresses less emphasis than “must” and thus potentially diminishes the Chinese government and the CPC’s role in economic issues compared to other areas like the anti-corruption issue. Besides, it is ideologically noteworthy that the whole clause containing the first modality marker, “should/must/need to refer to dialectics and two-point theory,” is entirely omitted in the translation. The dialectics and two-point theory refer to Chairman Mao’s interpretation of Marxist dialectical materialism and his argument that everything consists of two mutually incompatible and exclusive but equally essential and indispensable parts or aspects. In the source text, the clause could function to justify President Xi’s idea to integrate the market’s role and the government’s role in economic development because Chinese political leaders, by convention, tend to propose their ideologies based on past political leaders’ thoughts. This systematic, inherited, and consistent political discourse tradition has been developed over the long term under the leadership of the CPC.

Comparatively, Anglophone political discourse is more characterized by debates between the different ideologies held by different parties. Given the above, the omission may stem from the translation team's strategic behavior to contextualize the translation by considering the target audiences' ideologies.

### Example 3 (Tag T)

(ST) 为什么说要以整风精神来抓？因为党内 *脱离* 群众的种种问题特别是“四风”问题都是 *顽症*，要 真正解决问题，就 要 有抛开面子、揭短亮丑的勇气，有 *动真碰硬*、敢于交锋的精神，有深挖根源、触动灵魂的态度。

(LT) Why is it said that (implied agent) should/need to/must adopt the spirit of rectification in (criticism and self-criticism)? Since various issues inside the Party have led to the Party's *detachment* from the masses, especially the Four Forms of Misconduct, which are chronic and persistent conditions; **(if the implied agent) wants to** truly address (these) issues, (the implied agent) **should/must/need to** have the courage to lose face and expose shortcomings and the ugly side, have the spirit of *making a genuine effort to crack the hard nuts* and daring to engage in confrontation, (and) adopt the attitude of probing deeper into the root causes and touching the soul.

(TT) Why do we need to follow the spirit of the Rectification Movement and engage in criticism and self-criticism? Because various problems *afflicting* the people inside the Party, especially the Four Malfeasances, are chronic and persistent conditions that **need to** be addressed with courage. We **must** dare to lose face in exposing shortcomings and mistakes, dare to *take up our hammers and crack the tough nuts*, dare to engage in battles and dare to dig down to the roots and touch the soul.

The Chinese modality marker “要(should/must/need to/want/will)” appears twice in Example 3, the first being boulomaic (want to/the infinitive-to/will) and the second

being deontic (should/must/need to). It is important to note that the first boulomaic modal verb, “要,” is translated into a deontic form, “need to,” which further stresses the government officials and Party members’ obligations in correcting misconduct. It is also noteworthy that the Chinese word “脱离(detach/separate from)” is translated into “afflict,” which has an even more negative connotation. This translation shift could further stress the negative effect of misconduct problems such as the Four Malfeasances (going through the motions, excessive bureaucracy, self-indulgence, and extravagance). The translation shifts highlight that such problems have signified the Party’s separation from the people, and more importantly, they have endangered and harmed people’s welfare and interests. As a result, the Party members and government officials’ obligations to improve their conduct are better justified. Besides, “动真(make a genuine effort to)” is translated into a metaphorical phrase with an added first-person plural form, “take our hammers,” which further enhances the battle metaphor and positions “we” as warriors, highlighting Party members’ and government officials’ strong commitment. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the translation shifts in modality strength, modality type, metaphor, and referring expression could all contribute to emphasizing the ideological significance of improving the Party and the government’s conduct.

#### 4.1.2 “必须/务必(must)”

Another two crucial Chinese modality markers are “必须(must)” and “务必(must).” “必须(must)” ranks 25<sup>th</sup> in the keyword list, with all 404 instances functioning as deontic modality markers in the source texts. “务必(must)” ranks 998 in the keyword list, also with all 10 cases serving as deontic modality markers in the source texts. Unlike “要(should/must/need to/want/will),” which is highly flexible in terms of modality type and strength, “必须(must)” and “务必(must)” definitely express the highest degree of deontic meaning. Table 18 below shows the statistical outcome based on the tagging procedure and scheme outlined in Section 3.6.1. Overall, the two Chinese

modality markers, “必须/务必(must),” are subject to a low level of ideological mediation in translation as 307 out of 414 are translated into “must,” accounting for 74% of the total.

Table 18 The tagging result of “必须/务必(must)”

Source Text		Target Text	Tag	Frequency( Proportion= Frequency/Total)	
Deontic	Deontic	Must	D	305 (74%)	
		Imperative/necessary	G	4 (0.6%)	
		Need to/require/be required to/have to	A	14 (3%)	
		(Utmost/Paramount) important/vital/essential/ key	E	7 (1.4%)	
		Should	B	34 (8%)	
	Boulomaic	Have the ability	W	1 (0.25%)	
	Epistemic	Can (probability/possibility)	R	1 (0.25%)	
		Will	M	2 (0.5%)	
	Omission not triggered by repetition		X	19 (5%)	
	Omission due to repetition		K	27 (7%)	
	Total				414 (100%)

In addition, I was also interested in investigating under what circumstance “必须/务必 (must)” is more likely translated into the stronger and more subjective deontic modality marker “must,” as opposed to other weaker or more objective deontic modality markers, or markers of epistemic and boulomaic modality. As introduced in Section 3.2, positive keywords are those with unusually high frequencies in a smaller and more specialized research corpus than in a larger and more general reference corpus. They can indicate the critical concepts, topics, or attitudes that distinguish the research corpus from the reference corpus. Accordingly, I first compiled two sub-corpora. On the one side, the focus corpus was constructed by all the Chinese concordance lines tagged as G (imperative/necessary), A (need to), E (important), B (should), W (have the ability to), R (can), M (will), and X (omission not due to repetition), extracted from Paraconc. Tag K is not included in the reference corpus because the stylistic factor of avoiding repetition heavily influences the translation shift. On the other side, the reference corpus was formed by all the Chinese concordance lines tagged as D (must/have to), retrieved from Paraconc. I then used both the simple maths and the log-likelihood measures in LancsBox software to generate lists of keywords, as shown in Table 19 and Table 20, respectively. I only selected the keywords mainly functioning as nouns in the source texts from the keyword list for analysis because they can better reflect the topics of the concordance lines. Judging from the similarity between the two tables, I would argue that when the discourse involves energy, supply, consumption, the whole Party, and the CPC Central Committee, “必须/务必(must)” is more likely to be unchanged. However, when the discourse involves cultural issues, the stress is more likely to be downgraded. Considering the qualitative and quantitative results in Section 4.1.1, it could be argued that such translation shifts could serve to underscore the significance of Party-related political issues such as the Party’s institutional structure in President Xi’s statecraft.

Table 19 Top 15 nominal concordance keywords of “必须/务必(must)” translated into “must” compared to “necessary/need to/important/should/can/will/omission not due to repetition” with Lancsbox (simple maths)

Keywords +		Keywords -	
1	消费 (consumption)	1	学生 (student)
2	能源 (energy)	2	知识 (knowledge)
3	供给 (supply)	3	一辈子 (lifetime)
4	动力 (motivation)	4	权益 (rights)
5	宗旨 (fundamental purpose)	5	高校 (higher education institution)
6	规律 (law)	6	书 (book)
7	住房 (housing)	7	救助 (assistance)
8	全党 (the whole Party)	8	觉悟 (awareness)
9	中心 (center)	9	宣传 (publicity)
10	党章 (Party Constitution)	10	队伍 (contingent/team)
11	廉政 (political integrity)	11	手 (stance)
12	形式 (form)	12	手段 (measure)
13	环节 (link)	13	职能 (function)
14	统一战线 (the United Front)	14	思维 (mind)
15	党中央 (the Party Central Committee)	15	标准 (standard)

Table 20 Top 15 nominal concordance keywords of “必须/务必(must)” translated into “must” compared to “necessary/need to/important/should/can/will/omission not due to repetition” with Lancsbox (log-likelihood)

Keywords +		Keywords -	
1	发展 (development)	1	法律 (law)
2	全党 (the whole Party)	2	执法 (law enforcement)
3	消费 (consumption)	3	教育 (education)
4	能源 (energy)	4	手 (stance)
5	经济 (economy)	5	手段 (measure)

6	中国 (China)	6	职能 (function)
7	党中央 (the Party Central Committee)	7	思维 (mind)
8	特色 (characteristics)	8	标准 (standard)
9	党 (Party)	9	老百姓 (common people)
10	风险 (risk)	10	法治 (the rule of law)
11	供给 (supply)	11	战斗力 (combat capability)
12		12	书 (book)
13		13	救助 (assistance)
14		14	觉悟 (awareness)
15		15	道德 (ethics)

Here are some examples retrieved from the corpora to qualitatively illustrate the ways translation shifts in modality potentially influence the ideologies originally inscribed in source texts:

#### Example 4 (Tag E)

(ST) 办好我国高校，办出世界一流大学，**必须**牢牢抓住全面提高人才培养能力这个核心点，并以此来带动高校其他工作。

(LT) To run our nation's higher education institutions well and establish world-class universities, (implied agent) **must** take a firm grip on the central point of comprehensively improving capabilities in cultivating talents, and use this to stimulate progress in other aspects of work in higher education institutions.

(TT) Therefore enhancing the all-round ability of Chinese universities and colleges to generate talent **is the key to** turning them into prestigious international brain banks, and the driver of all other work in higher education institutions.

#### Example 5 (Tag D)

(ST) 一是 **必须** 维护党中央权威、**绝不** 允许背离党中央要求另搞一套，全党同志特别是各级领导干部在任何时候任何情况下都 **必须** 在思想上政治上行动上同党中央保持高度一致，听从党中央指挥，**不得** 阳奉阴违、自行其是，**不得** 对党中央的大政方针说三道四，**不得** 公开发表同中央精神相违背的言论。

(LT) First, (the implied agent) **must** safeguard the Party Central Committee's authority, (the implied agent) **must not** deviate from Party Central Committee's requirements for something else; all Party comrades, especially leading officials at all levels, **must** maintain a high degree of consistency with the Party Central Committee in thought, political stance, and action, at all times and under all circumstances, and follow the command of the Party Central Committee; (the implied agent) **cannot** play both sides or go their own way, **cannot** pass irresponsible remarks about the major policies of the Party Central Committee, nor publicly express opinions that contradict the spirit of the Central Committee.

(TT) First, we **must** uphold the authority of the Central Committees. All Party members, especially officials, **must** make sure their thinking, their actions, and their political stance all maintain a high degree of unity with the Central Committee and follow its command at all times and under all conditions. Party members **must not** feign compliance while acting in opposition and doing things their own way. They **must not** pass irresponsible comment on the Central Committee's policies or make remarks in public against its guidelines.

A comparison between Examples 4 and 5 shows that the ideological emphasis on the Party-related political issue might be relatively increased by slightly downplaying other aspects of national governance via modality shifts. In Example 4, the deontic modality marker “必须(must)” is translated into “sth. is the key to sth.”, which transforms a strong subjective sense of obligation or necessity into a weaker, more objective sense of significance. In contrast, in Example 5, “必须(must)” is not subject to any translation

shift in modality type or strength. This modality term could emphasize the authority of the Central Committees in the Party. Moreover, it is important to note, in Example 5, the last italic modality marker, “不得(cannot),” appearing three times in the source text, is translated into “must not” twice in the target text, showing an increase in the degree of emphasis on Party members’ obligation to maintain unity with the Party’s Central Committee’s thinking, actions, and political stance. The whole clause containing the italic modality marker, “绝不(must not),” is however omitted in translation, but this is more likely driven by the stylistic reason to avoid repetition, rendering the target text more concise and reader-friendly for foreign audiences.

China’s political structure features a multi-level administrative system. The state constitution delineates that China’s administrative units are organized in a three-level system, descending from the central government, through the provincial level, down to the county level, and then down to the township level. Also, at each level, there are four leading political institutions, commonly known as “四套班子(four teams),” including the Party’s Committee, the People’s Congress, the government, and the CPPCC (Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference). There are also other vital institutions like the People’s Court and the People’s Procuratorate responsible for judicial and procuratorial responsibilities. Generally speaking, in the vertical direction, the Party’s Central Committee represents higher authority than other Party committees. Horizontally, the Party Committee offers leadership, coordinating the work of other institutions at each level. Hence, modality shifts in Examples 4 and 5 might serve to better introduce China’s current political structure to foreign audiences.

#### **4.1.3 “能(can),” “能否(whether can),” and “决不能(can never)”**

The Chinese modality marker “能(can)” ranks 300<sup>th</sup> in the keyword list, 360 out of 370 as modal auxiliary verbs in source texts. It is research-worthy because, like “要/就要

(should/must/need to/will/about to),” it is also polysemous, leaving space for various ideological mediation. According to *the Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Kleeman and Yu 2010), just like the English modality marker “can” (refer to Page 92 in Section 3.6.1), the Chinese modality marker “能(can)” can refer to permission/allowance/ requirement, carrying a deontic sense. It can also mean one’s (in)capability, delivering a boulomaic meaning. Last but not least, it can be used to discuss the possibility or probability in an epistemic sense. In terms of strength, it is generally believed that “能(can)” has a low modal value compared to the two groups mentioned in Section 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 (Li 2017; Li 2018). Consequently, it is vital to examine whether the translation of “能(can)” displays a considerable transformation in the modality sense or a noticeable upgrading of the modality value. In addition, it is essential to mention that “能否(whether can)” appears 16 times in the present research corpora, ranking 973<sup>rd</sup> in the keyword list, and “决不能(never can)” appears 19 times, ranking 475<sup>th</sup>. They were segmented as independent words by the NLPIR-ICTCLAS system. But in fact, they can be interpreted as a word combination comprising an adverb and the modality marker. Therefore, I conflated them in this study. Table 21 below shows the statistical result based on the tagging procedure and scheme outlined in Section 3.6.1:

Table 21 The tagging result of “能(can)/决不能(can never)/能否(whether can)”

Source Text		Target Text	Tag	Frequency(Proportion =Frequency/Total)	
Deontic	Deontic	Must	D	36 (9%)	112 (27.6%)
		Obligatory	G	1 (0.3%)	
		Need/require/be required to/	A	1 (0.3%)	
		Should/ought to	B	36 (9%)	
		Can (permission)/may/be permitted to	J	38 (9%)	
	Boulomaic	Will/shall/be to do	F	4 (1%)	5 (1.3%)
		Welcome	P	1 (0.3%)	

	Epistemic	Can (probability/possibility)	R	1 (0.3%)	3 (0.8%)
		Will	M	2 (0.5%)	
	Omission	Omission not due to repetition	X	7 (2%)	57 (15%)
		Omission due to repetition	K	50 (13%)	
Boulomaic	Boulomaic	Will/be to do/would like to	N	13 (3%)	96 (24%)
		Can (ability)/are able to/capable /may	I	78 (19.7%)	
		The to-infinitive/in order to/for	U	5 (1.3%)	
	Omission	Omission not due to repetition	C	39 (10%)	43 (11%)
		Omission due to repetition	H	4 (1%)	
Epistemic	Epistemic	will	V	14 (4%)	50 (13%)
		Can (probability/possibility) /possible/ may/prevent	Z	36 (9%)	
	Deontic	should	S	1 (0.3%)	1 (0.3%)
	Boulomaic	The to-infinitive/in order to/for	O	13 (3%)	13(3%)
	Omission not due to repetition		Y	8 (2%)	15 (4%)
	Omission due to repetition		W	7 (2%)	
Total				395 (100%)	

Firstly, Table 21 demonstrates a relatively significant proportion of omission of the deontic “能(can)/能否(whether can)/决不能(can never)” because of repetition (13% of the total). This is beneficial to forming a concise linguistic style, thereby improving readability and ensuring effective communication with foreign audiences. By contrast, there is a similar proportion of omission of the boulomaic “能(can),” “能否(whether

can),” and “决不能(can never)” (10% of the total), but it is mainly not triggered by repetition, which potentially reflects the translation team’s tendency to stress actual performance or achievement rather than capacity, as in Example 6 below.

Example 6 (Tag C )

(ST) 中国 特色 社会主义 是 适合 中国 国情 、 符合 中国 特点 、 顺应 时代 发展 要求 的 理论 和 实践 ， 所以 才 能 取得 成功 ， 并 将 继续 取得 成功 。

(LT) Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a theory and practice that suits China's national conditions, aligns with China's distinctive features, and meets the requirements of the times. That’s why (it) **could** obtain success and (it) will continue to gain success.

(TT) Chinese socialism is a *path* that suits China's national conditions and reality and the requirements of the times in both theory and practice. Therefore, it **has yielded** and will continue to yield practical results.

For instance, in this example, “能(can),” used to describe the capacity of Chinese socialism to bring about national development in the past, is transformed into the underlined present perfect sense, highlighting the past achievement’s influence on the present. It is also noteworthy that the ideologically neutral Chinese word “取得(obtain)” is translated into “yield,” which carries a more explicit favorable connotation. The addition of the word “path” in italics, which marks the conceptual metaphor CHINESE SOCIALISM IS A PATH, also stresses that Chinese socialism is throughout China’s past, present, and future. In a word, the translation shift in modality and other textual features work together to change the emphasis from Chinese socialism’s ability to its actual enduring positive outcome, potentially justifying China’s continued adherence to this political belief.

Secondly, Table 21 demonstrates an increase in the modality value of deontic “能(can)/能否(whether can)/决不能(can never)” in target texts, as they are more often translated as “must/obligatory/need to/should” (18.6% of the total) rather than the corresponding literal form “can” (9% of the total). In order to examine under what circumstances their deontic sense would be strengthened, I employed the Keyword list tool, as introduced in Section 3.2. I compiled two sub-corpora, one focus corpus formed by the Chinese concordance lines tagged as J (can) extracted from Paraconc and another reference corpus formed by all the Chinese concordance lines classified as D (must), G (obligatory), A (need to), B (should) also retrieved from Paraconc and then generated a list of positive and negative keywords with Lancsbox’s keyword list functions. Tables 22 and 23 below demonstrate the nominal keywords according to Lancsbox’s simple maths and Loglikelihood measure, respectively. Judging from the similarity between the two tables, I would argue that when the discourse is related to socioeconomic issues such as the development stage and gap, the GDP (gross domestic consumption), and resource allocation, “能(can)” is more likely to remain unchanged. However, when the discourse is related to specific political issues, such as the government officials and CPC members’ work styles and departments, the tone of “能(can)” is more likely to be strengthened in translation. This finding generally coincides with the ideological shifts of “要/就要(should/must/need to/will)” in translation discussed in Section 4.1.1. Thus, from a quantitative perspective, President Xi’s strong determination to improve and discipline the government and the CPC is repeatedly strengthened in translation. This pattern can also be seen from the following qualitative analysis of individual instances.

Table 22 Top 15 nominal concordance keywords of “能(can)” translated into “can” compared to “must/obligatory/need to/should” Lancsbox (simple maths)

Keywords (Literal translation) +		Keywords (Literal translation) -	
1	供给 (supply)	1	风险 (risk)
2	侧 (side)	2	账 (interest)

3	观点 (viewpoint)	3	作风 (work style)
4	差距 (gap)	4	天 (day)
5	灵活性 (flexibility)	5	部门 (department)
6	生产总值 (GDP)	6	保护 (protection)
7	英雄 (hero)	7	时期(phase)
8	配置 (allocation)	8	理念 (concept)
9	阶段(stage)	9	管理 (management)
10	服务 (service)	10	书记 (secreatry)
11	中国共产党 (CPC)	11	企业 (company)
12	体制 (system)	12	党委 (Party Committee)
13	历史唯物主义 (historical materialism)	13	我军 (our armed forces)
14	学派 (school of thought)	14	战略 (strategy)
15	宗旨 (fundamental purpose)	15	批评 (criticism)

Table 23 Top 15 nominal concordance keywords of “能(can)” translated into “can” compared to “must/obligatory/need to/should” Lancsbox (Loglikelihood)

Keywords (Literal translation) +		Keywords (Literal translation) -	
1	供给 (supply)	1	时期(phase)
2	服务 (service)	2	理念 (concept)
3	人民 (people)	3	天 (day)
4	我 (I)	4	部门 (department)
5	侧 (side)	5	干部 (cadre)
6	观点 (viewpoint)	6	作风 (work style)
7	政策 (policy)	7	账 (interest)
8	差距 (gap)	8	党 (Party)

9	灵活性 (flexibility)	9	风险 (risk)
10	生产总值 (GDP)	10	工作 (work)
11	英雄 (hero)	11	
12	配置 (allocation)	12	
13	阶段 (stage)	13	
14	作用 (role)	14	
15	规矩 (rule)	15	

Example 7 (Tag D)

(ST) 解决“四风”问题，*要*对准焦距、找准穴位、抓住要害，不能“走神”，不能“散光”。

(LT) To address the issue of “Four Malpractices,” (the implied social agent) *should/must/need to* set an accurate focus, find the acupoints, grasp the vitals, **cannot** be “lost in thought,” and cannot be “astigmatic.”

(TT) To solve the Four Malfeasances, we *must* set an accurate focus, locate the "acupoints," and firmly grasp the vitals, and we **must not** allow **ourselves** to be distracted.

This example qualitatively illustrates the above-mentioned statistical trend. It shows that the underlined “能(can)” is translated into the more assertive “must” and used together with an added reflexive pronoun that further stresses the government/Party’s responsibility in solving “Four Malfeasances” (fighting against going through the motions, excessive bureaucracy, self-indulgence, and extravagance). Besides, the more flexible “*要(should/must/need to)*” in italics is similarly translated into the more potent “must” that further strengthens ideological emphasis. Besides, the source text contains three conceptual metaphors: ANTI-MISCONDUCT IS TREATING through “locating the acupoints” and “grasping the vitals,” ANTI-MISCONDUCT IS THINKING by “lost in thought” and ANTI-MISCONDUCT IS SEEING by “being astigmatic” and “setting an accurate focus.” Together they could emphasize that getting to the heart of

the matter and staying focused are the keys to eradicating misconduct. In the target text, three are literally translated apart from the last one, likely due to repetition or linguistic habit. Still, it is ideologically noteworthy that “acupuncture,” associated with traditional Chinese medicine and people’s health, is not omitted for linguistic conciseness. Given the above, the selective omission likely reflects the translation team’s efforts to stress that anti-corruption is as important as keeping healthy, as well as make Chinese culture more visible to foreign audiences. Additionally, it is both ideologically and stylistically noteworthy that the translation of “四风” has evolved from “four forms of decadence” and “four forms of malfeasances” to “four forms of official misconduct” nowadays in official political translation because “decadence” merely covers issues associated with material indulgence, whereas “malfeasances” is a term typically used in legal contexts (Foreign Languages Press 2023 p.78).

#### Example 8 (Tag P)

(ST) 我这样说，不是说不能对党和国家的具体政策和工作提出意见、提出批评甚至是尖锐的批评。

(LT) When I say this, I am not suggesting that (the implied agent) **cannot** express opinions, criticisms, or even sharp criticisms of the specific policies and work of the Party and the state.

(TT) In fact, we **welcome** criticism of the Party and the state's policies and work, no matter how sharp it may be.

In Example 8, the underlined deontic “不能(cannot),” which expresses permission, is transformed into the boulomaic modality marker “welcome,” with an explicit positive connotation, which could further stress the Party’s willingness to improve policies and work based on criticism. In the preceding sentences of this excerpt from the source text, President Xi argued against the phenomenon that in the classes at Party schools, certain Party school teachers “make indiscreet and inappropriate comments on major policies of the Party and the state,” “assume a cynical and fault-finding attitude,” “imprudently

engage themselves in improper social activities in the name of the Party school, etc” (Xi, 2017, p.172). Given the above, this translation shift potentially changes the original expression of the message, transforming a clarification into a more direct invitation. To be more precise, it could serve to underscore that the Party not only allows but also encourages opinion and criticism. In conclusion, such modality shifts might generate a relatively different textual effect in the target text compared to the source text. Due to my lack of direct communication with the participating translators and the limited publicly available information online, it is difficult to ascertain whether this translation was a conscious choice by the translation team, a decision made after discussion with the political leader (the addressor), or an unconscious change. Nonetheless, given the institutional, multi-level, and multi-step collaborative nature of the translation project (see Page 16 in Section 1.2), it could be assumed that if the translation choice was consciously made, it was probably suggested by Chinese finalizers rather than foreign experts.

#### Example 9 (Tag S)

(ST) 共产党人 拥有 人格 力量 ， 才能 无愧于 自己 的 称号 ， 才能 赢得 人民 赞誉 。

(LT) Only when Communists possess the strength of character **can** (they) live up to their title, and **can** (they) win the praise of the people.

(TT) Party members of noble character **should** live up to the name of Communists and are loved by the people.

In Example 9, in the source text, the epistemic “能(can)” was used to express that the prerequisite for maintaining the Communist’s reputation and gaining people’s acclaim is a Communist Party member’s noble character. In other words, without good character, it is impossible for a Party member to be reputable or supported. The statement could

motivate all CPC members to work hard to build character. However, in the target text, the epistemic “能(can)” is translated into the deontic modality marker “should,” highlighting Party members’ obligation not to fail the name of Communists. The target text implies that Party members without noble character are not considered Communists. Therefore, this translation shift could strengthen the requirement of CPC members to uphold and refine noble character in their lives and work.

#### 4.1.4 Conclusion and discussion

Overall, modality displays minimum ideological mediation via translation shifts. Firstly, change in modality type constitutes 5.55% of “要/就要(should/must/ will),” 1% of “必须/务必(must),” and 5.4% of “能/决不能/能否(can/can never/whether can).” Secondly, omission not triggered by repetition accounts for 5.95% of “要/就要(should/must/will),” 7% of “必须/务必(must),” and 14% of “能/决不能/能否(can/can never/whether can).” Thirdly, change in deontic modality strength constitutes 19% of “必须/务必(must),” and 22.7% of “能/决不能/能否(can/can never/whether can).” The deontic modality value of “要/就要(should/must/will)” is subjected to debate in the academy, and thus it is hard to ascertain its upgrading or downgrading in translation, but it is important to note that 43.8% of this Chinese modality marker is translated into “should” in the current research corpora, so the translation choice is relatively fixed. Given the above, I would argue that the expression of obligation, determination, and possibility in the source texts is not subject to remarkable ideological shifts during the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China*. In other words, the translation serves to consolidate the addresser’s ideological position.

However, it is essential to note that though minimal, the translation shows a tendency to highlight several political issues, such as improving the Party and the government’s conduct, regulating their political power, and presenting China’s political structure such as the leading role of the Central Committee, compared to other issues such as some

health, cultural, or economic affairs, which is reflected in the quantitative analysis of the statistical result by comparing concordance lines under different tags and the qualitative analysis of separate individual cases. As a result, it is reasonable to summarize that modality could, in a certain sense, function like a magnifying glass to highlight certain original ideologies embedded in texts.

A convention of Chinese political discourse is that each generation of CPC leaders, also the state leaders, introduce brand-new political concepts or slogans. These concepts and slogans not only define his leadership style but also set the goal for subsequent national development during his tenure (Zhang 2010). There have been Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, Jiang Zemin's "Three Represents," as well as Hu Jintao's "Scientific Outlook on Development." These new concepts and slogans, however, are not irrelevant to the past ones. Conversely, Chinese politicians tend to form legitimacy by making further progress based on the achievements of earlier leaders. As a result, they form new political concepts or slogans by re-contextualizing and re-embedding previous leaders' ideologies and corresponding to brand-new needs arising from the development. This systematic, inherited, and consistent nature of the Chinese political narrative could help show the self-improvement of the CPC and support its leadership. It is also viewed as an essential means to forge party unity, deliver consensus, and stabilize society (Brown and Bērziņa-Čerenkov 2018).

Since President Xi Jinping took office in 2013, various new concepts and slogans have been proposed under Xi Jinping's Thoughts on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, characterizing his governance of China. For instance, a large-scale anti-corruption campaign has been carried out nationwide under the slogan of "cracking down on tigers and flies," which means punishing high-level officials and local civil servants who offend alike. Tigers are large and powerful while flies are small and common, but both can be harmful to people in their own ways. Given the above, the metaphor is innovative and helps show the gravity of the corruption issue, as well as

the Party/government's strong opposition. It has successfully drawn the attention of numerous people at home and abroad. Besides, inside the Party, there have been several rounds of education and practice campaigns against the "Four Malfeasances" to eliminate Party members' and government officials' misconduct and improve their working styles and characters. Regarding political belief, he coined the slogan "four-sphere confidence" to motivate everyone's confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Also, President Xi has proposed a unique signature slogan, the "China dream," to inject new momentum into the enduring cause of rejuvenating the Chinese nation. About economic development, he suggested "the new normal" to explain the decline in the economic growth rate due to structural changes.

Brown and Bērziņa-Čerenkov (2018) argued that "one of the starkest differences between the eras of President Hu and President Xi is the return to the primacy of politics and the role of the Party rather than a relentless focus on economic performance." The quantitative and qualitative analysis above does relatively reflect that the translation shifts of modality markers could highlight the significance of political issues like the regulation of political power and the structuring of political institutions. By contrast, discourse on some health, culture, economy, and student education issues are likely comparatively backgrounded. Therefore, modality shifts in translation could serve to distinguish the degree of emphasis among various aspects of a speaker's ideologies (attitudes, beliefs, judgments) and thus more effectively introduce his most significant ideologies to audiences.

Moreover, in my opinion, translators need to stay alert and remain cautious about the ideological potential of modality shifts in translation. It is crucial to note that modality shifts could potentially alter the original expression of the message. Such ideological modality shifts if adopted without sufficient consultation with the addresser, might

produce relatively different textual effects and lead to further unintended influence. Thus, modality shifts in translation offer not just opportunities but also challenges.

## 4.2 Ideological mediation by transitivity shifts

This section examines ideological mediation from the perspective of transitivity. As stated in Section 3.6, a keyword list (Appendix A) was generated by comparing Corpus C (source texts) with the UCLA Corpus. The top five Chinese words in the keyword list that can indicate processes in the source texts were selected for analysis in this section, including “发展(develop),” “坚持(adhere to),” “建设(build),” “改革(reform),” and “领导(lead).”

### 4.2.1 “发展(develop)”

According to *the Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Kleeman and Yu 2010) and *Xiandai Hanyu Guifan Cidian 现代汉语规范词典[A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese]* (Li 2014), “发展,” when used as a verb, literally means “develop.” It can refer to the change of things from small to large, simple to complex, low to high, or the expansion of an organization in terms of scale or membership. Among the 1272 instances of “发展” within Corpus C, merely 98 cases of “发展” represent a process in the source text: some are middle clauses while others are operative/receptive clauses (see Section 2.3.2).

Before looking into its transitivity shifts, I find the lexical choice of “发展(develop)” in translation worth noting regarding ideological mediation. Of the 98 cases of “发展(develop),” which represent a process in the source text, 13 are omitted, and 66 are translated into ideologically neutral words such as “develop” and “change.” In addition, 18 occurrences are translated into ideologically positive words such as “advance” and

“flourish,” as in Example 10, and only one instance is translated into a word with an obvious negative connotation, as in Example 11.

Example 10 (Tag C)

(ST) 随着 中国 特色 社会主义 不断 发展， 我们 的 制度 必将 越来越 成熟， 我国 社会主义 制度 的 优越性 必将 进一步 显现， 我们的 道路 必将 越 走 越 宽广。

(LT) As **socialism with Chinese characteristics** continually develops, our institutions will definitely become increasingly mature, the strengths of our socialist system will definitely become self-evident, and our path will definitely become wider and wider.

(TT) As **socialism** progresses, our institutions will undoubtedly mature, the strengths of our system will become self-evident, and our development path will assuredly become wider.

Example 11 (Tag C)

(ST) 工作 作风 上 的 问题 绝对 不是 小事， 如果 不 坚决 纠正 不良 风气， 任 其 发展 下去， 就会 像 一座 无形 的 墙 把 我们 党 和 人民 群众 隔 开， 我们 党 就会 失去 根基、 失去 血脉、 失去 力量。

(LT) The issue of working style is in no sense a small one. If (implied social actor) does not correct the misconduct resolutely, (and) let **it** develop, (it) will separate our Party and the people like an invisible wall. Our Party will lose its base, lifeblood, and strength.

(TT) The issue of working style is in no sense a small one. If **misconduct** is not corrected but allowed to run rampant, it will build an invisible wall between our Party and the people. As a result, our Party will lose its base, lifeblood, and strength.

In Example 10, “发展(develop)” is translated into “progress,” which embodies the metaphor DEVELOPING IS MOVING FORWARD. This lexical choice is conducive to highlighting the self-improving nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics according to the new requirements of the times and practices in contrast to stagnation, which could function to justify its vital role in China as the most prevalent political belief. Comparatively, within Example 11, “发展(develop)” is translated into “run rampant,” which is usually used to describe something bad such as crime and disease. This lexical choice likely shows the translation team’s efforts to highlight the leader’s criticism against the Party/government’s misconduct issue and his commitment to rule it out. It is also worth noting that passivity, “is allowed to,” was employed to translate the non-subject sentence instead of adding a social actor as the subject, which could serve to avoid associating government officials and Party members with allowing misconduct to go rampant. Both are essential to highlighting a responsible image of Chinese government officials. Therefore, the verb’s lexical choice in translation is equally ideologically significant as its transitivity variation and should not be neglected.

Table 24 and Figure 6 below illustrate the statistical outcome of “发展(develop)” based on the tagging procedure and scheme outlined in Section 3.6.2. Overall, the translation of “发展(develop)” as a process exhibits a minimum level of ideological mediation via transitivity shifts: 49 percent of the processes are translated without any transitivity shift; 15.5 percent experience obligatory transitivity shifts caused by Chinese non-subject sentences; 17.5 percent undergo optional transitivity shifts which do not affect the delivery of social actors’ agency in the target texts. In comparison, only 18 percent of the processes experience optional transitivity shifts that have an influence on social actors’ cause-effect agency and responsibility in the target texts. Besides, despite the minimum level of ideological mediation, there is a relatively higher degree of mitigation than enhancement regarding social actors’ agency in the development process. It is shown that the proportion of reduced agency caused by optional transitivity shifts (16%) exceeds that of increased agency (2%). The reduced agency is

realized in a broader assortment of ways through eight types of optional transitivity shifts, compared to the increased agency which is caused by two types.

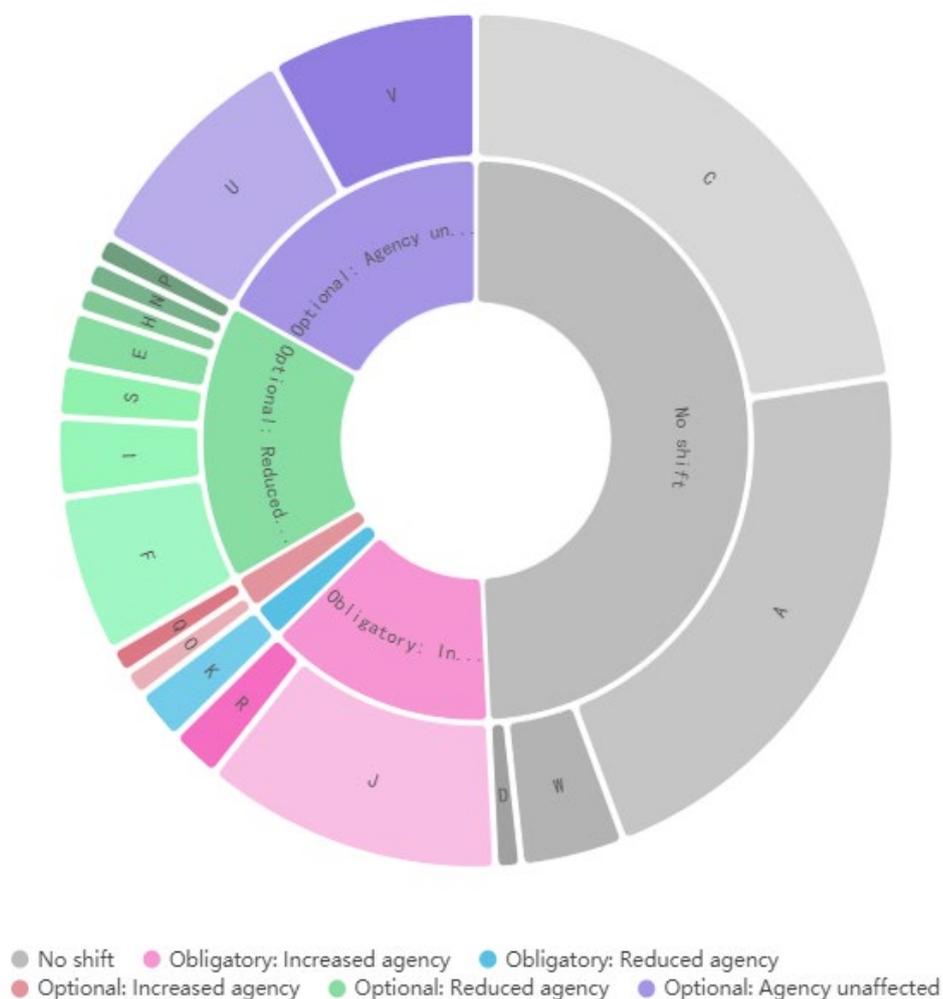
Among the eight types of optional transitivity shifts that lead to a reduced level of social actors' agency and responsibility in the target texts, the most evident one is the change from an operative clause with social actors as the direct agents to a circumstantial element (6%). In such cases, social actors' agency is compromised to render an implied relationship between clauses in the source text more explicit in the target text, which is beneficial in preventing confusion and misunderstandings in foreign audiences. Regarding obligatory transitivity shifts, it is noteworthy that the non-subject Chinese clauses are mostly translated by adding a "we" as the subject (11.5%). This transitivity translation shift could function to underscore the unity among political leaders, Party members, government officials at all levels, and ordinary Chinese people in actively pursuing national development. However, it is vital to bear in mind that this transitivity shift could not interact with foreign audiences in the same way as the source text interacts with domestic audiences emotionally since foreign readers are neither the addressees nor the auditors (refer to Section 2.2.1) of President Xi's speeches to government officials and Party members.

Table 24 The tagging result of “发展(develop)”

Cause-effect agency and responsibility	Tag	Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)
No shift	C	Middle		22 (22.5%)
	A	Operative (animate agent)		21 (21.5%)
	W	Operative (inanimate agent)		4 (4%)
	D	Receptive (no agent)		1 (1%)
Obligatory shift:	J	Operative (non-subject)	Operative (“we”)	11 (11.5%)

Increased responsibility	R	Operative (non-subject)	Operative (third person)	2 (2%)
Obligatory shift: Reduced responsibility	K	Operative (non-subject)	Receptive (no agent)	2 (2%)
Optional shift: Increased responsibility	Q	Receptive (no agent)	Operative (“we”)	1 (1%)
	O	Receptive (partially animate agent)	Receptive (animate agent)	1 (1%)
Optional shift: Reduced responsibility	F	Operative (animate agent/partially animate agent)	Circumstance	6 (6%)
	I	Operative (animate agent)	Omission triggered by repetition	3 (3%)
	S	Operative (animate agent)	Omission not triggered by repetition	2 (2%)
	E	Operative (animate agent)	Operative (partially animate agent/inanimate agent)	2 (2%)
	H	Operative (animate agent)	Noun	1 (1%)
	N	Receptive (animate agent)	Receptive (an inanimate agent)	1 (1%)
	P	Receptive (partially animate agent/no agent)	Middle	1 (1%)
Optional shift: Agency unaffected	U	Middle	Noun	9 (9.5%)
	V	Middle	Omission triggered by repetition	8 (8%)
Total				98 (100%)

Figure 6 The tagging result of “发展(develop)”



Note: In the inner circle, I selected the neutral color gray to indicate no transitivity shift, cold colors like purple, blue, and green to indicate unaffected agency or less agency through compulsory or optional transitivity shifts, and warm colors such as pink and red to indicate increased agency through either mandatory or optional transitivity shifts. Moreover, the outermost layer of the circle demonstrates that among the subcategories having the same color, the lighter the color, the more significant the proportion. For example, Tag J means transforming a non-subject Chinese clause into an operative clause with the “we” as the agent. It has a warm pink color because this obligatory transitivity shift can render the active agency of social actors more explicit in the target

text. Moreover, its color is lighter than Tag R's because the proportion of Tag J (11.5%) is higher than that of Tag R (2%) in the current research corpora.

The statistical result in the initial quantitative analysis has revealed that the translation of “发展(develop)” as a process demonstrates minimal ideological mediation in current research corpora. In the following paragraphs, specific instances affected by this tendency are analyzed qualitatively concerning the broader sociopolitical contexts:

#### Example 12 (Tag K)

(ST) 三是要着力加快公共服务体系建设，支持建立面向民营企业的共性技术服务平台，积极发展技术市场，为民营企业自主创新提供技术支持和专业化服务。

(LT) The third point is that **(the implied agent)** should/need to/must focus on accelerating the construction of the public services system, support the building of a generic technology service platform for private enterprises, actively **develop** the technology market, (and) provide technical support and professional services for the independent innovation of private enterprises.

(TT) Third, we need to accelerate the establishment of a public service system. The creation of a generic technology service platform for private companies should be supported. The technology market should **be** vigorously **developed** to provide technological support and professional services for innovative private companies.

#### Example 13 (Tag P)

(ST) 我国非公有制经济，是改革开放以来在中国共产党的方针政策指引下发展起来的的，是在中国共产党领导下开辟出来的一条道路。

(LT) Our country's non-public sector of the economy **has been developed** since the reform and opening up **under the guidance of the guidelines and policies of the CPC**, (and) is a path forged under the leadership of the CPC.

(TT) China's private sector has **flourished** since the adoption of reform and opening up in 1978 in keeping with the CPC's guidelines and policies, a trail blazed under the Party's leadership.

The above two examples show that government officials and CPC members' agencies in developing China's market and private sector have been relatively reduced in translation. In Example 12, the underlined operative clause, implying social actors' agency through the active verb, is translated into a receptive clause, implying social actors' agency through the passive verb rather than an operative clause with "we" as the direct agent. The transitivity shift is obligatory, caused by Chinese non-subject clauses. Nevertheless, given that, in the present corpora, most Chinese non-subject clauses are translated by adding a social actor as the subject (11.5% out of 13.5%), the use of a passive voice in this example is noteworthy. According to the co-text of building a public service system and a generic technology platform, the implied social actors in the source text sentence should be government officials and Party members. The source text sentence is long and therefore broken down into three short sentences in the target text. The first sentence takes "we" as the subject which could serve to stress the unity among political leaders, all government officials, and Party members in public service development. However, the second and third sentences both employ the passive voice, which renders the agency of government officials and Party members in the growth of the technological market and private companies less direct.

Likewise, in Example 13, the underlined clause in the source text represents a receptive clause conveyed through the Chinese lexical passive marker, "是.....的," with an inanimate agent modified by social actors, "中国共产党的方针政策指引 (the guidance of CPC's guidelines and strategies)." In the target text, it is translated into the

underlined intransitive middle clause. This transitivity shift could function to highlight China's private sector's development as a self-engendered autonomous process while placing less focus on the direct role of the government and the Party in China's private sector's growth. Besides, it is worth mentioning that "adoption" and "1978" were added in the target text to specify that "改革开放以来(since reform and opening up)" refers to the national policy by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, which could avoid potential confusion and misunderstandings in foreign audiences. In addition, semantically, it is noteworthy that there is a lexical shift from the relatively neutral word "develop" to the positive word "flourish," which reflects President Xi Jinping's recognition, praise, and emphasis on the growth of China's private sector, which might in turn justify CPC leadership.

Stylistically, these transitivity shifts might be adopted by the translation team to improve syntactic variation to improve readability for foreign audiences. Ideologically, it might be opted by the translation team to stress less the role of government officials and Party members and highlight the generally increasing autonomy of the market and the private sector within China's economy. China has undergone four distinct phases in the relationship between the government and the market since its foundation in 1949. The first phase was from 1949 to 1978, when China established a state-planned economy, resulting in the complete elimination of the market's role. The second phase was from 1978 to 1997 when former political leader Deng Xiaoping introduced the policy of reform and opening up and proposed "planning as a principal part and market as a supplementary part," placing government planning and market on equal footing, despite relatively more weight on the former. The third phase was from 1997 to 2013 when former president Jiang Zemin proposed letting the market play the basic role in allocating resources under state macro-control. The fourth phase was from 2013 to the present. As soon as President Xi took office in 2013, he further advanced China's socialist market economy by proposing to "let the market play the decisive role in allocating resources and let the government better perform its functions" (Xi, 2014a, p. 183). President Xi pointed out that the new "decisive role" is the continuation and

further extension of the previous “basic role” which, in my opinion, affirms that the market is playing an even more critical role in allocating resources nowadays than in the past. According to Huang and Verón (2022), China’s private sector has grown significantly from 2010 to 2020, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the country’s largest enterprises, measured by revenue or market value. Given the above, the transitivity shifts in Examples 12 and 13 could function to slightly downplay the agency of government officials and Party members in the market and economy, thereby highlighting the growing dynamism and creativity of China’s market and economy.

Example 14 (Tag S)

(ST) **全党** 一定要紧密团结起来，敢于担当、埋头苦干，团结带领全国各族人民，以与时俱进、时不我待的精神不断夺取新胜利，不断完善和发展中国特色社会主义，不断为人类和平与发展的崇高事业作出新的更大的贡献。

(LT) **The whole Party** should/must unite closely, dare to take on responsibilities, work hard, rally and lead the people of all ethnic groups across the country, (and) continue to seize new victories with the spirit of advancing with the times and the spirit that time waits for no man, constantly improve and **develop** socialism with Chinese characteristics, (and) constantly make newer and greater contributions to the lofty cause of peace and development for humanity.

(TT) **All Party members** must unite closely and work hard to fulfill our duties, and rally and lead the Chinese people to keep up with the times and achieve new successes **in** enhancing and **developing** Chinese socialism, making an increasing contribution to peace and development for all mankind.

This example demonstrates that the operative clause with an animate agent, “全党(the whole Party),” is likely translated into a circumstantial element to clarify the content of the successes and prevent foreign audiences from misinterpreting the source text. It is generally believed that English is a hypotactic language, whereas Chinese is a paratactic

language. “Parataxis means a rhetorical and syntactic arrangement in which clauses are placed together in a series without subordination or obvious link words. Hypotaxis, on the other hand, involves the syntactic subordination of one clause to another.” (Ye and Shi 2010, p.16) However, strictly speaking, English grammar also allows parataxis, as in the English translation of Julius Caesar’s declaration, “I came, I saw, I conquered.” Thus, I do not consider this type of transitivity shift from a process to a circumstance as an obligatory shift. However, it appears preferred since, without this transitivity shift, it may be difficult for foreign audiences to understand the source text’s logic thoroughly. They may question what “new victories” exactly refer to, progress in socialism with Chinese characteristics and world peace and word development, or other implied successes. Therefore, I perceive this sort of transitivity shift from a process to a circumstance as an optional target-oriented translation shift to make the target text more reader-friendly for foreign audiences. In addition, the demetaphorization that replaces “new victories” with “new successes” could function to avoid military connotations, explicitly demonstrating developing Chinese socialism and contributing to world peace and development as the Party’s goals.

#### 4.2.2 “坚持(adhere to)”

According to *the Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Kleeman and Yu 2010) and *Xiandai Hanyu Guifan Cidian 现代汉语规范词典[A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese]* (Li 2014), “坚持,” when used as a verb, has two meanings. It can refer to “adhere/stick to/not give up (sth.)” or “continue (to do)/keep (doing).” Following Fontaine’s analysis of processes in Section 2.3.2, I excluded cases where “坚持” refers to “continue (to do)/keep(doing),” serving as an aspect verb to elaborate on another verb. I only focused on instances where “坚持” refers to “adhere/stick to (sth.),” functioning to convey a process directly. Consequently, I detected 160 processes among the 554 cases of “坚持” within the current research corpora.

Before examining its transitivity shifts, I find the lexical choice of “坚持(stick/adhere to)” in translation also ideologically noteworthy. Out of the 160 instances where “坚持(stick/adhere to),” represents a process in the source text, 20 are omitted, and 115 use ideologically neutral terms such as “adhere/stick to” and “maintain.” The remaining 45 cases adopt words with positive connotations such as “uphold” and “promote,” which could function to not only highlight the Party/government’s commitment but also their support for China’s current political system and policies.

Example 15 (Tag A)

(ST) 我们 要坚持 和 完善 基层 群众 自治 制度 ， 发展 基层 民主 ， 保障 人民 依法 直接 行使 民主 权利 ， 切实 防止 出现 人民 形式 上 有 权 、 实际 上 无 权 的 现象 。

(LT) We *should/must/need to* **adhere to** and improve the system of community-level self-governance, develop democracy at the primary level, ensure that the people directly exercise their democratic rights based on the law, and effectively prevent the occurrence of circumstances where people appear to have rights but in reality do not.

(TT) We *must* **uphold** and improve the system of community-level self-governance by improving local democracy and see that the people directly exercise their democratic rights in line with the law and that their rights are genuine.

For instance, Example 15 demonstrates that the underlined “坚持(stick/adhere to)” is translated into “uphold” with a positive meaning, and the flexible modality marker “要(should/must/need to)” in italics is rendered into “must” with a stronger tone. Both could function to highlight Chinese government officials and CPC members’ unified commitment and support towards the community-level self-governance system. The system allows people to participate in elections, decision-making, and oversight directly through village committees in rural regions, neighborhood committees in urban

areas, and conferences of workers and staff in enterprises. Before it, members of the grassroots committees had been appointed by the next higher level of the government. Thus, the system is crucial to people's democratic rights, representing the government's people-oriented ideology.

Figure 7 and Table 25 below illustrate the statistical outcome of “坚持(stick/adhere to)” based on the tagging scheme outlined in Section 3.6.2. Overall, “坚持(stick/adhere to)” as a process exhibits a minimum level of ideological mediation in translation through transitivity shifts: 58 percent undergo obligatory transitivity shifts caused by Chinese non-subject sentences, and 29.5 percent of the processes are translated without any transitivity shift. In comparison, only 12.5 percent of the processes experience optional transitivity shifts that can exert an influence on social actors' agency in the target texts. Besides, despite the minimum level of ideological mediation, there is a relatively higher degree of mitigation than enhancement regarding social actors' agency in the process of adherence. It is shown that the proportion of reduced agency caused by optional transitivity shifts (11%) exceeds that of increased agency (1.5%). The reduced agency is realized in a broader assortment of ways through eight types of optional transitivity shifts, compared to the increased agency which is caused by two types.

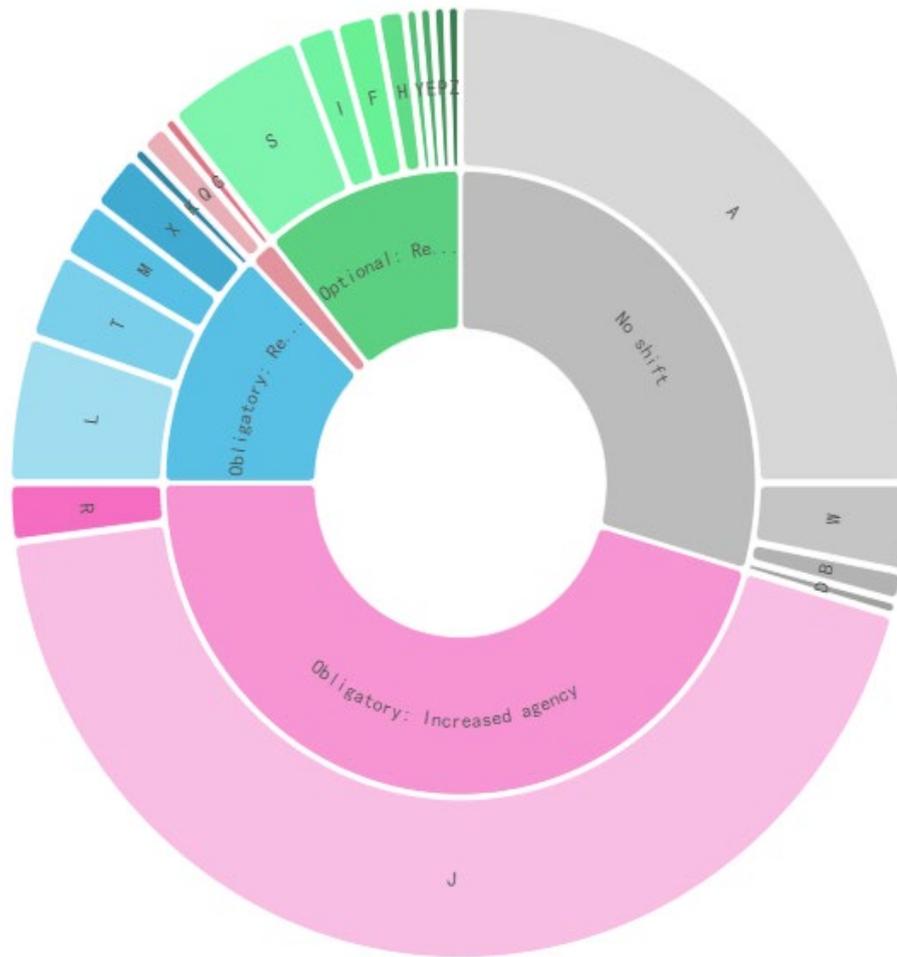
In addition, regarding obligatory transitivity shift, the non-subject Chinese clauses are predominantly translated by adding “we” as the subject (43.5%). As I have mentioned earlier, this kind of transitivity shift could function to further underscore the solidarity among political leaders, Party members, government officials at all levels, and ordinary Chinese people in adhering to the present political beliefs, policies, or principles. Regarding optional transitivity shifts, among the eight types of optional transitivity shifts that lead to a reduced level of social actors' agency in the target texts, the most evident one is the shift from an operative clause with social actors as the direct agent to omission, not triggered by repetition (5%) as shown in Example 16 below.

Table 25 The tagging result of “坚持(uphold)”

Cause-effect agency and responsibility	Tag	Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)
No shift	A	Operative (animate agent)		45 (25%)
	W	Operative (an inanimate agent)		5 (3%)
	B	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)		2 (1%)
	D	Receptive (without agents)		1 (0.5%)
Obligatory shift: In creased responsibility	J	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Operative (“we” as the direct agent)	78 (43.5%)
	R	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Operative (third person as the direct agent)	4 (2%)
Obligatory shift: Reduced responsibility	L	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Circumstance	8 (5%)
	T	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Omission triggered by repetition	5 (3%)
	M	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Middle	4 (2%)
	X	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Omission not triggered by repetition	4 (2%)
	K	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Receptive (without agents)	1 (0.5%)

Optional shift: Reduced responsibility	S	Operative (animate agent)	Omission not triggered by repetition	8 (5%)
	I	Operative (animate agent or an inanimate agent)	Omission triggered by repetition	3 (1.5%)
	F	Operative (animate agent or partially animate agent)	Circumstance	3 (1.5%)
	H	Operative (animate agent)	Nominalization	2 (1%)
	Y	Operative (animate agent)	Receptive (an inanimate agent)	1 (0.5%)
	E	Operative (animate agent)	Operative (a partially animate agent/an inanimate agent)	1 (0.5%)
	P	Receptive (partially animate agent or no agents)	Middle	1 (0.5%)
	Z	Receptive (no agents)	Circumstance	1 (0.5%)
Optional shift: increased responsibility	Q	Receptive (no agents)	Operative (animate agent)	2 (1%)
	G	Operative (inanimate agent)	Operative (animate agent)	1 (0.5%)
Total				180 (100%)

Figure 7 The tagging result of “坚持(uphold)”



● No shift   ● Obligatory: Increased agency   ● Obligatory: Reduced agency   ● Optional: Increased agency  
 ● Optional: Reduced agency

The statistical result in the initial quantitative analysis has revealed that the translation of “坚持(stick/adhere to)” as a process demonstrates minimal ideological mediation in current research corpora. In the following paragraphs, specific instances affected by this tendency are analyzed qualitatively to study their potential ideological significance concerning the broader sociopolitical contexts:

Example 16 (Tag S)

(ST) 我们要坚持以实践基础上的理论创新推动制度创新，坚持和完善现有制度，从实际出发，及时制定一些新的制

度，构建系统完备、科学规范、运行有效的制度体系，使各方面制度更加成熟更加定型，为夺取中国特色社会主义新胜利提供更加有效的制度保障。

(LT) We should/must/need to persist in promoting institutional innovation based on theoretical innovation rooted in practice, **adhere to and improve** the existing system, proceed from reality, formulate some new systems in a timely fashion, (and) build a comprehensive, rationally regulated and effective system to ensure that all systems and institutions are more mature and defined, and provide a more effective institutional guarantee for capturing new victories in socialism with Chinese characteristics.

(TT) We must **improve** current systems and promote institutional innovation with theoretical innovation based on practice. We must proceed from reality, formulate new systems in a timely fashion, and put in place a well-developed, systematically and rationally regulated, and effective framework of systems to ensure that all systems and institutions are working properly and functioning well and thereby provide a more effective institutional guarantee for new victories.

In Example 16, the operative clause with “we” as the direct agent, indicated by “坚持 (stick/adhere to),” is omitted in the translation. In my view, the transitivity shift could function to highlight the Party and the government’s joint active agency in improving the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, as “stick/adhere to” implies a lack of movement or progress. President Xi (2014a, p.43) has emphasized that “the socialist system with Chinese characteristics is unique and effective” but “not perfect or fully functioning” yet and therefore requires constant improvement. Since taking office, he has made efforts to improve the socialist system with Chinese characteristics from various aspects. For instance, at the fourth plenary session of the 18th CPC Party Congress, a reform plan was examined and approved to build a socialist rule of law system with Chinese characteristics and a socialist rule of law country. The most discussed initiatives within the resolution include (1) the development of present legal

structures, mechanisms, as well as work procedures that could be beneficial to fighting against local protectionism (2) the introduction of lifelong responsibility policy to Party members and government officials in order to ensure proper handling of cases; and (3) the promotion of professionalism in the legal system (Zhang 2016). It could be argued the purpose of President Xi's legal reform in the new era is multifold: (1) to support the Party's endeavor in anti-corruption; (2) to maintain social justice and improve the legal work of the Party/government; (3) to present President Xi's unique contribution based on previous political leaders' thoughts. Thus, it could be argued the omission of “坚持 (stick/adhere to)” could function to focus on Party members and government officials' agency in improving the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, which might help to justify the president and the Party's leadership.

Example 17 (Tag Q)

(ST) 经过多年探索和实践，我们在贯彻群众路线、密切联系群众方面有了比较系统的制度规定，大多行之有效、群众认可，要继续 坚持。

(LT) After many years of exploration and practice, we have developed relatively systematic institutional regulations concerning implementing the mass line and maintaining close ties with the masses. Most have proven effective and are recognized by the masses, (and) should/must/need to **be constantly maintained.**

(TT) After many years of experimentation and practice, we have developed a systematic framework of regulations for implementing the Party's mass line and maintaining close ties with the people. Most of the regulations are effective and are recognized as such by the people, and we should continue to **follow** them.

In Example 17, the underlined unmarked receptive clause by “坚持(stick/adhere to)” without explicit agents is translated into an operative clause indicated by “follow” with “we” as the direct agent. The transitivity shift could function to clarify the unified

agency of political leaders, all Party members, and government officials in developing and following the systematic framework of regulations related to the Party's mass line. The mass line method was first introduced by Chairman Mao Zedong to emphasize the Party's need to stay close to the people. Soon after taking office, President Xi Jinping launched a brand new mass line campaign in 2013, stressing "serving the people, being down-to-earth, upright and corruption-free." His signature moves include targeting the "Four Malfeasances" and implementing poverty alleviation in the economic sector. It has been reported that the state finally achieved the eradication of extreme poverty (earning less than \$620 a year) in 2021 through a series of guidelines and measures such as relocating poor people from inhospitable areas and providing subsistence allowances for those unable to shake off poverty on their own (Xinhua 2021). Under such circumstances, the syntactic transformation to an operative clause with "we" as the agent in the target text in Example 17 could highlight government officials and Party members' joint commitment and efforts in terms of serving the people, which might contribute to justifying the president and the government's governance as well as the CPC's leadership.

#### 4.2.3 “建设(build)”

According to *the Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Kleeman and Yu 2010) and *Xiandai Hanyu Guifan Cidian 现代汉语规范词典* [A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese] (Li 2014), “建设,” when used as a verb, literally means “build.” Among the 574 instances of “建设” within Corpus C, 30 cases represent processes in the source text.

Figure 8 and Table 26 below illustrate the statistical outcome of “建设(build)” based on the tagging scheme outlined in Section 3.6.2. Overall, “建设(build)” as a process exhibits a minimum level of ideological mediation in translation through transitivity shifts: 60 percent are subjected to obligatory transitivity shifts caused by Chinese non-subject sentences, and 23 percent of the processes are translated without any transitivity

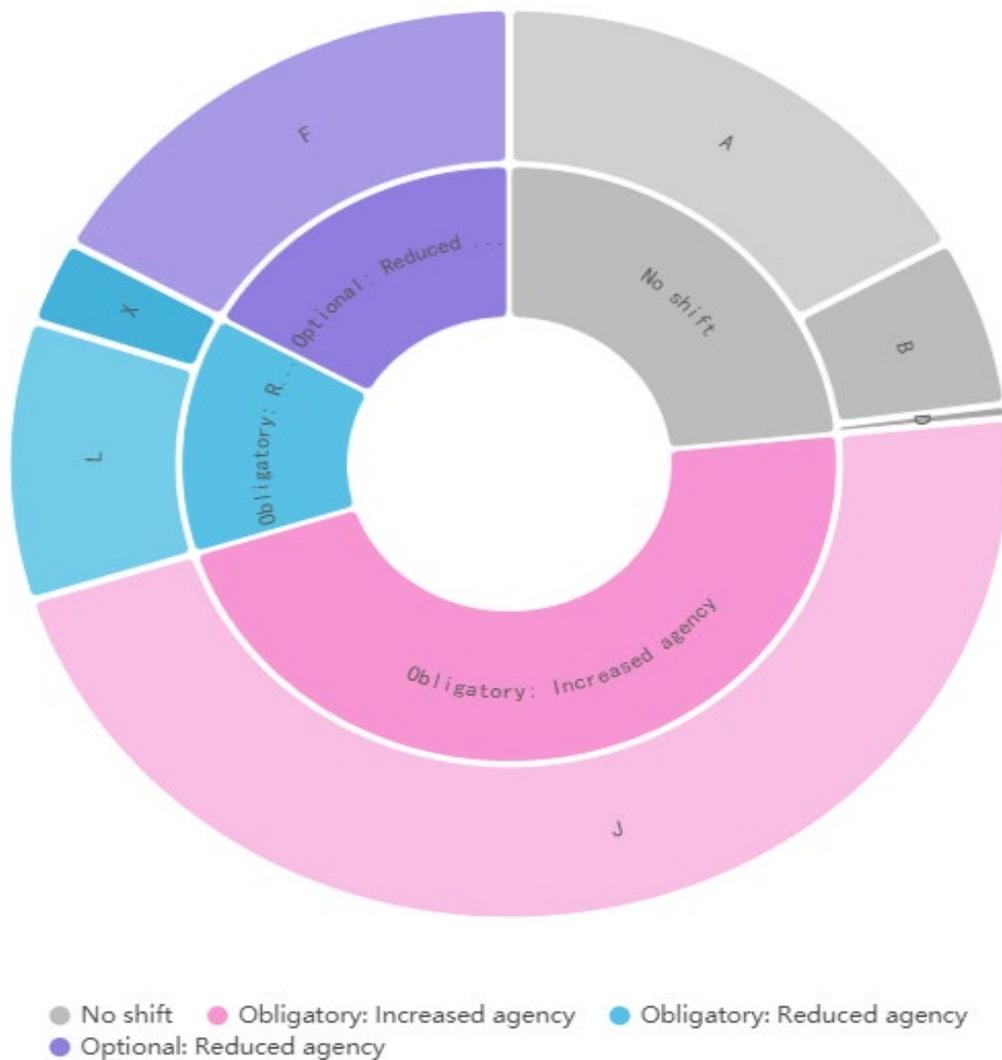
shift. In comparison, only 17 percent of the processes experience optional transitivity shifts that can exert an influence on social actors' agency in the target texts. Besides, despite the minimum level of ideological mediation, it is noteworthy that the only optional transitivity shift is from an operative clause with animate agents to a circumstantial element, relatively mitigating the social actors' cause-effect agency and responsibility in the building process in the translation. As I have explained in the discussion of “发展(develop)” in Example 14 in Section 4.2.1, in such cases, social actors' agency is compromised to render an implied relationship between clauses in the source text more explicit in the target text for foreign audiences to understand. Also, it is noteworthy that 14 out of 18 non-subject Chinese clauses are translated by adding a “we” as the subject which could function to stress the solidarity among political leaders, Party members, government officials at all levels, and ordinary Chinese people in being actively engaged in national development.

Table 26 The tagging result of “建设(build)”

Cause-effect agency and responsibility	Tag	Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)
No shift	A	Operative (animate agent)		5 (17%)
	B	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)		2 (6%)
Obligatory shift: Increased responsibility	J	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Operative (“we” as the direct agent)	14 (47%)
Obligatory shift: Reduced responsibility	L	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Circumstance	3 (10%)
	X	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause)	Omission not triggered by	1 (3%)

		without agents)	repetition	
Optional shift: Reduced responsibility	F	Operative (animate agent or partially animate agent)	Circumstance	5 (17%)
Total				30 (100%)

Figure 8 The tagging result of “建设(build).”



The statistical result in the initial quantitative analysis has revealed that the translation of “建设(build)” as a process demonstrates minimal ideological mediation in current research corpora. In the following paragraphs, I aim to analyze specific instances

affected by this tendency from a qualitative perspective, analyzing their potential ideological significance concerning the broader sociopolitical contexts.

Example 18 (Tag X)

(ST) 在全面深化改革进程中，我们要积极稳妥推进政治体制改革，以保证人民当家作主为根本，以增强党和国家活力、调动人民积极性为目标，不断建设社会主义政治文明。

(LT) In the course of thoroughly deepening reform, we should/must/need to actively and steadily advance political system reform, regard affirming people's role as masters of the country as the fundamental principle, regard boosting the vitality of the Party and the country, and incentivizing people as the goal, (and) constantly **build** the socialist political civilization.

(TT) While promoting reform in all respects, we should actively and steadily advance political reform, take the people's position as masters of the country as a fundamental principle, enhance the vitality of the Party and the country, and keep the people fully motivated.

Example 18 shows that the underlined operative clause indicated by “建设社会主义文明 (build socialist political civilization)” with “we” as the direct animate agent in the source text is wholly omitted in the target text. Considering that there isn't any linguistic constraint, it is vital to consider the transitivity shift from an ideological perspective. President Xi is not the first to discuss socialist political civilization. Former president Jiang Zemin initially proposed to keep the coordinated development of the socialist material, political, and spiritual civilization to construct a moderately prosperous society at the 19<sup>th</sup> CPC National Congress. Different from material civilization, which focuses on economic growth, and spiritual civilization, which focuses on social morality and ethics, political civilization is said to refer to the formation, organization, and operation of socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics, that is, the reform of the CPC and China's institutional development (Dynon 2008). Therefore, the building

of a socialist political civilization is embodied in the development of China's various political systems, including (1) the People's Congress system (2) multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC (3) the system of ethnic, regional autonomy (4) the policy of "one country, two systems" (the mainland continues with its socialist system while Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan maintain the capitalist system) (5) the system of community-level self-governance. Nevertheless, the term "socialist political civilization" might generate confusion or even misconceptions among foreign audiences since it has no clear reference in other cultures. Given the above, it could be argued that the omission is beneficial in accommodating foreign audiences' reading habits to avoid potential misunderstandings and confusion. However, it is also important to note that the omission might result in a loss for foreign audiences who are particularly interested in discovering the distinct concepts associated with socialism with Chinese characteristics. The translator could have resorted to "socialist political progress/advancement" to ensure both clarity and effective communication of President Xi's thoughts to foreign audiences.

#### 4.2.4 “改革(reform)”

According to *the Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Kleeman and Yu 2010) and *Xiandai Hanyu Guifan Cidian 现代汉语规范词典* [A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese] (Li 2014), “改革,” when used as a verb, literally means “reform.” Among the 538 instances of “改革” within Corpus C, only 7 cases represent processes in the source text.

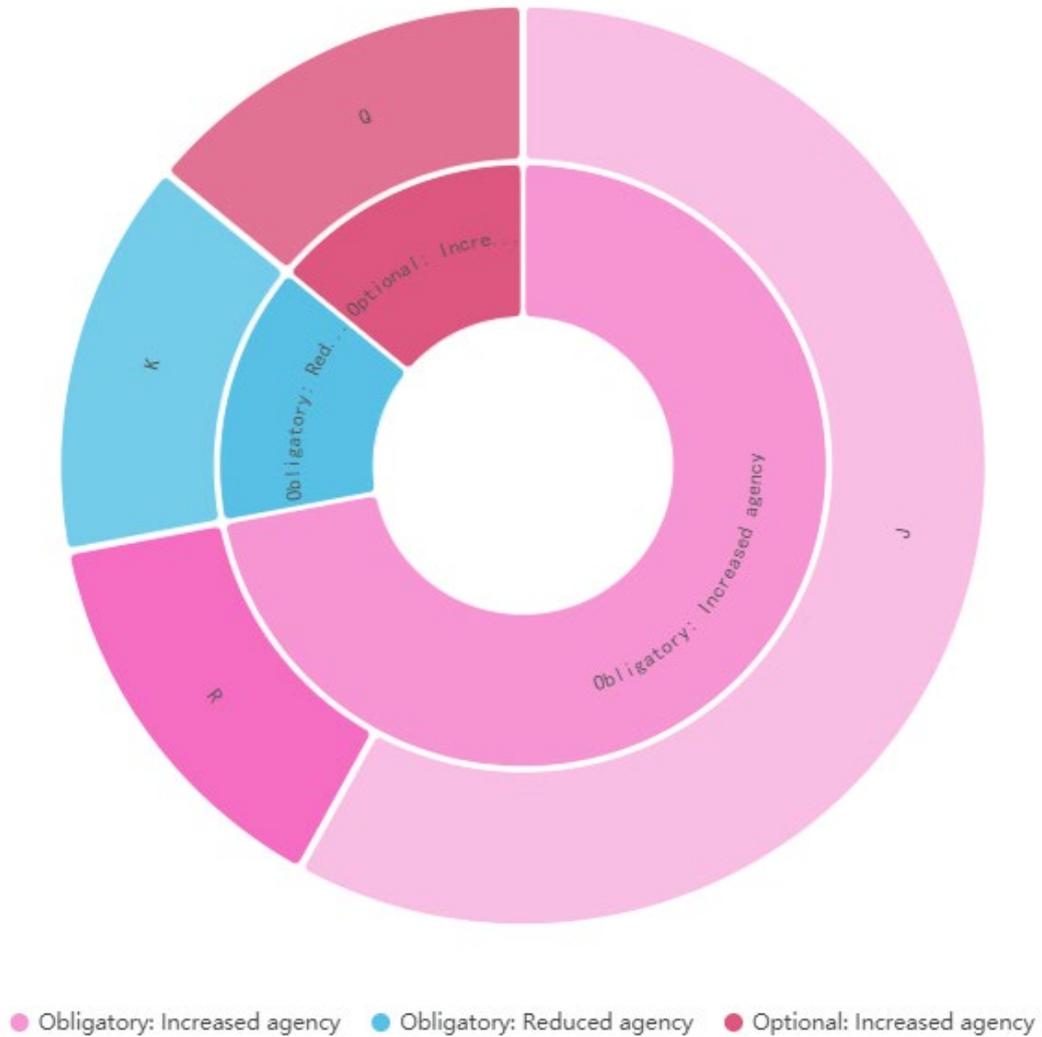
Figure 9 and Table 27 below illustrate the statistical outcome of “改革(reform)” based on the tagging scheme outlined in Section 3.5.2. As shown in Figure 9 and Table 27 below, “改革(reform)” as a process exhibits a minimum level of ideological mediation in translation through transitivity shifts: 6 out of 7 are subject to obligatory transitivity shifts caused by Chinese non-subject sentences. In comparison, only one experiences

an optional transitivity shift, contributing to a higher cause-and-effect agency and responsibility in target texts. Also, adding “we” as the subject remains the major translation strategy for a Chinese non-subject sentence (58%), which could function to emphasize the unified initiative of political leaders, party members, government officials at all levels, and ordinary Chinese people in carrying out reform in varied aspects of the society.

Table 27 The tagging result of “改革(reform)”

Cause-effect Agency and Responsibility	Tag	Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)
Obligatory shift: Increased responsibility	J	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Operative (“we” as the direct agent)	4 (58%)
	R	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Operative (third person as the direct agent)	1 (14%)
Obligatory shift: Reduced responsibility	K	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Receptive (without agents)	1 (14%)
Optional shift: increased responsibility	Q	Receptive (no agents)	Operative (animate agent)	1 (14%)
Total				7 (100%)

Figure 9 The tagging result of “改革(reform).”



The statistical result in the initial quantitative analysis has revealed that the translation of “改革(reform)” as a process demonstrates minimal ideological mediation in current research corpora. In the following paragraphs, I aim to analyze specific instances affected by this tendency from a qualitative perspective, analyzing their potential ideological significance concerning the broader sociopolitical contexts.

#### Example 19 (Tag Q)

(ST) 我们自己不足、不好的东西，要努力改革。外国有益、好的东西，我们要虚心学习。

(LT) Our shortcomings and bad things should/must/need to **be reformed** with effort, (and) we should/must/need to carefully study foreign countries' beneficial things and good things.

(TT) **We** must **improve** our weaknesses and change backward things, and learn from the strengths of other countries.

In Example 19, the underlined unmarked receptive clause indicated by “改革(reform)” without an agent is translated into an operative clause indicated by “improve” with “we” as the direct agent, changing the emphasis from China's weakness and backwardness to government officials and Party members' unified active agency in reforming weak and backward areas. As I have mentioned earlier, since the adoption of reform and opening up in 1978, China's economy has experienced a gradual and experimental transformation from a planned economy to a socialist market economy, with the market and the private sector demonstrating greater dynamism and creativity. In addition, President Xi has initiated a large-scale mass line and anti-corruption campaign to wipe out misconduct within the Party and the government. He has also reformed China's judicial system and further developed the rule of law. Considering the above, this transitivity shift could function to highlight that government officials and Party members are humble and studious, making considerable efforts to improve current systems and policies, which might contribute to justifying the president's national governance and the CPC's leadership in China.

#### 4.2.5 “领导(lead)”

According to *the Oxford Chinese Dictionary* (Kleeman and Yu 2010) and *Xiandai Hanyu Guifan Cidian 现代汉语规范词典[A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese]* (Li 2014), “领导,” when used as a verb, literally means “lead.” Among the 430 instances of “领导” within Corpus C, 29 cases represent processes in the source text.

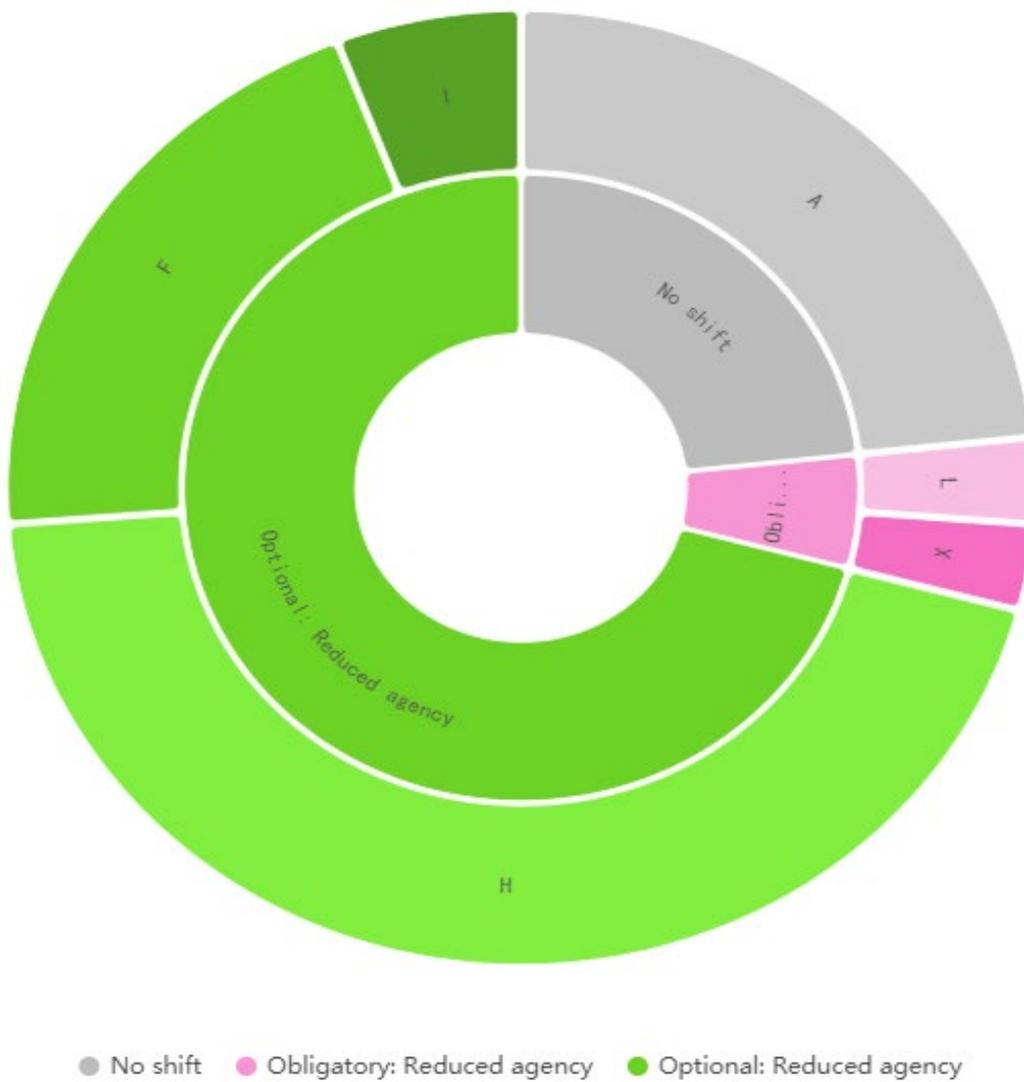
Figure 10 and Table 28 below illustrate the statistical outcome of “领导(lead)” based on the tagging scheme outlined in Section 3.6.2. They show that the translation of “领导(lead)” as a process exhibits a maximum level of ideological mediation via transitivity shifts. The overall pattern of its transitivity shifts is distinguished from those of “发展(develop),” “坚持(stick/uphold to),” “建设(build),” and “改革(reform),” which all demonstrate a minimum level of ideological mediation through transitivity shifts. As shown in Figure 10 and Table 28, 24 percent of the processes are translated without any transitivity shift, and only 3 percent experience obligatory transitivity shifts caused by Chinese non-subject sentences. In comparison, 73 percent undergo optional transitivity shifts, which could reduce the cause-and-effect agency and responsibility of social actors. The most evident type of optional transitivity shift is the change from an operative clause with an animate agent to nominalization, constituting 46% of the total. The following qualitative analysis will reveal that this transitivity shift could be seen to relatively downplay the Party/government’s agency while stressing the people's agency, displaying President Xi’s people-oriented ideology, which might help justify his governance of China and the CPC’s leadership.

Table 28 The tagging result of “领导(lead)”

Cause-effect Agency and Responsibility	Tag	Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)
No shift	A	Operative (animate agent)		7 (24%)
Obligatory shift: Reduced responsibility	L	Operative (Chinese non-subject clause without agents)	Circumstance	1 (3%)
Optional shift: Reduced responsibility	H	Operative (animate agent)	Nominalization	13 (46%)
	F	Operative (animate agent or partially	Circumstance	6 (21%)

		animate agent)		
	I	Operative (animate agent or an inanimate agent)	Omission triggered by repetition	2 (6%)
Total				29 (100%)

Figure 10 The tagging result of “领导(lead)”



The statistical result in the initial quantitative analysis has revealed that the translation of “领导(lead)” as a process demonstrates minimal ideological mediation in current

research corpora. I also aim to analyze specific instances affected by this tendency from a qualitative perspective, analyzing their potential ideological significance concerning the broader sociopolitical contexts.

Example 20 (Tag H)

(ST) 要深入把握党的群团工作规律，完善党委领导群团组织的制度，提高党的群团工作科学化水平。

(LT) (Implied agent) should/need to/must deepen their understanding of **the laws of the Party's work with social groups**, improve the system where Party committees lead social groups, and elevate the scientific level of the Party's work with social groups.

(TT) They should understand **how social groups work**, improve rules and regulations concerning Party committees 's leadership over social groups, and raise the level of the Party's work with social groups.

Example 21 (Tag H)

(ST) 我们党领导人民进行社会主义建设，有改革开放前和改革开放后两个历史时期，这是两个相互联系又有重大区别的时期，但本质上都是我们党领导人民进行社会主义建设的实践探索。

(LT) The process by which our Party leads the people in carrying out socialist construction has two historical phases - one that preceded reform and opening up and one that followed it, the two phases are interrelated yet significantly different, but (they) are essentially both practical explorations in which our Party leads the people in building socialism.

(TT) The process by which the people build socialism under the leadership of the Party can be divided into two historical phases-one that preceded the launch of reform and opening up in 1978 and a second that followed on from that event. The two phases-at once related to and distinct from each other-are both pragmatic

explorations in building socialism conducted by the people under the leadership of the Party.

Examples 20 and 21 both demonstrate that the underlined operative clause indicated by “领导(lead)” was transformed into a nominalization. This could function to emphasize leadership more as a thing owned by the Party than a process carried out by the Party and change the primary leading process into a circumstantial element, potentially subtly downplaying the significance of the Party’s agency. In contrast, within Example 20, the Chinese noun phrase “党的群团工作规律(the laws of the Party's work with social groups)” is translated into a clause “how social groups work.” Apart from the stylistic concern to avoid the repetition of the term “the Party’s work with social groups” in the target text to improve readability for foreign audiences, this transitivity shift could also highlight the active role of social groups by rendering “social groups” the subject of the object clause. Similarly, in Example 21, the transitivity shift enables the subject of the whole sentence to change from “our Party” to “the people,” thereby highlighting the people’s significant role in starting industrial development and building socialism.

Previously, in Section 4.2.2, Example 17 shows that the optional transitivity shift of “坚持(adhere/stick to)” could highlight the Party/government’s efforts in adhering to and developing the Party’s mass line principle. The above-mentioned transitivity shifts of “领导(lead)” could produce a similar textual effect. Besides, these transitivity shifts could function to shift emphasis from a dynamic leading process underlying the Party’s efforts to a static concept about the Party’s ownership of the leadership position. It is reported that during the 19<sup>th</sup> CPC National Congress, President Xi, for the first time, elevated Party leadership to the defining feature and the greatest strength of socialism with Chinese characteristics (Xinhua 2017). This strong rhetoric was accompanied by the implementation of a wide assortment of concrete measures, such as solidifying the leadership of President Xi Jinping as the Party’s core leader (Guo 2020). Consequently, it could be argued that the identified transitivity shifts align with the broader

sociopolitical background where the Party's ownership of the leadership role has been further emphasized and strengthened.

#### 4.2.6 Conclusion and discussion

Quantitative analysis shows that generally speaking, there is merely a minimum level of ideological mediation through transitivity shifts in the selected five key processes based on the current research corpora. The only exception is “领导(lead),” which shows ideological mediation through nominalization. In terms of the obligatory transitivity shift, the majority of Chinese non-subject clauses are translated by adding “we” as the subject. Adding “we” appears linguistically convenient for translators as it is concise and imprecise. For example, compared to “government officials and Party members,” “We” is much more concise. Besides, “we” requires readers to infer the specific agent independently based on the context, potentially obscuring individual responsibility. It is also crucial to acknowledge that “we” could highlight unity among political leaders, all Party members and government officials, and ordinary Chinese people, which is ideologically noteworthy. Chen Mingming (2018), who participated in the translation of the *Governance of China*, once shared his view after participating in the English translation of the report at the 19th CPC National Congress, saying “The use of ‘we’ and ‘you’ in English translation helps enhance the impact on audiences [在英文中适当把“我们,” “你们”的语气翻出来, 以增强对受众的感染力].” His statement reveals that professional Chinese translators are generally well aware of the ideological potential of the first-person plural pronoun in demonstrating a united image of the social agents to the audiences. Of course, in many cases, such intended ideological functions are well-known by the readers and thus do not necessarily successfully influence their conceptions.

Besides, overall, it is found that there is a higher degree of ideological mitigation rather than enhancement of social actors' agency within the current research corpora. This is mainly caused by translating a process into a circumstance, which is beneficial to manifesting the implied logic behind the source text. This tendency shows the target-oriented feature of the translation project. It could reflect the translation team's intent and efforts to help foreign readers understand President Xi's views.

In addition, qualitative analysis has revealed some interesting results. For instance, Examples 17, 20, and 21 show that transitivity shifts could function to raise emphasis on the Party/government's people-oriented ideology, which potentially helps justify their leadership and governance. Examples 16 and 19 show that transitivity shifts could function to highlight that the Party and socialism with Chinese characteristics are both characterized by constant improvement.

### **4.3 Ideological mediation by shifts in the CONFLICT metaphor**

In this section, I mainly focus on translating the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS CONFLICT, which compares politics with a game or war. This metaphor was chosen for two reasons. First, previous literature has shown that politicians frequently use such a metaphor to delineate confrontational ideologies (Charteris-Black 2004; Chilton 2004, p.52). Such a metaphor can form and strengthen group identities, fostering solidarity among allies and calling people against common threats, enemies, or rivals. It also enables political leaders to put more weight on their political efforts with further emphasis on the struggle and sacrifice they have gone through, increasing the force of their persuasion and legitimation simultaneously. In addition, it helps specify and simplify social goals against a negative phenomenon or for a favorable situation. It is important to note I am not arguing here that metaphor predetermines an interpretation, only that it is likely to foster a certain predisposition. One method by which metaphor

might accomplish this is relying on specific words and phrases with connotations communicating underlying judgments (Charteris-Black 2004, p.41). The game and war experiences are universal across nations' histories, so they are more likely to convince and establish bonds with audiences worldwide.

Second, it seems that translators are well aware of the ideological potential of conflict metaphors. Renowned professional translators such as Xu (2014), Huang (2004), and Tong (2013) have all suggested military metaphors in Chinese official documents not being translated literally to avoid misunderstandings that the Chinese are warlike and aggressive. According to Huang (2004, p.27), military metaphors were inherited from wartime leaders' speeches which were intended to inspire domestic audiences during challenging times. However, they are no longer suitable for today's communicative purpose with foreign audiences:

Due to historical reasons, we are particularly accustomed to using militaristic language. For example, China's sports delegation to the Olympics is called the "Olympic Legion," the basketball game is "a battle on the basketball court," and we are engaged in a "battle of attacking the enemy's fortification" in different fields almost every day. The closing stage of a project is often called "a decisive battle." Such words and phrases in Chinese can indeed boost "morale" and "fighting spirit." Still, when translated into foreign languages, translators should pay attention to using plain words and phrases with less "smell of gunpowder" because the translation task is to communicate, not to mislead. [由于历史原因, 我们特别习惯使用军事化的语言。如: 中国参加奥运的体育代表团被称为“奥运军团”, 篮球比赛是“篮球场上燃起战火”, 我们几乎每天都在不同领域里进行着“攻坚战”, 一个工程的收尾阶段常常是“一场决战”。诚然, 中文里这样的词句很能鼓舞“士气”和“斗志”, 但是翻译成外文就应该注意多用一些平实的词句, 少一些“火药味”, 因为翻译的任务是沟通, 而绝不是误导。]

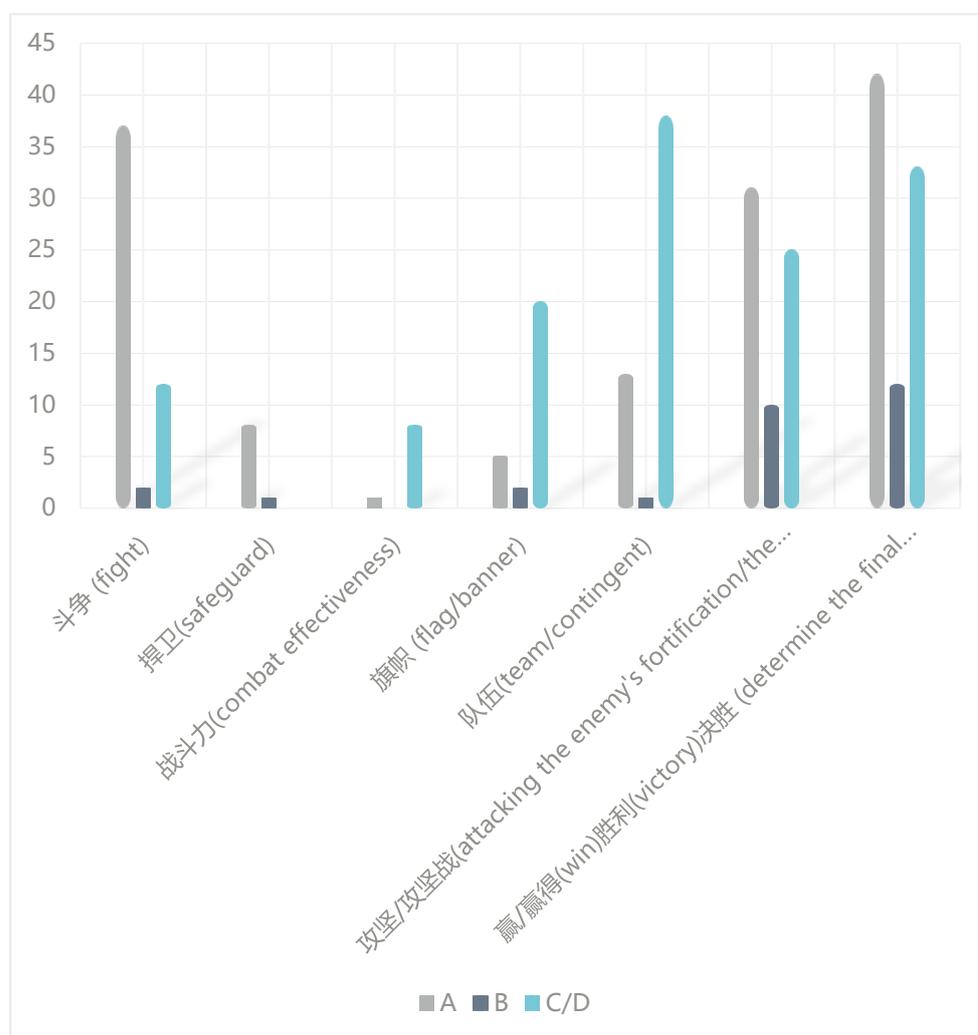
It is shown that professional Chinese translators tend to prefer the strategy of replacing the military metaphor with simpler, clearer, and more straightforward non-metaphorical expressions while striving to retain the same meaning or sentiment. The approach offers several advantages such as making the translated text easier to understand and reducing the risk of confusion or misunderstanding that the Chinese are warlike and aggressive. However, there are also certain drawbacks to this method. These include potentially compromised fidelity to the source text, diminished emphasis, and the loss of the source text's unique style. Given the above, it would be interesting to investigate whether the conflict metaphor's ideological shifts exist in the present research corpora.

### **4.3.1 Overall quantitative analysis**

Firstly, my examination of the keyword list uncovered three groups of metaphorical expressions in the keyword list, all of which could convey the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT. They are used to elaborate on different aspects of this conceptual metaphor. The first group stresses the struggling process of war, represented by three linguistic expressions: The first one is “攻坚/攻坚战(attacking the enemy's fortification/ the battle of attacking the enemy's fortification).” Its basic meaning is related to military attacks. But it is commonly used figuratively nowadays, denoting tackling a thorny problem. The second one is “斗争(fight),” which has also developed a more general symbolic meaning of striving for success from the original basic sense of contending in battle or single combat to win. Another one is “捍卫(safeguard).” The basic meaning is keeping someone or something secure from danger or attack, while the metaphorical sense is adhering to something regardless of the situation. The second group stresses the outcome of the war or game, represented by “赢/赢得(win)/胜利(victory)/决胜(determine the final winner).” Likewise, they have developed a more general symbolic meaning of achievement from the basic definition of winning a game or a war. Finally, there is a group of figurative expressions indicating the instruments of war or game, represented by “旗帜(flag/banner),” “战斗力(combat ability),” and

“队伍(contingent/team).” In a basic sense, “旗帜(flag/banner)” refers to the cloth attached to a pole under which an army marches to war, serving as a rallying point on a battlefield. “战斗力(combat ability)” means the army’s capacity to fight a war, while “队伍(contingent/team)” refers to a contingent in battle or a team in the game. Metaphorically, “旗帜(flag/banner)” means one’s standpoint, “战斗力(combat ability)” refers to one’s ability to make achievements, and “队伍(contingent/team)” means organized groups. Figure 11 below presents the statistical result based on the tagging scheme outlined in Section 3.5.3.

Figure 11 The tagging frequencies of different metaphorical expressions



Overall, it shows that the translation team tends to adopt different strategies for different metaphorical expressions under the same broader conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT. Tag A indicates that the conceptual metaphor of interest in the source text is reproduced in the target text at the sentence level. Hence, the antagonistic ideology remains unchanged in translation. Tag B means that the conceptual metaphor of interest in the source text is deleted in the target text triggered by repetition. Though influenced by the stylistic concern for conciseness, it still signals a reduced level of ideological emphasis on confrontation. For instance, Example 22 below shows that the Chinese metaphorical expression, “脱贫攻坚(alleviating poverty like attacking a fortification),” appears three times in the source text, forming a parallelism to emphasize the severe difficulties of poverty alleviation and the Party’s enormous efforts against it. However, in the target text, only one is reproduced. Consequently, the ideological emphasis on poverty alleviation is subtly reduced. I combined Tag C and D because they represent that the conceptual metaphor of interest in the source text is wholly deleted in the target text or even replaced by a new non-military conceptual metaphor, not triggered by repetition. Consequently, Tag C/D can signify even more significant mitigation of opposing ideologies.

Example 22 (Tag B)

(ST) 要把 脱贫攻坚 实绩 作为 选拔 任用 干部 的 重要 依据 ， 在 脱贫攻坚 第一线 考察 识别 干部 ， 激励 各级 干部 到 脱贫攻坚 战场上 大显身手 。

(LT) (The implied agent) should/must/need to regard achievements **in alleviating poverty like attacking fortifications**, as an important basis for the selection and appointment of officials, test and identify officials through observations at the forefront of **alleviating poverty like attacking fortifications**, (and) encourage officials at all levels to excel in the field of **poverty alleviation like attacking fortifications**.

(TT) Their actual performance in **poverty alleviation** should be a major criterion for selecting officials. We should test officials on the front line of **the battle against poverty** and encourage them to distinguish themselves.

Based on the overall tagging result shown in Figure 11, I further proposed three types of ideological mediation to facilitate a deeper analysis, as follows:

- 1) minimal mediation, which means that the frequency of Tag A is much higher than that of Tag B and Tag C/D, the ideologies conveyed by the conceptual metaphor in the source text are mainly maintained in the target text;
- 2) maximum mediation, which means that when the frequency of Tag A is much lower than that of Tag B and Tag C/D, the ideologies conveyed by the conceptual metaphor in the source text are significantly downplayed or even reconstructed in the target text.
- 3) medium mediation, which means that the difference between the frequency of Tag A, and that of Tag B with Tag C/D is not considerable. The ideologies conveyed by the conceptual metaphor in the source text are slightly changed in the target text.

Consequently, according to Figure 11, metaphorical expressions that are subjected to minimal mediation in translation include “斗争(fight),” and “捍卫(safeguard).” Those subject to maximal mediation include “战斗力(combat ability),” “旗帜(flag/banner),” and “队伍(team/contingent).” Those subject to medium mediation include “攻坚/攻坚战(attack the enemy’s fortification/ the battle of attacking the enemy’s fortification)” and “赢/赢得(win)/胜利(victory)/决胜(determine the final winner).” Previous studies have shown that linguistic conciseness and cultural factors can contribute to metaphor shifts in translation. For instance, Ding, Noël, and Wolf (2010) came up with two strands of descriptive observations using corpora: On the one hand, there is a general trend of reducing the total number of metaphorical terms and conceptual metaphors after translation. On the other hand, they found that the more culturally entrenched metaphors (more frequently used in the target language community) are more likely to

be maintained in the target text. Nevertheless, the present research is focused on examining metaphor shifts in translation from the equally essential but less examined ideological perspective. So the varying degrees of mediation are attributed to the communicative event and sociopolitical background.

### 4.3.2 Minimal mediation: ANTI-CORRUPTION/MISCONDUCT IS FIGHTING, and POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING

Tables 29 to 31 below show that “斗争(fight)” is explicitly used to stress anti-corruption and anti-misconduct (31 out of 51 cases). In contrast, “攻坚/攻坚战 (attacking the enemy’s fortification/the battle of attacking the enemy’s fortification)” is predominantly used to stress poverty alleviation (57 out of 66 cases), and “捍卫 (safeguard)” relatively focuses on the rule of law (4 out of 9 instances). Besides, it is noteworthy that conceptual metaphors, ANTI-CORRUPTION/MISCONDUCT IS FIGHTING (29 out of 31), and POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING (8 out of 9), are more likely to be reproduced in translation in comparison to the conceptual metaphor, POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FIGHTING (24 out of 57).

Table 29 The contextual tagging result of the Chinese metaphorical expression “斗争 (fight)”

Conceptual Metaphor (ST)	Tag	Frequency	
POLITICAL ACTION IS FIGHTING			
-Anti-corruption and anti-misconduct	A	29	31
	B	1	
	D (POLITICAL ACTION IS BUILDING)	1	
-Work in general	A	4	14
	C	10	

-External affairs	A	1	2
	C	1	
-The rule of law	A	1	1
POLITICAL BELIEF IS FIGHTING			
-Chinese socialism	A	2	3
	-other political beliefs	B	
Total		51	51

Table 30 The contextual tagging result of the Chinese metaphorical expression “攻坚/攻坚战 (attacking the enemy’s fortification/the battle of attacking the enemy’s fortification)”

Conceptual Metaphor (ST)	Tag	Frequency	
POLITICAL ACTION IS FIGHTING			
-Poverty alleviation	A	28	57
	B	9	
	C	17	
	D POLITICAL ACTION IS A MOVEMENT	3	
-In-depth reform (social, economic, judicial, healthcare, military)	A	2	5
	C	3	
-Work in general	A	1	3
	B	1	
	C	1	
-Party conduct improvement	C	1	1
Total		66	66

Table 31 The contextual tagging result of the Chinese metaphorical expression “捍卫 (safeguard)”

Conceptual Metaphor (ST)	Tag	Frequency
POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING		
-The rule of law	A	4
-The Mass Line	A	3
-Chinese socialist system	B	1
-Party leadership	A	1
Total		9

The statistical result demonstrates that translators can employ metaphors to strengthen certain aspects of a political leader's ideology over others. In the present corpora, the ideological significance of anti-corruption/anti-misconduct is rendered more evident than other political actions like poverty alleviation via military metaphor. It is stressed that the campaign against corruption and inappropriate conduct inside the government and the CPC faces immense difficulties. But government officials and Party members are committed to making serious efforts regardless of sacrifice. Accordingly, it is beneficial in justifying the strong measures against corruption and misconduct and highlighting a responsible image of the government officials and Party members, which might help justify their leadership in state governance. More importantly, the finding is not limited to metaphor shifts. In Section 4.1.1, quantitative and qualitative analysis both reveal that when the discourse is related to corruption, the Chinese modality marker “要” is more likely to be translated into “must” than “should,” conveying a more significant degree of emphasis. Thus, the ideological message of anti-corruption and anti-misconduct is underscored through the use of both metaphor and modality in translation. Here is an example to illustrate:

Example 23 (Tag A)

(ST) 全党同志 要 深刻认识反腐败 斗争 的长期性、复杂性、艰巨性，以猛药去疴、重典治乱的决心，以刮骨疗毒、

壮士断腕的勇气，坚决把党风廉政建设建设和反腐败斗争进行到底。

(LT) All Party comrades should/must/need to understand the long-term, complex, and arduous nature of the fight against corruption, (and) resolutely carry through the **construction** of Party conduct, political integrity, and fight against corruption to the end, with the determination to **cure the disease with strong medicine and to govern chaos with strict rules**, and the courage to **scrape the poison off the bone and to sever snake-bitten hand to stay alive**.

(TT) The whole Party must realize that the fight against corruption is a long-term, complex, and arduous task. We must be firm in our determination and demonstrate great courage in carrying this campaign through to the end. **Just as we would take a heavy dose of medicine to treat a severe disease, we must apply stringent laws to address disorder.**

The above example shows that the underlined deontic Chinese modality marker “要 (should/must/need to)” is translated into “must” instead of other alternatives such as “should” or “need,” strengthening the ideological emphasis on anti-corruption. Also, there are two underlined instances of “斗争(fight)” in the source text, and they are translated into corresponding metaphorical expressions, “fight” and “campaign,” respectively. Therefore, the ideological force of the original conceptual metaphor, ANTI-CORRUPTION AND ANTI-MISCONDUCT IS FIGHTING, is maintained after translation. It is also noteworthy that the building metaphor instantiated by the Chinese word “建设(building)” in bold is not kept in the target text. The cause may be that the juxtaposition of building good Party conduct and clean government and fighting against corruption is repetitive. But more importantly, the building metaphor is less intense than the military one. In addition, metaphors used to modify the Party’s determination against corruption (“to cure the disease with strong medicine and to govern chaos with strict rules”) are kept after translation. However, metaphors used to modify the Party’s courage to address corruption (“to scrape the poison off the bone

and to sever snake-bitten hand to stay alive”) are entirely omitted. This translation shift likely stems from intercultural variation and stylistic considerations. Given that the latter metaphor is derived from the historical story of Lord Guan Yu, a military general from the late Eastern Han Dynasty of China, its full explanation would demand extensive explication, potentially resulting in an overloaded target text. To summarize, the ideological emphasis on anti-corruption and anti-misconduct is, to a large degree, maintained after translation.

As soon as President Xi took office in March 2013, he vowed to crack down on “tigers” and “flies” – or corrupted top officials and local civil servants alike. According to Jing-Schmidt and Peng (2017), numerous high-profile officials in the central government, the People’s Liberation Army, provincial governments, and key state-owned companies were investigated, disciplined, and sometimes indicted between November 2012 and March 2015, and the removal of the high-ranking Party, army, and corporate leaders distinguishes President Xi’s anti-corruption campaign from previous anti-corruption operations. They suggested that generally recognized as one of President Xi’s signature political moves, the anti-corruption campaign has attracted close attention from scholars at home and abroad, focusing mainly on the campaign’s influence on the economy and politics. However, the discursive aspect has received little attention regarding how the CPC utilizes language to express and frame its anti-corruption plan as well as how the anti-corruption discourse is translated. This study could demonstrate that the ideological emphasis on anti-corruption is primarily retained in translation compared to other aspects of President Xi’s governing ideology which are downplayed to varying degrees via military metaphor. Under such circumstances, maintaining the ideological focus on anti-corruption can facilitate foreign audiences’ understanding of the grave situation and enhance public understanding of President Xi’s exceptional measures regarding anti-corruption.

The conceptual metaphor, POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING, also exhibits minimal mediation in metaphor translation. Like “斗争 (fight)” and “攻坚/攻坚战/攻坚仗 (attacking the enemy’s fortification/the battle of attacking the enemy’s fortification),” the metaphorical expression, “捍卫(safeguard),” also conjures up the image of arduous fighting. Nevertheless, it underscores the defensive, rather than offensive nature of the fight. Government officials and Party members are portrayed not just as fighters, but also as victims of the invasion and heroic guardians. Such portrayals could function to make the statement more reasonable, and consequently, more persuasive to audiences. For instance, when former Prime Minister Boris Johnson stated “We must act like any wartime government and do whatever it takes to protect our economy,” he was using the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING to portray the economy as something that can be attacked and thus needs protection. This metaphor could serve to justify the British government’s measures to support businesses and households affected by Covid-19 and rally public support for these actions. Given the above, maintaining POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING in translation could function to highlight a responsible image of Party members and government officials capable of defending the nation and people instead of an aggressive picture of Party members and government officials fond of war.

Example 24 (Tag A)

(ST) 执法是把纸面上的法律变为现实生活中活的法律的关键环节，执法人员必须忠于法律、捍卫法律，严格执法、敢于担当。

(LT) Law enforcement is the crucial link that transforms laws on paper into laws in real life, (and) law enforcement personnel must be loyal to the law, safeguard the law, enforce the law strictly, and dare to take responsibility.

(TT) Law enforcement is crucial for bringing laws off the page and into the real world. Law enforcement personnel must be loyal to the law and must safeguard

the law. With the courage to take responsibility, they must strive to enforce the law strictly.

In the example above, maintaining the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING in translation could portray a responsible and courageous image of law enforcement personnel protecting the law against potential threats. On the one side, President Xi has attached even greater significance to the law than his predecessors. In October 2014, the Party's Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee was held to pass a reform plan. It was the first time the CPC Central Committee's plenary session focused entirely on legal development. President Xi has stressed the beneficial effects of the rule of law on economic development, political integrity, cultural prosperity, social justice, healthy ecology, and peaceful development. Besides, it could be argued the rule of law can function as an essential tool to achieve the campaign target against corruption based on the current Party discipline mechanism.

On the other side, many researchers have pointed out that China's rule of law still faces considerable challenges. First, there is a challenge of insufficient awareness of the rule of law, with laws being ignored or not strictly enforced from time to time (Li 2015). Second, there is a challenge regarding the imperfections of the current legal system. There is a need for more forward-looking legislation, more comprehensive legalization of governmental bodies, and more tailored rule of law education (Yan 2014). Given the above sociopolitical circumstances, the benefit of maintaining POLITICAL ACTION IS DEFENDING in translation is twofold. The metaphor not only displays the significant position of the rule of law in President Xi's ideology regarding national governance but also highlights the Party and government officials' total commitment to upholding the socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics against potential challenges.

### 4.3.3 Maximal mediation: POLITICAL BELIEF IS A BANNER, and PARTY MEMBERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE THE FIGHTING FORCE

Tables 32 to 34 below show that “旗帜 (flag/banner)” is mainly used to describe political ideology (18 out of 27), while “战斗力 (combat ability)” and “队伍 (team/contingent)” are devoted to describing government officials and Party members. These tables also show that the conceptual metaphors, POLITICAL BELIEF IS A BANNER (Tag C constituting 14 out of 18 based on Table 32), and PARTY MEMBERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE THE FIGHTING FORCE (Tag C comprising 46 out of 61 based on Table 33 and 34) are significantly mitigated after translation.

Table 32 The contextual tagging result of the Chinese metaphorical expression “旗帜 (flag/banner)”

Conceptual Metaphor (ST)	Tag	Frequency	
POLITICAL BELIEF IS A BANNER -Chinese socialism -Marxism-Leninism	A	5	18
	C	14	
POLITICAL ACTION IS A BANNER -The Party’s work in general -People’s democracy -Peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit -Ethnic unity -Anti-corruption	B	2	9
	C	6	
Total		27	27

Table 33 The contextual tagging result of the Chinese metaphorical expression “战斗力(combat ability)”

Conceptual Metaphor (ST)	Tag	Frequency
PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE THE FIGHTING FORCE	A	1
	C	8
Total		9

Table 34 The contextual tagging result of the Chinese metaphorical expression “队伍(contingent/team)”

Conceptual Metaphor (ST)	Tag	Frequency
PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE THE FIGHTING FORCE	A	13
	B	1
	C	38
Total		52

Unlike other metaphorical expressions that concentrate on political action, “旗帜(flag/banner)” is mainly used to modify political beliefs. A banner serves as a rallying point and a side marker on the battlefield. Soldiers unite and march under the banner, and a destroyed banner usually signifies the army’s loss in the war. So when “旗帜(flag/banner)” is taken from the military to the political domain, it can evoke group recognition and unity. As a result, mitigating POLITICAL BELIEF IS A BANNER in translation could function to avoid conjuring up political differences among audiences.

Example 25 (Tag C)

(ST) 只有 高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜，我们才能团结带领全党全国各族人民，在中国共产党成立一百年时全面**建成**小康社会，在新中国成立一百年时**建成**富强民主文明和谐的社会主义现代化国家，**赢得**中国人民和中华民族更加幸福美好的未来。

(LT) Only by holding high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics can we unite and lead the whole Party and people of all ethnic groups across the country, in **finishing building** a moderately prosperous society by the 100th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, in **finishing building** China into a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious modern socialist country by the 100th anniversary of the founding of New China, **winning** a happier and more beautiful future for the Chinese people and the nation.

(TT) Only by upholding socialism with Chinese characteristics can we bring together and lead the whole Party, the whole nation, and the people of all ethnic groups in **realizing** a moderately prosperous society by the centenary of the CPC in 2021 and in **turning** China into a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious modern socialist country by the centenary of the People's Republic of China in 2049, to **ensure** the people greater happiness and the nation a brighter future.

The above example shows that all the metaphorical expressions in bold within the source text are converted to non-metaphorical expressions in the target text, including military and building metaphors. In the source text, the underlined conceptual metaphor, CHINESE SOCIALISM IS A BANNER, can conjure up nationalist sentiment among domestic audiences because the majority identify with Chinese socialism, and Chinese socialism is portrayed as crucial to the state's development and people's well-being. Nevertheless, foreign audiences might uphold different political ideologies. Therefore, mitigating CHINESE SOCIALISM IS A BANNER in translation could serve to avoid conjuring up an antagonistic picture between socialism with Chinese characteristics and

other political beliefs. Moreover, the self-appraisal hyperbole adjective “伟大(great),” which is used to add positive evaluation to the banner, is also omitted in the target text. This translation shift also renders the target text more ideologically neutral. In addition, it is noteworthy that according to Xu Mingqiang, one of the Chinese finalizers of *The Governance of China*, “Foreigners seeing this (the literal translation of the metaphor) might ask, ‘Why are they holding up a banner? What are they trying to do?’ Indeed, this may seem quite strange. [外国人看到就会问为什么举着旗？要做什么？这的确很奇怪]” (He 2016). His statement reveals that the translation of the Chinese metaphorical expression “旗帜(banner)” into non-metaphorical expressions is likely done to avoid potential confusion or misunderstanding among foreign audiences. More specifically, it could serve to clarify that China is not involved in the ideological battle.

Moving on to “战斗力(combat ability)” and “队伍(team/contingent),” the former compares working capacity to an army’s ability to fight, and the latter likens an organized group of people to the contingent in the war or the team in the game. Both convey the conceptual metaphor: PARTY MEMBERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE THE FIGHTING FORCE. The mitigation of this conceptual metaphor through translation could prevent the portrayal of the CPC and the Chinese government as aggressive and warlike.

#### Example 26 (Tag C)

(ST) 我们全面加强党的领导，大大增强了党的凝聚力、战斗力和领导力、号召力。

(LT) We have comprehensively strengthened the leadership of the Party, and greatly enhanced the Party's unity, combat ability, leadership, and influence.

(TT) We have comprehensively strengthened the Party’s leadership and enhanced its cohesion, vitality, and influence.

#### Example 27 (Tag C)

(ST) 真正 实现 社会 和谐 稳定 、 国家 长治久安 ， 还 是 要 靠 制 度 ， 靠 我 们 在 国 家 治 理 上 的 高 超 能 力 ， 靠 高 素 质 干 部 队 伍 。

(LT) To truly achieve social harmony and stability, and long-term national peace and security, (implied social agent) should/must/need to rely on institutions, rely on our high capacity in national governance, rely on the **contingent** of highly qualified cadres.

(TT) To realize genuine social harmony and stability and lasting peace and security, we must rely on our effective institutions, our high capacity in governance, and our high-caliber personnel.

In Example 26, the military metaphorical expression “战斗力(combat ability)” is translated into a non-metaphorical expression, “vitality,” which could serve to avoid constructing an aggressive image of the Party and prevent foreign audiences from mistaking the military metaphor for actual combat ability. In Example 27, the underlined military metaphorical expression “队伍(team/contingent)” is omitted in the target text. The translation shift could function to produce similar effects. Moreover, “队伍(team/contingent)” emphasizes high-caliber cadres as a single collective unit rather than separate independent individuals in the source text. Personnel in the target text also refers to a group of workers, but it is less assertive in nature compared to the original metaphor. Consequently, the omission of the metaphorical expression is ideologically noteworthy from a collectivist view. One of the differences between Eastern and Western cultural values is individualism vs. collectivism. Despite becoming increasingly individualistic in recent decades, China is generally recognized as a collectivist country, prioritizing group interest over personal benefit, in contrast to Western societies, which tend to be more individualistic, valuing personal success over group achievement (Yan 2010; Steele and Lynch 2013; Hofstede 1984; Robson 2017; Emery and Tian 2010). Therefore, the translation shift might also reflect the translation team’s strategic efforts in providing the target text in consideration of the generally perceived foreign audiences’ individualistic ideologies.

Example 28 (Tag A)

(ST) 各级 纪检 监察 机关 要 加强 干部 队伍 建设 , 提高 履行 职责 能力 和 水平 , 更 好 发挥 监督 检查 作用 。

(LT) Disciplinary inspection commissions and supervision agencies at all levels *should/must/need to* strengthen the construction of the contingent of cadres, improve the ability and level of duty performance, (and) better play the role of inspection and supervision.

" should strengthen the building of the cadre team, improve their ability and level of duty performance, and better play their supervisory and inspection role.

(TT) Party discipline inspection commissions and supervision agencies at all levels *must* also step up their efforts to build a contingent of honest officials and improve their capacity to carry out their functions and duties so that they can ensure better inspection and supervision.

In this example, however, the conceptual metaphor PARTY/GOVERNMENT SELF-DISCIPLINE IS BUILDING, and PARTY MEMBERS/GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE FIGHTING FORCES via the underlined metaphorical terms “建设(build)” and “队伍(team/contingent)” are not subjected to any mitigation in translation. Besides, it is noteworthy that the underlined referential term “干部(cadre)” is translated into “honest officials.” The transformation of “干部(cadre)” with a Communist association into “official” which is ideologically neutral might indicate the translation team’s efforts to produce the target text in consideration of the target audiences’ ideological positions. Besides, the addition of “honest” helps render the implied requirement of strict self-discipline for discipline inspection commissions and supervisory agencies officials more explicit and concrete in the target text. Furthermore, the flexible modal verb “要(should/must/need to)” is translated into the stronger modality marker “must” to stress obligation. In a word, translation shifts in metaphor, modality, and referring expression could have a cumulative effect of highlighting the significance of ensuring

officials' honesty and improving officials' self-discipline.

#### 4.3.4 Medium mediation: POLITICAL ACTION IS FIGHTING/ COMPETING

Table 35 shows that “赢/赢得(win)/胜利(victory)/决胜 (determine the final winner)” is mainly used to convey the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL ACTION IS FIGHTING/COMPETING. They are widely used across political issues with slightly more emphasis on external affairs. In addition, its degree of mediation in translation is not apparent, with 42 cases of Tag A, 12 cases of Tag B, and 33 instances of Tag C/D.

Table 35 The contextual tagging result of Chinese metaphorical expressions “赢/赢得 (win),” “胜利(victory),” and “决胜(determine the final winner)”

Conceptual Metaphor (ST)	Tag	Frequency	
<b>POLITICAL ACTION IS FIGHTING/COMPETING</b>			
-External affair	A	8	27
	B	3	
	C	16	
-Work in general	A	12	27
	B	7	
	C	8	
-a moderately prosperous society in all respects/modernization	A	4	9
	C	4	
	D (POLITICAL ACTION IS MOVEMENT)	1	
-The mass line	A	5	8

	C	3	
-Poverty alleviation	A	5	5
-reform	B	1	1
POLITICAL BELIEF IS FIGHTING/COMPETING			
-Chinese socialism	A	5	7
	B	1	
	C	1	
HUMAN DEFEATS NATURE	A	3	3
Total		87	87

Example 29 (Tag A)

(ST) 我们要坚持合作共赢，推动建立以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系，坚持互利共赢的开放战略，把合作共赢理念体现到政治、经济、安全、文化等对外合作的方方面面。

(LT) We should/need to/must adhere to win-win cooperation, promote the establishment of a new type of international relations centered on win-win cooperation, adhere to a mutually beneficial win-win opening-up strategy, (and) manifest the idea of win-win cooperation in every aspect of international cooperation from politics, economy, to security and culture.

(TT) We should continue to pursue win-win cooperation, promote a new model of international relations based on such collaboration, follow the mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, and adopt the win-win approach to our external relations in the political, economic, security, cultural and other fields.

Traditionally, competition and war result in winners and losers. Nevertheless, the above example reflects a paradoxical picture: everyone wins, and no one loses. Therefore, it seems possible to take a cooperative approach instead of a conflict method to win now. This redefinition of winning and losing helps explain the medium mediation in the

statistical outcome. In other words, winning or losing may no longer be understood in terms of conflict. Besides, based on former political leader Deng Xiaoping's proposal of reform and opening up, President Xi has shown determination to inject new momentum into international relations with the Belt and Road Initiative as well as the Asian Infrastructure Bank, two of his most recent influential new projects. Under such circumstances, the "win-win" metaphor underscores that China respects the interests and concerns of its neighbors. Combined with actions, the metaphor might contribute to improving China's general prestige as a reliable, mutually beneficial partner instead of a "threat" (Yee and Storey 2002).

#### **4.3.5 Qualitative analysis of President Xi's speech on Jan 12nd, 2016**

Previous sections have shown that translators' different choices could, to varying degrees, mediate ideologies expressed by the source text at word and sentence levels. It is nevertheless important to note that a conceptual metaphor can extend over many lines or paragraphs; therefore, translators' choices are also likely to result in ideological mediation from the perspective of the whole text. President Xi delivered a speech at the sixth plenary session of the 18<sup>th</sup> Central Commission for Discipline Inspection on Jan 12, 2016, attaching great significance to sound Party conduct, clean government, and anti-corruption. The warfare metaphor runs like a thread through his political speech on anti-corruption, and the translation of the warfare metaphor presents a certain degree of ideological mediation.

Example 30 below shows that President Xi started the speech in the first paragraph by framing anti-corruption as a vital battle to fulfill the CPC's military pledge of implementing strict self-discipline, thereby allowing the state to seize victory in the bigger war of building a prosperous society in all respects.

Example 30

(ST) **夺取** 全面 建成 小康 社会 **决胜** 阶段 的 伟大 **胜利** ， 关键 在 党 。 “ *打铁 还 需 自身 硬* ” 是 我 们 党 的 庄 严 承 诺 ， 全 面 从 严 治 党 是 我 们 立 下 的 **军令状** 。 3 年 来 ， 我 们 着 力 解 决 管 党 治 党 失 之 于 宽 、 失 之 于 松 、 失 之 于 软 的 问 题 ， 使 不 敢 腐 的 震 慑 作 用 充 分 发 挥 ， 不 能 腐 、 不 想 腐 的 效 应 初 步 显 现 ， 反 腐 败 **斗争** 压 倒 性 态 势 正 在 形 成 。

(LT) The Party is the key to **seizing the great victory** of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects **at the stage of determining the final winner**. “*To forge iron, one needs to be a good blacksmith.*” This is our Party’s solemn pledge. (Besides,) running the Party with strict discipline in all respects is a **military pledge** that we have made. Over the past three years, we have focused on addressing the issues of being lenient, loose, and soft in Party governance, fully exerting the deterrent effect of ‘daring not to be corrupt’. The effects of ‘unable to be corrupt’ and ‘unwilling to be corrupt’ are beginning to emerge, and an overwhelming momentum in the fight against corruption is being formed

(TT) Our Party has a pivotal task **in the final phase of** completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. We have pledged to “*be a good blacksmith in forging good tools,*” and we have **given our word to** hammer hard in observing Party discipline. Over the past three years, we have been addressing the problems of being “lax, slack, and lenient” in Party governance and effectively sent out a warning to the whole Party to prevent, deter, and punish corruption. The **campaign** against corruption is persistent and relentless.

Nevertheless, only the last warfare metaphorical expression, “**斗争**(combat),” is translated into “campaign” accordingly to emphasize anti-corruption endeavors. The other military figurative expressions in bold are all translated into non-metaphorical expressions, comparatively downplaying emphasis on the first half of the sentence, which is about forming a relatively prosperous society in all respects. Also, omitting

“胜利(victory)” and translating “军令状(a military pledge written by an officer that he would accept severe punishment if he could not carry out the mission successfully)” into “give our word” are beneficial to avoid ambiguity for foreign audiences. Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau (2018, p.10) said when it comes to wars on drugs, poverty, and terror, what it would mean to “win” is more obscure. In February 2021, President Xi Jinping declared that China had successfully eliminated extreme poverty. Later in July 2021, he further stated that China had realized its first centenary goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. Although it is generally acknowledged that China has made outstanding achievements in poverty reduction, analyses by Zhang, Huang, and Rozelle (2003) and Goodman (2021) have raised questions about the degree of income inequality, whether the poverty line should be higher as China is an upper-middle-income country now, and whether poverty alleviation is mainly caused by general economic growth instead of government’s poverty relief programs. Therefore, words like “victory” may evoke various views and lead to waning instead of gaining foreign audiences’ approval and interest. Likewise, in the source text, “the military pledge” is mainly used hyperbolically to stress the Party’s determination regarding anti-corruption. Nevertheless, if translated literally, it may evoke audiences’ confusion and questions regarding what specific severe punishment the Party will face if anti-corruption fails. In addition, it is noteworthy that the translation team has chosen to sustain the forge metaphor. This could help form a thread that runs through the whole text, improving the target text’s overall coherence.

From the second to the sixth paragraph, President Xi continuously used militaristic terms that could raise audiences’ awareness of challenges and complex situations and reiterate the Party’s strong determination and strenuous efforts in solving corruption, as in the following two examples.

### Example 31

(ST) 全党同志对党中央在反腐败**斗争**上的决心要有足够自信，对反腐败**斗争**取得的成绩要有足够自信，对反腐败**斗争**带来的正能量要有足够自信，对反腐败**斗争**的光明前景要有足够自信！

(LT) Every Party comrade should/must/need to have sufficient confidence in the Party Central Committee's determination to **fight** corruption; should/must/need to have enough faith in the achievements made in the **fight** against corruption; should/must/need to have enough confidence in the positive energy brought by the **fight** against corruption; should/must/need to have adequate confidence in the bright future of the **fight** against corruption.

(TT) The whole Party must remain confident about the Central Committee's determination to crack down on corruption, about the results that we have seen and will see, about the positive energy the **campaign** evokes, and about the bright future of our **fight** against corruption.

### Example 32

(ST) 有的仍心存侥幸，搞迂回**战术**，卖官帽、批土地、抢项目、收红包，变着花样收钱敛财，动辄几百万、几千万甚至数以亿计；有的欺瞒组织、**对抗**组织，藏匿赃款赃物，与相关人员订立**攻守同盟**，企图逃避党纪国法惩处。

(LT) Some still harbor illusions of luck and **resort to outflanking tactics**, selling official posts, selling or leasing out the land, scrambling for projects, receiving red envelopes, using every means to collect money and amass wealth, often in millions or even billions of yuan. Others deceived the organization, **opposed** the organization, hid illicit money and goods, (and) **formed an offensive and defensive alliance with** relevant individuals, in an attempt to evade punishment by Party discipline and national laws.

(TT) Some corrupt officials are still taking chances, **taking roundabout ways to** escape punishment. Some continue to sell official positions, illegally sell or lease out the land, scramble for a cut of lucrative projects, and use every means to collect bribes in the millions or even billions of yuan. Some have tried to lie to the Party organization and **counter** the organization, hiding their bribes and **colluding with** others involved to escape punishment by Party discipline and the law.

Example 32 shows that the target text keeps referring to anti-corruption as a battle, just like the source text, with minimal mediation. In Example 32, in the source text, corrupt officials are described as the enemies of the Party organization through the word “对抗 (fight against),” who adopted two primary military tactics, including the outflanking tactics and the tactics of forming an offensive and defensive alliance with others involved. In the target text, “对抗 (fight against)” is translated into “counter” without changing the conceptual metaphor CORRUPT OFFICIALS ARE ENEMIES. Nevertheless, the military tactics are translated into “roundabout ways” and “collude with,” respectively, which do not have obvious military connotations. This translation shift could function to relatively downplay the combat capabilities of corrupt officials, drawing audiences’ attention more to the Party’s efforts to combat corruption than the corrupt officials in the Party. Also, compared to the military tactics in a neutral tone, “collude” and “roundabout” embody more negative evaluations and sentiments, showing that the Party denounces such actions.

Subsequently, from the seventh to the twenty-second paragraph, he proposed five solutions to achieve anti-corruption with the help of the warfare metaphor. Example 33, for instance, shows that the military metaphor in the source text is subject to minimal mediation in translation which could highlight the critical roles of the county Party committees and the secretaries of these committees within the national campaign against corruption.

Example 33

(ST) 县委是我们党执政兴国的“**一线指挥部**”，县委书记就是“**一线总指挥**”。省市两级党委要落实主体责任，抓好县委这个关键，特别是要强化县委书记的责任担当，加强基层组织和干部队伍建设，把基层党组织建设成坚强**战斗堡垒**，充分发挥广大党员、干部先锋模范作用。

(LT) County Party committees are the “**frontline command**” in our Party’s governance and nation-building, (and) the secretaries of the county committees are the “**frontline commanders-in-chief**”. The provincial and municipal Party committees should/must/need to implement primary responsibilities, grasping county committees as the key, especially strengthening county committee secretaries’ responsibility and commitment, improving the building of grassroots organizations and cadre teams, building grassroots Party organizations into strong **combat fortresses**, and giving full play to the pioneering and exemplary role of the vast number of Party members and cadres.

(TT) County Party committees are the “**frontline command**” of governance for the Party, and the secretaries of these committees are the “**commander-in-chief.**” Party committees at the provincial and city levels should take on primary responsibility for work at the county level, and in particular, for strengthening the sense of responsibility in county Party secretaries, improving grassroots Party organizations and officials, and relying on them to **fight our war** against corruption, in which Party members and officials should serve as role models.

To sum up, the translated speech shows a minimal degree of mediation in terms of anti-corruption. Overall, the anti-corruption campaign is highlighted by retaining the warfare metaphor in translation. It is also notable that there appears to be a tendency to highlight the significance and difficulty of anti-corruption efforts and underscore the important role of grassroots organizations while downplaying corrupt officials’

capabilities in translation. The former trend may facilitate audiences' understanding of the grave situation and increase public acceptance of President Xi's exceptional measures against anti-corruption. The latter may downplay the effect of corrupt officials and hence draw the audience's attention more to the proactive efforts of the Party in strict self-discipline. Besides, Examples 30 and 32 show that metaphorical translation strategies such as omission and paraphrasing could function to reduce ambiguity. Therefore, translators need to take into consideration the ideological impact of their translation strategies apart from common linguistic, rhetorical, as well as cultural concerns.

#### **4.3.6 Conclusion and discussion**

This section first identified and classified key CONFLICT metaphors within the source texts of President Xi's domestic speeches addressed to government officials and Party members. It was found that the CONFLICT metaphor is pervasive in Chinese political discourse. Seven groups of lexical items in the keyword list (generated by comparing Corpus C and UCLA Chinese corpus as outlined in Chapter Three) are used to express the POLITICS IS CONFLICT metaphor in source texts with a total of 301 occurrences. They have covered various aspects of the CONFLICT metaphor, ranging from the instruments and the ongoing process to the outcome of the war. Moreover, it is found that some metaphorical lexical items focus on specific issues. For instance, 61% of “斗争(fight)” discusses anti-misconduct. 86% of “攻坚/攻坚战/攻坚仗(attack the enemy's fortification/the battle of attacking the enemy's fortification)” refers to poverty-alleviation. 44% of “捍卫(safeguard)” stresses the rule of law. 63% of “旗帜(flag)” describes political beliefs. “队伍(contingent/team)” and “战斗力(combat ability)” are all about government officials and CPC members. Other metaphorical lexical items are widely applied to various topics, including “赢/赢得(win)/胜利(victory)/决胜(determine the final victory).”

Generally speaking, the CONFLICT metaphor is subjected to medium mitigation in translation in the present study, as 46% is reproduced in the target text (Tag A). 9% is deleted, triggered by repetition (Tag B), while 44% is deleted without the influence of repetition (Tag C). Finally, 1% is deleted and replaced by a non-military metaphor (Tag D). A deeper analysis further reveals that metaphorical expressions under the same CONFLICT metaphor can demonstrate varied degrees of mediation. Figurative terms meaning the instruments of war are all significantly mitigated, like “战斗力(combat ability),” “旗帜(flag/banner),” and “队伍(team/contingent).” Besides, “赢/赢得 (win)/胜利(victory)/决胜(determine the final victory)” expressing the outcome of the war shows medium mediation. Regarding the ongoing process of the war, the defensive process signified by “捍卫(safeguard)” is mainly reproduced. The offensive processes conveyed by “攻坚/攻坚战(attack the enemy’s fortification/the battle of attacking the enemy’s fortification)” and “斗争(fight)” are partially and minimally mitigated in translation, respectively.

This general tendency to mitigate the CONFLICT metaphor through translation reflects target-oriented contextualization to avoid portraying an aggressive image. War is a universal experience shared by all states, so reproducing military metaphors in translation is feasible and acceptable. However, the ideological position of the foreign readers, who are the target audiences of the translated work, is different from that of domestic audiences, who are the target audiences of the original work. Foreign readers are not only not the direct beneficiaries of the “fights” against China’s poverty and corruption but also potential competitors in the “fights” in the global market. Thus, mitigating the CONFLICT metaphor is consistent with the translation’s audience design. Besides, Professor Sebastian Veg (cited in Zhou 2021) argued that “In an era of increasing political polarization, we have seen political language becoming more violent in many countries around the world, both democratic and undemocratic.” However, President Xi has been exploring the path of “major-country diplomacy” featuring “no-conflict and no-confrontation, mutual respect, and win-win cooperation.”

Therefore, the mitigation of the military metaphor could be more coordinated with such diplomatic proposals. Moreover, given that some foreign media has voiced worries about the “China threat” and China’s “military buildup,” the translation team may be motivated to reduce the military metaphor so as to highlight the state’s stance on peaceful development. Another factor may be that readers of the source text are expected to act on it, whereas readers of the target text are not. The translator may be sub/consciously aware of this and make translation shifts accordingly.

Besides, contextual data shows that the difference in the degree of mitigation between “攻坚/攻坚战 (attacking the enemy’s fortification/the battle of attacking the enemy’s fortification)” and “斗争(fight)” may be because the former focuses on corruption while the latter on poverty. The anti-corruption campaign under President Xi’s leadership is generally considered to be considerably different from before. Firstly, the campaign is characterized by an extensive scope. According to Jing-Schmidt and Peng (2017), it covered all government officials and Party members, not only grassroots ones but also the senior ones, not only the ones in administrative or judicial sectors but also the ones working in economic or military sectors. Additionally, as time goes by, the campaign has demonstrated increasing intensity. It is reported that discipline inspection agencies punished about 182,000 officials nationwide in 2013, including thirty-one high-profile officials (Chinadaily 2014). The total number of Chinese officials penalized for violating Party disciplines and laws rose to 627,000 in 2021, including 36 officials at the provincial and ministerial levels (Xinhua 2022a). From all available evidence, it can be seen that China’s anti-corruption campaign has not loosened but instead further strengthened with time. Lastly, Manion (2016) pointed out that the anti-corruption campaign is also unique because it covers corruption prevention and structural changes of discipline inspection committees. In a word, there is no denying that anti-corruption forms an essential aspect of President Xi’s ideology regarding the governance of China.

The transitivity shift, which increases the government officials and Party members' agency, is beneficial in highlighting this.

## **4.4 Ideological mediation by shifts in referring expression**

This section studies ideological mediation from the perspective of referring expression. As stated in Section 3.6, a keyword list (Appendix A) was generated by comparing Corpus C (source texts) with the UCLA Corpus. The top 10 keywords that can function as referring expressions in the source texts are “党(Party),” “人民(people),” “干部(cadre),” “群众(the masses),” “领导(leader),” “我国(our country),” “国家(country),” “中国(China),” “同志(comrade),” and “我们(our/us/we).”

### **4.4.1 Referring expression: The government officials and Party members**

Four out of the ten referring expressions indicate government officials and Party members, including “同志(comrade),” “干部(cadre),” and “党(Party),” and “领导(leader).” The Chinese referring expression “同志(comrade)” has developed a strong political and ideological connotation over time (Kohlenberg 2017; Ma 2018). It was first mentioned in ancient Chinese discourse during the pre-Qin period, referring to like-minded people. Later, it was employed to indicate the revolutionaries on the same side in various contexts, such as the 1911 Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen against China's last imperial Qing Dynasty and the alliance between the CPC and Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party) in the 1920s against Northern Warlords. As the CPC's revolutionary struggle gradually gained victories, “同志(comrade)” was increasingly used to indicate the believers in Marxism and Communism. Nowadays, in a narrow sense, this Chinese term refers to members of the same party. In a broad sense, it denotes people fighting for the same goal according to the *现代汉语学习词典* [*Learner's Dictionary of*

*Modern Chinese*] (Commercial Press Dictionary Research Center 2010).

Additionally, since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the CPC has repeatedly instructed that all should address each other with “同志(comrade)” rather than titles based on official rank, for instance, in 1959 and 1965 by Chairman Mao Zedong, in 1978 by former political leader Deng Xiaoping, and 2016 by President Xi Jinping (Tang 2016). Addressing all party members, especially those in leading positions, with “同志(comrade)” instead of rank titles could function to highlight the fact that all party members are equally important, downplay the significance of the administrative rank, and prevent senior officials from growing arrogant because of their greater authority or seniority. Karl (2021) considered the instruction purely window-dressing, but Kohlenberg (2017) expounded on its political significance. I would argue that President Xi's re-establishment of “同志(comrade)” as an official term of address among CPC members is likely associated with his signature policies regarding improving Party conduct, upholding integrity, and combating corruption. To summarize, using “同志(comrade)” in current Chinese political discourse could imply a firm belief in Marxism, communism, and socialism with Chinese characteristics, a commonly shared CPC membership, and an equal footing regardless of administrative rank.

Table 36 shows three noticeable shifts in translating “同志(comrade).” Firstly, over 50% is omitted, and the omission is not triggered by repetition. Secondly, 16% is translated into “member/colleagues/people,” which is relatively ideological-neutral. Thirdly, 14.5% is translated into third-person singular pronouns or possessive adjectives. In contrast to these changes, only 6% of “同志(comrade)” is translated into “comrade,” which carries socialist, communist, and Marxist ideological connotations according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Therefore, the translation of the referring expression “同志(comrade)” demonstrates an evident tendency toward ideological neutralization from a quantitative perspective, potentially indicating the translation team's effort to construct the political discourse in consideration of the target audiences' ideologies.

Table 36 The tagging result of “同志 (comrade)”

Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)	Tag	
Ideologically loaded word	Ideologically loaded nouns	comrade	12 (6%)	A
	Ideologically neutral nouns	County Party secretary/ official/leader	5 (2%)	B
		People/member /colleague	35 (16%)	
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	1 (0.5%)	C
	Second-person pronoun/possessive adjective	You/your	2 (1%)	D
	Third-person pronoun/possessive adjective	They/their/them /he/his/him	32 (14.5%)	E
	Demonstrative pronoun/adjective	Those	4 (2%)	F
	Indefinite pronoun	Everyone	1 (0.5%)	G
	First-person plural possessive adjective + ideologically loaded nouns	Our comrade	2 (1%)	H
	First-person plural possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	Our colleague	2 (1%)	I
	Second-person pronoun + ideologically neutral nouns	You official	1 (0.5%)	J
	Third-person possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	His/their colleague	2 (1%)	K

	Omission not triggered by repetition	116 (54%)	M
Total		215 (100%)	

Table 37 below presents the top 10 lexical clusters of “同志(comrade)” in Corpus C (source texts) and their respective main ways of translation in Corpus E (target texts). It is shown that over half of “同志(comrade)” is used after a politician’s name, including “邓小平(Deng Xiaoping),” “毛泽东(Mao Zedong),” “胡锦涛(Hu Jintao),” and “江泽民(Jiang Zemin)” in the source text. In this case, “同志(comrade)” is mainly omitted, as shown in Example 34. In addition, “同志” is often presented in the form of “限定词+(的)+同志 [modifier+(of)+comrade]” to indicate a specific group of comrades in the source texts. In this case, “同志(comrade)” is mainly translated into ideologically neutral words, as shown in Examples 35 and 36.

Table 37 Top 10 Clusters of “同志(comrade)” and their main translations

Rank	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
1	邓小平 同志 (Comrade Deng Xiaoping)	83	Deng Xiaoping	55
2	毛泽东 同志 (Comrade Mao Zedong)	25	Mao Zedong	22
3	全党 同志 (All Party comrades)	23	All Party members	18
4	同志 为 核心 (With comrade...at the core)	15	With...at the core/ Headed by...	11
5	胡锦涛 同志 (Comrade Hu Jintao)	12	Hu Jintao	9
6	江泽民 同志 (Comrade Jiang Zenmin)	9	Jiang Zemin	8
7	同志 说 (Comrade...say)	9	...said/stated	6
8	同志 为 总书记 (With comrade...as general secretary)	8	With...as general secretary	5

	secretary)			
9	中央政治局的同志 (Comrade of the Political Bureau)	7	Members of the Political Bureau	6
10	同志提出 (Comrade...put forward)	6	...put forward/ proposed/set forth	6

Example 34 (Tag M)

(ST) 邓小平同志 一九九二年在视察南方重要谈话中指出：“恐怕再有三十年的时间，我们才会在各方面形成一整套更加成熟、更加定型的制度。” [17]

(LT) **Comrade Deng Xiaoping** pointed out in 1992 during an important discussion while inspecting southern China, “Probably after another 30 years, we will form a whole set of more mature and established system in all respects.”

(TT) During his inspection tour of southern China in 1992, **Deng Xiaoping** pointed out, “It will probably take another thirty years for us to develop a more mature and well-defined system in every field.” [17]

For instance, in Example 34 above, President Xi’s usage of “同志(comrade)” in the source text implies Deng Xiaoping’s political identity as a fellow CPC member and his political belief in Marxism, communism, and Chinese socialism. Nevertheless, in the target text, Deng Xiaoping is addressed by his name only without titles related to his ideological position or official rank by omitting “同志(comrade)” in the translation process. In the source text, “comrade” can evoke a sense of camaraderie, solidarity, and commonality among Chinese officials and CPC members who uphold the same political identity and belief. However, it fails to do the same among foreign audiences who do not necessarily identify with the socialist, communist, and Marxist ideologies and are not under CPC’s leadership. This change in referring expression may signal strategic behavior by the translation team, who endeavored to translate in consideration of the foreign audiences’ ideologies.

Example 35 (Tag B)

(ST) 全党同志 一定要提高统一贯彻五大发展理念的能力和水平，不断开拓发展新境界。

(LT) All Party comrades must enhance their ability and level in uniformly implementing the five major development concepts, constantly exploring new horizons for development.

(TT) All Party members must improve their ability and competence in implementing these five concepts to open up new frontiers of development.

Example 36 (Tag B)

(ST) 中央政治局的同志 要抵制特权思想，不搞特殊化，加强对亲属子女和身边工作人员的教育管理。

(LT) Comrades of the Central Political Bureau should/must/need to resist the privileged mentality, avoid special treatment, (and) strengthen the education and management of relatives, children, and immediate staff.

(TT) Members of the Political Bureau must resist the temptations of privileges and provide good guidance for and exercise proper management of their relatives and immediate staff.

In Examples 35 and 36, “同志(comrade)” is modified by “全党(All Party)” and “中央政治局的(of the Central Political Bureau)” respectively in the source texts. The function of “同志(comrade)” in the source text can be twofold. It could evoke a sort of political mobilization among addressees and broader domestic audiences because they either identify themselves with the CPC or are under the leadership and governance of the CPC. In addition, as mentioned above, it could fortify the fair political environment within the CPC which is helpful to the anti-corruption campaign nationwide. Nevertheless, using “comrade” in the target text would not produce the same kinds of rhetorical effects among foreign audiences. Therefore, it is likely that the rendition of

“同志(comrade)” into “member” is in consideration of the target audiences’ ideologies.

The identified translation shifts of “同志(comrade)” in the current research corpora are likely ideologically driven rather than random. Jiang and Ren (2019) proposed that “同志(comrade)” tends to be translated into “comrade” in *The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, whereas it tends to be omitted within *The Governance of China*. In their opinion, “comrade” has become connected to communism since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Hence, omitting “comrade” in *The Governance of China* reflects the translation team’s endeavors to reduce communication barriers and emotional estrangement arising from the differences between Chinese and Western political discourse systems. Nevertheless, their comparative study is qualitative and selective, lacking statistical support and an in-depth examination of the translation of “同志(comrade)” along with its clusters. Huang Youyi (cited in Areddy 2015), one of the senior translators of *The Governance of China*, stated that translators should make the translation more targeted towards foreign audiences’ reading habits and level of understanding of China since the Chinese political translation is now trying to reach broader foreign audiences who have some interest in China. He even called upon translators to be bold enough to change some Chinese ways of speaking and illustrated this point with the decreasing usage of the word “comrade” in the translated Chinese political discourse. Considering the above, I would argue the ideological neutralization of “同志(comrade)” in translation could be a double-edged sword. On the one side, I agree with Jiang, Ren, and Huang that the identified omission and replacement of “comrade” in translation might result from the translation team’s efforts to take into consideration the foreign audiences’ ideologies, which is likely associated with the translating institution’s purpose for more effective international communication. However, on the other side, it could be argued that some of the unique ideological features embedded in the Chinese political discourse have been compromised or lost through translation, which may be a loss to foreign audiences who are particularly interested in studying them.

Moving on to the Chinese referring expression “干部(cadre),” it has two meanings according to the *现代汉语学习词典* [*Learner’s Dictionary of Modern Chinese*] (Commercial Press Dictionary Research Center 2010). It can refer to (1) someone who holds a permanent position in party/government organs, the military, or official people’s organizations, or (2) someone who takes a leading administrative role. Table 38 below shows that, based on the current research corpora, 74.3% of “干部(cadre)” is translated into “official/officer” in the target text, as shown in Example 37 below. By contrast, only two cases are translated into “cadre,” as shown in Example 38 below.

Table 38 The tagging result of “干部(cadre)”

Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)	Tag	
Ideologically loaded word	Ideologically loaded nouns	cadre	2 (0.4%)	A
	Ideologically neutral nouns	officer/official	327 (74.3%)	B
		leader/leadership	6 (1.3%)	
		Party official/village official/military offices/executive leadership/Party member/Party Committee	8 (1.8%)	
		personnel/people/staff/team member	12 (2.7%)	
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	1 (0.2%)	C
Second-person pronoun/possessive adjective	You/your	1 (0.2%)	D	

	Third-person pronoun/ possessive adjective	They/their/them/ he/his/him	28 (6.2%)	E
	Demonstrative pronoun/adjective	Those	11 (2.5%)	F
	Indefinite pronoun	Everyone	4 (0.9%)	G
	First-person plural possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	our leading ranks/our officials	6 (1.3%)	I
	Third-person possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	their leaders	1 (0.2%)	K
	Omission triggered by repetition		21 (5%)	L
	Omission not triggered by repetition		14 (3%)	M
Total			442 (100%)	

Example 37 (Tag A)

(ST) 他说：“许多事情是意料不到的，但是一定要想到，尤其是我们的高级负责 干部 要有这种精神准备，准备对付非常的困难，对付非常的不利情况。这些，我们都要透彻地想好。”

(LT) He said, “Many things are unexpected but should/must/need to be thought about; our senior cadres, in particular, should/must/need to have this kind of mental preparation, prepared to deal with extreme difficulties and extremely unfavorable conditions. These should/must/need to be thought through by us.”

(TT) He said, “Many things cannot be predicted. But we, especially senior leading cadres, must be prepared to tackle extremely difficult situations and adversity. We must be clear-headed about this.”

Example 38 (Tag B)

(ST) **干部** 要 深入 基层 、 深入 实际 、 深入 群众 ， 在 改革 发展 的 主战场 、 维护 稳定 的 第一 线 、 服务 群众 的 最 前沿 砥 砺 质量 、 提高 本领 。

(LT) **Cadres** should/must/need to go deep into the grassroots, go deep into the reality, go deep into the masses, refining themselves and improving abilities on the battlefield of reform and development, the frontlines of maintaining stability, (and) at the forefront of serving the masses.

(TT) **Officials** should go to the grassroots to see the real situation and communicate with the people, and then they will be able to refine themselves and improve their abilities in their part of the work for reform and opening up, stability, and serving the people.

According to the *COBUILD English Dictionary*, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and the *Macmillan English Dictionary*, “cadre” has two meanings. One has a specific political and ideological implication, referring to a party worker or official in some political party, especially the Communist Party. For instance, in Example 37 above, the word “cadres” is used in the target text to describe Chairman Mao’s requirements for high-ranking CPC members. The other meaning is general and ideologically neutral, referring to a small group of trained personnel in a large organization, such as “a cadre of lawyers” or “a cadre of technicians.” By contrast, “official” and “officer” are merely used in an ideologically neutral sense, referring to someone holding public office or having official duties or someone holding an important position of authority in an organization.

The overall preference for “official/officer” in contrast to “cadre” in translating “干部 (cadre),” based on the current research corpora, could be attributed to linguistic and ideological factors. Linguistically speaking, Bao and Liu (2014) surveyed 37 randomly chosen native English speakers from the UK, the US, Australia, and Canada,

discovering that the word “cadre” is not common in contemporary English and that its sense of “a small group or team of people” has gradually taken over from the other meaning of “a party worker or an official in some political party.” In addition, according to the Corpus of Contemporary American English, the frequency of “cadre” decreased from 257 in 1990-1994 to 153 in 2015-2019, which, to some extent, reflects its growingly rare usage in contemporary English. Therefore, I would argue that the lexical choice may be motivated by the translation team’s linguistic concern that using “cadres” to refer to CPC members is inconsistent with general foreign audiences’ reading habits, probably leading to confusion or misunderstanding.

More importantly, the lexical choice is noteworthy from an ideological perspective, based on professional translators’ statements as well as previous comparative studies. Chen (2014, p.9), an expert at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and vice president of the Translators Association of China, justified translating “干部(cadre)” into “official” rather than “cadre” in the English translation of the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC Congress documents with ideological associations. He stated that “although ‘cadre’ was originally a French word, westerners have been employing it to indicate leaders of the Soviet Communist Party in the Stalinist Era after the Soviet people used it. So the term has developed a negative connotation. [我们就将 cadre 改成了 official,因为 cadre 这个词, 尽管原来是法国词, 但被苏联人用过后, 西方人就用这个词指代斯大林时代统治苏共的人员, 所以是贬义的。]” Thus, it is likely that “official/officer” was preferred in *The Governance of China* since it is ideologically neutral and does not evoke connotations related to the Soviet Communist Party. In addition, Pan and Li (2021) conducted a diachronic analysis of the English translations of the work reports of the CPC National Congress, revealing that “干部(cadre)” was uniformly rendered as “cadres” in 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007 but translated as “officials” in 2012 as well as 2017. They took Chen’s (2014) statement further, directly linking the discovered lexical variation to the changed socio-political context. They argued that China’s early adoption of “cadre” in translation was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union’s usage of this word in its

translation of government and party documents. However, following the Soviet Union’s dissolution in 1990, China started to explore its own development path. Under such circumstances, it was probably considered inappropriate for China’s official political translation to continue following Soviet Union translation practices. Given the above, I would argue that the predominant translation of “干部(cadre)” into “officer/official” rather than “cadre” displays a trend of ideological neutralization similar to the translation shift of “同志(comrade)” in the present research corpora. The translation shift is linguistically and ideologically motivated. It may indicate the translation team’s strategic attempts to accommodate foreign audiences’ reading habits and to avoid conjuring up the ideological conflict of the Cold War related to the Soviet Communist Party.

Table 39 below presents the top 10 lexical clusters of “干部(cadre)” in Corpus C (source texts) and their main translations in Corpus E (target texts). Overall, it is shown that “official/officer” remains the dominant translation form for “干部(cadre)” regardless of collocation. In addition, it is noteworthy that 14 out of 17 occurrences of the cluster “干部队伍(cadre team/contingent),” which expresses a military metaphor in the source text, are omitted in the target text. As shown in Section 4.3.3., the translation shift may suggest the translation team’s strategic efforts to avoid an aggressive image of Chinese government officials and CPC members.

Table 39 Top 10 Clusters of “干部(cadre)” and their main translations

Rank	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
1	领导 干部 (leading cadre)	141	Officials	72
2	党员、干部 (party members and cadres)	41	Party members and officials	33
3	各级 领导 干部	34	Officials at all levels	18

	(leading cadre at all levels)			
4	好干部 (good cadre)	30	Good officials	25
5	干部群众 (cadres and masses)	17	Officials and the public/people	11
6	干部队伍 (cadre team/contingent)	17	officers/officials	5
7	高级干部 (senior cadre)	17	Senior/high-ranking officers/officials	12
8	干部特别 (cadres especially)	15	Officials/officers, especially/particularly /in particular	13
9	党的干部 (Party cadre)	13	Party officials/officials of the Party	9
10	广大干部 (the vast number of cadres)	12	Officials	5

Next, “党(party/Party)” has three meanings as a form of Chinese referring expression based on the *现代汉语学习词典 [Learner’s Dictionary of Modern Chinese]* (Commercial Press Dictionary Research Center 2010), including (1) the Communist Party of China in particular; (2) political party in general; and (3) groups formed for special interests by extension. According to Table 40 below, the majority of “党 (party/Party)” is translated into “Party(63%)” and “CPC(12.4%)” to discuss the CPC specifically. Although 16.3% of “党(party/Party)” is omitted in the target text, 13.3% is triggered by repetition in the source text. Consequently, the translation of “党 (party/Party)” demonstrates no significant change from a quantitative perspective.

Table 40 The tagging result of “党(party/Party)”

Source Text	Target Text		Frequency (Proportion)	Tag
Ideologically neutral word	Ideologically neutral nouns	party	14 (1.2%)	N
		Party	681 (63%)	
		CPC	135 (12.4%)	
		China	1 (0.1%)	
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	7 (0.6%)	O
	Third-person pronoun/possessive adjective	They/their/them/ he/his/him	52 (3.8%)	Q
	Demonstrative pronoun/adjective	Those	1 (0.1%)	R
	First-person possessive adjective+ideologically neutral word	Our Party	27 (2.5%)	T
	Omission triggered by repetition		135 (13%)	V
	Omission not triggered by repetition		36 (3.3%)	W
Total			1089 (100%)	

Table 41 below presents the top 10 lexical clusters of “党(party/Party)” in Corpus C (source texts) and their main translations in Corpus E (target texts). Overall, it shows that “党(party/Party)” is translated into “Party/CPC” to refer to the CPC regardless of its collocation. Besides, the collocates of “党(party/Party)” in the top 10 clusters do not exhibit significant ideological mediation through translation.

Table 41 Top 10 Clusters of “党(party/Party)” and their main translations

Rank	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
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1	我们党 (our Party)	143	Our Party	67
2	党的十八大 (The 18 <sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Party)	79	The 18 <sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPC/the Party	43
3	党的领导 (the Party's leadership/leading...)	69	The Party/CPC's leadership/leading ...	48
4	党和国家 (the Party and the country)	61	The Party/CPC and the country/state/nation/central government	57
5	坚持党 (keep to/uphold the Party...)	61	Adhere to/uphold/keep to/maintain/ensure/see to the Party/CPC ...	42
6	党和人民 (the Party and the people)	51	The Party/CPC and the (Chinese) people	47
7	治党 (govern the Party/ the governance of the Party)	46	run/govern the Party/Party discipline/the governance of the Party	24
8	党的建设 (Party building)	31	Party-building	15
9	党领导 (Party leads/ leadership/ leading/ to lead)	23	Party leads/leadership/ leading/to lead	16
10	贯彻党 (implement the Party...)	20	Implement/apply/carry out/uphold the Party...	10

Lastly, as shown in Table 42, the ideologically neutral Chinese referring expression “领导(leader)” is not subjected to ideological mediation. Given that there are only nine occurrences of “领导(leader)” in the research corpora, the cluster analysis was not

conducted to analyze ideological shifts in the co-text.

Table 42 The tagging result of “领导(leader)”

Source Text	Target Text		Frequency (Proportion)	Tag
Ideologically neutral word	Ideologically neutral nouns	Leader/leadership /commanding officer/leading official	8 (89%)	N
	Third-person possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	Their superior	1 (11%)	K
Total			9 (100%)	

#### 4.4.2 Referring expression: The people

Two out of the nine selected referring expressions indicate people, including “人民(people)” and “群众(the masses).” The Chinese referring expression “人民(people)” is a political word. In ancient Chinese classics, it refers to laboring people subject to the power of feudal lords and emperors. Later, in modern times, it was repeatedly redefined at different stages of the Chinese revolution and reform as people united against common political obstacles. For instance, following the foundation of the People’s Republic of China and the completion of the Chinese socialist transformation, Chairman Mao (1977, p.364) defined “人民(people)” as follows:

At the present stage of building socialism, all the classes, strata, and social groups which favor, support, and work for the cause of socialist construction belong to the category of the “people,” while the social forces and groups which resist the

socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the “people” [在现阶段，在建设社会主义的时期，一切赞成、拥护和参加社会主义建设事业的阶级，阶层和社会集团，都属于人民的范围；一切反抗社会主义革命和敌视、破坏社会主义建设的社会势力和社会集团，都是人民的敌人]”

However, Gu (2019b) argued that since the reform and opening up initiated by previous political leader Deng Xiaoping in 1978, the meaning of “人民” has become more inclusive and less class-related. Now, “人民(people)” generally refers to ordinary members of the society, based on the *现代汉语规范词典*[*A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese*] (Li 2014), which is similar to the political sense of “the people” in English. Table 43 below shows that the overwhelming majority of “人民” is translated into “people” in the target text. Consequently, the translation of “人民(people)” also demonstrates no significant change from a quantitative perspective.

Table 43 The tagging result of “人民(people)”

Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)	Tag	
Ideologically neutral word	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	People	580 (72%)	N
		Public	29 (3.6%)	
		Member of society/ society/the country/ individual/ancestor	8 (1%)	
		Chinese people/Chinese	16 (2%)	
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	3 (0.4%)	O
	Third-person pronoun/	They/their/them/he/	70 (9%)	Q

	possessive adjective	his/him		
	Indefinite pronoun or indefinite adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	All users/every individual/everyone/ all/all the Chinese	10 (1%)	S
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive + ideologically neutral nouns	Our people	21 (2.5%)	T
		Our ancestor/country	1 (0.1%)	
		We people/we Chinese	5 (0.6%)	
	Third-person possessive adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	Its people	2 (0.2%)	U
	Omission triggered by repetition		37 (4.6%)	V
	Omission not triggered by repetition		23 (3%)	W
Total			805 (100%)	

Table 44 below presents the top 10 lexical clusters of “人民(people)” in Corpus C (source texts) and their main translated forms in Corpus E (target texts). Overall, it is shown that “人民(people)” is translated into “people” regardless of collocates. Moreover, the top 10 clusters of “人民(people)” are, on the whole, literally translated without evident changes from a quantitative perspective.

Table 44 Top 10 Clusters of “人民(people)” and their translations

Ran k	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
1	人民 群众 (people and the masses)	124	People	84
2	党 和 人民 (the Party and the people)	51	Party/CPC and the people	46
3	中国 人民 (Chinese people)	39	Chinese people	21
4	广大 人民 (the vast number of people)	39	people	19

	people)			
5	全体 人民 (all people)	32	All the people/everyone/all	16
6	各族 人民 (people of all ethnic groups)	30	People of all ethnic groups/all people	22
7	人民 生活 (people's life/living)	27	People's life/living	13
8	人民 事业 (the cause of the people)	21	The cause of the people	18
9	人民 利益 (people's interests)	21	The interests of the people	15
10	为 人民 服务 (serve the people)	19	Serve the people	17

Just like “人民(people),” the Chinese referring expression “群众(the masses)” is politically charged as well, indicating ordinary people. Nevertheless, there exist some subtle differences. According to the *现代汉语规范词典*[*A Standard Dictionary of Modern Chinese*] (Li 2014), “群众(the mass/masses)” has two meanings. Firstly, in a broad sense, it stresses a large number of ordinary people considered as a collective rather than separate individuals. Secondly, in a narrow sense, it refers to those ordinary people who do not join the CPC. Therefore, “群众(the masses)” embodies distinct ideological connotations in comparison to “人民(the people).”

Table 45 below presents that “群众(the masses)” is frequently translated into “people” (35%) or omitted triggered by repetition (32%). By contrast, only 10.4% of “群众(the masses)” is translated into “the mass/masses.” According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the English word “the masses” also conveys a collectivist sense, like the Chinese term “群众(the masses),” referring to “a large number of people as an aggregate in which their individuality is lost.” However, it is further noted in the *Collins English Dictionary* that “the masses” can be used specifically to refer to the working class, implying a class-based view of society. More importantly, it is said to have a

slightly negative connotation, explicitly referring to the lower classes in the social order without taste or sophistication, as opposed to the well-educated elites in high places. COCA also shows that the word “the masses” frequently collocates with “educate,” “elites,” “mobilize,” “collective,” “contempt,” “persuade,” “ignorance,” and “manipulation” in English, portraying a single, unified group of people who are uneducated and susceptible to others’ influence and control. Professional translators engaged in the official translation have also noted its negative connotation. Chen (cited in CICG Institute of International Studies and Advanced Training 2014) proposed abandoning the old translation of “the masses” and adopting the new translation of “people/public” when translating the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC Congress’s documents because “the masses” tend to imply a condescending attitude. Considering the above, I would argue the preference for “people” instead of “the masses” and the adoption of omission in the translation of “群众(the masses)” in the current research corpora could contribute to ideological neutralization. They likely reflect the translation team’s strategic behavior to avoid negative connotations in case of misunderstanding.

Table 45 The tagging result of “群众(the masses)”

Source Text	Target Text		Frequency (Proportion)	Tag
Ideologically loaded word	Ideologically loaded nouns	The mass/masses	46 (10.4%)	A
	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	People	157 (35%)	B
		public	29 (6.5%)	
		farmer/local/member/ the poor/the impoverished/family/ victim/worker and staff/religious believer/individual/ employee	13 (3%)	

	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	1 (0.2%)	C
	Third-person pronoun/possessive adjective	They/their/them/ he/his/him	45 (10%)	E
	Demonstrative pronoun/adjective	Those	3 (0.7%)	F
	indefinite adjective + ideologically neutral nouns	All the people	1 (0.2%)	G
	First-person possessive adjective+ideologically neutral word	Our people	1 (0.2%)	I
	Third-person possessive adjective+ideologically neutral word	Their public	1 (0.2%)	K
	Omission triggered by repetition		140 (32%)	L
	Omission not triggered by repetition		6 (1.4%)	M
Total			443 (100%)	

Table 46 below presents the top 10 lexical clusters of “群众(the masses)” in Corpus C (source texts) and their main translations in Corpus E (target texts). Overall, it shows that “群众(the masses)” is either omitted or translated into “people” with an exception made for “群众路线(the mass line).” This is probably because “the mass line” has become a fixed translation of an essential historical term, representing one of the CPC’s most fundamental working methods (Chen 2018). As discussed in Example 17 in Section 4.2.2, this political concept was introduced by Chairman Mao Zedong to consult the masses, interpret their ideas in the Marxist-Leninist framework, and then implement the resulting policies among the masses (Wei 2011; Gu 2019b). Moreover, each generation of CPC leadership, like President Xi, has continued to develop its

content according to the changing national condition. Consequently, insisting on using “the mass line” as the English translation could serve to highlight the political system’s consistency, show the self-improvement of the CPC, and thus enhance its leadership justification. It may also help avoid arousing doubts about whether there are significant political changes in China. In addition, it is ideologically noteworthy that the metaphorical expression, “...同人民群众的血肉联系(...flesh-and-blood ties with the masses and the people),” under the conceptual metaphor PARTY/GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND THE PEOPLE ARE BODY PARTS is not maintained in the target text, as shown in Example 39 below.

Table 46 Top 10 Clusters of “群众(the masses)” their main translations

Rank	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
1	人民 群众 (people and the masses)	124	People	123
2	群众 路线 (the mass line)	37	The mass line	37
3	党的 群众 路线 (the Party’s mass line)	19	The Party’s mass line	9
4	干部 群众 (cadres and the masses)	17	Officials and the people	8
5	脱离 群众 (isolate from the masses)	15	Isolate/alienate/estrangle/detach/stray/divorce from people/lose contact with the people	13
6	贫困 群众 (the poor masses)	14	The poor/impooverished people/the poor	7
7	联系 群众 (contact the masses)	12	Maintain contact/ties with the people	11
8	群众 反映 (people concern ...)	11	People concern ...	6

9	同人民群众的血肉联系 (the flesh-and-blood ties with the masses and the people)	11	Close ties/intimate relationships with the people	10
10	基层群众 (the community masses )	10	Community	7

Example 39

(ST) 保持党 同人民群众的血肉联系 是一个永恒课题，作风问题具有反复性和顽固性，不可能一蹴而就、毕其功于一役，更不能一阵风、刮一下就停，必须经常抓、长期抓。

(LT) Maintaining the Party's **flesh-and-blood ties with the people and the masses** is an enduring study task, work style issues are recurrent and persistent, (they) cannot be resolved in one step or one battle, cannot act like a passing gust of wind, (and) must be dealt with regularly and over the long term.

(TT) Maintaining the Party's **close ties with the people** is a constant topic for study, and problems relating to conduct recur and persist. It is impossible to accomplish the whole task at one stroke, and we cannot promote Party conduct in temporary phases, like a passing gust of wind.

Example 39 shows that when “人民(people)” and “群众(the masses)” are combined to refer to the ordinary people, “群众(the masses)” is omitted. This may be due to the stylistic preference for avoiding repetition and improving readability, as the two words are similar. However, as I mentioned earlier, from an ideological perspective, using “people” while omitting “the masses” may be adopted to avoid the negative connotation of a condescending attitude.

Besides, the underlined metaphorical expression under the conceptual metaphor, THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE ARE BODY PARTS OF A HUMAN BEING, comparing the intimacy between the Party and the people to the inseparability between a human

body's flesh and its blood in the source text, is not maintained after translation. The Chinese metaphorical expression “血肉联系(flesh-and-blood ties)” was coined by revolutionary Li Xiannian in the Chinese people's war of resistance against Japanese aggression to describe the relationship between the army and the people (Chen 2019). A human body's blood and flesh are closely interconnected. If either of them is affected, the human being cannot survive. Therefore, the Chinese metaphor was used to highlight that the army and the people are mutually dependent, and only through their close cooperation could China successfully defend its land against Japanese invaders. Similarly, in this example, the Chinese metaphorical expression was used in the source text to highlight that the CPC and the Chinese people are interconnected, reflecting the Party's mass line policy: the Party relies on the people and works for the people simultaneously, and both play an irreplaceable role in China's development. However, the corresponding English phrase “flesh-and-blood” stems from the Bible. According to The Phrasefinder website developed by Gary Martin, the expression appeared first in an early old English translation of the Bible - the Anglo-Saxon Gospels Matthew 16:17 in around 1000 AD, which was later translated for the King James version as “Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee.” It used to mean humankind with a connotation of weakness or fallibility in contrast to the divine spiritual power surpassing human abilities. Later, it was also used to refer to one's family sharing the same bloodline. Therefore, it is crucial to underscore that “血肉联系” and “flesh-and-blood” originate from different ideological backgrounds - the former has revolutionary origins while the latter is rooted in religious discourse. Besides, they tend to be used in varying contexts nowadays. In English, according to the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners*, “flesh-and-blood” is primarily used to literally denote human nature or morality or figurately to describe family relationships. COCA reveals that “flesh and blood” often collocates with nouns such as “beings,” “creatures,” “humans,” and “characters” to highlight human qualities. It also frequently pairs with terms like “lover” to signify family ties. Comparatively, the Chinese phrase “血肉联系” is mainly used metaphorically to depict close-knit intimate relationships that extend beyond

family ties. It is particularly frequently used to illustrate the bond between political parties, organizations, or a group and its members, such as the relationship between the Party and the people, and the connection between farmers and workers. Another possible explanation is that the translation team endeavored to avoid the bloody imagery, which is misleading. For instance, Liu (2021) criticized the literal translation of Chinese figurative expressions like “血肉铸成(forged by blood and flesh)” and “头破血流(head breaks and blood flows)” by certain international media, which portrays a violent image of the CPC to foreign audiences, deviates from the original tenor of the metaphor in the source text, and emphasizes the possibility of conflicts more than the original Chinese metaphor does.

#### **4.4.3 Referring expression: The country**

Three out of the nine selected referring expressions indicate the state, including “中国(China),” “我国(our country),” and “国家(state).” Tables 47 and 48 below show that “中国(China/Chinese)” and “国家(country/national)” are mainly literally translated into “China/Chinese/PRC” (80%) and “state/country/national” (68%), respectively, without changes. Nevertheless, “我国(our country)” is mainly translated into “China” without the modification of the first-person plural possessive adjective (56%), as shown in Table 49 and Example 40 below. Considering that there are 399 cases of “我国(our country)” in Corpus C (source texts) but 99 cases of “our country/state/nation/national” in Corpus E (target texts), this translation shift has significantly influenced the presentation of the state to foreign audiences. Given the above, I would argue that the change from “our country” to “China” represents ideological neutralization, potentially indicating the translation team’s endeavor to construct the translation in consideration of the target audiences’ ideological positioning.

Table 47 The tagging result of “中国(China)”

Source Text	Target Text		Frequency (Proportion)	Tag
Ideologically neutral word	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	China/Chinese/PRC	511(80%)	N
		Country/national	8 (1.5%)	
		Domestic	3 (0.5%)	
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	15 (2%)	O
	Third-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	They/their/them/he/his/ him/it/its	8 (1.5%)	Q
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive + ideologically neutral nouns	Our country/we Chinese	9 (1.5%)	T
	Omission triggered by repetition		58 (9%)	V
Omission not triggered by repetition		24 (4%)	W	
Total			636 (100%)	

Table 48 The tagging result of “国家(country)”

Source Text	Target Text		Frequency (Proportion)	Tag
Ideologically neutral word	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	State/country/national	344 (68%)	N
		government	13 (3%)	
		China	18 (4%)	
		Others/home/neighbor	8 (2%)	
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	10 (2%)	O

	Third-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	They/their/them/he/his/him	14 (3%)	Q
	First-person plural possessive + ideologically neutral nouns	Our national	39 (8%)	T
		Our neighbors	5 (1%)	
	Third-person possessive + ideologically neutral nouns	Their country	1 (0.2%)	U
		Its neighbors	1 (0.2%)	
	Omission triggered by repetition		40 (7.7%)	V
	Omission not triggered by repetition		14 (2.5%)	W
Total			507 (100%)	

Table 49 The tagging result of “我国(our country)”

Source Text	Target Text	Frequency (Proportion)	Tag	
Ideologically neutral word	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	China	222 (56%)	N
		Country	8 (2%)	
		Domestic	1 (0.2%)	
	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us	86 (21.6%)	O
	Third-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	They/their/them /he/his/him	8 (2%)	Q
	First-person plural possessive + ideologically neutral nouns	Our country	13 (3.2%)	T
	Omission triggered by repetition		32 (8%)	V
	Omission not triggered by repetition		29 (7%)	W
Total			399 (100%)	

Example 40 (Tag N)

(ST) “一带一路”建设不应仅仅着眼于我国自身发展，而是要以我国发展为契机，*让*更多国家搭上我国发展“快车”，帮助他们实现发展目标。

(LT) The construction of the Belt and Road Initiative should not only focus on our country's own development but also take our country's development as an opportunity to *let* more countries get on our country's express train of development, helping them realize their development goals.

(TT) Therefore, focusing on China's own development, it should also *welcome* other countries to board China's express train of development and help them realize their own development objectives.

Example 40 demonstrates that “我国(our country)” in the source text could serve to evoke nationalism and a sense of belonging among domestic audiences and therefore persuade Chinese citizens of the benefits of the Belt and Road Initiative. Nevertheless, if literally translated, the first-person possessive adjective could not produce the same effect among foreign audiences since they are the out-group rather than the in-group. Therefore, the translation shift from “our country” to “China” shows a tendency for ideological neutralization which may indicate the translation team’s attempt at target-oriented ideological mediation. It is also interesting to see that the Chinese word “*让* (let/allow)” in italics is translated into “welcome,” in italics which has a more positive connotation. Compared to “*让*(let/allow),” which conveys China’s aim or requirement of realizing mutual benefit and shared prosperity through the Belt and Road Initiative rather than self-interest in a relatively neutral tone, “welcome” could better highlight China’s positive attitude towards sharing benefits and its respect for other countries’ willingness and initiative. The Belt and Road Initiative was raised for the first time by President Xi Jinping during his official visit to Kazakhstan and Indonesia in 2013. By December 2022, 150 countries and over 30 international organizations have signed

cooperation documents regarding the Belt and Road Initiative. It is widely recognized despite potential challenges in security, corruption, and environment, the Belt and Road Initiative presents enormous opportunities for domestic, regional, and even global economic development through infrastructure connectivity, increased investment, and trade (Githaiga, N. M. et al. 2019; Huang 2019; Schmidt 2020; Wu and Han 2022). Thus, the translation shift might function to enhance the effective direct communication between President Xi and foreign audiences and gain foreign readers' understanding and support for China's Belt and Road Initiative.

Example 41 (Tag N)

(ST) 任何 外国 不要 指望 中国 做 他们的 附庸 ， 不要 指望 中国 会 吞下 损害 我国 利益 的 苦果 。

(LT) No foreign countries should/must/need not expect China to be **their** vassal, should not/must not/need not expect China to **swallow the bitter fruit** that undermines **our country's** interests.

(TT) No foreign country should expect China to be **its** vassal or to **accept anything** that is damaging to **China's** own interests.

Example 41 shows that in the source text, there is an ideological confrontation between the exclusive “他们(their),” referring to foreign countries with ill intent, and the inclusive “我国(our country),” referring to China, which helps appeal to nationalism in domestic audiences. In the target text, “我国(our country)” is translated into “China,” which may reflect the translation team's efforts to carry out brand-new audience design. Also, the metaphorical expression “吞下...苦果(swallow the bitter fruit)” is not maintained in the target text, which helps subtly reduce the negative representation of foreign countries. These translation shifts may altogether suggest the translation team's efforts in consideration of the foreign readers' ideological positions.

Table 50 below presents the top 10 lexical clusters of “中国(China)” in Corpus C

(source texts) and their major translations in Corpus E (target texts). Overall, it shows that “中国(China)” is mainly translated into “China” regardless of collocates. The frequent clusters of “中国” are also mostly literally translated without changes. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that the majority of “新中国(new China)” is translated into “the PRC in 1949,” which helps avoid confusion or misunderstanding since “new China” in English has varying ideological connotations in different contexts, as explained in Example 42 below.

Table 50 Top 10 Clusters of “中国(China/Chinese)” and their main translations

Ran k	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
1	中国 特色 (Chinese features/characteristics)	292	Chinese features/characteristics	147
2	中国 特色 社会主义 (Socialism/socialist...with Chinese characteristics/features)	250	Socialism/socialist...with Chinese characteristics/features	120
3	中国 梦 (China Dream)	50	China Dream	49
4	中国 人民 (Chinese people)	39	Chinese people	21
5	发展 中国 (develop/development of China/Chinese...)	36	Develop/development of China/Chinese...	26
6	中国 特色 社会主义 道路 (the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics)	24	The path of socialism with Chinese characteristics	11
7	中国 特色 社会主义 制度 (the socialist system with Chinese characteristics)	22	The socialist system with Chinese characteristics	9

8	中华民族 伟大 复兴 的 中国 梦 (the China dream of the great renewal of the Chinese nation)	22	The China dream of the rejuvenation of the (Chinese) nation	17
9	新 中国 (new China)	20	The PRC in 1949	13
10	当代 中国 (contemporary China)	20	Contemporary/modern/ present-day/today China	12

Example 42 (Tag N)

(ST) 新 中国 成 立 后 ， 我 们 党 领 导 人 民 开 始 大 规 模 工 业 化 建 设 。

(LT) After the founding of **the new China**, our Party led people in initiating large-scale industrial construction.

(TT) Following the founding of **the PRC in 1949**, the people started large-scale industrial development under the leadership of the CPC.

Example 42 illustrates that “新中国(the new China)” is translated into “the PRC in 1949” so that foreign audiences can easily understand the source text without confusion or misunderstanding. More precisely, the meaning of “the new China” is somewhat flexible in English and often implies a contrast between a backward old China and an advanced new China. In contrast, the usage of “the PRC in 1949” is clear-cut and ideologically neutral. For instance, “the new China” had been used by the American press to refer to the democratic provisional republican government established in 1921 in Nanjing by SunYat-sen in contrast to the last imperial dynasty of China, the Manchuled Qing Dynasty, before referring to the PRC established by Chairman Mao in 1949 (Guo 2019). Price and Dayan (2008) discussed the 2008 Beijing Olympics’ role in building “the new China,” referred to as an ascending world leader in economics, technology, and environmental issues, with an improving human-rights record in comparison to the past. In the business, “the new China” was utilized to refer to the

regions where technologies are valued in contrast to those where personal relationships and low costs are valued (Joseph 2016) or the sectors embodying the country’s future economy in comparison to those characterized by overcapacity and decreasing profit (Herrero 2022). Considering the above, the translation shift from “the new China” to “the PRC in 1949” helps clarify the source text’s ideological meaning for foreign audiences.

Tables 51 and 52 below present the top 10 lexical clusters of “国家(country)” and “我国 (our country)” in Corpus C (source texts) and their major translations in Corpus E (target texts), respectively. It is shown that the frequent clusters of “国家(country)” are all literally translated without any significant lexical shift. Table 52 shows that “我国 (our country)” is mainly translated into “China” regardless of the collocates, which may suggest the translation team’s efforts of target-oriented ideological mediation, as discussed in Example 40 above. Apart from this, no ideologically significant changes were found with regard to rendering the most frequent clusters of “我国(our country)” within the current research corpora.

Table 51 Top 10 Clusters of “国家(country/national)” and their main translations

Rank	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
1	党和国家 (the Party and the country)	61	The Party/CPC and the country/state/nation/central government	57
2	国家安全 (national security)	70	National/state security	54
3	国家治理 (national governance/governing...)	50	national governance/governing ...	24
4	国家治理体系	38	national governance	18

	(national governance system)		system	
5	维护国家 (safeguard state/national...)	24	Maintain/preserve/safeguard state/national ...	14
6	周边国家 (neighboring countries)	20	Neighboring countries	8
7	推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化 (promote the modernization of the state governance system and capacity)	19	Modernize/promote the modernization of national governance system and capacity	9
8	沿线国家 (countries along the route)	15	Participating countries/countries involved in the Belt and Road Initiative/countries along the Belt and Road Initiative	6
9	国家发展 (national development/country develops)	14	national development/country develops	8
10	党和国家事业 (the cause of the Party and the state)	13	the Party and the country	7

Table 52 Top 10 Clusters of “我国(our country)” and their main translations

Rank	Cluster in Source Text (Literal translation)	Frequency	Main Translation in the Target Text	Frequency
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1	我国 经济 (our country's economy/economic...)	70	China's economy/economic ...	38
2	我国 发展 (our country's development)	40	China's development	17
3	我国 经济 发展 (our country's economic development)	34	China's economic development	17
4	我国 社会主义 (our country's socialist...)	21	China's socialist...	6
5	我国 经济 社会 发展 (our country's economic and social development)	16	China's economic and social development	9
6	我国 国情 (our national condition)	10	China's national condition	4
7	我国 哲学 社会科学 (our country's philosophy and social sciences)	8	Chinese philosophy and social sciences	9
8	我国 经济 发展 进入 新 常态 (our country's economic development has entered the new normal)	8	China entered the new normal of economic development	5
9	我国 周边(our country's neighbors/neighboring...)	7	China's neighbors/ neighboring...	3
10	我国 社会主义 制度 (our countr's socialist system)	7	China's socialist system	3

#### 4.4.4 Referring expression: the first-person plural (we/us/our)

As discussed in Section 2.3.4, politicians frequently use the exclusive first-person plural to institutionalize individual voices, which is beneficial in displaying a united front with certain groups against others and reducing individual commitment and accountability. Meanwhile, the inclusive first-person plural allows politicians to directly engage with the public to strengthen unity, inspire loyalty, and gather support. As shown in Table 53, the meaning of the first-person plurals in the source texts in the current research corpora can be categorized into three types, either including or excluding domestic audiences.

Table 53 Categories of the use of the first person plural in the source texts

Category of pronoun	Example
The exclusive first-plural (Party members and government officials directly addressed by the speech)	(ST) <u>我们</u> 在座 这些 同志 肩上 的 责任 重 啊 ！ (TT) All of <u>us</u> here at this meeting bear a heavy responsibility.
The exclusive first-plural (Party members and government officials in a general sense who work for the benefit of the people)	(ST) <u>我们</u> 必须 认认真真 讲 法治 、 老 老实实 抓 法治 。 (TT) It is essential that <u>we</u> are earnest in our efforts to promote and enforce the rule of law.
The inclusive first-plural (Party members and government officials with the people, or China, the Chinese nation, and all the Chinese people)	(ST) <u>我们</u> 都 要 “ 自 强 不 息 ， 止 于 至 善 ” 。 (TT) <u>We</u> should constantly improve ourselves and strive for excellence.

As shown in Table 54 below, the Chinese referring expression “我们(we/us/our)” is predominantly translated into the corresponding English first-person plurals (81%). However, it is important to bear in mind that all three categories in Table 54 exclude foreign audiences. Therefore, the primary function of the English first-person plurals in the target text is to institutionalize President Xi’s voice and present a united image of

either the government, the Party, or the state. Additionally, Table 54 shows that the omission of the Chinese first-person plural is mostly not triggered by repetition. This finding stands in contrast to the statistical outcome of some ideologically neutral referring expressions like “国家(country),” “中国(China),” and “党(Party/party),” whose omission in translation is mainly caused by repetition. As shown in Examples 43 to 45 below, the relatively higher percentage of omission not triggered by repetition in translating the Chinese first-person plural may suggest the translation team’s overall strategy to neutralize the target text in consideration of the ideological position of the target audience.

Table 54 The tagging result of “我们(us/we/our)”

Source Text	Target Text	Tag (Percentage)		
First-person pronoun	First-person plural pronoun/possessive adjective	We/our/us 671 (81%)	C	
	Ideologically neutral nouns/adjectives	the military/country	2 (0.2%)	B
		China/Chinese	22 (3%)	
	Third-person pronoun/possessive adjective	They/them/their/it/its	5 (0.5%)	E
	Omission triggered by repetition		31 (3.6%)	L
	Omission not triggered by repetition		95 (11.7%)	M
Total		826 (100%)		

Example 43 (Tag M)

(ST) 反对 腐败 、 建设 廉洁 政治 ， 保持 党 的 肌体 健康 ， 始终 是 我们 党 一贯 坚持 的 鲜明 政治 立场 。

(LT) It has always been **our Party**'s consistent and clear political stance to *oppose* corruption, build political integrity, and maintain the health of the Party's body.

(TT) It has always been **the CPC**'s consistent and clear political position to *combat* corruption, promote political integrity and keep the Party healthy.

Example 44 (Tag M)

(ST) 我们 的 工会 、 共青团 、 妇联 等 群团 组织 是 党 直接 领导 的 群众 组织 ， 承担 着 组织 动员 广大 人民 群众 为 完成 党 的 中心 任务 而 共同 奋斗 的 重大 责任 ， 必须 把 保持 和 增强 先进性 作为 重要 着力点 。

(LT) **Our unions, Communist Youth League, women's federations, and other mass organizations** are organizations directly led by the Party, which bear the significant responsibility of organizing and mobilizing the vast majority of the masses and the people to complete the central tasks of the Party, (and) must render maintaining and enhancing the progressive nature as a crucial point of focus.

(TT) **Trade unions, the Communist Youth League, and women 's federations** are organizations under the Party's direct leadership. Shouldering the great responsibility of mobilizing the public to accomplish the Party's central task, they must focus on maintaining and enhancing their advanced nature.

Example 45 (Tag M)

(ST) 在 前进 道路 上 ， 我们 将 进行 具有 许多 新 的 历史 特点 的 伟大 斗争 。

(LT) On the path forward, **we** will engage in a great struggle with many new historical characteristics.

(TT) The road ahead will be full of new challenges.

Among the 95 cases of “我们(we/us/our),” which is subjected to the translation shift of omission not triggered by repetition, 55 instances are collocated with “党(the Party),” as shown in Example 43. Section 4.4.1 has shown that “our Party” remains the more frequent translation form for “我们党(our Party)” (67 out of 143) rather than “the Party” (55 out of 143). However, considering that there are 143 instances of “我们党(our Party)” in Corpus C (source texts) but merely 122 instances of “our Party” in Corpus E (target texts), I would argue that the omission has slightly influenced the presentation of CPC. Example 43 illustrates that the Chinese first-person plural possessive adjective, functioning to evoke a sense of unity among all Party members in self-discipline in the source text, is omitted in the target text. Besides, in Examples 44 and 45, “我们(our/us/we),” when used with other organizations or alone to evoke solidarity in varied social groups or a broader nationalist sentiment, is also omitted in the target text. These translation shifts may indicate the translation team’s strategy in consideration of the target audiences’ ideological positions, emphasizing China’s reform and development in a more neutral, less personal tone.

Table 55 below presents the top 10 lexical clusters of “我们(we/our/us)” and their most frequent translation forms in Corpus E (target texts). It shows that “我们(we/our/us)” is generally translated into the corresponding English first-person plural apart from the word phrase, “我们党始终(our Party always),” which is generally consistent with the findings discussed above. Additionally, regarding the co-text of the first-person plurals, it is worth noting that the word phrase, “我们提出(we put forward),” is less fixed in translation compared to the others, leaving more room for ideological mediation, as shown in Examples 46 and 47 below. In addition, “坚定不移(firmly),” when used as an adverb in combination with “我们(our/we/us),” is predominantly omitted, which is more likely driven by stylistic concern, as shown in Example 48 below.

Table 55 Top 10 Clusters of “我们(we/our/us)” and their main translations

Rank	Cluster in Source Text	Frequency	Main Translation in the	Frequency
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	(Literal translation)		Target Text	
1	我们党 (our Party)	143	Our Party	67
2	我们自己 (our own)	11	Our own	6
3	告诉我们 (tell us)	10	Tell/show us	4
4	我们坚定不移 (we firmly)	8	We	7
5	我们提出 (we put forward)	8	We put forward	2
6	我们的干部 (our cadres)	7	Our officials	4
7	我们要学习 (we should/must/need to learn)	7	We should learn	3
8	我们面临 (we face)	7	We face/ encounter/ confront	4
9	我们党始终 (our Party always)	6	The Party always	3
10	我们纪念邓小平同志 (we memorize comrade Deng Xiaoping)	6	We commemorate Deng Xiaoping	6

Example 46 (Tag C)

(ST) 党的十八大以来，**我们提出** 践行正确义利观，推动构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系、打造人类命运共同体，打造遍布全球的伙伴关系网络，倡导共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观，等等。

(LT) Since the 18th National Congress of the CPC, **we have proposed** practicing **the correct view of righteousness and benefit**, promoting the building of a new model of international relations centering on cooperation and mutual benefit, building a community of shared future for mankind, and creating a partnership network that links all parts of the world, and (we have) advocated for a common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable concept of security, among other things.

(TT) Since the 18th CPC National Congress, **we** have **advocated** the principle of **upholding the greater good and pursuing shared interests**; and facilitated the building of a new model of international relations featuring cooperation and mutual benefit, a community of shared future for mankind, and a partnership network that links all parts of the world. We have also advocated a common, comprehensive, and sustainable security concept based on cooperation.

In Example 46, although “我们(we/our/us)” is literally translated into its corresponding form in English, its collocates are subject to certain target-oriented ideological shifts, which are closely related to the presentation of the Chinese government and the CPC to foreign readers. For instance, the ideologically neutral word “提出(put forward)” is translated into “advocate,” which could highlight the government’s explicit supportive attitude to the win-win principle. Besides, it is noteworthy that “正确的义利观(the correct view of righteousness and benefit)” is trans into “the principle of upholding the greater good and pursuing shared interests” through amplification to specify President Xi’s diplomatic thoughts. The view of righteousness and benefit was initially introduced by Confucius in the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period over 2000 years ago (Wang and Zhu 2020). In ancient times, it had two main layers of meaning. From the angle of personal character building, it stressed that individuals should not abandon morality (righteousness) for the sake of interests (benefit). From the perspective of national governance, it noted that ordinary people should place national interest (righteousness) before individual interest (benefit), and the emperor should place people’s interest (righteousness) before private indulgence (benefit). President Xi talked about it for the first time during his visit to Africa in March 2013. However, he did not use it in the sense of personal character or domestic governance. Instead, he used it to express his thoughts regarding international relations, particularly towards developing nations and neighboring countries. His focus was on pursuing win-win cooperation and helping developing countries within China’s ability. Consequently, using “正确的义利观(correct view of righteousness and benefit)” in the

source text could function to increase persuasion among domestic audiences as it symbolizes an extension of the widely accepted Confucius values. Nevertheless, the literal translation of this phrase is likely to create confusion for foreign audiences about the definition of “correct,” “righteousness,” and “benefit.” Therefore, the translation shift may indicate the translation team’s strategic behavior in designing the translation in consideration of the foreign audiences’ knowledge and position. The intent may be to improve the communication of President Xi’s advocacy of mutual benefit in China’s external affairs to foreign readers.

Example 47 (Tag M)

(ST) 对 新 常 态 怎 么 看 ？ 明 确 我 国 经 济 发 展 进 入 新 常 态 ， 是 我 综 合 分 析 世 界 经 济 长 周 期 和 我 国 发 展 阶 段 性 特 征 及 其 相 互 作 用 作 出 的 重 大 判 断 。 各 国 普 遍 认 同 我 们 提 出 的 新 常 态 ， 国 际 货 币 基 金 组 织 明 确 提 出 ， 随 着 中 国 经 济 发 展 进 入 新 常 态 ， 全 球 经 济 发 展 都 已 进 入 新 常 态 。

(LT) How to view the new normal? The clear understanding that **our country’s** economic development has entered the new normal is **a major judgment I made** by comprehensively analyzing the world economic cycle, the stage characteristics of China’s development, and their mutual interaction. All countries generally agree on the new normal **we proposed**. The IMF has explicitly stated that with Chinese economic development entering the new normal, global economic development has also entered the new normal.

(TT) How should we respond to the new normal? **China’s** economic development is now in the new normal. **This conclusion is drawn from** analyzing the world economic cycle, China’s development stage, and the interaction between the two. **This conclusion** has been widely recognized by the rest of the world. According to the IMF, China’s economic development is in the new normal, so is global economic development.

Example 47 shows that “我国(our country)” is translated into “China.” Besides, the first underlined operative clause, “作出(make),” with the first-person singular, “我(I),” as the direct agent, is translated into a receptive clause, “is drawn from,” with agents omitted, and the second underlined operative clause, “提出(propose),” with the first-person plural, “我们(we),” as the agent, is normalized as “conclusion.” President Xi introduced the new normal to describe the transformation of China’s economy in the present day in terms of the growth rate, growth model, economic structure, and production factors. In this context, all three translation shifts could serve to downplay the new normal as President Xi’s personal judgment or as a subjective national proposal while highlighting the new normal as a generally recognized natural conclusion originating from national and international economic conditions in a less personal tone. The combination of the first-person singular and plural in the source text could serve to evoke a sense of authority and solidarity, respectively, thereby increasing persuasion among domestic audiences. Nevertheless, it cannot directly involve target audiences who represent an out-group. Considering the above, I would argue that the omission of first-person pronouns in the target texts could render the translation more objective and less personal, likely indicating the translation team’s target-oriented contextualization.

Example 48 (Tag C)

(ST) 我们 坚定不移 全面 推进 依法 治国 ， 显著 增强 了 我们 党 运  
用 法律 手段 领导 和 治理 国家 的 能力 。

(LT) We have pressed ahead with the rule of law in all respects resolutely (and)  
*significantly* enhanced the ability of our Party to lead and govern the nation using  
legal means.

(TT) We have advanced the rule of law in all respects, enhancing our Party's  
capacity to lead and govern the country by legal means.

In Example 48, although “我们(we/our/us)” is literally translated into its corresponding form in English, its collocates are subject to translation shifts, which has the potential

to influence the presentation of the Chinese government and the CPC to foreign readers. It is shown that the underlined Chinese adverb “坚定不移(firmly/resolutely),” which is used to highlight the Party’s determination to promote the rule of law in all respects, is omitted through translation. According to the present research corpora, there are 47 cases of “坚定不移(firmly/resolutely)” used as an adverb in the source texts, all of which function to build a determined, responsible image of either the CPC members, Chinese government officials, or China as a whole. However, about half of them (23 out of 47) are omitted not triggered by repetition in the target texts. In addition, it is also interesting to note that “显著(significantly)” in italics, which highlights the high level of achievement of the Party and the Chinese government in this respect, is also omitted in the translation. In the present corpora, 40 percent of “显著(significantly)” (8 out of 20) is omitted not triggered by repetition in translation. Huang Youyi (cited in Areddy 2015), finalizer of *The Governance of China*, revealed that such shifts are likely adopted from the stylistic angle, leaning towards the linguistic habits of foreign readers to ensure readability. It could help to realize the translating institution’s aim to improve the international communication of the Party and the state.

“Some government statements that may sound right in Chinese don’t sound good in English, such as ‘comprehensively,’ ‘unswervingly’...In English, it sounds better if you take out all the adverbs. But you read Chinese, you take out the adverbs, and the Chinese is not Chinese anymore. It’s a cultural difference. One of the things we should be trying to do is when you are trying to translate from Chinese into English, take out all the adverbs. But when translating from English into Chinese, add adverbs.”

Still, it is important to note that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to translating adverbs. The method he proposed needs to be tailored to the specific project’s context. For example, Li and Xu (2018) analyzed the translation shifts of evaluative epithets (adjectives and adverbs that convey graduation meaning) in contemporary official

Chinese political discourse. Their analysis reveals that through translation shifts, the portrayal of China becomes less favorable, while the depiction of other countries appears less unfavorable. They argued that the translation shifts reflect the translation team's strategic adherence to the politeness principle as overly positive self-representation appears self-conceited while extremely negative other-representation may be offensive.

Besides, I found that although corpus data shows that the first-person plural possessive adjective never modifies “群众(the masses)” or “人民(people)” directly in the source texts, there is an increase of 24 cases of “our people” which refers to ordinary Chinese people in the target texts and some of them are caused by the addition of “our” to modify “people.” As shown in Example 49 below, though not statistically substantial, this optional translation shift is ideologically noteworthy since it could serve to highlight the government and the Party's strong alliance with the people.

#### Example 49

(ST) 过去 由于 生产力 水平 低 ， 为了 多 产 粮食 不得不 毁 林 开荒 、 毁 草 开荒 、 填 湖 造 地 ， 现在 温饱 问题 稳定 解决了 ， 保护 生态 环境 就 应该 而且 必须 成为 发展 的 题 中 应有 之 义 。

(LT) In the past, due to low levels of productivity, (the implied agent) had to deforest, reclaim land, destroy grasslands for cultivation, and fill in lakes to create more land in order to create more food. **Now that the issues of food and warmth have been stably solved,** protecting the ecological environment should and must become an inherent part of development issue.

(TT) In the past, due to low productivity, we had to reclaim land from the forest, grassland, and sea to increase grain output, but since **our people now have adequate food and clothing,** eco-environmental protection should and must become an integral component of development.

In Example 49, the underlined clause in the source text is receptive, implying the Party/government's agency in solving the issues of housing and food, which represent people's most basic needs. In the target text, "our people" is added, which could accentuate the Party and government's unity with the people. Moreover, the receptive clause signified with "be solved" is translated into the middle clause through "have." This translation shift in transitivity could function to change the emphasis from the Party and the government's achievement to people's conditions. Both could help to render the president's concern for the people more explicit in the target texts.

#### Example 50

(ST) 我们要按照党的十六大、十七大、十八大提出的全面建成小康社会各项要求，突出抓重点、补短板、强弱项，特别是要坚决打好防范化解重大风险、精准脱贫、污染防治的攻坚战，坚定不移深化供给侧结构性改革，推动经济社会持续健康发展，使全面建成小康社会得到人民认可、经得起历史检验。

(LT) We should/must/need to follow the requirements set out in the 16th, 17th, and 18th National Congresses of the CPC about the comprehensive construction of a moderately prosperous society, focus on key issues, strengthen shortcomings and weaknesses, and correct shortcomings. In particular, (the implied social agent) should/must/need to resolutely win the battles of preventing and resolving grave risks, taking targeted measures to relieve poverty, and preventing and controlling pollution like attacking the fortification. (The implied agent should/must/need to) unswervingly deepen structural reforms on the supply side, promote the sustained and healthy development of the economy and society, **(and) ensure that building a moderately prosperous society in all respects gains people's approval and stands the test of time.**

(TT) To achieve this goal, we will focus on key issues, strengthen weak links, and correct shortcomings in accordance with the requirements set out by the

Party's 16th, 17th, and 18th national congresses. We will work particularly hard to prevent and defuse grave risks, take targeted measures to relieve poverty and prevent and control pollution. We will extend supply-side reform and promote the sustained and balanced development of the economy and society, **working to ensure that the society we build wins the approval of our people and stands the test of time.**

In the above example, the underlined clause shows three optional translation shifts. Firstly, the gerund “building a moderately prosperous society in all respects” is transformed into an operative clause, “the society we build,” stressing all government officials and Party members’ joint efforts, explicating their agency. Secondly, the first-person plural possessive adjective is added to modify the people, emphasizing the close relationship between the Party, government, and the people. Thirdly, “得到(gain)” is translated into the metaphorical expression “win,” which highlights the difficulty and the significance of gaining people’s approval. Therefore, translation shifts in reference, transitivity, and metaphor work together to highlight the people-oriented ideology.

#### **4.4.5 Conclusion and discussion**

In this section, I categorized the top 10 keywords which can function as referring expressions in the source texts into four groups: (1) referring terms indicating the government officials and CPC members, including “同志(comrade),” “党(Party),” “干部(cadre),” “领导(leader)”; (2) referring terms indicating the public, including “人民(people),” “群众(the masses)”; (3) referring terms indicating countries, including “我国(our country),” “国家(country),” “中国(China)”; (4) First-person plural (we/our/us) which refers to either the Chinese government, the Party, or the Chinese people. Generally speaking, the translation of referring expressions exhibits medium mediation. Also, there is no significant difference between the four groups regarding ideological mediation through translation shifts. However, a noticeable trend across the four groups

is that the referring terms with specific ideological connotations are more likely to be omitted or translated into ideologically neutral words that are frequently used in foreign political discourse. This likely suggests the translation team's effort to contextualize in consideration of foreign audiences' ideological positions, highlighting common grounds while backgrounding ideological differences to enhance the international communication of the Party and the state. For instance, over half of “同志(comrade)” is omitted, not triggered by repetition, with only 6% translated into “comrade,” which has a communist and socialist connotation. The majority of “干部(cadre)” is translated into “official/officer,” with only 0.4% translated into “cadre,” which can imply communist party member though this meaning has grown outdated recently. About 30% of “群众(the masses)” is omitted triggered by repetition, and only 10.4% of it is translated into “the masses,” which has a negative ideological implication. Besides, “我国(our country),” which conveys a nationalist sentiment, is preferentially translated into “China” which sounds less personal. Besides, the cluster analysis has shown that the co-text of the referring expressions is subject to translation shifts which could bridge ideological gaps. For instance, the metaphorical phrase, “同人民群众的血肉联系(the flesh-and-blood ties with the masses and the people),” is changed into non-metaphorical expressions likely because of the differences in ideological backgrounds and contexts. The cluster, “新中国(the new China),” is amplified into “the PRC in 1949” likely because “the new China” has acquired various meanings in English discourse.

However, in my opinion, it is essential to note that the translation team's considerations and foreign readers' expectations do not necessarily fully coincide with each other and might be different. The translator's mediation might present a barrier for those foreign readers interested in exploring the unique ideological features of the Chinese political discourse. For instance, the omission or neutralization of referring terms with specific ideological connotations such as “同志(comrade),” “干部(cadre),” “群众(the masses),” and “我国(our country)” likely stem from translation team's considerations to contextualize in consideration of the foreign audiences' ideologies, highlighting

common grounds and backgrounding differences to improve the international communication of the state and the Party. For foreign readers who are more interested in the concrete content of President Xi's proposals than the ideological nuances, such omission, and neutralization could be of little significance. Nevertheless, such shifts may be a loss for foreign readers, for instance, researchers, who are particularly interested in using *The Governance of China* to study the addressing terms typically used in the Chinese political discourse but can not directly read the original Chinese version. This is why translators often need to make difficult decisions about how much cultural and ideological context to include in their translations.

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

### 5.1 Objectives revisited

This study contains four research objectives. The first research objective is to create a parallel corpus based on the source and target texts of President Xi's domestic speeches to government officials and Party members, published in *The Governance of China*. Sections 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 show that three corpora have been successfully constructed, including two monolingual corpora, Corpus C (Chinese source text), Corpus E (English target texts), and a parallel corpus Corpus C2E, by following a systematic, step-by-step process from data sampling to data preparation. They can be used in the future to carry out more in-depth studies on the official Chinese-English political translation. The second research objective is to identify ideological shifts within the corpus. The second research objective was addressed by reviewing previous studies, especially translation studies on the ideological significance of modality, transitivity, metaphor, and referring expression, shown in Section 2.3, and then devising elaborate tagging procedures and schemes, as shown in Section 3.6. One of the most significant contributions of this study lies in providing a comprehensive and detailed tagging procedure and scheme for future research. The third objective is differentiating obligatory translation shifts from non-obligatory translation shifts. This objective was completed by analyzing whether the observed translation shifts that would have an effect on the ideologies inscribed in the source texts could be purely attributed to linguistic differences. For instance, when translating Chinese non-subject sentences into English, syntactic transformations are inevitable, such as adding an agent as the subject or using passivization. Therefore, such shifts were considered obligatory. By contrast, I categorized omission triggered by repetition as a preferred optional shift primarily due to stylistic concerns, aiming to improve linguistic conciseness and readability for foreign audiences. This could help the international communication of the Party/state's thoughts and policies. Therefore,

it is treated as an optional shift. The fourth research objective is to analyze the patterns of optional ideological shifts according to the institutional background, and the broader sociopolitical context. As shown in Chapter Four, this objective was addressed by integrating CDA with corpus-based translation studies with the help of corpus tools, such as cluster analysis and keyword analysis, to provide a systemic and comprehensive analysis.

## **5.2 Main findings and implications**

Inspired by Hatim and Mason's (1997, p.144) differentiation between the translation of ideology and the ideology of translating, this study has two aims: (1) examining the degree to which the ideological message of President Xi expressed in the Chinese version of *The Governance of China* is mediated (strengthened, downplayed, or transformed) in the English version through official Chinese-English translation, (2) investigating the possible ideological factors influencing the translation, editing, and production processes by referring to the institutional background, and, more importantly, the broader sociopolitical context.

Regarding the first research aim, based on the corpora used in this research, the most prominent finding is that the official Chinese-English translation is subject to ideological mediation in varying degrees across translation shifts from the perspectives of modality, transitivity, metaphor, and referring expression. Generally speaking, there are three translation trends. Firstly, the corpus data reveals a general tendency to highlight the ideological significance of the Chinese government and the CPC's self-discipline compared to other issues, such as the economy, health, and culture. As shown in Section 4.1, from a quantitative point of view, when the source text revolves around eliminating government officials and CPC members' misconduct and corruption or improving their work and character, Chinese deontic modality markers tend to be translated into stronger English deontic modality markers, highlighting Party members

and government officials' agency and building a responsible image of them. Also, Section 4.3.2 has shown that between the two conceptual metaphors depicting political actions as offensive combats. ANTI-CORRUPTION/ANTI-MISCONDUCT IS FIGHTING, expressed through “斗争(fight),” is primarily maintained. By contrast, POVERTY ALLEVIATION IS FIGHTING, represented through “攻坚(attack the fortification),” is partially mitigated in translation. Thus, the translation shifts of the CONFLICT metaphor could also function to highlight government officials' and CPC members' difficulties and enormous efforts in preventing, punishing, and eliminating misconduct and corruption. The examination of transitivity and referring expressions in Sections 4.2 and 4.4 show no statistically significant pattern suggesting the translation team's potential efforts to emphasize the self-discipline issue. However, qualitative analysis of individual cases from the corpora shows that translation shifts in these two aspects could also help underscore the self-discipline issue concerning President Xi's governance of China to some extent. For instance, Example 10 in Section 4.2.1 shows that the ideologically neutral process “发展(develop)” is translated into “run rampant” with an apparent negative sense which manifests the disapproval of misconduct more clearly. Moreover, passivization could function to avoid associating government officials and Party members with doing nothing about the misconduct.

Secondly, apart from self-discipline, the corpus data reveals a more subtle translation tendency to stress the Chinese government and the CPC's people-oriented ideology. Section 4.2.5 shows that nominalizing the leading process could produce the textual effect of switching the primary role from the CPC's leadership to the ordinary people's varied development practices. Section 4.2.2 also demonstrates that the receptive clause can be translated into the operative clause that clarifies government officials' and CPC members' active agency in both establishing and keeping to the regulations about the mass line policy. Besides, qualitative analysis in Section 4.4.4 shows that although the first-person plural possessive adjective never modifies “群众(the masses)” or “人民(people)” directly in the source texts, there is an increase of 24 cases of “our people” in

the target text, which is partly caused by the addition of the first-person plural possessive adjective in the target text. Though not statistically substantial, this optional translation shift is also ideologically noteworthy since it could highlight the government and the Party's strong alliance with the people.

Another general translation tendency, based on the present corpora, is target-oriented contextualization. Section 4.3 shows the CONFLICT metaphor characterizing the source text is subjected to varying degrees of ideological mediation because the confrontational ideology used to motivate domestic audiences does not have the same effect on foreign audiences and may even cause the misunderstanding of an aggressive image. Besides, readers of the source text are expected to act on it, whereas readers of the target text are not. The translator may be sub/consciously aware of this and make translation shifts accordingly. Section 4.4 reveals that referring terms with particular ideological connotations are mainly translated into neutral words. This is likely because they do not conjure up recognition of identity and belonging in foreign audiences as in domestic audiences.

Concerning the second research aim, all three translation tendencies could potentially contribute to justifying President Xi, the CPC, as well as the Chinese government's leadership toward foreign audiences. Firstly, as argued in Sections 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, President Xi has made significant new progress in self-discipline and people-oriented development, building on previous political leaders' achievements. Thus, emphasizing these two aspects in translation could help highlight his unique contribution and justify his governance. Secondly, one of the most crucial differences between Chinese and Western politics lies within the party system, as China features the CPC's leadership while Western countries are characterized by competition among two or multiple parties. The comprehensive leadership of the CPC has aroused concerns among foreign critics concerning whether the politicians' abuse of power for privileges and personal gains can be checked and corrected effectively and whether public rights and interests

can be protected adequately. Thus, adding emphasis on self-discipline and people-orientation could serve to address one of the foreign audiences' most significant concerns. Thirdly, it is widely noted that a basic means for politicians to justify and legitimize themselves is through the ideological square, depicting a positive self-representation and a negative other-representation (Van Dijk 1998). However, the translation project of *The Governance of China* means that the target audience changes from the domestic to the foreign audience. As a result, the rhetorical techniques based on the original ideological square used in the source texts may be no longer appropriate, and a degree of contextualization is inevitable. Given the above, the target-oriented contextualization could allow the translation team to avoid an aggressive image and expound on President Xi's thoughts with foreign audiences' familiar discourse systems.

The use of translation shifts is potentially related to CICG's fundamental purpose and the state's current foreign policy. As mentioned in Section 1.2, CICG played the dominant role in the translation, editing, and publication of *The Governance of China*, and its fundamental purpose is said to be improving the Party and the state's international communication. According to Huang (2021), this purpose is determined by China's unique domestic and global conditions: "After the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy, China has developed rapidly and made remarkable achievements, but many Western politicians and media still view China with bias ...". Therefore, the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China* is not just an editorial project but also politically significant to amplify China's voice on the international stage. Given the above, it is reasonable to assume that the observed translation shifts in this study are likely related to the CICG's fundamental purpose concerning improving the Party/state's international communication.

Besides, China's new diplomacy under President Xi's administration has also called for improvement in the Party/state's international communication. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, President Xi has proposed a series of new diplomatic thinking and

strategies. It is important to note that President Xi not only continued to stress that peace and development remain the overriding theme of the times but also proposed taking the initiative in protecting and building the global environment for peaceful development. For instance, he encouraged the development of existing international order and global governance system to construct “a community of shared future for mankind,” exemplified by the Belt and Road Initiative, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, etc. There is no doubt that a prerequisite for success in such initiatives relies on foreign audiences’ understanding and support, which could be acquired through effective communication between Chinese politicians and foreign audiences. Consequently, President Xi (2018, p.171) has repeatedly stressed the need to “tell China’s story and convey China's voice.” Additionally, President Xi’s emphasis on the Party/state’s international communication is much more proactive and assertive than former political leaders which constitute an important feature of his leadership. Under such circumstances, the official Chinese-English translation of *The Governance of China* symbolizes a significant component of the state’s efforts to tell its story and disseminate its voice worldwide. Therefore, the translation team is likely motivated to carry out ideological mediation through translation shifts to contribute to China’s international communication.

The CICG has adopted various strategies to promote the foreign-language versions of *The Governance of China* abroad. Firstly, as mentioned in Section 1.2, foreign versions were launched and displayed at many international book fairs, such as the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2014, the London Book Fair, and the BookExpo America in 2015. The book was also available in digital form for the first time compared to the official foreign-language translations of other political leaders’ works. Secondly, CICG has strengthened cooperation with foreign publishers to promote the book. According to China Insight (2020), it has worked with publishers in 39 countries to launch foreign-language editions for local readers. It has not only showcased the volumes at major international book fairs but also held events such as seminars to introduce them to more

readers overseas. The Chinese media are generally positive about the foreign reception of the work. According to Yan (2015), the marketing executive of the Foreign Language Press, Xiao Gang, mentioned that the foreign-language editions of the book had sold over 300 thousand copies. Abroad, the book has undoubtedly caught certain scholarly interest and its significance has been recognized by some foreign politicians as well (Xinhua 2022b). Tech CEO, Mark Zuckerberg, also expressed strong interest in the book. However, some raised questions about the work's reception among the general public. For instance, Beech (2015) pointed out that “the hardcover English edition of Xi’s book is 420,914th in the website’s April 20 sales rankings.”

Nevertheless, it is essential to note that in some cases, the translation team’s mediation might present a barrier for foreign readers interested in exploring the unique ideological features of the Chinese political discourse. For instance, the omission or neutralization of referring terms with specific ideological connotations such as “同志(comrade),” “干部(cadre),” “群众(the masses),” and “我国(our country)” might deprive those who could not read Chinese of the chances to explore the addressing terms typically used in the Chinese political discourse. The mediation of the military metaphor could prevent leaving an aggressive and war-like image but might confuse those who want to study Chinese rhetorical conventions but cannot read the Chinese version directly. This is why translators often need to make difficult decisions about how much cultural and ideological context to include in their translations. Translators can't cater to all. They often need to find an optimal balance between the addresser, commissioner, various readers, and themselves. So, I believe translators need to stay alert and remain cautious about the ideological potential of modality, transitivity, metaphor, and reference in translation. They represent both opportunities and challenges in international communication.

This research is of great significance in two aspects. Theoretically, it reveals subtle ideological translation shifts that will be buried if researchers treat source and target

texts separately. It reminds translators of the ideological potential of textual features such as modality, transitivity, personal reference, and metaphor. It also encourages audiences to pay attention to the institutional and sociopolitical background of a specific translation as they are reconstructed based on source texts. Methodologically, it exemplified the corpus-based critical translation studies and provided detailed tagging procedures and schemes to guide future studies.

### **5.3 Future research**

In the future, the researcher could continue to keep track of participating translators' latest published interviews and work so as to further refine findings in the present study. In the future, the researcher might also cooperate with other researchers to implement inter-annotator agreement measurement to improve the validity of the tagging. This method requires sharing data with at least one other researcher and usually requires a long time in the stage of tagging, and hence is not adopted in this study. If the annotators make the same decision in almost all cases, the tagging procedures and schemes are well-defined, and the quantitative analysis of the tagging outcome is proven reliable. Conversely, if the inter-annotator agreement is low, the tagging procedures and systems are ambivalent, and the tagging outcome is questionable from a quantitative perspective. Besides, an obvious way for future studies to improve the present research project is to further expand the corpora size with similar passages in other volumes, which will help to further verify the existing conclusions.

## Appendix A: Keyword list

#Keyword Types: 1003

#Keyword Tokens: 67904

#Search Hits: 0

1	1082 +	4403.22	0.0183	党
2	2067 +	3422.57	0.0338	要
3	1272 +	3290.2	0.0213	发展
4	861 +	2832.27	0.0146	人民
5	563 +	2180.06	0.0096	社会主义
6	2272 +	1965.85	0.0361	和
7	554 +	1893.79	0.0094	坚持
8	574 +	1747.73	0.0097	建设
9	442 +	1644.41	0.0075	干部
10	538 +	1573.33	0.0091	改革
11	443 +	1485.57	0.0075	群众
12	433 +	1322.58	0.0073	政治
13	430 +	1312.86	0.0073	领导
14	541 +	1278.36	0.0092	经济
15	329 +	1189.38	0.0056	推进
16	339 +	1053.95	0.0058	制度
17	540 +	1011.12	0.0091	社会
18	310 +	1004.61	0.0053	全面
19	313 +	1001.73	0.0053	特色
20	603 +	982.2	0.0102	问题
21	595 +	973.37	0.01	工作
22	569 +	937.05	0.0096	新
23	399 +	881.89	0.0068	我国
24	507 +	856.18	0.0086	国家

25	404 +	848.41	0.0068	必须
26	176 +	823.19	0.003	邓小平
27	272 +	776.59	0.0046	加强
28	246 +	761.82	0.0042	体系
29	637 +	760.99	0.0107	中国
30	220 +	750.26	0.0037	创新
31	173 +	728.08	0.0029	法治
32	163 +	667.31	0.0028	治理
33	257 +	657.67	0.0044	实现
34	215 +	617.9	0.0037	同志
35	257 +	587.05	0.0044	思想
36	188 +	568.81	0.0032	实践
37	123 +	555.15	0.0021	马克思主义
38	173 +	522.56	0.0029	推动
39	235 +	508.6	0.004	不断
40	161 +	492.72	0.0027	生态
41	183 +	492.2	0.0031	重大
42	122 +	487.65	0.0021	深化
43	826 +	484.71	0.0136	我们
44	140 +	475.02	0.0024	落实
45	146 +	465.38	0.0025	完善
46	108 +	459.29	0.0018	治国
47	143 +	458.12	0.0024	体制
48	170 +	450.69	0.0029	开放
49	133 +	448.57	0.0023	各级
50	100 +	448.38	0.0017	什
51	142 +	439.63	0.0024	增强
52	107 +	438.93	0.0018	贫困
53	105 +	429.91	0.0018	腐败

54	180 +	424.53	0.0031	依法
55	224 +	417.97	0.0038	安全
56	200 +	415.65	0.0034	提高
57	137 +	415.12	0.0023	么
58	97 +	414.74	0.0017	全党
59	162 +	414.54	0.0028	水平
60	110 +	410.46	0.0019	纪律
61	138 +	410.35	0.0024	维护
62	213 +	408.09	0.0036	解决
63	87 +	406.86	0.0015	脱贫
64	163 +	400.94	0.0028	政策
65	136 +	390.15	0.0023	核心
66	143 +	388.46	0.0024	战略
67	138 +	386.16	0.0024	发挥
68	90 +	382.73	0.0015	八大
69	124 +	381.35	0.0021	贯彻
70	115 +	376.61	0.002	形势
71	95 +	375.85	0.0016	作风
72	195 +	375.52	0.0033	基本
73	264 +	375.42	0.0045	重要
74	87 +	374.85	0.0015	中国共产党
75	112 +	372.21	0.0019	民主
76	87 +	348.95	0.0015	党员
77	170 +	343.34	0.0029	基础
78	109 +	339.74	0.0019	把握
79	179 +	335.9	0.003	理论
80	106 +	334.79	0.0018	坚定
81	115 +	332.91	0.002	军队
82	112 +	329.46	0.0019	加快

83	146 +	326.22	0.0025	目标
84	77 +	323.44	0.0013	党内
85	98 +	322.33	0.0017	坚决
86	144 +	322.01	0.0025	事业
87	122 +	313.92	0.0021	风险
88	109 +	311.68	0.0019	做到
89	87 +	311.02	0.0015	供给
90	141 +	310.58	0.0024	任务
91	134 +	304.95	0.0023	保障
92	135 +	303.1	0.0023	利益
93	143 +	302.51	0.0024	更加
94	116 +	301.81	0.002	道路
95	219 +	301.72	0.0037	要求
96	84 +	301.42	0.0014	执政
97	147 +	300.5	0.0025	监督
98	104 +	294.39	0.0018	突出
99	98 +	293.6	0.0017	奋斗
100	178 +	292.67	0.003	作用
101	149 +	292.63	0.0025	根本
102	191 +	291.74	0.0032	同
103	133 +	289.96	0.0023	中央
104	62 +	289.93	0.0011	毛泽东
105	87 +	287.53	0.0015	理念
106	74 +	286.76	0.0013	国防
107	204 +	284.89	0.0035	历史
108	88 +	281.31	0.0015	小康
109	79 +	280.03	0.0013	路线
110	65 +	279.98	0.0011	常态
111	84 +	277.8	0.0014	强化

112 70 + 277.39 0.0012 出版社  
113 76 + 273.64 0.0013 信念  
114 89 + 268.93 0.0015 党中央  
115 466+ 267.39 0.0078 把  
116 101+ 266.65 0.0017 机制  
117 177+ 266.14 0.003 组织  
118 94 + 265.7 0.0016 广大  
119 172+ 265.28 0.0029 法律  
120 88 + 264.97 0.0015 革命  
121 116+ 263.2 0.002 统一  
122 91 + 262.03 0.0016 引导  
123 100+ 261.26 0.0017 中华民族  
124 119+ 260.48 0.002 伟大  
125 161+ 258.17 0.0027 形成  
126 69 + 257.15 0.0012 基层  
127 85 + 253.12 0.0014 自觉  
128 62 + 250.56 0.0011 着力  
129 102+ 248 0.0017 重点  
130 94 + 247.54 0.0016 司法  
131 56 + 244.88 0.001 攻坚  
132 72 + 244.42 0.0012 方针  
133 155+ 242.88 0.0026 学习  
134 54 + 242.73 0.0009 党组织  
135 66 + 240.63 0.0011 规矩  
136 90 + 239.57 0.0015 协调  
137 56 + 238.76 0.001 县委  
138 604+ 237.13 0.01 为  
139 68 + 236.38 0.0012 党委  
140 96 + 235.6 0.0016 抓

141 90	+	232.8	0.0015	现代化
142 135	+	232.24	0.0023	努力
143 87	+	230.14	0.0015	治
144 56	+	228.29	0.001	价值观
145 101	+	227.76	0.0017	实际
146 168	+	226.17	0.0029	精神
147 73	+	225.48	0.0012	决策
148 48	+	224.46	0.0008	群团
149 73	+	223.19	0.0012	注重
150 61	+	222.45	0.001	健全
151 71	+	219.78	0.0012	版
152 111	+	217.07	0.0019	领域
153 154	+	216.6	0.0026	各
154 61	+	215.89	0.001	建成
155 93	+	215.01	0.0016	深入
156 461	+	212.87	0.0077	好
157 57	+	212.11	0.001	深度
158 165	+	211.56	0.0028	方面
159 50	+	211.36	0.0009	扶贫
160 142	+	210.86	0.0024	教育
161 179	+	210.43	0.003	国际
162 58	+	209.52	0.001	树立
163 125	+	207.42	0.0021	共同
164 82	+	206.86	0.0014	团结
165 76	+	206.62	0.0013	宣传
166 122	+	206.43	0.0021	既
167 58	+	206.26	0.001	周边
168 96	+	205.86	0.0016	稳定
169 178	+	205.83	0.003	关系

170 44 + 205.75 0.0008 强军  
171 102 + 203.54 0.0017 始终  
172 71 + 202.66 0.0012 页  
173 53 + 202.06 0.0009 大局  
174 99 + 201.66 0.0017 促进  
175 402 + 201.61 0.0067 以  
176 51 + 201.35 0.0009 社会科学  
177 43 + 201.08 0.0007 非公有制  
178 46 + 198.88 0.0008 从严  
179 46 + 198.88 0.0008 注释  
180 83 + 198.36 0.0014 成果  
181 86 + 197.64 0.0015 公平  
182 102 + 197.14 0.0017 正确  
183 55 + 196.65 0.0009 构建  
184 44 + 196.37 0.0008 抓好  
185 159 + 196.11 0.0027 环境  
186 116 + 195.88 0.002 力量  
187 98 + 194.04 0.0017 积极  
188 41 + 191.72 0.0007 党性  
189 69 + 191.16 0.0012 各项  
190 88 + 186.59 0.0015 理想  
191 49 + 184.52 0.0008 坚定不移  
192 92 + 182.51 0.0016 搞  
193 118 + 181.17 0.002 讲  
194 42 + 180.53 0.0007 文选  
195 126 + 180.11 0.0021 第  
196 90 + 178.31 0.0015 道德  
197 58 + 176.95 0.001 切实  
198 56 + 173.54 0.001 协商

199 127 +	172.5	0.0022	市场
200 69 +	172.44	0.0012	需求
201 109 +	171.71	0.0019	就是
202 102 +	171.54	0.0017	金融
203 40 +	171.37	0.0007	导向
204 43 +	170.01	0.0007	军民
205 78 +	169.17	0.0013	权力
206 71 +	169.1	0.0012	优势
207 64 +	168.82	0.0011	部署
208 51 +	168.08	0.0009	敢于
209 165 +	167.46	0.0028	能力
210 112 +	166.98	0.0019	责任
211 73 +	166.36	0.0012	深刻
212 142 +	164.91	0.0024	提出
213 35 +	163.66	0.0006	引领
214 184 +	161.27	0.0031	见
215 82 +	158.33	0.0014	矛盾
216 64 +	157.56	0.0011	斗争
217 47 +	156.91	0.0008	共享
218 87 +	156.86	0.0015	原则
219 40 +	156.67	0.0007	共产党人
220 49 +	154.81	0.0008	改进
221 55 +	154.81	0.0009	队伍
222 59 +	153.73	0.001	总体
223 60 +	152.48	0.001	书记
224 85 +	151.77	0.0014	开展
225 120 +	150.4	0.002	服务
226 32 +	149.64	0.0005	党风
227 32 +	149.64	0.0005	看齐

228 83	+	149.5	0.0014	关键
229 54	+	149.11	0.0009	国有
230 89	+	147.55	0.0015	意识
231 182	+	146.99	0.0031	文化
232 107	+	145.98	0.0018	保持
233 46	+	145.09	0.0008	举措
234 74	+	144.7	0.0013	强调
235 302	+	143	0.0051	更
236 75	+	142.64	0.0013	体现
237 87	+	142.64	0.0015	方向
238 49	+	141.54	0.0008	自信
239 46	+	140.42	0.0008	善于
240 38	+	140.21	0.0006	全局
241 57	+	140.11	0.001	正义
242 56	+	139.59	0.001	确保
243 33	+	139.39	0.0006	带头
244 40	+	139.04	0.0007	国情
245 36	+	138.95	0.0006	立足
246 75	+	138.64	0.0013	阶段
247 61	+	138.54	0.001	前进
248 59	+	138.44	0.001	准
249 115	+	138.19	0.002	特别
250 51	+	137.79	0.0009	住房
251 41	+	137.46	0.0007	担当
252 89	+	137.06	0.0015	合作
253 31	+	136.26	0.0005	廉政
254 597	+	135.83	0.0099	对
255 78	+	135.47	0.0013	长期
256 87	+	133.06	0.0015	时期

257 52 + 133 0.0009 加大  
258 53 + 131.89 0.0009 主体  
259 84 + 131.71 0.0014 文明  
260 124 + 131.27 0.0021 科学  
261 47 + 129.99 0.0008 外交  
262 32 + 129.77 0.0005 结构性  
263 79 + 129.71 0.0013 增长  
264 51 + 129.37 0.0009 融合  
265 124 + 128.79 0.0021 十  
266 52 + 128.3 0.0009 力度  
267 44 + 128.22 0.0008 全体  
268 83 + 128.15 0.0014 有效  
269 29 + 127.04 0.0005 守法  
270 73 + 126.97 0.0012 充分  
271 48 + 126.61 0.0008 复兴  
272 65 + 125.82 0.0011 参与  
273 77 + 124 0.0013 以来  
274 37 + 123.58 0.0006 成效  
275 33 + 122.04 0.0006 实事求是  
276 47 + 121.25 0.0008 统筹  
277 29 + 121.18 0.0005 牢记  
278 42 + 120.46 0.0007 舆论  
279 67 + 120.09 0.0011 军事  
280 34 + 119.71 0.0006 对外开放  
281 36 + 119.43 0.0006 生产力  
282 102 + 118.97 0.0017 健康  
283 45 + 118.91 0.0008 弘扬  
284 27 + 117.83 0.0005 巡视  
285 38 + 117.59 0.0006 宪法

286 74	+	117.14	0.0013	创造
287 94	+	116.94	0.0016	民族
288 25	+	116.9	0.0004	党校
289 25	+	116.9	0.0004	党章
290 25	+	116.9	0.0004	政法
291 58	+	115.38	0.001	运用
292 35	+	115.29	0.0006	优化
293 32	+	114.35	0.0005	高校
294 103	+	113.75	0.0018	资源
295 49	+	113.4	0.0008	当前
296 26	+	113.23	0.0004	谋划
297 78	+	113.03	0.0013	保证
298 35	+	112.7	0.0006	抓紧
299 72	+	112.33	0.0012	和平
300 370	+	112.02	0.0062	能
301 46	+	111.42	0.0008	依靠
302 40	+	110.86	0.0007	学科
303 40	+	110.86	0.0007	巩固
304 49	+	110.72	0.0008	能源
305 65	+	110.52	0.0011	经验
306 40	+	109.02	0.0007	格局
307 59	+	108.24	0.001	全球
308 119	+	107.99	0.002	地区
309 39	+	107.07	0.0007	十八
310 49	+	106.87	0.0008	做好
311 96	+	106.56	0.0016	认识
312 45	+	106.45	0.0008	围绕
313 57	+	106.03	0.001	指导
314 56	+	105.94	0.001	面临

315 202 +	105.65	0.0034	世界
316 32 +	105.56	0.0005	本领
317 36 +	105.28	0.0006	到位
318 39 +	105.26	0.0007	培育
319 29 +	104.75	0.0005	战斗力
320 46 +	104.42	0.0008	动力
321 31 +	104.13	0.0005	宗旨
322 24 +	104.03	0.0004	三中全会
323 49 +	103.22	0.0008	挑战
324 44 +	102.96	0.0008	出发
325 22 +	102.87	0.0004	马克思
326 59 +	102.63	0.001	广泛
327 58 +	102.39	0.001	哲学
328 39 +	101.81	0.0007	活力
329 29 +	101.56	0.0005	牢固
330 26 +	98.83	0.0004	践
331 81 +	98.74	0.0014	取得
332 60 +	98.6	0.001	集中
333 21 +	98.2	0.0004	安全生产
334 36 +	97.58	0.0006	当代
335 87 +	97.39	0.0015	时代
336 28 +	97.32	0.0005	发扬
337 39 +	96.99	0.0007	侧
338 45 +	95.99	0.0008	必然
339 25 +	94.44	0.0004	决不
340 24 +	94	0.0004	共产主义
341 67 +	93.66	0.0011	行动
342 56 +	92.98	0.001	届
343 110 +	92.69	0.0019	方式

344 65	+	92.54	0.0011	重视
345 63	+	92.17	0.0011	卷
346 116	+	92	0.002	主要
347 28	+	91.7	0.0005	全军
348 72	+	91.56	0.0012	产业
349 25	+	90.88	0.0004	化解
350 38	+	90.46	0.0006	配置
351 61	+	90.41	0.001	规律
352 71	+	90.29	0.0012	支持
353 21	+	90.26	0.0004	打仗
354 87	+	89.75	0.0015	实施
355 23	+	89.56	0.0004	着眼
356 26	+	88.89	0.0004	创造性
357 19	+	88.84	0.0003	十三五
358 19	+	88.84	0.0003	经济全球化
359 25	+	87.66	0.0004	动摇
360 116	+	86.18	0.002	政府
361 55	+	86.05	0.0009	人口
362 39	+	85.83	0.0007	精
363 20	+	85.68	0.0003	自我批评
364 54	+	85.63	0.0009	适应
365 63	+	85.27	0.0011	结合
366 27	+	85.1	0.0005	优良
367 21	+	85.01	0.0004	全会
368 25	+	84.7	0.0004	民营
369 29	+	84.18	0.0005	效益
370 18	+	84.17	0.0003	胡锦涛
371 41	+	84.05	0.0007	批评
372 66	+	83.98	0.0011	结构

373 68	+	83.5	0.0012	项
374 63	+	83.32	0.0011	管
375 74	+	82.68	0.0013	建立
376 31	+	82.41	0.0005	民生
377 19	+	81.11	0.0003	毛泽东思想
378 36	+	80.8	0.0006	总结
379 42	+	80.73	0.0007	观点
380 34	+	80.71	0.0006	环节
381 17	+	79.49	0.0003	恩格斯
382 17	+	79.49	0.0003	贸易区
383 51	+	78.81	0.0009	地位
384 26	+	78.78	0.0004	积极性
385 40	+	78.64	0.0007	人才
386 40	+	78.64	0.0007	机遇
387 55	+	78.62	0.0009	高度
388 50	+	78.37	0.0009	良好
389 58	+	78.31	0.001	相互
390 47	+	78.02	0.0008	扩大
391 44	+	77.13	0.0008	改善
392 18	+	76.54	0.0003	当家作主
393 40	+	76.54	0.0007	执法
394 18	+	76.54	0.0003	马克思列宁主义
395 23	+	76.37	0.0004	底线
396 41	+	75.62	0.0007	中华
397 24	+	75.38	0.0004	协同
398 32	+	75.13	0.0005	局面
399 16	+	74.82	0.0003	反腐倡廉
400 16	+	74.82	0.0003	江泽民
401 16	+	74.82	0.0003	治军

402 16	+	74.82	0.0003	领导班子
403 51	+	74.34	0.0009	持续
404 21	+	73.75	0.0004	互利
405 21	+	73.75	0.0004	信息化
406 27	+	72.74	0.0005	牢牢
407 59	+	72.72	0.001	国内
408 17	+	71.97	0.0003	五中全会
409 41	+	71.85	0.0007	和谐
410 50	+	71.66	0.0009	民
411 18	+	71.57	0.0003	资本主义
412 59	+	71.55	0.001	执行
413 23	+	71.35	0.0004	调动
414 38	+	71.34	0.0006	探索
415 46	+	71.13	0.0008	反映
416 27	+	71	0.0005	旗帜
417 24	+	70.88	0.0004	政治局
418 58	+	70.87	0.001	联系
419 47	+	70.84	0.0008	严格
420 26	+	70.77	0.0004	办事
421 25	+	70.72	0.0004	宏观
422 15	+	70.14	0.0003	帮扶
423 15	+	70.14	0.0003	治国理政
424 56	+	70.13	0.001	困难
425 22	+	69.7	0.0004	决定性
426 169	+	69.53	0.0029	使
427 20	+	69.52	0.0003	模范
428 33	+	69.51	0.0006	职责
429 27	+	69.34	0.0005	制约
430 70	+	69.24	0.0012	有的

431 23	+	69.09	0.0004	邓小平理论
432 26	+	69.01	0.0004	要素
433 40	+	68.89	0.0007	整体
434 24	+	68.83	0.0004	富裕
435 44	+	68.68	0.0008	主动
436 32	+	68.61	0.0005	立场
437 19	+	68.4	0.0003	沿线
438 30	+	68.21	0.0005	发展观
439 31	+	67.73	0.0005	各族
440 18	+	67.55	0.0003	丝绸之路
441 25	+	67.02	0.0004	责
442 82	+	66.77	0.0014	传统
443 20	+	66.65	0.0003	违纪
444 200	+	66.15	0.0034	做
445 41	+	65.83	0.0007	消费
446 14	+	65.46	0.0002	产能
447 14	+	65.46	0.0002	惩治
448 41	+	65.02	0.0007	涉及
449 29	+	64.8	0.0005	考验
450 27	+	64.73	0.0005	忠诚
451 30	+	64.39	0.0005	有力
452 18	+	64.12	0.0003	拥护
453 21	+	63.37	0.0004	勇于
454 24	+	63.3	0.0004	初级
455 17	+	63.19	0.0003	主动性
456 17	+	63.19	0.0003	全心全意
457 30	+	63.19	0.0005	布局
458 17	+	63.19	0.0003	顺应
459 15	+	62.86	0.0003	系统性

460 15	+	62.86	0.0003	论语
461 16	+	62.66	0.0003	共产党员
462 16	+	62.66	0.0003	发展中国家
463 36	+	62.45	0.0006	抓住
464 59	+	62.39	0.001	作出
465 25	+	62.09	0.0004	真理
466 37	+	61.87	0.0006	优秀
467 36	+	61.56	0.0006	立法
468 40	+	61.45	0.0007	紧紧
469 46	+	61.23	0.0008	实行
470 13	+	60.79	0.0002	合力
471 13	+	60.79	0.0002	西方国家
472 40	+	60.69	0.0007	反对
473 136	+	60.45	0.0023	起来
474 24	+	60.04	0.0004	有序
475 19	+	59.98	0.0003	决不能
476 19	+	59.98	0.0003	贯穿
477 17	+	59.85	0.0003	先进性
478 22	+	59.33	0.0004	政党
479 53	+	59.01	0.0009	权
480 28	+	58.98	0.0005	监管
481 16	+	58.85	0.0003	大势
482 16	+	58.85	0.0003	调控
483 14	+	58.32	0.0002	公有制
484 14	+	58.32	0.0002	夯实
485 15	+	58.23	0.0003	民心
486 15	+	58.23	0.0003	耻
487 38	+	58.22	0.0006	赢
488 40	+	57.75	0.0007	遵守

489 22	+	57.6	0.0004	坚守
490 48	+	57.1	0.0008	明确
491 12	+	56.11	0.0002	发展战略
492 12	+	56.11	0.0002	经济带
493 12	+	56.11	0.0002	远大
494 16	+	55.61	0.0003	顶层
495 20	+	55.43	0.0003	我军
496 33	+	55.41	0.0006	转变
497 25	+	55.11	0.0004	鲜明
498 31	+	54.86	0.0005	有利于
499 30	+	54.67	0.0005	市场经济
500 67	+	54.59	0.0011	处理
501 15	+	54.53	0.0003	事关
502 22	+	54.39	0.0004	凝聚
503 85	+	54.31	0.0014	全
504 14	+	53.81	0.0002	生产总值
505 13	+	53.79	0.0002	形式主义
506 40	+	53.67	0.0007	区域
507 20	+	53.62	0.0003	长远
508 23	+	53.56	0.0004	约束
509 75	+	52.96	0.0013	全国
510 44	+	52.63	0.0007	及时
511 32	+	52.52	0.0005	公正
512 21	+	52.34	0.0004	差距
513 92	+	52.08	0.0016	具有
514 17	+	51.94	0.0003	高举
515 20	+	51.91	0.0003	全民
516 32	+	51.7	0.0005	收入
517 18	+	51.62	0.0003	聚焦

518 25	+	51.5	0.0004	意志
519 11	+	51.44	0.0002	旗帜鲜明
520 11	+	51.44	0.0002	毫不动摇
521 11	+	51.44	0.0002	清廉
522 11	+	51.44	0.0002	选人
523 16	+	50.25	0.0003	务实
524 14	+	50.23	0.0002	军委
525 32	+	50.09	0.0005	官
526 55	+	50.05	0.0009	反
527 19	+	49.9	0.0003	节约
528 33	+	49.78	0.0006	观念
529 17	+	49.77	0.0003	独立自主
530 17	+	49.77	0.0003	监察
531 31	+	49.67	0.0005	履行
532 49	+	49.5	0.0008	规范
533 13	+	49.41	0.0002	长治久安
534 26	+	49.29	0.0004	赢得
535 25	+	49.28	0.0004	使命
536 12	+	49.26	0.0002	切身利益
537 12	+	49.26	0.0002	坚持不懈
538 31	+	48.87	0.0005	培养
539 22	+	48.8	0.0004	行使
540 20	+	48.76	0.0003	深厚
541 96	+	48.71	0.0016	性
542 15	+	48.66	0.0003	代表大会
543 24	+	48.27	0.0004	紧密
544 16	+	47.97	0.0003	内在
545 28	+	47.78	0.0005	权威
546 23	+	47.29	0.0004	严

547 14	+	47.21	0.0002	针对性
548 25	+	47.2	0.0004	变革
549 24	+	47.18	0.0004	本质
550 41	+	47.17	0.0007	认真
551 10	+	46.76	0.0002	胜仗
552 10	+	46.76	0.0002	落到实处
553 10	+	46.76	0.0002	领导人员
554 43	+	46.5	0.0007	特点
555 15	+	46.23	0.0003	统一战线
556 18	+	46.22	0.0003	职能
557 23	+	46.16	0.0004	积累
558 37	+	46.13	0.0006	自我
559 24	+	46.13	0.0004	遵循
560 13	+	45.95	0.0002	文集
561 17	+	45.93	0.0003	借鉴
562 16	+	45.89	0.0003	艰巨
563 30	+	45.33	0.0005	百年
564 25	+	45.24	0.0004	平等
565 31	+	45.1	0.0005	学术
566 12	+	45.03	0.0002	严明
567 41	+	45.03	0.0007	分析
568 12	+	45.03	0.0002	奢靡
569 12	+	45.03	0.0002	惠及
570 72	+	44.89	0.0012	变化
571 11	+	44.75	0.0002	享乐主义
572 11	+	44.75	0.0002	增速
573 11	+	44.75	0.0002	实效
574 18	+	44.64	0.0003	纠正
575 25	+	44.3	0.0004	支撑

576 17	+	44.2	0.0003	态势
577 15	+	44.04	0.0003	过硬
578 27	+	44.03	0.0005	准确
579 16	+	43.97	0.0003	企业家
580 31	+	43.69	0.0005	对外
581 25	+	43.39	0.0004	提升
582 20	+	43.34	0.0003	带动
583 29	+	43.34	0.0005	规则
584 145	+	43.22	0.0025	生活
585 21	+	43.07	0.0004	大国
586 13	+	43.05	0.0002	提拔
587 13	+	43.05	0.0002	根基
588 13	+	43.05	0.0002	气力
589 42	+	42.29	0.0007	措施
590 14	+	42.25	0.0002	壮大
591 14	+	42.25	0.0002	忠于
592 24	+	42.24	0.0004	脱离
593 16	+	42.2	0.0003	朝着
594 9	+	42.08	0.0002	产能过剩
595 9	+	42.08	0.0002	扎扎实实
596 9	+	42.08	0.0002	民主集中制
597 9	+	42.08	0.0002	求真务实
598 9	+	42.08	0.0002	表率
599 46	+	41.77	0.0008	空间
600 30	+	41.75	0.0005	成就
601 18	+	41.74	0.0003	老百姓
602 12	+	41.71	0.0002	战略性
603 12	+	41.71	0.0002	抵制
604 12	+	41.71	0.0002	福祉

605 33	+	41.68	0.0006	各国
606 37	+	41.6	0.0006	安排
607 87	+	40.68	0.0015	作为
608 11	+	40.68	0.0002	增量
609 72	+	40.56	0.0012	各种
610 13	+	40.53	0.0002	全方位
611 106	+	40.46	0.0018	成为
612 18	+	40.4	0.0003	开拓
613 10	+	40.26	0.0002	官僚主义
614 10	+	40.26	0.0002	实绩
615 10	+	40.26	0.0002	纪委
616 15	+	40.21	0.0003	牢
617 14	+	40.15	0.0002	落地
618 20	+	39.86	0.0003	拓展
619 20	+	39.86	0.0003	显著
620 21	+	39.85	0.0004	克服
621 21	+	39.85	0.0004	开创
622 26	+	39.64	0.0004	就要
623 71	+	39.26	0.0012	保护
624 47	+	39.26	0.0008	机关
625 29	+	39.15	0.0005	鼓励
626 16	+	39.01	0.0003	确立
627 12	+	38.93	0.0002	分工
628 12	+	38.93	0.0002	自治
629 68	+	38.65	0.0012	条件
630 73	+	38.62	0.0012	路
631 23	+	38.41	0.0004	光荣
632 14	+	38.25	0.0002	倾斜
633 14	+	38.25	0.0002	国家机关

634 56	+	38.12	0.001	质量
635 22	+	38.11	0.0004	城乡
636 47	+	38.09	0.0008	现象
637 27	+	37.98	0.0005	进程
638 31	+	37.96	0.0005	命运
639 24	+	37.96	0.0004	解放
640 34	+	37.84	0.0006	关
641 20	+	37.76	0.0003	政
642 20	+	37.76	0.0003	谈话
643 16	+	37.56	0.0003	倡导
644 16	+	37.56	0.0003	繁重
645 11	+	37.5	0.0002	特权
646 11	+	37.5	0.0002	艰苦奋斗
647 26	+	37.43	0.0004	怎
648 8	+	37.41	0.0001	一把手
649 8	+	37.41	0.0001	中国化
650 8	+	37.41	0.0001	共建
651 8	+	37.41	0.0001	大政方针
652 8	+	37.41	0.0001	大是大非
653 8	+	37.41	0.0001	笼子
654 8	+	37.41	0.0001	老区
655 8	+	37.41	0.0001	金融危机
656 56	+	37.15	0.001	标准
657 17	+	37.02	0.0003	商量
658 15	+	36.95	0.0003	土壤
659 15	+	36.95	0.0003	激励
660 23	+	36.75	0.0004	带领
661 19	+	36.69	0.0003	落后
662 37	+	36.61	0.0006	只有

663	12	+	36.53	0.0002	基础性
664	12	+	36.53	0.0002	领会
665	14	+	36.5	0.0002	廉洁
666	14	+	36.5	0.0002	潜力
667	14	+	36.5	0.0002	驱动
668	10	+	36.35	0.0002	纯洁性
669	10	+	36.35	0.0002	落脚点
670	21	+	36.05	0.0004	对待
671	54	+	35.91	0.0009	中心
672	9	+	35.78	0.0002	并举
673	9	+	35.78	0.0002	滋养
674	9	+	35.78	0.0002	珠海
675	9	+	35.78	0.0002	统战
676	9	+	35.78	0.0002	辩证
677	37	+	35.68	0.0006	立
678	24	+	35.66	0.0004	各类
679	18	+	35.65	0.0003	中共
680	18	+	35.65	0.0003	查处
681	33	+	35.55	0.0006	违法
682	47	+	35.5	0.0008	靠
683	29	+	35.43	0.0005	集体
684	28	+	35.36	0.0005	坚强
685	16	+	34.92	0.0003	历史性
686	20	+	34.89	0.0003	岗位
687	11	+	34.85	0.0002	忧
688	11	+	34.85	0.0002	教材
689	60	+	34.54	0.001	真正
690	13	+	34.5	0.0002	打造
691	12	+	34.42	0.0002	实实在在

692 12	+	34.42	0.0002	肩负
693 21	+	34.34	0.0004	事务
694 38	+	34.26	0.0006	价值
695 22	+	33.95	0.0004	客观
696 85	+	33.73	0.0014	活动
697 16	+	33.7	0.0003	总量
698 16	+	33.7	0.0003	新兴
699 18	+	33.58	0.0003	人文
700 17	+	33.55	0.0003	准则
701 26	+	33.45	0.0004	信心
702 26	+	33.45	0.0004	实
703 26	+	33.45	0.0004	贡献
704 10	+	33.32	0.0002	富强
705 68	+	33.16	0.0012	强
706 31	+	33.06	0.0005	自身
707 28	+	33.02	0.0005	设施
708 141	+	33.01	0.0024	企业
709 13	+	32.85	0.0002	传承
710 7	+	32.73	0.0001	义利观
711 7	+	32.73	0.0001	威信
712 7	+	32.73	0.0001	总揽
713 7	+	32.73	0.0001	查
714 7	+	32.73	0.0001	清正廉洁
715 7	+	32.73	0.0001	生命线
716 7	+	32.73	0.0001	选集
717 7	+	32.73	0.0001	重在
718 7	+	32.73	0.0001	锐
719 7	+	32.73	0.0001	钉子
720 39	+	32.59	0.0007	意见

721 11	+	32.58	0.0002	废
722 11	+	32.58	0.0002	捍卫
723 34	+	32.47	0.0006	复杂
724 30	+	32.32	0.0005	各个
725 23	+	32.28	0.0004	检验
726 33	+	32.16	0.0006	胜利
727 9	+	32.06	0.0002	不力
728 9	+	32.06	0.0002	不正之风
729 9	+	32.06	0.0002	原则性
730 9	+	32.06	0.0002	所有制
731 9	+	32.06	0.0002	整风
732 9	+	32.06	0.0002	武昌
733 34	+	32.03	0.0006	思维
734 28	+	31.92	0.0005	用人
735 32	+	31.86	0.0005	允许
736 29	+	31.58	0.0005	观
737 17	+	31.5	0.0003	官兵
738 17	+	31.5	0.0003	思路
739 20	+	31.5	0.0003	继承
740 17	+	31.5	0.0003	防范
741 8	+	31.33	0.0001	创立者
742 8	+	31.33	0.0001	实干
743 8	+	31.33	0.0001	照镜子
744 8	+	31.33	0.0001	畅通
745 8	+	31.33	0.0001	科学化
746 13	+	31.33	0.0002	考核
747 8	+	31.33	0.0001	葆
748 8	+	31.33	0.0001	衔接
749 22	+	31.03	0.0004	素质

750 25	+	30.97	0.0004	判断
751 10	+	30.82	0.0002	实事
752 12	+	30.82	0.0002	崇高
753 12	+	30.82	0.0002	强国
754 10	+	30.82	0.0002	整治
755 10	+	30.82	0.0002	纪检
756 14	+	30.71	0.0002	人力
757 15	+	30.44	0.0003	修养
758 22	+	30.34	0.0004	严肃
759 22	+	30.34	0.0004	损害
760 59	+	30.31	0.001	梦
761 13	+	29.92	0.0002	推向
762 28	+	29.83	0.0005	论
763 17	+	29.61	0.0003	共识
764 29	+	29.59	0.0005	系列
765 29	+	29.59	0.0005	追求
766 71	+	29.56	0.0012	法
767 15	+	29.35	0.0003	优先
768 15	+	29.35	0.0003	听取
769 15	+	29.35	0.0003	增进
770 86	+	29.3	0.0015	地方
771 9	+	29.2	0.0002	党政
772 9	+	29.2	0.0002	无产阶级
773 1859	+	29.2	0.0277	是
774 9	+	29.2	0.0002	督促
775 9	+	29.2	0.0002	素养
776 9	+	29.2	0.0002	蓝图
777 9	+	29.2	0.0002	阶段性
778 33	+	29.1	0.0006	竞争

779 73	+	29.03	0.0012	任何
780 11	+	28.8	0.0002	政治家
781 19	+	28.73	0.0003	前途
782 10	+	28.68	0.0002	优越性
783 13	+	28.61	0.0002	美德
784 16	+	28.46	0.0003	外部
785 49	+	28.45	0.0008	调整
786 59	+	28.32	0.001	干
787 6	+	28.06	0.0001	一九九七
788 6	+	28.06	0.0001	为此
789 6	+	28.06	0.0001	五位一体
790 6	+	28.06	0.0001	京津冀
791 6	+	28.06	0.0001	人心向背
792 6	+	28.06	0.0001	历史唯物主义
793 6	+	28.06	0.0001	四中全会
794 6	+	28.06	0.0001	学风
795 6	+	28.06	0.0001	守土有责
796 6	+	28.06	0.0001	家风
797 6	+	28.06	0.0001	尽责
798 6	+	28.06	0.0001	德才兼备
799 6	+	28.06	0.0001	执纪
800 6	+	28.06	0.0001	施策
801 6	+	28.06	0.0001	权责
802 6	+	28.06	0.0001	秉公
803 6	+	28.06	0.0001	系统工程
804 6	+	28.06	0.0001	贫困县
805 6	+	28.06	0.0001	高端
806 24	+	27.98	0.0004	综合
807 44	+	27.85	0.0007	办

808 12	+	27.83	0.0002	哲学家
809 8	+	27.81	0.0001	主线
810 8	+	27.81	0.0001	和平共处
811 8	+	27.81	0.0001	班子
812 8	+	27.81	0.0001	着力点
813 8	+	27.81	0.0001	经得起
814 21	+	27.77	0.0004	今后
815 43	+	27.69	0.0007	力
816 16	+	27.55	0.0003	大事
817 16	+	27.55	0.0003	课题
818 18	+	27.5	0.0003	主张
819 13	+	27.38	0.0002	潮流
820 26	+	27.34	0.0004	大力
821 15	+	27.33	0.0003	谋
822 23	+	27.29	0.0004	善
823 23	+	27.29	0.0004	高级
824 11	+	27.2	0.0002	同步
825 11	+	27.2	0.0002	腐
826 31	+	27.12	0.0005	强大
827 17	+	27.06	0.0003	就业
828 7	+	26.91	0.0001	一成不变
829 7	+	26.91	0.0001	一致性
830 7	+	26.91	0.0001	拒腐防变
831 7	+	26.91	0.0001	正气
832 7	+	26.91	0.0001	脚踏实地
833 7	+	26.91	0.0001	西汉
834 36	+	26.86	0.0006	绿色
835 9	+	26.85	0.0002	纲领
836 10	+	26.81	0.0002	制度化

837	10	+	26.81	0.0002	工业化
838	10	+	26.81	0.0002	抓起
839	10	+	26.81	0.0002	方方面面
840	10	+	26.81	0.0002	相辅相成
841	10	+	26.81	0.0002	融资
842	23	+	26.73	0.0004	营造
843	25	+	26.59	0.0004	贸易
844	12	+	26.5	0.0002	整改
845	29	+	26.4	0.0005	进步
846	24	+	26.37	0.0004	成长
847	13	+	26.24	0.0002	政权
848	13	+	26.24	0.0002	高效
849	14	+	26.23	0.0002	动员
850	14	+	26.23	0.0002	国内外
851	63	+	26.15	0.0011	学
852	18	+	26.02	0.0003	多种
853	18	+	26.02	0.0003	控
854	24	+	25.85	0.0004	实力
855	24	+	25.85	0.0004	有所
856	11	+	25.74	0.0002	军人
857	11	+	25.74	0.0002	盲目
858	11	+	25.74	0.0002	贫
859	51	+	25.68	0.0009	科技
860	28	+	25.63	0.0005	守
861	51	+	25.43	0.0009	现实
862	27	+	25.29	0.0005	主席
863	27	+	25.29	0.0005	手段
864	12	+	25.28	0.0002	北宋
865	12	+	25.28	0.0002	处置

866	12	+	25.28	0.0002	血肉
867	12	+	25.28	0.0002	配套
868	32	+	25.16	0.0005	公共
869	10	+	25.15	0.0002	出发点
870	10	+	25.15	0.0002	攻坚战
871	10	+	25.15	0.0002	民主党派
872	10	+	25.15	0.0002	纪
873	10	+	25.15	0.0002	造福
874	8	+	25.13	0.0001	互联
875	8	+	25.13	0.0001	增长点
876	8	+	25.13	0.0001	多边
877	8	+	25.13	0.0001	本色
878	8	+	25.13	0.0001	路子
879	8	+	25.13	0.0001	阐释
880	8	+	25.13	0.0001	革命家
881	9	+	24.85	0.0002	高等教育
882	17	+	24.78	0.0003	一级
883	17	+	24.78	0.0003	繁荣
884	329	+	24.76	0.0055	大
885	15	+	24.65	0.0003	实体
886	36	+	24.48	0.0006	共
887	247	+	24.48	0.0041	年
888	14	+	24.33	0.0002	近代
889	42	+	24.26	0.0007	制定
890	12	+	24.13	0.0002	风气
891	20	+	24.07	0.0003	前提
892	17	+	24.07	0.0003	各方
893	17	+	24.07	0.0003	秩序
894	24	+	23.9	0.0004	公开

895 15	+	23.83	0.0003	绝不
896 25	+	23.74	0.0004	防止
897 10	+	23.65	0.0002	处在
898 10	+	23.65	0.0002	扎实
899 10	+	23.65	0.0002	示范
900 23	+	23.62	0.0004	板
901 7	+	23.6	0.0001	严守
902 7	+	23.6	0.0001	兴国
903 7	+	23.6	0.0001	基点
904 7	+	23.6	0.0001	存量
905 7	+	23.6	0.0001	安居乐业
906 7	+	23.6	0.0001	当官
907 7	+	23.6	0.0001	政治性
908 7	+	23.6	0.0001	方略
909 7	+	23.6	0.0001	照搬
910 46	+	23.51	0.0008	知识
911 14	+	23.45	0.0002	激发
912 5	+	23.38	0.0001	一九七五
913 5	+	23.38	0.0001	业态
914 5	+	23.38	0.0001	中央党校
915 5	+	23.38	0.0001	供需
916 5	+	23.38	0.0001	党外人士
917 5	+	23.38	0.0001	党情
918 5	+	23.38	0.0001	公约数
919 5	+	23.38	0.0001	共生
920 5	+	23.38	0.0001	共青团
921 5	+	23.38	0.0001	勤俭节约
922 5	+	23.38	0.0001	医务人员
923 5	+	23.38	0.0001	厉行

924 5	+	23.38	0.0001	吕氏
925 5	+	23.38	0.0001	周恩来
926 5	+	23.38	0.0001	唯物辩证法
927 5	+	23.38	0.0001	埋头苦干
928 5	+	23.38	0.0001	建设者
929 5	+	23.38	0.0001	开放型
930 5	+	23.38	0.0001	换届
931 5	+	23.38	0.0001	操守
932 5	+	23.38	0.0001	收入分配
933 5	+	23.38	0.0001	治党
934 5	+	23.38	0.0001	涣散
935 5	+	23.38	0.0001	焦裕禄
936 5	+	23.38	0.0001	甘苦
937 5	+	23.38	0.0001	看家本领
938 5	+	23.38	0.0001	粗放型
939 5	+	23.38	0.0001	组织生活
940 5	+	23.38	0.0001	融通
941 5	+	23.38	0.0001	责任追究
942 5	+	23.38	0.0001	贪图
943 5	+	23.38	0.0001	防微杜渐
944 5	+	23.38	0.0001	集约
945 5	+	23.38	0.0001	项羽
946 25	+	23.3	0.0004	今
947 41	+	23.22	0.0007	符合
948 27	+	23.17	0.0005	平衡
949 9	+	23.11	0.0002	学派
950 12	+	23.06	0.0002	夺取
951 8	+	22.94	0.0001	互通
952 8	+	22.94	0.0001	叠加

953 8	+	22.94	0.0001	思想家
954 8	+	22.94	0.0001	担负
955 8	+	22.94	0.0001	辩证法
956 25	+	22.86	0.0004	权利
957 59	+	22.77	0.001	存在
958 6	+	22.52	0.0001	主要矛盾
959 6	+	22.52	0.0001	党组
960 6	+	22.52	0.0001	决胜
961 6	+	22.52	0.0001	品行
962 6	+	22.52	0.0001	国策
963 6	+	22.52	0.0001	工人阶级
964 6	+	22.52	0.0001	生产关系
965 6	+	22.52	0.0001	脱贫致富
966 6	+	22.52	0.0001	规律性
967 6	+	22.52	0.0001	锤炼
968 43	+	22.32	0.0007	具体
969 10	+	22.3	0.0002	广阔
970 15	+	22.29	0.0003	人人
971 19	+	22.25	0.0003	转化
972 16	+	22.13	0.0003	俱
973 16	+	22.13	0.0003	能否
974 17	+	22.09	0.0003	趋势
975 11	+	22.03	0.0002	服从
976 11	+	22.03	0.0002	荣
977 28	+	22.02	0.0005	必
978 114	+	21.82	0.0019	一些
979 55	+	21.69	0.0009	网络
980 9	+	21.57	0.0002	文学家
981 15	+	21.57	0.0003	有利

982 9	+	21.57	0.0002	演化
983 9	+	21.57	0.0002	要点
984 15	+	21.57	0.0003	话语
985 61	+	21.55	0.001	生产
986 13	+	21.41	0.0002	组成部分
987 25	+	21.2	0.0004	一致
988 19	+	21.16	0.0003	运行
989 21	+	21.14	0.0004	模式
990 7	+	21.12	0.0001	倡议
991 7	+	21.12	0.0001	剖析
992 7	+	21.12	0.0001	必由之路
993 7	+	21.12	0.0001	责任制
994 12	+	21.12	0.0002	面貌
995 7	+	21.12	0.0001	风尚
996 8	+	21.1	0.0001	中等
997 8	+	21.1	0.0001	品格
998 10	+	21.06	0.0002	务必
999 10	+	21.06	0.0002	口号
1000	43 +	21.06	0.0007	敢
1001	37 +	21.03	0.0006	代
1002	17 +	20.87	0.0003	上升
1003	35 +	20.64	0.0006	工程

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