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TRANSLATION STRATEGIES IN GLOBAL NEWS

What Sarkozy said in the suburbs

Claire Scammell

Palgrave Studies in Translating and Interpreting

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Preface

This book shares the author's long-held interest in the additional stage of mediation that occurs when news information is translated. This interest was first sparked in 2005 by the news event the book examines as a case study – *What Sarkozy said in the 'suburbs'*. It addresses a wide audience, including academics in the fields of translation, journalism and media studies, but also journalists and translators and anyone who wants to reflect on the impact of the translation process on the news reporting they read.

Stevenage, UK — Claire Scammell

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Abstract This introductory chapter begins by briefly describing the case study news event – what Sarkozy said in the 'suburbs' in 2005, and how the former French president's comments were reported in the British press. The discussion highlights the impact of the translation process on the accuracy of quotations and on readers' interpretations of foreign news events. The introduction specifies the book's concern with the norm for domesticating news translation strategies and the case it makes for introducing a *degree* of foreignisation. It sets out a focus on the translation practices of the global news agencies and gives an overview of the investigation made into the potential for a *foreignised* approach, as a viable, ethical alternative to current practice for the Reuters news agency.

Keywords News translation • Domestication • Foreignisation • Global news agencies • Sarkozy • Translation strategy

In November 2005, as French interior minister and presidential candidate, Nicolas Sarkozy became the focus of international media attention. Riots in France's *banlieues* – poor, high-immigration residential areas on the peripheries of major cities – were being reported to have been sparked by controversial language used by the former French president on a visit to a *cité* (high-rise housing development) in Paris' *banlieue*. What Sarkozy said

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became a news story. But while French journalists were bound by ideals of accuracy and objectivity to report precisely what Sarkozy had said, the translation process made this an impossibility for journalists reporting in other languages. The words chosen to translate key terms vary, but a typical translation in the British press quotes Sarkozy as promising to wash out the 'scum' [*racaille*] with a 'power hose' [Kärcher]. In France, Sarkozy's use of the word '*racaille*' caused particular controversy. The different translations used in the British press (which include 'rabble', 'riff-raff' and 'yobs' in addition to 'scum') reflect that there is no clear equivalent in English. In addition to the words used by Sarkozy, representations of the speech event were shaped by the terms used to translate the French culture-specific reality Sarkozy was speaking in and about – a *cité* in the *banlieue* of Paris. Translations tend to situate the speech event in the 'suburbs' of Paris. In British English, 'suburbs' are typically affluent and desirable residential areas on the outskirts of cities; translating *banlieue* to 'suburbs' therefore has the effect of communicating a distinctly different reality to a British audience.

The translations of *banlieue* to 'suburb', and '*racaille*' to 'rabble', 'yobs', 'rif-raff' or 'scum', in reports of what Sarkozy said in the British press, reflect a norm for 'domesticating' translation strategies in the news (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Holland 2013; Schäffner 2005). A 'domesticating' translation strategy (Venuti 2008) is one which uses only terms the reader will immediately recognise and understand. As such, a 'domesticating' approach to translation is in accordance with the newswriting principle that readers should be able to quickly understand the reporting, without needing to look beyond the information provided (Cotter 2010, p. 119). Foreignising strategies (Venuti 2008), which, by contrast, involve retaining something of the foreignness of the source text (be that foreign language, concepts or syntax, for example), are considered an unviable alternative for news translation on the basis of the need to conform to readers' needs and expectations (Bassnett 2005; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Holland 2013; Schäffner 2005).

In the flow of news information across linguistic boundaries, made possible by translation, there is the opportunity for readers to come into contact with and thus acquire new knowledge and understanding of foreign realities. As Schäffner (2005, p. 165) remarks: "[t]ranslation involves crossing linguistic, geographical and political spaces. The resulting encounters with the 'other' should lead to new modes of thinking, feeling, and experiencing the world". Schäffner's statement echoes the cosmopolitan ideal

which Bielsa (2010, 2014, 2016) advocates in the context of news translation. In Bielsa's work, an argument is made in favour of foreignising news translation in terms of its cosmopolitan potential. She underlines that translation can be a site of cosmopolitan openness in global news, but only through the use of strategies that expose rather than obscure cultural and linguistic difference. This book investigates the scope for a *foreignised* approach to translation in the news as an ethical alternative to the current domestication norm. The ethical potential of a *foreignised* approach is found in the key role news translation plays as a tool of intercultural communication and in the implications of the translation process for the accuracy of quotation.

The term *foreignised*, used to describe the approach developed in the investigation, is a deliberate variation on Venuti's (2008) 'foreignisation', the opposing strategy to 'domestication', to reflect that it is only foreignising in certain defined respects. In other words, and as presented in the following chapters, the *foreignised* approach is only intended to be foreignising to a *degree*. The book takes Venuti's arguments surrounding the ethical value of foreignising strategies in literary translations (Venuti 1998, 2008), and reformulates them in a news translation context. It examines individual translations in English-language news reporting in order to determine what forms of foreignisation could represent practical translation strategies for journalists. The study is particularly interested in quotation and culture-specific concepts as two key sites of translation in the news. A culture-specific concept in a news report is defined as a term or phrase referring to a reality that exists in the originating news locale (the source culture). In the case study news event – what Sarkozy said in the 'suburbs', *banlieue* features centrally as a culture-specific concept. By focusing on quotation and culture-specific concepts, the study also highlights two clear cases of translation in the news that can, in principle, be identified and examined in any language and context.

The investigation is focused on the translation practices of the global news agencies, as providers of news content that reaches a wide international audience via the print and online publications of subscribers to their newswires. Reuters – the 'British' agency – is used as a case study news agency. The book examines strategies currently used to translate quotation and culture-specific concepts in reporting, and develops a *foreignised* approach intended to represent a practical alternative to the current domestication norm. A corpus of five English-language Reuters news reports, detailed in Table 1.1 below, is used to conduct the investigation.

Table 1.1 The Reuters corpus

Report short name	*Headline*	*Publication date*	*Word count*
Crime policies	*Sarkozy defends crime policies after Paris riots*	October 31, 2005	572
Immigration	*France's Sarkozy pledges tough immigration line*	December 11, 2006	436
Thugocracy	*Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots*	November 29, 2007	475
Security	*Sarkozy promises to beef up French suburb security*	February 2, 2008	472
Dummy	*France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist "dummy"*	March 15, 2012	482

The reports are referred to by the short names indicated above throughout the following chapters. The corpus is drawn on regularly to illustrate different points in the discussions. As a result, some excerpts appear more than once. The case study corpus is used, alongside the guidance on translation in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (Reuters 2014), to examine the translation strategies currently used by Reuters journalists, and then to experiment with a set of five updates to the current guidance on translation in the *Handbook*. These updates collectively constitute a *foreignised* alternative approach to translation for the Reuters news agency.

Chapter 2 examines the dominance of the 'Big three' news agencies – Reuters, Agence France-Presse and Associated Press, and their role as translators of global news. In addition to discussing and evidencing (using the case study corpus) the widespread reproduction of agency content, the chapter highlights the predominance of quotation in written news, which equates to a high proportion of translation whenever the speech event occurred in a foreign language. Chapter 3 then describes the nature of the translation involved in global news production, and the norm for domesticating news translation strategies. Venuti's (2008) domestication and foreignisation are discussed, along with related terms and debates in translation studies. Criticisms of Venuti's arguments are reviewed, and a case is made for the relevance of foreignisation as an alternative to domestication in a news translation context. Chapter 4 looks at how the translation process fundamentally undermines the journalistic ideals of accuracy and objectivity in reporting quotation. It also examines the journalist's role as cultural mediator, highlighting the impact of the translation process when

journalists need to find ways of making foreign cultural realities intelligible to home audiences. The chapter describes the case study news event, the method and Reuters corpus used to investigate the potential for a *foreignised* approach, as well as the nature of the foreignisation sought.

Chapter 5 begins by presenting a definition of 'translation strategy' found to be relevant when describing the translation involved in global news reporting, which is localised to those parts of a news report that originated in a foreign language. It reviews methods for investigating translation strategy in the news and presents the framework adopted to examine strategies used in the Reuters corpus – Pedersen's (2005) taxonomy of strategies for rendering culture in subtitling. Chapter 6 looks at Reuters' current approach to translation. Pedersen's 'Venutian scale' is applied to the corpus to determine to what degree and in what ways the strategies used by Reuters journalists to translate culture-specific concepts are foreignising or domesticating. The chapter also analyses guidance in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* that governs the translation strategies available to journalists. Chapter 7 then presents five proposed updates to the Reuters *Handbook* that collectively *foreignise* the agency's current guidance on translation. The rationale behind each of the updates is discussed, and examples given of their potential impact on Reuters newswriting. Chapter 8, the book's conclusion, reflects further on the practical applicability of the *foreignised* approach as an ethical alternative to the current norm for domestication and identifies avenues for future research.

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CHAPTER 2

The Global News Agencies

Abstract This chapter looks at the role of the 'Big three' global agencies – Reuters, Agence France-Presse and Associated Press – as providers and translators of foreign news information. It discusses three factors contributing to the widespread reproduction of agency news content: the ready-to-publish nature of agency news; a lack of original foreign reporting; and news aggregators republishing agency content for a growing online audience. A reliance on agency content among the mainstream British press is seen in reproductions of Reuters news reports in the *Mail Online*, *Telegraph Online* and *Daily Telegraph*. The importance and predominance of quotation in written news is discussed and examined in the top stories published on Reuters' website. The chapter underlines that quotations in foreign news reporting are very often agency-authored translations.

Keywords News translation • Quotation • Global news agencies • Foreign news • Reuters • British press

Global news systems embody the globalised world we live in. When a news story breaks anywhere in the world, we receive verbal and written reporting almost instantaneously on our television screens, radios and online. This reality is the result of the existence of the global news agencies and

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their rapid, multi-lingual news production. Whilst having journalists based in every corner of the globe is an unrealistic ideal for national news organisations, the 'Big three' global news agencies – Reuters, Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP) – maintain vast networks of bureaus and reporters worldwide, making this handful of agencies the world's primary source for breaking news. As discussed in this chapter, news agency content reaches readers via subscribers (including national newspapers) to the agencies' newswires, via the agencies' own websites and social media, and also via the websites of online news aggregators. If "news is a window to the world" (Tuchman 1978, p. 1), then the global agencies are, to a large extent, responsible for what we see and understand of that world.

2.1 The (Re)production of Agency News

The dominance of the 'Big three' news agencies is not a new phenomenon; in 1991 Bell observed that the global agencies "provide a large majority of the world's news about itself" (Bell 1991, p. 48). The news agency model has since developed; in addition to providing news content to subscribers, the global agencies now also provide news information direct to internet users via their websites and/or social media feeds. This development is one of the factors contributing to the dominance of agency news content discussed in this first part of the chapter. Another factor is a general decline in original foreign reporting, as news organisations increasingly rely on content produced by the 'Big three' global agencies. In a study of online news sources, Paterson (2007) concludes that the only organisations producing "extensive international reporting" online are the BBC, Reuters, AP and AFP, with traditional media such as the *Guardian* and *New York Times* producing "some international reporting" and most online news organisations producing no original reporting at all (p. 63). Paterson includes traditional news organisations, such as the BBC and *New York Times*, in the category of "content-producing online media" (p. 58), which offer a combination of news agency content and original reporting.

The reporting the global agencies release onto their newswires is produced in order to be reproduced. On its website, Reuters describes its content as "ready-to-publish"; similarly, AP promises subscribers "ready-to-use story summaries". Additionally, in case the end-user does not wish to use a report in full, it can easily be cut to size thanks to the use of the inverted pyramid structure, a norm of English-language newswriting

established in the US in the late nineteenth century (Bell 1991, p. 172). In the pyramid structure, information is provided in order of importance, meaning that the essential details are covered in the first few paragraphs, with the closing paragraphs mostly providing background to the story (Cotter 2010, p. 140). The inverted pyramid structure, combined with a lack of connectors between paragraphs (Bell 1991, p. 172) means that the report can be easily shortened either by simply cutting from the bottom or by removing unwanted paragraphs.

Bell (1991) makes a connection between the journalists' preference for material which can be easily reworked and the fact that "news agencies provide a majority of any newspaper's copy" (p. 58). This connection is illustrated in the case of domestic news in the mainstream British press by Lewis et al. (2008). The authors interviewed journalists and analysed reporting by the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, the *Independent* and the *Daily Mail* in order to assess the extent to which journalists are dependent on news agency copy (in this case largely by the UK's national press agency, Press Association) and public relations material for their domestic reporting. They note a preference for agency copy over press relations material and a tendency for the byline to give the impression that the reporting was done by the newspaper's own journalists even when the content is "wholly dependent on agency copy" (the case for 30 percent of the reports analysed) (Lewis et al. 2008, p. 29).

The 'Big three' global news agencies – Reuters, AFP and AP – have long played an invisible role as "news wholesalers" (Boyd-Barrett 1997) providing news information to subscribers via newswires in multiple languages. This role, as well as the scale of the dissemination of agency news, is reflected in the answer to the FAQ 'Who hears or reads the news from The Associated Press?' on the agency's website:

> AP news content is seen by half the world's population on any given day. AP covers news on global, national and local levels, and then makes this content available to its members and customers for publication, broadcast and distribution.

When looking at a British context, the increasing dominance of the global news agencies in recent years can be attributed to the combination of two factors – the demise of original foreign news reporting in the British press and developments in online news.

Reporting on foreign events in the British press is in decline (Moore and Loyn 2010). Analysis presented in the Media Standards Trust's 2010 report shows a reduction in both the amount of space and prominence given to foreign news stories. The authors report a 40 percent fall in the number of international stories published by the four newspapers studied – the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* – between 1979 and 2009. Among other factors, the authors highlight British newspapers' reduced numbers of foreign correspondents based permanently abroad (meaning they are unable to 'scoop' foreign stories when they break) as a factor contributing to the decline in foreign reporting. Traditional print news media simply cannot compete with the vast networks of journalists the global agencies maintain across the globe[1]; the agencies have teams of reporters 'on the ground' where the majority of national news organisations cannot sustain a single foreign correspondent.

The report by the Media Standards Trust attributes the combined cost of staffing a foreign desk at home and sending correspondents to report on the story locally as a factor contributing to the decline in international reporting (Moore and Loyn 2010). Earlier, Wilke and Rosenberger (1994) attributed the dominance of the global news agencies directly to the fact that individual news organisations cannot afford to have foreign correspondents based abroad. Reduced numbers of foreign correspondents based abroad has led to the development of a news gathering practice known as 'parachute journalism' (Moore and Loyn 2010, p. 43), whereby teams of reporters are urgently sent abroad when a foreign news story breaks. The time newspapers lose while waiting for their reporters to get 'on the ground' makes it impossible to compete with the global news agencies, and the BBC, to break the story.

The Media Standards Trust describes journalists working for the *Financial Times*, the *Times* and the *Guardian*, with their modest number – in the "double figures" – of foreign correspondents based abroad, as "the rump of professional UK journalists based overseas", and Reuters, the AP, and the BBC as the "bedrock of international reporting" (Moore and Loyn 2010, p. 43). Rather than attempting to compete, the traditional print news media actually rely on the news agencies for initial reports from the scene of global news events (Allan 2006, p. 36; Boyd-Barrett 1997, pp. 131–132). After all, "if another news organisation can cover a story more quickly, and in more depth, than you can – why do it again? Why not just link to it?" (Moore and Loyn 2010, p. 39). Competition from online news sources offering free and easily accessible foreign news

reporting is one explanation offered by the Media Standards Trust (Moore and Loyn 2010) for the decline in foreign news reporting in the British press. However, the report counters that less than 10 percent of the UK's population actually accesses news online.

Figures from the Reuters Institute (Newman 2012) suggest a much more serious threat from online news organisations. The 2012 Digital Survey's figures may be slightly inflated given that the survey was conducted online and, therefore, automatically precluded non-Internet users from completing the survey. However, even factoring in possible inflation, the data indicate that a significant proportion of British readers are finding their news online. A massive 82 percent of UK respondents reported to have accessed news online in the past week, compared to only 54 percent having accessed print news sources (Newman 2012, p. 23). In addition to the data on the percentage of British respondents accessing news online, the Reuters Institute report details which online sources respondents accessed. The data reflect the well-documented strong lead of the *BBC News* website as an online news source[2] – 58 percent of all respondents said they had accessed news on the BBC's website in the past week. *Sky News* and *Yahoo! News* came out in second place with 15 percent each, followed by the category of local newspapers at 14 percent.

The only British newspapers to make it into the top spots with their online news offerings were the *Mail Online* (the online version of the *Daily Mail*) with 13 percent and the *Guardian* with 10 percent (Newman 2012, p. 14). Of particular interest to the current discussion is the popularity of the news aggregators. News aggregators republish news content from other sources on 'portal' websites designed to keep Internet users on their web pages. In addition to the 15 percent of respondents who accessed news on the *Yahoo! News* website, the Reuters Institute report provides data on two other news aggregators, *Google News* (accessed by 9 per cent of UK respondents) and *MSN* (accessed by 7 percent of UK respondents) (Newman 2012, p. 27). Aggregated news websites are a relatively new addition to online news sources; Paterson (2007) dates the emergence of the industry to the period between 2001 and 2006. Content analysis Paterson completed during this period demonstrates news aggregators' "near total dependence" on content produced in particular by AP and Reuters (2007, p. 62).

In addition to aggregated news websites, Internet users now also have access to news agency content via social media platforms, a relatively recent development in the news agency model. Examining the case of a 2010

news event, Holton (2012) observes that some news organisations have (or have had) a policy of not breaking news on Twitter. Holton references an article posted on *Mashable.com* (March 11, 2010) reporting on an update to Reuters' social media policy. According to the article, in the updated version, journalists were instructed not to break news stories on social media before they are broken on the agency's newswire. The Reuters' webpage linked to in the article has since been updated, and the version available at the time of writing includes no such instruction.[3] Indeed, the observation appears now to be outdated, at least in the case of the 'Big three' news agencies and their ever-evolving social media policies.

The version of AP's social media guidelines set out on the agency's website at the time of writing (last revised May 2013), encourages journalists to use social media accounts in order to "gather news and share links to our published work", and in several places stresses the importance of sharing AP journalism through the various social media channels. AP does not publish any of its content on its main website; however, links in tweets by the agency direct followers to *Bigstory.ap.org*, a site that is not currently linked to from *Ap.org* but which seems to function as a news website publishing AP reporting. AFP and Reuters do publish some of their reporting on their websites – Reuters to a far greater extent. The Reuters homepage is dominated by the agency's own reporting, meaning the website functions as a news website in its own right. This is reflected in the fact that Reuters is, at the time of writing, ranked 18th in Alexa's top news websites list, while AP is 66th and AFP 205th.[4]

2.2 Agency News in the British Press: Examples from the Case Study Corpus

The practice of news agency content being widely reproduced in verbatim or edited form is not only well demonstrated in academic research (Lewis et al. 2008; Paterson 2005, 2010; van Dijk 1988), it is immediately observable in the news published online every day. Searching Google News for strings of text from the reports in the case study corpus (see Table 1.1, Chap. 1) produced numerous examples of the reports being reproduced via news aggregators across the globe, as well as some examples of reproductions by "content-producing" media (Paterson 2007, p. 58), including a reproduction of the CRIME POLICIES report by the

Washington Post. The results also show that two of the reports in the corpus have been reproduced in edited form by two leading British newspapers – the SECURITY report in the online version of the *Daily Mail* (the *Mail Online*) and the THUGOCRACY report in the print copy of the newspaper. The THUGOCRACY report is also reproduced in both the online and print versions of the *Daily Telegraph*, although, as shown in the analysis presented below, having undergone more substantial editing.

The three reproductions of the THUGOCRACY report are immediately recognisable from their headlines, which hardly differ from the original:

Reuters (November 29, 2007):	Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots
***Daily Mail* (November 30, 2007)**:	Sarkozy blames 'thugocracy' for Paris riots
***Daily Telegraph* (November 30, 2007)**:	'Thugocracy' behind riots, says Sarkozy
***Telegraph Online* (November 29, 2007)**:	Sarkozy blames Paris riots on 'thugocracy'

In the lead paragraph of the report published in the *Daily Mail*, the only edits are to replace "a Paris suburb" with "Paris", and [Sarkozy said] "on Thursday" with "yesterday". The same level of editing continues throughout. The journalist has made minimal edits to the content and without the wording changes having had any significant impact on the information conveyed. Paragraphs are cut from the middle and the end of the report (facilitated by the inverted pyramid structure and lack of paragraph connectors) and two paragraphs containing polling figures are added at the end. The journalist does not, however, change the order of the paragraphs, which the lack of paragraph connectors also allows for.

The author of the two *Telegraph* reproductions does alter the order of the paragraphs in the original Reuters report. Both the *Daily Telegraph* and *Telegraph Online* reports have the byline "Henry Samuel in Paris", and, aside from a few minor differences, are identical in their first five paragraphs. The content of these first five paragraphs constitutes a carefully-edited reproduction of paragraphs 1–4 and 13 of the Reuters report. As in the *Daily Mail* reproduction of the THUGOCRACY report, many paragraphs from the original Reuters report are not included in the *Telegraph* versions, but they are cut from the middle of the inverted

pyramid as well as the bottom. More of the Reuters report is reproduced in the version published in the *Telegraph Online*; the first nine paragraphs can be traced back to content in the Reuters report. Both *Telegraph* reports appear to have used additional source(s) for quotations from a speech Sarkozy made to police officers, since the second halves of both reports contain quotations not included in the Reuters report.

The edits the *Telegraph* journalist makes to the Reuters content are more substantial than those made in the *Daily Mail*. At first glance, the two *Telegraph* reports appear to be completely different to the Reuters original, but closer examination reveals that changes have been made to the order of the information within the paragraphs or to the wording itself without significantly impacting the meaning. In the lead paragraph, for example, the journalist/editor adds that Sarkozy's comments "risked inflaming tensions" and changes "riots" to "violence":

Reuters: Riots which hit a Paris suburb this week were the work of a "thugocracy" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said on Thursday.

Telegraph: Nicolas Sarkozy, the president of France, has risked inflaming tensions in Parisian suburbs by declaring violence this week was the result of a "thugocracy" of criminals, not social deprivation.

In paragraph 4, Sarkozy is reported to have used the highly inflammatory term *racaille* (see Sect. 4.2 for a detailed discussion of the speech event). In the Reuters report, the quote is positioned as context at the bottom of the inverted pyramid, in paragraph 13 of 17. Not only does the *Telegraph* journalist decide to include this context in a significantly shortened version of the report, he also moves it up the pyramid to paragraph 4. The journalist retains the French word *racaille*, as in the Reuters original, but omits one of the two translations provided. By providing two translations – ("scum" or "rabble") – the Reuters journalist indicates to the reader that the French term has a particular meaning that cannot be conveyed precisely in English. In the *Telegraph* report, only "scum" is retained, meaning the reader has no reason to question its equivalence to *racaille*.

The SECURITY report (published February 8, 2008) was reproduced in the online version of the *Daily Mail* (the *Mail Online*) on the same day with very limited editing. Six of the paragraphs have not been edited at all.

In all but the final paragraph, if an edit has been made, it involves a change to the wording without significantly impacting the content. In the lead paragraph, for example, there are three changes in total; two small changes are made to the information given to the reader – Sarkozy's title is removed and the word 'today' is added – and the description "poor suburbs" is edited to "riot-stricken slums". In the final paragraph, the journalist reproduces a paraphrased quotation from the Reuters report:

Reuters: Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean them out with a steamblaster generated deep hostility among many in the suburbs.

Mail Online: Mr Sarkozy's uncompromising stance when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean rioters out with a steamblaster generated deep hostility among many.

Despite making small edits to the paraphrased quotation, the journalist retains the unusual choice of the term "steamblaster", as a translation for the brand name 'Kärcher' used by Sarkozy. More common choices in English translations of Sarkozy's comment (discussed in Sect. 4.2) are "power hose" and "industrial cleaner", both of which are less striking not only because they are standard product descriptions for the Kärcher cleaner, but also because "steamblaster", having the verb "to blast" at its route, paints a more violent and therefore more controversial picture of what Sarkozy said.

The translated direct quotes are all reproduced exactly as in the Reuters report; this is in fact the case for all four of the reproductions analysed above. In the reproductions of the THUGOCRACY report, this includes the unnatural, literal rendering of the French expression *sur le dos de*: "[yet more money] **on the backs of** [the taxpayers]". This quote, like the similarly marked retention of '*racaille*' and 'steamblaster' seen in the quotations discussed above, is illustrative of how quotes can become embedded in the world's media in the form that the news agencies translate them. This has implications for the responsibility agency journalists hold as translators of speech, particularly given the value attached to, and the prevalence of, quotation in agency news reports.

2.3 News Is What Someone Said (as the Agencies Translated It)

The 'Big three' news agencies provide "journalism of information" (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 1998, p. 6); as such, it is important for the agencies that they are trusted as providers of accurate, objective reporting. "Because news agencies must please all editors, everywhere, they work harder than their client news organisations to appear objective and unbiased" (Paterson 2005, p. 60). The use of quotation is one way in which commitment to these values is exercised. The reproductions of Sarkozy's quotations, as translated by Reuters, in the reports examined above, exemplify the reliance of the British press on the news agencies as a source of quotations. This reliance is also reflected in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (Reuters 2014, p. 81), where it is stated that subscribers value their reporting of quotation in particular. Even when a news agency translation of a quotation is not reproduced verbatim, it is entirely possible, likely even, that a journalist might at least reference translations published on agency wires to help inform their own translation decision-making, particularly in the case of especially sensitive quotations.

The value attached to quotation in news reporting means that the content of a news report is predominantly what someone said (Bell 1991, p. 191). Direct quotation, in particular, is prized for allowing journalists to report fact and at the same time distance themselves from what was said (Bell 1991, p. 208; Tuchman 1978, p. 95), as well as for adding colour (van Dijk 1988, p. 97; Zelizer 1989). At the time of writing, at the top of the list in the 'France' section of the Reuters website, is a news story about France trying to establish consular protection for one of its citizens in Turkey (August 3, 2017). The report is 257 words long. Of a total of eight paragraphs, four are comprised entirely of what an individual or organisation said, and an additional two paragraphs comprise a speech event plus contextual information. Only two of the eight paragraphs do not report speech in some way. The story is, in effect, told through discourse:

Lead paragraph:	… a foreign ministry official said on Thursday.
Paragraph 2:	Turkey's state-run Anadolu news agency reported …
Paragraph 3:	It said …
Paragraph 4:	… the official said in an email to Reuters.
Paragraph 6:	… Anadolu said, citing a security official.
Paragraph 7:	… Anadolu said …

The second report in the list is about a warning the United States, Britain, France and Germany issued to the United Nations about the implications of a rocket test by Iran. This news story is, therefore, essentially about what someone said – in this case, what four countries wrote in a report. Of the 13 paragraphs, six are given over to quoting the report, one quotes a UN resolution, and another quotes Iran's foreign minister. The five remaining paragraphs provide contextual information. The third report in the list is also effectively about what someone said; in this case, France's left-wing political party *La France Insoumise* (France Unbowed) defending Venezuela's President Maduro following sanctions and criticism from the US. Seven out of the 10 paragraphs report discourse from a variety of sources – the European Union, the United States, the French government, three members of France Unbowed (including its leader, Jean-Luc Mélenchon), and Mr Mélenchon's election manifesto.

The brief analysis above of the top stories on Reuters' website reflects that news reports are comprised largely of quotation; whenever the news story originates in a locale where a different language is spoken to the language of the target audience, a large proportion of the news reporting is, therefore, necessarily translated. Given the dominance of the global agencies, it is agency journalists who are most often responsible for determining the translation of quotations that circulate in the global news system. Looking at the translations of a controversial comment in a 2005 speech by President Ahmadinejad, Schäffner (2010) finds that one particular translation, despite its accuracy being debated at the time, is used most often. Schäffner observes from this analysis how a translation of a quote, once it has entered the media system, becomes fixed and accepted as what was said. Similarly, Holland (2006, p. 248) observes the "unanimity" of reporting in the British press on a statement by the President of Indonesia in 1999; the role of the global agencies as news information providers is raised as a possible factor.

The secondary level of mediation that occurs when journalists must intervene to translate, and therefore interpret what someone said, is described in Chap. 4. First, in Chap. 3, the particular characteristics of translation in the news, and in particular the norm for domesticating translation strategies, are described.

Notes

1. The scale of the global agencies' networks can be most clearly seen in the information AFP presents on its website: "AFP's 200 bureaus cover 150 countries across the world, with 80 nationalities represented among its 2,260 collaborators. The Agency operates regional hubs in five geographical zones".
2. There are multiple accounts of the BBC's dominance as a source for online news in recent years. On February 9, 2016, the *Guardian* reported the results of a survey by SimilarWeb which found that the BBC had a 30 percent market share in the UK in 2015.
3. There is no revision date on the page at the time of writing, however, a more recent version of the policy is found in a PDF version of the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* downloaded October 2 2014. The relevant page ('Reporting from the Internet and Using Social Media') is marked as last modified 16:26, August 11 2011. It does not include the instruction referred to in the Mashable.com article.
4. Alexa, 'The top 500 sites on the web' in the category 'News'. Accessed July 28 2015. http://www.alexa.com/topsites/category/News.

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CHAPTER 3

Translation in Global News

Abstract This chapter reviews findings in the news translation literature on the nature of the translation involved in written news. It describes the characteristics of translation in global news that both complicate its investigation and obscure its involvement. The chapter then looks at debates in translation studies surrounding 'domestication' and 'foreignisation', terms used to describe two opposing translation strategies, one which obscures the foreignness of the source language and culture (a domesticating strategy), and another that exposes it (a foreignising strategy). The chapter closes by examining the norm for domesticating strategies in the news. It reviews conclusions in the literature regarding the non-relevance of foreignisation in a news translation context, and points to the potential for news translation strategies that are only foreignising to a degree.

Keywords Foreignisation • Domestication • Translation strategy • News translation • Recontextualisation • Journalism

With the emergence of a body of news translation research, came a debate about whether the practice is so far removed from traditional conceptions of translation that it needs a new name (Bassnett 2005; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Schäffner and Bassnett 2010). In *Translation in Global News*, Bielsa and Bassnett describe the translation carried out within news agencies as

C. Scammell, *Translation Strategies in Global News*,
Palgrave Studies in Translating and Interpreting,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74024-9_3

"rewriting" (2009, p. 57) and, following an examination of the kinds of modifications involved in the translation process, conclude that the level of intervention required from the translator changes their traditional role (p. 64). The closest the field has come to adopting a new label for news translation is 'transediting'. The term was coined by Stetting (1989) as a way to better reflect the level of editing fundamental to the task of translation. By drawing attention to the editing decisions involved in producing a translation of a text suited to the needs of a new set of addressees – for instance, removing "passages which might be irrelevant in the foreign context" (Stetting 1989, p. 371) – 'transediting' certainly has relevance in a news translation context.

The relevance of Stetting's term is debated widely in the news translation literature. Some researchers have adopted 'transediting' (Hernández Guerrero 2010; Lu and Chen 2011; van Doorslaer 2009) and encouraged other researchers to do the same (Hursti 2001). However, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, pp. 63–64) reject the "somewhat artificial concept of transediting – the use of which would seem to imply the existence of another form of translating news". Schäffner (2012) concludes that while 'transediting' has the potential to improve understanding of news translation as a distinct genre, adopting the term would be detrimental to the understanding of the wider practice of translation, which already suffers from being considered a straightforward process of linguistic exchange. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, journalists tend not to recognise the inter-lingual element of their newswriting as translation. From this perspective, attaching a label which better fits with a journalist's view might help researchers to engage an audience outside of translation studies. However, removing the name 'translation' risks being counterproductive, since it would only make it more difficult for researchers to distinguish for their audience those parts of news reports that are in fact translations.

3.1 A Complex Object of Investigation

The investigation of translation in the news is complicated by the fact that the involvement of translation in newswriting is typically relatively limited; localised to parts of a news report where the journalist needs to translate foreign language. Orengo (2005, p. 170) describes the global news production process as a series of "editorial stages where the translation part is fundamental for news transmission to be possible, but marginal if viewed

against the whole process of making news". Van Doorslaer (2010, p. 181) observes that translation occurs as an "integral" part of the journalist's newswriting task, "a complex, integrated combination of information gathering, translating, selecting, reinterpreting, contextualizing and editing". Research focused on the translation practices of the global news agencies finds that the agencies do not typically translate news reports produced in one language into the other languages of the agency's newswires. Rather, different reports are produced in different languages for different markets (Bielsa 2007; Wilke and Rosenberger 1994). The news content is adjusted to meet the needs of the target audience on the basis of what is considered relevant and what background knowledge the reader can be expected to possess.

Ethnographic research, including interviews with agency journalists, finds that translation processes are fully integrated within news production processes (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). This observation is based on the fact that agency style guides do not treat translation as a separate practice, as well as the fact that the agency employees performing the translations are not translators by profession, nor do they consider themselves to be translators:

> Journalists tend to be initially surprised when they are asked about their role as news translators, because they do not see translation as a separate process from the edition of texts. (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 65)

Bielsa and Bassnett's findings are echoed by Davier (2014). In interviews with journalists at Agence France-Presse (AFP)'s bureau in Switzerland, Davier finds that journalists use the term 'editing' in place of 'translation' to describe the interlingual element of their newswriting, in an attempt to "distance" themselves from the practice (p. 9).

It is perhaps not surprising that news agency journalists do not consider themselves to be translators, as they do not perform translation in the traditional sense. There is generally no single text than can be considered the 'source', and the result of the translation process is not the production of a 'target' text but a 'new' text (Bielsa 2007; Orengo 2005). Davier (2014, p. 6) aptly describes news agency reports as "patchworks of many different sources, many of which were originally in a different language". While there are cases, beyond the news agencies, of whole texts being translated for consumption by new audiences, such as news magazines which publish translations of foreign news reports (Bani 2006; Franjié

2009; Schäffner 2005), these cases stand apart from foreign news reporting generally, where the product is definitively not a translation but has necessarily involved translation to a greater or lesser extent.

The inter-lingual translation of material from multiple sources is typically one element (albeit an integral one) of a largely intra-lingual newswriting process. Researchers who have examined reporting by different news organisations and in different language pairs have identified and categorised similar kinds of intra- and inter-lingual changes (Bani 2006; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Franjié 2009; Hursti 2001; Kang 2007; Schäffner 2005) that news reporting undergoes when it is 'recontextualised' for a new audience in a new language (Hernández Guerrero 2010; Kang 2007; Schäffner 2008, 2012). The need to 'recontextualise' a news story for a domestic audience is a standard feature of foreign reporting, whether inter-lingual translation is involved or not. A journalist reporting a US news event for a British audience will have to make the same kinds of decisions about what to include as a journalist reporting on a French news event for the same audience.

There appears to be no real distinction between the process termed 'recontextualisation' in the news translation literature and that termed 'domestication' in the journalism studies literature (Clausen 2004, 2009; Gurevitch et al. 1991), beyond the fact that debates surrounding the latter only implicitly recognise the role of translation. Clausen describes 'domestication' as the "processes of making information comprehensible to audiences in a given culture" (2004, p. 29), and later as "a process of framing: recognising, defining, selecting and organising news in a way judged to be appropriate for the intended audiences" (2009, p. 132). This process is no doubt consciously re-termed 'recontextualisation' in the news translation literature. Attaching the label 'domestication' to the intra-lingual processes that occur alongside translation would only further confuse an already complex picture. Within translation studies, 'domestication' refers to a particular type of 'global' translation strategy (the overall approach taken to the translation – see Chap. 5 for a distinction between 'global' and 'local' strategies) which, as discussed in the third part of this chapter, is also the norm in newswriting. First, the second part below looks at debates in the translation studies literature on domestication, and its opposing strategy – foreignisation.

3.2 Foreignisation and Domestication: A Translation Studies Debate

The idea that a translation strategy can either reveal or obscure the foreignness of the source text is well established within translation studies. The prevalence of the terms 'foreignisation' and 'domestication' in such debates reflects the significance of Venuti's contribution (1998, 2008). Venuti posits a foreignising translation strategy as an ethical alternative to the norm for domestication in English literary translation. The notions of a translator either "bringing the author back home" or "sending the reader abroad" are adopted by Venuti in his work on the translator's invisibility (2008, p. 15) in order to argue that translations should allow the reader to come into contact with the foreign source culture and language. They originate in Schleiermacher's 1813 essay:

> Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him. (Schleiermacher 1813/2006, p. 49)

Venuti takes Schleiermacher's ideas further, adding an ideological aspect and naming the two opposing methods of translating 'foreignisation' – leaving the *author* in peace, and 'domestication' – leaving the *reader* in peace. Schleiermacher's preference was for the foreignising method, a preference which Venuti firmly seconds, calling for translators to adopt a foreignising strategy as a form of "resistance" against the "ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism" he equates with the domesticating strategy (Venuti 2008, p. 16).

Venuti's ideas are controversial within translation studies. Part of the controversy relates to the language Venuti uses to make his arguments; terms such as those quoted above have been described as "emotive", "provocative and polarizing" (Snell-Hornby 2006, p. 146). Pym's (1996) criticism of Venuti's language is that it is difficult to grasp; he mentions as an example his difficulty with the conception of translation as "violence" (p. 166). Criticisms related to Venuti's language, while perhaps fair, should not detract too much attention from the value of the arguments themselves, not least because Venuti appears to be deliberately provocative in presenting his ideas. *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995/2008) and *The Scandals of Translation* (1998) are not only academic accounts of translation practices, they are a call to arms to translators to reject fluency – in places

worded less provocatively and as a consequence perhaps more effectively than others.

Venuti's arguments relate specifically to the reception of literary translations in Britain and the US; he makes a strongly-worded claim about the significance of the preference for fluency in these markets:

> The translator's invisibility is symptomatic of a complacency in Anglo-American relations with cultured others, a complacency that can be described – without too much exaggeration – as imperialistic abroad and xenophobic at home. (Venuti 2008, p. 13)

Pym (1996) takes issue with Venuti's claim that the translator's invisibility is a uniquely Anglo-American phenomenon, arguing that he overlooks the possibility of the same tendency for fluency in other markets, choosing to focus on the "resistant" theories contributed by non-English scholars, such as Schleiermacher (Pym 1996, p. 171). Baker (2010) criticises Venuti's contribution for failing to represent the reality of translation; she argues that translators do not select either one method or the other for translating a particular text, but instead make individual choices, some of which might be considered foreignising, and others domesticating.

Baker's comments reflect a tendency for Venuti's 'foreignisation' and 'domestication' to be regarded as binary opposites (Munday 2010, p. 224). Venuti counters criticisms related to the dichotomous positioning of the two strategies by stressing that they "do not establish a neat binary opposition" (Venuti 2008, p. 19). The criticism might also have been addressed to Schleiermacher himself, since his 1813 essay clearly states that the translator must follow one of two "paths" (Schleiermacher 2006, p. 49). Pym levels this criticism at Schleiermacher's essay in an attempt to understand why it obscures the "middle term, the living translator" (Pym 1995, p. 5). Pym's motivation in dissecting Schleiermacher's arguments is to understand why more recent theories (he names only Venuti's) have developed along the same binary lines (pp. 5–6).

The criticisms that have been made of Venuti's invisibility seem to be directed mainly at the way the arguments are packaged. The ideas themselves do not challenge a translation studies audience since they are not particularly new. Arguments relating to the ethical potential of a translation strategy that exposes rather than obscures the foreignness of the source text are found in Berman's (1984) earlier contribution in French, *L'épreuve de l'étranger*. Moreover, the terms foreignisation/domestication

have parallels in less controversial dichotomies such as House's (1977) *overt/covert* translations. House talks about applying a "cultural filter" in order to produce a covert translation (p. 107), a process of 'domestication', in Venuti's terms. There are also parallels in the categories of *formal* and *dynamic* equivalence formulated by Nida in 1964. Nida describes a dynamically equivalent translation as one that "aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture" (Nida 1964, p. 159). Venuti himself references this description of a dynamically equivalent translation, picking out the phrase "naturalness of expression" (Venuti 2008, p. 16) as evidence that Nida is emphasising the importance of fluency in his translation theory.

3.3 News Translation and the Domestication Norm

There are two ideas to which Venuti repeatedly comes back (1998, 2008) that are particularly relevant to the case this book makes for introducing a degree of foreignisation in the news. Firstly, there is the idea that since translation always involves interpretation, the translator has an ethical obligation to indicate to their reader that they are reading a translation, and therefore an interpretation of the foreign text. Venuti argues that by deliberately obscuring the translator's intervention and "producing the illusion of transparency, a fluent text masquerades as a true semantic equivalent when it in fact inscribes the foreign text with a partial interpretation" (Venuti 2008, p. 16). Secondly there is the aim of challenging the status quo. Venuti describes how "a translation project can deviate from domestic norms to signal the foreignness of the foreign text and create a readership that is more open to linguistic and cultural differences" (Venuti 1998, p. 87). Yet, Venuti's arguments in favour of foreignisation are largely dismissed in the news translation literature on the basis that domestication is necessary to the goal of clear communication.

In an examination of the English-language translations of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, Schäffner (2005, p. 160) identifies the translation goal to be:

> to provide fluent, transparent texts that conform to the expectations and reading habits of the English-speaking addressees. In Venuti's terms, a domesticating translation method is what is called for.

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, p.10) highlight the importance of Venuti's arguments and describe his goal of increasing the visibility of translation as a "laudable" one, but reject the relevance of the foreignisation/domestication debate:

> In news translation the dominant strategy is absolute domestication, as material is shaped in order to be consumed by the target audience, so has to be tailored to suit their needs and expectations.

The authors (2009, p. 17) define the objective of news translation as "to bring a message to the target audience in a clear, concise and totally comprehensible way", a goal identified through interviews with journalists and editors at AFP and Inter Presse Service. Similarly, Garcia Suárez (2005), based on experience as a translator for the Arabic service of the Spanish news agency, EFE, states that the objective of news translation is to inform.

Examining strategies employed in the translation of French news reports into English for the British market, Brownlie (2010) observes that news articles are intended for quick consumption and that readers expect to fully understand the content without needing to go beyond the report for contextual information necessary to that understanding. Bani (2006), who analyses translations in the weekly Italian news magazine *Internazionale*, also stresses the importance of reading speed and ease. It is this goal of providing the reader with news packaged in an easily consumable format that has been used to explain the need for domesticating news translation practices. Using the example of a translation of a televised speech by Saddam Hussein in the British newspaper the *Guardian*, Bassnett (2005, p. 127) argues that in a news context, domestication is "essential" and foreignisation is "detrimental to understanding". Bassnett finds that the translator "has made no attempt to rework the speech for an Anglophone audience. The result is a text full of awkward English phrases that are sometimes meaningless" (p. 127).

As a further example, Bassnett discusses a Reuters translation of a statement purported to have been made by Al Qaeda claiming responsibility for an attack on the British consulate in Turkey in 2003. Bassnett states (2005, p. 128) that the translation of a quotation in the headline – "The cars of death will not stop" – has the effect of "distanc[ing] the producers of the text from Western reality by highlighting their resistance to modernity through the language they chose to use". Whether or not the Reuters translation has the effect of distancing Al Qaeda from the West in the way

Bassnett describes, it was likely not the intention of the journalist responsible for this translation to create such an effect. It seems likely that the journalist, rather than attempting to produce a foreignising translation, was simply following the guidance set out in the Reuters *Handbook* – "give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis" (Reuters 2014, p. 390, see also Sect. 6.2).

Whilst it is certain that a strategy of *absolute* foreignisation as an alternative to *absolute* domestication would not be viable for a genre of translation which aims at clear communication, it is possible that some degree of foreignisation might be possible without jeopardising this goal. This possibility is explored in the *foreignised* approach presented in Chap. 7 of this book.

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CHAPTER 4

A Case for *Foreignised* News Translation

Abstract This chapter highlights quotation and culture-specific concepts as two key sites of translation in the news. It describes the secondary level of mediation introduced by the translation process at these points. The norm for domesticating translation strategies is shown to be problematic on the basis that they obscure the journalist's intervention in translated speech and remove important cultural specificity. This is shown first by drawing on a combination of translation studies and journalism studies literature, and then through discussion of the case study news event – controversial comments made by Nicolas Sarkozy as French interior minister in 2005. The chapter then details the work completed, and presented in subsequent chapters, to investigate what scope there might be for a *foreignised* approach to translation in the news.

Keywords News translation • Domestication • Foreignisation • Sarkozy • Culture-specific concepts • Quotation

Within translation studies, it is universally accepted "that translations are never fully homologous to the original – always containing shifts, errors, and subjective interpretations" (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002, p. xvi). Domesticating news translation strategies, by rendering foreign news information in terms the reader will immediately recognise and understand, increase the potential that the translation will depart from the original

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source-language information in significant ways. To use a popular maxim, the use of a domesticating strategy makes it more likely that something will get 'lost in translation'. Moreover, a domesticating approach to translating news information obscures the translation process itself, and the foreign language and cultural reality the news event originates in. It thus conceals the inevitable presence of the journalist-translator's voice in translated speech (Hermans 1996) and limits the reader's awareness and understanding of important cultural and linguistic distinctions. In other words, while a domesticating approach may be the surest route to clear and concise reporting, it may compromise the accuracy of quotations and impact interpretations. By denying the reader access to the foreignness of the source culture, it also limits the potential for readers to acquire, through the experience of reading the news, the cultural competence (Hannerz 1996; Robertson 2010) necessary to living in an increasingly cosmopolitan world (Beck 2006).

4.1 The Double Mediation of Quotation and Culture in the News

As seen in Chap. 2, quotation, and direct quotation in particular, is valued by journalists for the accuracy and objectivity it brings to reporting. Waugh (1995, p. 156), however, stresses that the speaker's voice is always "filtered and thereby changed in various ways" and draws attention to the "pitfalls that translation brings". Scholars working in the area of news translation have, too, drawn attention to the fact that the accuracy and objectivity of speech is fundamentally undermined by the translation process:

> Many broadcast (and print) journalists may genuinely aspire to impartiality but, given the inevitable 'gain' and 'loss' that is involved in any translation, translators are constantly forced to make decisions about what to 'lose' and what to 'gain' in the attempt to convey a message across languages and cultures – decisions that can only be made on their own (ultimately subjective) experience. (Holland 2013, p. 342)

Similarly, Conway (2006, p. 51) observes that journalistic claims to objectivity imply an "unmediated representation of otherness" that is not possible when news information is translated. Conway asks how journalists counter the inevitable "slippage" (2006, p. 51), but, as Holland highlights, the journalist may not be aware of the impact of the translation process:

> there is a certain amount of linguistic naivety on the part of the media organizations, concerning the problematic nature of translation as an intercultural activity and its vexed relationship with idealized concepts like 'accuracy', 'objectivity' and 'impartiality'. (Holland 2013, pp. 342–3)

A significant contribution to the literature on news translation has been made in Spanish, in particular in the edited volume *La traducción periodística* (Cortés Zaborras and Hernández Guerrero 2005). An important concept to come out of this body of research is 'doble mediación' (double mediation), used by researchers to describe the secondary mediation process which occurs when news is translated (Hernández Guerrero 2008; Hernando 1999). The first stage of mediation is common to all newswriting, the journalist decides what information to include and what to leave out and how to package that information for the reader. The second stage of mediation occurs when translation is involved:

> Si la información periodística es una mediación entre los hechos y los receptores, tal mediación resulta doble en el caso de los textos traducidos. [*If newswriting is mediation between facts and receivers, this becomes a process of double mediation in the case of translated texts*]. (Hernando 1999, p. 130, my translation)

There are parallels in Valdeón's (2007, p. 115) observation that journalists perform a "two-fold mediating role"; primarily their role is to communicate news events to their audience, but this often involves translation, a process Valdeón describes as comprising "interlingual transformative acts of different kinds" (p. 100).

Károly (2010, p. 886) similarly observes "two distinct levels" of mediation, the first intra-lingual, the second inter-lingual (and inter-cultural). In addition to mediating speech, agency journalists must also make decisions about how to make culture-specific information intelligible to the target culture in the target language. As such, the journalist performs the role of cultural mediator. The idea of translation as intercultural communication is well-established in modern translation theory (Katan 2009; Munday 2012, p. 87) and has formed the basis of important ethical arguments surrounding the principles of 'fidelity' to the source text and 'loyalty' to both the source text author and target text reader (Nord 1991). In the case of news translation, the role the journalist-translator performs as inter-cultural communicator becomes particularly relevant. Foreign news reporting always involves negotiating cultural difference, whether the

news information crosses linguistic barriers or not. In addition to language skills, the journalist-translator must have the cultural knowledge needed to interpret a news event that occurs in a foreign cultural context. They must also understand what source-culture knowledge their audience can be expected to possess in order to know what information will be understood, and in what terms. In this sense, they act as cultural mediators (Bielsa 2009, 2016; Conway 2010).

In an interview Filmer (2014, p. 331) conducted with Bill Emmot, the former Editor-in-Chief for *The Economist*, Emmot states that even when translation is not involved, "the journalist is nevertheless an interpreter" but that inter-lingual translation, "obviously adds another layer". There is recognition of the journalist's role as cultural mediator in the journalism studies literature too. Williams describes how "foreign correspondents continually have to make the unfamiliar familiar to their audiences" (2011, p. 27) and Beliveau et al. (2011, p. 136) describe foreign correspondents as having to "negotiate information gaps between different cultural contexts and communication systems". Williams (2011, p. 27) stresses that translation, by virtue of the fact that so much news information is translated, "has implications for how readers, viewers and listeners around the world understand what is happening and the meaning of events".

Awareness within the journalism studies literature of the potential for news information to be shaped by translation, though limited, is a boon to translation scholars endeavouring to draw attention to the implications of mediating cultural information across linguistic barriers; of the decisions journalists make about how to describe cultural realities and of the inevitable loss which, as a result of domesticating translation practices, goes unnoticed by the reader.

4.2 The 'Scum' and the 'Suburbs': What Sarkozy Said in (Translated) English News

In October 2005, words spoken a few months earlier by France's interior minister suddenly became global news. Sarkozy's inflammatory language was being reported as having helped ignite the riots which had just broken out in Paris and subsequently spread to other French cities. The English translations, that continue to circulate in reporting on the former French president today, are far from offering an accurate version of Sarkozy's words in another language. On the contrary, they tend to combine two

different speech events that occurred over four months apart, reporting a succinct (translated) version of what Sarkozy said on two separate occasions. An example is found in a 2011 report by the *Mail Online*; what Sarkozy said in 2005 is included as context on the French president in the penultimate paragraph:

> As interior minister six years ago, he was accused of inflaming three weeks of nationwide street violence by saying of urban rioters: 'They are scum who need to be cleaned from the streets with a power hose.' (*Mail Online*, September 13, 2011)

Looking at the two separate speech events – what Sarkozy said in June (hereafter the 'Kärcher' quote) and what he said in October (the '*racaille*' quote) – in reporting in English and French by the global news agencies, reveals that while both news events were covered on the agencies' newswires, they did not get reported in the mainstream British press until riots broke out in Paris, at which point Sarkozy's words became more newsworthy and the two quotations appear to have been combined and embedded as one single speech event. The two events are summarised below, based on analysis of reporting in French by Agence France-Presse (AFP) and archived television news reports. Since the aim is to clarify what Sarkozy said and when, translations are not provided:

> **The 'Kärcher' quote.** June 19, 2005: Sarkozy visits the *Cité des 4,000*, a housing estate in La Courneuve, in the Paris *banlieue*, to meet the parents of an 11-year-old boy who had been killed by gunfire between two gangs. He is filmed talking to local residents and saying: "*Les voyous vont disparaître, je mettrai les effectifs qu'il faut mais on nettoiera la Cité des 4,000*". On the same visit, Sarkozy is heard using the phrase "*nettoyer au Kärcher*" while talking to the boy's family.
>
> **The '*racaille*' quote.** October 25, 2005: Sarkozy visits Argenteuil in the Paris *banlieue* and is filmed looking up from the street talking to a female resident on her balcony, he says: "*Vous en avez assez, hein? Vous en avez assez de cette bande de racaille? Eh bien, on va vous en débarrasser*!"

Sarkozy's controversial use of the word *racaille* was the subject of much debate in France; its translation is therefore particularly sensitive. While French reports can accurately attribute the words used to Sarkozy,

by putting exactly what was spoken between quotation marks, this degree of accuracy is fundamentally unattainable when reporting the speech event in another language. The translation process necessitates a departure from the actual words spoken, opening up the possibility of the original speech becoming distorted, but, not preventing the translated version being attributed to the speaker as a direct quotation. A French report published by AFP on October 30 states that the word *racaille* was used by Sarkozy in Argenteuil, without presenting the word within quotation marks: *Le mot de racaille avait été utilisé par le ministre de l'Intérieur lorsqu'il s'était rendu mardi soir à Argenteuil.* An English report, by comparison, states that Sarkozy used the word 'rabble' (the word chosen to translate *racaille* and put between quotation marks) and that he was referring to the "rebellious youths" who live in Argenteuil: *Days later, he called rebellious youths living in the neighbourhoods "rabble".*

Three culture-specific concepts, already seen in the discussion above, feature centrally in reporting on what Sarkozy said in 2005 – *banlieue*, *quartier* and *cité*. It was in the Paris *banlieue* that the 2005 riots began and where the speech events took place. When Sarkozy reportedly promised to "clean the estate up with an industrial power-hose" (as reported in English by AFP on June 23, 2005), he was referring to 'cleaning up' the *Cité des 4,000*, a *cité* in the *quartier* of La Courneuve in the Paris *banlieue*. The cultural reality behind these three French terms therefore carries particular significance in reporting on this news event. In addition to the way Sarkozy's words were translated, the words chosen to communicate the cultural reality Sarkozy was speaking in and about had the potential to shape reporting on the news event in different ways.

The cultural reality attached to *banlieue* makes it difficult to translate (Mével 2008, p. 164). The French culture-specific concept tends to be translated as 'suburb' in English (Armstrong 2005, p. 71) but, as reflected in the entry for *banlieue* in the *Guardian*'s style guide (accessible via the newspaper's website), the two terms are not equivalent:

> French for suburbia, not suburb: strictly singular, but a French reader points out that the Petit Robert dictionary listed "les banlieues" among its "nouveaux mots" in 2006; the French for suburb is faubourg (literally, "false town").

The entry, by emphasising the singular usage, addresses a common inaccuracy in renderings of the French culture-specific concept. While in

English the residential areas on the outskirts of a city are referred to as the city's 'suburbs' (plural), in French the residential areas on the outskirts of a city are known collectively as its *banlieue* (singular, e.g. the Paris *banlieue*). The term is only used in the plural when referring to the *banlieues* of multiple cities (e.g. the *banlieues* of Lyon and Paris). As exemplified in the following excerpt from a report by AFP (January 29, 2007), whether *banlieue* is translated or kept in French, it is commonly inaccurately rendered in the plural, seemingly as a result of being equated to the English concept 'suburbs':

> The population of Paris has been steadily falling from its peak of three million in 1921, while the suburbs – or banlieues – have continued to expand.

By equating *banlieue* with 'suburbia', the *Guardian*'s style guide entry accurately reflects the correct (singular) usage, but not the cultural distinctions between the two terms. A negative image of the *banlieue*, and in particular the young people who live there, prevails in the French media system (Glasze et al. 2012; Mével 2008), with connotations of violence, insecurity and a predominantly ethnic population:

> French large housing estates are constituted, in addition to notions such as attentats (attacks) that describe acts of violence, as threatening places. This is usually seen through the relationship of concepts such as insécurité (insecurity), violence, or déliquance [sic] (delinquency) to the descriptions of banlieues. (Glasze et al. 2012, p. 1200)

By contrast with the connotations attached to *banlieue*, the English word 'suburb' connotes leafy-green areas where middle class people live the 'good life' in semi-detached houses. When a French reader reads a news report about a riot in a *banlieue* of Paris they understand this to have occurred in the deprived outskirts of the city. If a British reader reads about a riot in the 'suburbs' of Paris, however, they are likely to understand the riot to have occurred in the cultural reality attached to the word 'suburb' in British English. A translation strategy involving retaining the French culture-specific concept rather than 'domesticating' the term *banlieue* to 'suburbs', would expose the reader to the foreignness of the cultural reality in which the riot occurred, and allow an interpretation nuanced by the reader's awareness of what they may or may not know and understand about that reality.

The additional layer of cultural mediation that occurs when journalists need to translate culture-specific concepts is evident in the headline of the SECURITY report in the corpus – *Sarkozy promises to beef up French suburb security*. It is evident from reading the official government transcript of the speech by Sarkozy being reported on, that 'French suburb' here refers to the *banlieues* of French cities collectively. The source here, therefore, is *banlieues*, with all the denotative and connotative meanings attached in the source news context. Translating *banlieues* into English results in these meanings becoming detached. The culture-specific concepts *quartier* and *cité* are closely related to *banlieue*, and therefore often feature alongside it in news reporting. *Quartier* refers to an administrative area of a city (the translation given in the Collins Online French dictionary is 'district' or 'area') while *cité* refers more specifically to the housing (the entry gives 'estate' for British English and 'project' for US English).

Like *banlieue*, in addition to the denotative meaning given in dictionaries, the concepts *quartier* and *cité* have strong connotative meanings attached as a result of their collocation with certain terms, forming pejorative expressions commonly used in the French media. One of these expressions is '*quartiers sensibles*', which is synonymous with the variant '*quartiers difficiles*'. The usage of '*sensible*' derives from '*Zones Urbaines Sensibles* (*ZUS*)', defined by INSEE (the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies) on its website as areas constituting "priority targets for urban policy, according to local factors relating to the difficulties that the inhabitants of these territories are experiencing". In an entry for '*quartier sensible*' in the Collins online dictionary, the translation given is 'problem area', which is consistent with the translations 'difficult areas' and 'problem neighbourhoods' in the Reuters corpus (see corpus analysis in Sect. 6.1).

By extension, '*quartier*' on its own, without any qualifying adjective, carries the same connotations when used in the relevant context. The connotative meanings attached to *quartier* and *cité* are evident also in the use of '*jeunes des quartiers*' and '*jeunes des cités*', phrases associated with representations of the youth population in particular in these 'difficult areas' as perpetrators of violence and crime (Glasze et al. 2012, p. 1205). A translation of the phrase '*jeunes des cités*' appears in one of the reports in the corpus:

> Azouz Begag has implicitly criticised Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "riff-raff" […] (CRIME POLICIES)

Given the connotations of 'suburban' in the English language, the meaning conveyed by the translation, 'suburban youths', falls a long way short of communicating the cultural context of the speech act Begag refers to. Space constraints mean the journalist has very little room to expand on this highly culture-specific phrase. As a result of the domesticating translation, the culture-specific meaning is lost, and the reader is left to interpret the news event on the basis of the information provided. As already suggested above, a foreignising translation involving the retention of the French term *banlieue*, might result in a different and more informed interpretation of the news event, by giving the reader access to the foreign culture-specific concept.

4.3 A Foreignised Approach for the Reuters News Agency

This book explores the scope for a *foreignised* approach to translation as an ethical, yet practical alternative to the current norm for domestication in global news reporting. Taking Reuters as a case study news agency, it seeks to develop an approach that is coherent with the agency's newswriting practice and places emphasis on finding 'local' translation strategies that could work in practice for the journalists who would be using them (see Chap. 5 for a distinction between the 'global' approach and 'local' strategies). Reuters is the biggest of the 'Big three' agencies in terms of size, clients and international presence. Its news reporting is read by tens of millions of people worldwide; in 2004 the figure was 74 million people every month (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 2004, p. 37). As noted in Chap. 2, Reuters has broken away from the traditional news agency role of supplying news to its subscribers and additionally provides news direct to readers on its website, identifying "the broader public – curious people who get news on Reuters.com and mobile devices" as part of its audience (Reuters 2014, p. 101). The figures available suggest that Reuters carries out more translation than Associated Press (AP) and Agence France-Presse (AFP) – the agency publishes over eight million words daily in six languages (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, p. 48).

The first stage of the investigation involves examining the translation strategies Reuters journalists are currently using (analysis presented in Sect. 6.1). The corpus of five Reuters news reports (listed in Table 1.1, Chap. 1) was selected with this purpose in mind. The search criteria targeted news reports relating to Sarkozy's social politics and, in particular,

reports which include what Sarkozy said in 2005 (see Sect. 4.2), either as the focus of the news report or as background in reporting on a different news event. The intentional result is a high incidence of quotation and culture-specific concepts in the case study corpus. Since the involvement of translation in English-language global news reporting is typically localised to these two elements of newswriting, a high incidence of each was needed in order to find sufficient translations to examine. The three closely related culture-specific concepts discussed in Sect. 4.2 feature regularly in the corpus – *banlieue* (typically translated as 'suburb'), *quartier* (typically 'area' or 'neighbourhood') and *cité* (typically 'housing estate').

Four of the five reports in the corpus make reference to the case study news event. The CRIME POLICIES report, published in October 2005 at the time of the riots, includes the speech event as context in a paragraph (excerpted earlier as an example in Sect. 4.2) towards the end of the report:

> Sarkozy's shoot-from-the-lip style has outraged the opposition and irritated some cabinet ministers. Equal opportunities minister Azouz Begag has implicitly criticised Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "riff-raff." (*Sarkozy defends crime policies after Paris riots*, October 31, 2005)

The THUGORACY report, published two years later at the time of more riots in the Paris *banlieue*, quotes Sarkozy (now president of France) as attributing the riots to a "thugocracy". The report draws parallels with the 2005 riots and Sarkozy's similarly controversial use of language:

> In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters as "racaille" ("scum" or "rabble"). (*Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots*, November 29, 2007)

The SECURITY report, published in 2008, also during Sarkozy's presidency, relates to a plan announced to regenerate France's *banlieues*, and includes several quotes from a speech made to police officers, reflecting Sarkozy's "hardline" approach. The final paragraph includes what Sarkozy said in 2005 as context:

> Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean them out with a steamblaster generated deep hostility among many in the suburbs and he has rarely returned. (*Sarkozy pledges to beef up French suburb security*, February 8, 2008)

The DUMMY report is about Sarkozy being caught on French television cameras calling a journalist a '*couillon*' (translated as "dummy") in 2012, and, as the journalist highlights, a month away from the elections at the end of his five-year term as president. Again, the 2005 speech event is included as context on the French president's reputation for "inflammatory language":

> Sarkozy has been dogged by a reputation for inflammatory language since he captured the headlines during his 2007 presidential campaign with a call to rid the Paris suburbs of young "scum". (*France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist "dummy"*, March 15, 2012)

The IMMIGRATION report is the only report in the corpus that does not include what Sarkozy said in 2005 as context. The report, published in 2006, includes quotes from a news conference Sarkozy gave as interior minister unveiling plans for a review of immigration policy.

It is important to clarify that the English Reuters reports in the corpus are not translations of French reports, but new reports about French news events produced for Reuters' English-language newswire. The authors of the English reports will, nevertheless, have drawn on French sources. It is not possible to know for certain where quotations in the reports are sourced from, but looking at what Reuters published in French on the same news story on the same day, as well as – directed by clues in the reports – material published by other outlets, points to a collection of possible sources for each of the reports. Official speech transcripts, television footage and reporting in French by others news outlets were identified as possible sources for quotations specifically. In addition to revealing the 'local' translation strategies currently being used by Reuters journalists (Sect. 6.1), the corpus is used to show (in Chap. 7) the potential impact of the *foreignised* approach on Reuters newswriting. The *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (Reuters 2014) also features centrally in the investigation. Analysis of the parts of the *Handbook* related to translation (Sect. 6.2) reveals the institutional guidance governing journalists' translation practice. The *foreignised* approach (presented in Chap. 7) consists of five proposed updates to this guidance.

As mentioned in the book's Introduction, the approach developed is described as '*foreignised*' rather than 'foreignising' in order to emphasise that it is only 'foreignising' to a *degree* (in certain defined respects). The book finds new relevance for foreignisation and domestication in a news

translation context by applying Venuti's (2008) terms as two ends of a scale rather than as binary opposites. As the overall approach taken to a translation, a foreignising strategy can be loosely defined as one which retains foreign elements in the translated text, indicating to the reader that they are reading a translation and allowing them to encounter the foreign culture and language. Retaining foreign elements might involve, among other practices, adhering to source culture conventions and sticking closely to the syntax of the foreign language, resulting in a translation which does not read naturally in the target language. The *foreignised* approach aims to increase the visibility of the translation process and foreign cultural/linguistic context, but *without* resulting in a non-fluent text. Rather than explore the impact of an approach that sticks closely to the original language in form, it is taken as a foregone conclusion that such an approach would jeopardise the goal of clear communication.

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CHAPTER 5

Investigating Translation Strategy in the News

Abstract This chapter looks at the definition and use of 'strategy' within translation studies and sets out the book's focus on the 'local' translation strategies used in global news reporting. It reviews the different methods available for investigating translation strategy and describes a tendency toward textual analysis in news translation research. The chapter then reviews the approaches researchers have taken to the analysis of translation in news texts and considers the applicability of the categorisations developed to analysing the 'local' translation strategies involved in agency news reporting. It closes by presenting the taxonomy borrowed from subtitling research (Pedersen 2005) and used in the following chapter to examine how and to what degree the translation strategies used in the Reuters corpus are 'domesticating' or 'foreignising'.

Keywords Translation strategy • News translation • Textual analysis • Methodology • Journalism

Translation 'strategy' is defined in different ways in the translation studies literature. Broadly speaking, the term 'strategy' can be used to refer either to the overall approach taken to the translation of a text, or, more usually, to the individual decisions made at the word, phrase or sentence-level. Chesterman (1997, pp. 90–91) makes a distinction between "global" strategies (the overall approach) and "local" strategies used to resolve

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"local problems". In a professional context, for instance, a client might commission a 'creative' translation of a marketing text (the global strategy is 'creative'), and also specify that the translator use non-technical language when translating a key term (a local strategy to be applied wherever that term appears). Davier (2013, p. 31) makes a distinction between macro and micro-level domestication in a news translation context, with obvious parallels with Chesterman's global/local distinction. An example Davier gives of a macro-level domestication strategy is "rewriting". An example given of a micro-level domesticating strategy is "omission".

Lörscher's (1991, p. 76) definition of translation strategy refers exclusively to the local level:

> A translation strategy is a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another.

Like Chesterman, who emphasises that translators only apply strategies when the text presents a problem (1997, p. 89), Lörscher (1991) specifies the problem-solving nature of translation strategies in his definition. Similarly, for Pedersen (2005, p. 1, see also Sect. 5.2), a strategy is the translation choice a subtitler makes to deal with "translation problems" presented at certain "crisis points" in the text. A description of the use of local strategies to resolve local problems fits the involvement of translation in news agency reporting well. Agency journalists draw on multiple sources to produce a new text on the basis of the informational needs and expectations of the target audience. As discussed in Chap. 3, this is a predominantly intra-lingual process; journalists are only required to perform translation when the news information must undergo some form of inter-lingual transfer in order to be understood by the target reader. In other words, the translation involved is localised to those parts of a news report that originate in a foreign language.

The conceptualisation of news translation as the application of local strategies to resolve local problems may be coherent with journalists' perceptions of the translation involved in their daily newswriting task (see Sect. 3.1). Descriptions of the agencies' 'global' translation strategies may be less productive. Chesterman (1997, p. 91) points out that the choice of a certain strategy is only "potentially conscious", and that the choice of a 'global' strategy is less likely to be a conscious choice than the decisions made at the 'local' level. This assertion rings true in the analysis of the

Reuters Handbook of Journalism (see Sect. 6.2). While the few parts related to translation do collectively direct journalists towards a domesticating approach overall, by specifying the use of domesticating strategies to deal with local problems, they do not constitute an explicit 'global' strategy. Although the choice of a 'global' strategy does not need to be conscious (Chesterman 1997), defining the limited guidance on translation in the Reuters' *Handbook* as the agency's 'global' translation strategy may imply the existence of a defined and deliberate strategy that Reuters themselves are unlikely to recognise. Moreover, using 'strategy' to describe both the local and the global level seems unhelpful.

In this book, the 'global' strategy indicated in the Reuters *Handbook* is instead conceptualised as Reuters' current 'approach' to translation, with the five proposed updates to the *Handbook* (presented in Chap. 7) constituting a *foreignised* 'approach'. The term 'strategy' is used exclusively to refer to the 'local' strategies used to translate foreign-language quotations and culture-specific concepts, in order to reflect the localised involvement of translation in Reuters' news reporting.

5.1 A Brief Survey of Methods

Translation strategy is a common object of research across all areas of translation studies. A text-based approach, involving the comparison of a translated (target) text against its original (source) text (see Williams and Chesterman 2002, pp. 7–8 for a description), is the method used most commonly across the field. When the researcher is interested in specific elements of the translation, parts of the target text are compared with corresponding parts of the source text. In addition to analysing the translations themselves, documentation such as the translation brief (Nord 1997) and the commissioner's style guide, which guide the translator towards a particular strategy, can also be examined. Researchers investigating the translation practices of the global news agencies have combined a text-based approach, involving analysis of translations and style guides, with interviews with agency staff (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2014). The findings of these researchers have informed the current project by elucidating the role of translation within the news agencies as well as perceptions of that role among agency staff.

A key finding of the interviews, mentioned earlier in Chap. 3, is that agency journalists do not recognise the inter-lingual element of their newswriting task as translation, and that translation is not distinguished as

a separate practice by the agencies at an institutional level. This presents a challenge for the translation studies researcher setting out to ask agency staff about their translation strategies in interviews; the researcher and interviewee are likely to have different understandings of what 'translation' means. Moreover, journalists may not have reflected on their choice of translation strategy or the strategies available to them previously, and thus be unable to do so effectively in the interview. In her PhD research, Filmer (2014) interviewed Italy correspondents from a variety of British publications, and one Reuters journalist. The interviewees were asked their views on the role of the foreign correspondent, translation and media representations of former Italian prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, as well as about translations of some of Berlusconi's more memorable quotations.

Coincidentally, the Reuters journalist interviewed is James Mackenzie, who is bylined on the THUGOCRACY report in the Reuters corpus analysed in Chap. 6.[1] Filmer asks Mackenzie to describe Reuters' approach to translation generally, and the translation of Berlusconi's quotations in particular:

> Reuters unwritten policy on translation is to choose neutral terms that have less local connotations and flavour so as not to be 'too English' or 'too American'. The basic aim is to convey the sense and tone. When we translate we try to get as close to the original sense as possible. (Filmer 2014, p. 336)

What Mackenzie describes as "unwritten policy" is actually a very effective summary of Reuters' *written* guidelines on the use of quotation. The need he mentions to avoid language that is "too" English or American echoes an instruction in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (Reuters 2014, p. 389) to "avoid quotes in colloquial or parochial language not easily translated or understood in other countries". The *Handbook* also mentions the importance of preserving the 'sense' of quotations three times and states that when translation is involved, "care must be taken to ensure that the ***tone*** of the translation is equivalent to the ***tone*** of the original" (p. 4, emphasis added). What the interview indicates is that Reuters' journalists are conscious of the policy set out in the *Handbook* and that the information that can be gained from reading this document should therefore accurately reflect current practice. It does not indicate that there is a wealth of tacit knowledge that can be accessed by asking agency journalists general questions about translation.

Another method used to examine translation strategy in translation studies more widely is asking the translator to talk through their decision-making while they are translating a text; this process creates a think-aloud protocol (TAP) which can then be analysed (Bernardini 2003; Lörscher 1992). Despite the popularity of this method in the wider field of translation studies, no research has been published to date which uses think-aloud protocols to determine the individual decisions news professionals make when translating news information. This is not surprising. Considering that think-aloud protocol typically slows down the translation process (Jääskeläinen 2010), as well as the time constraints faced by news professionals, it seems unlikely that researchers would find a professional willing or able to spare the time to complete a think-aloud protocol.

Of the above methods, textual analysis is by far the most commonly used by news translation researchers to investigate the way news information is translated. When local translation strategies are examined, it is often in relation to ideological issues such as news framing (Valdeón 2015). Textual analysis has also been widely used to examine the process termed 'recontextualisation' in the news translation literature ('domestication' in journalism studies, see Sect. 3.1) in a variety of news contexts. Since the latter analyses have approached translation as one element of this otherwise intra-lingual process, the categorisations developed describe the transformations that occur alongside translation, rather than the range of local translation strategies used. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) compare a French Agence France-Presse report about a Latin American news event against the report produced for the Spanish wire. The authors describe five types of "textual intervention" that the news information has undergone in the process of being edited into a new report in a different language for a new target audience. The changes are presented as "the usual modifications of a translation that relies on a domesticating strategy which privileges fluency and transparency and conformance to the expectations of the target reader" (p. 101).

Bielsa and Bassnett's categorisation clearly demonstrates the kinds of intra-lingual changes news information undergoes when it is "rewritten" (2009, p. 57) for a new audience. It does not, however, make clear what a domesticating translation strategy looks like at the local level. Hursti (2001), who draws on experience of working for both Reuters and the Finnish News Agency, makes a helpful distinction between editing and translation processes:

Editing: that part of the news production process which involves transforming the language or the structure of the original message by using such text-surgical methods as deletion, addition, substitution and reorganization.

Translation: that part of the news production process which involves translating into another language those parts of the original message that are considered newsworthy in the receiving cultural environment.

Hursti's definitions are helpful in clarifying that only some parts of a news agency text are translated. However, as in Bielsa and Bassnett's analysis, the focus is on the intra-lingual transformations that occur alongside translation (Hursti identifies four types of intra-lingual editing – "deletion", "addition", "substitution" and "reorganization"), rather than the local translation strategies used.

A typology developed by Franjié (2009) through analysis of translations of Arabic news reports published by the French news magazine *Courrier International* promises to offer a framework which is better suited to the analysis of local translation strategies. As detailed on its website, *Courrier International* collates and translates news reports published by over 1,500 news sources across the globe. The journalist/translator's task does not therefore involve rewriting a news story for a new audience; it ostensibly involves translation in the more traditional sense – the practice of translating a source text into the target language. However, it is where the translator goes beyond this task that Franjié is interested in; she is concerned that through the strategies of omission, summarisation and explicitation (as the strategies are known in English[2]), the French translations move too far from the Arabic source text, meaning that the original discourse is no longer fully represented. These strategies are typical of the intra-lingual editing practices which occur *alongside* translation in news agency reporting and are examined in the categorisations mentioned above.

In one of the earliest contributions to the field, Bani (2006) completed an analysis of Italian translations of English press articles in the Italian news magazine *Internazionale*. Bani's analysis is focused specifically on the rendering of culture-specific information. However, she only lists four of the "most common" strategies – "Cutting or summary", "Inclusion of explanations", "Generalization" and "Substitution" (p. 42). There are similarities between Bani's analysis and Pedersen's (2005) taxonomy of

strategies for rendering[3] cultural specificity in subtitling. Pedersen's taxonomy "is based on descriptive observations of norms underlying subtitling, but it could easily be adapted to suit other forms of translation as well" (Pedersen 2005, p. 3). The taxonomy, introduced below, is used in Chap. 6 to examine the translation strategies used in Reuters news reporting.

5.2 Pedersen's Strategies for Rendering Culture

Although not related to the translation of news, Pedersen's taxonomy seems to offer the most relevant approach for looking at the local translation strategies used in Reuters news reporting. In particular, it is found to be helpful for the following three reasons. Firstly, because it deals with strategies for rendering cultural specificity. Secondly, because Pedersen places the strategies along a 'Venutian' scale representing how foreignising or domesticating the strategies are. And thirdly, because the subtitler and agency journalist seem to share common constraints upon their translation practice. These aspects are discussed in more detail below.

A Model for Looking at Cultural-Specificity

Pedersen (2005) is interested in the way "Extralinguistic culture-bound references (ECRs)" are handled in subtitles. The strategies translators use to transfer cultural-specificity is a popular topic within translation studies more widely, with the literature offering a variety of terminological alternatives to Pedersen's 'ECRs' (see Kwieciński 2001, p. 169 for a succinct summary). In Pedersen's work, an ECR presents the subtitler with a translation "problem" or "crisis point" and it is the strategies used at these crisis points which are of interest. Although the object of Pedersen's analysis is subtitles, his definition of ECRs fits the cultural specificity which is a focus in this book's analysis of Reuters' current approach to translation:

> Extralinguistic Culture-bound Reference (ECR) is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any **culture-bound** linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process, and which is assumed to have a discourse referent that is identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the **encyclopedic knowledge** of this audience. (Pedersen 2005, p. 2, emphasis added)

One example Pedersen uses in his analysis is the American 'Prison board' (a source-language ECR) being replaced with the Swedish term *kriminalvårdsstyrelsen*, designating a Swedish institution (a target-language ECR) (p. 7). The culture-boundness of the source-language and target-language ECRs is clear; the two terms designate two distinct institutions existing in two distinct cultural realities. That *banlieue*, which features often in the Reuters corpus, and 'suburb', its translation, designate two distinct realities, is equally true (see Sect. 4.2). The correspondence between the nature of the cultural specificity examined in Pedersen's subtitling corpus, and that which is found in the Reuters corpus, means that Pedersen's taxonomy offers a relevant framework for categorising the translation strategies used in the Reuters news reports.

A Model for Assessing Degrees of Domestication/Foreignisation

Pedersen places the strategies he identifies along what he describes as a "Venutian scale"; at either end of the scale are Venuti's (2008) strategies of foreignisation and domestication (see Sect. 3.2). Pedersen does not adopt Venuti's terms, however; he considers the terms "counterproductive when translating from English into smaller languages" (p. 3), as in his English-Swedish case study. Pedersen replaces foreignising with 'Source Language (SL) oriented' and domesticating with 'Target Language (TL) oriented'. Six main strategies[4] for handling culture-specific concepts (ECRs) are identified (p. 4):

- **Retention**
- **Specification**
- **Direct Translation**

} SL-oriented strategies

- **Generalization**
- **Substitution**

} TL-oriented strategies

- **Omission**

As illustrated above, three of the strategies are positioned on the SL-oriented branch of the Venutian scale, and two on the TL-oriented branch. The sixth strategy, 'Omission', sits "on the sideline as being neither" (p. 9). With the exception of 'Omission' – the practice of removing the ECR without replacing it in any way, the strategies are further catego-

rised into types. 'Retention', preserving the ECR without adding anything to help make it intelligible to the target reader, is identified as the most SL-oriented (foreignising) of the strategies. The 'Cultural' type of the 'Substitution' strategy, whereby the source-language ECR is replaced with a TL (target-language) ECR, is identified as the most TL-oriented (domesticating) of all the strategies.

A Model for Considering Constraints

Pedersen observes that the options available to the subtitler are limited by the dual constraints of space – the space available on the screen, and time – the number of seconds the viewer will have to read the subtitle (p. 14). The news agency journalist faces similar constraints. The newswriting norm of brevity (Cotter 2010, p. 27) imposes a space constraint, particularly in the lead paragraph which should succinctly summarise the news story (Conboy 2007, p. 17). The need to produce reports which can be read and understood quickly (Bani 2006; Cotter 2010, p. 139) imposes a time constraint. The subtitler and news agency journalist both also face constraints upon their own time. Tight deadlines and low pay can limit the amount of time subtitlers have to dedicate to their task (Pedersen 2005, p. 15). News agency journalists are required to produce multiple reports a day and to work quickly to get stories onto the wire before the competition breaks the story. Both the subtitler and agency journalist therefore have very little time to mull over translation decisions.

Further constraints common to both subtitling and agency news production come in the form of national norms, company norms and considerations of what audiences can be expected to know and therefore understand. The translation strategies available to the subtitler are bound by subtitling norms in operation in the country the subtitles are being produced for as well as by the particular guidelines of the commissioning company (Pedersen 2005, p. 14). The strategies available to the news agency journalist are similarly constrained by newswriting norms in operation in the target country – for example, the norm of using 'said' as the reporting verb (Cotter 2010 p. 26) – as well as by the particular newswriting guidelines of the agency itself. As mentioned above, both practices involve producing translations that can be read quickly; this is in part achieved by ensuring the translation can be easily understood. While producing a text that can be quickly and easily understood is very often the aim of translation in numerous contexts, it is particularly characteristic of

subtitling, since the target audience only has a certain number of seconds in which to digest the information on the screen. Similar considerations are fundamental to newswriting practice generally, since the reader of a news report, like the viewer of a film, may lose interest if they are not able to quickly understand (Cotter 2010, p. 119).

In the next chapter, Pedersen's taxonomy is applied to the corpus of Reuters news reports in order to see where the local translation strategies Reuters journalists use in practice sit along Pedersen's Venutian scale.

Notes

1. As Filmer states, Mackenzie, based in Reuters' Rome bureau at the time of the interview, previously worked in the Paris bureau.
2. *L'omission*, *l'atténuation* and *l'explicitation* in the original French.
3. Pedersen describes the strategies as "rendering" rather than "translating" the culture-specificity since not all of the strategies involve inter-lingual translation (in the 'omission' strategy, for instance, the culture-specific item is simply removed).
4. A seventh strategy, "Official Equivalent", is set apart on the basis that when there is an official equivalent (Pedersen's example is replacing Donald Duck with the Swedish official equivalent – 'Kalle Anka'), the subtitler does not have a decision to make.

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CHAPTER 6

The Domestication Norm in Reuters Journalism

Abstract This chapter examines Reuters' current approach to translation. It locates translations of French culture-specific concepts in a corpus of Reuters reports and, using Pedersen's (2005) 'Venutian' scale, categorises the strategies used from most foreignising to most domesticating. The analysis finds a much higher incidence of domesticating strategies. The corpus analysis is complemented by analysis of the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism*. The translation-related guidance in the *Handbook* is found to call for a domesticating approach, through the specification of certain translation strategies. The analysis also finds that the impact of the translation process on the accuracy of quotation is often overlooked in the *Handbook*, or only implicitly recognised, despite an emphasis on the importance of accuracy and the specification of intra-lingual strategies for addressing potential issues.

Keywords News translation • Reuters • Quotation • Culture-specific concepts • Translation strategy • Domestication

The analyses in this chapter reflect that the translation involved in Reuters' news reporting occurs when journalists need to make foreign-language quotation and culture-specific concepts intelligible to their target audience. In the first part, Pedersen's (2005, see also Sect. 5.2) taxonomy of strategies for rendering 'Extralinguistic culture-bound references (ECRs)'

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is applied to the Reuters corpus. The focus is on the local translation strategies used by journalists in practice and the degree to which they are foreignising or domesticating. Since Pedersen's taxonomy is specifically concerned with the rendering of culture-specific information, it is only this element of the current approach that can be explored in the analysis. The second part looks at the translation strategies called for at an institutional level (in the guidance on translation in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism*) and how this is reflected in practice (in Reuters reporting in and beyond the corpus). The limited amount of advice on translation in the *Handbook* relates predominantly to reporting what someone originally said in a foreign language; the analysis is therefore particularly informative on Reuters' current approach to translating quotation.

6.1 Strategies for Translating Culture-Specific Concepts in the Reuters Corpus

The analysis presented below looks at the English translations of French culture-specific concepts in the Reuters corpus. The strategies used by the journalists are categorised in terms of how foreignising or domesticating they are, using five of the six main strategies in Pedersen's (2005) taxonomy (see Sect. 5.2). The sixth strategy, 'Omission', – which Pedersen sets apart as neither SL-oriented (foreignising) nor TL-oriented (domesticating) – is not included since omissions are a standard, intra-lingual feature of the process of 'recontextualising' (see Sect. 3.1) a news event for a new audience.[1] Table 6.1 below gives an initial indication of the tendency towards domesticating translation strategies in the corpus. The table details the number of instances of each of the strategies, presented in the

Table 6.1 Strategies used to translate culture-specific concepts in the Reuters corpus

Strategies categorised as SL-oriented or TL-oriented using Pedersen's 'Venutian' Scale (2005)				
SL-oriented (foreignising) strategies (Total = 8)			*TL-oriented (domesticating) strategies (Total = 21)*	
Retention	*Specification*	*Direct translation*	*Generalization*	*Substitution*
1	6	1	7	14

order they appear along Pedersen's 'Venutian' scale. The totals for the three SL-oriented strategies combined and for the two TL-oriented strategies combined are given in the header.

'Retention' is the most SL-oriented (foreignising) of the strategies. Along with 'Direct translation' (third on the SL-oriented branch), it is also the least common strategy in the Reuters corpus (1 instance). At the other end of the scale, 'Substitution' – the most TL-oriented (domesticating) strategy – is by far the most common (14 instances). The total number of instances of the two strategies on the TL-oriented branch combined (21 instances) is considerably higher than the combined total of the three strategies on the SL-oriented branch (8 instances).

The five strategies are discussed in turn below, in the order they appear in Table 6.1, and along Pedersen's scale, from most SL-oriented to most TL-oriented. The reports are referred to by their short names (see Table 1.1, Chap. 1) in the analysis. For a discussion of the individual reports and how they were selected, see Sect. 4.3.

SL-Oriented (Foreignising) Strategies

Retention

As mentioned above, 'Retention' is the most foreignising of all the strategies in Pedersen's taxonomy; "it allows an element from the SL to enter the TT" (Pedersen 2005, p. 4). Retention is used only once in the Reuters corpus – in combination with 'Addition', a subtype of the 'Specification' strategy, which also falls under the SL-oriented branch of Pedersen's taxonomy. In the 'Addition' strategy, "the added material is **latent** in the ECR" (p. 5, emphasis added). For example, towards the end of the THUGOCRACY report, paragraph 14 provides context on where the riots being reported are taking place:

> The "quartiers" or "cites", as the estates are known, are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing.

The two ECRs – *quartier* and *cité* – are retained and the remainder of the paragraph constitutes an addition of information that is "latent" in the ECRs (the information that a French audience can be expected to possess in relation to these terms that the target audience is unlikely to). The journalist has made a conscious choice to retain the foreign language

here, which has the result of foreignising the rendering of the ECRs. The addition of "as the estates are known" ensures the ECRs are intelligible to the reader and as such reduces the foreignising effect of the 'Retention' strategy.

The above instance could, according to Pedersen's descriptions, be categorised simply as the 'Addition' type of the 'Specification' strategy (discussed below). It is instead categorised as 'Retention' in combination with 'Addition' in order to reflect a distinction seen in the corpus. While the retention of *quartier* and *cité* in the THUGOCRACY report involves keeping foreign language in the English text, all of the instances of the 'Addition' strategy identified in the corpus involve the rendering of the name of an institution or place. The effect is less foreignising, since the presence of the names of institutions and places abroad is standard in English-language newswriting. In the discussion of the 'Substitution' strategy below, we see that including these names is, nonetheless, foreignising to a degree, as the reader may not recognise the institution/place by the name it carries in the source culture and language.

Specification (Addition)

'Specification' is positioned next to 'Retention' on Pedersen's scale, as the second most foreignising of all the strategies. Like the 'Retention' strategy, 'Specification' also involves "leaving the ECR in its untranslated form" (p. 4). The distinction between the two strategies is that in the 'Specification' strategy, the ECR is made more specific through the use of either 'Explicitation' or 'Addition'. Adding a person's first name is one example given for the 'Explicitation' subtype, which would include specifying Sarkozy's first name where the source material does not. Including a person's first name or title for the benefit of the target audience to whom that person is less familiar is considered standard newswriting practice and therefore not constituting a translation decision. Such instances are therefore overlooked in the analysis and no instances of 'Explicitation' identified.

The 'Addition' type of the 'Specification' strategy involves adding information that "is latent in the ECR, as part of the sense or connotations of the ECR" (p. 5). In the Reuters corpus, this constitutes adding information that would not be considered necessary to include for a French audience. Six instances of the strategy are identified. As mentioned above, in each case, the ECR is the name of an institution or a place in France. In two of these instances the added information is purely geographic – '*the*

northern area of La Courneuve' and 'Florange *in eastern France*'. The other instances are made more specific by transferring more of the denotative and connotative meaning attached to the ECR. In the THUGOCRACY report for example, it is specified that Villiers-le-Bel is a 'suburb' as well as being geographically located in the 'north of Paris'. In the CRIME POLICIES report, the journalist "intervenes to give guidance" to their reader (p. 5) to a greater degree:

> […] the northeastern Clichy-sous-Bois suburb of the French capital, where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence.

The only instance where the 'Addition' type of the 'Specification' strategy is used to render an ECR that is not a place name comes in the SECURITY report. The journalist includes part of a speech where Sarkozy mentions the names of several educational institutions. In a paraphrased summary of this part, the journalist includes two of the institutions mentioned by Sarkozy. The two ECRs are rendered using the 'Addition' strategy – *Henri IV* becomes 'the Henri IV high school' and *ENA* becomes 'the ENA civil servant training school'. The underlined parts constitute information that has been added to specify to a non-French reader what a French reader could be expected to know.

In each case, it is the journalist's decision to include the names of the specific institutions or places in France that introduces an element of foreignisation. The journalists could, instead, have used a 'Generalization' strategy (the first of the TL-oriented strategies – see below), and, for instance, mentioned "a suburb to the north of Paris" instead of naming "the suburb of Villiers-le-Bel, to the north of Paris". By specifying the name, the journalist exposes their reader to something from the originating language and culture which they are unlikely to recognise, and thus to the foreignness of the cultural reality being described.

Direct Translation

After 'Retention' and 'Specification', 'Direct translation' is the last of the "minimum change strategies" (p. 9) – those under the SL-oriented branch of Pedersen's taxonomy. The strategy is described as follows: "nothing is added, or subtracted. There is no effort made to transfer connotations or guide the TT audience in any way" (p. 5). In the IMMIGRATION report, the journalist translates the name of the French

immigration policy (*immigration choisie*) directly, resulting in the translation 'selected immigration'. The use of the 'Direct translation' strategy here does not help to make the concept familiar to the reader, particularly since it qualifies as a 'Calque' rather than what Pedersen calls a 'Shifted' direct translation (p. 5).

Pedersen observes that the 'Direct Translation' strategy can be either SL-oriented, if it involves a 'Calque', or TL-oriented, if it involves a 'Shifted' translation. The use of 'selected immigration' to refer to France's immigration policy fits the description for a 'Calque Direct Translation' on the basis that it is "the result of stringent literal translation and it may appear exotic to the TT audience" (p. 5). A translation using 'selective' in place of 'selected' (for '*choisie*' in the French name of the policy) would qualify as a 'Shifted Direct Translation' on the basis that it makes the ECR "more unobtrusive" in the target language (p. 5). It would be "more unobtrusive" firstly because it constitutes the proper adjective in the context ('selective' = something characterised by selection, while selected = something that is chosen) and secondly, because 'selective immigration' already exists in English as the name of an Australian immigration policy. The journalist's choice of the 'Calque Direct Translation' (selected immigration) over a Shifted Direct Translation (selective immigration) may be an oversight rather than a deliberate choice; nonetheless, the result is a degree of foreignisation in the translation.

TL-Oriented (Domesticating) Strategies

Generalization

'Generalization' is the first, and therefore least domesticating, of the two strategies under the TL-oriented branch of Pedersen's taxonomy. Pedersen's description of the 'Generalization' strategy is: "replacing an ECR referring to something **specific** by something more **general**" (p. 6, emphasis added). The strategy is TL-oriented on the basis that the ECR is adjusted in some way to fit the target text. In direct contrast to the SL-oriented 'Specification' strategy (see above), which involves keeping the ECR "in its untranslated form" and making it more specific (p. 4), when a 'Generalization' strategy is used in the corpus, the ECR is 'replaced' with a general description. Seven instances are identified across the five Reuters reports.

In four of the instances of 'Generalization', the ECR being rendered is a pejorative expression commonly used in the French media and contributing to the negative representation of the *banlieues* (see Sect. 4.2). The expression *quartiers sensibles* is translated to 'problem neighbourhoods' in the CRIME POLICIES report:

> Sarkozy, who returned as interior minister in late May, launched a new crime offensive this month, ordering specially trained police to tackle 25 problem neighbourhoods.

It is the decision to replace the French ECR with a translation, rather than the particular words chosen, that make the ECR more general in the English report, as doing so has the effect of detaching the ECR from the culture-specific reality it denotes in the originating news locale. The expressions *quartiers difficiles* and *quartiers en difficulté*, rendered as 'difficult areas' in the SECURITY report, are variations on *quartiers sensibles*. The fourth expression, *jeunes des cités*, is tied to representations of the youth population in particular as perpetrators of violence and crime in these 'difficult' areas (Glasze et al. 2012, p. 1205). As seen earlier (Sect. 4.2), it is rendered as 'suburban youths' in the CRIME POLICIES report.

The remaining three instances of the 'Generalization' strategy in the corpus all involve the acronym *CRS*, by which the French riot police (*Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité*) is commonly known. The CRS are reserve forces created in 1945 to provide back up for the police when needed; they live in barracks and are assembled in the case of internal disturbances and as a result are notorious in France (*Guardian*, November 8, 2005). *CRS* is rendered twice in the CRIME POLICIES report, in the first instance as 'riot police', in the second as 'specially trained police'. The third instance is in the DUMMY report, where the translation is also 'riot police'.

The domesticating nature of the 'Generalization' strategy can be clearly seen in the seven instances identified; the ECR is removed entirely where it could have been retained in combination with the more general description given. In the case of the four instances discussed first, retaining the French expression along with the translation given would constitute an instance of 'Retention' in combination with 'Addition' (see 'Retention' above). In light of the distinction made earlier, retaining CRS (the name of a French institution) in the three remaining instances would qualify as the 'Addition' type of the 'Specification' strategy.

In each of the instances of the 'Generalization' strategy, the general description that replaces the French ECR does not communicate any of the culture-specific meaning attached to the ECR. In this respect, the instances of 'Generalization' in the Reuters corpus are no less TL-oriented (domesticating) than the instances of 'Substitution' discussed below. However, in the 'Substitution' strategy, the French ECR is replaced with a target-culture ECR, with the effect of further obscuring the foreign cultural reality being described.

Substitution

'Substitution', the second of the two strategies on the TL-oriented branch of Pedersen's scale, is identified more than any other strategy in the Reuters corpus:

> This strategy involves removing the ST ECR and replacing it with something else, either a different ECR or some sort of paraphrase, which does not necessarily involve an ECR (Pedersen 2005, p. 6).

The use of 'Substitution' is distinguished from the use of 'Generalization' in the corpus on the basis that the ECR itself is less specific and the replacement for the ECR is not 'more general' (see 'Generalization' above). Pedersen identifies two different types of 'Substitution' – 'Cultural substitution' and 'Paraphrase'. In the 'Cultural' type "the ST [source text] ECR is removed, and replaced by a different ECR" (p. 6). The 'Paraphrase' type "involves rephrasing the ECR" (p. 8). All of the 14 instances of 'Substitution' in the corpus are the 'Cultural' type and involve either *banlieue*, *cité* or *quartier* as the ECR. Every rendering of *banlieue* includes the word 'suburb' and every rendering of *cité* and *quartier* includes either the words 'housing estate' or 'neighbourhood'.

Presenting these as instances of 'Substitution' at all requires the reader to agree that the French terms designate a particular socio-cultural reality in France (that they are 'culture-bound', to use Pedersen's words), and therefore constitute a source-language ECR. Presenting the translations as instances of 'Cultural substitution' also requires the reader to agree that the English 'substitutes' for the French ECRs are themselves ECRs. This is a rather complex matter since the Reuters journalists are not addressing a single target culture; the terms need to be understood by a global, English-speaking audience. 'Housing estate', for instance, refers to a different cultural reality depending on which country the housing estate is in

and will therefore mean different things to different audiences. Similarly, the realities communicated by 'neighbourhood' and 'suburb' will vary depending on the realities attached to these terms in the target culture. However, the very fact that the terms have cultural realities attached, even if that reality varies by culture, warrants regarding the terms as ECRs.

In six of the 14 instances, the 'Substitution' strategy is used in combination with the 'Addition' type of the 'Specification' strategy. The degree of information added varies. In the SECURITY report, the journalist describes Sarkozy's "first visit to an impoverished suburb since he was elected last May", adding only 'impoverished' to the ECR. There are two similar degrees of addition in the THUGOCRACY report where the 'suburbs' are qualified as "poor French suburbs" in the first instance and "poor suburbs" in the second. In the remaining three instances of 'Substitution' + 'Addition' in the corpus, the ECR is qualified with a longer description. For instance, in the lead paragraph of the SECURITY report, *banlieue* is rendered as "France's poor suburbs, residential areas on the outskirts of big cities". In each case, even if the addition is only one word, combining the 'Substitution' strategy with 'Addition' means that readers' understandings are not limited to their understanding of the replacement ECR (i.e., what they understand 'suburbs' to mean). The effect is, arguably, less domesticating than using 'Cultural substitution' alone, since providing the reader with the additional information about the source-culture context allows them to recognise and engage with the foreign cultural context; it has the effect of 'sending the reader abroad' (Venuti 2008, see also Sect. 3.2).

6.2 Translation Guidance in the Reuters Handbook

The news agencies' style guides function internally as guidelines on how the agencies' reports should be written and externally as general guidelines on good newswriting practice. Associated Press' (AP) style guide – the 'AP Stylebook', known as the 'journalist's bible', is a well-established authority for journalists in the US (Cotter 2010, p. 192) and beyond. On the home page of the dedicated website, AP describes its stylebook as "The journalist's bible, wherever you are". Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) draw on the agencies' style guides as a key source of information on the agencies' translation practices; the domesticating nature of global news reporting is primarily observed and evidenced in

the agencies' style guides. Reuters' style guide, the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (Reuters 2014), is accessible online via the agency's website. Previously, it was possible to download a PDF version but this option is no longer available.[2] The first part, 'Standards and values', details the general principles governing Reuters journalism, including the '10 Absolutes of Reuters journalism' and important information relating to newswriting fundamentals such as accuracy and sourcing. The second, and largest, part is the 'The Reuters General Style guide', an A-Z guide which provides more specific information relating to, for example, the use of acronyms. The *Handbook* appears to relate specifically to English-language newswriting; 'English' is frequently specified, for instance on page 2, in a call for "concise, simple English".

In keeping with the finding that the global agencies do not recognise the involvement of translation in their newswriting practices (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2014, see also Sect. 3.1), the Reuters *Handbook* does not include a section on translation. Moreover, the 578-page *Handbook* contains very few direct references to translation at all. There are a handful of references to the importance of writing "in language that is easy to translate" (Reuters 2014, p. 76). There are also snippets of guidance relating to the translation of particular elements scattered throughout the *Handbook*. For example, under 'general' in the A-Z Style Guide, it is stated that military ranks should be translated without hyphens (p. 158). The only explicit guidance on the approach to take to translation more generally relates specifically to quotation.

The guidance on translating quotation is found in two paragraphs, one in the first part of the *Handbook* ('Standards and Values') and one in the second part (the 'General Style Guide'):

> **Standards & Values > Accuracy > Quotes (2nd paragraph):**
> When translating quotes from one language into another, we should do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. Care must be taken to ensure that the tone of the translation is equivalent to the tone of the original.

> **General Style Guide > quotations (11th paragraph):**
> When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis.

In both paragraphs, journalists are instructed to translate quotes "in an idiomatic way" in general. An idiomatic translation is one which prioritises transferring the meaning of the source text, in a way that is natural and comprehensible in the target text (Munday 2009, p. 197). As seen above, the paragraph in the Style Guide specifies that a literal translation should be given "if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis". By contrast with an idiomatic translation, literal translations "tend to preserve formal features almost by default (i.e. with little or no regard for context, meaning or what is implied by a given utterance)" (Hatim and Munday 2004, p. 41). The use of a literal translation, called for in the paragraph in the Style Guide, would qualify as a foreignising strategy according to Venuti's definition (2008, see also Sect. 3.2), on the basis that it results in a non-fluent translation. However, as the use of a 'literal translation' is specified as an exception, and an 'idiomatic' translation as the rule, the general approach to translating quotations set out across the two paragraphs is a domesticating one.

Alongside the explicit guidance on the translation of quotation in the two respective parts of the *Handbook*, there is additional information that is relevant to understanding Reuters' perspective on the relationship between translation and quotation more generally. Immediately after instructing journalists to translate quotations in an 'idiomatic way', the paragraph under 'Quotes' (first excerpt above) warns journalists of the perils of translating translated quotations back into the original language:

> **Standards & Values > Accuracy > Quotes (2nd paragraph continued):**
> If a French politician gives an interview to an American newspaper, it is almost certain that the translation back into French will be wrong and in some cases the quote could be very different. In such cases, the fewer quotes and the more reported speech, the better.

While it only refers to the case of translating translated quotations back into the original language, the excerpt above demonstrates an institutional awareness of the inevitable shifts that occur when reporting speech in translation – "in some cases the quote could be very different". An awareness of the impact of the translation process more generally can be inferred from an instruction in the paragraph that comes after the guidance on translating quotations in the Style Guide entry (second excerpt above):

> **General Style Guide > quotations (12th paragraph):**
> Avoid excessive use of direct quotes in English when a speaker has spoken in another language.

Although the translation process is not mentioned directly, and the reason for avoiding direct quotes spoken in any other language than English is not stated, the instruction indicates an institutional awareness of the impact of the translation process on the accuracy of quotations.

The call in the Style Guide to limit direct quotations when translation is involved is at odds with the emphasis the *Handbook* repeatedly places on the value of direct quotes. In addition to stressing the value they hold for Reuters' customers – "subscribers find direct quotes very valuable" (Reuters 2014, p. 81) – the *Handbook* advises that quotes can be used to:

- "Add color and strength to your story" (p. 106)
- "prove you have spoken to someone who knows what happened" (p. 106)
- "Catch distinctions and nuances in important passages of speeches" (p. 107)
- "convey some of the flavor of the speaker's language" (p. 107)
- "personalise stories and give them immediacy" (p. 389)

Journalists are also encouraged to use direct quotes early on in a news report:

> Try to support your lead with a direct quote within the first few paragraphs, and be precise about who said this and where it was said. Listen for that "golden quote" – the one that will best illustrate the main point of the story. (p. 106)

It is possible to see the above guidance being followed in practice in the corpus. There are quotations that stand out as the 'golden quote' in each of the reports. As shown in Table 6.2 below, in each case, the quote is included in the 'first few paragraphs', as instructed, and for two of the reports, it appears in the headline.

In four of the five reports (IMMIGRATION being the exception), the 'golden quote' is presented in the form of a 'broken' quote. Advice on the use of 'broken' quotes is provided on page 4 of the *Handbook*:

> Avoid "broken" quotes unless the words are unusual, contentious or highly colorful. Bloggs said she was "delighted" to be working with such a "great" boss … does not need the words between quotes. Bloggs said she was "angry enough to kill" because she was working "with a pathetic excuse for a boss" … does need the words between quotes.

In addition to those presented as examples of 'golden quotes' in Table 6.2 below, there are several other instances of 'broken' quotes in the corpus. In three of the reports, what Sarkozy said in 2005 is reported using a broken quote. As seen earlier (Sect. 2.2), in the THUGOCRACY report, the 'broken' quote is unusual in that the word placed between quotation marks is kept in French, with two possible translations in brackets:

> In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters as "racaille" ("scum" or "rabble").

The '*racaille*' quote (see Sect. 4.2) is also included as context in two other reports – CRIME POLICIES and DUMMY. In both of these reports, the word is translated directly into English (in CRIME POLICIES as "riff-raff" and in DUMMY as "scum"). While the use of a 'broken' quote in all three reports indicates an awareness of the need for the journalist to distance themselves from Sarkozy's controversial use of language, only the

Table 6.2 'Golden quotes' in the Reuters corpus

Location	*Text comprising the 'golden quote'*
THUGOCRACY Headline	Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots
DUMMY Headline	France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist "dummy"
SECURITY Lead	President Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "merciless war" against gangs and drug traffickers in France's poor suburbs […]
CRIME POLICIES Paragraph 2	Sarkozy vowed to investigate the tear gas incident and repeated his "zero tolerance" policy towards violence […]
IMMIGRATION Paragraph 3	"Our policy of firmness is paying off," he told a news conference. […]

author of the THUGOCRACY avoids fixing the words in translation. By retaining '*racaille*' in between the quotation marks, and providing two different translations, the journalist reduces their intervention in the English version of what Sarkozy said. This is the only instance in the corpus where the original French wording from a quotation is retained.

As seen earlier (Sect. 6.1), the author of the THUGOCRACY report also uses a 'retention' strategy when rendering two culture-specific concepts together – '*quartier*' and '*cité*' – in another paragraph. This is also the only instance in the corpus of foreign language being retained when translating a culture-specific concept. It appears, therefore, that the foreignising 'retention' strategy is atypical of Reuters' current approach to translation generally. In an entry entitled 'foreign language phrases' in the Style Guide, the *Handbook* explicitly discourages the retention of foreign language:

> Use such phrases or quotes only in **exceptional cases**, for instance where no generally recognised English **equivalent** exists. They must always be explained, e.g. Dismissing the libel action, the judge said, 'De minimis non curat lex' (a Latin phrase meaning 'The law does not concern itself with very small matters'). (p. 245, emphasis added)

Although the guidance above does not explicitly mention translation, following it means that, apart from in "exceptional cases", journalists will need to translate culture-specific concepts into the reporting language. The degree of domestication it prompts will depend on the strategies journalists use to make the foreign cultural concept intelligible to their target audience.

As seen in Sect. 6.1, the strategies used most often in the corpus fall on the TL-oriented (domesticating) branch of Pedersen's scale, with the most common strategy (seen in 14 out of 29 translations) involving 'substituting' the culture-specific concept with what would qualify as a "recognised English equivalent" (as described in the excerpt from the *Handbook* above). The results of a search for the culture-specific concepts '*banlieue*' and '*quartier*'[3] in all Reuters English-language reporting in the Factiva database indicate that foreign language is rarely retained when culture-specific concepts are translated in Reuters news reporting (as seen in the corpus). The retention of '*banlieue*' was found in only 27 reports,[4] while '*quartier*' was found in only three reports. Given the high volume of reporting on news from France published by Reuters daily (at the time of

writing Factiva shows 45 Reuters reports from France 'in the last day'), having found only three other Reuters reports which retain the word *quartier* across *all* Reuters reports across *all dates* is a strong indication that the decision to retain the word in the THUGOCRACY report is atypical of Reuters' current approach.

The core translation guidelines in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism*, which instruct journalists to translate quotes idiomatically and avoid foreign language, reflect the domesticating nature of Reuters' current approach to translation, which is also seen in the Reuters reporting examined in both parts of this chapter. The analyses have found that Reuters journalists typically adhere closely to the guidance on translation in the *Handbook*. This suggests that updating the guidance in the *Handbook* would be an effective path to moving Reuters toward a more foreignising translation practice, which can increase the potential translation holds as a tool of intercultural communication in global news. The following chapter presents five proposed updates to the guidance on translation in the *Handbook*. The updates call for the use of strategies that introduce a degree of foreignisation in the translation of quotation and culture-specific concepts and heighten institutional awareness of potential accuracy issues in the translation of quotations.

Notes

1. Journalists may decide to omit information either because it is not deemed to be of sufficient interest to the target audience or because the reader is not expected to possess the background knowledge needed to interpret the information. As such, it is not possible or relevant to examine omissions as translation strategies.
2. The version used in the analysis of Reuters' current approach to translation in this chapter, and '*foreignised*' by the updates in Chap. 7, is a PDF version downloaded from the website: http://handbook.reuters.com/index.php?title=Main_Page. The PDF version begins with the 'Introduction' page, which corresponds to the main page of the online version. In both the PDF version (downloaded October 2 2014) and current (accessed October 12 2017) web version, the introduction is dated 'April 2008'. However, small differences are noted between the PDF and web versions. While the PDF version has 'last modified' dates for each, the web version does not. The PDF version previously downloaded from the website is therefore used as a static version accurate up to the download date (October 2 2014).

3. The high frequency of the verb 'to cite' in Reuters reporting meant searching for *cité* as a keyword in Factiva produced a very high volume of non-relevant results and was therefore abandoned.
4. See Sect. 7.1 for more detailed analysis of the retention of banlieue in reporting by Reuters, Agence-France Presse, Associated Press and the British press.

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CHAPTER 7

A *Foreignised* Approach to Translation in the News

Abstract This chapter presents a *foreignised* approach to news translation that aims to offer an ethical, yet practical alternative to the current domestication norm. It comprises strategies that increase the reader's contact with the foreign source language and culture and that help journalists to be alert to and counter accuracy issues when translating reported speech. As a case study news agency, Reuters' current approach to translation is *foreignised* through a set of five updates to the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism*. The updates revise and expand guidance on the translation of culture-specific concepts and quotation. They are discussed in turn, with examples of their impact on Reuters newswriting. The chapter includes analyses of reporting by the global agencies and mainstream British press that informed the *foreignised* approach.

Keywords Translation strategy • Foreignisation • Reuters • Quotation • Culture-specific concepts

The *foreignised* approach presented in this chapter consists of a set of five proposed updates to the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism*. Each of the five updates revises and/or adds to existing guidance in either the 'foreign language phrases' or the 'quotations' entry of the *Handbook*'s Style Guide. Update 1 foreignises Reuters' current approach to the translation of culture-specific concepts, while Updates 2–5 collectively foreignise the

C. Scammell, *Translation Strategies in Global News*,
Palgrave Studies in Translating and Interpreting,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74024-9_7

approach to the translation of quotations. Update 2, which comprises two parts, differs from the others by revising/adding to both the 'foreign language phrases' entry (part A) and 'quotations' entry (part B). A summary of the updates to the two entries is presented in Table 7.1 below.

The five updates to the Reuters *Handbook* are presented and discussed in turn in the chapter, along with examples from the corpus and the findings of wider analyses of news reporting that have informed the *foreignised* approach. The first part (Sect. 7.1) is dedicated to Update 1, as the only update related to the translation of culture-specific concepts. Updates 2–5 are presented in the second part (Sect. 7.2), as four individual updates to guidance in the *Handbook* on translating quotation.

Table 7.1 Summary of the five proposed updates to the Reuters *Handbook*

Location: style guide, 'foreign language phrases'	
Update 1 Adds sub-paragraph – '*foreign language culture-specific concepts*'	The new sub-paragraph calls for the retention of foreign language when translating culture-specific concepts if replacement with an "equivalent" would lose important cultural meaning. In case of space constraints in headlines/leads, it advises that the translation/explanation be provided at the next opportunity.
Update 2 (part A) Adds sub-paragraph – '*foreign language quotations*'	The new sub-paragraph calls for the retention of foreign language in translated quotations in three cases: 1) when translating "broken" quotes 2) when needing to capture important nuances/distinctions 3) for capturing the flavour of the original
Location: style guide, 'quotations'	
Update 2 (part B) Revises paragraph 11	The revised paragraph calls for the retention of foreign language (as an exception to the standard approach of translating quotations "in an idiomatic way") in the case of 'tendentious' statements. It replaces the existing call for a literal translation strategy.
Update 3 Expands paragraph 12	A new sentence underlines that the translation process can jeopardise the accuracy of direct quotations, and calls for the use of paraphrase in such cases.
Update 4 Adds new paragraph	The new paragraph calls for journalists to ensure, when translating direct quotations, that any omissions introduced by the translation process are indicated in the same way as those that result from intra-lingual editing.
Update 5 Adds new paragraph	The new paragraph calls for journalists, where appropriate, to signal to their readers that they are reading a translation of a quotation, rather than the original words, by making reference to the foreign context in which it was spoken.

7.1 Translating Culture-Specific Concepts

The Reuters *Handbook* does not currently contain any guidance related to translating culture-specific concepts. The paragraph under 'foreign language phrases' in the Style Guide, however, discourages the use of foreign language. As seen in Sect. 6.2, the existing Style Guide entry reads:

> **foreign language phrases**
> Use such phrases or quotes only in exceptional cases, for instance where no generally recognised English equivalent exists. They must always be explained, e.g. Dismissing the libel action, the judge said, "De minimis non curat lex" (a Latin phrase meaning "The law does not concern itself with very small matters").

Update 1 expands on the guidance here to call for the retention of foreign language when translating culture-specific concepts. It aims to overcome the loss of meaning and cultural significance that can result from culture-specific concepts being replaced with the closest equivalent in the target language. It also aims to allow the reader to come into contact with the foreignness of the source culture. It is the most foreignising of all the updates since the new detail added specifies that foreign culture-specific concepts can be retained in headlines and lead paragraphs when necessary.

Update 1: Retention of Foreign Language (Culture-Specific Concepts)

The update adds a new sub-paragraph to the 'foreign language phrases' Style Guide entry, related specifically to the translation of culture-specific concepts. It highlights culture-specific concepts as an 'exceptional case' (as described in the existing entry) in which journalists may wish to use foreign language:

> *foreign language culture-specific concepts*
> Consider retaining foreign language where replacing a foreign term with the closest English equivalent would involve losing cultural-specificity important to the reader's understanding. Add an explanation/translation in the first instance. Subsequent uses can be left in the original language without repeating the translation/explanation. Where the foreign cultural concept appears in the headline/lead and there is not space to provide explanatory text, use the foreign term rather than generalising with a translation, and add the explanation at the next opportunity.

A strategy for resolving space constraints in headlines/leads is specified in light of guidance in the *Handbook* on character limitations in headlines and avoiding too much detail in the lead paragraph.

The new sub-paragraph does not specify strategies for adding the translation/explanation since an example of an explanation for a foreign language phrase is already provided in the existing paragraph. Moreover, the journalist will have strategies at their disposal – seen in the analysis of the Reuters corpus (Sect. 6.1) – for explaining and contextualising unfamiliar concepts. These strategies involve the addition of explanations and translations within the text or in brackets. They inform the examples in Table 7.2 below of what the *foreignised* translations produced by Update 1 might look like in practice. Examples 1 and 2 illustrate that different forms of

Table 7.2 Examples of the impact of Update 1 on Reuters reporting

	Location	*Original segment*	*Foreignised segment*
1	DUMMY paragraph 12	[…] a call to rid the Paris suburbs of […]	[…] a call to rid the Paris banlieue – the high-rise residential areas on the outskirts of the city – of […]
2	CRIME POLICIES paragraph 12	"We want calm, we want justice to be done, we want the riot police to leave […]"	"We want calm, we want justice to be done, we want the CRS (riot police) to leave […]"
3	SECURITY Headline	Sarkozy pledges to beef up French suburb security	Sarkozy pledges to beef up French banlieue security
4	SECURITY Lead	[…] in France's poor suburbs, many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005	[…] in France's poor banlieues, residential areas on the outskirts of big cities, many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005
5	THUGOCRACY Lead	Riots which hit the Paris suburbs this week […]	Riots which hit the Paris banlieue this week […]
6	THUGOCRACY paragraph 2	[…] in Villiers-le-Bel, north of Paris	[…] the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in Villiers-le-Bel, north of Paris in the city's banlieue, *where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence*

explanation, and different levels of detail, may be appropriate depending on the context. Examples 3 and 5 show the retention of a foreign culture-specific concept (without an explanation) in a headline and in a lead paragraph. Examples 4 and 6 show these explanations being provided 'in the next instance' (the following paragraph) of each of these reports.

In example 6, the explanation adds 15 words. Its impact on the length of the paragraph may seem problematic, and it is included for that reason. The explanation (in italics) is copied from the CRIME POLICIES report in the corpus, where (as seen in Sect. 6.1) it is provided as context on "the northeastern Clichy-sous-Bois suburb". Its use there indicates that the retention strategy may not impact the length of the news report at all. In the CRIME POLICIES report, the only impact of Update 1 would be replacing 'suburb' with '*banlieue*'; the journalist has already provided an explanation for the highly culture-specific concept. The retention of foreign culture-specific concepts, without an explanation/translation in a headline (example 3) and lead paragraph (example 5) may also seem problematic; could the presence of an unfamiliar foreign concept in a headline or lead deter the reader's interest? Perhaps, yes. But the important part headlines and leads play in determining whether a reader carries on reading also motivates a translation strategy that preserves the foreign language. If the headline and lead contain culture-specific concepts it is because they are central to the news story. This places greater importance on their translation.

The decision to encourage the retention of foreign culture-specific concepts in headlines and leads was informed by the results of a search (briefly discussed in Sect. 6.2) for the French word *banlieue* in reporting by Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP), Associated Press (AP) and eight British press titles. The purpose of the analysis was to see how commonly journalists use a retention strategy when needing to communicate foreign-language cultural concepts in headlines and leads. The results of a Factiva search for *banlieue* in English-language reports by these publications were analysed to identify instances of the French term in headlines and leads. Table 7.3 below shows the total for each publication. *Banlieue* was found in 27 Reuters reports in total, but not in the headlines of any of these. Only one of the Reuters reports includes the French term in the lead paragraph:

> Investigations into France's bloodiest spate of guerrilla violence since 1986 are homing in on blighted "**banlieues**" – big-city suburbs that are breeding grounds for social resentment and racial hatred. (September 12, 1995)

Of the 14 AP reports which include the word *banlieue*, the French term does not appear in any of the headlines or leads. Among the 64 AFP reports found to include *banlieue*, the French term appears in the headlines of only four reports and the lead paragraph of only one.

The Factiva search for '*banlieue*' produced a very high number of results for the *Financial Times* (216), the *Guardian* (287), the *Independent* (192), the *Telegraph* (172) and the *Times* (288). Since it was necessary to check each of the reports to locate the search term, the results from each of these five newspapers were limited to the first 100. The total number of instances of *banlieue* in the headlines/leads of reports by these newspapers, shown in Table 7.3, is therefore likely to be significantly higher. The frequency of the retention of the French culture-specific concept in the headlines and leads among these titles, indicate that the journalists do not expect the presence of the foreign term to be damaging to clarity or reader interest. Of course, as titles in the British 'quality press', these newspapers address a far narrower readership than the news agencies when reporting news from France, and may be able to assume a higher level of familiarity with French language and culture among their readers. *Banlieue* was not

Table 7.3 Instances of *banlieue* in English-language headlines/leads

Source	*Instances of banlieue in headline*	*Instances of banlieue in lead*
The Global News Agencies		
Reuters	0	1
Agence France-Presse	4	1
Associated Press	0	0
The British Press		
The Daily Mail	0	0
Financial Times[a]	8	5
The Guardian[a]	5	4
The Independent[a]	13	19
The Mirror	0	0
The Sun	0	0
The Telegraph[a]	2	12
The Times[a]	1	9

[a]First 100 results only

found in the headlines or leads of any of the 'tabloid' press titles included in the search, and in very few reports by these publications at all – the *Daily Mail* (5), the *Mirror* (1) and the *Sun* (1). The results for Reuters, AFP and AP show that agency journalists typically do not include a foreign term in headlines or leads, even when retaining that term further down the report. However, the fact that *banlieue* appears in the headlines of four AFP reports and the lead of one other suggests that retaining foreign culture-specific concepts in headlines could, in principle, represent a viable strategy for the news agencies.

7.2 Translating Quotation

The Reuters *Handbook* provides guidance on the use of quotation throughout its various sections. The value of quotation and the importance of accuracy in quotation are regularly emphasised. However, as seen earlier (Sect. 6.2), the approach to take when translating quotation is only specified in two places – first, in the section under the header 'Quotes' on p. 4, and second, in the 'quotations' entry of the A-Z Style Guide. Updates 2–5, which collectively foreignise the approach to the translation of quotation, only update the guidance in the latter (the Style Guide entry). In the 'Quotes' section (which includes less detail on the use of quotation), it would be sufficient to add a note directing the reader to the (updated) 'quotations' entry in the Style Guide. In addition to calling for the retention of foreign language in quotations, and revising the existing call for a 'literal' translation strategy (Update 2), the updates introduce new, translation-specific guidance in places where the *Handbook* overlooks the impact of the translation process on the accuracy of reporting quotation (Updates 3 and 4). A strategy for highlighting that a quotation was originally spoken in a foreign language is also introduced (Update 5).

Update 2: Retention of Foreign Language (Quotations)

While Update 1 relates to the retention of foreign language when translating culture-specific concepts, Update 2 calls specifically for the retention of foreign language in quotations. It comprises two parts (A and B) which introduce the retention strategy in two different places in the *Handbook*. Part A, discussed first here, introduces a new sub-paragraph to the guidance under the 'foreign language phrases' entry of the *Handbook*'s Style Guide, following the sub-paragraph introduced by Update 1 (see Sect. 7.1).

It describes three cases in which to consider the retention of foreign language in quotations.

> foreign language quotations
> Consider retaining foreign language in translated quotations in the following cases:
>
> 1) when using a "broken" quote. NB: a "broken" quote is only needed when the words are contentious, inflammatory or colourful, meaning their translation is likely to be problematic
> 2) in order to catch distinctions and nuances in important passages of speeches
> 3) to convey some of the flavour of the speaker's language
>
> Provide the original foreign wording within the quotation marks followed by a translation/explanation in the first instance. Subsequent references to the quote can be left in the original language without repeating the translation/explanation. In cases where it is not possible to accurately/objectively represent the statement in translation, i.e. where the wording does not translate easily into English, consider signalling this to the reader, e.g. 'meaning something like X', or nuancing the representation with two possible renderings, e.g. "which most closely translates as X or X".

The three cases (and their wording) are drawn from existing guidance in the *Handbook* regarding the use and function of quotation. The first two are cases where the impact of the translation process on the accuracy of quotation is particularly problematic, because of the extra scrutiny the words will receive. In these cases, retaining some of the speaker's original words helps the journalist to avoid translating, and thus, interpreting particularly sensitive speech, and to signal to the reader that the words are a translation, rather than a word-for-word representation of what was said. In the third case, the practice of using quotation for adding colour/flavour becomes, through the retention of some of the original wording, an opportunity to allow the reader to come into contact with the foreignness of the original speech event.

Table 7.4 below shows what the retention of foreign language in each of the three cases might look like in practice. Example 1 shows the retention of foreign language in the translation of a 'broken' quote (the first case). Example 2 shows the retention strategy used to 'catch distinctions and nuances in important passages of speeches' (the second case).

Table 7.4 Examples of the impact of Update 2 on Reuters reporting

	Location	*Original segment*	*Foreignised segment*
1	THUGOCRACY Lead	[…] the work of a "thugocracy" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said on Thursday	[…] the work of a "voyoucratie (thugocracy)" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said on Thursday
2	IMMIGRATION paragraph 9	Sarkozy said 2005 had been a "break year" with the number of new residence permits granted falling […]	Sarkozy said 2005 had been an "année de rupture (break year)" with the number of new residence permits granted falling […]
3	DUMMY Paragraph 5	He then turned back smiling to the journalist and slapped him on the shoulder, apologising for the comment and saying: "He's nice really. He's young"	He then turned back smiling to the journalist and slapped him on the shoulder, apologising for the comment: "Pardon! He's nice really. He's young"

The wording here, "année de rupture", is identified as an important phrase in a speech by Sarkozy on the basis that it used as a summary header in the official transcript released by the French government. Example 3 shows how foreign language might be retained in order to 'to convey some of the flavour of the speaker's language' (the third case). While the word retained in the example – 'pardon' – is not *strictly* a foreign word in the English report (since it also exists in English), it is considered to be effective in conveying the flavour of the original language because readers are likely to recognise the common French utterance.

The new sub-paragraph specifies that if the quoted words appear more than once in the report, subsequent references do not require the translation/explanation to be repeated. This corresponds with the same instruction in Update 1. In both updates, the result is that foreign language will appear in the reports without a translation. It also specifies two possible strategies that can be used separately or in combination (as shown in the examples given in the sub-paragraph) for nuancing the representation of a quotation when the translation is particularly problematic. The combination of the two strategies would produce a 'couplet translation' (Newmark 1988), which is itself a well-established strategy for translating culture-specific concepts. The first strategy involves adding words that directly

signal to the reader that the translation cannot capture the exact meaning of the original. It is based on a strategy seen in an AFP report, where it is combined with the second strategy (providing two different translations).

In the AFP report, *racaille* is retained along with the translation/explanation '– a word best translated as "yobs" or "rabble"'. The inclusion of 'a word best translated as' reinforces the effect of signalling to the reader that there is no direct equivalent, by clearly marking the English terms as a possible translation. The following example from the DUMMY report shows how the strategy could be used in isolation:

> In 2008 he was caught on camera telling a man at an agricultural fair to "casse-toi pauvre con" (meaning something like "get lost, jerk"), a phrase that would haunt him throughout his presidency.

The second of the two strategies – providing two different translations – is informed by its use in the THUGOCRACY report:

> In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters as "racaille" ("scum" or "rabble").

The same strategy was also found in another Reuters report (not in the corpus), where "scum" and "riff-raff" are given as two possible translations. As discussed in Chap. 2 (in the context of a reproduction of the THUGOCRACY report in the British press), the provision of two translations has the effect of signalling to the reader that "racaille" has no direct equivalent in English. It also (as remarked in Chap. 6), allows the journalist to avoid fixing the translation, thereby reducing their intervention in the translated speech.

In addition to the guidance added to the 'foreign language phrases' entry in the Style Guide, Update 2 involves a revision (underlined below) to information in the 'quotations' entry, where journalists are currently instructed to translate quotes "in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness", but to "give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis" (p. 390). Part B revises the latter exception to call for the retention of the original language in place of a literal translation strategy:

> When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, consider retaining some of the original language if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis (see also 'foreign language phrases').

There is only one instance in the corpus where the existing instruction to "give a literal translation" appears to have been followed. This is the translation to "selected immigration" presented in Sect. 6.1 as an example of Pedersen's (2005) 'Direct translation' strategy. However, as mentioned in the analysis there, it is not clear whether the journalist was consciously following this instruction, or simply failed to produce an idiomatic translation.

The result of using a literal translation strategy when translating 'tendentious' statements is demonstrated in Bassnett's (2005) analysis of a translation of a statement released by Al Qaeda in a Reuters report. Bassnett finds that the use of a foreignising strategy has the effect of distancing the speaker from Reuters' Western audience (Bassnett 2005, p. 128, see also Sect. 3.3). As argued earlier, rather than intending to produce such an effect, the journalist appears to be following the instruction to "give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis". Regardless of the journalist's intention, Bassnett's example highlights that the existing instruction to use a literal translation strategy in the case of 'tendentious statements' is at odds with the aims of the *foreignised* approach. The instruction is therefore replaced by Update 2 (part B) on the basis that the potential distancing effect of a literal translation undermines the ability of translation in the news to facilitate cross-cultural engagement and understanding.

Update 3: Paraphrase for Accuracy in Translated Quotations

Update 3 expands a short paragraph in the 'quotations' entry in the Style Guide instructing journalists to "avoid excessive use of direct quotes in English when the speaker has spoken in another language". This instruction is left intact since it already responds to the problematic nature of representing what someone said in translation in the news. As discussed in Sect. 6.2, the existing guidance appears to be based on an awareness of the difficulty of accurately representing what someone said as translated direct speech. However, this is not made explicit. As a result, it seems unlikely

that the guidance here will be effective in limiting the use of translated direct quotations for reasons of accuracy; especially since, as mentioned earlier, the *Handbook* repeatedly emphasises the value of direct quotation.

The existing short paragraph follows the instruction to translate quotes in "an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness" (see Update, part B). Update 3 aims to highlight that quoting a source directly when translation is involved can compromise the accuracy of the quotation, particularly when translating in an "idiomatic way". The sentence added makes the impact of the translation process explicit in the paragraph and, by doing so, aims to increase the use of paraphrase in cases where a translated direct quote may jeopardise the accuracy of the reporting:

> Translating a direct quote in an idiomatic way can involve moving so far from the original wording that the translation effectively becomes a paraphrase of what the speaker has said; in such cases take care to present the speech as paraphrase rather than as a direct quote, using a "broken" quote where necessary (see 'foreign language phrases' for advice on translating "broken" quotes).

The update is mainly concerned with the accuracy of translated quotations. It is only the suggestion to use a 'broken' quote that foreignises the approach. More specifically, it is the bracketed reference to the advice in the 'foreign language phrases' entry that has a foreignising impact, since here (as a result of Update 2, part A), journalists are encouraged to retain foreign language when translating 'broken' quotes.

It is not the intention of the update to determine the level of direct quotations (this is left to the discretion of the journalist, as in the existing instruction); the update instead highlights that producing an idiomatic translation of a direct quotation, in a form that fits the news report, can involve effectively paraphrasing what was said. The update advises journalists to be alert to such cases and to present the quotations as paraphrase accordingly.

Update 4: Showing Deletions in Translated Direct Quotations

Both the 'Quotes' section in part 1 of the *Handbook* and the 'quotations' entry of the Style Guide begin by stressing (in almost identical wording) the importance of not altering anything between quotation marks:

> Quotes are sacred. Do not alter anything put in quotation marks other than to delete words, and then only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote ('quotations', Style Guide).

Instructions for showing deletions within quotations are provided across two paragraphs in the 'quotations' entry in the Style Guide. The first paragraph states:

> Show deletions from a quoted text with three full stops with a space before and after, e.g. He said: "We will win by fair means or foul … and the devil take the hindmost."

The second paragraph provides more detailed information regarding showing deletions at the ends of sentences. There is no mention of translation. Update 4 adds a new paragraph with translation-specific guidance specifying the need to show both deletions in the original quote as well as any that occur when the quote is translated:

> When translating foreign language quotes as direct speech, be alert to and show (as described above) both any deletions that already exist as a result of intra-lingual editing, and any deletions introduced by the translation process.

The new paragraph does not directly foreignise Reuters' current approach to translation. Instead, it draws attention, in the detailed entry on 'quotations' in the Style Guide, to a potential cause of inaccuracy in translated quotations. Update 4 only aims to ensure the existing guidance is applied as carefully in the case of translated quotations. Examples of the impact on Reuters news reporting would only show suspension points used where they are currently missing from translated quotations in the corpus (seven quotations in total), and, as such, are not provided.

Update 5: Signalling the Foreign Context of Quotations

Update 5 does not relate directly to any existing guidance in the *Handbook*. It advises journalists, where appropriate, to signal the foreign context of foreign-language quotations as a means of indicating to readers that they are reading a translation, rather than the original words spoken. The addition is made as a new paragraph in the 'quotations' entry of the Style Guide:

> Where appropriate, signal that the English wording of a direct or paraphrased quote is a translation by making direct reference to the foreign context, e.g. 'Speaking on French radio, …'.

Table 7.5 below presents examples of wording that could be introduced to signal the foreign context of quotations in the corpus. Update 5 is distinct from Updates 1–4 in that it does not relate directly to the translation of foreign language into English. Instead, it comprises a strategy that journalists can use, when translating quotations, to signal their intervention to the reader. The second example of the impact of Update 5 shows how it can have a foreignising effect on the reporting of a translated quotation, by introducing the names of national institutions. The effect may be more or less foreignising depending on how familiar the institution is to the target reader. In the example, the introduction of 'the Elysée Palace' is not particularly foreignising, as it is the official English name for the French presidential residence, with which readers are likely to be familiar.

It is important to clarify, by way of a summary of the four updates relating to the translation of quotation, that only two of these call for the use of translation strategies that allow the reader to come into contact with the foreignness of the source culture or language – the retention of foreign language in quotations (Update 2) and the call for journalists to signal the foreign context of foreign language quotations (Update 5). Updates 3 and 4 address the potential impact the translation process can have on the accuracy of quotations by encouraging institutional awareness of this potential impact and providing strategies to reduce it. Update 3 does so by

Table 7.5 Examples of the impact of Update 5 on Reuters reporting

Location	*Original segment*	*Foreignised segment*
CRIME POLICIES Paragraph 16	[…] said in comments to be published in Tuesday's Le Parisien	[…] said in comments to be published in the French daily Le Parisien on Tuesday
BANLIEUE Paragraph 3	[…] Sarkozy told local leaders as he unveiled the plan […]	[…] Sarkozy told local leaders at the Elysée Palace as he unveiled the plan […]
IMMIGRATION Paragraph 3	"Our policy of firmness is paying off" he told a news conference	"Our policy of firmness is paying off" he told a French news conference

expanding the guidance in the corpus to avoid the "excessive use of direct quotes" when translation is involved. Update 4 expands the detail in the *Handbook* regarding the importance of indicating where deletions have made been in direct quotations (for the sake of accuracy) by specifying the need to show deletions in translated quotations in the same way.

7.3 Discussion

The guidance introduced by the five updates intends to encourage an approach to the translation of culture-specific concepts and quotation that exposes the reader to the foreign source culture and language. This is achieved primarily by Updates 1 and 2, which call for the retention of foreign language, but also by Update 5, which involves signalling the foreign context of quotations. The updates also intend to make the impact of the translation process on the accuracy of reporting more explicit in the *Handbook*, which can in turn encourage the use of the foreignising strategies specified. This is the particular focus of Updates 3 and 4, which address accuracy-related issues in translation, rather than the translation strategies used. Updates 1 and 2 have the most significant impact on Reuters' current approach to translation, as they introduce guidance – in an entry in the Style Guide where the use of foreign language is currently discouraged – instructing journalists to consider retaining foreign language when translating culture-specific concepts and quotations.

The retention strategies introduced by Updates 1 and 2 are informed by strategies seen in reporting by the global agencies and the mainstream British press. As discussed in Chap. 6, the author of the THUGOCRACY report in the corpus retains foreign language in two places, once when translating a quotation (the '*racaille*' quote) and once when translating a culture-specific concept ('*quartier* or *cité*'). These instances indicate that Reuters journalists might sometimes find it necessary to retain foreign language in order to communicate a specific source-culture reality or the nuances of a quotation to their readers. They also indicate that journalists may find the retention of foreign language to be a viable strategy in their newswriting. In the examples of the impact of the retention strategy in the corpus (see Tables 7.2 and 7.4 above), the retention of foreign language increases the number of words involved in the translation to varying degrees. Since foreign language must be translated/explained, applying the retention strategy when rendering a culture-specific concept or quotation is likely to require a greater number of words.

In addition to the word count limitations on individual reports, headlines and leads, the journalistic ideal of concise newswriting reflected in the Reuters *Handbook* makes the expansion of the text undesirable in principle. This consideration regarding the expansion of the text is not, however, considered to make the retention strategy unviable. The following excerpt from an AFP report (March 9, 2006) illustrates how a culture-specific concept (in this case *banlieue*) can be retained without jeopardising the conciseness of the newswriting:

> On Friday evening Sarkozy, 52, visited a high-immigration neighbourhood east of Paris for a discussion with young people, defying critics who say he is unable to venture into the "banlieues" because of his deep unpopularity there.

Banlieue is used in the final sentence of the paragraph but the explanation/translation comes in the first line – "high-immigration neighbourhood". By separating the foreign term and the explanation in this way, the journalist makes efficient use of both.

The impact of the retention strategy on word counts may be more difficult to counter when translating quotation. While a similar approach to that seen above could work in principle, it seems likely that accuracy considerations would limit opportunities for creative solutions. However, building on the advice on quotations in the Reuters *Handbook*, the retention of foreign language in translated quotations is only called for in three specific cases (see Sect. 7.2, Update 2, part A). The additional word count involved in retaining part of the original wording of the quotation is considered to be necessary in these cases where the secondary level of mediation involved in translating the quotation jeopardises the accuracy and objectivity of the reporting. This problem is currently addressed by the instruction in the *Handbook* to use a literal translation strategy if "a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis" (Reuters 2014, p. 390), guidance which Update 2 (part B) replaces.

The *Handbook* emphasises the importance of writing in language that is easy to translate (Sect. 6.2). The *foreignised* approach is not expected to make the translation of English-language content into other languages problematic; in fact, it is considered to have a positive impact in this regard. The retention of foreign language would help to enhance the translator's understanding of the information they are translating, by giving them access to the original language in addition to an English translation

aimed primarily at an English-language audience. By encouraging journalists to avoid the use of quotation marks when the translation effectively paraphrases what was said (Update 3), and to show deletions in translated direct quotations (Update 4), the *foreignised* approach helps to reduce the potential for quotations to become distorted as a result of the translation process. This becomes increasingly important when the translation will be translated into other languages.

Emphasis has been placed on finding strategies that could represent a practical alternative for Reuters journalists. This has been done by looking at translation strategies currently being used in reporting by Reuters and more widely by the 'Big three' global agencies and mainstream British press. The *foreignised* approach itself is developed directly from the existing guidance on translation in the Reuters *Handbook*, meaning that the updates adjust this guidance in carefully considered ways rather than imposing general translation guidelines with no direct relevance to Reuters journalists. For instance, guidance is introduced on translating 'broken' quotes specifically because of the attention given to 'broken' quotes in the *Handbook*. As a result, the foreignising retention strategy introduced has clear and direct application for Reuters journalists. In addition, the detail and description of the guidance that has been revised or introduced is often based on guidance elsewhere in the *Handbook*. For example, the specification of the three cases in which to consider retaining foreign language in quotations (Update 2, part A) are derived from the inclusion and wording of these three uses of quotation elsewhere. Moreover, care has been taken to keep revisions/additions to a minimum. If an existing paragraph or sentence does not directly conflict with the aims of the *foreignised* approach, it is left intact.

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CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

Abstract The book's final chapter summarises its findings on current translation practices in global news and the *foreignised* approach developed as an alternative to the current domestication norm. It reflects on the book's contribution as an initial exploration of the scope for foreignising news translation strategies and points to avenues for further investigation.

Keywords News translation • Global news • Translation strategy • Foreignisation • Domestication

This book has taken a closer look at the norm for domesticating news translation practices. Analysis of the case study news event – What Sarkozy said in the 'suburbs' – has highlighted the secondary level of mediation introduced by the translation process when foreign-language quotation and culture-specific concepts are reported in the news. By extension, it has highlighted the implications of a domesticating approach that obscures the journalist's intervention and distances the reader from the foreign source language and context. Through analysis of Reuters reporting, the investigation has also revealed what domesticating strategies actually look like in global news reporting. The book explores the potential for introducing a *degree* of foreignisation as a means to maximising the potential for translation in the news to facilitate cross-cultural engagement and understanding. In doing so, it challenges a conclusion in the

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news translation literature regarding the non-relevance of foreignisation in a newswriting context.

Emphasis has been placed on identifying translation strategies that represent an ethical, yet practical alternative to the domestication norm. The *foreignised* approach, presented in the previous chapter, comprises strategies that seek to expose the reader to the foreign source language and culture without compromising the goal of clear and concise reporting. The domesticating nature of Reuters' current approach to translation is found to rest primarily on the instructions in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* to avoid foreign language and to translate quotations in an "idiomatic" way. The *foreignised* approach does not remove these core instructions, but instead adds additional guidance that expands on the exceptions the *Handbook* specifies. It builds on and is informed by the approach to translation called for (both implicitly and explicitly) and important considerations related to the need for accuracy in reporting quotation. The individual updates do not dramatically alter journalists' day-to-day translation practice, but collectively represent an overall shift towards a more foreignising approach.

The *foreignised* approach points to ways in which journalists can counter the impact of the translation process on the accuracy and objectivity of reporting and bring their reader closer to the foreign realities they are reporting on. As an initial exploration of the scope for foreignising the way the news is translated, it offers a basis for dialogue with journalists on the ethical aims and practicality of a shift away from the norm for domesticating news translation strategies. Further research involving collaboration with the news agencies could offer a productive next step to assessing the impact of news translation strategies that deviate from the domestication norm. Research focused on national news organisations in the UK and other English-speaking countries could help to better understand what forms and degrees of foreignisation might be viable in English-language reporting and thus help to enrich the debate. Research involving readers as participants would contribute the perspective of the audiences of translations in global news.

The guidance in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* relates to English-language reporting specifically, the agency's primary language. The *foreignised* approach is therefore relevant to the case of English-language newswriting in particular. The individual strategies set out in the five updates may, nevertheless, have direct application in other languages as a way of introducing a degree of foreignisation into the way the news is

translated. In particular, the updates addressing issues of accuracy in translation (3 and 4) are not in any way specific to English newswriting. Neither is Update 5 (signalling the foreign context of quotations). The retention strategy introduced by Updates 1 and 2 is, however, informed by analysis of English-language news reporting, and similar analyses would need to be conducted in other languages to investigate whether the retention of foreign language might represent a practical strategy for journalists writing in different languages and for different audiences. By approaching quotation and culture-specific concepts as key sites of translation in the news, this book has cast light on precise forms of translation that can be clearly distinguished from intra-lingual editing practices. While the involvement of translation in newswriting processes might extend beyond quotation and culture, these two aspects seem to offer a productive starting point for examining news translation in any context.

The book's focus on the translation strategies of the 'Big three' news agencies is motivated by the vast global audiences they reach. The dominance of the global agencies as sources of foreign news information appears to be increasing still. In June 2015 Reuters announced that it would begin to make some of its content available free to digital publishers, marking a further development away from the traditional subscription-based news agency model. Exposing "more readers to its award-winning news content" was an explicit aim (Reuters press release, June 9, 2015). The initiative will have no doubt already vastly increased the number of readers accessing Reuters content online, especially in light of the explosion of 'viral' news sites such as BuzzFeed and Upworthy in recent years. In the context of this continually developing digital news landscape, news translation researchers can engage in highly relevant debates in media and journalism studies, and continue to draw attention to the integral involvement of translation in the increasingly rapid and widespread dissemination of news across the globe.

Index[1]

[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

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