Translation in Global News

*Proceedings of the conference
held at the University of Warwick
23 June 2006*

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Introduction

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On June 23rd 2006 an international seminar dedicated to investigating the multifaceted nature of how global news comes to be translated was held at the University of Warwick. This conference was one of a series of research seminars funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as part of a three-year project investigating the politics and economics of translation in global media. As in previous events, the conference participants, from countries around the world, were very diverse, a combination of distinguished scholars with long track records of research in media, globalization or translation studies, journalists with direct experience of what translating for print or television media involves and, gratifyingly, many young researchers, some of whom are at the very beginning of their research careers. For this is a field that has been growing in significance, and the selection of doctoral research topics reflects this growth.

Bringing together in dialogue participants from different disciplines and different cultures has always been one of the primary aims of the Warwick project, for the very breadth of the field of research necessarily involves a plurality of approaches and opinions. Indeed, the project, which will conclude in 2007 with a final seminar in March at the University of Aston and the publication by Routledge of a monograph later in the year, has sought to expand outwards by increasing the network of interested parties in the three years of its existence, from its beginnings in September 2003. Each year has seen unexpected developments and inevitable shifts of direction: like any interdisciplinary research project, there has been an organic growth process that has caused some of the initial preliminary questions to recede in importance, while other questions have come to be seen as more significant than originally supposed. So, for example, when the project started, one of the goals was to seek to discover how translators working in the media are trained. At the first conference, held at the University of Warwick in April 2004 and attended by both academics and leading international figures from Agence France Presse, Reuters and Inter Press service, it became clear that specific news translation training on any scale did not exist, and there was some debate about whether those people engaged in interlingual news writing wanted to call themselves translators at all, preferring terms such as

'international journalist'. One consequence of our discovery of the absence of systematic translator training programmes in this field was to shift the emphasis towards an investigation of what those international journalists actually do, and here perhaps is the greatest area for fruitful further investigation. Journalists working across language frontiers often have diverse histories and diverse sets of skills, principal of which is recognition of what their target audience expects and can tolerate. Moreover, in the three years since the project began, the rise of internet news bulletins has started to change the international news media scene in totally unexpected ways. The growing importance of international blogging, for example, and the way in which the war in Iraq with embedded reporters has changed audience expectations in terms of veracity and immediacy also change ways in which journalists shape their primary material. Interestingly, doctoral research on internet communication and blogging is developing rapidly at universities around the world, and though not initially envisioned as part of the Warwick project, such research is clearly of considerable importance.

Following the initial conference, the next two seminars, the first organized by Dr Christina Schaeffner of the University of Aston in April 2005 and the second held jointly with the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick in November 2005, chose to focus on issues around the translation of discourses of terror, a key question of global significance at the present time. In terms of methodological tools, it became apparent from papers presented at both events that discourse analysis and in particular research into language and power relationships had grown in importance. It was also clear that another important research question had started to emerge involving the very definition of translation itself. Since news translation is not strictly a matter of interlingual transfer of text A into text B but also necessitates the radical rewriting and synthesizing of text A to accommodate a completely different set of audience expectations, criteria applicable to the analysis of the translation of print documents, whether technical or literary, no longer serve the same purpose. Moreover, in news translation there are enormous constraints of time and space to which translators of other text types may not be subject: twenty-four hour breaking news is now a global expectation, and the succinct, brief item of news rather than an extended account is what twenty-first century consumers demand. Significantly, some researchers have been exploring the relationship between news translation and interpreting as more fruitful within the field of Translation Studies than a written text-based formula, for just as the interpreter has to adapt what is being said, extending, glossing or cutting to accommodate his or her listeners, so also does the news translator have to cut, edit, reformulate, clarify and then adapt to in-house style preferences. It is also

the case, as can be seen from many of the contributions published here, that *skopos theory* seems to be undergoing a revival among younger researchers who find it a useful way of talking about intercultural and interlingual shifts.

Bringing young researchers together has been major goal during the third year of the project. The seminar in June 2006 was preceded by a graduate conference earlier that month, also held at Warwick, and funded by the AHRC and by the ACUME European Thematic Network: Cultural Memory in European Countries. It is fascinating to see just how much interest there is now in the problems of translating news, whether print, television or internet based, and fascinating also to see how this interest is bringing together scholars who had previously worked in fields that were only marginally connected. One of the primary aims of this project was to build bridges between researchers calling themselves specialists in media studies and those calling themselves translation studies scholars, and in the process of building those bridges other related fields including sociology, international relations, globalisation and text linguistics have entered the frame to the advantage of all.

In the interest of disseminating the material as quickly as possible, all the talks by invited speakers, together with the shorter presentations, are reproduced here in only slightly modified form. The presentations represent work in progress, in some cases by students only just beginning their doctoral research, and it will be interesting to see where some of the tentative ideas posited in some of these papers ultimately lead.

We are delighted that all three invited speakers have agreed to allow their lectures to be published also. Yves Gambier, of Turku University, Finland, well-known expert in media translation, sets a series of important questions, which are taken up in the shorter presentations also, and offers an overview of key questions for global news research. Martin Montgomery, director of the Scottish Centre for Journalism Studies at the University of Strathclyde considers ways in which the words *war* and *terror* have come to acquire a different set of meanings, broader in the case of the former, narrower in the latter case, following what he terms the coding and re-coding of events since 9/11. Miren Gutiérrez, Editor-in-Chief of the Inter Press Service offers a perspective on journalistic translation from her own practical experience working with an agency that seeks to ensure that the voices of the voiceless are heard in the developed world, where commercial and hegemonic political messages are often the loudest.

The ideological implications of news translation run through all the short presentations, and building on this, the next seminar, at Aston in the Spring of 2007, which will conclude the project, will focus on political discourse and the news. Details of this seminar will be posted on this website shortly.

Transformations in International News

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Introduction

My aim here is to share ideas, suggestions rather than offer a strong coherent thematic paper, and in doing so, bear in mind concepts such as gatekeeper, manipulation, adaptation, transediting, mediation, news management, media framing theory. I could have chosen a set of articles on the same topic and studied how different newspapers have covered the news. But my concern today is to answer the questions: What is the translators' position? To what extent can they intervene? In this perspective, I will raise four main issues.

1. News, ideology, linguistics

Within this problematic area, I will tackle three items, as a way to emphasize the possible position of the translators.

1.1. A call for new research topics

A linguistic discourse study of translated newspapers/magazines can reveal changes or resistance to changes. Media texts not only mirror reality but also construct versions of it, and analysis can show how and when certain choices are made – what is excluded/included, foregrounded/backgrounded, made explicit/ implicit, thematized/silenced. In dealing with translating written media, we do very often focus on political news, international relations, wars, etc.

But topics such as gay marriage in Spain, abuse of women and children and divorce in the Republic of Ireland, contraception and abortion in Poland, etc., are important, not only to understand the socio-cultural shifts in the systems of values and ideals in these countries concerning gender, sexuality, new female and male bodily identities, but also to uncover how the foreign press reports and articulates these changes with its own values and ideals, with its own linguistic representation and its own categorisation, how newspapers perform their

mediating role between "us" and "them" (the others), and how they remain politically correct or not.

I am not proposing an analysis here and now, but to compare national daily newspapers, to study reports in foreign press could help us to better understand how translators reproduce or change the dominant discourse in their own societies.

1.2. Hyperbole and understatement

My second item dealing with linguistics and ideology in the translated press concerns the use of hyperbole and understatement as tools of manipulation. Hyperbole, a rhetorical device used to highlight, intensify, and amplify selected elements of the image of reality, seems to be extremely pervasive in communication of any kind. It is traditionally associated with literature but it can in fact be present in most types of linguistic activity, from everyday interactions to carefully designed political propaganda. On the other hand, we know that these two devices are not used equally frequently in different cultural communities. Some of them prefer to use implicit information, strong assumptions and presuppositions, while others rely more on explicit references, exaggerations and superlatives (cf. Gutt 1991). Both hyperbole and understatement influence our perception of reality. This is not the time or the place to explain the processes central to the use of hyperbolic language and to its cognitive background, or how salient elements can be observed on various levels.

Let us take as an example President Bush's rhetoric on the war in Iraq, especially his campaign in favour of the military intervention in Iraq in 2003. The analysis of the President's speeches and comments, made between September 2002 and 1st May 2003 (namely 32 texts), confirms the thesis that the image resulting from his rhetoric was far from a faithful reflection of reality. His arguments were suffused with glossly exaggerated statements and images (examples below). The President's formulations, for instance, about the weapons of mass destruction, suggest absolute certainty, refer to unspecified evidence. Assertions, references to alleged knowledge or evidence, and presupposition of facts are much more powerful tools of persuasion than conditional sentences or modal verbs expressing possibility.

They are powerful…until they are felt to be exaggerated because no proof, no substantial evidence is given. Presenting a suspicion as something absolutely certain is a clear example of exaggeration applied for the purpose of propaganda. This rhetoric succeeded then in convincing the majority of the American citizens of the truth of the statements. But did it manage to persuade

public opinion elsewhere? Was it because hyperbole is not used with the same frequency and was translated literally that in many places Bush's statements were taken as false, considered as exaggerations or simply lies, or not credible?

There is here a stimulating topic on the possible correlation between a figure of speech (a culturally and politically bound figure of speech) and its reception in translations. Recipients are not aware to the same extent that hyperbolic utterances are not to be taken literally. In other words, they do not apply, in the same way, the cooperative principle of communication, and especially the maxim of quality (Do not say what you believe to be false/Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence) (Grice 1975).

1.3. Framing

My third item is framing and its effects. The media provide frames of reference, or highly stereotyped representations of specific situations, to make the event accessible to the public. And they shape other kinds of frames – the ones that the audience, the individuals use when interpreting information about events. The frame systems consist of stereotypical scenarios, routines, and beliefs, and are based on expectations in a given social situation. They enable each of us "to locate, perceive, identify and label" (Fillmore 1977, Dubois 1997, Goffman 1974, Schank et al. 1977).

Media frames or news frames focus on what is discussed, and how it is (or not) discussed. They are embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, visual images used in a news narrative (Entman 1991). Through the framing of a news discourse, journalists and their editors create a certain context for the readers and viewers. News frames make certain facts meaningful, provide a context in which to understand issues, shape the inferences made, reinforce stereotypes, determine judgments and decisions, draw attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements.

This selection in turn creates reactions in the audience, related to diagnosis of causes, attribution of responsibility, and so on (Baker 2006).

Again much news can be analysed in the light of the predominant conceptual frame, for instance, the CNN news reports on the disaster of the space shuttle (Columbia) on 1st February, 2003. The broadcasters attempted to increase the degree to which the audience could empathize with the news items, by using the "heroic" frame, a cultural archetype (the hero being talented, virtuous, led by a sense of purpose, committed to the cause, etc.), the frame of a national tragedy, and the political frame (examples below).

Repetition, parallel structures, emotive and hyperbolic language are often used to stir emotions and evoke empathy in the audience (with reference to pain, suffering, death, loss, mourning, etc.)

As we all know, media reports on events are neither produced nor processed in a neutral, unbiased way. Interpretations and attitudes are influenced by the different frames which influence not only the content but also the form – adjusting (or manipulating) both to generate particular feelings and responses on the part of the audience. In the era of globalisation, how can the frames in a given society be translated? Cable and satellite TV networks spreading news across the globe are contributing to the reframing of news events. Or are they really?

To what extent does news submitted to translation undergo a reframing process, entailing a reconstruction of a constructed reality, already subjected to professional, institutional and contextual influences? To what extent does a translator-editor reproduce, change, adapt the frames? Watching CNN in an Arabic country does not mean that the original frames match the viewers' frames; the same being true when watching Al-Jazeera in the United States. But what happens when CNN news is translated into different languages and Al-Jazeera is broadcast in Urdu (India, Pakistan) and will be in the future in French, Spanish, Turkish?

CNN en Español, on the web, was launched in 1997 and cancelled in September 2004, as was the German website cancelled in 2004 for similar reasons: too few readers/viewers and too poor quality according to the targeted audiences, this poor quality partly explaining the low audience ratings (Valdeón 2005a). BBC World in Spanish (BBC Mundo) has the same problem: the so-called Spanish texts project an image of ambivalence and intertextual incoherence towards controversial issues. In fact, the presentation of news events tends to reflect the perspective of the source, producing ambiguity, opacity, and misunderstandings. In this case, the translator does not play the role of a mediator. The translated texts signal an ethnocentric position. What was possible and maybe acceptable in 1938 when the Spanish service of the BBC started, is not any longer in 2006 (Valdeón 2005b).

2. Newspapers on line

Very often translated news is considered only in its verbal dimension, and not in its complete multimodal aspects (lay out, font size, use of photos, colors, etc.) Today, on-line newspapers lead to new practices in the packaging, distribution, delivery, and reception of news. One textual result of this shift is the emergence of a new genre: the newsbite.

Most of the newspapers now have their own website. Not only do they give information about what they are and how they work, but they also edit their daily paper on-line. The design of newsbites plays a role in the evolution of the discourse, of the ideology of the on-line version. There are changes in the visual-verbal design of news stories, in the visual-verbal classification of content. What is the new grammar of these on-line newspapers? Is it universal? How does the paper written by the journalist and (partly) translated look like on the screen? What is the role of the editor? To what extent do newspapers such as *Le Monde, Libération* change their focus, their structure consistency, their headline design when they are printed, and when they are on-line? What about *Le Monde Diplomatique* when translated and printed, and translated and on-line? What are the functions of the links, especially when we are reading a translated article?

Certainly, the development and the use of on-line newspapers change the media practice and the media literacy. On-line news journalism may have a profound effect on the way foreign-language news is translated. By changing the news translation process, on-line journalism also changes news language. A large field of investigation is opening up here.

3. Strategies when packaging news in another language/culture

Studies have been carried out on how and why articles on international news are translated and edited as they are. There are several processing stages between spotting an event in a foreign country and the final news product, printed for the readers. These stages, as we know, involve translation and editing (or rather transediting), transforming the language and the structure of the original message by using strategies such as re-organisation, deletion, addition, and substitution (Hursti 2001). Earlier, the amount of news flow has been controlled and selected in order to keep the stories or story details which are considered news worthy to be passed on to the next gate.

This gatekeeping process depends on how much first-hand knowledge the editor has about the event to be reported and at what stage of the process he is assigned to the event/story or decides to follow it up. The gatekeeping decisions are also governed by the news journalism organisation, the news agencies (concerning news style, readability) and the requirement of speed (time being a key element in the whole process) (Hajmohammadi 2005). I think we should not forget that news organisations are embedded in a certain cultural environment (cf. what was said about hyperbole and framing, in section 1).

An international news agency cannot pack its news copy with too culture-specific allusions or metaphors. In a way, and by analogy, we have the

same process as in the software industry – when dealing with "international-isation" of the documentation: you must produce a text culturally acceptable everywhere and to all. All the information must be accessible to foreign translators/localisers, regardless of their cultural background.

Let us now turn back again, for a while, to the strategies used when transforming news agency source texts.

Re-organisation means to (re)structure the source text: refocusing the information in a given paragraph, moving or permuting some of the details somewhere else in the story. This implies, for instance, permutation of individual lexical items, but also extensive revamps of information at a higher textual level. The re-organisation can be done partly because of differences between languages, rhetoric traditions, and partly to better serve the needs of the new target readership.

The strategy of deletion ranges from complete paragraph omission to exclusion of sentences, or of lexical items. The percentage of the source material to be deleted depends on the number of facts, the degree of accuracy, the redundancy of the source text. I can see here another analogy but this time with subtitling: the average of omission varies from 60% to 25% according to the original (news, action film, etc.).

What about addition? Sometimes you need to clarify, to make explicit some background information, assumption, etc. Again, this is similar to language transfer in audiovisual translation (AVT) – even though most of the viewers think of AVT (subtitling in particular) as loss, omission.

Substitution involves other strategies. For instance, you make details less specific (instead of 1552 dead in a typhoon, you write 1500); you change the focus; you depersonalize (instead of giving names of Defence Ministers, you mention their countries or just their position); you summarize.

In spite of theses strategies, and because of the tight deadline, sometimes you cannot avoid lexical borrowing or calque. Other scholars have proposed other gatekeeping functions. For instance, Akio Fryii (1988) spoke of controlling, transforming, supplementing and reorganising messages. What is important, in my opinion, is not so much the number and the label of the strategies but the awareness that international news communication cannot be analysed merely as a matter of isolated news texts. Translation Studies has emphasized, in recent decades, the importance of context and contextualisation in the translating process, in the decisions made by translators. But more often than not, a gap can be seen between the claim and the analysis.

4. Media interpreting

In recent years, a few studies appeared describing the different parameters and constraints of media interpreting (Alexieva 1997, 1999, 2001; Mack 2000, 2001; Monacelli 2000; Russo et al. 1997). We can add here voice-over, which occurs when a documentary or an interview is translated, adapted and broadcast approximately in synchrony with the images. The original voice/sound is either reduced entirely or turned down to a low level of audibility, after a few seconds. In voice-over, the target voice is usually superimposed on top of the source voice. The two modalities of AVT (interpreting and voice-over) are increasingly in demand today, although in many cases very inconspicuously, as in reports from theatres of conflict or war, when journalists might maintain the illusion that they were able to interview locals in their own language, using a "fixer" or not.

There are good reasons for analyzing non-professional interpreting (Jääskeläinene 2003). First of all, this is frequent practice (more or less visible on the TV screen); secondly, it provides interesting examples of the limits of the "translation" category, and, thirdly, it brings up important translation political issues. For ordinary viewers who do not attend international conferences or sit at multicultural negotiation tables, this may be the only kind of interpreting they ever come across: a journalist doing live interpreting, during an interview in the studio, or in a spot event, or after a natural catastrophe.

What is added, omitted, condensed, explicited? What is the intervention of the journalists-interpreters? Do they work from a text or from a video or live?

By calling for more research in this subfield, I do not deny the importance of written translation and editing in the press and news agencies. I just want to emphasize the convergence between different media when translating and/or interpreting, the hidden agenda of news organisations and TV broadcasting companies when using non-professional translators, and the need to train journalists and translators in a more common syllabus, because both professions are working on written and oral texts, both must have the skills for documentary and terminology retrieval, the aptitude to get contacts, and to work with other experts. Both also have a socio-cultural responsibility which goes beyond the production of immediate and short-life texts. For both professions, to learn how to learn, to know how to know is more important than just to acquire knowledge; for both, to be capable of rapid decision-making and self-evaluation is also important (Gambier 2006: 59-60).

To conclude

There are today different localised versions of different newspapers and magazines. To give some examples: *Times* in Spanish and Portuguese, *Newsweek* in Polish, *Financial Times* in German, *Le Monde Diplomatique* in almost twenty languages including Greek, Serbian, and on-line in Japanese, Russian, *The Ecologist* in French, *National Geography, American Science, Elle, People, Rolling Stone, Glamour, Cosmopolitan*, and so on and so forth. What does exactly remain the same across the localised versions?

TV and newspapers are dominated, right now, by the Football World Championship. Mediated sport is one obvious example of a globalisation process, and global sport is obviously big business, as is media coverage. Media organisations provide live coverage that builds global audiences in real time, a sense of shared experience, a knowledge of other audiences in other parts of the world, rooting for their competitors.

This awareness of the world as a single space, this globalism encourages an attitude of reflexivity and awareness of "others" and also a struggle for audience ratings. And, at the same time, there is a commitment to one's country's team, its successes and failures as they reflect on "us" (the national audience). Sport and communication are two arenas suffused with the contradictions of the globalizing moment.

How global is the media? This question can be examined in terms of ownership, production, distribution, content and reception. The boundaries in all these areas are not as clear as they once were. But the influence or power of the global media is not merely measured in terms of capital formation, audience ratings, and physical presence. The local can be so strong that the global itself becomes localised in the course of production, marketing and distribution. We have seen, when talking about framing, how an international news site such as CNN is not truly international but reflects the ethnocentric view of the news corporation. We are facing, in this case, a globalised parochialism.

The cultural boundaries and reference points are shifting but the question remains for the translator and editor: To what extent can they localise? Niranjana (1992: 173) calls for more "intervention" from the translators, stressing a self-conscious commitment to effecting change. This requires positioning itself in relation to, and at a critical distance from the source texts.

Our efforts may result in superficial adaptations, making room for dominant ideology and culture, or in more genuine cultural synthesis of the local and the global. How such contextual change will interact with the ways audiences decode and appropriate the content of global media has become a

significant issue as globalisation picks up momentum, while the asymmetrical relationship between different parts of the world, the power imbalance also continues to be an enduring issue.

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EXAMPLES

Hyperbole (http://www.whitehouse.gov)

- Saddam Hussein still has chemical and biological weapons and is increasing his capabilities to make more. And he is moving ever closer to developing a nuclear weapon. (7 Oct. 2002)

- We know that the regime has produced thousands of tons of chemical agents, including mustard gas, sarin nerve gas, VX nerve gas. And we know that Iraq is continuing to finance terror and gives assistance to groups that use terrorism to undermine Middle East peace. (15 March 2003)

- The dictator of Iraq and his weapons of mass destruction are a threat to the security of free nations. (16 March 2003)

- He is among history's cruelest dictators, and he is arming himself with the world's most terrible weapons. (15 March 2003)

- …every additional day that Saddam Hussein is in power…is an additional day of danger…for the people of the world. (2 Oct. 2002)

- We agree that the Iraqi regime must not be permitted to threaten America and the world with horrible poisons and diseases and gases and atomic weapons. (7 Oct. 2002)

- The danger to our country is grave. The danger to our country is growing. The Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemical weapons. The Iraqi regime is building the facilities necessary to make more biological and chemical weapons. And according to the British government, the Iraqi regime could launch a biological and chemical attack in as little as 45 minutes after the order were given. (26 Sept. 2002)

Framing (CNN news reports, 2003)

- We see the nation in the earliest stage of beginning to mourn a brave crew of people who understood the risks, and yet willingly, gladly embraced them

- …seven brave astronauts exploring the high frontier.

- An extraordinary, extraordinary group of astronauts who gave their lives and did it in a way that they knew exactly the risk…

- We spoke to all the crew before they left. We asked them about the risks. We asked them about their philosophy of their risks.

- We couldn't wait to congratulate them for their extraordinary performance and the excellent efforts on the science mission on this very important flight. They dedicated their lives to pushing the scientific challenges for all of us here on Earth…

- Colonel Ramon was so much more than just a professional (…) the first Israeli to go into space. But he really was somewhat of a, you know, a national hero, the quintessential hero, if you will, for Israel. This is a man that flew in the Yom Kippur War in 1973. He fought in the 1982 war with Lebanon. He was also, believe it or not, one of the pilots that bombed the Iraqi nuclear reactor back in 1981.

- Something terribly wrong had apparently happened. All day long we've been reporting on the aftermaths of this horrible tragedy…

- Well, it's a tragic day for the families, the crew, it's a tragic day for the entire NASA and the entire community here at the Space Center, but it's also a tragic day for the nation.

- There's going to be a period of mourning in this community. There's going to be a period where we're just going together and support each other and hug each other and help us go on.

Semantic Asymmetry and "The War on Terror"[1]

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This paper is not about translation in the strict sense of the transfer of meaning between distinct linguistic systems. It is concerned rather with the transfer of expressions from one domain of the public sphere, such as presidential addresses or broadcast interviews, to another domain, such as newspaper headlines. This could be considered a special case of what Jakobson (1959/2004) refers to as *intralingual translation,* "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language"[2] – except that here we are concerned with the way key expressions are re-cycled in and through the news in ways that effectively broaden and narrow their meaning.[3] It is the contention of this paper that in the coding and re-coding of events since 9/11 the terms *war* and *terror* have transferred back and forth between domains of the public sphere in such as way as to broaden the meaning of the item *war* while narrowing the meaning of *terror*.

Immediately after 9/11 the expression "war on terror" surfaced in public discourse. President Bush, towards the end of his address to the nation on the evening of 9/11, said: "America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terror." By the morning of the next day he was saying in a public statement to his national security team: "The deliberate and deadly attacks which were carried out yesterday against our country were more than acts of terror. They were acts of war."[4] In the populist discourses of newspaper headlines on 9/11 there were frequent references to terror (as in "Terror Attacks" and "Day of Terror"). By the next day, cued in part by these Presidential statements, a common newspaper headline was "Act of War" or "This is War".

From the outset, however, as the term *war* circulated in and between the different domains of the discourse of the public sphere, its scope was unclear. In briefings and interviews, senior members of the Bush administration struggled to define what was meant by war. "Did it mean military operations?", journalists asked. Would it involve a declaration of war? Would Congress make the

declaration? Against whom? Can you declare war against an individual? US Secretary of State Powell, for instance, handled the term circumspectly. Here is a typical example in response to a broadcaster interviewer's question:

> The President believes that it was an act of war against us, not a war of the kind that we have seen before such as World War II or Korea or Vietnam. And Korea and Vietnam were not called wars but they certainly were wars. But it is an act of war. When you attack our homeland, when you attacked two places such as the World Trade Center buildings and the Pentagon, that is an act of war against our sovereignty, against the security of our people. When you kill thousands of our civilians, there is no other way to characterize it.
>
> It doesn't mean necessarily that it results in, say, a declaration of war — Congress would have to make that judgment anyway — but it means that we have to really mobilize ourselves and all of the assets at our disposal — political, diplomatic, legal, law enforcement, intelligence and military — to deal with those who perpetrated this act of war against us.
>
> [Interview on National Public Radio, Sept 12th]

In examples such as this, Powell emerges as perhaps the key progenitor of a way of inflecting the term *war* in a figurative fashion — along the lines of "a war on drugs", "a war on poverty", "a war on AIDS" or "a war on ignorance and superstition".

Despite Powell's figurative use of the term *war*, it was soon being used in more restrictive fashion to describe (and justify) western (principally US and British) actions in Afghanistan and Iraq. These became wars in the more literal and traditional sense. Indeed, Condaleeza Rice, Powell's successor, was to comment later that for her the attacks of September 11 "meant the idea of the nation being at war was no longer a figure of speech"[5]. So, as a term, *war* had both a figurative life and a literal one. At times it seemed the only adequate term at hand to respond to large-scale tragic loss of life and the generalised reactions which follow in response. At other times it described quite specific military operations on foreign soil. Overall, however, it moves easily between one plane of reference and the other.

Indeed, one of the curiosities of the expression "war on terror" is the way in which the term *war*, especially since 9/11, has assumed a protean elasticity. It includes the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. But it also encompasses detention without trial, forms of electronic surveillance, extraordinary rendition and the introduction of identity cards. Recently three prisoners at the US base at

Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, committed suicide. This prompted the observation by the US military that their actions amounted to acts of war. (The BBC reported the camp commander as saying that the two Saudis and a Yemeni were "committed" and had killed themselves in "an act of asymmetric warfare waged against us.")[6] More recently, US Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld has commented that the White House is in danger of losing "the war of ideas": "some of the most critical battles may not be in the mountains of Afghanistan or the streets of Iraq, but in the newsrooms – in places like New York, London, Cairo, and elsewhere." [Address to the Council on Foreign Relations, February 2006][7]

Terror, on the other hand, is rigidly and discriminately applied to a limited class of acts. Thus, suicide bombers commit acts of terror. The destruction of the World Trade Centre was terror. The London and Madrid bombings were acts of terror. More particularly, if we plot the occurrence of the expression *terror* through newspaper accounts since 9/11, it is noticeable that something like 70% of the usage is to pre-modify another term, despite its normal listing in dictionaries as a "noun" or "substantive".[8] In practice, in newspaper accounts in phrases such as "terror attacks", "terror threat", "terror raids", "terror campaign", "terror backlash", "terror laws", "terror suspects", "terror cell", "terror network", "terror mastermind" it functions as an adjective modifying a noun. These phrases involve quite specific condensations of meaning. "Terror legislation" means roughly 'laws designed to stop those bent on instilling fear in a population by indiscriminate acts of murder for political purposes'. In this way "terror legislation" invokes a presuppositional framework in which groups committed to acts of terror are assumed to be at work. Indeed, the underlying inferential framework is one in which the groups prosecuting campaigns of terror are subversive, fanatical, irrational, secret, fundamentalist, indiscriminately violent, showing no respect for human life.

And yet, historically, of course, terror more commonly described the actions of governments and sovereign powers than those of shadowy cells and networks. France's revolutionary government instigated a Reign of Terror. The Spanish Inquisition was systematic in its application of terror. The mass aerial bombings of civilian populations during the 2nd World War were deliberate acts of terror. "Shock and Awe" – the name for the strategy adopted by the US military at the outset of the Iraq war – is difficult to distinguish from a terror campaign. Even the US military's own definitions of terror do not reserve the term for subversive groups: terror is simply "the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious or ideological in

nature...through intimidation, coercion or instilling fear" [US Army Operational Concept for Terrorism Counteraction, 1984][9]

Why then do we routinely adopt an interpretive default position in which *terror* applies to a highly restricted class of acts in which terror is visited violently and indiscriminately only on 'us' by 'them' (while 'we' reluctantly prosecute an honourable war in return)? Consider the following two examples: (a) "Police carry out terror raid in Forest Gate"; and (b) "US builds terror prison in Guantanamo". In the first example the automatic, default interpretation is that the police were looking for terrorists, not that they were setting out to terrorise the residents of Forest Gate (by, for instance, using 250 officers, some of whom were armed, to make two arrests). Similarly, the second example activates the assumption that the prison will house terrorists, not that it will be itself the site for the systematic application of terror, and this despite accumulating evidence of torture and abuse. In short, even though there is nothing in the grammatical structure of these utterances or the semantic structure of the item *terror* to enforce this interpretive preference, we avoid assuming that the purpose of the raid or the prison is to instill fear. *Terror* as a term now works for us in a displaced or exclusionary way.

Military strategists and historians have since 9/11 speculated that we live in a new age of asymmetric warfare in which technologically sophisticated armies are pitched against numerically small, dedicated bands of terrorists prepared to co-opt technology to perverse ends. What is more peculiar and difficult to explain is the ease with which a semantic asymmetry has become established – one in which repetitive codings and re-codings ('translations' from one part of the public sphere to another) have established patterns of habitual usage and fixed the range of the two expressions – *war* and *terror* – in an asymmetric fashion. We do war; they do terror. In view of the ever-rising numbers of indiscriminate and innocent casualties incurred by the war on terror, has the time now come to speak instead of the terror of war?

NOTES

1. This paper extends an analysis begun in "The discourse of *war* after 9/11", *Language and Literature* (2005) Vol. 14(2): 149-180.

2. With thanks to Ian Mason and Miranda Stewart for pointing out to me the relevance of Jakobson.

3. Bloomfield (1933) used the terms 'broadening' and 'narrowing' to refer to processes of semantic change of a historical kind, which become codified in a language. I use the terms here to refer to shifts in the habitual ranges of meanings detectable over short stretches of time but displayed in identifiable patterns of usage.

4. Similar terrain is traversed in Silberstein's book *War of Words,* though her emphasis, analysis and conclusions are very different than those offered her. Her emphasis falls upon the rhetorical construction of the Bush's presidential role in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. The focus of this paper is not upon the rhetorical construction of the president's position but upon the discursive construction of the notions of war and terror.

5. *Time* magazine, 5th April, 2004, p.31

6. *BBC News Online*, 11th June, 2006, 10.31 GMT

7. Rumsfeld's comments are reported in *The Observer,* Business and Media Section, p.10, "Why Bush declared war on the NYT".

8. Analysis of usage was based upon results from applying WebCorp to UK broadsheet usage (Times, Telegraph, Guardian, Independent) from 2002 onwards.

9. Quoted by Chomsky (2002) in "Terror and just response", p.23. The UK's own anti-terror legislation (2004) adopts a similar definition:

> (1) In this Act "terrorism" means the use or threat of action where
> (a) the action falls within subsection (2),
> (b) the use or threat is designed to influence the government or an international governmental organisation or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and
> (c) the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.
>
> (2) Action falls within this subsection if it
> (a) involves serious violence against a person,
> (b) involves serious damage to property,
> (c) endangers a person's life, other than that of the person committing the action,

(d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or

(e) is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.

Some jurists have complained that this definition is too broad, as well they might, since despite 1(b) the definition does not exclude actions by governments against publics and does include not only death but violence against persons, damage to property and risks to health and safety. Presumably, some military actions in Fallujah, Haditha and elsewhere inevitably come within the terms of the act – were it to be applied outside the UK.

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Journalism and the Language Divide

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Arthur Miller once said: "A good newspaper, I suppose, is a nation talking to itself." I'd say that today a good international media organisation is a world talking to itself. But in what language?

Over the past few years, the development of new technologies has changed the media, contributing to an extraordinary growth in the flow of information, not only from the media organisations towards the audience, but also from the audience towards itself. For those who have overcome the so-called digital divide, talking to themselves has never been easier.

The infrastructure for delivering media content—the Internet—is fast becoming widespread. Ordinary people are creating their own blogs, podcasts and wikis, because it costs little to do so. Most of them do not care how big their audience is. Some choose to keep it small, some become stars—one-person news organisations in their own right. Since the audience is made up of people who are themselves speaking up, new media are more of a clamour than a lecture.

Today, Technorati, a blog search engine, monitors almost 40 million blogs. According to Technorati, 75,000 blogs are created every day. And the blogosphere is not an English speaking space. Technorati's ranking of the top 100 blogs included Chinese blogs (in first and second position) and the Italian Blog di Beppe Grillo, at number ten. Big media organisations are also becoming more like blogs, trying to catch up.

English dominates, but only relatively.

There are other global languages, while national media markets are dominated by a wide array of local languages. In recent history, "global" discourse was English, having overtaken French as the lingua franca, with Spanish somewhere in the background. And now with more plurality we see Al-Jazeera looking for globalised, if not global, impact, trying to be players, to compete. On the other hand, you have BBC in Arabic as a response.

So in those places where the digital divide is overcome, the only barrier that remains is the language divide.

Language, in the absence of translation, comprises a barrier to a worldwide community of debate and opinion. Thus translation has become key to achieving international impact and reach in media organisations, both mainstream and new.

I started to think about this when I was in Panama, working as the Business Editor of La Prensa, the paper of record. Our team of investigative journalists published several ground-breaking stories that involved crooked U.S. companies, international money launderers and corrupt politicians. In spite of their implications, our exposés didn't have much echo in the U.S. market. It wasn't until English-language papers picked up these stories that they had international repercussions.

At IPS news agency, bridging cultural and linguistic divides between audiences that may have limited access to global news originating in another language is central.

IPS believes in making big ideas accessible. With the purpose of being a truly global news service and maximising media markets, IPS produces original news features in English, Spanish and French. Selected stories are translated into sixteen languages: Arabic, German, Japanese, Dutch, Finnish, Swedish, Portuguese, Swahili, Thai, Hindi, Tamil, Chinese, Khmer, Nepali, Indonesian and Italian. We have agreements with like-minded media organisations that translate our stories into still other languages, including Dari and Pashto in Afghanistan, for example.

Our coverage requires the understanding of a multicultural reality, with peoples who have different communication codes, different views about the same issues.

The protagonists of our stories are not only presidents, ministers, or businessmen. According to the agency's editorial policy of giving voice to the voiceless, we seek out the views of non-traditional actors (representatives of indigenous and different ethnic groups, children, farmers, non-governmental organisations). Of course, all these actors express themselves with different languages, not only in English.

There we face one of the main challenges: our journalists must have a good command of local languages and of English, Spanish or French, to better express the information we disseminate.

We make a point of respecting different cultures, and that is why we try to take into account the language variations when editing our stories. For example, a communications company in the United States re-edits our stories written originally in British English to suit that specific market.

The same applies to the translation and edition of stories in Portuguese, since some of them are translated specifically for Brazil and others for the Portuguese-speaking African countries.

Many of our translators are also journalists, who add context to the stories for different audiences in order to balance what is local and what is global.

For example, with stories out of Colombia, our translators often add background so that readers outside of Latin America will be better able to understand the concept of "paramilitary". Within the region, decades of military regimes and death squads have made the concept an all-too familiar one. But in the English-speaking world, some explanation is needed. Without it, the entire meaning and impact of the article might have been lost on readers in the English-speaking world, even though enough information was available for the average Spanish-speaker.

Through journalistic translation new perspectives and insights can be contributed to the discourse, opening more space for understanding.

I'll give you a couple of examples of how important translations can be, especially in the context of peacemaking.

During the Sri Lankan peace process in 2002 and 2003, IPS news was made available simultaneously in Tamil, Sinhala and English. While this met with initial resistance (to the extent that contracted translators at first refused to translate material not perceived as originating from their side) once this was overcome there was explicit recognition of the value of a common platform of communication.

Since the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, IPS has traditionally produced a printed conference daily called TerraViva at all the major United Nations summits and massive civil society events. We regularly publish bilingual and trilingual conference journals.

At the fourth World Social Forum held in Mumbai, India, in 2004, which was attended by more than one 100,000 civil society representatives, we were disappointed to see that only 20,000 of the 50,000 issues published on the first day were picked up by the participants.

We soon realised that only by translating some of the stories into Hindi would we reach more people; and indeed, after the second day, the distribution of the newspaper increased up to 60,000 issues per day.

When we first began to produce multi-lingual TerraViva newspapers, we didn't have the resources to do full translations of all articles into all languages, and we had a big debate about whether we could do "asymmetrical editions" where the same physical newspaper has some articles in both languages but some just in one of them. We decided this asymmetry actually reflected the reality—

not everyone has equal access to all information. But it met with resistance, especially from English-speakers, because they preferred symmetrical papers—arguably perpetuating the illusion that you can know everything. I think the South Africa multilingual Sesame Street has the same principle—some editions of the programme consciously include many of South Africa's eleven official languages in one single programme.

Translating services are deeply embedded in our journalistic daily work. The head of the translating services is part of the editors group, the core editorial team that coordinates IPS's global coverage. Translators often consult the editors about the relevance of a story for a specific audience before translating it.

Of course this is not always a smooth process.

Journalistic translation deals with recurring challenges that involve political correctness (choosing whether to use the Anglicism "género" instead of the more correct "sexual" in Spanish or, in any language, how to denote ethnic groups, for example); deciding on the correct gender-specific pronouns when it is not apparent from names in the original language; transforming short-sentenced, to-the-point grammar constructions into more periphrasical structures, and going from a culture where imprecision is considered elegant to a more fastidious language.

Precision can be tricky. For example, in Spanish, the population figures for a large city like Buenos Aires are usually just the strict numbers for the city itself (without the surrounding suburbs), whereas in English the translator would put the entire figure for "greater Buenos Aires." Or in Bolivia, El Alto is described in Spanish as a city near La Paz, whereas in English you would put something like "a sprawling working-class city near La Paz." In Spanish "ciudad" is used much more liberally—many of the "ciudades" mentioned in the stories would be described as towns in English.

A double-check random quality-control over translations into some languages is being developed.

There are frequent internal disagreements about translations. And not only internal. We once got a complaint from a Japanese official about Japanese translations that he said added loaded adjectives to the original text in English. We had to go back to the original story and compare it with a translation of the Japanese version. In the end, we decided it was a case of official touchiness.

IPS investment in languages runs parallel to our Internet growth. The result has been that we have gone from 300,000 page-views per month at the end of 2002 to fifteen million page-views right now, and it keeps on growing.

When we talk about the Internet, we must bear in mind that its users are mainly in the North, and that they account for merely ten percent of the world

population. We want to reach the remaining ninety percent, which is mainly located in the South. That is one of the reasons why we started to work on audio products in local languages.

But the IPS mission includes also making voiceless people heard in the North, as well as reaching audiences that no longer read newspapers. That is where the Internet comes to mind too.

According to a survey by Reuters, BBC and The Media Center, young people in ten countries, including Nigeria, Indonesia, India, Russia, South Korea and Brazil, are more likely to use online sources of information and to have stopped using a traditional news source because of a breach of trust.

In conclusion, we believe that making available the stories you just saw, and others, to the widest possible amount of people, in their own languages, can empower them and help them talk to themselves.

Thank you.

An Analysis of Press Translation Process

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1. Introduction

The globalization of media is nowadays a key area of interest but up to now the role of translation within global news flow has received little attention. Nevertheless, it represents a common practice carried out by newspapers in different countries: press translation reaches a very large number of readers (certainly larger than that of translation for literature or theatre) and translated news contributes to the shaping of readers' opinions, actively influencing the way they perceive the world around them. Hence the importance of studying standard practices and translation strategies that characterise press translation.

Providing a definition of press translation is not simple at all, even if one wants to limit the field to that of interlinguistic translation. From a general point of view in newspapers there is a great variety of rewritings (Lefevere: 1992) that can be considered connected to press translation: the editing of press releases written in a different language (whether extensive or moderate), the translation of articles or reportages signed by big names in journalism or left anonymous, the summarizing of the topics of one or more texts from foreign sources embedded in articles that were directly produced in the target language, etcetera. The first question we must ask ourselves is therefore if there are any criteria that would allow a clearer and more precise definition of press translation.

The presence of the translator's name, next to the article or in the colophon, does not suffice to clearly identify the phenomena related to press translation. The indication of a translator's identity is not always available in newspapers; on the contrary, there are many cases in which the translator is completely invisible from the graphic point of view, where the name is missing or only the initials are indicated or it is difficult to find the name inside the newspaper.

Even referring to the presence of the foreign author is not enough: source articles are not always signed. The issue of the presence of a signature for some

kinds of articles depends very much on local press traditions. The general tendency in Italy is to always add a signature to the article; in England some kinds of articles, editorials for example, are not generally signed by a single journalist and are meant to represent an editorial board position. The presence or absence of the signature also depends on internal policies for the single newspaper (articles in The Economist, for example, are never signed). Of course, when the source article is not signed, the name of the author will be missing in the translated version as well.

Another unreliable method to establish whether or not a text is part of press translation is looking at the target readers' perception of a translated journalistic text. Readers usually cannot tell the difference between a translated article and one that was not translated, also because the difference between the two is not signalled graphically. The interlinguistic and intercultural transition through translation passes unnoticed to readers, who often read a press translation as if it were any other article in the newspaper.

The most reliable method to establish if a journalistic text was translated probably is to refer to the indication of the source text that newspapers have to signal due to legal and economic copyright issues. In general, indicating the copyright and the source is an obligation that, if unhonoured, leads to economic sanctions so that, in most western countries, the indication of the original source remains the most reliable method to establish that we are in the presence of press translation. In this sense, copyright represents a way to give translation visibility. However, even if establishing exactly the limits of journalistic translation is difficult, it is possible to find clear examples of this phenomenon on the press from various countries.

Press translation includes daily, weekly or monthly newspapers and magazines. Newspapers that use translation are also different in their structure. There are newspapers made up of articles both translated and not translated. In these cases the percentage of translations is generally much lower than the number of articles directly written in the target readers' language. Some newspapers consist (almost) exclusively of translations taken from the same source (in Italy this is the case for the translated version of Le Monde Diplomatique or The National Geographic). One more way is represented by newspapers made up almost exclusively of translations of articles taken from different sources. In France we find Le Courier International; in Italy we have the object of our analysis, that is *Internazionale* (www.internazionale.it), a weekly magazine that publishes translations from newspapers from all over the world. *Internazionale* was born in 1993, is distributed all over Italy and has now reached an edition of more than 50.000 copies.

In order to go into detail in analysing *Internazionale*, we must remember that press translation is characterised by the imperative of quickness, which means two things:

> • Speed in translating. Translations must be completed within a short time; as far as dailies are concerned it is usually a matter of a few hours, but deadlines are tight also for weekly and monthly publications.

> • Speed in translation exploitation. Reading newspapers is, in most cases, a quick and light activity, as opposed to the reading of other genres.

The issue of speed that troubles any translator and translation in the real world, in the case of press translation becomes an essential characteristic, and not a secondary one. The issue of speed in the exploitation of translation is strongly linked to the issue of readability, intended here as attention to the target public: the reader of a newspaper needs to read it quickly, getting a sense of what the article says straightaway. A newspaper is not meant to be re-read several times, but should offer immediate comprehension. Unfortunately, in the field of translations, readability and speed often end up meaning simply textual and cultural domestication (Venuti: 1995).

2. Goals

The goal of this presentation is to show that, even in press translation, it is possible to make choices that guarantee both respect of cultural difference and attention to the target public, notwithstanding difficulties brought by the issue of speed associated with that of readability. *Internazionale* tries to obtain such results, and I believe it does it successfully, in various ways and especially in two aspects: through some choices regarding the translating process and through applied strategies for the translation of aspects related to cultural diversity.

I will now move to an analysis of the translating process of *Internazionale*, starting from an evaluation of sources, through the search for articles to translate down to readers' reactions. Further on, I will analyse the translation of aspects dealing with cultural differences to establish which textual, extra-textual or contextual strategies are implemented to reach a reasonable balance between the need to make texts easily readable for the Italian public and the need to respect diversity.

3. Translation process

All through the translation process, which starts from the selection of sources and ends with readers' reactions to the translated text, there is a series of gatekeepers that control the information flow (Vuorinen: 1995). Each passage implies decisions that influence the final result of the translation process, that is the actual target text. Hence the importance of studying the attitude of the various characters involved in the translation process that takes place for *Internazionale*. The translation process starts with the selection of sources to be analysed. The favoured sources are those that are akin to the Italian editorial board from the ideological and political point of view.

This first stage of the translation process is already characterised by limitations due to the languages known inside the editorial board, which basically are five: English, French, German, Spanish, and Portuguese. As a consequence, newspapers published in other languages are excluded. *Internazionale* does not aim to present a press review of newspapers from all over the world (which is what some readers might expect from the magazine). The five languages mentioned above already allow a reasonable coverage of most aspects of current international news, also because the linguistic limitation is not paired by a limitation in selecting the sources.

Every week the editors, who select articles, analyse the most important and prestigious newspapers from all over the world (leaders both for linguistic reasons as well as for their status). Moreover they monitor a variable series of minor newspapers within the most important countries and other newspapers from countries that belong to a cultural periphery (at least if we look at them from an Italian and Western point of view). This is done with the clear intention of giving voice to positions and topics that generally go unnoticed (Venuti: 1998 and 2000). For instance, here is a list of newspapers selected from English between January and May 2006, from which at least one article was taken and published:

> The Star (Malaysia); The Christian Science Monitor (USA); Khaleej Times (United Arab Emirates); South China Morning Post (Hong Kong); The Weekly standard (USA); New Scientist (UK); The Observer (UK); The Sunday Times (UK); The Times (UK); The Yomiuri Shimbun (Japan); Financial Times (UK); Globe and Mail (Australia); New Statesman (UK); The New York Times Magazine (USA); The Australian (Australia); The

Guardian (UK); Mother Jones (USA); Outlook (India); The Hindu (India); The Nation (USA); London Review of Books (UK); Malaysiakini (Malaysia); The Progressive (USA); The Boston Globe (USA); The Wall Street Journal (USA); Dawn (Pakistan); Al Ahram Weekly (Egypt); News from Africa (Kenya); Segye Times (South Korea); Al Quds al Arabi (UK); Seed (USA); Discover (USA); The Bulletin (Australia); The daily star (Lebanon); Al Watan (Saudi Arabia); Globe and Mail (Canada); Business Day (South Africa); Slate (USA); The Irrawaddy (Thailand); The Atlantic Monthly (USA); Open Democracy (UK); The Telegraph (India); The Daily Telegraph (UK)

This shows that, if on one hand the sources are recognised and well-known, on the other hand there is space for minor sources that offer a different point of view of a specific event.

The translation process then moves on to the choice of text to be translated (Carbonell: 1996). The reasons that drive to the choice are various:

• Reputation of the source or the author: some articles are chosen because their author or publisher is well known, so that they are interesting from a commercial point of view. Of course this does not mean that articles are chosen regardless of their topic, but the authority of the source contributes to guarantee translations prestige. They can also be well-known figures who position themselves against the dominant ideology (Naomi Klein, Noam Chomsky with their political positions), but anyway they enjoy an unchallenged international status. In this sense, the status of the writer plays a fundamental role (Ayala: 1985).

• Stylistic issues: Most articles are reportages, society pieces or travellers' tales. *Internazionale* is still a weekly magazine (even if peculiar in its kind) and as such dedicates part of its space to texts of which the information aspect is secondary (Volli: 1994).

• Subject matter: in a sense they are the opposite of texts selected according to stylistic issues. Some texts are chosen because they deal with subjects ignored by the mass Italian press (which is unfortunately an easy task, as the Italian attention to international

issues is limited to a few subjects and countries, and some world zones are often neglected if not completely ignored, as is the case with Latin America or Africa). In this case, the information function prevails over the formal aspect: it does not matter whether an article is badly written or if its style hardly fits with *Internazionale*'s, what does matter is its subject. During the translation and proofreading stages it will be manipulated until it complies with the style required by the editorial board.

• The way others see us: this last kind of text is very common in various Italian newspapers, especially during these last few years of government. Learning opinions of other countries about Italy has become almost an obsession for Italian newspapers. *Internazionale* follows this trend. In this sense translation becomes a necessary phenomenon: our country is now going through a (temporary?) moment of weakness and translated texts represent a way of thinking about itself and promoting internal debate (Even-Zohar: 1978).

Once selected, the original text is sent to the translator who works away from the editorial office to create the actual translation. Translators working for *Internazionale* are characterised by two aspects that influence translation strategies:

• Invisibility:
- from the graphical point of view, because the translator's name is given very little space compared to the author's;
- from the point of view of translation strategies. The role of translation is to render the target text as similar as possible to a newspaper article produced in Italian. The reader must be left in peace and should not be expected to make the least effort to go towards the text (Schleiermacher: 1813; Venuti: 1995).

• Loyalty: the translator is an expert who is given a specific task. *Internazionale* translators are freelance and periodically work for the magazine, so they know in which section their translation will be published. Some sections are more informative than others, and according to the section chosen for the text, translators know how far they can push their degree of

reformulation. Moreover translators often are the only real experts from the linguistic and cultural point of view who are able to appreciate the original text fully; when proofreading, editors tend to trust the translators' choices (Nord: 1997).

Once completed, the translation goes back to the editorial office and is considered a draft revised by several figures. First, an editor who checks the target text against the source text (target translation – source text); secondly, another editor proofreads exclusively the Italian version (translation); thirdly, a copy editor, who takes care of where the translation will be inserted inside the newspaper (translation – translations); finally, the director (translation – translations). Three proofreaders out of four only check the Italian version, which shows that the final product that will reach readers is more important than fidelity to the source text.

The kinds of textual manipulation carried out by the *Internazionale* editorial board are various: they "adjust" the translation and modify the text according to the needs of the target medium, reorganizing the text fully, cutting, changing the paragraph structure, altering the syntax according to editorial stylistic norms or inserting explanations where they are believed to be necessary (Vidal Claramonte: 1996). The most evident example of textual manipulation applied on the source text is the heading, which we have no time to analyse here. The headings of translated articles often are completely different from the original ones, and through them the editors guide Italian readers' comprehension and interpretation.

The newspaper product eventually reaches its readers. Two types of reader reactions are most interesting for our purposes here. Some people write to signal mistakes, inaccuracies or ameliorations regarding the translation or wrong transcriptions (this is often done by foreigners who live in Italy). They usually do this because they are particularly interested in a specific subject and in that case it is easier for them to notice the presence of a translation filter. Other readers expect a rigorous impartiality from *Internazionale* when selecting sources and articles: the fact that the magazine only publishes translations makes some readers think that *Internazionale* is bound to be impartial. It is difficult for the ordinary reader to understand that the selection of texts to translate necessarily implies the taking of one side.

4. Translation strategies related to cultural diversity

We will now move to the analysis of translation strategies related to cultural diversity. Texts translated by *Internazionale* touch upon a broad range of subjects and the "source-subject" combinations are countless. It is obvious that translation proves easier when the degree of knowledge of the subject available to source culture corresponds to the degree of the target culture, while it is more complicated when the two degrees of knowledge belonging to the two cultures differ (Nord: 1997). We can divide the translation strategies of cultural elements in two broad groups: on one hand we have textual translation strategies regarding the actual text that generally tend to help the target reader; on the other hand, there are extra-textual strategies that try to restore the visibility of cultural diversity encapsulated in the original text. As we already said, newspapers are generally conceived for quick and immediate reading, without deep thinking, and it is because of this that press translation should be effortless for the reader. In order to sell, the newspaper must be readily comprehensible and make the reader feel at ease. This is why textual translation strategies are different, but all tend to simplify the reader's task. Here are some of the most common strategies:

> • Cutting or summary. The cultural element is simply eliminated or synthesised when it is not considered significant inside the translated article.

> • Inclusion of explanations. The cultural element is explained through a paraphrase or circumlocution inside the text. The explanation, which was not there in the source text, is embedded in the translated text to keep the cultural element, rendering it intelligible for the Italian public.

> • Generalization. The cultural element is made more generic.

> • Substitution. The cultural element that is not well known for the Italian reader is replaced by another functionally equivalent element, but better known by Italian readers.

Apart from these textual strategies aimed at making life easier for the reader, extra-textual strategies are implemented: around the translated article we have a series of elements that do not belong to the actual translated text but help contextualise the reading, clarifying its contents. Providing a context is

tantamount to informing readers that in order to understand the translated text they need various instruments that go beyond the text itself.

Among extra-textual elements that can be interesting from a cultural point of view there are:

• Subheading – this indication is in between textual and contextual dimensions. It is in the subheading that the editor can explain specific cultural concepts that would otherwise remain obscure.

• Pictures – it is through pictures that notions that are difficult for translation to convey immediately become clearer. Visual communication makes textual comprehension easier without requiring effort from the reader.

• Maps – maps are used to contextualize the text in its geographical space.

• Chronologies – the subject of the article is contextualized in time.

• Glossaries – words employed in the text that are difficult to understand are explained in a separate box: this way, the reader has a graphically clear reference where to find unknown words.

• Subject related bibliography – always inside a graphically highlighted separate box, the reader can find information about books that can help learning more about the article's topic: a way to tell readers that knowledge about the issue does not end with the newspaper but can be enriched through other tools.

• Information about the article's author – provides a brief biography of the author and is useful to contextualize the text source and is also an indirect reminder for the reader of the foreign origin of the text.

The editors can then offer a fluent translation that does not require effort from readers but at the same time helps them finding a larger range of tools to learn more and understand better. The simple presence of some of these extra-textual

elements indicates that, in order to understand the text fully, one needs to refer to other reading instruments; the contextualization provided underlines the cultural diversities that can be observed.

5. Conclusion

One of the most important aims of *Internazionale*, as for any other newspaper, is to be read and to be read with pleasure. The editorial board cannot afford to make translation choices that would complicate the reader's task and in this sense the resulting reading activity must be almost effortless, with the reader comfortably seated in an armchair. The reading must flow without obstacles, also because of the issue of quick translation exploitation that has been discussed: in this sense, the majority of the applied translation strategies bring the text towards the reader. It is the very nature of the journalistic medium that imposes translation choices that do not require an effort from the reader.

Respecting the other culture then becomes a hard problem to solve. Nevertheless I believe that, according to the description of *Internazionale* translation process and its translation strategies for cultural elements, this magazine successfully manages to keep together the two sides of press translation: readability and respect for the other culture.

First of all, in the translation process the selection of sources and texts encompasses also minority points of view, sources and texts that do not belong to mainstream media. By doing so, positions that would hardly be considered anywhere else are taken into account.

Secondly, if on one hand textual translation strategies tend to bring the text towards the foreign culture, on the other hand extra-textual elements remind readers that they are in front of a text that needs a further reading key and more comprehension tools. The editors modify the text in order to present it to Italian readers without asking them for the least effort, but then offer them a range of instruments to go beyond in their comprehension, leaving it up to the reader to choose whether they want to move further and learn more. This is why I believe that, even in the ever-changing world of journalism, *Internazionale* represents a good compromise to guarantee the visibility that cultures different from ours deserve.

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A Cultural Studies Approach to Translation in the News: The Case of Canada and Quebec

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In the 1960s, Canada went through a period of intense reflection about questions of national identity. Quebec had entered into what would come to be known as the "Révolution tranquille" or "Quiet Revolution," a period marked by rising nationalism, which reached something of an apex with the foundation of the separatist Parti Québécois in 1968. More and more, English Canadians were becoming aware of the ways in which French Canadians' interpretations of the Canadian Confederation differed from their own. This, among other things, led Prime Minister Lester Pearson to launch the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, giving it the mandate to "recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races"—the French and the English (Laurendeau and Dunton 1965: 151).

The Royal Commission took seven years to produce its final report. During that time, it solicited opinions from academics and other experts on various aspects of English-French relations in Canada. One such academic was English professor Neil Compton (1965), who agreed to write, as he described it, "a 'critical and philosophical' essay on the role of the English-language media in promoting bilingualism and biculturalism" (4). In the opening pages of his essay, Compton observed wryly, "It is a paradoxical fact that improved communications have helped to put an end not merely to the willingness of French Canadians to accept an inferior role in the national economy, but also to certain convenient mutual misunderstandings which have hitherto enabled the two communities to live peacefully side by side" (7). Improved communication, he went on to assert, might have caused certain problems, but it also held at least the promise to solve them:

> The duty of a newspaper today [in 1965] goes beyond the mere
> accurate presentation of facts. Wars, riots, crime waves, new

educational methods—to report these adequately to a non-specialist audience is to provide background information and interpretive content. Nowhere is this sort of thing more necessary than in news stories emanating from Quebec. Yet we are astonishingly short of "cultural middlemen" capable of explaining and interpreting French Canada to the rest of the country (and vice-versa, for that matter). (27)

A number of obstacles stood in the way of the realization of Compton's vision. For one thing, as Francine Chartrand McKenzie (1967) found in another study prepared for the Royal Commission, Anglophone and Francophone journalists bore the burden of interpreting or translating across linguistic and cultural lines differently: Francophone journalists were far more likely than their Anglophone counterparts to be bilingual and to be familiar with the culture that was not their own. There were also important differences in coverage between English and French news outlets. As Arthur Siegel (1977) found, even between the English- and French-language networks of the national broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, there was only a 15 percent overlap in stories covered (33). Siegel's conclusion: "at best newscasts play a very limited role in shaping common values and norms. On the contrary, the pattern of content tends to reinforce value differences along linguistic lines" (42).

What, then, of Compton and his "cultural middlemen"? Compton was not unaware of the obstacles journalists faced:

The fact that so many English Canadians are still pathetically asking "What does Quebec really want?" is a sign not merely of ignorance but of the extreme difficulty of communication across this particular cultural boundary. [...] In truth, one can learn "what Quebec wants" only by entering imaginatively into the life of her people. The salvation of Canada may depend on the ability of a substantial minority of the English population to do just that. [...] Here is an apparently natural task for the new media of communications. (Compton 1965: 12-13)

This brings me to the purpose of my larger doctoral dissertation project and, more narrowly, this paper. In my dissertation, I am considering how this hermeneutical task has been accomplished: how have journalists acted as "cultural translators" (Asad 1986) as they have worked to explain to members of one culture how members of another culture see the world? In this paper, I would like to propose a methodology for examining translation in CBC and Radio-Canada television news. (For the sake of brevity, I will refer to the English-language network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation as the CBC and to

the French-language network as Radio-Canada, the names by which the two television networks identify themselves to their viewers.) By "translation" I mean, first of all, linguistic re-expression, such as when the prime minister delivers a speech in French, which is then translated for English-language viewers. Beyond this, however, I mean something akin to *representation*: I am interested in the ways in which linguistic re-expression affects and is affected by larger questions of representation of cultural and linguistic otherness. The programs I am examining are *The National* and *Le Téléjournal*, the flagship evening news programs of the CBC and Radio-Canada. The events I am examining are the failed Meech Lake negotiations in 1990 and the Charlottetown referendum in 1992, both being moments where questions of Canadian and Québécois national identity were directly in question. My main questions are these: how do Anglophones and Francophones come to know each other through CBC and Radio-Canada television news? And what effect does this have on the competing conceptions of the "nation" in Canada and Quebec? These are, of course, far more complicated questions than they appear, as I explain later. At the end of my paper, I present my predictions for what I expect to find, based on the existing literature. As you will see, I raise considerably more questions than I answer.

Analytical framework

The approach I am proposing borrows from the syntactic/semantic/pragmatic framework first put forward by structural linguistics, especially as this framework has been taken up within British and American cultural studies. I have chosen this framework in response to past research on news translation, which falls into three main groups. The first of these includes articles that examine international news flow, especially as it is facilitated by international news agencies; most share a concern for the role of the news translator as gatekeeper (e.g., Lee-Reoma 1978; Chu 1985; Wilke and Rosenberger 1994). The second group includes articles written by both academics and journalists, examining the institutional role of the journalist in collecting and writing news about people belonging to different cultures, nations, or linguistic groups (e.g., Anders 1999, 2000; el-Nawawy and Iskandar 2002, 2003; Tsai 2005). The third (and smallest) group includes articles comparing original texts and their translations (e.g., Abdel-Hafiz 2002).

    While the importance of past research should not be underestimated, it does leave certain questions unanswered, namely those that concern the *interaction* of social, political, and industrial forces (see D'Acci 2004). Past

studies have typically been limited to describing isolated aspects of news translation and have ignored "how a continuous circuit—production-distribution-production—can be sustained through a 'passage of forms'" (Hall 1980: 128). In other words, past research has neglected the ways in which meaning in the television text is produced at all stages of production, circulation, consumption, and reproduction, with each stage affecting the others. Examining news translation through the lens of a circuit model raises new questions, such as, what effect does public broadcasting policy, for instance, have on visual style in the news, and how does this in turn affect the incorporation of translated speech? What is the effect of journalists' perceptions of their audiences on the details they choose to include as they explain one group to another?

Questions such as these inform the syntactic/semantic/pragmatic analysis of Canadian TV news I am proposing to perform. The first level of analysis, that of syntax, is concerned with the relationship between signs and other signs (Laurendeau 1997). The question to examine here is, how is translated speech incorporated into TV news? There are multiple ways this can be done, leading me to propose the following continuum:

> 1. the speaker (with a voiceover translation) delivers an address otherwise unmediated by the reporter—a form of media interpreting
> 2. the reporter incorporates the speaker's address into the report—cutaway to the speaker with a voiceover translation
> 3. the reporter quotes the speaker directly but without a voiceover, without a cutaway
> 4. the reporter paraphrases the speaker's address without a direct quote, without a voiceover, without a cutaway (cf. Zelizer 1989: 375)

Beyond this, there is also the possibility of non-translation, when speech in another language is left as is, performing the function, for instance, of "staging authenticity," in Martin Luginbuehl's (2004) words. In the Canadian context, where many politicians are at least nominally bilingual, there is also the phenomenon of self-translation, which occurs when a politician speaks in his or her second language, often with a noticeable accent, lexical deficiencies, or other signals suggesting that, at some level, the speech that viewers hear has gone through certain translational processes.

One of the main questions I am seeking to answer in this syntactic analysis concerns how journalists deal with the following contradiction: the North American journalistic ideal of objectivity is based on a notion of perspective-free reporting (Tuchman 1972; Gauthier 1993; Ryan 2001); as such,

it makes a discursive claim to a representation of otherness unmediated by a journalist's language or worldview. As Lawrence Venuti (1995, 1998) has convincingly demonstrated, however, unmediated representation of otherness is impossible. How, then, do journalists compensate for this slippage? Do they construct stories in such a manner as to dissimulate it? Or, on the contrary, do they provide further background information to give viewers a better idea of the foreign socio-historical context?

The second level of analysis, that of semantics, is concerned with the relationship between signs and the world, as this relationship manifests itself in sense or meaning (Laurendeau 1997). Two aspects of meaning are at stake here. First is that of enduring cultural values: how do larger narratives of cultural identity position viewers in relation to the cultural/linguistic group they perceive as "other" (Hall 1990; Robinson 1998)? How do these narratives in turn affect how key politically charged terms are deployed? The second aspect of meaning at stake in this analysis involves the ways in which words' meanings—observable in how words are deployed and how people react to them—evolve. Key politically charged words and their translations are linked in a complex relationship of both dependence and independence: dependence, first, because one is a translation of the other (or, more accurately in some cases, they are translations of each other); and independence, second, because both the word and its translation have evolved within different conceptual horizons. More important, they *continue* to evolve as journalists and political actors engage in a larger ideological struggle to give them definition (Conway 2005). As these words acquire culturally specific, politically charged connotations and associations, how do they become lenses through which viewers' understandings of cultural/linguistic otherness are refracted?

The third level of analysis, which I'm calling the pragmatic/ideological level, concerns the relationship between signs and the people who use them. Why "pragmatic/*ideological*" rather than just "pragmatic"? There are two reasons for this, the first of which comes from linguistics itself. Paul Laurendeau (1997) has argued, and I'm inclined to agree, that the assumption made by many linguists that the pragmatic aspect of language is what allows speakers to modify a given situation is overly simplistic, to the degree that it neglects the ways in which successful linguistic intervention *cannot* be presupposed and in fact must be "conquered," in his words. The second reason comes from the discipline of cultural studies, in particular John Hartley (1982) in his book *Understanding News*. Hartley, drawing on the work of V.N. Vološinov (1973), begins by asking, if every utterance is shaped by the relationship between speaker and listener, what effect does the abstraction newscasters must make of their audience have

upon the form that news stories take? To answer this, he argues that news organizations construct an image of their audience as subscribing to a "commonsense" view of the world, and that they employ a mode of address appropriate to such an audience. This allows them to maintain their claim to objectivity because the "commonsense" viewpoint appears apolitical. In other words, news organizations "translate"—the word is Hartley's—political issues into "commonsense"—i.e., "apolitical"—terms. News thus performs the ideological labor of naturalizing and reproducing the hegemonic viewpoint as received common sense. The questions this raises for the study of translation on CBC and Radio-Canada news include: how do the CBC and Radio-Canada "translate" the viewpoints of the other cultural/linguistic group into terms that appear commonsensical to their viewers? What is the resulting effect on the representation of Anglophones and Francophones to each other?

Predictions

Based on prior literature, I make the following predictions about what I will find. At a syntactic level, I expect that the CBC will emphasize the image and the role of the reporter, while Radio-Canada will emphasize language and the role of the anchor (Robillard 1994; Robinson 1998). I will want to investigate further, however, how various political events during the time period covered by my study (1990 to 1992) influenced the two networks' presentation styles. For instance, how did each network interpret the mandate given to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to promote Canadian unity (before 1991) or Canadian identity (after 1991, when the new Broadcasting Act came into effect)? What was the effect of shrinking parliamentary appropriations, resulting in the increased centralization of production in Toronto and Montreal and the loss of local and regional programming (Skene 1993; Tinic 2005)? Did presentation style change because of the networks' resulting need to increase advertising revenue and compete with commercial broadcasters?

At a semantic level, there are well documented differences at the level of ethnocultural terminology (e.g., "nation" and other words relating to the symbolic construction of Canadian society) (Karim 1993; Nielsen 1994; Robinson 1998). It is also clear that key terms in Canadian constitutional debates such as "société distincte" and "distinct society" are invested with different meanings by different groups (Conway 2002/03). Questions to answer, then, include: what impact do the two news organizations' framing strategies have on which meanings or associations are mobilized within the coverage of the debates and events in question (cf. Mendelsohn 1993)?

This question brings me to my predictions for the pragmatic/ideological analysis. Gertrude Robinson (1998) describes two things that made it possible during the 1980 Quebec referendum on sovereignty-association for English-language news organizations in Montreal to present more representatives of the NO side than of the YES side without alienating members of their audience. First was the decision to frame the referendum as an election, thus setting up the YES and NO perspectives as dichotomous (while obscuring, for instance, the divergence in perspectives within each camp). Second was the recognition by both print and broadcast news organizations that Anglophone Montrealers were overwhelmingly federalist (and therefore supported the NO side as it was framed). This made it possible for them to present coverage favoring the NO side without offending viewers or readers. I believe that John Hartley (1982) would reinterpret this analysis in the following way: for Anglophone viewers and readers, the NO perspective was commonsensical; news organizations could therefore "translate" opinions expressed by supporters of the NO side into something apparently apolitical. This meant that not only could news organizations avoid alienating readers and viewers, but they could at the same time maintain a certain claim to neutrality in their coverage.

Such "translation," of course, naturalizes what are in fact highly political or ideological points of view. What are the implications, then, of this process with respect to representations of groups or people perceived to be "other"? If a story is framed by the assumption that there are two opposing points of view, and one of those points of view is treated as common sense, is the other somehow beyond comprehension, outside of reason, or otherwise foreign? If a news organization *does* attempt to explain the other point of view by using terms that derive their meaning from its audience's points of reference, what form does this essentially acculturating process take (cf. Bassnett 2005)? Finally, where does this leave Anglophones and Francophones in Canada and Quebec with respect to each other?

Complications and conclusion

As laid out above, my analysis follows a basic assumption that has shaped the structure of public service broadcasting in Canada, namely that Canada is constituted by two primary linguistic groups. However, the events I've chosen to examine draw that assumption into question. The reason that the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords failed had everything to do with the efforts made by Canada's First Nations and its Western provinces to assert themselves as players in the ongoing constitutional negotiations. No longer did the historical English/

French dichotomy hold conceptually. After these events, as Greg Nielsen and John Jackson (1991) ask,

> can anyone seriously pretend to a universal definition of "canadian-ness"? Constitutional discussions in the spring of 1990 were enormously instructive on this point. Firstly, they demonstrated perhaps more than anything else that what is "the Canada" for some in one place and at one time is an anticipation of exclusion or oppression for many others. Secondly, the Meech Lake talks finally forced Quebec to realize that so-called "English-Canada" cannot be anticipated in any homogeneous sense. (280)

This brings me to my conclusions, scant as they are. I have only just begun my research, so I'd be happy to share my preliminary results during the question and answer period. Otherwise, I'm grateful for whatever suggestions you might have.

Thank you.

Notes

Concerning internet addresses: all are current as of June 28, 2006.

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Translation through Interpreting:
A Television Newsroom Model

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Introduction

In discussions of international news production, there is remarkably little attention paid to issues of translation, given its significance. Until recently, research into translation has coincidentally not been very keen on exploring the role of translation in the newsroom. What do we call such an operation in the newsroom? Translation of international news reports usually falls under the category of 'news translation' as such, regardless of salient differences between print news, online news and broadcast news. Such an umbrella term has been adopted to cover every possibility without taking into account the fact that some perspectives fail to reflect what is actually happening in the broadcast newsroom, especially when most literature on 'news translation' tends to focus on print news. This paper attempts to address the missing link by focusing primarily on translation for the broadcast news media and exploring its relevance to oral interpreting. 'News reporting appears to sit somewhere between translation as we have understood the term and interpreting,' Susan Bassnett (125) writes in a recent essay on global news translation, suggesting a rethinking of the methodology of translation research. Very few attempts have been made at such observations. This paper starts by deconstructing the process in broadcast news translation and then moves out to look at the theory and nature of interpreting with a view to unveiling where interpreting theory and broadcast news translation converge and where they conflict. Note that unlike some news translators in the international news agencies or global networks, a broadcast news translator in Taiwan's newsroom is usually not assigned to go to the scene and bring the news back. Examples taken from broadcast news media in Taiwan only reflect country-specific situations. Broader generalization is beyond the scope of this paper and warrants a wider investigation.

Television news translation[1]

For the purpose of illustrating the process in broadcast news translation, the author adopts a modified Effort Model for consecutive interpretation originally proposed by Daniel Gile (*Basic* 178-83): 1.) The Listening and Analysis Effort becomes a Reading, Listening and Analysis Effort; 2) The Note-taking Effort and Coordination Effort turns into a (Re)writing Effort. Through the presentation of a set of models, Gile attempts to account for processing capacity in interpretation and explain the fundamental difficulty for the interpreter. Note that one of the major interpretation constraints, i.e. the Memory Effort, is almost absent in broadcast news translation, but not completely.

The Reading, Listening and Analysis Effort

In TV news translation, the source texts include both written wires and footage. When a 5 minute news item needs to be reduced to 20 seconds or one minute, the broadcast news translator resorts to his judgment. For the translator, a huge mental load is derived from processing multiple wire texts and informationally dense source materials. The translator needs to flip through a range of copies, making almost instantaneous decisions as to what is relevant to the construction of the story and taking the liberty to drastically rule out anything repetitious and less relevant. When the news networks do not provide transcripts, the translator needs to listen to the story and then translate.

The (Re)writing Effort

Several key editing and rewriting strategies are involved in the translating and processing of foreign news: synthesis, reorganization, omission, addition and generalization. In an interview, James Hwang, former director of the international news centre at Formosa Television in Taiwan, suggests that these textual practices emerge automatically over time. News producers have included a 'reflexive hunch' in the strategies for the selection and production of international news (Clausen 25). These strategies, which look beyond linguistic issues and are set apart from traditional concept of literal translation, raise profound questions about the definition of translation and reflect the uniqueness of a translator's role in the broadcast media house.

The characteristics of broadcast newswriting

> Clever columnists often fail as radio commentators. Too often
> the listener asks, "What was that?" (Brooks and Missouri 413)

Small wonder that the same question is likely to be asked when a professional news translator for the press tests the waters in television or when a professionally trained translator with no prior broadcast journalistic background/ experience first starts a job. S/he may experience a 'cultural shock', realizing how writing news for the television differs from writing news for the press and how the term 'translation' as we understood it is challenged. The characteristics of broadcast newswriting inform the translation process and should not be divorced from discussion of broadcast news translation.

Given the constraints in length and deadline pressure, it is not uncommon in the broadcast newsroom to resort to gist extraction. In analysing the macrostructures and schemata of news discourse, van Dijk (14-15) writes that source texts are usually summarised in the newsroom on a routine basis and television news can be treated as a summarised version of the print news (251). Brooks, Pinson and Sissors (358) also highlight condensation as a major requirement in broadcast media editing. In Cohler's (7) view, the TV newscast is misrepresenting itself to conclude that it delivers all the day's news. In commercial television stations, lengthy reports have no place and brevity is the rule. This is probably the reason why broadcast newswriting is often criticized for dumbing down and presenting virtually only the 'bare bones' of the news story, especially when compared to newspaper writing. Translators who cannot resist the temptation to constantly refine their translation in the production phase may find themselves sitting uncomfortably in the fast-paced broadcast newsroom where rapid-fire writing and editing are the norm.

According to Padilla and Martine (201), 'the conscious element that goes into beautifying language is not present in speech.' Gunter (170) believes that the conversational style in radio and television news bears resemblance to that of ordinary spoken dialogue. As the broadcast copy is translated to be spoken, it is imperative that the style be more conversational but not at the expense of accuracy (Brooks and Missouri 411).

A good broadcast news translator learns to tell the story effectively, knowing that the television viewers cannot go back over the copy. Clarity, being clear and precise, therefore, tops the translator's priority list. As the source texts are sometimes rough notes based on which target texts are produced, understanding the logic of the original proves to be of paramount importance, for

it facilitates editing and rewriting, routine practices in the newsroom. This brings us to the final product of broadcast news translation, where the ultimate goal is to write to speak to people, not read to them.

'Newspapers communicate with printed words, radio with spoken words and television with spoken words and moving pictures' (Brooks, Pinson and Sissors 369). To reiterate the impact of the audio and the visual, they continue, 'Television news editing is the marriage of words to pictures, word to sound, picture to sound and ideas to ideas' (369). The audio and visual channels involved in TV news translation make the multi-tasking operation even more challenging.

'The clock's tyranny' on broadcast news

In his book on translation and globalization, Michael Cronin (71) calls attention to the issue of 'space-time compression and time-to-market imperatives' in translation. Indeed there are few translation situations where a translator is not required to chase a deadline. According to the author's inside observation, however, the issue of time seems more pressing for a translator working with a 24-hour news channel. On a regular news day, a broadcast news translator has one to two hours to produce one news item with sound on tape, i.e. the completion of translation, voice-over recording and film editing. When major international news breaks, the multi-tasks are expected to be completed possibly within 30 minutes, or less than 10 minutes for translation only. What the translator deals with are various source materials from agency news wires and network news reports. It is not a matter of translating one single static text into a news report of one minute; it is the very dynamic aspect of the task to suit the combined needs of the editorial departments and the viewers by the clock.

The broadcast news translator is subject to instant and direct scrutiny by the viewers when he is attributed at the end of the news report, which is tantamount to what an interpreter experiences. 'Nobody notices the interpreter as long as he is doing all right, but the moment he makes a slip, he becomes the focus of attention' (Korchilov 26). In the broadcast newsroom, audience calls to complain about specific news items are common but definitely not desirable.

TV news translator as simultaneous interpreter

This may sound awful to the ear of a professional simultaneous interpreter, but some broadcast news outlets in Taiwan actually encourage, or force if necessary, their news translators to take up the job as a simultaneous broadcast interpreter

when major news breaks that is truly significant, or simply because their competitor stations are all doing it. Hwang points out that this phenomenon is due mostly to budget limits and lack of understanding and recognition of the profession. Few media outlets are willing to retain professional interpreters. Some news translators, when called on to sit in the sub control room, start producing gibberish or simply resort to free chat with the footage as the basis of their narratives, making themselves more like a pseudo-expert or a news programme host commentating on breaking news. The original narratives are sloppily rendered. Media interpreting is regarded as more stressful than other forms of simultaneous interpreting (Snelling 194). Even those with proper training in interpreting need ample time to prepare for such a demanding job. Ironically such presentations on television turn out to be popular amongst Taiwanese viewers. Hwang regrets that the more dramatic the news, the higher the rating. The inclusion of some fancy interpreting during the newscast certainly adds drama, but when it comes to professional interpreting, being dramatic is unmistakably undesirable. The following section takes the readers to some theoretical discussion on interpreting and its relevance with broadcast news translation.

Relevance

As Claude Namy (27) points out, in order to make the message immediately comprehensible to the audience, a consecutive interpreter frequently reorganises the terms of a statement, taking as much liberty with the original utterances as possible. Padilla and Martin (200) reiterate that the conditions in which the interpreters work account for a certain loss of non-vital detail in their interpretation. These are supported by Bassnett's (125) contention that reshaping, alteration of emphasis, addition and subtraction enable an interpreter to maintain an appropriate linguistic register and transform the original speech into one s/he sees fit for the target audience. The translator often uses such modified coping tactics observed in interpreting as reconstruction, paraphrasing, naturalization and simplification (Gile *Basic* 207). What is considered anathema to a translator turns out to be a prerequisite in interpreting. Through this example, Brian Harris (157) alludes to the significance of the order of magnitude which makes legitimate the adoption of paraphrasing and telescoping in the interpretation of an utterance:

The original statement:

> "Revenues have gone up from $19,732.55 in 1979 to $21,033.41 in 1980."

The interpretation:

> "Revenues have increased by over a thousand in the past year."

What happens in broadcast news translation comes rather close to this, but the translator does not just set his/her 'wild imagination' to work. The freedom of the translator in the newsroom has as much to do with journalistic practices as with individual house styles. Bassnett (125) argues that 'debates about the freedom of the translator do not have any relevance in such a context.' In interpreting, no such debate exists, because getting away from the original is considered to be an essential requirement (Padilla and Martin 201). The notion of getting away from the text leads us to the 'théorie du sens' (the theory of sense).

      The theoretical conception of the interpreting process known as 'théorie du sens' (the theory of sense) is proposed and expounded by Danica Selescovitch, leader of the 'Paris School'[2]. Seleskovitch places strong emphasis on the analysis and understanding of what is heard, i.e. listening for sense. Words, according to her, need to be disregarded in order to direct full attention to the message. The listeners listen beyond the linguistic meaning, focusing on the sense the statement takes on in a given context (Seleskovitch and Lederer 2-3). Seleskovitch (7) looks at interpretation as communication and language, the means of communication, as working tools, not the final goal. 'The interpreter is not considered a linguist who studies a specific aspect of language; rather he possesses a full and intuitive knowledge of the language that he uses in the practice of his profession.' Her contention holds true in the broadcast newsroom when a news translator sees the use of language as the means to produce a news story congruent with the professional practices of broadcast journalism.

      Seleskovitch and Lederer (22) propose the 'three-steps' to the interpretation process: 1) comprehending the linguistic utterance which carries meaning through analysis and exegesis; 2) deverbalisation ('immediate and deliberate discarding of the wording and retention of the mental representation of the message'); 3) spontaneously expressing this sense linguistically. Regardless of Lederer's (13) belief that deverbalisation as a cognitive process is more salient in interpretation than in translation, translation in the broadcast newsroom

involving both the written and spoken elements undergoes a larger degree of deverbalisation than other types of translation.

The pedagogy of conference interpreting initiated by Seleskovitch interestingly reflects important elements in broadcast news translation. In the initial training phase of consecutive interpretation, Seleskovitch and Lederer (3-4) suggest that students listen without taking notes and give back the main points coherently in a different language and as simply as possible. Current news items, given their clear and logical argument, are one good source of material at this stage. This strategy is similar to the process of listening in the broadcast newsroom when attention should be directed towards understanding the content rather than the form in which something is said. Under extreme deadline pressures, the broadcast news translator, like the interpreter, must listen correctly the first time around so that he can grasp the sense immediately. Previous thoughts on characteristics of broadcast news allude to the significance of understanding the content and the logic of the news story. In the discussion of interpreting, the prominence of the structure is also dealt with. Hatim and Mason (36) look at the interpreting process based on the three lines of textuality: texture, structure and context. They argue that the three modes of interpreting (liaison, consecutive and simultaneous) edge close to one of these strands in order to understand the text. They suggest that in consecutive interpreting, information related to texture and context may become too detailed to be recalled, given the pressure and memory load required, leading to their submission to structure. This is manifested in the process of note-taking in consecutive interpreting when only arrangements of ideas related to each other are recorded, not words. Texture and context in consecutive interpreting are treated as a vehicle through which to approach structure (Hatim and Mason 49).

While clarity plays a genuinely important role in broadcast newswriting, it cannot be stressed more in the pedagogical aspect of interpreting. Seleskovitch and Lederer (71-3) see clarity as 'the key to good interpretation and the primary prerequisite to accuracy and quality of expression.' They continue, 'the spoken word is not meant to be linguistically analysed, nor listened to a second time. This is not true of the written word, which may be dwelt on indefinitely.' She also indicates that the spoken word is either understood instantaneously or does not get across at all, given the evanescent nature of spoken communication. In broadcast news translation, despite the fact that the translators have to constantly chase deadlines, the news scripts are ever-present in front of them. However, Lederer (20) thinks that the visual presence of the written text makes it more difficult to detect units of sense than during speech. When the words and linguistic structures of the source text are ever-present, the risk of interference

between two languages increases (Gile *Basic* 184). This explains why a news translator constantly needs to learn to escape from the original, i.e. to deverbalise, in order to achieve the communicative intent of the news story. This once again brings us to the nature of broadcast news translation where the translated text is eventually to be spoken, not read, which distinguishes itself from translation of novels or newspapers. When a broadcast journalist goes into a voice booth or edit suite, s/he is ready to 'perform the script' (Everton 98).

For a broadcast news translator, the strategy of selective listening is constantly employed when s/he deals with very long and complex news stories. In the discussion of attention in interpreting, the 'filter theory' is mentioned to explain selective listening. In an essay on working memory in simultaneous interpreting (Liu, Schallert and Carroll 36), the process of selective listening is analysed and a conclusion drawn that professional interpreters exhibit higher competence than student interpreters at the selection of more relevant information for further processing. According to Lambert (269), research in human information processing points in the direction of attention and she mentions the filter theory, first proposed by Broadbent (251), which illustrates that we could only attend to one input at a time. Neisser (208) echoes Broadbent in the belief that attention behaves like a 'filter' and 'some signals are "passed" for further processing, while others are rejected.' In broadcast news translation, the technique of selective listening is constantly employed. However, what the TV news translator decides to filter in the process of translation is less governed by cognitive aspects than by journalistic norms.

The time factor

> "Interpretation requires some sort of mental 'energy' that is only available in limited supply." (Gile *Basic* 161)

Cognitive load, according to Gile ("Translation" 13-4), is the hardest issue in conference interpreting when a heavy mental load is imposed upon the interpreter and saturation problems frequently emerge. Compared with any modes of interpreting, cognitive overload does not seem to be such a risk in the broadcast newsroom, given the visual presence of news scripts/films and the longer processing time. In broadcast news translation, when footage comes in without a script and when the news translator needs to listen to a film and translate a text to be spoken, s/he is virtually converting an oral message into another oral message, similar to what an interpreter does. The difference lies in the fact that the oral output can be written down before being read aloud to the TV viewers.

Obviously, there is a much longer lag between the reception of an oral message and production in broadcast news translation than in interpreting. Whereas an interpreter deals with messages within seconds or even fractions of seconds, a broadcast news translator has at least minutes. That is why processing capacity requirements are considered lower in written translation than in interpretation and under most usual working conditions, time constraints in translation are regarded as virtually nonexistent when compared to the time constraints of interpretation (Gile *Basic* 185-6). Broadcast news translators may as well argue that their work in the newsroom is not defined as the 'usual working condition.'

The degree of the consumption of a broadcast news translator's mental resources and energy depends primarily on: 1) time; 2) the nature of the source materials; 3) translation procedures (from near-literal to non-literal and total transformation); 4) length constraint. According to Wilss (145), 'the more complex the textual environment and the translational operations required, the more processing time is necessary.' Astrid Jensen's essay on time pressure in news translation (103) indicates that people seem to have an impression that time constraints are essentially a problem for interpreters and not for translators, and even when recognized, they have not been considered as having any theoretical relevance for translation.

Further thoughts

The translation of an item in the Mardi Gras Parade in Australia this April illustrates the lack of discussion of broadcast journalism when conceptualizing the operation in the TV newsroom. A news wire containing 236 English words is translated into Chinese in three sentences.

The original Reuters Television script (4/3/2006):

> Thousands of Australians crammed Sydney's tiny gay quarter to applaud half-naked cowboys, gay rugby players and other scantily-dressed marchers in the city's annual Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras parade on Saturday (March 4). Armed with picnic baskets, blankets and beer, onlookers lined the parade's 1.6 km (1 mile) route cheering the 6,000 participants and 120 colourful floats, many loosely adopting the theme of this year's Oscar-hopeful blockbuster "Brokeback Mountain", Ang Lee's saga of gay cowboys. The cowboys competed for applause from the crowd with themes including bare-chested men hula dancing in Hawaiian grass skirts and a lesbian motorcycle club. Many people been waiting hours to secure the best positions along the route. The parade began in 1978 to protest a ban on homosexuality in Australia,

but has become more hedonistic over the years. Homosexuality was decriminalised in Australia in 1984. One boisterous group of marchers promoted "bisexuality and paganism", while another implored onlookers to take pride in their leather. A float titled "Friends of Dick Cheney" featured a nod to the U.S. Vice President who has stood by his lesbian daughter and is at odds with President George W. Bush about the need for a U.S. constitutional amendment prohibiting same-sex marriages. Revellers traditionally carry on long into the night after the parade with police warning against public drunkenness and buying drugs from illegal street peddlers. Parade organisers estimated the size of the crowd at around 450,000.

The rendition in back translation reads:

The Mardi Gras Parade kicks off in Australia today. Australian Prime Minister John Howard and many other politicians become a mockery. Let's have a look and good night.

The lead ends here and the footage continues until the next commercial break. A comparison between the source text and the target text shows some interesting points. "The Mardi Gras Parade kicks off in Australia today" does not even appear in the original version. Australian Prime Minister John Howard is shown in the footage only in a mocking way. At no stage is this translation based on the RTV script. In this case, the translator summarises the story by flipping through the moving pictures (with natural sound only). Given that this rendition is tacked on at the end of the newscast to fill leftover time, the translator makes it convenient for the anchor to end the newscast by adding 'good night.'

In her foreword to *Translation: The Interpretive Model*, Lederer states that 'everything is a matter of interpretation and translation is no exception.' Lederer uses 'interpretation' to mean both interpretation as such and the oral mode of translation. If everything is a matter of interpretation, interpretation truly manifests itself in broadcast news translation and goes far beyond one's imagination. But can this be considered effectively a translation or journalism or a combination of the two? The answer to this question warrants further investigation through the study of larger aspects of news discourse structure, i.e. the order of presentation of larger organizational chunks of information may be more of a challenge than the order of the constituent parts of individual sentences. By representing broadcast news translation from less frequently discussed perspectives, the author aims to reflect the gap between past debates on

news translation and shed light on the issue of paradigm in translation as part of on-going PhD research.

Notes

1. For a detailed description of the process in TV news translation, see Tsai, Claire (2005) "Inside the television newsroom: an insider's view of international news translation in Taiwan" in Susan Bassnett (ed.) *Language and Intercultural Communication. Special Issue: Global News Translation* vol.5:2 (pp 145-153) Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

2. During the period of the early seventies to the mid-eighties, according to Gile (*Opening* 150), 'A number of ideas on the process of interpreting, developed mostly at ESIT in Paris, crystallized into a dogma and gained weight in the community of practitioners cum researchers (hereafter "practisearchers"), most of whom were also interpretation teachers.'

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Berlusconi's "House of Liberty": The Role of Translation Studies in the Analysis of Contemporary Issues

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Introduction

This paper is an attempt to apply theories and hypotheses that took shape through research in news translation and to use them to understand aspects of contemporary society, notably Italian perspectives on the figure of Silvio Berlusconi. At first the issue might appear as the object of study of other disciplines such as political science, sociology or economics, and the connection between Berlusconi and theories of translation could seem obscure. The goal is to show that translation studies applied to news and media can offer a useful tool to analyse contemporary issues and can represent an interesting amplification of an interdisciplinary approach carried out under the more canonical disciplines mentioned above.

The choice of Berlusconi as the object of inquiry is dictated by the fact that, as Alexander Stille points out, Berlusconi crystallises problems and issues that exist in all modern democracies, that is the very close connection of money, media and political power. (Stille, 2006) What makes his figure even more interesting from the point of view of a linguist is the way language is used by him, his party and his entourage employing methods that draw heavily upon those of advertising: a scenario that David Lane has relevantly defined as 'Orwellian'. (Lane, 2005)

Contrariwise, Berlusconi's approach to politics represents a condensation of all the issues a researcher in news translation should take into account when dealing with news and media, i.e. infotainment, the role of new media in the distribution of information, language engineering, censorship, foregrounding and backgrounding. For all the above mentioned reasons the story of Silvio Berlusconi proves interesting for researchers in news translation as one of the

most complete examples to analyse while providing at the same time an interesting reason for researching in news translation: the chance of a deeper insight into contemporary global issues.

The first problem that one has to face when dealing with some contemporary political issue is to aim for the maximum possible objectivity and leave out one's political position. On the other hand, though, a researcher would hardly be interested in carrying out a certain analysis without being interested in the political insight that such analysis provides. In the present work I have aimed for objectivity, as some other authors that I will quote have done. Still, it is obvious that the implications of our findings have political meanings that cannot possibly be detached from the research field.

Berlusconi

The figure of Berlusconi has been extensively debated. What certainly cannot be denied by anyone is that he is a very charismatic person bound to provoke strong reactions, whether positive or negative. I would like to introduce him through a statement taken from Tobias Jones; talking about the 2001 election, he explained:

> Berlusconi also benefited from the fact that the anti-establishment vote in Italy is always influential. Politicians are held in such low esteem that anyone who appears outside the old guard is immediately more appealing than the incumbent government [...] So it was one of Berlusconi's strengths to be able to portray himself as the non-politician, leading a party of entrepreneurs not politicians. (Jones, 2003 p. 192)

In this statement, which I believe is extremely felicitous, we can already see an example of the reversal that constantly characterises Berlusconi's positions and speeches, that I am going to analyse more in depth. Berlusconi presents himself as a good politician because he is not a politician, a statement that in itself obviously has little credibility, but managed to earn him enough votes to win two elections and the trust of many Italians. He is very well known both inside and outside Italy and in-depth information about his life and career can be found in many books and documentaries. Still, I would like to point out a few aspects that are fundamental for the scope of this paper.

Berlusconi started his career as a property developer. His best known achievement in the building market is "Milano 2", a garden city that proposed a model which was new for Italy at that time. The marketing aspect of the place
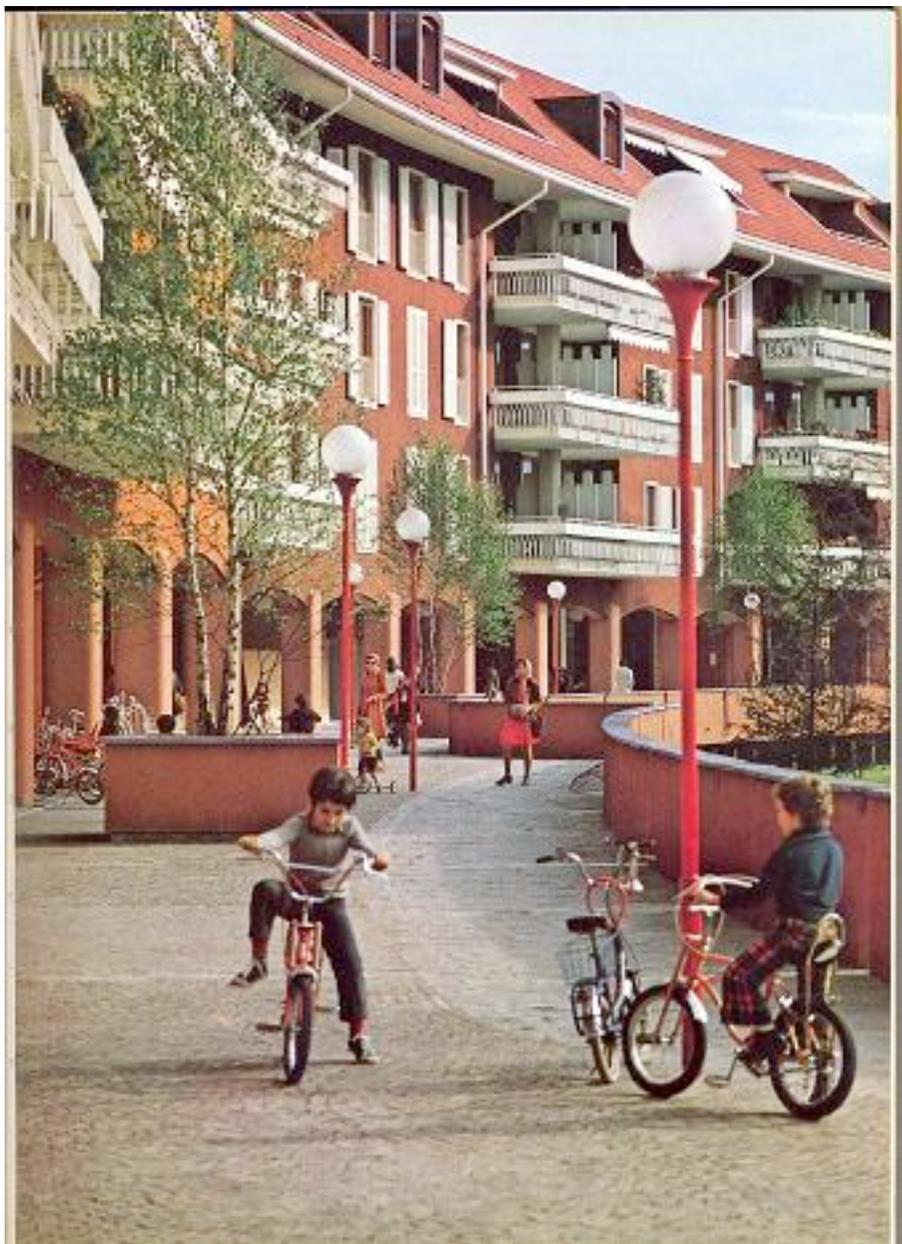
**Figure 1. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.***
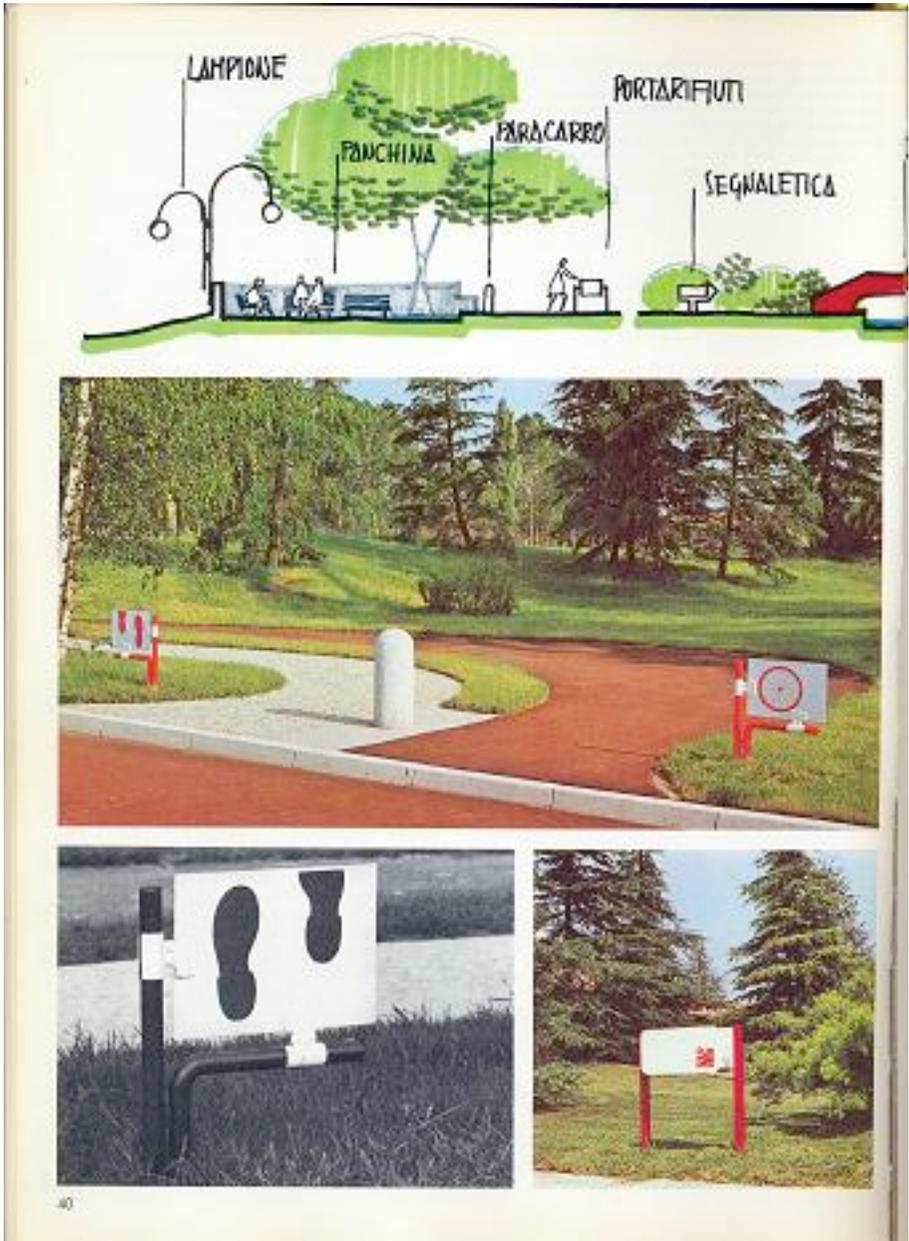
Figure 2. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.*
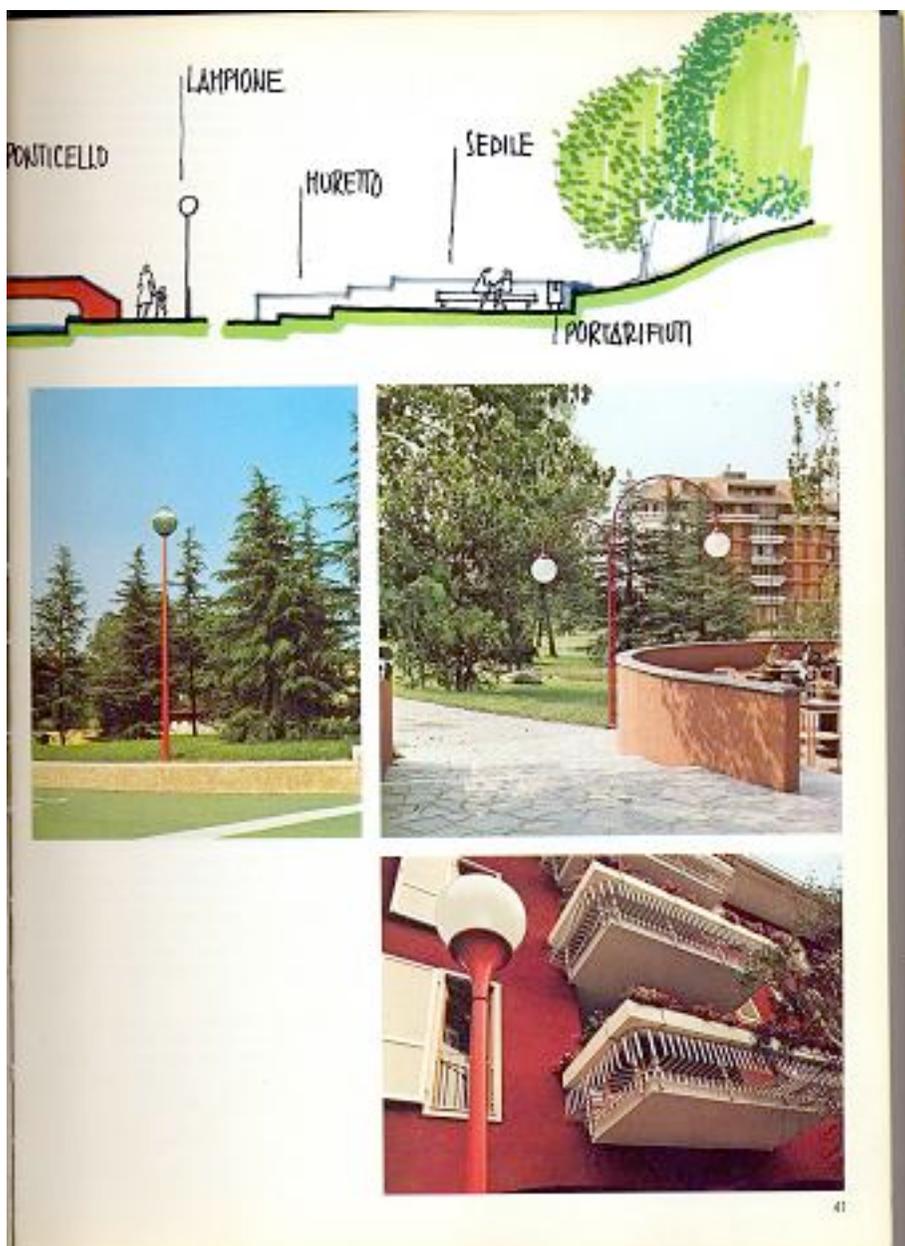
Figure 3. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.*
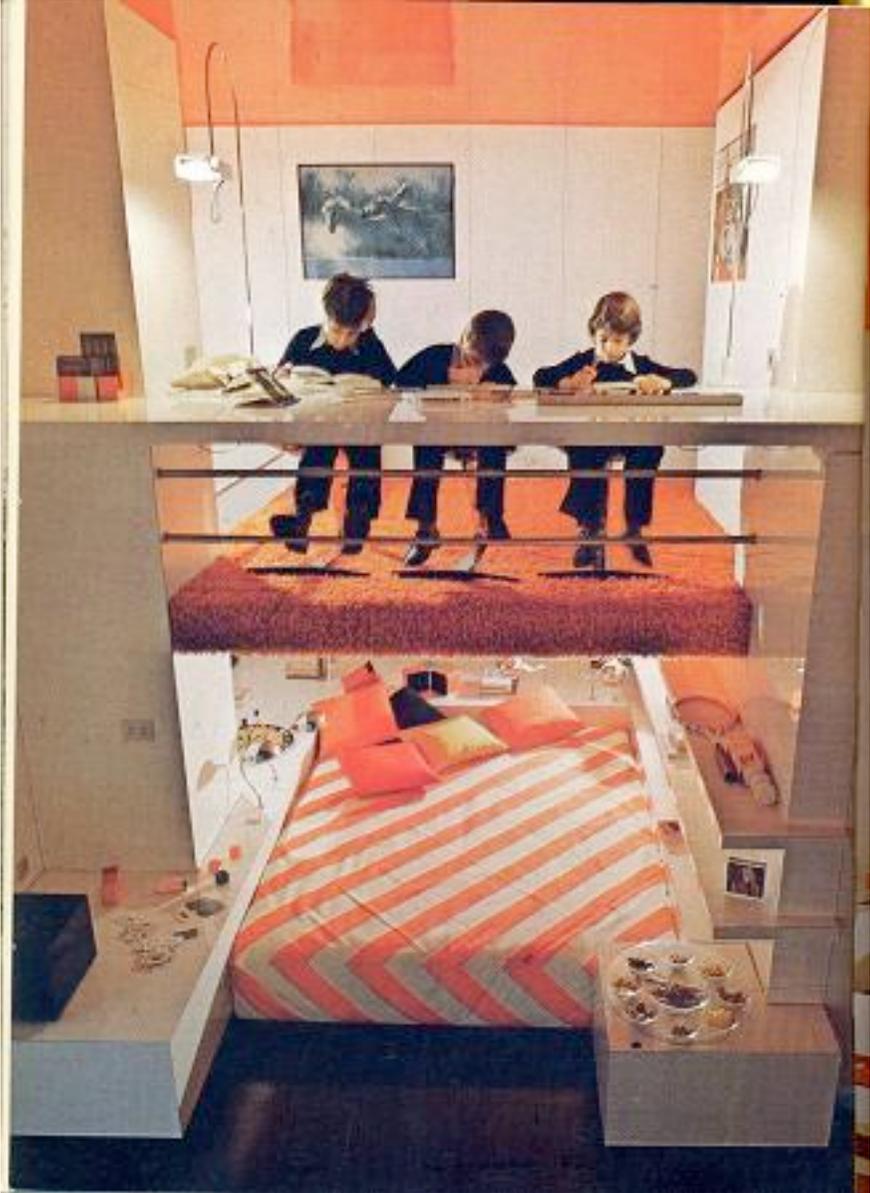
Figure 4. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.*
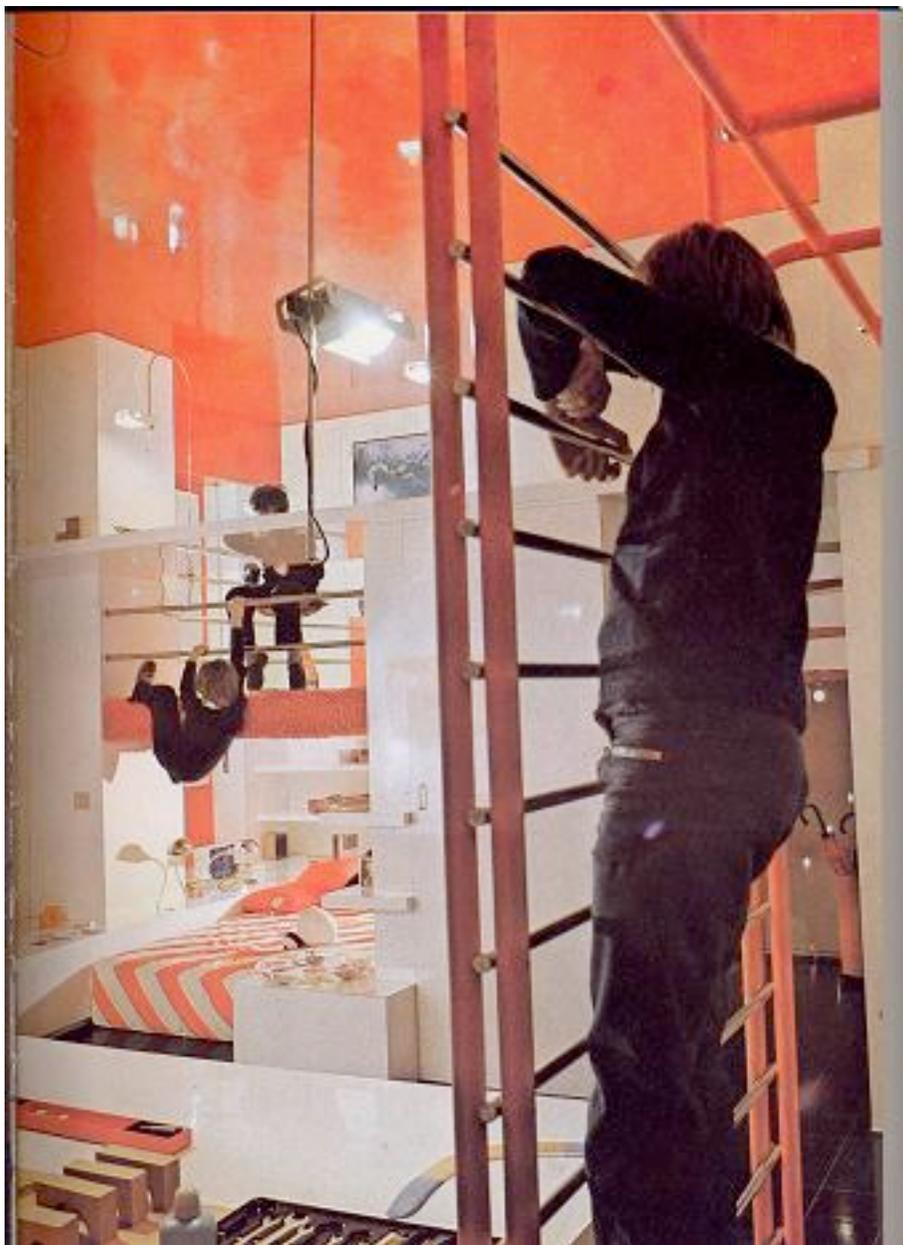
Figure 5. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.*

Figure 6. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.*
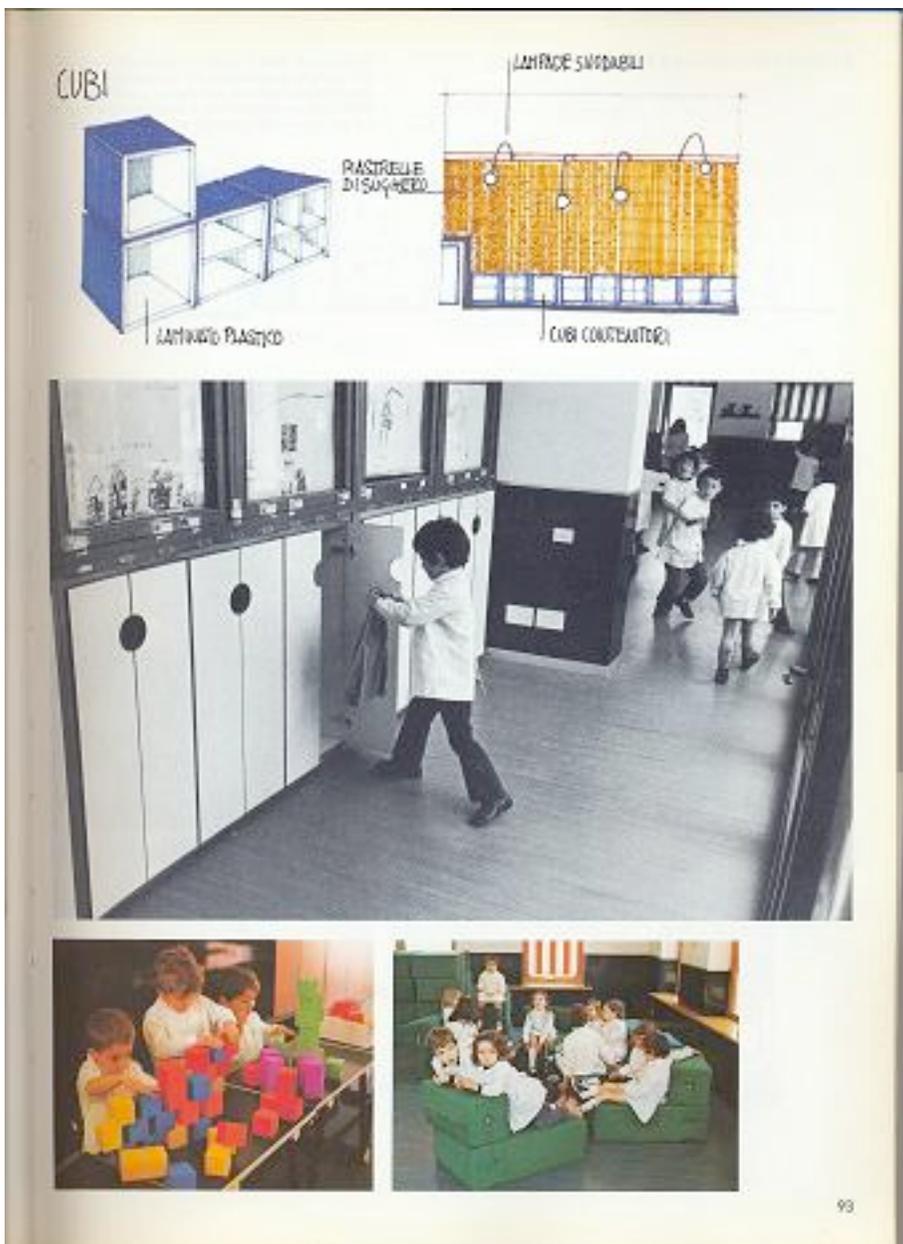
Figure 7. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.*

**Figure 8. Image from *Milano 2, una città per vivere.***

was very evident, and buying an apartment there was advertised as a new choice for life.

The pictures shown here are from a volume published in 1976, which was then distributed to residents, *Milano 2, una città per vivere* (*Milano 2*, *a city to live in*). What is most interesting is that in the last few pages about "the community organization" we are told that the two key elements that made the Milano 2 community successful were the creation of an internal information service, thanks to a private television channel broadcasting news and entertaining programmes, and the application of a "new kind" of advertising campaign. Hence infotainment and advertising: a formula that Berlusconi will keep applying all through his career and that unfortunately can be regarded as the shaping basis of much of contemporary western society.

It was in Milano 2 that Berlusconi started his television business, broadcasting a cable TV channel exclusively for local residents. And it was of course as part of that same business that he put up an advertising subsidiary at the end of 1980, Publitalia, which some years later was to play a crucial role in his political campaign. In the magazine that was distributed to Italian families before the 2001 election (available on Forza Italia website), the history of Telemilano, the internal TV channel, is introduced by the following explanation:

> La lunga sfida televisiva di Silvio Berlusconi contro il monopolio RAI è la storia di un grande successo imprenditoriale e anche la storia di una battaglia di libertà. La libertà di fare, finalmente, una televisione dove l'unico metro di giudizio valido fosse il gradimento del pubblico e non le pressioni e le costrizioni provenienti dai Palazzi del potere. Logico che un simile intendimento trovasse tanti oppositori in un Paese dove il monopolio della RAI era considerato un dogma inattaccabile e la RAI stessa fungeva da braccio per la comunicazione e per la propaganda dei partiti, che consideravano la televisione pubblica "cosa loro" dove collocare parenti ed amici.[1] (*Una Storia Italiana*)

This statement is worth a brief analysis. First of all, RAI is implicitly treated as a private company exercising a monopoly and Berlusconi's companies are set against the government as in the opposition of two private companies. Then of course, the choice of the words "cosa loro" – their thing – immediately recalls the Mafia to the Italian hearer, because a common synonym to identify it is "cosa nostra" – our thing.

In just a few lines, it is already possible to find some of the typical methods to render Berlusconi's communication effective. The implied references

made in these sentences touch upon rooted discontent in Italian public opinion. One of these is the already mentioned reference to the Mafia and the implied suggestion that political parties are tightly connected to it. Another is the reference to the system of recommendations, still considered by many the best, if not the only possible method to find a good job.

Then, of course, there is the strong opposition of a great many Italians to the public tax one should pay to own a TV set. Because television programmes are broadcast through the airwaves, it is possible in Italy to watch television anywhere, without the need to connect to a cable. RAI estimates that about 5 million Italians do not pay for their subscription, while the number of those who pay it is around 16 million. ("RAI: 5 Milioni Di Famiglie Non Pagano Canone," 2005) In fact, advertisements broadcast every January on RAI channels to invite viewers to pay for their subscription fluctuate between a reminder of a duty and an appeal for charity.

Alessandro Amadori has analysed the whole 2001 magazine and one of the most interesting things he points out is the effective way in which Berlusconi manages to semantically transform reality. According to Amadori, Berlusconi does not respect the Aristotelian principle of non-contradiction, which postulates the impossibility of stating one thing and its opposite at the same time. In fact, in the magazine *Una Storia Italiana*, Berlusconi pays a tribute to his favourite book: Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, stating he is fascinated by the wonderful play of mirrors between fiction and reality, reason and absurd. Amadori explains that it is exactly through such mirroring that Berlusconi manages to be a "sweetener", because of the way he always manages to portray reality as it is desired and not as it is, employing the mechanisms that are usually found in fairy-tales. But the linguistic choice that probably best mirrors Berlusconi's general attitude is the centrality of the word "liberty". (Amadori, 2002)

Berlusconi's vocabulary

In the book *Parole in Libertà*, a corpus analysis of Berlusconi's statements, the word "libertà" proves to be the first peculiar form when compared to *Italiano Standard* and *Repubblica 90*, a corpus representative of the Italian press. The centrality of the term "libertà" is underlined by the fact it was included in all the three names of the centre-right coalitions that took part in the elections since Berlusconi's party was born in 1994, that is *Polo delle Libertà* (Pole of Liberties), *Polo per le Libertà* (Pole for Liberties), *Casa delle Libertà* (House of Liberties). In a speech given in Milan in 1998, Berlusconi stated that the word "liberty" is the queen in Forza Italia's vocabulary, (Marinelli and Matassa, 2006)

Tabella 2 – Parole più frequenti e parole peculiari in B.

	Le trenta forme più frequenti		Le prime trenta forme peculiari		
Rango	Parola	Occ.	Parola	Occ.	Differenza d'uso (1)
1	non	3.789	*libertà*	769	51,6
2	più	1.556	*cittadini*	618	46,4
3	*governo*	1.434	*governo*	1.434	33,6
4	*noi*	1.162	*Paese*	926	31,7
5	tutti	1.078	*noi*	1.162	31,7
6	Stato	982	sussidiarietà	46	31,0
7	*Paese*	926	democrazia	365	30,4
8	loro	898	crediamo	114	30,3
9	*politica*	882	*nostro* (*)	2.335	29,7
10	*nostro*	867	opposizione	348	28,5
11	Italia	780	benessere	149	25,9
12	*nostra*	782	iracheno	48	25,4
13	*libertà*	769	*maggioranza*	463	23,2
14	*cittadini*	618	onorevoli	73	22,0
15	chi	610	*politica*	882	21,4
16	lavoro	608	elettori	184	21,1
17	oggi	590	ringrazio	89	20,4
18	fare	589	italiani	395	20,3
19	presidente	562	lavoreremo	18	19,9
20	parte	544	tasse	151	19,9
21	tutto	509	dobbiamo	296	19,8
22	Europa	496	europea	289	19,7
23	fatto	494	signor/signori	316	18,9
24	deve	489	economia	340	18,6
25	*maggioranza*	463	Costituzione	141	18,3
26	può	455	euro	48	17,9
27	mi	452	riforme	174	17,7
28	grande	446	fiscale	195	17,6
29	*nostri*	433	liberale	114	17,4
30	sistema	423	democrazie	56	17,4

(1) Questo indice è una media degli scarti d'uso dai due lessici, *Italiano standard* e *Repubblica 90*.
* Somma anche *nostra, nostri, nostre*.

Table 1. Berlusconi's vocabulary. (Bolasco, 2006 p. 24)

maybe for a short moment letting through the huge work of language engineering behind his party's terminology.

As Augusta Forconi explains, the utterance of the term put in such central evidence automatically insinuates that liberty one day might be menaced, might find itself in danger or even disappear, because if there is a need to struggle for something it is because that something is lacking. According to Forconi, this message kindles the mechanism "if liberty is in danger, I will vote for those who protect and support liberty, who have it in its name, who struggle for it and declare to believe in liberty". (Forconi, 1997)

In fact, under Berlusconi's government, the attention towards issues of censorship was strongly rekindled. Both his supporters and his opponents believed that the Italian population was suffering from a lack of freedom of speech. Many left-wing voters were notably outraged by the expulsion from RAI of two journalists and two comedians who were clearly against Berlusconi. On the other hand, Berlusconi's followers believed that most of the press supports "the communists", that the whole judicial system was biased against Berlusconi and that dissent and legal accusations against the prime minister should be confined.

These cases have been extensively analysed elsewhere; what I want to point out within the scope of this case study is the attention that issues of censorship have received as a consequence of the role of Berlusconi as prime mininster, as censorship certainly is one of the main issues that a researcher in news translation takes into account.

The worst campaign

Getting back to the political campaign that took place before the national elections held in April 2006 and saw the victory of the left-wing coalition, many commentators identified it as the worst campaign ever. That was because of the very bitter fight that took place between the two sides, who reciprocally kept accusing one another of exploiting media under their control to distribute factious information about the opponent and influence voters' opinions.

The aspect that interests researchers in media, translation and cultural studies is the centrality of the value that was given to the imitation of politics in other countries, notably those of Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain has a role in the way Berlusconi often presents himself as the Italian counterpart of Margaret Thatcher, while the United States were central in the way the Italian campaign tried to imitate the American ones.

Another aspect of the last Italian election bound to prove significant for researchers in Translation Studies is that the left won thanks to the votes of Italians who reside in other countries and were allowed to vote for the first time from the local consulate instead of going back to Italy. The opinion that many left-wing supporters expressed in blogs and forums was that the vote abroad was given mainly to the left because information available in other countries about the previous Berlusconi government was much more objective and reliable, so that Italians abroad had a clearer idea of what Berlusconi did wrong. The scope of this case study is not to establish how far this position is true, but rather to take into account the response of lay people to the quality of information and the comparison of news distributed locally versus those distributed elsewhere.

In the past, Italian elections were characterised by the presence of many different parties, many shades working together and representing the variegated positions of the Italian population. The new system applied in the last elections only allowed the presence of two coalitions, cancelling the central one that had driven Italy for so many years. This new system was presented to Italians as based on British and American examples. What happened in reality was that all the small parties did not disappear, but simply ran to find a place on one side or the other, giving birth to very awkward coalitions in which, for example, the left reunited an anti-clerical party with one that featured a church steeple in its symbol; while in the right-wing coalition we find together the separatist party of the Northern League and "the National Alliance".

A lot of media attention was focused on the two televised debates between the two aspiring prime ministers, Prodi and Berlusconi. Such debates were presented as "all'americana", the American way, because the speakers had to respect specific times and each of them was guaranteed the same amount of time to answer the same question. The debate was certainly very different from the kind of debates that Italians are used to, that is a messy discussion in which speakers get attention according to the loudness of their voice. The debate was interestingly labelled as "duel".

Ian Fisher of the New York Times commented:

> Many here hoped for the kind of public drama Italy loves, that something decisive might happen on this night Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and his challenger Romano Prodi finally faced each other in their first televised debate of this tight race.
>
> But an unwelcome bit of America came to Italy on Tuesday night, in the form of a strictly orchestrated presidential debate. Answers

Figure 9. Berlusconi/Prodi debate.

were limited to two-and-a-half minutes. Interruptions were not allowed
— and, amazingly, no one did interrupt. (Fisher, 2006)

Other new and interesting aspects were the absence of a public and the
overall look of the studio and the filming, designed to convey a feeling of
neutrality: the main colour was white, the timers were always very evident and
the cameras always framed the two politicians from the same frontal position.
Enthusiasts and sceptical commentators agreed in saying that the campaign had
moved from Parliament to television. In an interview published in *Panorama* in
2004 Berlusconi stated, "Noi prendiamo impegni pubblici nel luogo più
trasparente del mondo, la TV".[2] (Marinelli and Matassa, 2006) The debate gave
the impression of a constant negation of the opponent's statement, from which
viewers did not manage to get a clear idea of the issues and the respective
intentions to solve them. During the first debate Berlusconi introduced several of
his answers by saying that Prodi was "overturning reality". The comments in

Italian newspapers concentrated a lot on gossip, such as what kind of clothes they would wear, who did the make up, what their wives thought. Foreign newspapers rather concentrated on explaining the overall situation to the less informed foreign reader or aimed for picturesque descriptions of what must have appeared to them as the inheritance of *Commedia dell'Arte*.

Figure 10. Political caricature.

The Times, for example, published two articles that concentrated on commentaries on Berlusconi's make-up, one of which was based on the interview to his make-up artist that had been published on *La Repubblica,* one of the main national dailies. Most Italian newspapers gave a lot of space to the reporting of foreign news providers and newspaper websites offered images of foreign newspapers' home pages commenting on the Italian situation, also providing links to those websites.

One of the most interesting aspects that seems to emerge from the analysis of the figure of Berlusconi is that his broad control of the media causes

problems with the distribution of information within Italy. This is not to say that Italian people are under a regime, nor that practices of censorship are being fully implemented as to keep Italians from being informed about Berlusconi and his business empire.

Nevertheless, as I have already stated, most of the public experienced a feeling of loss during the campaign because of the bitterness with which it was conducted and because of the media agenda, which often did not seem to concentrate on actual issues but rather mirrored the mainstream topics of everyday conversations. An obvious example was the interest in establishing which candidate had won the televised duel. Given that no official data was available to report the public's reaction and that there is no way to establish who "wins" in a discussion in which opponents argue in favour of their ideas, it is clear that the focus of the media was misplaced.

On the contrary, the public of foreign media seemed to have access to a much clearer and more balanced version of the events, one that was arguably more objective as it analysed the issue from a detached point of view. This is not to say that an Italian living in Italy had no access to proper information, only that the collection, selection and analysis of such information proved more demanding than it was for the reader/viewer of news distributed abroad. On the other hand, a foreigner who tried to understand the situation exclusively from news distributed abroad was likely to have a hard time understanding many aspects of Italian politics and the Italian campaign. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the best way of gathering news and understanding a situation is to have access both to national news in the local language and to news distributed internationally in a different language (which will be English most of the time). Nevertheless, it is obvious that such activity is demanding and time-consuming, and that most people will likely rely on easily available information.

Issues of news translation

Having surveyed several aspects of the 2006 campaign, now the main point of this case study will be discussed: what is the connection between Berlusconi, the Italian political campaign and news translation studies? The choice of Berlusconi as the object of this analysis was dictated by the fact that while he was Italy's prime minister, he appeared as the person who, more than any other in democratic countries, had such a broad control over money, media and political power. (Stille, 2006) Issues of money, politics and media control are at the core

of research in news translation, and that is why Berlusconi is considered interesting for researchers in news translation.

It is undeniable that research in translation for literature, among other things, draws upon literary studies and at the same time translations and commentaries upon translations offer an interesting additional tool to analyse literature itself. The same should happen with news translation, which needs to draw on media and political studies, on economics and sociology. At the same time our research can certainly be a useful tool for such disciplines to get an additional insight and I believe this way of presenting itself is one of the main goals research in news translation should aim for.

Of course, this kind of comparison between countries is already taking place. That is the case with the way media in Western countries have shown interest in Berlusconi, considering him the quintessential example of a trend that characterises Western societies: the intermingling of information and enter-tainment and the increasing centrality of marketing techniques in all aspects of communication.

Notes

1. The long-enduring challenge of Silvio Berlusconi against the RAI monopoly is the story of a both great entrepreneurial success and the story of a struggle for liberty. The liberty, at last, to create television where the only valid evaluation method would be the public's liking, not pressures and constrictions coming from the Palaces of power. It was logical that such intent would face so many opposers in a Country where the RAI monopoly was considered an irreproachable dogma and RAI itself worked as a right arm for the communication and propaganda of political parties, who considered public television "cosa loro" where they could find positions for relatives and friends. (my translation)

2. We take our public commitments in the most transparent place in the world: TV.

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Reporting on French Spring Protests in English: A Schizophrenic Approach?

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I. Introduction: which protests, which contexts?

Spring 2006 was fairly hectic for the French and their politicians. At the national level, there were widely publicized street protests against Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin's brain child, the CPE or *Contrat Première Embauche*, a law which had been adopted in a bid to curb unemployment and encourage employers to hire people under 26. As reported by Bouilhet, at the European level, Chirac was facing accusations made against him regarding protectionism, accusations which he rejected during his press conference on 26 March 2006. A few days earlier, on March 23, Chirac was protested against and was protesting. It was his turn to show his disagreement during an EU council meeting when his fellow countryman, Ernest Antoine Seillère, declared that he would make his speech in English because it was the "language of business," an event documented in many papers and press agencies, in particular in *Le Figaro* and l'AFP (*Agence France Presse*). Traditionally, during EU meetings, French people use their native language and avail themselves of the interpreting services provided. The French businessman's move happened during the *11ème Semaine de la Francophonie*, the official week when, across the world, the French language was dearly celebrated and promoted both in terms of money and commitment, as advertised on the Prime Minister's website. In addition, a convention on cultural diversity, agreed to at the UNESCO level in October 2005, was being examined by the French law-making institutions after a bill was presented to the National Assembly on March 22nd. When put in context, it is not surprising to hear that Chirac left the meeting to show his disapproval. Both types of protests were reported in the media.

II. Protests in the media: to report or not

The opposition to the newly passed employment contract was widely covered in France and abroad. Journalists were quite resourceful when referring in English to the CPE as table 1, at the end of this article, demonstrates. Jacques Chirac's behaviour, on the contrary, was apparently brought to the attention of journalists by the French government, according to Elsass Connection. For Jean Quatremer, who reports on European issues for *Libération*, the left wing newspaper, no such action was required for the British press. But how did the media report spring protests in articles written in English? To answer this question, we shall first review and justify the use of the four As: Ambivalence, Autism, Affective disturbance and impaired Associations, which were identified by Bleuler, a psychiatrist, as symptoms of schizophrenia, an illness for which Turner (770) wrote a dictionary entry.

III. The media approach when reporting: testing for Bleuler's four As

Shloss (303) mentions a letter written by James Joyce to Harriet Shaw Weaver in 1936 stating that schizophrenia was "one of the most elusive diseases known to men and unknown to medicine." This elusiveness probably explains the fact that the definition and symptoms of this disease have changed over time and vary slightly according to places. Rather than using a diagnosis framework in use today by medical professionals, for example that used by the American Psychiatric Association, which is reprinted in Butcher et al. (461), it was decided for the purposes of this paper to go back to the symptoms identified by the Swiss psychiatrist Bleuler who, at the beginning of twentieth century, coined the term schizophrenia, a fact that we are reminded of by Butcher et al. (460).

      The paper which is proposed here is not a medical one, as its author would not dare go that far and is not qualified to do so. Nevertheless, the four main symptoms established by Bleuler, widely known as the four As, provide a useful framework of analysis which can be used to increase the awareness of the reading public, and that of students in particular, to "the mystifying and confusing manoeuvres" to borrow David Cooper's words (viii), manoeuvres which are used in the reporting of foreign events. The four As have been reformulated below in the shape of questions, which can be used to test for the four symptoms:

Ambivalence	Can we observe an inability to make decisions, "vacillating between two courses of action" as described by the School of Neurology of Newcastle?
Autism	Do journalists, as Green puts it, "retreat into an inner world"?
Affect	Do reporters show "a restricted range of affect" (i.e., the expression of an experience, an emotion), as defined in Biology-Online.org?
Loosening of Associations	Is there a loss of logical connections between one thought and the next? Is the speech rambling, disjointed, nonsensical, as expressed by Biology-Online.org?

So, is there evidence of those four symptoms in the manoeuvres or strategies displayed in the reporting of the French spring protests?

IV. Evidence of the four As

The first symptom to be considered is that of Ambivalence.

Ambivalence: will I or won't I?

Some journalists seem to be on the threshold of a door and do not seem to be able to decide whether they will or will not opt for a translation strategy. The most blatant manifestation of this phenomenon is perhaps to be found in what is known in translating circles as Antoine Berman's "the Trials of the Foreign" or to simplify, what can be called the naturalization dilemma (277). We find in some articles a constant hesitation between using some French words when writing in English or not. Then, there is the question of *which* French words, expressions, or acronyms to use.

On 25 March 2006, Martin Arnold, reporting from Paris, had two long articles in the international news section of the *Financial Times* on the protests linked to a new employment contract. The object of the protests never appears in the articles either in the form of its acronym, *CPE*, or in the shape of its full name *Contrat Première Embauche*, or in the form of a direct translation. By contrast,

the acronym *CPE* was spread almost daily on the front page of the French newspaper *Le Monde*. One wonders then whether the journalist wished to avoid French words altogether. But this is not the case since numerous French words and acronyms have been left in the English texts. The words *banlieues* and *casseurs* (meaning respectively "suburbs" and "troublemakers") are to be found in those same articles, with explanations and translation, and sometimes on their own. So we find in the texts:

> The poor suburban *banlieues*
> "a serious incident" involving one of the *casseurs*, or troublemakers
> a small group of *casseurs* ("troublemakers")
> The problem of the *casseurs*
> The danger of being attacked by *casseurs*
> A law against *casseurs*

One could argue that acronyms present a difficulty in a foreign language, but the journalist has chosen to include *CFDT*, *UMP* and *MEDEF* and talks about:

> The moderate CFDT union
> The ruling centre-right UMP party
> The Medef Business Federation

If it can be said that *Financial Times* readers are probably familiar with those acronyms, it is unlikely that, after widely publicized weeks of protests in France, they would not have been able to grasp the meaning of *CPE*, with an explanation if necessary, as was done for the words *casseurs* and *banlieues*. It could be that Arnold was the victim of editorial policy. But not finding the words or the translation of *Contrat Première Embauche* is significant as those very words evoke, at least at face value, the opportunity to enter the job market. Instead, the journalist chose other means to express this concept:

> French jobs law
> Unpopular labour reform
> The youth employment law
> His labour law, which would allow people aged under 26 to be fired
> without reason in the first two years of the contract.

The words *banlieues* and *casseurs* are over-used and hammer the negative images. It does not seem unreasonable to think that Arnold's translation strategy

is not neutral. Let us now turn our attention to autism, the second symptom of schizophrenia.

Autism: ivory tower

For this symptom, this analysis will focus on an article written by Olivier Roy, a Frenchman writing while he was visiting New York.

According to the definition given in the glossary of the School of Neurology of Newcastle, autism is "a form of thinking in which the individual withdraws from the real world to a private world of his own. This monopolises his interest and attention, objectivity is lacking and there is a complete disregard of reality." Some of this seems to apply to Roy, or at least to the article published under his name in *Newsweek*. Roy's curriculum vitae, available on the website of the Centre for International Studies Research of *Sciences-Po*, reveals that he went through the very selective French exams system in philosophy and in oriental languages and that he has held a variety of top-class research posts.

Apart from some weakness on the reader's behalf, which is a possibility to consider, why then is it so difficult to make sense of some of his article? How could a Frenchman of his calibre have left the words *Premièr Contrat d'Embauche*, with errors in word order, and spelling, and hypercorrection by the introduction of the preposition "de", only to use later in the text the acronym *CPE* which does not make any sense since, after the aforementioned errors, it should be *PCE*? Could it be a sign of autism not to have read about the *CPE,* and by what kind of luck did anyone interested in French politics avoid the media blast on the matter enough not to mutter, sing or chant those three letters? The only logical explanation here seems to be that Roy's text was probably truncated for editorial purposes.

It remains that, judging from the printed text, Roy is at odds with other analysts. He seems to be locked in an ivory tower, as he watches the protests happening in Paris while he is "on a visit to America" (26). Indeed, he declares: "That unemployed French youths have so united against a measure designed to give them work, and are joined by immigrants who came to France seeking just that, is a telling sign of just how hopeless the situation looks to the next generation." (27)

On the contrary, other observers, as eminent as Roy but based in France, hold completely different views regarding this so called joining of youth forces. For example, Daniel Cohen, Professor of Economics at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* and in *Université de Paris-I (Panthéon-Sorbonne)* wrote in *Le Monde* on 5 May 2006 that "the most significant thing is what did not happen" (my

translation) in Paris, by which he meant that the coming together of the young people from the poor suburbs and the universities did not really happen. They met violently and only towards the end of the spring protests:

> Comme aurait dit Sherlock Holmes, le plus significatif est pourtant dans ce qui ne s'est pas produit : la jonction des deux mouvements. A la différence de Mai 68, où Nanterre avait fini par entraîner Billancourt, les deux jeunesses ne se sont pas rencontrées, sinon violemment, en fin de manifestation.

Similarly, François Dubet, Professor of Sociology in Bordeaux and a specialist in this area stresses in an interview for *Le Monde* that the youths from the suburbs and those from the middle classes come from two worlds which do not trust each other. Somehow, it is tempting to think that lecturers watching the protests so to speak "on their doorsteps" might have a more accurate pulse on the protestors' behaviour, frame of mind and moods. The concept of moods leads us to another of Bleuler's As, that of Affect, which we shall now deal with.

Affect: excessive reactions

Do reporters show a restricted range of emotion? As Shloss reminds us, do they, like some schizophrenic patients, "respond to situations with inappropriate emotions" and "suffer incontrollable mood swings, irritability or fury" (264)?

    Jean Quatremer, the *Libération* journalist, mentioned that "the British media were 'hyper'" (my translation for "*surexcités*") when they heard about Chirac's walking out of the meeting. This seems to tally with the type of verbs used in their papers: for example, Browne's headline in *The Times* states that "Chirac flees summit in a fury over use of English." For the BBC news, the French President "stormed out of a session". For Parker, he also "stormed out of a European Union summit". Stephen Castle, in the *Independent*, uses the same verb. By contrast, the words of both news briefs from the AFP and Reuters, as reproduced in languefrançaise.net are rather neutral with respectively: "Jacques Chirac a expliqué vendredi qu'il avait boycotté jeudi l'intervention du patron des patrons européens" and "Jacques Chirac a brièvement quitté jeudi la salle". *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* also show restraint with, respectively, "Le président français a quitté la salle" for the right-wing daily and "Jacques Chirac a quitté ostensiblement la salle" for the center-left paper. Whether the strong reaction of the British press qualifies as mood swings is debatable, but certainly the response to the situation seems excessive and disproportionate. And now, for the last of the

four As, Associations or loosening of Associations, can we find a perverted logic in articles in English?

Loosening of Associations: perverted logic

Speech can be vague and rambling: Olivier Roy manages to write a complete article about student protests without mentioning the word "student". In the same article he writes about "school drop-outs (…) often African or Arab, joined the demonstrations" (26). In this quote, the words African and Arab seem to exclude each other, which is odd if one remembers that, in France, *Arabes* is a term employed, often in a derogatory way, to refer to people from parts of North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco).

Another loose association can be found in the temptation to call on past events such as the French Revolution or May 1968 to report on present events. Indeed, if most journalists agree that the student movements of 2006 have little to do with those of their predecessors or those of the Revolution, the associations are quite loose between on the one hand, the type of photos, slogans, and headlines which are supposed to illustrate, sum up or introduce press articles and, on the other hand, those very articles. Therefore we find, for example, in the headlines: "To the Barricades," John Sparks writes, and "*Les Évènements encore une fois,*" announces *The Economist*. We also observe photographs of riot police and left-wing propaganda slogans similar to those of 1968, whereas the article is aimed at dissociating past events from present ones. There is therefore a loss of logical connections.

V. Conclusion

To conclude, it seems that some symptoms in the reporting of spring protests are very close to those identified by Bleuler for schizophrenia. Shloss (264) usefully reminds us that these symptoms, according to the Swiss psychiatrist, can be intermittent and can also be faked.

Whether the strategies and manoeuvres used by reporters are completely intentional or not, readers need to be aware that they can manifest themselves in obvious but more often discreet ways, especially during a crisis.

Time pressures, commercial targets in terms of readership, the need to appeal to and be understood by a wide audience often lead the press to produce stories which are over-simplified snapshots of events fed as soundbites and/or quickly absorbed images. In addition, the constraints mentioned above do not provide the opportunity to stand back, link, understand and fully assess events.

Telling a story without knowing its end, and often its beginning, can lead to contradictions in the narrative and a poor fit between the text and its pictorial illustration. This can both be a cause and a consequence of the ambivalence, autism, restricted affect and loosening of associations found in the Press.

Table 1: Expressing *CPE* in articles written in English: Spoiled for Choice.

CPE
- The CPE
- The CPE – First Job Contract –
- The *contrat première embauche* (CPE)
- The *contrat de première embauche* (CPE)
- *contrat de première embauche* (CPE), or "first job contract"
- The CPE job contract
- The First Job Contract (CPE)
- The much criticized "first jobs contract," or CPE
- Vaunted CPE Premièr Contrat d'Embauche, or first job contract

Law
- The labor law
- The labour law
- A youth job law
- Youth-jobs law
- youth employment bill into law
- A youth labor law
- Controversial labour reform law
- A contentious labor law
- A youth- labor law
- The law establishing a "first employment contract," or CPE complete and provide explanations + the official acronym in French
- A law that his [de Villepin's] government had passed aimed at making it easier to hire and fire workers under 26 years of age
- controversial new youth employment law
- Controversial part of youth labor law
- A law that would make it easier for employers to hire and fire young people.

Measure
- The new measure
- The employment measure
- A disputed youth labor measure
- The measure – intended to make it easier for employers to hire and fire workers aged under 26

Reform
- Job reform
- Its labour reform
- The ill-fated labor reform
- A labour reform - the First Employment Contract
- 'easy hire, easy fire' reform
- A minor reform
- A relatively minor labour-market reform
- reforms that would drastically reduce the job security of people under the age of 26 in order to make companies more willing to hire new staff.

Contract
- A job contract
- "the new labour contract"
- A new job contract for young people under 26
- Its flexible youth contract plan
- The First Employment Contract
- The "first job contract"
- his "first employment contract"
- A so-called "first job contract"
- Two year contracts (…)
- Contested new youth contract
- Premièr Contrat d'Embauche, or first job contract

Plan
- "easy-hire, easy-fire" plan

Corpus: *The Financial times, The International Herald Tribune,* BBC news, *The Independent on line, Newsweek, The Economist, The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, USA today, The Wall Street Journal, The Irish Independent, The Irish Times, The Irish Examiner, Le Monde, Le Figaro*, AFP, Reuters, journalists' blogs and other websites

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The Work Process of a Correspondent: A Case Study in Translation Sociology

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1. Introduction

The subject of my Masters dissertation in French philology at the University of Helsinki is the work process of a correspondent: a case study from the point of view of translation sociology. The target of my research is the Paris correspondent of the leading Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*.

The aim of my study is to find out how events in France become news in *Helsingin Sanomat*. This means studying the correspondent's work process. On what criteria does the correspondent choose the news events that will be transferred to the Finnish audience? How does she construct the storyline? And to what extent does her work involve translation or transediting? At the end of my study, I will consider the question: could translation training, or theoretical knowledge about translation, be helpful to the correspondent?

This paper outlines the background and the plan of my project. Then I will discuss some central theoretical concepts such as: news values, gatekeeping, news processing and transediting. Finally, I will mention a particular methodological problem of this kind of case study research.

2. The background of my research

At the beginning, I thought of simply studying news translated from French to Finnish. I began to search for data by contacting the leading Finnish newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*. I was told that *Helsingin Sanomat* translates news from French only extremely rarely because they do not subscribe to a news service in French. Instead, they have their own correspondent in Paris. I also contacted the leading Finnish news agency STT. They told me that they subscribe to the news service from AFP (Agence France-Presse) in English. So it appears that this

major newspaper rarely publishes news that is actually translated from French to Finnish, which was quite surprising to me.

Then I realised that to get to know how events in France become news in Finland, apart from those that are just translated from English news services, I would have to go to France and study the work process of a correspondent. There are only a few correspondents working in France for Finnish media. I decided to focus on print media rather than electronic. *Helsingin Sanomat* seemed the obvious choice, since it has its own salaried correspondent working full-time in Paris.

I found a couple of previous Finnish studies, which partly deal with a similar subject. Laura Pekonen (2005) has studied Finnish correspondents working in the United States from the correspondents' point of view. Her aim was to form a theory of how the agenda of the American news transmitted to a Finnish audience is created, and what the input of the Finnish correspondents themselves is. She analysed her results using the theory of news content created by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese (1991a). Erkka Vuorinen (1996) and Kristian Hursti (2000) have done research on news translation from English to Finnish. Hursti's aim was to find out how and why English influences Finnish through international news transmission, and Vuorinen focussed on building a theoretical framework for empirical research on the cultural aspects of translation as part of international news transmission. But I have not yet found any research concerning the work process of a correspondent from the point of view of translation. This study thus falls between two academic disciplines: translation and journalism studies.

3. The research plan

I will be going to Paris in September to carry out the empirical part of the study, observing the *Helsingin Sanomat* correspondent for five days. According to the correspondent, that is the minimum time to get an overview of her work because the working days can be very different. She also suggested that I should come in late September, when the vacation period is over and there is more likely something going on in politics. The correspondent has already told me that she never translates entire news articles from French to Finnish. She reads a lot of French newspapers, magazines and other material for background knowledge and writes some of her articles on the basis of this material. She claims that she translates directly from French to Finnish only statements from newspapers,

news agencies or speeches, and that sometimes she translates quotes from editorials, for example.

The aim of my research is to provide an overall understanding of a correspondent's work process. I will try to find out: 1) on what criteria the correspondent selects the news that will be relayed to Finnish readers, 2) how she constructs her storyline, and 3) how much translation or transediting appears in her work. Finally, I will try to evaluate the potential relevance of translation training or theoretical knowledge about translation to her work.

I intend to pay attention to what information sources the correspondent follows, for example newspapers, internet sites, television, and so on. When she considers or chooses a story to report, what are the reasons for that decision? Does she get any advice or orders from her editor? How does she construct or adapt the narrative? Does the image of a newspaper's audience influence her decisions? Whom does she contact? What does she translate and how? What sort of aids does she use, for example dictionaries? Does transediting appear although she might not realise it? I will process the findings of my case study in the light of several theoretical perspectives, which I will outline briefly next.

4. Central theoretical concepts

There are four main theoretical aspects which seem to be potentially useful at this stage of my work. They are news values, gatekeeping, news processing and transediting. First, I will explain what I mean by news values.

4.1. News values

To evaluate on what basis the correspondent selects the stories that become news, I have decided to use the typology of news values. In their famous typology Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965) listed twelve factors that influence the flow of news from abroad in order to answer the question: how do events become news?

The twelve factors, including sub-factors, are: 1) frequency, 2) threshold (which means that there is a threshold which the event has to pass before it is recorded at all), which includes absolute intensity and intensity increase, 3) unambiguity (which means the less ambiguity the more the event will be noticed), 4) meaningfulness, including cultural proximity and relevance, 5) consonance, involving both predictability and demand, 6) unexpectedness, including unpredictability and scarcity, 7) continuity, 8) composition, 9)

reference to elite nations, 10) reference to elite people, 11) reference to persons, and 12) reference to something negative.

According to Galtung and Ruge, the last four factors (from 9 to 12) are culture-bound and they seem to be of particular importance in the northwestern corner of the world. The other factors are considered to be culture-free. The twelve factors are not independent of each other: there are inter-relations between them. The more an event satisfies the criteria mentioned, the more likely it will be selected as news. (Galtung and Ruge 1965: 64-71)

Judy McGregor (2002) argues that news values need to be updated to the 21st century, and she proposes four new news values as additional criteria. These new values are largely driven by television. They are: 1) visualness, 2) emotion, 3) conflict and 4) the "celebrification" of the journalist. I think McGregor is right.   Galtung and Ruge suggest that the validity of the factors should be tested by observing a journalist at work. That is what I am planning to do and, at the same time, I will test the adequacy of the new values proposed by McGregor.

4.2. Gatekeeping

The gatekeeping metaphor was originally introduced by Kurt Lewin in his social psychological work. It was established in communication research by David Manning White in 1950. (See e.g. Vuorinen 1996: 36, Shoemaker 2001: 233, Schudson 1989: 264.) Gatekeeping may be defined as a process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels. The controlling function is carried out by gatekeepers who decide what messages or pieces of information may go through a particular gate. (Vuorinen 1996: 36)

Several scholars have proposed different models of gatekeeping (see e.g. Shoemaker 1991b, McNelly 1959, Vuorinen 1996.) However, I find that none of the gatekeeping models that I am familiar with is in itself relevant to my study because they all seem to comprehend the gatekeeping process as a chain, which controls the news flow. The gatekeeping models mainly focus on the selection. As I see it, a correspondent is certainly a gatekeeper, a part of the gatekeeping chain, but my study concentrates only on this one gatekeeping unit and the surroundings that affect the correspondent's work, not on the gatekeeping chain as a whole.

4.3. News processing

To find out how the correspondent constructs the storyline and to evaluate how much translation or transediting appears in her work, I am interested in the news

processing and the construction of the news narrative. At this point, I would like to emphasize that I will not be analyzing news texts as final products. According to Teun A. van Dijk (1988: 96) news production should be analysed primarily in terms of text processing. He states that information can be preformulated and it can be used from various sources, such as source texts, interviews, phone calls, other media messages, and so on. Van Dijk introduces some major strategies to understand the cognitive and social routines that allow reporters to write a news text on the basis of so many diverse materials.

The strategies are: 1) selection (either source text or text fragment), 2) reproduction (which means partial or total direct copying), 3) summarization (which means derivation of macrostructures as in deletion, generalization and construction), 4) local transformations (including deletion, addition, permutation and substitution), and 5) stylistic and rhetorical (re-)formulation. (van Dijk 1988: 114-119) Mona Baker's narratology studies might be useful to my study as well, but I have not yet had the chance to explore her new book *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (2005).

4.4. Transediting

Probably the most important concept in my study is transediting. Karen Stetting (1989) has coined the composite term "transedit" from the words translate and edit. Transediting is different from translation and editing; it is a combination of the two tasks. According to Stetting a certain amount of editing has always been included in the translation task, when the translator has to consider problems such as whether to change, add or remove information. The task of the editor is to improve clarity, relevance and adherence to the conventions of the textual type. This type of editing belongs to the "world of practical texts".

Transediting brings up the old discussion of close versus free translation. Transediting looks like an extreme type of free translation. Stetting noted that transediting is already widely practised, for instance when film or TV translators have to abbreviate passages to fit the subtitles into the space available, or when journalists process foreign material into articles in their own language. Articles are translated with a relevant amount of editing suit to the new group of receivers. (Stetting 1989: 371–374)

5. A methodological problem

Before I end, I would like to say a few words about methodology. This research is a part of translation sociology, which means that I will be applying sociological methods to translation studies. I have chosen an observational case study as a method, since I will be studying the work process of only one correspondent. As I said, to collect information I will be observing the correspondent working during one week (five days). I will also interview her.

One methodological challenge of my study is what William Labov calls the "observer's paradox" (see e.g. Labov 1978: 61-62, 209-201). This means that the act of observation influences the situation being observed. I do not see how this can be totally avoided, so I will just have to be as inconspicuous as possible in order to minimize the influence of my presence. But I think it is important to be aware of the risk of this interference, and to take it into account when I reach my conclusions.

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Translating News from English to Chinese: Complimentary and Derogatory Language Usage

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Introduction

This paper has arisen out of my experience as a teacher of translation between English and Chinese. One of the features which has intrigued me is the way in which Chinese lexicalises positively and negatively connoted words very differently from English. Thus, English words which may have a positive or negative connotation, depending on their context, are translated into Chinese with separate terms. These separate terms have fixed positive *or* negative overtones, for example:

Praise:	赞扬 (compl. e.g. to praise someone whom the writer/ speaker approves);
	吹捧 (derog. e.g. to praise someone whom the writer/ speaker disapproves)
Encourage:	鼓励 (compl. to encourage people to do something good);
	纵恿 (derog. to encourage people to do something bad)
Deserve:	受之无愧 (compl. deserve award, praise);
	罪有应得 (derog. deserve punishment, sentence)

Chinese people use these terms to express their judgement of right or wrong and degrees of likes or dislikes. It is similar to some words in English which have clear indications of the speaker's/writer's attitudes, e.g. when someone describes their garden-loving neighbour using "She is passionate about her garden" or "She is obsessed with her garden." Likewise, when someone says: "He is very resourceful" contrasted with: "He is very cunning" to indicate the personal

preferences in the speaker's tones. In Chinese, these attitudes exist in most situations which involve personal opinions. Inevitably, this is also reflected in the translation field.

Through some examples, this paper aims to analyse in what ways complimentary and derogatory word usage could result in translation gain and loss in news translations from English to Chinese. Although there are other important techniques involved in the news and news headline translations, such as grammar and syntax, this paper will only concentrate on the analysis of the lexical differences in terms of complimentary and derogatory usage between the ST and TT, and the possible reasons behind them.

Translation loss

As Hervey and Higgins (1992, p.24) pointed out, the transfer of meaning from ST to TT necessarily involves a certain degree of **translation loss**; that is, a TT will always lack certain culturally relevant features that are present in the ST. An important corollary of this concept of translation loss is that it embraces any failure to replicate a ST exactly, whether this involves losing features in the TT or adding them.

Hervey and Higgins (1992, p.23) explained that this is due to the fact that the backgrounds, shared knowledge, cultural assumptions and learnt responses of monolingual TL speakers are inevitably culture-bound. Given this fact, SL speakers' responses to the ST are never likely to be replicated exactly by effects on members of a different culture. Even a small cultural distance between the ST audience and the TT audience is bound to produce a fundamental dissimilarity between the effects of the ST and those of the TT – such effects can at best be similar in a global and limited sense; they can never be 'the same'.

As a result, Hervey and Higgins (1992, pp.22-23) concluded: if there is 'equivalence' here, it is not an objective equivalence, because the translator remains the final arbiter of the imagined effects of both the ST and TT. Under these circumstances, even a relatively objective assessment of 'equivalent effect' is hard to envisage.

How did the Chinese 'arbiters' make their judgement regarding the equivalence? What ideology made them choose to 'lose' something in order to achieve their 'gain'? What is their ultimate 'gain'? In order to answer these questions, we have to put them into a specific environment, taking into consideration the Chinese culture as a whole.

Cultural inheritance

Chun Qiu（《春秋》）, a historical record of the then Lu dukedom for the period from 722 to 481 B.C., which – it is said – Confucius (551-479B.C.) helped to compile. Scholars of the study of Confucian classics believed that each word used in this book was not only succinct and incisive but also tactfully contained either a complimentary or a derogatory meaning behind it. (Chun Qiu Bi Fa, 2005） The 'Chun Qiu writing style'（春秋笔法） has been so named ever since and it has had a profound and enduring influence on the Chinese culture and language (Luo, 1997, p.3007).

The most frequently quoted example using 'Chun Qiu writing style' includes when a general was sent to fight the Boxer uprising in the mid 19th century and he faithfully recorded his hopelessly repeated defeats in his report to the emperor using the words "屡战屡败" (repeatedly fighting but repeatedly defeated). His secretary very tactfully made a small adjustment to the character order and it became "屡败屡战" (repeatedly defeated but still repeatedly fighting). Without altering the facts, this rephrasing transformed the general from a pessimistic disheartened loser into an unconquerable and tenaciously positive fighter. The emperor was consequently very pleased.

The consequence of this writing style is that if something is regarded as good, no one dares to criticise it. This may also explain why the Chinese culture has always had the ideology of being "black-and-white" about everything: praising the good and criticising the bad. This ideology is reflected in all aspects of life: from news, literature, film, theatre, drama, painting, to design such as costumes in the theatre, e.g. the Beijing Opera's Lian Pu (京剧脸谱)—facial make-up with red for the good and white for the bad. So, as the saying in Chinese "唱红脸", "唱白脸" goes: 'to sing in a red face' or 'to sing in a white face' which means to act as a good one or to act as a bad one, such as a lenient parent in contrast to a strict one from a child's viewpoint.

Brought up in this cultural background, Chinese are used to thinking and acting in this way. As a result, the usage of complimentary and derogatory words has become a subconscious choice in the Chinese language. In other words, the language is tightly bound by this cultural ideology.

This writing style was highly praised by scholars and keenly followed by the later historians. However, it led to dreadful extremism during the Cultural

Revolution in the 1960s. One day someone was glorified with the best complimentary praises, the day after, s/he was denounced and the worst derogatory words were heaped on him or her as the most evil. For example, if somebody had a connection with the West, such as having studied abroad, they would be called 'the running dogs of imperialism', because a dog is the lowest form compared with the dignified human being, although this is not the case in the West. People's imagination of these kinds of words was exercised to such an extreme as language abuse. This explains the omission of many critical/derogatory words or phrases in Chinese news translation from an English ST.

Even now, this dark period still has a profound influence in China. It is no surprise that many Chinese, not long after enjoying their happiness in writing freely of whatever they wanted to say on their personal blogs, then felt very upset and even angry because of the attacks through critical comments by some people using derogatory words. No wonder some people are calling for the avoidance of insulting and abusive language in critical news coverage in order to maintain objective and impartial journalistic practices (Lin, 2006).

Characteristics of the Chinese language

An anonymous writer (2006, para. 8) believed that the biggest difference between Chinese and English is that there are more complimentary and derogatory words in Chinese and fewer neutral words and it is the essence of the Chinese language, whereas, in English, the majority of words are neutral and there are fewer complimentary and derogatory words.

This writer further stated (2006, para. 10, 13) that the usage of complimentary and derogatory words has been developed as the main feature. Praising the good and criticising the bad has always been the prime duty and responsibility of Chinese writers. As examples: in Chinese we say 抗日战争 (the War of Resistance Against Japan), but in the West, it is called the Sino-Japanese War. Chinese readers would find this too vague as there is no indication of who was right and who was wrong. Also, Chinese always use the word '匪' (bandit) for their rivals, such as the Communists calling the Kuomintang 蒋匪军 (Chiang bandit troops) even though they were the government's armed forces. To fight against them is '剿匪' (to suppress bandits), and vice versa.

As a non-native English speaker, I can only say that my impression is that we use many more complimentary and derogatory words in Chinese than are

used in English. In other words, in Chinese, the complimentary or derogatory words themselves stand as part of their central meaning of good or bad without having to depend upon the context, as much as English does.

For example, in Chinese, the way to address a person demonstrates that person's status. People with a title in any field are addressed with it, such as: president Hu, manager Zhang, professor Wang. However, in addressing a convicted criminal, whatever his/her previous status, the title would no longer be used. The most neutral way is to use that person's full name. It is no surprise to hear some media address those people with an added term such as 'criminal + name' etc. But in Britain, people normally hear a criminal addressed by their previous status: such as Dr. Shipman. A Chinese newspaper would almost certainly use something like 'killer Shipman' （杀人凶手施普曼）omitting his

title Dr, which has more to do with denigration and is not exactly the same as creating a sensational effect, as often British tabloids portray.

On the other hand, it does not mean that it will always be correct to translate a neutral English word literally into Chinese. When one of the hostages was tragically shot dead in the Moscow theatre kidnappings in 2002, a Hong Kong TV station reported the news using "击毙" (a literal translation of "***shot dead***" into Chinese), which normally describes successfully overcoming criminals or enemies who in some sense deserve to die i.e. implies approval. (The example used for "击毙" in *A Chinese-English Dictionary* is: Four bandits were shot dead on the spot.) (1997: p.543) For the Chinese audience, it gave the impression that this TV station was too unsympathetic towards the victim and his family, although I do believe that it was simply caused by the misuse of this derogatory word. (枪杀/杀害 [shot dead/killed] would have been more

appropriate here.)

Translating neutral words from the ST into complimentary or derogatory words of the TT has always been the recommended and widely accepted practice in China. In his *Practical Translation Course,* Feng (1997, p.92) pointed out that even when there was no obvious complimentary or derogatory word in the ST, as translators, we must unearth the sentiments through the context and faithfully translate the neutral-look-alike but in reality complimentary or derogatory word into the TT. The same word or a similar one can contain a different sentiment in a different context, which may be translated in a complimentary, derogatory or neutral word by using complimentary or derogatory translation methods. Feng stressed that a complimentary or derogatory word can give the sentiment to a sentence or an even larger context. Therefore, we should apply complimentary or

derogatory translation methods appropriately, not only to the words with an obvious sentiment but also those without from the ST.

From these examples, we can see that there are indeed more complimentary and derogatory words in the Chinese language. People have to make judgements in choosing those words for their relevant context, otherwise, misunderstandings or mistakes will occur. However, at the same time, if a neutral word from the ST is translated into Chinese which, more often than not, would contain either complimentary or derogatory meaning according to its context, some degree of translation loss will inevitably occur. This is what Hervey and Higgins (1992, pp.63-64) named as 'particularization' (where the TT word has a narrower meaning than the ST word). This is because it is even more difficult, if not impossible, to find TL words that will, over and above conveying an appropriate literal meaning, also produce appropriate associative overtones in the context of the TT. This is another source of lexical translation loss, and another potential dilemma between choosing literal meaning at the expense of associative overtones, or vice versa.

Some examples

It is generally thought that news should be impartial and objective whether through private or public media. Words should be neutral and avoid being purposefully tendentious, even if in reality there is usually some ideological slant.

However, nowadays in China, as more and more people have learned English and have wider access through the Internet or other channels, they are able to read the original English text. Only by comparing with the ST will people start appreciating that the original news is not always the same as the translated version, which is sometimes with more complimentary or with more derogatory choices of words, and sometimes with either strengthened or softened tones, as well as adding or omitting some sensitive or critical words. The following is a good example.

An American couple who were both journalists wrote a book called *China Wakes* (Kristof and Wudunn). In this book, they recorded their first hand experiences in China during the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s with, of course, good and bad, joy and agony. It was criticised by some Chinese as portraying a dying, rotten and chaotic country. According to them, the authors deliberately chose the word 'wake' because it has another meaning – a gathering of people who mourn together and watch over the body of a dead person on the night before the burial (Collins Cobuild, p.2193), which is why the authors

employed the word 'wake' to imply that China is rotten and collapsing and approaching its last breath. (Li and Liu, 1996)

This comment generated a huge discussion. Many Chinese readers have posted their views criticising the published translation version against the ST. Even now, 10 years on, I can still find over 50 pages on *Google* regarding this topic. Various people were commenting how farfetched it was to translate 'wake' into such an illogical meaning – who is alive and who is dead in this wake? Let alone this meaning is only used as a noun and not as a verb, whereas in the book it was used as a verb. This may have been an extreme case. Nevertheless, it demonstrates how farfetched a translation can be from the ST.

Now, through analysing and evaluating some examples, let's see whether there are any differences between the ST and the TT. If so, what are they?

Preferred meaning:

> 1. We must forget how President Bush junior promised to "stand by" Afghanistan before he began his bombings last year – and has left it now an economic shambles of drug barons, warlords, anarchy and fear. (Fisk, 2002)

> 我们必须忘记，小布什总统去年在开始轰炸阿富汉之前，曾承诺"不插手"这个国家的事务，可是现在，美国将阿富汉变成了一个毒枭横行，军阀混战的烂摊子。（《参考消息》, 2002）

> (back translation: We must forget how President Bush junior promised "**not to intervene**" in Afghanistan before he began his bombings last year and has left it now an economic shambles of drug barons, warlords, anarchy and fear.)

According to the *Collins Cobuild English-Chinese Dictionary* (p.1906), **stand by** has two meanings:

> 1.1. let something bad happen without doing anything to stop it;
> 1.2. be ready to provide help or take action if it becomes necessary.

The Chinese version of the words "stand by" in this paragraph was 不插手 (meaning: not to intervene). This word was chosen because in this case it was a 'complimentary' one from the Chinese government's viewpoint – not to intervene

in other countries' domestic affairs. In other words, this is a preferred meaning. However, with this meaning, there would not be any reason for the author to blame President Bush "for having left it now an economic shambles of drug barons, warlords, anarchy and fear" simply because this was what he had promised. The original sentence would have only made sense when 'stand by' means "be ready for action" or "are ready to provide help or take action if it becomes necessary"（一旦需要，随时准备援助）.

This translation loss was caused by the translator's misjudgement in choosing one of the meanings of this word which is different from the ST's. As a result, the translator used 'modulation' to define 'a variation through a change of viewpoint, of perspective and very often of category of thought'. (Vinay and Darbelnet cited by Newmark, 1988, p.88)

Although free modulations are used by translators 'when the TL rejects literal translation', which, by Vinay and Darbelnet's criteria, means virtually always (Newmark, 1988, p.88), when carried out as it should be, the resulting translation should correspond perfectly to the situation indicated by the SL. (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995, p.37)

The following are more examples of the differences between neutral English words and their possible Chinese equivalent depending on the complimentary or derogatory circumstances/contexts:

- *Looks/face*:   相貌 (neutral, looks, appearance)

    嘴脸 (derog. face, looks)

- *Ambition:*   抱负/理想 (compl. ideal)

    野心 (derog. aggressive ambition)

- *Protect*:   爱护 (compl. cherish, treasure)
    保护 (compl. protect, safeguard)

    庇护 (derog. shield)

    e.g. To shield a criminal / to pervert the course of justice

- *Fight till the end of one's life:*

  拼搏到最后一息，生命不息；拼搏不止 (compl.

  for a good cause)
  垂死挣扎（derog. for a bad cause）

- *Scheme:*   方案，计划 (neutral.)

  诡计，阴谋 (derog. plot)

- *Result*:   成果 (compl. achievement)

  结果 (neutral, result, outcome, ending)

  效果 (neutral. effect)

  后果 (derog. consequence, aftermath)

  恶果 (derog. the evil consequences)

- *Uprising, revolt*: 起义（compl. for a good course）

  叛乱（derog. for a bad course）

- *Decisive*:   果断（compl. proved to be right decisions）

  武断（derog. proved to be wrong decisions）

These examples demonstrate that in translating from English to Chinese, more complimentary or derogatory choices of words are available in the TT compared with more neutral words in the ST due to the differences between the two languages and their underlying cultures. Therefore, translating from English to Chinese requires an objective judgement or one can easily fall into a trap and, as a result, the faithfulness of translating the ST will be lost.

　　Complimentary and derogatory lexical choices can also be seen in various other forms of news translation resulting in translation loss. The following examples are collected from the *Financial Times* from 2003 to date:

Change of behaviour:

　　2. The world must **learn to live with** a wide-awake China
　　世界应心平气和地对待醒来的中国 (FT)

　　(back translation: The world should treat a wide-awake China **calmly**)

I believe that the Chinese version attempted to be in line with Napoleon Bonaparte's famous quotation: "When China wakes, it will shake the world" and to mean 'don't worry', be calm. However, the ST was more active, **learn to live with** means one needs to act and make an effort in order to adapt to the situation, even though one doesn't want to. Whilst **calmly**, being passive, only implies the reaction. I think 学会适应 (learn to adapt to) is more suitable than 心平气和地

对待 for **learn to live with**.

Change of the concept:

> 3. China should be a concern but not an obsession
> 不要妖魔化中国实力 (FT)
>
> (back translation: Don't demonise China's actual strength)

The TT has a much stronger derogatory sense than **obsession.**

Omitting the critical words:

> 4. Banking **reforms** delay listing
> 中国两大银行延迟上市 (FT)
>
> (back translation: Two big Chinese banks delay listing)

The TT omits **reforms** with its implied meaning, avoids the derogatory tone of blaming reforms as the reason for the delay.

> 5. China's **worn** infrastructure holds growth hostage
> 中国基础设施威胁经济增长 (FT)
>
> (back translation: China's infrastructure threatens economic growth)

The TT omits the derogatory word **worn.** The effect could be worse as the readers may think that China deliberately built such infrastructure as a hindrance to economic growth. It implies that no one knows/cares about the shortcomings of China's infrastructure.

Omissions and softening the criticism:

> 6. China bank chiefs **condemn Communist party's behind-scenes management rôle**
> 中国金融高管批评现行人事政策 (FT)
>
> (back translation: China financial chiefs criticise current personnel policy)

The TT omits **condemn Communist party's behind-scenes management role**. One can't help but ask: is it too sensitive – is specific criticism being avoided here?

> 7. Volkswagen to tighten belt in '**risky**' China
> 大众将减少在华投资规避风险 (FT)
>
> (back translation: Volkswagen will reduce investment in China to avoid risks)

The TT omits **risky China** – too negative?

> 8. Blackouts in a coal-rich town illuminate **failings in China's energy policy**
> 中国产煤重镇断电'照亮'能源缺陷 (FT)
>
> (back translation: power-cuts in a Chinese coal-rich town illuminate **energy shortcomings**)

The TT omits **failings in China's energy policy,** changes failings into shortcomings, to avoid any criticism of the government. 产煤重镇断电 显示中国能源政策失败

These examples have shown that changing, omitting or softening critical words or phrases in the ST all make the TT vague – another symptom of translation loss.

A small-scale experiment: translating a word from an English sentence faithfully into Chinese

The following small scale experiment was conducted with 11 people responding to the question. Amongst them, 6 were Chinese students who have been studying English/Chinese translation with me at either the BA or MA level, and the other 5

were my British colleagues either involved in teaching translation studies at Portsmouth University or with some experience of Chinese culture (1 graduated with a degree in Chinese).

> There are three choices: a, b or c. Which one do you think best interprets the intention and expresses the tone of the ST, and why?

> Ever since NATO bombs hit the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade last Friday, China's **state-run** media have dished up a ceaseless stream of banner headlines and jarring photos… (*New York Times*, May 14, 1999)

> The word ***State-run*** in Chinese can be translated as:
> a. 国家经营的 (state-run)
>
> b. 政府控制的 (government controlled)
>
> c. 政府操纵的 (government manipulated)

Amongst the 6 Chinese students, 4 chose C and 2 chose B. Amongst my 5 colleagues, 3 chose C and 2 chose B. Clearly everyone sensed that there is a negative tone in the ST and therefore no one chose A. As for the degree of negativity or derogation, inevitably it varies from person to person. The 4 Chinese students who chose C said that it best interprets the intention and expressed the tone of the ST, while the other 2 students who chose B said that C was too derogatory.

They are correct in fully understanding the differences between these two Chinese words in their respective contexts, as there are subtle differences between the Chinese words 控制 (control) and 操纵 (manipulate). The former means to govern, to approve, or to censor, while the latter here means to purposefully dominate and control somebody or something improperly. Therefore, here, C is more derogatory than B. 控制 (control) can be neutral or even complimentary such as to control the spreading of diseases; while 操纵 (manipulate) can only be neutral when it is used in a technical sense. However, the reason why they dismissed C for the sake of its derogatory meaning is pertinent for it indicates the 'softening the criticism' practice I mentioned earlier has already influenced would-be translators (students).

My two colleagues who chose B said that it was because it was absolute compared with C containing more of a 'behind-the-scenes' sense and therefore B was a stronger word.

This result demonstrated that all the respondents understood the negative tone in the ST and therefore none of them chose A, even though it appeared neutral. As for their choice of translation, a majority of the respondents chose faithfully for what best expressed the ST. However, some tried to soften the tone of the ST in order to reduce any critical sense. This kind of practice invites potential translation loss and consequently could lead to misunderstandings by the readers.

Conclusion

Through providing a glimpse of the translation shifts that can take place in the translation of news from English into Chinese, this paper attempts to bring the issue of the significance of the usage of complimentary and derogatory words in the Chinese language to the forefront. With the heritage of Chinese writing style traced back over 2000 years and its developments since then, in particular peaking during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, indications of its profound influence can be seen everywhere – from official news to individual blogs. As a result, Chinese lexicalises positively and negatively connoted words into separate terms which have fixed positive or negative overtones, without having to depend on their context. This characteristic of the language has contributed to the Chinese translators' conscious or subconscious tendencies towards the potential for translation loss in their news translations, which could lead to misunderstandings by the readers.

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Appendix

Translation in Global News
Conference Programme
Friday, 23 June 2006
University of Warwick, Humanities Building

| 09.00 - 9.30 | Registration and coffee |

09.00 - 9.30   Registration and coffee

09.30 - 9.40   Welcome and introduction: **Susan Bassnett**
Room H.051

09.40 - 10.40   **Yves Gambier,** University of Turku, Finland
Room H.051   *Transformation and Transfer in International News*

10.40 - 11.00   Coffee

11.00 - 12.50   **Panel 1 – Chair: Susan Bassnett**
Room H.102   **Jerry Palmer**, London Metropolitan University, UK
The Institutional Embedding of Translation in News Organisations
Esperança Bielsa, University of Warwick, UK
Translation in Global News Agencies
Claire Tsai, University of Warwick, UK
Translation through Interpreting: A Television Newsroom Model
Suvi Hautanen, University of Helsinki, Finland
The Work Process of a Correspondent: A Case Study in Translation Sociology

11.00 - 12.50   **Panel 2 – Chair: Stuart Price**
Room H.051   **Kyle Conway**, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
A Cultural Studies Approach to Translation in the News: The Case of Canada and Quebec

Cristina Caimotto, University of Turin, Italy
Berlusconi's "House of Liberty": the Role of Translation Studies in the Analysis of Contemporary Issues
Sue-Ann Harding, University of Manchester, UK
Translating the News from Chechnya
Paule Salerno, Trinity College Dublin, Ireland
Reporting on French Spring Protests in English: A Schizophrenic Approach?

12.50 - 13.50   Lunch: Room H.103

13.50 - 14.40   **Miren Gutiérrez**, IPS World Editor in Chief
Room H.051   *Journalism and the Language Divide*

14.40 - 15.40   **Martin Montgomery,** University of Strathclyde, UK
Room H.051   *The Emergence of* War *as a Key Term in News Discourse after 9/11*

15.40 - 16.00   Coffee

16.00 - 18.00   **<u>Panel 3 – Chair: Ruth Cherrington</u>**
Room H.102   **Klaus Schulte**, University of Roskilde, Denmark
Translation as Intercultural Mediation and/or Political Manipulation
Christine Delling, University of Alberta, Canada
"That Trust Is Well Placed": Announcing a War Globally
Frank Austermuehl, University of Auckland, New Zealand
Identity and Ideology in the Translation of Political News

16.00 - 18.00   **<u>Panel 4 – Chair: Esperança Bielsa</u>**
Room H.051   **Yamei Chen**, University of Edinburgh, UK
Towards a Method for Investigating Ideology-Related Norms in News Transediting
Bob Holland, University of Birmingham, UK
Language(s) in the Global News: Translation, Audience Design and Discourse (Mis)representation

Stella Sorby, University of Portsmouth, UK
Translating news from English to Chinese – Investigation into Translation Gain and Loss Involving Complimentary and Derogatory Usage
Sara Bani, University of Bologna, Italy
An Analysis of Press Translation Process

18.00 - 18.30   General discussion and closing remarks
Room H.051