Political Discourse, Media and Translation

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Edited by

Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

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POLITICS, MEDIA AND TRANSLATION: EXPLORING SYNERGIES

CHRISTINA SCHÄFFNER AND SUSAN BASSNETT

Introduction

The weekly newspaper *The European Voice* used to have a regular section entitled 'What the papers say', commenting on recent political events as reported in various national newspapers. The example below is interesting for a variety of reasons:

> Former German chancellor Gerhard Schröder gives an interview to *Le Figaro* […] Asked by the French paper if […] Schröder answers: "Absolument." Oh wait, perhaps he doesn't really speak French. "It's not just in the energy sector, where it's obvious," he says, presumably in German. […] "As for the rest, what would be the alternative? […] It's up to us to respond positively." (*European Voice* 16 November 2006, p. 14)

What we see in this example is a report about an interview that had been published in the French newspaper *Le Figaro*. French journalists had interviewed a German politician, and the original text was published in the form of a report, with occasionally answers by Schroeder provided in the form of a direct quote. The *European Voice* had subsequently reported about the interview by just selecting parts of the initial text. However, information selection played a role for the initial text as well. *Le Figaro* did not publish the complete interview, but only selected parts. There is, however, another interesting aspect in the *European Voice* text: the reference to language. The text in *Le Figaro* was published in French, though there is no explicit information about the language in which the interview was initially conducted. The *European Voice* had then provided

an English version of the French text. This example illustrates that in the production of both the French and the English text, translation and interpreting had been involved, even if they are hidden in the final published texts.

Most readers are probably unaware of the role played by translation in international news reporting, but as this example illustrates, there is a direct, though usually invisible link between politics, media, and translation – the topic which this book will explore. Media reports about political events are always forms of recontextualisation, and any recontextualisation involves transformations. Recontextualisation and transformation are particularly complex where translation is involved, that is, when media reports cross language boundaries. In the following sections, we will look in more detail at the relationships between politics, or more precisely: political discourse, media, and translation.

Politics and political discourse

Aristotle famously characterised human beings as 'political animals' (*politikon zoon*) who live in a *polis* (Greek *polis*, meaning 'state'). Any human community is determined by interaction and relationships, including power relationships. Studies of politics have therefore often explained politics in relations to power. Chilton (2004) speaks of two broad strands as follows:

> On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. […] On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like. (Chilton 2004, 3)

In any case, whether struggle or cooperation, "politics cannot be conducted without language" (Chilton and Schäffner 1997, 206). Human interaction to a large extent involves language, and linguistic interaction is embedded in and determined by socio-cultural, historical, ideological, and institutional conditions. In relation to politics, we can say that the specific political situations and processes (discursive practices, such as parliamentary debates, political press briefings) determine discourse organization and textual structure of a variety of discourse types (or genres) in which political discourse as a complex form of human activity is realized.

Burkhardt (1996) suggests a broad distinction between communicating about politics (e.g. ordinary people in a pub talking about election results), political discourse in mass media, and political communication (i.e.

discourse originating in political institutions). More specifically, discourse originating in political institutions can be subdivided into genres that are instrumental in policy-making and thus produced by and addressed to politicians (e.g. a manifesto of a political party), and genres that communicate, explain, and justify political decisions, produced by politicians and addressed to the general public (e.g. a speech at an electioneering campaign, a New Year address by a head of state).

Politics as a form of action (see also Palonen 1993) integrally involves discursive practices that create or efface opportunities for action. This means, that the availability of discursive spaces in which to act is itself something to be contested. In particular in dictatorial societies, texts can be prevented from being made accessible to the public if they are not in line with the official ideology of the ruling political party. For disseminating politics, the media play a significant role.

Media

In addition to the state and the public, the media belong to the main actors in political communication. The media has, in fact, been called the "fourth estate". Media can reach a large audience, and the speed in which a message reaches as wide an audience as possible is one of the main values that govern journalistic practice. Today, where breaking news 24 hours a day is an established and expected convention, speed is even more vital.

In recent years the study of mass media has grown significantly. In the first instance, it was the print media which supplied the basis for critical analysis. Some studies examined the language of the press (e.g. Lüger 1995, Montgomery 2007), highlighting specific lexical, syntactic and stylistic features. Comparative studies revealed differences in the language in quality papers compared to the broadsheets, linking these differences to the specific readership expectations (e.g. Kress and Trew 1978). In this respect, aspects such as the truth of reporting and journalists' ethics were addressed. Another area of interest was the analysis of ideology as reflected in the media and in textual structures. For example, van Dijk (1985, 1988, 1991) and Fairclough (1995a, 1995b) showed how dominant elite ideologies were reproduced in the media and how ideologies could be revealed by examining language features used in texts (such as passive sentences). This was illustrated with reference to racism in the British press (van Dijk 1991, also Hodge and Kress 1993). In his analysis of text processing in news production, van Dijk (1988, 114ff) lists five central operations: selection, reproduction, summarisation, local transformation (addition, deletion, permutation, substitution), and stylistic and rhetorical

formulation. These procedures are similar to the recontextualisation strategies addition, deletion, rearrangement and substitution identified by Blackledge (2005), and they can equally be used for describing news production across linguistic boundaries, as will be shown below.

The analysis of print media has also been complemented by studies of audio-visual media, such as radio and television, showing how verbal and non-verbal messages combine to transmit a message and influence the audience. Close-ups of a speaker, a voice from the off, the seating arrangement in interviews and talk-shows, etc. can all be meaningful and fulfil certain functions. Most recently, attention has been given to the "new media", especially the Internet. Analyses here, too, are of a structural nature, examining the amount of information, the positioning of information, and the combination of verbal and non-verbal elements in the multimodal discourse (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001). Other aspects that have been addressed concern accessibility of information on the Internet, the use and/or control of languages, and legal aspects.

Bednarek (2006, 11f.) lists eight major analytic approaches to the language of news discourse: the critical approach, the narrative/pragmatic/stylistic approach, the corpus-linguistic approach, the practice-focused approach, the diachronic approach, the socio-linguistic approach, the cognitive approach, the conversationalist approach. Fetzer and Lauerbach's volume (2007) includes a comparative analysis across language boundaries, focusing on the realisation of specific discursive features in languages. However, the role of translation is not addressed in depth in all this research, and often not mentioned at all.

Political discourse and media

The media report on a variety of topics, and we find a number of different genres represented in the print media, including genres such as obituaries, sports reports, advertisements, horoscopes, and weather forecasts. A large number of texts, however, are related to political topics. These texts are normally placed on the first pages of quality newspapers, with leaders (editorials) and comments being typical genres of print media which have a particular role to play. These genres do not simply report on political events in a neutral way, but they provide evaluations and thus can have an impact on public opinion about politics and also on policy making. There are a number of cases where the publication of a text in a broadsheet, often as the result of investigative journalism, has made a politician resign - the Watergate affair being a case in point, and the recent exposure of British MPs' expenses claims in 2009 being another such example.

Since editorials provide more background information but most of all evaluation of a topical political event, the event itself is only briefly mentioned. Editorials thus typically recontextualise an existing news story, and in this process transform and evaluate it, adding some elements, deleting others, and also rearranging some elements and substituting others. Such recontextualisation strategies are also used in other genres, for example in news reports, and in interviews. Whenever media report on political events and/or quote from statements by politicians, political discourse is transferred in processes of recontextualisation. In these processes, messages and arguments are transformed. In addition to subtle linguistic transformations such as adapting a quote to incorporate it in the syntactic structure of a sentence, recontextualisation also often involves the "filtering of some meaning potentials of a discourse" (Blackledge 2005, 121). The example below illustrates recontextualisation processes:

> […] Understandably, the chancellor was not so explicit. More than most, he knows how galling it must be for Mr Brown to have to admit the demise of his fiscal pride and joy. But in a lecture at the Case Business School in the City of London, Mr Darling ran up the white flag, saying that "to apply these rules rigidly in today's changed conditions would be perverse".
>
> The chancellor did his best, blaming "unprecedented global shocks" for the government's change of heart. These meant that "we need a new approach that is fit for these new times". The priority for the moment, he said, was to provide support for the economy. Reducing borrowing and debt would have to come later.
>
> No one doubts that these are extraordinary times, still less that the financial crisis is global in extent. But Mr Darling's explanation was as much an excuse as a reason. […]
>
> For those expecting detail on what will replace the old fiscal framework, Mr Darling's lecture was a let-down. That will be left to the pre-budget report later this year. (*The Economist* 1 November 2008, p. 33)

In this news report, a journalist reports on a speech by Alistair Darling, mixing direct quote with indirect quote, and also combining a neutral reporting with an evaluation of the chancellor's argument and the government's policy more generally. The original speech in London is discursively removed from its original context and now serves as a basis for critical reflection and analysis against the wider background of financial politics of the British government. The initial genre (explicitly mentioned and identified as a lecture) has thus been incorporated into the new genre of newspaper report. There is also another intertextual reference in this extract, but this time to a text which does not yet exist, i.e. the pre-budget report still to be delivered at a later time. This forward-looking

reference is possible because budget and pre-budget reports are regularly occuring discursive events upon which the media will report.

References to previous and to future texts, either by themselves or by others, are also made in speeches by politicians, as can be seen in the extract from a speech by the former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, to the Global Ethic Foundation at Tübingen University, Germany, on 30 June 2000:

> […] This is not a speech about Europe though I am happy to take questions on it. Neither despite what you may read was this ever going to be a response to the interesting and important speech made by President Chirac to the German Parliament earlier this week. I will be setting out the British view as to Europe's future in a speech in the autumn. […] (http://www.mediaculture-online.de/fileadmin/bibliothek/blair_speech/blair_speech.pdf; last accessed 22 September 2009)

We can also see in this extract that politicians are aware of the fact that the media will report on their speeches, hence they may include a reference to this fact (cf. "despite what you may read"), thus also in a way instructing the public how to react to any subsequent media reports.

What these examples illustrate is that texts and their discourses draw on pre-existing discourses. These pre-existing texts often belong to a different genre and may have functioned in a different context. In this way, texts and discourses spread between genres, contexts, and fields of action, thus linking up to form textual chains or chains of discourse (Fairclough 1995a). As communicative events move along the political and media chain, they are transformed (as illustrated with reference to the topic of immigration by Blackledge 2005). Which texts and which arguments are repeated and/or most frequently quoted in such chains of discourse is determined by power struggles surrounding specific opinions, beliefs or ideologies. This also means that the specific types of transformation which occur in the recontextualisation processes are "dependent on the goals, values and interests of the context into which the discursive practice is being recontextualised" (Blackledge 2005, 122).

Recontextualisation processes occur as well when media report on news from other countries. In such cases the original texts and/or speeches by foreign politicians will in all probability have been in a language different from the one a journalist uses for his or her report. The following section will illustrate such recontextualisation processes across linguistic, cultural and ideological boundaries and will address transformation strategies such as information selection, addition, omission, reformulation.

Media and translation

'It is our common wish […] that we get more transparency in financial markets,' Merkel said after a regular meeting with Sarkozy at a government guest house north of Berlin.
(http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2007/09/10/europe/EU-GEN-Germany-France.php; last accessed 16 March 2009)

In this extract we see that an American newspaper, the *International Herald Tribune*, quotes in English what the German Chancellor had said, in all probability in German. Merkel's words are presented as direct speech, a widespread practice in news reporting. Direct reporting has the function of "legitimising what is reported" (Caldas-Coulthard 1997, 59). The interview the French *Le Figaro* had held with the former German Chancellor Schroeder mentioned at the beginning of this chapter also reflects examples of recontextualisation across linguistic boundaries. The readers are not provided with a transcript of the complete interview, but only extracts are given (examples of information selection). Since the complete interview is not accessible, it is impossible to judge how much information has been omitted, and it is also impossible to see whether the sequence of the actual interview has been rearranged for the report in the newspaper. In each case, a decision has had to be taken by somebody concerning information selection and the content and structure of the final text as it was published.

Both the news extract above and the report about the interview quoted at the beginning of this chapter are also examples of changes in discursive practice and genre: from statements at a press conference to a direct quote in a news report, and from an interview to a report about an interview. In both cases, the politicians' words are rendered in another language than the one in which they were initially uttered. That is, in both cases translation and interpreting have been involved, but in both cases these practices are hidden, i.e., there is no explicit reference in the newspaper texts to the fact that the statements by Merkel and Schroeder were interpreted and/or translated. In the case of media interviews with politicians, it is usually the practice that the interview is interpreted and recorded. Subsequently, the recorded text (i.e. the voice of the interpreter) is transcribed and checked and/or amended for stylistic reasons. It is also widespread practice that before the interview is actually published the interviewee has the chance to check the text and authorise it. These procedures, however, are more difficult to achieve if translation and interpreting are involved. In this case, advisors or the interpreters themselves often fulfil this checking function.

As we saw above, recontextualisation always involves transformation, determined by goals, values and interests. The same holds true for recontextualisation which involves translation. All processes, starting from a decision to report on affairs and events in another country (not only political affairs, but any topic) up to the production of a final text are determined by institutional policies and ideologies. Mass media enable communication across languages and cultures, but in doing so, they can privilege specific information at the expense of other information, and they can also hinder and prohibit information from being circulated.

Fairclough (2006, 98) argues that "when events are reported in news narratives, their form and meaning are transformed according to the genre conventions of news narratives". Moreover, in news reporting, some information can be presupposed since the author can rely on an audience to be familiar with it and thus be able to infer information which the author just implied. Other information may be foregrounded or backgrounded. Whatever choices are made at the various levels in the process of producing texts, choices concerning which information to include or to exclude, what to make explicit or leave implicit, what to foreground or background, what to thematize or unthematize, which categories to draw upon to represent events are questions which have also been studied within (Critical) Discourse Analysis. From the point of view of Translation Studies, some more questions become relevant. When we look again at the interview with Schroeder conducted by *Le Figaro*, we can ask the following questions: in which language was the actual interview conducted? Was the interview interpreted? If yes, who provided the interpreter? Was there only one interpreter or two (at high level talks between politicians, it is normally the case that each politician uses their own interpreter)? Who translated the transcript? Or who transformed the transcript of the oral interview into a text for publication? Which transformations occurred in this process? Who decided that the interview would be published in the form of a report? Who decided which information should be chosen for the published text? Who approved the final text before it went to press? Who decided and why that there would not be any explicit reference to the fact that interpreting and translation were involved and that the translators and interpreters would be anonymous? Or were all these activities (i.e. conducting the interview, producing a written French text) done by the journalists who had conducted the interview themselves, that is without the involvement of professional translators and/or interpreters? If yes, what does this practice tell us about the status of translation and interpreting? And what

consequences does this have for defining and researching translation and interpreting within the discipline of Translation Studies?

These are questions to which we cannot yet provide a definite answer. Quite a lot of these processes that happen in the context of media translation in the widest sense have not yet been investigated in sufficient depth and breath and are just beginning to attract more attention from Translation Studies scholars. As recent research has shown (e.g. Bassnett 2004, 2005, Bielsa 2007, Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, Bielsa and Hughes 2009, Holland 2006, Kang 2007, Schäffner 2005), translation is normally invisible in media reports, although the practice of reporting politicians' words in translation is common.

In 2003, Bielsa and Bassnett began a project funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council to investigate how translation functions in the transfer of news across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Their monograph (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009) examines the ways in which news agencies employ translation, and concludes that there are no clearly established parameters either for the training of translators or for evaluating translation competency. Rather, there are highly ambiguous attitudes to translation prevalent in the world of news reporting, which perhaps explains why so much research in journalism studies to date has failed to engage with translation. This ambiguity is manifest firstly in the avoidance of the word 'translation', with journalists/translators referring to themselves as journalists only, and secondly in the absence of translator training in and for news media.

Yet the ambiguity is hardly surprising when we consider what happens in news translation: interviews undertaken locally in one language may then be edited down, summarized, passed on via another language, edited down again, transferred into the news agency language, adapted to the house style of a particular publication, shortened to conform to space limits. In other words, a complex set of textual transactions occur between and within languages, so that it is not only possible but it is indeed frequently the case that tens of thousands of words originating in one language find their way into print in another language as a story of no more than 200 words. The speed with which news has to be processed in this age of high demand for instant information is another significant factor in news translation that cannot be ignored. Such practices raise the question as to whether the label translation is actually applicable in the case of news translation, since what happens does not fit established models of interlingual translation activity and comes closer to what happens in interpreting, where the goal of the transaction is more important than any sense of equivalence.

Translation

Laypeople are normally unconscious of the fact that they are reading a text in translation. If they are (made) aware of the fact, it is often because of some explicit reference to mistranslation or translation errors. In such cases, translation is perceived first and foremost as involving a change of language, a process of replacing words and expressions in one language by their corresponding words and expressions in another language.

Translation and interpreting as activities have existed for many centuries. There is a long tradition of thought, and an enormous body of opinion about translation has been expressed throughout the centuries. However, it is only since the middle of the 20th century that Translation Studies has developed as an academic discipline in its own right. Theoretical principles have been formulated which are the basis for the description, observation, and teaching of translation. Translation has been studied as a product, as a cognitive process, as a socio-political activity, with scholars approaching their object of research from different angles, with different aims and applying different methods and concepts (for an overview on the development of Translation Studies see, for example, Gentzler 1993, Stolze 1994, Baker 1998, Munday 2001, Kittel et al 2004, Snell-Hornby 2006, Pym 2009, and the contributions in Venuti 2004).

In the 1950s and 1960s, research into translation was very much influenced by (applied) linguistics, and Translation Studies was conceived of as a linguistic discipline. Translation was studied as a linguistic phenomenon, as a process of meaning transfer via linguistic transcoding (e.g. Catford 1965). From the 1970s, insights and approaches of textlinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, communication studies, were adopted and adapted by Translation Studies. Translation was defined as text production, the text moved into the centre of attention, and notions such as textuality, context, culture, communicative intention, function, text type, genre, and genre conventions had an impact on reflecting about translation (e.g. Reiss 1971, Hatim and Mason 1990, 1997, Neubert and Shreve 1992). Towards the end of the 1970s, the traditional source-text centred approaches were complemented (and partly replaced) by functionalist approaches, initiated by Vermeer (1978) with his *Skopos theory* (derived from the Greek word 'skopós', which means purpose, aim, goal, objective). Functionalist approaches define translation as a purposeful activity (Reiss and Vermeer 1991, Nord 1997) or as translatorial action (Holz-Mänttäri 1984) which is initiated by a translation commission, resulting in a target text which is appropriately

structured for its specified purpose, and realised by a translator as an expert in text production for transcultural interaction.

Another major impetus came with Descriptive Translation Studies, inspired by comparative literature. In outlining the field of what he termed 'Translation Studies' Holmes described the two main objectives as (i) to describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience, and (ii) to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted (Holmes 1988, 71). Through comparative descriptions of translations of the same source text, either in one single language or in various languages, it was shown how social and historical conditions, primarily in the recipient socio-culture, influenced translational behaviour. Translational behaviour has thus been understood as contextualised social behaviour, governed by norms (Toury 1995). An empirical and historical perspective also studied the position of translated literature in a culture at a particular time and its function for that culture (cf. polysystem theory, Even-Zohar 1978) as well as the impact of economic and ideological factors on the production and reception of translation (cf. the concept of *patronage*, Lefevere 1992).

Since the early 1990s, the discipline of Translation Studies has been inspired to a considerable extent by Cultural Studies, anthropology, poststructuralist, postmodern, and postcolonial theories (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990, 12 speak of the 'cultural turn' in Translation Studies). These approaches follow a number of different tendencies and agendas. But in spite of this, as Arrojo (1998) states, they share as

> […] common ground a radical distrust of the possibility of any intrinsically stable meaning that could be fully present in texts [...] and, thus, supposedly recoverable and repeated elsewhere without the interference of the subjects, as well as the cultural, historical, ideological or political circumstances involved. (Arrojo 1998, 25)

Translation is defined as a form of regulated transformation, as a socio-political practice (Venuti 1995). Translation can thus become a form of political action and engagement to overcome asymmetrical cultural exchanges (e.g. Tymoczko 1999, 2000, Niranjana 1992, Baker 2006, Bassnett and Trivedi 1999, Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002). Consequently, in postmodern theories, the traditional conception of the translator as an invisible transporter of meanings has been replaced by that of the visible interventionist. These views are clearly highlighted by Tymoczko and Gentzler in the following quote:

> Translation thus is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration and fabrication – and even, in some cases of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes. (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002, xxi)

In sum: Translation Studies today is no longer concerned with examining whether a translation has been 'faithful' to a source text. Instead, the focus is on social, cultural, and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors. In other words, there is a general recognition of the complexity of the phenomenon of translation, an increased concentration on social causation and human agency, and a focus on effects rather than on internal structures. Most recently, sociological approaches have been applied to the study of translation, mainly building on the work by Bourdieu (see, for example, the contributions in Wolf and Fukari 2007). In this way, insights can be gained into institutional practices, into the respective roles of actual agents involved in the complex translation processes as well as into the power relations (see, for example, the contributions in Milton and Bandia 2009). These factors are of relevance as well for investigating translation in mass media and also in the context of political institutions (e.g. governments, political parties, embassies).

Translation and politics

Translation also plays a very important political role in international policy making and diplomacy (for example, the signing of bilateral and multilateral contracts, delivering speeches during state visits) and in national policy-making (in particular for officially bilingual or multilingual countries – see Gagnon and van Doorslaer in this volume, but also in respect of communicating political decisions to ethnic minorities or immigrants in an officially monolingual country, such as the translation of a variety of documents into community languages in the UK).

International organisations, such as the United Nations and the European Union, have their own language and translation policies, and also their own translation departments. In the United Nations Organisation, the working languages are English, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese. In contrast, the UN official languages are English and French. For the European Union, all national languages of the member states are official languages due to the EU's language policy (see, for example, Tosi 2002,

Wagner et al. 2002, Koskinen 2008, and Stecconi in this volume). Every citizen of the EU has the right to use their own national language in communicating with EU institutions. Due to this policy, translation and interpreting services have expanded massively. Koskinen (2000) divided translations in the EU institutions into two groups: intracultural communication and intercultural communication, depending on the producers, addressees, and functions of the texts (e.g. intra-institutional translation intended for internal use within the same institution, or translations produced within one of the EU institutions and intended for communication with the general public as one form of intercultural communication).

Where foreign policy of individual states is concerned, translation becomes relevant, for example, for delivering speeches during state visits. Translations of such speeches are made available on government or embassy websites, and are sometimes also published in bulletins or the media. In this way, a government can communicate its political aims and decisions to the outside world. Political aims and decisions of foreign countries are also presented to home governments in translation. For example, the BBC Monitoring Service translates texts into English for the UK government. That is, translation plays a role in both the export and import of political texts.

Translation, although often invisible in the field of politics, is actually an integral part of political activity. Which texts get translated, from and into which languages is itself already a political decision. For example, websites of governments have become more multilingual (see also Price in this volume), but not every text which is available in the source language is also made available in other languages. The website of the German government offers links to English and French, the website of the Spanish government too has a direct link to an English version. If we look more closely at the different language versions, we see that only some texts are translated. For the German government, for example, there are more texts translated into English than into French, with English translations being available before the French translations. The website of the UK government has traditionally been available in English only, but had for a short time in 2007 some general information about the structure of the government in French, German, Spanish. However, these foreign language links disappeared in the latest restructuring of the website. Whereas, for example, speeches by German ministers are made available in translation on foreign language versions of government websites, this is not yet the case for the UK government website. However, speeches by the UK Prime Minister can be accessed in German translation, for example, from the

website of the British Embassy in Germany. Embassy websites in general are bilingual and provide a significant amount of speeches by politicians in translation.

No detailed research has been conducted yet into the actual translation policies and processes of national governments, or of national political parties, or embassies. Questions of interest from the point of view of Translation Studies are, for example, the following: who decides whether websites of governments, of individual government ministries, of political parties are made available in foreign languages in the first place, and more specifically, who decides which languages these should be? Who decides which texts are translated? Who translates these texts, that is, do governments and political parties have their own in-house translation departments? Or are translation needs outsourced to translation companies? In that case, on the basis of which criteria may a translation company be selected? Are some texts translated by politicians and/or political advisors and/or staff themselves? If yes, which kinds of texts and for which reasons? Who checks the translations before they are put on a website? Who decides which texts are used in translation for internal purposes only? Are different policies and procedures in place for translating relevant texts into foreign languages and for translating texts into the home language? For example, on the basis of which criteria are speeches by the UK Prime Minister translated into which language(s) and by whom, and on the basis of which criteria are speeches by foreign politicians translated into English and by whom? Are the criteria the same, and if not, why not?

There have recently been reports in the media that UK government departments, in an effort to make translation and interpreting more cost-effective, closed down existing services or merged them. For example, the Department of Transport closed their translation service in the mid-1990s, and in 2006, the Office of Government Procurement advertised tenders for government translation and interpreting work. Individual UK translation companies signed agreements with the government for specific work.

An analysis of government websites purely focusing on the texts which are available there gives rise to a number of questions which deserve further exploration. For example, texts on the UK government website reporting press conferences on the occasion of visits by foreign heads of state are exclusively in English. Even when there is an explicit reference to the use of another language, as in the example below from a press conference with the Portuguese Prime Minister on 9 July 2007 in London, there is no explicit indication of translation or interpreting:

Prime Minister:
Ladies and Gentlemen I am delighted that my first foreign visitor to No 10 should be the President of the European Union Council of Ministers and the Prime Minister of Portugal. […]
Mr Socrates:
Thank you Prime Minister. I will speak in Portuguese, if you don't mind. It will be better for me and better for you.
I would like to start by thanking you Prime Minister for inviting me here. […]
(http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page12381.asp; last accessed 16 March 2009)

The statement by the Portuguese Prime Minister is given in English only, with no option to access his speech in the original Portuguese. Although it is clear from this extract that interpreting was provided, it is actually invisible on the website.

A comparative analysis of the websites of the German and the US-American governments show that practices are different in the case of press conferences. The German government website has press conferences with foreign heads of state visiting Germany in German, with a sentence right at the top stating that the transcript of the foreign text was provided on the basis of consecutive or simultaneous interpreting. The US government website puts the phrase 'as translated' in brackets after the first turn by the politician, as can be illustrated with an extract from the joint press conference by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel and former US President George Bush, held in Stralsund, Germany, on 13 July 2006, on the occasion of a visit by Bush to Germany.

CHANCELLOR MERKEL: (As translated.) Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to be able to welcome the President of the United States here in Stralsund yet again. […]
(http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/07/20060713-4.html; last accessed 16 March 2009)

There is, however, another interesting difference in the transcripts of press conferences: whereas the US government website reproduces the statements verbatim as they were made, some revision process is in place for the German government's website. The transcripts reflect the fact that the orally delivered contributions by speakers and their interpreters are grammatically and stylistically improved to a certain extent for the written texts. This can be seen in another extract from the Merkel and Bush press conference in Stralsund:

> Bush: You know, on the Iranian issue, for example, the last time that we were together we talked – spent a lot of time on Iran, and the Chancellor was wondering whether or not the United States would ever come to the table to negotiate with the Iranians. You made that pretty clear to me that you thought it was something – an option we ought to consider, which I did. And I made it clear to the Iranians that if they were to do what they said they would do, which is to stop enrichment in a verifiable fashion, we're more than pleased to come back to the table. […]
> (http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/07/20060713-4.html; last accessed 27 November 2008)

> Das tun wir auch, was den Iran betrifft. Bei unserem letzten Treffen haben wir mit dieser Frage sehr viel Zeit verbracht. Dabei wurde die Frage gestellt: Werden sich die Vereinigten Staaten jemals zum Verhandlungstisch begeben? Die Bundeskanzlerin hat mich auch dazu aufgefordert, darüber nachzudenken. Ich habe dann Folgendes gesagt: Wenn die Iraner nachweislich mit der Urananreicherung aufhören, dann werden wir zum Verhandlungstisch zurückkehren.
> (Literally: We do the same in respect of Iran. At our last meeting we devoted much time to this issue. Then the question was asked: Will the United States ever come to the table to negotiate? The Chancellor asked me to reflect about this. I then said the following: If there is evidence that the Iranians stop uranium enrichment, then we will return to the table to negotiate.)
> (http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn_1516/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Presseko nferenzen/2006/07/2006-07-13pressekonferenz-merkel-bush.html; last accessed 27 November 2008)

The transcript on the White House website reflects the typical features of oral speech (e.g. false starts, self corrections), whereas in German, Bush's discourse is fluent and grammatically correct (see also Schäffner 2008). The reasons behind these practices still need to be investigated.

Press conferences are increasingly made available in full on government websites, but in addition, journalists who are present at such press conferences will also write reports for publication in the media they represent. This can mean writing for a newspaper in a third country, which makes the language and translation processes even more complex (and in all probability even more invisible). For example, if a journalist from France representing a French newspaper were to attend a press conference held in Germany on the occasion of a state visit to Germany by the Italian Prime Minister, and at the press conference the statements in Italian were interpreted into German, that French journalist would have to understand German and/or Italian or rely on interpreting from German and/or Italian into French or rely on subsequent translation of the transcript of the press

conference into French in order to write a report for a French newspaper. Since normally, interpreting is not provided at international press conferences for foreign journalists, they are expected to understand the language of the host country or at least understand the language of the foreign guest. This scenario also highlights the link between politics, media and translation. The media not only play a role when reporting on press conferences, they can also make it possible for politicians to present their views directly to readers in the pages of a newspaper or via TV (interviews are a good example, provided they are not shortened and/or amended). And as already illustrated above, journalists also have a role to play in mediating between politicians and the public. In this mediating role across linguistic, cultural and ideological boundaries, some of the transformations that occur in the recontextualisation processes can be politically significant and can result in different interpretations of the 'same' political event by readers in different countries and even in political conflict. We will give some illustrative examples in the following section.

Political discourse, media and translation

If we compare different language versions of the 'same' text in different media, we can notice changes which cannot be explained purely with reference to stylistic reasons. Let us take two examples. The first example is the opening paragraph of a joint article by the French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner and the British Foreign Secretary David Miliband which was published in English in the *International Herald Tribune* on 14 October 2007, and subsequently made available in German translation on the website of the UK Embassy in Germany and in French on the website of the French Embassy in the UK, cf.:

> The world has reacted with horror to the Burmese regime's brutal crackdown against its own people. Monks, nuns and ordinary citizens took to the streets peacefully in protest at the deterioration of the economic situation in the country. They were met with guns and batons.
>
> We cannot know for sure the number of those who were killed, but it is likely to be many more than the regime is willing to admit. […] Meanwhile, the persecution continues: The security forces carry out new raids and new arrests every night. […]
> (http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/10/14/opinion/edkouchner.php, also: http://www.britischebotschaft.de/en/news/items/071014.htm; last accessed 27 November 2008)

> Mit Entsetzen hat die Welt auf das brutale Vorgehen des Regimes in Birma gegen sein eigenes Volk reagiert. Mönche, Nonnen und normale Bürgerinnen und Bürger waren auf die Straße gegangen, um friedlich gegen die Verschlechterung ihrer wirtschaftlichen Lage zu protestieren. Das Regime reagierte mit Gewehren und Schlagstöcken.
> Die genaue Zahl der Todesopfer kennen wir nicht, aber sie liegt wahrscheinlich viel höher, als das Regime zuzugeben bereit ist. […]. Inzwischen setzt das Regime seine Repressalien fort: Die Sicherheitskräfte führen jede Nacht neue Razzien und Verhaftungen durch. […]
> (http://www.britischebotschaft.de/de/news/items/071014.htm; last accessed 27 November 2008)

Whereas the agent is left implicit in '[t]hey were met with guns and batons' and in 'the persecution continues', the German version has an explicit reference to 'the regime' in both cases ('Das Regime reagierte mit Gewehren und Schlagstöcken' – Literally: The regime reacted with guns and batons; 'setzt das Regime seine Repressalien fort' – Literally: The regime is continuing its repressive measures). It could be argued that as a result of such a strategy, the active role of the regime has been put more in the foreground. The French version of this text has the same passive structure as the English text, cf.:

> La brutalité avec laquelle le régime birman a réprimé son propre peuple nous a tous horrifiés. Des moines, des nonnes et des citoyens ordinaires, descendus pacifiquement dans la rue pour protester contre la situation économique du pays, ont été accueillis à coups de fusils et de gourdins.
> Le chiffre exact des morts et des blessés reste inconnu et il est probablement beaucoup plus élevé que celui avancé par les autorités. […] Et, pendant ce temps, les persécutions continuent: les forces de sécurité procèdent chaque nuit à de nouveaux raids et à de nouvelles arrestations. […]
> (http://www.ambafrance-uk.org/Renforcer-la-pression-sur-la.html;   last accessed 27 November 2008)

Since the complete German text does not reflect a significantly foregrounded role for the regime, it would not really be justified to say that the German translator chose such a strategy deliberately in order to show his or her own political attitude and engagement.

In the following example, however, it was not the complete text that was published, but only extracts. The example comes from an interview which the former Russian President Putin gave to a selected group of journalists from the G8 countries on 1 June 2007. One newspaper or magazine from each country had been invited to send one journalist, and the interview was conducted in Putin's residence, with simultaneous

interpreting, and lasted for several hours. As expected, various newspapers reported differently about this interview, in terms of content, quantity, focus and layout (for a more detailed analysis see Schäffner 2008, in press). A complete transcript in Russian is available on the website of *Kommersant*, the Russian daily newspaper which had been invited to the interview. *Information Clearing House* (http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article17855.htm; last accessed 24 June 2009) has - in its own words - a full transcript of the interview in English, with a total length of 19,259 words. All the other newspapers have much shorter texts, ranging from 1,461 words in *Le Figaro* to 2,291 words in *Der Spiegel*. The information selected for publication differs and is determined mainly by the national political interests. There are also differences in the way the information has been arranged.

In the course of the interview, Putin was questioned about the role of democracy in Russia. In his answer, he compared Russia to other countries, and his comments also contain a reference to Guantanamo. A detailed micro-level analysis of some of the newspapers reveals striking differences:

Information Clearing House	Just look at what's happening in North America, it's simply awful: torture, homeless people, Guantanamo, people detained without trial and investigation
Der Spiegel	In Amerika wird gefoltert, zum Beispiel in Guantanamo,
Spiegel International	The Americans torture at Guantanamo,
Times Online	"Let us look what is happening in North America. It is horrible – torture, the homeless, Guantanamo, detention without normal court proceedings."
Le Figaro	Voyez les États-Unis: des tortures horribles, des sans-abri, Guantanamo.
Globe and Mail	Let us see what is happening in North America: Just horrible torture. The homeless. Guantanamo. Detentions without normal court proceedings."
Corriere della Sera	Per esempio noi non abbiamo la pena di morte e nemmeno i senza casa, Guantánamo, la tortura, […]

Changes in the syntactic and semantic structure result in a modification of focus and evaluation. *International Clearing House* presents a list of things as happening in North America, with the implication that these are acts which do not fit a democratic society. The English version is very close to the Russian one published by *Kommersant*. The same list is used in *The Times, Le Figaro* (although here slightly shortened), and in *Globe and Mail* (in a slightly different order). Whereas in *International Clearing*

House and *Times* all examples are evaluated as 'awful' (or 'horrible'), in both *Le Figaro* and *Globe and Mail* only 'torture' is qualified by this evaluative adjective. Both the German and the English version of *Spiegel* mention only 'torture', with the transformations reflecting a change of transitivity. In the German version (Literally: There is torture applied in America, for example in Guantanamo), the passive form of the verb for 'torture' is used, which puts emphasis on the action, and the space where this action happens is enlarged ('in America'). In the online *Spiegel International*, an active sentence is used, thus putting the focus on the agents of torturing ('the Americans'), and the area of action specified as Guantanamo. In *Corriere della Sera*, Putin speaks about Russia (Literally: 'For example, we do not have the death penalty and not even homeless people, Guantánamo, torture, […]'), thus setting Russia apart from other, not named, countries.

Does this focus on the actors in *Spiegel International* reflect a deliberate intention to make readers aware of deplorable acts? It could be argued that the decision to leave this part of the interview in the published version in combination with the changed structure has given more prominence to this argument (*Spiegel* also opted for the main title 'I'm a True Democrat', which is another extract from the interview which related to the issue of democracy in Russia – in contrast, *Globe and Mail* had chosen as its main title 'Putin threatens to target Europe', and the whole text focuses on issues of armament, Russian missile deployment, and a potential new Cold War). One of the associations and groups that see their task in monitoring the media and expose cases of misrepresentation and biased reporting, *Davids Medienkritik* (http://www.dmko.info/; last accessed 16 June 2009), has repeatedly criticised *Spiegel International* for its supposed anti-Americanism and its mistranslations. Although the comments on Davids Medienkritik reflect that the underlying concept of translation is one of literal translation, a systematic analysis of German and English versions of the texts in *Spiegel* and *Spiegel International* might well reveal that the transformations that occur in the process of translation could be motivated by the translators' own political stance – but a larger corpus of texts would need to be analysed before such a conclusion could be drawn.

Chung (2008) gives a similar example of the reformulation of a syntactic structure that resulted in a change of perspective on an event. In an English translation (produced by the Chinese government) of a speech by the Chinese Prime Minister in March 2008, the Prime Minister explained the riots in Tibet as "an incident of beating, smashing up properties, looting and arson" and "a small number of violent rioters

attacked or even killed innocent people with extreme cruelty." In this text, as in the original Chinese text, the rioting thus refers to a campaign of violence by Tibetan activists. In news texts published in British newspapers, however, labels such as 'violence' and 'riots' were situated in a different perspective. For example, the *Financial Times* (19 March 2008) says: "The protests started […] as peaceful demonstrations […] They turned into widespread violence on Friday following reports of a Chinese crackdown.". That is, it is the crackdown by the Chinese government that is presented as having turned the demonstrations into violence. Such a perspective, which re-distributes the agency of an activity, fits the normal way of reporting about China in the UK.

What these examples demonstrate is that the media play an important role in the transmission of information about politics and political events from other countries, thus also influencing impressions and reactions of the public, as well as (potentially and in reality) influencing actions by home politicians. That is, without media, there would not really be any politics and international relations. In reporting about politics, however, information gets recontextualised, and more often than not, information is presented from a different perspective.

Outline of this volume

Despite an increase in translation and in researching translation worldwide, we do not yet know that much about the actual translation practices in political institutions and about the complex interaction between practices in political institutions and those in the media. What exactly happens in the complex processes of recontextualisation across linguistic, cultural and ideological boundaries? What exactly happens in the processes from producing political discourse within a particular national political institution to its (re)presentation in mass media in another language in another country? Who exactly are the agents who are involved in all these processes, and who takes which decisions and why at which point? How are all these complex processes reflected in the texts, in particular, which transformations occur in the recontextualisation processes from the original source text to its representation, for example, in a newspaper or on a government website? How can these transformations be explained and justified? What effect do they have on readers and their perception of policies?

This volume tries to answer some of these questions, which were first discussed at a symposium 'Political Discourse, Media and Translation', held at Aston University in February 2007, as part of the AHRC funded

project based at the University of Warwick on 'The politics and economics of translation in global media'. The contributors all explore the interrelationship between media in the widest sense and translation, with a focus on politics texts, institutional contexts, and translation policies. Most of the authors approach their topic from a Translation Studies perspective, thus bringing a new disciplinary view to the investigation of political discourse and the language of the media. The first part of the volume focuses on textual analysis, investigating transformations that occur from source text to target text, and explaining reasons and effects of such changes in terms of ideology (Loupaki, Gumul, Caimotto), types of positionings (Brownlie), and legitimisation (Federici). The second part of the volume examines institutional contexts, some of which have an impact on the production of translations (Gagnon, Tsai), or on institutional and national policies towards language and translation, either within a multilingual country such as Belgium (van Doorslaer) or within the supranational context of the European Union (Stecconi). The role of new media, especially the Internet, for disseminating political views beyond national borders is discussed by Price in his chapter.

Siobhan Brownlie investigates how French politicians and situations (illustrated with reference to the 2007 Presidential elections in France) are "translated" by journalists into a British situation. In these processes of transferring French events, people, and attitudes into terms understandable to a British public, she identifies a number of strategies that are used across all the newspapers she analysed. The way journalists structure their texts for the British public is determined by seven positionings with regard to individual newspapers, genre, journalists, addressees, socio-historical situation of the target culture, intercultural and transcultural relations and attitudes. Her study highlights the important role of foreign correspondents and other journalists who act as intercultural translators and mediators in the representation of foreign news.

Elpida Loupaki is concerned with investigating how translators deal with ideological conflict which is evident in news articles. She analysed Greek translations of English news articles and found that translation strategies can reproduce ideological conflict, or erase it, or introduce a new conflict in the target text. Typical techniques are literal translation, neutralization, omission, addition, and explicitation. These strategies can result in a shift of the overall position. Loupaki argues that translators normally try to comply with the ideological profile promoted by the publication they are working for. She queries whether the term "translator" is appropriate to capture all the activities in the context of news (re)production since translation in the news environment is not as innocent

as believed by some readers, nor are the translations absolutely identical to their original texts.

Cristina Caimotto illustrates the various translation practices used by Italian newspapers in reporting on an article initially published in the *Financial Times* which commented on the outcome of the Italian elections. She uses the label "translation-reporting" to comprise the various ways of (re)presenting foreign articles. She shows how the Italian media shaped and reframed the original message, and in this process turned the message in the source text into a completely different message in the target text. Her view is that this case study fits into an existing narrative which sees the Italian centre-left as being attacked by the British. As long as news stories fit such pre-existing narratives, different news providers will not point out any distortions in the message or present their own alternative translation.

Ewa Gumul investigates the phenomenon of explicitation in translated political discourse. On the basis of Polish translations of a variety of English-language press articles, she reveals the extent to which explicitation in press translation can be seen as a tool of linguistic manipulation. She shows that explicitations in translated texts serve to communicate an altered point of view to the target-text readership and construct a different conceptualization of social and political reality for the target readers.

Federico Federici analyses the way in which Italian newspapers approached the translation of a very sensitive source text, i.e. a US military report from Iraq on the controversial shooting of the Italian security agent Calipari. The release of this specific US Report saw an outburst of translational activity in the Italian media. He shows that due to the political and diplomatic circumstances in which the event took place, the newspapers selected passages of the US report in translation and subjected them to editorial manipulations, thus reframing the discourse on the US report and undermining the source text. Whereas the US report provides a legitimisation of one single perspective of the events, Federici argues that the purpose-driven translations offered by Italian media aim at achieving different goals and can thus be described as "legitimising" translations.

Whereas the chapters in the first part of the volume focus on the texts as products, showing differences in the textual structures and explaining them with reference to ideological aspects, the chapters in the second part pay more attention to the institutional environments in which translations are produced and to the institutional policies and ideologies in their wider role for translation, dissemination of information, and political or cultural identities.

Ubaldo Stecconi discusses the language policies of the institutions of the European Union. The key term here is 'multilingualism'. Since the EU institutions are mandated by law to interact with European citizens in their own national languages, translation plays an essential role in fulfilling this mandate. However, Stecconi argues, 'multilingualism' cannot be limited to translation policies. It also involves other issues such as the status of Europe's non-national languages, Europe's *lingua francas*, and foreign language learning. The debates about languages and translation in the media are often technical and/or ill-informed, but they involve legal, political and ideological issues which need to be addressed openly in order to avoid any inter-cultural conflicts.

Chantal Gagnon investigates the translation policy and translation process of the Canadian government, specifically providing insights into the way the bilingual institution of the Prime Minister's Office mediates its image to the population through translation. She shows that the practices differed in translating speeches delivered by four Canadian Prime Ministers: William Mackenzie King, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Brian Mulroney and Jean Chrétien, which suggests that different political weight was given to the speech communities in the officially bilingual Canada. Different internal rules about translation in the Office of the Prime Minister at different times also meant that the status of the translators was seen differently, for example in terms of trust, professional recognition, working environment.

Claire Tsai explores the institutional contexts of the TV news studio. In particular, she analyses the complex processes that TV news translators are involved with in their daily work. She illustrates the reality in news translation based on her own experience in the newsroom of Taiwan's Formosa Television (FTV). In producing their texts, news translators use multiple source texts in both print and broadcast media translation, a practice which so far has only minimally been explored. She argues that it is exactly the particularity of broadcast journalism that makes TV news translation further removed from translation as the term has been widely understood.

Luc van Doorslaer examines the officially multilingual country of Belgium and shows how linguistic and cultural sensitivities influence the language competence of the population, attitudes to languages, and translation practices. The intricate bi- or multilingual context of Belgian politics has an impact on the way in which topics are presented and translated for the audience. He shows that in some cases, compromises between the members of the two main language communities can only be reached through an extremely well-balanced formulation containing

varying points of emphasis in each language. Conflicts can occur not only on the basis of written texts, but also as a result of a TV programme to which people reacted differently depending on their linguistic (and thus national) affiliation.

Stuart Price illustrates how the Internet is used as a tool of communication. On the basis of the websites of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he shows how the ruling party attempts to promote its values and policies, thus using web-based political discourse as a form of advocacy. Since official government websites aim to make an impact on both domestic and international audiences, a certain amount of information is translated into English as the *lingua franca* of 'western' diplomacy. He comments on the assumed and real effectiveness of webpages which reproduce formal speech-events. His main conclusion is that webpages are devoted to manage the flow of information and to maintaining a public façade rather than as a means of extending democratic engagement.

Yves Gambier's chapter serves as a postscript to the volume. He too points out that public communications give more and more opportunities to citizens, as consumers, to express their views about politics. In our modern time, with cable and satellite TV networks spreading rapidly and competitively across the globe, the communication continuum stretches from the interest of multinational news corporations to the spontaneous actions of ordinary citizens. In these processes, translation is of significant relevance, even though the link between politics, media and translation remains largely hidden. These new developments call into question our traditional concepts, such as media, culture, and nation. He calls for more empirical studies into the role of translation for public communication, especially regarding the socio-economic and social contexts. In this way, Translation Studies will also have to go beyond its traditional discipline boundaries.

In short: The chapters in this volume present a step towards interdisciplinary research into investigating the relationship between political discourse, media, and translation.

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PART I

POLITICAL DISCOURSE, MEDIA AND TRANSLATION: TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER ONE

REPRESENTING NEWS FROM FRANCE

SIOBHAN BROWNLIE

Introduction

This chapter will address the nexus of political discourse, media and translation through a study of foreign news reporting, more specifically the reporting in British newspapers on French politics leading up to the French presidential election campaign in 2007. We learn about current affairs in other countries largely through mass media reports on television or in newspapers, and foreign news reporting is an object worthy of study because of its potential impact. As Jeremy Tunstall (1996) writes:

> While a single foreign news desk in a single daily newspaper is unlikely to rewrite the world international order, the long-term drip-drip-drip of newspaper foreign coverage may gradually wear away some prevailing assumptions while encouraging others. (Tunstall 1996, 341)

When a foreign issue impinges directly on the national level (such as the European question in Britain), newspapers in parallel with politicians can define the issue negatively or positively (Tunstall 1996, 341). It becomes therefore important to understand how foreign news reporting operates. As we will see, such reporting is multi-functional and involves translation in not only the interlingual sense but in the sense of explaining and communicating events from one cultural and political sphere to another.

As a preliminary step to undertaking a large study on British newspaper reporting of the 2007 French presidential election campaign, I undertook the pilot study presented in this chapter using a corpus of articles of modest size. The present study aimed to develop and test a framework for examining articles in British broadsheet newspapers on news from France. Fairclough (1995, 5) indicates that in analyzing media, and indeed other kinds of text, two main facets can be accounted for: representation, and identity and relationships of participants. My focus is

on representation, but naturally participants have to be considered, since they constitute a significant force in shaping representation. The "us"/"them" categories in intracultural news reporting signaled by Fowler (1991, 52) are just as important in intercultural reporting, where the journalist identifies with the readers as "us" in order to examine and mediate the "them" across the seas.

Analytical Framework

The basis of this framework is that different kinds of positioning in which a newspaper report is embedded correspond to particular kinds of language use. My notion of positioning is inspired by Bourdieu's sociology of structured and structuring fields, although less emphasis is placed on dichotomous poles. For Bourdieu (1994) the field of journalism is structured by two poles: the serious press which has greater autonomy, and the commercial press which is heteronomous, being dependent on the market. Overall the field does not have a strong autonomy, since it is subject to external constraints such as sources, advertisers, government, and readers. Like Bourdieu I am interested in positions in a field and how value and signification are related to position, but I conceive a newspaper article as being positioned in multiple ways. The term "positioning" is preferred to "position", firstly because it allows for change over time, and secondly because it indicates construction on the part of the researcher. The proposed schema was developed in conjunction with a brief survey of the data, and therefore relates to foreign news reporting. The schema consists of seven kinds of positionings. A particular configuration of the positionings would operate together to locate a particular newspaper report or possibly group of reports:

Table 1: Positionings

1	Newspaper positioning	the general political leaning of the newspaper, the stance on specific issues, style, emphasis regarding topics
2	Genre positioning	the kind of article (descriptive report, editorial involving evaluation), functions, and conventions of structure and style
3	Personal positioning of the journalist	their identity, personal opinions, and role
4	Positioning of addressees	their identity, knowledge base and expectations
5	Sociohistorical positioning of the target culture	current economy, politics, technology, cultural activities etc.
6	Intercultural positioning	the history of and current relations and attitudes of the target culture to the source culture[1]
7	Transcultural positioning	shared practices, issues and attitudes between the two cultures and possibly beyond

The positionings generate and are generated by particular uses of language, some of which inform discourses and narratives. Fairclough's notion of discourse as "the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view", for example a technocratic medical discourse or a socialist political discourse (Fairclough 1995, 56) is adopted. In the sense the terms are used, narrative is a more specific phenomenon than discourse. The narrative types of Somers and Gibson's (1994) social narrative theory are personal narratives (stories expressing an individual's personal history and beliefs) and public narratives (stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations). Personal narratives are constrained by public narratives, but may also challenge them. Such narratives are often not explicit; rather, they underlie what is said. It is through a close study of language, of linguistic choice, that discourses, narratives and positionings can be divined. The following diagram illustrates the basic relationships involved:

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[1] In this study the source culture is France and the target culture is the UK.
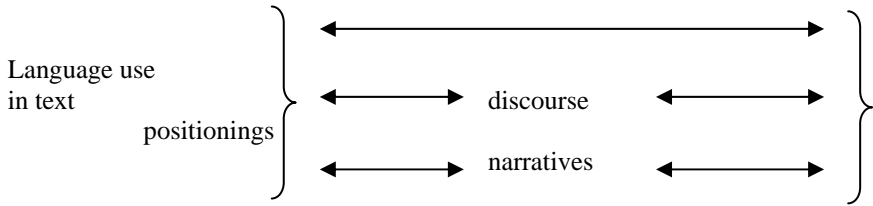
Diagram 1: Relationships between language use and positionings

The diagram shows that some language use may directly indicate a positioning (the top arrow). Other language choices indicate discourses and narratives; these are then intermediate categories, which relate to the positionings (two lower sets of arrows).

Data

The data for the study consist of 36 articles published in British broadsheets between 23 July 2006 and 5 January 2007. The newspapers concerned are the *The Daily Telegraph* (plus its sister paper *The Sunday Telegraph*), *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian* (plus its sister paper the *The Observer*), and *The Times* (plus its sister paper *The Sunday Times*)[2]. Online resources were used. With regard to political affiliation *The Daily Telegraph* is a right-wing paper, *The Times* centre-right, *The Financial Times* centre-right and liberal, and the *The Guardian* centre-left. The articles cover French politics, and most of them are about the two likely principal candidates in the 2007 French presidential election, Ségolène Royal and Nicolas Sarkozy. In the majority of cases the journalist is stationed in Paris, and takes as sources French newspapers, French television reports, speeches and personal interviews, that is, a group of texts, which are used in order to write his or her article in English (cf. Bassnett 2005, 124). Although not in the standard sense of translation of a single source text into a single target text, the journalists perform translation from French to English of their sources as part of their writing

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[2] Broadsheets were chosen because they are the category of newspaper which contains the most foreign news (the popular press, in contrast, generally only contains foreign news if it directly concerns Britons, for example: British troops fighting overseas). The four dailies chosen represent the four top British broadsheet newspapers in terms of circulation figures (ABC data for national newspaper circulation).

process. Interlingual translation is thus an essential although often hidden activity in foreign news reporting.

Analysis of Data

Newspaper Positioning

The two main figures in the run-up to the 2007 French presidential election were Ségolène Royal of the Socialist party, and Nicolas Sarkozy of the centre-right party, UMP. One might expect British newspapers to be more or less supportive of the two candidates in line with the political leanings and discourse of the particular newspaper. However, this is complicated by the fact that Royal wanted to break with the traditional French left to a certain extent, such that she veered to the centre, and by the fact that Sarkozy had state protectionist instincts which are anathema to British right-wingers. It is understandable, therefore, that support for a particular politician is not always unqualified in the British newspapers. Attitudes are not always easy to divine, since they may be displayed in a subtle way, such as there being more paragraphs in the article on negative opinions about a candidate than on positive opinions, and choosing to report or highlight certain issues and candidate's words rather than others. Furthermore, it is not always easy to know whether an opinion belongs to the newspaper, or the particular journalist, in other words, whether the narrative is public, private or both, although it must be assumed that journalists are constrained largely by their newspaper's political ideology. The odd sarcastic comment may indicate a reporter's personal opinion, as can be seen in the following extract:

> Royal, the face that has launched a thousand magazine covers […] Once described by a fellow politician as having all the allure of a Jehovah's Witness, she has shed her glasses, fixed her teeth, practised her smile and taken to the airwaves. (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 28 September 2006).

Certainly the line of ideological discourse is much clearer when the journalist is producing commentary and evaluation, rather than purely descriptive reporting (see next section). In the following two examples there is a clear negative argument from *The Financial Times* reporters with respect to Royal's proposed economic policies, but support of her moving to the centre, which ties in with the newspaper's general leaning and discourse:

[…] she seems to be prepared to take unnecessary risks for uncertain gains […] As an economic programme, her plan is unbelievably uninspiring […] she is firmly grounded in the tradition of French socialism of the 1990s, revisiting battles lost many years ago. (Wolfgang Munchau, *The Financial Times* 16 October 2006)

Her economic policy pronouncements were indigestible or irrelevant or just plain backward looking […] With the primary behind her and a battle with Mr Sarkozy ahead, Ms Royal must tack to the centre. (Editorial comment, *The Financial Times* 18 November 2006)

The following report in *The Daily Telegraph* is anti-Royal and pro-Sarkozy, which may be an expected stance given the often conservative allegiance of this newspaper:

She [Royal] had, at various times, promised national service for young delinquents, longer working hours for teachers, a new policy towards Iran and nuclear weapons, and various other absurdities designed to make the flesh creep either of her own party or of the wider electorate. […] He [Sarkozy] published his personal manifesto last summer, and there was much in it to commend him. He wants economic reform of a radical nature, he wants France to end its stand-off with the Anglo-Saxon world, he wants what he calls a "rupture" with the recent past and all its failures. (Simon Heffer, *Daily Telegraph* 22 November 2006)

One way of displaying a political attitude is to choose certain French papers as sources rather than others. *The Daily Telegraph* explicitly uses information from *Le Figaro*, the French right-wing paper, as the following quotation shows:

In an article in France's main Right-wing newspaper, Le Figaro, on Tuesday, its owner, Serge Dassault, called for a rupture totale with the status quo. (Leader, *The Daily Telegraph* 4 January 2007)

Newspapers' and journalists' attitudes may change over time, sometimes in reaction to changing events. An editorial in *The Telegraph* of a later date than Heffer's passage above notes that Sarkozy will have to be tough in proposing and introducing reforms:

Last year he [Sarkozy] spoke of "the illusory barrage of a so-called model that each day shows itself no longer to work, nor protect anything or anybody". He has clearly recognized the problem. What is now required is the political courage to persuade voters of the need for the required change. (Comment, *The Daily Telegraph* 4 January 2007)

In *The Guardian*, the newspaper in my corpus whose discourse is politically left-wing, we find criticism of the French right, and although the newspaper is aware of her weaknesses, it supports Royal:

> Nearly 12 years under Jacques Chirac has left a legacy of unemployment, stagnation, debt and unrest on its run-down estates. (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 17 November 2006)

> [Royal] is also easily the most modern and innovative candidate. Her political style is inclusive, not lofty in the manner of Jacques Chirac and his predecessors. And above all, she is open to new ideas. (Martin Kettle, *The Guardian* 18 November 2006)

> […] un-socialist ideas about military service for young offenders and questioning of the hallowed 35-hour week suggest a capacity for fresh thinking, as does her populist proposal that politicians be held to account by "citizen juries" […] Ms Royal, embodying a desire for change, needs to put flesh on the bones of her attitudes and ambitions in the coming months. It's going to be fascinating to watch her do it. (Leader, *The Guardian* 18 November 2006)

As for topic emphasis, as expected *The Financial Times* puts more emphasis on economics and business than the other papers, referring to financial and economic reports, experts, and institutions. One article in particular (Munchau 16 October 2006) provides a strong in-depth economic analysis of Royal's proposals. With regard to style, there is evidence that certain articles in *The Daily Telegraph* have a more mocking attitude towards the French than the other papers, which could be part of a more general skepticism towards Europe. For examples of this see the quotes from Simon Heffer in the section below on intercultural narratives.

Genre Positioning

In the corpus there are 19 articles which are descriptive reporting. A number of these explicitly present the issue from both sides, from different perspectives, for example: Arnold (*The Financial Times* 17 November 2006) quotes from both the newspaper *Le Figaro* (French right-wing newspaper) and from *Libération* (French left-wing newspaper), and quotes both Raffarin (right-wing politician) and Hollande (left-wing politician). There are nine articles which are descriptive but contain an occasional evaluative comment, and eight articles which present a clear evaluation and argument with regard to opinion of the two candidates and their policies, as well as critique of the French economy, people, politics and

governmental system. Three of these clearly evaluative articles are labeled as editorials (comment, leaders). In evaluative writing the article takes on a persuasive function.

As alluded to in the previous section, even with outwardly descriptive reporting one is often tempted to guess the stance of the reporter/newspaper through examining subtle means such as the tenor of the final paragraph. One aspect promoting ambiguity with regard to a newspaper's or reporter's attitude is the use of quotation marks. In many cases it is not clear whether the quotation marks simply signal the English version of words spoken originally by a French politician or written by a French journalist, or whether they serve as "scare quotes" indicating distancing of the British journalist from what is written or even sarcasm[3]. Sometimes uses may alternate in the same passage, or quotation marks may have both functions simultaneously. Here are some examples involving possible ambiguity:

> Over the past months she has perfected the "new look" which she used in the sports hall in Martignas-sur-Jalle near Bordeaux – stepping off the stage, taking the mic to the centre of the audience, declaring "The Right must go!", then speaking without notes on her idea of a "Republic of Respect", a new France that is "moral and fair". (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 28 September 2006).

> He [Sarkozy] is best known for his tough stance on immigration and youth crime, and is angry that he is unable to shake off his pejorative comments that youths on France's rundown housing estates were "rabble" […] (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 30 November 2006)

With regard to quotations, a specific feature of the genre of foreign news reporting is that there is not only a lack of precise acknowledgement of sources which is common to newspapers in general[4], but a lack of recognition of the fact that the words were actually spoken or written in French. Quotations, whether a few words or entire sentences, are generally presented in English without acknowledgement of their French source.

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[3] Bell (1991, 207-9) enumerates three functions of direct quotes in news reporting: (1) to present an incontrovertible fact because it is the newsmaker's own words; (2) to add to the story the flavour of the newsmaker's own words; (3) to distance and disown: to absolve the journalist and news outlet from endorsement of what the source said; this category is similar to "scare quotes'"

[4] According to Bourdieu (1994) the lack of care with regard to acknowledging sources stems from the fact that journalists are not self-critical about practices in their field.

This is particularly flagrant when passages are quoted as being pronounced by French politicians or other individuals and as if the person actually spoke in English, for example: 'Sarkozy said that…' followed by a long quotation in English. The fact that translation has been undertaken by the journalist or by someone else is completely elided.

Such personal quotations are intended to allow the expression of different 'voices', defined as the identities of particular individual or collective agents (Fairclough 1995, 77). There is a lot of direct and indirect speech in the articles. Direct and indirect speech stems from three categories of people: (1) well-known people; (2) people who are not well-known but who have some position of authority or expertise; (3) unknown people. For the second and third categories personal names are not always given. Functions in quoting these categories of people vary: for categories one and two, it is a matter of authenticity and authority; for the unknown (everyday person and potential voter) it is a matter of empathy with respect to the readers. The fact that their words are actually given in translation does not diminish those functions, since it seems not to be noticed. Here are examples of the three categories:

Category 1:

> Ms Royal also dismissed the flurry of new policy proposals from the government of president Jacques Chirac. "I will seek to ensure that people are judged on their records and not on their promises, which are too tardy and rushed to be honest," she said. (Martin Arnold, *The Financial Times* 4 January 2007)

Category 2:

> His [Sarkozy's] long time deputy, and the current mayor, Louis-Charles Bary, 80, dismissed the Socialist caricature of Mr Sarkozy as a ferocious would-be Thatcherite.
> "He's not someone locked into a given economic theory. This is not a man who gets elected by taking risks and upsetting voters," he said. (David Rennie, *The Daily Telegraph* 1 December 2006)

Category 3:

> "Segolene represents us, the ordinary hard-working people of France who are trying hard to keep things together," I was told by Anne-Cecile, a mother of two and crèche-worker […] (Andrew Hussey, *The Guardian* 23 July 2006)

Other important voices are French written sources, mainly newspapers and opinion polls. We saw an example of this in section 1 above when *The Daily Telegraph* gave voice to *Le Figaro*.

In spite of the elision of the fact of translation in many passages such as those immediately above, the foreign source of quotes is, however, indicated by a certain amount of translationese in the use of English cognates or literal translations for French terms and expressions:

> She was the "clear and net" winner of a majority (Martin Arnold, *The Financial Times* 17 November 2006)
> ['c'est clair et net' is a French expression meaning 'it's perfectly clear']
>
> "There will be traps but we will go around them." (Peter Allen, *The Daily Telegraph* 28 November 2006)
> ['avoid a trap' would be more idiomatic English]
>
> He reiterated his pledge of "rupture" with Jacques Chirac's regime [...] (Delphine Strauss, *The Financial Times* 30 November 2006)
> [The English word "rupture" has a different usage and connotations from its French cognate. Possibly the author intended to quote the French term, which is taken by the reader to be the English term.]

Related to voice is the concept of "personalization". Personalization means reference to persons and their actions (rather than to concepts, processes, issues, and social structures), and it is a "news value", a criterion for the construction of a news item as newsworthy (Galtung and Ruge 1973). Royal, Sarkozy and some other French politicians are attractive and distinctive people with strong personalities, and reporters latch on to this. Tunstall (1996, 341) considers that overseas news is not high on the agenda for British readers, and that clash of personality is one way in which readers' interest can be aroused. The personal life of candidates and their relations with other prominent figures are mentioned, as well as their physical appearance. With regard to the latter, the tone is sometimes one of sarcastic bantering:

> Mr de Villepin, a languid ex-diplomat and part-time poet, is reported to refer to Mr Sarkozy as "the dwarf". Mr de Villepin is more than 6 ft tall, even without his well-tended mane of silver hair [...] Ségolène Royal [...] a well-groomed media darling, who has left her more dowdy male rivals scrambling in her wake. (David Rennie, *The Daily Telegraph* 17 October 2006)

Personalization contributes to the entertainment function of the newspaper. As Bourdieu (1994) and Fairclough (1995) point out, even the serious press whose main function may be considered to be informative, is constrained to follow the logic of the market. Personalization entertains and attracts readers just like sensationalist elements:

> Mr Sarkozy is rumoured to have been involved with Mr Chirac's daughter, Claude, at one time. (Kim Willsher, *The Sunday Telegraph* 30 December 2006)

A further aspect which contributes to entertaining and attracting readership is the literary quality of the writing, quite pronounced with some journalists although not at all with others in the majority category of descriptive reporting. Literary characteristics include use of metaphor, similes, varied registers, graphic and sophisticated vocabulary, colourful idioms, literary allusions, and other literary devices such as alliteration, as in the following example:

> Mr Sarkozy, a diminutive, driven and determined man […] (Kim Willsher, *The Sunday Telegraph* 30 December 2006)

Some headlines contain wordplay. Examples are: "Give the French a Break" (leader, *The Daily Telegraph* 4 January 2007) (there has been much talk from Sarkozy of a "break" with politics of the past); and "Royal Progress" (leader, *The Guardian* 18 November 2006). The effect of this wordplay is to attract the reader as well as to present the main point of the article which is further elaborated in the lead (i.e., the first paragraph).

Macdonald (2003) argues against the notion that an increased emphasis on personalization and entertaining is a negative trend in the serious press. Personalization may open up democratic possibilities, and alternative perspectives. Entertaining as well as informing is a means of interesting and engaging the reader, and thus communicating effectively. However, it is true that an extensive analysis and in-depth evaluation of the candidates' policies and their economic implications (that is, an emphasis on issues) is somewhat wanting in the corpus, being undertaken in only a few articles in *The Financial Times*.

Journalists' Positioning

As for the reporter's individuality, the difference in status and role between various reporters represented in the corpus should be noted. The

following table gives details regarding the journalists.[5] (No precise information could be gained for the status of one journalist, Matthew Campbell):

Table 2: Status of individual journalists

Journalist	Role	Newspaper	Articles
Peter Allan	Free-lance journalist	The Daily Telegraph	2
Simon Heffer	Associate editor/columnist	The Daily Telegraph	1
David Rennie	Foreign correspondent	The Daily Telegraph	2
Henry Samuel	Paris correspondent	The Daily Telegraph	4
Kim Willsher	Free-lance journalist	The Sunday Telegraph	2
Martin Arnold	Staff correspondent	The Financial Times	4
Wolfgang Munchau	Associate editor/columnist	The Financial Times	1
Gideon Rachman	International affairs columnist	The Financial Times	1
Delphine Strauss	Economics correspondent	The Financial Times	2
Angelique Chrisafis	Paris correspondent	The Guardian	4
Martin Kettle	Assistant editor/columnist	The Guardian	1
Kim Willsher	Free-lance journalist	The Guardian	1
Jason Burke	Europe editor	The Observer	2
Andrew Hussey	Cultural historian	The Observer	1
Heather Stewart	Economics correspondent	The Observer	1
Charles Bremner	Paris correspondent	The Times	2
Matthew Campbell	Free-lance journalist (?)	The Sunday Times	2

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[5] There are three editorials in the corpus to which a journalist's name is not attached.

As shown in the table, there are three main categories of journalist: a few columnists who are also assistant or associate editors, staff correspondents, and free-lance journalists. The editor/columnist category is the most opinionated in their regular or occasional feature articles. In the three cases where there are four articles by the same journalist, no particular recurring line of argument can be observed apart from stances in accordance with the political affiliations of the newspapers. There is one free-lance journalist who writes for both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*. At first sight this may seem surprising given the divergent political leanings of these two newspapers, but the actual articles in question are descriptive reports which do not contain any evaluation, so here political affiliation plays no role. It seems that all the journalists are employed by British newspapers only, but some journalists have non-British sounding names which indicate their foreign family backgrounds: Angelique Chrisafis, Wolfgang Munchau, and Delphine Strauss. In such cases one may wonder whether we can speak of a British point of view, and of the notion of "us" (the British) and "them" (the French) which will be discussed in the section below. Certainly in the articles of these three journalists the us/them notion does not appear.

Ten of the journalists are stationed in Paris, or have traveled to Paris or other parts of France to cover the elections: this is indicated at the beginning of the articles, for example: "Martin Arnold in Paris". The six journalists who are not in Paris/France are columnists and an economics reporter. Reporters display their knowledge of and immersion in French culture, at the same time as giving a Gallic flourish to their writing, by regularly incorporating and often but not always explaining words or phrases in French. These intercultural journalists thus take on not only the role of authoritative information-givers and entertainers (Fairclough 1995, 5), but also the didactic role of bilingual mediators who compensate for the asymmetry of knowledge inherent in intercultural communication. This presence of and explaining of the foreign contrasts with the tendency to hide foreign sources of quotations which is discussed in section 2. Here are two passages which contain French terms and phrases accompanied by English translations or explanation:

> Royal is playing the provincial card, touring la France profonde[6] – the country's regions (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 28 September 2006).

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[6] A French expression is used here, but it is not formally marked. My resources are on-line, and italics are generally not used for foreign words or phrases. Otherwise, foreign words are signaled by inverted commas.

Sarko[7] uses carefully judged vulgarity to advance his cause: as when he described the mostly immigrant youths battling the French police in the country's poor suburbs, a year ago, as "racaille", a word meaning something between "scum" and "low lifes". (David Rennie, *The Daily Telegraph* 17 October 2006)

In the following example there is no immediate explanation of the French; it gives a flavour to the writing. However, much earlier in the article mention was made of "New Year greetings posted on the internet" so the readers could deduce the meaning of "voeux":

A dark-suited Mr Sarkozy stands in front of the symbol of his Union for a Popular Movement for his internet "voeux", accusing the Socialist party of lacking new ideas […] (Henry Samuel, *The Daily Telegraph* 2 January 2007)

Otherwise, unexplained French expressions are likely to be familiar or their meaning can be guessed by a British audience, such as the following:

Her rivals for the nomination are likely to include two former prime ministers and two other grands hommes of government. (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 28 September 2006)

The Financial Times is the only newspaper which does not go in for this kind of playful and entertaining use of French without explanation.

Addressees' Positioning

The above examples indicate how journalists are highly sensitive to their readership: the addressee positioning carries a lot of weight. Further evidence of this is the insistent use of political references which are familiar to the British. Links are made to British politics, political figures, situations and interests. Royal, in particular, is often linked with Tony Blair, but also with other past and present British politicians. It is in fact as if the French politicians and situation are "translated" into the British situation, which is another aspect of the journalist's mediating role. The translating of the journalists is thus not only an interlingual activity, but a hermeneutic and semiotic intercultural activity, a making sense of, a transferring of French events, people, and attitudes into terms understandable by a British public.

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[7] Sarko and Ségo are familiar terms in France to refer to Nicolas Sarkozy and Ségolène Royal.

There is no doubt a natural tendency to interpret another culture in terms of one's own in order to understand it: translating into the British situation would have the purpose of facilitating comprehension. In addition, it has the purpose of inducing interest in the British reader by appealing to the proximity and relevance news values (Galtung and Ruge 1973). The same strategies are used across all the newspapers, as the following examples illustrate:

> Mme Royal […] has won favour with Blair-style tough-on-crime rhetoric. She says that she admires some of the British leader's policies, on youth employment and life-long training for example, but she remains wedded to French leftist doctrines of strong job protection and a firm state hand on the economy. (Charles Bremner, *The Times* 13 October 2006)

> Much like David Cameron, the Conservative Party leader, who has also been accused of sidestepping specific policy statements, the 53-year-old mother of four has continued to rise in the polls. (Kim Willsher, *The Daily Telegraph* 21 October 2006)

> On the right, Sarkozy's neo-Thatcherite cocktail of tax cuts, big-bang institutional upheavals and tough law-and-order, directed at immigrants in particular. On the left, Royal's neo-Blairite concoction of economic flexibility, cultural liberalism and reducing social exclusion. (Martin Kettle, *The Guardian* 18 November 2006)

Whether this "political translation" is actually useful is put into question when both principal candidates are compared with the same British politician: in the following passage Royal is compared with Thatcher (although now as a "hunch"), whereas in the previous example it was Sarkozy who was "neo-Thatcherite":

> From what I saw in Nantes, my hunch is that Sego is rather closer to the very English figures of Margaret Thatcher and Supernanny […] (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

Similarly, links and comparisons are made to American politics, economics and political figures which would be familiar to the British public. The run-ups of the three potential Socialist candidates are called "a rancorous US-style primary" (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 17 November 2006). Here are further examples:

> […] her [Royal's] trademark approach to politics: a Clintonite focus on little things that can make a difference to people's everyday lives. (Editorial comment, *The Financial Times* 18 November 2006)

> Sarkozy with his glitzy American-style political campaigning […] (Matthew Campbell, *The Times* 19 November 2006)

> Mr Sarkozy speaks of […] the infusion of a US-style go-getting attitude to business. (Henry Samuel, *The Daily Telegraph* 2 January 2007)

If French cultural references are used in describing the French politicians, the references are well known to the British public, or they are given explanations:

> […] voters who see Mme Royal as a Joan of Arc who will bring new moral leadership to France while shoring up the old protective state. (Charles Bremner, *The Times* 13 October 2006)

> No one knows yet whether Sego is, as her detractors put it, empty and doomed like Marie-Antoinette or, as her admirers hope, a real force for change, as potent as Delacroix's painting of Marianne, the bare-breasted heroine who is an eternal symbol for radical change to all French people. (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

More generally, French cultural institutions are explained to the reader, for example the political allegiance of specific French newspapers: "the left-leaning *Libération*" (Martin Arnold, *The Financial Times* 17 November 2006), and "*Le Figaro* – not a newspaper well-disposed to leftists" (Simon Heffer, *The Daily Telegraph* 22 November 2006).

   The strategies explored in this section along with the use and explanation of French words/concepts discussed in the previous section indicate that journalists do not assume a high level of knowledge in their readership of French language, culture and politics. Generally in the genre of the newspaper article which is made for quick consumption, readers do not expect to have to look up unknown information, so journalists play it safe by giving explanations and comparisons, exercising their didactic role.

Intercultural Positioning

The "translation" of French politics into British and American politics is an example of the dependence on a common ground, in this case common knowledge, which is a necessary feature of communication. Such common ground between journalists and their audience also consists of shared

values and beliefs which can take the form of intercultural narratives underlying the text. This relates to the news value "consonance": the news item accords with the readers' "pre-images" (Galtung and Ruge 1973)[8]. In our case the audience has expectations (attitudes and stereotypes) with regard to the other people and culture. As Tunstall (1996, 341) says, "a nation's foreign news […] reflects its prejudices and sentiments". For the data a number of (sometimes contrasting) underlying narratives in the form of stories or messages concerning Anglo-French relations can be seen to be linked to intercultural positioning. The narratives involve specificity, tension, stereotypes of the other, and simplification. They display a simple dichotomy of "us" (the British) and "them" (the French). The "consensus model" (Fowler 1991, 52) of societies is in fact belied by the known diversity within each culture, and also by the very identity of the journalists themselves (bilingual and bicultural intermediaries), but journalists nevertheless often employ the "us"/"them" dichotomy. The intercultural narratives can be encapsulated for my data in a series of six statements[9]:

(1) The British and French are different in personality

Illustrative examples are the following:

> (1)[10] […] the country's tradition of angry and sometimes violent protests – some say it dates from the revolution […] (Matthew Campbell, *The Times* 19 November 2006)

> (1) In Britain, we tend to accept results of elections with cheerful resignation if our party comes off worse: it is all part of our alleged sense of sportsmanship. What one fears for France, though, is that there will be no such goodwill after May 6. It portends to be an election that serves not as the catharsis of a nation, but as an entrenchment of several toxic forces. (Simon Heffer, *The Daily Telegraph* 22 November 2006) [notice the use of "we"/"our"]

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[8] Consonance does not imply that all news is consonant with what is expected. On the contrary, "unexpectedness" is an important news value: "It is the unexpected within the meaningful and consonant that is brought to one's attention" (Galtung and Ruge 1973, 55). In our corpus of articles much is made of Ségolène Royal whose rise to popularity as a potential presidential candidate was fully unexpected.

[9] A single passage may display more than one narrative.

[10] The numbers used for the examples correspond to the number of the statement.

Whether such statements are founded or not is not my concern. I am simply interested in the fact that the public narrative of different personality is circulating. The second intercultural narrative below does seem to be more founded, since concrete evidence can be pointed to in the form of different institutions and political models:

(2) The British and French ways of doing things are different

> (2) Royal – should she win next spring – would keep business under a firm state hand in the old Gallic way. (Charles Bremner, *The Times* 13 October 2006)

> (2) [She] wants to penalize companies planning to relocate abroad where labour is cheaper – a measure inconceivable on this side of the channel. (Leader, *The Guardian* 18 November 2006)

The two preceding passages indicate a different political and economic system. There are a number of references in the articles to France's "social model", meaning the more prominent and interventionist role of the state as compared with the situation in Britain. Here are two examples displaying different procedures and institutions:

> (2) In making his announcement [as presidential candidate for his party] – a solemn ritual in French politics (Charles Bremner, *The Times* 30 November 2006)

> (2) At the exclusive *Ecole Nationale d'Administration*, training ground of the French ruling class, Royal was in the same class as the current prime minister, Dominique de Villepin […] (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 28 September 2006) [French specificity is often indicated by the transfer of phrases in French depicting institutions. Note also the explanation of the French institution, displaying the bicultural didactic role of the journalist referred to earlier.]

There are four further intercultural narratives evidenced in the data labeled 3 to 6, for which I will employ the us/them usage:

(3) It's nice that they appreciate us

> (3) Mme Royal has loudly and regularly declared herself a fan of the British way of life. This includes not only our employment laws and popular culture […] (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

(4) We appreciate, respect, and admire their specificity (especially in the realms of culture and the arts in a broad sense)

(5) We criticize them or make fun of them (in certain areas, specifically politics and economics, the British way of doing things is better)

> (4/5) If there is a God – and I welcome your views – then I think it is safe to say that the political culture of France is what He has given that country to balance out what else it has to offer. On the one hand you have the Côte d'Azur, the cathedrals of Reims and Chartres, Dom Perignon, Haut-Brion, foie gras d'oie, Proust, Ravel and Brigitte Bardot. On the other you have French politicians, a sclerotic bureaucracy whose tentacles extend to the lowest level of communal life, and an economy frozen somewhere in the ultra-corporatist 1960s. (Simon Heffer, *The Daily Telegraph* 22 November 2006)

> (5) The all-powerful state that once seemed to serve France well under the so-called *dirigiste* model has become bloated and inefficient. (Matthew Campbell, *The Times* 19 November 2006)

In terms of evaluation, criticism is the most prominent category. Journalists of various political persuasions draw attention to the ruinous state of France's economy, blame restrictive state-driven laws, policies and practices for France's economic doldrums, signal the country's failure to learn and adapt, and criticize the French people for being arrogant and resistant to change and proposed reforms. The sixth narrative follows naturally:

(6) It would be good if they were more like us

> (5/6) And change is what France certainly needs […] The country has two enormous problems: painful internal divisions and a persistent failure to come to terms with the world around it. […] Her Socialists should follow the path charted by Tony Blair and continental parties of the left and embrace the market. (Editorial comment, *The Financial Times* 18 November 2006)

> (5/6) In Britain, Segolene has attracted approval in the media and (it is rumoured) at the highest levels of government as probably the only French politician of her generation who is willing and able to take on the 'social model' that most French people of the left see as an integral part of their civilization. In practice this normally means the restrictive practices and employment laws that […] have paralysed French industry for more than a

decade and prevented the country from truly joining the modern world of neo-liberal capitalism. (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

The intercultural narratives underlying the surface texts are no doubt born from the complex centuries-long history of British-French relations which have given rise to a nexus of contradictory feelings: dislike and rivalry, as well as admiration and support (see Gibson 1995).

Sociohistorical Positioning of the Target Culture

The current sociohistorical positioning of Britain is important with respect to criticism. Obviously a country (represented by its journalists) is not going to be critical of another's economy, for example, if its own situation in this domain is not healthy:

> […] unemployment is reaching an all-time high and a generation of young French people has more or less given up hope of finding real work in the capital, abandoning Paris for New York or London. (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

The articles in the corpus do not undertake a sustained comparison of the French and British economies or other cultural aspects, since this is not their aim. Their aim is rather to give an understanding as well as criticism of the French political and economic situation which is sometimes achieved through brief comparisons and references to Britain as we saw in the sections above.

Transcultural Positioning

Despite differences, the common history and fundamentally similar social and political organization in the two countries is indicated in the newspaper corpus by transcultural (that is, shared) types of language use, discourses and narratives. These are: (1) the narratives of renewal, change, and alternation in politics; (2) the battle/war and running/horse race metaphors for a political campaign; (3) the right/left opposition in politics, which, however, is often blurred; (4) doubts about the sincerity of politicians, and (5) gender stereotypes. Here are some examples of the transcultural aspects enumerated:

> (1) […] she has taken on the old guard of the Socialist Party […] and announced a programme of renewal (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

(2) The battle in the ranks of the UMP has been gang warfare and Sarkozy's gang has won […] (Jason Burke, *The Observer* 3 September 2006)

(2) Clear victory for Royal in race to be president. (Headline) (Angelique Chrisafis, *The Guardian* 17 November 2006)

(3) There are divisions along traditional party lines – the UMP[11] for instance calls for a quota on immigrants, while the Socialists want to raise the minimum wage. But costings of the policies mooted by the two candidates so far suggest there may be little to choose between them, as they fight to claim the centre ground. (Delphine Strauss, *The Financial Times* 20 November 2006)

(4) […] you can't fault her sure-footed instinct for saying what people want to hear. (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

(5) […] much of Royal's power is sexual. She is flirtatious, stylish and feminine in equal measure. (Andrew Hussey, *The Observer* 23 July 2006)

Through intercultural and transcultural narratives similarities, differences, and relations between national entities are reinforced or even constituted, just as those entities themselves are reinforced and constituted through discourses and narratives. Newspaper representations contribute significantly to this process.

Conclusions

This study has considered the relationship between political discourse, media, and translation in the particular context studied. French events, political discourse and media discourse are translated (both interlingually and interculturally), explicated, commented on and reassembled for a British newspaper readership. Journalists play an important role as intercultural and bilingual mediators who enable this process to occur. They produce multi-functional intercultural texts: through informing, persuading, entertaining, and teaching while drawing on pre-existing cultural schemas and narratives, the texts represent one country's political events to another.

A major aim of the present study was to test a methodological framework for use in a subsequent larger study. The framework proved useful in studying characteristics of British broadsheet reporting on and

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[11] The French centre-right party headed by Nicolas Sarkozy.

representation of French political news and events, and it yields a detailed picture of the context and parameters according to which news is constructed. Several comments can be made on the model with regard to relationships between categories in Table 1. Cross-references in the course of the analysis show that the categories of positioning are not separate as Table 1 may seem to suggest, but interrelated. Here are some examples of interrelationships: Journalists (positioning 3) reflect their newspaper's political affiliation (positioning 1), but may also give some of their own opinions. The genre of article (positioning 2) conditions the amount of expression of political ideology or opinion (positioning 1). The role of journalists (positioning 3) as bilingual intermediaries relates to use and explanation of French phrases which is a stylistic characteristic (positioning 2). Journalists (positioning 3) are very sensitive to the knowledge and expectations of their readership (positioning 4). Journalists' identity (positioning 3) may impact on which intercultural and transcultural narratives are drawn on (positionings 6 and 7). The socio-historical position of the Target Culture (positioning 5) impacts on intercultural narratives (positioning 6). Finally, political affiliation, stances and style of the newspaper (positioning 1) shape which intercultural narratives (positioning 6) are more or less prevalent in the newspaper's articles. Diagram 1 showing relationships between language use and positionings also calls for a few comments. A specific discourse, narrative, or language use cannot always be attributed to a specific positioning; instead they may traverse more than one positioning. For example, a particular political discourse relates to newspaper positioning, genre, personal positioning of the journalist, addressees, and intercultural positioning. Conversely, a range of narratives may be associated with just one positioning, as we have seen with intercultural positioning.

Having successfully used the analytical framework as reported in this paper and been made aware of the complexities which have just been discussed, I went on to undertake a larger study of 388 articles published between 23 July 2006 and 5 May 2007 in five British broadsheets (*The Independent* was added) which report on the campaign for the 2007 French presidential election. In the article on this study (Brownlie forthcoming) I illustrate again the all-pervasive importance of translational aspects in the newspaper articles. Drawing on a Bourdieusian perspective, I argue that the seven positionings of Table 1 constitute the structure of the field of foreign news reporting in British broadsheets, a structure which provides both the constraints and possibilities shaping features of the newspaper articles.

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CHAPTER TWO

INVESTIGATING TRANSLATORS' STRATEGIES
IN RENDERING IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT:
THE CASE OF NEWS TRANSLATION

ELPIDA LOUPAKI

Introduction

The intensified circulation of human, cultural and economic capital along
with the expansion of digital technologies have resulted in a new,
globalized era in mass communication. Distances have minimized, as the
information is transmitted all over the planet almost instantly,
transforming local news into global news. In this multinational
environment, the role of translation is crucial in both lifting linguistic
boundaries and promoting specific representations of the Other. Hence,
although omnipresent in almost all stages of news production in the
written press, translation is not always acknowledged as such. For one
thing, this may be due to the fact that people involved in translation
activities are not always professional translators (they may be journalists,
revisers, editors, secretarial staff and others) and thus, they do not consider
their product as a translation. However, if we study both product and
processes from the point of view of the discipline of Translation Studies,
we are justified to call the people involved in text production "translators".

In this framework, the aim of this chapter is to examine the strategies
used by the translators in dealing with ideological conflict embedded in
the source text. For this purpose, a selection of articles originally
published in the British and US press (*The Guardian, The Economist* and
The New York Times) and their translations into Greek, which appeared in
two different newspapers (*Kathimerini* and *To Vima*) will be studied.
Moreover, an attempt will be made to investigate the factors which
influence the translator's choices, particularly with respect to the
newspaper's political orientation. Finally, this study sets as a future goal

the investigation of norms which govern the translation of ideology in the context of Greek news translation.

In the first section of this chapter, the key concept of ideology will be discussed alongside the key concept translation. In the second section, an introduction of some facts and figures concerning the compilation of corpus under examination will follow. In addition, the main techniques adopted by the translator when dealing with ideological conflict and a series of characteristic examples will be presented.

Language, Ideology and Translation

The relationship between language and ideology is hardly a new phenomenon. According to Norman Fairclough (1989, 3) "ideology is pervasively present in language," and as Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress point out (1993, 15), "ideology involves a systematically organized presentation of the reality […] and presenting anything in or through the language involves selection." There are numerous definitions of ideology. Some of them, which are more neutral, describe ideology as a set of ideas or beliefs, while others, inspired by the Marxist tradition, present ideology as the expression of antagonism between social classes (Eagleton 1991, 101). In the latter perspective, ideology, and its language expressions, is the ground of conflict, the place of struggle between contending powers and groups of people eager to dominate one another. Conflict is not here to be seen in its concrete sense of fighting; as Lukes points out (1974, 23, cited in Baker 2006, 1) "the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent […] conflict from arising in the first place." In language, conflict does not have a standard manifestation. It can be expressed through various linguistic means, such as emotive words (positively or negatively charged), euphemisms, syntactic choices controlling causality or modality, or any other form that a given speaker may select in order to communicate conflict in a social interaction.

Moreover, neither is the relationship between ideology and translation a new concept. As Christina Schäffner argues, "any translation is ideological since the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put is determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of the social agents" (Schäffner 2003, 23). In addition, descriptive and functional approaches to translation have already shown that, as translators are members of a socio-political structure (i.e. a community), they tend to reproduce internalized behavioral constraints,

named *norms*, shared by their community[1]. Finally, the connection between ideology and translation has recently been investigated in, for instance, the book *Translation, Power, Subversion,* edited by Román Álvarez and Carmen-África Vidal (1996); the contributions assembled by Maria Calzada Pérez (2003); and the book by Mona Baker *Translation and Conflict. A narrative account* (2006).

Undoubtedly, one translation type that involves ideology is news translation. Although not always perceived as such, translation is a very regular activity in news production. In fact:

> The important role played by translation in the production and circulation of global information flows has been made invisible and transparent, and this has led to the assumption that information can circulate unaltered across different linguistic communities and cultures. (Bielsa 2005, 143)

This concept of "sameness" between the original article and its translation, associated with the idea of "accuracy" and "objectivity", is largely advanced by journalists themselves, as demonstrated by Schäffner (2005) with reference to *Spiegel International*. However, the truth is quite the opposite, as information cannot and does not circulate unaltered. As Baker (2006) demonstrates, there are numerous cases where translation changes the sequence of events, the positioning of participants, or the framing[2]. All these changes put a new perspective on the target text (TT) and may sometimes even result in a new reality, that is, a new reality as discursively constructed.

Taking all of the above as a starting point, this chapter will focus on the translation of ideological conflict, in the particular context of news translation. Ideological conflict is understood as a result of competing socio-economic systems in politics. This conflict involves a standardized—and quite biased—vision of the world promoted by antagonistic political forces, such as the Right and Left. The most common way for each system to consolidate its own set of values and beliefs is either by directly supporting them or by rejecting those of its main opponent. By

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[1] As underlined by Gideon Toury (1999, 27), norms observed in one community can often compete with each other, reflecting the constant battle for domination of different sub-groups. For a further analysis of norms, see Toury (1995, 1999), Chesterman (1993).

[2] Tannen and Wallat suggest that concepts such as "frame", "script" or "schema" reflect the notion of structures of expectation, determining the way an event is perceived and then verbalized (1993, 59). For examples of different framings of the event of "war", see Chilton (1997, 175-176); for the use of different framings by those involved in the Middle-East conflict, see Kaufmann (2003).

overstressing the alleged deficiencies of their opponents, ideologies strengthen their own position and rally supporters. In fact, that is why, at the textual level, conflict is not always overt but it can be implied. The idea of ideological conflict could be related to what Teun van Dijk describes as the "ideological square" (1997, 28), an argumentation strategy found in political discourse consisting of the emphasizing/de-emphasizing of our/their good/bad actions. In this chapter, ideological conflict is examined on the basis of authentic articles and their translations. This analysis is made at a textual micro-level, although some extra-textual features are also taken into consideration. The theoretical framework of the study is descriptive, and functional approaches to translation and some methods and concepts of critical discourse analysis will be applied for the analysis of texts.

Translating Ideological Conflict: A Case Study

Presentation of the Corpus

Greek newspapers frequently publish full-text translations from the foreign press, mostly from the United States, Great Britain, and France, in their Sunday editions. These translated texts may be press releases, news stories, or comments. Although precise statistics are not available, we can say on the basis of our empirical analysis that a great amount of texts published in Greek newspapers are translations, especially texts on world news. Some newspapers have a special agreement with foreign publications allowing them to reproduce full articles free of charge. For instance, *Eleftherotypia* regularly translates articles from *Le Monde Diplomatique* in its Sunday edition, *To Vima* translates from *The New York Times* and *Le Monde*, *Kathimerini* translates from *The Economist, The Herald Tribune* and *The Guardian*. News stories for inclusion are selected by editors and sub-editors on the ground of their relevance to the newspaper's style. This means that articles chosen should adhere to the publication's policy and suit the target market. The articles may be translated by columnists, junior editors or editors. When in the course of our research we asked whether professional translators are involved in this procedure, the answer was negative. Although the logos of the foreign newspaper or magazine, alongside the name of the columnist, are introduced in the target text (TT), these articles are not explicitly presented as translations. It is my hypothesis that the choice made by the Greek newspapers not to make any reference to the translator is by no means accidental; it is related to the international standing of the foreign

publications and to the intention of the host newspaper to create the impression of exactitude. This intention is confirmed by the fact that some people prefer to read these (translated) articles, as they believe that they are more impartial than others originally written in Greek.

As already mentioned, two different newspapers are used here as a case study. The choice of the particular newspapers was made on account of their political orientation. *To Vima tis Kyriakis* is a Sunday newspaper, published in its current form since 1984. According to data available on its webpage, its circulation is 867.000, the highest of all Greek Sunday newspapers. Its political allegiance is centre-left, and it is considered politically aligned with the Greek socialist party PASOK. *Kathimerini*, on the other hand, a high quality broadsheet, is usually perceived as a conservative media flagship. Although it did change its orientation slightly after its acquisition by another press group, the majority of its readership still belongs to the centre-right political thought. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2008) "for the most part, [Greek] newspapers tend to be unashamedly partisan in their political comments, with the laws of libel inspiring little fear in publishers".

The texts selected for this chapter total nearly 4,500 words. They are part of a larger corpus of English and French articles translated into Greek that are studied in order to investigate the impact of ideology in news translation[3]. The texts examined were initially published in *The Economist*, *The New York Times* and *The Guardian* and their translations are drawn from *Kathimerini* and *To Vima* during the same two-month period (April 2007- June 2007). The articles chosen are the following:

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[3] Cf. Loupaki (2008 a), Loupaki (in press).

Table 1: Source texts and Greek target texts

Source Texts

	Title	Author	Publication	Date
A	The Reach of the War. New Generation of Al-Qaeda Chiefs is seen on Rise	Mark Mazzetti	*The New York Times*	2 April 2007
B	The long arm of Al-Qaeda	Anonymous[4]	*The Economist*	12 April 2007
C	The Badness of George II	Simon Tisdall	*The Guardian*	16 May 2007
D	"Second Chance" at Career Goes Sour for Wolfowitz	Steven Weisman	*The New York Times*	18 May 2007

Target Texts

	Title	Translator	Publication	Date
A_GR	"Νέο αίμα" στην ηγεσία της Αλ Κάιντα [Back Translation: "New Blood" in the leadership of Al-Qaeda]	Not mentioned	*To Vima*	15 April 2007
B_GR	Νέο μέτωπο της Αλ Κάιντα στη Β. Αφρική [New front of Al-Qaeda in North Africa]	Not mentioned	*Kathimerini*	15 April 2007
C_GR	Η αμερικανική κυβέρνηση θύμα του εαυτού της ... [The American administration is victim of itself …]	Not mentioned	*Kathimerini*	27 May 2007
D_GR	Ίδια λάθη σε Πεντάγωνο και Παγκόσμια Τράπεζα [Same mistakes at the Pentagon and the World Bank]	Not mentioned	*To Vima*	20 May 2007

As implied by the titles, the main themes of the articles are Al-Qaeda and the problems faced by the Bush administration in relation to the resignation of Paul Wolfowitz from the World Bank.

A major criterion for the selection of the articles in this study was the ideological conflict embedded in the subject matter. Issues such as US

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[4] Anonymity is a choice made by *The Economist* for articles written by in-house authors. In their own words: "It is written anonymously, because it is a paper whose collective voice and personality matter more than the identities of individual journalists". Source: *The Economist*, About Us, http://www.economist.com/about-economist.cfm (last accessed 23 June 2008).

politics and terrorism are traditionally handled differently by Greek media of different political orientation. Another practical issue was to find articles with the same story in both newspapers; this was not always easy as newspapers prioritize news in line with their political stance. For instance, in a two-month period, Al-Qaeda figures ten times in *Kathimerini*: five articles were published the day of the bombing in Algiers (12 April 2007), two articles the following days, and three were written before the attack. Six articles out of ten were translations using different sources, such as *The Guardian* (1), *The Economist* (1), A.F.P., A.P., Reuters (3) and the BBC (1). Three articles were anonymous, and only one was originally written in Greek. On the other hand, during the same period of time, the newspaper *To Vima* covered the attack at Algiers only once, in the article examined here. Two more articles written by a Greek journalist were found (22 April 2007, 29 April 2007), both reproducing information revealed by the French newspaper *Le Monde*, according to which the French secret services were aware of the eventuality of an attack in USA long before September 11.

In the two articles about Al-Qaeda studied here, our focus is on framing techniques. The framing of "Al-Qaeda" and related notions is totally different between the two articles. In *The New York Times*, Al-Qaeda is named the "group", the "organization", or the "network", and its members are called "operatives" or "leaders." By contrast, in *The Economist*, they are referred to as "Islamist militants", "jihadists" or "terrorists," and Al-Qaeda as a "terrorist group."[5] The difference in lexical choices could be explained by the fact that, although both articles deal with Al-Qaeda, *The New York Times*, published on 2 April, focuses on the growth of Al-Qaeda's new leaders in Pakistan's tribal areas, and is thus more neutral, while the article in *The Economist*, dated 12 April, reports recent bombings in North Africa (Algeria and Morocco), and is therefore more charged. It is worth mentioning that both translated articles appeared on 15 April and that, although the original article in *The New York Times* is prior to the bombings and makes no reference to them, its translation published in *To Vima* adds this information using at least three techniques:

- The modification of the title: the Greek title plays with the double sense of the expression "new blood", which makes reference to

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[5] For the complete articles (all last accessed 12 June 2008) see,
http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/02/world/middleeast/02qaeda.html?scp=1&sq=
New+Generation+of+Al+Qaeda+Chiefs+is+seen+on+rise&st=nyt and
http://www.economist.com/world/africa/displaystory.cfm?story_id=9009154

young people and also implies that blood has been shed again, following the attacks.[6]

- The introduction of a photograph: this photograph, distributed by Reuters, shows a victim of the attack in Algiers.
- The addition of information: in the Greek text, a new paragraph is included immediately after the second paragraph, which briefly reports the events in North Africa.

One question that arises is whether this effort on the part of the translator to "update" the article equally influenced his choices in framing techniques. The analysis of the TT did not prove such attempts on behalf of the translator; in other words, the translator did not opt for a harsher language to describe Al-Qaeda.

As for the articles discussing the issue of Paul Wolfowitz, the background is the following: Paul Wolfowitz, former Deputy Defense Secretary appointed to the World Bank Presidency by President Bush in 2005, was forced to resign from his post in April 2007. The US Press covered the story extensively, as the United States (with 16 per cent) has the largest share of all the Bank's donors (other contributors being Japan, Germany, France and Britain). In the UK, the event also drew the attention of the media, and rumors about the former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair being a candidate for the position at the head of the institution made the story even more attractive to the British readership.

Although both articles discuss the "same" story, they do not share the same perspective. In fact, the main point of *The Guardian* article written by S. Tisdall—assistant editor of *The Guardian* and foreign affairs columnist—is not Mr. Wolfowitz himself but rather the decline of George Bush and of the United States in general. This assumption is verified at the textual level by lexical choices such as the "most unpopular, least respected president since Nixon", "collapse of George Bush's domestic support", or even by the title itself "The Badness of George II", which makes reference to the well-known film *The Madness of King George* (1994) based on the play by Alan Bennett *The Madness of George III*

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[6] Wordplay is a device frequently used in titles, ensuring the appellative function of this particular part of the text. Panayiotis Politis (2005, 78) argues that the titles of Greek newspapers constitute a significant factor of differentiation between the various newspapers, while the rest of the text–using more or less the same news agencies as a source–do not contain major differences. For a functional analysis of titles and headings, see Nord (1995). For an inventory of the techniques used in the translation of titles for the Spanish edition of *Le Monde diplomatique*, see Andújar (2006).

(1992). Additionally, the reactions of the 79 bloggers responding to this article, all of which use expressions such as "US declining power", "End of Empire scenario", or "the Emperor Wears No Clothes", equally support our argument.

The New York Times and *The Guardian* may not fully correspond as to their political allegiance but are both newspapers with a very high circulation and which are often characterized as "newspapers of record". From this point of view, it can be argued that their ideological stance is mostly in favour of the maintenance of the actual status quo. This hypothesis coincides with the opinion of Fairclough, according to whom "in the British media, the balance of sources and perspectives and ideology is overwhelmingly in favor of existing power-holders" (Fairclough 1989, 51). Furthermore, it is reflected at the textual level; more precisely, in *The New York Times* article, Mr. Wolfowitz is presented as being the only one to blame for this situation, which is very inconvenient for US interests, and, surprisingly enough, the name of President Bush is not mentioned once in this article. Similarly, in the article that appeared in *The Guardian,* President Bush's decline in home support may be presented in a dramatic way (as mentioned before). Nevertheless, the need to maintain the credibility and status of the US is implied by lexical choices suggesting the idea of "vulnerability", such as "Any perceived US inattention or weakness is certain, meanwhile, to be exploited, diplomatically or otherwise", and the immediate activation of the cold-war reflex: "Russia, for example, is already testing American resolve […]".[7]

In both articles, ideological conflict is manifested through the use of linguistic items, such as emotive words, as in the expression "ganged up against", that will be discussed in example 1, and "marginalizing dissenters", that will be discussed in example 2. Emotive words serve what Hodges and Kress call the "power-function ideology" (1993, 157, 164); they reproduce a polarized representation of the world, either by emphasizing differences or by creating the idea of superiority of one group over others, thus promoting hostility.

In the Greek newspapers studied, the Wolfowitz affair was rarely reported. In *Kathimerini,* two more articles covering this story were found (14 April 2007, 17 April 2007), both of them were translations, while in *To Vima* there was just a reference to the affair. It is worth mentioning that no authentic productions by Greek authors were found. It can be argued that the relevance of the topic to the Greek reality affected reporting

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[7]For the complete, original articles (all last accessed 12 June 2008) see, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/18/washington/18worldbank.html and http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2007/may/16/imf.economics

options, such as the number of texts selected, the sources used, the moment of publication, etc.

In relation to the comments above, the focus will now be placed on the translator's strategies when dealing with ideological conflict.

Translator's Strategies in dealing with Ideological Conflict

An analysis of the corpus revealed various strategies and techniques adopted by the translator in order to strengthen or undermine particular features of ideological conflict. These could be summarized as follows:

- Reproducing ideological conflict in the TT [conflict → conflict]
- Erasing ideological conflict in the TT [conflict → Ø]
- Introducing new conflict in the TT [Ø → conflict]

Some indicative examples that illustrate these strategies are selected and presented bellow:

(1) Reproducing ideological conflict in the TT:

In the two first examples, the translation reproduces the ideological conflict by rendering the original lexical choices almost literally[8]:

> 1) American accusations that European countries **ganged up against** the Bush administration [...] (*The Guardian* 16 May 2007)
> Η κατηγορία των Αμερικανών ότι οι ευρωπαϊκές χώρες **έχουν συστήσει συμμορία** κατά της κυβέρνησης Μπους [...] (*Kathimerini* 27 May 2007)
> [Back translation[9]: The accusation by the Americans that European countries **formed a gang** against the Bush administration […]]
>
> 2) [Wolfowitz] [...] refusing to entertain alternative views, **marginalizing dissenters [**…] (*The New York Times* 17 May 2007)
> [...] αρνούμενος να εξετάσει εναλλακτικές απόψεις και **περιθωριοποιώντας όσους είχαν αντίρρηση**. (*To Vima* 20 May 2007)

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[8] One could argue that the decision to work on the textual micro-level does not offer a way of evaluating the complete texts. However, it is our opinion that if some phenomena which are observed at the textual micro-level are repeated throughout the text, this could suggest the existence of a certain pattern and thus give us a more holistic approach. We will return to this point after the anlysis of the examples.

[9] All back translations (abbreviated as BT) of the Greek examples are mine.

[BT: refusing to examine alternative views, **marginalizing those who objected**]

Here, ideological conflict is identified through the use of linguistic items promoting polarization. More precisely, the expressions used to describe the position of European countries towards President Bush and Mr. Wolfowitz's reactions to his opponents reflect the classical schema "us" versus "them." In the two extracts that follow, we can observe the reproduction of ideology as reflected in framing:

3) This week's counter-attack on bombers in Morocco raises similar questions. But they were probably different sorts of **terrorists**. (*The Economist* 12 April 2007)
Την ίδια στιγμή οι βομβιστικές επιθέσεις στο Μαρόκο προκαλούν ανησυχία και ερωτηματικά. Πιθανότατα, ωστόσο πρόκειται για διαφορετικές περιπτώσεις **τρομοκρατών**. (*Kathimerini* 15 April 2007)
[BT: At the same time, bombings in Morocco raise questions and concern. Probably, they are different kinds of **terrorists**.]

4) The new **leaders** rose from within the **organization** after the death or capture of the **operatives** that built Al-Qaeda before the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks […] (*The New York Times* 2 April 2007)
Οι νέοι **αρχηγοί** αναδείχτηκαν από το εσωτερικό της **οργάνωσης** μετά το θάνατο ή τη σύλληψη των **μελών** που ίδρυσαν την Αλ Κάιντα πριν τις επιθέσεις της 11ης Σεπτεμβρίου [...] (*To Vima* 15 April 2007)
[BT: The new **leaders** rose from within the **organization** after the death or capture of the **operatives** that founded Al-Qaeda before the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks […]]

As already noted (cf. footnote 2), the notion of frames explains the way in which events are perceived and then verbalized by speakers of a particular community. In this context, framing is the surface evidence of internalized structures of expectation. Some framing devices are: a) interpretative naming, meaning the words chosen to describe a person, object or situation (Tannen and Wallat, 1993, 31), b) evaluative language, i.e. adjectives or adverbs, indicating the speaker's opinion, c) modals, which reflect judgment according to a speaker's standards (Tannen and Wallat, 1993, 45).

After some research in the archives of the newspaper *Kathimerini* during a two-month period (March and April 2007), it was observed that the framing of Al-Qaeda changed in relation to the international developments; articles published before the bombing in Algiers (4 March 2007, 17 March 2007, 3 April 2007) display a more neutral language when

describing Al-Qaeda, using words such as "οργάνωση" (organization), "μέλη" (members), "μαχητές" (fighters), "ομάδες" (groups). In articles published right after the bombing, a larger amount of negatively charged language was found, as for example in expressions such as "φονικά πλήγματα" (murderous strikes), "φοβερή ισλαμιστική οργάνωση" (horrifying islamist organization). Additionaly, words used to name Al-Qaeda's members were differentiated as they were called "ισλαμιστές" (islamists), "εξτρεμιστές" (extremists), "φονταμενταλιστές" (fundamentalists). This observation is also confirmed in relation to the translation strategies (see examples 12 and 13).

(2) Erasing ideological conflict in the TT:

When the translator adopts the second strategy, the ideological conflict embedded in the textual micro-level is erased. This is achieved primarily by neutralizations or omissions. Examples 5 and 6 illustrate neutralization:

> 5) American accusations that European countries ganged up against the Bush administration in **the Wolfowitz row** hide a deeper worry […] (*The Guardian* 16 May 2007)
> Η κατηγορία των Αμερικανών ότι οι ευρωπαϊκές χώρες έχουν συστήσει συμμορία κατά της κυβέρνησης Μπους αναφορικά **με την υπόθεση του Πολ Γούλφοβιτς**, μαρτυρά μια βαθύτερη ανησυχία τους […] (*Kathimerini* 27 May 2007)
> [BT: The accusation by the Americans that European countries formed a gang against the Bush administration in the Paul **Wolfowitz case** testifies a deeper worry […]]

In this extract, the neutralization of the lexical unit "row" (an informal word meaning "serious disagreement between people or organizations"[10]) can be observed through the translation by the most general and neutral word "case." It can be argued that, as the beginning of the phrase is already tense, the Greek translator did not consider this element to be of great importance. Another possible explanation could be the extra-linguistic knowledge of the target audience; preserving the idea of disagreement would probably be demanded of the translator to specify who disagreed with whom, information perhaps not so obvious to the Greek readership.

> 6) The Bush **malaise** could also provide a **pick-me-up** for Europe […] *(The Guardian* 16 May 2007)

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[10] Collins Cobuild (2001).

[...] η **αποδυνάμωση** του Μπους μπορεί να **αποδειχτεί θετική** για την Ευρώπη. (*Kathimerini* 27 May 2007)
[BT: President Bush's **weakening** can **turn out to be positive** for Europe]

The writer of this article openly criticizes the Bush administration for its policy in Iraq and for the nomination of Paul Wolfowitz as head of the World Bank. Here, certain ontological metaphors are apparent, in the sense of Lakoff and Johnson's definition (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 25), illustrating the concept that GOVERNMENTS ARE HUMAN BODIES. In this sense, the Bush administration shows signs of sickness (malaise), and Europe, which stands in a relationship of metonymy for the governments of European countries, will have the chance to become more dynamic by drinking a tonic (a "pick-me-up"). The use of medical terms, in a positive or negative way, is a very common practice in political discourse, as observed by John Wilson (1990, 128-129). This metaphorical duo is rather neutralized in the Greek version by words such as "αποδυνάμωση" (weakening) and "αποδειχτεί θετική" (turn out to be positive)[11].

Examples 7 and 8 illustrate omissions:

7) At the Pentagon, Mr. Wolfowitz began advocating going to war with Iraq just a few days after Sept. 11, 2001, and continued pressing over the next year to oust Saddam Hussein. (*The New York Times* 17 May 2007)

Ø, (*To Vima* 20 May 2007)

8) But suspension of aid to Uzbekistan, which Mr. Wolfowitz said was on grounds of corruption, angered some at the bank who charged that the real motive was Uzbekistan's decision to suspend air rights for United States military operations in Afghanistan. (*The New York Times* 17 May 2007)

Ø, (*To Vima* 20 May 2007)

In examples 7 and 8, the omission of entire paragraphs can be observed. Information contained in these paragraphs is either considered as already known, as in example 7, or is regarded as being of less importance to Greek interests, as in example 8. Omissions are very frequent in news translation, and, as Susan Bassnett has pointed out (Bassnett 2005, 125), debates about the freedom of the translator are of no relevance in the context of news reporting. Moreover, with special reference to Greek

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[11] For examples of neutralization of medical terms used metaphorically in EU texts, see also Loupaki (2008b).

translations of the British and US press, Maria Sidiropoulou observes that: "the English (source) articles have almost always been much longer as only parts of them are often transferred in the Greek TTs" (Sidiropoulou 2004, 25). [12] Hence, it could be argued that this is a kind of norm for news translation in the Greek press.

(3) Introducing ideological conflict in the TT:

The following examples illustrate the third strategy observed in our corpus. Here, the translator introduces new features of ideological conflict by either adding or omitting information. The first examples illustrate additions, which can also be described as explicitations.

> 9) Ø, (*The New York Times* 17 May 2007)
> [...,] ο οποίος τελικά αναγκάστηκε να παραιτηθεί λόγω της γενικής κατακραυγής από την προεδρία της Παγκόσμιας Τράπεζας (*To Vima* 20/05/2007)
> [BT: {Wolfowitz}, who was finally forced to resign because of the **general outcry** caused by the administration of the World Bank]

In example 9, the phrase under examination, found in the first line of the first paragraph of the article published in *To Vima* provides a summary of the whole article by presenting the fact that Mr. Wolfowitz resigned from the World Bank as well as giving the reasons for his resignation. It clearly accuses Mr. Wolfowitz, who appears to be the only one to blame according to the Greek article. The addition of this relative clause is crucial from an ideological point of view, as it takes for granted the information contained within it. In other words, choosing to express such information as assumed or "given" (in the sense of Halliday's distinction between Given and New information[13]), shows a clear one-sided position on behalf of the translator. The question is why a translator should make such a choice. One possible explanation is that the first lines of an article function like a lead. It should be noted nevertheless that the lead in the source text does not contain such information. Another plausible reason is the expectations of the readership. As van Dijk (1993) points out, unless it is inconsistent with their own set of beliefs, people tend to accept whatever knowledge or opinions they see as authoritative, trustworthy and credible. In this sense, it may be supported that readers of *To Vima* are already convinced about Mr. Wolfowitz's—and to a greater extent, Mr. Bush's—

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[12] These results are based on a 20,300-word sample of Greek articles.
[13] Halliday (1985).

failure. In fact, as a left-wing/centre-left ideology has a long standing anti-American tradition in Greece, this anti-Wolfowitz stance does not seem to disturb Greek readers of the particular newspaper whatsoever[14]. This observation is consistent with findings that will be discussed in the next example.

> 10) Ø, (*The New York Times* 17 May 2007)
> Συνεργάτης του λέει ότι αποκάλεσε τον Ντανίνο 'ανίκανο'. (*To Vima* 20 May 2007)
> [BT: One of his partners says he {Wolfowitz} called Mr. Dañino "an incompetent"]

This is a very interesting example which again illustrates the introduction of ideological conflict. The addition of the phrase in which one of Mr. Wolfowitz's partners testifies to having heard him call Mr. Dañino (the first official who suggested to him that his companion and World Bank employee, Shaha Ali Riza, could not remain at the Bank) "an incompetent" surely widens the gap between Mr. Wolfowitz and the Greek readership of *To Vima*, as it reflects an arrogant image of power-holders. However, this addition is not entirely invented. In fact, in the ST, this information is provided by Dañino himself, who affirms that: "He [Wolfowitz] presumes that anyone who opposes him is incompetent or corrupt." The translation choice results in a shift of perspective, because the Greek text presents as a fact what the original text presents as a personal judgment. By overstressing some negative aspects of Mr. Wolfowitz's conduct, this example introduces ideological conflict, opposing Wolfowitz—a well-known representative of neo-conservatism—and the newspaper's readership, who is presumed to belong to the centre-left.

> 11) […] after the death of Abu Hamza Rabia, another Egyptian **who was killed by a missile strike** in Pakistan in 2005. (*The New York Times* 2 April 2007)
> [...] μετά το θάνατο του Αμπού Χαμζά Ραμπία, ενός άλλου Αιγύπτιου, οποίος σκοτώθηκε **κατά τη διάρκεια επίθεσης των Αμερικανών** στο Πακιστάν το 2005. (*To Vima* 15 April 2007)

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[14] This reaction has its roots in the political choices made by the US government on major issues of Greek interest, such as the Junta of Colonels or Cyprus. Characteristic of this climate is the statement made by Mikis Theodorakis, a famous Greek composer and politically engaged personality, in an interview just after 11 September 2001: "The US is the contemporary demon" (*Kathimerini* 4 November 2001).

> [BT: […] after the death of Abu Hamza Rabia, another Egyptian **who was killed during an attack by the Americans** in Pakistan in 2005]

This is an example of explicitation introducing ideological conflict. The very general and somewhat euphemistic expression "missile strike", which defines only the weapon that killed Abu Hamza Rabia, becomes, by the addition of the agent, an expression showing at least disapproval against the Bush administration and its intervention in Pakistan. As already noted, this choice could be explained by the anti-American tradition maintained by the left-oriented Greek press. Another possible explanation could be the readership profile; as Sidiropoulou suggests, making explicit what is implicit in the original, indicates that the translator is aware of the fact that their readers may be "more willing to take the role of a denier" and that they "are used to perceiving the world in terms of contrasts, which they are expected to decode and process" (Sidiropoulou 2004, 33).

> 12) Still, some of Al-Qaeda's methods are evident. (*The Economist* 12 April 2007)
> Η αλήθεια, βέβαια, είναι ότι οι **Αλγερινοί εξτρεμιστές** λειτούργησαν στα επιχειρησιακά πρότυπα της Αλ Κάιντα. (*Kathimerini* 15 April 2007)
> [BT: The truth is that **Algerian extremists** followed the operational standards of Al-Qaeda]

> 13) [...] the seven near-simultaneous bombs against security forces in February, and this week's apparent use of suicide-bombers, a rare tactic **in Algeria. (***The Economist* 12 April 2007)
> Οι επτά, σχεδόν ταυτόχρονες, βομβιστικές επιθέσεις εναντίον θέσεων των δυνάμεων ασφαλείας τον περασμένο Φεβρουάριο και η χρήση βομβιστών αυτοκτονίας την εβδομάδα που πέρασε δεν θυμίζουν σε τίποτα τον τρόπο δράσης **των φανατικών ισλαμιστών της Αλγερίας**. (*Kathimerini* 15 April 2007)
> [BT: [...] the seven near-simultaneous bombs against security forces last February, and the use of suicide-bombers last week do not resemble in any way the action of the **fanatical Islamists in Algeria**]

Here, ideological conflict embedded in the subject of terrorism is accentuated. The phrase "some of the Al-Qaeda's methods are evident" is made clearer by the addition of a subject, a device that clearly indicates who did what. In addition, the framing is intensified as Al-Qaeda members are called "Αλγερινοί εξτρεμιστές" (Algerian extremists). The same applies to example 13, in which the name of the country is translated as "φανατικοί Ισλαμιστές" (fanatic Islamists). It should be noted that, in referring to the same event, the newspaper *To Vima* opted for the

translation "μέλη" (members/ operatives) (15 April 2007). By repeatedly framing Al-Qaeda with negatively charged names, as in the case of *Kathimerini*, the translator intensifies ideological conflict embedded in the issue of terrorism.

The following examples illustrate omissions:

> 14) A Bush administration official said Mr. Wolfowitz did not understand that a World Bank president can be successful only if he can form alliances with the Bank's many **fiefs**, something he failed to do. *(The New York Times* 17 May 2007)
>
> Ø *To Vima* 20/05/07

Here, unlike in examples 7 and 8 examined above, the omission does not concern a piece of information considered already known. On the contrary, each time the original article attempts to appear objective by quoting the supportive opinions of Mr. Wolfowitz's friends, the Greek translation erases these paragraphs altogether. As Tannen and Wallat (1993, 32) observe, omitting elements that do not match with a specific representation of reality promoted by a speaker is a framing device frequently used. More than in previous examples, omission here operates on the textual macro-level. In other words, the omission of opinions defending Mr. Wolfowitz changes the argumentation pattern of the article; while the original uses the zig-zag pattern of "pro, con, pro, con …" arguments, the translation opts mainly for a one-sided argument, where only one point of view is highlighted.[15] By systematically omitting any "pro" arguments, the translation alters the perspective of the original and introduces ideological conflict.

> 15) **The three men became Mr. Wolfowitz's main accusers**, **charging** that he acted unethically in arranging pay raises, a promotion and a transfer for his companion. (*The New York Times* 17 May 2007)
>
> (στην οποία έδωσε μεγάλη προαγωγή και αύξηση) (*To Vima* 20 May 2007) [BT: to whom {meaning to his companion} he gave a big promotion and pay rise]

Last but not least, this example illustrates, once again, the introduction of ideological conflict in the TT by the use of omission. Here, the translator omits all the lexical elements which imply objectivity. Lexical items, such

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[15] For further analysis of argumentation patterns found in editorials written in the English language, see Hua and Heng (2006, 37-50).

as "became main accusers" and "charging that" leave some room for doubt, whereas the Greek version presents the whole situation as one hundred per cent certain.

Conclusion

As already suggested, news production can rarely be ideologically free. This study showed that the same characteristic applies to translation in the printed press. To summarize our findings, the strategies and techniques used by the translator in dealing with ideological conflict are presented in Tabel 2 below:

Strategies:	Reproducing ideological conflict in the TT [conflict → conflict]	Erasing ideological conflict in the TT [conflict → Ø]	Introducing new conflict in the TT [Ø → conflict]
Techniques:	Literal Translation	Neutralization	Addition - Explicitation
		Omission	Omission

It should be noted that although all these choices are made at the textual micro-level they may finally result in a shift of position at the macro-level. Furthermore, despite the fact that the strategies described are used in approximately the same rate by both newspapers, a differentiation factor is the subject matter in relation to the newspaper's political position. In other words, it is important to observe when, i.e. against which political background, a translator adopts a particular strategy and for which kind of argument. It could thus be suggested that the translator tries to comply with the ideological profile promoted by the publication he or she is working for.

This raises the question whether the term "translator" can still be used in the context of news (re)production. Should we find another term to designate the very person who is producing translations but who is neither a professional translator nor considers himself or herself as such? Should we search for a more general term that would include all the people that may participate in this activity (journalists, revisers, editors)? Regardless of this terminological issue, our observations being product-based as stated at the beginning of this paper, we can quite firmly support that translation

in the news environment is not as innocent as believed by some readers, nor absolutely identical to its original text.

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CHAPTER THREE

TRANSLATING FOREIGN ARTICLES
WITH LOCAL IMPLICATIONS:
A CASE STUDY

M. CRISTINA CAIMOTTO

Introduction

It is common practice for Italian journalists to report and comment on articles published abroad about their nation, as readers tend to be interested and curious about the idea foreign journalists have of them. Since *The Economist* (2001) published some articles which were strongly critical of Berlusconi[1], foreign journalists who publish something about Italian politicians are very likely to see their words reported in Italian newspapers the next day. The articles are sometimes translated, sometimes integrated with comments and sometimes simply quoted briefly and interpreted through the filter of the journalist, while the translation process is hardly ever made visible.

This chapter analyses the reactions witnessed in Italy when Wolfgang Munchau published an article (2006) in which he proposed his analysis of the Italian economic situation after the national elections results were made public. The various ways in which his article was reported and commented upon offer a range of solutions that raise interesting translation issues. The main point is that an article that was meant to acknowledge the fragility of the new government, as a consequence of the fact that it had

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[1] In July 2001 Berlusconi, then the prime minister of Italy, launched a lawsuit in Italy alleging that *The Economist* had defamed him in "An Italian story", an article published on 28 April 2001. In August 2008 the court in Milan issued a judgment rejecting all of Mr Berlusconi's claims and requiring him to make a payment for costs to *The Economist*. Mr Berlusconi's lawyers have announced that he will appeal. (Bianchi 2008)

been a narrow victory, was turned into an article arguing against the specific victory of the new prime minister Romano Prodi, as the compared analyses demonstrate.

Given the topic, some clarification might prove desirable. The goal here is not to argue in favour of Romano Prodi or Silvio Berlusconi, nor to criticise the journalist's work. The point is to show how a foreign article was manipulated and turned into a completely different message. It is not the goal of this research to establish, nor even to speculate about, the validity of Munchau's position. In fact, neither his own position nor the actual solidity of the thesis published in the *Financial Times* are of relevance for our specific scope. What is interesting from the point of view of Translation Studies is to analyse how and why a concept in a source text was turned into a different concept in the target text.

The first section of this chapter will provide background information about the Italian political situation of the time and subsequently Munchau's article will be introduced and commented on. The following sections will look at the various ways in which the article was reported in Italy, analysing them in chronological order and observing the various translation practices implemented. The last section will then try to formulate hypotheses which may explain the reasons that caused a reframing of the original issue like the one presented in this case study.

The Elections

On 9 and 10 April 2006 national elections were held in Italy. The elections put an end to Silvio Berlusconi's government and were won by the left-wing parties, led by Romano Prodi. His victory, though, was a narrow one. It is important to know that those elections were the first ones held under the new election law introduced during Berlusconi's mandate. The explanation of the new system goes beyond the scope of this chapter, but the results will suffice to show the precariousness that characterised Prodi's government. In fact, the government lasted only 618 days and Prodi submitted his resignation on 24 January 2008 because of the defection of Udeur, one of the small parties of the coalition. The following table shows how thin the difference was that made Prodi win the elections. His coalition obtained only 0.1% more than Berlusconi's for the Chamber of Deputies and even less than the opponents for the Senate. Nevertheless, the majority in the Chamber prevailed on the Senate results and Prodi's coalition started governing.

Table 1: Election results

Chamber of Deputies	votes	%	seats
ULIVO (PRODI)	19,002,598	49.8	348
CDL (BERLUSCONI)	18,977,843	49.7	281

Senate	votes	%	seats
UNIONE (PRODI)	17,141,937	49.2	154
CDL (BERLUSCONI)	17,359,754	49.9	155

Another important aspect to take into account is that Berlusconi's party *Forza Italia* (which means "come on Italy") obtained the highest number of votes for a single party in the Senate elections. Which means that the single parties encompassed by Prodi's coalition were weaker than Berlusconi's.

Moreover, we must remember that the results were accompanied by a bitter fight over the irregularities against his coalition denounced by Berlusconi. The results, Berlusconi argued, had been manipulated and it was his party and his coalition who had really won the elections. It is interesting to note that his accusations started some time before the elections; in many of his public appearances before the ballot he spoke of "brogli elettorali" ("vote rigging") planned by the left (*Repubblica* 2006a). Later, in autumn 2006, a documentary (Deaglio and Cremagnani 2006) denounced the opposite situation, arguing that Berlusconi's coalition had been the guilty one, by transforming blank voting papers into votes for the right-wing. In December 2006, the decision of recounting 10% of voting papers was taken (*Repubblica* 2006c). The results confirmed the official ones, but for many months the recounting was the object of a harsh debate between the two coalitions.

The campaign before the elections had been particularly bitter, creating a climate of personal conflict between the two premiers to which Italian people were not used, a kind of fight that interestingly resembled the electoral races held in the USA or Britain (for an in-depth analysis of the election campaign see Caimotto 2006). In fact, during the months that preceded the ballots, the attention that the Italian mainstream media devoted to foreign opinions rose sharply and almost turned into an obsession (Bani 2006, 40).

Munchau's Article

It was in such a climate that on 17 April 2006, one week after the elections, Wolfgang Munchau published his article in *The Financial Times,* entitled "Prodi's lamentable poll is bad news for the euro". Munchau, who is of German origin, is an associate editor of the *Financial Times* for which he publishes a weekly column about the European Union and European economy. Munchau's analysis was of course bound to provoke reactions in Italy. From the point of view of Translation Studies the case is interesting because Italian newspapers offered a series of ways of dealing with the translation-reporting of the foreign article. I am here introducing this new label "translation-reporting", as, given the novelty of News Translation Studies as a (sub-)discipline it is still hard to find a single term to comprise these various ways of (re)presenting foreign articles. The terminology already available can be employed to describe the specific Italian articles analysed here, as they range from (almost) proper translation, as defined by Jakobson (1959), to transediting (Hursti 2001), and to the reporting of comments in Italy that refer to the source text, without quoting it. The theoretical implications for Translation Studies are further discussed in the Conclusion.

As Munchau's editorial was published in a financial newspaper, the terms employed are quite technical and the issues discussed require at least some knowledge of how financial markets work in order to grasp the point of his thesis. As the following extract shows, the reading of the article is not likely to prove smooth and easy for the average reader.

> From an investor's viewpoint, Italian withdrawal from the eurozone is equivalent to sovereign default. Given this outlook, why are financial markets not yet speculating on such an event? Last week, yields on Italian 10-year government bonds traded at only 0.3 percentage points above the yields of equivalent German bonds. This rating suggests that the markets do not currently see a high risk of default. But surely, even if one thinks Italian withdrawal from the eurozone unlikely, the risk is certainly not close to zero either. (Munchau 2006)

Still, the heading of the article and its first sentence were enough for Italian journalists to twist Munchau's analysis into a political statement. The article opened with the sentence:

> The narrow election victory by Romano Prodi's centre-left alliance was the worst imaginable outcome in terms of Italy's chances to remain in the eurozone beyond 2015. (Munchau 2006)

Corriere Della Sera

The national daily newspaper *Corriere della Sera* is, of the three main Italian dailies, the one that leans most towards the right even though, during the election campaign, it openly declared its preference for Prodi rather than Berlusconi as the new prime minister. As far as Munchau's article is concerned, the *Corriere* reported it on its website through what can be considered the nearest to translation proper, if compared to the other translation-reports published in Italy on the same issue. Still, the result is already quite far from what would commonly be labelled "translation". This analysis takes into account both online versions and printed ones. The online versions are included here as I believe their interest lays in the fact they are accessible for free and generally remain available online for quite a long time, especially if some bloggers create a link to them, maintaining their ranking position high on search engines such as Google.

The online article in *Corriere* is presented as a comment of the Italian journalist on Munchau's editorial. The Italian journalist (not acknowledged in the online article) reports in Italian everything that was stated in the source text, omitting only a single sentence as shown below. The passages translated from *The Financial Times* are quoted in inverted commas, but the article never states explicitly that they are translated, nor does it make clear that basically the whole article is reported in Italian. The reporter simply inserts long quotes from Munchau's article intervening outside the inverted commas or within, by inserting the interventions between hyphens. Moreover, the heading and subheading are also between inverted commas, but those sentences are not quoted. By using them, the journalist is simply signalling that he is reporting what he understood was Munchau's opinion. A choice that obviously confounds readers about the meaning of inverted commas. By comparing the source text and the Italian article published on the *Corriere* website, we can see that the whole text was translated and only one sentence was left out. From a comparative analysis of the two texts, it can be argued that the omission of that sentence was simply due to a lack of interest in the extra comment provided by Munchau. The source text sentence that cannot be found in the target text is signalled in bold in the extract below:

> Three factors may explain the markets' optimism. First is the view that Italy may be effectively trapped inside the eurozone; leaving it would not solve any economic problems. **This argument ignores the fact that default is usually not a consequence of rational choice but of panic.**

Second is the belief that the European Central Bank would ultimately bail out a defaulting member state. (Munchau 2006)

Consequently, it can be established that such omission is not interesting for the purposes of this analysis and the target text can be considered a complete and faithful translation in the sense that it reports everything from the source text, without any biased omission. Nevertheless, the text is presented to the reader as any other article, not as a translation. What follows is the heading and the first paragraph:

Il protavoce [sic[2]] della Commissione UE: «Impossibile»

«Voto: l'Italia rischia l'uscita dall'euro»

L'editoriale del Financial Times: «Possibile default sul debito e addio all'eurozona entro il 2015 dopo la vittoria risicata di Prodi»

LONDRA - Un default sul debito e l'uscita dall'euro entro 10 anni. Sono molto nere le previsioni del Financial Times sull'Italia dopo la vittoria, di strettissima misura, di Romano Prodi nelle ultime elezioni politiche. La tesi è contenuta nell'ascoltatissimo commento settimanale dell'editorialista Wolfgang Munchau, condirettore del quotidiano londinese. «La risicata vittoria della coalizione di centrosinistra guidata da Romano Prodi - si legge nell'editoriale - costituisce il peggior esito immaginabile in termini di possibilità dell'Italia di rimanere nell'eurozona oltre il 2015». «Prevedo che gli investitori internazionali inizino ad assumere scommesse speculative sulla partecipazione italiana all'euro entro la durata di un governo Prodi. Queste - puntualizza Munchau - non sono scommesse sull'impegno politico di Prodi nei confronti dell'euro. Sarebbe infatti difficile trovare un politico più a favore dell'Europa dell'ex presidente della Commissione europea. Queste sono scommesse sulle circostanze economiche che potrebbero obbligare un governo a prendere decisioni che sono inimmaginabili fino al momento in cui diventano inevitabili». (*Corriere* 2006b)

[Back translation:

EU Commission spokesperson: «Impossible»

«Vote: Italy risks getting out of the euro»

The Financial Times editorial: «Possible default on debt and farewell from the eurozone by 2015 after Prodi's narrow victory»

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[2] The correct spelling would be "portavoce".

> **LONDON – A debt default and the exit from the euro in 10 years.**
> Financial Times forecast about Italy is pitch black after the victory, an
> extremely narrow one, by Romano Prodi in the latest political election. The
> thesis is found in the highly regarded weekly comment of the editorialist
> Wolfgang Munchau, co-director of the London-based daily. «The narrow
> victory of the centre-left alliance guided by Romano Prodi – the editorial
> states – represents the worst imaginable outcome in terms of the possibility
> for Italy to remain in the eurozone beyond 2015». «I predict that
> international investors will start to take speculative bets on the Italian
> participation in the euro within the duration of a government under Prodi.
> These - Munchau points out – are not bets on Prodi's political commitment
> towards the euro. It would actually be hard to find a politician more
> favourable towards Europe than the ex president of the European
> Commission. These are bets on the economic situation that could force a
> government to take some decisions that are unimaginable until when they
> become unavoidable ». (*Corriere* 2006b- my translation)]

The article was published in the ''Politics'' section of the website, which
already shows that, even though Munchau's article is mainly about
economy and finance, it is in its political repercussions that the Italian
public is interested. Right from the heading, the journalist mixes the
translation of the article and his/her own comments and interventions. In
the lemma, which is the line above the heading, s/he reports the
commentary of an EU Commission spokesperson, so that, from the very
beginning, the reader is at the same time introduced to the article and
exposed to comments about it.

The opening lines, before the quote, clearly point to a political position
rather than the likely economic consequences. The Italian journalist does
report the fact that the victory was extremely narrow, but while the
construction of the sentence in the source text (''The narrow election
victory by Romano Prodi's centre-left alliance'') highlights this fact, its
Italian translation signals this characteristic of the results within commas
and, by doing so, diminishes the relevance of this aspect. The effect
obtained in Italian is one of some superfluous information that
characterises the elections, inserted to enrich the description. An effect
which ends up by implying that the ''pitch black forecast'' is a consequence
of the fact that Prodi won rather than Berlusconi, and not what Munchau
meant, i.e. that the narrow victory is negative and a wider victory would
have been more positive.

Moreover, the presence of embedded comments from the Italian
journalist seem to fulfil several functions. On the one hand, they signal
that the Italian writer is reporting someone else's words and can also be
interpreted as a way of distancing oneself from Munchau's opinion. On the

other hand, some interventions guide the readers by helping them understand what the topic of the passage is. This function is conveyed mainly through the insertion of paragraph headings. But the most interesting function of the Italian interventions is that of positively framing the authority of *The Financial Times*, i.e. Munchau and his weekly column, which renders the (constructed) negative opinion of Prodi's victory even more authoritative. Another kind of intervention is that of adding, within the flow of the translated article, information about the reactions, notably the response of the EU Commission, whose comment was that it is impossible that Italy goes back to the *lira*.

The translation is generally precise, but far from fluent. A few problems with the translation of propositional meaning can be observed (Baker 1992, 13), such as "sensible" which was rendered with the Italian "sensibile" (which means "sensitive"). Another example is the use of "default" in the heading, a term that, as far as non-technical Italian is concerned, can only be employed if referred to computerised processes (De Mauro 2000) and is only employed with its financial meaning in specialised, LSP texts (Language for Specific Purposes). Normally in non-technical Italian the term "insolvenza" is employed and can also be found further on in the text to translate the English "default". The target text is difficult to read, mainly because it employs technical terminology within an article that is not meant to address experts in the field. The conclusion is that the average reader is likely to read the first few lines or paragraphs and stop when the financial details become too technical. If so, that reader will infer that *The Financial Times* is against Prodi, just as s/he knew that *The Economist* is against Berlusconi.

On the following day, the *Corriere della Sera* published an article in its printed version, this time under the section headed "Economy – currency". This article, "«Euro, Italia a rischio». Schiaffo del Financial Times" (Bagnoli 2006), is much more readable than the one analysed above. Given its target readership, which is expected to be more familiar with financial issues, the amount of technicalities is acceptable. Bagnoli focuses on Munchau's comment about Italy remaining in the eurozone. Nevertheless, his comment about reactions in Italy is once again part of the political interpretation of Munchau's thesis, as the following passage demonstrates:

> L'analisi del quotidiano inglese, sempre molto severo sulle questioni italiane, è caduta come il sale sulle ferite ancora aperte dal periodo post-elettorale. E, in una Pasquetta avara di notizie economiche, ha avuto una vasta eco con reazioni politiche singolarmente «rovesciate» rispetto a quanto avvenuto sinora: il centrosinistra a demolire le prospettive di

Munchau, il centrodestra - con qualche eccezione - a cavalcare questa volta
il pessimismo della stampa inglese. (Bagnoli 2006)

[The English daily's analysis, always very severe about Italian issues, has
fallen like salt on the still open wounds left after the post-electoral period.
And, on an Easter Monday with little business news, has caused a lot of
comments with political reactions peculiarly «reversed» in comparison to
what has happened until now: the centre-left disproving Munchau's
perspectives, the centre-right – with a few exceptions – this time riding the
English press's pessimism. (Bagnoli 2006 - my translation)]

The reference to the articles against Berlusconi published by *The
Economist* is quite clear, as Bagnoli states that before Munchau's article
the situation was "reversed" and it was the centre-left that would ride the
criticism coming from British newspapers (*The Economist* 2001, 2006).
This article opens with the translation of Munchau's opening sentence as:

La risicata vittoria del centrosinistra guidato da Prodi è il peggior risultato
immaginabile per la possibilità che l'Italia resti nell'euro oltre il 2015.
(Bagnoli 2006)

The same sentence was present in the online version as well, but that first
translation proved clumsier because of the way in which it had not been
adapted to its target audience:

La risicata vittoria della coalizione di centrosinistra guidata da Romano
Prodi - si legge nell'editoriale - costituisce il peggior esito immaginabile in
termini di possibilità dell'Italia di rimanere nell'eurozona oltre il 2015.
(*Corriere* 2006b)

Bagnoli shortens "centre-left alliance" into a simple "centre-left" and
omits Prodi's first name, as Italian journalists usually do. Moreover, the
online version includes the reporter's comment between hyphens, which
the printed version avoids. As a consequence, the fact that the online
version is a translation is much more evident if compared to Bagnoli's; a
linguist can definitely recognise the difference, but an average reader
might still not be able to identify the text as a translated one. The online
version is more literal than Bagnoli's. This characteristic can probably be
ascribed mainly to the time factor, as the time for reporting online is
shorter than the time allowed before the publication of the printed
newspaper. Nevertheless, more studies on journalistic translation practices
would probably allow a clearer explanation of such choices.

The most interesting aspect that can be observed in these two target sentences is the translation of "the narrow election victory". First we can observe that both versions omit the term "election", a choice that can be ascribed to the fact that Italian readers were fully immersed in comments on the election results so that specifying which victory the writer referred to was probably considered superfluous. But it is the Italian word order that deserves to be analysed. If in most cases the English language requires the adjective to go before the noun it refers to, Italian does the opposite. In Italian, the effect of an adjective followed by a noun is one of stylistic sophistication or emotional emphasis (Serianni 2000, chapter 29). As explained by Serianni, the fronted position of an adjective has a descriptive function while the position after the noun conveys a restrictive function. Serianni illustrates this difference with his own example:

> Le *vecchie* tubature hanno ceduto. (The old pipes have burst)
> Le tubature *vecchie* hanno ceduto. (which means that only the old ones have burst, the new ones haven't)

Consequently "la risicata vittoria" is different in Italian from "la vittoria risicata". The frontal position of the adjective simply describes the quality of the victory, enriching the description. On the contrary, the choice of putting the adjective after the noun would have identified the victory as a narrow one, making it much clearer that the problem identified by Munchau is not the fact that Prodi won but the fact that his victory was narrow.

It can be argued that the reporter is unlikely to have carried out such an analysis before deciding whether to put the adjective in front of the noun or after it. This is perfectly true, and their translation choice is likely to be ascribable to a simple oversight due to time pressure and influence of the source language, rather than being a deliberate attempt to twist Munchau's message. Moreover, the position of the adjective is a problematic issue even for native speakers, as demonstrated by the presence of an answer about this (Setti 2002) on the FAQ section on the *Accademia della Crusca* website (that is, the Academy that studies the Italian language and is the most authoritative in prescribing linguistic rules). Still, the fronting of the adjective in this case is an example of sloppiness, but an interesting one because of the way it contributes to the distortion of the original thesis. A professional translator is expected to be trained to work properly even under pressure and avoid such distortions, just as a professional journalist is expected to be able to write a good article in a short time. As usual, part of the problem lies within the lack of recognition of a translator's role, a problem that is discussed in more detail later.

La Repubblica **and** *La Stampa*

When *The Financial Times* published Munchau's article, the website of *La Repubblica*, a moderately left-leaning national newspaper, published the following short news item reporting Prodi's declaration that the *Financial Times* was in fact not criticizing Prodi's government, but Berlusconi's.

> 18/04/06 Roma, 11:06
> PRODI: FT   SPARA   ESCLUSIVAMENTE   SUL   GOVERNO
> BERLUSCONI
> "Il Financial Times non sta sparando sul governo Prodi, ma esclusivamente
> sul governo Berlusconi". Lo ha detto Romano Prodi ai microfoni di SKY
> TG24. "Se la situazione è difficile - ha continuato il Professore - è per
> colpa del governo Berlusconi. Noi dimostreremo una grande politica e
> vedremo cosa scriverà il Financial Times fra qualche tempo". (2006b)
>
> [PRODI: FT IS SHOOTING AT BERLUSCONI'S GOVERNMENT
> EXCLUSIVELY
> "Financial Times is not shooting at Prodi's government, but exclusively at
> Berlusconi's government". This is what Romano Prodi said to SKY TG24.
> "If the situation is difficult – the Professor went on – it is the fault of
> Berlusconi's government. We will demonstrate our great politics and we'll
> see what the Financial Times writes some time from now". (2006b - my
> translation)]

La Stampa, the third national newspaper in Italy with a political attitude between the *Corriere* and the *Repubblica*, also published a report of Munchau's article. Compared to the one in the *Corriere della Sera*, the *Stampa* article includes a much smaller number of quotations from *The Financial Times* text, and the journalist intervenes much more to explain, summarise, and add further information. Most of the information added reports various comments from politicians. The following passage describes Prodi's reaction:

> Chi ha preso malissimo l'uscita del Financial Times è stato ovviamente
> Romano Prodi. […] Ha affidato la risposta ad una nota del portavoce Silvio
> Sircana. «Sappiamo che i margini in cui opereremo sono stretti, ma il
> Paese sarebbe diviso in due anche se il risultato del voto fosse stato 52%
> contro 48%». Dunque, spiega Sircana, non credo i mercati siano
> preoccupati di questo, semmai staranno a guardare le politiche che
> porteremo avanti e su quelle valuterà se avere fiducia in noi». Fino ad ora
> «la comunità internazionale ha generalmente visto con favore il fatto che in
> Italia abbia vinto Prodi e non Berlusconi» (Barbera 2006).

[The one who took the Financial Times declaration worst obviously was Romano Prodi. […] He has entrusted his reply to a note from his spokesman Silvio Sircana. «We know that the margins with which we are going to work are narrow, but the country would be split in half even if the result had been 52% against 48%». Therefore, Sircana explains, I don't believe that the markets are worried about this, if anything they will wait and see the policies we implement and will evaluate those to establish whether we can be trusted». Up to now «the international community has generally welcomed the news that Prodi has won in Italy rather than Berlusconi » . (Barbera 2006 - my translation)]

Prodi's comment through Sircana is only partly related to Munchau's article: the last statement in particular brings us back to the point of view of "Prodi vs. Berlusconi" rather than "wide victory vs. narrow victory". As this analysis is text-based, it is not possible to establish with certainty who actually twisted Munchau's message, whether it was Prodi, Sircana, the interviewer, or the reporter who translated the article in the first place. The reply reported here confounds the two issues (wide vs. narrow and left vs. right). It first confutes Munchau's thesis by talking about what the markets are worried about, but then moves on to the reaction of other countries to Prodi's victory, re-entering the frame of "Prodi vs. Berlusconi". By closing the statement with this sentence the focus of the declaration is on this last framing, and anyway the rest of the statement does not point out that there was a problem in the interpretation of the original article. In case Prodi managed to read the article and understand the distortion it had undergone, he still might have decided it was worth keeping with the same issue debated in Italy and replying to the twisted message rather than re-establishing the correct one.

The following day, the *Corriere* website published one more article (2006a) in which it reported the various comments politicians had made. This time the topic is discussed without offering any summary of Munchau's article, taking for granted that the reader already knows what the journalist is talking about. The article basically consists of a list of comments defending or condemning Prodi. Commentators belonging to the defending side state that they disagree with Munchau's thesis while those against Prodi state that the position held by *The Financial Times* is correct. Once again this shows how the thesis contained in the original article, inaccessible to most readers for linguistic reasons, was twisted into a different message much more likely to interest the Italian target reader who is looking for foreign comments upon the recent election results.

Back to the causes

As stated in the introduction, the most interesting aspect of the present research is not the simple comparison of source and target text in order to evaluate the translator's skills, but rather taking into account the linguistic aspects of the translation process with the ultimate goal of analysing the causes that trigger this kind of manipulation, which is likely to have relevant political and social consequences. One of the causes that has already been taken into account within the comparative analysis is that of time-pressure and sloppiness. Surely these are constraints that play a key role in the news translation process, however, they cannot be held as the single cause for faulty translations that engender confusion and misinformation.

I believe that the cause can be found within a much wider frame, that of news distribution in Western countries and, in particular, in Italy, which is considered by many the quintessential example of the faults that characterise news distribution nowadays (Ginsborg 2003, Jones 2003, Lane 2005). The main term employed to define this phenomenon is *infotainment*, that is the mixing of information and entertainment. In Ian Hargreaves words:

> Journalism has always entertained as well as informed. Had it not done so it would not have reached a mass audience. But today, say journalism critics, the instinct to amuse is driving out the will, and depleting the resource, to report and analyse in any depth. Obsessed with a world of celebrity and trivia, the news media are rotting our brains and undermining our civic life. (Hargreaves 2003, 104)

It is a widely held position that the fact that the Italian tendency towards infotainment is stronger than in other countries is a consequence of the wide control under which Silvio Berlusconi holds a great percentage of the Italian media (Ginsborg 2003). Breaking the laws regulating media distribution back at that time, in 1984 Berlusconi managed to broadcast his commercial TV channels on a national scale, consequently representing a direct competitor for RAI, the national television. Moreover his general attitude is based on very well employed market techniques, which he has implemented in his media business as well as in his political campaign.

Nevertheless, making a scapegoat of Berlusconi is a short-sighted attitude, as his policy simply thrived in a breeding ground that was ready and willing to accept his marketing offensive. In this sense, the issue of infotainment in Italy and the figure of Berlusconi need to be contextualized within a much broader frame. One of the books that have

recently achieved the best results in looking at the issue from a broader point of view is Michele Loporcaro's *Cattive Notizie* (2005). His analysis stems from an interesting concept in which he opposes two different ways of conceiving news. One conception is the traditional one that sees news as information about any new event. This way of envisaging news bestows on information a pivotal role in a democratic society by considering it the fundamental condition needed for citizens to take part in society and exercise a form of control to guarantee democracy. On the opposite side, Loporcaro explains, is the idea of news as narration: news provided by mass media every day constitute a whole narration with the function of offering stories to society, continuing the ancestral narration that used to be expressed in popular cultures through myth (see also Lule 2001).

According to Loporcaro, the peculiarity of the Italian situation is, as in other countries, a consequence of the spreading of commercial television, but, he argues, it is enough to switch on the news on any other European channel and compare it to an Italian one to see the great difference between the two. He traces the particular fragility of Italy back to the old "questione della lingua" (the language issue), a discussion in favour of the employment of an old classical variety of Italian by men of letters and politicians that started being debated in 1500 and went on through the centuries, leaving out of the public discussion a large part of the population. Loporcaro offers a very interesting and detailed account of the historic passages, but in the end his main point is that, in a country that already had a lower percentage of readers if compared to other European countries, the massification carried out on school programs and public language throughout the 1970s and 1980s resulted in a general weakening of the "margins" that should guarantee a certain level of quality in the journalistic practice (Loporcaro 2005). Such a situation is clearly a breeding ground for a kind of journalism that prefers sensationalism to precision and allows a foreign article to be reported and distorted without any reaction by some other media to point out the twisting of the message. Translation plays an important role when the message comes from a foreign source and greater knowledge of journalistic translation practices would prove useful, as explained in the following section.

Conclusion

On the basis of this analysis we can see how the case studied here presents the characteristics explained by Loporcaro in his work. The report in Italian newspapers of the article published by *The Financial Times* is part of a narration, a story presented as the new episode in which the centre-left

is attacked by the British, coming after those five years under Berlusconi in which "the foreigners", that is *The Economist*, were always against him. It does not really matter to verify whether dividing the Italian politicians into "goodies" and "baddies" was the real goal of the source article, and that is why no alternative translation was proposed by any journalist. Newspapers just went on reporting politicians' comments, which had little to do with Munchau's article as they were mainly a sequel of months of campaigning.

This kind of phenomenon can also be observed when newspapers deal simply with domestic issues and twist, for example, the words of some influential person to fit in the never ending narration. Nevertheless, in most cases, when no foreign text is involved, different news providers will point out the distortion and at least two versions will be available. But when, as in our case study, the object of discussion is inspired by a foreign text, then the necessity for translation introduces an extra filter. As already stated, this analysis is text-based and by this method it is impossible to establish whether the distortion of the source text was introduced by a translator or by a journalist[3]. The main issue raised by professionals working in the field is always time. Consequently we can imagine that the first twisting was a consequence of time pressure and lack of professional training in translating under tight deadlines. As stated above, part of the problem lies in the lack of recognition towards a translator's role, as available studies suggest that the translation of news is often carried out by "language experts" who were mainly trained as journalists. Nevertheless, a lot of research is still needed in this field.

Moreover, it is rather in the consequences, and the way media kept concentrating on the wrong point without questioning the Italian interpretation of Munchau's message, that this case study proves particularly significant. The analysis of news as an object of enquiry for Translation Studies has only started in recent years. Translation practices in newsrooms and for newspapers raise many important issues that translation scholars need to tackle in order to better understand all the implications for the discipline. The main, and probably the most difficult, question that scholars need to answer is whether it is useful to create new labels for all the translation practices that would hardly fit under the label of "translation proper", i.e. labels such as "localization", "transediting", "language mediation", or whether the label of "translation" itself is wide enough to include phenomena such as the one analysed in this case study.

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[3] This is why through the text the more neutral term "reporter" is employed.

In conclusion, this case study is not only interesting as an analysis of a precious range of news translation practice. Its value rather resides in the broader analysis of Italian mainstream media, which can be inferred from the comparison of the various Italian news items. This case is an example of the way in which journalists take advantage of the fact that, for various reasons, very few Italian readers will check the source text, a shallow attitude unfortunately widespread in the Italian information system. A researcher in News Translation has the chance to look at this kind of problem within the national information system from the international point of view of an insider and an outsider at the same time. As a consequence, this kind of analysis offers a great potential for interdisciplinarity, while it provides a complete picture of the various news translation practices.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EXPLICITATING POLITICAL DISCOURSE

EWA GUMUL

Introduction

Political language is often referred to as sensitive. The sensitivity of this type of discourse has been widely underscored in a variety of works ranging from purely linguistic accounts (e.g. Fowler 1991, Simpson 1993) to translational studies (e.g. Schäffner 1997, Hatim and Mason 1997). As indicated by Schäffner (1997), one of the factors that determine the sensitivity of political texts in the context of translation is their surface structure as "linguistic choices may reflect subtle changes in political attitudes" (Schäffner 1997, 137). Explicitation is one of those translational tools that affect the surface structure of the text by making the propositions implied in the source text clearly visible in its target-language version. Such shifts might be neutral in terms of the transfer of a viewpoint embedded in political texts, but in some cases they appear to have a considerable influence on the point of view or ideology projected by the text (cf. Puurtinen 2003, Sidiropoulou 2004). Thus in an attempt to investigate the manipulative potential of explicitation, the present chapter aims at ascertaining to what extent explicitation in press translation might be seen as a tool of linguistic manipulation[1].

   The first two sections of this chapter aim at introducing key concepts which are relevant for the analysis: the notion of ideology, and the phenomenon of explicitation. Then the research design is presented. The subsequent part is devoted to data presentation and the discussion of selected, most representative examples derived from the corpus of the

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[1] The analysis presented in this chapter is part of a larger research project aiming at examining lexical and syntactic markers of ideology in English-Polish and Polish-English translation and interpreting.

present study. The final section presents conclusions and ideas for further research.

Ideology and language

The emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) gave rise to a proliferation of studies on the relationship of ideology and language (e.g. Fairclough 1989, Fowler 1991, Simpson 1993). This engendered substantial changes in the perception of the notion of ideology and the way this term is defined. Traditionally, the notion of ideology was expounded and analysed in terms of a political doctrine or a philosophical stance and frequently used in contexts in which it is imbued with negative connotations denoting overt manipulation and deception. However, in CDA-oriented approaches, the term ideology is assigned a more neutral meaning. This understanding of the concept of ideology is reflected in Simpson's (1993) definition of this notion, according to whom ideology "normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society" and thus "derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups" (Simpson 1993, 5).

Such views on the notion of ideology are reflected in a number of translational approaches. For example, Mason's (1994) understanding of the term also abandons the commonly used sense of political doctrine and focuses instead on a more neutral "set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts, etc." (Mason 1994, 25). Another instance is Puurtinen's (2003) research into linguistic realisations of ideology in translation. She uses ideology as the umbrella term for three phenomena. According to her,

> […] ideology refers […] to the ways in which linguistic choices made by the writer or translator of a text, first, create a particular perspective on the events portrayed, second, may reflect the writer's opinion and attitudes, and third, may be used to influence readers' opinions. (Puurtinen 2003, 53)

Puurtinen's definition has been adopted in the present study to form the basis for an analysis of explicitation as a linguistic marker of ideology in press translation. The term "press translation" has been adopted in the present study, rather than "news translation" or more generally "media translation", to denote translation of feature articles for reprint press.

The discourse features which are claimed, by numerous researchers, to serve as vehicles of ideological meaning are: grammatical metaphors,

transitivity, modality, lexical choice, and cohesion. As we shall see, translational shifts affecting some of these features may lead to explicitation. Other modifications, though not resulting in a more explicit proposition, might effectively intertwine with explicitating shifts, thus forming consistent patterns that alter the point of view presented in the source text.

Explicitation as a linguistic marker of ideology

Explicitation is currently one of the most thoroughly studied phenomena in the discipline of Translation Studies. Almost universally hailed as one of the translation universals, explicitation attracted considerable interest among translation scholars (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986, Séguinot 1988, Vehmas-Lehto 1989, 2001, Weissbrod 1992, Klaudy 1993, 1996, Englund Dimitrova 1993, 2005, Øverås 1998, Olohan and Baker 2000, Perego 2003, Puurtinen 2003, 2004, Pápai 2004, Whittaker 2004, Klaudy and Károly 2005, Pym 2005). In these studies, explicitation was approached employing miscellaneous research methods, which aimed at investigating various aspects of this phenomenon. Consequently, approaches to the phenomenon of explicitation are far from homogenous. Apart from its postulated status as a universal feature of translation (Baker 1993), the idea of greater explicitness of translated texts was also attributed to translation norms (Weissbrod 1992, Pápai 2004), deployment of strategies (Vehmas-Lehto 2001), striving for optimal relevance (e.g. Setton 1999), translator's idiosyncratic preferences (e.g. Nilsson 2002), or interpreted as a by-product of language mediation (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986). The research tools employed ranged from traditional comparison of source and target texts, either in terms of a product or a process (Séguinot 1988, Englund Dimitrova 1993, 2005), to the use of both translational and monolingual corpora (Øverås 1998, Pápai 2004, Whittaker 2004). References to previous research in Table 1 below show that the studies on explicitation also differ considerably as to the scope and type of explicitating shifts analysed.

Table 1: Types of explicitation (adapted from Gumul 2006a)

	Type of explicitation:	Example[2]:	References to previous research:
1.	adding connectives	**and**, **so**, **thus**, **although**, etc. e.g. Lauffenburger's team has developed a microscopic cantilever system → **Whereas** Lauffenburger's team has developed a microscopic cantilever system	e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986; Séguinot 1988; Vehmas-Lehto 1989, 2001; Englund Dimitrova 1993, 2003, 2005; Shlesinger 1995; Klaudy 1996; Niska 1999; Puurtinen 2003, 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2007, 2008
2.	categorial shifts of cohesive devices (i.e. from vaguely cohesive to more explicitly cohesive)	<u>and</u> they decided to wait → **so** they decided to wait	Øverås 1998; Gumul 2004
3.	shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion (i.e. lexicalisations of pro-forms)	overlap between *them* → overlap between **these sections**	Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Olohan and Baker 2000; Olohan 2002; Pápai 2004; Gumul 2004, 2007
4.	shifts from reiteration in the form of paraphrase to reiteration in the form of identical/partial repetition	a bridge across *the Thames* (…) the north bank of *the river* → a bridge across the Thames (…) the north bank of **the Thames**	Øverås 1998; Gumul 2004
5.	reiterating lexical items	**new projects** could be introduced → **new projects**, **new ideas** could be introduced	Gumul 2006a, 2007

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[2] The examples quoted in this column come mainly from my own research (Gumul 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007, 2008). For the sake of clarity, Polish source text (ST) or target text (TT) has been replaced with English gloss. Underlining is used for ST items that underwent explicitation in the process of translation, whereas bold case is used to mark explicitated TT items. Points 6, 7, 8, 9 and 16 contain only target text as in those cases explicitation involves the addition of extra lexical items.

6.	filling out elliptical constructions	(…) some of the other consequences, and there were many of them, some **[of the consequences were]** very important (…)	Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Pápai 2004; Gumul 2004, 2006a, 2007; Heltai 2005
7.	adding modifiers and qualifiers	**serious** psychological damage a **strange** mixture	Vanderauwera 1985; Øverås 1998; Klaudy and Károly 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2007
8.	inserting hedges	**as you probably know**… **it should be remembered that**… **it goes without saying that …**	Setton 1999, Ishikawa 1999, Gumul 2006b, 2006c
9.	inserting discourse organizing items	**I would like to begin with**…	Gumul 2006a, 2007
10.	adding a proper name to a generic name, substituting a generic name with a proper name, shifts on proper names scale (substituting a nickname or a pseudonym with a surname)	**Roald**, the polar explorer every **American** citizen Posh Spice → **Victoria Beckham**	Øverås 1998; Gumul 2006a, 2006c, 2007
11.	lexical specification (i.e. substituting a word with general meaning with a word with more specific meaning)	say → **accuse**	Englund Dimitrova 1993; Øverås 1998, Perego 2003; Klaudy and Károly 2005
12.	meaning specification (i.e. articulating ideas retrievable or inferable from the preceding part of the text or the cognitive context)	to save the victims → to save the victims **of the attack**; hijacked airplanes → airplanes hijacked **by terrorists**	Ishikawa 1999[3], Gumul 2006a, 2007

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[3] Ishikawa (1999) uses the term "information via background knowledge".

13.	distributing the meaning of a source-text unit over several units in the target text	*this double focus* → **this division into two urban centres**	Klaudy 1996; Klaudy and Károly 2005, Gumul 2007
14.	replacing nominalisations with verb phrases	these demands are not *open to negotiation and discussion* → **we will not negotiate or discuss** these demands	Klaudy and Károly 2005; Puurtinen 2003; Gumul 2006b
15.	disambiguating metaphors or replacing metaphors with similes	(...) will help strengthen us for the **journey** ahead → (...) will help strengthen us for the **struggle** ahead of us	Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Gumul 2006b, 2006c
16.	including additional explanatory remarks (also in the form of footnotes or additional information provided in the brackets)	**the web page** liberty.org **Irish novelist** Roddy Doyle Ron and Hermione **(the closest friends of Harry Potter)**	Baker 1992; Klaudy 1996; Al-Qinai 2001; Perego 2003; Pápai 2004; Klaudy and Károly 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2006c, 2007

The ideological potential of explicitation has been explored in two studies: Puurtinen's (2003) research into mediation of ideology in student translations of press articles, and Sidiropoulou's (2004) account of linguistic identities in translation. The results obtained by Puurtinen (2003) reveal some explicitating shifts that change the viewpoints and modify the opinions expressed in source texts. However, their non-systematic application and lack of pattern consistent with other modifications precludes ideological motivation of the translators. This might be partly due to the specificity of the analysed textual material (student translations rather than translations in reprint magazines). Sidiropoulou (2004) examines rendition of connectives, which she refers to as an inherently ideologically-loaded network. Her corpus of press articles abounds in non-random translators' interventions, some of them resulting in more explicit target-text versions. Sidiropoulou perceives such shifts as affecting the viewpoints considerably. One of the recurrent consequences observed in her data is the intensification of the political conflict in the target versions.

The types of explicitating shifts analysed by both Puurtinen (2003) and Sidiropoulou (2004) fall within the broad category of lexical and syntactic markers of ideology, commonly examined in CDA-oriented studies. As indicated in the previous section, these include: disambiguation or creation of grammatical metaphors, changes in transitivity patterns, modifications of the levels of modality, as well as shifts in lexical choice, semantic prosody and cohesion patterns. As can be inferred from Table 1, the categories of linguistic markers of ideology that clearly involve explicitation are disambiguation of grammatical metaphors, shifts in lexical choice, modifications of cohesive pattern, and modifications of the levels of modality.

Disambiguation of grammatical metaphors entails replacing nominalisations with verb phrases, which are believed to be more explicit since verbal structures make the process participants visible in the sentence and reduce the experiential distance between the text and the extra-linguistic reality it refers to (Puurtinen 2003). Also translational shifts in lexical choice might result in several types of explicitations. Lexical specification, which takes the form of substituting a word with general meaning with a word that has a more specific meaning, appears to have ideological impact in certain contexts. The same is true for disambiguating lexical metaphors (Sidiropoulou 2004). Modality of the source text is affected when certain types of hedges are inserted in the translated version. Similarly, ideologically-loaded modifications of the cohesive pattern might result in a number of more explicit surface choices. Apart from the widely discussed addition of connectives, these include certain categorial shifts of cohesive devices, lexicalisations of pro-forms, reiterations of lexical items, and substituting paraphrase with lexical repetition (cf. Hatim and Mason 1997). Two more types of explicitation that appear to have an impact on the point of view conveyed in the text are adding modifiers or qualifiers and meaning specification (i.e. articulating ideas retrievable or inferable from the preceding part of the text or the cognitive context).

Research design

All of the above-mentioned explicitating shifts are potential carriers of ideological meaning. The aim of the present study is thus to investigate to what extent such manifestations of a translator's intervention contribute to an altered point of view projected by a target text. The analysis is not limited to identifying cases of more explicit surface choices adopted in the target texts. An attempt has been made to trace patterns of ideologically-

loaded shifts, i.e. to see whether explicitations are intertwined with other discoursal features that affect the viewpoint conveyed in the source text. It is the co-occurrence of other linguistic markers of ideology that is believed to make assumptions of ideological motivations more plausible. Although the analysis was performed on the level of texture, i.e. dealing with the micro-level manifestations of ideology, the judgement concerning the potential ideological significance of a given item was always made with reference to the text as a whole as well as the extra-linguistic reality.

The corpus of the study consists of 37 feature articles which appeared in a variety of British and American press titles regularly reprinted in the Polish magazine *Forum*[4], such as: *The Financial Times, The International Herald Tribune, The Atlantic, The Guardian, The Independent, The Spectator, The Sunday Times, The Times,* and *The Washington Post*. The corpus includes a fairly wide scope of both British and American newspapers and magazines, each having a different function and targeted at a different audience, as the aim of the research is simply the analysis of English-Polish translation. In order to obtain a balanced corpus for the analysis, a random choice of an equal number of articles from each year between 2003 and 2007 was made. The articles selected for the analysis deal with a variety of current political issues, for example, the British presidency of the EU, the Russia-Ukraine gas conflict, the West Bank conflict, media involvement in the Darfur conflict, Mao Zedong's image in today's China, the ethnic divide following the Bosnian war, and many others. The analysed target texts are the translations of these articles published in the Polish reprint magazine *Forum* between 2003 and 2007, in the section Politics. Altogether, they constitute a corpus of approximately 54,000 words. The choice of feature articles rather than news to form the corpus of the present study is not incidental. This genre of text is often referred to in the literature as "soft news" since these are

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[4] *Forum* is a Polish reprint magazine that publishes only translations of world press articles. This weekly magazine was established in 1965 and has a circulation of 54,000. The official statement regarding the paper's editorial policy reads: The editorial staff reserves the right to change the titles and leads of translated articles and to shorten them as long as the changes do not distort the meaning of the original. The magazine's own texts, commentaries, and editorial annotations are signed separately. According to the media report published in 2004 by Brief. pl, the *Last Issue* Readership (COW) *indicator was* 0.4 % (118,958) and Season Cycle Readership (CCS) *was* 0.8 % (244,248). It is aimed at educated readers. Readership surveys indicate that *Forum* has a fairly high ratio of young readers (29% are below the age of 24). 29% are students and 39% are city dwellers. The magazine claims to have no ideological stance, which is also confirmed by Brief.pl media report.

"stories with background and personal opinion" (Sidiropoulou 2004, 49).
Due to that, soft news might be hypothesised to be more prone to changes
of viewpoints and as such appear to constitute interesting material for an
investigation of ideologically-loaded translational shifts.

   The analysis is based on Hatim and Mason's (1997) model of three
degrees of translators' mediation: minimal, partial and maximal mediation.
These different degrees of translators' mediation reflect "the extent to
which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own
knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text" (Hatim and Mason
1997, 147). Minimal mediation occurs when the scale of translational
shifts introduced in target texts is relatively small, whereas maximal
describes a situation when a translator's mediation "issues from and
constructs a different ideology" (Hatim and Mason 1997, 158) and when
significant discoursal shifts occur between source- and target-language
versions throughout the text. The remaining degree of translators'
intervention, i.e. partial mediation, naturally occupies a middle position in
the spectrum of changes introduced. Hatim and Mason's (1997) model has
been designed as a spectrum of changes rather than a classification with
clear-cut boundaries between individual categories, which seems perfectly
natural considering the nature of such translational shifts and the fact that
these notions are hardly quantifiable. This, however, makes the model
difficult to apply in quantitative empirical research. Thus, I have made an
attempt to adjust the model in order to facilitate quantitative analysis. An
assumption was made that minimal mediation should involve no more than
3 shifts per each 1000 words of the target text, partial mediation between 4
and 7 shifts, and maximal more than 7 shifts, on condition that the
identified modifications form a consistent pattern in terms of the point of
view conveyed. Obviously, such a division is clearly an oversimplification,
as it is not only the number of translational shifts that adds to the final
effect of the target text, but also the force of the impact individual
modifications have on the target audience. Nevertheless, it is hoped that
establishing such borderlines might facilitate to a certain extent the
quantitative analysis. It should be emphasized, however, that it is not the
only criterion applied in the present research project.

   Another issue which needs to be clarified in any research on
explicitation is its independence of language-specific differences. While
some researchers regard shifts toward greater explicitness necessitated by
systemic differences as legitimate examples of explicitation (e.g. Klaudy
1993, 1996, 1998; Al-Qinai 2001), most opt for the view that explicitation
should be viewed as independent of language-specific differences (e.g.
Blum-Kulka 1986, Séguinot 1988, Øverås 1998, Vehmas-Lehto 2001).

Explicitation proper occurs only when, as Nilsson (2002, 415) puts it, no systemic contrast can be seen to operate and when it is the translator's choice to adopt the most explicit of several available target-language alternatives. Thus, the view of explicitation adopted in the present study is probably best reflected in Séguinot's (1988) claim stating that "[…] to prove that there was explicitation, there must have been the possibility of a correct but less explicit or precise version" (Séguinot 1988, 108). Hence the exclusion of all explicitating shifts which could be attributed to clear-cut systemic and stylistic differences between English and Polish.

Results and discussion

The results of the analysis show that almost half (i.e. 18 out of 37) of the analysed articles exhibit a clear pattern of translational shifts that seem to be attributable to some degree of ideological manipulation of the text. As many as 8 might be considered as falling into the category of partial mediation, and in 10 cases the degree of translator's intervention can be described as minimal. 19 of the analysed articles mediate source text ideology in an unchanged way. In fact, the category labelled as "ideology unchanged" subsumes also those target texts, in which potentially ideologically loaded constructions or lexical items could be found, but the pattern was not consistent, and therefore they could not be interpreted as projecting an altered point of view. None of the target texts appears to be promoting ideology that is fundamentally at variance with that of the source text.

Table 2: Degrees of translators' mediation in analysed corpus

Degree of translator's mediation	Number of articles
Maximal mediation	0
Partial mediation	8
Minimal mediation	10
Ideology unchanged	19

The most common shifts (mentioned here in the order of frequency of occurrence) include: replacing referential cohesion with lexical cohesion, disambiguation of grammatical metaphors, adding connectives, lexical specification, and meaning specification.

Discussing all the examples illustrating individual instances of explicitations is beyond the scope of the present chapter. Therefore only a selection of the most representative instances of ideologically-loaded

explicitating shifts will be presented in this section. Each of the selected articles is represented by two or more examples in order to demonstrate the patterns of shifts within particular texts. We shall also point to some other textual features that contribute to the alteration of the viewpoint.

The first example illustrates a marked tendency to replace referential cohesion with lexical cohesion. Such changes are in many cases neutral from the point of view of ideology. However, in this particular case, the translator's intervention goes far beyond a mere lexicalisation of a pro-form. This metonymic relation affects the reference, shifting the focus from the fact of British presidency to a specific person. Such an explicitating shift serves to emphasise the blame put on Tony Blair:

> 1. partial mediation:
> ST: With barely a month to go in the British presidency of the EU, it is hard to find a single voice on the continent with a good thing to say about **it**.
> (*Financial Times* 24 November 2005)
>
> TT: Na niespełna miesiąc przed końcem brytyjskiej prezydencji w Unii Europejskiej trudno znaleźć choć jeden punkt, za który można by pochwalić **Tony'ego Blaira**.
> (*Forum* 49/2005)
>
> [Back translation (BT): With barely a month before the end of the British presidency of the European Union, it is hard to find a single thing to praise **Tony Blair** for. (all back translations are mine)]

The impression created by the above example is reinforced by another shift:

> 2. partial mediation:
> ST: **Mr Blair's response was to talk** about the challenge of globalisation at his informal summit at Hampton Court – worthy but insubstantial.
> (*Financial Times* 24 November 2005)
>
> TT: **Jedyne na co było stać Blaira**, to przemówienie na temat wyzwań globalizacji podczas nieformalnego szczytu w Hampton Court, która to impreza była zupełnie wyprana z treści.
> (*Forum* 49/2005)
>
> [BT: **The only response Blair was capable of** was the speech about the challenge of globalisation at the informal summit at Hampton Court – the event completely lacking in substance.]

Again, the translator's intervention goes beyond the addition of the modifier "only". Neutral wording of "Mr Blair's response" has been rendered as "the only response Blair was capable of", which imbues the utterance with a distinctly negative tone. Although such an attitude towards the role of Mr Blair is implied in the source text, it is not verbalised explicitly. This impression is further emphasised by a naming convention used in the target text: "Mr Blair", a form whose closest functional equivalent in Polish would be "Tony Blair" or "Premier Blair" (Prime Minister Blair), is translated simply as "Blair". Due to all these shifts, the image of Tony Blair presented in the source text appears to be changed considerably. The target text appears to be more critical towards both the British presidency of the EU and the person of the British Prime Minister.

Another example of an explicitating shift in the same article is an instance of replacing a nominal construction with a verbal one: 3. partial mediation:

ST: And the legislation to free trade in services inside Europe – **a high priority for the UK government** – is still languishing in the European parliament.
(*Financial Times* 24 November 2005)

TT: Ustawy liberalizujące wymianę usług w ramach zjednoczonej Europy, **którym rząd brytyjski nadał wysoki priorytet**, wciąż tkwią w Parlamencie Europejskim.
(*Forum* 49/2005)

[BT: Laws liberalising service exchange within unified Europe, **to which the UK government has given a high priority**, are still languishing in the European parliament.]

As indicated in the previous section, disambiguating grammatical metaphors carries a potential of ideological manipulation by making process participants visible in the sentence. It is precisely what happens in this segment of the text. This operation brings to the surface the agenthood, pointing directly to the actor of the process, which is the UK government in this case. Some of the other features encountered in this particular article, which are consistent with the other previously discussed shifts, include modifications of the level of modality.

Another article that exhibits a clear pattern of ideologically-loaded explicitating shifts concerns Mao Zedong's cult in China:

4. partial mediation:

ST: The number of victims of **Mao's political campaigns and consequent famines** put Mao firmly among the "big three" slaughterers of the 20th century. Some 30 million to 40 million died as a result of Mao's policies. (*Financial Times* 14 August 2004)

TT: Liczba ofiar **kampanii politycznych zainicjowanych przez Mao Zedonga i spowodowanych przez niego klęsk głodu** lokuje go w "wielkiej trójce" najgorszych oprawców XX wieku. W wyniku polityki prowadzonej prze twórcę komunistycznych Chin zginęło od 30 do 40 milionów ludzi. (*Forum* 41/2004)

[BT: The number of victims of **political campaigns initiated by Mao Zedong and famine he caused** put him among the "big three" of the worst murderers of the 20th century. As a result of the policies of the founder of communist China some 30 million to 40 million people died.]

Although the grammatical rules of the target language allow for a fairly literal rendition of the segment "Mao's political campaigns and consequent famines", the translator opted for a more explicit construction that highlights Mao's direct involvement.

Replacement of "the cruelty of the Maoist years" with "all the atrocities committed under the rule of Mao" in the example below appears to have the same function. Both the use of the verb "committed" and the choice of "the rule of Mao" as the equivalent of "the Maoist years" serve to emphasise Mao Zedong's active role. Lexicalisation of a pro-form ("it" – "the famine") in the subsequent example appears to reinforce two previous shifts:

5. partial mediation:
ST: Li Rui permits himself a sardonic laugh when this comment is relayed to him, **as if it explains away the cruelty of the Maoist years**. But Li's views do not get much of an airing these days within China. (*Financial Times* 14 August 2004)

TT: Li Rui śmieje się ironicznie, gdy powtarzam mu potem słowa Konga. **Klęską głodu nie da się wytłumaczyć wszystkich okrucieństw dokonanych pod rządami Mao.** Lecz poglądy Li i jemu podobnych nie są w dzisiejszych Chinach nagłaśniane. (*Forum* 41/2004)

[BT: Li Rui laughs ironically when I relay the Kong's words. **The famine cannot account for all the atrocities committed under the rule of Mao.** But the views of Li and the like do not get much of an airing in today's China.]

Another instance of a translator's intervention that forms a consistent pattern with the previously discussed shifts is the fragment of the source text that is omitted in the translated version:

> 6. partial mediation – fragment omitted in the target text:
> ST: By the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, Mao was a dead tiger of sorts as well. He had withered, physically and politically, and died later that year. But his spirit has endured. No major set-piece speech by a top Chinese leader today is complete without an obligatory reference to the enduring importance of "Mao Zedong thought". Mao's soft, fleshy visage, with its Mona Lisa-like ambivalence, still hangs in pride of place over the entrance to the Forbidden City in the capital. Opposite, his body lies in a crystal coffin in a mausoleum in Tiananmen Square "so the masses can look on with reverence". To ensure his corpse remains in good condition, the Mao Zedong Mausoleum Management Bureau holds regular symposiums to study the science of body preservation.
> (*Financial Times* 14 August 2004)

This description of the cult of Mao in today's China seems to contribute to a more balanced view of the way he is perceived in this country. Millions of victims, cruelty, murders and famine all referred to in previous examples are contrasted here with phrases like "his spirit has endured", "the enduring importance of "Mao Zedong thought"" and "hangs in pride". Thus omission of this fragment changes the message offered to the target audience and reinforces the explicitating shifts from examples 4 and 5.

The last of the presented articles describes media involvement in the Darfur conflict. Due to some explicitating shifts introduced in the target text, their involvement appears to be far more active than is suggested in the source version of this feature article. The first, most striking example is the amplification of the lead which serves to explicitate propositions from the body of the article:

> 7. partial mediation:
> ST: In both Sudan and Sri Lanka, the route to peace is through negotiation.
> (*The Guardian* 6 August 2004)
>
> TT: Światowe media zaczęły nawoływać do wojskowej interwencji w sudańskim Darfurze w momencie, gdy walczące strony usiadły do negocjacji. Czy jest nam potrzebny kolejny konflikt zbrojny?
> (*Forum* 33/2004)
>
> [BT: The world's media started to call for military intervention in Sudanese Darfur at the moment when the fighting sides started negotiation. Do we need another armed conflict?]

The original lead has been replaced with a substantially longer one highlighting different information from the article, a shift which is apparently consistent with the editorial policy of the paper (see footnote 4). However, it has to be noted that the modification goes beyond the mere replacement of the lead: whereas the source-text lead only mentions the need for negotiation, the target-text lead emphasises the excessive involvement of the media. This shift forms a consistent pattern with another case of meaning specification. The addition of an intra-textual heading "Media's Offensive" ("Media w natarciu"), naturally standing out from the text (Reah 1998), further emphasises the negative role of the media.

Another extract from the same article illustrates explicitation in the form of lexical specification. Opting for the lexical item "urge" instead of "talk" changes the view of the role of media in this conflict:

> 8. partial mediation:
> ST: So, instead of **talk of western military intervention**, pressure needs to be put on the rebels to pick genuine representatives and get to the negotiating table.
> (*The Guardian* 6 August 2004)
>
> TT: Dlatego zamiast **zachęcać do zachodniej interwencji militarnej**, trzeba wywrzeć presję na rebeliantów, by wybrali autentycznych przedstawicieli i zasiedli do stołu rokowań.
> (*Forum* 33/2004)
>
> [BT: So, instead of **urging western military intervention**, pressure needs to be put on the rebels to pick genuine representatives and get to the negotiating table.]

Conclusion

The results obtained in the present study indicate that explicitation in political discourse might serve to communicate an altered point of view to the target-text readership. Despite the fact that none of the texts projects a fundamentally different ideology, the pattern of explicitating shifts is sufficiently clear to legitimize a conclusion of an altered viewpoint. Most of the presented examples clearly illustrate what Sidiropoulou (2004) refers to as intensifying the presupposed. In this way they contribute to a different conceptualization of social and political reality constructed for the target reader. Due to the size of the corpus (37 articles) and its structure (9 press titles), it is not feasible to link this phenomenon

systematically to a specific source media or a specific topic. In the sample analysed, it appears to be independent of the source newspaper, topic, or country of origin. However, such a result would have to be confirmed in a research project based on a substantially larger corpus.

Such textual modifications might be seen as reflecting translators' personal opinions and attitudes. Obviously, it might be assumed that they are fully conscious choices of the target text producer. However, given the nature of the analysed material (press translations performed by anonymous translators) and the research design (a purely product-oriented analysis), it is hard to determine whether a given shift is a result of a deliberate translator's strategy or a subconscious choice. In fact, some researchers (e.g. Puurtinen 2003) maintain that such modifications, even if reflecting a personal point of view, are not necessarily conscious. Investigating intentionality of such shifts definitely requires process-oriented research, and even such an approach might not answer all the questions, as the issue of embedding personal opinions in a translated text is highly sensitive. Obviously, knowledge of the newspaper's translation policy would be of great help in determining the reasons for such modifications. Unfortunately, such information as guidelines for translators (if they exist at all), revision practice, and the extent of an editor's involvement in the translated text remain undisclosed.

Notwithstanding the exact reasons of such translational decisions and the resulting shifts, the analysed material proves that explicitation might be a powerful tool in the hands of translators and that seemingly innocent and neutral operations involved in language mediation might in certain cases have a considerable ideological impact.

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CHAPTER FIVE

TRANSLATIONS IN ITALIAN MEDIA:
THE CALIPARI CASE AND LEGITIMISED TEXTS

FEDERICO FEDERICI

Introduction

The present chapter is part of a broader research project in which the effects of the mediatisation of international relations (USA and Italy) and of politics in Italy are analysed in relation to the killing of the Italian security agent Nicola Calipari. Calipari, who was working for the Italian secret service Sismi, was killed by US soldiers on 4 March 2005, whilst escorting the newly-released journalist Giuliana Sgrena to Baghdad International Airport (BIAP). The incident was considered as a possible breach of the US Army Regulation 15-6 and was investigated by a US-led committee that issued a report on 30 April 2005 on the Multi-National Corps Iraq website. Further to an analysis of the Italian media's use of the US report investigating the event, the effects of ideological spin and media manipulations seemed to be far-reaching (cf. Federici forthcoming). This chapter aims at commenting on two aspects of the Calipari case and its translations: legitimisation of the US report, as a source text (ST), and legitimisations of its translations.

Italian authorities were interested in carrying out additional investigations into this case of "friendly fire", as the killing had had both a political and an emotional impact on Italian public opinion. Yet the main official report on the killing (and according to US authorities the only legally valid one) was released in American English, written by the US army general in charge of the investigation. Its initial release contained a great deal of classified information blacked out in the document. Omissions of classified information were not just in its version for the press, but also in the version officially provided to the Italian authorities. Italian military and diplomatic representatives were invited to participate

in the enquiry (cf. also AFIS 2005a), yet the media felt that their real participation was constrained if not very limited. Newspapers dealt at length with this event for its dramatic impact, at the moment of the release of the US report. Articles as well as commentaries and editorials had already prepared the Italian audience for the worst case scenario in which the entire "incident" (as defined in US Report 2005) would have been dismissed with nobody held responsible for the killing of the security agent. In Italy, reporting on important news that attracts audiences is currently affected by an excess of editorial commentaries and provision of opinions (cf. Orengo 2005 and Travaglio 2006), prior to any attempt at providing a factual and objective report. Though it is naïve to assume that total objectivity is actually achievable, it is nonetheless still apparent that some factual information can be provided even in framed articles—where, when, who, why, and what. Such an Italian excess is followed by framing of a political nature that has repeatedly attracted the attention of Freedom House (see the 2006 and 2007 reports; cf. Ginsborg 2003) and analogous organizations engaged in analysing the true extent of freedom of expression in Italy. In this context, journalists dealing with the Calipari Case were no exception to the current climate in Italy: they assumed a certain amount of shared knowledge with their audience. The audience was supposed to have already been made aware of the facts surrounding the killing of Calipari and, using translations of the US Report, newspapers both online and paper were ready to reiterate common speculations so as to frame the results of the US Report for the benefit of their "expected" readership (cf. van Dijk 1997a).

To discuss the way in which translations of the US report were used in the media, this study refers to a framework of analysis drawing upon the common ground of research between critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Translation Studies, as originally emphasized by Schäffner (2004). Ideological translations are observed in relation to their intended or perceivable effects when published in widely available media (newspapers in their paper and online formats). This chapter is subdivided into four sections. The first section introduces the event, the chronology, and the essence of the legitimising text (the US report). In the second section, the media discourse in the specificity of the Italian context and the translational manipulations towards political ends of the target text (TT) are analysed. In the third section, the translational interventions of the sensitive ST are examined; and in the last section, concluding remarks and questions indicating possible directions for further research are presented.

Research into the Calipari Case

In order to evaluate the way in which the texts of interest were adopted and adapted in their final published version, this study embraces both notions of CDA and an evaluation of translation with reference to Systemic Functional Linguistics. Relevant to the research carried out into this subject is the relational approach to text analysis that distinguishes the relations of a text with its context, that is, the role that the relations play in the discursive contextual meaning-making process as described by Fairclough (1995 and 2003) and in linguistic terms by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 106-58). For CDA, relations can be external or internal. Fairclough (2003, 36) emphasizes that the "analysis of the 'external' relations of texts is analysis of their relations with other elements of social events and, more abstractly, social practices and social structures" (similar to the giving and demanding construction of meaning in speech identified by Halliday and Matthiensen 2004, 106). In terms of internal relations, the rhetoric of the US report on Calipari's death is that of a logical description of efficient, short, and unquestionable facts provided by the officer-author as "the" authority classifying the results of a successfully completed investigation. These characteristics establish the text as a legitimised text. Referring to CDA, legitimisation of a text means imposing one perspective as a universal truth, through the manipulation of persuasive components of the sentence; referring to Translation Studies legitimisation means "positive self-representation and negative presentation of the others, explicitly or implicitly, by using specific translation strategies, by using and abusing texts for purposes of national ideologies" (Schäffner 2004, 145). On one side, the ST is legitimised by its authoritative voice; on the other side, the purpose-driven translations offered by Italian media are "legitimising" translations that aim at achieving different goals and somehow protecting in some form, the national interests.

This chapter assesses the way in which Italian journalists manipulated translations of the US report investigating Calipari's death, thus creating a significant "narrative of conflict", as defined by Baker (2006, 4). Perhaps following editorial policies, journalists or editors adopted forms of "selective appropriations" (Baker 2006, 114-29) of those elements of the source text that could be reframed into their newspapers, thus creating a new discourse (cf. also CDA's notion of intertextuality applied to translated news in Schäffner 2005, 154-56).

The event: essential chronology

The events in Baghdad and the following investigation can be presented in chronological order as follows:

- 04.02.2005: Giuliana Sgrena, correspondent of the daily newspaper *Il Manifesto*, was kidnapped in Baghdad. Deputy Prime Minister Gianni Letta coordinated the rescue operation – on behalf of the Italian government – without reporting to the Parliament. He had a two-option plan for the release: either locate the hostage with the help of Coalition Forces or, if this failed, negotiate a ransom.
- 04.03.2005: long negotiations ensued and eventually Mrs Sgrena was released – it is not clear whether a ransom was paid. Sismi sent a rescue team to facilitate the kidnappers' release of Mrs Sgrena and to escort her back to Italy. At 20:50, in transit from the release point to Baghdad International Airport (BIAP), the rescuers and the journalist were shot at by US soldiers manning an access ramp to the motorway for the airport (Route Irish). Mrs Sgrena was wounded, the driver of the hired Toyota Corolla was also wounded, Major General Nicola Calipari was killed. US Blocking Point (BP) 541 had been set up on Route Irish in order to allow the US Ambassador John D. Negroponte to travel safely towards Camp Victory; the BP had been in place and organized by 19:38 for a mission of 15-20 minutes. Repeatedly, the battle captain at BP 541 enquired about removing the BP, but his men were kept there until 20:50; the US ambassador had arrived at Camp Victory at 20:20 by helicopter.
- 08.03.2005: US army Brig. Gen. Peter Vanjel was appointed as director of the Joint committee of investigation. The American Forces Information Service press release reported that "[t]he command [of Multi-National Corps Iraq] is working closely with the US embassy, and Italian officials have been invited to participate" (AFIS 2005a).
- 11.03.2005: US officials conducted an on-site forensic investigation.
- 13.03.2005: Italian representatives joined US investigators in Baghdad.
- 14.03.2005: while the joint investigative team was inspecting the site, they came under attack and abandoned the in-depth joint forensic analysis.

Italian media began to discuss leaks of information, inferring that the US Report would dismiss the event as an accident, and prepared the ideological frame into which the outcomes of the US report would be discussed:

- 15.03.2005: NBC released information on the report that, apparently, was not provided through the official diplomatic channels to the Italian Foreign Minister Gianfranco Fini; the NBC leak drew upon the US report.
- 25.04.2005: the Italian media emphasized the need for an Italian inquiry into the case.
- 26.04.2005: the Toyota Corolla was delivered to Italy for forensic examination.

Appropriations of the data drew upon the US media speculations and were also very selective, as Italian reports became more hyperbolic, cynical, and pessimistic about the possible outcomes of the investigation. This approach led to reframe the translations of the US report into what the newspapers "were expecting" (as will be shown later):

- 29.04.2005: in a joint announcement the US Department of State and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the joint committee had not agreed on shared conclusions (US DPS 2005/451; MAE 2005).
- 30.04.2005: the classified US official report was released with many omissions. As the incident had been considered as a possible breach of the US Army Regulation 15-6, it was investigated by a US-led committee. The committee issued the report which was initially posted on the Multi-National Corps Iraq website. As part of the US policy on institutional transparency, the report was made available to the public through the Internet release.
- 01.05.2005: AFIS announced "Calipari's death, according to a recently completed Army investigation, was wholly unintentional and not attributable to negligence by the [US] soldiers" (AFIS 2005b). At approximately 0.25 am GMT the classified US report was copied and pasted from a PDF file into a MS Word document thus restoring all the unprotected, missing information.[1]
- 02.05.2005: some Italian newspapers published omitted names and details online.
- 03.05.2005: release of the Italian report containing different interpretations of the facts.

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[1] In legal terms, the Italian magistrates could not use the restored information as the USA denied approval to the international formal requests to acquire the name of the US soldier who fired the shoots.

A legitimising text: The US report

At the time of completing the present essay, the full US report is no longer available on the MNCI website. When the classified document was released as an unprotected PDF file on 30 April 2005, it came as a surprise to several Italian Internet users that its blackened information would reappear if the document was copied and pasted into a standard word processor document. Soon after realizing this mistake, the US investigative committee removed the report from its Internet location (as early as May 2005, the report on the MNCI website could no longer be accessed). Nonetheless it remained available because *Corriere della Sera* stored downloadable copies of the US report on its website until August 2008 (both versions, with and without blackening of classified information, together with its translation and its Italian counterpart, that is, the non-legally valid Italian report). Whilst all the other articles discussing the release and content of the US report were still available in September 2008, the US Report was no longer accessible.[2]

The US report is a hybrid text: a military report, written by Gen. Peter Vanjel supported by a Lieutenant Colonel as legal advisor, representing the findings of a joint, diplomatic investigative team including civilians, thus adopting a discourse that is an inter-language drawing upon military, legal, and diplomatic linguistic conventions (on translations as hybrid texts cf. Schäffner and Adab 2001; also the notion of narrativity of translation Baker 2006). Mainly, the language of the text respects military style, functional and succinct yet sometimes convoluted, it is full of acronyms as visible in the extracts below, and provides a legitimisation of one single perspective of the events. Events are presented as facts, ambiguous data are omitted (also in the version in which classified omissions were restored), and doubtful findings become statements of fact, as can be seen in the following illustrative example from the Report:

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[2] When writing the observations presented in this chapter, I worked on a large number of accounts, comments, and reports that had appeared in the newspapers selected for the purposes of this research. The articles chosen and discussed represent a sample in which the process of legitimising through translation is clearly apparent. Listing the most important articles dealing with this phase of the Calipari Case aims at offering to the readers a general idea of the impact that this event had during the days of publication of the US report. As the US report is no longer available at the time of going to press, any scholar who would like to access the original PDF may contact the author.

(U) On Friday, 25 March 2005, a certified radar operator conducted two traffic samples at BP 541. From 1809 hours to 1824 hours, 27 vehicles were clocked. The average speed at the Alert Line was 44 mph. The average speed at the beginning of the on-ramp's curve was 24 mph. From 1956 hours to 2015 hours, 30 vehicles were clocked. The average speed at the Alert Line was 46 mph. The average speed at the beginning of the curve was 26 mph.

These statements of facts then led to claims such as: "Both Specialist Lozano and Sergeant Domangue *perceived the car to be traveling in excess of 50 mph* (*and faster than any other vehicles that evening*)" (our italics).

This forty-two-page US report with three pages of index is divided into five sections and does not mention the names of the Italians in the joint committee. Although the report refers to the international investigative team, the Italians are not a legally necessary part (US Report 2005, 2, 8). Section I provides the background information: the incident, the environment in which it occurred, the constraints and limitations of the investigation (US Report 2005, 1-3). Section II focuses on the "atmospherics": data on the forms of insurgents' attacks, plus the training and experience of the US soldiers involved in the event and their various duties (US Report 2005, 4-11). Section III describes the (once) secret procedures of Traffic Control Points (TCP) and BP, "see and do" training, and the "Shout, Show, Shove, Shoot" alerting signals; it describes the peculiarity of BP 541 where the events of 4 March took place (US Report 2005, 12-22). Section IV describes the event, full details about times are given until 20:50 when Calipari's car was seen approaching (US Report 2005, 23-39); no precise times are given in subsection IV.F where the "Post-Incident Events" are examined (US Report 2005, 31-33). Section V is dedicated to assessing the lack of coordination between US and Italian command officers (US Report 2005, 40-42).

Describing the TCP and BPs procedures, the third section implicitly points out the limitations of the training given to US soldiers for manning BPs. Hence the multi-genre narrative of the US report

[…] recommends a comprehensive review of TCP and blocking position procedures, to include risk assessment, required equipment, considerations for site selection, and the establishment of clearly visible warnings or indicators, both day and night, for Soldier and civilian recognition. (US Report 2005, 21)

It describes an ongoing analysis that "will produce standard practices and guidelines for the selection and establishment of ECPs, TCPs, and BPs"

(US Report 2005, 21). Within such a legitimising text, there is still an admission of imprecise training that implies limited but existent responsibility of the soldiers manning the position. Some articles in the Italian media seemed to implicitly accept this recommendation, as they blamed inexperience and training, but not the fact that US soldiers "interpreted" both procedures and training.

All the descriptions of the procedures adopted to man a point of traffic, including the peculiarity of BP 541 (2005, 12-22), belong to a single **genre**; as suggested by Fairclough:

> […] a way of acting in its discourse aspect [...]. Genres can be identified at different levels of abstractions: highly abstract 'pre-genres' such as Narrative or Report, which generalize over many different forms of narrative and report at a more concrete level, disembedded genres [...], and situated genres which are tied to particular networks of social practices. (Fairclough 2003, 216)

The descriptions of the manned positions of TCPs and BPs show that they are disembedded genres, which are situated in the particular context of the regulations of military training and discipline. As their descriptions imply, TCPs and BPs are subgenres of check points: they are different from the abstract genre and also from each other, but training on the different procedures does not mirror the differences between the genre and its subgenres.

The report claims a univocal perspective on the circumstances; this perspective assumes a universal status, thus hegemonising the view of the results (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, Fairclough 2003, 45-46). Essential points analysed in the US report, such as training procedures, operational experience, fundamental differences between patrol routines, TCPs, and BPs that require different skill and training for the soldiers, are all contentious. Nonetheless they were passed over with little comments by the Italian press, possibly because the persuasive style of the report suggests that its description of the sequence of events accurately reflects those that took place. For example, in terms of discourse analysis, the following passages imply that the soldiers expected the approaching car to be a car-bomb attack, because, in the past, 2 out of the 13 attacks on BP 541 were carried out through car-bombs:

> […] checkpoint 541 has been the site of 13 attacks between 1 November 2004 and early March 2005. Two of those attacks involved VBIEDs.[3]

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[3] Vehicle-Borne Improvised Explosive Devices (VBIEDs).

Other attacks included mortars, small arms fire, and IEDs[4] (US Report 2005, 8).

Other implications create internal relations in the text at the emotional level. Statements concerned with under-trained and inexperienced members of the National Guard manning the position after receiving a refreshment of checkpoint procedures through imitation training are found in the report:

> […] two days before the incident, two Soldiers from the same unit (1-69 IN) were killed by an IED at Checkpoint 543. The Commander, A Company, 1-69 IN lost a very close friend in that attack (US Report 2005, 8).

This statement is obviously valid as a human attenuating circumstance for the US soldiers' tension. In fact, there are similar emotional statements about the Italian driver's state of shock, e.g. :

> Mr. Carpani became a little dizzy, so Sergeant First Class […] got some water for him. Mr. Carpani kept making phone calls. […] Mr. Carpani kept on insisting that he wanted to go to the airport (US Report 2005, 33).

However, the wording of the statements maximises implicit accusations against the Italian rescuers, who had put themselves into a dangerous situation in which emotionally stressed US soldiers had to react instinctively to a fast car approaching without slowing down.

The report contains ambiguous avowals of the soldier's limited practical knowledge, experience, and training in manning a flying BP. It adopts a form of legitimisation through inaccessible intertextuality. Following Fairclough's model, intertextuality is "the presence within [the text] of elements of other texts (and therefore potentially other voices than the author's own) which may be related to […] in various ways" (Fairclough 2003, 218). The report adds the soldiers' sworn testimonies, unavailable to the Italian investigators, thus legitimising its own content by referring to other voices not fully represented. Italian journalists ignored the incongruence until it was underlined by the Italian report. The inconsistencies of the US report are interesting because they attempt to authorize and legitimize one single reading of the text. As we will see below, Italian newspapers focused on procedures, communication, and speed as a result of the ST legitimisations. In other words, the "selective

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[4] Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs).

appropriations" of the source text were embedded into the frame prepared by the newspapers' editorial line and by the authoritative narrative of the source text. The reframing of the US report is considered in the context of what Orengo has identified as a specific form of Italian "tribalising" activity (Orengo 2005, 176-77, cf. also Cronin 2005 for general forms of journalistic glocalisations).

Media discourse and political manipulations

The texts analysed in this research on mediatisation of translations were published in *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera*, *Il Secolo d'Italia*, *Il Manifesto*, and *L'Unità* between 27 April 2005 and 5 May 2005. These texts can be dealt with outside the very useful paradigm adopted by Orengo (2005) referring to localisation, as the sequence of the US report publication asked for a traditional act of translation: the source text was not a piece of news but a report that was only available in full to the Italian press. Yet looking into the processes of selection and editing of the translations carried out in *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica*, the framing system of Italian media manifests itself at its fullest. It is thus worth providing some background information on the specificity of the Italian media. Daily newspapers are fundamental sources of information for the majority of Italians; audiences of online newspapers are growing, however, usage of the Internet and computer skills show that Italy is still growing slowly in comparison to most EU member states (cf. Eurostat, Allen and Corselli-Nordblad 2007, 5). In addition, a number of newspapers explicitly belong to political parties and are run at a loss provided that they influence the party's own electorate (cf. Ginsborg 2003, 108-12).

With regard to the two daily newspapers quoted in this chapter, *La Repubblica* was founded in Rome in 1976 and has become the most widely read Italian newspaper (2,993,000 readership, Audipress 2005, 38). It does not claim any political affiliation, although it is manifestly democratic and left-wing in many of its most explicit views. The *Corriere della Sera* is based in Milan and is moderate, liberal, and slightly conservative (2,966,000 readership, Audipress 2005, 38). According to its declaration of 1876, *Corriere* describes itself as an

> […] independent newspaper with a manifestly European mission, 'free from any political or economic biases, whether those imposed from

without or arising from within' (Ugo Stille) (cf. *Corriere.it*)[5]

Readers choose their newspapers according to the affinity they feel towards the main—explicit or implicit—ideological thrust of the newspaper. This perceived shared mindset, or interaction, between newspaper and readers allows the reader, consciously or otherwise, to become complicit in the political bias of the journalists' manipulations or of the hyperbolic conventions of reporting, as noted by Bassnett (2005, 124). Readers often interact intuitively with their preferred newspaper since

> […] ideological representations are generally implicit rather than explicit in texts, and are embedded in ways of using language which are naturalized and commonsensical for reporters, audiences, and various categories of third parties. (Fairclough 1995, 44-45, also Bell 1991, 212-29).

The power and influence that newspapers exert over their readership is immense. In fact, "news reports […] need to be analysed in relation to elaborate social, political and cultural conditions and consequences" (van Dijk 1997b, 4). For this reason, the specificity of the Italian context needs to be mentioned, as it contextualized the legitimising translations. When the US report was released, journalists were ready to adopt all possible "acculturation strategies" (Bassnett 2005, 125) to integrate the translated text into the predisposed frame to host the report within the established editorial line (whether this type of ideology of translation is entirely negative or positive is difficult to establish, see for example Calzada Perez 2003, 5-7). The acculturation strategies were going to have a reframing function, as Tables 1 and 2 will show: the newspapers had created certain expectations, had set out a discourse frame into which such translations were going to suit the expectation either directly or re-edited; once the translations were available, they were slotted in the prepared frame. Once embedded in the editorial expectations, the translation functionally contributed to reframing the discourse on the US report, without analysing its crucial elements of incongruence.

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[5] All translations from Italian into English are mine unless otherwise stated. Square brackets in some of the extracts indicate instances of back translations of the Italian translations of the US report as published in Italian newspapers.

Italian press context

Critics have represented the specific context of Italian media as suffering from a great dysfunction: reported or given opinions assume the significance of reported "facts" or "events" (cf. Travaglio 2006). The editorial line must respect parties' directives and political expectations at both ends: from publisher and readers. Therefore every report is affected by "significant phenomena of linguistic tribalisation" (Orengo 2005, 176) that adhere to customary lapses of objectivity and constant reframing into the expected political perspective. The US report on Calipari's death is an example of this dysfunction. The expectancy on the investigation was high and the media were awaiting a negative outcome by the first week of April. Figures about the speed of the Toyota Corolla, the supposed payment of a ransom by the Italian government, and the idea of a "joint committee of investigation" had all been criticized and commented on by newspapers (and other media) long before the investigators' report was released. Criticisms aimed at attacking coordinators of the rescue operations, military personnel, and politicians—who were already to reciprocate reproaches and accusations. The Italian internal system of mediatised politics focused on the US report, with ferocious criticism, even if the textual components remained highly unchallenged after the publication.

Therefore, the translations received a double treatment. The US report was uploaded on the International Iraq Corps website and released full of omissions (coded SNF) on 30 April 2005; its extracts in translation appeared in online and paper versions of many newspapers (e.g. *La Repubblica*, *Corriere della Sera*, *L'Unità*, *Il Secolo*, *La Stampa*, *Il Giorno*, *Il Resto del Carlino*, and others). Overnight (ca. 0:25 GMT) the omissions disappeared: both a blogger and a Greek student of medicine in Bologna claimed to have been the first to realize that the PDF document had not been protected and a simple "copy and paste" revealed the classified information. This breakthrough put the legitimising text under further scrutiny, as it underwent a second translation. These circumstances increased the number of translations in circulation, as newspapers had the *Primo di Maggio* break (May Bank Holiday) to commission full translations.

These circumstantial events happened in a social context in which media power assumes very peculiar characteristics. Together with the political interferences of the political parties' press, Italy suffers from an abnormal concentration of media. In their report for 2005, Freedom House gave a clear account of the bleak Italian reality:

> […] freedom of speech and of the press are constitutionally guaranteed. However, media freedom remained constrained in 2005 by the continued concentration of media power in the hands of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who controlled 90 percent of the country's broadcast media through his private media holdings and political power over the state television networks. (Freedom House 2006)

In this controlled setting, even the outsiders of the government and the newspapers of the opposition failed to acknowledge that the Italian institutions could have mishandled the situation (and not just at governmental level). These reasons might explain some of the manipulations in translations to be analysed in the next section.

Translations of the US Report

On one of the very rare occasions when newspapers offer a large section of a text in translation, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica* seem to have used a similar approach when publishing their renderings of the US report: the source text was reordered and its paragraphs reorganized. Invasive editing is common practice in translation agencies, according to Mossop (2007, 121; see also Taylor 2003 on newspaper translation), however, textual manipulations of the sort analysed in this case went beyond editing and translating purposes.

Corriere della Sera

In *Corriere della Sera*, the US report was published on 3 May 2005, in parallel with the Italian report of the investigation. The examples analysed here focus on re-ordering, re-paragraphing, and editorial reviewing of the target text with the purposes of legitimising one heroic perspective excluding references to the complex responsibilities in the event. *Corriere* published a signed translation, by Maria Serena Natale, who regularly translates from English into Italian in the pages of *Corriere*, specializing in political discourse and international relations (cf. *Corriere.it*). As argued in the previous sections, the discourse of the ST had already been influenced and "shaped by social aims and ideologies" (Schäffner 2004, 122; for a discussion on the relations between institutions, newspapers, and translators in the Italian setting see Tosi 2003).

Although neither the newspapers' nor their editors' views of the Calipari event were politically extreme, ideological choices and practical interventions were introduced when releasing a translation of the ST. In the first column (*Il documento americano* 2005, 2) the translation published

in *Corriere* summarizes the US report's elements from different sections (from p. 8 and p. 34), thus recreating a different discourse:

Table 1: Editing and reframing

Source text	Translation
(S//NF) Checkpoint 541 has been the site of 13 attacks between 1 November 2004 and early March 2005. Two of those attacks involved VBIEDs. Other attacks included mortars, small arms fire, and IEDs. **(a)** (US Report 2005: 8) (U) On Friday, 25 March 2005, a certified radar operator conducted two traffic samples at BP 541. From 1809 hours to 1824 hours, 27 vehicles were clocked. The average speed at the Alert Line was 44 mph. The average speed at the beginning of the on-ramp's curve was 24 mph. From 1956 **(c)** hours to 2015 hours, 30 vehicles were clocked. The average speed at the Alert Line was 46 mph. The average speed at the beginning of the curve was 26 mph. (US Report 2005, 34)	Il posto di blocco 51 è stato teatro di 13 attacchi tra il primo novembre 2004 e i primi di marzo 2005. Due di quegli attacchi coinvolgevano ordigni improvvisati trasportati su veicoli. **(a)** (…) Venerdì 25 marzo un operatore radar certificato ha condotto due rilevazioni sul traffico al BP 541. Dalle 18.09 alle 18.24, **(b)** sono stati cronometrati 27 veicoli. La velocità media alla Alert Line era di 44 miglia orarie. La velocità media all'inizio della curva della rampa di immissione sulla Route Irish **(c)** era di 24 miglia orarie. Dalle 16.56 [sic] alle 20.15, **(b)** sono stati cronometrati 30 veicoli. La velocità media alla Alert Line era di 46 miglia orarie. La velocità media all'inizio della curva era di 26 miglia orarie. Back translation: [Checkpoint 541 has been the theatre of 13 attacks between the 1st of November 2004 and early March 2005. Two of those attacks involved improvised explosive devices carried by vehicles. Friday 25 March a certified radar operator carried out two readings of traffic at BP 541. From 18.09 to 18.24, were timed 27 vehicles. The average speed at the Alert Line was 44 miles per hour. The average speed at the beginning of the curve of the on-ramp on the Route Irish was 24 miles per hour. From 16.56 to 20.15, were timed 30 vehicles. The average speed at the Alert Line was 46 miles per hour. The average speed at the beginning of the curve was 26 miles per hour.]

Indeed, the omission (a) has been acknowledged typographically, but the charged text (as we have seen above) was already manipulated by the US investigators with the addition of the *caveat* discussed above (2 car-bombs out of 13 attacks implicitly justify the soldiers' reaction). The translation begins with the omission of other more numerous forms of attack: "[o]ther attacks included mortars, small arms fire, and IEDs", which leads to hypothesize that the target text accepts the legitimisation offered by the US Report. Furthermore, the translated extracts from the US report continue quoting from the section "The Mission" (US Report 2005, 24-28). This reordering legitimises the Italian interpretations of the US report, as it stresses how overall the US report blamed the Italian driver for his speed and the Italian military commands for their lack of communication with the US forces. In addition, the punctuation, hence the syntactic correctness, of the TT does not correspond to the norms of Italian, such as the comma interrupting the indication of time (b). It is highly probable that this was a Computer Assisted Translation draft to be revised and some slips occurred when the final editing took place (although 3 days had passed from the official release). There is a disambiguation (c, an amplification, using Malone-Taylor terminology, cf. Taylor 2003) "at the beginning of the on-ramp's curve" > "all'inizio della curva della rampa di immissione sulla Route Irish" [at the beginning of the Route Irish on-ramp's curve] in which the TT reader is given more details, possibly because the translator felt it necessary to explain, referring to readers' shared knowledge of the location of this event (also amplified on TV programmes). Yet beyond the necessary linguistic interventions, the translation shows elements of editorial inaccuracy such as the slip with time, 16:56 instead of 19:56[6], and inconsistencies raise issues of quality when translated texts like these fire political debates. Otherwise, if the translator is made visible, the inconsistencies might fire the debate on why post-translational editing is not carried out in consultation with translators. If translators are visible and do not want to participate into the reframing of their target texts, then they ought not to become again suddenly invisible when the final version appears in print or online.

With regard to the issue of the speed, the translations show asymmetrical cultural exchanges in two directions: the US report legitimised in one direction with its content, rhetoric, structure, and intertextuality that establish a firm idea of truth and factual accuracy; such as the example below:

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[6] It must be emphasised that the inaccuracy does not come from the use of a different version of the source text, as the present article has been written referring to the version of the US report that was once available on www.corriere.it.

Table 2: Approximate conversions

Source text	Translation
Both Specialist Lozano and Sergeant Domangue perceived the car to be traveling in excess of 50 mph (and faster than any other vehicles that evening).	Sia lo specialista Lozano che il sergente Domangue percepirono che l'auto viaggiava a una velocità superiore alle 50 miglia/h (…) (circa 90 chilometri l'ora ndr.) Back translation: [Both Specialist Lozano and Sergeant Domangue perceived that the car was travelling at a speed over 50 mph (note of the page-editor: about 90 kmh]

However, the TT is legitimising an editorial position: "and faster than any other vehicles that evening" is carefully omitted and a conversion is introduced. The translations are stretched by the reframing function that they are going to have (inform the journalists' comments on the US report and inform the readers) and by the *skopos* of the ST: confirming one perspective of the action. The main (supposed) discrepancy between Italian witnesses and US soldiers was the speed at which the Toyota Corolla was approaching the blocking point. To this end, the translation, mostly functional and carefully semantic in Newmark's terms (Newmark 1988, 19-21), is completed with an explanatory and disambiguating conversion, not provided by the translator: 50 mph = 90 kmh. This participates in the legitimisation process, which defends the Italian official position with regard to speed: the US report offered inconsistent testimonies about the driver's speed (according to this perspective, the Italian driver said a maximum of 70 kmh and the US report recorded his words as between 70-80 kmh). The issue of the speed occupied the articles written during the days of the US release (cf. Federici forthcoming, for further details on the way in which the issue was dealt with in *L'Unità*, *Il Manifesto*, and *Il Secolo*).

As theorists of norm-oriented behaviours have argued (cf. Toury 1995), translational behaviour changes in relation to the rapport existing between the target culture and its influence on the translators. Yet, if the journalist translator avoids the pressure of the socio-political context, other operators can interfere. In fact, in the example from *Corriere*, the conversions are not carried out by the translator and the page-editor intervenes (we may wish to ask whether this was the same person who

reordered the text). Furthermore, in this case the ideological background of the newspapers affected an already complex translational behaviour.

Are we dealing with overt or covert translations? The case of the *Corriere* has been chosen as it is one long example (among the newspapers analysed) of overt translation. The readers do not have access to a source text and its translation in parallel for a critical reading, but they are offered a translation of the US report with the Italian report in parallel for a comparative reading. If the translation is not considerable as instrumental, the comparative choice is. Comparing the translation of the US report to that of the Italian investigators in the joint committee, the newspaper underlines the different results, thus attempting to undermine the source text. The translation is therefore used as a legitimising text for the journalistic assumption that the important distances between the US report and the Italian one represent a valid field for criticism, concerned with a satisfactory defence of the national interests. Unfortunately, the source text has been written with such a legitimising discourse that its full authority is not contested and the comparison weakens the political issue raised in the Italian social context. The passages from section IV.5 on training and procedures have not taken the central space in the page; this content has been omitted altogether from the TT published in the daily issue of *Corriere*. The publication of this TT shows that whatever the role of its translator, the ST legitimising act succeeded at least in influencing the editorial line of comparing the ST, without analysing its inconsistencies, to the Italian report, which was an additional document that Italian authorities demanded from the Italian diplomatic and military representatives who had been "involved" in the official, US-led investigation. This additional Italian report politically and legally has not been recognized as an official document by the USA.[7] The legitimising theory seems further reinforced by the very similar behaviour found in *La Repubblica*.

La Repubblica

The comparative choice was indeed a contextual choice "forced upon" journalists and translators—if actively involved in the selection—by the socio-political situation. Four articles in *La Repubblica* adopt extracts

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[7] The issue of international law that lies behind the prosecution *in absentia* of the US soldiers by Italian magistrate is far too complex to be included in this short analysis. However, this issue has played an important political and legal role, which further justifies the observations on the newspapers' editorial choices analysed in the present article.

from the US report translations (and a further two editorials by well-known journalists extensively quote and manipulate the quotations, cf. Federici forthcoming). In *La Repubblica* the translation is not signed: the two reports are compared by publishing online short extracts of the information that appeared after the classified information was revealed. Yet an article that comments on the full translations shows components of another act of legitimisation of the Italian position in the event. The issue of communication is raised polemically now that the classified information was revelead:

> […] e sappiamo che tra i tanti mezzi di comunicazione in dotazione all'esercito Usa qualcosa non funzionò e non si riuscì a far sapere ai vari posti di blocco che il Vip era già passato e arrivato a destinazione. [and we know that among the means of communication of which the US army is doted something did not work and it was not possible to tell to the various check points that the VIP had already passed and arrived at his destination] (Olivero 2005)

And again later in the same article:

> […] uno dei passaggi più importanti riguarda i problemi di comunicazione che gli americani ebbero quella sera, intollerabili soprattutto in un momento delicato come quello, cioè gli spostamenti di Negroponte. [One of the most important passages is concerned with the problems of communication that the Americans had that night, intolerable especially at such a delicate moment as during Negroponte's movements] (Olivero 2005)

The closure of Olivero's article contributes to defining the contextual system of *La Repubblica*, by this appositional clause used without a main verb:

> […] una sorta di riconoscimento di responsabilità o comunque un'ammissione che qualcosa in più per evitare quella morte si poteva fare [some sort of acknowledgement of responsibility or anyway an admittance that something more could have been done to avoid that death] (Olivero 2005)

The closure acts as a functional elaboration, it "does not introduce a new element into the picture but rather provides a further characterization of one [clause] that is already there, restating it, clarifying it, refining it, or adding a descriptive attribute or comment" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 396). This elaboration is an emphatic rhetorical device: Italians

wanted the US report to recognize that some fault lay with the US soldiers. The legitimisation of the source text does not allow this; therefore journalists must pick what "looks like some sort" of recognition of this fact.

A long extract of the classified version of the US document appeared in translation on 30 April 2005 ('Calipari, stralci del rapporto Usa. La ricostruzione e le conclusioni', *La Repubblica,it*). This translation shows a constant re-organization from the very first paragraph that changes the order in which the information was conveyed. However, there are many elements of visible slippage such as

> [la macchina] finiva sotto il fuoco [the car ended up under the fire] < the car came under fire (US Report 2005, 1);
> il numero di circostanze occorse sul sito hanno impedito di sterilizzarlo [the number of circumstances occurred on the site impeded to sterilize it] < a number of circumstances that occurred on the site prevented the incident site from being treated as a sterile site (US Report 2005, 2);
> non deputato ad essere scena del crimine [not deemed to be the scene of the crime] < the scene was not deemed to be a crime scene (US Report 2005, 2).

These prevent an accurate analysis of this translation, as it is difficult to distinguish from the translator's limited understanding of the ST and translational acts aimed at legitimising. Altogether slippages contribute to an overall reshaping of the text in order to legitimize the Italian complaints against the hegemonic perspective given by the US report. This slippage may be part of the functional elaboration and it also corresponds to a further example of translator's invisibility, as the authorship of the translation used by the journalist is not acknowledged, and details of slippage allow to criticize both reorganization for reframing purposes and issues with its overall quality.

These practices raise the following questions: What sort of translations did journalists use during the Calipari events? Does it matter in the light of such an intensive reframing and "selective appropriation"? Providing potential answers to these questions means to encourage further research into the relationship between translation agencies and commissions from the media in the Italian setting, and also research of the kind presented in this volume for other language pairs. It is fair to say that recently researchers (such as Orengo 2005) have engaged into looking at the wider picture of news translation. Much remains to be done in order to understand how the collaboration and working relationships between freelance translators and their editors work in Italy at present. Little

information is available on internal translation policies for newspapers; nonetheless there has been a gradual increase in their offer of translated articles as part of their online provision. In this perspective, it seems rather implausible that translators, for example the professional who worked for *Corriere della Sera*, would easily accept manipulations of their cohesive texts if quality standards could be negotiated prior to publication and discussed by the two agents of the translational act. To answer the second question specifically, it matters which type of translation quality newspapers and press agencies expect from their translators, yet it matters far more that translational outputs are then protected from ad hoc manipulations that will fit into more or less explicit editorial lines of the newspapers that commissioned them.[8]

Concluding remarks: CDA and functional linguistics

The US report as a text is clearly situated in a defined and complex context (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 and van Dijk 1997a, 11-16), as it took place in a specific social situation. However, establishing parameters to analyse the situation scientifically is a difficult task. Although the participants in the meaning-making process of the texts were many, the levels of participation may be grossly simplified into three categories of internal relations: 1) participants in the production of the source text; 2) participants in the translation of the text; 3) participants in the audience. The first group includes US military investigators, Italian military and political representatives in the committee of investigation, all the witnesses who testified and whose testimonies were archived in the (inaccessible) annexes to the US report. This group of participants is easily recognizable but many political and military implications, internal relations, of its production are not accessible to date. For the second group, translations available through *Corriere della Sera* and *La Repubblica* have been analysed with the unsurprising result that the national context of political and ideological positions interfered with translational practices. For the third group, general elements of socio-cultural characters have been given in the second section of this chapter and, needless to say, the audience interest in the event was enormous, but it was also conditioned by TV simplifications and spectacularized reports on the facts, the hyperbolic discourse identified by Bassnett (2005, 124).

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[8] This is particularly relevant when events and incidents have the importance and impact that this one had in Italy, as the selected list of articles included in the bibliography testifies.

The roles of the different participants increase exponentially the complexity of analysis. In relation to the function of the source text and target text, this chapter confirms that there is extensive common ground for research from the perspective of Political Discourse Analysis and that of Translation Studies: contextual and textual manipulations for explicit, implicit, or systemic reasons are visible and affect the impact of texts on the political discourse. The legitimising interventions can be done in descriptive terms, and, although less effectively, in functional terms: why and how the repetitions of certain structures and the adoption of others appear to show a certain amount of non-linguistically explainable manipulations (such as those of re-ordering and re-paragraphing). Time and market constraints of journalists play an enormous role in the production of the target texts, affect quality control, and modify the type of skills requested of translators in the sector, as recent research has confirmed (cf. the special issue *Language and Intercultural Communication* 5.2; and, on translation and cosmopolitanism of global culture, Cronin 2006, 6-42). Some journalists were ready to admit that the need of a fast and efficient production irreversibly influences translated news (cf. Cook 2003). In the Calipari case, the investigation itself played a significant role in the production of the very source text.

To conclude, this chapter has looked at some approaches to legitimising a text and the socio-political power of manipulated translations in the Italian context. The Italian context exposes limitations and peculiarities in the way in which reporting facts have been transformed into giving opinions on them. In this context, journalists assume a certain amount of shared knowledge with the audience that has somehow already been made aware of the facts, raising once again the question of the invisible translators' role. Ideological manipulations of texts are not easy to trace and the usual Popperian conundrum appears: how far does the observer's own perspective impede a neutral reading? Nonetheless, there are some instances in which objective attempts of applying CDA to translations bring profitable observations, and the analysis of translations referring to the Calipari case was one of these instances.

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PART II

POLITICAL DISCOURSE, MEDIA AND TRANSLATION: INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES

MULTILINGUALISM IN THE EU:
A DEVELOPING POLICY FIELD

UBALDO STECCONI

Introduction

In 1957 a political and ideological movement born out of the material and spiritual ravages left by two world wars took a decisive turn when the leaders of six European countries met in Rome to sign the treaties establishing the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The original goal of this movement, as spelt out in a speech by the Foreign Minister of France, Robert Schuman, seven years earlier, was to secure a lasting peace on the continent by pooling the industries and technologies that were essential for the warfare of the time (the text of the declaration is available at http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/9-may/decl_en.htm, last accessed 12 May 2008). To this end, the countries that subscribed to the project would have to give up some of their sovereign powers and place them under an independent authority, the first of which was the European Coal and Steel Community, created in 1951. This, in a nutshell, is the organising principle around which grew the process of European integration, which has marked the history of the continent for the past fifty years. The idea was revolutionary in many respects. When the countries of Europe were not at war with each other, their relations had been managed by means of bilateral agreements or—since the Congress of Vienna of 1814— multilateral summits. However, it would have been unthinkable for any party to these agreements willingly to cede even a tiny portion of its sovereign powers for the sake of a common good.

The system inaugurated in Vienna remained in operation for about a century until the start of World War I, when it was clear that it could not ensure peace and stability on the continent in an age of rampant nationalism. One reason for this failure was structural. As the Congress of

Vienna amply demonstrated, the deals reached by ministers and diplomats would inevitably be biased towards the short–term views and—most importantly—interests of the larger, more powerful and more stable countries at the expense of minor powers. This is a crucial point, because the institutional and diplomatic innovation introduced with the process of European integration is based on a principle of equality. Within the limits traced by the successive treaties, all the countries that have joined what is now the European Union enjoy the same rights and the same duties and are fairly represented in the common institutions.

The creation of independent bodies in the European institutions with a mandate to defend and promote the common good allowed for the opening of a clearing in international law, which had been a Hobbesian jungle until then. How was the common good defined? What powers exactly did the countries of the European Union (EU) accept to relinquish? Apart from the tasks related to common economic goals (internal market, growth, jobs, etc.) which were and still remain the largest areas of operation, the Community had other tasks as well, such as social and environmental protection, social cohesion and solidarity, and equality between men and women. However, the original treaties did not include any provision related to language among the articles devoted to the tasks of the Community.

This chapter will draw a sketch of the EU policy domain known as "multilingualism". The first sections will review the legal basis for EU action in this domain; above all, action that translates into practice the principled equality of the national languages of the countries that are part of the Union. A discussion of a fairly recent policy document devoted to multilingualism follows. The document lays the foundation for current policies and opens paths for future development. The final sections will be devoted to three of the most important aspects of EU language policies: the language services of the EU institutions, language learning, and the promotion of linguistic diversity.

Legal basis

This very brief reconstruction of the historical and institutional settings surrounding the birth of the European Union serves to put our discussion in its proper context. The present section provides some background information covering the legal basis of the EU language policy. The first mention of language in the treaties reads as follows:

> Article 21. Every citizen of the Union may write to any of [its] institutions or bodies […] in one of the languages mentioned in Article 314 and have an answer in the same language (TEC).

This article provides that the European institutions are multilingual bodies. To the best of my knowledge, no other international or supranational organisation is mandated by its own foundational law to interact with its constituents in languages they can understand. The provision is in fact closer to the arrangements found in some countries where more than one language is spoken, such as Belgium, Canada, and South Africa. The correspondence is not trivial; the Community applied on a supranational scale a principle of equality similar to the one that a democratic government applies to its citizens. In either case, the law cannot give preferential treatment to any language lest discrimination be legalised. Finally, please note the use of the verb "write", which presupposes official exchanges of letters between the European institutions on one side and natural and legal persons on the other. In sum, in the original treaty, language is regarded as an operational and administrative issue for European institutions. Let us now move to another article that refers to languages:

> Article 314. This Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Dutch, French, German, and Italian languages, all four texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited […] (TEC)

The original six member countries agreed that four languages would be enough to cover the practical and legal requirements of the emerging European bodies. This article has been amended several times, and now it includes 23 languages. The wording reaffirms the principle of equality stating that the different language versions of the treaty are "equally authentic"—itself an intriguing phrase. Taken together, articles 21 and 314 state that the European institutions should be proficient in a certain number of languages. It remains to be seen who draws up the list and how.

> Article 290. The rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall […] be determined by the Council, acting unanimously (TEC).

This is another crucial determinant to any present or future EU language policy. Not only were languages absent from the original policies of the Community, but any decision regarding languages are taken by the Council, which is composed of representatives of the governments of the

member states, and each government has veto power. I will look into the implications of this state of affairs below.

These provisions were implemented by the very first regulation adopted by the Council. This indicates that, although languages were regarded as a mere administrative challenge, solving it was a precondition for the newly established institutions to work at all. Here are excerpts from the regulation:

> Council Regulation no. 1 of 1958. Whereas each of the four languages in which the Treaty is drafted is recognised as an official language in one or more of the Member States of the Community;
> Article 1. The official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Community shall be Dutch, French, German and Italian.
> Article 3. Documents which an institution of the Community sends to a Member State or to a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State shall be drafted in the language of such State (DGT 2007, 14).

The text confirms that the official languages of the European institutions coincide with the official languages of its member countries.

Official and working languages

As we can see, the two terms are used in the above regulation, "official and working languages", but no distinction is made between them (cf. van Els 2005 and Ammon 2006 for a discussion). The distinction may not have been crucial when the languages were only four, but it is a potentially major difficulty today since the official languages have grown to 23. Because it would be unrealistic to expect such linguistic prowess of EU officials, practical arrangements must be found. When EU staff talk or write to each other, they normally use French or English—with German a distant third. Most communicative situations would tend to stabilise in one of these languages. However, some people comprehend both French and English perfectly well but would prefer one when it comes to writing or speaking. As a result, passive bilingualism is not uncommon in written exchanges and in face-to-face conversations.

In other words, the EU institutions are home to people from 27 different nationalities who use mainly two languages to communicate, and for a large majority of them neither is a mother tongue. Ignoring for a moment all the other social and professional determinants, what "corporate" or "cultural" environment does this situation determine? Kaisa Koskinen (2000, 2004) claims that the EU institutions form a culture of their own. My observations largely confirm her insight. However, this is

the beginning of the story, not the end. The growth of a multicultural, bilingual and—as they say in Canada—allophone community would have been a pretty natural development given the political and administrative conditions surrounding the EU institutions. The really interesting questions are those that take this state of affairs as background. One of them is: What is the position of the EU institutional culture *vis à vis* the cultures of its constituencies? Is it a melting pot? Is it an interculture (cf. Pym 2002)? Is it an ivory tower utterly detached from the real world? Much is at stake on these questions. Such issues as citizens' participation and the democratic legitimacy of the institutions are potentially affected by the interface between the EU institutional culture and the cultures across the continent.

More recent developments

We have seen so far the language–related legal provisions included in the treaty of 1957 and in the first Council regulation. The legal framework of the language domain did not change much until 1992, when the Treaty of Maastricht (which entered into force in 1993) included language teaching among the tasks of the EU.

> Article 149 (ex Article 126). Community action shall be aimed at:
> - developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States (TEU).

Admittedly, this short point would hardly constitute a basis for a comprehensive policy, and language is only mentioned via education; however, the addition was significant because languages ceased to be an entirely administrative issue.

No survey of the legal basis of multilingualism would be complete without a look at the constitutional treaty approved by national leaders in June 2004. The Treaty was rejected by French and Dutch voters a year later and was used as a basis for the Reform Treaty adopted in December 2007. In it, the question of Europe's languages evolved significantly. The text stated that using one's language with the EU institutions was a citizenship right.

> Article I-10. Citizens of the Union shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Constitution. They shall have: […]
> (d) the right to petition the European Parliament, to apply to the European Ombudsman, and to address the Institutions and advisory bodies of the

> Union in any of the Constitution's languages and to obtain a reply in the same language (CONST 2004).

However, preserving the traditional view, another provision added that language rights were part of a citizen's right to good administration:

> Article II-101.
> 4. Every citizen may write to the Institutions of the Union in one of the languages of the Constitution and must have an answer in the same language (ibid.).

The latter provision comes from the second part of the constitutional treaty, which reprises the EU charter of fundamental rights of 2000. The charter also mentioned language as one of the grounds for which discrimination was prohibited. The wording was very close to the text approved in 1957, but the issue has become a specific application of a more general right. As to management and implementation, language remains one of those fields in which the Council must decide by unanimous vote.

This brief survey of the legal basis of the EU multilingual policies and of other provisions related to languages ends here. In the following, some of its aspects will be discussed; here, I would like to point out what I regard as its single most important *theoretical* feature: the phrase "equally authentic" described above as "intriguing". As I said, there is no doubt the clause was included to affirm the principled equality among the languages of the member states of the EU; certainly the most original and possibly the central pillar of its language policy. However, the clause has another implicit function as well: keeping the primary legislation of the union free from the potentially corrupting influence of translation.

I would like to argue my point looking at the phrase "equally authentic" very closely. If one focuses on the word "equally", "equally authentic" means that no matter in which language the text was drafted as an original, that language has no higher status than the languages into which it was translated. If the stress is on "authenticity", instead, we can infer the clause to mean that although all the versions but one of any given article must be translations, they are not to be regarded as such. The most likely reason for this is to prevent the EU's primary legal text being weakened by translation, which would have potentially serious consequences for its status, implementation and enforcement. For instance, a translated article could be challenged in a court of law for not "saying the same" thing as the original; and because this is a claim that is just as easy to make and devilishly difficult to settle, nothing would stop ruthless

lawyers from using it to freeze trials they were about to lose—and this could make European law difficult to implement. Also, given the well documented lower social and cultural status of translations across Europe today, nationalist politicians might object to theirs being the language into which European primary legislation was translated. The logical rebuttal would be to ask these politicians to explain precisely why they would regard a translated text as worth less than a non-translated one. But, again, given that this view is widely held, this logical reply would also be impractical.

This view of translation as a corrupting operation that produces second-rate texts is not made explicit but is merely implied in the primary legislation. However, information and views that are left implicit in the course of communication can be very persuasive. When you use inferential processes to extract implicit views and information from a text, it becomes more difficult to formulate a critical response to them. This is because the inference is located in your mind, not in the text before your eyes—it somehow already belongs to you.

Community vs inter-governmental methods

Taken together, the treaties in force and the Reform Treaty under ratification leave the area of languages to the Member States. There is little room for administrative decisions taken at community level and even less for policy-making. This is not to imply that the European Commission and Parliament, the two main bodies that do not represent national governments, should take over language policy. There are many reasons why national authorities should keep a tight grip on languages, and we will later see that some of these reasons are excellent. However, legislation and policies should keep pace with changes in the body politic and social, and much has changed in the linguistic landscape of Europe since 1957—or 1992, for that matter. Much has also changed in the perception of language issues both among scholars and lay people.

I will illustrate these changes with three examples. With its stability and growing prosperity, Europe has become a sought–after destination for a large number of migrants from poorer regions of the world. Together with their ability and willingness to work—which is propping up an economy threatened by an ageing domestic population—they add their customs and languages to the cultural and human diversity of Europe. The second change is linked to enlargement and to the progressive dismantling of internal barriers. It has never been so easy to move to another EU country for study or work as it has been for the Erasmus generations for

the past two decades. Increased internal mobility may not have the effect of enriching the cultural and linguistic diversity of the EU; however it will mix the existing palette to create colours we may never have seen before. Finally, there is in certain countries a growing demand for the devolution of central powers to the regions. This change too is linked to the success of the EU as an institutional model, because it has created an alternative to the monopoly position of "the nation [as] an imagined political community" (Anderson 1991, 5). It is likely that the European citizens of tomorrow will feel multiple, equally strong allegiances towards their own regions of origin, their countries, and a united Europe. As a result of the devolution of power to the regions, their languages may acquire a higher status. Again, the overall degree of diversity will probably remain unaffected, but this time what will likely change is the relative brightness of the existing colours.

These are momentous changes which call for a swift and bold updating of EU languages policies. Which method will be used to analyse the reality, design the new policies and pursue their objectives? Will the EU stick to the inter-governmental method or opt for the community method? Although it is too early to tell, it will eventually be a combination of the two, because it is almost certain that language policy will not become an exclusive competence of the Union in the foreseeable future nor will it be scrapped altogether. However, recent events may help us predict the different paths this policy field will follow as it develops under the two methods. I will take as my inter-governmental example an event which allegedly occurred during the final conference of national leaders that approved the Constitution in 2004. To illustrate the community method, I will review some initiatives taken by President Barroso and the European Commission.

Co-official languages

According to press reports published in the Spanish dailies (cf., for example, *ABC* and *La Razón* of 18 May 2004), Spain requested the recognition of "co-official languages" in the constitutional treaty as part of the final round of negotiations on the text. This demand was consistent with political and institutional trends since the re-establishment of democratic rule in that country which have granted its regions growing degrees of autonomy, including the use of regional languages such as Catalan, Galician and Basque. According to these press sources, France opposed the move. This was also consistent with the traditional French-only policy of France, as, for example, manifested by the "loi Toubon" of

1994 which, among other things, makes French compulsory in all forms of advertising (cf. LOI 94-665). It appears that, as a result of this debate, the following provision was added to the text of the Constitution in the eleventh hour.

> Article IV-448.
> 2. This Treaty may also be translated into any other languages as determined by Member States among those which, in accordance with their constitutional order, enjoy official status in all or part of their territory […] (CONST 2004).

This is not elegant prose, but to all intents the passage would have allowed the national government in Madrid to have the European Constitution exist in languages other than Castilian. In addition, the inter-governmental conference expressed the lofty ideals that the EU language arrangements were to pursue in a declaration appended to the text of the Constitution.

> Declaration on Article IV-448(2). The Conference considers that the possibility of producing translations of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe in the languages mentioned in Article IV-448(2) contributes to fulfilling the objective of respecting the Union's rich cultural and linguistic diversity as set forth in the fourth subparagraph of Article I–3(3) of that Treaty. In this context, the Conference confirms the attachment of the Union to the cultural diversity of Europe and the special attention it will continue to pay to these and other languages.
> The Conference recommends that those Member States wishing to avail themselves of the possibility recognised in Article IV-448(2) communicate to the Council, within six months from the date of the signature of that Treaty, the language or languages into which translations of that Treaty will be made (ibid.).

These last-minute additions are also a curiosity, because they contain the only five occurrences of the term "translation" and its cognates in the famously long Constitution.

A policy document on multilingualism

This much for inter-governmental negotiations, let us now turn to the European Commission, which is the executive arm of the Union, to see how the community method works. In spite of the obvious limitations of the legal basis, multilingualism has grown in importance and visibility as a policy since Mr Barroso took office as president of the Commission in 2004. Three events have marked its ascent. The first was the inclusion of

multilingualism as an explicit part of the portfolio of commissioner Figel', alongside education, culture, youth and sport. The second was the publication of a policy document—called communication—at the end of 2005. Lastly, on 1 January 2007 language policies became the entire and sole responsibility of the newly appointed Romanian commissioner, Mr Leonard Orban. Of these three events, I will analyse the communication of 2005[1].

On 23 November 2005, the European Commission adopted a communication called "A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism" (European Commission 2005). It was the first comprehensive policy document in this area and followed another communication of 2003 titled "Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: An Action Plan 2004–2006". The communication set out on a flat terminological note. It defined "multilingualism" as "a person's ability to use several languages" (ibid, 3) and as "the co–existence of different language communities in one geographical area" (ibid.). Although the overstretched term does not create major ambiguities in the text and in the policy orientations, it would have been preferable to use two distinct terms or phrases to keep the referents apart. To make matters worse, the same paragraph explained that:

> In this document, [multilingualism] is used to describe the new field of Commission policy that promotes a climate that is conducive to the full expression of all languages, in which the teaching and learning of a variety of languages can flourish (ibid.).

So, "multilingualism" is really a policy. The policy is aimed at promoting language learning and linguistic diversity (the first two meanings we have seen above); promoting the multilingual economy; and finally, making EU legislation available in the official languages of the Union.

Among its practical upshots, the communication recommended the creation of an advisory panel on multilingualism composed of independent experts who would analyse the progress made by member states and suggest new initiatives. It also announced a ministerial conference during which EU countries would share their experiences and plan future work. Finally, it stated that the Commission would use the input received from the expert group and from national authorities to develop its approach to

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[1] The present chapter could not cover the recent policy document titled "Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment" adopted by the European Commission on 18 September 2008. The full text of the document is available at http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/pdf/com/2008_0566_en.pdf (last accessed 12 December 2008).

multilingualism in the European Union. As we can see, the differences between this method and the 2004 negotiations behind closed doors are already apparent. A few terms will suffice to characterise it: openness, involvement, and careful policy design.

As to its content, the policy document clearly tried to go beyond the traditional view of multilingualism as an administrative challenge. This is not to deny that European legislation, debates, funding opportunities, etc. must be understandable by all if the Union is to have democratic legitimacy. However, the language domain is much broader, and the communication made it clear that multilingualism would be crucial for the long-term success of the European process of integration. However, apart from the petitions of principle, its attempts at innovating the policy field were rather timid. Some traditional positions did not change, such as a focus on language learning. This was linked to the "English is not enough" orientation—also inherited from the 2003 communication—according to which learning a foreign language should not necessarily mean learning English alone. One new element in the communication was its focus on the economic impact of languages. It comprises two parts: first, attention is drawn to the wealth that is directly generated by means of language and mediation skills, such as the localisation industry. The second part looks at what European and national public authorities can and should do to assist a continental economy that is becoming increasingly multilingual as integration progresses.

Remarks

In this final section I would like to reprise and analyse in more detail three important aspects of the language policies that have already appeared above: the language services of the EU institutions, the Commission's views on language learning, and the promotion of linguistic diversity in Europe.

Language services

There is no doubt that the most developed part of multilingualism at the EU is its ability to ensure communication in all the official languages. Allowing citizens and institutions to understand legal documents and other relevant information in their language is a prerequisite not only for the proper functioning of the institutions but also for the democratic legitimacy of the Union. In addition, a certain number of working documents must be available in more than one language before they are

finalised and released to the public. Finally, language barriers have to be overcome in oral communication as well, especially when national representatives and experts participate in meetings. All these tasks are ensured by the translation and interpretation services of the EU. The following institutions have their own languages services: Council, Parliament, Court of Justice, Economic and Social Committee, Committee of the Regions, Court of Auditors and the European Commission. Europe's common financial institutions, i.e. the European Investment Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the European Central Bank, also employ staff translators. The Translation Centre in Luxembourg takes care of the remaining bodies and agencies and the Directorate General for Interpretation covers interpretation on an inter-institutional basis, serving all EU institutions except the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice, which have their own interpretation services. Of all these services, the Commission's Directorate General for Translation (DGT) is by far the largest. To give a rough idea of the volumes involved, in February 2007, the DGT had 2,300 staff of which 1,700 were full-time translators and the rest support staff. In 2006, the DGT produced over 1.5 million pages, about 20% of which were translated by freelancers (DGT 2007, 5–6).

English only?

Second, I would like to reprise one of the recommendations contained in the 2005 communication: creating a favourable environment for the promotion of language learning. The stated goal is that each European citizen should speak two foreign languages apart from his or her own mother tongue. In contrast to this long-standing line of the European Commission, many people wonder why we all don't agree to learn one language to simplify things. The answer was already contained in the section that opened this chapter: the EU respects, fosters and is based on diversity. This position can be compared to the English-only tradition of the melting pot in the United States. With the notable exception of recent Hispanic immigration, the people that have come to America have had to give up their languages to integrate in their new country. As a consequence, the trope for Europe should not be "melting" but "welding". The different pieces of the EU are welded together, but each piece is clearly recognisable as distinct from the others.

   This praise of diversity should not prevent Europeans from having some languages in common. Language barriers hinder the free circulation of capital, people, goods and services and slow down political, social, and

cultural integration. A co-ordinated effort to teach other European languages since the earliest years of schooling seems to be the best solution. And because early education is a national responsibility, the countries of the EU should agree to prepare a generation of citizens that can function well in a reasonably small number of common languages. However difficult this may look in practice, it is in fact the easy part. The real challenge is determining *which* language or languages should be taught in school to allow Europeans to interact with each other. At present, there is no co-ordinated and explicit orientation for the whole of the EU. Whatever *de facto* policies exist, they are simply the sum of those of the member states. The whole issue seems to revolve around the role and significance of English. Some hail it as the natural *lingua franca* of Europe and of the world; for others, the English language is the demonised symbol of the negative impact of globalisation. It is true that English is the foreign language of choice in very many communicative situations both in Europe and elsewhere. It is also true that globalisation may pose serious threats to cultural diversity, a concern shared by many organisations around the world (cf. UNESCO 2005). However, both views are wrong in their radical forms.

To start with, English does not seem to be the behemoth it is sometimes portrayed to be. The latest Eurobarometer periodic survey of February 2006 does show that English is the most popular foreign language spoken across the EU (38% of non English–speaking Europeans claim they can hold a conversation in it). However, many Europeans, especially those living in smaller countries, tend to be familiar with the languages of larger neighbours. German is popular in the Slovak and Czech Republics, Hungary and Slovenia; Italian in Malta and Croatia; and Russian in the former Baltic Republics and Bulgaria (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Eurobarometer 2006: 13

D48T Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, excluding your mother tongue?

THREE MOST WIDELY KNOWN LANGUAGES - % country									
BE		**CZ**		**DK**		**DE**		**EE**	
English	59%	German	28%	English	86%	English	56%	Russian	66%
French	48%	English	24%	German	58%	French	15%	English	46%
German	27%	Russian	20%	French	12%	German	9%	German	22%
EL		**ES**		**FR**		**IE**		**IT**	
English	48%	English	27%	English	36%	French	20%	English	29%
German	9%	French	12%	Spanish	13%	Irish/Gaelic	9%	French	14%
French	8%	Spanish	10%	German	8%	German	7%	Other regional language	6%
CY		**LV**		**LT**		**LU**		**HU**	
English	76%	Russian	70%	Russian	80%	French	90%	German	25%
French	12%	English	39%	English	32%	German	88%	English	23%
German	5%	Latvian	23%	Polish	15%	English	60%	Other	11%
MT		**NL**		**AT**		**PL**		**PT**	
English	88%	English	87%	English	58%	English	29%	English	32%
Italian	66%	German	70%	French	10%	Russian	26%	French	24%
French	17%	French	29%	Other	13%	German	19%	Spanish	9%
SI		**SK**		**FI**		**SE**		**UK**	
Croatian	59%	English/ German	32%	English	63%	English	89%	French	23%
English	57%	Russian	29%	Swedish	41%	German	30%	German	9%
German	50%	Czech	25%	German	18%	French	11%	Spanish	8%
BG		**HR**		**RO**		**TR**			
Russian	35%	English	49%	English	29%	English	17%		
English	23%	German	34%	French	24%	Turkish	7%		
German	12%	Italian	14%	German	6%	German	4%		

Legend: BE=Belgium; CZ=Czech Republic; DK=Denmark; DE=Germany; EE=Estonia; EL=Greece; ES=Spain; FR=France; IE=Ireland; IT=Italy; CY=Cyprus; LV=Latvia; LT=Lithuania; LU=Luxembourg; HU=Hungary; MT=Malta; NL=Netherlands; AT=Austria; PL=Poland; PT=Portugal; SI=Slovenia; SK=Slovakia; FI=Finland; SE=Sweden; UK=United Kingdom; BG=Bulgaria; HR=Croatia; RO=Romania; TR=Turkey.

This table seems to indicate that the "mother tongue plus two" recommendation corresponds to a many–centred Europe in which a significant number of people already learn English plus a neighbour's language.

These data should be read and interpreted with utmost care; in fact, there is no such thing as enough information on language behaviour and perceptions for policy makers in this field. A common language policy for

the EU should be accurately designed around existing trends and be as unobtrusive as possible. Attempts by public authorities to promote top–down language policies are associated with totalitarian or undemocratic regimes. In Europe's past, both Franco's Spain and Mussolini's Italy tried to influence the language behaviour of their subjects; luckily with little or no success. Today, the worst form of language policy—assimilation policies that deliberately attempt to discourage certain minority languages—are adopted in Afghanistan, Burma, Indonesia, and Iraq, none of which is a paragon of democracy. Legislating over language for a population as diverse and as large as that of the EU is bound to be a difficult balancing act, no matter how carefully policy makers will tread. However, dramatic reactions are understandable and natural, because languages are intertwined with the affirmation and identification of personal and community identities. People would resist abrupt policies or reject them altogether as undue intrusions in their most private thoughts and feelings. In general, language norms that are promulgated by a political authority are often perceived as trespassing into a territory that many people would rather keep free of government intervention. This caveat is addressed to the most ardent supporters of the "English is not enough" camp. The main point is to go along with any observed language behaviour and to involve as many people as possible in all the stages of policymaking using transparent and accessible platforms of debate.

Promoting diversity

The third and final point is the promotion of linguistic diversity. We have already seen this topic in the declaration added to the constitution and as stated goals of the 2003 and 2006 communications. Traditionally, the promotion of linguistic diversity has been identified with large non-national and co-official regional languages, such as Welsh and Catalan, respectively. However—recalling the changes in Europe's language landscape sketched above—preserving diversity has increasingly come to mean dealing with weaker and smaller aboriginal language minorities and with the languages of migrants. Another look at Table 1 can help us fathom the complexity of the issue. In several countries, many respondents indicated the national language as not being their mother tongue. For instance, one Spaniard in ten indicated Castilian as his or her main foreign language. In most cases, these respondents would be native speakers of Spain's large regional languages. A similar proportion was recorded in Germany, but these respondents were probably immigrants born abroad. Finally, the 7% of respondents from Turkey who indicate Turkish as a

foreign language belonged to one of the 34 language communities listed by SIL International for that vast and ancient country (Gordon 2005). As to migrant languages, let us consider that the about 90 aboriginal languages spoken across the EU (cf. Gordon 2005) are dwarfed in number by the languages of immigrant communities. Good data are scarce; however, a survey conducted by the British national centre for languages in 2004–05 can give a good indication. The study found as many as 273 languages spoken by school children in England, Wales and Scotland (cf. CILT 2005).

Any language policy should protect and help develop all the languages spoken within the EU borders irrespective of them being national, regional/minority, or migrant languages. And if the EU is to keep its mission to "respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity" (TEC I–3(3)) it should give priority to the language communities that most need its tangible and symbolic support. A lot is at stake here. Language and culture tensions are common within migrant families, especially as the young generations born or raised in Europe grow up. Similar tensions affect indigenous communities and embitter inter-cultural relations. These challenges are poised to become major stumbling blocks for the successful integration of newly arrived Europeans and for the balanced and peaceful development of our societies. Clearly, there is much more to a language policy for the European Union than translating legislation into 23 languages.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

WHEN TEXT AND TRANSLATION PRODUCTION MEET: TRANSLATION IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

CHANTAL GAGNON

Introduction

In April 2006, the Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, was at the centre of a translation controversy. Indeed, *Le Journal de Montréal*, a French-language newspaper in the province of Quebec, headlined an article as follows:

> (1)
> « Imputabilité ». Harper choisit volontairement la mauvaise traduction
> ["Accountability Act". Harper knowledgeably chooses a bad translation]
> (Soumis 2006)[1]

When deciding upon a French term for the "Accountability Act", the Prime Minister of Canada chose: "Loi fédérale sur l'imputabilité", even though it was not a standard translation. Indeed, the Translation Bureau, the federal government's own translation service, has classified "imputabilité" as a translation error in its official terminology database (Public Works and Government Services Canada, "imputabilité" 2007). French-speaking journalists and linguists were hence quick to point out that the word "imputabilité" could not be used in such a context. As a result of this contextual problem, a month later, the Bloc Québécois, a

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[1] The translation in the gloss is taken from the Official Report of the House of Commons (Canada. Parliament 2006). Indeed, the French article was quoted in parliament and translated for the English version of the Report.

Quebec-nationalist party at the federal level, proposed in the House of Commons to render the title of the Act in more appropriate French (Canada. Parliament 2006). After parliamentary debates (Canada. Library of Parliament 2006), the title was changed at the House of Commons Legislative Committee on Bill C-2, from "Lois fédérale sur l'imputabilité" to "Loi fédérale sur la responsabilité."

This type of situation is not an isolated case. When reading the official reports of the Canadian Hansard, at least a dozen similar examples can be found, where a French translation of a political text was questioned by French-speaking members of parliament (e.g. Dominion of Canada. Parliament 1878, 1084; Canada. Parliament 1999 and 2000). Over the last century, many journalists have also written about the translation of political texts (e.g. Turcotte 1980, 1; Hébert 1995, A2). We see here that there is a close relationship between politics, translation and the media. It is a fact that the media "affect how we learn about our world and interact with one another" (Croteau and Hoynes 2003, 15). Moreover, mass media, both in its oral and written form, mediate our relationship with social institutions (Croteau and Hoynes 2003, 15). As social institutions, governments are well aware of the importance of media when trying to communicate with the general population, and they usually take media into account when crafting a message or its translation. In the particular context of Canadian politics, this leads me to inquire about the translation process in the Office of the Prime Minister: who translates the Prime Minister's speeches? Does the translation process differ from one historical period to another? Do text types impact on the translation process of Canadian political speeches? Understanding parts of the translation process in the Canadian Prime Minister's Office (PMO) will give insight into formal (and informal) translation policies in bilingual institutions, as well as insight into the intimate connections between political activity and language use—from a translation perspective. The focus of this chapter will be on the institutional context of translation/production, meaning that reception will not be studied, nor will be additional interventions of media/newspaper editors.

After a brief presentation of the corpus for this chapter, I will look both at the translation and production process of political speeches in Canada. Here, the production process and the translation process will be studied almost simultaneously: indeed, I have found in previous research (Gagnon 2006) that in bilingual institutions such as the federal government of Canada, text production and text translation are related to such a point that they sometimes are a combined process. In the conclusion, issues will be

raised concerning the translation and production processes of Canadian political speeches.

In this chapter, two types of text will be investigated: parliamentary speeches and addresses to the nation. These speeches were delivered by four Canadian Prime Ministers:

- William Mackenzie King, Prime Minister between 1921-1926, 1926-1930 and 1935-1948;
- Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister between 1968-1979 and 1980-1984;
- Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister between 1984 and 1993;
- and finally Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister between 1993 and 2003.

The corpus has the advantage of gathering a variety of speeches over several decades. For instance, King, Trudeau, Mulroney and Chrétien represent some of the few Prime Ministers who produced addresses to the nation in Canadian history. Also, the translation process for the speeches of these Prime Ministers was easy to document: either through interviews or through the Canadian National Archives. This corpus is also being used for my doctoral research on paratextual and textual shifts in translated political speeches.

Translation and production process

A general finding of this research with regard to the four Prime Ministers investigated is that there is no "single recipe" when it comes to the production and translation of political speeches, even if there are some similar ingredients. Moreover, even for the same Prime Minister, the production and translation process can vary within different contexts, or different time periods. William Mackenzie King, for instance, played a greater role in the production process of his speeches than the other Prime Ministers of the corpus studied. Indeed, King dictated outlines for his speeches, as is shown in the following example, taken from the Canadian National Archive:

(2)
Dictated by the Prime Minister – April 8, 1942
2nd broadcast re Plebiscite

Follow the same line as first broadcast by setting forth in the first instance, the question likely to be in the minds of the public, and then answer in logical sequence. […]
How does it come about that there was so much opposition to this course at the start? Answers:
Confusion of real meaning and purpose of Plebiscite […]

(Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, King 1942a, D42760)

King's archives also show that sometimes, this Prime Minister would even dictate his own speeches (Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, King 1942b, D42768). It seems that the other Prime Ministers whose speeches are part of the corpus did not dictate their speeches or outlines. For instance, the following is an example in which Trudeau's advisors submitted the outline of a speech, to be delivered at a French university in the French-speaking part of the province of New-Brunswick (my translation, my emphasis):

(3)

AUX ACADIENS **[To Acadians]**	a) RAPPEL du passé courageux de l'Université b) RÔLE de l'Université de Moncton [...]
AUX CANADIENS-FRANÇAIS DU PAYS **[To French-Canadians at large]**	a) PROBLÈME des rivalités [...] b) URGENCE de les combattre [...]
AUX CANADIENS ANGLAIS DU PAYS **[To English-Canadians at large]**	Fédéralisme, aventure de fraternité
AUX CANADIENS ANGLAIS DU N. B **[To English-Canadians in New-Brunswick]**	Félicitations pour (et appel à) leur tolérance

(Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, Trudeau 1969)

This outline explicitly shows to whom the speech is addressed. It also hints at the languages being used during the speech: even if the outline was only written in French, the parts addressing the English-speaking population were delivered in English (Trudeau 1969, 108-111). It is indeed

generally the case that a bilingual Prime Minister addresses Canada's official linguistic groups in their own language, i.e. French for francophones and English for anglophones. In the second half of the 20th century, most Prime Ministers were bilingual and could deliver a speech in both official languages. In my corpus, this was the case for Trudeau, Mulroney and Chrétien. King, on the other hand, is a good example of a monolingual English-speaking Prime Minister, but he ruled the country in the first half of the 20th century, when, arguably, bilingualism in federal political leaders was not as important as it is today. That King's speeches were only delivered in English attests to this fact.

With bilingual Prime Ministers, speeches were usually written in French when addressing a mainly French-speaking audience, and in English when addressing a mainly English-speaking audience. If the speech was to address the entire nation simultaneously, it would generally be written in English first (personal communication, Colette Riley, 25 March 2005). There are, however, notable exceptions. In his latest book, the French speechwriter André Burelle explains how Pierre Elliott Trudeau once asked him to rewrite two speeches that had been originally drafted in English:

(4)
Les premières ébauches écrites par Jim Moore étaient si totalement irréelles, qu'il a fallu tout reprendre à pied d'œuvre. […]
M. Trudeau […] refusa tout de go les discours de Moore […].
[I]l m'a fallu parler du pays réel et intégrer les Québécois aux cérémonies sans offenser personne. Et tout cela en négociant mon texte avec Jim Moore qui tentait de sauver ses propres écrits du naufrage. (Burelle 2005, 376-377)

[Jim Moore's first drafts were so out of touch that I had to rewrite them entirely. […]
Mr. Trudeau […] rejected Moore's speeches without hesitation. […]
[I] had to talk about the real country and integrate Quebec in the ceremonies while trying not to offend anyone. And all of this while negotiating my text with Jim Moore who was trying to save his own writings. (my translation)]

The speeches in question were delivered in 1982 to celebrate Canada's patriation, at the Proclamation Ceremony. Both the Queen and the Prime Minister of Canada gave a speech on that occasion, addressing the entire country at the same time. From André Burelle's statement, we understand that the speeches were first written in English, but that Burelle had to rewrite them in French, keeping only some parts in English. In fact,

Burelle was Trudeau's "plume française" and so would not have written the speeches in English. When interviewing Burelle, I discovered that such bilingual writing did not often happen under Trudeau's leadership (personal communication, 20 March 2007). When researching a joint policy document production/translation between the United Kingdom and Germany, Schäffner (2003, 27) found examples where "both the German and the English version of (parts of) the text functioned alternatively as source text and target text, with some paragraphs being produced in parallel." Schäffner explained that this joint paper, presented to the public in London in 1999, was translated by political aids. Hence, it would seem that some of the production and translation process going on in Canada is paralleled in other parts of the world.

There is also evidence that the revision process of political speeches was a bilingual one. In the following example, the same political aid provides revisions in both official languages.

> (5)
> Memorandum to the Prime Minister : [...]
> 2. Page 11, third line : [Someone] suggests changing "foreign policy role and purposes" to "role and purposes in world affairs".
> [...]
> 4. Page 18, second paragraph, third line : [Someone] thinks the criticism of the Americans on interest rates is too harsh. He would change "qui est responsable… des taux d'intérêt" to "et de ses conséquences sur les taux d'intérêt".
>
> (Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, Trudeau 1981)[2]

When working on the subtleties of a political speech, one could be expected to work only in one's mother tongue. For instance, in the Canadian language industry, to work both into one's first and second language is very uncommon. It is difficult to know if such a dynamic production process was operational under Mulroney and Chrétien's leadership, since only King and Trudeau's archives are presently opened to the public. However, when speaking with Chrétien's professional translator, Colette Riley, I learned that such bi-directional situations did occur, but not often (personal communication).

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[2] To respect the privacy of Trudeau's former political assistants, names and information pertaining to their identity have been removed in quotations from Trudeau's archives and replaced by "someone", "a political aid", or similar expressions.

For important speeches, such as addresses to the nation, advisors often prepared a schedule ahead of time, in order to plan the production process of the speech as it developed. The following is an example of such a schedule for an address to the nation delivered on 13 October 1975, on Trudeau's Anti-Inflation Program:

> (6)
> MEMORANDUM […]
> SUBJECT: SPEECH SCHEDULE (REVISED)
> Monday 29/9/75   - Press headline and story [...]
> Wednesday 1/10/75   - Prime Minister review speech outline [...]
> Thursday 2/10/75   - Cabinet review speech outline
> Sunday 5/10/75   - First draft [...]
> (evening)
>
> Monday 6/10/75   - Discuss first draft [...]
> (a.m.)
> Monday 6/10/75   - Revised draft to Prime Minister
> (p.m.)
> Tuesday 7/10/75   - Speech meeting with Prime Minister
> Thursday 9/10/75   - Revised speech to Prime Minister
> Friday 10/10/75   - Revisions on request
> (to Monday 13/10/75)
> (Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, Trudeau 1975)

In this schedule, everything was planned, from press review, outline, and first draft to revisions, everything except translation. Hence, translation was not considered as part of the production process. The revisions were scheduled until the very last minute, but the fact that the text had to be translated was not taken into account at the planning stage. The following memorandum helps us to understand why translation was not a time factor: the text was translated overnight and delivered the morning of the broadcast day.

> (7)
> Confidential
> October 12, 1975
> MEMORANDUM TO THE PRIME MINISTER:
> […]
> Subject: Anti-inflation Speech
> Here is your text.
> A team of translators is working overnight. […] [A] French text will be delivered to you in the morning.
> (Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, Trudeau 1975)

What is important here is not so much that the translation was done overnight, but that the translators were not working in good conditions, as opposed to, for instance, overnight translators in the Canadian House of Commons. Since 1935, all the parliamentary speeches of the House of Commons have been translated overnight by an in-house team of professional translators from the Translation Bureau (Delisle 1984). However, in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), overnight translation was not institutionalised, i.e., there was no translation team working only night shifts. André Burelle has explained that in the PMO, translation into French was always done at the last minute, making his working conditions very stressful (personal communication). On the other hand, since translation into English was not as frequent as translation into French, last minute translation for PMO English-speaking staff was the exception rather than the norm.

In Canada, when it comes to the translation of a Prime Minister's speech, three general rules apply (Michel Parent, personal communication): if the Prime Minister's role, when he delivers his speech, is that of the leader of his political party, the political party has to provide and pay for the translation. If the Prime Minister's speech addresses his riding, the translation goes to the translation service available for members of parliament; and finally, if the Prime Minister delivers a speech as the leader of the country, the translation is done by the translation service of the Privy Council, or is dealt with by the Office of the Prime Minister.

Hence, a Prime Minister is at liberty to choose who does the translation for his speeches, especially when he delivers the speech in his role as the Prime Minister. In the case of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, for instance, most of the translations were done by bilingual speechwriters, although a professional translator also helped from time to time (personal communication, André Burelle). Brian Mulroney worked with his own personal translator, a former employee of the Translation Bureau, as well as asking the Translation Bureau to send a full-time translator to his Office. A third external translator was also hired to help with the work (personal communication, Michel Parent, 31 January 2005). During his first mandate, Jean Chrétien asked a speechwriter to translate his speeches. However, during the second mandate, a professional translator from the Translation Bureau was also invited on board. At first, the professional translator could only translate the part of a political speech that the Prime Minister would not read out loud, hence the parts to be delivered in French by Jean Chrétien were translated by a speechwriter. In time, the professional translator was able to gain the trust of her colleagues, and was

then permitted to translate the speeches in their entirety (personal communication, Colette Riley).

In the Office of the Prime Minister there are also internal rules about translation (André Burelle, personal communication). If a political text deals with government policy (e.g. external relations or fiscal policy), it is translated by civil servants. If a political text is related to politics (e.g. the referendum or a political campaign), it is translated by the PMO staff. However, with no formal translation policy in the Office of the Prime Minister, it would seem that a same text type could be translated in many ways, even under the leadership of one and the same Prime Minister. For instance, here is a note from a political aid to another colleague in the Office:

> (8)
> June 9/82
> […] The attached St. Jean Baptiste Day message was written by [a political aid], and approved by the PM.
> It was translated into English by Sec/State, and revised by me. [A professional translator] has verified that the English version is faithful to the French.
>
> (Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, Trudeau 1982)

St. Jean Baptiste Day is the 'national' holiday of the province of Quebec. In June 1982, the Canadian Prime Minister's message to Quebecers for that holiday was written in French by a political aid and translated by professional translators in the Department of the Secretary of State for Canada. Notice that one of the revisions was done by the author of the memo, a political aid, while the other revision was done by a professional translator. When comparing the production/translation process of the message of Quebec's St. Jean Baptiste holiday with that of another (Canadian-wide) holiday message, one realizes that the processes are somewhat different. Indeed, in the following example, for a New Year's Eve message, both source and target texts were produced by speechwriters:

> (9)
> As I explained to you on the phone, [the political aid]'s adaptation into French of the English draft involved a major revision to two paragraphs. These are now being completed in the English text and will be sent to Montreal.
> (Library and Archives Canada, Prime Ministers' Fonds, Trudeau 1984)

What example (9) shows is that there is no set translation policy in the Office of the Prime Minister, even for similar types of speeches. This example also shows how much freedom is given to political aids, who, while translating, can change the very content of the message. In addition, as we see in excerpt (9), the political aids' translations are not necessarily revised, whereas professional translators' work is revised, by the political aids (see excerpt (8)). As mentioned earlier, Colette Riley, a professional translator working under Jean Chrétien's leadership, had to gain the trust of Chrétien's staff before she was allowed to translate political speeches in their entirety. Also, Michel Parent, head of the Translation Bureau section of the Privy Council, explained that when a translation is done by the translation services of the Privy Council, the Prime Minister's Press Office retains the final word on the text (personal communication). Parent explained that it can take some time for professional translators to gain the trust of the staff in the Press Office.

Conclusion

In conclusion: the results of my research indicate that the translation/ production process(es) differ(s) greatly from one historical period to the next, and that the process may even change within one Prime Minister's mandate. Research also shows that in the second half of the 20th century, different text types were translated by different categories of translators. Most parliamentary speeches, for instance, were translated overnight by professional translators, whereas speeches delivered via television by a Prime Minister were often translated by political aids. Furthermore, it seems that political speeches are not always produced in one language and translated into the other. For example, I have found some instances where the original speech was a collage of French and English texts. My findings also suggest that although the translation process is quite standardised within the federal government, this standardisation does not apply as strictly to the PMO. The latter is given much leeway to choose its own translation process and hence to mediate its image to the public as it sees fit.

Another recurrent feature in the translation processes investigated is that of the general mistrust towards professional translators, especially when it comes to mediating the Prime Minister's image in the "spoken" media. It would seem that this lack of confidence in the professional translator's abilities can be associated more with Prime Ministers of French background, like Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Jean Chrétien, since they tended to be surrounded by more bilingual staff. However, the French-speaking Prime Ministers are not the only ones to put aside

professional translators: even though Stephen Harper, the current Prime Minister, is an English-speaking Canadian, he seems to have been the one that insisted on having the name "Loi fédérale sur l'imputabilité". In any case, the opinion and/or work of professional translators is not always valued in the PMO, even in a "country of translation" such as Canada, where there is a true translation industry, and where the work of professional translators is usually acknowledged.

Interestingly, in the Office of the Prime Minister, the acceptance and appreciation of professional translators seems to go hand in hand with a lesser recognition for French speechwriters. For example, though Mulroney was working with professional translators, he did not have a team of French speechwriters, as did Trudeau and Chrétien. It could be said that professional translation is not only an essential component in the "bridging language solitudes" process in the federal government (Delisle 1984), but also the symbol of English-speaking dominance in the Prime Minister's Office. The fact that the working conditions in the PMO are often more difficult and stressful for French translators than English translators seems to support this thesis of English-speaking dominance. Of course, research on a more extensive corpus would be needed to further back up this preliminary result. In particular, it would be interesting to see if this thesis might also apply outside the Office of the Prime Minister, i.e. are professional translators more recognised in government departments where there is a strong majority of anglophones? Also, outside the PMO, is translation into French also done at the last minute, under stressful conditions?

Overall, studying the production and translation process for political speeches touches upon issues such as the recognition of professional translators, working conditions of translators, and the political weight of certain speech communities in officially bilingual countries. It also leads to question the standard definition of translation in a professional context, since the French and English versions are sometimes written almost simultaneously: it implies that the labels "source text" and "target texts" have lost some of their meaning (see also Gagnon 2006). All the more reasons for the discipline of Translation Studies to carry out more research into the production and translation process!

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CHAPTER EIGHT

NEWS TRANSLATOR AS REPORTER

CLAIRE TSAI

Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the complex processes that TV news translators are involved with in their work and unveils how the practice goes beyond accepted notions of editing and translating. Some translation researchers (e.g. Vuorinen 1997, 1999) look at news translation primarily from the translational point of view and assert that news translation is just another form of translation that is performed under severe circumstances. Many news translation researchers mention strategies involved in the translating and processing of foreign news, including synthesis, reorganisation, deletion, addition, expansion, generalisation and so on. These strategies are frequently used to explain the drastic transformations in the process of news translation from a source text into a target text. The use of multiple source texts in both print and broadcast media translation, however, is minimally explored. The reality in news translation is unfortunately not adequately reflected in academic research.

This chapter sets out to conduct a systematic enquiry into the nature of the job of a news translator and argues that it is exactly the particularity of broadcast journalism that makes TV news translation further removed from translation as the term has been widely understood. This chapter is an ethnographic production reflecting upon the author's newsroom experience at Taiwan's Formosa Television (FTV) (see also Tsai 2005, 2009) and draws upon the experience of her former colleagues, bringing in interviews she conducted with them.

Multiple source texts

The diversified use of various verbal and visual source texts in TV news translation in Taiwan can be attributed to media outlets' heavy dependence

on agency wires and increasing market competition. Unlike many major broadcasters around the world who have personnel and financial resources that allow them to have foreign correspondents in place and who subscribe to news agency materials only as "insurance policies" (Paterson 1998, 85). TV broadcasters in Taiwan, although supposedly owning a state-of-the-art broadcasting infrastructure, have normally relied heavily on global news services and networks as their primary sources of international news reports. Television news materials are distributed by the global TV news agencies and satellite network broadcasters to national and local news broadcasters around the world including FTV. Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) bring to the fore the commonly neglected fact in researching news translation that agency news is not meant to be presented to the receiving audience verbatim:

> News agency news is considered 'wholesale' resource material, something that has to be worked upon, smelted, reconfigured, for conversion into a news report that is suitable for consumption by ordinary readers. (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 1998, 5)

This is particularly true of stodgy print-style wires which need to be transformed or merged with other raw material into more easygoing broadcast style. (TV) news agency scripts are frequently long and too roughly written and disorganised in their structure to be of much use to Taiwanese broadcast newsmakers. Further, TV news agency reports are more "raw" than those provided by network broadcasters, but even fully shaped television news items received from network broadcasters such as CNN or ABC undergo drastic transformations. What is considered a finished item for final broadcast on CNN can become one of the various raw materials in the hands of TV news translators in Taiwan.

What gets transformed into another text ready for broadcast may involve several written and oral texts as well as daily and archival footage. TV news translators not only rewrite a multitude of sources, they repackage, aggregate, compile and recycle these input texts and footage. "The shape and texture of the 'news net'[1] is undergoing transformation" (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 2004, 36), so does the work of TV news translators which entails adjustment accordingly. Van Dijk's (1988, 128)

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[1] The "net" metaphor was coined by Gaye Tuchman (1978, 21), who claimed that the gathering of news for daily newspapers and television air time was like catching fish by using a net. A net has holes, she continues, and "its haul hinges on the amount invested in intersecting fiber and the tensile strength of that fiber. The narrower the intersections between the mesh, the more can be captured."

categorisation based on his case study of Dutch newspapers demonstrates that reporters make use of roughly twelve types of source information. In the case of TV news translation, my own experience with and analyses of FTV yield the following classification:

Subscribed sources

1. global television news agency copies, including scripted stories and corresponding footage, e.g. Associated Press Television News (APTN) and Reuters Television (RTV)
2. script-only global and national agency wires, e.g. Associated Press (AP), Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP), United Press International (UPI) and Taiwan's Central News Agency (CNA)[2]
3. finished stories with or without transcripts from global and national network broadcasters, e.g. CNN, BBC and ABC
4. daily national newspapers and magazines
5. reference to prior stories on a topic through retrieving archival reports and footage[3]

Alternative sources

1. online news providers, e.g. news.google.com
2. online video websites, e.g. www.youtube.com
3. monitoring the direct broadcasts of competitor stations

As Paterson (1998, 82) indicates, "the agencies are the agenda-setters, for they make the first decisions on how and if international stories […] will be covered for television". Despite heavy reliance on foreign news wires and lack of correspondents posted overseas, the management at FTV is keen to encourage news translators to be more proactive than passive in the treatment of news to shorten the distance between the field and the

[2] According to Taiwan's Government Information Office (Taiwan Yearbook 2007), the Central News Agency (CNA) is the oldest and largest national news agency in Taiwan, providing domestic and international news in Chinese, English, and Spanish to media organisations around the world. At present, CNA has correspondents in every city and county in Taiwan as well as in over 30 cities overseas.

[3] Prior stories on the same or similar topic could comprise finished stories already written previously by other news translators and those in the English language. In the case of the former, the news translator basically does compiling and editing whereas interlingual transfer is only involved in the case of the latter. This applies to both written scripts and moving pictures.

audience; i.e. news translators are expected to play the role of journalists rather than translators.

At FTV International News Center, news translators are from time to time assigned a topic for them to develop into a feature which may last for as long as three minutes. Examples include the conflict between Georgia and Russia (1 September 2008), the U.S. Presidential campaign (5 November 2008), the political turmoil in Thailand (26 November 2008) and the seventh anniversary of the 9/11 incident (11 September 2008). Aside from reporting developments of the major international events, these feature stories are characteristic of in-depth analysis by TV news translators. As the chief news coordinator indicates, writing feature stories entails an enormous amount of research into a multitude of written source texts and footage tantamount to what a journalist does and this certainly goes far beyond translation (personal interview, 15 August 2007).

In the past, source texts were strictly subscription-based. Nowadays, with the advent of the World Wide Web, diversified alternative news sources can be introduced, making possible easy access to the same sources through different channels. News websites abound on the Internet, providing timely updates on latest news. The power of the Internet is particularly telling in the case of breaking news. Global news agencies and broadcasters no longer monopolise the news market. In his speech on innovation in journalism at the Reuters Institute on 17 October 2007, David Schlesinger (2007, 4), Reuters Editor-in-Chief, also proclaimed that "the age of the patriarchy of information is over. The age of the simple news organization that exists solely to transmit information is over." There is virtually a torrent of information out there on the Internet which "affords greater ease of access to the national news media of any country, and this may be sufficient for some smaller retail media" (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 2004, 34).

The chief news coordinator at FTV (personal interview, 15 August 2007) reveals that if there is a visually arresting video clip from YouTube, the news assigner may ask the TV news translator to surf the Internet, e.g. the YouTube website, for related information. Once footage is located on the website, a camera man will be called on to shoot the clip from the website. The news translator's job involves writing up an item primarily based on the video clip and limited information on the same topic. The task will entail a certain degree of creativity and imagination. It is arguable that the TV news translator is basically writing and compiling a story, not translating one. This trend reflects the fact that as the notion of the source text is changing, so are the tasks of TV news translators and the nature of TV news translation.

New angles

The increase of alternative sources while providing more information and angles to reinforce the content and dynamic of a news story makes the task of the TV news translator more complicated and even more labourious. Instead of taking the easy way out of dealing with one single original text[4], the TV news translator is faced with multitasks and making a whole range of choices within a restricted time frame. As indicated by a senior TV news translator at FTV (personal correspondence, 4 July 2007), apart from the daily transmission of satellite stories and footage, the decision to add alternative source texts to one news item is very much up to the news translator as long as his/her choice is justified and subscribed to by the news assigner. The supplement of extra information may also imply the inclusion of archival footage to match the storyline or news angles newly explored. Put precisely, TV news translators at times take the finished stories by network broadcasters as rough notes, then go to find other source texts to complement each other to conjure up an item fit for broadcasting while serving to engage the audience. As Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese (1996) indicate:

> By directing newsworkers to take facts and events out of one context and reconstitute them into the appropriate formats, routines yield acceptable news stories. But in doing so, this process inevitably distorts the original event. A predefined story 'angle', for example, provides reporters a theme around which to build a story. (Shoemaker and Reese 1996, 120)

The creation of new angles is not uncommon in TV news translation even if this is done at the expense of the original. Reports on the new British First Lady and an unwanted guest at former US President George W. Bush's press conference are two cases in point. Reports on Gordon Brown's taking office swept across most major international news headlines on 27 June 2007. CNN produced an item giving a detailed profile of Sarah Brown, the new First Lady of 10 Downing Street. In the TV news translator's view (personal correspondence, 4 July 2007), a news item on Sarah Brown did not seem to suffice to engage the audience, but the inclusion of her high-profile predecessor, Cherie Blair, would add more drama to the story and maximise its impact on the audience. Prior

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[4] In his study of the textual transformations defining news production processes, van Dijk (1988, 126) notes that processing multiple source texts makes the task even more difficult. This argument echoes TV news translation practitioners' reflection on their routine work.

stories coupled with archival footage about Cherie were then collected by the news translator ready to be merged with the CNN report. The finished story began with Cherie's extraordinary remark to the journalists, "Goodbye. I don't think we'll miss you", before her departure from Number 10, followed by a juxtaposition of the current and former First Lady.

The implication that Sarah is the antithesis of Cherie seemed apparent in the report. The news translator's selection of the more dramatic bits of the image of Cherie in past media reports reflected key factors of news value proposed by Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965, 68): Reports of elite people, negativity and events in personal terms due to the action of specific individuals are more likely to become a news item because they fit the frequency of the news media. In Taiwan where tabloidisation of broadcast news prevails, examples like this are far from scarce. Be it hard news or soft, as Galtung and Ruge (1999, 23) remind us, "the more dramatic the news, the more is needed to add to the drama." In TV news translation, however, there is a fine line to draw between being dramatic but exaggerating and being dramatic but still factual. The former risks distortion and misreporting.

Another interesting example involved former US President, George W. Bush. A televised international press conference at the Rose Garden of the White House took place on 24 May 2007. On the day's newscast at FTV and almost all its competitor stations in Taiwan, former President Bush's messages about Iraq, US immigration policy and many other key issues of global significance were entirely disregarded and replaced by a very short twenty-second feed furnished by APTN, showing how Bush embarrassingly brushed and wiped off a bird dropping on his sleeve while trying to listen to questions from the floor. Apart from making full use of the 20-second source text, the news translator took the liberty to further add more previous reports (both Chinese and English versions) and archival pictures of other moments of embarrassment involving Bush. The finished story lasted about sixty-eight seconds excluding the lead,[5] nearly half of which did not come directly from the APTN script. Where the APTN story was used, the narrative form was different. Although the drama of the feed itself told it all, FTV was virtually telling a lively story whereas the APTN

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[5] A lead is usually a summary of the news story. The lead in broadcast news is not just the condensation of a news story but also sets the scene for the succeeding discourse. News translators first write the lead which serves as a reference point for the duty editors to subhead the news item and which the news presenter ultimately reads out as a brief introduction before the newscast transits to the main script.

script was written in a dull and flat style. Allan Bell's (1991, 47) account of a professional journalist's social and linguistic role holds true for a newsroom translator as well: "Journalists do not write articles. They write stories."

These two examples illustrate the essential issue of multiple source texts in the broadcast news media. The source texts in TV news translation are constantly changeable depending on the nature of the intended news item. Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh's (1993) assertion about the processing and reprocessing of visual raw materials seems to sit comfortably in not only the visual but also the verbal domain of TV news translation:

> While the same visual materials might be used by editors in different countries, the final shape of the stories they are telling, their narrative and thematic structures, and the meanings embedded in them remain in the hands of editors working with different national audiences in mind. (Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh 1993, 204)

This brings us to the issue of authorship in TV news translation. As Esperança Bielsa (2007) argues,

> […] if the news translator does not owe the same kind of subservience to the author as the literary translator, it is because in journalism the status and role of the author is fundamentally different than in the literary field. (Bielsa 2007, 148)

This does not only apply to verbal sources but also to visual ones. Consider that very little foreign news footage is tagged and attributed to its source. A recent article by journalism studies scholars manifests such concerns in unusually strong words:

> News, especially in print, is routinely recycled from somewhere else, and yet *the widespread use of other material is rarely attributed to its source* (e.g. "according to PA …" or "a press release from X suggests that …"). Such practices would, elsewhere, be regarded as straightforward plagiarism. (Lewis, Williams and Franklin 2008, 18)

As news passes through various gatekeepers before reaching the foreign desk of a national broadcaster like FTV, it would be difficult to trace the author(s). Given the minimal significance of source text authorship to the news translator and the audience, such efforts seem irrelevant and redundant.

A case study

The processing and recycling of multiple sources may be exemplified in more detail in the following case study on the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit that took place in September 2007. It focuses on how major continuing political news of the APEC summit initially covered and written by news agencies and global network broadcasters was remodeled into one ready for broadcast in Taiwan under intensive deadline pressure and demonstrates the complexity involved in dealing with multiple sources and particularly the extent of freedom of the news translator in the process of transformations. This case study examines the discourse of TV news items and unveils the role and position of translation in TV news production. The focus is primarily on the production and writing processes of TV news discourses, which is directly related to how news is processed through translation.

In August 2007, Taiwan's then ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)[6] proposed a referendum on whether Taiwan should seek to join the United Nations under the name "Taiwan" while the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT), the then major opposition party, also proposed to rejoin the international body using the name "Taiwan", "Republic of China" or "any other practical and flexible" titles. Taiwan's UN membership bid has since generated widespread discussion in the nation and around the world. The Bush Administration reiterated its position several times that the U.S. did not support such a referendum but former President Bush himself has never remarked on this publicly. The Beijing government, insisting that Taiwan is an estranged province of China, is definitely opposed to Taiwan's move to join the UN as a separate country. There was a series of reports at FTV on the APEC summit-related stories in the week of the APEC event. This analysis is based on a follow-up report on the triangular relation of the U.S., Taiwan and China after the meeting between Bush and Chinese president Hu Jin-tao on 6 September 2007. Given that there are too many practical considerations[7] in the TV newsroom, it is worth noting

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[6] The DPP lost the presidential election to the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) on 22 March 2008 and has become the major opposition party in Taiwan.

[7] TV news translation involves multiple and hybrid sources transmitted by news agencies and network broadcasters and source texts can be too blurred to be identified. Also, most subscribed recorded verbal and visual material is erased a week or so after first received at FTV, let alone the accessibility and complexity of material found from alternative sources like the Internet. Only finished news items already broadcast are stored in the newsroom archives for later retrieval. Bell

that it is almost impossible to collect the entire source corpus of one single news item adequate enough for the purpose of close analysis if the researcher is not present in the newsroom to witness the production process or does not interview the news translators. This accessibility aspect of research in the TV newsroom sets empirical research into TV news translation apart from research into other modes of translation.

Due to the fact that FTV did not send their own staff to cover APEC in Australia, these source texts were what the TV news translators could count on in the process of writing. What Roger Wallis and Stanley Baran (1990) point out about media outlets' sole dependence on agency sources, on the one hand, can be a warning:

> Where television services are available, they normally rely entirely on global services such as CNN, Visnews, and WTN. Frequently the developing nation broadcasters are forced to accept the fact that even news reports about matters of extreme relevance to their own country must be presented through the eyes of a commentator in London or New York, not via one of their own correspondents. (Wallis and Baran 1990, 143)

On the other hand, while heavy reliance on agency wires and network broadcasters may seem to weaken the authority and authenticity of reports, news translators at FTV still strive to have a job well done through a series of textual transformations and by finding a new angle to give the source texts a different face familiar to the Taiwanese TV news viewers. In this specific example, what really matters in the production of this news story is indeed not the skills required for translation but the capacity to integrate different sources and summarise key facts in the face of a very tight deadline.

The Bush-Hu meeting was the headline on 6 September 2007. On the next day, Bush delivered a long speech at the APEC Business Summit, when he suggested that Taiwan and other Asian-Pacific countries form the bedrock of America's engagement in the Asia Pacific. FTV decided to produce a report around this segment of Bush's latest remarks. This item was chosen for analysis primarily due to its extensive use and transformations of a multitude of source texts in both English and Chinese. The final broadcast item was written based on nine different written and visual sources including:

(1991) provides an extensive discussion on difficulties in empirical research inside the media house.

English versions:

1. A news analysis on US-China relations by an AP Press Writer;
2. A video script from APTN with accompanying pictures lasting 3 minutes and 34 seconds (3'34");
3. A video script from RTV with accompanying pictures lasting 1'25";
4. A packaged CNN report of the length of 2'15" without script.

Chinese versions:

1. A prior news item on the Bush-Hu meeting at APEC aired on 6 September 2007;
2. A news report of the CNA covered by its correspondent in Sydney;
3. A news report rewritten by CNA's staff based on Reuters wires;
4. A news report rewritten by CNA's staff based on various global agency wires;
5. A news report from Taiwan's United Evening News.

From these source texts that result in a final news item, a detailed analysis is made of the textual transformations defining the production process. The decision to produce this follow-up report resulted from the Chinese-language wires supplied by the CNA stating that Bush mentioned Taiwan twice during his speech at the APEC Business Summit. The focus of the item thus revolved around this thread and entailed more analysis on the relations between Taiwan, the U.S. and China. The news translator was provided with seven other video and print-style scripts and footage plus a CNN report based on which he was expected to write a new story. Much time was consumed in reading through different sources and filtering information at the same time.

Although not exactly used in his writing, the AP wire analysing relations between the U.S. and China, for instance, serves as background information which made it easier for the news translator to find a proper storyline. In David Keith Cohler's (1990, 27) words, "only print-style wires carry enough detail to stimulate the creative writing juices." As the TV news translator (personal interview, 7 September 2007) revealed, he selected two sound bites[8] first around which he built the storyline, i.e. a mental picture was formed before he started writing up the story. The first

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[8] According to Daniel C. Hallin (1992, 5), the term "sound bite" comes originally from radio (where it is also known as an "actuality"), and refers to a film or tape segment, within a news story, showing someone speaking.

batch of sound bites in mind was of course Bush's comments on Taiwan. Coincidentally, in a packaged report on Bush's talk at the Business Summit aired on CNN contained this specific fragment. The first sound bite read:

(ST)
Today, our alliances with Australia, Japan, South Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines, and our defense relationships with Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia, and others in the region form the bedrock of America's engagement in the Asia Pacific.

(TT)
Our alliances including Australia, Japan, South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines, and our defense relationships with Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia, and others has become the bedrock of America's involvement in the Asia Pacific. (In back translation)

Under rare circumstances, a TV news translator may undertake near word-for-word translation. An exclusive sound bite by a newsmaker will take the form of direct quotes with the full texts translated and subtitled. Sound bites are frequently "treated as raw material to be taken apart, combined with other sounds and images, and reintegrated into a new narrative" (Hallin 1992, 9-10). The news translator's successful integration of sound bites with the narrative always helps reinforce the impact of a news story. The embedding or integration of such direct quotations into the news, according to Martin Montgomery (2007, 181), shifts narration towards dramatisation and takes news discourse away from the single-voiced enunciation of the event, bringing the audience closer to the event itself and to different opinions about it.

Although the core of the CNN report itself did not have a particular focus on Taiwan, the mere mentioning of "Taiwan" by a US President in a major speech was regarded as newsworthy and relevant to the Taiwanese audience. Except for the sound bite, the rest of the CNN report was not used in the final report. Much as the news translator would like to have added Bush's second remark on Taiwan as reported by CNA, he had to give up simply because no subscribed news sources supplied that specific video segment. The next English-version source the news translator referred to was the RTV script which primarily recapped the Bush-Hu meeting the day before and gave a brief account of the relations between Taiwan and the U.S.. The news translator skipped this script altogether but used some of the accompanying footage. At this point, the news translator had a rough news schema in mind. Reflecting on the remarks made by

Bush and Hu a day earlier during their joint conference, he produced the lead as such:

> PRESENTER:
> U.S President Bush did not remark publicly yesterday on the issue of Taiwan's referendum to enter the UN, but he praised Taiwan twice at APEC's Business Summit in Australia this morning when he talked about democratic development and defense cooperation. (translation my own)

The second part of the lead "but he praised Taiwan twice at APEC's Business Summit in Australia this morning when he talked about democratic development and defense cooperation" was basically derived from the first paragraph of the CNA's Chinese wire. The passage preceding the first sound bite read:

> U.S President Bush's remarks on the cross-strait issue at the APEC summit would attract attention. Although Bush did not publicly oppose Taiwan's referendum to enter the UN, his staff on his behalf did extend his concern to President Hu and reiterate his position that he is opposed to any change of status quo in the two sides. However, Bush publicly praised Taiwan and its democratic development in the morning of the 7th when he delivered a speech at APEC's Business Summit. (translation my own)

The news translator wrote this passage based on a collage of the prior report on APEC in Chinese and the CNA's Chinese wire and his basic journalistic (re)writing skills. There was no interlingual transfer involved here. The sentence, "However, Bush publicly praised Taiwan and its democratic development in the morning of the 7th when he delivered a speech at APEC's Business Summit", set the tone and prepared the audience for the first sound bite illustrated above. In between the first and the second batch of sound bite, the narration continued:

> Some media in Australia reported that China was taken advantage of and had to swallow this in silence at the APEC summit on the issue of Taiwan's referendum to enter the UN. In fact, Bush has already 'given an inoculation' before the Bush-Hu meeting with the following remarks that he has a very good relationship with Hu Jintao and the two sides shall speak frankly and sincerely. (translation my own)

The narration that "Some media in Australia reported that China was taken advantage of and had to swallow this in silence at the APEC summit on the issue of Taiwan's referendum to enter the UN" was taken from the Chinese-language newspaper, the United Evening News. In order to cue

the second sound bite, the news translator wrote the following: "In fact, Bush had already 'given an inoculation' before the Bush-Hu meeting with the following remarks that he had a very good relationship with Hu Jintao and the two sides would speak frankly and sincerely" (translation my own). The second sound bite was taken from an APTN video script which was a general description of Sino-U.S. relations in areas like trade, currency, economy, political issues, and so on. Throughout the script of 691 words, however, there was no mention of Taiwan. In the end, only 34 words by Bush about his impression of the Chinese president were selected and literally translated to become the sound bite:

> (ST)
> I can sit down with the President and have a good, honest, candid discussion. And he's gonna tell me what's on his mind, and I'm darn sure gonna tell him what's on my mind.

> (TT)
> I have the opportunity to sit down with the President and have an honest and candid discussion. He will tell me what's on his mind and I shall tell him what I think. (In back translation)

The news translator wrapped up the story by combining two sentences in Chinese found in two separate CNA wires. They read: "On the 7th, Bush publicly encouraged China to open up its political system, allow for more freedom of speech and showcase its attitudes of liberation and tolerance by taking advantage of the Olympic Games in Beijing next year" (translation my own). At the end of the report, the news translator inserted his personal evaluations about the Bush Administration's attitude surrounding the cross-strait issue:

> The U.S. does not hesitate to promote its democratic values to China. It is worth noting that Bush subtly bypasses the sensitive nerve of Taiwan's referendum to enter the UN. By so doing, he avoids offending either side - a perfect manifestation of two-sided diplomacy. (Name of the news translator), FTV. (translation my own)

As in news reporting, a news story sometimes ends with comments, but not necessarily. In van Dijk's (1988, 56) words, the comments category in the structure of news schema[9] is composed of two subcategories:

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[9] Van Dijk's (1988, 52-57) hypothetical structure of a news schema consists of Headline and Lead, Main Events and Backgrounds, Consequences, Verbal Reactions and Comment.

evaluations and expectations. The ending comment in this example features the news translator's evaluative opinions about the news event. Note that the comment was not derived from the translation of any part of the source texts.

It is commonly claimed in the field of journalism that the reporting of facts without evaluative comment provides a "fairer and more trustworthy account of contemporary event" (Harrison 2006, 60). But the aspiration to objectivity in news reporting contains its own biases. In practice, comment frequently appears in a news report or in an indirect form (van Dijk 1988, 56). Despite its concern with assessing, analysing and judging contemporary events, TV news translators, like journalists, must "try to report events in ways that will survive scrutiny" (Wilson 1996, 46). The addition of personal opinions is not uncommon in TV news translation. Such a practice sometimes makes the news translator more of a "commentator" than a "reporter", in Philip Gaunt's (1990, 29) words, who produces "reflective and critical analysis rather than active news gathering."

The shared characteristics of the various written scripts demonstrated above are that they all have one or more pre-defined news angles, which include the growing influence of China in the Asian-Pacific region and the international arena, the continued dominance of the U.S. and relations between the two countries. That was why the news translator resorted to the CNA and the United Evening News whose reports were more concerned with the issue of Taiwan in the context of the APEC summit. Broadcasting news most relevant to the audience in Taiwan entails not only textual transformations of the torrent of source texts but also changes in news angles. The APEC item illustrated above all a shift in the focus to the U.S. response to Taiwan's referendum bid and to the cross-strait relations. Segments related to China's changing international role, global warming or even Bush's initiatives to fight the war on terror were either deleted or minimally touched upon in the final news item.

Conclusion

It is observed that the processing of multiple source texts into a final news report entails the news translator's capacity for rapid digestion, compilation and rearrangement of various texts instantaneously before s/he can turn out a news report fit to broadcast. In dealing with multiple sources, the news translator needs to be decisive, precise and level-headed in the decision-making process so that s/he can quickly establish a mental picture of the final report under tight time pressure. The example demonstrates that it takes more time and energy to build a profile for the final report when

multiple source texts are involved, but the news translator is at the same time given more flexibility and freedom to enrich the content. However, given the heavy dependence on agency wires, the news translator at best is making the selection from a limited and pre-defined pool of information. It is thus the news translator's responsibility to find the proper news angles and search for potentially useful source texts s/he deems necessary in addition to agency wires to be incorporated in her/his construction of ideas and storylines. As Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett (2008, 123) indicate in their book on translation in global news, the only traceable source in news translation is often an event, not any single identifiable textual account of that event.

Until 2006, news translators at FTV named themselves *bianyi* 編譯 [editor/compiler and translator] in the closing credits of each news story they produced. Now at the end of each international news item, they term themselves "reporters". FTV is not a unique case. Most other competitor TV stations and newspapers in Taiwan have also made the change. The increasing preference for TV news translators to call themselves journalists, according to a senior news translator (personal interview, 13 August 2007), has to do with the station's intention to give the audience the impression that the news translator actually went to the scene and brought the news back, but this is not just about creating an illusion. The nature of news translation on TV is indeed undergoing transformations. It is also worth noting that addition of the news translator's credit to the end of an item has less to do with lifting the status of the news translator or making translation more visible than facilitating a smooth transition directly into the next story. Namely, the presenter would know when the previous item ends and when to start presenting the next item. The chief news coordinator at FTV puts it this way:

> The change of title suggests that TV news translation is not just translation. The use of multiple sources entails the compilation of various information and perspectives, including the news translator's own perspective. A TV news translator should consciously see himself or herself as a journalist regardless of debates on the definition of the term translation. (personal interview, 15 August 2007)

The fact that previous research into news translation concentrated only on cases of "translating" a single source text into a target text can be explained by researchers' failure to respond to rapid changes of the news media. The change of titles from "news translator" to "reporter" is not insignificant and reflects the changing face of TV news translation where constant compilation, recycling, editing and rewriting of a multiplicity of

verbal and visual source texts is becoming commonplace and manifesting the increasingly "sophisticated" aspect of the task. Instead of simply fulfilling traditional tasks of translation, TV news translators are more concerned with journalistic aspects of text production than with translation.

Many television stations in Taiwan resort to in-studio telephone interviews with the news translator, when s/he gives a verbal report on the latest development of an ongoing incident, usually in time of breaking news. On 16 September 2007, when a budget airline crashed in Phuket, Thailand, one news translator at FTV was interviewed by the news presenter from the studio to report on the accident. At the same time, the subheading on the screen read: "On the phone from (name of the news translator), reporter, International News Center" (translation my own). A senior news translator points out that when given the assignment, the news translator should make sure s/he reads as many sources as possible before going to the studio. While being interviewed, s/he simultaneously monitors reports from CNN and other network broadcasters or news agencies to bring the update. The news translator concludes, "if this is not what you call a journalist, what do you call it?" (personal correspondence, 17 September 2007). This studio technique aims to bring the audience closer to the scene. Interviews in or from the studio characteristic of conversational exchanges, according to Montgomery (2007, 118), is reflected in the increasing use of live discourse on broadcast news to keep the audience updated and can sometimes be regarded as "dramatising the important spatial distinction in television news." Generally a translator's professional profile does not include additional qualification in doing a live interview but a TV news translator's sometimes does.

Examples also abound where news translators write to pictures and tell stories based on natural sound and footage without any written scripts or narrations. The status and nature of the source text in TV news translation is thus different from that in other types of translation which are more associated with the concept of a binary opposition of source and target text. When the notion of the source becomes too flexible and blurred, defining such an activity in the TV newsroom as translation may be questionable. Such doubts are raised by TV news translators:

> When the source text in TV news translation becomes diametrically removed from the single source text status commonly recognised in translation, this kind of textual transformation is taken further away from our understanding of the term 'translation' and closer to the notion of journalism. This multitasking nature of the TV news translator takes her frequently presumed secondary role in the newsroom to a different level

closer to that of a journalist. (FTV, Senior TV news translator, personal interview, 4 July 2007)

What happens in the newsroom of FTV is not a unique case. Anne Wallace, senior translator at Reuters puts it more straightforwardly: "Translation is merely a tool in a journalist's armoury of which more important tools are an excellent news sense and good writing skills" (quoted in Bielsa and Bassnett 2008, 147).

Instead of proposing that this kind of news reporting is a form of translation, it seems more precise to view translation as part of news reporting. The practitioner's perspectives echo some translation studies scholars' concern about the loosely defined term "translation". Susan Bassnett (2005) voices her concern about the problematisation of the concept of translation in examining translation practices in the media:

> From such empirical research, some fundamental questions have begun to emerge. The first, and most important, concerns the definition of the translated news report. What kind of text is it? Can we consider it to be a translation, and if so, according to what criteria? For a process whereby a news story that originates in one cultural context ends up in another, is totally different from the process that we more familiarly term 'translation'. (Bassnett 2005, 124)

Research into news translation is taken to a different level when Bassnett sets out to question the notion of translation. It seems difficult to try to define the role of a translator in the context of the broadcast media; and yet, it is not plausible to set up a false dichotomy in trying to define news translation. Dirk Delabastita (1989, 213-14) suggests that a more flexible definition should be considered to theorise translation in mass communication. Again, Delabastita's definition of TV translation is not quite the same as that taking place in a TV newsroom like FTV. Whether his contention that this kind of activity should fall in the realm of translation is plausible remains questionable.

This chapter has proposed that TV news translation should be analysed under the wider framework of journalism studies rather than translation studies. Based on the case study and various examples demonstrated here, when the role of a TV news translator is shifted to that of a journalist or a foreign correspondent, the traditional approach of analysing TV news translation from the translational point of view appears outdated. Likewise, debates on freedom of translation do not seem to be relevant here. Echoing what Anthony Pym (2004, 89) argues about the reasonable relationship between the quantities of the source and the target text involved, Paul

Kussmaul (2000) reminds us that textual transformation is a quantitative notion:

> In translation the question arises: how many and which kinds of elements can be added to a scene without getting into another scene that is no longer adequate as a translation, i.e. no longer related in some degree to the source text? (Kussmaul 2000, 123)

Similar concerns are also reflected in Bielsa and Bassnett's (2008) remarks on the degree of transformation:

> Variation is an inevitable aspect of translation, but the question that is always present is whether there is a limit to the extent of possible variation. If variation is so extreme that there is no trace of a source text, can this still be said to be translation? (Bielsa and Bassnett 2008, 123)

It is worth noting that the change in quantity may lead to the change in quality. In TV news translation, a new frame is created through new strategies. Research into news translation needs to adapt to such changes to ensure that research findings are closer to reality.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE BELGIAN CONFLICT FRAME:
THE ROLE OF MEDIA AND TRANSLATION
IN BELGIAN POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

LUC VAN DOORSLAER

Introduction

This chapter takes the TV-hoax "Bye bye Belgium" as a starting point to deal with the special linguistic and cultural sensitivities in this bicultural country. In the intricate bi- or multilingual context of Belgian politics, ideologically inspired topics are not just a matter of political conviction. They are also very much a matter of linguistic affiliation and of the way the topics are presented and translated for the audience. I will at first analyse the socio-political organisation of Belgium and the historical-linguistic sensitivities in this bicultural country. This knowledge contextualizes the heated discussions and reactions after the broadcast. Since Belgium has not opted for a general institutionalized multilingualism model, I will subsequently explain the tempering and conflict-avoiding role of translation in Belgian politics. However, this role is undermined by modern media frames (particularly the conflict frame), as is shown in the last and concluding part.

An Orson Welles-like TV experience

On 13 December 2006, the Belgian Francophone public TV station RTBF, the official broadcasting company of the French community in Belgium, shocked viewers late on a Wednesday evening in prime time with a dramatic and unannounced news report. It was reported that the Dutch-speaking half of the nation had declared independence and that the Belgian royal family had fled the country by plane to go into exile. The most famous political journalists of the station participated in the report that was

presented as a long special news bulletin (duration of about 90 minutes) that interrupted normal broadcast because of its urgency. It presented live interventions at the Royal Palace and the Flemish parliament, alternated with reports about possible consequences and interviews with politicians (some of them had been previously informed about the TV hoax).[1]

Nine out of ten viewers were initially taken in by the fake news report. Frantic viewers flooded the call center of the RTBF broadcaster. Embassies called Belgian authorities to find out what was going on, while foreign journalists scrambled to get confirmation. The station's attempt to stir a political debate was compared to the "War of the Worlds" radio theatre by Orson Welles in October 1938, when he fooled many Americans with mock news announcements that Martians had invaded Earth. Just as in 1938, the RTBF programme caused panicky reactions. For the purpose of the broadcast, RTBF had staged a demonstration with twenty fake protestors in front of the Royal Palace. A few dozens joined them immediately, so that there was a spontaneous demonstration of about 200 people (some will say: "only" 200) waving the Belgian flag and singing the Belgian national anthem.

A rough outline of Belgian alienation

In an attempt to explain why such a "joke" caused so much excitement, we first have to expand on the socio-political organisation of Belgium and the position of language in it. Common knowledge about Belgium in other European countries is often determined by the image of a state divided by linguistic and cultural differences. Even if some fellow European citizens sometimes seem to believe that Belgium is on the edge of a tribal war (which might have been confirmed by the TV event and its consequences), in reality it is a country that, in the last decades, has reorganised its political and institutional existence along federalist lines in a peaceful and legal way. Nowadays, Belgium is a federal state consisting of three geographically determined regions (Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels) and three culturally and linguistically determined communities (Dutch speakers, French speakers and German speakers).

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[1] Several parts of the RTBF mock news can be found on the Internet. For example the beginning of the broadcast at
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uKrx8TewTyI, the report about it the day after on the French television news France 2 at
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RRmQl_oonLc&feature=related (last accessed 13 October 2008).

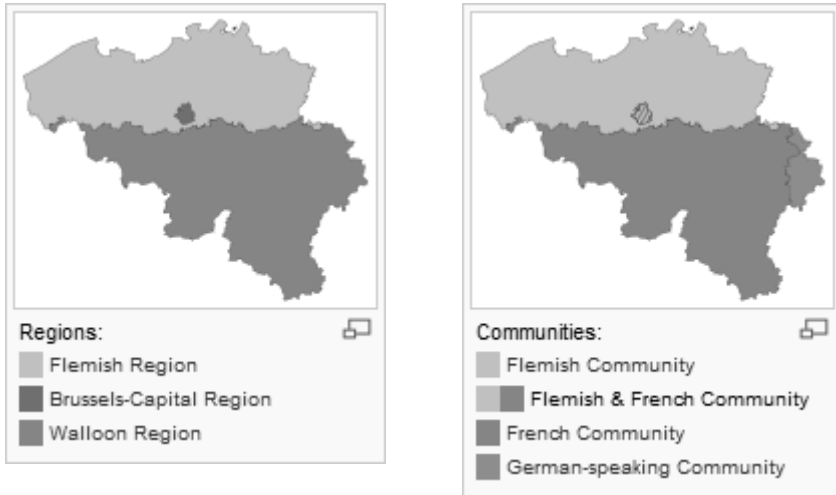Figure 1 below shows regions and communities in contemporary Belgium.

Figure 1: Maps of regions and communities in Belgium[2]

Some problems arise because the geographical and cultural delimitations do not coincide. For instance, Brussels is officially bilingual (i.e. with members of the French-speaking as well as Dutch-speaking community living in the same region), the German-speaking Belgians live in the Walloon region, some French-speaking Belgians have moved into the officially monolingual region of Flanders, etc. In Belgian politics, these kinds of topics are generally called "communal" (in Dutch) and "communautair" (in French), which means dealing with matters of and between the different communities. Especially to foreigners, these issues appear highly complex because of the (sometimes explosive) mixture of historic, socio-cultural, linguistic, psychological and power relations arguments. Political and institutional power balances in the federal state of Belgium are very fragile and can easily be upset. As an example: the whole of Belgium has a Dutch-speaking majority (around 59%), but the French-speaking minority (around 40%)[3] has a legal parity right (50/50) in

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[2] Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgium (last accessed 13 October 2008)

[3] For the figures on the linguistic proportions, see
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgium#Languages (last accessed 13 October 2008)

the federal government[4]. On the other hand, in the capital region of Brussels, only a small minority (around 15%) is Dutch-speaking, but that minority has a guaranteed representation in the Brussels government.

Every attempt to change one of the elements in this power balance involving both federal and regional aspects, runs the risk of destroying the whole construction. As far as the political organisation is concerned, this federal structure means that Belgium has several parliaments and governments, on the federal as well as on the regional level, and even on the community level. Basically, the competences of every government and parliament are supposed to be established, but of course discussions often start as to where one competence ends and another one begins. Basically, the competences of the federal government have been reduced to the departments of Justice, Finances, Foreign Affairs (though Foreign Trade is regional), and Internal Affairs.

Particularly on the level of the federal (Belgian) government, the sensitivity to communal issues is marked. This government is always made up of Dutch- and French-speaking members, and every decision can potentially be seen as being more beneficial to one region or to one community than to the other. It is undeniable that the two communities have gradually slipped away from each other in the last decades. The economic (and partly also cultural) power shift from the southern to the northern part (from the French to the Dutch part) of the country after World War II was the breeding ground for this growing alienation. From a social and economic point of view, the needs of the two parts of the country are so divergent that it is virtually impossible to develop a socio-economic policy adjusted to the different regions (e.g. Wallonia and Brussels have a much higher unemployment rate than Flanders). The political "translation" of this situation was the long (and still ongoing) process of federalisation with the transfer of competences to the regions and the communities. In a way, the federal level got more and more "stripped off".

The growing alienation can be illustrated by several other important elements in cultural and political life. There is a complete division of cultural life in Belgium: each community organises its own library system

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[4] Recent statistical data can for instance be found on
http://www.citypopulation.de/Belgium.html or
http://www.nationmaster.com/country/be-belgium/lan-language.
Since the German-speaking community consists of about 60,000 inhabitants in the eastern part of the country and thus less than 1 percent of the Belgian population, I leave it out of consideration in this part. Still, it has to be noticed that German is the third official language in Belgium.

or stage arts, there are no bilingual universities, etc. The cultural factor
with probably far the greatest impact is that there are no common media.
No bilingual newspapers or magazines, no bilingual radio station, no
bilingual TV channels.

The same applies to the political division. Belgium no longer has
national or federal political parties; they all split up in the 1970s and
1980s. As a consequence, there are different Socialist, Liberal or Christian
Democratic parties in the two main parts of the country: a Dutch-speaking
and a French-speaking one. Ideological links or common interests (e.g.
betwens Socialists or Ecologists) are often overshadowed by linguistic or
communal differences. These differences are not tempered by fear for
elections. On the contrary, politicians in Belgium only have to present
themselves in their own region, there are no federal electoral districts or
constituencies. This means that there are Flemish politicians and French-
speaking politicians living in totally different worlds that nevertheless
have to cooperate on the federal level, in the Belgian government. All
these differences elucidate why Belgian politics reached a total deadlock
after the federal elections of June 2007. For many months it seemed
impossible to build a federal government on the basis of a coalition
agreement that both communities could accept. In December 2007, Prime
Minister Yves Leterme resigned saying that "the federal consensus model
has reached its limits" (Cendrowicz 2007)[5]. In a way, the alienation is also
illustrated by the total lack of succes of a bilingual political party that was
founded in 2002. The party Belgian Union wishes to cancel the
contemporary federal structure of Belgium and to reinstall the unitary
state. It did not have an elected seat in any of the last elections. In the 2007
elections, this party obtained just 8,607 votes in a country of more than 10
million inhabitants[6].

The alienation tendencies are often associated with Flemish
nationalism, especially with the succes of the political party Vlaams Blok,
since 2004 called Vlaams Belang. The Vlaams Blok, originally founded in
the 1970s, was a Flemish-nationalist party. But for about 15 years, it had
hardly any success at all. Everything changed in the 1990s when they, like
other nationalist parties in many countries of Western Europe, started to
stress the immigration topic. This element was combined with a second
one: in contrast to many other right-wing nationalist parties, they attracted
a few very talented, charismatic and appealing young politicians. The

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[5] However, the Belgian king refused to accept the resignation of the Prime
Minister, so Leterme had to continue.
[6] http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Belgische_Unie_-_Union_belge
(last accessed 13 October 2008)

success of Vlaams Belang in the last decade is much more linked to personal and immigration circumstances than to Flemish nationalism. Total Flemish independence is not an aim of any of the major parties in power. Vlaams Belang has always been an opposition party, and until now, no other party has ever cooperated with them in any coalition, government or administration. This is an important difference compared to countries like France or Austria.

There is one point where the immigration topic and the nationalistic theme share common ground, at least for quite a lot of people: the point of cultural and linguistic integration or adaptation. After the Second World War, economic power has shifted from the southern to the northern part of the country. Flanders is now economically much wealthier than Wallonia. As a consequence of solidarity mechanisms in a federal state, there is a money flow from the richer to the poorer part, from the north to the south. For several decades now, it has been quite a substantial amount of around 6-10 billions of euros every year (depending on the source of the figures). Next to the regional differences in the unemployment rates, nowadays there is also a new economic phenomenon inexistent in the past 30 years. Now that the baby boom generation is gradually retiring, in some economic fields or sectors in Flanders there is an increasing labour shortage, a lack of workers. Brussels has a high unemployment rate, and just outside of Brussels there are hundreds of vacancies. This is the point where the importance of language knowledge comes in again. The knowledge of Dutch is generally very poor in Wallonia and Brussels, and it is impossible to get these jobs without knowledge of Dutch. This phenomenon is considered the more important one to stir separatist tendencies in Flanders. According to several opinion articles in Flemish newspapers, the majority of the Dutch-speaking population accepts the solidarity mechanism, but also thinks it is self-evident that, particularly under these economic circumstances, the minority group in Belgium learns the majority language in Belgium. The poor, or even non-existing knowledge of Dutch is sometimes considered as a kind of historically determined superiority (Belgium was founded in the 19th century as a monolingually French conceived state). It is also considered as a kind of cultural or linguistic superiority[7] and reminds some people in Flanders of

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[7] In the summer of 2008, the French-speaking Liège bishop Léonard gave a remarkable interview to a Dutch catholic journal, calling upon the French-speaking Belgians to give up their "complex of linguistic superiority" if they would like Belgium to continue to exist. See http://www.knack.be/nieuws/belgie/bisschop-doet-oproep-aan-de-franstaligen/site72-section24-article20166.html (last accessed 13 October 2008)

the time where Belgium was a unitarian state dominated by a French-speaking elite.

Reactions to "Bye Bye Belgium"

The reactions in both parts of the country to the RTBF news report (with the project name "Bye Bye Belgium") were partly parallel, partly different. Almost all politicians strongly condemned and disapproved of the fake news and considered it "irresponsible" for a public TV channel. The Francophone media minister called the station's officials on the carpet about what she called the "scandalous" newscast. She personally demanded to put a banner on the screen with the now famous words "Ceci est une fiction" ("This is a fiction"), which the station did after half an hour[8].

A second reaction most media had in common concerned the ethics of the journalist. The station used or abused the credibility of its most famous anchorman and of several political journalists, which gave rise to a whole new discussion on the fundamentals of the journalist's ethics, particularly when working for a public channel financed by the tax payers.

There were also very divergent reactions in the north and in the south of the country. In most cases they were inspired by the different framing of the topic of Flemish autonomy. Whereas in Wallonia this is seen as a hot topic and a sort of threat to people's prosperity, in Flanders several opinion polls have indicated that Flemish separatism is a relatively marginal topic. Separatist tendencies have always been very moderate in Flanders (as can be deduced from the evolution of the Vlaams Blok described above). Only after the federal elections in June 2007 and the long period of crisis afterwards, they have apparently started to grow[9]. However, an immediate Belgian split is included as an aim in the programme of only one political party in Flanders, the Vlaams Belang. The separatist declaration of this party is mistaken by many French-speaking Belgians for the general opinion in Flanders.

Some journalistic sources referred to the cultural, mental and linguistic gap in Belgium to explain the panic reactions in Wallonia, saying these reactions could easily have been tempered by switching over to a Dutch-

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[8] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Flemish_Secession_hoax (last accessed 13 October 2008)

[9] Results of separatist questions in opinion polls largely depend on the phrasing of the question. The highest approval rates for an independent Flanders reached about 40% in an opinion poll published by the popular newspaper *Het Laatste Nieuws* on 5 November 2007. In most cases however, figures are considerably lower.

speaking station (where a football match was being broadcast instead of revolution …). This is not completely a one-way phenomenon. Recent research (see e.g. van de Cloot 2008) has shown that in Flanders, the distribution of French as a foreign language has not decreased, but the general knowledge of French is deteriorating gradually, certainly with young people who are nowadays exposed to English rather than to French. In this sense the alienation is to be seen as a two-way development, albeit with big differences in the two parts of the country. The correct transfer, the mediation, the translation of ideas and differentiated, subtle distinctions is apparently very difficult to achieve in this ideological and political context (several parallel case studies on this relationship can be found in Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002). The media, on the one hand, partly reflect this lack of differentiation in reality, on the other hand, they also create or intensify black and white thinking in political and popular discourse.

Compromise and consensus building use of translation

From a political point of view, Belgium (with the exception of officially bilingual Brussels) has never opted for the institutionalized multilingual model. For a long time the knowledge of French in Flanders has bridged the linguistic gap. As explained above, this is now no longer the case. One would expect that an institutionalized translation model would play an important role under these circumstances. The institutionalization of translation certainly was present in legislative and political matters, especially in the last decades in the process of state reorganisation. Communal decisions are often part of a greater package of decisions, where all kinds of fields are mixed. It seems to be the only way to "solve" certain discords and cultural differences. These large-scale political agreements and compromises on communal matters between the members of both main linguistic communities are often the result of so-called governmental "conclaves" that last for days and even nights, for instance the Sint-Michiels-agreement in 1993 or the Lambermont-agreement in 2000. Sometimes the differences in opinion can only be bridged through an extremely well-balanced formulation and/or translation with slightly different foci in both languages. There are quite complex examples where the interpretation of the formulation coincided exactly with the political view on the case of the respective language communities (see the "facilities" example below). On the basis of perspectives or formulations open to more than one interpretation, the agreements can be presented to both communities in a slightly different way, taking into consideration the

divergent sensitivities of the Dutch-speaking majority and the French-speaking minority in the country. In this way, nationalistic and ideological tensions can be erased by the power of translation to reach compromises by (re)formulating in different languages. Politics and translation, but also politicians and translators, converge in this socio-political or translational-political practice. This practice is an illustration of the power perspective on translation as described by Dimitriu:

> Translators have become increasingly aware of the power involved in the selection of texts and in the choice of translation strategies. Heightened awareness of this complex process inspires confidence: the translator as co-author/re-writer determines the implicit meanings of both original and final translated version.
> [...] Translators are never 'innocent'. They face the power to create an image of the original which can be very different from the original's intention insofar as the original textual reality can be distorted and manipulated according to a series of constraints: the translator's own ideology, their feeling of superiority/inferiority towards the language into which they are translating; [...] the expectations of the dominant institutions and ideology; the public for whom the text is intended. (Dimitriu 2002, ii)

Translation differences are not only confined to communal issues, but are a normal phenomenon in everyday political life in Belgium. In the federal parliament, it is not at all exceptional that questions are asked about interpretation differences in the two linguistic versions of a law (often called "wrong translations"). This practice even increases with regard to European laws, which are officially of equal value, viz. equivalent in all languages, but where sometimes a clear chronology in the production of source text and target text can be determined (about the power relationships between minority and majority languages see e.g. Branchadell and West 2005).

As mentioned above, in Belgium there are no 'national' political parties anymore. Only the green parties in the North and the South try to collaborate in a more or less systematic way. In 2002, a joint declaration of the two parties was prepared. But that text was changed in a sometimes considerable way by the members of both language communities. The result is a joint declaration that reveals several substantial differences, partly for linguistic reasons, in the Dutch and the French version.

Compared to the translation of literary texts, until now little attention has been paid to political texts in translation in the Belgian context. The preceding examples indicate that this kind of research could intertwine

translation and politics, viz. a combination of political, linguistic and translational power relationships.

Confrontational model in the media

However, the peace-keeping power of translation as it can be used in the combined action of politicians and translators gets a different orientation in the reproduction of the same factual information for the media. The consensus-stimulating use of translation as described above assumes a more confrontational perspective in the journalistic frames.

A famous example in Belgium is the interview with the Prime Minister Yves Leterme (later Prime Minister of the Belgian government, at the time of the interview Prime Minister of the Flemish government) that was published in the French (not Belgian) newspaper *Libération* in August 2006. One of the issues in that interview is the situation in the so-called "faciliteitengemeenten" / "communes à facilités" (municipalities with - linguistic - facilities). In 1962, an official language border was installed between Flanders and Wallonia. Only the Brussels region is officially bilingual territory. But in some municipalities just outside Brussels (i.e. in Flanders), there was already a considerable French minority at that time. A special status for these six municipalities was arranged, saying that inhabitants there could contact local authorities in another language than the one of the official region status (which means: French instead of Dutch) as a facilitation measure. In the law, however, there is no clear reference to what exactly should be facilitated. In the interpretation of the Francophones it means: to facilitate the use of their language (eternally), in the interpretation of the Flemings it means: to facilitate the integration of the French-speaking immigrants (what they were in the 1960s), and thus a measure that was limited in time ("until they are integrated"). Almost fifty years later, the fact is that no linguistic integration has taken place. On the contrary, in several of these municipalities there is nowadays a French-speaking majority. Which leads to the next point of discussion: French speakers ask for an extension of Brussels (and its bilingual status) on the basis of a now existing reality (what they call "democratic reality"). The Flemish interpretation is: the more we facilitate, the more Dutch is pushed away by French. The originally Flemish town of Brussels is in the Dutch-speaking press sometimes compared to an ever extending oil stain that gallicizes or frenchifies[10]. Which means that the terms "faciliteitengemeente"

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[10] Luykx (1973, 209) deduces from the figures of the 1846 census that at that time, after decades of frenchifying during the Napoleonic period and the Belgian

and "commune de facilité", being a literal translation, are nevertheless interpreted in a very different way by the two linguistic communities.

Answering a question on the existence of the language border and the municipalities with facilities, the Flemish Prime Minister said:

> Mais apparamment les francophones ne sont pas en état intellectuel d'apprendre le néerlandais, d'où la prolongation de ce statut d'exception.
> [Apparently the Francophones are not intellectually capable of learning Dutch, that's why the exceptional status has been extended. – back translation mine]

In most Flemish media, this statement was seen as ironical. Of course, French-speaking individuals are capable of learning Dutch, but in those municipalities most of them have refused to learn or to use it. In most Francophone media however, it was stressed that Leterme had insulted *all* Francophones, not just the ones in the "faciliteitengemeenten". The transfer of the content of this interview was totally different on both sides of the linguistic frontier, the media having interpreted or framed it in another way. The way of media framing partly determined the translation of the quote and made it more confrontational than it was supposed to be.

Conclusion

Framing has been extensively investigated in communication studies. The economic interest frame (e.g. Fotiou and Triandafyllidou 1998, 419), the human interest frame (e.g. Price et al. 1997, 484), the responsibility frame (Ferree et al. 2002, 108), etc. are all frames that are used in the news media. In the context of our study, particularly the conflict frame is highly applicable, which is defined in the quote below:

> Although it is evident that journalists can report news in different ways, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) indicate that the following five frames are frequently used: (1) the conflict frame; (2) the human interest frame; (3) the economic impact frame; (4) the morality frame; and (5) the responsibility frame. The conflict frame emphasizes conflicts between individuals, groups, or institutions. For instance, this frame is used during electoral campaigns, conveniently reducing complex social and political issues into bite-size "conflicts." The conflict frame is related to winning

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revolution against the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, still 66.65% of the Brussels population was Flemish. Statistic material on the frenchification of Brussels can be found in Aelvoet (1957).

and losing. Emphasis is put on the performance and style of a party or an individual. (Bosman and d'Haenens 2003, 207)

It is interesting to see how the Belgian media frame political topics that reflect the nationalistic based differences between both linguistic communities, and how they can counter the intentions of reconciliation between the two communities. Indeed, many social and communication scholars claim that the media have a great impact on the representation of the conflict and can even make the conflict escalate (see e.g. the Leterme interview in *Libération*). The audiences receive a reframed 'story' that combines parts of the original frames used by the different actors in the conflict and new frames that are created by the media (as clearly illustrated by the framing choices made in the "Bye bye Belgium" report). That is why media coverage influences the perception of the conflict and often creates a winner-loser-duality.

Members of different interest groups, as well as individuals whose values differ, might interpret or reframe the accumulated 'news', the 'stories', and other information related to a conflict (see Richter and Vraneski 2002, 2). The tone (e.g. positive, negative, neutral), the use of expressions (e.g. expressions of war), the covered environment (e.g. political, economic) etc., can all frame a political topic in such a way that a polarisation is almost the inevitable consequence. The manipulative and/or simplifying accents of the media create unbalanced differences or misunderstandings. Arguments and details that do not fit into the conflict frame will not be included by the media or will be reframed. Framing then happens both during the selection and during the covering of the political topics. It is clear that this two-sided process of framing, as a result of the prevailing ideology, influences the communal issues in Belgium. As citizens mainly rely on the news media to get informed about political messages, the effect of this framing process on the communal political knowledge and ideology is substantial. From this perspective the simplifying principles in media coverage as well as the use of the conflict frame are counterproductive to the bridging role of translation as it was smoothly installed in Belgian political practice.

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Chapter Ten

'This is outside my competency': Government Websites, Official Utterance and *Nea Demokratia's* Foreign Policy

Stuart Price

Introduction

The notion of a pure form of free and equal political communication, in which citizens meet face to face to discuss issues vital to the wellbeing of their community, is often traced to the practices of the democratic Athenian *polis* or state, which flourished in the period 462 to 322 BCE. This collective of individuals, consisting of all adult male citizens, held power directly and did not delegate its authority to any 'elected executives' (Yunis 1996, 4). The fact that this democracy excluded women and was based on the labour of slaves, has not however prevented its repeated use as an example of public conduct. There are two reasons why this may be the case. First, because the model it offers, based on the principle of direct participation and control, can be extended in theory to all social groups; secondly, because it provides a powerful contrast to the "citizens of modern Western societies" who are "accustomed to pursuing basically private goals for most of [their] lives" (ibid, 7). The transition from engagement to passivity is marked by the fact that, in contemporary states, democracy has come to mean the election of representatives, rather than the direct exercise of power by citizens. In such a situation, political communication has been confined to the production of messages that can be passed through media forms to an audience which is only rarely placed in direct contact with the professional communicators who shape public discourse. In recent years, however, the rise of the web as a tool of

communication, has inspired some hope that it might increase or even enhance democratic participation in political life.

This chapter explores the attempt made by one particular political organisation, to set out its policies for both domestic and international consumption. It examines the Greek government's use of "new" technology in the pursuit of its political aims; the focus of the study is that part of the Hellenic Republic's website devoted to foreign policy. The immediate issue here is the degree to which *Nea Demokratia* (the governing party in Greece since 2004) has managed to produce intelligible material for an English-speaking audience, and thus a convincing account of its own activities.[1] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' homepage carries a series of links to formal positions on a variety of issues, but also provides a list of statements and press interviews given by various officials, including the Foreign Minister, Dora Bakoyiannis.

The larger purpose of the study is to assess the way in which the concepts of "democracy" and "national sovereignty" are animated within contemporary political discourse; in order to examine this question, the chapter makes comparisons with other political formations (most specifically the discursive strategies of Britain's New Labour). The analysis begins by considering three issues directly associated with the organisation of mainstream political expression.

The first consideration is the appearance of what Fairclough calls "the language of government", and his observation that politicians can "politicise issues or seek to depoliticise them" (Fairclough 2000, 11). So, to take one example, the existence of corruption within the ranks of the political class, always presents its members with a tactical difficulty. The extent to which such a problem may be *politicised* depends on how the risks of doing so are calculated by individual parties; can they benefit from making the fiscal misconduct of their opponents a political issue, or will such an act rebound on all those elected to public office? This first section is concerned, therefore, with political discourse, requiring an analysis of the *contextual* intentions of government speakers (see Lazuka 2006), rather than the simple reproduction of their rhetorical utterances.

The second challenge focuses on the attribution of social and communicative significance to the Internet in general, a practice which emerges from academic discourse as well as from statements issued by

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[1] The source material appears on the website in both Greek and English; the English translation, however, seems to produce a rather literal and stilted account of the Greek source (this chapter's title is an example). For this reason, an alternative translation was made by Foteini Tsouli (postgraduate student, University of Leicester).

political executives; this part of the chapter makes reference to the ways in which politicians draw attention to the civic or "democratic" character of new media, which they tend to conflate with the supposed efficacy of the web as a tool of governance.[2]

The third question is the quality of official translation and the impression fostered by the outcome of this process; poor interpretation can provide an insight into the sometimes uncomfortable transition from a "peripheral" language to a dominant international code. In this case, the movement from Greek to an established form of "diplomatic" speech like English, may give rise to certain expectations. These include the attainment of appropriate standards in translation and expression, as well as certain ideological assumptions about the kind of terminology and reference that should be used. In all three phases of the discussion, the political, the technological, and the representational, the notion of "democracy" is a central, operative concept.

Democracy: the rhetorical foundation of public speech

References to "democracy" provide the common currency of diplomatic exchange. Strategic use of the term acts as a typical initiating move[3] within international relations, an act of "sincerity" in which a speaker (particularly one from a culture marked as subordinate) asserts a belief in democratic principles, or expresses a wish to strengthen the democratic process, or reveals an intention to 'move towards' democracy. Dominant powers, on the other hand, in their use of the term, are in a position to impose a particular template for democratic conduct, even where this may appear to contradict their own practices.

So, for example, the "neo-conservative" tendency within the US state promoted "the 'democratisation' of both major and regional powers" but with the primary focus on "*selected* states that opposed American policies"

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[2] Leading political figures seem to have a limited appreciation of "the rhetorical dimensions of online public discourse" (Warnick 2007, 13), and thus of the possibilities of influencing their audiences. Instead, web-based material seems to be presented by politicians as a form of public service, or as a means of strengthening democracy.

[3] A "move" in Goffman's sense is any "full stretch of talk" which has a "distinctive unitary bearing on some set or other of the circumstances in which participants find themselves" (Goffman 1981, 24). A "move" as I employ it above, refers to a linguistic *action* designed to secure the position of the individual initiating or responding to an utterance. I take references to "democracy" as an important instance of agenda-setting.

(Gardner 2005, 27). Similarly, Colin Powell, speaking after the September 11 attacks, produced an account of American diplomacy that simply conflated political principles and commerce, announcing that "we're selling a product; that product […] is democracy […] it's the free enterprise system, the American value system" (Benady, *Marketing Week*, 8 November 2001).

David Miliband, the British Foreign Secretary in Gordon Brown's administration, also revealed the machinations that can lie beneath the democratic "alibi". During the handover of the Basra province to Iraqi control (in December 2007) he argued that "we've got a political agreement […] that allows people to see politics as the way they divide the spoils, rather than violence" (in Oborne's documentary 'Iraq: The Betrayal', 17 March 2008). Here, an insight into the instrumental purpose of formal politics emerges from the crude reference to "spoils", which replaces more typical allusions to power or participation.

The problem suggested by these cases, is not the departure from the highest ideals (since an observer may conclude that *realpolitik* rather than idealism is always bound to motivate the powerful), but the assertion that US and UK national interests are inseparable from "democracy". American and British politicians nonetheless cite an attachment to democracy as an important indicator of *national* maturity. For example, during his period of office, Tony Blair argued that Greece's neighbour, Turkey "was a Muslim nation showing how keen it is to take its place in the modern world", and that it was "embracing democracy, actively seeking the international community's support in resolving the longstanding and bitter dispute over a divided Cyprus" (Blair, 'Our Nation's Future', speech of 12 January 2007).[4]

Yet, as Western public interest in formal electoral politics supposedly declines,[5] established institutions actually invest more effort in notions of

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[4] This description is somewhat at odds with journalistic accounts of a Turkish polity in which there is "chronic tension between Islamists, internationalists and reformers on one side, and nationalists, secularists and conservatives on the other" (Borger 'Turkish PM drops out of presidential race to placate army', *The Guardian*, 25 April 2007).

[5] See for example Grice, A, 'Labour slumps to lowest poll rating since 1983', in which the report notes that (in the run-up to the 2007 local elections), "Likelihood to vote among young people is dwindling […] this month, only 17 per cent of 18 to 24 year olds said they were certain to vote […] thirty per cent say they are certain not to vote, twice as many as last month" (*The Independent*, 24 April 2007).

governance as a way of managing the contemporary social order.[6] Newman describes how an emphasis on governance reduces the social to "an object or effect of governmental practices" (Newman 2004, 1). Although used as a tool of social management, governance does not generate much "brand" recognition[7] in the public sphere. While references to the idea do surface in debate, the ideals of democracy continue to provide the prevailing discursive frame. The point here is that the apparent attachment of politicians to democratic goals allows these actors to gain value from the open circulation of an apparently universal quality. Animation of the term *democracy* helps to reinforce political credentials, while at the same time disguising a fundamental attachment to mechanisms of social control.

When brought into play by politicians, the use of democracy as a theme may therefore refer to a number of specific issues or events, depending upon the setting in which the term is animated and the actual range of experience its appearance establishes. It has been suggested that no *universal* significance of the term "democracy" survives, because meaning has been eroded by "its usage in different contexts", so that there is "no longer any common ground from which to select relevant situational features" (Bassnett 2002, 39). It is certainly clear that the notion may vary in use, and that the work of translation is complicated by the ability of speakers to indicate a number of competing traditions.

It is exactly this multiplicity of reference, however, which demonstrates the power and stability of the core meaning; individual allusions to democracy draw strength from an established, universal value, without which their discrete meanings could not come to life. Democracy, as a political system that rhetorically *distinguishes itself from* the notion of tyranny is, as suggested above, the essential prerequisite for entering the discursive realm of mainstream politics. This does not mean, as I have tried to argue, that its use is always sincere or socially progressive. Few individuals, in calling to mind "the ideal conception of social equality" (Price 2006a) really intend to establish utopia. In many cases, perhaps, the

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[6] My contention here is that the process of governance, rather than democracy, represents the real trajectory of neo-liberal states, as it helps reinforce the mutual alignment of a professional class devoted to the reproduction of existing power relations.

[7] The application of the term "brand" to a political party is often the work of the politicians themselves; see for example Elliot, "'Bad smell' still lingers round Tories, says poll" (*The Independent*, 29 April 2007) where the writer cites an internal Conservative Party research document entitled *The State of the Conservative Party Brand*.

effect is quite the reverse, but the point remains that, even where politicians erode democratic traditions, they can reap the rewards of echoing the abstract associations that any mention of "democracy" brings to the fore.

The setting of political speech and the problem of sovereignty

The material used to illustrate the character of *Nea Demokratia's* political rhetoric, is drawn from a number of online documents, all produced by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These include Foreign Minister Bakoyannis' address to the United Nations General Assembly (22 September 2006), her speech to the House of Congress International Relations Committee (26 September 2006), her original welcome message on the revamped website (accessed 13 February 2007), and other minor statements such as remarks made at the Greek Cabinet meeting of 7 March 2006. In addition, the documents include Foreign Ministry spokesperson Koumoutsakos' briefing to journalists, which took place on 13 February 2007. Most sources are composed, therefore, of formal statements or 'scripted' utterance, with the Koumoutsakos briefing included as an example of a question and answer session. The difference between the two modes of communication is that the press conference can give rise to challenges, opportunities for contestation that are not available during the course of public oration.

In order to follow the exact range of meaning that can appear during any type of formal political address, however, the *setting* of an event should be understood as the determining factor. Such an assertion contests those approaches that highlight the intention of the speaker (Lazuka 2006), placing more emphasis on the structure of an occurrence, rather than individual agency. This is not to take issue with theories of agency that advocate language as "a form of social action" (Ahearn 2001, 110), but rather to argue that effective actions are made possible within institutional settings. Setting as a concept, however, does not refer simply to the physical place of activity, but represents a combination of location and the prevailing structures that determine the salient features of utterance (Hymes 1974, cited in Price 1996). To take a simple example, Foreign Minister Bakoyiannis' speech to the United Nations General Assembly on 22 September 2006, displays quite different generic characteristics to the

press conference run by Koumoutsakos on 21 December 2006.[8] Bakoyiannis' utterance was in English, whereas the Koumoutsakos exchange was translated from the Greek. The two types of communication, however, are used to provide the political substance of the Foreign Ministry's website, as though both represent equally significant accounts of *Nea Demokratia's* policy.

The larger social and political context of *Nea Demokratia's* public discourse on matters of security, governance and democracy, is the position of Greece as a relatively weak member of the western alliance in the "war on terror". Although Greek politicians may claim a form of moral authority, based on references to the ancient Athenian *polis* as the root of modern democracy, the recent history of the nation suggests a more complex picture. The dictatorship of the Colonels, for example, brought to power in a coup in 1967 and eventually ousted in 1974 (Ganser 2005, 220), provides a more negative background, one which self-declared democrats are anxious to disavow. Indeed, *Nea Demokratia* won its first majority in Parliament in 1974, the year of the first elections after the dictatorship. Although the details may differ, the broad conceptual expression of democratic values differs little from the standard language found in other western systems, and is thus comparable to similar rhetorical strategies produced by the US and British governments.

Yet, as suggested above, the relatively weak international position of the Greek government was made apparent in the aftermath of its election victory of March 2004 (this election ended an eleven year period in opposition, and saw the party secure over forty-five per cent of votes cast). The new administration was presented with an almost immediate challenge to its assumption of national hegemony. This was the insistence of foreign powers (the US, UK and Israel) that they, and not the Greeks, would provide armed security for their own athletes at the 2004 Olympic Games (Smith, *The Guardian*, 4 June 2004). Furthermore, the installation of US Patriot missiles around the site of the Olympics, seemed to confirm the impression that Greek had accepted the position of a "client" state (Price 2008, 13).

When Greek politicians met their counterparts, however, attempts were made to maintain the impression that all diplomatic exchanges were conducted between equals. So, for example, when the Minister of Public

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[8] Both examples of communication, however, make use of rhetorical devices (see Partington 2003). Such devices include the elision of difference between speaker and larger social groups through the use of the "inclusive we", repetition to emphasise points, and techniques like the negative identification of opponents (see Atkinson 1984).

Order, Georgios Voulgarakis, met US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in May 2004, he revealed that "we had the opportunity to review many issues which are important for the two countries", the most significant of which was "security […] for the Olympic Games" (Press Release, www.athens2004.com, 7 May 2004). Voulgarakis argued that "Mrs Rice shares the view that many important steps have been taken to ensure that the Olympic Games in Greece will be safe" (ibid).

Such announcements attempt to *align* less influential speakers with the positions adopted by the powerful. This move must be achieved without necessarily sacrificing the appearance of independence, one of the essential judgments exercised in considering the success of *national* political discourse. Nationalism, as a political practice, is based on the assumption that a particular nation is able to demonstrate "an explicit and peculiar character", that its interests must "take priority over all other interests and values", and that it must be as "independent as possible" (Breuilly 1982, cited in Ozkirimli 2000, 105).

The ruling party in Greece would have little problem with the first condition; its "ideological principles" reveal that "Nea Demokratia is inspired and takes example of [sic] the splendid cultural norms created by Greek civilisation throughout the centuries".[9] The government could also demonstrate commitment to the second category, the primacy of national interest; *Nea Demokratia* declared that it "recognises the Nation as the basic framework of human life and activity" (ibid). In the third instance, however, which sets out the need for independence, the party may well have presented a rhetorical commitment to "national independence, territorial integrity and national dignity", and emphasised its belief in "national independence" as a "fundamental prerequisite [for] […] democracy" (ibid), but its activities appeared to be constrained by extra-national forces.[10]

Greek politicians certainly wished to call to mind the reputation of their country as the birthplace of democratic principles,[11] and made this an inherent part of their 'nationalist' discourse. Yet, in a number of cases, the public rhetoric of the ruling party, in which Greece was presented as a beacon of democracy (Bakoyannis, speech to the House of Congress

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[9] 'The Ideological Principles of Nea Demokratia', accessed 2 February 2007.

[10] The European Union's criticism of Greece's failure to carry through EU anti-terror laws (Castle, *The Independent*, 8 June 2004) also added to the perception that the country's strategic alliances had placed it in a subservient position.

[11] See for instance the statement that, "We, the Greek people, have the special privilege of being heirs of a unique cultural tradition" ('The Ideological Principles of Nea Demokratia').

International Relations Committee, 26 September 2006) was undermined. Significant external judgements either cast doubt on the ruling party's ability to assert its own sovereignty or, in the case of a report by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Degrading Treatment or Punishment (20 December 2006), questioned its adherence to basic human rights. Such failings should not be attributed to Greece alone, but can be understood as typical symptoms of altered norms in all neo-liberal states dedicated to following the US lead in the "war on terror". Some authors take a longer view, and trace the origin of these problems to US and UK subversion of post-war European democracy (Ganser 2005).

Whatever the external constraints on Greek diplomacy, Bakoyannis recognised an opportunity to present a "national" agenda within her speech to the House of Congress International Relations Committee, given on 26 September 2006. In this formal setting, Bakoyannis mentioned issues of lasting concern to her party (Turkish power and the question of Cyprus) but these issues, of little real interest to her American audience, did not form the opening portion of her address. Bakoyannis demonstrated an awareness of the need to align her utterances with the dominant assumptions held by her listeners. This oration, of course, was not spoken in Greek and then presented on the website as a translation into English, but delivered in English for the benefit of the members of Congress. She begins, in line with the prevailing requirement to establish her government's sincerity, with a metaphorical reference to the particular physical setting in which she finds herself. Bakoyannis declares that it is "my pleasure to be here tonight", in what she calls "the heart of American democracy" (which appears on the website in a Greek translation as *stin kardia tis Amerikanis dimokratias*).

Following Hymes (1974, in Price 1996) an appreciation of structural considerations would produce the following analysis: the *structure* (form) of the event is a speech-appeal made to an influential (foreign) assembly; the *setting* is the material place, the Committee Hearing Room, in which the oration takes place; the *purpose* is that of political alignment in order to secure material benefits; the *key* is the spirit of the event, here conducted as a serious act of political supplication (produced by the purpose of the visit, the ambience of the place and its structuring effect on human agency); the *topic* is the assignation of mutual interests to speaker and hearer; and the *channel* or message medium, would in this case be formulaic speech (utterance prepared in advance and subsequently disseminated as *a matter of record*). The location or setting (the temporal-spatial conjunction) is, above all, endowed with a special quality, which is

somewhat undermined by the clumsy assertion that the Hearing Room "carries such significance in the minds of us, Greeks".

Bakoyannis characterises the site of her speech as the place from which "the voice of the American people" was heard, "supporting our struggle for freedom and democracy" (*ton agona mas yia eleftheria kai demokratia*). This is a reference to "the difficult years of the dictatorship in Greece".[12] Although the Greek Foreign Minister carries some authority on the subject of terrorism, as her first husband was assassinated by the November 17 group in 1989, the claim that the US and Greece 'always stood on the side of liberty together' needs to be placed in a clearer theoretical and historical context.

In the Minister's speech, the attempt at alignment with her hosts reduces conceptual analysis and historical reference to simple assertion. According to some authors, the ability of US and UK politicians to manipulate the notion of democracy to suit executive goals has had a particularly negative effect in Greece. Blum, for example, depicted American interference in post-war Greece as the deliberate destruction of democracy (Blum 1995), while Ganser argued that Truman, "by some ideological alchemy", characterised a corrupt regime of the right as 'democratic' in order to justify military intervention in 1947 (Ganser 2005, 215). The point here is that rhetorical utterances allow speakers to make truth-claims in a story-world (Price 2007) but that such utterances are shaped more by structural considerations than by individual purposes. In effect, speakers in certain situations are constrained by their own knowledge of the circumstances or political realities they must face.

Practical vs. rhetorical presentation of "new" media

In discussing the second condition introduced at the beginning of this chapter (the communicative uses of "new media"), it seems that the positive reputation of democracy is often assigned to the entire realm of electronic communication; as Gray observes, "certain technologies" are thought to produce "positive political changes" (Gray 2001, 42). Against this idealised notion, Gray cites competing views, which note that "democracy depends more on an informed and active citizenship" than on 'any particular technology' (ibid, 43). Debates over the value of the web as a sphere of civic engagement were, however, anticipated in discussions of

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[12] The Greek junta or "regime of the Colonels" held power between 1967 and 1974.

older communication systems. Indeed, debates about communication are inevitably concerned with questions of political equality.

Venteurelli, for example, in his study of European Community media policy, identified the "reformulation of democratic social organisation" as a central feature of the way "television without frontiers" was conceived (Venteurelli 1993, 491). Questions about the supposedly "democratic" attributes of media systems are based, Venteurelli argued, on the assumption that members of the public are addressed as citizens; in reality, however, such models of public interest are "being displaced in international policy transactions with a technologically privileged, market model of global economic order" (ibid, 497). The market perspective does not, of course, represent itself primarily as capitalist, but rather as culturally dynamic and innovative, represented by a class of entrepreneurs devoted to the productive manipulation of ideas within a "network society" (see Castells, 2000).

In assessing the view that information technologies represent a positive contribution to democracy and a threat to totalitarianism, van Dijk noted that, while it may indeed be true that they undermine older forms of centralised hierarchy, they may equally provide the means for establishing new types of "total" society. Van Dijk believed that one of the capacities of new technology is to "enable central management, surveillance and control" (van Dijk 2006, 99).[13]

This chapter, however, is not primarily concerned with the political-technological domination of citizens, but treats the appearance of web-based political discourse as a form of advocacy, shaped by "issue proponents" (Dearing and Rogers 1996, 2). Issue-proponents or advocates include, in this case, all those groups or individuals who regard websites as simply one amongst a number of useful platforms for the display of public appeals. In some instances, however, a homepage may provide the main "location" for a campaign or group, in which case the site will assume the character of a trans-national organizational base.[14]

Governments have found the Internet particularly useful in presenting a manageable facade and, through the remote form of address characteristic of the web, the composition of a passive public. Ruling parties often

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[13] His most perceptive remark on the subject is that social control does not require "*direct* supervision" or "*total* control", and that "central political and economic power only has to be wielded when citizens, workers or consumers cross one of the carefully chosen lines guarded electronically by large-scale, interconnected systems of registration and surveillance" (van Dijk 2006, 99).

[14] See, for example, the practices of international trade unions; the syndicalist IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) is a case in point.

mimic "activist" but also commercial uses of the web, in which the public is for instance encouraged to play a role through joining the organisation, making donations, buying merchandise and "voting" on particular issues. Some examples reflect very clearly the increasingly consumerist inflection of public identity and public service (see Clarke et al. 2007).

In 2004, for instance, the British Labour Party website carried a campaign link in the form of a button which read "£10 for safer streets", together with an illustration of a police officer. This was notable for making a truth-claim in a context in which verification of the actual use of the sum concerned would be impossible, destined as the funds were for general use. Political parties have also grasped the opportunity offered by the "space" of the web to reconfigure the relationship between an organisational centre and its base.

When for example Tincknell describes New Labour as a "contingent, fluid and 'floating' entity", controlled by "a centralized and autonomous organisational structure" (Tincknell 2004, 153), she could be describing the disembodied phenomenon of appearances that its website exemplifies. Indeed, she argues that the party that developed under Blair did not constitute a mass movement but had more in common with the "fragmented, individualized internet consumer, 'massified' in terms of numbers rather than consciousness" (ibid). Website pages are themselves not only "created in the moment" but are "unstable and short-lived" (Warnick 2007, 27).

Under these conditions, emphasis is placed on invitations to express individual opinion through the same mechanisms already established in the commercial sector and within broadcast formats. This is the provision of the "response" button, which offers the opportunity to "talk" and "have your say". In some cases, questions are sent to the party and the replies are offered as a "podcast" made the following week.[15] Similarly, the use of an "e-petitions" system on the Prime Minister's No 10 website, in which petitions are recorded, placed in order of popularity and, where rejected, are accompanied with appropriate explanations. The extraordinary claim made by the British government is that this system allows the individual to "deliver your petition directly to Downing Street" (http://petitions. pm.gov.uk/, last accessed 22 September 2007).

Here, the metaphorical signification of "government", which makes sense if the physical seat of power is indicated, comes adrift when it is turned into the electronic equivalent of a dead-letter box; the "location" of the website provides, rather than a form of democracy in cyberspace, a

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[15] Labour Party website http://www.labour.org.uk/4040 (last accessed 16 February 2007).

manageable field for the routine processing of a form of protest which, even as a "material" phenomenon, is usually ignored. However it is employed, the use of web design is clearly more than simply the animation of "textual" or "visual" material; Barnet describes it as "a way of *spatialising* ideas into discrete units" (Barnet 2000, 76).

Nea Demokratia (re)enters the digital age: rhetoric and alignment

In early 2007, *Nea Demokratia* re-launched its website. The new version did not, however, provide the kind of "interactive" features produced by the British Labour party (see above). Yet, within the pages of the Foreign Ministry, Dora Bakoyannis produced a welcome message in Greek, French, and English, that emphasised the virtues of new technology and public communication. This was an example of content specifically generated for the site, and stands in contrast to the simple reproduction of material that may already have been in the public domain (see below).

The general practice of all official government websites is to make an impact on both domestic and international audiences, but the prevalence of English reveals the degree to which it is regarded as the *lingua franca* of "western" diplomacy. US documents may, for example, be translated into Spanish for one section of its domestic audience, but the bulk of material for an international audience remains in English. In the case of *Nea Demokratia*, the use of other European languages (including French) may help to reinforce its declared aim of strengthening "bilateral relations with the key players in the international community" (Bakoyannis, statement to Cabinet, 7 March 2006), but more particularly could assist in what Bakoyannis calls the "shaping of the new, common European perspective" (ibid). These aims, however, seem less likely to fulfil the goal of creating a stronger internal democracy, than the impulse to establish links with other political elites, and thence to allow Greek politicians "a role and respected say in the international arena" (ibid).

What is interesting about the Foreign Minister's declaration, is not only its general and belated consciousness of the "digital revolution" (*psifiaki epanastasi*), but the anodyne and rhetorical character in which this awareness is expressed. Bakoyannis declared that, "our world is changing rapidly" and noted that " […] the digital revolution's role in this has been significant, drastically altering the way people communicate" (www.mfa.gr/Articles/en-US).[16] The immediate question, therefore, is to

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[16] Ministry of Foreign Affairs website (last accessed 13 February 2007).

what degree the typical currency of political discourse is applied to a format which is, according to the propositions contained in the "welcome message" itself, supposed to "drastically alter" the way communication takes place. It is not clear if any serious consideration has been given, for example, to the different requirements of internal or external audiences, over and above the primary aim to produce documents which can be read by different nationalities. The next issue is what happened to the long established notion of the Internet as an engine of democratic communication (see above). In place of this ideal, a merely functional idea is expressed: "due to its immediacy, speed and accessibility, the internet has become an indispensable tool for every modern state" (www.mfa.gr *ibid*).

Bakoyannis' statement follows routine forms of rhetorical practice, including assertion, the rule of three (where statements are presented in a three-part list to gain attention and impact) and the presentation of a unitary collective (Atkinson 1984), but displays in addition the confusion of pragmatic considerations ("an indispensable tool for every modern state") and idealistic intent. Her reference to "public diplomacy" (*demosia diplomatia*) creates a similar movement between a functional stance and a moral assertion, in which "public diplomacy helps to effectively promote a country's positions", but also advances "peace and international cooperation" (Bakoyannis, Welcome Message, 2007). Such combinations of apparently contradictory positions, the promotion of national interest on the one hand and an attachment to peaceful cooperation, appear in a great deal of mainstream political discourse, yet the difficulty of reconciling divergent aims is partially concealed by the grammatical coherence of the sentence or passage (Price 2006b, 93).

So, for example, as the UK's onetime Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Jack Straw[17] argued on 11 February 2003, "the search for collective security has been the inspiration for some of diplomacy's most noble endeavours" (address to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 11 February 2003). The statement is intelligible but represents a sleight of hand, assigning progressive notions to the simple exercise of power. Here, a functional necessity (the search for inter-state alliances) is accorded a moral value through the use of a declarative or formal assertion (Price 2006b, 96). The concept of "collective security", according to Gordenker and Weiss, emerged from international political systems "so different from the present one that questions may be posed about the contemporary relevance of the idea and the tenability of its assumptions"

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[17] He served in this capacity from 8 June 2001 until 8 May 2006.

(Gordenker and Weiss 1993, 3). The kind of rhetoric analysed here represents Fairclough's notion of the "language of government" (Fairclough 2000, 11), but in the case of subordinate states, such as Greece, its use also indicates an attempt to establish and maintain political alignment between their own dependent positions and the powers they seek to exploit or emulate.

Democracy, intention and structure: challenge and response

If, as argued above, the *institutional* referent of democracy gains its power and durability from notions of equality and justice, this symbolic resonance "lends legitimacy to the practical organisation of those human societies that wish to distinguish themselves from tyrannies, oligarchies, absolute monarchies, and one-party states" (Price 2006a, 1). Therefore, the exact type of democratic intervention is supposed to be irrelevant, as long as some popular sanction is enacted.

From one perspective, that of mainstream political theory, the multiplicity of forms taken by democracy supposedly attests to "the 'strength' of bourgeois democracy in general" (ibid). Nonetheless, the rhetorical utterances of the powerful seek to conflate the ideal and pragmatic character of the concept in order to avoid challenges from those who think that political democracy has become increasingly limited.[18] In the neo-liberal social order, democracy, "reform" and marketisation have become rhetorically inseparable.[19]

Academic interest in the *intention* of politicians, office-holders or political nominees, certainly represents a valid current of enquiry; my argument is, however, that studying the *structure* of formal events provides a more reliable indication of political outcomes than assigning the power of agency to individuals alone, most of whom do not even write their own speeches. The "intentional" approach has been described as a perspective that "specifically emphasises the role of the speaker" (Lazuka 2006, 300). The prominence given here to intentionality emerges from the belief that "structure and meaning should not be overvalued at the expense

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[18] Hansen and Salskov-Iversen (2002, 4) identify "managerial patterns of political authority"; while Dahlgren calls elections "consumer choice in the rotation of elites" (Dahlgren 1995, 3).

[19] See for example George W Bush's speech of 9 May 2002, in which he contrasted the "free market's invisible hand, which improves the lives of people", and "the government's invisible foot" which "tramples on people's hopes and destroys their dreams" (White House Press Office, May 2002).

of the speaker's intention and the hearer's recognition" (ibid, 301). Jessop's definition of the state lends support to this notion of structure; he identifies "the *core of the state apparatus*" as a "distinct ensemble of institutions and organisations", the "socially accepted function" of which is to "define and enforce collectively binding decisions on a given population in the name of their 'common interest' or 'general will'" (Jessop 1990b, 341, cited in Jessop 2008, 9). Note that the purpose of the state is "socially accepted"; while individual decisions may be contested, and the moral authority of political executives is often be brought into question, the principle of executive power is less readily attacked.

As I have said above, speaker intention is usually collective, as he/she will deliver an oration that is the work of numerous individuals, including translators. The "hearer" has always, of course, been constructed as an abstraction of audience perception and value. It is my contention, however, that political purposes cannot be understood as 'free' acts of communication, in the sense of creating understanding between an "individual" speaker and a representative listener. Intention is usually presented as the everyday condition which pre-exists performance; in essence, it is seen as a purpose *held in advance* of any deliberate action.

This is a reasonable definition, but has certain limitations. One point to remember is that all messages are circumscribed by the range of available discourses[20] and are partially determined by the context in which expression is made. Intention is perhaps best understood not as an individual attribute, an idiosyncratic position held by one person,[21] but as "the structural reproduction of purposes whenever hierarchical relationships are renewed during communication events" (Price 2007, 4).

It is, of course, not always the case that political discourse is meant to go unchallenged. A simple distinction can be made between scripted, formal speeches, delivered without interruption, and forms of expression produced in response to an enquiry. Within the examples taken from the *Nea Demokratia* website, both types of communication, the question/answer format and the uninterrupted oratory, are enacted within formal settings. The point is that, whatever language is chosen for the act of communication, the same hierarchical organisation of speakers is maintained; even where challenges are allowed, as noted above, these are limited to the particular version of events given by the speaker, and do not interrogate the deeper questions concerning the source and flow of

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[20] The "typical" positions, attached to particular topics, which are expressed in any structured argument.

[21] In certain cases (i.e. speeches where a point of view is contested), orators may find that their immediate purposes are re-aligned or even formed during utterance.

information. There seems to be, indeed, considerably less respect shown for the domestic audience of Greek journalists, than for powerful foreign dignitaries. In neither case are the Greek public addressed directly; such events seem increasingly rare in contemporary public life, whatever the national context.

In the case of the press conference run by Ministry spokesperson Koumoutsakos on 21 December 2006, the challenges made by journalists included a question about "torture and abuse in Greek prisons" which, according to the website, prompted the response "this is outside my competency". It is clear here that the use of "competency" is a mistranslation, because it would seem to indicate that the speaker confesses to ineptitude. This term refers, in fact, to the professional remit or designated scope of the role assigned to the speaker, rather than reflecting any evaluation of individual ability. The inaccuracy of the translation, however, cannot disguise the fact that Koumoutsakos's denial seems designed to avoid issues of responsibility and truth.

The point of undertaking an analysis of public utterance is to gauge its sincerity and to compare assertion with other material outcomes, such as economic activity and the execution (often through language but also through non-linguistic sanctions), of policy. References to democracy as the governing value of European political life remain laudable, but their application is the test of the range of meaning they actually encompass. Searle, in summarising the purpose of his work, declared his objective to be "the attempt to give philosophically illuminating descriptions of certain general features of language", such as "reference, truth, meaning and necessity" (Searle 1969, 4). These concepts may well qualify as "universal" characteristics of spoken interaction, and may offer a *practical agenda* for public communication; they carry therefore *moral* as well as practical implications. So, for example, human societies may reinforce the existence of a shared social reality through reference[22] to objects, persons and events in the world, but the usefulness and ethical force of individual allusions can be measured by the extent to which they reliably identify objective conditions.[23]

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[22] Reference here indicates an accepted condition or state of affairs, but the production of reference does not guarantee that a statement is true or that its application to a particular phenomenon is justified.

[23] By objective conditions, I mean verifiable realities which, if ignored, would have detrimental consequences for social actors. Where references are not successful, as in for example the inability of the Bush administration to convince the US public that the condition "victory" was attainable in Iraq, the growth of a "discursive drift" between reference and perception may be observed.

Habermas, in a similar vein to Grice's four conversational maxims[24] (1989, 27), suggested the existence of four "validity claims", against which participants could judge the trustworthiness of the information they received, and thus the honesty of an individual speaker. These claims (so far as these can be attributed to a speaker) can be summarised as: comprehensibility, truth, 'correctness', and sincerity (Habermas 1984, cited in Outhwaite 1994). If they wish to be understood, speakers must therefore observe the principle of clarity (comprehensibility); if they wish to gain trust, they should demonstrate truthfulness,[25] consistent reliability (correctness) and sincerity. Grice's supermaxim for the creation of sincere forms of interaction, seems to concur with Habermas' position; this was simply that an individual should "try to make [his/her] contribution one that is true".[26] According to this position, meaningful communication and social cohesion can only be achieved through an explicit attachment to truth and clarity.

Conclusion

If political groups or campaigns use the Internet as a means of agitating for particular causes, ruling parties such as *Nea Demokratia* seem concerned with another, more specialized function: the use of a site as evidence of their active commitment to transparent "governance". The belief that "government services [and] political participation" (Lawson 2006, cited in Breslin and Dufour 2006, 166) will increasingly be provided through digital conduits, together with a conception of the social as "an entity to be governed, a resource to be mobilised" (Newman 2004, 1), has helped validate the development of websites as "benevolent" forms of display in a larger project of neo-liberal reform.

Such a statement may seem, at first sight, to misrepresent both the intention and appearance of online communication produced by governments. After all, a great deal of material, including speeches, interviews, statements and press conferences, is posted on these sites. Yet

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[24] Bach and Harnish describe the rules that must be observed so that an utterance is *intelligible*: avoidance of ambiguity, of obscurity, and of unnecessary length, and an adherence to *orderliness* of expression (Bach and Harnish 1979, 64).

[25] Foucault draws attention to the principle of *parreshia*, in which a 'complete and exact account' of a speaker's sincere belief is offered to the public (Foucault 2001).

[26] He reinforced this idea with two further headings; "do not say what you believe to be false", and "do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence" (Grice 1989, 27).

the provision of such content, even combined with requests for public response, does not represent a "democratic" impulse, for the following reasons. First, certain genres of political discourse may simulate intimacy and exchange, but are actually concerned with the timely production of public alibis for decisions made behind closed doors (Price 2007, 62). Their appearance on websites as *matters of record* is useful in the sense that they provide reference-points for historical analysis, but their purpose for the ruling party is clear: the provision of generic material as evidence of good faith in the process of "governance". The leaders of contemporary states attempt to achieve two sometimes incompatible ends, one immediate or contingent and the other normative; in other words, to generate *explanations* for decisions already made, while attempting to provide "moral" leadership through the constant repetition of references to values which they assume are shared by their audiences. Ultimately, it seems that, even where the intention of ruling elites is to increase forms of public engagement, the Internet is a poor instrument for the expansion of an inherently limited and circumscribed model of representative democracy, in which voters delegate responsibility to an executive class.

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POSTSCRIPT

PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS:
BEYOND BOUNDARIES

YVES GAMBIER

Introduction

The printed and electronic media play an important role in the formulation and transmission of information, data, ideas, values. There would be no politics, diplomacy, international relations without media. And changes of global or local significance to a large extent do not exist if they are not reported. Moreover, for more than a century, news has developed thanks to news agencies. Still, the link between politics, media and translation remains largely hidden. Indeed, public communications raise many different issues; partly because they are at the heart of the relationship between the State and the citizens, between the different powers (whether economic, political, cultural, associative), at the heart of democracy and civil life. I would like to consider public communications from three main perspectives: beyond the national boundaries, beyond the media boundaries, and beyond the discipline boundaries.

Beyond the national boundaries

The economic environment in which translation is today practised is very different from that of the 1970s. The processes of information generation, processing, and transmission are central in our global economy, with constant information flows in real-time across the globe. As Cronin argues:

> In this context of informational economy, translation has a clear dual function, namely, a universalising function (allowing internationalisation of products and services) and a particularising function (highlighting local languages and cultures). (Cronin 2005, 110-114)

A three-year project conducted by Warwick University's Centre for Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies investigating "The politics and economics of translation in global media" included three symposia (April 2004: The Languages of Global News; November 2005: Translating Terror; and June 2006: Translation in Global News) and one seminar (April 2005, on the whole project see http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ctccs/research/tgn/, last accessed 26 September 2008). All these meetings have emphasized the role played by journalists in selecting and rewriting news across language frontiers, the constraints such as time pressure, editorial decision-making in producing and transediting the news, and the different expectations of readers in different countries (partly related to stylistic and rhetoric conventions, partly related to dominant values) (Bielsa and Bassnett 2008). Several very interesting and stimulating questions have been asked and discussed. On the other hand, one realizes how much still needs to be investigated concerning the production, representation and organisation of different fields of activity and knowledge through the printed and audiovisual media, such as business activities, or science popularisation. No domain seems to escape globalisation and translation in the media today.

Many newspapers and magazines have international distribution, with different localised versions (*Times, Newsweek, Financial Times, National Geography, American Science, Elle, People, Cosmopolitan*, and so on and so forth). Some circulate weekly in many different countries, e.g. *International Herald Tribune, The New York Times* in France, Germany, Italy, Spain; others are compiling and translating articles systematically, like *Courrier International* (in France) and   *Internazionale* (in Italy), thanks to correspondents and/or in-house translators.

Here I would like to give a more complete example: *Le Monde diplomatique*, launched in 1954, has more than 60 international editions. Besides French, the monthly newspaper is edited in 25 languages, e.g. Afrikaans, Bulgarian, Korean, Iranian, Slovene. While there were 5 printed versions in 1996 (with a circulation of 500,000 copies), 13 in 2000 (with more than one million copies), there were 34 versions in December 2006 (with more than 1.5 million copies) in addition to 33 on line. The electronic version of a newspaper is not always the reproduction of its hard copy; such is the case of Brazil, Japan, the Czech Republic and in Catalan, Chinese, Esperanto. The status of the different versions varies. Sometimes, they are only articles translated from French; sometimes, they add original papers written by the local editorial offices. The newspaper does not claim to be a French periodical sold abroad but tries to be an international newspaper made mainly in France. Indeed, most of the foreign partners

have taken the initiative in producing a local edition. But questions remain, such as the following:

- Why do some editions disappear (in Austria, Jordan, Libanon, Sweden, Turkey, etc.)?
- Who selects the articles to be translated?
- Which topics are considered to be of relevance for such or such language-speaking area?
- What happens to the culture-specific references, allusions, footnotes, and links in the process of translation?
- Headlines, the introductory paragraphs, and the editorials are strongly influenced by the discourse genre and the journalistic traditions in which they are produced: To what extent are they adapted in the translation process?
- *Le Monde diplomatique* is known for its selective advertising and also for its iconography: What becomes of them in the foreign editions? Do these promote the same kinds of advertisements?
- And since we are clearly talking about translation, do we have common translation norms in all the 67 editions? Are the translators given similar guidelines?
- How do we recognize and identify the critical voice of *Le Monde diplomatique* through all the versions, especially in countries where different degrees of censorship exist (China, Egypt, Iran, Morocco, Russia, Saudi Arabia)?

Beyond the media boundaries

What is striking in today's world is how and how much information and communication technology (ICT) is interoperative. News can be easily distributed in different media.

But before we tackle this, let us consider what is understood by public communication. This hyperonym means all kinds of communication by governments, municipalities, parties, public services (such as hospitals), associations. These communications can have different formats and can represent a variety of genres: campaigns, speeches, interviews, debates, posters, societal advertising (for health, civil security, safety regulations, road safety, fund raising, etc.), opinion polls, TV and radio programmes, video clips, etc. With cable and satellite TV networks spreading rapidly and competitively across the globe, news and current affairs television is increasingly becoming an important source of information for viewers worldwide, for both domestic and international stories.

Even more important, online news is changing the way the news is produced: from top to bottom to bottom-up coverage. Yesterday, the news was formulated and distributed by a limited number of institutions and agents or typhoons. That was the age of the mass media and broadcasting: the same news was produced, read, and the same TV news was released and watched at the same time by a large number of people. Today, ordinary citizens can offer their first-hand reports, digital photographs, camcorder video footage, mobile telephone snapshots or audio clips. Much of this material, whether taken up by news organizations or by individual bloggers has an influence on audience perceptions of the crises around the world. Let us remember here, for instance, the tsunami in December 2004, hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, or videos released by US soldiers from Irak, and by kids fighting in the streets in England or France.

Individuals gather whatever material they can and post it, along with their own interpretation of its significance. Individual voices are changing the public discourse. We have, from now on, a communication continuum that stretches from the interest of multinational news corporations (where online news is a commodity defined by profit-maximization) to the spontaneous actions of ordinary citizens.

From this perspective, a number of questions can be asked to which we do not yet have a sufficient answer. A number of issues need to be addressed and researched such as the following:

- Which innovations have attracted public attention to online news?
- To what extent have the forms and practices of such online news become conventionalized?
- What is the role of languages, editing and translation in the development of online news?
- *Courrier International* gives online points of view of the European press in three languages (English, French, German) every day. What are the changes and implications of the transfer between print and online media texts, from the perspective of translation? (see also Schäffner 2005, 154-167)

Besides newspapers/newspaper websites, radio/radio websites, news magazines/news magazine websites, Internet-only news sites, we should not forget, in this era of information expansion, the use of TV, and especially channels which operate in different languages, such as CNN and the new TV 24 (in French, English and soon in Arabic). It is significant that this international news channel TV 24 was launched (in November 2006) first on the web and only later on cable and satellite. In fact, we

know very little of the role and volume of translation and interpreting in TV broadcasting news, where in most cases, translators and interpreters are not only marginalized but also very often invisible, both in the editorial offices and on screen. We need more case studies like the one carried out in Taiwan by Claire Tsai (2005, 2006, and in this volume).

Another still largely un-researched genre are blogs. The blogosphere is changing rapidly in size, in diversity of content and in variation in format. Obviously, how the blogosphere looks today is not what it will look like five or ten years from now. However, blogging, as we saw in the campaign for the French presidential elections, is used for news, information, propaganda, counter-information and for fun. Questions of interest to researchers are, for example:

- Do readers trust blogs as credible sources of information?
- Who writes them in French and translates them into English (or other languages)?
- How can we examine the contribution of blogs to any political communication system and define their new functions, when they change the ways in which journalists, and politicians shape their material?

Again, what we want to emphasize here is the multimodality of the sourcing elements (e.g. text, graphics, photo, audio and/or video) and the diversity of methods (e.g. quotations, hypertext links); and also that translation as interlingual transfer, rewriting, summarising, reorganising, etc. is part of these new forms of communication without borders.

Today, journalists edit their papers in different forms, be it printed, electronic for the Internet and soon for the mobile phone. They have been able in many countries to negotiate their copyrights within this multimedia landscape. Translators would also greatly benefit from working in this direction, since their translations could be and are indeed printed, broadcast, distributed in different electronic formats. It is not only a question of equitable remuneration, intellectual property, and moral rights, but also a way to promote their responsibilities and fight against the distribution of illegally copied, pirated works.

Beyond the discipline boundaries

When dealing with news and international news, we realize that Critical Discourse Analysis, Content Analysis, Text Linguistics are important tools, in particular when studying language and power relationships.

Journals such as *Discourse and Society*, *Langue et Société* are very useful to stimulate our analysis. In the last three years, we, as scholars in Translation Studies, have also acknowledged the need to build bridges with Media Studies, Sociology, International Relations. I would like to emphasize two other directions because news is not only verbally constructed by journalists.

On the one hand, audience study should shed light on audience expectations, knowledge background, interpretive processes and repercussions of certain news structures. The growing importance of websites, blogging, certainly change our concepts of trust, credibility, veracity, and maybe of objectivity. And since ordinary citizens participate in producing news, it is impossible to deny that they do it because they are dissatisfied with what they expect from the mainstream media. Blogs also seem to encourage readers to expose themselves, to post their comments and feelings. This development affects translation as well, that is, its very definition and maybe its process (from the selection of sources to readers' reactions/feedback) and strategies (cf. Bani 2006, Bassnett 2005, 124-125, 129-130, 154-156, Orengo 2005, 168-185). One relevant example of such developments is the number of networks of volunteer translators, now offering free translations and interpreting to NGOs and associations. These networks have different purposes, from the most politically committed to those which refer to humanitarian goals as an added value for their business. Whatever the differences, they give more visibility to translators and interpreters, to their work, their role, their position while translating or interpreting (Gambier 2007).

The second direction is to take into account the visual aspects of international news. Visual research methods, stemming, above all from semiology, iconography, visual sociology, art theory, could help us to analyse narrative strategies, ideological presuppositions, at both levels, at the textual level and at the level of visual formations and representations. Photographic coverage of the Irak war in the press and TV news, picturing politics (especially during election campaigns) are parts of our daily news: images "translate" foreign events; often they reproduce stereotypes; they are distributed and broadcast internationally, but not necessarily with the same comments; they are sometimes adapted (manipulated) to local contexts. Fixed and virtual pictures, documentary films (before or after editing, cutting) contribute to the spread and to the meaning of news. Translation cannot avoid them. When selecting a report or message from image agencies or databases, such as Eurovision Video News (EVN) (http://www.eurovision.net/news/evn/overview.php, last accessed 22 September 2008), journalists must rely on their verbal description (in

English): here too, there is translation, from pictures to keywords, from these key words in English to the native language of the journalists who interpret them before retrieving what they need.

This gives me the opportunity to reconsider the notion of context. When dealing with news, translation in context and in the context of translation are two important frames, which must not be taken for granted and which must not be based on the oversimplified dichotomy between linguistic context and cultural context. Context can be viewed as something external to the text and the reader, as a set of social, historical, political circumstances, or as a mental representation of such circumstances. A context consists of different layers (Chesterman 2006, 11):

- The socio-economic context means language policy, practical requirements of business efficiency, costs, the volume of work, etc. All these factors influence the working conditions and the translation strategies and choices of any translator, whether working in the private or public sector, in a translation company or as a freelance.
- The social context draws attention to people, their behaviour, their institutions, their tools. For instance, who are the agents in the different phases of a translation event? What kinds of relations prevail between them? Other key concepts include job satisfaction, conflict resolution, role perceptions, technical resources, etc.
- The cultural context focuses on values, ideologies, representations. In a newsroom, in a news agency, what are the journalistic constraints, traditions, conventions?
- The cognitive context means mental processes, subjective decision-making, shared knowledge.
- The textual context is what readers, translators, editors, technical writers immediately rely on when they are reading, translating, editing, rewriting, or revising a document.

In this complex context, policy decisions about the provision of text, about the selection of translators (with their skills and their ways of working: individually, in a team, in a network), about the procedures for producing different versions in different languages and on different media, have not been overlooked in various papers delivered in the Symposia of the Warwick project mentioned above. But still, we need more empirical studies, especially regarding the socio-economic and social contexts as

possible explanatory factors of what we can observe in the cultural, cognitive and textual contexts. This is also true for any kind of translation done in a business firm, in an industry, in a Ministry, in academic life, in the scientific communities.

The press, steadily losing readers, is in crisis in many countries. Their delicate economic balance is upset. There are surely several reasons for this depressing state of affairs. We could mention as examples the rise of "free" newspapers, that is, papers which in fact are paid for by an advertising levy (advertising used to be one of the main sources of a newspaper's revenue) and the Internet.

Everybody identifies the Internet with complete freedom, and believes that many new websites express a wide range of political opinions. Yet, the most popular websites are now controlled by the most powerful media groups. Out of the 20 most visited websites in 2005, 17 (Yahoo News, MSNBC, CNN, AOL, IBS [Internet Broadcasting Systems], etc.) belong to traditional media groups, meaning that they depend on the same sources of information (*State of the Media* 2006).

As always in the history of communication, whenever a new medium appears, from newspapers in the 18th century to the independent radio stations of the 1970s and the Internet today, it begins by extending the boundaries of free speech, only to be taken over and tamed by the money-men. It is already the case that reader profiles based on search engine utilisation are being sold to businesses keen to target potential consumers more effectively. In France, control of the mass media is concentrated in the hands of a few industrial and financial groups, including two arms manufacturers (Lagardère, via Hachette, and Dassault, via Socpresse).

In this mediascape, we can realize how much the websites reproduce, duplicate texts written by news agencies. For instance, the agency dispatches represent more than 75% of what we find on ASB.com and 60% on Fox.com or MSNBC.com. Almost 60% of all the texts edited, translated by news agencies are put on the Internet as such, with no changes. The volume of news has increased, but it is repetitive. Hence, the importance of continuing to thoroughly investigate news agencies, not only concerning their translation policy but also their economics of translation.

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Contributors

Susan Bassnett is Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Warwick and a leading world expert in Translation Studies. She has published more then 20 books, including *Translation Studies* (3rd edition 2002), *Constructing Cultures* (1996) with André Lefevere, *Postcolonial Translation* (1999), with Harish Trivedi, *The Translator as Writer* (2006) with Peter Bush, *Translation in Global News* (2009) with Esperança Bielsa. She is currently writing a book on trends in translation studies in the twenty-first century.

Siobhan Brownlie is a Lecturer in Translation Studies at the University of Manchester. Her main areas of research are: translation theory and translation research methodology; the translation of 19th and 20th century French literature into English; and the discursive construction of Anglo-French relations in the British media. Dr Brownlie has published on these topics in a number of specialist journals, and is currently preparing a monograph on the role of cultural memory of the Norman Conquest in attitudes towards the French as evidenced in contemporary British newspapers.

M. Cristina Caimotto has recently completed her PhD in Translation Studies with a thesis about news translation and the globalization of news distribution. She teaches Translation and Linguistics courses in the English Department at the University of Turin, in Italy. She has published articles on the practice of translation, focusing on concepts of fidelity and loyalty and analysing issues raised by the relationship between social and linguistic aspects of texts. Her research focuses on the language of news and politics. She is also interested in the applications of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies.

Federico Federici graduated in English and French literature from the University "La Sapienza" in Rome. He was awarded a doctorate at the University of Leeds for his research into the influence of creative translation on Italo Calvino's style. Dr Federici is now Director of the MA in Translation Studies at Durham University, where he holds a post as a Lecturer of Italian. His current research projects focus on ideology of

translation, reception of Italian texts and audiovisuals in translation, and training of culturally aware translators. His publications include *Translation as Stylistic Evolution: Italo Calvino creative translator of Raymond Queneau* (2009) and *Translating Voices, Translating Regions* (2006), co-edited with Nigel Armstrong.

Chantal Gagnon is a Lecturer in translation at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada. She is also the Director of the postgraduate co-op programme in translation. She has recently completed her PhD in Translation Studies at Aston University, Birmingham, with a thesis about the translation of political speeches in Canada. Dr Gagnon's research interests are translation and politics, ideologies in the history of translation, and language plurality, with special emphasis on Canada.

Yves Gambier is Professor at the Centre for Translation and Interpreting at the University of Turku, Finland. He received his Doctor's degree in linguistics from the University of Rouen, France. His research interests are in Translation Theory, Translation History, Language Policy, Discourse Analysis (especially interactions between specialists), and Training of teachers in translation and interpreting. He has published more than 170 articles and edited or co-edited 19 books. Since the beginning of the 1990s, he has carried out research mainly in screen translation. He is the current General Editor of the Benjamins Translation Library. He is also a member of a number of associations and past President of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST, 1998-2004).

Ewa Gumul studied English Philology at the University of Silesia, Katowice, Poland, where she received her MA in 1997. In 2004, she received her PhD in linguistics from the University of Silesia, where she currently teaches translation and conference interpreting. She also works as a freelance translator and interpreter. Her main research interests lie in various aspects of translation and interpreting, text linguistics, and psycholinguistics.

Elpida Loupaki is a Lecturer in Translation Studies at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. She has translated books, EU documents and commercial material. Her PhD thesis explores the issue of shifts in the context of European Parliament texts, with special reference to linguistic phenomena such as metaphor, repetition and rhetorical questions. Her research interests are focused on translation of EU documents, translation and ideology, and news translation.

Stuart Price is Principal Lecturer in Media, Film and Journalism at De Montfort University, Leicester. His main fields of research are Media Discourse and Cultural Production. Dr Price's most recent publications include *Discourse Power Address* (2007) and *Popular Media and Communication* (2008), a collection of papers co-edited with Karen Ross. His current research concerns structures of representation and the 'war on terror', and the adaptation of ancient literature and myth.

Christina Schäffner is Professor of Translation Studies at Aston University, Birmingham. She received her PhD in English philology from Leipzig University, Germany. Her main research interests are Translation and Politics, Political Discourse Analysis, Metaphor research (especially metaphors in political texts and from a translational perspective), and Translation Didactics. She has published widely in these fields. She is a past Secretary General of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST, 1998-2004).

Ubaldo Stecconi received a degree in Translation from the University of Trieste, Italy and a PhD in Comparative literature from University College London. After teaching translation theory and practice in Italy, the Philippines and the United States for 14 years, he joined the European Commission in Brussels in 2001 where he works as speechwriter. Dr Stecconi's publications include a handbook of translation for Italian university students, over 25 papers on translation theory and semiotics, and literary articles, reviews and interviews. He serves in the International Advisory Board of the journal *Target* and in the current Executive Board of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST).

Claire Tsai is Assistant Professor in the Department of English at National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan. She received her MA in Translation and Interpretation at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and her PhD in Translation Studies at the University of Warwick. She had worked in the print and broadcast media as a reporter and news translator in Taiwan and the United States for some six years before entering academia. Her recently completed doctoral research concerned television news translation and how the representation of international news shapes the nature of intercultural communication. Her research interests centre on news translation, interpreting, subtitling and journalism studies.

Luc van Doorslaer is a Lecturer in Translation Studies and Journalism Studies at Lessius University College in Antwerp, Belgium. He is also a staff member of CETRA, the Centre for Translation Studies at the University of Leuven, Belgium. Together with Yves Gambier, he is the editor of the online Translation Studies Bibliography. He is a board member of the International Translation and Censorship Network (ITCN). His main research interests are ideology and translation, media and translation, bibliographies of translation. He also works as a journalist for Dutch speaking Belgian television.