

## News translation strategies

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### Introduction

Translation is present at all stages of news production, from the moment the information is generated until the transmission of the final product to the destined audience. News media are key in this process due to their dual function: selecting and broadcasting – selecting and filtering the news they transmit, giving it a specific style and language in accordance with the target audience, as well as culturally and ideologically marking the news items. The translation activity generated by mass media should be considered one more piece in the complex process of news reporting given that these companies use translation not to present translated texts in the traditional sense of the word, but rather to produce new information that responds to the expectations of the local audience and to the interests (economic, political, ideological, etc.) of the communications group.

News stories that are translated for new audiences undergo transformation and manipulation processes in which translation

is one element in a complex set of processes whereby information is transposed from one language into another and then edited, rewritten, shaped and repackaged in a new context, to such a degree that any clear distinction between source and target ceases to be meaningful. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 11)

Hence, translation in mass media generates texts which are far from what has traditionally been considered an accurate translation that is true to the original. This fact has drawn the attention of the academic world and numerous studies have focused on the analysis and description of the transformations that translated news stories undergo, showing the different practices and strategies used to adapt the original texts to the functional and ideological needs of the receiving media outlet and to the new audiences. The sociological implications are clear: a significant portion of the news circulating on a global scale has been translated and these translated texts help form the opinions of the readers, actively influencing the way in which they perceive the world that surrounds them. Therefore it is important to know the mechanisms used by the media to translate news, the reasons they use them and what results they produce.

News translation is heavily influenced by the news production processes operating in media organizations. These determine both the way in which the translation process is carried out and how journalistic messages are redrafted for a specific audience. To account for the transformation processes in news translation, different concepts, such as gatekeeping, transediting, recontextualization, localization and rewriting, have been suggested. These concepts will be reviewed below.

Gatekeeping, embedded in journalistic routines, is defined by communication studies as ‘the process of selecting, writing, editing, positioning, scheduling, repeating and otherwise massaging information to become news’ (Shoemaker, Vos & Reese 2009: 73). Those who translate news also function as gatekeepers, in other words, they act as

filters selecting which information elements to disseminate and how. According to Fujii (1988: 36), these journalistic translators carry out four gatekeeping functions:

1. Controlling the quantity of message, i.e., cutting the original;
2. Message transforming, i.e., altering the expressions of the original;
3. Message supplementing, i.e., adding expressions/information to the original;
4. Message reorganization, i.e., changing the structure of the original.

Fujii (1988: 37) argues that ‘such large-scale message manipulation certainly goes beyond the work of mere translation’. Contrary to Fujii, Vuorinen (1995: 170) proposes that these ‘gatekeeping operations, such as deletion, addition, substitution, or reorganisation, be considered part and parcel of the normal textual operations performed in any translation, and particularly in news translation, in order to produce functionally adequate target texts for a given use’. This role of journalistic translators as selectors and manipulators of information (or gatekeepers) is a recurring theme for numerous researchers in that field (for a critical evaluation, see Valdeón 2016).

Another concept used to refer to news translation is transediting. This term, coined by Stetting (1989: 371), is described as ‘a pragmatic translation strategy which involves radical editing’. For this scholar, editing has always been a part of translating. The process of transediting entails translating and editing at the same time and covers the following three areas:

1. Adaption to a standard of efficiency in expression: ‘cleaning-up transediting’;
2. Adaption to the intended function of the translated text in its new social contexts: ‘situational transediting’;
3. Adaption to the needs and conventions of the target culture: ‘cultural transediting’ (Stetting 1989: 377-378).

For researchers like Chen (2009: 204), the gatekeeping process encompasses transediting. However, Valdeón (2016) defends that translation in the journalistic field involves an important gatekeeping component that takes place at two different levels: an institutional level and an individual level. He believes that in news production, the process of selection known as gatekeeping is on a higher level than translation:

At the first level, the media select the material that can or should be translated. This happens at an institutional level, so it would occur before the translation. The journalist-translator appears at the second level, and his or her role involves selecting the information to be disseminated by the medium. At this level the agent is an individual who makes more personal decisions with respect to omissions, additions, adaptations, etc. (2016: 39-40)

The translated news must function in its new sociocultural context and for that reason media professionals not only filter, translate and edit; they also recontextualize for a local media outlet and its audience. Verschueren (2007: 79-80) states that the process of recontextualization of texts ‘affects their meaning, function and reception: a translated text not only involves linguistic displacement but also contextual/cultural dislocation’. Obvious processes of recontextualization occur in the translation of news and other journalistic texts. In these processes, messages are transformed and information is presented from a different perspective. As Schäffner & Bassnett (2010: 8) point out, ‘recontextualisation always involves transformation, determined by goals, values and interests’ of the new content into which the information is being recontextualized.

The process of translated news transformation has also been associated with the concept of localization. Pym (2004: 4) considers news to be a localized product: ‘The foreign news we read in the local press can legitimately be seen as a localisation of foreign-language texts, at some point transformed by the international agencies, and transformed in ways that go beyond endemic notions of translation’.

Lastly, the process of rewriting has also been used to explain the transformations of translated news. Rewriting, with or without translation, constitutes a frequent practice in journalism. Hernando (1990: 57) describes it as a collaborative text production process in which one or more editors rewrite information based on data from other journalists. Bielsa & Bassnett note that ‘journalistic rewritings are the form in which news is made available to readers worldwide’ (2009: 57). Translated news is rewritten for a particular audience, updated, adapted to their interests, following the textual conventions of the receiving culture and with the marked ideological slant of the media outlet that reproduces it. The process of rewriting is present in all journalistic products in which translation is used: news from the international agencies ‘undergoes a process of rewriting in the national language before it is once again distributed to newspapers, radio and television’ (Lomheim 2002: 184); news produced by foreign correspondents is a result of their intercultural mediation (Hautanen 2008); news from the international press which has been translated by a national newspaper is rewritten for its new readers (Hernández Guerrero 2009), to mention only a few.

These processes involved in the translation of news require the use of a series of operations or strategies on the part of the journalists-translators. Numerous studies have described and analysed the strategies utilized in news translation and their effects on news production. We will examine these in the following section.

### **Principal strategies in news translation**

In the processes of transformation and manipulation in news translation, journalists-translators use strategies to adapt the information to their target audiences. The concept of strategy in translation studies has been affected by the confusing use of terminology and by the different denominations established in translation theory (for an overview, see Chesterman 1997; Molina & Hurtado Albir 2002; Gil Bardaji 2009; Gambier 2010). Terms such as *procedures*, *techniques*, *norms*, *tactics*, *methods*... occasionally function as synonyms for *strategy* while at other times they refer to different concepts. As a result, the term *strategy* is being used to reference both the macro-level decisions adopted in translation as well as the micro-level decisions. However, as Gil Bardaji (2009: 165) notes, the use of ‘translation strategies’ has become widespread among those researching the translation process, and has become practically the most widely used term. It is also the term most widely used in the area of news translation, above all by scholars using English.

In this chapter, we have adopted the terminological and conceptual proposal of Schjoldager (2008: 67), who prefers to talk about ‘strategies’, and distinguishes between *macrostrategies* and *microstrategies*. Her use of these two terms is rather similar to Chesterman’s (1997: 87-91) use of *global* and *local strategies*. Macrostrategies (or macro-textual strategies) relate to the overall plan of the translator, whereas microstrategies focus on how to solve specific translation problems in relation to words,

phrases and sentences, in other words, individual decisions made at the micro-textual level. The distinction between these two poles can already be observed in some studies in the area of news translation (see Scammell 2018; Chaal 2019).

### *Macrostrategies in news translation*

In the field of journalism, information can be transmitted with different styles or different intentions, but the underlying objective is always that the audience understands the message efficiently and with maximum clarity. Consequently, the macro-textual strategies used seek to compose journalistic messages that are easily and quickly understood by a wide audience. In news production, journalists follow social and professional practices, which are not independent of the target audience's expectations and cultural preferences. For this reason, news translation is heavily influenced by the processes and demands of journalism and by the linguistic framework specific to each cultural community. These factors influence how translations are carried out (Hernández Guerrero 2005: 159).

The different audiences prefer to receive the information in their own language and in the way that they are accustomed. Thus, in news translation the dominant macrostrategy is domestication, as illustrated in different studies (see Bassnett 2005; Bielsa & Bassnett 2009; Hernández Guerrero 2009; or Holland 2013, among others).

Communication scholars were the first to introduce the notion of 'domestication' into news production studies. Gurevitch et al. (1991) in their European study of international news provide a picture of how international news is 'domesticated'. They state that, 'in order to be judged newsworthy, an event must be anchored in a narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognizable by newsmen as well as by audiences' (quoted in Clausen 2004: 28). In an investigation of the production and output of international broadcast news in Japan, Clausen (2004) mentions 'domestication' to refer to processes of making information comprehensible to audiences in a given culture. Her study emphasizes the domestication aspects of international news production through an analysis of strategies of communication at four levels, namely the *global*, *national*, *organizational* and *professional* levels of influence. In Clausen's words (2004: 41), two main factors support the notion of 'domestication' across levels: 'first, an international effort to make information understandable to national audiences, which was incorporated into professional mental scripts and models for news production; second, contextual differences at the national, organisational and professional levels caused news content to differ.'

In translation studies the concept of domestication is inexorably linked to Venuti's well-known dichotomy (1995): domestication and foreignization. Venuti describes domestication as the prevailing strategy in English literary translation; this entails translating using a transparent, fluid and invisible style as a model so as to reduce foreign traces in the text as much as possible. Conversely, foreignization consists in giving special importance to linguistic and cultural differences in the original text and reflecting them in the translated text. This dichotomy has spread from literary translation to other areas, such as news translation, where the concept of domestication is used to indicate decisions made, both at an institutional and an individual level, to produce fluent, transparent texts that conform to the expectations and reading habits of the foreign audience. In the words

of Bassnett (2005: 127), in the field of news translation the tendency to acculturation (domestication) prevails in news reporting. Bassnett argues that acculturation is essential because foreignization is detrimental to understanding. Her analysis of translations of the speeches made by Saddam Hussein and a statement by an al-Qaida group published in British media show how deliberately highlighting foreign elements serves not to make us more aware of what they are saying, but rather to emphasize their strangeness and reinforce the distance that separates the Western world from such figures. Translating so closely as to preserve the foreignness reinforces negative perceptions. In a subsequent investigation, Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 10) establish that ‘the dominant strategy is absolute domestication, as material is shaped in order to be consumed by the target audience, so has to be tailored to suit their needs and expectations’.

#### *Microstrategies in news translation*

The communicative purposes of news texts also determine the use of domesticating translation strategies at the textual micro-level. As shown earlier, journalistic material is restructured, rewritten and remodelled by the media, with an established editorial policy, so it functions in a new linguistic and cultural context. An important part of the research on news translation focuses on exploring translation strategies and their effects. The strategies employed by the journalists-translators are the same strategies we encounter in other forms of translation, but the scholars in this area have underscored a series of common strategies, that are regularly used in news translation. Unfortunately, as regards the denomination of these strategies, there is not a clear and consensual terminology and we often find several terms to refer to the same concept (i.e. omission/deletion; summary/synthesis/compression; substitution/change, etc.).

As observed by Van Dijk (1988: 114-119), reporters in news production utilize a series of strategies for source text processing: selection, reproduction, summarizing, local transformation (addition, deletion, permutation, and substitution), stylistic and rhetorical (re-)formulation. Van Dijk understands ‘permutation’ to be the reorganization of information by relevance criteria: ‘important information may be moved forward (up), or unimportant information may be moved backward (down)’. Inspired by this list, especially in the operations involved in local transformation, some journalists-translators have identified and described the principal strategies used in international news translation. Thus, as already mentioned above, Vuorinen (1995: 170) proposes four ‘gatekeeping operations’ – deletion, addition, substitution, and reorganization – in order to produce functionally adequate target texts. This typology is the same offered by Hursti (2001) who draws on his experience working in news agencies.

These four strategies have been supported by product-based studies. On the basis of their textual observations, and using different approaches, some scholars have described the domesticating strategies that allow the journalists-translators to reshape the source texts to cater to the needs and interests of the foreign readers and to comply with the target news companies’ ideological stances. With the following non-exhaustive list of works we observe that these analyses, focussed on different media and with different language pairs, often present similar findings, with slight variations.

Thus, Valdeón (2005), in his analysis of a corpus of news stories from BBC World translated into Spanish by BBC Mundo, identifies omissions and additions as the

strategies most used while at the same time adding ‘permutation’ to refer to the transformation of the linguistic input that the writers and/or translators encounter in order to adapt it to the needs, policies or ideology of the company they work for. In subsequent research, Valdeón (2007a) examines two articles translated into Spanish, one in BBC Mundo and the other in CNN en Español. Both texts underwent thorough transformations, such as the reorganization of the news events (including the order of the paragraphs) as well as additions, omissions and substitutions. These strategies allowed the journalists to imbue the final texts with the ideological position of the journalists themselves or of the corporation they work for. In a different study, Bani (2006) analyses the translations of *Internazionale*, an Italian weekly magazine that publishes translations from newspapers from all over the world, and points out some of the most common strategies: cutting or summarizing; inclusion of explanations; generalization and substitution. Hernández Guerrero (2006) centres on translations into Spanish of news items from the French newspaper *Libération* and considers amplification (addition), compression and omission to be the strategies most often used in news translation. In a comparative analysis of news stories published in *Newsweek* and *Newsweek Hankuk Pan* (Korean edition), Kang (2007) underlines the following strategies: omission, addition, generalization, particularization and re-perspectivization. Loupaki’s (2010) study, based on Greek translations of English news articles, highlights these main strategies adopted by the translators: literal translation, neutralization, addition, explicitation, and omission. Chen (2011) focuses on English-Chinese news transediting in the Taiwanese press. Findings showed the use of several strategies, including selection, deletion, addition, combination, synthesis, abridgement and recomposition. Putri (2019), with data collected from an online media, VICE Indonesia, compares Indonesian source texts and their English target texts and here the transformation of the message is carried out using strategies such as recomposition/change of paragraph order, deletion, summarizing, and addition.

In their ethnographic approach to translation practices in some of the major agencies – Reuters, AFP and IPS – Bielsa & Bassnett (2009) observed and described their internal operation, interviewed the journalists and analysed translations. These scholars verified that translation can involve all kinds of textual manipulation, including synthesis, omission, explication and a host of other textual strategies. Particularly, they note that omission is a key strategy in the translation of news items (2009: 8). According to their data, these are the most frequent modifications to which the source text can typically be subjected in the process of translation:

- Change of title and lead (informative subtitles)
- Elimination of unnecessary information
- Addition of important background information
- Change in the order of paragraphs
- Summarizing information (2009: 64)

We can clearly see then that the use of strategies to domesticate foreign news for a target audience is a very common tendency. However, there are scholars who have described strategies of foreignization in some concrete elements of the news, such as proper names and cultural references. Kwieciński (1998), for example, in his analysis of a corpus of English-Polish translations in two genres – voice-over (media programs) and news articles (*Forum* magazine) – demonstrates a marked dominance of highly foreignizing

strategies in the translation of culture-specific items, such as transference of culturally and/or linguistically opaque items with no explanatory glosses. For this scholar, this fact indicates that originally opaque Anglo-American items are rapidly absorbed by the Polish audience and consequently 'deforeignized'. Scammell (2018) has examined strategies currently used by journalists at Reuters to translate extralinguistic culture-bound references. Her data showed a tendency towards domesticating translation strategies, but also a small percentage of foreignizing strategies, such as retention (loanwords), specification (keeping extralinguistic culture-bound references in their untranslated form thereby making them more specific), and direct translation (calque) (2008: 61-64). Chaal's (2019) study, based on a comparative analysis of Arabic translations of English news articles, describes the most common domesticating strategies (omission, addition, explication, substitution, naturalization). However, she identifies a foreignizing strategy, 'preservation', which consists of retaining proper names such as names of local institutions, journals, and applications or projects developed by institutions or centres during the translation process: 'It is used to keep the local colour. Indeed, when reporting news, the journalist/translator needs to preserve some foreign elements since the news represents an event that happens abroad' (2019: 25).

Finally, Matsushita (2016, 2019) introduced a new element in the study of translation strategies by applying risk management theory (Pym 2015) in her thesis on the decision-making process of English-Japanese news translation. Seen from this perspective, translation strategies are ways of managing risk and not ways of achieving equivalence as traditionally claimed. In her opinion, the strategies of risk management – risk taking, risk avoidance, and risk transfer – offer a far more subtle and dynamic view of how translators make decisions, i.e. how they choose a strategy. In a later work, Pym & Matsushita (2018) identified a fourth strategy in news translation: risk mitigation, which tends to be deployed to handle isolated points of difficulty. They use the term *risk mitigation* 'to describe situations where the translator accepts one kind of risk but attempts in some way to protect against the possible negative consequences of that risk by incurring a second risk, without actually removing the initial risk' (2018: 2). We see this, for instance, when the journalists-translators choose to omit the words used in quotes when the words were difficult or the phrasing complicated in order to avoid or mitigate the risk of making the translation difficult to understand. These scholars consider that the use of strategies like mitigation 'should challenge the huge binarisms [foreignizing/domesticating] that would classify whole translations as being of one kind or the other' (2018: 15).

### **Specific elements of news: headlines and quotations**

The substantial changes that occur in the process of translation sometimes make a comparison impossible. Add to that the fact that many scholars are faced with the total or partial absence of a traceable source text (see Davier & van Doorslaer 2018). These problems have led some scholars to focus on the analysis of the translation strategies used in specific elements of the news, which, besides being easy to detect, permit the comparison of parts of the target text with corresponding parts of the source text. This is the case with headlines, key segments at the top of the news item, and quotations, which in journalism are presented as faithful reproductions of the original speech.

### *Translation of news headlines*

An article in the Spanish newspaper *El País* on January 23, 2019 about Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro's first participation in the World Economic Forum in Davos, which was translated in the Brazilian edition (<https://brasil.elpais.com>), sparked controversy among Spanish and Brazilian readers who sent numerous complaints to the press ombudsman, while hundreds or thousands of others online branded the newspaper as 'manipulative' (Yárnoz 2019). The motive was the radical change in the title of the translation:

Spanish edition headline:

Bolsonaro anima a los ejecutivos de Davos a invertir en el nuevo Brasil

[Back translation: Bolsonaro urges Davos executives to invest in the new Brazil]

Brazilian edition headline:

O breve discurso de Bolsonaro decepciona em Davos

[Back translation: Bolsonaro's brief speech disappoints in Davos]

The editors changed the headline of the Portuguese language edition based on last-minute additions to the final translated article that included information about the negative reactions to the president's speech, such as the fall of the Brazilian stock exchange or the comments made by the Nobel Prize winner in Economics, Robert Shiller. The new angle of the news story, after updating the information, justified the creation of a different headline for the Brazilian edition of *El País*.

These types of changes are very frequent and common occurrences in news translation. But what is not so common is that the readers are actually aware of the transformations produced during the translation of the information and that, as in the previous example, they accuse the media of manipulation. Media in the digital age must familiarize themselves with this new scenario resulting from multilingualism and the global access to information.

Headlines are key segments of the news story. They serve three functions: they capture the readers' attention, they provide a succinct view of the content and they serve to identify the article. The perusal of many news stories starts with the headlines and, at times, it goes no further since the reader, for whatever reason (lack of interest, time...), does not continue reading. However, although headlines can function independently, they are labels that are semantically linked to the information and its context. The way the headline and lead are translated is influenced by the rest of the article in terms of content translated, paragraph configuration, additions, omissions, etc.

The numerous articles on the translation of news headlines, between different languages and in different media, have shown that many factors (informative, linguistic, cultural, ideological, commercial...) have an influence on their translation and the transformations they undergo, as well as the tendency to create new headlines instead of translating them. In Sidiropoulou's words (1995: 260), 'headlines of news in the press are only rarely transferred intact into the target language'.

Petronienė & Žvirblytė (2012: 72), analysing the degree of equivalence between one hundred English headlines and their Lithuanian translations, conclude that 'absolute equivalence is quite hard to be achieved [sic] in the translation of headlines of online news articles'. Other researchers prefer to talk about rewriting or recontextualization. Kaniklidou & House (2013), in their work on translated headlines of news articles from

English into Greek published in the newspaper *I Kathimerini*, note that ‘translated news headlines are the product of re-capturing, reframing and re-narrating a news story originally belonging to a different narrative and textual space’. Drawing on translated headlines between English and Chinese, Zhang (2013) observes that ‘global news headlines involve working with discourse that is heavily mediated and recontextualised, in which the transeditors put their own knowledge and values into the transedited texts’. Every language has its own conventions for headlining news stories and the target audiences are accustomed to reading headlines that follow the textual conventions prevalent in their media context. This, coupled with recontextualization during the translation process, leads to a preference for substituting the original headline for a new one instead of translating it. This has been shown in studies of different language pairs such as those of, for example, Sidiropoulou (1995), who compares the translations of news headlines in the Greek press with their English originals; Samaniego (2003), in a corpus of English newspaper headlines and their published translation into Spanish; Hernández Guerrero (2004), who focuses on headlines translated from French by the Spanish press, or Bani (2013), in a corpus of journalistic texts translated from Spanish into Italian.

When journalists-translators do not create new headlines, the overwhelming tendency is to use domestication strategies like the naturalization of translated headlines in an effort to avoid a feeling of disturbing strangeness among new readers. This is mentioned both by Reque de Coulon (2002) in her analysis of news headlines from *Le Monde diplomatique* translated to Spanish, and by Vella Ramírez & Martínez López (2012) in their work on the translation of headlines from Spanish to English in the editions of *El País*.

Some scholars have also commented on the ideological component of translated news headlines from different perspectives. Kontos & Sidiropoulou, (2012) use narrative theory to explain how ideological assumptions influence how news headlines are translated. In their analysis of 200 news headlines of English news stories translated into Greek, they found that the headlines they examined were used to communicate different messages than the original texts. Ali (2010) carried out a comparative descriptive analysis of seventy English language headlines and their Arabic translations gathered from the Arab press and the international press and news agencies during the second Iraq war. As her data showed, lexical selection, style, and rhetoric in news headline writing and translation is not accidental or arbitrary but deliberate, which makes these aspects of news headline discourse a portal through which hidden opinions or ideologies may surface. Đorđević (2020) has focused on the study of discursive strategies, specifically the discursive strategy of argumentation, in a corpus of headlines and leads from 357 news articles published by *Reuters* and their respective translations in online newspapers in Serbian. Her analysis has shown that many Serbian news outlets tend to adapt news in order to confirm their political affiliation to the government so as to ensure their survival in the media market.

Other researchers have adopted a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework. Valdeón (2007b) has compared the headlines used in the BBC, CNN and Reuters Internet services in both English and Spanish and has revealed the ideological implications for the reader from the changes introduced in translation. In another study on BBC Mundo’s

news web texts and their source English BBC World reports, Valdeón (2008) discusses the use of headlines in the source and target texts and studies the strategies used in the main bodies of the reports, notably omissions, additions and permutations. Al-Shehari (2007) investigates the strategies used by an international Arab news producer (aljazeera.net) to translate into English news stories published originally in Arabic on its website and shows how certain ideologies can be signalled through the translation of news headlines. Khanjan et al. (2013) analyse the different ideological apparatuses involved in the process of translation in English news headlines with their parallel Persian translations published in the Iranian media or news agencies. By using strategies such as maintaining, manipulating or excluding original headlines in the target news stories, translators show their (dis)approval of the ideological content of the source headlines. Guangjun & Huanyao (2015) explore the ideological factors underlying the disparity between English news headlines and their Chinese translations and analyse the translation strategies adopted (substitution, omission...). They argue that in the Chinese translations of the English news headlines, the translators' priority is on producing translations suitable to target readers and censors' ideology, rather than linguistic equivalents.

#### *Translation of quotes*

Another element which has drawn the attention of scholars working in the area of news translation is quotes. Quotes are statements, words spoken or written by those featured in news stories. Attributing statements to their sources constitutes one resource to increase truthfulness and credibility in news rhetoric. The transcription of statements from the context of enunciation to the journalistic context is achieved via direct or indirect quotes. Using these tools we can accredit the source with what he or she said or wrote, either exactly (using a direct quote) or with paraphrase (indirect).

Quotes in other languages are presented to readers as if they had been pronounced or written in their own language. But in reality they must be translated (Schäffner 2008: 3-4). Blackledge (2005) argues that in addition to subtle linguistic transformations such as adapting a quote to make it fit the syntactic structure of a sentence, recontextualization also often involves the 'filtering of some meaning potentials of a discourse' (quoted in Schäffner 2008: 4), which is reflected in omissions, additions, and reformulations of the initial text in the new context. This also holds true for recontextualization processes which include translation.

In the context of news translation, direct quotes have drawn the attention of scholars since they offer 'an interesting case for the comparison of international news texts and their translations' (Vuorinen 1999: 76). Some of the studies analysing the manner in which foreign-language quotations are translated have looked at news agencies (see Bielsa & Bassnett 2009; Davier 2012, 2017; and Scammell 2018). The nature of agency work places a fundamental importance on direct sources. Moreover, news agencies also insist on quoting these sources whenever possible, rather than paraphrasing them, note Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 71). These researchers underscore the fact that journalists are instructed to translate quotes in an idiomatic way in general, which implies the use of domesticating news translation strategies.

Davier (2012) notes that journalists from agencies usually display a very flexible concept of translation, except in two cases – signed dispatches and quotes – due to the

importance of the author in these types of texts. On these occasions, journalists apply a more literal method of translation. This reproduction of the source text almost verbatim is due to a fear of mistranslation: journalists feel that it would be just as wrong to misrepresent the thoughts of a politician who will be read in printed or online press. Davier (2012: 89) mentions that, when it is not possible to translate a quote literally or when the literal translation seems awkward, journalists usually opt for one of these two solutions: they either omit the quote or they include it using paraphrase. So it is very probable that, in translated or edited dispatches, we will find more indirect discourse than in the source texts.

Scammell (2018) examines strategies currently used to translate quotation in Reuters and confirms that the strategy used most often in her corpus is domestication. This tendency is influenced by translation guidelines in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism*, which instruct journalists to translate quotes idiomatically and avoid foreign language. Journalists are instructed to translate in a natural and comprehensible way, except when 'a statement is tendentious' in which case literal translation is preferred: 'When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis.' (*Reuters Handbook of Journalism*, quoted in Scammell 2018: 68). Scammell proposes updating the guidance in the Handbook and defends the ethical potential of a foreignized approach given the key role news translation plays as a tool for intercultural communication and in the implications of the translation process for the accuracy of quotation.

Other authors have analysed how newspapers translate quotes. Chen (2009) focuses on news texts from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* and their Chinese versions from three newspapers in Taiwan to explore ideological manipulation. The main variance between the target newspapers lies in their overall quotation contents: each paper used strategies like selection, addition and deletion of quotations in the target texts to reflect their dissimilar ideological perspectives. In this study, Chen (2009: 208) reveals how the target newspapers' ideologies systematically manipulate the seemingly 'objective' quotations:

Quotation is typically conceived of as 'impartial' reproduction of the cited sources' messages or 'objective' transmission of facts in the words of referenced sources. However, quotation is usually adopted and reproduced by journalists to implicitly convey certain preferred interpretations or to render support to particular viewpoints [...]. The final version of a quotation appearing in a news text may have already undergone reinterpretations by a series of people. Its original communicative intention and purpose are no longer kept intact.

Applying risk management as a theoretical framework for analysing news translation practices, Matsushita (2014) examines translations of US President Obama's speeches by five major newspapers in Japan. The target texts were taken from direct quotes which were bracketed with quotation marks indicating that the quoted content was a faithful reproduction of what the President actually said. The translation strategy most frequently used was omission, ahead of other strategies such as addition, substitution, paraphrasing, reorganization and explicitation. This scholar concluded that omission seems to be a common strategy when managing translator's risks and some of the unethical or non-

standard practices of using omission were better explained by applying the concept of risk management.

Perrin & Ehrensberger-Dow (2018) have developed their own strand of research for the study of the translation of quotes, using a multi-method approach which they call ‘progression analysis’, which combines ethnographic observation and interviews, computer recordings, and cue-based retrospective verbal protocols. Focusing on quotes in languages journalists may not be familiar with or can hardly understand at a local Swiss television station, *TeleZürich*, these scholars observed that in television news production the journalists resort to strategies such as 1) altering quotes in voice-over translation to achieve dramaturgical objectives inherent in the original quote; 2) solving a translation problem by talking about it with a non-linguist colleague (e.g. a cutter, who was working on the pictures for the same item); or 3) focusing on translating only the key sentences of the speech to allow their audience to hear the original language. Among the translation practices observed they mention the reformulation of the source text language to another language variety in order to meet audience design standards, as well as the purposeful omission of utterances from sources that journalists do not understand or do not have the resources to translate in favour of other sources, such as choosing English instead of Arab quotes. Perrin & Ehrensberger-Dow (2018: 179) confirm that during the translation of quotes the journalists ‘decide which voices are to be heard in their important function as gatekeepers who control which messages the public receives’. They also note that journalists’ linguistic awareness conditions the translation practices and strategies adopted.

In a subsequent investigation, Haapenen & Perrin (2019) propose the term ‘translingual quoting’ to refer to the process of news-writing in which the original discourse is translated during quoting. From the progression analysis approach, they focus on the practices of the journalists who work in news production in Swiss television newsrooms. Their findings show two types of translingual quoting: 1) translating ready-made quotes and 2) translating interview utterances.

The news media have changed in the digital age with the irruption of new technological means, methods and tools. In this new journalistic context, new discursive practices have emerged, such as the new textual convention of embedding social media content as quotations into news items. Hernández Guerrero (2020) has analysed how foreign tweets are presented to audiences and how they are translated when inserted in news texts. Examining the articles from the *Universo Trump* [Trump Universe] blog published by the Spanish digital newspaper *El País*, she has found that when journalists use English tweets as quotes the following translation strategies are used: paraphrase, literal translation or no translation, with a clear preference for paraphrase or indirect discourse. Furthermore, the translation of tweets as quotes in news reports, especially when accompanied by a screenshot of the original tweet – a production habit that is more and more widespread – makes the use of translation more obvious and more visible in the transmission of information.

## **Conclusion**

As we have seen in the previous sections, translating news involves the transformation and manipulation of the originals to create a new text, specifically suited to the needs of

the publication in which it appears and the readers to which it is targeted. Faced with the necessity of making information comprehensible to audiences, the macro-level decisions adopted by the institution and individuals lead to the use of domesticating strategies to produce information that can be read easily and quickly, and so increase the number of recipients. At the micro-textual level, journalists-translators apply strategies to adapt texts to the target context. Descriptions and analyses of these translation strategies are abundant in news translation research and, though with a few variations, the authors repeatedly refer to the use of these four: omission, addition, substitution, and reorganization. These authors have also brought to light the impact of news translation strategies and their effects on the journalistic construction of reality, as well as on public opinion.

Nevertheless, there are important challenges to be met. On the one hand, with regard to methodological approaches. Some voices within news translation studies have pointed out the limitations of product-oriented approaches and advocate for triangulation with participant-centred methods. Davier, Schäffner & van Doorslaer (2018) suggest that textual analysis on its own seems insufficient to provide a deep understanding of the processes involved in news translation. Scholars can formulate hypotheses about translation strategies on the basis of their textual observations, but they do not know about institutional constraints or individual competences and choices. These researchers call for a modification of the methodological approaches to tackle news translation and propose the triangulation of textual analysis and qualitative data collected during fieldwork. This way, hypotheses developed during the textual analysis can only be confirmed or amended through first-hand information gathered during fieldwork (semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation and collection of internal documents).

On the other hand, scholars must face the changes in our digital age. Journalism is immersed in an important transformative process. Spurred by the rise of communication technologies, new forms of journalism have arisen – citizen journalism, blogs, webs, social networks, multimedia platforms... – and news companies, via media convergence (newspapers + web; web + radio; or web + radio/television), are changing how content is produced. These phenomena have led to a redefinition of the news panorama and are transforming both the process of news production and the practices of journalists. The implications of all of these transformations affect the ways in which the translation of news stories is carried out. Studies have delved into this new context to analyse how the latest news production methods are influencing translation processes and the strategies that are used (see Davier & Conway 2019; Hernández Guerrero 2017, 2019; Hernández Guerrero & Díaz López 2020). This new panorama in the production and broadcast of information complicates the researchers' work. In this regard, Caimotto (2019), analysing the online translations of Trump's inaugural speech published in real time on Italian newspaper websites, highlights the difficulty that scholars face while investigating news translation in a context in which target texts are updated repeatedly, as well as 'the implication and effects of the different genres into which the source text is fragmented: oral, written, subtitles, voice-over, short live posts, tweets, etc.' (2019: 59). The few studies done to date point to significant changes in the strategies used to translate information. Thus, Davier (2019), in her analysis of the print, digital, and mobile editions of the newspaper *Le Droit* – published in French in Canada –, confirms that translation is avoided in audiovisual production, such as video clips, and French voices are 244

systematically preferred over voices in English. She predicts that ‘it may reinforce the trend to exclude sources in the second language’ (2019: 202). Hernández Guerrero & Díaz López (2020) focus on the case of RT, a multimedia communication group that utilizes television and a multilingual news platform, with editions in six languages, each with its own editing staff. The journalists at RT constantly make use of infographics, hyperlinks, audiovisual material, content from social media... so producing news which evolves into a true multimedia story. The news stories on this web are brief, unsigned and their impact is based on the information in the headlines. When these stories are switched to other languages, the translation process is simplified: a new headline is created and the opening paragraph (lead) is rewritten, while the rest of the elements, instead of being translated, are either omitted or substituted for other digital content produced by the journalists at RT in the target language. The strategy of substitution allows the company to optimize resources and facilitates the process of production of information making it faster, an aspect which is fundamental in digital platforms.

These studies point to a decrease of the use of translation in the transfer of information, however it is still too early to confirm this tendency. More research is needed to dig deeper into the new journalistic practices and the influence that media convergence is having on news translation strategies.

### **Further reading**

- Bassnett, S. (2005) ‘Bringing the News Back Home: Strategies of Acculturation and Foreignisation’, *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 5(2), pp. 120-130.

This very interesting paper debates the use of domestication and foreignization strategies in news translation and reflects on their effects on readers.

- Bielsa, E. and Bassnett, S. (2009) *Translation in Global News*. London, New York: Routledge.

An essential monograph on news translation in some of the major agencies. The authors use ethnographic fieldwork to study all the factors involved in the transmission of information at a global level, and look closely at the most frequent modifications in the process of translation and its principal strategies.

- Matsushita, K. (2019) *When News Travels East: Translation Practices by Japanese Newspapers*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

This book analyses the translation practices of the Japanese press by focusing on direct quotations appearing in news articles. The concept of risk management as a theoretical framework for analysing the decision-making processes in news translation is applied.

- Hernández Guerrero, M. J. (2020) ‘The Translation of Tweets in Spanish Digital Newspapers’, *Perspectives*, 28 (3), pp. 376-392.

This article addresses the use of new discursive practices in digital media, shows how foreign tweets are translated when inserted in news texts, and analyses the translation strategies used by the journalists-translators.

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