

**WestminsterResearch**

<http://www.westminster.ac.uk/westminsterresearch>

**The Speaker Is Being Impolite. How Is the Interpreter Interpreting That?**

**Wang, C.**

This is the accepted author manuscript of the article, Wang, C. 2025. The Speaker Is Being Impolite. How Is the Interpreter Interpreting That? Across Languages and Cultures. Advanced online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1556/084.2024.00686>.

The version of record is available from the publisher, Akadémiai Kiadó at:

<https://doi.org/10.1556/084.2024.00686>

It is made available under the Creative Commons Attribution Licence

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

The WestminsterResearch online digital archive at the University of Westminster aims to make the research output of the University available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the authors and/or copyright owners.

# **The Speaker Is Being Impolite. How Is the Interpreter Interpreting That?**

*Caiwen Wang, University of Westminster, UK*

*Email: c.wang4@westminster.ac.uk*

## ***Abstract***

Situations where a source speaker attacks their addressee's face pose a challenge for interpreters, due to the potential controversy or conflicts to which impoliteness is prone from a pragmatic perspective. In this study, I drew upon Bousfield's (2008) linguistic model of impoliteness and used a political speech by Nigel Farage, a former UK politician, at the European Parliament to examine how conference interpreters interpret impoliteness. I also conducted an interview immediately after the experiment to probe interpreters' motivations behind their impoliteness interpreting moves. Analysis of the interpreting data from eighteen participants has evinced that (a) speaker-input impoliteness is predominately attenuated by interpreters and is seldom strengthened, and (b) for less experienced interpreters, attenuation is consistently the most frequent manoeuvre to interpret impoliteness among the five ones discovered; for more experienced interpreters, attenuations decrease in number and close renditions increase, with the latter sometimes surpassing the former; More experienced interpreters also have much less or no omissions or misrepresentations. Analysis of the interview data indicates that (a) attenuations and close renditions are interpreters' intended decisions, and (b) omissions and misrepresentations are forced options. It is hoped that the findings from the current study will contribute to the literature on impoliteness interpreting.

.

**Keywords:** conference interpreters, impoliteness interpreting, interview, retrospections, simultaneous interpreting

## **1. Introduction**

This study examines how simultaneous conference interpreters interpret impoliteness input by speakers and why they do so.

The impoliteness framework I drew upon is that of Bousfield (2008). This model is built on the work of Culpeper (1996), Culpeper et al. (2003) and Culpeper (2005), who built their work on Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987) among others. Bousfield's framework simplifies the model of Culpeper (1996, 2005). As such, it is practically useful when we look at speech data for the purpose of Interpreting Studies. Impoliteness is defined in Bousfield (2008, p. 72) as:

[T]he communication of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face threatening acts (FTAs) which are purposefully delivered:

- i. Unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is required, and/or,
- ii. With deliberate *aggression*, that is, with the face threat exacerbated, 'boosted', or maximised in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted.

Although impoliteness is a particular kind of FTAs, being intentionally gratuitous and conflictive in nature as is clear from the above definition, in this paper I will from time to time use the term FTA to refer to impoliteness as well.

Impoliteness is non-marginal in human interactions and is thus worthy of critical consideration and research (Bousfield 2008). Within the field of Interpreting Studies, Magnifico and Defrancq (2016, p. 31) noted that "[t]he study of im/politeness in interpreting is fairly recent, and the few studies conducted highlight the need to do more research into the topic".

## **2. Impoliteness Theory**

Central to the concept of impoliteness (and politeness) is face. A much-quoted definition of face is that by Goffman (1967, p. 5), which refers to “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact.” Brown and Levinson (1987), whose framework is the best known and the most researched for politeness studies (Culpeper, 2011), further posited two components of face. One is “positive face,” which is defined as “the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others ... in particular, it includes the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired” (p. 62), and which clearly echoes Goffman’s concept (1967). The other is “negative face” and is defined as “the want of every competent adult member that his actions be unimpeded by others” (p. 62). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), considerations of face are foregrounded by politeness and interactants are generally motivated to take redressive actions for face saving if they perceive their actions as impinging to some degree upon a person's face (that is, if they see their actions as face-threatening acts or FTAs). The adoption of a specific redressive action, or politeness strategy, is context-bound. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 316) proposed five types of such strategies, so called superstrategies (i.e., general orientations to face), that are systematically related to the degree of face threat: Bold on Record, Positive Politeness, Negative Politeness, Off Record and Withhold the FTA.

Building on the face-based politeness works by Goffman (1967) and Brown and Levinson (1987) as well as other relevant scholarship, Culpeper (1996, 2005) developed an impoliteness framework pertinent to situations where interactants speak rudely or otherwise attack others’ face. Culpeper proposed five what he called impoliteness superstrategies (which obviously contrast with Brown and Levinson’s politeness superstrategies): Bald On-record Impoliteness, Positive Impoliteness, Negative Impoliteness, Off-record Impoliteness and Withhold Politeness. Bousfield (2008, pp. 94-95) simplified this impoliteness model by generalising the five superstrategies into two, as below:

### **(1) On record impoliteness**

The use of strategies designed to *explicitly* (a) attack the face of an interactant, (b) construct the face of an interactant in a non-harmonious or outright conflictive way, (c) deny the expected face wants, needs, or rights of the interactant, or some combination thereof. The attack is made in an unambiguous way given the context in which it occurs.

### **(2) Off record impoliteness**

The use of strategies where the threat or damage to an interactant's face is conveyed indirectly by way of an implicature ... and can be cancelled (e.g., denied) ..., given the context in which it occurs.

As can be seen, in Bousfield's impoliteness model, the umbrella term "face" is used instead of its components "positive face" and "negative face". This generalisation is because "*all* impoliteness could be construed as being an impingement on the Brown and Levinson (1987) notion of 'negative face' (the want to be unimpeded) of the hearer" (p. 142; italics original). In my view, this simplification is especially useful for studies of interpreting on the grounds that if it is evident that a speaker is attacking an aspect of "face", regardless of positive face or negative face, it suffices to examine interpreting behaviours subsequently.

According to Bousfield, "[i]mpoliteness can be communicated through the use of particular, identifiable strategies, within an appropriate situational context and activity type" (ibid., p. 99). He categorised these particular, identifiable strategies into a number of what he called output strategies (e.g., sarcasm, criticism, shouting) and demonstrated them with naturalistic data detailing individual speakers' utterances, the context in which these utterances

occurred, and the activities related to their occurrences. My current study applied these output impoliteness strategies to the speech used for my experiment and on this basis investigated how interpreters conveyed the speaker's impoliteness in their interpreting.

Noteworthy is that the acts for face enhancing, or face threatening, or face damaging can be done by "a verbal or non-verbal communication" (Brown & Levison 1987, p. 313). Bousfield's definition of impoliteness (See Section 1 of this paper) seemingly does not contain non-verbal communication, but in his actual data and data analysis non-verbal cues indicating impoliteness were fully collated. For instance, in identifying a case of sarcasm when a speaker said "*have a good day*", he stated that "[t]he full impact of the sarcasm is only apparent whilst listening to the audio of the exchange" (p. 118). The term "audio" in Bousfield's sense refers to prosodic features such as tonal and other phonological qualities. Additionally, body language like physically blocking one's passage and communicatively denying a turn or interruption also rightly feature in the communication of impoliteness in Bousfield's data.

### **3. Interpreting Impoliteness in Conference Settings**

The existing literature on impoliteness interpreting in conference settings consists of studies out of both naturalistic data and experimental data.

For studies based on naturalistic data, most of them focus on simultaneous interpreting at the European Parliament (EP). Mankauskienė (2015) examined how Lithuanian interpreters simultaneously interpreted UK former politician Nigel Farage's impoliteness and found that they mitigated Farage's impoliteness<sup>1</sup>. The year 2016 saw two comprehensive studies of impoliteness interpreting at the EP drawing upon existing impoliteness theories. One is by

---

<sup>1</sup> This study was published in Lithuanian, a language that I do not speak, but provided an English abstract.

Magnifico and Defrancq. Drawing upon Bousfield's impoliteness model (2008), the researchers studied how English-French and English-Dutch interpreters interpreted impoliteness at the EP and found that interpreters employ five interpreting strategies for impoliteness: Omission, where interpreters "omit the source FTAs altogether" (2016, p. 34); Downtoning, where interpreters "mitigate the source FTAs when their rendering is more indirect and/or less damaging than the original FTA" (p. 35); Translation, "where the interpreter's rendition is as damaging as the original FTA" (p. 35); Strengthening, where "interpreters make FTAs more face-threatening than intended by the speaker" (p. 36); and addition, where interpreters " 'enrich' their interpretation with FTAs that do not occur in the source text" (p. 36). The researchers' overall conclusion regarding how speaker-input impoliteness is interpreted is "translation is the most frequent strategy, applied to 62.3% of the input FTAs", and downtoning occurs in "nearly one out of four cases (24.6%)" (p. 38).

The other study of impoliteness interpreting conducted in 2016 is by Bartłomiejczyk. The researcher studied English-Polish interpreters at the EP by drawing upon Culpeper's impoliteness theory (1996, 2011), which as aforementioned is similar to Bousfield's. Employing slightly different labels in data coding from those in Magnifico and Defrancq (2016), Bartłomiejczyk found that English-Polish interpreters employed four strategies: elimination (10.24%), attenuation (62.46%), close rendition (22.87%), strengthening (4.44%), and she also noted that "Creation of new impoliteness events by the interpreter is not in evidence throughout the whole corpus" (p. 240). In direct contrast to Magnifico and Defrancq, Bartłomiejczyk's finding is that "impoliteness clearly tends to get mitigated, but rather attenuated than eliminated completely" (p. 244). At the same time, Bartłomiejczyk pointed out that data on interpreters' motivations behind their various strategies could be collected from

interpreters' retrospections via interviews and/or focus groups. Thus far, there has not been a study along this line of thinking.

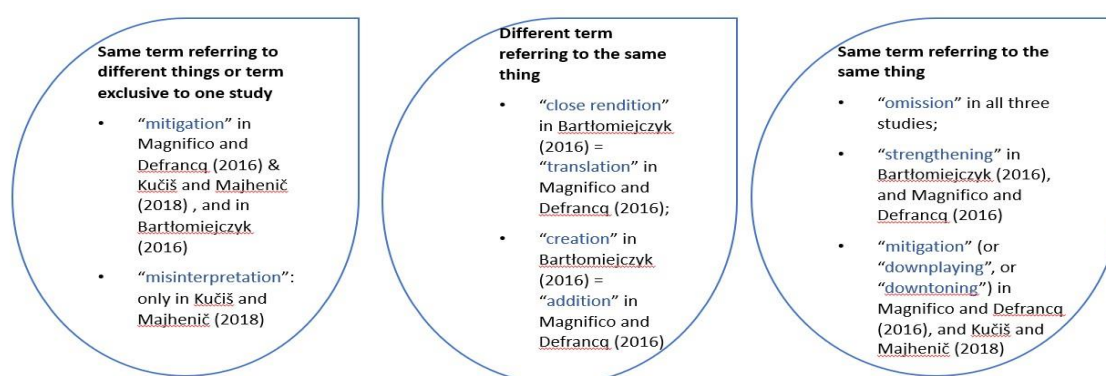
Still focusing on the EP but from a case study angle, Kučič and Majhenič (2018) examined how EP interpreters interpreted impoliteness from speakers in seven speech excerpts "containing delicate or polemic statements" and "their interpretations into English, Croatian, French, German and Slovene" (p. 38). The researchers identified three moves by interpreters: omission, downplaying (or mitigations) or misinterpretation. Their overall finding is that "interpreters tend to tone down the negative components of the source text" (p. 51). This conclusion is congruent with that of Bartłomiejczyk (2016), but it is unclear whether the researchers drew upon a formal framework to code polemic statements, or they only depended on their intuitive judgement.

Of note is that in Bartłomiejczyk (2016), the term "mitigation" is an umbrella term encompassing two types of interpreting strategies: "elimination (where all face threat is removed, typically by means of omission" and "attenuation" (p. 231), which refers to the downtoning or weakening of the illocutionary force of impoliteness. In both Magnifico and Defrancq (2016) and Kučič and Majhenič (2018), "mitigation" instead refers to "the weakening of the illocutionary force of a speech act to ensure and facilitate a smooth interaction and to reduce various types of risks which can be incurred by the addressee" (Magnifico and Defrancq, 2016, pp. 29-30). Clearly, mitigation in Magnifico and Defrancq's sense (2016), along with Kučič and Majhenič's (2018), is synonymous to attenuation in Bartłomiejczyk's. Other major differences and similarities in the use of terminologies between these three studies of simultaneous interpreting of impoliteness at the EP are summarised in Figure 1.



Also of note is that in both Bartłomiejczyk (2016) and Magnifico and Defrancq (2016), even though both cited a theoretical framework for impoliteness, details on the various types of impoliteness input by speakers in accordance with the respective framework were not provided, nor details on how these types of impoliteness were respectively handled by interpreters.<sup>2</sup>

**Figure 1 Differences and similarities: use of terminologies by the three studies on impoliteness interpreting at the EP**



Away from the European Parliament, Gu (2019) examined how Chinese government-affiliated interpreters mediated negative elements in English-speaking journalists’ questions at press conferences, which are typically interpreted consecutively. His finding is that government-affiliated interpreters tone down impoliteness. Though focusing on the consecutive mode, this study is very similar to Kučič and Majhenič (2018) in terms of research focus, and the non-mentioning of a theoretical framework for coding impoliteness data.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding, Bartłomiejczyk (2016) has provided a full list of all the cases of impoliteness from the speakers she studied. This is in the Appendix of her book (pp. 285-296).

Among the observational studies reviewed in the above, some captured all types of impoliteness, such as Bartłomiejczyk (2016), whereas inferably some only captured a limited number of FTA types, such as Kučiš and Majhenič (2018) and Gu (2019); some are quantitative studies with statistics indicating a clear inclination, for instance, Bartłomiejczyk (2016), whereas some are qualitative studies with no statistics provided, for instance, Gu (2019). Additionally, except for Gu (2019), all the studies are about interpreting between European languages.

For experimental studies, I have only been able to identify one recent one in the existing literature. This is Lenglet's (2015) survey study among English-French staff interpreters, interpreting students and interpreting trainers for the simultaneous mode. In the survey, the research subjects were presented with some situated FTAs and were surveyed regarding their choices of reactions to the FTAs. The finding is that all the participants tended to intervene when tackling FTAs. According to the researcher, "interventions" refers to interpreters' distancing, replaying, and shifts that amount to face saving, and are different from the usually expected "honest spokesperson's role" where an interpreter speaks "in the name of the speakers" and conveys their message "accurately and impartially" (Lenglet 2015, p. 240).

It must be pointed out that in this research, the FTAs tested appear to include both those for Brown and Levinson's politeness (1987) and those for Bousfield's impoliteness (2008), with the latter being represented only by "rudeness" and "accusation" (ibid., pp. 247-248). It is also worth noting that in this research, the concepts "rudeness" and "accusation" appear to be based on common sense rather than on a theoretical framework for data coding. Probably due to their specific research purposes, no data or examples of the actual FTAs were provided to show how rudeness or accusation was realised. Arguably, "rudeness" is synonymous to

"impoliteness" and "accusation" close to "criticism", the latter being a sub-category of "rudeness" in accordance with Bousfield's impoliteness framework. Likewise, whereas interpreters' reactions to situated FTAs were provided in categories, the researcher did not provide a definition for these categories, nor examples to illustrate them, though the wordings indicating interpreters' interpreting actions or reactions to rudeness and accusations clearly align with either "close rendition" or "attenuation" in Bartłomiejczyk (2016), which is reviewed earlier.

#### **4. Research questions**

In view of the existing literature, my current study sought to answer the below questions:

1. What are the manoeuvres generally used by English-Chinese conference interpreters when they interpret impoliteness and what are the overall tendencies?
2. What are the manoeuvres used by English-Chinese conference interpreters when they interpret specific types of impoliteness and what are the overall tendencies?
3. Why did the interpreters interpret impoliteness the ways they did?

As I showed in Section 3, most studies of impoliteness interpreting in conference settings concern English and European languages, which are similar and even share some cultural backgrounds. Given that English and Chinese are very different in both their linguistic system and their cultural background, the answers to the first two research questions will broaden our understanding of how impoliteness is interpreted in conference settings across various language pairs.<sup>3</sup> My study is experimental and will also enrich relevant data for

---

<sup>3</sup> Gu (1990), a seminal paper on the politeness phenomena in modern Chinese, detailed the differences between Chinese and English in the notions 'face' and 'politeness' (and accordingly impoliteness). Essentially, the Chinese negative face is different from its English counterpart in that some of what count as intrinsically

impoliteness interpreting studies. The last research question is a direct response to Bartłomiejczyk's (2016) call for retrospective studies on interpreters' motivations behind their interpreting manoeuvres.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1 Research Subjects

Twenty-two freelance English to Chinese conference interpreters replied to a voluntary research participant recruitment call sent via an international interpreting company based in China and a WeChat network for interpreters. Eighteen were selected for the current study on account of the fact that they had all received university training in interpreting before their conference interpreting career. At the time of my research, they were aged between 24 and 40, with a mean age of 32.28 years old and the standard deviation being 4.60. They were based in Australia, China, France, Spain and the UK. Their relevant work experience varied from a year to over ten years and had interpreted a wide range of subject topics with politics included. Detailed background information of the research participants is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1 Background information of research subjects**

Gender	Residing country	Years of conference interpreting following university training	Interpreting experience in political context
M: 6	Australia: 1	1-5 years: 11	Yes: 7
F: 12	China: 6	6-10 years: 4	No: 11
	France: 2	Over 10 years: 3	
	Spain: 2		

---

impeding FTAs in English, such as invitation, are not FTAs in Chinese and interactional politeness is not merely instrumental but also normative.

	UK: 7		
--	-------	--	--

## 5.2 The Source Speech

The first speech by the former UK politician Nigel Farage at the European Parliament after the Brexit referendum was used to generate simultaneous interpreting data. The speech was delivered at the EP on 28 June 2016, lasts for six minutes and 17 seconds and is 681 words long. Farage has been known for his impoliteness on the political stage home and abroad. In interpreting literature, he has been a research object (e.g., Mankauskienė 2015, and Beaton-Thome 2020), or a talking point (e.g., Mapson 2019). At the end of their interpreting, some of my research subjects felt Farage was insulting and were surprised that he was allowed to finish his speech on that day at the European Parliament.

## 5.3 The Experiment

The simultaneous interpreting was conducted online in Zoom for me to investigate what the research participants did when they simultaneously interpreted impoliteness input by Farage. The participants were seen individually at a time convenient to them. When we met in Zoom, I sent over the interpreting brief in Table 2 before the interpreting started. I also provided some background information about the speaker and his Eurosceptic stance and made sure the participants knew some key vocabulary with which I thought they might be unfamiliar. Such information and vocabulary for the purpose of preparation were given to all the participants for consistency. This process took about 10 minutes. Subsequent to this, I sent over the video of the source speech and asked the participants to check if the video worked at their end. As soon as they confirmed that they could play the video, I asked them to start their simultaneous

interpreting. I recorded the interpreting by using the Zoom recording feature. I was present in the experiment throughout to make notes on the participants' impoliteness interpreting so as to help my data coding later and to help me conduct an ensuing interview where I would quote examples from the participants' interpreting to probe their retrospections. All participants consented to keep confidential the speech I used for my research.

**Table 2 Interpreting brief**

**Interpreting brief:**

You are a freelance interpreter and are commissioned to interpret simultaneously for Nigel Farage, who will speak at the European Parliament where there are a group of Chinese visiting officials sitting in the audience. The speech follows the referendum of Brexit and will be broadcast live.

#### **5.4 Identifying Speaker Impoliteness and the Corresponding Interpreting Strategies**

The identification of Farage's impoliteness follows the definitions of relevant output strategies in Bousfield (2008). By output strategies, Bousfield meant the ways in which impoliteness is realised (See also Section 2). In the current study, types of impoliteness are used to refer to them instead. I first identified and categorised the types of impoliteness in Farage's speech. A native speaker of English then checked and verified the data. The English native speaker is also an interpreter in the Chinese to English direction (the opposite to that of my research subjects), has a background in English linguistics and is familiar with Bousfield's impoliteness theory. We also met to discuss all the cases that I initially identified and were subsequently checked by the verifier. We agreed on all the verified cases except one. For the one case that we could not agree on whether it is a case of impoliteness or not, I excluded it from my final data.

Altogether, 18 cases of impoliteness and seven types were identified. Table 3 presents the seven types of impoliteness with examples.

**Table 3 types of speaker-input impoliteness**

Type of speaker-input impoliteness	Number of cases	Example
<b>Sarcasm:</b> “the use of individual or combined strategies which, on the surface, appear to be appropriate but which are meant to be taken as meaning the opposite in terms of face-management.” (Bousfield 2008, p. 95).	3	(in response to audience heckling) Thank you very much for that eh very warm welcome.
<b>Ridicule:</b> “emphasize own relative power. Use diminutives to other (or other’s position), be contemptuous, belittle, do not take the hearer seriously” (Bousfield 2008, p. 86 & p. 114)	1	Isn’t it funny? You know when I came here 17 years ago and I said that I wanted to lead a campaign to get Britain to leave the European Union, you all laughed at me. Well I have to say, you’re not laughing now, are you?
<b>Criticism:</b> “dispraise” the hearer, “some action or inaction” by the hearer, or “some entity” in which the hearer “has invested face” (Bousfield 2008, p. 126).	6	But the biggest problem you’ve got and the main reason the UK voted the way it did is because you have by stealth and deception, and without telling the truth to the rest of the peoples of Europe, you have imposed upon them a political union.
<b>Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect:</b> “personalise, use the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’” (Bousfield 2008, p. 115)	2	And you are in denial over Mrs Merkel’s call. Mrs Merkel’s call last year for as many many people as possible to cross the Mediterranean into the European Union has led to massive division between countries and within countries.
<b>Threat/frighten:</b> “instil a belief that action detrimental to the other will occur” (Bousfield 2008, p. 112).	4	But if it was to move to a position where tariffs were reintroduced on products like motorcars then hundreds of thousands of German workers would risk losing their jobs.

<b>Challenge:</b> “always issued in the form of a question”, where the speaker asks the hearer a challenging question, questions the hearer’s “position, stance, beliefs, assumed power, rights, obligations, ethics, etc.” (Bousfield 2008, p. 132).	1	So why don’t we just be pragmatic, sensible, grown-up, realistic?
<b>Shouting:</b> “louder than is absolutely necessary for efficient communication to take place”, and could be construed as “the utterer being angry and/or wishing to convey an impolite attitude towards the intended recipient.” (Bousfield 2008, p. 137).	1	But listen! Just listen [ <i>shout &amp; gesture</i> ]

The identification of the interpreting manoeuvres corresponding to the speaker-input impoliteness is a two-step process. First, what the interpreters did in their interpreting of the speaker’s impoliteness was analysed by following what Bartłomiejczyk (2016) did in her study. For example, an interpreter could omit something offensive, use a less offensive lexis, choose to impersonalise, or do a literal translation. Next, these specific methods were generalised as one of the four facework or interpreting strategies in accordance with Bartłomiejczyk’s terminologies: elimination, attenuation, close rendition, and strengthening. In my study, I found it necessary to group my data of elimination further into omissions and misrepresentations. Consequently, five categories as in Table 4 were applied to my interpreting data. My categorisations of individual cases also took inspirations from my participants’ contributions in the interview (Section 6.7) and discussions with a peer who teaches English-Chinese interpreting.

In their data of interpreting strategies, Magnifico and Defrancq (2016) included additions or creations. These were not looked at in my current study, as my focus is on what interpreters did in response to the speaker’s impoliteness.



**Table 4 Categories of potential impoliteness interpreting strategies**

<b>Category of potential impoliteness interpreting strategies</b>	<b>Definitions</b>
<b>Attenuation</b>	where the illocutionary force of impoliteness is downtoned or attenuated. Illocutionary force as such is not measurable but can give us some cue as to prevailing tendencies. The constellations of a speaker's behaviours and co-textual and/or contextual features that co-occur in time and space enabled me to properly code cases of attenuations.
<b>Close rendition</b>	where "the interpreter is doing what s/he would actually be supposed to do in accordance with the conduit model of interpreting, that is, reconstructing the level of face threat intended by the original speaker" (Bartłomiejczyk 2016, p. 233). Close rendition mostly relies on literal translation, but this is not so simple, especially for longer chunks of speech texts. If shifts happen, they are often small enough to preserve the level of face threat present in the original.
<b>Omission</b>	zero rendition of the original FTA.
<b>Strengthening</b>	"where face threat present in the original is made more acute" (Bartłomiejczyk 2016, p. 231)
<b>misrepresentation</b>	where the interpreting is completely different from the original FTA or is based on some words used the original FTA, but the message is incorrect.

## **5.5 The Interview**

An interview was conducted immediately after the above experiment, as part of an ongoing study investigating interpreters' understanding of professional ethics in relation to their encounters of impoliteness so far. The interview is between 18 and 28 minutes. What is reported in this paper about the interview is the last question proper that I asked. In this question, I asked the participants why they interpreted impoliteness in the ways that I observed. When asking this question, I cited examples illustrating all the types of interpreting strategies (See Table 4) that I noted at the time of the experiment and asked the participants to recall the moment they interpreted impoliteness the ways they did. This was to elicit retrospections regarding why the participants interpreted impoliteness in a specific manner. The interview was carried out in a mixture of English and Chinese as the participants sometimes spoke

English and sometimes switched to Chinese. Like the interpreting, the interview was recorded in Zoom and later transcribed/translated onto an Excel sheet for analysis. Importantly, for the validity of my experimental data, the participants were not told before my experiment what I was studying exactly. It was only in the interview that I revealed my research focus to them.

## **6. Data Analysis and Analysis Results**

Data analysis below in Sections 6.1- 6.6 focuses on what the interpreters did in their interpreting when they heard the speaker being impolite and provides the answer to Research Questions 1-2: Each of Sections 6.1- 6.5 is about one of the five potential interpreting strategies (Table 4) for when the interpreters interpreted impoliteness in general; Section 6.6 shows how the interpreters, as a cohort and as individuals, interpreted all and each of the seven types of impoliteness identified in the speech, and the overall tendencies. Section 6.7 analyses the participants' retrospections on their impoliteness interpreting behaviours and provides the answer to Research Question 3.

Since there are 18 cases of impoliteness in the source speech and there are 18 participants for my experiment, the total occurrences of potential interpreting strategies are 324 (= 18x18). Looking into what the interpreters did in each occurrence allowed me to categorise their actions into one of the five potential strategies presented in Table 4. Motivations in relation to the participants' decisions are analysed qualitatively.

### **6.1 Attenuation**

Examples for this interpreting strategy are presented in Table 5. There are various methods in which an interpreter attenuated impoliteness. These are: (a) partial omission. In the first example, the interpreter omitted "the rest of the Mediterranean" and "you've done very well"; (b) narrowing down the range. In the second example, "none of you ..." was interpreted as

“among you some people ... not ...”; (c) making a plea or a polite request. In the last two examples, the interpreter in question respectively turned the original threat and challenge into a plea and a polite request; (d) a combination of more than one method. In the second example, the interpreter not merely narrowed down the range of people the speaker intended to offend but also used the modal verb “可能” (“*may*”) to soften the offensiveness. In the third example, the interpreter omitted the offensive expression “decide to cut off your noses to spite your faces” and changed the threat into a plea, thus embellished the speaker.

**Table 5 Attenuation of speaker-input impoliteness**

Speaker	Interpreter	Back translation
Sarcasm: as a policy to impose poverty on Greece and the rest of the Mediterranean you've done very well.	你们的政策导致了希腊的这种贫穷的状态。	Your policy has led to the status of poverty in Greece.
Criticism: I know I know that virtually none of you have ever done a proper job in your lives, or worked or worked in business, or worked in trade, or indeed ever created a job.	我知道你们这些人当中可能有些人一生都是在读职状态，或许在商界，或许在贸易界工作的没有创造任何一个工作岗位。	I know that among you some people may have not done a proper job in your whole life, or those of you working in business or trade have not created a job.
Threat/Frighten: If you were to decide to cut off your noses to spite your faces and to reject any idea of a sensible trade deal, the consequences would be far worse for you than it would be for us.	让我们作出一些理性的合理的贸易协定，这是对我们大家都是有益处的。	Let us make some sensible reasonable trade deals. This will be beneficial to all of us.
Challenge: So why don't we just be pragmatic, sensible, grown-up, realistic?	所以我们要务实、合理，而且要成熟，要理性。	So we need to be pragmatic, reasonable, and need to be grown-up, need to be sensible.

## 6.2 Close Rendition

Examples for this interpreting strategy are presented in Table 6. In the first example, the interpreter used the Chinese particle “哈” (“*ha*”), placed a stress on it, and uttered it with a sarcastic rising intonation to indicate sarcasm. The sarcasm is vividly apparent when the audio is present, which echoes what Bousfield (2008) noted in his research. In the second example, the interpreter mimicked not just the tone but also the gestures of the speaker. In the third example, the idiomatic expression “cut off your noses to spite your faces” was rendered into a Chinese idiom “搬起石头砸自己的脚” (“*lift a stone to smash one’s own feet*”) with equivalent effects, with the rest of the threatening message literally conveyed.

**Table 6** Close rendition of speaker-input impoliteness

Speaker	Interpreter	Back translation
<p>Sarcasm:</p> <p>Funny, isn’t it? Funny, isn’t it?</p>	<p>[sarcastic tone]</p> <p>搞笑是不是? 很搞笑, 哈?</p>	<p>[sarcastic tone]</p> <p>Laughter-provoking, isn’t it? Very laughter-provoking, <i>HA</i>?</p>
<p>Shouting:</p> <p>But listen, just listen [gesturing and shouting]</p>	<p>但是你们听着! 你们给我听着!</p> <p>[gesturing and shouting]</p>	<p>But you listen! You listen to me!</p> <p>[gesturing and tone like the speaker, shouting]</p>
<p>Threat/Frighten:</p> <p>If you were to decide to cut off your noses to spite your faces and to reject any idea of a sensible trade deal, the consequences would be far worse for you than it would be for us.</p>	<p>如果你想要决定搬起石头砸自己的脚的话, 然后否认我们之间可以出现的这种贸易关系的话, 那你们所受到的影响要远远胜过给我们带来的影响。</p>	<p>If you want to decide to lift a stone to smash your own feet, and then reject the trade deal that may happen between us, then the impact on you will be far worse than the impact that it will bring onto us.</p>

### 6.3 Omission

The interpreter in the three examples in Table 7 skipped the original impolite utterances and thus eliminated the speaker’s impoliteness. Of note is that the third example might not read as a case for “Threat/Frighten” on the surface. However, according to my data verifier, no deal is

a choice for the UK following Brexit, but it is not favoured, or even feared by Europe. Consequently, when Farage said, "even no deal is better ... than the current rotten deal", it is a threat to the audience at the European Parliament.

**Table 7 Omission of speaker-input impoliteness**

Speaker	Interpreter
<p>Sarcasm:</p> <p>As a policy to impose poverty on Greece and the rest of the Mediterranean you've done very well.</p>	[...]
<p>Explicitly' associate the other with a negative aspect – personalise, use the pronouns 'I' and 'you':</p> <p>And you are in denial over Mrs Merkel's call. Mrs Merke's call last year for as many many people as possible to cross the Mediterranean into the European Union has led to massive division between countries and within countries.</p>	[...]
<p>Threat/Frighten:</p> <p>Even no deal is better for the United Kingdom, is better than the current rotten deal that we've got.</p>	[...]

## 6.4 Strengthening

In the only two examples that were captured in my experiment, as in Table 8, the addition of “还会将有其他的人步我们的后尘” (“*There will be more to follow us*”) in the first, and “不会是唯一一个” (“*will not be the only [country]*”) in the second respectively by the interpreter in question reinforces the illocutionary force of the threat. Like the sarcasm case in Table 6, the prosodic features of the utterances helped me identify these two cases as strengthening. One of the participants' retrospections on the first example also helped my identification (See Section 6.7).

**Table 8 Strengthening of speaker-input impoliteness**

Speaker	Interpreter	Back translation
<p>Threat/frighten:</p> <p>The United Kingdom will not be the last member state to leave the European Union.</p>	<p>英国不会是最后一个离开欧盟的成员 国，还会将有其他的人步我们的后 尘。</p>	<p>Britain will not be the last member state to leave the European Union. There will be more to follow us.</p>

Threat/frighten:  The United Kingdom will not be the last member state to leave the European Union.	英国不会是唯一一个或者是最后一个离开欧盟的国家。	Britain will not be the only country or the last country to leave the European Union.
---	--------------------------	---

## 6.5 Misrepresentation

In the examples presented in Table 9, the interpreter in question mis-represented the speaker's message.

**Table 9 Misrepresentation of speaker-input impoliteness**

Speaker	Interpreter	Back translation
Explicitly' associate the other with a negative aspect – personalise, use the pronouns 'I' and 'you':  YOU as a political project are in denial. You're in denial that your currency is failing.	因为你们的提议都被否决了。你们的这个提案之前都被否决了。	Because your proposals have all been rejected. Your proposals were all rejected previously.
Threat/frighten:  The United Kingdom will not be the last member state to leave the European Union.	英国不会是最不愿意离开欧盟的。	Britain will not be the most unwilling to leave the European Union.

## 6.6 Interpreting Strategies Corresponding to Types of Impoliteness and Overall Tendencies

Table 10 presents my data analysis results according to the types of speaker impoliteness and the corresponding interpreter strategies that I identified. Where a box has no figures, that means the relevant interpreting strategy was not used by the participant(s).

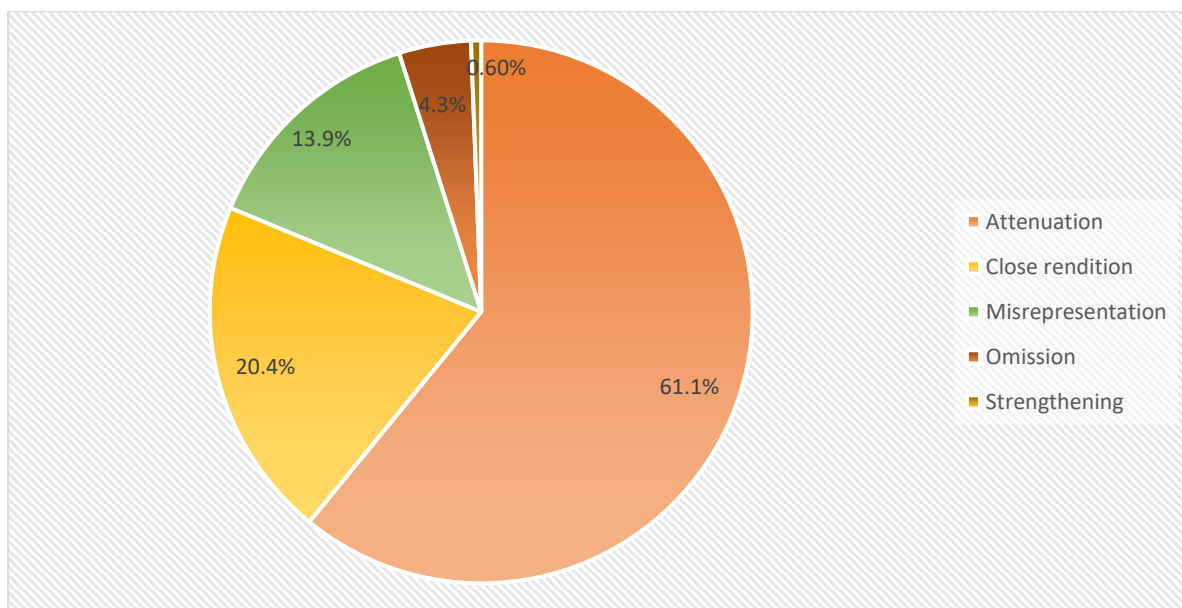
As is evident, the overall dominant strategy used for interpreting each type of impoliteness is attenuation. The second most frequently used strategy is close rendition.

The general tendencies in the manoeuvres for interpreting impoliteness are: Attenuation is predominately used by my participants; Close rendition is the next often used; The third most frequent move is misrepresentation; The least used manoeuvre is strengthening. Figure 2 shows these general tendencies.

**Table 10 Interpreting strategies corresponding to types of speaker-input impoliteness**

<b>What interpreters did</b>	<b>attenuation</b>	<b>Close rendition</b>	<b>omission</b>	<b>strengthening</b>	<b>misrepresentation</b>	<b>Total occurrences</b>
<b>sarcasm</b>	37 (68.5%)	13 (24.1%)	1 (1.9%)		3 (5.6%)	54
<b>ridicule</b>	9 (50%)	7 (38.9%)			2 (11.1%)	18
<b>Threat/frighten</b>	43 (59.7%)	11 (15.3%)	5 (6.9%)	2 (2.8%)	11 (15.3%)	72
<b>criticism</b>	70 (64.8%)	23 (21.3%)	1 (0.9%)		14 (13.0%)	108
<b>Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect</b>	16 (44.4%)	6 (16.7%)	4 (11.1%)		10 (27.8%)	36
<b>challenge</b>	14 (77.8%)	1 (5.6%)			3 (16.7%)	18
<b>shouting</b>	9 (50%)	5 (27.8%)	3 (16.7%)		1 (5.6%)	18
<b>Total occurrences</b>	198	66	14	2	44	324

**Figure 2 General tendencies of conference interpreters interpreting speaker-input impoliteness**



To further assess the tendencies regarding impoliteness interpreting, I also examined the use of the five interpreting manoeuvres among all the eighteen participants. The results are presented in Table 11.

As can be seen, except for Participant 13, 17 and 18, the rest (i.e., fifteen out of eighteen or 83%) attenuated impoliteness more than closely rendered, omitted, or misrepresented it. In the descending order, the manoeuvres that were used frequently by the participants are attenuation, close rendition and misrepresentations. The least used manoeuvre is strengthening.

In my sample, Participants 01-11 had worked for 1-5 years as a conference interpreter at the time of my experiment, Participants 12-15 for 6-10 years, and Participants 16-18 for over 10 years. It appears that the less experienced interpreters, i.e., those who had worked for 1-5 years, showed a consistent inclination towards attenuations, whereas the more experienced ones, namely, those with experiences of 6-10 years or over 10 years, showed variations. It also appears that for the more experienced interpreters, attenuations generally decrease, and close renditions generally increase, sometimes surpassing attenuations. In the meantime, those who



were more experienced generally had much less or even no omissions or misrepresentations. Overall, strengthening was almost not used by the participants.

In my sample, Participants 04, 05, 10, 11, 12, 17 and 18 had had political interpreting experience at the time of my experiment. When examining their impoliteness interpreting behaviours, I did not see any critical differences between them and those who had not had political interpreting experience. Instead, it is the overall years of experience in conference interpreting that plays the essential part in distinguishing different impoliteness interpreting behaviours.

**Table 11 General tendencies among interpreters interpreting impoliteness**

participant	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
attenuation	8	15	13	10	10	13	12	12	16	9	12	14	5	15	13	7	6	7
Close rendition	7	1	4		4	2	2	1	1				11	3	5	3	11	11
omission				1	2	1	2			6		1	1					
strengthening				1									1					
misrepresentation	3	2	1	6	2	2	2	5	1	3	6	3				8	1	
Total cases	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18

## 6.7 Analysis Results of Interview Data

The interview sought to answer my third research question, namely, why the interpreters interpreted impoliteness the ways they did. Table 12 presented all the retrospections of the participants for each type of interpreting manoeuvres, which are either direct quotes, or revised if the English needs revision, or close translations if the answer was given in Chinese. As I noted earlier, this part is a qualitative analysis. Therefore, repeated retrospections were recorded only once in Table 12.

When they replied to my question of why they interpreted impoliteness the ways they did, the participants also related their interpreting behaviours in my experiment to their impoliteness interpreting experiences so far. I believe the two aspects are inter-related and so if a participant referred to their past relevant experience, I recorded this in Table 12, too.

**Table 12 retrospective reports of motivations behind interpreting strategies**

impoliteness interpreting strategies	Motivations
<b>Attenuation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Avoid conflicts, but it is wrong not to interpret impoliteness at all.</li> <li>b. Keep the audience focused on the communicative purposes of a conference.</li> <li>c. As an interpreter, I specifically asked me to change a speaker' impoliteness into politeness when interpreting.</li> <li>d. I think it is rude to convey a speaker's impoliteness to the full.</li> <li>e. The non-verbal information on impoliteness can be culturally different, and so I decided to filter it out in interpreting.</li> <li>f. It is hard to convey both verbal and non-verbal impoliteness at the same time and thus I chose/tried to interpret only the verbal impoliteness to save time.</li> <li>g. The non-verbal information on impoliteness such as shouting is perceivable to the audience, thus no need to re-present it in interpreting.</li> <li>h. I was worried that the audience may think the interpreter is rude if the full illocutionary force of impoliteness is conveyed, as I struggle between me as a person and me as an interpreter. If I'm seen as rude or am caught in any conflict due to a speaker's impoliteness, this may affect my interpreting career.</li> <li>i. I'm surprised by the speaker's rudeness at the start. If I am familiar with the speaker's style, I'll closely render the rudeness.</li> <li>j. I was trained to have a calm voice in interpreting, so that as a simultaneous interpreter my voice will sound pleasant on the microphone.</li> <li>k. I do not have adequate vocabulary for impoliteness.</li> <li>l. I was trained to interpret impoliteness either by mitigating or by reporting.</li> <li>m. In the past, I was instructed by my clients not to interpret impoliteness. If I don't have such instructions, I'll try to closely render or mediate according to the communicative context.</li> </ul>

	n. So far I've been instructed by my clients not to interpret impoliteness. So I'm in the habit of mitigating or changing impoliteness into politeness.
<b>Close rendition</b>	a. As an interpreter, it's my job to be faithful and accurate first of all. b. I always endeavour to convey both verbal and non-verbal impoliteness. c. In the past, I was instructed by my clients not to interpret impoliteness. If I don't have such instructions, I'll try to closely render by following general professional ethics or mediate according to the communicative context. d. If I do not interpret non-verbal impoliteness messages, I'll use a stronger expression to compensate.
<b>Omission</b>	a. I omitted impoliteness because the speaker was fast, and I had to omit to follow him.
<b>Strengthening</b>	a. I wanted to make the impoliteness message clearer or stronger to the Chinese officials.
<b>misrepresentations</b>	a. This is because of cognitive overload. I failed to comprehend what the speaker said and could only pick up some fragments or could pick up no words, so I had to carry on by making up.

What is most prominent in the retrospections is that all the participants provided a similar or the same reason for omissions and misrepresentations: As the speaker was fast, the participants were experiencing cognitive overload. Therefore, they had no other choices but to either omit or make up to carry on, to survive.

The motivations for close renditions strongly point to the participants' strict compliance with interpreters' professional ethics regarding accuracy and faithfulness (e.g., those of the AIIC's 2022), which is reminiscent of the conduit model (Gile, 2017). What merits particular attention is that Reasons b, c and d for close renditions were highlighted by Participant 16, 17 and 18, the three participants who had been freelancing conference interpreting for more than 10 years. These three participants' motivations for close renditions are echoed in their actual interpreting of Farage's impoliteness: as in Table 11, Participant 16, 17 and 18 closely rendered more than the rest of the participants in general. In the interview, the three participants also cited the interpreting brief (Table 2) to say that it was important to let the Chinese officials know what was going on in the speaker's speech.

Attenuations are attributed to several factors as below.

- (1) Avoiding conflict/misunderstanding. The interpreters believed that impoliteness would lead to conflict and so attenuation might help avoid conflicts (Reason a). Some also believed that non-verbal impoliteness is culturally different and could lead to misunderstanding, and thus decided to filter it out in interpreting (Reason e).
- (2) Clients' instruction. Some participants referred to clients' instructions in their interpreting career so far. As my interpreting brief (Table 2), does not provide instructions on impoliteness, some participants decided to attenuate as if they had been so instructed (Reason n), but some decided to take a flexible approach (Reason m).
- (3) Cognitive load. If the interpreters felt they were overloaded or felt filtering out non-verbal impoliteness would help their interpreting process, they would attenuate (Reasons f and g).
- (4) Context awareness. Several participants pointed out that interpreting impoliteness to the full would mis-lead the audience and be unhelpful for the communicative purpose of a conference. As such, they would take a flexible approach by using their professional judgement and decided to attenuate (Reason b).
- (5) Self-protection. Some interpreters feared they would be caught in potential conflicts if they interpreted the full illocutionary force of impoliteness (Reason h).
- (6) Subjective opinion on the interpreters' part. Some interpreters thought it was rude to interpret impoliteness to the full (Reasons c and d).
- (7) Training. This concerns training generally for interpreters' voice (Reason j) and specifically for impoliteness interpreting (Reasons k and l). As interpreters are generally trained to have a pleasant interpreting voice, some participants decided

to remove the non-verbal impoliteness conveyed by Farage. Some said they did not have the needed impoliteness expressions due to a lack of impoliteness interpreting training. Among all the participants, only one, Participant 9 (Table 11), reported that they were trained on how to interpret impoliteness and that their trainers instructed them either to attenuate or to use a reporting voice with the structure “The speaker said ...”.

- (8) Unfamiliarity with the speaker. Some interpreters said that if they were familiar with Farage, they would closely render his impoliteness, but since they were not familiar with him, they chose to attenuate.

The motivation for strengthening was explained to me by Participant 13 for the first example in Table 8, when they emphasised that it was important to make the threat message as clear as possible, by making it stronger even, to the Chinese officials due to the threat’s political significance. This case was retrieved from memory in the interview by the participant themselves when they cited the interpreting brief. My own observational notes failed to record this example. This participant is also one of those who strongly promoted accuracy and fidelity in accordance with interpreters’ professional ethics. The second example in Table 8 is from a different participant, Participant 04. Since my observational notes also failed to record this example and the participant did not mention this in the interview, I regrettably was unable to gather the thoughts from this participant on why they conveyed the threat that way. This is one of the limitations of my current study, to be discussed in the ensuing section.

## **7. Discussions**

My study of English to Chinese conference interpreters’ interpreting impoliteness has revealed a clear and strong tendency to attenuate (See Table 10, Table 11 and Fig. 2). This tendency

aligns with what has been reported in the existing literature of impoliteness interpreting across different language pairs, by e.g., Mankauskienė (2015) studying English to Lithuanian interpreting, Bartłomiejczyk (2016) studying English to Polish interpreting, Kučiš and Majhenič (2018) studying interpreting between English and several European languages, and Gu (2019) studying English to Chinese interpreting. As such, I believe this tendency occurs regardless of language pair. In other words, attenuation appears to be the primary decision for interpreting impoliteness whether the two languages involved are very similar or vastly different. Future research involving other language pairs will strengthen this finding.

My anecdotal finding that interpreting experience in politics does not have a bearing on impoliteness interpreting behaviours is puzzling on the surface as one would think that familiarity with interpreting in the political context would be a big influential factor. Nonetheless, since impoliteness is conflictive from a pragmatic point of view, that it happens in speeches may itself have its “political” significance and thus prompts interpreters (regardless of their political interpreting experience) either to distance themselves away from it by attenuating to avoid conflicts, or to adhere to their professional ethics by closely rendering to be accurate and faithful.

My study has, for the first time, revealed a relationship between interpreters’ most preferred manoeuvre (attenuation or close rendition) and the years of their interpreting experience thus far (as a beginner or a seasoned interpreter): For interpreters having interpreted for over 10 years, attenuations generally decrease in number and close renditions increase or surpass attenuations. This tendency awaits further empirical evidence with a larger sample, particularly because there were only three such interpreters in my current study.

Interpreters’ retrospective reports suggest that interpreters with over 10 years’ experience are more confident in citing professional ethics to justify their close renditions of

impoliteness. Retrospections regarding attenuations point to several contributing factors, from the concern about potential conflict/misunderstanding to the unfamiliarity with a speaker's speaking style. All retrospections suggest that attenuations and close renditions are conscious decisions made by interpreters, thus can be properly called impoliteness interpreting strategies. By contrast, omissions and misrepresentations are merely forced options or ramifications of cognitive overloading (Gile 2009), as interpreters' retrospective reports point to factors like speech delivery speed and lack of relevant vocabulary as the causes. These findings will have implications for both interpreter trainers and interpreting service users. Questions for us to ponder are, for instance, whether we should only train interpreters to improve their interpreting performance generally or we should specifically teach interpreters how to interpret conflictive talks like impoliteness, and whether interpreting service users (namely, clients) should give clear instructions to interpreters when impoliteness is anticipated in a speaker's speech, for example in the form of a handbook for interpreters (Bartłomiejczyk, 2016). I believe my current research will stimulate discussion on whether and how to train interpreters to interpret impoliteness and other speeches prone to conflicts, such as racism speeches, sexism speeches, etc.

As an impoliteness interpreting strategy, strengthening was hardly used by my participants as it happened only twice. Since my overall sample is relatively small, it is difficult to make any conclusion on this manoeuvre. But future quantitative studies, be them experimental or observational, will be able to tell us more on the frequency of its occurrence and the motivations behind it.

There are also limitations in the current study. Firstly, the study was an experiment. Compared with studies of real-life interpreting where a researcher/observer is not present, my presence as an observer/researcher might have affected the participants' interpreting behaviours, even though the general tendencies I have found tally well with what have been

reported in most of the existing observational studies. The fact that there was no real interpreting audience in the experiment might have also affected the participants' interpreting behaviour, even though there was an interpreting brief to situate the interpreting task (Table 2). Secondly, I only gave 10 minutes as the preparation time for the participants while in real-life situations, interpreters generally have more time to prepare, which is at least a week from my own professional interpreting experience. This might have affected the participants' performance, particularly concerning omissions and misrepresentations. Thirdly, since the interview was carried out immediately after the experiment for the purpose of collecting effective retrospections (Jääskeläinen, 2017), I was not able to transcribe the interpreting, identify and thereafter cite all cases of interpreting manoeuvres to ask the participants for their retrospection. A noticeable mishap is that my observational notes failed to capture the two cases for strengthening, and consequently the retrospection data from one of the two participants on strengthening is missing. It was only fortunate that the other participant was able to retrieve the other case from their memory, and therefore I was able to collect the relevant retrospective report. In addition, the experiment was conducted online rather than onsite. This might also have affected my participants' behaviours and subsequently my data. This aside, the experiment was conducted in late 2022, two years following the Covid-19 pandemic. Due to interpreting going remote during the pandemic period, some of the participants said in the interview that they had now become used to online interpreting, and that they did not think their interpreting behaviour differed from when they interpreted onsite. But some participants stated that if they were onsite at the EP interpreting for Farage, then the heckling noise from the audience at the start of his speech would be clearer and thus be helpful for them to recognise his sarcasm at the beginning of his speech, so that they could somehow convey this rather than misrepresenting it. I believe it would be worthwhile to investigate whether there exist essential differences between online or remote interpreting and onsite interpreting.



## **8. Conclusions**

My experimental study of eighteen freelance conference interpreters interpreting impoliteness has shown that conference interpreters attenuate, or closely render, or omit, or strengthen or misrepresent speaker-input impoliteness and that attenuation is the primary move for impoliteness interpreting. My study has also shown that the more experienced a practising interpreter is, the more likely they will closely render impoliteness, and the less frequently they will omit or mis-represent impoliteness. Retrospective reports by interpreters have indicated that attenuation and close rendition are consciously intended strategies whereas omissions and misrepresentations are forced techniques. Interpreters' retrospections have also shown interpreters' awareness of relevant professional ethics and their role as a communication facilitator, and the need of training as well as clients' instructions. These findings may have implications for academic institutions training interpreters.

Impoliteness demands more research in Interpreting Studies. I hope that despite the limitations as discussed earlier, my study has shed some light on an area which proves to be challenging for interpreters and is a new contribution to the literature of Interpreting Studies.

## **Acknowledgement**

I extend my heart-felt appreciation to Mr Jingqi Zhou, Vice President of Grouphorse Translations of China, Wenjia Gu, Fei Gao, Yubang He, Ningjia Han, Feifei Zhan, and Peijun Zhang for their assistance in this research.

## **References**

AIIC (the International Association of Conference interpreters). (2022). Professional Code of Ethics.

Accessed at: [https://aiic.org/document/10277/CODE\\_2022\\_E&F\\_final.pdf](https://aiic.org/document/10277/CODE_2022_E&F_final.pdf).

Bartłomiejczyk, M. (2016). *Face Threats in Interpreting. A Pragmatic Study of Plenary Debates in the European Parliament*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Beaton-Thome, M. (2020). Flagging the homeland: Interpreting Brexit à la Nigel Farage in the European Union. In: Strani K. (Ed.), *Multilingualism and politics. Revisiting multilingual citizenship*, pp. 105–127. Palgrave Macmillan.

Bousfield, D. (2008). *Impoliteness in interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Brown, P. & Levinson S. (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Culpeper, J. (1996). Towards an anatomy of impoliteness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 2, pp. 349-367.

Culpeper, J. (2005). Impoliteness and entertainment in the television quiz show: ‘The Weakest Link.’ *Journal of Politeness Research* 1 (1), 35–72.

Culpeper, J. (2011). *Impoliteness: Using language to cause offence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Culpeper, J., Bousfield, D., & Wichmann, A. (2003). Impoliteness revisited: With special reference to dynamic and prosodic aspects. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 29, pp. 173-191.

Gile, D. (2009). (revised edition) *Basic Concepts and Models for Interpreter and Translator Training*. Revised Edition. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Gile, D. (2017). Norms, Ethics and Quality: The Challenges of Research. In Biagini, M., Boyd, M. S. and Monacelli, C. (eds) *The Change Role of the Interpreter: Contextualising Norms, Ethics and Quality Standards*, pp. 240-250. Routledge: Taylor and Francis.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

- Gu, C. (2019). Mediating 'face' in triadic political communication: a CDA analysis of press conference interpreters' discursive (re)construction of Chinese government's image (1998–2017), *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16(2), pp. 201-221. DOI:10.1080/17405904.2018.1538890
- Gu, Y. (1990). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(2), pp. 237-257.
- Jääskeläinen, R. (2017). "Verbal Reports", in Schwieter, J. W. & Ferreira, A. (eds.), *The Handbook of Translation and Cognition*, pp. 211-231. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley Blackwell.
- Kučiš, V. and Majhenič, S. (2018). Cultural and stress-related manifestations of political controversial language in the European Parliament from the view of interpreters. *Babel* 64 (1), pp. 33–62. <https://doi.org/10.1075/babel.00024.kuc>
- Lenglet, C. (2015). Norms in face-threatening instances of simultaneous conference interpreting: results from a questionnaire. *MonTI - Monografías de Traducción e Interpretación*, pp. 237-257.
- Magnifico, C., & Defrancq, B. (2016). Impoliteness in interpreting: a question of gender? *The International Journal of Translation and Interpreting Research*, 8(2), pp. 26–45. <https://doi.org/10.12807/ti.108202.2016.a03>.
- Mankauskienė, D. (2015). 'Priešiškų kalbų Europos Parlemante vertimo iš anglų kalbos į lietuvių kalbą sociolingvistinė analizė' [Sociolinguistic analysis of interpreting face-threatening acts from English into Lithuanian in the European Parliament], *Vertimo Studijos*, 8, pp. 22–38. [English abstract accessed in January 2023 from: <https://www.cceol.com/search/article-detail?id=681933>].
- Mapson, R. (2019). Im/politeness and interpreting. In: Tipton, R. & Desilla, L. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Pragmatics*, pp. 27-50. London: Routledge.